

Therefore, in concluding this debate, I make an appeal to the hon. Minister and the Government. It is not a case of the Opposition stirring up trouble. It is a case of genuine discontent among two million employees of the Government. Therefore, unless you review and reconsider the stand that you have taken today regarding the implementation of this report, regarding certain theories which are of a metaphysical legalism and atheism carried to the point of absurdity, you will never have a contented labour force in this country. Unless you reconsider these points and rectify the genuine grievances, all the ideals that you place before the House, for which you are striving, are impossible to achieve. Unless he reviews the Government decision and position on the recommendations of the 15th Labour Conference, it will have serious repercussions on the entire industrial working class of this country. Otherwise, in future, not only will we not be able to settle the question that has been hanging fire for two years which even came to a general strike in 1957; we will also be opening up a Pandora's box leading to more industrial disputes, and all these ideals of the Second Five Year Plan, of peace in industry etc., will not be achieved. Because the hon. Minister and the House are at one that we should have a contented labour force in order to

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

The motion was adopted.

**MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE
PRESIDENT**

Before I call upon Shri Viswanatha Reddy to move his Motion of Thanks to the President, I have to announce that under ru'e 21, I have fixed that the time-limit for speeches shall ordinarily be 15 minutes, with the exception of Leaders of Groups for whom 30 minutes will be allowed, and also the Mover.

The Prime Minister who, I think, will reply to the debate, on behalf of Government, may intervene or reply at a later stage, and take the necessary time therefor.

Shri Viswanatha Reddy (Rajampet):
I beg to move:

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

‘That the Members of the 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 8th February, 1960."

It is my happy privilege to move the above motion.

The most momentous Address delivered by the President to the Members of Parliament the other day has been received with very great acclaim by the country, because it truly reflects the sentiments and aspirations that the country and the people are having today.

The Address is also memorable not only because it gives us in a very lucid manner the policies that are being pursued by the Government in order to meet the various issues that are facing the country, but also because it very truly is in tune with the events that are taking place all over the world.

13.55 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

The year that has passed since the last Address of the President is singularly packed with events of very far-reaching importance. To mention only a few, we witnessed the way to the summit meeting being cleared, agreement on disarmament and suspension of nuclear weapons and also the most stupendous achievement in the field of technology and science when the Soviet Union was able to send a rocket not only to reach the moon, but also to orbit round the moon. This is an event which opens the door of knowledge to the universe around us, and which has got prospects of an achievement which humanity has never dreamt of these several decades.

In our own country, the achievements have been no less mean. The past year has seen us produce a record food crop; our industrial production has reached a new height; we have also celebrated the tenth anniversary of the Republic; the steel industry which was

a small affair all these decades has grown much bigger and bids fare to be one of our greatest industries today. In addition to all this, we have also embarked on a new experiment of democratic decentralisation of developmental activity in this country, a development which is bound to usher in great responsibility directly on the shoulders of the people because they have to actively participate in the developmental effort.

In the midst of all these happy developments not only in our country but also all over the world, we had the shocking experience of incursions on the border. This is a matter which has been debated by this House at very great length in the past, and is no doubt going to be debated in the future also. It is not my purpose to refer to this question at any great length. I refer to it only to meet the criticism offered by a very small minority of people in our country that the words "breach of faith" have been used by the President in the Address. Objection has been taken by some people that these words should not have been used by the President since the use of these words would not create an appropriate atmosphere in the present circumstances. This is the criticism that has been made by a very responsible party. I do not know if we can still call that party a responsible party.

The facts are very well known to the House. We have had very friendly relations with our neighbour China. We had a community of interests with them because, emerging from a backward economy inflicted on us because of an inferior political position, we are trying to pull ourselves up economically as early as possible. That is the community of interests between our own country and China.

At the cultural level, we have had any number of exchange of visits of envoys not only during the past few years but throughout the centuries. At the religious level, we had the community of interests in that Buddhism which originated in our country spread

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all over China and the culture of both India and China are surcharged by this religious sentiment.

In spite of all this community of interests we find the great nation of China creeping slowly into our territory, not even bothering to put in a claim at the diplomatic level to the areas that they intended to occupy. If this action is not to be described by the words "breach of faith", I do not know what exactly the meaning of that terminology is. I am inclined even to say that the President has been pleased to use these words only as a calculated under-statement. Further, after their having intruded into our territory, when the Prime Minister offered to withdraw, as a starting point for an agreement, to the line which has been supposed to be claimed by China, provided China herself withdrew to the line which has been recognised to be ours, by tradition, by agreement, by well-known landmarks and even by demarcation on land, there was no reply forthcoming to such a proposal despite the lapse of several months. All this cannot be described by any other words.

14 hrs.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. There is a very wholesome rule which is often not followed in this House, and hon. Members are to be reminded of it again and again. When an hon. Member is speaking, there is an invisible line of communication created between the Member and the Chair. As soon as an hon. Member passes through it, that snaps. That is not fair.

Shrimati Renuka Ray (Malda): I apologise. I thought that I had bowed my head down, and you could see.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: For the present, it was the lady Member who was concerned, but I have often seen other Members also doing the same thing.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): Ladies are not transparent, after all.

Shri Viswanatha Reddy: I do not like to dwell at any great length over this point, because this House will have an opportunity of discussing at length the very same question.

I should like to bring to the notice of the House the very appropriate sentiment expressed by the President in his Address, when he said that war or peace, the developmental activity in the country should go on. It is the one source from which all sinews for war effort or peace effort or for both spring. I cannot do better than quote a few sentences that are contained in the President's Address, expressing this sentiment in a very grand manner. He said:

"Our economic and industrial advance, the gearing of our production and our plans to greater endeavour and larger and speedier results, which will enable the country to make available to itself the means and the resources for modern defence and, at the same time, help the nation to become strong and disciplined, can alone render her secure."

Both for security as well as for economic prosperity, planning and economic developmental activity are essential. To this end, we have embarked on a series of Five Year Plans.

The First Plan, if I might recall to the memory of the House, had a limited objective of achieving production standards or production norms that were stabilised in 1939, both in food as well as in industry. This production had gone down because of the ravages of war. That had to be built up to that level as a starting point. That was the limited objective of the First Five Year Plan, and that Plan more than achieved that objective.

The Second Plan had a more ambitious objective, namely, to create some basic economies in our country, to

build up basic industries, to achieve greater results in food production, to create technical know-how in the country and to organise a statistical organisation which would be useful for gathering facts and figures in the country, which could be used for planning in the future. All these objectives, and all these tasks in the Second Five Year Plan have been achieved or are in the process of being achieved. This Plan was described by Shri C. D. Deshmukh as a 'threshold Plan', because it had to build up certain organisations, and certain results had to be achieved in order to embark on real planning, which was to start from the Third Five Year Plan. All these tasks are now being performed, and we are about to embark on the Third Five Year Plan which is supposed to be real planning. That is to say, after the preliminary and basic things have been achieved, the Third Five Year Plan will, at the end of the Plan period, provide the country with what is called a self-generating economy, that is, at the end of the Plan, the economy would have been geared up to such a pitch that it would not be necessary for us to depend on foreigners or any other country, both for resources as well as for technical know-how. That is the meaning of the self-generating economy that is to be established at the end of the Third Five Year Plan. The time for what is called economic take-off will come at the end of the Third Five Year Plan, and this end we are trying to pursue to the best of our ability.

When such an ambitious planning has to be undertaken, naturally, the nation will have to be prepared for a large number of sacrifices. We have heard criticism in the country and also in this House that Government, in pursuing their policies, have been bleeding the nation white without realising that planning of such gigantic magnitude cannot be undertaken without calling for adequate sacrifices from the nation. Therefore, it should be the endeavour of every individual in this House and of every organised party in this country to give a call to

the nation to make any number of sacrifices in order to create a self-generating economy in our country.

Therefore, I take this opportunity to appeal to hon. Members to have that view in mind always and not to criticise Government in a destructive way, but always to offer suggestions for the smooth flow of events that can produce results.

Having said this, I would like to refer to another point arising out of another issue that has been referred to by the President in his gracious Address, and that unfortunately is the weakest link in our economic chain, that is, the food scarcity and the food production. It has been noticed for a very long time, and several committees and commissions have considered this problem, that so long as there is a deficit in our country, and our production does not go up rapidly, whatever we do towards the development of our economy will not bear results. That is so because a large quantity or a large portion of our resources will have to go abroad to buy food for our needs. At the same time, it has been estimated that the overall shortage of food is only of the order of 10 per cent. Also it has been said that the productivity *per capita* as well as the productivity *per acre* in our country are about the lowest. Putting all these facts together, it can be seen that from a low productivity standard, if we can increase our production just by 10 per cent., we would have met our present food shortage, and perhaps the future will take care of itself. Now, it seems to be rather an enigmatic proposition that we are unable to produce 10 per cent. more of food. Several solutions have been offered to produce this little increase in food or to bridge this small gap, but nothing seems to have happened so far. Still our agriculture is a gamble in the monsoon, as it has been for several centuries. It is an unfortunate thing that we are not able to make an effort in this direction. However, it has been stated by several people that if only our crop protection

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measures are adequate, without thinking of additional production, without thinking of better means of cultivation—by the mere fact of protecting the food crops that have already been raised in the country—it is possible to achieve this 10 per cent. increase in production. We have known that a lot of grain is spoiled or destroyed every year by pests, weeds and other things. When we go round the Agricultural Exhibition here, we find in the stalls of most of the advanced countries several chemicals, several instruments that are being used in those countries for crop-protection. In our country, if any pest or weed destroys the crop, there is no remedy at all; the agriculturists will have to depend entirely on fate or on God Almighty. There is no systematic or scientific method of crop protection.

Of course, the difficulty of the Central Government is that food production is mostly in the hands of the States. Even so, technical know-how is to be provided by the Centre and it is time that we discovered cheap insecticides, fungicides, weedicides and all sorts of chemicals. I am sure the Government will address themselves to this problem and remove this weak link, which would strengthen our economy and ultimately produce results which, I am sure, will be stunning.

Next to food production, another weak link in our chain of economy is administration. Several Commissions and Committees have gone into the question. Foreign experts have been consulted and certain suggestions have been offered. But all have basically accepted the structure of administration that we have today and sought to make some rectifications here and there. Unless and until it is possible to change completely the system of administration, it would not be possible for us to even tinker with the problem. The hard steel core of the administration is a thing which resists every effort towards its improvement. That has been the experience of several politicians and administrators.

Therefore, I had on one occasion in the past suggested here the suspension of recruitment to the so-called All India Services, which is working very harmful to the needs of our country. It was my submission at that time—and it is my view even now—that the administration of All India Services should be suspended. We should, instead, introduce what is called the career principle in the method of recruitment, that is to say, the recruitment is made at a comparatively lower level and people should be given opportunity for promotion by virtue of their merit only. What happens today is that as soon as the recruits taken into the All India Services are appointed, they 'retire', so to say, because their security of tenure is assured, their salaries are looked after by mere efflux of time and it is not necessary for them to put in any special effort or impress anybody for promoting their own future. That is why whenever an I.A.S. officer or I.P.S. officer or any other Central Government servant, who has been directly recruited, is appointed, he 'retires'; he looks forward only to the periodical promotions that take place, and his heart is really not on the job.

Therefore, incentives will have to be provided; this can be done only if the promotions are pegged on or judged by, the performance of individual officers. That would be possible only if recruitment is made at a lower level and every recruit who gets appointed has a large and wide field to look to. As it is, people who are appointed at a lower level have now nothing to look forward to; they can at best become Class II officers. Class I officers are directly recruited and do not bother about their future; by mere efflux of time, they get positions of responsibility to which they are, in my opinion, absolutely ill-fitted. That is so because they have absolutely no experience of, or contact with, the people. The decisions they are called upon to take on very vital issues within the four walls of a room are hardly

practical and applicable in every-day experience. Therefore, though their decisions look brilliant on paper, when it comes to actual application, they are found to be very much wanting. Therefore, as I said, the next weak link in the chain of our developmental activity and our endeavours is the administration, which needs a very great deal of attention. The President has made a reference to this also, and I am grateful to him for that.

The question of oil has been referred to by the President at some length in his Address. In the present context, oil is of vital significance to any country. We have known that oil has been the cause of several revolutions in various countries of the world. Fortunately for us, the discoveries of oil in our country have from the beginning been under the control and guidance of Government. Even today, most of the oil resources in our country, the oil fields, are being exploited under governmental auspices; not only that, even the discoveries are made under the direct control of Government. That is a very happy development, although in the recent months some concessions have been made in order to effect rapid development of the oil resources. However, I am sure the Government's control over oil will continue for ever and we shall not let things drift, as they did drift in the Middle East countries, and political influences will not be allowed to be felt in our country by some oil combines.

These are some of the things that have been referred to in the President's Address. There are several other problems, political and economic issues, that have been alluded to by the President. My hon. colleague, Shri Ansar Harvani, will, I am sure, deal with some of them and my other colleagues will deal with others.

Therefore, it remains for me only to conclude. Once again, I thank the President for the very excellent Ad-

dress that he delivered to Parliament, in fact the best Address that has been delivered to Parliament since the birth of the Republic. All the aspirations, endeavours and dreams of the people are very aptly summed up by the President in one sentence which I would like to quote. The Address has been concluded by the President in these words:

"My Government seeks to uphold the dignity and independence of our land and people, to promote our unity and social well-being, and to build a democratic and socialist society in which progress is sought and attained by peaceful means and by consent."

These are the words which require to be remembered by every single Member of this House—not only by every Member of this House but by every single citizen of this country. And, if these words can be etched in our hearts permanently, it is possible to progress fast and on a massive scale which will give the greatest happiness to our country and to our people.

श्री अन्सार हरवानी (फतेहपुर) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह मेरा सौभाग्य है कि मैं आज धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिये आपके सामने उपस्थित हुआ हूँ। इस देश का यह सौभाग्य है कि आज इस देश के राष्ट्रपति, आज स्वतंत्र भारत के राष्ट्रपति, भारत के पहले राष्ट्रपति एक ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं जोकि स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में हिन्दुस्तान के सेनापति भी रह चुके हैं। उन्होंने अपने भाषण में, उन्होंने अपने व्याख्यान में न सिर्फ यह बताया है कि पिछले सालों में यहां के मंत्रिमंडल ने, हमारे प्रधान मंत्री के नेतृत्व में कितनी प्रगति की है, बल्कि हमारे सामने वह एक चित्र भी पेश किया है जोकि हिन्दुस्तान के सामने आने वाला है जिस में हिन्दुस्तान प्रगति करने वाला है।

[श्री अन्सार हरवानी]

उन्होंने सब से पहले अपने व्याख्यान में सीमा पर चीन द्वारा किये गये आक्रमण का जिक्र किया है और इस आक्रमण को उन्होंने विस्वासघात के शब्द से पुकारा है। उन्होंने कहा है कि चीन ने हमारी सीमाओं पर आक्रमण कर के हमारे साथ विस्वासघात किया है। चीन और हिन्दुस्तान के सम्बन्ध बहुत प्राचीन सम्बन्ध हैं, चीन की और हमारी मित्रता एक प्राचीन मित्रता थी और आज भी हमारे हृदयों में चीन के लिये प्रेम की भावना है। जब से चीन में एक बहुत बड़ी क्रान्ति हुई है तब से उसने बड़ी प्रगति की है और उसकी इस प्रगति को देखकर हमको खुशी होती है और होती थी। आज भी हम चाहते हैं कि चीन प्रगति के पथ पर अग्रसर हो ताकि उसके साथ सारे एशिया की प्रगति हो सके। लेकिन जब चीन ने आक्रमण किया तो उसके कारण हमारे हृदयों में तथा हमारे देश में एक गुस्से की लहर दौड़ गई और उसके कारण हमारे दिलों में बेचैनी पैदा हुई। परन्तु हमारे प्रधान मंत्री के सामने इसका मुकाबला करने के तीन रास्ते थे, एक रास्ता तो यह था कि हम अपने घुटने टेक कर समझौता कर लेते, दूसरा रास्ता यह था कि हम वार्तालाप के लिये तैयार होते और तीसरा रास्ता यह था कि हम युद्ध करते। मैं पृच्छना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इस देश में कोई भी ऐसा व्यक्ति है, कोई भी ऐसा नर अथवा नारी है जो कि यह समझता है कि जब तक इस देश का नेतृत्व वीर जवाहरलाल के हाथों में है, जब तक हमारे प्रधान मंत्री वीर जवाहरलाल हैं हमारा देश कभी भी किसी भी देश के सामने चाहे वह कितना ही ताकतवर या शक्तिशाली क्यों न हो, घुटने टेक दे। यह ना-मुमकिन है। दूसरा रास्ता हमारे प्रधान मंत्री के सामने वार्तालाप का था। हम सब जानते हैं कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने वार्तालाप की शिक्षा पूज्य राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी के चरणों में बैठ कर ली थी

और उन्हीं के कदमों पर, उन्हीं के रास्ते पर, उन्हीं द्वारा दिखाये गए मार्ग पर वह आज भी चल रहे हैं। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने पूरी चेष्टा की, पूरी कोशिश की, उनकी पूरी चेष्टा यह रही भी है कि चीन के साथ बातचीत द्वारा कोई समझौता हो जाए और वार्तालाप से मामला निपट जाए। वह वार्तालाप, आप जानते ही हैं, एक तरफा नहीं हो सकता। हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने व्याख्यान में एकतरफा कार्रवाई की निन्दा की है। हम वार्तालाप करने के लिए तैयार हैं लेकिन वह वार्तालाप एकतरफा नहीं हो सकता। हम आशा करते हैं कि वह दिन दूर नहीं है कि चीन जो हमारा मित्र था और जिसके लिए आज भी हमारे दिल में मित्रता की भावना है और इस आक्रमण के बावजूद भी बनी हुई है, वह हमारी मिसाल से, हमारी बातों से प्रभावित हो कर इसके लिए तैयार हो जाएगा कि हम से किसी किस्म का समझौता कर ले ताकि सीमाओं पर आक्रमण के कारण हमारे हृदयों और हमारे दिलों में जो दुःख और रंज पैदा हुआ है, वह दूर हो सके।

इसी व्याख्यान में हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने पाकिस्तान के साथ सीमायी विवादों के बारे में हुए समझौते का भी जिक्र किया है। कुछ दिनों की बात है कि सीमाओं पर पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारे काफी झगड़े होते थे और उस वक्त भी हमारे देश में और हमारे देश के बाहर कुछ व्यक्ति ऐसे थे जो समझते थे कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री शक्तिशाली तरीके से कार्रवाई नहीं कर रहे हैं, सख्त रवैया नहीं ले रहे हैं, कमजोरी दिखा रहे हैं। हमको यह भी याद है कि कुछ दिन पहले पाकिस्तान के अक्सर प्रधान मंत्री अपने घूसे और अपनी मुट्ठी हमको दिखाया करते थे और हमारे दिलों में भी यह ख्याल आता था कि हम भी मुट्ठी और घूसे से उनका जबाब

दें। लेकिन राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी के मार्ग पर हम चले और चल रहे हैं जिन्होंने हमें घूसा और मुट्ठी दिखाना नहीं सिखाया है। हमने प्रेम से इन समस्याओं को हल करने की कोशिश की है, और हमारे प्रेम की बदौलत ही वे हमारे करीब आए हैं और जहां तक सीमाओं का मसला था उनके बारे में हमारा उनके साथ समझौता हो गया है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि अगर हमारा यही रवैया रहा, हमारा यही तरीका रहा, इसी मार्ग पर हम चलते रहे तो अपने प्यारे नेता प्रधान मंत्री श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू के नेतृत्व में हमें वह दिन भी देखने को मिलेगा जबकि काश्मीर के मामले में पाकिस्तान हमारे सामने अपनी गलती को मान लेगा और काश्मीर की जिस भूमि पर उसने कब्जा किया है उसकी एक एक इंच भूमि को खाली करके वह चला जाएगा।

एक और चीज जिसका राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने व्याख्यान में जिक्र किया है वह साउथ अफ्रीका के बारे में है। उन्होंने कहा है कि यह दौराहते हुए हमें खेद और रंज होता है कि आज से नहीं बल्कि बरसों से वहां के सफेद मालिक एक काला कानून लागू किए हुए हैं। हमने यू० एन० ओ० और दूसरी जगहों में बहुत कोशिश की है कि उस काले कानून को खत्म करवा दें और आज भी हमारी वह कोशिश जारी है। हम दुनिया के दूसरे मुल्कों से प्रार्थना करते हैं, दूसरे मुल्कों से अपील करते हैं और खास तौर से अपने कामनवैलथ के मुल्कों से अपील करते हैं कि वे साउथ अफ्रीका वालों को समझावें कि वे काले कानून को खत्म कर दें ताकि दुनिया में एक अच्छी संस्कृति की मिसाल कायम हो सके।

अभी चन्द दिनों की बात है कि अमरीका के राष्ट्रपति हमारे मुल्क में आए थे। अभी-अभी रूस के प्रधान मंत्री

यहां आए और वहां के राष्ट्रपति भी आए थे। यह एक अजीब मिसाल है, शायद हिन्दुस्तान ही एक ऐसा मुल्क है दुनिया के अनेक मुल्कों में, जिसमें एक ही प्लेटफार्म पर श्री खुश्चेव और अमरीका के राष्ट्रपति बैठ सकते हैं। हमारी बहुत दिनों से योजना रही, हमारी बहुत दिनों से चेष्टा रही, हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी की यह पूरी कोशिश रही कि दुनिया में शान्ति कायम रहे और दुनिया के ऊपर ठंडी लड़ाई की जो घनघोर घटायें छाई हुई थीं, जो ठंडी लड़ाई चल रही थी, वह बन्द हो। ऐसे वक्त में उन्होंने पंचशील का एक पैगाम दुनिया को दिया। उस पैगाम पर बहुत से लोग हंसे और साथ ही साथ बहुत से लोगों ने उसको स्वीकार किया और बहुतों ने स्वीकार नहीं भी किया। लेकिन हमने देखा कि वह वक्त आ गया है जबकि अमरीका तथा रूस दोनों ही इस पंचशील को, इस पंचशील के पैगाम को मानने के लिए तैयार हो गए हैं और इसी पंचशील के पैगाम का यह नतीजा हुआ है कि थोड़े ही दिनों में एक सम्मिट कांफ्रेंस होने जा रही है। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री, हमारे मंत्रिमंडल और इस संसद् की कोशिशों का यह नतीजा है कि दुनिया में जो घनघोर घटायें लड़ाई की छाई हुई थीं, वे फटने वाली हैं, लड़ाई का डर दूर होने वाला है और हम अपनी कोशिशों से उस जमाने को देख सकेंगे जबकि विश्व में शान्ति के सम्बन्ध कायम हो सकेंगे, शान्ति का साम्राज्य स्थापित हो सकेगा और युद्ध का स्वाब एक पुराना स्वाब हो सके और हम कह सकें कि युद्ध एक पुरानी चीज हो गई है और अब आगे कभी भी दुनिया में युद्ध नहीं होगा।

यह तो मुझे अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मामलों के बारे में कहना था। जहां तक राष्ट्रीय मामलों का सम्बन्ध है, उसके बारे में भी राष्ट्रपति जी ने बहुत कुछ रोशनी डाली

[श्री अन्सार हरवती]

है। साथ ही साथ मेरे मित्र श्री विश्वनाथ रेड्डी ने धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करते हुए इसके बारे में काफी कुछ कहा है। मैं कुछ अधिक कहना नहीं चाहता हूँ। एक दो बातों का मैं जिक्र करना चाहूँगा। हमारे माननीय मित्र ने आर्डिनेंस फ़ैक्ट्रीज का जिक्र किया है। हम सब जानते हैं कि एक जमाना था जबकि हिन्दुस्तान गुलाम था और उस जमाने में फौजों के लिए छोटी से छोटी चीज भी, यहां से सात हजार मील की दूरी से लाई जाती थी। तब हम गुलाम थे। उस वक्त कोशिश यह रहती थी कि कोई भी फौजी माल इस देश में न बन सके। लड़ाई के जमाने में मजबूरी की हालत में, जर्मनी के हवाई जहाजों के डर की वजह से यहां पर कुछ कारखाने कायम हुए थे। मगर उसके बाद उनमें से बहुत से कारखाने बन्द हो गए, बहुत से टूट गए, बहुतों ने काम करना बन्द कर दिया और जो कुछ चालू रहे भी उनमें बहुत कम उन्नति हुई। अब खुशी की बात है कि इन कारखानों में पूरी चेष्टा की जा रही है कि थोड़े से दिनों में वह तमाम फौजी माल तैयार हो जिसकी जरूरत न सिर्फ फौजों को ही रहती है बल्कि जिसकी जरूरत हमारी सिविलियन पापुलेशन को भी होती है, हमारे नागरिकों को भी रहती है। इसको देखकर बड़ी खुशी होती है और हम आशा करते हैं कि आने वाले सालों में इन कामों में और प्रगति होगी।

हमारे मित्र ने आयल एंड गैस कमिशन का भी जिक्र किया है। आयल एंड गैस कमिशन ने जो कार्य किया है, उसको देख कर भी बड़ी खुशी होती है। मैं धन्यवाद देता हूँ उन तमाम देशों को जिन देशों ने मदद की है हमारे देश की ताकि हम इस देश में तेल निकाल सकें और मैं उन तमाम देशों को संसद् की

तरफ से धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हमारी चेष्टाओं से, हमारी कोशिशों से हमें वह दिन देखने को मिलेगा, वह दिन दूर नहीं होगा जबकि हिन्दुस्तान को दूसरे मुल्कों से तेल लेने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी और इतना ही नहीं बल्कि हम अपने पड़ोसी मुल्कों को भी तेल दे सकेंगे।

ये चन्द बातें कहने के बाद मैं राष्ट्रपति जी को उनके व्याख्यान के लिए रखे गए धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ और प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि उन्होंने जो स्वाब हिन्दुस्तान की उन्नति का, हिन्दुस्तान की प्रगति का हमारे सामने पेश किया है, वह पूरा हो।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

"That the Members of the 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 8th February, 1960".

I find that there are over 200 amendments to the Motion on Address by the President. I would, therefore, request hon. Members who wish to move their amendments to please hand in at the Table within 15 minutes a slip intimating the numbers of the amendments about which they might be very particular or serious and which they would like to move. Such of them as are in order would be treated as having been moved.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta—Central): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, ten years have been completed of the life of the Republic of India, and it would certainly have been legitimate to expect an inspiring Address from the President. But, Sir, I fear, in spite of what my hon. friend, Shri Viswanatha Reddy has said, his advisers have done

a humdrum job of it and Parliament goes into its labours with that spirit which only a long-sighted and large-hearted approach can bring about.

It is a good thing that at least in one matter wisdom has dawned at long last and Bombay State is to be bifurcated into Maharashtra and Gujarat. Even this, I fear, is being done gracelessly and inefficiently, and it will not be easy to forget how the people's passion for the legitimate objective of a linguistic State of their own was answered in 1956 by intensive police firing, firing in order to kill, in Bombay and Ahmedabad.

Even now, Sir, there is callous indifference towards potentially inflammatory disputes in regard to the boundary between Bombay and Mysore or the desire of neglected Orissa for the rectification of her boundaries. In these matters, I feel, Government is incapable of principled conduct and acts only when it is compelled to, when its obstinacy can no longer be sustained; it is a bad thing to contemplate as our Republic completes its first decade.

I was not surprised to see the President begin with a reference to trouble over our border with China, but I was more than a little surprised to note the language used. There is no question that unilateral action to alter our frontiers cannot be tolerated. There is no question, also, that if the country's integrity and honour is imperilled, we must all with our determination defend it. But, "breach of faith" is a strong term and an ugly term to use, when everyone desires a settlement and the President himself stresses a possible approach by negotiation.

Shri Goray (Poona): Is it uglier than the deed?

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I know the Prime Minister has said in the Rajya Sabha that there is no room for negotiations at present, the reason being—I quote his words—that "we feel let down by China". The Prime Minister,

however, recovered himself to some extent, and he says that there should be no talk of ultimus etc., which are not worthy of responsible and mature countries.

Sir, to feel let down and to slam the door of negotiations is surely not the way that a country like India should set about things. It is only the enemies of India and China who want the two countries to continue to be at loggerheads, and the Prime Minister knows it well enough, when even Moscow and Washington can try to shake hands across the globe, when China's disputes with Burma and Indonesia, both serious enough, can be settled by negotiation, there is no reason why the Prime Minister should not shed his allergy, which I do hope is very temporary, in regard to negotiation.

I am positive the country wants the Prime Minister to go ahead and to show that the principles of Panchsheel are strong enough to surmount whatever obstacles have unhappily accumulated. I do not claim to know the working of Congress mind, but now that the Congress have garnered the gains of the Kerala elections, is it so very necessary to keep alive China's spectre in the old way, or is it being done in order to have an instrument handy to keep down the working people, brandish the big stick against agitation for food and for democratic rights. The Government's decisions, which were expounded so characteristically by my hon. friend, the Finance Minister a little while ago, on the Pay Commission's Report, gave an ugly indication of this trend. But is this fair to the people, and is this necessary today in the country in its interests?

In regard to Kerala, where the President had taken over the administration and directed the conduct of the elections, much I fear will have to be said, but I leave that to be said by my hon. friend, Shri Gopalan who was actually there and who has seen so many things that took place. Let the Congress jubilate over its victory. We

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

have been beaten, and we know it well, but we know also that we are secure in the affections of our people there, and we know that the victory of a combination, which was at one only in their hatred of the Communist Party, will soon have a boomerang effect.

A question here on the 10th August last year elicited the information that last year in four months' time Rs. 3·70 crores came from abroad to foreign missionaries in India. A very large proportion of them are in Kerala, where the Catholic hierarchy during the elections contemptuously disregarded the Constitution of the country, struck at the foundations of our secular State, sometimes even violated the secrecy of the confession and openly threatened the supporters of the Communist Party and other people with excommunication and similar religious penalties. These were the people who joined in hands with the rejuvenated Muslim League and the enemies of the Congress's own ideals about a socialist pattern of society and land reform and all that, brought victory at the polls to gladden the Congress hearts. I do not grudge them their joy, but I warn them that very probably it will be short-lived.

Sir, on the Government's decisions on the Pay Commission's Report, the President's advisers have given us no satisfaction, and Shri Morarji Desai has only added fuel to the fire of discontent in the country. The Prime Minister has a very special responsibility in the matter, because it was on his own personal intervention that in 1957 large sections of the Central Government employees desisted from direct action, and now they have been fobbed off with decisions that are extraordinary, to put it very mildly. I need not go into the details of what have already been said in the discussion on the Pay Commission's Report, but I wish to say this, is this the way of getting public servants to put their hearts into the nation's work?

The Government talks about workers' participation in the management of industry as a principle which they have accepted, but far from including such categories as the P. & T. and the L.I.C., which are mature for such participation, it gives pin-pricks and blows of the sort that have just fallen. It has also been our fate to have to listen to the Finance Minister's sermon a little while earlier, and he told us how it behoves the Government servants to set an example to the rest of the country. Sir, I do believe that we should all try to behave so that our conducts are unexceptionable. If he says X, Y or Z has to set an example to others, as an abstract proposition it is going to be all right, but I should imagine that charity usually ought to begin at home.

Sir, I have no desire to refer to this kind of thing, but I find here—I do have a habit of collecting some of the information elicited during the Question Hour—that on the 18th of March, 1959, in answer to an Unstarred Question No. 2086, the Finance Minister told us that exclusive of salary, the total amount booked in the eight months between April and November 1958 was Rs. 7,44,039 as allowances, etc. to Ministers and Deputy Ministers at the Centre and that the amount did not cover medical expenditure. I know also from another question answered on the 19th November, 1958, that Ministers and Deputy Ministers' tours cost the country between Rs. 6½ lakhs to Rs. 8½ lakhs every year. When this is the kind of personal behaviour in regard to the expenditure of the country's monetary resources, if this is the standard set by our Ministers, it is rather paradoxical, it is rather hypocritical—I should think, for Ministers to come forward and ask the Central Government employees, most of whom get less than Rs. 100 a month and I do not know how they make good with that amount—and it is rather sanctionious to tell them to set an example to the rest of the country. I know it is a problem to find resources but let us pose the problem properly.

Let us see that sacrifices, if we demand sacrifices, are distributed in that equitable manner which alone can release the moral spirit in which we can reconstruct our own country.

If the Government would make sure of the people's food and hold the price-line, something surely could be said for what Shri Desai has just told us. There the failure is chronic and egregious. It is well-known how recently there was a steep increase in the price of foodgrains in Calcutta even when the harvest has just come up as the result of the setting up of a composite food zone with West Bengal and Orissa. In September last year, scores of people died in West Bengal when the police fired to suppress an agitation for the lowering of food prices. In spite of Shri S. K. Patil's going about the country making merrily very glib pronouncements about the future, the Government will one day have to render accounts to the people.

Our target for the third Plan should be about 110 million tons of foodgrains and we cannot just afford Rs. 175 crores every year for imported foodgrains. No conceivable programme of import or rationing can meet the shortages that are certain if we do not proceed with land reform, with co-operative farming, with intensive insecticide campaigns and with emphasis on minor irrigation which is cheaper and which yields quicker results and absorbs the surplus rural labour.

Meanwhile, the Food Minister is dangling the carrot of food banks and no progress is even made on the recommendation of the Land Reform Panel of the Planning Commission. Of course, in a State like Kerala, enemies of the Congress's own stand on agrarian reforms come gleefully to power with the blessings of New Delhi.

I have noticed also how only this morning we were told through an adjournment motion about the reported death of five persons from starvation in the Mizo hills area. I saw in

a very anti-Communist paper, the *Hindusthan Standard*, some pictures of people in the Uttarbar area of the Mikir hills in Assam who are evicted from their homes and whose stock of paddy is being burnt down. This kind of thing goes on and we are hearing this sort of instructions, sermonizing, which come from Government.

The third Plan is in the offing and I wish that there is greater consultation with public interests at different levels before even the draft is outlined. The Prime Minister is committed to this. But somehow it does not happen except in a formal unsubstantial sense of a meeting here and a meeting there. The President does not hold out any hope that more economic burdens will not be put on the shoulders of the common man. Meanwhile, along with the good news like the emphasis on heavy industry which thanks to the socialist countries we are now setting up at least, there is the problem of finding sufficient finance for our schemes, and of repaying in the four years—1959-60 to 1963-64—a little over Rs. 434 crores on account of foreign loans, some of our benefactors like the World Bank sometimes charging as much as 6½ per cent. interest. This I discover from the answer to Starred Question No. 316, dated 25th November, 1959. Government, regardless of the difficulties and the danger, goes in rather freely even for foreign private capital operating in the country.

A little while ago, President Eisenhower said that India was a greatest investment opportunity of our time. The opportunity of these people, however, is our extremity. The other day, Shri K. M. Panikkar, raised his voice against foreign oil tycoons being permitted into our country. I have here a copy of the *Journal of Industry and Trade* of January, 1960 where it is reported that foreign private investment increased in our country in value from Rs. 256 crores about the middle of 1948 to Rs. 509 crores at the end of 1957, petroleum increasing from Rs. 22.3 crores to Rs. 133.8 crores. I know the Finance Minister

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welcomes this kind of thing, but nonetheless it is a danger to the country and the sooner we can scotch it the better.

I am not suggesting—let me not be misunderstood and later hauled over the coals—that we should freeze the foreign assets just as Ghana has just done in regard to the French assets as a gesture of protest against the scandalous explosion of an atomic bomb in Africa by France, but we must find out and apply ways and means for safeguarding our own economic interests against the grimly infiltrating foreign private investor.

I know some of our difficulties are very real and solutions are not easy but if Government put first things first so much could be done especially for land reforms and a long term solution of our food production problem; so much also would take place if only Government showed a certain generosity, a certain quality of imagination.

I give an example of how things take place. Recently, there was a mining disaster in Madhya Pradesh, the Damuah colliery, where 16 miners were drowned. Government said the court of enquiry has not been set up. There is so much delay consequent upon the bureaucratic procedures which are adopted even in our country at the present moment. So, if there was that quality of imagination so much can be done quite easily and the country would applaud them.

I cannot believe, for example, that consistently with our stand in international relations, we cannot take some steps here and now for hastening the *de jure* absorption of Pondicherry in our Republic. I give that as one example of something which we can do. France does not seem to care a tinker's curse and the humiliation of our people having to wait on outmoded French judicial pro-

cesses and other undesirable things can easily be stopped. Recently, the Pondicherry Assembly passed a resolution unanimously on the 18th November, 1959, where it wanted that steps should be taken here and now to see that *de jure* transfer of the former French possessions in India is made a fact and recently, there have been such cases as the leader of the opposition in Pondicherry State having been sentenced according to some outmoded processes of French jurisprudence. And then he made an appeal, but that appeal has to be heard in France, and therefore, the whole paradoxical phenomenon of an Indian citizen having to go to France in order to pursue his rights as a citizen is taking place. Another case there is also of an opposition M.L.A. in Pondicherry who is in something like the same predicament. I do believe that if the Prime Minister applies his mind to it for a short while, ways and means can be discovered and if France cannot find time to finalise the *de jure* cession of her territories in India to ourselves, we can at least make sure that our citizens are not subjected to the humiliations of having to go to France's Supreme Court, to Cassation or something in France, in order to have their appeals heard.

In regard to other matters also, internal administration could be done here and now. Some steps could certainly be taken straightaway to fight corruption in high places. It is a pity that the Prime Minister who once wanted to light the glow of freedom in people's hearts and said he would like to hang profiteers and blackmarketers from the nearest lamp-posts, has become so respectable and legalistic and when a former colleague of the eminence of Shri Chintaman Deshmukh, who still holds a very important post in the country, suggested a tribunal for investigating charges against highly-placed persons, he could only find excuses against it.

I want to make it clear that nobody wants a witch-hunt; nobody wants a sort of Indian MacArthyism of a different sort. For anything, it only means a slinging of mud and demoralising public life and the services, but when charges are made by responsible people they must not be hushed up. I want, in answer to the discussion of the President's Address, the Government to come forward and say that they are not going to hush up charges, once they are made by responsible people, only by taking recourse to legalistic stratagems of arguments which are unworthy of Ministers in socialist India.

Shri Tyagi: But charges are not made.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: That is why I said that it is very important: that we could do something but yet we do not do it. If you just cannot have a permanent tribunal, have an *ad hoc* tribunal or you have a lot of legal ingenuity to find out some ways and means out of this difficult position. But for God's sake, do something to show to our people that conduct that is reprehensible, that is unethical and that militates against the interests of the country must not go unpunished.

The President has told us that Government intends to introduce a number of legislative proposals. I do not mind; legislating is our job in this place. But perhaps it is salutary to remember what the French statesman, Clemenceau, once said about the good Gods being satisfied with Ten Commandments, but modern legislatures produce a plethora of Acts. So, more important than proliferation of legislation is the injection of a new spirit in the administration and in the country, which alone can enable us to go ahead in a manner worthy of our people. But my fear is my abjurations in that regard would fall, as far as Government is concerned, on stony soil.

I regret, Sir, that on account of these circumstances, I cannot enthuse over the Address that the President's advisers have put in his mouth.

Shri Asoka Mehta (Muzaffarpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, associating myself with the resolution of vote of thanks to the President for his Address, I would like to make some observations and also some reservations. There is a general feeling that the international climate has improved and there is no doubt that there has been a certain amount of relaxation of tensions the world over, though unfortunately there have been developments across our frontier, which make it difficult for us to have the full benefit of this relaxation. This relaxation has come about particularly because of a welcome change in the attitudes and the postures of some of the leading statesmen of the world.

But the question is, can we bank upon this improved climate or there is a likelihood of the world moving back into the shadows once again? Streaks of light, there undoubtedly are, but I am afraid that the grim shadow still hovers in the background. Only recently France exploded the atom bomb and has qualified to join the nuclear club. What its repercussions will be on the very thorny problem of disarmament, which seems to have defied any kind of solution for 10 years and more, remains to be seen. Whether firm distension can be expected to last unless some of the stubborn political problems are resolved and unless in the key continent of the world, i.e., Europe, some security arrangement is made, which will be acceptable to both sides—these are all important and significant question marks that elude us today.

These questions are important for us, because we should not look at our future in the belief that world tensions have relaxed, that we can count upon goodwill all-round and we have only to bother about straightening out our difficult problems at home, because the rest of the world is in a

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beneficent mood. I hope, and I wish profoundly, that the rest of the world may put itself in that position, but as things stand, we are confronted by question marks. Some wit has said that the world today faces a 'frozen thaw'. There is freeze and there is thaw, side by side. Which particular element will succeed, which particular state will ultimately triumph, future alone can show.

In this spell of relief that we are enjoying, I believe, it is our responsibility and it provides us with an opportunity, to draw the friendly neighbouring countries of Asia closer together. I have been surprised at the attitude that the Prime Minister has been taking up on this question both in the Parliament and in the meetings of his party outside. He seems to feel that India is trying to line up with some countries. I thought we were opposed to lining up with power blocs and big powers. But surely there can be closer association with neighbouring countries. Whether Pakistan should be included or not is a different matter; that problem needs to be studied very seriously and thoroughly. But there are many countries round about us—I will not mention them, because the Prime Minister seems to get disturbed whenever any particular country is mentioned—but is it not necessary that we try to bring these countries closer together, taking advantage of this changed climate in the world today, so that in matters economic, matters cultural, matters political and matters of defence, we may be able to work out a common strategy?

The Prime Minister is in the habit of reminding us that we should look at what is happening in the world today, that we should realise that the world is changing and we should not remain rooted to our old ways. May I beg of the Prime Minister to tell us why he does not look at what is happening in the world, in Europe and to a lesser extent in Africa and Latin America today? *Supra-national* and

multi-national organisations and institutions are coming up. There is a constant effort to think of different nations coming together and working out co-operatively a common destiny for themselves!

There are countries round about us whose policies do not differ from our policies. One may put a question mark regarding Pakistan, but there are other countries round about us. Are we justified in allowing them to get petrified in isolation? Is it not our responsibility to get them together? Whenever any kind of co-operative approach is suggested, the Prime Minister seems to flare up. I believe this is not only an opportune moment for us to move in that direction, but this is a historic responsibility that we can ignore only at our peril. This is particularly necessary because of the difficult situation that has developed across our frontier. I am happy to find that the President has taken a serious note of what has happened and has not hesitated to use right expressions in characterising the situation.

While we are happy as far as that is concerned, I do not know what will happen after the snows have melted, after winter yields place, as it inevitably must, to summer. Whether there will be any further incursions of our frontier and if that happens, what we propose to do is a matter which we can leave to Government. But there is one fact. Our territory has been occupied and I believe it is our responsibility to see that that territory is vacated. There can be no question of negotiating with the Chinese till the territory is vacated. I hope that that position which has been taken up, which is a very sound position and the only position that we can take up, will be adhered to. But even if no negotiations are started, is it not our responsibility constantly to try to see that the area that is occupied, the territories that have been occupied at various places, are vacated?

Secondly, we have been told that negotiations will not take place unless

proper conditions are satisfied and the conditions are obvious. They have been discussed in this House over and over again, viz., that the territories that have been occupied illegally and forcibly by the Chinese have to be vacated and that the MacMahon line has to be accepted as the frontier between our two countries. It is only on that basis that any question of minor rectification can be discussed. While that is obvious, I hope, because of the pressure that is being exerted from this side—they may be very few in the House and in the country, but they have a fairly strong volume of opinion in the world—and, therefore, I hope under this pressure we will not rush us into any kind of meeting with the authorities in China. Our Prime Minister should not rush into meetings with the Prime Minister of China. There are normal diplomatic channels, which should be used, which should be fully used. None of us has suggested so far that the diplomatic relations with China should be cut off; we have not even said that we should desist, on the contrary, we would welcome every effort on the part of our Government to see that Peoples' China is seated in the United Nations. But any kind of premature meeting, unless the pre-conditions are satisfied, is likely to do great harm to the country. The Prime Minister has, on this question, been responsive to the public opinion; the Prime Minister has been kind enough and good enough to respond to the suggestions that have been made from this side of the House. May I, therefore, request the Prime Minister to let us know in clear terms that no talks whatsoever are envisaged at the summit level? Talks at a lower level is a different matter entirely, but the summit meetings between the two Prime Ministers can take place only when the pre-conditions are satisfied, and I believe that is implicit in what the President has said. As a matter of fact, as a result of the observations made by the Prime Minister in the other House, a number of newspapers have reached that conclusion. But I would like that the Prime Minister should make

a clear declaration so that in future we do not find ourselves working on interpretations which are divergent.

15 hrs.

The Prime Minister said in the other House that we should be very careful in criticising the Defence Minister; we should be very careful, because this is a very delicate situation today and at such a time we should weigh our words before we use them. He advised us:

"I am merely pointing out that such criticism should not be made lightly, because it has repercussions outside the country. It weakens the apparatus with which we deal. It produces all kinds of confusion in the minds of those who are supposed to be outside the pale of normal politics—the Army etc."

I agree with the Prime Minister when he says that we should not use words before we weigh them. But does it not apply to the Defence Minister far more than it applies to us? Should he not weigh his words before he utters them? I am anxious to weigh my words before I utter them. But I ask: if he uses certain expressions, if he says certain things, should we hold the Prime Minister responsible for it? We do not criticise the individual Ministers where the policies of the Government as a whole are concerned. I have been using the name of the Prime Minister all the time, and some of my friends here are rather perturbed as to why I am referring to the Prime Minister so often. I am referring to the Prime Minister because he has asked us to refer to him all the time; we do it. But if a particular Minister makes a speech, or issues a statement, or goes on record saying something, are we not entitled to ask as to why he said that? Or is the mantle of protection thrown open to that person also?

The Prime Minister says that some people are allergic to the Defence

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Minister. I hope he will not include me in those who are deemed to be allergic. I beg of him to tell me, have we—my colleagues in this House and the other House—have anyone of us shown any allergy to the fifty and odd colleagues that he has in his Government? Have we been guilty of the allergy, of persistently pursuing any Minister just for the sake of discrediting him? I do not think. I can understand that this is a matter in which he feels deeply and profoundly. But he must concede that we also feel deeply and profoundly on the question of the defence of our country, on the question of the protection of our frontiers, on the question of the aggression that has taken place across our frontiers and, therefore, from time to time, we seek clarifications. And I do not think it would be legitimate to say that any kind of criticism that we make would be affecting the army, or helping or creating confusion in the country. No occasion should be given for criticism of that kind and if in spite of that we make criticism of that nature, then and then alone, I am prepared to accept the rebuke that the Prime Minister gave us in the other House.

Repeatedly, it has been pointed out—and the Prime Minister has been the strongest in its exposition—that economic development is the fundamental dimension of our defence, and I agree with him; in all humility I agree with him. Our defence ultimately is conditioned by the rate at which we are able to develop our economic strength, and it is here that I would like to invite his attention to the observations made by the present Governor of the Reserve Bank of India—I am not yet coming to what the former Governor had to say. The present Governor of the Reserve Bank of India said in Calcutta that the development efforts—I do not recollect his exact words—the purport of it was that the development efforts suffer because of blackmarketing and tax-evasion that goes on in the country. This is not an agitator saying,

this is not someone who has any kind of allergy towards the Government, this is a very distinguished administrator saying, who has as much responsibility for the health of our economy as anyone else can have in the country, and that is what he said.

Now, some of us feel that at the root of this blackmarketing and tax-evasion there is this problem of corruption. I hope the Prime Minister will concede this much to me that I am not one of those who have gone about shouting "corruption, corruption." I do not know,—he said those who talk most about corruption are most corrupt—I do not know for whom it was meant. As far as I am concerned, I have not talked about corruption, because I would want to talk about it only when I can produce evidence, concrete evidence. But the point is that in the country, go wherever you will, this is the kind of climate that exists.

My friend is missing, my handsome friend, Professor Mukerjee, he was today very fond of the word "ugly". I would say that this is an ugly climate in which we find ourselves. Now it is being suggested that we should have an anti-corruption authority, call it by any name you like, an independent body, and the Prime Minister has himself conceded the substance of it. But how far is he willing to go? He expressed his willingness to have the *prima facie* nature of the charges being inquired into by a highly-placed person and seek his advice on what should be done. He is willing, therefore, whenever concrete cases are brought to his attention, to seek and be guided by the advice of a highly-placed person. Now, our suggestion is that if there is an independent authority, surely that authority of the status and dignity of the Supreme Court or the Election Commission will not entertain any kind of flimsy or flippant charges. If serious evidence is brought to their attention, they will look into them, they will pursue the matter and the Government will be

benefited by that. If there had been no Election Commission, if the Home Ministry was looking after the organisation of the elections, I have no doubt in my mind that under Pantji the elections would have been very fair. But would everyone have agreed in the country? Would it not have put Pantji in a very awkward and difficult position? Because we have an independent Election Commission for ten years, now it is being realised and it is being universally recognized that the Election Commission's work is above suspicion.

Supposing we have an authority of that kind. Will it not strengthen the hands of the Government? If there is no corruption, as the Prime Minister feels, well, it will be proved and those who go about making false charges, like a depreciated currency will go out of circulation. If there is anything in the charges, they will be looked into, people will be punished and the whole atmosphere will be cleansed. Does the Prime Minister, who has already overburdened his shoulders, want the burden of having to decide which is a real case and which is not a real case?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): What are the charges? I want to know the charges.

Shri Asoka Mehta: I do not know.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Nobody knows. It is an extraordinary state of affairs.

Shri Asoka Mehta: The Prime Minister is not being fair to me. I have not said a word about his colleagues.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not accusing the gentleman of having said anything about my colleagues. But he talks so much about corruption. What are they, I want to know.

Shri Rajendra Singh (Chapra): Why should he lose his temper?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Asoka Mehta: I know the hon. Prime Minister is very busy. But he has at least 400 to 500 colleagues in his party. Let him ask of them whether it is not a common talk in the country today, not about his Cabinet colleagues, that there is corruption at all levels in the administration. It is no use convincing me. You have got to convince the people. Otherwise, your development efforts are not going to succeed.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not challenging the fact. The hon. Member is speaking in a pretty fairly loud voice and is repeating the word charges, charges again.

Shri Asoka Mehta: I cannot help my voice.

Shri Jawharlal Nehru: Not at all, we all put up with it. I am not objecting to it.

Shri Rajendra Singh: How did you respond?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am merely saying that—nobody is saying that everybody is virtuous in the country—as so much has been said, what are the charges. I am not talking about the petty charges. But, obviously everyone knows that when these things are referred to, they are referred not to average men in the street or to average men in the administration, but to Ministers including the higher level of Ministers and others. I should like to know and it is only fair for me to request the hon. Member, when he refers to it so much, to tell me as to what they are. It is an extraordinary state of affairs in this country that as the hon. Member says, and quite rightly, everybody is talking about it. Well, let us deal with that matter in the best way possible. But it is an extraordinary position that everybody talks about it without saying what it is.

Shri Asoka Mehta: I have no desire—it is not the forum nor is this the occasion—to discuss any specific charges. My whole point is that if the hon. Prime Minister's contention is that there is not a widespread feeling in the country that there is large-scale corruption in the administration, I have nothing to say if that is the information that he has received from the people. If there is this kind of a feeling, I say an authority of this type will help us to clear the air. If no *prima facie* evidence could be produced before such an authority, the hon. Prime Minister will be hundred times stronger when he gets up in the House and says, "Here is an independent authority and nothing has come out. Still, people shout when they talk about corruption." But he feels that these things are said about his authority. That is not being done. He gets involved into it. It embarrasses us and it embarrasses him. I think the whole embarrassment will disappear if an independent authority is accepted. It is not going to result in any kind of a witchhunt if the matter is thoroughly looked into.

Then, talking about development I do not know, because there is no reference to it in the President's Address, whether any outline of the Third Plan will be made available to us during this year. But whatever be the case—and I hope such an outline will be made available to us for discussion—the fact remains that we have not been able to Communicate to the people the social philosophy and the economic strategy behind our Plans. Again, very respectfully I would beg of the hon. Prime Minister to realise that the Third Plan with all the tremendous responsibility that we are going to undertake under it cannot be successfully pursued unless we are able to communicate to the people on an extensive scale the social philosophy and the economic strategy of the Plan. The social philosophy is an integral part of it as also the economic strategy. Planning results in benefits and burdens. These benefits

and burdens are not always evenly distributed. There are different sections of the people who for a little while may have certain benefits and may have to carry certain burdens. There is a kind of its own inner rhythm of the distribution of benefits and burdens. These are things in a democratic planning which ultimately have to be explained to the people.

I concede that the hon. Prime Minister has been doing a fine job of trying to explain. But the fact remains—I am concerned with the fact—that we have not been able to communicate and the adventure of the Third Plan will founder unless we are able, in the next two years, that are at our disposal, to overcome the obstacles in the communication and make the people of India feel, understand and respond to the sole adventure of social and economic transformation. It is here that much remains to be done.

When we come concretely to the economic situation, we find that perhaps because the observations that are made in the President's Address have to be inevitably brief, things are said which are not borne out by facts. In paragraph 12, the President has said about our industrial production. He said:

"This is an all-round increase to which all industries have contributed, but special mention may be made of the rise in the output of metallurgical industries."

It is true that industrial production has gone up and we are happy that we are able to move forward once again. But it is not true that all industries have contributed to it. Out of the 126 industries that are listed in Government publications, compared to the previous half year's production in 44 industries production has gone down and compared to the corresponding period of the last year in 32 industries production has gone down.

The industrial expansion suffers from two difficulties apart from any others. There are two main difficulties. The first is agricultural raw materials. I think our whole industrial production as our efforts at planning are being hamstrung. They are being hampered and hamstrung by our failure on the agricultural front. This is widely recognised. What is happening today in the cotton textile industry where I would like to compliment the industry as well as our Minister of Commerce and Industry for the remarkable and magnificent performance as far as our exports are concerned? Our exports have increased by about 200 million yards. But this export is suffering today because we are short of cotton. We are trying to keep our cotton textile industry going by importing today probably a million bales of cotton from abroad. This failure on the agricultural front prevents us from holding the price line, from pursuing the momentum that we have gained and from stepping up our exports abroad. The fine work that has been done for which we would compliment all concerned is being jeopardised because of this failure. The same thing has happened in jute. The same thing has happened in tea. The same thing has happened as far as sugar industry is concerned. Apart from foodgrains—we are all conscious about what is happening to our foodgrains—even in commercial crops it seems that we are allowing a hiatus to develop—a hiatus which will exact a terrible price out of us if we do not wake up in time.

In this connection, because very often we have been told what foreign experts have to say about our achievements, I personally feel that while we should consider whatever foreign experts may have to say on anything that we do we should not overrate what they say. May I, in this connection, invite attention to the observations of Professor Dumont? I am sure the hon. Prime Minister has seen it. Professor Dumont is an expert in agricultural matters and he visited India as a member of the United

Nations Commission for evaluating Community Development schemes in India. After visiting India and after studying this foreign expert has written what he calls *India's Agricultural Defeat*. He says:

"Hence all India's Development plans are in jeopardy; for they require first and foremost, large agricultural surpluses, in order to cut imports (25 million tons of cereals in the last ten years), increase exports (there is barely a trade balance in agricultural products), build up light industry (India imports cotton, copra and many useless items such as arak nuts); and improve the national diet and hence productivity."

Apart from this agricultural defeat, he goes further. I do not know how far we should accept his judgment. I am not inclined to accept it wholesale. But this is what he says:

"Can India achieve a real social revolution, abolishing castes and reducing the grosser inequalities, using non-Communist methods? It appears unlikely. Indeed, such methods are now largely discredited, as a result of the failure—which will soon be strikingly confirmed—of the Community Development scheme....."

Now, this is what foreign experts have to say. As I said, I do not accept what these foreign experts say always whole-heartedly. If they provide warnings, we should take notice of them. I do not accept the sweeping judgments. But the fact remains that with our Community Development programme as well as with our agricultural programme something is drastically wrong. This is a front in which we seem to feel defeated. Even the Mover of the Resolution said that these are weak links in the chain. What do we propose to do? This is not a debating point that I am raising, I am not trying to score any point. This is my country and I am as much concerned about it as the members of the Treasury Benches. What precisely do we propose to do about it? Or, do we merely say,

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when we pass a vote of thanks, that these are weak links in the chain? Unless these weak links are changed, the whole chain is not worth touching. It is the weak links which are ultimately going to determine the strength of the chain. We are entitled to ask the Prime Minister as to what precisely he proposes to do this year to see that these weak links will no longer remain weak. We want to know what administrative changes will be made, what organisational efforts will be made, what precisely will be done, what kind of attention, priority, importance, urgency, will be assigned to see that things are changed in 1960; and if they are not changed, those of us who may be responsible, those of us who may be impeding, who may have impeded, forging these links from weak to strong should be pulled up before the bar of the country and punished accordingly. Playing with the agricultural front today, in the manner in which it is being done is a crime against our future. I hope this problem will be taken up with the seriousness, the earnestness and the urgency which it requires, and if that is done, perhaps the next time the President's Address comes up, the Mover will not have to talk about weak links in the chain.

Then again about prices. I was looking up the prices and I find that only the prices of wheat and gram have gone down. The prices of rice, jowar, bajra, edible oil, sugar, gur, pulses, condiments, milk and ghee and cotton textiles have gone up. Why is it that we are unable to hold the price line anywhere? Take raw jute. It was sold by the agriculturist at Rs. 23 to Rs. 24 per maund, while very often the mills had to buy—I am only quoting Government figures—at Rs. 34 per maund. Can we not even stabilise the price in one single commodity? Has our administration become so ineffective that even in one single commodity we cannot work out successfully this whole programme of price stabilisation? If we cannot hold the price line anywhere, what will be

the result? Apart from food, there are many other commodities. After all, one has to learn the technique of holding the price line. Where are we going to learn that? If we are not going to experiment with this technique, if we are not going to master this technique even in areas and commodities where the work is comparatively easy, I do not know where we will do.

The last point I want to make is about the possibility of our producing nuclear power. I am very happy about it because, as I said, there are two main factors which are hampering our industrial production: one is agricultural raw material, and the other is power. It is a matter for gratification that to the fossil power and water power, we shall be able to add nuclear power. While congratulating all those who have been responsible for the remarkable progress that we have made in this direction, I would like to seek some clarification.

I do not understand this subject very much, but from what little I know I would like to find out—the President's Address says that, but I would like to be doubly sure—whether we are just now simultaneously engaged in the production of nuclear power as well as of nuclear fuel in our country, because I am told that the cost of production will depend upon whether we take up the production of fuel also simultaneously. The production of fuel depends upon both the method and the volume of securing the fuel domestically. I do not know whether we are going to produce the fuel in the requisite volume, or whether we feel that in the interests of our learning, in the interests of our acclimatising ourselves with the know-how, it is necessary that even if the cost goes up, we should do it. I would like the Prime Minister to enlighten us on this question on a proper occasion.

I would also like to know whether we are aiming at full atomic autonomy, and, as our main resources are of

thorium, whether this autonomy is to precede any kind of development of the thorium fuel, and whether this will be done with the other resources that we have. So long as this question of nuclear power was an experiment and only the technicians were to understand the know-how, it was a different matter, but today we enter what is known as the economics of nuclear power. This is a matter in which we are all concerned. We have got to compare it with other powers, we will have to weigh it. The whole question of nuclear power comes into the market place. It is no longer a problem with which only the scientists and the technicians can deal, and therefore, I hope that on a proper occasion the Prime Minister will enlighten us about what might be called the economics of nuclear power, so that we may know whether the pace at which we are going and the pattern that we are developing are necessarily the best and the wisest for our country.

Shri A. P. Jain (Saharanpur): Hon. Shri H. N. Mukerjee started by dubbing the President's Address as humdrum. I was not surprised by that description because the hon. Member draws his inspiration from countries which believe in propaganda and advertisement.

Shri Punnoose (Ambalapuzha): You discovered it now?

Shri A. P. Jain: He draws his inspiration from a country where on an acre of land they claim to have grown 350 to 400 tons, not maunds, of paddy, where children weighing 30 to 40 lbs. can dance on the top of the growing crop, where they have to pluck the tobacco leaf by climbing up the ladders,.....

Shri Punnoose: He has grown so much that he has had to change his seat.

Shri A. P. Jain:....Where a plough of 18 inches can dig earth to the depth of 4½ feet,

Shri C. D. Pande .(Naini Tal):
China can do anything!

An Hon. Member: Elastic!

Shri A. P. Jain: ...where immediately after a leap-year, in which production went up from 170 million to 380 million tons, ration had to be reduced in the great town of Peking, where after that leap-year there were riots, food riots, in the communes. To such a gentleman, surely the President's Address would look humdrum. But we are given to a certain technique, we believe in talking modestly, and, therefore, the President rightly could not indulge in any hyperboles.

I submit that the President's Address is a record of impressive achievements both at the national front and in external affairs, despite the dark shadow hanging on our northern frontier.

Firstly, industrial production, as the President has said, during the first ten months of the year, has gone up from 138 to 149·3. That is a very substantial achievement particularly in the background of the previous year when it had increased by a very low figure of less than two per cent.

Permit me, Sir, parenthetically, to make an observation which perhaps is not so relevant to the discussion, but which has an important bearing on public conscience. According to the figure given by the President, the increase in industrial production during the first ten months comes to a little more than about 8 per cent. The President's Address has the authority of the Cabinet behind it. But, yesterday, the Minister of Commerce and Industry told a meeting of the Import Advisory Council that the industrial production in 1959 has shown an increase of 6·4 per cent. These two figures are difficult to reconcile. Either there is some discrepancy in the figures, or during the last two months, that is, the months of November and December, 1959, the industrial production has been so low that

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it has brought down the first ten months' average of more than 8 per cent to 6.4 per cent. That is something very serious. I have known Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri for the last thirty years, and he is a man who will never give an incorrect fact, nor can I believe that the Cabinet could commit the inaccuracy of giving a wrong figure. Therefore, I feel that there must be something wrong with my understanding. I do not know how these two figures have been worked out. Are they from the same source? Or, what is the difficulty about them? I do hope that the Finance Minister, who is not here at the moment, will take note of it and explain the discrepancy between these two figures, in which there is a very serious discrepancy of more than 20 per cent.

Coming to the agricultural production, last year has been a bumper year, with an increase of more than 14 per cent. Yet, we need not be complacent, because while this increase of 14 per cent is a very high one compared to 1957-58, yet 1957-58 was perhaps the worst year in the history of the country during the last fifty years. Therefore, if we have to judge this increase in production, in the correct light, we should compare it with the year 1956-57. Even comparing it with 1956-57, the achievement has been quite a remarkable one. Therefore, seen from whatever point of view, the progress has been good, and let us hope that this progress will continue in future.

Again, another important step has been taken on the home front, that is, the bifurcation of Bombay. The hon. Member Shri H. N. Mukerjee said that it had been done with ill-grace. We all know that many a time one man's food may be another man's poison. The bifurcation has not been very convenient to Communists because they have been deprived of a handle with which they were doing propaganda day and night, and in season and out of season.

An Hon. Member: That could have been done earlier.

Shri A. P. Jain: So far as we are concerned, I think this step has been taken in the proper manner and at the proper time. Of that there is the evidence. Since the decision to bifurcate Bombay has been taken there has been one prestige election in Maharashtra, and the Congress has won it with a thumping majority. If any proof were needed, that is the proof.

An Hon. Member: That is a political decision.

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad): That decision could have been taken in 1957.

Shri A. P. Jain: That is a political decision, according to my hon. friend not according to us.

So far as the foreign exchange reserves are concerned, for some years, they were being constantly depleted. It is for the first time that they have become constant, and with the enunciation of the new policy by the Commerce and Industry Minister about exports, let us hope that they will not only remain stationary but they will be augmented.

After many years of stresses and strains, of bad relations with our neighbour Pakistan, it is in this year that some good and remarkable achievements in the improvement of the relations between the two neighbouring countries have come about. I am referring to the financial settlement which has almost been completed. Then, there is also the settlement of the boundary dispute which had been hanging for long, and it is a matter of gratification for us as also for our neighbour that two main points of difference have now been smoothened.

Again, the solution of the canal water dispute which had been creating bad blood between the two countries has now very nearly reached solution. Let us hope that the two remaining outstanding questions, namely, the settlement of the evacuee property question and of the Kashmir question will be settled by the same methods of negotiations and of goodwill.

Again, in the international world, our contribution towards the establishment of peace, the lowering of tension, and the stoppage of the nuclear tests has been quite a remarkable one. We are not a great Power, nor do we have any big army but we have a tradition, a culture, and a history, which have given us some position, some moral and ethical position in the politics of the world. We have made our contribution on the basis of what the Father of the Nation, Bapu, has left for us as inheritance. And, therefore, both President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev, who do not see eye to eye on many matters agree that India's contribution in this vital field of international politics is by no means small.

Reference has been made to our unfortunate dispute with China. That occupies the mind of the whole country. It is the most important matter before every Indian citizen. It is also an important matter for the world. The Government of India's policy has been defined in very unequivocal terms. It is built on two pillars, namely, of negotiation and of determination not to yield an inch of land that is ours or an iota of interest that is ours. The President has defined it in the following words.

Shri Vajpayee (Balrampur): How many miles go to make an inch?

Shri A. P. Jain: I think my hon. friend knows enough of mathematics. If he does not, then he can go back to school.

Shri Vajpayee: I want that my hon. friend should define how many miles go to make an inch.

Shri A. P. Jain: The President has said in his Address:

"My Government have made it clear, beyond doubt, that they seek a peaceful approach in the settlement of outstanding matters."

That is the first pillar. Then, he goes on to say:

"They have also stated and reiterated, equally clearly, that they will not accept the course, or the results of unilateral action or decisions taken by China."

That is the second pillar.

The hon. Member Shri H. N. Mukerjee was greatly offended at the use of the phrase 'breach of faith'. We and China had both signed an agreement on the basis of *Panchsheel*. One of the fundamental principles of *Panchsheel* is that each of the parties to the agreement will not encroach upon the territory of the other. That is what is meant by respect to territorial integrity. Is it keeping faith in *Panchsheel* and in the agreement, that China should have occupied territory which clearly belongs to India?

Have we made an offer of that territory to them? If that is not a breach of faith, what else is going to be a breach of faith? What is the definition of the phrase 'breach of faith' in the Communist dictionary? We have to know and we have to learn.

There is another section of people here who want to create a war psychosis. They say, 'Start a war with China'. I submit in all humility that you have the choice to start a war, but you have no choice to stop a war. Once you start a war, it will be out of your hands. And in this modern world, should we forget what

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are the consequences of a war, not a war between us and China, but a war between India and China which has the potentiality of developing into a world war? It may not remain a localised war. Neither we nor the Chinese possess nuclear weapons. But even an isolated war between India and China will be a terrible thing, because India and China are the two major countries of the world with big populations and some war potential. But no one can say—rather it is very unlikely—that this war will remain a localised war.

In the world today, there is an atmosphere for peace. The big nations of the world have decided to meet in a Summit Conference. Now, what would happen if a war starts here: the atmosphere is spoiled.

Some hon. Members have criticised Government's policy of non-alignment. Let us see what it means in terms of practical politics today. There are two major Powers, the USA and the USSR. The other Powers do not matter so much. They have some military potential and they may join one side or the other. But when we talk of alignment, particularly in the context of Indian politics, we have only these two countries in mind. What happens now? There is not much possibility that the USSR will ever enter into a defensive or military pact with us against China. I will personally rule it out altogether. The only alternative left is that we enter into some sort of a military pact or defensive pact with the USA. What would be the immediate reaction to it? When we enter into a pact with the USA, the USSR is not going to leave China alone. There will be a counter-pact between the USSR and China. The world is again divided. In the age of nuclear weapons and inter-continental ballistic missiles, what would be going to be the consequences of such a war? Should we hurry up, should we jump into the cauldron, should we be a party to the

starting of such a terrible chain of events? I would submit that those who want to see the country driven into that terrible eventuality are not friends of the nation.

Having dealt with some of these matters, I come to a few things on which I may have to make observations which may perhaps not be to the liking of some. I am not going to talk about agriculture, because the outline of agriculture in the Third Plan is being formulated. The Prime Minister has informed us that in the month of April or May, the outline of the Plan will be placed before the House and then if need arises, I may avail of the opportunity to make observations. But I have another thing in mind, about which some hon. friends have also spoken, that is, the Community Development. No one need cite any foreign expert or foreign visitor to say that the Community Development Ministry has failed to achieve its objective.

An Hon. Member: See Nilokheri.

Shri A. P. Jain: Only this morning, the Minister of Community Development stated in answer to a question that he is having enough of difficulties in the rural areas, what to talk of starting it in the urban areas. A very honest statement. When I make these observations. I do not want to criticise, especially because the Minister of Community Development is an old colleague of mine. I have worked with him more than with any other person perhaps either on this side or on that side. I hold him in the high regard. Now, he is a gentleman who is absolutely devoted to his work. He has a vision; he has a passion to do the work. I know that when he was building Nilokheri, he had hardly a place to live in. He used to live in a tent. He was not a paid man at that time; he was only an honorary worker. I remember with what passion and devotion he worked. Therefore, if I have to

make some observations, I do not make them in a critical spirit, but I want to offer some constructive suggestions.

My hon. friend, Shri Asoka Mehta, said that the Prime Minister and the Government should give some thought to the community development scheme and when the President speaks next year, he should be in a position to make a definite statement that such and such things have been done. My own idea is that the whole organisation of community development is ill-conceived. It is not going to give you results.

An Hon. Member: Yes, yes (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let us hear the hon. Member.

Shri Tyagi: Why does he say 'Yes, yes'?

Shri A. P. Jain: I utter these words with full sense of responsibility because since I resigned from Minister-ship, I have devoted all my 24 hours to community development work.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: What about chairmanship of the Police Commission?

Shri A. P. Jain: I can also retort. The hon. Member had better listen in patience.

Shri Tyagi: If something is said to their convenience, they say 'Yes, yes'.

Shri A. P. Jain: The present organisation of community development is that a block consists of about 100 villages, sometimes it may be 75, sometimes 80 villages. This block is divided into circles and each of these circles is under a village level worker. There are 10 villages in a circle and there is one village level worker. The Balwantrai Mehta Committee gave considerable thought to this matter and it thought that the size of a circle was too big and one man could not do justice to it. But

for want of personnel and finances, it did not recommend that the circle should be made smaller.

Now, what are the things which this man is expected to do? He must be a bit of an engineer because he has to advise on laying roads and constructing buildings. He must be a bit of an educationist because he has to deal with primary education. He must be a bit of a doctor because he has to deal with health and sanitation. He must be an agronomist, he must be a soil chemist, he must be a soil engineer; he must be a man who knows co-operation, and what not. He must know everything. He has to be a multi-purpose man. Some of these village level workers are really good. The one with whom I have to deal is a really good man, an honest man who does his best. But the burden that has been laid on him is so heavy that no single man can discharge those responsibilities.

Therefore, this multi-purpose approach in community development has been a wrong approach. In my opinion, it must be a functional approach, that is to say, specialists must be in charge of definite subjects.

Much has been talked about plant protection. I have a little experience of it. I had raised some crop. It suffered from a disease known as aphid. My man took about 3 days to find out the Plant Protection Officer because in the whole district there are only two men. How can I blame him if he is not available for three days? He came and gave a treatment of nicotine and soap. That failed. The aphid attack went on. Incidentally, the Tata-Fison's representative happened to come to that part of the country. We have some little reputation. He came to see us. We told him of aphid and he gave basudine treatment. That also failed. We have done precious little both in our research institutes and agricultural institutes to find out correct treatment. But, there was

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one difference. Plant Protection Officer came and gave a treatment, he forgot all about it. But the Tata-Fison people wrote to me and asked what was the result of the treatment and whether they could do anything more. That is the kind of thing that is necessary.

Much emphasis is laid on plant protection. Here is a farmer in the fields. He has put in the seed; he has put in the water; he has put in his labour and the crop is about to be ready for his use. But, instead of the crop coming to the farmer's store, it is destroyed either by the pests or is eaten away by the insects. If I had my choice I would lay the first emphasis on plant protection, in all its various aspects. We should have a plant protection man at the Block headquarters. If enough men are not available, there should be one man for more than one Block.

Again, we get instructions from the Director of Agriculture that they have found that 50 lbs. of ammonium sulphate and 50 lbs. of superphosphate give very good results for wheat. That was a tip, a dictum or a sort of a blank order call what you may, forgetting that soils are different. There are different textures; there are different deficiencies and different doses of fertilizers are needed. But, we got a blank order. The village level worker and the Community Development people went from place to place saying, 'use this mixture'. I asked them: 'How can we prescribe the same dose for every soil, clayey soil, sandy soil, dumat soil?'

Every Community Development Block must have a soil analyst, a soil chemist who can analyse soils and prescribe different kinds of mixtures. (Interruption).

Sir, if you are in a hurry I can stop. But, there is only one point (Interruptions).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri A. P. Jain: It is better to be wise at some stage rather than never, like some hon. Members.

Now, what I was emphasising was that in the Community Development Blocks there should be subject-wise approach; there should be specialists for each subject at the Block headquarters. Unless we do it, I am afraid that this experiment of community development which has failed in its objective so far to a large extent—I do not say that all the Community Development Blocks have failed, but, by and large, they have not been a success if we take the country as a whole—would not be successful. We have to change our approach. If we cannot cover the whole country in 5 years' let us cover it in 10 years' time but we should cover it in a steady and thorough manner so that we may effectively achieve results.

I will touch upon one more subject. The President has referred to the administrative machinery in paragraphs 58 and 59 of the Address. I am glad that some reference has been made; but that reference is a little too vague. I think the services in India have done fairly well. They might not have given you all what the nation wanted; but they cannot be blamed for having been inefficient.

I remember the time of the Partition when practically every officer who counted for anything, Englishmen, retired. Most of the Muslims in the higher services went over to Pakistan with the result that our services were left with big dents, gaps and vacuum. I must use this opportunity for paying a tribute to the memory of Sardar Patel who, in his imagination, found that without filling these gaps and dents the nation will not be able to carry on the functions of administration. He appointed a special Board which made an ad hoc recruitment for the I.A.S. and the I.P.S. But for that very wise step,

even in general administration their would have been great difficulties.

Some actions have been taken recently. I congratulate the Government on the creation of the scientific and managerial services. But, I must say that so far as administration is concerned, as much attention has not been given to it as it deserves. And, I want to make a definite suggestion that in the Third Five Year Plan there must be a definite provision for toning up the administration.

Here, incidentally, I may refer to a particular matter. We have all been talking of agriculture. Yesterday, speaking in Farmers' Forum, the Prime Minister said that the farmers must utilise the latest techniques and methods of husbandry. Good advice. But, what have we done to improve the agricultural administration? The House will remember that about 15 months ago, a very valuable report known as the Nalagarh Committee Report was submitted to Government. A conference of the Agricultural Ministers was called and they unanimously accepted it. But, it had some financial implications amounting to about Rs. 2 crores. (*Interruption*). Hon. Members think that if I could not do anything I should not talk about it.

Shri Braj Singh: No; you must.

Shri A. P. Jain: The Planning Commission might have been allergic to me and might not have accepted my proposal. But I want to know, if agriculture is the first thing for the Prime Minister and the President, for the Government and the country, for the party in power and the party in opposition, if they want to lay emphasis on agriculture, what is the explanation for this report knocking from pillar to post for the past 15 months. I have not been in office for six months. I may not have got it accepted. But why has it not been accepted since I went out of office; why has it not been implemented? It is only Rs. 2 crores for the year. In the

Third Plan it can become part of the Plan. I am not blaming the Ministry of Food and Agriculture because I know it for a fact that the Ministry of Food and Agriculture is very keen on implementing it. It has been going forward and backward between the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance.

I want the Minister for Planning and the Minister for Finance to satisfy this House as to why this report has not been implemented up to now.

What are the Agricultural Services in the States? They are highly demoralised services whose pay is the lowest. Take the case of people who seek admission into agricultural colleges. In some cases, practically 90 to 95 per cent of them are third-class because better students find a career elsewhere. What did this committee say? Improve the lot of these wretched people, bring their pay and emoluments and status nearer to that of the other services. After all, the services are the skeleton-structure of the administrative body. Well, politicians may provide flesh and blood, but when the bones are weak, flesh and blood will not be of much help, blood will not flow. Therefore, if the administration has to function effectively, the services must not be demoralised. They must be respected. A person working in the agricultural department must be made equal in status to a person working in the highest administrative department. There is a State where agriculture is classified as a second class department. Its head of department occupies the status only of a DIG, Police. Is that the way to achieve results?

16 hrs.

I submit—not by way of criticism; I accept that I could not get these things done—in all humility, in all friendliness, that reports of this kind, valuable suggestions of this kind should not be held up because the Planning

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Commission is allergic towards a Minister.

An Hon. Member: Even now?

Shri A. P. Jain: I do not know. I am talking about myself. What I say is that valuable reports like this should not be held up because a Minister's nose is bad or his face is dark.

An Hon. Member: Colour is the same even now. (*Interruption*).

Shri A. P. Jain: I have made it clear before, and I am going to repeat it a thousand times that many beneficiary schemes have been side-tracked. If what I have said is correct, there must be an explanation and somebody must be called to book and he must be asked to explain why such an important report has been shelved, thrown in cold storage.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: May I be allowed to ask one question?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has explained that already.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: The hon. Member said that about 15 months back the Nalagarh Report was submitted. He also said that for the last six months he was not in office. May I know what was the fate of the report during the nine months he was in office?

Shri A. P. Jain: Because my nose was twisted and my face was dark...

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. He has already told that.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri (Berhampore): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, although the very distinguished speaker who preceded me tried in the beginning to wax eloquent over the impressive achievements of the Government, it is refreshing to observe that he ended with a critical note. I hope I would, therefore, not be misunderstood if I ask the hon. Mem-

bers sitting opposite to consider calmly and in a non-partisan way whether the Address which the President was pleased to deliver the other day contains anything but a brief summary of the reports of the various Ministries that are going to be placed before us in the course of the next few weeks preceding the Budget Discussion. Or whether they contain an indication of the broad policy which we intend to follow in grappling with the difficulties that confront us in the critical days ahead both in the international sphere and in the national sphere.

As a matter of fact, from the Address it does not seem that there is any awareness in the mind of the Government of any crisis at all. On the whole the Government and the ruling party seem to be quite satisfied with the state of affairs inside the country and in their relations with the outer world, except perhaps, now, with China. So far as the food problem is concerned, we find that except for a passing reference to the failure of our food production to rise to the required extent and to the continuous dependence on the import of foodgrains from abroad, there does not seem to be an awareness of the fact that over large tracts of the country the current price of foodgrains has been inflated beyond the purchasing capacity of the common people and bears no conceivable relation to the scarcity or the shortage that is actually prevailing.

There seems to be no awareness of the fact that the price of other essential commodities for the common man, cloth, for example, has shot up beyond what could be considered as reasonable by any criteria. There seems to be no awareness of the fact that all the multifarious construction projects in the country, our big industrial projects, and other projects have not been able to make any dent as yet in the colossal problem of unemployment which has been one of the biggest challenges to our construction efforts all these years.

There also does not seem to be any awareness of the disillusionment and the sense of frustration, that is gradually overtaking the minds of the people. In the background of this all-round imperviousness to the hard realities of the national situation, I sometimes wonder whether our border dispute with China has not come almost as a godsend to the Government to be used as a cover to hide all their failures.

Take the question of our international relations. We have only to remind ourselves of the problems that yet remain to be solved. Our relations with Pakistan have perhaps improved a little, but for that, much of the thanks is due perhaps, if we do not shut our eyes to realities, to the dispute that we are now having with China. The Kashmir problem, the problem of Goa, the problem of the *de jure* transfer of the French possessions—all these remain unsolved. But fortunately for the Government, the attention of the whole nation is now diverted to the big question of our border dispute with China and they can afford to forget all those things.

I particularly refer to the question of Goa, which we seem to have almost forgotten. In spite of the fact that there have been large-scale releases of political prisoners and freedom-fighters who were in prison in Goa, there are still about 100 people inside the jails on various charges. I particularly refer to one gentleman, Mohan Lakshman Ranade, an Indian national who bravely took all the responsibility for the crimes charged against him and many of his co-workers and was sentenced to an imprisonment of 26 years. There are many others like him, one or two of them Indians and many of them Goan nationals. We do not know, as yet, what is going to happen to them. As for the more general question of the Goa problem, there is as yet no sign when we can find any solution for it.

So far as the question of *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry and other French possessions is concerned, our

friend, Shri Mukerjee, has already referred to it. I would like to ask the Government, how is it that in spite of the fact the *de facto* transfer has taken place, for the purpose of seeking elementary justice in very simple cases, citizens of Pondicherry have to run to the Supreme Court of France? In one or two cases, the Supreme Court and other Courts of Appeal in France, have refused to hear the appeals from former French possessions on the ground that they have no jurisdiction. This is a very anomalous position and we do not know what the Government intends to do about it. It is not a very big question; it is not of the same order of importance as our dispute with China or our long-standing disputes over Kashmir with Pakistan. It is a very simple matter and it seems strange that Government does not find it possible to get that question resolved.

Coming to the internal situation in the country, I have to refer particularly to the alarming rise in prices that has taken place in respect of goods of common use with which the people are concerned. The wholesale price index stood on 23rd January at 119.2. It is nearly equal to the highest point that was ever reached by our price indices, which was in the middle of October last year. In the case of food, the index number, which stood at 104.7 during this time last year, has risen to 118.4. I am referring here to figures of wholesale prices which are available, and these are the Government Economic Adviser's indices. In the case of cereal prices there has been a similar rise. Cotton textiles, which stood at 110.6 has risen to 124.4.

Our hon. friend, Shri Asoka Mehta, was pleased to refer to a speech by the Governor of the Reserve Bank when the said official spoke of the danger of tax evasion and things of that kind, he also referred to a more important matter and sounded a grim note of warning to the country as a whole about the danger of continuous rise in prices. Somehow or other, it has not yet attracted the same amount

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of attention which it should have, coming particularly from a distinguished official who is in charge of the country's banking system. This warning should have been heeded to earlier, but I do not see as yet any indication, either in the President's Address or in the other pronouncements made by the Government in recent times, any indication of any policy in regard to prices. We all shout about holding the price line, but, somehow or other, whether in regard to food prices, whether in regard to prices of consumer goods or goods manufactured in factories and industrial establishments, we do not seem to have any policy at all. We are following a policy of drift. Otherwise, a responsible official, placed in charge of the administration of the Reserve Bank of India, which is the hub of the economic system of the whole country, could not have helplessly come before an academic forum and warned the country of the danger inherent in this unchecked inflation and continuously rising prices. It seems that Shri Iengar somehow felt helpless that he could not persuade the Government to adopt a price policy and he felt it necessary to appeal to the country at large.

The economic position being what it is, I fail to understand how the Government can expect to enthuse the people with regard to the Third Plan, or with regard to the so-called defence measures that they say they have been adopting since the threat on our northern borders became a real thing.

Coming to the Threat on our northern borders and our dispute with China, I have to confess that I have been a little intrigued by reading the text of the letter which was sent by our Prime Minister to the Chinese Prime Minister on the 5th February, 1960, after listening to what he said in another place with regard to the present Indo-Chinese relations. He said in the other House last time that there was no scope for negotiations.

It was on that basis that he refused to go to Rangoon on an invitation of the Chinese Premier. But, it seems—it is not a question of seeming only—he has actually invited the Chinese Prime Minister to come down to Delhi to begin talks although the pre-conditions which he had laid down had not been fulfilled. I am not against a negotiated settlement with China. I feel very strongly that this dispute must be settled and settled peacefully. But even then the Government must make its position very clear not only to the country at large but also to the world outside as to how they intend to find a solution for this problem. We know what is the Chinese position in regard to this dispute and what are their claims. We also know very clearly what is our position and our contention in regard to our northern frontiers. The only indication that I find from the President's Address about the intentions of the Government is that the Government will not accept the results of unilateral action or a decision taken by China. But may I ask as to what would be the bilateral arrangement, decision by bilateral agreement with regard to the border, which they would be prepared to accept. Otherwise what will happen is that the country's attention would be diverted to the constant exchange of correspondence between the two Premiers and the two Governments and at the same time forces inside the country who thrive on war psychosis would get strengthened. The hon. Prime Minister must make it clear that he is determined to find a solution for this question and what are his terms. Otherwise this constant exchange of letters and invitations would only mean that the problem remains unsolved and the forces inside the country—I particularly mean the forces of right wing, the forces of reaction both inside the ruling party and outside it—would take advantage of this situation and try to suppress every expression of popular movement and democratic movement in the country. Already we saw several months ago when there was an agitation over food in West Bengal that the President

or the Vice-President of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, who is the man who really matters, came out with a statement that the food agitation was being sponsored by agents of China. Whenever there is any labour agitation, whenever there is any demand for increase in wages, whenever the workers want to resort to direct action for the enforcement of their legitimate rights, immediately this argument of the nation being in danger, of foreign aggression, is trotted out and the demands side-tracked. That is why I want that the Government must make their position absolutely clear in this respect, and should not keep the whole thing hanging fire. As it is, we are already confronted with a dangerous situation, and any prolongation of these things would cause infinite damage.

Coming back to the internal economic situation again, I cannot but refer to the serious food situation that has developed in West Bengal, just one month after the new harvest. We all know that Bengal and Orissa have been brought within a common zone so far as rice is concerned, but the formation of this common zone has led to an unprecedented rise in prices both in Orissa and West Bengal. It does not seem very clear who is to blame for this. The Orissa Government claim that they have despatched 40,000 tons of rice last month.

The Deputy Minister of Community Development and Co-operation (Shri B. S. Murthy): The habit of rice-eating is to be blamed.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: Quite so; it is really the habit of eating that is to be blamed.

Anyway, the Government of Bengal and the traders of Bengal who are concerned have said that they have only received 14,000 tons. Where is the difficulty? That must be found out. Otherwise, the tragedy that occurred last year would recur again. I hope that the Government would take speedy steps in that direction also.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There are 149 amendments to the Motion on President's Address which have been selected by hon. Members to be moved. In order to save the time involved in reading out the numbers, I shall treat them all as moved, provided they are otherwise in order.

A list indicating the numbers of the selected amendments will be put on the Notice Board and will also be circulated to Members tonight for their information.

There is one thing more that I might just refer to in this connection. There are certain amendments that have been moved in respect of railways and the working of the lines, as also the Pay Commission. We had a particular discussion on the Pay Commission which we concluded just now, and we are going to have a discussion on the Railway Budget separately. Therefore, though there is no hard and fast rule that I should disallow them, I am not disallowing them, still I would advise the Members not to refer in this debate to those amendments which pertain to railways or the Pay Commission, because they are separate subjects—one has been discussed recently, and the other we shall have opportunity to discuss.

Members may now move their amendments to the Motion on Address by the President subject to their being otherwise admissible.

Shri Sampath (Namakkal): Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention about taking necessary and immediate steps to check the rise in the price of yarn and save the handloom weavers from unemployment". (1).

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

"but regret that there is no mention about the abnormal delay

[Shri Sampath]

in disbursing the handloom rebate amount to the various Handloom Cooperative Societies who are already suffering from long accumulated stocks". (2).

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

"but regret that there is no assurance about converting Tuticorin into a deep-sea harbour during the Third Five Year Plan". (3)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the injustice meted out by the Pay Commission's recommendations to the Central Government employees who are placed in the lower rung". (4)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the plight of the South Indians settled in Burma, Malaya and Singapore and the steps contemplated to protect their rights and interests in those countries." (5)

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

"but regret that the Address is silent over the condition of those belonging to the Scheduled Castes who have embraced Buddhism and because of the conversion have been deprived of the concessions and amenities they enjoyed before". (6)

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

"but regret the failure of the Government in implementing the decisions of the Fifteenth Indian Labour Conference". (7)

Shri Khushwaqt Rai (Kheri): Sir, I beg to move—

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the price of sugarcane will be fixed at two rupees per maund as recommended by the Legislative Assembly of Bihar State recently". (10)

Shri Chintamani Panigrahi (Puri): Sir, I beg to move—

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

"but regret to note that no mention has been made about the re-adjustment of boundaries between the States of Orissa and Bihar for which the Orissa State Legislature have made unanimous representation to the Government of India." (15)

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

"but regret to note the failure to safeguard the interests of the linguistic minorities in Bihar." (16)

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

"but regret to note the failure of the Government to check the alarming rise in prices of rice and paddy in Orissa and West Bengal after constituting the two States into one food-zone." (17)

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

"but regret to note that no mention has been made of the rise in prices of cloth which has very seriously affected the common man in the country." (18)

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

"but regret to note that no mention has been made of the declining real earnings of the workers

in the country as a result of higher cost of living." (19)

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

"but regret that the Address gives no indication of any proposal to go ahead with the work of starting service co-operatives and joint co-operative farming societies in the country." (20)

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

"but regret that the Address gives no indication of any proposal to go ahead with the task of distributing land to the landless people in the country speedily." (21)

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

"but regret to note that the Geological Survey of India is not locating one of its branch units in Orissa permanently." (22)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the growing unemployment in the country." (23)

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

"but regret to note the failure of the Government to resolve the difficult food situation in the country." (24)

Shri Tangamani (Madurai): Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no reference to steps to be taken about the Pay Commission's Report on the basis of the organisations of the affected employees." (26)

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

"but regret that there is no reference to naming of Madras State as Tamilnad." (27)

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

"but regret that there is no reference to the need for prescribing the working hours and working conditions of the Road Transport workers." (28)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made about failure to adopt Code of Discipline in the public sector although agreed to at the Tripartite Conference in 1958." (29)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made about Government's commitment to adopting Tripartite decisions at Indian Labour Conference as in the case of minimum wages adopted in the Fifteenth Indian Labour Conference." (30)

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

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

"but regret that there is no mention of taking effective steps for the implementation of labour policy and programmes as outlined in the Second Five Year Plan." (31)

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

"but regret that there is no reference to the mining disaster in Damua Colliery, Madhya Pradesh and the measures proposed to be taken to avoid such disasters." (32)

[Shri T. B. Vittal Rao]

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

"but regret that there is no reference about the delay in the constitution of Wage Boards for Plantation, Chemical and Jute Industries." (33)

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

"but regret to note the absence of undertaking legislation to increase the rate of contribution to the Employees Provident Fund from 6½ to 8-1/3 per cent." (34)

Shri Sampath: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to assure the State of Madras will be renamed as Tamizh Nadu." (35)

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

"but regret that the Address makes no reference to the plight of Ceylon Tamils and does not give any assurance that their interests will be safeguarded by the Government." (36)

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

"but regret that there is no assurance that Hindi will not be forced on the Non-Hindi speaking people without their consent." (37)

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

"but regret that the Address does not promise a fair and square deal to the Southern States in the matter of allocation of funds at least in the succeeding Five Year Plans." (38)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address for

establishing a Nuclear Power Plant in the South before the end of the Third Plan period." (39)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention for establishing a Steel Plant in the South". (40)

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

"but regret that the Address is silent about the immediate necessity of starting more Fertiliser Plants in the South." (41)

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

"but regret that in the Address no assurance has been given about making the States of Tamil Nadu and Andhra separate Food Zones as desired by the Governments of both the States." (42)

Shri Arjun Singh Bhadauria (Etawah): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to express concern on:

(1) the rise in the prices of food-grains and other essential commodities manufactured in factories e.g., sugar, cloth, kerosene oil, cement which are new beyond the purchasing capacity of common man;

(2) the farmer not getting fair price for foodgrains and raw materials produced by him; and

(3) the existing disparity and lack of cohesion in the prices of agricultural and industrial products and need for stabilising the prices of the above mentioned commodities." (47)

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

"but regret that the Address has not referred to the abolition of caste system which is a hurdle in the country's progress." (48)

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

"but regret that no assurance has been given that sixty per cent. of the posts in public services would be reserved for the backward classes." (49)

(iv) That at the end of the motion, the following be added; namely:

"but regret that there is no mention of the following proposals to make the country self-sufficient in regard to food,—

(a) abolition of land revenue on uneconomic land-holdings,

(b) equitable distribution of land,

(c) acquisition of land of persons who do not themselves cultivate with the help of machines or labourers for distribution to bonafide farmers,

(d) introduction of minor irrigation schemes, and

(e) reclamation of cultivable land in the country by organising land Army." (50)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address as to when the Indian territory occupied by Chinese would be recovered from them nor is there reference to a programme to defend India and its borders." (51)

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

"but regret that the Address while mentioning the people's active co-operation in the work of economic development and

national administrative activities referred to the example of Panchayat Raj in Andhra and Rajasthan, it failed to take cognizance of the fact that Panchayat Raj would remain unsuccessful unless powers were delegated to take part in the work of legislation, control on Government officials and employees and finances distributed at State, District and Village levels." (52)

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

"but regret that the Address does not refer to the disregard shown towards the recommendations made in the report of Backward Classes Commission and the injustice done to the backward people by not bringing those recommendations in the House for discussion." (53)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the rising economic disparity and the unemployment problem in the country." (54)

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

"but regret that the Address does not say anything about India's quitting the Commonwealth of Nations." (55)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention that Five Year Plans have failed." (56)

Shri Tangamani: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention of *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry and other former French possessions." (64)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of extension of Indian Union judicial procedure to the former French possessions including Pondicherry pending *de jure* transfer." (65)

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

"but regret that no steps have been taken to extend the appellate jurisdiction of Supreme Court over appeals from Pondicherry and other French possessions Courts." (66)

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

"but regret that the Address mentions only additional expenditure due to Pay Commission's Report but not the curtailment of existing facilities." (67)

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

"but regret that there is no reference to increase in price of necessities like food, yarn." (68)

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

"but regret that there is no reference to the steel plant to be set up in the South, namely Salem in Madras State." (69)

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not make a realistic appraisal of the deteriorating food situation in the country and of the failure of the Government to correct the imbalance in the economy due to rising food prices and prevailing food scarcity in various parts of the country including Orissa, by the creation of

food-zones, in spite of this year's bumper crop." (96)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the integration of outlying Oriya tracts of Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh and particularly of Seraikella and Kharswan of Bihar in Orissa and thereby to redress the widespread discontent prevailing in Orissa." (97)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take notice of the growing disparity among various regions of the Union in regard to development under the Second Five Year Plan and does not give an indication that more attention will be paid in the Third Five Year Plan." (98)

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

"but regret that the Address does not clearly state that the Government shall take the extreme step to drive away the Chinese intruders from our soil and restore positions of Aksaichin and NEFA areas occupied by Chinese forces, in case negotiations fail." (99)

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

"but regret that the Address does not say emphatically that the Government will not concede any portion of India to China during any negotiation without first ascertaining the views of Parliament." (100)

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

"but regret that the Address has not noted with concern the rising

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production on all fronts, nor calls upon the people to prepare themselves for sacrifices for the defence of the motherland, without which an invasion like this cannot be met." (114)

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

"but regret that the reference in the Address with regard to the Third Five Year Plan does not seem to be inspired by the problems created by Chinese incursions into our territory, and by the urgency of meeting the challenge from China. The Address also does not call upon the people to rise to the occasion to face this challenge from China, to tighten their belts and to prepare for whatever sacrifices may be necessary for fulfilling a Third Five Year Plan involving an outlay of at least Rs. 25,000 crores, and to increase the tempo of development in this remaining last year of the Second Five Year Plan by increasing the stipulated outlay to at least three times". (115)

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

"but regret that the Address does not give a clarion call to the students and youths in the country to serve the nation at this juncture by disciplined and devoted study and NCC training in their Universities and colleges so that they may fulfil the ever-growing needs of trained personnel and manpower." (116)

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

"but regret that the Address does not promise to launch in the present national crisis a relentless crusade against the racketeers and the black marketeers in cloth, sugar, foodgrains, paper and other essential commodities of life

whose activities adversely affect production on the industrial and agricultural fronts." (117)

Shri L. Achaw Singh (Inner Manipur): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that no reference has been made about the abnormally high prices of rice in Manipur." (118)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made about the establishment of small and medium industries in Manipur for orderly economic progress and solving the growing unemployment problem of the Territory." (119)

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

"but regret that there is no mention about the democratisation of the administration of the Union Territories where the local people have demanded replacement of the Territorial Council by an Assembly and a Council of Ministers." (120)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made for safeguarding of the interests of Manipuri Linguistic minorities in Assam." (121)

Shri Braj Raj Singh: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to express concern on:

(a) the abnormal rise in the prices of farm produce including the foodgrains and

factory produce, e.g., sugar, cloth, kerosene oil, cement which are now beyond the purchasing capacity of common man;

(b) the farmer not getting fair and equitable price for his farm produce including the foodgrains;

(c) the existing disparity and lack of cohesion in the prices of agricultural and industrial products and need for stabilising the prices of the above mentioned commodities." (134)

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

"but regret that the Address has not referred to the abolition of caste system which is a hurdle in the country's progress." (135)

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the following proposals to make the country self-sufficient in regard to food,—

(a) abolition of land revenue on uneconomic land holdings;

(b) equitable distribution of land;

(c) acquisition of land of persons who do not themselves cultivate with the help of machines or labourers for distribution to bona fide farmers;

(d) introduction of minor irrigation schemes; and

(e) reclamation of cultivable land in the country by organising land Army and making it over to landless peasants." (136)

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

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of any effective steps to recover Chinese occupied territory of our country and inadequate measures for the defence of our borders." (137)

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

"but regret that the Address while mentioning the people's active co-operation in the work of economic development and national administrative activities referred to the example of Panchayat Raj in Andhra and Rajasthan, it failed to take cognizance of the fact that Panchayat Raj would remain unsuccessful unless powers were delegated to take part in the work of legislation, control on Government officials and employees and finances distributed at State, District and Village levels." (138)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the rising economic disparity and the unemployment problem in the country." (139)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make reference to fixation of maximum and minimum incomes of individuals and elimination of vast difference." (140)

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

"but regret that the Address does not say anything about India's quitting the Commonwealth of Nations." (141)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to instil confidence in the peasantry to increase production of agricultural products including the foodgrains." (142)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to evolve a formula by which the prices of foodgrains and other

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farm produce shall not rise more than an anna per seer between two harvests and that factory produce shall on no account be sold at more than 15 per cent. of the cost price of the factory." (143)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to immediately introduce Indian languages as medium of instruction in Universities." (144)

Shri S. L. Saksena: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not tell the country that China has stationed about forty divisions of its army in the territory of Tibet, that it has connected all the Himalayan passes on its side with jeepable military roads with the mainland, and that strategic railways have been built to connect the mainland with important road centres, and that our country is in mortal danger." (145)

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

"but regret that the Address does not tell the people that corruption in any shape or form and in every sphere of life, even amongst people occupying the highest positions in public life, and particularly among Government servants in the course of their duties in the prosecution and fulfilment of the Five Year Plans, and amongst industrialists, businessmen and other people in the evasion of Government taxes and the performance of other public duties, shall be most severely punished, and legislation shall be introduced in Parliament to that effect forthwith." (146)

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

"but regret that the Address does not promise that henceforth the portfolio of education in the Central Cabinet shall be entrusted to a full-fledged Cabinet Minister, whose learning, and heroship and sacrifices in the struggle for national freedom shall inspire the students and the youths of the country to disciplined and devoted study, and sacrifice in the service of the Nation, who shall strain every effort to fulfil the directive principle of the Constitution to provide compulsory education for every child up to the 14th year of age in the country at least by the end of the Third Five Year Plan, and who shall forthwith reorganise the present University Grants Commission." (147)

Shri A. V. Ghare (Jalna): I beg to move:

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

"but regret to note the failure of the Government in not taking cognizance of the growing inefficiency and corruption in the services the need for setting up adequate machinery to curb this evil." (148)

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

"but regret to note that the Address gives no indication, that the Government will discourage the tours of Central Ministers during elections which adversely influence the voters in their exercise of free franchise." (149)

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

"but regret to note that there is no mention in the Address for constituting Statutory Development Boards for backward areas of the country and especially for Marathwada region of the Bombay State." (150)

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

"but regret to note that the Address gives no indication that the ruling party will associate, in adequate measure, Members of the Opposition parties, in Development Boards with a view to get greater association for nation-building activities of all sections of society." (151)

Shri Asoka Mehta: I beg to move:

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

"and express the hope that no meeting between our Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of China will be agreed to until the pre-conditions already laid down by the Government of India, including the vacating of the territories occupied by the Chinese and recognition by them of the McMahon Line, have been complied with." (155)

Shri Braj Raj Singh: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take effective steps for the removal of English as official language of India and further fails to ensure better development of Indian languages." (156)

Shri R. C. Majhi: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that nothing has been mentioned in the Address about recognition in all the States of Tribes which are recognised as Scheduled Tribes in any one State." (157)

Shri L. Achaw Singh: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Government has failed to proceed with the prospecting and discovery of oil in

Manipur in spite of the fact that symptoms of the existence of large deposits of oil have been noted by the experts of the Geological Survey of India and other independent experts." (158)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made of the solution of the increasing unemployment problems of Manipur." (159)

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

"but regret to note the failure of the Government to put down with a firm hand the Naga rebellion in the eastern frontier of India or to bring about a political settlement in the N.H.T.A. with the hostile Nagas who have created a sense of insecurity and unsettled conditions among the loyal and peaceful citizens living there." (160)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made of the demand for a democratic Assembly for N.H.T.A." (161)

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

"but regret to note the failure of the Government to bring forward in Parliament a piece of legislation on the working conditions of motor transport workers in India." (162)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make any reference for inclusion of Manipuri in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution as one of the regional languages and for introduction of Manipuri as a medium of instruction and examination upto the Higher Secondary stage in Manipur." (163)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made about the establishment of a Technical College and a Medical College in Manipur." (164).

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

"but regret that no reference has been made about the growing discontent among the Manipur public regarding the manning of the posts of heads of departments of the Manipur Administration by outsiders only." (165)

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

"but regret that no mention has been made about the delay in the implementation of the Land Reform Measures and the failure in the organisation of cooperative farms for increased production and economy in agriculture." (166).

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

"but regret that there is no reference about the failure to impose ceilings on incomes in conformity with the Government's policy of socialistic pattern of society." (167)

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

"but regret that no reference has been made about revision of pay-scales of Government employees in Manipur in accordance with the recommendations of the Pay Commission." (168).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the growing lawlessness and unrest in the hills of Manipur and steps taken in the matter." (169).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the restoration of democratic and responsible form of Government in Manipur and maintenance of the integrity of Manipur." (170).

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

"but regret that there is no reference to positive and concrete policy of the Government with regard to ensuring of the security and defence of the Himalayan frontiers by allowing the different tribes and regions of those borders full democratic and popular governments and enlisting the willing cooperation of the people of these regions." (171).

Shri S. L. Saksena: Sir, I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not promise to fix a minimum wage of at least Rs. 125/- in accordance with the recommendations of the 15th Indian Labour Conference." (181).

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

"but regret that the minimum price of sugarcane has not been raised to Rs. 2/- per maund to increase the production of sugar in the country." (182).

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

"but regret that the Address does not make a reference to the replacement of the present Banaras Hindu University Amendment Act, 1958, in order to improve the conditions in the University." (183)

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

"but regret that the Address does not promise a thorough purge of corruption in every department of the body-politic by stern measures." (184).

Shri Vajpayee: Sir, I beg to move—

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

"but regret that the Address fails to lay down categorically that an essential precondition for negotiations with China is its withdrawal from occupied Indian territory." (187).

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

"but regret that the Address gives no indication of any Government plan to avail of the advent of spring to eject the Chinese aggressors from Indian territory." (188).

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

"but regret that no realisation is evident in the Address of the growing dissatisfaction felt amongst the people of Israel because of the Government's refusal to establish diplomatic relations with that country." (189).

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

"but regret that by omitting even to mention Goa, the Address has endeavoured to gloss over the failure of Government's policy to secure the liberation of Goa and other Portuguese enclaves." (190).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to refer to the sharp spurt in recent months in prices of essential commodities and the resultant

misery the lower and middle classes have had to bear." (191).

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

"but regret that the references to the Pay Commission recommendations contained in the Address fail to take note of the deep dissatisfaction felt amongst Government employees owing to the total inadequacy of the recommendations and chiefly because of the retrograde nature of some of them." (192).

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

"but regret that the reference in the Address to the proposed Bill for the reorganisation of Bombay State does not take note of the dissatisfaction felt amongst the people residing on the Mysore-Bombay State borders because of the failure of the Government to set up a suitable machinery to resolve the boundary disputes." (193).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the rising unemployment both in the rural and urban sectors." (194).

Shri Goray: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the appreciation by the Government of the urgent necessity of bringing cultivable waste land under plough and the maximum utilization of irrigation facilities so as to augment the agricultural production and ensure rapid development of the economy." (201).

Shri Khushwaqt Rai: I beg to move: (212)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that an impartial independent high-powered tribunal would be appointed to enquire into the allegations of corruption made against top-ranking persons in the country." (207).

Shri Tangamani: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address has not referred to working of the scheme of workers' participation in the industry and for including such categories as P. & T. and L. I. C. in the public sector which are mature for such scheme." (209).

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

"but regret that the Address has not referred to the plight of the handloom weavers, particularly of Madras State, in the export of goods like 'Bleeding Madras', in the lack of supply of art silk yarn, in the increase of yarn price, in the non-payment of rebate due to them, etc." (210).

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

"but regret that the Address has not mentioned about the plight of Indian nationals and persons of Indian descent settled in Ceylon and need for early negotiations with the Government of Ceylon". (211).

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to refer to students' unrest in various Universities and repression resorted to and to

devise ways and means of minimising the causes for the same". (212).

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

"but regret that there is no mention of the progress made on the recommendations of the Land Reform Panel of the Planning Commission in the fulfilment of the the Second Plan". (213).

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address has not taken note of the rise in foodgrain prices in West Bengal and Orissa after the introduction of a composite food zone which needs to be revised making Orissa a separate zone for procuring foodgrains through the State Trading." (215)

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

"but regret that there is no mention about developing Paradip in Orissa as a major port." (216).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the progress made so far in regard to land reforms particularly ceiling on lands all over the country and steps taken to complete land reforms within a fixed period of time. (217).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the almost unanimous desire of the people of India to take concrete measures to re-occupy our territory forcibly taken possession by the Chinese Government and to state categorically that no meetings be-

tween the two Prime Ministers on the question of border can take place unless our territory is vacated by the Chinese". (218).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to state as to what steps Government propose to take for development of northern border areas and also to check anti-Indian and pro-Chinese activities carried on by interested parties". (219).

Shri Arjun Singh Bhadauria: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the corruption prevalent in the country and suggest any remedy to check it". (220).

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the demand of the people that a high powered Commission should be appointed to enquire into charges of corruption among persons in high places". (221).

Shri P. G. Deb (Angul): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no indication of the Government plan regarding liberation of Goa". (224).

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

"but regret that the Address does not lay stress for intensive drive to allot lands to the landless people." (225).

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

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"but regret that the Address has failed to note the rising prices of foodgrains and other essential commodities." (226).

Shri Chintamani Panigrahi: I beg to move:

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

"but regret to note that the Address gives no indication of any proposal to appoint a high-powered tribunal for enquiring into charges of corruption made against persons in high position and authority in the country as suggested by Shri C. D. Deshmukh, the ex-Finance Minister of the Central Government." (229).

Shri Mohamed Imam (Chitaldrug): I beg to move:

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

"and expresses the hope that the Panchayat Raj being inaugurated in certain States as referred to in the Address will not be utilized for the further extension of Governmental authority over, and regulation of, the social and economic life of the rural people." (230).

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the steps to be taken to eradicate corruption, nepotism and favouritism." (232)

Shri Dasaratha Deb (Tripura): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the difficulties that the people of the Union Territory of Tripura have been facing since its integration with India nor does it indicate any positive steps to be taken to ameliorate this difficulty by connecting

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Tripura by rail links from its Subroom town to Dharmanagar town via Agartala, the Capital town of Tripura." (233).

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

"but regret that the Government have failed to note the growing unemployment problems among the educated youth as well as among the toiling section of the people in Tripura and to indicate any concrete steps for the solution of the problem." (234).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the difficulties of the displaced persons and the newly settled tribal Jhumias of Tripura in carrying out their Agricultural production due to their settlement in Tilla lands (high-land)". (235).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address for the solution of the problem of the displaced persons from East Pakistan." (236).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to note the acute shortage of food-stuff in the tribal areas of Tripura due to the total destruction of jhum crops last year by rats nor does it indicate any positive steps to save the lives of the famine-affected people of Tripura." (237).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the establishment of a medium size industry in the Union Territory of Tripura". (238).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address for the distribution of Khas land among the landless peasants of Tripura". (239).

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

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address for the replacement of the Chief Commissioner's rule by a responsible government, constituted by the elected members on the basis of adult suffrage in Tripura." (240).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: These amendments are now before the House.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: So far as the amendments relating to the Report of the Pay Commission are concerned, I may draw your attention to the fact that the motion on which the Pay Commission's Report was discussed was not a substantive motion, and, therefore, we could not move any amendments to that and ask for a division.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We have discussed it so thoroughly that we need not refer to them and waste the time of the House any further. They will remain as having been moved, and certainly, if anyone of them is pressed, I shall put it to the vote of the House.

Raja Mahendra Pratap (Mathura): I am very thankful to the Deputy-Speaker for having kindly allowed me so early to speak on this important subject. I first want to read out the substance of my amendments.

First of all, there is no reference in the President's Address against the pomp and show indulged in by our Government. I withdraw the harsh words which I used in the very beginning of the first session, that a four-anna cap is sitting under the canopy of a Rs. 2,000-umbrella. I withdraw that. But I beg to say....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: By saying it again, the hon. Member withdraws it?

Raja Mahendra Pratap: But I beg to say that it is very unfortunate that our Government are indulging in pomp and show and in dancing and in music and all that kind of wasteful acts.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Does the hon. Member attend all those functions and see them with his own eyes?

Shri Radha Raman (Chandni Chowk): He enjoys them.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: When people are hungry and when the workers of the Electricity Department and the work-houses who have their small little huts have not got any light in their houses, we see that millions of lights are used in Delhi all over the place. That is very unfortunate, and that fact is not mentioned in the Address by the honourable President.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Transport and Communications (Shri Raj Bahadur): My hon. friend wants darkness all round?

Raja Mahendra Pratap: My second amendment seeks to point out that there is no mention in the Address about complete employment of all the people in the nation. We hear a great deal about the Government servants, we hear a great deal that people should have more salaries, but we do not see that in our country there are millions of people who have no livelihood and who have no employment. I think Government should adopt this principle namely that in our country not a single person will remain without work and without bread. That can be realised if we accept the principle that every village should be a joint family and every town should be a joint family, and that there should be respect for elders, love for children, giving them good education and healthy and strong working for the community.

I now come to my third amendment. I regret to find that the honourable President spoke in a way about China which would create more international friction. The only remedy is World Federation: I beg to say that our honourable benevolent national Government exaggerated a great deal this China affair, and I must congratulate them that they got three great benefits out of this exaggeration. One is that the people began to say, let us make our Government's position strong. Secondly, they also defeated the communists in the country. Thirdly, they succeeded in winning over the sympathy of the U.S.A., so much so that President Eisenhower spent only two days in Pakistan but stayed in our country for four days and a half.

Shri Jhunjhunwala (Bhagalpur): Ours is a big country.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: That is a very great success for our Government.

Shri M. P. Mishra (Begusarai): Did the hon. Member meet him?

Raja Mahendra Pratap: My fourth amendment is that the elections in Kerala created trouble in our society. I cannot congratulate our Congress on winning these elections. They have created more trouble. People are divided. Factions are created. The principle should be: all should work for all to make all happy. Friction in the nation should be eliminated. We should adopt this principle. Any thought which divides us is bad and every thought which unites us is good.

They speak a great deal of corruption. But I beg to say that it is not the fault of the Government that there is corruption. The fault lies with the people. If there is any fault with the Government in this matter, it is that they are not trying to teach morality to our people. There should be one Ministry for teaching morality. If it is not possible to create a Moral

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Ministry, at least the Home Ministry should have a department to teach people morality.

Shri M. P. Mishra: There should be a Minister in charge of Morality!

Raja Mahendra Pratap: Some friends speak of raising the price of cane and the like. I beg to say that we should insist that labour will have half jurisdiction in all the factories. Labour will have half the benefits of the factories. That is, they should be made half partners in all the factories including sugar mills.

Some friends sometimes speak of Universities and say that they are not running well and so on. I beg to say that there should be reorganisation of the Universities in such a way that the representatives of the students and the representatives of the guardians of the students should co-operate with the managements of all the Universities.

They also speak about Goa. I have often said—and I repeat—that it is a very small, little, matter. We can very easily settle it with a treaty with Portugal. We can open up vast lands of Portugal in Africa and we can have a treaty to the effect that our people can go there and colonise. That will help Portugal and it will help us also.

In this connection, I can also suggest that we can have a treaty for inter-marriage between Indians and Portuguese on a very large scale. That will also help us; it will help the Portuguese too.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Would the hon Member do some pioneering work in this respect?

Raja Mahendra Pratap: As regards Pakistan, I am very glad that Marshal Ayub Khan has come to believe in my opinion. He suggests: let us have common defence. I have been speaking about it for the last three years. I believe at this moment our Prime

Minister is failing in his duty in this connection. If he would extend his hand and grasp the hand extended by Marshal Ayub Khan, I think so far as Pakistan is concerned, our problems will end.

Of course, I say, we shall have *Aryan*—from Iran to Assam, from the Himalayas to Ceylon—and then there will be no question of Pakistan at all. We shall have local liberty, but all unity in federation. *Aryan* will be a district of the province of Asia, and Asia will be a province of World Federated State.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): Now, there is Mars and Moon also.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: Our friends also speak of over-population. Here again, I beg to say that the best solution will be for our people to be allowed to go to Brazil and all the vacant lands of the South Sea and Africa. That can be arranged. I know from my own experience. Japan was sending missions to Brazil and the Brazilian Government agreed to the principle. In fact, thousands and hundreds of thousands of Japanese went and colonised there. I believe that this can very easily be settled if I am given a free hand in the matter (*Interruptions*).

I also beg to say that Government is very much interfering with the people. People do not feel that they have got *swaraj*. Police have got *swaraj*; high officials have got *swaraj*; the great leaders of the Congress have got *swaraj*; but the people have not got *swaraj* yet.

I believe that every village should be turned into a self-governing unit; every town should be turned into a self-governing unit. Our friends here may like it or not, but I beg to suggest that as castes are there, we should organise all the castes from the Brahmin to the Bhangi and from Syed to Mehtar and their leaders should form the village government and the town Government. If you do not like

caste, I do not mind; but what to do? Take, for example, the name of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If he is a Pandit we know he is a brahmin, if he is Jawaharlal, we know he is a Hindu; and if he is a Nehru we know he is a Kashmiri. So, in our names there are province, religion and also caste. What to do? Supposing you do not like castes, let us have occupations. All the occupations should be organised and their leaders should form the village governments and town governments.

We speak of the Third Plan and the Fourth Plan; we may speak later on of the Fifth Plan also. But the most important point is this: We should give the people complete swaraj; and let them make the Plans for themselves. We should not interfere with the people. Of course, as regards big factories and canals they are very good ideas and I congratulate our hon. Prime Minister for suggesting that we should have big industries.

But, I beg to say one thing. We shall have big industries and big canals; Pakistan will also have big canals and industries. China has big canals and big industries also. If we shall fight one day, we shall destroy Lahore and they will destroy Delhi; we shall bomb Shanghai and they will bomb Calcutta. What is the fun of it? We build and build and then destroy everything.

I saw how France and Germany made great progress. I saw also China and Japan. They had made great progress but when war came all was destroyed. Having had that experience I beg to suggest that we should always insist on world unity and world government (*Interruption*).

Sir, I only want to touch upon a few more points before I finish. I say that the people should always realise that whatever they believe in is nothing but what has been filled in their minds from their childhood. If someone says that he is a Hindu, he is a Hindu because he has been brought up in a

Hindu home. If someone says that he is a Muslim, he is a Muslim because he has been brought up in a Muslim home. If someone says that he is a Sikh, he is a Sikh because he has been brought up in a Sikh home. This fact should be realised. If a man is born in Bengal, he will speak Bengali. If a man is born in the Punjab, he will speak Punjabi.

What I want to say is, it is very important that our Government should have laboratories to find out the origin of all thoughts, find out how these thoughts develop, how these thoughts capture our minds and how these thoughts sometimes drive men as you pull an ass with a rope. It is very unfortunate that we do not know this.

Another thing is, there is the blood current; that is to say, blood current coming from parents and parents. Blood current sometimes make people very stubborn, sometimes they get easily agitated, and this is all the fault of blood. I lectured about this in the United States also. This fact should be realised as to how blood currents effect society, how thought currents effect society. Hinduism is some thought, Islam is some other thought. Congress is some thought, Communism is some other thought. PSP is some thought and SP is some other thought. These are all thoughts and our people are fighting for those thoughts. If our benevolent Government will take into consideration these facts, I hope we shall be able to do away with all friction.

In the end, Sir, I only want to say this. I believe in this great principle that all should work for all to make all happy. One should always examine one's thoughts every morning and evening or pray according to my Religion of Love. One must find out what thoughts make one fight. If some thoughts make one fight, one must eliminate those thoughts.

Shri Liladhar Kotaki (Nowgong): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion of thanks to the President moved by Shri Viswanatha Reddy.

[Shri Liladhar Kotoki]

The one issue that has agitated our minds recently is the aggression on our borders by the Chinese. Only recently the relation between Pakistan and India has improved, but our relationship with China who was a partner in the *Panchsheel* has so much deteriorated that it tantamounts to violation of our territorial integrity.

Sir, Shri Mukerjee has taken objection to the expression "breach of faith" in the President's Address. Shri Asoka Mehta very aptly has stated that it is a calculated under-statement. I will not quarrel with the words and expressions, but I am concerned with the grim fact that China has violated our borders and, therefore, it is our sacred duty to remove that aggression as soon as possible.

The difficulty in our way is that we are believers in the policy of peace, not only with our neighbours but with the whole world and, therefore, a sort of apprehension has stood in our way of removing the aggressors from our borders. Longju is still in the Chinese occupation. They have built roads in Ladakh area and they have constructed air bases there. And, therefore, we have to make our minds clear as to when we are going to remove those aggressions. It is true that the diplomatic negotiations should be allowed to continue, but the question arises as to how long we will allow these negotiations to continue, while the Prime Minister has stated over and over again that there is no basis for negotiation with China unless and until the pre-conditions are satisfied.

So far as the defence of our borders is concerned, I should like to make a few humble suggestions. The Prime Minister said in this House that the Indo-Tibetan region is so difficult to approach from our side of the border as the slopes of the Himalayas are so steep that we cannot reach our frontier posts very easily. Therefore, the question arises that we must develop transport and communications to the border posts as quickly as possible.

So far as the defence of the North-East Frontier area is concerned, comprising Assam, NEFA, Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, Manipur and Tripura, it is connected with the rest of India only by a small corridor of 40 miles. Therefore, unless we have got an adequate defence arrangement inside that region, it would be very difficult to rush help and to reinforce our frontier guards along the long borders which encircle this entire region.

In this connection, I would also venture to submit that the air bases should be constructed quickly at Tejpur, Gauhati, Jorhat and Dibrugarh so that from there we could rush not only military supplies but the supply of essential commodities for the border people and also for our armed forces there.

I would also venture to suggest that in the matter of our defence, at present and also for the future, we should introduce as soon as possible compulsory military training through National Cadet Corps in higher classes in Secondary schools and in all classes in colleges and universities. So also, I would suggest that the Territorial Army course should be made compulsory to all others who are not students, between the age-group of 20 and 30 years. That will give us a sufficiently dependable trained personnel in the case of an emergency to defend our borders.

The next question that is uppermost in my mind and also in the minds of the hon. Members of this House and of the people of this country the food problem. We have discussed this matter for ten years and more, but the pity is that we have not yet been able to solve this problem. It is true that during the year 1958-59 the production has been very good. It was to the tune of 73.5 million tons. But the question that we have to face today is that by the end of the third Plan we have to produce 110 million tons in order to feed the population which we will have by that time. Therefore, in simple arithmetic, it is

this: we have to increase our production of foodgrains by 36.5 million tons during the course of the third Five Year Plan. So, we have to see that in the coming third Five Year Plan which is in the process of being framed, we make adequate provision to overcome the obstacles that have stood in the way in this matter so long.

In this connection, I beg to point out that we thought of solving our food problem in the first Five Year Plan itself. We could not do that. Then, we thought we could solve it in the Second Plan. We find today that we have not been able to do it. Therefore, I am doubtful whether we are going to solve this problem by the end of the Third Five Year. This is a vital problem which I have placed before this House before also. We must not be in any way miserly in solving this problem. As I said before, it is a shame to depend on foreign countries for a vital item like food. We must fight this on a war-footing. We must take stock of the handicaps before our agriculturists and remove them. In this connection, I venture to suggest that while I do not minimise the importance of increase in per-acre yield by introduction of scientific methods of agriculture, using fertilisers, manures, improved seeds, improved implements, and so on, I believe if we can relieve our agriculturists from the vagaries of nature and dependence on monsoon, we will have solved the food problem to a considerable extent.

The colossal losses due to excessive or inadequate rainfall, floods and droughts will show that if we can prevent them, we will have enough food to feed our population for the next five years even without adopting scientific methods. I am not minimising the importance of increase in per-acre yield, I believe if these rudimentary obstacles of our agriculturists caused by floods, droughts, excessive rains, waterlogging, etc. are removed, our agriculturists will go ahead with

the food production, as they have been going ahead whenever there is favourable monsoon. If you look into the history of food production in the country, you will find that whenever there is good monsoon, there is increased production, and whenever there are natural calamities like floods and drought, food production depletes, in spite of the fact that fertilisers and other improved methods are being used. So, I submit that we must solve this problem of excessive and inadequate supply of irrigation water for our agriculturists.

17 hrs.

An important question arises about decentralisation of power and administration and also formation of co-operatives. We have talked about this over and over again, but to my mind, the progress made has been very slow. So far, Panchayat Raj has been introduced only in two States, namely, in Andhra and Rajasthan. In my State of Assam, they have started the work, although the Village Panchayats are yet to be formed. In other States, we do not know how much progress has been made in this connection. Unless we form this base of panchayats and co-operative societies the very fundamental agencies which even the Community Development organisation has been emphasising that unless the co-operative village panchayats and village schools are made the vanguards and spearheads of the organisation, in spite of the Community Development projects, we are not going to rouse the people and without peoples' co-operation we are not going to increase the agricultural production. That is the problem before us. Therefore, my submission is that we should all put our heads together. We should launch an all-out national campaign to create the necessary climate all over the country. Let us take even one year in this campaign, in a persistent and continuous process whereby governmental and non-official agencies will devote themselves to create a climate

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so that our people can extend their co-operation in this gigantic task of solving the food problem and also creating the base for our industrial development, namely, having increased production of raw materials for our industries.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is the hon. Member concluding in a few minutes.

Shri Liladhar Kotoki: I will take a few more minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He might continue his speech tomorrow.

17.02 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, February 16, 1960|Magha 27, 1881 (Saka).
