

their population figures and so on. I think it is very unfair to say that the district officers, in connivance with any one, were trying to do these things.

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** Unfortunately that is the fact.

**Shri A. K. Sen:** They were really trying to meet the requisition from the Chief Election Commissioner. Facts have to be supplied by the district officers. Who else will supply the facts?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker rose—**

**Shri Tyagi:** What about the fundamental right? Does it not violate fundamental rights? Are you sure?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Fundamental right arises only when the Chair gets up:

The question is:

"That the Bill, as amended, be passed."

*The motion was adopted.*

13.34 hrs.

#### MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now take up the motion on Address by the President for which 15 hours have been allotted.

Before I call upon Shri Bhakt Darshan to move his Motion of Thanks to the President, I have to announce that under rule 21, I have fixed that the time-limit for speeches shall ordinarily be 15 minutes, with the exception of leaders of groups and the Mover for whom 30 minutes will be allowed, if necessary.

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 Naushir Bharucha** (East Khandedh): The Minister's time is exclusive of the 15 hours?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He was there in the Business Advisory Committee.

**Shri Naushir Bharucha:** I was absent on that day.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Then I might tell him that 15 hours are in all, including the reply as well.

**श्री भक्त दर्शन (गढ़वाल):** आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इसे अपने लिए बड़े सम्मान और गौरव की बात समझता हूँ कि मुझे राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर निम्नलिखित धन्यवाद-प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत करने का अवसर मिल रहा है :

**श्री वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर):** यह हिन्दी का सम्मान है ।

**श्री भक्त दर्शन:** उस प्रस्ताव की भाषा इस प्रकार है :

इस अधिवेशन में समवेत लोकसभा के सदस्य राष्ट्रपति महोदय के उस अभिभाषण के लिए जो उन्होंने १४ फरवरी, १९६१ को एक साथ समवेत संसद की दोनों सभाओं के समक्ष देने की कृपा की थी, उन के प्रति अत्यन्त आभारी है ।

श्रीमन्, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में मुझे दो बातें स्पष्ट दिखायी पड़ती हैं । इस अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रपति जी की सौजन्यता, उनकी शालीनता, उनकी विनम्रता, उनकी उदारता और उनकी महानता की स्पष्ट छाप दिखायी देती है । दूसरी ओर इस अभिभाषण में प्रधान मंत्री जी की औजस्विता, उनकी कर्मठता, उन के आत्मविश्वास और उन के आदर्शवाद का पुट दिखायी पड़ता है । इन दोनों प्रकार के दृष्टिकोणों का सुन्दर समन्वय वह चीज है जिस से हमारा भारत आज इतना महान है, और जिसकी वजह से

## [श्री भक्त दर्शन]

भारत ने इतने कम समय में इतनी प्रगति की है ।

श्रीमन्, इस अभिभाषण में पिछले वर्ष की घटनाओं का गिहाबलोकन किया गया है, व आगामी वर्ष के कार्यक्रम की रूपरेखा दी गयी है । इस में बहुत ही नये नुस्खे और नये शब्दों का उपयोग किया गया है । इस में न तो हमें कहीं अतिशयोक्तिपूर्ण आशावाद दिखायी देता है और न व्यर्थ के निराशावाद की झलक दिखाती है, बल्कि अपनी कठिनाइयों और कमजोरियों को समझते हुए भी हमको और हमारे देश को आगे बढ़ने की प्रेरणा मिलती है, ताकि हम अपने देश को प्रगति के मार्ग पर अग्रसर कर सकें ।

यह भारत का सौभाग्य है कि हमारे देश के जिन सेनानियों ने राष्ट्रपिता के नेतृत्व में देश के स्वाधीनतासंग्राम का संचालन किया था, उन्हीं के द्वारा अब तक इस देश के शासन का सूत्र संभाला गया है और आगे भी संभाले जाने की आशा है । यही कारण है कि जहाँ हमारे देश में लोकतंत्र की जड़ें मजबूत हुई हैं वहाँ हमारे पड़ोस के देशों में लोकतंत्र का ढाँचा भी समाप्त हुआ जा रहा है । हमारे देश में तो, हमारे विरोधी दलों के लोग भी स्वीकार करेंगे कि, लोकतंत्र की विजय यात्रा जारी है । हमारे देश में दो आम निर्वाचन बड़ी शांति और सफलता के साथ सम्पन्न हो चुके हैं और तीसरे आम निर्वाचन की तैयारियाँ हो रही हैं, और मुझे आशा है कि तीसरे आम निर्वाचन की अग्नि परीक्षा में भी हमारा देश सोने की तरह खरा उतरेगा ।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे वर्तमान शासन सूत्रधारों के कारण हमारे देश को एक स्थिरता का चरदान मिला है । कांगो की ताजा स्थिति इस बात की साक्षी है । अगर हमारे देश के

नेता वृद्धिमता व दूरदर्शिता से कार्य न करते तो हमारे देश में भी कांगो से भी बदतर हालत हो सकती थी और हम गृहयुद्ध के दलदल में अभी तक फसे रह सकते थे ।

इस अवसर पर, यदि यह मेरी अनधिकार चेष्टा न समझी जाए, तो मैं ब्रिटिश जाति की सद्भावना और वृद्धिमता के प्रति भी साधुवाद अंकित करने का मोह संवरण नहीं कर सकता, क्योंकि वे भी यहाँ पर ब्रेलजियनों का पार्ट अदा कर सकते थे । इसी कारण तो आज देश में जहाँ कहीं भी ब्रिटिश महारानी का आगमन हो रहा है, उनका बहुत ही अभूतपूर्व हादिक और उत्साहपूर्ण स्वागत किया जा रहा है ।

इस सदन में भी तथा इस सदन के बाहर भी बहुत से लोगों ने इस बात पर आपत्ति की है कि इस पर क्यों इतनी फिजूलखर्ची की जा रही है, बल्कि कुछ सज्जनों ने तो इसको गांधीवादी विचार धारा के प्रतिकूल भी माना है । लेकिन मेरी तो सम्मति है कि यदि सरकार ब्रिटिश महारानी के स्वागत के लिए इतनी उचित और अच्छी व्यवस्था करती तो जनमत का पूरी तरह से आदर नहीं किया जा सकता था । मेरा अपना तो यह अनुभव है कि जो लोग ब्रिटिश महारानी के स्वागत का सैद्धान्तिक रूप में विरोध कर रहे थे, उन्हें भी मैं ने रामलीला ग्राउंड में सब से आगे बैठे हुए पाया और उन के स्वागत-समारोहों में वे ज्यादा उत्साह दिखाते पाए गए । मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इन स्वागत-समारोहों ने इस बात को सिद्ध कर दिया कि जो देश गांधीवादी तरीके से स्वतंत्र होते हैं उन के और भूतपूर्व शासकों के बीच मित्रता की कौसी भावना पैदा होती है, और हम ने इसका इस प्रकार एक ज्वलन्त उदाहरण संसार के सामने प्रस्तुत कर दिया है ।

श्रीमन्, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में अनेक बातों का उल्लेख किया है लेकिन

सर्वप्रथम उन्होंने चीनी आक्रमण और अतिक्रमण का जिक्र किया है। क्योंकि बहुत ही आवश्यकता थी। आज सारे देश की नजर देश की उत्तरी सीमा पर लगी हुई है, और वह इस कारण से कि हमने जिसको अपना नव में बड़ा मित्र माना था, जिस के लिए हम अपने साथियों से लड़े और झगड़े तक थे, उसी ने हमारी पीठ में छुरा भोंकने की उचित चरितार्थ की और अगर इस धजह से आज देश के कोने कोने में रोष और असंतोष की लहर फैली हुई है तो यह बहुत ही स्वाभाविक है।

श्रीमन्, राष्ट्रपति जी ने चीन के प्रति हमारी जो नीति है उसको दो शब्दों में व्यक्त कर दिया, शान्तिपूर्ण और दृढ़। शान्तिपूर्णता और दृढ़ता, यही हमारी नीति की आधार-शिलाएं हैं। इस से अच्छी हमारी नीति की दूसरी व्याख्या नहीं हो सकती। इस में भारतीय जनता की भावनाओं का वास्तविक प्रतिबिम्ब है।

कई लोग आज देश के विभिन्न भागों से यह मांग कर रहे हैं और इस धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव के सम्बन्ध में जो संशोधन आए हैं उन में भी कुछ सज्जनों ने इस बात की सूचना दी है कि हमें जिस भूमि पर चीन ने कब्जा कर रखा है, फौजी कार्रवाई के द्वारा पुनः अधिकार कर लेना चाहिए। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं अपने उन उत्साही साथियों के साहस और वीरता की तो प्रशंसा करता हूँ, लेकिन उनकी बुद्धिमानी की सराहना नहीं कर सकता। क्योंकि जिन हमारे जन प्रतिनिधियों के कंधों पर इतना गहरा उत्तरदायित्व है वह बहुत सोच समझ कर कोई कदम उठाते हैं, और बहुत सोच समझ कर शब्दों का प्रयोग करते हैं। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महोदय और भारत सरकार के कंधों पर एक बड़ा नाजुक और गुरुतर भार है। और वे जनता की निराशा और क्रोध की भावना से पूर्णतया परिचित हैं, लेकिन वे इस बात को भी जानते हैं कि एक विशाल और नशे

में चूर देश के साथ युद्ध छेड़ने जैसी कोई चीज शुरू करने से पहले हमें बहुत सोच विचार करना पड़ेगा। इस संबंध में मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आम जनता की तौर पर हमारे नेताओं के हृदय में भी क्रोध आना स्वाभाविक है लेकिन जिस तरीके से शंकर महादेव ने विषपान किया था उसी तरीके से हमारे नेताओं को भी हमारे सूत्रधारों को भी विष का घूंट पीना पड़ रहा है। लेकिन मुझे विश्वास है और मैं सदन के उन सदस्यों को अपनी अन्तरात्मा की आवाज से यह विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह शिव का तीसरा नेत्र खुलने के बाद सब भस्म हो गया था तो वह शंकर का तीसरा नेत्र खुलने का अवसर समीप आ रहा है और उस के लिए हमें अपने नेताओं पर विश्वास करना पड़ेगा। किस किस की और क्या कार्यवाही की जाय, किस प्रकार और कौन से अस्त्रों का प्रयोग किया जाय, कब समझौते की वार्ता हो और कब युद्ध हो इस के लिए हमें अपने नेताओं पर अटूट श्रद्धा रखनी चाहिए।

13.41 hrs.

[Mr. SPEAKER in the Chair]

श्रीमन्, इस बीच भारत और चीन की सीमाओं के संबंध में हमारे दोनों देशों के अधिकारियों के बीच जो वार्तालाप चल रहा था उस की विस्तृत रिपोर्ट भी सदन के पटल पर रख दी गई है और सारे देश की जनता ने उसे देख लिया है। मैं उन सदस्यों में से था जो प्रारम्भ में इस वार्तालाप की उपयोगिता को नहीं समझ रहे थे और मेरे विचार में यह बेकार की बातचीत थी क्योंकि जब चीन का शासक दल इतने तर्कहीन ढंग से अपनी बातों पर जिद कर रहा है तो इस प्रकार के लम्बे वार्तालाप का अधिकारी स्तर पर चलाना बेकार सा दिखाई देता था। लेकिन अब जब कि दोनों देश के अधिकारियों की वार्तालाप सम्बन्धी रिपोर्ट निकल चुकी है तो मुझे उस निर्णय की

[श्री भक्त दर्शन]

प्रशंसा करनी पड़ रही है जोकि भारत सरकार ने इस वार्तालाप में अपने अधिकारियों को शरीक होने का किया था। इस रिपोर्ट ने सूर्य के प्रकाश की तरह से यह सिद्ध कर दिया है कि चीन की वर्तमान सरकार के ऐसे विस्तारवादी मंसूबे हैं जिनका कि कोई सार और सिर पैर नहीं है। उन्होंने अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से भारत में काश्मीर के विलय को अस्वीकार कर दिया है। भूटान और सिक्किम में भारत की जो विशेष स्थिति है उस को भी अमान्य कर दिया है। चीन ने पहले से भी अधिक २००० वर्ग मील भूमि पर अपना दावा बढ़ा लिया है। मेरे निर्वाचन क्षेत्र की बात आप जानते ही हैं कि बड़ाहोती, सांगचा मल्ला और लापथ्यल यह तीन स्थान ऐसे थे जिन के बारे में कुछ वर्गमिलों के बारे में यह माना जाता था कि उन पर उस का दावा है लेकिन अब चीनी और भारतीय अधिकारियों के बीच में जो वार्ता हुई है उस में उन्होंने सारे क्षेत्र को मिला कर ३०० वर्ग मील का और दावा कर दिया है। इस से उन के मंसूबे और उन के दावे निरन्तर बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। लेकिन सब से बड़ा लाभ यह हुआ कि आज सारे संसार के जनमत को सूर्य के प्रकाश की तरह से मालूम पड़ गया है कि भारत का पक्ष तथ्यों, संघियों, रीति रिवाजों और व्यवहारों सभी दृष्टियों से सत्य और पुष्ट है।

श्रीमन्, इस अवसर पर जो हमारे अपने अधिकारी हैं, वेसे अधिकारियों की प्रशंसा करने की आदत तो मुझे नहीं है लेकिन इस अवसर पर मैं यह उपयुक्त समझता हूँ कि संसद् की कार्यवाही में इसका उल्लेख आ जाना उचित होगा—कि हमारे वैदेशिक मंत्रालय के उन अधिकारियों ने उस लम्बी और धका देने वाली वार्ता के अन्दर अत्यन्त योग्यता और अच्छी सूझबूझ का परिचय दिया है। उन्होंने स्वयं चीनी प्रमाणों के द्वारा भारतीय तथ्यों को सत्य सिद्ध करने में सफलता पाई है

और उस के लिए हमें उन्हें बधाई देनी ही चाहिए।

एक सब से बड़ा लाभ इस का हम यह देख रहे हैं कि जब से यह रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित हुई है हमारे देश का एक वर्ग जोकि चीन को आक्रमणकारी ही नहीं मानता था और पिछले अपने अभिभाषण में राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो विश्वासघात (बीच औफ फेथ) शब्द का प्रयोग किया था उस से वह भी तिलमिला उठा था, उस वर्ग के लोगों की बुद्धि गायद कुछ ठिकाने पर और सही रास्ते पर आ गई मालूम पड़ती है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : शायद।

श्री भक्त दर्शन : कम्युनिस्ट दल के एक प्रवक्ता श्री गोविन्द नैय्यर ने अभी दो दिन पहले राज्य सभा में राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण सम्बन्धी वादविवाद में जो अपने विचार प्रकट किए हैं उन से मालूम पड़ता है कि वे भारत सरकार की चीन-संबन्धी नीति को सही समझते हैं और उसके तथ्य को वह समझ गये हैं और उनके राज्य सभा में दिये गये भाषण से ऐसा आभास मिलता है कि वे सही रास्ते पर आ रहे हैं। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि लोक सभा में भी अब जो यह राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर विवाद प्रारम्भ हो रहा है तो हमारे साम्यवादी साथी अपने उस बदले हुए रुख का परिचय देने की कृपा करेंगे।

यहां पर यदि असंगत न हो तो मैं चलते चलाते इस और भी सदन का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि अक्सर वावेला मचाया जा रहा है कि सीमान्त क्षेत्रों में साम्यवादी कार्यकर्ताओं की हलचलें बहुत बढ़ रही हैं और उस की वजह से जनता में वहां बड़ा विस्फोभ है और सुरक्षा-व्यवस्था में अड़चन पड़ रही है। मैं उस इलाके का एक छोटा सा प्रतिनिधि होने के नाते थोड़ा सा इस सम्बन्ध में निबदन करना चाहूंगा कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी को



और हमारे अधिकारियों को अपने गुप्तचरों की रिपोर्टों से थोड़ा-बहुत चिन्तित तो होना चाहिए लेकिन अधिक उत्तेजित नहीं होना चाहिए। मैं उस इलाके का एक सेवक होने के नाते विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि साम्यवाद और साम्यवादी दल का उस इलाके में कोई प्रभाव नहीं है, लगभग शून्य-सा है। लेकिन समाचारपत्रों में जो बड़ी बड़ी रिपोर्टें निकलती हैं और स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री जी के भाषणों में उनका उल्लेख किया जाता है तो उन्हें अनावश्यक महत्व मिल जाता है और लोगों को खोजना पड़ता है कि वे साम्यवादी लोग कहां पर हैं जिनका कि प्रभाव कहा जाता है। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी को और अन्य माननीय सदस्यों को यहां पर उस इलाके का एक सेवक होने के नाते यह भी आश्वासन देना चाहता हूँ कि उत्तरी सीमावर्ती क्षेत्र, उत्तराखंड, गढ़वाल, हिमाचल प्रदेश और अल्मोड़ा आदि के निवासियों ने न केवल सर्वदल कांग्रेस का दृढ़ और प्रबल समर्थन किया है बल्कि भविष्य में जब कभी भी इसका अवसर आयेगा तब वहां का बच्चा-बच्चा अपने देश की रक्षा के लिए हंसते हंसते बलिदान हो जायगा। इसलिए आज भी यद्यपि वहां पर चीनी वायुयान उड़ने दिखाई देते हैं और जैसा कि स्वयं हमारे रक्षा मंत्री जी ने परसों यहां पर स्वीकार किया था कि ऊखीमठ और वहीनाथ के इलाके में गत दिसम्बर के महीने में विदेशी वायुयान दिखलाई पड़े थे लेकिन उसके कारण वहां की जनता में कोई आतंक नहीं है कोई विक्षोभ नहीं है और वे शान्तिपूर्वक अपने दैनिक कार्यों को चला रहे हैं।

श्रीमान्, इसी सिलसिले में मैं चलते चलाते यह उल्लेख करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सीमावर्ती पर्वतीय क्षेत्रों की जनता के सामने अगर कोई अभिशाप है अगर कोई अड़चन है, तो वह वहां की गरीबी और बेरोजगारी है। यही एक अभिशाप है। यदि किसी समय हमारी रक्षा पंक्ति में कोई दरार आ सकती है

तो वह इसी कारण आ सकती है। इसलिए मुझे बड़ी प्रसन्नता है कि केन्द्र और राज्य सरकारों का ध्यान उस ओर कुछ गया है लेकिन जैसे कि मैं ने एक बार कहा था "देर आयद दुस्त आयद" देर में ही मगर यह बात मेरी सरकार के ध्यान में तो आई।

मैं इस अवसर पर विस्तार के साथ नहीं जाऊंगा लेकिन इतना अवश्य उल्लेख कर देना चाहता हूँ कि यह विकास का कार्यक्रम जो चल रहा है उस में और तेजी लाने की आवश्यकता है; सारे पर्वतीय क्षेत्र को एक यूनिट एक इकाई मान कर आगे चलने की आवश्यकता है; वहां के संचार साधनों में बड़ी तेजी से प्रसार करने की आवश्यकता है और उससे भी अधिक आवश्यकता है वहां की रक्षा व्यवस्था को सुदृढ़ बनाने की। इस बारे में मैं दो मुद्दाव देना चाहता हूँ।

एक तो यह कि अभी भी कहीं-कहीं पर केवल पुलिस के द्वारा पेट्रोलिंग कराई जाती है। जो हमारा मिडिल सैक्टर है सेंट्रल हिमालियाज का जहां तक मेरी जानकारी है वहां पर केवल पुलिस के सैनिक अपनी सीमा-चौकियों में रख गये हैं। हो सकता है कि हमारी सेना के अधिकारियों के दृष्टिकोण से यह व्यवस्था यथेष्ट हो लेकिन आम जनता में इससे विश्वास पैदा नहीं होता है और अच्छा हो कि इस बात पर पुनर्विचार किया जाय और हमारी फौज के सशस्त्र सैनिक वहां नियुक्त किये जाय।

दूसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि हमारी जो सीमा चौकियां अभी तक सीमान्त क्षेत्र में हैं, उनमें से बहुत सी सीमा से बहुत पीछे हैं। अभी तक, क्षमा करें, हमारे अधिकारियों को यह भी पता नहीं है कि चीनी सेनाएं कहां तक आगे बढ़ गयी हैं। पहले कहा गया था कि ११००० वर्ग मील का इलाका उनके हाथ में है और अब कहा जा रहा है कि १२००० वर्ग मील उनके हाथ में है। इसलिए मैं यह मुद्दाव देना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सीमा चौकियां

[ श्री भक्त दर्शन ]

आगे से आगे बढ़ कर स्थापित किये जाय और जहाँ पर कि चीनी लोगों ने कब्जा कर लिया है करीब करीब वहाँ तक हमारी चौकियाँ स्थापित होनी चाहियें ।

श्रीमन् चीन से तो हम निबट ही लेंगे; कांगो और लाओस में भी कभी न कभी शांति स्थापित होगी ही; और पराधीन देशों को स्वतंत्र करने का हमारा प्रयत्न भी जारी रहेगा लेकिन हमारी वास्तविक सफलता और असफलता का आधार तो हमारे देश के योजनाबद्ध आर्थिक विकास पर ही निर्भर है और इसलिए राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना का भी ठीक ही उल्लेख किया है ।

अपनी प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के द्वारा हम ने द्वितीय विश्व महा युद्ध के धक्कों से जर्जरित अपनी अर्थव्यवस्था को कुछ स्थिरता प्रदान करने का प्रयत्न किया था । दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में हम ने अपने देश में कतिपय बुनियादी उद्योगों की आधार-शिला रखी है और तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में, प्लानिंग की शब्दावली में जिसे सैल्फ-जेनरेंटिंग इकॉनोमी, स्वतः सृजनकारिणी अर्थव्यवस्था, कहा जाता है, उस की स्थापना हम करने जा रहे हैं, ताकि अगले कुछ वर्षों में स्वयं अपने साधनों के द्वारा हम अपने देश का विकास कर सकें और हमें इस सम्बन्ध में दूसरे देशों का मुह न ताकना पड़े ।

इस देश में एक वर्ग ऐसा भी है, जो बुनियादी तौर पर और सैद्धान्तिक रूप से योजनाओं के ही विरुद्ध है । बहुत से लोग ऐसे भी हैं, जिन को शिकायत है कि दो योजनायें आईं और चली गईं, किन्तु हमारा देश उन्नति और विकास नहीं कर पाया है और लोगों के जीवन-स्तर में कोई अन्तर नहीं हो पाया है । यह आम आलोचना की जाती है । मैं यह स्वीकार करने के लिए तैयार हूँ कि हम ने इस अवधि में अपनी आशाओं के अनुकूल

प्रगति नहीं की है और जितना हम को आगे बढ़ना चाहिए था, उतना हम नहीं बढ़ पाये हैं, लेकिन मैं यह स्वीकार करने के लिए बिल्कुल तैयार नहीं हूँ कि हमारा देश वहीं है, जहाँ वह पहिले था । जिन की आंखें हैं, वे देखें और आंखों वाले देख भी रहे हैं—जिन्होंने जान-बूझ कर अपनी आंखों पर पट्टी बांध रखी है और जो वास्तविकता को जान-बूझ कर नहीं देख रहे हैं, उन से किसी प्रकार का तर्क करना बेकार है—कि देश आगे बढ़ा है और आने वाले वर्षों में उस को और तेजी के साथ आगे बढ़ाया जायेगा ।

मैं इस सम्बन्ध में बड़ी विनम्रता के साथ सोवियत रूस और संयुक्त राष्ट्र अमरीका की ओर, जो संसार के सब से बलशाली और समृद्धिशाली राष्ट्र हैं, इशारा करना चाहता हूँ । सोवियत रूस के बारे में हम जानते हैं कि उस ने कृत्रिम उपग्रह और आई० सी० वी० एम०—अन्तर्महाद्वीपीय प्रक्षेपणास्त्र—इत्यादि का निर्माण कर के अपनी आश्चर्यजनक प्रगति से सारे संसार को चकाचौंध कर दिया है । किन्तु जो लोग उस देश का भ्रमण कर के आये हैं, उन का कहना है कि पिछले चालीस वर्षों के अनवरत प्रयत्नों के बाद और कई योजनाओं को कार्यान्वित करने के बावजूद भी वहाँ की आम जनता का जीवन-स्तर इतना ऊँचा नहीं हो सका है, जितना कि पश्चिमी देशों की जनता का है ।

जहाँ तक संयुक्त राष्ट्र अमरीका का सम्बन्ध है, वहाँ की अर्थव्यवस्था से वहाँ के अर्थशास्त्री बहुत चिन्तित हैं । अभी कुछ दिन पहले मुझे मिशिगन स्टेट यूनिवर्सिटी के अर्थशास्त्र के प्रोफेसर, डा० वाल्टर एडम्स, के एक लेख को पढ़ने का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ, जिस में उन्होंने इन शब्दों में अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं—

"As an economist, I am also aware that the economic millennium is by no means at hand, that America today is confronted by public squalor in the midst of private affluence, by depressed areas and a declining growth rate, by hungry children and an inadequate system of medical care. Like Senator Kennedy (before his election as the President, no doubt), I am concerned about an America with too many slums, with too few schools and too late to the moon and outer space":

मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि हम चाहे कितनी भी प्रगति करें, हम को उस से संतोष नहीं हो सकता है। जब संसार के सब से समृद्ध और सम्पन्न देशों की यह अवस्था है, तो फिर वर्तमान सरकार ने कुछ ही वर्षों में इस देश में जो प्रगति की है, उस से निराश और असंतुष्ट होने की कोई गुंजायश नहीं है, बल्कि हमें उस पर गौरव और अभिमान होना चाहिए।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण के पैराग्राफ ३० में हिन्दी का जिक्र करते हुए इन शब्दों का प्रयोग किया है :

"प्रशासन में हिन्दी को स्थान देने की दिशा में उन्नति हुई है। हिन्दी के विकास और प्रचार के सम्बन्ध में सरकारी निर्णयों को कार्य रूप देने के लिये एक केन्द्रीय हिन्दी विभाग की स्थापना की गई है।"

राज-भाषा आयोग की रिपोर्ट पर जब संसदीय समिति ने अपनी सम्मतियां दी थीं, उस के बाद राष्ट्रपति ने अपने निर्देश प्रचारित किये थे। उन के सम्बन्ध में मैं अपनी प्रसन्नता तो प्रकट करता हूँ, लेकिन पूरा संतोष प्रकट नहीं कर सकता। इस का कारण यह है कि कई वर्षों के विचार-विमर्श के बाद लगभग सर्व-सम्मति से द्विभाषी फार्मूला—बाइ-लिंग्वल फार्मूला—स्वीकार किया गया था। मद्रास और बंगाल के प्रतिनिधि, साम्यवादी

दल की ओर से श्री डांगे और श्री मुकर्जी, तथा श्री मुदलियार उस कमेटी में थे। उन्होंने भी इस सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार किया था और इस प्रकार इस विषय में लगभग एक-सर्वसम्मति निर्णय हो गया था। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह भी उल्लेख कर दूँ कि जब कमेटी की रिपोर्ट निकली थी, तो अहिन्दी भाषी लोगों ने तो संतोष प्रकट किया था और हिन्दी-भाषी लोगों ने उस पर अपना असन्तोष प्रकट किया था। लेकिन उस लगभग सर्वसम्मति निर्णय का कार्यान्वित करने के लिए जैसी तेजी और उल्लाह प्रकट किया जाना चाहिये था, यदि अब भी उन का अभाव पाया जाता है, तो हिन्दी और कांग्रेस का एक सेवक होने के नाते मेरे हृदय में कुछ दुख होना अनिवार्य है।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पारि-भाषिक शब्दावली का निर्माण करने सम्बन्धी आयोग को अभी तक नियुक्त नहीं किया गया है। केन्द्रीय कानूनों का अनुवाद करने सम्बन्धी आयोग अभी तक विचाराधीन बताया जाता है। इस के अतिरिक्त हिन्दी को राज-भाषा बनाने के सम्बन्ध में जो समय-तालिका, टाइम शिड्यूल, बनाई जानी चाहिये थी—जिस को होम मिनिस्ट्री ने बनाना था—वह भी अभी तक नहीं बन पाई है। उधर हमारे देश के बहुत प्रभावशाली क्षेत्रों से सम्बन्धित बद्धमूल स्वार्थों, बेंस्टिड इन्ट्रेस्ट्स, में एक दुर्गम सन्धि, एक कौसपीरेसी, हो गई है। एक ओर हम ने सभाचार-पत्रों में पढ़ा है कि संघीय लोक सेवा आयोग, यूनियन पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन, ने अखिल भारतीय सेवाओं की परीक्षाओं में—प्राइवेटिडिया सर्विसिज में—हिन्दी को अल्टरनेटिव मीडियम, (वैकल्पिक माध्यम,) बनाना अस्वीकार कर दिया है और उन्होंने यह कारण उतस्थित किया है कि यह व्यावहारिक नहीं है, जबकि कमेटी ने यह सुझाव दिया था और राष्ट्रपति जी के निर्देश में इस का उल्लेख था। दूसरी ओर विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग की रिपोर्ट से मालूम पड़ता

[श्री भक्त दर्शन]

है कि वे अंग्रेजी के सैदाई हैं और वे नहीं चाहते कि भारतीय भाषाओं विश्वविद्यालयों में शिक्षा का माध्यम हों। यही नहीं, उन्होंने ने अब एक नई कालत शुरू की है कि भारतीय भाषाओं को भी रोमन लिपि में लिखा जाय। रोमन अक्षरों के प्रयोग के बारे में तो समझौता हो गया और अब उन का व्यवहार हो रहा है। किन्तु अब तो भारतीय भाषाओं को भी रोमन लिपि में लिखने का सुझाव दिया जा रहा है।

अतः मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी और गृह मंत्री महोदय से, जिन के नेतृत्व में उस कमेटी ने निर्णय किये थे पुरजोर अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि वे इस अवसर पर दृढ़ता से काम लें। जहाँ मैं उन लोगों की नीति का विरोध करता हूँ, जो उत्साह के अतिरिक्त में हिन्दी को शीघ्र से शीघ्र लागू करना चाहते हैं—मैं उन फ्रैन्चिज्म का समर्थन करने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ—वहाँ मैं उन लोगों का भी विरोध करता हूँ, जिनके अंग्रेजी को एक नया जीवन देना चाहते हैं और दामता की कड़ियों को और मजबूत करना चाहते हैं। उन के प्रति हम को दृढ़ रुढ़ अपनाना चाहिये।

श्री ब्रजराज सिंह (फ़िरोज़ाबाद) : वे दृढ़ नहीं हो सकेंगे।

श्री भक्त दर्शन : श्रीमन्, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण के परिशिष्ट ३८ में एक बड़ा ही अच्छे विषय की ओर सदन और देश का ध्यान खींचा है। उन्होंने ने इन शब्दों का प्रयोग किया है :—

“ मेरी सरकार बराबर ऐसी एक योजना को चलाने और प्रोत्साहित करने का प्रयत्न करती रहेगी, जिस से कि उस के नीति सम्बन्धी निर्णयों के निर्माण और उन पर अमल

के बीच कम से कम समय लगे। ”

मेरी राय में हमारे शासन की सब से बड़ी कमजोरी यह रही है कि हमारी बड़ी बड़ी योजनाओं बड़े सुन्दर शब्दों में बड़े सुन्दर कागज़ पर छापी जाती हैं, लेकिन जब उन पर व्यवहार करने का अवसर आता है, तो हम यह देखते हैं कि जब वे दिल्ली से लखनऊ, या किसी अन्य राज्य के हैडक्वार्टर में पहुँचती हैं, तो उनका स्वरूप ही बदल जाता है, वहाँ से जब वे ज़िले के हैडक्वार्टर में पहुँचती हैं, तो उन में और परिवर्तन हो जाता है ; फिर ब्लॉक के हैडक्वार्टर तक पहुँचते पहुँचते उन में और नमरु-मिर्च लग जाता है, उन का रूग्णतर हो जाता है फिर गांव तक जाते जाते, और एक अतिरिक्त दर्जे के नागरिक तक पहुँचते पहुँचते, या तो वे समाप्त हो जाती हैं, या उन की शकल ही बदल जाती है। इस प्रकार यह एक बड़ी भारी समस्या है और जब राष्ट्रपति जी ने स्वयं अपन भाषण में इसे और ध्यान दिलाया है, तो इस का मतलब यह है कि हमारे अधिकारी और शासन-संचालक इस ओर सतर्क हैं और जागरूक हैं और मैंने पूरी आशा है कि वे इस सम्बन्ध में पूरे उत्साह से कार्य करेंगे।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं केवल एक ही उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। कुछ वर्ष पहले इस सदन ने जीवन-बीमा व्यवसाय का निगम स्थापित किया था, लाइफ़ इन्शोरेंस कॉर्पोरेशन की स्थापना की थी और हम ने उस को समाज-वादी अर्थव्यवस्था का निर्माण करने की ओर एक बड़ा दृढ़ कदम माना था। लोगों को भी इस से बड़ी आशाओं में बंधी थी। यह आशा की गई थी कि इस कदम से बीमा व्यवसाय के कर्मचारियों और पालिसी-होल्डर्स का बहुत फायदा होगा। लेकिन मुझे शिकायतें मिल रही हैं, जो अन्य सदस्यों को भी मिली होंगी, कि फ़ोल्ड वर्कर्स अलग परेशान हैं और हालत यह है कि बहुत सी जगह पालिसी-होल्डर्स को बीमे की किफ़ायतों की रसीदों तक

नहीं पहुंच पा रही हैं। इसीलिए एक साहब ने कहा है कि यह "कांपरिशन" नहीं है, बल्कि "कर परेशान" है, जिस का काम ही लोगों को परेशान करना है। यह उदाहरण है इस बात का कि हमारी अच्छी से अच्छी नीतियों का, अच्छे से अच्छे कार्य-क्रमों का अन्त में जा कर किस तरीके से दुरुपयोग किया जाता है। मैं अपने शासनाधिकारियों से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो इस ओर इशारा किया है, वह बहुत उचित है और बड़ा समयानुकूल है और आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि केन्द्र और राज्यों के शासन जो भी निर्णय करें, उन पर सुचारु रूप से अमल हो। इसी पर हमारी सारी योजनाओं की सफलता और हमारा सारा भविष्य निर्भर है।

अध्यक्ष :हांदय, आप का अधिक समय न ले कर अन्त में मैं केवल यह निवेदन करना चरहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने हम सब सदस्यों से आशा प्रकट की है कि सन्मति, सहिष्णुता और सामूहिक प्रयत्न की भावना हमारा पथ प्रदर्शन करेगी, और मुझे आशा है कि जिस वाद-विवाद को प्रारम्भ करने का सौभाग्य मुझे प्राप्त हुआ है, उस में जो सदस्यगण भाग लेंगे, वे इसी भावना से अनुप्राणित हो कर अपने विचारों को प्रकट करेंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि इस को सहर्ष और सर्व-सम्मति से स्वीकार कर लिया जायेगा।

14 hrs.

**Shri C. R. Pattabhi Raman** (Kumbakonam): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to second the motion of thanks on the President's Address. Last year has undoubtedly been a period of stress and strain, which put, as our President has said, our basic policies and ideals to some strain. The Father  
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of the Nation did not waver when he led the freedom movement against the mightiest empire known to human history. Our faith in ourselves and in our principles has to be firm. The Gita warns that hesitancy and doubt are fatal.

#### संशयात्मा विनश्यति

The acts of aggression on our sovereign territory by China have overshadowed the Indian landscape. The White Paper on China and the Report of the Indian Officials on the border question will enable the world opinion to judge the nature and scope of the incursions into our territory by China and appreciate the soundness of the Indian case. At the outset I wish to congratulate our officials who have not only exhibited efficiency and thoroughness in their task but have also lived up to the highest traditions of our services and preserved their sang-froid, equanimity, under trying circumstances. The magnitude of the incursions has been such that our neighbour has acquiesced in the Pakistan aggression in Kashmir in order to justify her own acts of aggression. China stands indicted before the bar of world opinion.

The time for conquest and acquisition of territory by powerful nations has long gone by. A conqueror today will have no place on the international stage and may have to face charges of larceny and theft and genocide after a big cataclysm. Actually, Hitler's sliutenant Goering had to face the same charges two decades ago. Our peaceful but firm policy referred to by the President is appreciated throughout the thinking world. The doctrine of Panch Sheel which forms the basis of our relations with nations was well adumbrated by its author or Prime Minister at Bandung.

**Shri Ranga** (Tenali): On the advice of China.

**Shri C. R. Pattabhi Raman**: Yes; China was also there a participant.

[Shri C. R. Pattabhi Raman]

She stands condemned by her own attitude. World opinion will judge it.

India cannot accept the results of unilateral action or decisions taken by China. China claims that the alignment in her maps was precise and clear, but offers no concrete notion regarding the points throughout the alignment. Their descriptions are extremely vague. As referred to in the Report, various international authorities of different countries commenting on the traditional boundaries have testified to the logic of the watershed principle. The coincidence of traditional and customary boundaries are also well illustrated in the boundaries between France and Spain along the Pyrennes and Chile and Argentina along the Andes, in contrast to the artificial international boundaries such as those between Canada and the U.S.A.

The President has rightly referred to the borders of India being well established by treaties, customs and usage. Having accepted certain principles for settling her border disputes with Burma, it is rather strange, really inexplicable, that China should fight shy of those principles in the case of India. Over a certain segment in the middle sector in the 2,400 and odd miles of Sino-Indian boundary, the border alignments as claimed by India and China are almost coinciding. China is now putting forward new claims on the Indian territories and is not raising any valid dispute. There is a Tamil proverb, which you know, Sir, which says that a vessel full of milk would turn sour if a drop of buttermilk is put into it. The thousands of years of peaceful co-existence and friendship between the two oldest civilisations in the world. China and India, is being spoilt by the present rulers of China. Generations to come of thinking people in China—I sincerely hope there will be some thinking men in China—will regret and condemn this aggression and it will take a long time for many

Indians hereafter to trust the Chinese or accept their *bona fides* on account of their current policy towards India.

We are grateful to the President for referring to the emergence of many independent countries in the continent of Africa and to their status and admission as full members of the United Nations. A revolution has been created so far as the United Nations is concerned. With a prophetic vision, Mahatma Gandhi claimed long before we attained our freedom, that if India attained her freedom, then, all subject nations would become free. A welcome tribute to our policies was paid when most of the new States in the African continent accepted our policy of non-alignment and have refused to become involved in the cold war.

It is the whirligig of time. It is surprising enough that now Portugal is becoming the biggest colonial empire in the world and is practising the cruelest forms of colonialism, particularly in Angola. Thousands and thousands of able-bodied Africans are sent to South Africa today to do mining work because, quite rightly, the African population in South Africa is not willing to do the mining work. These people are, more or less, indentured labour and have no control over their movements and have to return back after their work is over. Colonialism contains the seeds of destruction within itself. I have no doubt that sooner than later Goa will become free. The Portuguese empire is cracking up and we have no doubt that the cruelties practised by the present regime in Portugal will come to an end. The *Santa Maria* incident, by itself, may not be much; but that is the only pointer as to what the situation is.

The situation in the Congo is deteriorating day by day. A great patriot and leader, Lumumba has been murdered in cold blood. Imperialism has become quite naked

so far as the Congo is concerned. In the olden days there used to be the pretence of carrying light and the faith of Christianity to the heathens. We today see a number of Belgians staying back in a minerally rich and fertile portion of the Congo and fighting to maintain their domination over the coloured peoples and setting up one tribe against another. We have urged an early withdrawal of Belgians and the restoration of constitutional authority in the Congo. Unless this is done there is bound to be a conflagration and it may not be possible with the best of intentions to prevent a global war.

Last but not least, in the unhappy African continent, we have the spectacle of apartheid in the Union of South Africa. It is not only there in the Union of South Africa, but it is there in the mandated territories also, to which she is clinging against international conventions. The theory of multiracialism lacks honesty and good faith. There are more coloured people of African origin in Britain today than there are Europeans in Kenya. Similarly, there are more than 5,00,000 Africans in France. Do these countries have multi-racial problems? Can we say that these countries have multi-racial problems because of the huge number of people of African origin there?

On our initiative, year after year, the General Assembly of the United Nations have condemned South Africa's cruel racial discrimination to which reference has been made by our President. The Union of South Africa is, perhaps, the only place in the whole world where today fear of some kind or other rules everyday life and where arrests of hundreds of non-white people day after day is a common occurrence.

Finally, in so far as international affairs are concerned, the President has stressed the need for outlawing war as an instrument of settling disputes between countries and has also referred to disarmament. Paradoxically

enough, the advance of science in the matter of nuclear weapons is such that the waging of war itself is becoming more and more difficult. The price that humanity will have to pay in the event of nuclear warfare will be the total annihilation of living beings on earth, our planet, which is one of the tiniest of planets in the Universe. This we have to remember.

The President has briefly referred to the various fields of development in India and our achievements internally. But for the behaviour of China and the situation in Africa, there would have been a more detailed reference in so far as these aspects are concerned. The Third Plan is being ushered in and we have the satisfaction of finding the state of the nation as one of all round improvement. Reference has been made to the increase in national income. Whatever setbacks we may have suffered in agriculture in the earlier years, this year's crops, I think, give us enough confidence to look forward to a high level of achievement even in agriculture. Is it too much to expect our businessmen and traders to observe a code of discipline in their dealings with the consumers? The benefit that they are likely to secure in the shape of goodwill will be a real gain to them. That is the only way in which we can vouchsafe to ourselves a free and democratic way of living and the guarantee of fundamental and equal rights for all persons.

We are glad that there is a reference to the panchayat raj. This alone will make the villager get away from the 'ma bap' attitude so far as the administering authorities are concerned. It is particularly gratifying that the panchayat system of administration is ushered in just when our agricultural production is likely to reach a high peak.

In so far as industries are concerned—I am making use of an article by our esteemed Commerce Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri—this period

[Shri C. R. Pattabhi Raman]

—the decade which is just ended—will go down in history as the period in which the foundation for a planned economy was well and truly laid. What has been achieved in these ten years, 1950—60, is very much more than what has been achieved in the first fifty years of this century. The figures are very illuminating. The national income has increased by 40 per cent, industrial production by 66 per cent, agricultural output by 40 per cent, electric power by 150 per cent and the total investment in the economy, by Rs. 10,000 crores. This is in addition to the achievements in the spheres of transport and communication, education and research, health, housing, etc. The production index in the first ten months of 1960 was 167 as against 149 for the corresponding period in the previous year. The three steel plants in the public sector are more or less in progressive production and this has enabled us even to export many thousands tons of steel to earn foreign exchange. To cite two examples, our electric fans and sewing machines etc. are being exported even to western countries; we are also going to export railway engines and wagons soon. There has also been an advance in industrial machinery and machine tool industries and the exploration of oil in Gujarat and Assam in addition to the work in the refineries. Reference was also made to the atomic establishments. I found a reference to this aspect, yesterday or today, in an oblique way by the President of Pakistan. Excluding the great powers, India is second only to Canada in so far as the organisation of and utilisation of atomic energy is concerned. Naturally they are all being used for peaceful purposes.

The President has been pleased to refer to the multi-purpose river projects, the Chambal, Ganga and the Kota Barage schemes. The time has come to take a firm decision in so far as the big rivers are concerned. I have been pleading quite often for

this House. It is fantastic that there should be disputes with regard to the waters of perennial rivers and references should be made to inter-statal boundaries as though the States are independent of one another. What will happen if a State which produces coal refuses to allow its product to go outside its boundaries? It is necessary to link up the great rivers and to follow the pattern of the Volga river system and various other canal systems in Russia. It is necessary, as has been stated before, that Ganga should be joined with Cauvery. It has been said quite often not by me alone. This will not only solve the transport problems; it will create vast employment potential. A number of people can be employed along the banks. What is more, the Dandakaranya can be made fertile. That was a very fertile belt. You know, Sir; you have read the Ramayana. That area is part of Madhya Pradesh and Andhra. Bellary, Anantapur and other districts of Andhra are in that area. They were part of Dandakaranya. The area was fertile.

**Mr. Speaker:** Rakshasas also were there.

**Shri C. R. Pattabhi Raman:** That area was flowing with milk and honey. There were a number of trees; it was very fertile. Today it is dry because most of the trees have been cut and most of the tanks were allowed to dry up and minor irrigation works had been completely neglected. If this is done, it will become fertile again.

In the realm of education, we are making rapid strides. I am just closing in a few minutes. If you will permit me, I will refer to the State of Madras. I do not wish to be parochial on an occasion like this. Every village has a school and in some villages there are two schools in Madras State. Two-thirds of our villages have been electrified and by the end of the Third Plan all the



villages in our State and also the adjoining States will have been electrified. Considered from every point of view, our country is at the stage of harvesting in so far as our planned economy is concerned. Spontaneous tributes have been paid by economists and statesmen all over the world to our rapid advancement. We may look forward to an era of prosperity and all round achievement with some optimism and cheer.

Sir, I deem it a privilege to be able to second the motion of thanks to the hon. President for the Address he delivered to both Houses of Parliament.

**Mr. Speaker: Motion:**

"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 14th February, 1961."

A large number of amendments have been received. In accordance with the usual practice, hon. Members may send slips to the Table within fifteen minutes, indicating the numbers of their amendments which they desire to move. I shall treat them as having been moved, if the Members in whose names the amendments stand are present in the House, and the amendments are otherwise in order.

**Shri S. A. Dange** (Bombay City—Central): Sir, the Address of the President tries to give the picture of the country in relation to its foreign policy and the internal developments. As regards the picture in relation to the foreign policy, it is a very gratifying picture and brings forward once more to the attention of the country and the world as a whole that India is following a very progressive foreign policy, and that it deserves to be supported by all the people in the country and also by the people in the world who take progressive stand

outside in the world. The most outstanding illustration of this policy was the stand which India took in the U.N.O. in supporting the Resolution on anti-colonialism, which demanded that those countries which are still held in slavery should be free. That certainly was an unequivocal stand and true to the traditions of our country's foreign policy which has been shaped in the last ten years by our Prime Minister.

The second outstanding fact to which attention of the country and the world is drawn relates to the events in the international field—the most cruel and cold blooded murder of the Prime Minister Lumumba of Congo. It has truly shocked the conscience of the world. Our Prime Minister expressed the sentiments of our country when he gave his interview and said that it was a premeditated cold-blooded murder and that in Congo no longer can the U.N.O. take the position that it was taking so far. So far, the attitude of the United Nations that they would not intervene in the internal affairs of a country practically led to the endorsement or encouragement of the actions of the Belgian fascists and the result was that when the Congolese were unable to defend their Prime Minister, the Belgians were able to arrest him and shoot him. As we were situated there, I do not know what was our position, the position of the Indian Mission which was functioning as part of the U.N.O. mission in Congo. That subject might later on crop up and we should like to hear from the Government side what Shri Dayal and his associates were doing when Prime Minister Lumumba was snatched away from the protection of the United Nations which he had already sought.

Nobody in this country has supported even indirectly the action of the fascists in Congo and in fact, in our country, there was an expression of indignation and demonstrations by workers, by students, by citizens and all sections of the population against this cold-blooded murder. It was however, a strange sight to see that

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the Indian police were more vehement in beating the demonstrators than sympathising with the expression of indignation at the murder of Prime Minister Lumumba. I want to draw the attention of the House to the fact that particularly in Bombay, when demonstrators approached the place of demonstration, they were so severely and brutally attacked that one wondered whether the police were defending the Belgian fascists or whether they were expressing sorrow at the death of Mr. Lumumba. 50 demonstrators were wounded and two MLAs were sent to hospital; a number of workers and city corporators were wounded and even operations in the hospital had to be carried out in order to save them from their wounds. I cannot reconcile these two attitudes—the indignation of the people at the murder, the support of the Government to the policy of the democratic people in Congo and their indignation at the murder of Lumumba and yet, this savage attack on the demonstrators. If it were in defence of diplomatic personnel—diplomatic personnel who are in danger of losing their lives—one could understand police intervening, but when no such thing exists, this behaviour in several towns is rather a sad affair. I cannot draw policy conclusions from it. I would not say that thereby the foreign policy suffers. But then it has got a certain blot, and it does show there is some vacillation somewhere and there is not that readiness to express indignation that the people want to.

In the field of foreign policy, the usual support that we give to Algerian struggle is there, though unfortunately we have not found our way to recognise the provisional government of Algeria as some Governments have done. There is also anxiety about Laos. There is the demand for disarmament and a general policy of peace and peaceful coexistence is being pursued by our country. That is certainly a good thing.

But when it comes to the application of certain of these policies on one or two matters, then questions are

raised. For example, the question of Goa is there. I think we have not yet taken a very definite position on that. The revolutionaries in Angola are raising the standard of rebellion. Should we not think of allowing at least the patriots in Goa and outside Goa to do something about the matter in such a manner that the spirit of Angola rebels, of the Angola revolutionaries and the fighters of *Santa Maria* are strengthened, that the Portuguese do not get encouragement by our neutrality but that they get a certain amount of demoralisation by activities not only on the part of the people but on the part of our Government? That is just a question I would address to the Government. I would not pose any problems now or come to any conclusions just now. But that should be a thing for thought. Should we lie low so far as this question is concerned and not do something at least in the matter of activating the problem in such a way that the Portuguese are made to think about the problem once more?

The President's address refers to the report of the Indian official team in regard to the delineation of the borders of India and China. I am one of those people who believe that the Indian officials have done good work and that they have presented a strong case about our border, and that it is no longer a problem of vagueness. The borders are being shown here and there and their co-ordinates are defined; the places are defined and the maps are being presented and history is being presented, and they are done in such an efficient manner that I think the officials have done a good job. And as officials—they are not politicians—they had no powers to come to any agreement. But officials as such, they had certainly done a good job.

But then merely delineating and presenting a strong case has not ended the problem and it was not expected to, because the problem can only be ended by the two Governments sitting together and negotiating now on the

basis of the case presented. Here is our case. Obviously the Chinese have not accepted our case. They do not think it is a strong case, because obviously they were not expected to silently gobble up all the maps that were presented to them, all the history, all the survey that were presented to them and say, "All right, Salaam, we will accept it!" No one can expect that. They certainly presented their maps and survey and their history and again, the problem remains in a deadlock. It is an advance and it has advanced one step further only in this: that both sides now have put the coordinates and geography and history together for the people to see and to judge. Therefore, under such a condition, it is now for the Governments to take steps, and it is for the Government of India—I cannot simply press the Government of India, but also the Government of China, as a citizen of India—to take it up and I say that the question be taken up now on a political level.

The officials have done their job. Let the politicians of the two Governments now do their job, and if a problem of Burma can be resolved, there is no reason why the problem about the Indian and Chinese borders cannot be resolved. So, on this question, the next step would not be, as some of my hon. friends would like to do: mere sabre-rattling will not help, because this is not the age of sabre-rattling on either side or on any side. Everybody knows that, because we do not do sabre-rattling even in the case of Pakistan. The thing is lying there for ten years and all our sabres are in the scabbard. There also, we are doing the same thing. Even in Goa we are not resorting to sabre-rattling. We do not demand it. But somehow or other, some people like to do some sabre-rattling only in regard to China.

I would say in regard to Pakistan border also that Pakistan has no right to negotiate about the borders with China—absolutely none. Kashmir being our area, that area is also ours,

and no Government has a right to negotiate with Pakistan on the disposal of those border areas. Here too, I am not guided by press reports. Even the Prime Minister has not confirmed the press reports. Therefore, I am not prepared to assume that China has started negotiating and then to be indignant and agitated about it though everybody has a right to be indignant about it if it really happens. Therefore, on that question also my position is very clear: that Pakistan has no right and it would not be correct for any other country including China—there is no other country anywhere there I think—to negotiate with Pakistan. It would not be correct either on moral or political grounds, because the position is, that those parts are ours.

Certainly then the question is raised as to why they did not negotiate on this question with us. As I understand the document, we were not negotiating a settlement. The officials were demarcating and what they said was "it is inopportune" as far as I understand. That does not mean refusal to negotiate in principle on the fact whether India does not have that area as her part but that it belongs to China and *vice versa*. "Inopportune" simply might mean you cannot even go there and tell us what is where! Therefore, let us leave that and let us delineate as far as other areas are concerned. So, that statement need not be stressed too far but the attitude as such can be noted. In fact, the foreign policy that India has pursued in the last five or six years, is a policy which is in the direction of opposing imperialist monouvres. Therefore it has created a response from the imperialists which is not very healthy for themselves or for the colonial countries. But, I would request Government to be a little more firm. As regards the United Nations, the role that they were playing in the Congo was not a good role which is influenced by the way in which the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, was listening to the advice of his imperialist advisers and not others. With that caution I

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would say that the foreign policy is certainly one of which our country and our people should be proud. If the Address had put it in a rather inspiring language, I would have been very glad. But I think that addresses of this kind are not supposed to be inspiring. I think by their very nature, they are supposed to follow the style of a postal gazette, than of inspiring Address. I am not reflecting on the President—of the style I am saying. It is a catalogue. The catalogue is a good one, excepting for the note of caution or reservation which I want to introduce in it, that the foreign policy should be pursued with greater consistency and greater opposition to the colonialists in the United Nations.

Coming to the home policy, the picture of the home policy is what?—The picture as taken at the end of the Second Five Year Plan and the beginning of the Third Plan? If you pose the question what are our accomplishments on the eve of the Third Plan when this House meets and the President addresses it, I would put it like this. If you sum up the achievements of the five years of the Second Plan, I would say in the matter of industry have we achieved anything? Of course, we have achieved a good deal, which is a great thing. The first great thing we have achieved in the last five years is to lay down the basis of certain heavy industries which have broken the blockade which the imperialists wanted to impose on us in the matter of our development. In the First Plan they would not give us this, that or anything. They used to say: "You look after your agriculture and a little irrigation, and all the old engines which were dilapidated because of war. And after you develop that, later on think of something else." And it was a wrong thing, as the Prime Minister said, not to have thought of heavy industry. It was fortunate in the Second Plan we corrected ourselves. Emphasis was laid on the heavy industry and especially in that sector where we are the most dependent. Everybody can shake his finger

and upset our economy if we have no iron and steel, no coal, no oil and no heavy machinery. Now we have made up. Not that it is enough compared to the size of our country. Considering the vast size, the vast population and our needs, what is being done is nothing for a country of four hundred million. Even if you go to 4 million tons of steel what is it? 12 million people of Czechoslovakia has got six million tons of steel production. A small country like Luxemburg produced three million tons of steel with a population I think of a million or so. So, compared to our needs it is not enough. It is not a question of comparing our needs with what is being done.

We have established a heavy industry. Certainly it is not to the satisfaction of many people even in this country. How many big industrialists there are who are satisfied with the proposal that we are going over to a fourth steel plant and these industrialists who object to that are the arch-enemies of our country; they are anti-nationalists in that they object to the growth of iron and steel industry in this country. Not only that. How many people are satisfied with the discovery of oil? When oil is found in Gujerat, it sinks the hearts of imperialists outside that their monopoly is getting broken. This is the condition. The oil programme of the Government has been going on on correct lines. In spite of that, I find that even in this country there are people who are sorry that in every well dug oil is being found. They feel they are being buried in every well dug for that oil. They are sorry that India is becoming strong.

Therefore, it was a sorry spectacle to see that when the Government of India bought oil from the Soviet Union which has been of crucial help to us in combating the deadlock which was being imposed on us, and when that oil was being offered by the Ministry from State to State and from Corporation to Corporation, State Ministries of

the Congress itself were trying whether they could not buy Burmah-Shell and Stanvac oil. It was to save a pie here and a pie there. Tenders were invited and we know how in tenders somebody underquotes, somebody else. These tricks were played when the Government of India with its oil programme were telling the States to buy this oil, because not only was the oil cheaper, but it was one of tactics and strategy. Even if it were five pies dearer than Burmah-Shell and Stanvac it should have been bought. Now there are explanations coming forward, but I would like to see what is going to be done in that matter later on. However, summing up the developments of five years on the eve of the Third Plan, the basis of heavy industry is being laid; the basis of oil industry is being laid; the basis of iron and steel is being laid. That means we have broken the blockade that was imposed on us.

We know Durgapur is held by the British that Rourkela is held by the Germans. We know how the help has come. We know when it came. When we decided, as a correct line, not only to take help from the Western sector, but also to take help from the socialist sector, then only the gentlemen of the West were brought into a mood to give us their proposals in the iron and steel sector. And yet today they are trying as much as possible to sabotage certain lines of development.

As I said, we support the Plan. But how do we support it? The Plan has two contents. We support the Plan on one content and not on another. The Plan has a country inside it. In so far as every development of the Plan leads to the independent economic development of the country, we support the Plan. We support the country in the Plan. But we do not support the class in the Plan. Because inside the Plan there is a class which is trying to grab everything, trying to steal foreign exchange, trying to get the State sector abolished. The crucial development

in the Plan is the development of the State sector and every Indian, every citizen who wants the development of the country's economy ought to support the extension of the State sector.

The modifications in the industrial policy that are being tried by some people, taking away certain strategic industries from the Industrial Policy Resolution and handing them over to the private sector is a suicidal step. Therefore the country in the Plan we support; the class in the Plan we do not support. We criticise them. The Plan is being grabbed by some people for their private interests, for their class interests and not for the country's interests. Therefore, we have got an attitude of support to the Plan on one side as well as criticism of the Plan on the other.

For example, take the State sector in industry. We have heard in the Question Hour even today that when we have developed certain units of industry on the basis of taxes we imposed on the people, from the money we took from the people, these gentlemen come up and say now that you have developed it, you sell it to us. There are some people who are ready to sell it. We tax the people for building these industries, later on you sell it to these gentlemen for making profits out of it. What is the policy? Is that a correct line? Then they say: "The report is still private." It has leaked out in the Press. One newspaper in Bombay complained, when it was leaked out to one paper, why not to us and they expressed satisfaction that at last Government is thinking of denationalisation of the State sector-privatisation of the State sector. From the House there ought to be condemnation of any such policy; the House should unite and tell the Government, "For God's sake do not take a step in that direction." A beautiful plant like the Hindustan Machine Tools.....

**An Hon. Member:** It is only a rumour.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** There are rumours. That is why I am asking you.

**Shri Tangamani (Madurai):** The Mazumdar Committee's report is there.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** A committee was appointed with an official as Secretary. Why was a committee appointed to think of such a thing. Whether you sell later on or not is another thing; that you should appoint a committee to think of such a proposition means there is something black in it.

**The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai):** No such committee has been appointed.

**Shri Tangamani:** The details of the report have already appeared in the Press.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** I will take it for granted that no such committee was appointed, no such decision was taken and that there is no danger of any unit in the State sector being sold out to any private concern. I take that assurance.

**Shri Morarji Desai:** No assurance is necessary where nothing is happening. It is only his imagination.

**Mr. Speaker:** He refers to a committee—Mazumdar Committee—which was appointed. Was a committee appointed?

**The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri):** There is a committee, but the point which they have considered is this. He says we propose to sell out our public concerns to private people.

**Shri Tangamani:** Shares.

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** It is, at present, only being theoretically considered if in case a new venture is set up in the public sector whether we could raise a certain percentage—

10 or 15 per cent—of shares from the public, whether public shares could be raised and they can participate in that public venture. That is the basic idea. It can never be a public sector project unless Government own 51 per cent of shares.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** I am basing myself on the reports from very responsible business journals.

**Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri:** The question of HMT was raised this morning also. It is a fantastic idea. HMT is one of our best projects; we can never conceive of selling out even a single share to anybody.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** I am very glad about that pronouncement and that clarification that there is no danger of these best things which we are creating with people's money being sold either completely or even partly to the extent of 5 or 10 per cent of shares to anybody in the private sector. I am glad to have got at least some clarification on this matter.

So far as the State sector is concerned, Government should certainly be warned about this. Even though they may not themselves think about it, the private interests are going to try it. They have an eye on the LIC, an eye on the HMT, an eye on the Sindhri factory. Business journals belonging to the monopolistic sector are discussing these propositions and it is certainly a good thing that these propositions are buried once and for ever, that there would be no danger of halting the development of the State sector and its extension, but that there would be concerted attempts to extend the sector in bigger and bigger spheres of industry, which is very vital for the development of the country.

I do not say we are in a position today to take over all private industries. I do not say that we can reserve all private industries in the future for the State sector. We cannot do that. For example, the medium

and smaller industries cannot be taken over in the State sector today. What I am thinking of is strategic lines of production like heavy machinery and coal. Coal ought to be in the State sector as a whole, but there have been hesitations and vacillations and some more concessions are being given to the private sector, because production has not reached the target which we had intended in the Five Year Plan. So, in these matters, I would just caution the Government about this. If these assurances and clarifications turn out in the future to be absolutely true and no attempts are made henceforward, I shall be the first person to be very glad about it.

I come to another question. What is the net result of this development? One should certainly be proud about the internal development industries. But the second sector in which we have lagged behind is the agricultural sector. We are running to other countries for wheat and so on. Why was the failure so huge in this particular sector, which is one of the most crucial sectors? In fact, it is the foundation. The foundation of the economy as it exists today and which we are building is agriculture. There we have failed. Production has increased by about 40 per cent no doubt, but still that increase is not based upon any firm progressive step in land reforms that will ensure a continuous rise in production on a rising basis. There it is all crisis, because our attitude to land reforms is vacillating and is not clear. We once call for co-operatives, but when some interests attack them, Government retreat. We call for abolition of landlordism, but still tenants are thrown out and huge areas of lands are still held in private hands.

So the agricultural sector remains in danger and I feel that is one of the most vital parts of our economy. Everybody is agreed about it, but we are not making progress in spite of our tractors, big farms and so on. That is one sector which is not capable of treatment which we are giving to the industrial sector. It is easier

to build a steel plant, but it is not so easy to build up a huge mechanised farm and by that meet the needs of our country in the matter of food and raw materials. Therefore, even if we start imitating the tactic of Suratgarh farm with huge machines and establish 10 or 20 farms like that, as proposed by certain industrialists, that is not going to solve the agricultural problem. It can only be solved by the right line taken at the Nagpur resolution. But that resolution has been put in cold storage because of certain contradictions inside those very people who fought for that resolution in the Congress; and since Congress is the ruling party, they themselves have to be told whether they are going to put into effect that resolution and thereby correct the agricultural situation in favour of the people.

The question that arises is, who is benefited by these developments? Who is gathering the major gain from these developments? If you put that question, it is very clear that the rich are getting richer and the poor have not grown less poor. That is the picture in the country. That economy is developing in such a way that rich are getting richer simply means the development of capitalism and nothing else. The State sector is in the hands of the State, but even then, it is subject to capitalist influence. Therefore, while one should be proud about the development, the net gain and the step forward that has been taken, one should be sorry that the step is not yet benefiting the masses of the people. That is a very sad spectacle.

Take the matter of wages. We get wage increases from the wage boards. The President's address refers to it. But every wage board report has taken at least two years to come into existence and every recommendation is stalled for months, including the recommendations of the Pay Commission, as we have seen. These recommendations are not given effect

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to. For example, the recommendations in regard to cement and sugar are still hanging fire. In these questions, the approach is, whenever it affects the workers, then there is hesitation, vacillation and almost a retreat from positions which are forced by the action of the workers.

For example, even on the question of the strike by Government employees which has been referred to in the address, my friends know what is the position. The question of victimisation is still dogging us and people are victimised for no plausible reasons, just because certain authorities want them to be victimised either for political reasons or other reasons. It is a problem for every Ministry. It is not only a problem for the Ministry—the Ministry thinks once a person is dismissed there is no problem—it is a problem for every party, a problem for the country, a problem for the whole of the working class. There is victimisation in the Defence Department. Some people on this side think that Shri Krishna Menon is a communist. (*Interruptions*) If it were so, I do not understand why he is victimising the workers in the defence industries. If I were the Defence Minister, I would not victimise my workers like that. That is a sure proof that their criticism of the Defence Minister is wrong (*Interruptions*). And that is also a proof that the idea that we support him in everything that he does is also wrong. I am particularly pointing this out because on the matter of the victimisation of the employees every Ministry is uniformly reactionary. There is nobody.....

**Shri Raghunath Singh** (Varanasi): Is there freedom for strike in Russia also?

**Shri S. A. Dange:** Since then forty years have passed in the Soviet Union and you are too late in the day to ask the question.

**An hon. Member:** Freedom for blackmarketing is not there, I suppose.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** Why discuss Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union 16 people do not die because the temperature has fallen to below normal and people could not stand it. That has happened in Mokameh, the other day.

**Shri Asoka Mehta** (Muzaffarpur): There only the news does not come in.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** You are afraid to go there. I would suggest everybody to go there and see. Shri Nath Pai had gone there the other day. Therefore, let us not discuss Soviet Union, because the Soviet Union is not here to speak about it. Look at the Sputnik going to Venus and you should be in a mood to write poetry about the Venus and Soviet Union. Look at Bhilai, look at oil, look at others. You are now in the wrong question.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** Yes, foolish question like strikes.

**Shri S. A. Dange:** On the question of wages of workers the Plan is not functioning the proper way. On the question of the rights of workers the Plan is not functioning in the proper way. On the question of relief to the citizens the Plan is not yet functioning in a proper way. If you give attention properly to them, then these developments which belong to the country and are based on the sacrifices of the people will benefit the people and will certainly strengthen our country and our people. Now that is the lag that is not mentioned in the President's Address. Only one side is presented. Wage boards are appointed, but what about their effects? Even their effects are nullified by the price rise which has been mentioned. The price rises are still incapable of being controlled with the result that whatever wage increase you give, tomorrow it is upset. Therefore, our slogan has been: link up every wage increase and every wage to dearness allowance automatically so that at least what is given



today is protected. That was the central slogan of my organisations, the All India Trade Union Congress. Because, Government and the boards may increase the wages; next day, Government realises they cannot control the price and the effect of the wage increase is upset. So, the blessing of wage increases is turned into curses because they are not able to control the price line. Therefore, the best system should have been to link up the wages with the dearness allowance or cost of living.

So, on this question what I can say is on this matter the policies are not pro-working class and pro-peasant. The Plan for the country is being used by the capitalists. The Plan is developed by the whole country with the sacrifices of the people, the sacrifices of the intelligentsia and all classes, including the capitalists even. But the gains are only going into the hands of one class. And unless this correction is made, we shall not go forward, as we ought to go forward, in the matter of social progress, making the whole thing available to the country.

This is a matter which I appeal to the Congress party to think over. Because of this irritating situation, frustration, disappointments, people working and yet not getting the benefit,—everybody says the country is going forward but the man in the street thinks he is going backward and he is starving. Of course, not everybody is starving. There is no doubt about it that certain sections get wage increase also—but the general picture is frustration. All these irritations are utilized by the reactionary people.

For example, whenever any failure anywhere is pointed out, as there are certain mad people, there are scoundrels in every community, once a communal mishap takes place whole towns and areas flare up in mutual massacre. What is it due to? Is it not because we have not been able

to possess the conscience and the minds of the people with one single ambition that this country is developing and the country's developmental gains are coming to the people? Because the gains do not come to the people, the reactionaries can get hold of them and say that it is so because this community is bad or that community is bad. Therefore above all this should be placed class consciousness and nation consciousness. Instead of functioning for the development of the country, for the peasants and workers, all gain is frittered away and we see the phenomenon witnessed in Jubbulpore. Jubbulpore is an industrial town with a fine working class colony and fine working class people. Yet, when the incident happened it could not be controlled. Certainly, the incident should be condemned. Why should we condemn one community or other community? It is done by anti-social elements which are everywhere and which should be fought out by the society as a whole. Instead of that, in Jubbulpore certain reactionary parties took advantage of it and, instead of suppressing it, spread it out in the hope that they can divide the country. In this way they stop the country on its way to progress. Therefore, elements in the Congress who disapprove of this, elements in all parties who disapprove of this should combine on this platform of suppressing this communalism with one single united voice. But that single united voice, to become effective, will not be put in that condition by simply talking of moral resolutions against casteism and communalism and reiterating them in new resolutions. No. It cannot be done only by that. The whole development must be taken in one way. Unless you unite the population at some higher level, the lower levels will persist in giving a wrong direction, and that higher consciousness is based on (1) the country and (2) the class. The country is mine, that is, of the people, and not of a handful of private monopolists, who want to plan for themselves; a handful who

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want to take away the gains for themselves, a handful taking all the lawless gains for themselves; the gains shall be distributed over the people, especially the toiling people. If everybody goes in that way, if we succeed in putting that stamp on our development—certainly development is taking place but the question is the direction and the stamp—then we will be on the right track. Now the main direction in development is correct but the direction in relation to the masses is wrong. Development direction true, but development in relation to the masses is untrue, in fact, it becomes anti-people. Therefore, if this is taken into consideration, the hopes of future development will be fulfilled and we shall be on a better road.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** Shri Dange, while concluding his speech, talked about the need for unity of effort and outlook in the country to fight the forces of communalism and other anti-social elements. There is this unusually large attendance in the House at this comparatively late hour because members had assembled to hear Shri Dange speak on a question which is even more vital for our country, that is, the territorial integrity and the inviolability of our frontiers. We were anxious to hear from him whether on this crucial question he stands with the people of India or he has a place apart from them. And it is a matter of deepest regret to us that on this matter he has remained equivocal and he has tried to discover the tightest rope that he can find so that he can walk on it without falling. My hon. friend, Shri Dange sought to explain away China's refusal to discuss with our officials the question of frontier in northern Ladakh by suggesting "Of course, you cannot go there; and you cannot point out what places are where. The refusal should not be construed as China's intransigence." I do not know if he had the time to read the big volume. Perhaps he has been reading the volume backwards and

has not had the time to reach the first part which deals with India's case! But I hope he had the time to read this very brief summary which the External Affairs Ministry has published. May I draw his attention to page 1, the very first page of the summary of the report of the officials of the Government of India and the People's Republic of China on the boundary question? On the very first page, in the very first paragraph it is clearly and unequivocally and unambiguously stated:

"Moreover, China has now come out openly on the Kashmir issue, and declined to recognise the accession of Kashmir to India. She has also gone back on the acceptance as recently as April, 1960 by Premier Chou En-lai of India's relations with Bhutan and Sikkim."

15 hrs.

Is this what Shri Dange said? Is this conclusion capable of the interpretation that Shri Dange offered? Let the hands of those who want to come to us with the plea for unity be clean. If that hand is put forward—I hope even the Treasury Benches and the Congress Party may permit me to say this—we shall be only too ready to grasp it. We shall be only too ready to grasp the hand anyone in the defence of our country and for the preservation of the territorial integrity of our country as well as for the preservation and enrichment of the independence of the country. But that has to be the hand of an Indian patriot. It is a matter of regret and of profound distress to us that the party led by my hon. friend, Shri Dange, should be willing to play a role which fills our heart with shame and sorrow. But I cannot devote all my time to Shri Dange. I shall turn to him a little later. I have got to say something about the gracious Address that the President gave us the other day.

I have the deepest and the profoundest of respect for the President, but may I be permitted to say that I was deeply disappointed by the Address. I remember when I was a student a particular phrase used to attract me very much. That phrase is 'tasteless, odourless and colourless'. I would say that the Address is really like that. It is something so completely insipid that I find it very difficult to get hold of it anywhere.

It is strange that at a time when China is trying to hem us in, when every effort is being made to isolate us, when our territory is being violated, when our two aggressors, the aggressors to the west and the aggressors to the east, are locking themselves together in an unholy alliance of antipathy against us, in this Address there is not even one word which would spark the fire in the imagination of our people. Just when we are being made the victim of aggressive efforts and designs and, on the other hand, when we are on the eve of launching our Third Plan which are tied up our hopes, dreams and ambitions, we get this Address.

This Address, I know, was not written by the President. He is a great writer. But surely the Address could have been written by the hon. Prime Minister who also is an outstanding writer. There are other hon. Members here on the Treasury Benches who, I know, can write very well. Then there is the whole Secretariat behind them. It is strange that such an Address should have been written which is lacking in colour, in words and in any kind that can enthuse and inspire the people! This dead cataloguing of things and remembrance of things past only shows intellectual bankruptcy with which, I hope, we would not like to begin the year.

In the Address, not only in this Address but in all Addresses, there never is a reference to defence. Defence is one subject on which nothing will ever be said. Defence is shrouded mystery. It is covered up and

kept away from any kind of attention and knowledge of the people. Pick up any treatise on defence in any democratic country of the world. At random I am picking up this book from which I shall read out to you the very first, the opening paragraph. It reads:

"It is necessary, now-a-days, to underline the fact that all that is implied by the word 'defence' has become a subject of debate and concern among a far wider circle of thoughtful people than was the case, not even a generation, but only a decade ago. Defence and strategy have burst the bounds of merely official or expert controversy, in much the same way that economics became a subject of general concern...."

There was a time when it was believed that economics should be understood only by the enlightened and the elite. But the whole process of planning has made it possible for millions of our people to understand rudiments of economics. That is why there is this excitement and this possibility of moving forward with a co-operative understanding of the millions of our people. Because there is this rudimentary understanding on the part of the masses of our people my hon. friend, Shri Ranga, finds himself completely cornered. In the same way, if we are to meet the challenge that has been thrown from across our frontiers, it is absolutely necessary that the whole interest and intelligence of the people must be drawn to the understanding of all the problems of defence. But my hon. friend, the Defence Minister, believes that he should be voluble on every other subject but on this subject his tongue must remain tied. I hope and trust that, as is the case in the United Kingdom, every year the hon. Defence Minister will prepare a Defence White Paper, the Cabinet will consider it and place it before the House and the House will have an opportunity to consider the White Paper on defence. In the United Kingdom year after

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year defence strategy and calculations in a very broad way are considered by the House and through the House by the people. That should be the practice here also.

In the past I made a similar request for supplying Members with the Budget on the economic conditions of the country, again on the basis of what was being done in the United Kingdom and such other countries. I am glad that my hon. friend, the Finance Minister, has been doing it and we know how often it has been quoted in our debates and discussions and to what extent it has helped us in understanding the economic health of our country. May I, therefore, through you convey to the hon. Prime Minister and his colleagues in the Government that defence should no longer be kept a kind of guarded secret because only that defence will be successful in which the mass of people have been got interested.

Before I move on to the more important of the major problems with which I want to concern myself, may I in passing refer to one subject which had occupied so much of our attention last year when we were discussing the President's Address and that is the tribunal to root out corruption. I reiterate that demand. May I draw your attention to the fact that in Ceylon—it is a small country and it may be making many mistakes, but we should be prepared to learn from any country—they did one wise thing. They appointed a commission. In all against 39 Members of Parliament, naturally Members of Parliament included Ministers and former Ministers, who were in Parliament some time or the other between 1940 and 1959 charges were levelled publicly and were enquired into. Thirty-two of them have been exonerated and seven have been penalised. If you read the report, you will find how they say that by doing this in a way a safety valve was opened up. This matter was gone into so fully last time, but let it not be considered that

it has been consigned to the dustbin of history. This problem remains not because I say that people in this House are corrupt but because I am anxious that the reputation of each one of us and more so of those in whose hands the destiny of our country is, is beyond any kind of criticism or cavil.

I would naturally like to say something about the biggest single problem that we face today, that is, aggression on our frontiers. I would like to compliment our officials on the wonderful and splendid work that they have done. It only shows that our officials, when they are given precise directions, are capable of fulfilling the responsibilities. Very often because there is hesitation, vacillation and all kinds of ifs and buts in the formulation of policy that things go wrong. I would like to take this opportunity of conveying our appreciation of the splendid work that our team of officials has done. Some of our neighbours like Burma, Nepal and Pakistan seem to think that this is perhaps a good time to reach an agreement with China. China wants to push India, to isolate India. For reasons, I can understand, some of the smaller countries are thinking that if China is willing to reach an agreement why not do it. I have no objection if any one wants to reach an agreement in such a context. May I, therefore, point out that such agreement cannot be relied upon? This big report has made it clear that in 1954, when the agreement was signed between the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Prime Minister Mr. Chou En-lai, certain passes were agreed to as demarcating or designating the frontiers between China and India in the middle sector. It is in this very middle sector that today the Chinese are claiming 500 square miles of territory. Here is the signature of the Prime Minister of China. Here is an agreement validly signed not by his predecessor, but by himself. What is value of the agreement? That agreement is treated as scrap of paper because the Chinese themselves have

said, that when a question becomes ripe, only then, we take it up for discussion. The Burmese question will become ripe if India is not able to stand up against the aggressive designs of China. Nepal will be trodden under feet if India is not able to stand up against China.

Therefore, let our Burmese friends and let our Nepalese friends, and let all our other friends realise that when India is fighting for the preservation of the territorial integrity and national independence of India, we are not merely fighting for our own country. We are fighting for holding back the aggressive designs and aggressive purposes of China. We are serving the cause of world peace. We are serving the cause of the nations of Asia. If somebody wants to take advantage of this situation, they can do it. But, it is short-sighted. We too thought that there are short-cuts in such matters. We have burnt our fingers. I hope, as we are learning from our past experience, other nations will learn from our experience and not necessarily invite to go through a similar bitter experience.

I would like to know, in the western sector, were the 12,000 square miles occupied at one time, or were these 12,000 square miles occupied bit by bit. When did we first know about the occupation? What was the total territory occupied at that time? After we had known it, what did we do to prevent further occupation, because how are we to believe that it has frozen with 12,000 square miles? This has been steady encroachment. This steady encroachment can be stopped if we know that this is why we could not do it earlier and this is why we are sure to do it now.

My friend Shri Dange accepts the McMahon line. I hope he does. But, he never says a word about Ladakh. The traditional line is to be accepted. Whose traditional line? There are so many traditional lines.

**An Hon. Member:** Communist traditional line.

1924 (Ai) LSD—6.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** I wish that even when he is making this tight rope walk, he will have the pole properly held.

On this point of Ladakh, I am afraid the Prime Minister and his Government have not made the position clear. They have not taken the House into confidence, they have not taken the country into confidence. I would like to ask the Prime Minister, if, as our report says—and I am proud of it—as early as 1865, the then Government of Kashmir could maintain police check posts in the northern Aksai Chin area, why was it difficult for us to do it in 1955? We are proud of the fact that our forefathers braved all kinds of inclemencies of weather and they were prepared to face every hardship. Today, have we grown so soft? We the sons and daughters of India, for the safety of our country, shall not hesitate to stake our lives. We are not going to be frightened by difficult climate. What is it? Surely, the brave javans of India never said that they will not go there. It was misplaced humanitarianism on the part of the Prime Minister.

**Shri Ranga:** Cold feet.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** Shri Ranga says it was cold feet. That is his language. I am not accustomed to use it.

**Shri Ranga:** No. You suffer from a similar thing.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** I believe public life is meaningful only when there are courtesies. If Shri Ranga thinks that because he has parted company with the congress only the other day, he should part with courtesy also, I do not go with him.

**Shri Ranga:** Read Virata Prava tomorrow or the day after.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** I would like to find out from the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister owes to this House

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an explanation, if in 1865 this was done, why this was not done between 1950 and 1960.

The big report says, indeed, not a single official Chinese map published prior to 1950 was cited by the Chinese in support of the Chinese alignment—not one single map published before 1950. Since 1950, my hon. friend and still my leader, Acharya Kripalani—in spite of his leaving, he is my leader—over and over again, has drawn attention to what he has called cartographical aggression. What was the Prime Minister's reply? We have written to China, we have written to Russia, they said that these are old maps, do not take notice of them. How many countries are still indulging in cartographical aggression? We ignored them, we slurred over them, we slept over them. We considered that these are aggressions on paper. Here is the man—Acharya Kripalani—who had pointed out over and over again that these aggression on paper are always preludes to aggression on land. That gentleman on the other side—Pandit Nerhu—ignored this warning. I hope this will not happen again. Any cartographical aggression anywhere has to be corrected there and then, or we shall have to pay in terms of blood, sweat and tears. I am sorry, this is a question which, I am sure, moves each one so deeply and so profoundly that it is difficult to restrain one's emotions. Because, here, we are anxious through this House to communicate to the country the anguish, the anxiety, the indignation, the urgency with which we want this Government to move in order to see that the frontiers of our country remain inviolate.

We shall have the pressure of China on our frontiers; it will continue. We shall have to live with it. It is not easy to live with aggression. It requires strengthening of the muscles every minute of your life. That is why I find it is so unsatisfactory that so little thought is being given to the health of the nation? The Prime

Minister said that the health of the country is not very satisfactory—I forget the exact words. Why is it so? Unless you have good health, you cannot live with aggression.

**An Hon. Member:** Mental health.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** The health of the nation. The mental health of the Prime Minister is wonderful and so he is physically, fortunately.

There are three-fold elements today that are interested in creating trouble. One revival of the feudal elements. There are many fine people among the Princes. My young friend the Maharaja of Bikanir: we are happy to have him as our colleague.

**An Hon. Member:** And Baroda.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** But, there are others who think that they live in the 18th or 19th century. My hon. friend Shri Ranga and his friend and my friend Shri M. R. Masani are trying to stir up this element. Let us not stir them up lest in this hour of crisis, we confront ourselves with another difficulty. Then, there are the communal forces. What happened in Jabalpur? In Jabalpur, the communal elements on both sides created a situation where the nationalist and secular elements were overpowered. It is again unfortunate and all parties, your party and my party and every other parties must accept a sense of defeat and humiliation that again, on this occasion, we were not able to function and prevent communal conflict. I leave it to Dada, because he alone can chastise us in his own inimitable manner. I accept chastisement before Dada would offer it to me, that we with others failed to live up to our ideals.

There were two mistakes that could have been avoided. My two friends in the Rajya Sabha Shri Farid Ansari and Niranjana Singh went there and they have submitted their report. By accident all the senior officers were new. All the senior officers had been

transferred at the same time and this new bunch of officers knew nothing about Jabalpur. Surely such things need not happen.

Secondly, there was no clear understanding. After all, there should be a tension map of every city. Whenever difficulties emerge the tension map should be able to tell you what are the areas to be protected and guarded. Nothing like that was done.

Then there are the newspapers—even the Congress Working Committee's resolution has drawn attention to the fact—which indulge in communal propaganda. Why is this being permitted? If our newspaper editors will not exercise self-restraint, something should be done as far as this communal propaganda is concerned. We cannot, in the conditions in which we live today, permit ourselves to be a shuttle cock in this game of communal politics.

Then, of course, there are our friends, the Communists. In their resolution, even the name of China is not mentioned. As to aggression, naturally there is no indication of aggression whatsoever.

These are the dangerous symptoms which are challenging national integration and against which we have to work, which we have to counter. I appeal to this whole House, barring these who will not want to come with us, that on this question of national integration let us have, I am not suggesting unity, but let this become paramount, something which should be the inarticulate major premise of all our thoughts and action. This is one thing that we shall not violate because if we violate it, all our patriotism is merely confined to our lips.

Of crucial importance here is the Plan. That is where I part company with my leader, Acharya Kripalani. It is surprising that after two Plans, we are launching on the third Plan without a serious review, a serious assessment, of all that we have achieved and failed to achieve, and the reasons why, in the last ten years. This cavalier manner of moving forward suggests that we do not always realise

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the importance, the crucial importance, of certain turning points in the history of our country. There are no fundamental reorientations.

For instance, in the Second Plan there was a shortfall of 20 per cent in real terms. I do not know how in the Third Plan that is going to be avoided. The rate of saving has remained almost stagnant. Recently the Government of India, I believe, or some one in the Government of India, invited a very distinguished economist, Dr. Thomas Balogh, to India. He has said that the real failure has been that, from the national point of view, we have not succeeded in establishing the basis of suitable growth in the country, because the rate of savings has not gone up, the rate of growth has remained poor. There has been a national evasion of stresses and strains by relying on foreign aid, not to use the foreign aid just for the purposes of developing the economy, which I consider is proper and necessary, but relying on foreign aid to make up for the lag in national savings. That is something which is inexcusable. No Government and no Parliament can be excused if they transfer the burdens that the people should be asked to carry, that the administration should be prepared to carry, that the representatives of the people should be prepared to carry to foreign aid. Foreign aid has its own part to play, but do not bring it to undertake the responsibilities which we are trying to avoid. That has been the second major failure.

The third failure is what one of the best friends of India, Miss Barbara Ward, Lady Jackson now, has pointed out in a very interesting article in the recent issue of 'Foreign Affairs', *India on the eve of its Third Plan*. She has paid a tribute to the people of India for their enterprise, their initiative and their desire to move forward "irresistibly and unquenchably"—two beautiful adjectives, two beautiful expressions. The people of India are moving forward, but what are the difficulties, and what has

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this good friend of India and one of the world's outstanding economists and political commentator to say? She says:

"Such interlocking shortages in the sectors mainly controlled by the Government reflect not only the degree to which expansion has taken it by surprise. It reflects, too, a certain failure in the mechanism of planning itself. There are no agencies specifically empowered to follow decisions down through the lazy, lower echelons of administration. In Army parlance, "Q Plans"—the Planning Commission—is not balanced by "Q Ops" say, a tough Cabinet subcommittee demanding a regular account of work in progress, not simply in terms of money spent but of physical targets actually achieved, and giving no quarter until every backlog is made up."

Where is this sub-committee in the Cabinet, this Cabinet of soft men, lacking in any kind of toughness as far as administrative efficiency is concerned? What is the value of this Q Plan if there are no Q Ops. If you are not able to do it, there are bright young men in your own party who may not go outside. Pick them up and put them in power, but do not play with the future of this country. Why? As Lady Jackson has said, in the Third Plan, the crucial question is administration. Over and over again, she says the country will be confronted with the problem of administration. Streamline your administration. If you fail to streamline the administration, do not talk about patriotism, national interests and national integrity.

There is just one point I would like to refer to, and that is that in the last ten years our national income is said to have increased by 42 per cent, our per capita income by 20 per cent and consumption by 16 per cent. I would like to analyse these figures a little further, in just two or three minutes.

Firstly, it is difficult to get up-to-date figures for a detailed analysis. Detailed analyses have been made for a slightly earlier period. The Government's figures are for 1951-61. The detailed analysis that has been made by a team of brilliant economists of the Delhi University is for 1949-58. They say that commodity production has increased by 28 per cent only. It is services that have contributed 40 per cent. And even in the services sector, services like Government service have contributed 47.8 per cent. Small enterprises have contributed an increase of only 8.2 per cent. Look at the distorted picture. The wrong elements seem to be contributing more, the right elements have contributed little.

Then again, the total increase in agricultural production is equivalent to Rs. 1,700 crores; Rs. 600 crores out of it has gone to just 3 per cent of the agriculturists, who are the big producers. The total increase in the annual income in the country has been about Rs. 3,600 crores in current prices; 30 per cent of this at least has gone to those whose income are over Rs. 3,600 a month.

Let me draw attention again to the very interesting enquiry which the Ministry of Commerce and Industry permitted a research student to carry out. What is the result? The result of that enquiry is that taking only five major business houses in India, these houses today control, wholly control, 540 companies with total assets of Rs. 821 crores. The biggest single business house in India controls 48 companies, with total assets of Rs. 290 crores. The second biggest business house, which, in fact, has become the first, controls 331 companies, with total assets of Rs. 292 crores. I shall, on a future occasion, try and analyse for this House how these assets have grown in the last ten years.



What has been the metamorphosis of change? This is happening under the very eyes of my good friend, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, and if there is today a sense of frustration, if there is a considerable dissatisfaction and distress, well, the responsibility lies squarely on our shoulders.

Before ending, I would like to point out that recently the *London Economist* brought out a very useful, a very interesting report, on the future economic development in India in the coming five years. After striking a balance-sheets, and after surveying everything, I am happy to say that *The Economist* has used the language which comes so naturally, to you Mr. Speaker, *The Economist* ends up by saying that "The 'Ayes' have it". On the whole, the future of India is sound; on the whole, the future of India is bright; the 'Ayes' have it. I and my party would like to join the 'Ayes'. I say, especially on this question of the future of India, that we want it to be bright; we want it to be strong. But it could be much brighter; it could be much stronger. We are at this crisis in our national history. We are in furnace of our history. Why is it that the 'Ayes' cannot be so resounding? Why is it that the hurrahs and hallelujahs for our country cannot be one big resounding bang? Why is it that heads have to be counted? Why is it that the balance-sheet has to be struck? Why is it that only by every little head being the 'Ayes' win over the 'Noes'? We belong to the 'Ayes'. If we belong to the 'Ayes', I hope and trust that we in this House will so function that when next time a balance-sheet has to be there, there will be no question of striking a balance-sheet, because the 'Ayes' alone will have the future.

डा० सुशीला नायर (झांसी) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रिजिडेंट साहब के भाषण पर रखे गये धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का हृदय से समर्थन करती हूँ। प्रिजिडेंट महोदय ने अपने एड्रेस

में जो तस्वीर रखी है, वह तस्वीर प्रगति की है। उस के साथ-साथ उस भाषण में आत्म-विश्वास की एक झलक है। साथ ही उस में हमारी कठिनाइयों को छोटा करने और हमारे खतरों को कुछ नज़र-अन्दाज़ करने का प्रयत्न नहीं किया गया है। तो भी उन्होंने ने यह विश्वास दिलाया है कि इन खतरों का हम सामना कर सकते हैं, कर रहे हैं और करेंगे।

श्री अशोक मेहता ने कहा है कि अगर कहीं पर कोई नक्शों में हमारे ऊपर एग्जेशन करता है, नक्शों में हमारे इलाके को अपना इलाका बताता है, तो उस को हमें कौरन दुरुस्त करना चाहिये। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि श्री अशोक मेहता कैसे दूसरे मुल्कों में जा कर उन के नक्शों दुरुस्त कर सकते हैं। हम अपने नक्शों दुरुस्त रख सकते हैं, यह सही बात है। हम दुनिया को कह सकते हैं कि हमारा नक्शा यह है, हमारी हदबन्दी यह है, यह सही बात है। लेकिन अपने घर बैठ कर कोई अपना नक्शा बना ले, तो दूसरे मुल्क में जा कर हम उन को कैसे दुरुस्त कर सकते हैं, यह बात कुछ समझ में नहीं आती। हाँ, यह सही है कि हमें अपनी हद की रक्षा करनी है, अपने इलाके की रक्षा करनी है। उस के लिए पेट्रोल पार्टीज चाहिये, सिपाही रखने चाहिये, या सुरक्षा का कोई दूसरा इन्तज़ाम करना चाहिये। वह होना चाहिये और वह नहीं हो रहा है, ऐसी बात नहीं है।

श्री अशोक मेहता का कहना है कि एंड्रेस की भाषा बहुत बढ़िया नहीं है और बहुत बढ़िया भाषा होनी चाहिये। मैं यह जानना चाहती हूँ कि जिस को फूलावरी भाषा कहते हैं, ऐसी भाषा से एक अच्छा एंड्रेस या भाषण दिया जा सकता है। ऐसी बात नहीं है। प्रिजिडेंट महोदय के एंड्रेस की भाषा में एक तरह की शान्ति है, रेस्ट्रेन्ट है और उस के साथ ही शक्ति और स्ट्रेंथ है।

[डा० सुशीला नायर]

श्री नाथ पाई (राजापुर) : स्फूर्ति नहीं है ।

डा० सुशीला नायर : श्री नाथ पाई को ऐसा लगता है कि उस में स्फूर्ति नहीं है, लेकिन स्फूर्ति करते करते नीचे से जो बुनियाद खोलनी ही रह जाय, उस की चिन्ता ये लोग नहीं करते । दुनिया में सिर्फ स्फूर्ति ही चीज नहीं होती है । उस के साथ गहराई होनी चाहिये, मजबूती होनी चाहिये और प्रॉजिडेंट के एड्रेस में गहराई है और मजबूती है और स्पष्टता है । प्रॉजिडेंट महोदय ने कहा है—

“Defensive arrangements, including the opening up of areas by better communications and development, receive their continuous and careful attention.”

श्री राजेन्द्र सिंह (छपरा) : उन्हीं ने हिन्दो में भाषण दिया है ।

डा० सुशीला नायर : क्या वे डिफेंसिव अरेन्जमेंट्स को सारी की सारी फ़िगरज़ और डीटेल्ज़ चाहते हैं, जिन को प्रॉजिडेंट महोदय इस हाउस के सामने रख दें ? यह एक अजीब बात है ।

श्री नाथ पाई : किस ने यह कहा है ? यह कहा है कि रूप-रेखा रखी जाय, तस्वीर रखी जाय । डीटेल्ज़ नहीं मांगी हैं ।

डा० सुशीला नायर : डिफेंस की रूप रेखा इन दो चार शब्दों में होती है । तीन तरह से सुरक्षा हो रही है और होनी चाहिये । परन्तु क्या वह डिफेंस के अरेन्जमेंट्स की डीटेल्ज़ और रूप रेखा के अन्तर्गत यह जानना चाहते हैं कि फलां जगह पर इतने सिपाही हैं, इतने हवाई जहाज़ हैं, इतनी फौज है, इतनी तोपें हैं ? मैं समझती हूँ कि ऐसी मांग करना बिल्कुल अचपने की बात है । जब मैं अक्सर इस सदन में

किये जा रहे सवाल और भाषण सुनती हूँ तो मुझे आश्चर्य होता है । ऐसी ऐसी बातें पूछी जाती हैं कि जिन का जवाब अगर सरकार दे, तो देश के लिये अच्छा नहीं और अगर न दे, तो उस में से लोग जो नतीजे निकालेंगे, वह भी देश के लिये अच्छा नहीं । हमारे सदस्यों को यह समझना चाहिये कि कौन सी बातें पब्लिक में करने लायक होती हैं और कौन सी नहीं होती हैं और वे बातें करनी ही नहीं चाहियें । हमारे प्रॉजिडेंट महोदय ने बताया कि हम सुरक्षा का पूरा इन्तजाम कर रहे हैं ।

Shri Yadav Narayan Jadhav (Malegaon): With what results?

Dr. Sushila Nayar: Let my hon. friends not interrupt in this manner, otherwise you will have to give me time at least equal to what you have given to some of the hon Members on the other side.

अचार्य कृपालानी (सीतामढ़ी) : जब जॉ.श में आते हैं, तो इंगलिश में बोलते हैं ।

डा० सुशीला नायर : उन्हीं ने कहा है कि एक तरफ तो वहाँ डिफेंस का अरेन्जमेंट हो रहा है, दूसरी तरफ सड़कें बगैर बना कर वहाँ पहुँचने का इन्तजाम हो रहा है और तीसरी तरफ वहाँ के विकास, डेवलपमेंट, की तरफ भी तवज्जह दी जा रही है । हमें ऐसा लगता है कि अधिक से अधिक तेजी के साथ ये तीनों काम किये जा रहे हैं और किये जायेंगे, क्योंकि उन के बगैर हमारे बार्डर्ज़ की रक्षा नहीं हो सकती । जाहिर है कि हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी जो जमीन चीन के कब्जे में है वह खाली हो, चीन का एग्ज़ेशन यहाँ से निकले, लेकिन चीन के एग्ज़ेशन को निकालने के लिये सब से पहली बात हमें स्वीकार कर लेना चाहिये और वह की भी गई है और वह यह है कि हम ने चीन पर जो इतना विश्वास रखा था, उस में दगा, धोखा हुआ, हम सोते थे और सोते हुए पकड़े गये और हमारी कुछ जमीन पर चीन का कब्जा हुआ । लेकिन अब हम जाग्रत हैं और अपने बार्डर्ज़ की रक्षा कर रहे हैं । अब

आगे कोई आ नहीं सकता और आयेगा नहीं। जिन एरियाज में वे आ गये हैं, वहाँ से उन को हटाना होगा, और वे अवश्य हटेंगे, यह हमारा दृढ़ निश्चय है। लेकिन उस को हासिल करने के लिये जो तरीके हम ने आज तक अपनाये हैं, उन्हीं तरीकों से हम काम चला सकते हैं—दूसरी तरह से नहीं चला सकते। वह हमारे लिये मुनासिब भी नहीं होगा।

श्री डांगे, बहुत जोरों से कह रहे थे, कि यू० एन० में हमारी भाषा में फर्मनेस होनी चाहिये। लेकिन चीन के साथ बात करते हुए उन की अपनी जवान में फर्मनेस नहीं है। वह गोल गोल बातें करते हैं। वह कहते हैं कि हमारे आफिसर्ज ने हमारा बड़ा स्ट्रांग केस बनाया। सही बात है। हमारा केस बड़ा स्ट्रांग और बढ़िया है। हमारे मन में इस बारे में शंका नहीं थी। डांगे साहब के मन में होगी। उस का निवारण हुआ, तो यह खुशी की बात है। लेकिन यह कहते हुए साथ ही वह कहते हैं, 'मगर चीन वालों ने अपने नक्शे बताये, अपना केस बताया,' इत्यादि इत्यादि। जैसा कि अभी भी श्री अशोक मेहता ने कहा है, १९५० से पहले चीन के पास कोई नक्शा नहीं था, जिस में उन का कोई केस बनता हो। अब उन का केस बनने लगा है और उन्हीं ने नक्शे बना लिये हैं। घर बैठ कर नक्शे बनाने में कोई कठिनाई नहीं होती है। लेकिन मुझे आश्चर्य है कि हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई इस तरह एक क्षण के लिये भी ध्यान दे सकते हैं कि चीन का इस में कोई केस है। जाहिर बात है कि बिल्कुल बेकार जो दावे वह करे उन के बारे में ही उठ कर घर में कोई कहे कि हाँ भाई वह भी ध्यान देने की बात है, तो यह चीज बिल्कुल भी मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है। यह तो एक प्रकार से उदारता दिखाने वाली बात है और उदारता है या देश के प्रति यह द्रोह है, इस का आप निश्चय करें।

प्रीजिडेंट महोदय ने अपने एड्रेस में कहा है कि हम शान्ति के साथ रहना चाहते हैं, पीसफुल को-एग्जिस्टेंस और गुडनेबरलीनेस, चाहते हैं मगर उस के साथ ही साथ जागृत रह कर हमें अपनी रक्षा करनी है। बाइबिल में कहा

गया है :—

"Be ye as meek as lambs, but as wise as serpents".

हमारा देश शान्ति प्रिय देश है हम शान्ति रखना चाहते हैं, बुद्ध और गांधी की शिक्षा को अमल में लाना चाहते हैं। मगर इस का यह अर्थ नहीं है कि हम दूसरों के सामने किसी तरह से दबने के लिये तैयार हैं या हम दब जायेंगे या अपने हकों को किसी को छीनने की इजाजत दे देंगे। प्रीजिडेंट महोदय ने अपने भाषण में कहा भी है कि हम जरूर अपनी टैरीटरी को फारेन एग्रेशन से खाली करायेंगे और मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है कि हम उस को खाली करवाने में सफल होंगे और वह खाली हो कर रहेगी। आज दुनिया में भी इस चीज की कद्र हो रही है और दुनिया में भी पब्लिक ओपिनियन इस चीज की तरफ बढ़ती जा रही है कि हिन्दुस्तान का जो रवैय्या है, हिन्दुस्तान का जो स्टैंड है, यह बहुत मुनासिब है, बहुत मजबूत है, यह जो वर्ल्ड ओपिनियन में परिवर्तन आ रहा है इस को चीन को भी देखना होगा और उन्हें यहाँ से भागना होगा। आखिर पाप का घड़ा कहां तक भरता रहेगा? वह बहुत भर चुका है। अगर वह अपने आप पीछे नहीं हटेगा तो कोई न कोई ऐसा तरीका निकल आयेगा जिस से वह मजबूर हो जायेगा पीछे हटने को। इस के बारे में मेरे मन में कोई सन्देह नहीं है, कोई शक नहीं है। कैसे यह चीज होगी, और क्या होगा, इस डिटेल में जाना न मेरे बस की बात है और न ही यह मुनासिब ही है।

आज दुनिया मुसीबत में पड़ी हुई है, बरबादी की अनी पर खड़ी हुई है। इस मुसीबत के वक्त यह जरूरी है कि दुनिया में कोई तो हिस्सा ऐसा हो जिस में सैनिकी हो, जो पागलपन से बचा हुआ हो, शान्ति की खातिर मजबूती से खड़ा हुआ हो और आज हिन्दुस्तान ही एक ऐसा मुल्क है जो कि दुनिया के मुल्कों पर अपने विचारों का कुछ असर डाल रहा है। राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने भाषण में कहा भी है कि यू० एन० में हम न अपनी आवाज

[डा० सुशीला नायर]

बुलन्द की है कि युद्ध हमेशा के लिये आउट-ला कर दिया जाय तथा समस्याओं का शान्ति के साथ समाधान होना चाहिये। इस चीज पर हमारा जोर बराबर रहा है और इसी पर हम जोर देते रहेंगे। आज अफ्रीका के देशों में जो कुछ हो रहा है तथा उस को देखने की कितनी जरूरत है, इस के बारे में बहुत ज्यादा कहने की जरूरत नहीं है। अफ्रीका के देशों को स्वतन्त्र करवाने के लिये लोगों ने बहुत कुर्बानिया दी हैं। लेकिन एक खतरे की ओर मैं आप का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहती हूँ। लुमुम्बा का कत्ल ऐसा खतरा है जिस की ओर हमारा ध्यान जाना चाहिये। क्या यह दुनिया में स्वतन्त्रता को ही कत्ल कर देने वाली चीज से कुछ कम है। और क्या यह दुनिया की स्वतन्त्रता को ही कत्ल कर देने वाली चीज तो नहीं बन जायेगी क्या मनुष्य जाति को ही वरबाद कर देने वाली चीज तो नहीं बन जायेगी? यह ऐसी चीज बन सकती है क्योंकि ज्वाला भड़क रही है अफ्रीका में आज और उस ज्वाला को शान्त करने के लिये मनुष्य को बहुत बड़ा प्रयत्न और बहुत बड़ी तपश्चर्या करनी होगी। हमें अपना हिस्सा अदा करना है। हम आशा रखते हैं कि यू० एन० में भी इस का ज्यादा से ज्यादा असर हो रहा है और होगा और वहाँ की जो फिजा है वह बदलेगी और नई पालिसीज वहाँ सामने आयेंगे जिन पर अमल कर के कि आज के खतरों से हम बच सकें।

अभी हाल में यहाँ पर एक सैमीनार हुआ था अफ्रीका के प्राबलैम के बारे में। बहुत सी चीजें वहाँ पर आई थीं और डिसकस हुई थीं। एक चीज विशेष तौर पर आई थी और वह काले गोरों के बारे में थी। यह भयानक सवाल है। इसी को ले कर दुनिया में खलबलाहट मची हुई है। और खतरा पैदा हो गया है कि कहीं कोई एटम बम न फट जाये और अगर ऐसा होता है तो यह कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं होगी। सारी दुनिया को, यू० एन० को और साउथ अफ्रीका वालों को भी इस चीज को देखना है।

अगर वह चाहते हैं कि उस की रक्षा हो, दुनिया की रक्षा हो, दुनिया में शान्ति बनी रहे तो इस काले गोरों की अलहदगी की नीति को साउथ अफ्रीका को बदलना होगा।

जब हम शान्ति के लिये इतना बड़ा प्रयास कर रहे हैं तो एक चीज मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है। हमारे बड़े बड़े वैज्ञानिक, हमारे भाभा साहब बार बार कहते हैं कि दो साल में हम एटम बम बना सकते हैं अगर हम चाहें तो। इस तरह की वे शेखी बघारते फिरते हैं कि हम दो साल में बना सकते हैं, एक साल में बना सकते हैं। आप ने तय कर रखा है कि एटम बम आप को बनाना ही नहीं है। तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि इस तरह की शेखी बघारने की क्या आवश्यकता है कि हम बना सकते हैं। आप की इस तरह की बात को सुन कर पाकिस्तान वाले कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के पास ताकत आ गई है और उसे भी बनाना चाहिये। वह बनाने बैठेगा। हम जानते हैं कि अगर हम बनाने की स्थिति में होंगे तो भी नहीं बनायेंगे तो फिर खाम-ख्वाह मूसीबत में हम क्यों पड़ते हैं। शेखी बघारने की जो कुछ लोगों की आदत है वह नुकसान की चीज है, अच्छी चीज नहीं है और हमें इस प्रकार की बातें नहीं बोलनी चाहिये, ऐसा मेरा मन्तव्य है।

तीसरे प्लान की रूप रेखा बन गई है, और यह बहुत अच्छी बात है। उ० की डिटेल्ड अभी हमारे सामने नहीं है। लेकिन मैं आशा करती हूँ कि उ० में अधिक से अधिक शक्ति, अधिक से अधिक ध्यान, अधिक से अधिक तवज्जह बार्डर एरियाज पर दी जायेगी। यह चीज हमारी सुरक्षा के लिये बहुत आवश्यक है। साथ ही साथ मैं समझती हूँ कि जब हम प्लान करते हैं तो चन्द ए० ब्रेसिक प्राबलैम्स को लेकर हमें उनको पूरा कर लेना चाहिये। मिसाल के तौर पर योजना की रूप रेखा को हम लोगों ने देखा है, तीसरे प्लान में भी सब को पीने के लिये पानी की व्यवस्था की जा रही हो, ऐसी बात हमें नजर नहीं आई। पीने का पानी तो लाजिमी चीज

है। पीने के पानी की सब के लिये हम व्यवस्था कर दें और इस योजना को पूरा कर दें, जल्दी से जल्दी पूरा कर दें, तब तो बात चल सकती है, नहीं तो नहीं चल सकती है।

मैं बड़े नम्र शब्दों में निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि प्लानिंग का आज कुछ इस तरह का अर्थ लगाया जा रहा है कि रुपये पैसे इतने आने वाले हैं, इतने रिसोर्सिस हैं उनका बटवारा करना है। और इस विभाग को इतने दे दो उस विभाग को इतने दे दो, इसको इतने दे दो और उसको इतने दे दो। मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि यह प्लानिंग नहीं है, यह तो बहीखाता है। प्लानिंग तब है जब आप प्रायोरिटीज दे चुकने के बाद एक एक प्रोजेक्ट को शुरू से लेकर आखिर तक कम्पलीट करें, कम्पलीट प्लानिंग आप करें, कम्पलीट इम्प्लेमेंटेशन करें और जो चीज है, वह पूरी हो जाय, इस को आप देखें। अगर ऐसा हो सके तो तब तो प्लानिंग है वरना अगर आप पैसा वांटने की बात ही करना चाहते हैं तो वह प्लानिंग नहीं है। मैं चाहती हूँ कि इस और आपका विशेषतौर से ध्यान जाये।

प्रांजिडेंट महोदय ने कहा है कि फूड की समस्या सुधर रही है, हमारी फसल अच्छी हो रही है। मगर इस से हमें निश्चित हो कर बैठ नहीं जाना चाहिये। यहां पर अभी दो चार दिन पहले एक सवाल आया था और कहा गया था कि देश के कुछ हिस्सों में अन्न सड़ रहा है। अध्यक्ष महोदय हमें देखना है कि हमारे अन्न का जो स्टोरेज हो वह ठीक हो, अन्न बरबाद न हो, अन्न वेस्ट न हो। उस के साथ ही साथ हम देखें कि प्रोडक्शन बढ़े। प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाने के साथ साथ हम यह भी देखें कि उमका इस्तेमाल ठीक हो और अगर हम यह नहीं कर पाते हैं और अन्न को बरबाद होने देते हैं तो हम कहीं नहीं पहुंच सकते हैं। देश में न्यूट्रिशन का स्तर भी बहुत नीचा है, लोगों का स्वास्थ्य बहुत गिरा हुआ है और उस में आधे से ज्यादा कारण हमारे पुअर न्यूट्रिशन

के हैं। अगर उसको सुधारना है तो फूड के सवाल को बहुत आगे बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता है। खाली कैलरीज हमें पूरा नहीं करनी हैं लेकिन जो प्रोटेक्टिव फूड्स कही जाती हैं, उनको भी हमें बढ़ाना है जैसे दूध है और इसी प्रकार की दूसरी चीजें हैं। अगर ऐसा किया गया तो देश का स्वास्थ्य अच्छा हो सकेगा और जब स्वास्थ्य अच्छा होगा तभी तो काम आगे बढ़ सकेगा नहीं तो कैसे बढ़ सकेगा।

एड्रेस में बहुत सी और भी बातें कही गयी हैं। हाइड्रो इलेक्ट्रिक वर्क्स का भी जिक्र किया गया है। भाखड़ा में ६०,००० किलो वाट के दो दो यूनिट काम करने लगे हैं और चम्बल में क्या प्रोप्रेस हुई है, उसका भी जिक्र किया गया है। यहां पर भी प्लानिंग की बात आती है। क्या सब जगह पर हमारी जो छोटी वाटर चैनलज हैं, वे बन गई हैं और क्या पानी का पूरा इस्तेमाल हो रहा है। मैं जानती हूँ कि बहुत सी जगहों पर नहीं हो रहा है। यह कहने से काम नहीं चलेगा कि किसी जगह स्टेट गवर्न-मेंट से यह काम नहीं किया और किसी जगह गांव वालों ने नहीं किया या किसी दूसरे ने नहीं किया। प्लानिंग कमिशन को देखना चाहिये कि हर एक प्रोजेक्ट एक सिरे से दूसरे सिरे तक पूरा हो और समय पर पूरा हो ताकि पूरा लाभ हमारे देश को मिल सके।

कहने को तो और भी कुछ बातें थीं लेकिन चूंकि समय नहीं है, इस वास्ते मैं अब कहना नहीं चाहती हूँ और किसी दूसरे मौके पर मैं उनको कहने का प्रयत्न करूंगी।

**श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी (अम्बाला) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव इस सदन के सामने उपस्थित किया गया है, उसका मैं समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ी हुई हूँ।

राष्ट्रपति ने कई बातें अपने एड्रेस में कही हैं। माननीय सदस्यों ने उनमें से कई का जिक्र अपने भाषणों में किया है। हमारी हुकूमत की जो पालिसी रही है, जो रख उसने

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

यू० एन० में अस्तित्व दिया है, मैं उससे बिल्कुल सहमत हूँ और मैं समझती हूँ कि सदन के तकरीबन सभी मेम्बर सहमत होंगे कि वह सही था। फिर भी मैं इतना अवश्य कहूँगी कि हालाँकि मैं यह नहीं बता सकती हूँ कि हमें और क्या करना चाहिये था लेकिन फिर भी मैं महसूस करती हूँ कि यू० एन० को जिस मजबूती से काम करना चाहिये था उस मजबूती से काम वह नहीं कर सका है। खास कर कांगो में जिस तरह से यूनाइटेड नेशन्स के लोग रहे, जितनी भी हुकूमतों के रिप्रेजेंटेटिव्स थे, चाहे वे किसी भी मुल्क के रहे हों, उनके लिये यह एक बहुत अफसोस और शर्म की बात रही। जो लोग वहाँ पर विक्टिमस बने, जिन लोगों का कत्ल हुआ, उनकी यूनाइटेड नेशन्स ने क्या मदद की? जिस तरह से वे वहाँ पर लाचार होकर कमजोरी से बैठे रहे, उस से मुझे याद आता है कि कभी कभी जब फसाद होते हैं, तो जहाँ अफसर अच्छे नहीं होते हैं और वहाँ कभी कभी कर्पूर्य लगा दिया जाता है, वहाँ उस कर्पूर्य की शकल यह बनती है कि जो कत्ल करने वाले होते हैं, उनको खुली छूट होती है और जो उसके विक्टिमस होते हैं वह उनके ही विरुद्ध उठता है। कांगो में भी इसी तरह से हुआ कि जो लोग यूनाइटेड नेशन्स को बुला कर ले गये थे, और जिनकी उसे मदद करनी चाहिये थी, वह उनको बचा नहीं सके। दूसरे लोगों को रोके रखा और उन्होंने जो चाहा किया। फिर भी मुझे उम्मीद है जैसा कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने और राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा, हम लोग खास तौर से इस के लिये और अच्छी तरह से कार्यवाही कर सकेंगे।

मैं एक और बात का जिक्र करना चाहती हूँ, पर मैं सोचती हूँ कि वहाँ कोई गलतफहमी न हो जाय मेरे कहने से, इस लिये थोड़ी हिचकिचाहट के साथ कहना चाहती हूँ। हमारे राष्ट्रपति के ऐड्रेस में उन विजिटर्स का भी

जिक्र हुआ जो हमारे यहाँ बाहर से आते हैं। मैं सफाई से कहना चाहती हूँ कि किसी भी हुकूमत का आदमी हो, या किसी देश का आदमी हो, जो यहाँ बाहर से आता है, उसके लिये मेरे दिल में उतना ही आदर है जितना किसी मुल्क के आदमी के दिल में होना चाहिये। फिर भी मैं अज्र करना चाहती हूँ, और मैं चाहती हूँ कि हुकूमत इस बात को देखे, कि जब हमारे विजिटर्स बाहर से आते हैं उस वक्त हमारे ट्रैफिक का जो इन्तजाम होता है, कभी अच्छा और कभी बुरा, तो रास्ते उस से अचानक बन्द हो जाते हैं। दिल्ली वालों के लिये किसी भी जगह समय से पहुँचना मुश्किल हो जाता है, चाहे वह कारोबारी हो, चाहे वह बीमार हो, चाहे वह मरता हुआ ही आदमी क्यों न हो। कुछ पता नहीं रहता कि कहां पर सिपाही खड़ा हो और जाने से रोक दे और किधर से जाना पड़े। १ रु० टैक्सी के लिये लेकर चलो तो ४ रु० का बिल बैठता है। कितना भी उपाय कीजिये, यह होता रहता है, रोज रोज का काम हो गया है। इस लिये मेरी दरखास्त है कि रास्ते कम से कम रुकें, नहीं तो हमारा जोश और उत्साह इस तरह से टंडा होने लगता है।

एक विजिटर के लिये मैं खास तौर पर कहना चाहती हूँ। इंग्लैंड की महारानी के आने से और उनके स्वागत से हमारे देश के सभी लोग बहुत खुश थे। हम दिल से उनका आदर करते हैं, और मैं सफाई से इस बात को कहना चाहती हूँ, क्यों कि हमको अपनी जमात के अन्दर अपने नेताओं की ट्रॉनिंग मिली है। जब अंग्रेज हुकूमत हिन्दुस्तान में थी, जिसको हम बदलना चाहते थे, उस वक्त भी हमको यही शिक्षा दी गई थी कि हम अंग्रेजों से नफरत नहीं करते। हम चाहते थे कि उनकी हुकूमत चली जाय लेकिन उन से दिल से नफरत नहीं करते थे। जो लोग पुराने नेतृत्व के नीचे काम कर चुके हैं उन के दिल में हिन्दुस्तान के आजाद होने के बाद अंग्रेजों के प्रति

कोई नफरत या नाराजगी नहीं है। पर हमारे यहां महारानी एलिजाबेथ के आने के बाद का जो प्रोग्राम रखा गया, मझे शुभहा है कि उस के बनाने में कोई बड़ा भारी घपला हुआ। मैं जानना चाहूंगी कि जयपुर में जो दरबार लगने की कहानी सुनी, वह दरबार कैसे होल्ड किया गया। अखबारों में उस दरबार के होल्ड करने की कहानी निकली कि उसमें पुराने राज बुलाये जायेंगे, पुराने जागीरदार बुलाये जायेंगे, लेकिन उस दरबार में जो वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर हैं उन्होंने पहले जाने से इन्कार कर दिया था, फिर शायद गये। वहां के गवर्नर साहब के साथ भी वहां कुछ कंट्रोवर्सी हुई, जो कि महारानी के हिन्दुस्तान में होने के बाद नहीं होनी चाहिये थी। यह बात अच्छी नहीं हुई, लेकिन इस तरह का प्रोग्राम बना। यहां भी अखबारों में पढ़ा कि २६ जनवरी को पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरों की सीट बहुत पीछे लगाई गई थी, जो कि नहीं लगनी चाहिय थी। मैं यह भी जानना चाहूंगी कि अगर राजस्थान में महारानी स्टेट गेस्ट नहीं थीं तो उनको महाराजा का गेस्ट होने की इजाजत कैसे मिली। बाहर से जो विजिटर आया करेंगे क्या वे किसी बहाने से, किसी भी रिस्ते से प्राइवट मेहमान बना करेंगे? आपने कंट्रोवर्सी उठाई कि चीफ मिनिस्टर का क्या स्टेटस है और गवर्नर का क्या स्टेटस है, महाराजा का क्या स्टेटस है। इस तरह से जो यह प्रोग्राम बना, उस से मेरे दिल में यह शुभहा हुआ कि क्या अब भी हमारे देश में ऐसे लोग हैं जिन के दिल में एक छिपा हुआ दुःख है कि अंग्रेज लोग यहां से क्यों चले गये। मुझ को ऐसा लगा कि इस तरह के प्रोग्राम के बनने से उन लोगों को फायदा पहुंचा जो आज भी

हिन्दुस्तान में हिन्दुस्तानियों का राज्य पसन्द नहीं करते। यह दरबार का किस्सा हुआ, किसी बहाने से वह सब राजे महाराजे इकट्ठे हुये, तो भी दरबार अगर किया गया तो महारानी प्राइवट मेहमान कैसे बनीं। यह बात सिर्फ हमारे सामने ही नहीं, हिन्दुस्तान के तमाम लोगों के लिये साफ होनी चाहिये।

मैंने अखबारों में यह भी पढ़ा कि इंग्लिश पेपर्स में यह कमेन्ट निकला कि उनकी महारानी जर्मन कार मसिडीज में बैठें। उनकी देशभक्ति तो देखिये कि वहां के अखबारों ने हल्ला मचाया कि उनकी महारानी जर्मन कार में क्यों बैठें, वे ब्रिटिश कार में क्यों नहीं बैठें, रोल्स रायस में क्यों नहीं बैठें? वे हमारी मेहमान थीं, हमने रोल्स रायस नहीं मंगाई, जर्मन कार मसिडीज में उन को बिठलाया, लेकिन क्या इसको छोड़ कर कोई और कार नहीं थी हमारे यहां की जिस में वह बैठ सकें? इसलिये मैं चाहती हू कि हम उनका दिल से आदर करते हैं, फिर भी इन बातों का हम खयाल रखें।

एक और बात बड़ी अनप्लेजन्ट हुई, जो कि नहीं होनी चाहिये थी। महारानी की मेहमानदारी के दिनों में उनके ऊपर किये जाने वाले खर्च के बारे में बड़ा भारी कंप्यूजन हुआ। हमने अखबारों में पढ़ा कि कारपोरेशन ने कहा कि उनको प्राइम मिनिस्टर के कहने से इतना खर्च करना पड़ा, जबकि प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कहा कि वह खुद इतना खर्च नहीं करना चाहते थे। जब कोई आदरणीय मेहमान हमारे देश में हो, उसके प्रोग्रामों पर अगर कोई खर्च हो, और सूरतें इस किस्म की बनें तो इससे आने वाले की भी बदनामी होती है और हमारी बदनामी तो होती ही है। इस लिये मुझे निवेदन करना है कि हमें सब बातों को सोच कर सब चीजें प्लान करना चाहिये।

हमारा जो प्रेजिडेंशियल ऐंड्रेस है उसके अन्दर बड़ी भारी कंट्रोवर्सी की चीजें हमारे

## [श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

सामने आती हैं, और मैं उनका भी जिक्र करना चाहती हूँ। हमारे यहां लैण्ड पर सीलिंग लगाने की पालिसी बहुत अरसे से बन चुकी है, लेकिन उस का इस ऐंजेस में कोई जिक्र नहीं है कि वह कब इम्प्लिमेंट की जायेगी। हमें इस बात की खुशी है कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में बहुत तरक्की हुई है, लेकिन हालांकि प्रेजिडेंट के ऐंजेस इस बात की नोटिस ली गई है, फिर भी डिफेंस फैंक्ट्रीज में जो प्रोडक्शन हुआ है और जो नई नई चीजें बनीं उनका उसमें जिक्र नहीं है। जहां पर पब्लिक सेक्टर की दूसरी चीजों, जैसे मशीन टूल्स या दूसरी चीजों, का जिक्र होना चाहिये था वहां इस बात का भी जिक्र होना चाहिये था कि डिफेंस फैंक्ट्रीज में क्या प्रोडक्शन हुआ है क्योंकि प्राइवेट सेक्टर की तरफ से बड़ा भारी निशाना उन पर लगाया जाता है और उनका क्रिटिडिज्म किया जाता है, उनको घटा कर दिखलाने की कोशिश की जाती है।

हमारे प्रेजिडेंट्स ऐंजेस में मजदूरों के बारे में कहा गया, वह भी एक मुबारकबादी की चीज है। मैं अपने लेबर मिनिस्टर को मुबारकबाद देती हूँ कि उन्होंने कोड आफ डिसिप्लिन जैसी चीज बना कर हिन्दुस्तान में मजदूर भाइयों के लिये बहुत कुछ करने की कोशिश की और उनके लिये बहुत सी स्कीमें बनाईं। लेकिन इतना मैं और निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि कोड आफ डिसिप्लिन पर मालिकों की तरफ से भी अमल होना चाहिये। इसके लिये अभी कुछ और कदम उठाने की जरूरत है। जितने भी हमारे कानून बनते हैं और मालिक उन को नहीं मानते हैं तो उनके विरुद्ध मजदूरों के केसेज सुप्रीम कोर्ट तक जाते हैं, और सात सात और आठ आठ बरस तक उन के केसेज लटकते रहते हैं। बहुत जरूरी है कि इसके लिये भी कदम उठाये जायें और मजदूरों के लिये जो स्टेट पालिसी बनती है उसको इम्प्लीमेंट करने के वास्ते मजबूत कदम दृकूमत उठाये।

16 hrs.

मुझे इस बात की भी मुबारकबाद देनी है कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति के ऐंजेस में यह लिखा गया है कि कोआपरेटिक्स की बहुत तरक्की हुई है। मुझे अदब से इतना अर्ज करना है कि हमें इसमें एक खतरे की और भी ध्यान देना चाहिए। जिन लोगों को और जिन इंटरस्ट्स को हटाने के लिए हम कोआपरेटिक्स बनाते हैं वह खुद ही जाकर कोआपरेटिक्स बना लेते हैं। यह जिक्र हुआ कि कई करोड़ का लोन डिसबर्स हुआ है। लेकिन देखने की बात यह है कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट का उस पर सुपर-बीजन है या नहीं क्योंकि इसमें एक कंट्रोवर्सी की बात है। कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट का सुपरबीजन कम होना चाहिये, कुछ कहते हैं कि ज्यादा होना चाहिये, कुछ कहते हैं कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा छट मिलनी चाहिये। मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहती हूँ कि हमने यह पौधा नया लगाया है और इसके जरिये हम यहां के आर्थिक हालात को बदलना चाहते हैं। अगर इस पर दृकूमत का सुपरबीजन न हुआ तो खतरा यह है कि जिन लोगों से हम इसको बचाना चाहते हैं उनके ही हाथों में यह चली जाएगी। जो लोन दिये जाते हैं अगर आप उनका ब्रेक अप निकालें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि जो लोग लाखों के लोन लेते हैं उनकी बड़ी भारी तादाद निकलेगी और जिसको हजार, दो हजार या पांच हजार का लोन लेना होता है, मेरा अपना अनुभव है कि, उसको छः छः और आठ आठ महीने धक्के खाने पड़ते हैं। तो यह निहायत जरूरी है कि जब दृकूमत इतने उत्साह के साथ इस चीज पर चल रही है तो वह इस बात का ध्यान रखे।

आखिर में मैं एक बात ही और कहना चाहती हूँ। बाहर से जो हमारे देश की भूमि पर कब्जा कर लिया गया है, उसके बारे में राष्ट्रपति ने कहा है कि दृकूमत उसके बारे



में बहुत सतर्क है और हुकूमत इस बात का इन्तिजाम कर रही है कि हम जहाँ तक हो सके अग्रन और शान्ति से उसका मुकाबला करें और उसका हल निकालें। पर मैं हुकूमत से इतना कहना चाहती हूँ कि जितना हमारी फौजों का जमा होना और जितना हमारी फैक्टरियों और इंडस्ट्रीज का बढ़ना बाहर के मुकाबले के लिए जरूरी है, उससे भी ज्यादा जरूरी हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को मिला कर रखना है। हम देखते हैं कि देश में इधर उधर चुटपुट राइट हो जाते हैं, कभी फिरकापरस्ती के नाम से, कभी जाति के नाम से, कभी धर्म के नाम से और कभी जवान के नाम से। हमारी हुकूमत को उनको भी रोकना चाहिये। लेकिन मुश्किल यह हो जाती है कि इन बातों को स्टेट सव्जैक्ट मान कर सेंटर की तरफ से बहुत अरसे तक इनमें दखल नहीं दिया जाता। पर यह चीज हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को एक रखने से सम्बन्ध रखती है। इसलिए इसमें इस पार्लियामेंट को और सेंटर की हुकूमत को, हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर और राष्ट्रपति को ज्यादा तबज्जह देनी चाहिये जिससे कि लोग एक होकर रहें। इस पर तबज्जह देने में देरी होने की वजह से यह चीज हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे कोनों में भी फैलती है। मैं चाहती हूँ कि कोई ऐसा मूव हो कि जिससे इस तरह की चीज जहाँ पैदा हो वहीं इसको रोक दिया जाए।

इतना कह कर मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि जो चीजें इस ऐंज्रेस में रखी गयी हैं मैं उनका स्वागत करती हूँ और उम्मीद करती हूँ कि हुकूमत उन सब को बहुत जल्द इम्प्लीमेंट करने की चेष्टा करेगी।

**Mr. Karni Singhji (Bikaner):** Mr. Speaker, I would take this opportunity on behalf of my group and myself to express our gratitude to the President for his Address. At the outset, we would also like to express our appreciation at the wonderful work that the team of experts who went to China have done.

Today the most burning question is the China issue and my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta has dealt with it at length and I would like to say that we all support what he said. There is one part in the President's Address on which I would like to pinpoint the attention of the House to and that is para 5 which reads as follows:

"In spite of present unwillingness, or even intransigence, my Government hope that sooner rather than later China will persuade herself to come to a satisfactory agreement with our country in regard to our common frontiers."

I emphasise the words 'persuade herself'. The Prime Minister is a great philosopher and his diplomacy is very often so high that it flies above the intelligence of the average Member of Parliament. I am afraid I cannot quite understand this point of view just as none of us were able to understand the diplomacy and the political philosophy of *Hindi-Chini-Bhai-Bhai*. That bubble flew so high but when it exploded, it shook the nation to its core. From this, if the Prime Minister expects us as a nation to believe that China who committed aggression on us expects us to go on our hands and knees and beg her to change her mood some day and vacate her aggression on our territory, then, it is a pathetic state of affairs. It is my reading, and I am sure most people who believe in democracy will feel that a country like China which is utterly ruthless, will never vacate our territory unless they know that we are strong enough to force them out.

It is due to our weak stand on our foreign affairs that countries like Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal are beginning to feel shaky. If we want those countries to feel protected by India, then we will have to adopt a foreign policy which is much stronger. Today, the nation expects the Prime Minister to put a clear-cut programme

[Shri Karni Singhji]

before us. Unfortunately, in all the debates that we had on China, not even on a single occasion in spite of our requests, has the Prime Minister been able to put forward any cut-and-dried plan which could tell us how we would force China to vacate her aggression.

**Acharya Kripalani:** He has none.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** If we study the move of China, it reminds us of what happened in Germany, when Hitler, stage by stage, as the leader of an aggressive country, took the land of his neighbours. The same is happening to us, and if our eyes are not open now, and even today, at this late stage, if we are only in the mood to hope that China will some day "persuade herself to vacate", I think it is so high a stroke of diplomacy that I honestly cannot understand it.

About a year ago, when we discussed China, I had a point on my list to make, although I did not get a chance. That is this: when we were sending experts to China, it was the Chinese move really to waste time, because the passes would be covered by snow and by the time they return, almost a year would be lost. That is what exactly happened, and a year afterwards we find that China has the audacity to say that it does not recognise Kashmir's accession to India. It is completely preposterous. I therefore request you and the Prime Minister that we should take notice of this, and realise that this is hardly the time to delay things, unless of course the Government wish us to believe that perhaps a hundred years from today China may "persuade herself" to vacate the aggression on her own volition. I do not think the nation is in the mood to wait for a hundred years.

16.08 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

We hear of the foreign policy of the Prime Minister as one of non-

alignment and neutrality. Often it made us wonder whether it was very wise, but because he is a lot older than most of us, we bowed down to his wisdom. But now we are beginning to wonder whether this non-alignment in the context of present events is really going to work. The question is as to whether we are today going to stretch our hands out and get economic aid and arms aid without strings attached from countries who feel like us, countries who are prepared to stand by us, countries who are democracies like us, or whether we are going to wait for another hundred years, hoping that China would vacate her aggression on her own.

In the past, the Prime Minister's replies too have been lukewarm. Often they have been evasive. I have been out in my district right out in the deserts and when I had been in the villages, I found people questioning me as to what was the stand of India, the stand which India wanted to take, on China. I tried to be just as evasive as the Prime Minister. I can tell you that it cut no ice. The people in the villages are very anxious of the fact that China had committed aggression and most of the people in India feel that their national pride is being hurt. I therefore feel that the Prime Minister should quit being so evasive and give us a definite idea. Those of us who sit here, I am sure, do not want the Government to divulge secrets which will help the enemy. We know it should not be done. We do not wish to know that. But we want to have a broad idea as to what exactly will be done. We cannot wait for an indefinite period, neither can the nation.

As far as the Defence Ministry is concerned, I have nothing to say. I am sure that the Defence Minister is a great military genius. I have nothing to add on that, but I do feel that perhaps at such a critical situation somebody much younger from

the younger generation should be taken up by the Prime Minister to become the Defence Minister, because I feel you need a man who is dynamic and at this time only the younger generation can supply dynamism.

I shall now switch over to another subject. I shall briefly refer to the canal waters treaty that took place between us and Pakistan. Rajasthan and Punjab are recipients of the water that comes from the Punjab rivers. For some reason or other, the supply of water in the canals has dwindled down and the people are getting extremely apprehensive as to whether this is due to the canal waters treaty. After having toured this area, I met the hon. Minister of Irrigation and Power, who assured me that it was not the treaty that was responsible, but rather the low water in the Beas river. I hope that he will carry out the assurance of getting the Rajasthan and Punjab experts to sit together and find out exactly why Rajasthan is getting less water. I also hope that by next year, it will be proved to us without doubt that this reduction in water is not due to the treaty, but rather due to what he says. We will have to wait for a year before we hundred per cent believe that.

In today's papers, Shri Kairon has made a reference to the reduction in water in Punjab also and they have promised up to 50 per cent remission to the farmers. I hope that the Rajasthan Government will likewise take a cue from this and try to alleviate the distress of the people of the canal colony of Rajasthan, where the water has been limited this year.

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** We will certainly go into this matter, but this has nothing to do with the treaty.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** The hon. Irrigation and Power Minister told us the same thing. But what I said was, we would like to wait for a year to make it quite sure.

All these years that I have been here,—I belong to the younger generation—I have always figured out how best an opposition could be formed in this country, which would be democratic and socialistic, because without a first-rate united opposition, democracy cannot function properly. We have the Congress Party, which is good. It has the best men in the country, but at the same time, I feel my generation needs, and there is a call from my generation that there should be a united opposition today, so that we can face the threat of the Chinese. Unless we are united, we can never have a first-class democracy.

**Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun):** Can you meet the Chinese threat by fighting your own Government?

**Shri Karni Singhji:** We are not going to fight our own Government. If you believe in a Parliamentary democracy based on a democratic system, democracy can function best if you have a two-party system. Therefore, I would like to appeal to my elders here and my friends who belong to my own generation that we should try and think in terms of a united democratic socialist opposition. I am not bothered as to who is in power. We will be delighted if the Congress carries on for ever, but we want to make sure that we keep the Congress and the Treasury benches on their toes. We ask the Government to take us into confidence on the China issue. What is the result? We know nothing about it. But if we were all united, you will hear a different music from that side of the House.

**Shri Tyagi:** It is quite all right, but don't be in a majority.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** I think if the united socialist democratic opposition is in a majority, we might be able to get the Chinese aggression vacated.

Mr. Kennedy has shown that this is the time for the younger generation.

[Shri Karni Singhji]

We always hear about leadership lacking in this country. I think that my generation will be able to take up the challenge. After all, the Prime Minister is one of the greatest men the world has produced, but ultimately he must hand over to the next generation. I hope he will start the ball rolling by getting Ministers belonging to the younger generation and teaching them how to run the country. I shall not take up the time of the House but I would like to say this much. By the time the House meets next year—we would not be here, perhaps, because elections will come . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Who will unite if he is not going to be there?

**Shri Karni Singhji:** I am not the pillar of opposition. I am merely the voice of the younger generation. There may be somebody else who may be elected from my area. By the time the House is reconvened at the end of the third elections I hope there will be no Chinese issue left and the Chinese would have vacated their aggression.

**Swami Ramananda Tirtha (Aurangabad):** Hon. Members, during the course of the debate, seem to have been much exercised about the Indo-China border dispute. It is but natural that the attention of the House is engaged on this problem to a very large extent. It is, I think, a pious hope, and a pious hope only, to expect China to realise her own mistakes and persuade herself to look to a satisfactory treaty as some members have desired here. But if we are for peaceful negotiations to get matters or problems of this type settled, there is no other way but to create favourable public opinion in the world and strengthen the forces of democracy so that there may be an impact of world opinion and also internal strength to get this problem solved.

What I am worried about is the time factor. Shri Asoka Mehta expressed certain sentiments very warmly. I quite realise the patriotic fervour with which he spoke and barring the warmth and emotion I quite realise the element of anxiety in what he said. In this House I take the opportunity of expressing genuine apprehension about this Indo-China border. The defence secrets cannot be divulged, that is true. But will the Prime Minister at least place before the people that since such and such date there have been no further incursions and that our defence forces have amply protected the line which is now indisputable. It is no more a question of pushing out or making China vacate aggression but at least preventing further aggressions. If this much information is given to the House and to the people, the people, I am sure, will be re-assured.

It is true that protests and negotiations are the only way, but the sentiments of the people are also to be appreciated and, therefore, I am placing before the Prime Minister this plea.

There is one thing in this regard. The attitude of the Communist Party of India is very strange. Shri Dange in his speech today has tried to explain away why China did not discuss the Sikkim and Bhutan borders with the official team of India. He used some such word as inopportune which has appeared in the paper. Instead of explaining what China probably might have thought, it would have been better and more helpful if he had stated unequivocally what he himself feels. That is more crucial. What China feels has been amply stated in those documents, but what Shri Dange and the Communist Party feel is all dubious and when questions are put straight there is an evasive reply. I therefore feel that when he stretches the hand of co-operation, it is but natural not only for Shri Asoka Mehta but for everyone of the patriots in this country to reject it because it

is all dubious. Therefore the hand of co-operation that is extended, being unclean, cannot be welcome. That is the tragedy of the Communist Party in this country. So long as this dubious nature continues it is digging its own grave. Democratic forces in India are growing from strength to strength and they will see that these disruptionist tendencies are wiped out.

I do not want to dilate upon the India-China border question further. I want to utilise the short time at my disposal for another very important problem which at the present moment is exercising the minds of all the genuine patriotic elements in the country. These incursions on the border of India will be met by the defence forces as also by the inherent strength of our people. But today there are incursions into the solidarity and the unity of the country. There are incursions into the mental health of the people. When we look at the whole picture a feeling of apprehension and a feeling of fear takes hold of our minds. Just the other day we saw in Bidar, a part of the erstwhile Hyderabad State, a Pakistani flag being taken in procession during day-time under the very nose of the Police officials and slogans shouted. The utmost that the Police officials did was to remove the flag and allowed the procession for the whole of the day. Bidar, believe me, was one of the greatest strongholds of the *razakar* regime and even if today there are these elements exhibiting themselves there I am not surprised. My complaint is not against the people who did it but I would like to know what those who were in authority there did. I do not know if any action has been taken to this moment. Perhaps action may have been taken. I do not charge the authorities there with that negligence. But to allow the whole procession consisting of thousands of persons to have their own way and shout anti-Indian slogans with a Pakistani flag during day-time . . .

**Shri Tyagi:** Where was this procession?

**Swami Ramananda Tirtha:** In Bidar in the erstwhile Hyderabad State which forms a part of Mysore State.

This is a point which I hope the hon. Prime Minister and the Government of India will take serious note of. I do not consider this to be an isolated incident. Otherwise, I would have ignored it. But, incident after incident, a flag here and some slogan there are coming up. Therefore, I am putting forth this sincere plea. It may not have any direct bearing upon what President Ayub Khan has said at Dacca. But, surely there are elements in this country which take some nourishment, some encouragement from responsible heads of States and President Ayub Khan should be mildly told that such utterances are creating anti-Indian feelings which is diplomatically, nationally and internationally very wrong. I do not know diplomatic language; but it is certainly an incursion into the internal affairs of India.

There was a gathering of certain Muslims in Maharashtra, coming from all over India, some months back, at Sangli or Miraj, I do not know . . .

**An Hon. Member:** Miraj.

**Swami Ramananda Tirtha:** . . . . where very odd opinions were expressed and very strange views were put forth which smack of anti-national feelings. I am putting it in very mild terms. I do not know whether the Indian mind has seen it or has felt very seriously about it. But, it is moving towards something which is very undesirable for our secular democracy. These forces have to be discouraged, and discouraged, shall I say, primarily by responsible leaders of Muslim opinion. Because, they will be in a better position to handle these minds. I would just plead with the Members of all the parties, just as Shri Asoka Mehta said and perhaps our revered Acharya Kripalani may

[Swami Ramananda Tirtha]

speaking tomorrow and he may advise us likewise that we have failed. It is not a question of pointing to somebody or some party or some section for blame. The blame is on our shoulders as a nation that we have not been able to put down these communal and sectional forces. Let us cultivate that strength and see that this secular democracy which all of us are trying to build up lasts and prospers to the best of our lives.

There is another point. On the northern side, we see Sikh communalism coming up under the garb of the Punjabi suba. I have been one of those who have stood for supporting the formation of linguistic States and I am not repentant about that, though I know that formation of linguistic States has, in a certain measure, created mental complications and certain aberrations in the minds of the people which we never expected. That apart, this demand for a Punjabi suba, if it had been purely a linguistic one and if it had the support of the majority of the people in that region, it would have been understandable. But, without convincing the people and other sections about the justification of that demand and taking shelter under religion and Sikhism, it is something which will not only defeat the Sikh religion and its security and safety, but which will cut at the root of democracy in that part of the country and also the whole of the country. Therefore, I feel that we should take stronger measures to build up our own national strength and not allow these incursions into our secular democracy to grow.

In the same context, I look at the Jabalpur incident. I do not want to minimise the seriousness of that incident, but, after all, when I think of it in cooler and calmer moods, I do not know what has made these riots widespread, extending from one centre to another, from one city to another. What was, after all, the

cause? A Hindu lady student was molested perhaps by a gentleman from the other community.

**An Hon. Member:** He could not be a gentleman!

**Swami Ramananda Tirtha:** He was a Muslim. That is reprehensible, that should be condemned, but it cannot be a justification for innocent people being attacked at Sagar and other places. Are our sentiments grown so delicate, so flimsy, so tender that we flare up at some bad character doing an odd thing, and give it a communal colour, and also offer a handle to those who want to create communal feelings in this country? I only plead that saner elements in the country may create a healthy atmosphere so that our mental stability is not disturbed.

The third problem is that of linguistic minorities, which I would place before the House. After the formation of the linguistic States linguistic minorities have come up, and their problems also are manifold. So far, even after three or four years are over, we have not been able to stabilise mentally the linguistic minorities. The problem is that the linguistic minorities have to reconcile themselves to the new changed conditions and make themselves one with the majority language group. Equally, it is necessary that adequate, or at least equal, opportunities are given to the linguistic minorities and nothing is denied to them simply because they do not know or understand the language of the majority group.

In this connection, there seems to be some small lapse on the part of the Southern Zonal Council. It was brought to my notice by certain sections in Hyderabad—and it has been forwarded to the Home Ministry here I understand—that in the communique that has been published, Marathi language has not been given in Andhra Pradesh that position which is due to

it, though the interests of the other linguistic minorities, which are smaller in number, are safeguarded. This was brought to the notice of the State Government and they said they also did not know about it. I think that problem will be solved satisfactorily. I am bringing this to the notice of the House because the problems of linguistic minorities have still to be solved, and the problems are touchy also. If we exercise greater caution and devote greater attention, these problems can be easily solved.

The Prime Minister has often times said that national unity and solidarity are of paramount consideration. In one of his speeches he said that he would even discard the Plans if the nation's solidarity was not ensured, or something to that effect. The President has also, in his Address, hoped that the people will work towards a socialist society and harness all their strength and this is all good. But even the high and pious hopes will be defeated, if the forces that are raising their heads in the country today are not effectively put down.

**श्री रामसिंह भाई वर्मा (निमाड़) :**  
 उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थितियों पर काफी प्रकाश डाला है। माननीय सदस्यों ने भी इस पर काफी अपने विचार प्रकट किए हैं। जहां तक भारत का सम्बन्ध है, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में जब से हम आजाद हुए हैं तब से हमारी समस्याएं कम होने के बजाय बढ़ी हैं। हमारे सामने पहले काश्मीर का सवाल था और पाकिस्तान का झगड़ा था। हमारे सामने गोआ का सवाल था, पुर्तगाल से झगड़ा था। इन समस्याओं को हम हल नहीं कर पाए हैं। उसके बाद चीन के साथ खाम-स्वाह से झगड़ा हो गया और वह घटने के बजाय बढ़ता ही जा रहा है। रोज-ब-रोज हम देखते हैं कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में हमारी समस्याएँ कम होने के बजाय बराबर बढ़ती जा रही हैं।

श्री बजराल सिंह : उन्नति हो रही है।

श्री रामसिंह भाई वर्मा : आपकी सलाह की जरूरत नहीं है।

मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जब ये सारी परिस्थितियाँ हैं तो मैं यह कहे बिना भी नहीं रह सकता कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में हमारी इज्जत, हमारी प्रतिष्ठा घटने के बजाय बढ़ी है। इतना ही नहीं बड़े-बड़े राष्ट्र भी हमारी तरफ देखते हैं और हमेशा यह आशा लगाये बैठे रहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान की अमुक विषय में क्या आवाज है और जब कभी हम अपनी राय किसी विषय में देते हैं तो उसको वे काफी वजन देते हैं और काफी महत्व का स्थान उसको मिलता है।

जहां तक माननीय सदस्य श्री डांगे का सवाल है, उनकी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का सवाल है, वे दिन में तीन दफा रंग बदलते हैं। उनकी बात का मैं नोट भी नहीं लेना चाहता क्योंकि सन् १९६२ बहुत नजदीक आ रहा है और इसलिये उन्हें न मालूम कितने रूप धारण करने होंगे। उनका शरीर आत्मा के साथ नहीं है, उनके हृदय और मगज का भी साथ नहीं है। जब ऐसी बात है तो फिर जबानी बात का, जबान हिला देने भर की बात का कहां तक विश्वास किया जाए, यह एक कठिन सवाल है।

अशोक मेहता जी भी बोले और दूसरे माननीय सदस्य भी बोले और उन्होंने भी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में हमारे जो सवाल हैं, उनका जिक्र किया है। मैं मानता हूँ कि जो नीति हिन्दुस्तान ने अपनाई है, उसके सिवाय दूसरा चारा नहीं है। जो कुछ विरोधी पार्टी वालों ने कहा है चीन के बारे में या अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं के बारे में मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर उनकी बुद्धि से काम लिया जाता तो हिन्दुस्तान कभी का सतम भी हो गया होता।

## [श्री रामसिंह भाई वर्मा]

केवल कहने की बात नहीं है, करने की बात है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जबान हिलाने वाले क्या बोर्डर पर गए हैं और क्या उन्होंने यह कहा है कि चूँकि गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी नाकामयाब साबित हुई है और गवर्नमेंट कुछ नहीं कर सकती है, हम जाकर वहाँ लड़ेंगे मरेंगे। मरने की बात तो दूर, मैं समझता हूँ उन्होंने तीन बार खाया होगा दिन में।

अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में केवल बातों से काम नहीं चलता है बल्कि सवाल यह है कि घर में हम कितने मजबूत हैं, हम में कितनी एकता है। मैं मानता हूँ कि चीन एक मिनट में हट सकता है अगर आप ने यह महसूस किया होता कि हमारा देश मजबूत बनना चाहिये और उसको मजबूत बनाने के लिए आपने प्रयास किया होता। यह बात नहीं हुई है। मैं माननीय सदस्यों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उन्होंने सोचा है कि पंजाब में क्या हो रहा है जबलपुर में क्या हुआ है बस्तर के महाराजा क्या कर रहे थे? इन सारी चीजों को आपको समझने की जरूरत है। विरोधी पार्टियों के समाने केवल जबान हिलाने के सिवाय मगज को हिलाने का कोई सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता है (interruptions) इस पहलू पर विचार करने की जरूरत है, सोचने की जरूरत है।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** यहाँ तो झगड़ा नहीं है यहाँ तो सब न जबान ही हिलानी है।

**श्री रामसिंह भाई वर्मा :** आप जानते ही हैं कि अमरीका और रूस दो बड़ी शक्तियाँ हैं। इनके पास बड़े बड़े साधन हैं। स्पूतनिक ये छोड़ रही हैं, मंगल और शुक तक यह पहुँचने की कोशिश कर रही हैं। लेकिन उनमें से आज किसी की भी यह हिम्मत नहीं है, किसी में भी यह ताकत नहीं

है कि एक दूसरे के खिलाफ चक्कू तो क्या एक पिन भी उठा सकें। मैं तो यह मानता हूँ कि आर्थिक दृष्टि से जो देश मजबूत है वह देश सब तरह से मजबूत है। मैं लेबर का आदमी हूँ और आंकड़ों को ज्यादा समझना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन जितना भी समझने की कोशिश करता हूँ उससे पता चलता है कि इस दिशा में हिन्दुस्तान बराबर आगे बढ़ रहा है। किसी भी देश का इतिहास उठा कर देखिये। रूस का इतिहास उठा कर देखिये, युगोस्लाविया अभी थोड़े दिनों से आजाद हुआ है, उसका इतिहास उठा कर देखिये चाइना, जो पिछले साल तक लम्बी जबान निकाल कर बातें करता था, उन को देख लीजिये। यहाँ पर खबरें पहुँच रही हैं कि उन की हालत आज क्या हुई है। वहाँ पर क्या लगते हैं जैसे कि हिन्दुस्तान में सन् १९४३ और १९४४ में लगा करते थे। पाकिस्तान हमारे पड़ोस में है, उसकी हालत क्या है। हम आर्थिक दृष्टि से बराबर आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्दर, द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्दर हम काफी आगे बढ़े। तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में क्या होगा यह हम अभी नहीं कह सकते, लेकिन अगर आंकड़ों के हिसाब से देखा जाये तो हमारी प्रगति बहुत काफी हुई है। जब हम आजाद हुए थे तब जो हमारा उत्पादन था, अब उससे डबल उत्पादन हो गया है। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में थोड़े आंकड़े रखना चाहता हूँ। जब सन् १९५० में हमारी प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना शुरू हुई उस समय के आंकड़ों को लेते हुए, अगर उनको हम १०० मान लें, तो सन् १९५६ में हमारा प्रोडक्शन ६२ परसेन्ट बढ़ा है। एक सवाल पैदा होता है, आप अपनी जरूरतें कैसे पूरी करें, और विरोधी पार्टियाँ क्या कहना चाहती हैं। आज मैं इस चीज को बतलाना चाहता हूँ, क्यों कि मुझे रोजाना फील्ड के अन्दर अनुभव होता है, कि उन्होंने



प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाने की जगह उसे घटाने की कोशिश की है ।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** बिल्कुल गलत है ।

**श्री रामसिंह जाइ बर्मा :** लेकिन फिर भी हम कह सकते हैं कि आर्थिक दृष्टि से देश में हम जितना आगे बढ़े हैं और गरीबों को उस में जितना फायदा पहुंचाना चाहिये था उतना उनको नहीं मिला, इस में कोई शंका की बात नहीं है । जब हम फिगरस को देखते हैं तो हमें लगता है कि हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ा । अगर हम सन् १९६० के आंकड़ों को १०० मान लें तो सन् १९५९ में प्रोडक्शन १९२ हुआ है, अर्थात् ९२ परसेन्ट बढ़ा । लेकिन एम्प्लायमेंट कितना बढ़ा है ? एम्प्लायमेंट मुश्किल से २४ परसेन्ट बढ़ा है । अगर सन् १९५० में यह १०० था तो आज केवल १२४ हुआ है । अगर प्रोडक्टिविटी को हम सन् १९५० में १०० मान लें तो सन् १९५९ में वह बढ़ कर १५५ हुई है, यानी ५५ परसेन्ट बढ़ी है । अगर हम सन् १९५८ के आंकड़ों को लें तो उस समय जितना हमारा एम्प्लायमेंट था उससे केवल साढ़े ६ परसेन्ट बढ़ा है जब कि उत्पादन लगभग साढ़े १६ परसेन्ट बढ़ा है । एक वर्ष के अन्दर प्रोडक्टिविटी ५२ परसेन्ट बढ़ी है ।

दूसरी तरफ अगर हम देखें तो टैक्सेशन का बोझ गरीब लोगों पर ही बढ़ा है । अमीर लोग टैक्स से बचे हुए हैं और गरीब लोगों को इन्डाइरेक्ट टैक्स देना पड़ रहा है । प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा है लेकिन हम एम्प्लायमेंट नहीं दे रहे हैं उस हिसाब से, इस का मतलब यह है कि गरीबों को रोजगार नहीं मिला लेकिन अमीरों को प्राफिट मिल रहा है । अगर हम इनकम टैक्स को लें तो पायेंगे कि

सन् १९४८ में जो टैक्सेशन था उसमें और आज के टैक्सेशन में ज्यादा फर्क नहीं पड़ा है । दो, चार करोड़ इधर या दो, चार करोड़ उधर । लेकिन एक्साइज ड्यूटी जब हम देखते हैं तो पाते हैं कि जब हमारा देश आजाद हुआ तब एक्साइज ड्यूटी नहीं थी, लेकिन आज चार सौ करोड़ ६० की एक्साइज ड्यूटी हम लोग दे रहे हैं और यह एक्साइज ड्यूटी गरीब और जो बेकार लोग हैं उन पर भी पड़ती है उन्हें देनी पड़ती है । इसलिये जो बजट आ रहा है, उस के अन्दर यह देखने की जरूरत है कि गरीबों के ऊपर इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन न बढ़े । इस पर बहुत गौर से सोचने की जरूरत है ।

राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में कोड आफ डिसिप्लिन का भी जिक्र है । यह बहुत अच्छी चीज है, लेकिन कोड आफ डिसिप्लिन किस के लिये है । क्या यह मालिकों अर्थात् एम्प्लायर के लिये भी है ? यह केवल मजदूरों के लिये है कि ग-स्तो नहीं होना चाहिये, उनको गैर हापजर नहीं रहना चाहिये, हड़ताल नहीं होनी चाहिये, कोई झगड़े का मौका नहीं आना चाहिये चारों तरफ से मजदूर को बांध कर रखा गया है, लेकिन जो सरकारी कारखाने हैं, उन के अधिकारी जो हैं, वे कोड आफ डिसिप्लिन का कहां तक पालन करते हैं ? एक भी सरकारी कारखाना नहीं है, जिसमें कोड आफ डिसिप्लिन का पालन होता हो । तमाम अधिकारी मनमानी करते हैं, जिसको चाहा निकाल दिया, जिसको चाहा ले लिया, जिसको जो चाहें ले या दें, कारखाने के अन्दर उन की पूरी मनमानी चलती है । इसी तरह से दूसरे एम्प्लायर भी मनमानी करते हैं । प्राइवेट सेक्टर में कोड आफ डिसिप्लिन सिर्फ मजदूर के लिये होता है जिस में वह चाहे तो सुप्रीम कोर्ट तक जाये । मजदूर तो कम से कम सुप्रीम कोर्ट तक जा नहीं सकता, हां एम्प्लायर भले ही चला जाये । उसका आखिर जाता भी क्या है ? पसा शरा कारखाने का लगेगा मामले को चलाने के लिये । मजदूर

[श्री रामसिंह भाई वर्मा]

को पता भी नहीं लगेगा कि किस कारखाने से दिया गया ।

मैं एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ : थोड़े दिन पहले इंडियन लेबर कांफ़ेस में एक राय से यह निर्णय हुआ कि बोनस कमिशन मुकर्रर किया जाये ताकि यह सोंवा जाये कि बोनस किस आधार पर दिया जाये । निर्णय हो गया, गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की तरफ से बोनस कमिशन नियुक्त किया गया । केवल एक मिल अोनर ने कहा, जिसका किसी यूनियन से झगड़ा चला था कि उसे वह चेअरमैन नहीं चाहिये । हमेशा जो ट्राइब्यूनल के चेअरमैन रहे हैं या इंडस्ट्रियल कोर्ट के चेअरमैन रहे हैं उन्हें ऐसे कमीशन या बोर्ड का चेअरमैन बनाया जाता रहा है । ट्राइब्यूनल से तो झगड़ा पैदा नहीं हो सकता । अगर मिलमालिक यह कहता है कि फलां जज को चेअरमैन न बनाया जाये या मेम्बर न बनाया जाय तो कैसे काम चल सकता है । अगर मजदूर भी इसी तरह से कहने लगे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि कोई मामला हल ही नहीं हो सकता है । हाई कोर्ट के एक जज ने कोई फैसला दिया, उस जजमेंट को सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने रद्द कर दिया । अब अगर कोई मालिक यह कहे कि हाई कोर्ट के जज को डिसमिस कर देना चाहिये, तो यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आई । एम्प्लायर लोग इस बात के लिये प्राइम मिनिस्टर से मिलना चाहते हैं, लेबर मिनिस्टर से मिलना चाहते हैं । मैं समझता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया के अन्दर यह नहीं होना चाहिये । इस आधार पर प्राइम मिनिस्टर किसी भी एम्प्लायर से बात करने के लिये तैयार न हों, क्योंकि मैं अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ कि अगर एक मजदूर यह मांग करना चाहे कि फलां जज नहीं चाहिये, या फलां मेम्बर नहीं चाहिये, तो यह कहां तक ठीक है । मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह एक बड़े सोचने की बात है ।

इस के साथ ही साथ मैं गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की फूड पालिसी के बारे में भी निवेदन

करना चाहता हूँ । हमारे देश के अन्दर किसी प्रदेश में कितना उत्पादन बढ़ रहा है कितना नहीं, इस को देख कर गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया को विचार करना चाहिये कि कोई हिस्सा देश का ऐसा न हों जहां पर लोगों को भर पेट खाना न मिलता हो । एक जगह अनाज सड़ा करता हो और दूसरी जगह लोग भूखे मरें, फिर गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की तरफ से हाउस में यह जवाब दिया जाये कि फलां सरकार की गलती थी, इस का क्या मतलब है ? मैं जानता हूँ कि इस में कठिनाई किस लिये है । वह इसी लिये है कि कोई भी स्टेट गवर्नमेंट अगर गलती करती है तो उस को चेक नहीं किया जाता है । अगर कोई स्टेट गलत काम करती है तो उसे वह गलती न करने दी जाये । मध्यप्रदेश के अन्दर सरकार ने गेहूं खरीदा और वह सड़ा गया, लेकिन गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया उस में कुछ नहीं कर सकी । यहां यह बात कही जाती है कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की गलती है और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की ओर से यह कहा जाता है कि हमारा प्रदेश महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात के साथ रीजन बनाने को तैयार नहीं हुआ इसलिये केन्द्र ने हमें दबाया । और महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात को अनाज नहीं उठाने दिया । मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से इस तरह कहा जाता है और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से दूसरी बात कही जाती है । एक तरफ अनाज सड़ता है और दूसरी तरफ हम विदेशों से अनाज मंगा कर लोगों को खिलाने को कोशिश करते हैं । इस से लोगों को कंप्यूजन होता है । मध्यप्रदेश में गेहूं सड़ा रहा है, पंजाब से गेहूं उठाया नहीं जा रहा है और अमरीका से गेहूं लाकर बम्बई आदि को खिलाया जा रहा है । यह नीति है या अनीति यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता ।

दूसरी तरफ हर राज्य यह कोशिश कर रहा है कि हमारे प्रदेश के अन्दर औद्योगिक कारखाने डाले जाएं । राजस्थान के रेगिस्तान में कारखाने डाले जा रहे हैं, महाराष्ट्र भागे

बढ़ रहा है, गुजरात आगे बढ़ रहा है। लेकिन मैं अपने प्रदेश की बात कहना चाहता हूँ। मेरे प्रदेश की गवर्नमेंट की औद्योगिक नीति क्या है यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। मध्यप्रदेश के अन्दर उद्योगों की यह हालत है कि जो हैं वे भी खत्म होते जा रहे हैं, श्रीर लेबर मिनिस्टर साहब से पूछा जाता है तो कहते हैं कि हमारी पालिसी है। उनके पास एक फाइल है उसमें उद्योग नीति है, वह कहते हैं कि हमारी पालिसी इस फाइल में है। हम उस फाइल का क्या करें। हमारे पास इतनी अग्रबत्ती भी तो नहीं कि हम उसे जला-जला कर उस फाइल को धूप दिया करें।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** इसमें तो मैं भी सेम्बर साहब की कोई मदद नहीं कर सकता।

**श्री रामसिंह भाई बर्मा :** गवर्नमेंट को देखना चाहिए कि कौनसा राज्य गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की औद्योगिक नीति के अनुसार चल रहा है। खास कर मेरे प्रदेश पर ज्यादा ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए यह मेरा निवेदन है।

**श्री बाजपेयी :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज देश के सामने प्रमुखतया तीन समस्याएँ हैं। प्रथम, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में दोनों शक्ति गुटों से अलग रहने की विदेश नीति पर दृढ़ रहते हुए हम अपनी सीमाओं की रक्षा किस प्रकार करें। दूसरी समस्या यह है कि राज्य के असाम्प्रदायिक स्वरूप को कायम रखते हुए, भाषा, पन्थ और मजहब की विविधताओं को विकसित होने का पूरा अवसर देते हुए, हम राष्ट्रीय एकता को किस प्रकार बढ्दमूल करें, और तीसरी समस्या यह है कि व्यक्तिगत स्वतंत्रता और व्यक्तिगत प्रेरणा को बनाये रखते हुए हम राष्ट्र में आधिक समता और आर्थिक वैभव किस प्रकार स्थापित करें।

इन समस्याओं के अन्तर्गत राष्ट्र-जीवन जो भी प्रश्न हैं उनका समावश हो जाता है,

और उनके प्रकाश में यदि हम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण को पढ़ें तो इन समस्याओं का कोई स्पष्ट और समाधानकारक उत्तर हमें नहीं मिलता।

पहले भारत की सीमाओं पर विदेशी आक्रमण से जो संकट उत्पन्न हो गया है हम उसका विचार करें। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में यह आशा प्रकट की है कि देर से नहीं तो जल्दी ही चीन अपनी हठवादिता की नीति को छोड़ेगा। संसद के सदस्य और देश की जनता सरकार से यह जानना चाहेंगे कि राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में जो यह आशा प्रकट की गई है उसका आधार क्या है? कौन से ऐसे संकेत मिले हैं, जिसे हम समझें कि चीन अपनी हठवादिता की नीति को छोड़ देगा, भारत की सीमा पर से अपने आक्रमण को हटा लेगा और भारत के साथ फिर से, भारत की सार्वभौम सत्ता का सम्मान करते हुए, बराबर के सम्बन्ध स्थापित करेंगे? पिछले कुछ महीनों की घटनायें और चीन के साथ अधिकारियों के स्तर पर हुई वार्ता इस प्रकार की आशा के लिए कोई आधार नहीं देती। इस वार्ता के द्वारा एक बार फिर से यह प्रकट हो गया है कि चीन भारत के साथ मित्रता नहीं चाहता, क्योंकि मित्रता एक ही आधार पर हो सकती है कि भारत की भूमि पर जो चीन का आक्रमण है उसे चीन हटा ले, मगर आक्रमण को हटाना तो दूर रहा, हमारी भूमि पर चीन अपने दावे को बढ़ा रहा है। भूटान और तिब्बत में हमारे सम्बन्धों को अमान्य कर रहा है। जम्मू और काश्मीर के भारत में सम्मिलन को चुनौती दे रहा है। सीटो और सेंटो के सदस्य पाकिस्तान से हाथ मिलाने के लिए तैयार है। अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में हमें एकांकी करने जा रहा है, दोनों अधिकारियों की रिपोर्ट से यह स्पष्ट हो गया है कि चीन के इरादे अच्छे नहीं हैं।

[श्री वजपेयी]

हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह आशा प्रकट की थी कि जब सम्भव हो हम शान्तिपूर्ण समझौते द्वारा इस समस्या को हल करेंगे। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि समझौते के लिए गुंजाइश कहां है? चीन अपनी जगह पर दृढ़ है। वह हमसे अपने आक्रमण को मनवाना चाहता है, हमें दबाना चाहता है। हमारी सार्वभौम सत्ता के लिए चीन ने जो चुनौती दी है, हम या तो उस चुनौती का दृढ़ता से सामना करें या फिर हम झुक जायें, बीच का कोई रास्ता नहीं है।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि सरकार की नीति शान्तिपूर्ण किन्तु दृढ़ है। मैं चाहूंगा कि इसकी थोड़ी सी व्याख्या की जाए। देश शासन से इस प्रश्न का उत्तर चाहता है कि चीन के अधिकार में भारत की जो भूमि चली गई है वह कैसे वापस आएगी, इसके सम्बन्ध में हमारी क्या नीति है? "क्या अभी भी हम यह आशा करते हैं कि प्रेमपूर्ण वार्ता द्वारा चीन अपने आक्रमण को हटा लेगा। और अगर हम यह आशा करते हैं तो इस आशा का आधार क्या है?"

कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो समझते हैं कि शायद युद्ध का तरोका ठीक नहीं है। वे सिद्धान्ततः युद्ध के विरोधी हैं। मैं शासन से इस सम्बन्ध में एक स्पष्टीकरण चाहता हूँ। हम आज युद्ध न करें, हम आज युद्ध की स्थिति में न हों, युद्ध करना हमारे लिये उपयोगी न हो, यह चीज तो मैं समझता हूँ। लेकिन यह कहा जाए कि हम किसी भी प्रश्न पर युद्ध नहीं करेंगे, तब फिर युद्ध न करना एक सिद्धान्त बन जाता है। युद्ध न करना हमारी नीति है या सिद्धान्त है? और अगर यह सिद्धान्त के रूप में हम स्वीकार करते हैं तो फिर इतनी बड़ी सेना रखने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। फिर तो आचार्य विनोबा भावे की शान्ति सेना का सगटन होना चाहिए।

मगर इस सम्बन्ध में भी मुझे शक है। शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से गोआ की मुक्ति के लिए जो जन आन्दोलन किया गया उसे आपने बन्द कर दिया। आप गोआ में सैनिक बल प्रयोग भी नहीं करेंगे, आप गोआ में शान्तिपूर्ण सत्याग्रह नहीं होने देंगे, और फिर भी आशा क रहे कि गोआ मुक्त हो जाए। इस विचित्र नीति को समझने में मैं असमर्थ हूँ।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** माननीय सदस्य कल जारी रखना चाहेंगे ?

**श्री वजपेयी :** जरूर जरूर।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have to make an announcement. There are 123 amendments to the Motion of Thanks which have been selected by hon. Members to be moved now:

A list indicating the number of the selected amendments will be circulated to Members tonight for their information.

**Shri Sarjoo Pandey:** I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention that the Second Five Year Plan has not resulted in any appreciable improvement in the standard of living of common people" (1)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the increasing economic disparity in the country". (2)

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

"but regret that Government has failed to control the rising prices of food-grains and to lay down a definite price policy"(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 corruption, favouritism and nepotism rampant in the country”(4)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the ever-increasing bureaucracy (5)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention about the Urdu language”(6)

**Shri Braj Raj Singh:** 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 of any specific plan for the solution of the bottleneck in transport of coal from the coal fields to the various consuming centres resulting in the stoppage of industrial production and also production of coal since the coal mines are forced to stop their work of excavation of coal.” (12).

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any specific plan for the vacation of Chinese aggression and recovery of the areas so far illegally held by the Chinese.” (13).

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any strong measures for the safety and defence of our northern borders.” (14).

(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 intention of the Government to appoint Agricultural Commodities Price Fixation Board to safeguard the peasant from the loss which he might incur due to the downward trend of prices of agricultural commodities.” (15).

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any specific plan for the better management and development of small scale and cottage industries in the country especially the supply of raw material, i.e., coal, steel etc.” (16)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any action to undo the wrong done to various teachers of Banaras Hindu University by way of victimisation.” (17)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any specific plan for the reclamation of cultivable waste land to increase the food production and give employment to the unemployed persons.” (18)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any plan to make the uneconomic land holdings rent free in order to save the agriculturists of uneconomic land holdings from economic disaster.” (19)

[Shri Braj Raj Singh]

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any specific steps which should be taken by the Government to replace English by Hindi as the official language of the Union." (20)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any steps which would be taken by the Government to ensure educational facilities to the College and University students in view of the proposed decisions of the University Grants Commissions to restrict the admission of students to colleges and Universities." (21)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any steps to provide a minimum wage for the agricultural labour." (22)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any specific plan how the disparities in income shall be removed specially by formulating the plan for fixing minimum income of Rs. 100/- per month of an individual and maximum income of Rs. 1000 per month for the time being." (23)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any specific mention that no victimisation of the Central Government employees who participated in the last general strike of those em-

ployees shall take place and that wherever any victimisation has taken place the victimised employees shall be taken back on their original post." (24)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the nationalisation of oil industry." (25)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention that the foreign capital invested in the country which has so far reaped profits to the extent of capital invested or more than that shall be taken over by the State without paying any compensation." (26)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention that the Government would try to form a Third Block of Non-aligned Nations of the world to safeguard peace in the world and for the emancipation of countries who have not yet attained independence." (27)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention that the Union territories of the country specially Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh shall be granted responsible Government and elected assemblies shall be restored there." (28)

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

"but regret that in the Address

there is no mention of any specific plan for freeing Goa from the Portuguese yoke and integration of the same and also of Dadar and Nagar Haveli with the Indian Union.' (29)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the increasing lawlessness which is raising its head in the country and steps to deal with it." (30)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention that the price per maund of sugarcane to be paid to the sugarcane growers shall be fixed at Rs. 2 per maund and the ex-factory price of sugar at Rs. 32 per maund." (31)

**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 reference to naming of Madras State as Tamilnad in deference to wishes of people of the State." (32)

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

"but regret that there is no mention about a specific date-line for the *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry and other former French possessions." (33)

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** 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 regarding reinstatement of those Central Government employees who participated in July, 1960 strike." (60).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding restoration of recognition of those Unions and Federations of Central Government employees whose recognition was withdrawn after the July, 1960 strike." (61)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding growing unemployment in the country and measures likely to be taken by Government to solve it." (62)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding transfer of Berubari to Pakistan without prior consultation of the people of Berubari." (63)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding growing corruption in the country and measures likely to be taken to uproot it." (64)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no call for a national unity for the success of the Third Five Year Plan." (65)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding non-implementation of certain favourable recommendations of the Pay Commission even after one and a half years of its publication." (66)

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding measures to be taken by the Government to protect the real wages of the workers both in public and private sectors." (67)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding power shortage in U.P. and measures likely to be taken by Government for early completion of certain projects." (68)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention about the acute shortage of coal in U.P. for industrial and domestic purposes resulting in closure of industrial units and extreme hardship to the people." (69)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding protection of rights and privileges of the minorities in all the States." (70)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding distribution of land to landless peasants." (71)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding upliftment of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes." (72)

Shri Jagdish Awasthi: 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 regarding failure of Government in discontinuing forthwith the use of English in public places and in official work." (73)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding failure of Government in providing sixty per cent. jobs to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes of the country including harijans, shudras, muslims, christians in defence and civil services." (74)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding failure of Government to check the increasing prices of goods manufactured by machines and factories and of agricultural products and foodgrains and to evolve a price policy whereby the prices of foodgrains will not increase by more than one anna per seer during the year and the prices of goods manufactured in factories beyond one and a half times of cost price." (75)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding failure of Government to evolve a policy for exemption of unprofitable holdings from the levy of land revenue." (76)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding



failure of Government to appoint Pay Commissions for the labourers employed in chemical, iron and leather industries." (77)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding failure of Government to provide adequate relief to the families affected in most parts of the Uttar Pradesh as a result of floods in important rivers of Uttar Pradesh." (78)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding failure of Government to reinstate or provide an alternative employment to employees of Central Government whose services were terminated on account of participation in the strike." (79)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding failure of Government to get the teachers of Banaras Hindu University reinstated even after the judgement of the Supreme Court." (80)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding failure of Government to put an end to corruption and favouritism rampant among high officials." (81)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding failure of Government to recover the territories of India forcibly occupied by China." (82)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding failure of Government to free Goa." (83)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding failure of Government to get Indians in Ceylon the rights of citizenship." (84)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure of Government regarding the apartheid policy being adopted in regard to Indians in Africa." (85)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding failure of Government's foreign policy." (86)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding failure of Government to remove unemployment and to put an end to corruption and starvation prevalent in the country." (87)

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention regarding failure of Government to bring about a ratio of 10 to 1 in the maximum and minimum incomes." (88)

**Shri Aurobindo Ghosal:** I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention of the recent Assam disturbances." (94)

[Shri Aurobindo Ghosal]

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

“but regret that the Address fails to mention the steps being taken to rehabilitate the refugees of Assam disturbances.” (95)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to mention about the transfer of half of Berubari Union to Pakistan.” (96)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to mention that the Government has failed to regain their territories from the illegal occupation of China.” (97)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to mention about the effective steps to be taken to release Goa from the foreign occupation.” (98)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to mention about the dismissals and other repressive measures taken against the Central Government employees as a result of the recent strike.” (99)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to mention about the high prices of food-stuff, cloth and other daily necessities of life.” (100)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to mention about the re-emergence of a communal body like Muslim League in almost all the States of Ind a.” (101)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to mention about the communal disturbances in various parts of the country.” (102)

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

“but regret that the Address makes no mention about the reorganisation of States on linguistic basis.” (103)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to mention the steps being taken to rehabilitate and to grant aid to the political sufferers.” (104)

**Shri Tangamani:** 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,—

(a) to extend the Industrial laws, and other laws to Pondicherry and other former French possessions pending *de jure* transfer,

(b) to clothe Supreme Court with full powers to receive all appeals from former French possessions,

(c) to non-implementation of Textile Wage Board's recommendations to the Textile Mills in Pondicherry.” (113)

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

“but regret that there is no mention to accumulate handloom stock like “Bleeding Madras” and suitable steps to be taken for helping the handloom weavers through increasing the number of weeks of enhanced rebate and extending the benefit to art silk and promoting

export through Governmental agencies." (114)

**Shri Chintamani Panigrahi:** 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 discontentment prevailing in Orissa among all sections of the people over the failure of the Eastern Zonal Council in settling the border dispute between Orissa and Bihar." (115)

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

"but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the failure of the Government for safeguarding the linguistic and cultural interests of the Oriya-speaking population in Sareikella and Kharswan in Bihar." (116)

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

"but regret that the Address has taken a very complacent attitude in respect of the failure of the Government to put a check to the rising prices in the country even after ten years of planning." (117)

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the co-operative credit movement in supplying credit to vast sections of rural people as revealed in the Second Report of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee." (118)

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the absence of real power in the hands of Panchayat and Zila Parishads" (119).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the failure of the Government in checking the growing unemployment in the country even after ten years of planning" (120).

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

"but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the failure of the agrarian policy of the Government regarding giving lands to the landless peasants and stopping the eviction of tenants" (121).

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

"but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the failure of constitutional machinery in many parts of India including Assam and the growing reliance on police and army for crushing the democratic movements of the people of India including the strike of the Central Government employes for redressing their grievances peacefully" (122).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the growing importance of the role of the youth in the rebuilding of the country and fails to suggest allocation of more funds in the Third Plan for implementing youth welfare measures" (123).

**Shri Vajpayee:** I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to admit boldly that the Government's attempts to resolve our involvement with China by peaceful negotiations have failed,

[Shri Vajpayee]

but instead continues to nurture vain hopes that China will in course of time shed her intransigence, thereby making an entirely misleading appraisal of the menace posed by China". (138).

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

"but regret that the Address contains no reference to the 12000 square miles of Indian territory in Chinese occupation, and so gives no indication as to how the Government propose to redeem these areas" (139).

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

"but regret that the Address omits to take note of the dangerous espionage activity being organised in India by nations deemed to be having friendly relations with India" (140).

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

"but regret that the Address reference to Goa' is helplessly silent on the mode whereby the Government contemplate to fulfil their commitment to Goa's liberation" (141).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the serious threat to national integrity posed by the recrudescence of communalism" (142).

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

"but regret that in its assessment of the economic situation the Address fails to evince any awareness of the severe strains and stresses the nation's economy is being subjected to because of deficit financing, consequential inflation, mounting foreign indeb-

tedness, and of the need to re-orientate the Third Plan accordingly" (143).

Shri Mahanty: I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not reflect national urge for vacating Chinese aggression on Indian territories" (144).

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

"but regret that the Address still holds out the fond hope of redeeming Goa from Portuguese colonialism in a routine way" (145).

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

"but regret that the Address does not deplore the failure of the UN in Congo, to save Mr. Lumumba and his associates from the hands of a pack of murderers, headed by his political opponents" (146).

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain reference to the growing disintegration in the country and steps to check it" (147).

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the rising spiral of prices, and suggest ways and means to control the rise" (148).

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the languishing of export trade in spite of platitudinous assurances, and the

difficulties encountered by industries on account of foreign exchange difficulties and does not suggest appropriate remedies in this regard" (149).

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the various difficulties encountered by the linguistic minorities" (150).

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain reference to the immediate necessity of resolving the few outstanding border disputes between States, particularly between Bihar and Orissa regarding Seraikella and Kharswan" (151).

**Shri A. K. Gopalan:** I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address does not contain any reference to the latest developments in Congo including the dastardly murder of the Prime Minister of Congo, Mr. Patrice Lumumba by the hirelings of imperialists" (152).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to indicate any new, positive and effective move by India in Congo" (153).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure of the United Nations and its Secretary-General in bringing order and security in Congo" (154).

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the failure to recognise the Government, headed by Mr. Gizenga, in Congo at Stanleyville" (155).

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

"but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the failure to recognise the Algerian Provisional Government headed by Mr. Ferhat Abbas" (156).

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

"but regret that the Address does not indicate any new move towards the expulsion of the Portuguese fascists from Goa" (157).

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

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the fact whatever increase in national income has taken place has been appropriated by the richer classes." (158)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the agricultural labour and other poor sections of the people have suffered further erosion of their meagre income." (159)

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

"but regret that the Address fails to note that the progress of ceiling legislation in the States has been very slow." (160)

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

"but regret that in spite of ten years of planned development, regional disparities in economic development have increased." (161)

[Shri A. K. Gopalan]

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

“but regret that the Address fails to take note of the serious problem of linguistic and religious minorities.” (162)

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

“but regret that the Address does not refer to the mounting problem of unemployment in the country.” (163)

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

“but regret that the Address does not make a mention of the increasing penetration of foreign monopoly capital into our economy.” (164)

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

“but regret that the Address is silent on the disturbing fact that since independence concentration of wealth and economic power has reached dangerous proportions” (165)

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

“but regret that the Central and State Governments resort to undemocratic practices and political discrimination against the Communist Party and progressive minded people.” (166)

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

“but regret that the public sector industries are being thrown open to big financial magnates in the name of public participation in state undertakings.” (167)

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

“but regret that no effective steps are being taken to bring

down the soaring cost of living.” (168)

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

“but regret that the Address does not take into account the dangers to which our economy and country's political independence is exposed to, due to mounting debts from imperialist countries.” (169)

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

“but regret that the Address fails to acclaim the Cuban revolution led by Fidel Castro.” (170)

**Shri B. K. Gaikwad:** 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 of any effective measures having been adopted to stop corruption, hoarding, profiteering and blackmarketing which is increasing day by day.” (171)

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

“but regret that in the Address there is no mention of any effective steps having been taken to raise the standard of living of the common people of the country by establishing economic equality on a just and enduring basis” (172).

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

“but regret the failure of the Union Government to play a more positive and effective role in the solution of border disputes between the Maharashtra State and Mysore State; Maharashtra State and Gujarat State; and Maharashtra State and Madhya Pradesh State” (173).

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

“but regret that no assurance has been given to implement the recommendations made by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes in his last several yearly reports.” (174)

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

“but regret that no remedy has been prescribed to remove the growing unemployment in the country.” (175)

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

“but regret the failure to—

(a) distribute the Government waste land amongst the landless people of the country,

(b) have uniform policy as regards land reforms by fixing ceilings on big holdings.” (176)

**Shri Naushir Bharucha:** I beg to move:

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

“but regret that despite reference in the Address to the ‘progressive preparedness for defence’, the country is kept *virtually* in a state of helplessness against aggression from China”. (187)

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

“but regret that the reference in the Address to the ‘peaceful liberation’ of Goa is calculated to encourage Portugal to persist in her policy of colonial domination.” (188)

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

“but regret that while reference has been made to India’s contribution to the solution of the disarmament problem the Address contains no reference at all to the increasing conquest of outer space by nuclear powers, with all the terrific implications of potential use of outer space for military purposes”. (189)

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

“but regret that no definite programme for arresting the inflationary trends in prices has been outlined in the Address.” (190)

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

“but regret that the Address does not disclose specific steps for making the country selfsufficient in the matter of foodgrains.” (191)

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

16.59 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, February 21, 1961/Phalgun 2, 1882 (Saka).