

- (2) Shri Chandra Shankar with effect from the 16th March, 1962.

and voting of the Demands on Account (General).

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): With your permission, Sir, I rise to announce that Government Business in this House for the week commencing 19th March, 1962, will consist of:

- (1) Further discussion of the Motion of Thanks to the President for his Address;
- (2) Discussion and voting of the Supplementary Demands for Grants (General) for 1961-62;
- (3) Consideration and passing of—

The Union Duties of Excise (Distribution) Bill, 1962;

The Estate Duty (Distribution) Bill, 1962;

The Additional Duties of Excise (Goods of special importance) Amendment Bill, 1962.

- (4) Discussion and voting of the Supplementary Demands for Grants (Railways) for 1961-62;
- (5) Consideration and passing of—

The Finance Bill, 1962;

The Advocates (Amendment) Bill, 1962;

The Telegraph Wires (Unlawful Possession) Amendment Bill, 1961;

The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan Bill, 1962, as passed by Rajya Sabha; and

The Air Corporations (Amendment) Bill, 1961, as passed by Rajya Sabha.

As Members are already aware, general discussion on the General Budget will commence on Tuesday, the 20th March, after Question Hour and will be followed by discussion

MOTION ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now proceed with further consideration of the following motion moved by Dr. Sushila Nayar and seconded by Swami Ramananda Tirtha on the 15th March, 1962, namely:

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

"That the Members of the Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 12th March, 1962".

and the amendments moved thereon.

Of the time allotted by the Business Advisory Committee for this discussion, 5 hours and 5 minutes remain. Why not reserve the reply of the hon. Prime Minister for next Monday and then dispose of the other part of the discussion today?

Sardar Hukam Singh (Bhatinda): Today there is non-official business also.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): We may sit one hour extra today.

Mr. Speaker: We thought of completing it today, but there is non-official business also. Let us carry on this discussion till 3-30 p.m. today and then reserve the hon. Prime Minister's reply for Monday.

Some Hon. Members: How could it be?

Mr. Speaker: Let us carry on with this till 4 p.m. and then have the non-official business for 2½ hours.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: The 10 hours allotted include the time to be taken for the reply also.

Mr. Speaker: We have five more hours.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: We will have to have 3½ or 4 hours today for this.

Mr. Speaker: Let us carry on with this till 3 p.m. Then one hour remains for the reply of the hon. Minister. Even if we devote the whole day for this, we can conclude it only at 5 p.m. On Fridays, there is non-official business for 2½ hours. Let us begin it at 3 p.m. today, leaving one hour for the hon. Prime Minister to reply.

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Ferozabad): How could it be?

Shri Naushir Bharucha (East Khadesh): It should be 1½ or 2 hours then.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: There is some mistake. Even if we discuss this till 3 p.m., two hours will still remain. If we continue this till 4 p.m., then one hour will be left for reply on Monday. Then the House can go on with non-official business till 6-30 p.m.

Mr. Speaker: How is my arithmetic wrong? We have five more hours for the discussion, leaving out ten minutes this side or that side. We are now at 12-10, say 12. Let us go on with this till 3 p.m. The hon. Prime Minister may take one hour for reply. We will have one more hour for the discussion on Monday. What is the harm? We will start at about 12-15 on Monday. We shall carry on till 1-30 or 2-30 and close it then.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: In that case the Minister concerned and the whole House will not have an opportunity to go for lunch.

Mr. Speaker: I will call upon the hon. Prime Minister after lunch that day for reply.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): What is your final decision, Sir?

Mr. Speaker: Shri Tangamani.

Shri Tangamani (Madurai): Yesterday I was referring to Amendment No. 54 which reads:

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the serious allegations that have been made regarding malpractices and corruption in the elections nor does it promise any enquiry into such allegations as for instance the non-despatch of thousands of postal ballot papers in some parliamentary constituencies such as in Madurai District."

Many Members have addressed themselves to several malpractices, but here in this amendment the demand is that an enquiry be made into certain allegations which are specified in the amendment.

As the House is aware, postal ballot papers are supplied to persons employed on election duty. There are four parliamentary constituencies in Madurai District and 20 Assembly constituencies. I understand that those who were appointed as election officers were sent two application forms along with the appointment order. These application forms were duly filled and sent to the returning officers to the Assembly constituencies and also to the returning officer to the parliamentary constituencies. I understand the ballot papers were received so far as the Assembly constituencies were concerned, but the postal ballot papers were not received in the case of the four parliamentary constituencies. This is what the returning officer has written to these people who applied for the postal ballot papers: "The number and the name of the polling station to which the applicant has been appointed has not been noted". It is signed "For Collector and Returning Officer". I find that Application Form No. 12 does not contain any of the items which are required by the returning officer himself. Whereas

all the Assembly returning officers sent the postal ballot papers, the particular returning officer for the four parliamentary constituencies did not care to send the postal ballot papers. So, there appears to be two standards. If the Election Commission has given any directive in the matter, it must have been identical both in the case of the returning officers for the Assembly constituencies and the parliamentary constituencies. I understand that in the neighbouring district of Ramnad, where the Collector himself is the returning officer, he followed the procedure of sending the postal ballot papers. This created agitation in the minds of the people and the three contesting candidates from the Madurai parliamentary constituency immediately wrote letters and sent telegrams to the Election Commission. I do not know what has happened subsequently, but the fact remains that many of those who were on election duty were denied this privilege of casting their vote through the postal ballot.

I would also like to refer to what the hon. Mover of the Motion of Thanks had to say about postal ballots. She was pleased to say that postal ballots have revealed that most of the Government employees did not cast their votes in favour of the ruling party. I am only citing this to show that there is a suspicion in the minds of the people that something must have gone wrong which deprived these people of the right of casting their votes. My only submission is that there is a special case for an enquiry to be instituted in the case of the four parliamentary constituencies in Maudrai District.

There were also other circumstances. The other day one of the Members said that certain election offences must be made cognizable. I myself witnessed two cases where persons were distributing money to the electors. The person was apprehended and he was taken to the police station, but nothing more could be done because it was not a cognizable

offence. This happened in the Usilampatti and Tirumangalam constituencies in Madurai District. After all, all candidates may not come forward with election petitions. This need not be taken as an allegation by a person or persons who did not come out successful in the election. These allegations must be gone into so that there will not be repetition of such things.

12.16 hrs.

[DR. SUSHILA NAYAR in the Chair]

Another matter to which I would like to refer is the question of the ballot boxes. We were told that all the ballot papers were to be put in one box as that would save the number of ballot boxes to be used both for the Assembly and parliamentary constituencies, but experience has shown that in each booth three to four ballot boxes had to be filled. These boxes were not big enough to take in all the 1,000 or 1,500 ballot papers. So, my suggestion is that bigger ballot boxes may be made use of for the next elections.

Members also made reference to two ballot papers being given to the electors and the confusion resulting thereby. I remember to have read in the newspapers that when two ballot papers were given to the Prime Minister, he did not know whether he should cast his vote in the same ballot box. If such confusion was possible in the case of the Prime Minister himself, I do not know what the fate will be of an ordinary illiterate voter. In many cases both the ballot papers were given to them simultaneously, and we found among the invalid votes ballot papers without any marking at all.

The year 1962 is significant because this is the year when the Delimitation Commission will be set up, and I hope the Commission will not give room for any suspicion about the way the new constituencies are delimited. I would venture to make a suggestion that in areas where the Assem-

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bly constituencies are becoming unwieldy, more than five Assembly constituencies may not be included for constituting a parliamentary constituency.

In amendment No. 50 there is reference to the unhelpful treatment of Indian visiting foreign countries and also Indian nationals staying in foreign countries at the hands of our Embassy and High Commission officials. I had occasion to refer to the treatment which some of our Indian nationals are receiving in Ceylon, and also to what happened to a visiting Indian national like me. On this matter I wrote a detailed letter to the hon. Prime Minister himself. The matter may be looked into. I can only say that the High Commissioner's office in Colombo reminds me of the High Commissioner's Office in London during the years 1930-37. It is not enough to Indianise the officials, but it is also necessary to nationalise these officials in other words, to make them more conscious of being Indians when they are serving as officials in other countries.

Shri Karni Singhji (Bikaner): Madam Chairman, first and foremost I would take this opportunity of thanking the President for his very kind Address to both Houses of Parliament. As a citizen of this country, I would also like to take this opportunity of congratulating all of us, the 43 crores of Indians, for the peaceful way in which the Third General Elections have been conducted. We have proved to the world that India is a country that believes in democracy although, I will admit, in some of the States where the ruling party has not done too well they have not taken the defeat gracefully as they might have. But, I shall deal with that a little further on.

Our country has taken tremendous strides in the last 10 or 15 years and there is no doubt that, as a nation, we have grown, and we have developed up to a point. We have tried to solve

the unemployment problems also to a point. But today, I would like once more to reiterate a couple of problems that I have raised on the floor of this House over the last ten years just to prove that if we had taken those points into consideration, perhaps, our Five Year Plans would have been far more successful.

Some of the problems that are confronting us and which have been taken up in the National Integration Conference, for instance, the question of equal treatment to all people, to all States—the fact that a citizen of a State or region should, at no stage, feel neglected require further thought. Some of these factors have been ignored; and, as a result of that, the country has had to pay the price in the shape of retarded progress.

The question of location of industries, likewise, has not been done properly, the industries in many cases being situated to suit the personal considerations of certain ministers, or important politicians.

Another point which I wish to deal with once again is the question of family planning. I think I was one of the few members who on this floor, four years ago, raised the question of population control. We tried to elevate it from the hush-hush role of conversation to the forum of this August House. I feel that the question of controlling India's population now is no longer of the hush-hush nature. It is becoming such a serious problem that unless the 70 year old generation which is at present ruling our country takes stock of the situation, I am pretty certain that my generation is doomed to compulsory sterilisation at some stage or the other. I shall illustrate to-you how.

Our Five Year Plan has produced facts and figures about the increase in population. And, I am pretty certain that the people at large are not fully conversant with the amount or rate of population growth that is like-

ly to take place in the next 15 years in India. If you study the figures here, you will see that 15 years from today, India's increase alone would be equal to the present population of the United States of America. One hundred and eighty-seven million people will be the increase alone in India's population.

Now, no matter how ambitious our Plans may be, it cannot be forgotten that if we cannot stop this rapid increase, this phenomenal explosive increase, we are perpetually doomed to poverty. No matter how ambitious our Plans may be, they can never take care of this tremendous increase. I would, therefore, request that we should now have a separate Ministry for family planning, a ministry that will treat this population increase on a war-time footing, a ministry which will use the visual media, including television, movies, and the newspapers to see that the nation is made conscious of this fact.

It is not enough that a man has adequate means to sustain a family of more than 3 people. In a country like ours it is now becoming morally wrong to have large families. Every citizen must be made to feel that every additional child that he has beyond the optimum 3 is taking away the bread and butter, the chances of jobs, hospital space, school space etc. from some other people who have a family of less than 3 and less fortunately placed in life. We now take a family of 3 as the optimum figure. I hope that if we can work on that formula and if we can make the nation conscious of this fact, particularly morally conscious of this fact that the families have to be limited, I am quite sure that our Five Year Plans would become great successes.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): Boys do not matter; it is really the girls who create this situation.

Shri Karni Singhji: I am talking about the nation; the nation consists of both boys and girls.

Now, I shall deal with just a few things which, in my opinion, have been unfair on the part of the State Governments or the Central Government and which has resulted, in many places, in the defeat of Congressmen, a defeat which the State Governments or the ruling party have not taken too graciously. Since I am far more conversant with the State of Rajasthan, I shall confine myself and my observations to the circumstances which are best known to me in that State.

In the Rajasthan Government, as you might have known, we have regionalism to a great extent, where it has become a disease; for the last 10 years, I have been voicing that feeling. No matter how just and fair the demand of an area may be, it is completely and totally overlooked because the Ministers come from a different part of the State. And, in a democracy, if that sort of situation goes on for too long, there is no doubt that the masses, in whose hands the destiny of the country rests, will, at some stage or other, be prepared to throw the party out of power.

I wish to raise a few points here which I have been hammering away for the last 10 years. The first is the question of giving water, in certain belts of Rajasthan where we have brackish water Lunkaransara for example. This comes under the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, I think. The hon. Minister is also here now. I have raised this question for the last 10 years in the Lok Sabha that people have to go 20 miles in 120 degrees heat to get water for drinking because the water there is brackish and no human being can consume it.

An Hon. Member: It is not the portfolio of the Irrigation Minister.

Shri Karni Singhji: Thirty miles away from this region the Rajasthan canal is coming and we have been asking the Government that this water should be pumped and lifted

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up and supplied for drinking purposes on humanitarian grounds. I am very grateful to the hon. Union Minister for irrigation and Power that when we went to him he paid us some heed and we had some sort of a lukewarm assurance that drinking water will be given. But the other day I had an occasion to visit the exhibition of the Rajasthan Government; and I questioned the organisers. They did not know as to how that drinking water is going to come or whether there were any such plans. When I visited those brackish water areas where the people are absolutely in frustrated mood because of this water problem, they told me that the Government is not even aware of these trying conditions under which they live. I assured them that the Government was aware; but it apparently did not care about it. If we talk about socialism and a socialist pattern of society, I am quite sure that it is incumbent upon us to see that people in this part of the country are at least given drinking water, while people in other parts of the same country live in comfort.

Another point that I will raise, about which I think we have had an unfair deal, is with regard to agricultural universities. There is mention in the President's Address about new agricultural colleges and universities. Perhaps, the House is aware that in the northern parts of Rajasthan State, known as Ganganagar district, 3 canal systems already exist with perennial irrigation. And yet, the Rajasthan University for Agriculture has been taken away to Udaipur, 500 miles away, where hardly any irrigation work worth naming exists. We raised a protest but who cared? But, then, the masses in the elections made the government in power sit up. If the Chief Minister or any other Minister comes from a particular part of the State, does it mean that he can locate a university just anywhere he likes?

I would like the House to take stock of the situation, not for this

election, because it is over, but for the future because, if we want to build a democracy on healthy foundations, then, let us make sure that every part of the State, every part of this vast country of ours is given equal treatment.

Another point is about the location of the Wool Institute. This three crore scheme has been located at a place where there are few sheep, and those too which give good wool, are fewer. This place is at least 200 miles away from an area where the best wool is supplied. Bikaner is supposed to be the biggest mandi in northern India with 50,000 bales being pressed annually; and, yet, because a certain Minister comes from another part of Rajasthan, this Rs. 3 crore scheme is taken away from us.

Then let us take the question of a third university for Rajasthan. We are very happy that we have a university at Jaipur and the second one is coming up at Jodhpur which we most heartily support. It is the duty of every citizen to support the right claims of the other citizens in this country. The third university according to the Press is now going to go to Udaipur again. I cannot understand why. There are bigger cities in Rajasthan which have the first claim, like Bikaner and Ajmer. I am beginning to wonder whether it is not all so planned out that certain people may make sure that they get elected over and over again. Then there is one more question which we have raised on the floor of this House. I raised it with the Union Minister of Defence and now as a last recourse we have gone to the Prime Minister and that is the question of the situation of an artillery range. For some strange reasons the Rajasthan Government is so adamant that this artillery range should be situated only ten miles away from Bikaner city and between this large growing city and the Rajasthan canal. We have made a great deal of efforts to convince the Government

that this range should be shifted into the desert, far away from the growing cities like Bikaner because no matter how hard we may try, a stage will come when some sort of nuclear weapons will have to be tested and we do not want that they should be tested ten miles away from us. I only hope that the Union Ministry of Defence and the Prime Minister and the State Government will find a new site away in the desert and not between the Rajasthan canal and the large growing mandi town of Bikaner. As you know, the western districts of Rajasthan are arid and I am quite sure that Mr. Dey who has been elected from this area now realises the peculiar problems of this area. I feel that in our next plans this area will be given special consideration, particular as far as water is concerned, because in the same country you cannot allow desert conditions to continue while other parts of the country are green.

There is one more question and that is about the High Court Bench. As you may know, the first High Court in Rajasthan was constituted at Bikaner and yet ten years after integration we do not have even a bench of the High Court. I hope that I will be able to persuade not only the Government of India but the State Government also to locate a bench in Bikaner because the largest number of criminal cases come from Ganganagar which is in North of Bikaner... (Interruptions.)

I shall now speak very very briefly of this tremendous amount of wailing that is taking place in the Press about the land slides in the election and how Congress failed in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. (Interruptions.) For the ten years that I have been in this House I have had the honour to represent the masses of my country. It so happens that I had no choice over the fact that I happen to be the son of a Maharaja. Whatever that may be, I have a primary responsibility to the poor man and as will be borne out by all of you that during the last ten

years not on a single occasion have I spoken about any ruler or prince or Maharaja or vested classes because I do not believe in it. I believe that India is a free country in which every citizen has equal rights to stand up and represent the people. Personally I am a believer in the socialist philosophy and therefore, I want to see my country prosperous, and I want to see that young men like me from every walk of life come and represent the people and try to serve their country. We are not ashamed of our services but I would like to say something about what we see in the papers. In this morning's papers; it reads as follows:—

“Mr. Sukhadia said that internal dissensions, the entry of the Maharaja and the Maharani of Jaipur into the election campaign and the ‘false’ promises made by the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh caused the defeat of the Congress.”

I think he is absolutely wrong because the reason why the Congress lost a number of seats and its prestige in Rajasthan—I think the same thing applies in Madhya Pradesh also—is due to its bad administration, and due to the fact that in the name of democracy they forgot the people. If you forget the people and continue to give them unfair treatment, you cannot get away with it in a free country. It is therefore important that if the Congress wants to be returned to power in Rajasthan it should put its house in order, stop the internal quarrels and think of the poor man. At the present moment, the poor man takes the second or third priority, the most important priority going to the Minister himself. Therefore, if they want to throw mud at other people and if they want to prove that any single Maharaja or Maharani can win the elections, I think it is showing up their own weakness. I as a citizen of this country feel hurt if anybody says that in a democracy any Maharaja or Maharani can turn the tables. Therefore, I would appeal to the Congress

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who are my friends and some of whom I respect, that they should start thinking of everybody as citizens of this vast country and not as Maharajas or Maharanis. We have had enough of them. This is a free country now where everybody is equal and every man has equal rights. If we are going to proceed with this assumption that a single Maharaja or Maharani will be able to turn the tables in this country, I would like to know what is going to happen in the next elections if all of them threw their weight in? I know that there is a certain voice being raised that the former rulers, for whatever reasons, should be disenfranchised because of their privy purses or for other reasons, because this fact may be treated as an office of profit. To me this seems to be a disgraceful state of affairs that in a free country anybody should be treated like that, particularly when for the last three general elections this fact was not treated as a bar. I would like to make this appeal here. I am quite sure that if you disenfranchise the rulers because of their privy purses, there will be many amongst the young men who will have the guts to stand up and reach the people of this country and represent them fearlessly in Parliament and State Legislatures and I am quite certain that if you disenfranchise, then the next Government will not be formed by the Congress. However, if the Congress made the correct approach—it is possible—I am quite sure that even the most reactionary of the former rulers would be able to come and shake hands with them. If the young men among them come and stood for Lok Sabha and for the State assemblies, it is the greatest education in democracy that you can give to these boys and girls. But if you shut the doors to them, you are going to shut the doors of democracy; you will prove that your faith in democracy is skin deep and that you are paying only lip service to democracy. Therefore, I would like that, when we meet next time for the new Parliament, we will not start throwing mud at each

other because of our birth, but try to look at each other as citizens of one vast country who are dedicated to the development of our land and of our country men. That task of service does not belong to only one party; it belongs to all of us, the 43 crores of Indian citizens.

Shri Tyagi: Madam, I am grateful to you for giving me a few minutes. As is the case with many of my friends on this side and on the other side, we are coming fresh from elections and we have had the latest contact with the masses and as my hon. friend said just now we have got quite a few of the reactions and also ideas about the manner in which our people are living and how they react to the Government. There are quite a few points on which the Government can rightly take pride of achievement. I need not narrate them. The fact of Goa coming into India and the whole of India unanimously welcoming the people of Goa and embracing them is a historical achievement. Likewise the policy of our Government has succeeded in winning back Pondicherry, Karaikal, and Mahe as well. This is proof of the fact that our diplomacy functions well although it is being criticised by many friends and the public too. They say: why do we not fight and take the arms against China? There are so many slogans. It is a good symptom and people are interested. They are patriots and I do not complain against it. But it must be realised that a peaceful policy succeeds better ultimately. That is one achievement which my party as also the Parliament can rightly be proud of.

There are other achievements in the industrial and other fields. I need not narrate them; it would look as if one is praising one's own self if I do it. Whatever our party has done, it was put before the electorate, not only by the party but by our opponents also, who put before the public the criticisms, and the verdict of the electorate is

that they approved what the Government has done. Therefore, the President deserves our thanks for his address and, of course, through the President, the Government deserves our thanks.

There are certain reactions which I would like to bring on record and which I had in mind. Unfortunately, in the mind of the people, there is something lacking, and you might best feel it, because you have been in the thick of the fight for freedom. The sense of patriotism is fast vanishing in the masses. That is what I feel. The social values in my opinion are important, and the whole progress of a country and the prosperity of the country depend upon the emphasis on social values in society. I am sorry to remark that during these few years of freedom—I am looking back in a spirit of introspection—we have been feeling that we have perhaps failed in emphasising these social values in the country. After all, society is only a sort of a texture of relationship on an altruistic basis between individuals. That thing is now vanishing. People are fast becoming selfish; God knows for what reasons. I find that friendship and affection in society are fast becoming contractual or legal. Perhaps we have given too much emphasis for law, and our social values have gone down during this period. Previously, our relationships were mostly sacramental. Now, the relationship has become contractual or legal. Therefore, everybody depends for things on the written word and not on the spoken word. They depend on contracts and other things, as if the law given by the State is the supreme sanction. That should not be so. In fact, law should not occupy such a high place as it does in India today on account of too much of litigation. It must be the moral law or moral values that must be given some impetus.

That is one of the points that I have felt, and perhaps I do not exactly know how to cure this situation, because, if society becomes atomic, we

shall readily lose everything, for the whole sense of patriotism comes to us only when we feel that we are one race. We went into the elections and found that the country was divided into caste, creeds and religions and it is a pity that most of the parties in the election, the politicians, have not kept to their word which they gave at the conference for national integration. In spite of what they said at the conference and because it was not kept up, the election had a very bad impact on the people. Immediately, when the politicians went into the elections, into the masses, they stood divided and all those old feuds revived. It seems to me that voting was done and the campaign was conducted and appeals made on the basis of religion, caste, creed, etc. That is a bad phase of life. So, I think some steps have to be taken to educate the masses in this regard.

I do not know whether it is the failure on the part of the Education Ministry or the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting or some other Ministry. Or, it may be the result of certain developmental conditions, the processes of development—industrial and otherwise—because some materialistic outlook might have come in. Therefore, this failure may be the result of that progress we are making in the economic field. But whatever the reason, it is a matter which should not be allowed to go neglected for long and we must take good care to see that this integration is achieved.

There is news in the press and certain other information to the effect that in the South there is an open party which is still trying to divide the country and go out of India and form a small independent country. That effort is still going on. Then there are the Nagas, and such other groups. Perhaps, the biggest mistake we made was to appoint the Linguistic Commission or the States Reorganisation Commission, etc, with a view to find out how the States should be divided. Or, perhaps too much of power has been given to the State

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Governments. I think integration will come if we act boldly and build up faith in democracy and Parliament which people have. But, factually, the people transfer their anger and sense of resentment to the Government, because, between themselves, in a democracy, the individuals eschew their right of being angry with one another or finding fault with one another. They come to the State and the State must be just and do the needful. If the individual rights of the people are deprived, it is for the State to redress the wrong. So, redressing is a thing which the individuals eschew and for which they come to the State, which has to redress.

Therefore, the State is expected not to go after popularity. The Government must not cater or act for public popularity, because they are mostly to do some kind of unpleasant things and they must be bold enough to do them.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Pali): They are most popular.

Shri Tyagi: They will be more popular if they are just. At the same time, they should be strong. If they go in for popularity, they will lose everything. I think something has to be done in this regard. I was a Member of the Constituent Assembly and I feel that perhaps we committed a mistake by giving too much power to the State Governments. More powers must be taken by the Centre, and the time has come when the people should see, purely from the sense of patriotism, whether the integration of the country could be achieved by disintegrating the power. Integration can come when the power is also integrated to some extent. I can understand the villagers enjoying some power in the local administration, and some other local administrations enjoying some power and getting all their needs. But the political power, the real power of administration, should not be totally

transferred to the State Governments.

Now, I do not blame the Opposition Party. I must include my party also in what I am going to say now. It is a pity that, in India—I classify all the parties together—the politicians are behaving like the bulls in a China shop. They have come to perpetuate themselves as a tribe of parasites, living on people's money. This is what the politicians have come to. The politicians, on account of their mutual feuds and fights and quarrels, have forgotten the public or are tending to forget the public and the people's interest altogether; because their first concern is quarrel. For instance, enmity is the purest relationship in the world, because there is nothing adulterated in enmity. Enmity is pure; it may be good or bad. As regards purity, enmity is a pure thing. There can be no other relationship purer than enmity, in the sense that there is no admixture or adulteration in it. Friendship has got so many motives mixed with it, but enmity has none. It is perhaps on account of enmity that people have made progress, because, on account of the fear of the enemy, they have just made progress and vigilance came. Likewise, enmity occupies the best of our minds. It is a psychological fact, and that is the reason why when there are group rivalries in any party or between parties, politicians are more given to their rivalries rather than to their sense of public service. And that is the result why people are fast getting self-conscious, and the general interests are forgotten. This tendency is visible today, and I must say that our Government has failed to check it.

There must be some steps taken. I think the best step which occurs to me as a layman is that we must take more powers in the Centre. Let not the States be so autonomous as they are, because, now the tendency,

on account of the autonomy, is that everybody wants to create a State. Every little section of the people wants to create a State for itself. There are such demands for separate States coming up every time. If after the Constitution had been passed, we had put an end to this and said that the Constitution is a thing which will not be amended, no such demands for States would have come. But we had a States Reorganisation Commission and thereby provoked people to demand more States. Every small district may become a State, which will lead to chaotic conditions. Therefore, I suggest that some powers must be taken from the States by the Centre. For instance, one power which is very important is education and also administrative services. Let all the administrative services of the whole country be integrated into one and controlled by the Centre. Let officers be lent to the State Governments, so that the politicians here or there might not interfere with the administrative machinery.

Factually speaking, the biggest wrong which has been done is that the whole Government machinery, the bureaucracy as we used to call it, has been upset because the number of Ministers is increasing like mushrooms. The Ministers do not trust their subordinates and their secretaries. If the official machinery is not trusted by the Minister, the administration must go to dogs. It is always the pride of an officer that he is serving a national cause. That pride of the Secretary, Joint Secretary or Deputy Secretary must be maintained at all costs. It is for the politicians, particularly the Minister, to see that his officers enjoy a sense of pride and honesty, so that they can serve the people. It is not the Ministers or the politicians, but it is the Government servants ultimately who render help to the people. Therefore, their morale must be maintained at all costs. The great harm that has been done during these 14 years in India is that the public servant is fast losing his

morale, whether it is in the police or any other department. That is why all types of corruptions and other things are coming in. Although I have not made any concrete suggestion, that is my feeling when I move with the masses. People have all types of complaints and they are not being redressed, because the politicians are not free to look into the conditions of the masses; they are busy with their own rivalries.

The next point is about extravagance. I will deal with this at length at the time of the budget. There is too much of extravagance and control on expenditure is slackened. That is my feeling for some years past. I can give thousand and one examples. One instance, which is really ridiculous is this. In the last session, we found that some tube-wells were constructed all round Delhi because the sub-soil water-level was high and they wanted to decrease it. The wells were about 12 to 15 feet high on all roads and we objected to them. But nobody listened then. Now I find that they are being demolished and another roof is being put on them. Such types of schemes are sanctioned and later on they are changed.

There are to many other examples of wastefulness. Wastefulness can best be statistically proved if the House cares to see the number of Central Government employees. It is increasing like mushrooms. Any office, once opened, goes on expanding. It is a pity that there is no control over the number of Government employees and officers.

Railways are simmering with discontent. All our economic development depends on the facilities of transport. There are quite a few cement factories which have stopped working altogether because they cannot have coal in time. For years we have been shouting in this House that some arrangement must be made for wagons. Instead of 20 or 30 wagons, only 2 or 3 are being

[Shri Tyagi]

sent. This rationing of wagons is being done. Why was it not done in advance? Most of the industries are suffering because coal is not available and this condition has not been cured in the least. I have been censured on that account when I faced the electorate. Government should take care to see that such important matters are not neglected. After all these affect the very potential of our wealth.

Then, we are heaping loans upon loans and our trade balances are falling. These are matters which are alarming indeed and I would suggest that for the purpose of having a stiffer control over expenditure, if the House agrees and the Ministry also agrees, they might again revive that Standing Finance Committee, so that Members may sit and sanction scheme. Otherwise, schemes are getting sanctioned speedily without due consideration. I will discuss this at length when the Budget comes up. Now something must be done to have a control over expenditure. My friend, Shri Phagat is here. He has had good experience and I am glad he has done well. But when important scheme come, he sleeps. That is the difficulty.

Consumption, of course is increasing. Another important point is that that our trade balances and our exports are falling in the sense that they are not up to the mark. I was surprised to see in the papers that a major part of the sanctioned allotment for import of machinery in the private sector for five years has already been practically finished. That is what the papers report; I do not know the exact figures. But import licences have been issued so liberally during these days mostly to the capitalists, who have already got big factories, etc. that the allotment prescribed for five years for import of machinery in the private sector has been practically exhausted, if not totally finished. This is a bad state

of affairs. There must be some stiffer control on these matters.

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी (कानपुर) :
सभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण को मैंने काफी अच्छी तरीके से पढ़ने की कोशिश की। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इस से मुझे कोई प्रेरणा नहीं मिली। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि इस में बहुत जगहों पर कुछ आंकड़े दिखा कर यह साबित करने की कोशिश की गई है कि देश में काफी तरक्की हुई है। मैं उन व्यक्तियों में से हूँ जो कि मानते हैं कि देश की तरक्की हुई है और मैं किसी राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण से या आलोचक के दृष्टिकोण से उसे नहीं देखता हूँ। लेकिन जहाँ पर यह कहा जाता है कि हमारे देश में काफी तरक्की हुई है वहाँ यह भी देखा गया है कि एक तरफ आजादी के बाद जो लक्षपती था वह करोड़पती हुआ और जो करोड़पती था वह अरबपती हो गया; जो एक कारखाने का मालिक था वह १४ कारखानों का मालिक हो गया। दूसरी तरफ गरीब गरीबतर हुआ, चीजों की कीमतें इतनी बढ़ गई कि पहले जिस की खरीदने की ताकत १०० रुपये की थी उस की खरीदने की ताकत ६० रुपये की रह गई।

12.59 hrs.

[SHRI JAGANATHA RAO in the Chair].

मैं आप से निवेदन करता हूँ कि पिछले जाड़े के दिनों में कानपुर शहर में, उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के शहरों में लगभग ८०० या ९०० आदमी इस वजह से मर गये कि उन के पास रहने के लिए मकान नहीं थे या ओढ़ने के लिए कम्बल नहीं थे। इस के बाद भी यहाँ अनेकों बातें कही जाती हैं कि हमारे देश में इतनी तरक्की हुई। मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मेरे पास एक डाकुमेंट है जिस में कानपुर शहर के सिविल सर्जन ने बतलाया हुआ है कि कानपुर शहर में ७१ आदमी ऐसे हैं जिनका पेशा अपना खून

बेचना है। उन से पूछा गया कि वह कहां-कहां के आदमी हैं। इतना वक्त तो इस समय मेरे पास नहीं है कि वह लिस्ट में आप के सामने रख सकूँ, लेकिन ७१ आदमी ऐसे हैं जो कि गोंडा जिले से, बाराबंकी जिले से आये हैं या नैनीताल जिले से आये हैं और दूसरी-दूसरी जगहों से आये हैं। उन का काम केवल इतना है कि अपना खून बेचें। सन् १९५८ से १९६१ तक बराबर उन्होंने अपना खून बेचा। इस सम्बन्ध में सिविल सर्जन के जो रिमाक्स हैं वे मैं आप की सेवा में रखना चाहता हूँ। वे कहते हैं :

“Almost all of these are professional blood-donors and move from place to place in the country to donate blood. Once bled, no further blood is collected from the donor before 9 weeks. A few on the list are rickshaw-pullers and they present themselves for blood donation off and on when they are hard of cash.”

13 hrs.

यह कितनी दुखदायक चीज है कि एक आदमी दिन भर या रात भर रिक्शा चलावे और जब इतने पर भी उसका खर्च न चले तो उसको अपना खून बेचने के लिए मजबूर होना पड़े। आपको मुनकर ताज्जुब होगा कि सन् १९५८ से सन् १९६१ तक इन ७१ बदनसीब आदमियों ने कितना खून बेचा। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इन लोगों ने २,७०० बोतलें खून बेचा जो कि हर बोतल ४०० सी० सी० की होती है। और इस हिसाब से इन आदमियों ने १० लाख सी० सी० खून बेचा। इस डाकुमेंट पर परमानन्द जादव साहब सिविल सर्जन के हस्ताक्षर हैं जो कि उन्होंने पत्रकारों के सामने पेश किया था।

इस अवस्था में जब कहा जाता है कि देश की तरक्की हो रही है और उसके समर्थन में आंकड़े पेश किये जाते हैं, तो मुझे एक लतीफा याद आता है। एक पी० डबल्यू० डी० के अब्राहमसियर साहब थे। उन्होंने अपनी

चालीस साल की नौकरी में लम्बाई, चौड़ाई, और गोलाई को नाप कर औसत निकालना सीखा था। एक बार वह अपनी बीवी और बच्चे के साथ जा रहे थे। रास्ते में दरिया था। लोगों ने कहा कि दरिया गहरा है। उन्होंने कहा कि मैं औसत निकाले लेता हूँ। उन्होंने देखा उनके बच्चे ऊंचाई ३ फीट ८ इंच थी, बीवी की ऊंचाई ५ फीट थी और उनकी अपनी ५ फीट ८ इंच थी। उन्हें सब का औसत निकाल लिया। इसके बाद उन्होंने दरिया की गहराई का औसत निकाला जो कि तीन फीट आया। तब उन्होंने देखा कि दरिया का औसत उन लोगों की ऊंचाई से औसत से कम था। इसलिए उन्होंने पहले अपने बच्चे को कहा कि तुम पार जाओ जब वह डूबने लगा तो उसने चिल्लाकर कहा कि मुझे बचाओ। उन्होंने कहा कि तुम कैसे डूब सकते हो, तुम्हारी ऊंचाई तो दरिया के औसत से ज्यादा है। लेकिन बच्चा डूब गया। इसके बाद उन्होंने अपनी बीवी से कहा कि तुम्हारी ऊंचाई तो पांच फीट है तुम दरिया के औसत से दो फीट ऊपर रहोगी। तुम पार जा सकती हो। जब बीवी डूबने लगी तो वह चिल्लायी कि मैं डूब रही हूँ। तो उन्होंने कहा कि तुम तो मजे से नहा रही हो। तुम कैसे डूब सकती हो। मैंने चालीस साल तक औसत निकाला है। तुम नहीं डूब सकती। लेकिन बीवी डूब गयी। जब उनकी बीवी और बच्चा दोनों डूब गये तो उन्होंने कहा कि औसतन ज्यों का त्यों कुनवा डूबा क्यों।

जब हमारे खाद्य मंत्री जी भाषण देते हैं तो ऐसा मालूम होता है कि गेहूं की बाली झूम रही है। लेकिन जब हम बाहर जाते हैं तो वही एक सेर १४ छटांक और एक सेर १२ छटांक का गेहूं मिलता है। कहा जाता है कि गेहूं देश में बहुत हुआ है और अमरीका भी हम को गेहूं दे रहा है। वह पाकिस्तान को हथियार दे रहा है और उस से कह रहा है कि तुम

हथियार चलाओ और हम को गेहूँ दे रहा है और कह रहा है कि गेहूँ खाओ। तो मैं अपने देश के कर्णधारों से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब इतना गेहूँ हम पैदा कर रहे हैं और बाहर से भी आ रहा है तो यह कठिनाई जनता के सामने क्यों है। यह चीज मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। आज इलेक्शन का जमाना नहीं है। अगर आज हम आंकड़े बता कर लोगों से कहें कि गल्ले की कोई कमी नहीं है तो क्या इस से उन का काम चल सकता है। अगर देश में गल्ले की हालत अच्छी हो तो क्यों इन ७१ लोगों को अपना खून बेचना पड़े। मैं आप के सामने कलकत्ता के प्रेसी-डेंसी मजिस्ट्रेट का जजमेंट रखना चाहता हूँ। एक आदमी अपने दोस्त के साथ खून देने गया। मगर डाक्टर ने उस का खून लेने से इन्कार कर दिया यह कह कर कि तुम एनीमिक हो गए हो। इस पर वह झगड़ पड़ा। उस ने कहा।

"I have grown anaemic, but I can have food only if I donate my blood."

आप जानते हैं कि यह इसी कारण हो रहा है कि देश में बेकारी बढ़ती जा रही है। इस पर हम को विचार करना चाहिये। अगर आप इस जजमेंट को पढ़ने की कोशिश करें तो आप को मालूम होगा कि यह किस तरह बेकारी की वजह से हो रहा है।

मैं आशा करता था कि राष्ट्रपति जी अपने अभिभाषण में कहेंगे कि ५० करोड़ या ६० करोड़ रुपया अनएम्प्लायमेंट डोलर्स के रूप में लोगों को दिया जायगा ताकि बेकार लोगों की कठिनाई कुछ कम हो सके। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि जो बेकारी बढ़ती जा रही है उस को रोकने के लिए अनएम्प्लायमेंट डोल देने का प्रबन्ध किया जाये।

दूसरा सवाल हमारे सामने इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन का है। यह सही है कि देश में इंडस्ट्रियल उत्पादन बहुत बढ़ा है। लेकिन

इस के साथ ही वरकर की रियल वेजेज भी प्रोटेक्ट हुई हैं या नहीं इस का कोई हिसाब नहीं है। जब इस बारे में सवाल किया जाता है तो कहा जाता है कि इस समय देश के सामने आर्थिक संकट है हम नहीं चाहते कि तन्हाह बढ़ाने की डिमांड इस समय पेश की जाये। मैं भी नहीं चाहता कि देश के प्रोडक्शन में किसी तरह से रुकावट आवे। लेकिन अगर चीजों के दाम बराबर बढ़ते चले जायेंगे तो मजबूरन यह सवाल सामने आयेगा। अगर आप प्राइस लाइन को होल्ड कर सकें तो कोई कर्मचारी अपने भत्ते या तनखाह को बढ़ाने की मांग नहीं करेगा। सन् १९६० में जो कर्मचारियों की हड़ताल हुई उसमें कर्मचारियों को कितनी कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ा। १७ हजार की तो नौकरी ही चली गयी। फिर हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी और दूसरे मंत्रियों के बीच में पड़ने से उन की नौकरियां फिर मिल गयीं। लेकिन जो आंकड़े रिजर्व बैंक ने कीमतों के बारे में दिये हैं उन को मैं आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। वे इस प्रकार हैं :

Consumer price index of working class during July, 1960 was 126; August 126; September 125; October 125; November 124; December 124; January, 1961 123; February 124; March 124; April 124; May 124; June 125; July 127; August 128; September 128; October 128; November 128; December 128.

इन आंकड़ों से यह साबित होता है कि अगर सन् १९४९ की वेज को १०० माना जाये तो चीजों के दाम ११५ प्वाइंट से ज्यादा बढ़ गये हैं और पे कमीशन की सिफारिशों के अनुसार आप को कर्मचारियों का महंगाई भत्ता बढ़ाना चाहिये। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्यों सरकार पे कमीशन की इस सिफारिश पर अमल नहीं करती जबकि उस ने कहा था कि पे कमीशन का फैसला तो पंच का फैसला है। जब जुलाई में हड़ताल

होने जा रही थी तो नन्दा जी ने आश्वासन दिया था। उस आश्वासन को पूरा करना चाहिये। आज मैं रिजर्व बैंक के आंकड़े आप के सामने रख रहा हूँ और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि महंगाई को देखते हुए कर्म-चारियों का महंगाई भत्ता बढ़ाया जाये।

उस के बाद एक सवाल आता है हमारे सामने कोड आफ डिसिप्लिन का। मैं मानता हूँ कि बहुत से उद्योगों में यह कोड आफ डिसिप्लिन अच्छी तरह चल रहा है। लेकिन जो भोपाल में हो रहा है वह आप के सामने है। मुझे वहाँ बुलाया गया था और मैं वहाँ गया था। एक छोटी सी बात थी। वहाँ पर एक आई० एन० टी० यू० सी० की यूनियन है और जिस प्रकार यूनाइटेड नेशन्स ने च्यांगकाई शेक को मान रखा है इसी तरह से मध्य-प्रदेश की सरकार ने, खास कर वहाँ के श्रम मंत्री श्री द्रविड़ साहब ने, इस यूनियन को मान रखा है। उन्होंने कहा कि वह उस को मानेंगे चाहे उस के पीछे एक भी आदमी न हो। हाल की हड़ताल ने यह साबित कर दिया है कि उस यूनियन के पीछे कोई फोलोइंग नहीं है और खैर उस के पीछे फालोइंग हो या न हो लेकिन जब हड़ताल हो गयी तो उस यूनियन के साथ पैक्ट किया गया जिस को लोग प्रो-कम्युनिस्ट कहते हैं। लेकिन इन बेकारों को राजनीति से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं था वे तो केवल ट्रेनीज बन कर आए थे। उन में न कोई कम्युनिस्ट था, न प्रजासमाजवादी था, और न उन का किसी और राजनीतिक पार्टी से कोई सम्बन्ध था। न उन में से कोई जनसंघी था। उन का राजनीति से कोई ताल्लुक ही नहीं था। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि उन को अगर ज्वाइंट कंसल्टेटिव मैशिनरी नहीं मिलेगी तो उस का आउटलेट क्या होगा। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ अपने श्रम मंत्री महोदय से और प्रधान मंत्री महोदय से जिन्होंने वहाँ हस्तक्षेप किया और जिन के पैगाम से हड़ताल वापस हुई कि वे द्रविड़ साहब के

प्रेस्टीज को अपने सामने न रखें। वल्कि मेरा तो निवेदन है कि जितने भी राष्ट्रीय उद्योग हैं और जो मरकजी हुकूमत चलाती है, उन को स्टेटों के नीचे से निकाल कर सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को सीधे अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिये ताकि उन में राज्यों की राजनीति का असर न पड़े। चाहे वह हैवी इलेक्ट्रिकल हो या हमारे स्टील प्लांट हों, उन सब राष्ट्रीय उद्योगों को सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को अपने हाथ में रखना चाहिये और उन पर राज्यों का असर नहीं पड़ने देना चाहिये। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करता हूँ कि इस चीज को अच्छी तरह से देखा जाये।

जहाँ तक कोड आफ डिसिप्लिन का सवाल है, उस को सुरक्षा मंत्रालय ने मान लिया है और रेलवे मंत्रालय ने भी मान लिया है। यह बड़ी अच्छी बात है। मैं नहीं चाहता कि हड़ताल हो। हमें अपनी तीसरी योजना को कामयाब बनाना है तो हमें हड़ताल नहीं होने देना चाहिये। और मैं जानता हूँ कि तीसरी योजना की कामयाबी पर ही हमारे बच्चों की मुस्कराहट निर्भर करती है। इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि वह कामयाब हो। मैं नहीं चाहता कि देश को किसी भी हालत में ठेस पहुँचे। आज जबकि चीन का आक्रमण हमारे सामने है, और पाकिस्तान बार-बार तरह-तरह की बातें हमारे सामने करता है, और जब विदेशों की कुदृष्टि हमारी ओर लगी हुई है तो हम को अपनी उन्नति में किसी प्रकार की बाधा नहीं पड़ने देना चाहिए।

मैंने देखा कि गोआ की आजादी के बाद कुछ देशों ने हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी की अर्थी को जलाया और हमारे राजदूतों के मकानों पर पत्थर बरसाए। मुझे अच्छी तरह मालूम है कि वे देश कौन हैं जो अपने दाहिने हाथ से पाकिस्तान को हथियार दे रहे हैं और कहते हैं कि तुम हथियार चलाओ और अपने बाएं हाथ से हम को गेहूँ दे रहे हैं और कहते हैं कि गेहूँ खाओ। ऐसे देश आज इस बात में

[श्री स० मो० बनर्जी]

इंटरस्टेड हैं कि हमारे राष्ट्रीय उद्योग तरक्की न करें ।

भोपाल की हड़ताल को खत्म करने से पहले मैंने उन बच्चों से कहा कि तूम यह सोचो कि ये प्लेसेज आफ पिलग्रिमेज हैं । हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि जब मैं भोपाल आता हूं और जब हैवी इलेक्ट्रिकल को देखता हूं तो मैं समझता हूं कि यह एक प्लेस आफ पिलग्रिमेज है । लेकिन इन तीर्थ स्थानों पर आप ने जो रिटायर्ड पंडे बिठा रखे हैं वे आखिर क्या करें उन की वजह से सारी परेशानी है हम लोगों को । मैं चाहता हूं कि वहां पर एक एन्ववायरी होनी चाहिए कि बार-बार हड़ताल क्यों हो रही है । केवल बच्चों को दोष देने से यह समस्या हल नहीं होगी । इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इस के बारे में अच्छी तरह से जांच होनी चाहिये ।

गोआ की आजादी पर मैं बधाई देता हूं सुरक्षा मंत्री जी को और प्रधान मंत्री जी को और मैं अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करना चाहता हूं उन शहीदों के प्रति जिन्होंने अपनी शहादत के बल पर गोआ को हासिल किया । गोआ की जीत के बाद उन देशों को भी कुछ नसीहत मिलेगी जोकि हमारे देश पर आक्रमण करने की सोचते हैं । उन को बार-बार सोचना होगा कि आज हिन्दुस्तान ऐसा देश नहीं है कि जो भी चाहे उस पर हमला कर दे ।

सभापति महोदय, नेशनल इंटेग्रेशन के बारे में हम बहुत बातें करते हैं लेकिन इस चुनाव में मैंने अजीब चीजें देखीं । मैं ने देखा कि हमारी मुसलमान बहनों को कांग्रेसी भाइयों ने यह कह कर जलसे में बुलाया कि मिलाद शरीफ होने वाला है । उस में १५ मिनट जिक्र रसूल हुआ और उस के बाद वहां पर कांग्रेस और वोट का जिक्र हुआ । मैंने मौलाना हिफजुर रहमान से जो कि जमीयत-उल-उलमाये हिन्द की कान्फ्रेंस करने गये थे कहा कि मजहब को कम से

कम एलेक्शन में न घसीटा जाये तो अच्छा हो ।

मेरे जनसंघी भाई मुझे चुनाव में हराने के लिए सीता माता को लाये । उन्होंने मेरे लिए कहा कि मैं ने सीता माता का अपमान किया है । लेकिन मैंने अपने जनसंघी भाइयों को एक ही चीज कही कि यह कानपुर शहर श्रद्धेय गणेश शंकर विद्यार्थी का शहर है । भूतकाल में भी यह गणेश शंकर विद्यार्थी का शहर रहा है, अभी भी है और आगे भी यह उन्हीं का शहर रहने वाला है । कानपुर शहर को कभी भी नाथू राम गोडसे का शहर नहीं बनने दिया जायगा । हम ने देखा कि कानपुर के चुनाव में जनसंघी उम्मीदवारों की जमानतें जन्त तक हो गईं ।

सभापति महोदय : अब माननीय सदस्य अपना भाषण समाप्त करें । उन का समय समाप्त हो चला है ।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मुझे पांच मिनट का समय दिया जाये ।

सभापति महोदय : माननीय सदस्य दो मिनट और ले सकते हैं ।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी : मैं चाहूंगा कि २५ मार्च, सन् १९६२ को जो कि श्री गणेश शंकर विद्यार्थी के नाम पर कमोमरेशन स्टाम्प डे मनाया जा रहा है, उसे नेशनल इंटेग्रेशन डे के रूप में मनाया जाये । इस अवसर पर डा० सुब्बरायन कानपुर तशरीफ ले जा रहे हैं । मैं चाहूंगा कि हमारे देश के हरदिल अजीज नेता श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू भी इस मौके पर कानपुर पधारें । यह उचित ही होगा कि २५ मार्च, सन् १९६२ का दिन श्री गणेश शंकर विद्यार्थी की याद में जिन्होंने कि अपना सारा जीवन साम्प्रदायिकता के विरुद्ध लड़ने के लिए लग दिया था और जिन्होंने हिन्दु मुस्लिम एकता की बलिबेदी पर अपने

प्राण न्योछावर कर दिये, नेशनल इंटैग्रेशन डे के रूप में पुकारा जाय। सही मायनों में नेशनल इंटैग्रेशन की तरफ बढ़ कर ही हम इस देश से साम्प्रदायिकता का जनाजा निकाल सकते हैं।

बहुत संक्षेप में दो, एक छोटी चीजें कह कर मैं समाप्त करूंगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि लैदर, न्यूजपेपर्स और दूसरी इंडस्ट्रीज के वास्ते भी वेज बोर्ड्स बनाये जायें। लैदर और न्यूजपेपर्स के अलावा दूसरी इंडस्ट्रीज जिनमें कि आप समझते हैं कि वेज बोर्ड्स बनाने की जरूरत है उन के वास्ते भी वेज बोर्ड्स बनाये जायें। वेज बोर्ड्स अगर न बनाये जायें तो या तो चीजों के दाम बढ़ाने से रोके जायें या फिर कर्मचारियों का मंहगाई भत्ता बढ़ाया जाय।

आज हम देखते हैं कि मूल्यों में उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि होते रहने और उसके हिसाब से मंहगाई भत्ता न मिलने के कारण मजदूरों में बड़ी बेचैनी फैलती है क्योंकि उनको भारी दिक्कत का सामना करना पड़ता है और उसके फलस्वरूप इंडस्ट्रीज में हड़तालें होती हैं। और आज भी हो रही हैं मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जहां कोई बड़ा सरमायादार आ जाता है वहां पर हड़ताल का फैसला नहीं होता है। हमारे कानपुर शहर में जे० के० रेयस् का श्री पदमपत सिंहानिया का कारखाना है वहां पर करीब ४७ दिन से हड़ताल चल रही है लेकिन लेबर मशीनरी वहां पर हिलती नहीं है। मुना गया है कि श्री सिंहानिया ने इस चुनाव में काफी मोटी रकम उत्तर प्रदेश कांग्रेस कमेटी को दे दी है। मेरा तो कहना है कि अगर प्रांतीय सरकार नहीं हिल सकती है तो फिर सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ही हिले और कोई फैसला करवाये ताकि जो ४५ या ४७ दिन से कारखाने में हड़ताल चल रही है वह खत्म हो।

एजुकेशन के बारे में कहा जाता है कि ६ वर्ष से ११ वर्ष के लड़कों को फ्री तालीम

दी जायगी। लेकिन क्या आप ने कभी यह भी सोचा है कि वह तालीम दी क्या जा रही है। सही मायनों में वह तालीम नहीं है। सरकार और उसके मंत्री महोदय अपने भाषणों में जब तक कहते रहते हैं कि आज के इस प्रजातांत्रिक युग में यह जो छोटे-छोटे बच्चे हैं आगे चल इन में से देश के प्रधान मंत्री बनने वाले हैं। लेकिन मैं आपको बतलाऊं कि पांचवीं जमात पास करने के बाद जब बच्चा छठी जमात में जाता है तो उसका नाम कट जाता है क्योंकि छठी में किताबों की फेहरिस्त जो दी जाती है वह किताबें २२ रुपये की आती हैं और गरीबी के कारण वह आगे पढ़ने से वंचित रह जाता है। अब आप ही सोच सकते हैं कि जब ऐसी हालत हो तो हमें इन बच्चों में से देश का प्रधान मंत्री कहा मिल सकेगा? अब ऐसे बच्चों को तो हम आगे चल कर जूतों पर पालिश करते या होटलों में झूटे बत्तन साफ करते देखेंगे। सरकार को इस बारे में गम्भीर-तापूर्वक सोचना चाहिये और आवश्यक मुधार तत्काल करना चाहिए।

अन्त में मैं यही कहूंगा कि हम निरन्तर प्रगति पथ पर बढ़ते रहें। हम देखें कि हमारे में कम्पलीसंसी की भावना पैदा न होने पाये। देश में तरक्की हुई है और मैं भगवान् से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि देश और अधिक तरक्की करे। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री देश को आगे ले जाने के लिए शतायु हों और हम लोगों की आयु ले कर भी शतायु हों।

आज देश में जो राइट रिऐक्शनरी फोर्स बढ़ती जा रही हैं उनका हमें डट कर मुकाबला करना है और उसके लिए एक नेशनल प्लेटफार्म होना चाहिए। यह प्रतिन्यावादी ताकतें जोकि हमें सामन्तवादी युग में ले जाना चाहती हैं उनको खत्म किया जाय। बस और अधिक न कहते हुए मैं आशा करूंगा कि सरकार मेरे सुझावों पर ध्यान देगी।

Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri (Nabadwip): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I associate myself fully with the deep debt of gratitude that we felt when the President addressed us on the 12th March. The very first sentence that he uttered leaves a note of sorrow in our hearts because in that sentence he says:

"This is the last occasion that I shall be addressing you in this Parliament."

The President, Sir, has brought to the exalted office of the President of India a very wonderful light; he has graced that office with humility and dignity, with efficiency and firmness and wise counsel and even though he may not wish to remain in that office any longer, according to the wish he has expressed, I hope that his wise counsel will always be available to India to profit by it and his health will permit him to do so for many years to come. The President, Sir, has mentioned many things in his Address and I would like to refer to a few of them. He has quite rightly stressed the need for agriculture. Agriculture is the backbone of any economy. Self-sufficiency in food must be there if any economy is to march forward and he has rightly stated that we have made all efforts to produce this food in our country so that we become self-sufficient. But the cultivation of food is intimately connected with irrigation and power. Without water we cannot have irrigation, and without power we cannot have the tube-wells that we need for deep irrigation purposes. It is a matter for congratulation that work on the Farraka Barrage has commenced. This will, to a certain extent, revive the rivers in Bengal. I speak of Bengal because I know the conditions obtaining there. When Durgapur and Bokaro go into production we will have power not only for industry but for deep tube-wells which Bengal needs so badly because Bengal, Sir, is a State where the population is thick, unemployment is

acute and the need for intensive cultivation is very keenly felt.

Then the President goes on to say:

"The augmented target for coal production of 97 million tons in the Third Plan calls for plans of development in this industry."

The augmentation of coal production is a matter which is intimately connected with the prosperity of any country because the more coal we produce, the more our industries will prosper. Therefore, to get the full benefit of this augmented production, communications must be developed and improved because so far communication has been standing in the way of full utilisation of this production. So, I would point out that the development of roads and other means of transport form a vital part in the utilisation of coal production. Not only has the coal to be transported by road, it should also be transported by the sea route so that our ships may carry them, thus reviving a vital lifeline for India, and the shipping trade can also flourish through the carriage of goods, thus strengthening our Merchant Navy.

Here I want to point out to the Government that Bengal will not have any part of the money the Finance Commission has recommended for road development, though road development is vital for Bengal. Unless the ports of Calcutta and Haldia are developed, we cannot get the full benefits from world trade. The development of the ports of Calcutta and Haldia will mean prosperity not only to Bengal but to the whole of India. So, I would submit that the development of roads and communication from the coal fields to the ports of Bengal is a vital necessity. The railways, roads and in fact every kind of transport must be pressed into service so that we can get the full benefits from the utilisation of the augmented coal production that we are thinking of.

The President has been pleased to say that we have made great strides in our health programmes. It is certainly so. We have made spectacular progress in the control of malaria. We have controlled many other diseases or are on the way of doing so. But there is much left to be done about the control of tuberculosis. I am glad that in Bengal for the first time with the help of the Bengal Tuberculosis Association a chest clinic for children the only one of its kind in India, has been put up with central aid of Rs. 70,000. The running expenses are to be met from the sale of the seals and from generous public donations which, I hope, will be very generous. If children from the age of 1 to 10 are going to be reviewed and tested for TB and all the modern drugs are employed so that they can be saved and if a follow-up programme up to the age of 20 can be had, two out of every three children of the age of 1 to 10 that suffer from this disease can become absolutely healthy and be useful citizens of India in future.

With this I should like to mention that the devastation by cancer should also be of great concern with the Government. New methods and drugs for detection and treatment of cancer should be made available even though we may need foreign experts to do it. The new methods have shown that if cancer is detected earlier and if the newest drugs are employed, it can result in the most spectacular cures. In the past one thought that cancer was an incurable disease but now it appears from the new drugs and new methods of detection that have come out from American that it can be cured. So, it should really receive the consideration of the Government whether in the cancer Institute of Calcutta, Bombay and Kanpur and all over the country we cannot utilise these methods of cancer control and any funds needed for this should be made available.

The elections have been an eye-opener. The verdict has been for the

ruling Party. The Congress has certainly influenced the masses. The mass of the people think that the policy of the Congress is to be supported. It is a matter of pride that they have done so in free and fair elections where there has been nothing wrong. It has been a matter of great pride to the whole world that a population as vast as that of India has gone to the polls, that the elections have been so peaceful and orderly and that the people have cast their votes in the ballot boxes where they thought fit.

In this connection I would like to say that some remarks have been made in this House that there has been communalism and communal voting. The minorities, it has been said, have voted for minorities; certain castes have voted for certain castes. I can say that this is not true of the whole of India and certainly not true of Bengal because the minorities in Bengal, the Muslims, have voted where they thought best, whether it was a Muslim candidate or a Hindu candidate or a Christian candidate, as it should be in the secular State of India. They have every right to vote where they think fit. This question of communalism has not come up in Bengal nor has it been a bar to any of the election ballots as has been tried to have been made out. I agree that if this outlook is sought to be brought out today, this is the worst thing that we can do in India because after all it is the basis of the secular State of India that all people in India have the same right and enjoy the same privileges under the Constitution of India.

I would also like to mention one other point. I hope that the Centre will come to the aid of the States, and West Bengal if it faces any difficulty. I hope help of the Centre will be available because there are certain share of the taxes that West Bengal has been debarred from recommendations of the Finance Commission. One of the things for which Bengal is badly in need of money today is the enhancement of pay of teachers.

[Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri]

Teachers are the people who are going to mould our nation. If enhancement of their pay is not to be done owing to lack of funds, it will be a very sad thing. Teachers need the greatest consideration from the Centre and from the States because it is here that we will really build future India nation. As the postal ballots have shown it is the educated, salaried and poor middle classes that have disagreed to a certain extent with the price rise and the policy of the Government. This should be an indication to us because it is the salaried person, the educated, lower middle class, who are feeling the pinch of the rising prices. The hon. Finance Minister has answered a question on this score only yesterday. It was my question and it was a case of the living index increasing by 10 points over 115. The Government had agreed with the recommendation of the Pay Commission that it would consider an increase in the dearness allowance should that increase remain over a period of more than one year. That increase has remained static. This 10 point increase has been there for over one year and the hon. Finance Minister was good enough to say in his yesterday's answer that the question whether an increase in the dearness allowance should be allowed and, if so, at what rate, was under the consideration of the Government. I hope the Government will certainly consider this favourably and that it will not need, as my hon. friend opposite seemed to think, hartals and so forth to bring this about because it is the policy of the Government to consider if an increase in the dearness allowance is needed. I earnestly hope that Government as consider this and will find the where-withal from the taxes that it levies. I am confident that it will certainly come about. The lower income group, Sir, the salaried classes who feel the increase in the prices of necessary commodities will, I hope, get this dearness allowance. This

particularly applies, as the Pay Commission had recommended, to people who get a salary below Rs. 400 a month. That is the lower middle class which feels any rise in the price of the necessities of life that it uses. I draw the attention of the Government to this and hope that they will consider this in their future policies.

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

Shrimati Ila Palchoudhuri: Two minutes more, Sir, because I will not be here in the next Session.

The liberation of Goa has taken place and it has been a source of pride and gladness to all of us. Our Army and the hon. Defence Minister have done that which was unprecedented in the world. Today foreign power and foreign imperialism in India has come to an end. Goa has been liberated and those of us who have been in the Second Lok Sabha will always look back on this period with pride because it was during the tenure of this Parliament that Pondicherry was *de jure* and *de facto* transferred to India and Goa was liberated. The Third Lok Sabha will go forward with a feeling that they have got a clean slate to work on. They will have the song of the poet of Bengal in their hearts when they start their work.

रूपनिलयं अतुलनीयं अमितवेभव रामम्
धरणीराज्ञी त्वम् वरेण्यम् मम जन्मभूमिनीमि

The next Parliament will also go ahead with absolute confidence that if there is any unlawful occupation in India, whether it be by Pakistan or by China, it will surely come to an end because we will know when to do it and how to do it. I think the world has also realised that when the time comes, inevitably it will be done.

The President by his very personality has made the inner meaning of our Constitution ring with the

ancient wisdom of India. Over all political concepts there is the concept of the welfare state which is the very background from which the ideal of peace can come to the world and any departure from this race of armaments that our Prime Minister is formulating in front of the world comes. This attitude of India will we hope influence the deliberations in Geneva. It is this background that India has always put forward. It is an ancient law, an *anushasan* from the *Mahabharata* in which lies the very seed and root of the welfare state.

न त्वहं काम राज्ये न स्वर्गं न पुनर्भवं
कामये दुःकृतपत्नानां प्राणिनामातिनाशनम् ।

That is the root and the seed of all welfare states and India has given this wisdom to the world. I hope that the next Parliament will bring this to complete fruition during the Third Five-Year Plan and carry India from strength to strength.

We are deeply grateful to the President for the Address he has given us and I associate myself with the Motion of Thanks wholeheartedly.

Shri Chubatoshi Jamir (Nominated—Naga Hills—Tuensang Area): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I feel it my sacred duty to ventilate the feelings and aspirations of the people whom I represent in this House. Many a time our leaders have spoken at length about the importance of the emotional integration of the country as well as the danger of the disintegration of the country due to political rivalries, factions, provincialism, communalism, etc.

I, as a Naga and as a hill tribal of the Eastern Frontier of this great country would like to express how my people feel about the unity and the emotional integration of the people of India.

Very often, we, the hill tribals, especially the Nagas, have been blamed for their rebellious attitude or for

their narrow-mindedness, as some people have said. But I would like to enlighten the hon. Members of this House in this respect. There are misunderstandings and the people are restive not only in Nagaland, whom I represent, but also in the hilly areas of Manipur, Assam, and, with the awakening of the social and political consciousness, the same thing may occur in NEFA as well.

Well, this may be partly due to the ignorance of my people and their inability to see beyond the four corners of their villages. But I would like to ask one thing: are my people alone to be blamed for all these things, do my people alone deserve to be condemned for their recalcitrant attitude? May I appeal to the hon. Members here to recast their thoughts dispassionately and reexamine how far my people are to be blamed for their rebellious attitude.

Many of our leaders feel that Christianity is responsible for the different outlook that has developed among the hill tribals, and they have started blaming the foreign missionaries. But is it a correct appreciation of the problem? Is it not one-sided and a biased way of thinking on the part of those leaders? Centuries before the Europeans embraced Christianity, Christianity was in existence in India. It was even prior to the Islamic faith in India, and hence I feel that it is not foreign to the Indian soil.

Again, some people have blamed the British divide-and-rule policy as being responsible for isolating my people from the rest of the people and making them develop a different attitude and outlook from the rest of the people of India. But I must tell you that my people are grateful to the British administrators for having preserved our identity and culture. For as much as the Gujaratis or the Sikhs or the Bengalis want to preserve their identity and culture, so do my people also like to preserve our identity and develop

[Shri Chubatoshi Jamir]

our culture according to our own tradition.

Before I go to other subjects I would like to request the House to examine the attitude of the rest of the people of India towards the Eastern Frontier people in particular. I am shocked to find the utter ignorance of most of the educated people of Delhi about the topography of India and the racial components of Indian nationals. I will not mind if the people in the streets or in the bazars are ignorant of it, but I did not expect that the most privileged and most educated and advanced people would take me and my people for foreigners. This is a very unfortunate and unpleasant thing, and I feel that those people do not know that in India there are Mongoloids who are as much Indians as Aryans and Dravidians are. I think that Government should take definite steps to educate the people about the racial components of India, and this will be the most effective way of bringing about abiding emotional integration among the people.

I fully appreciate and agree that the welfare of a country depends upon the strength of the country, and there cannot be any strength if the country is divided. Without a real emotional integration of the people, a mere superficial unity will not last long. Once there is a real emotional integration of the country we shall be strong. But to achieve this emotional integration the attempt should not be only one-sided, it should be reciprocal.

On our part we have been trying our best to adopt all possible means for the emotional integration of the Frontier people with the rest of the people of India. For instance, we have been sending out students to different parts of the country, for college and university studies. We have also been sending batches of our people in the style of 'Bharat Dar-

shan' to visit various places of the country. But I regret to say that the effect has so far not been so satisfactory, and our efforts for emotional integration have not borne fruit. The reason is that some of the students and many of the members in the Bharat Darshan team came back home disappointed with a feeling that they are not real Indians. For, wherever they went they were asked if they were Chinese or were from Thailand or from Burma. It clearly shows that the sense of oneness is wanting among us, and I feel that this is not conducive for a real emotional integration of the country. I therefore appeal to all hon. Members of this House and the good citizens of this country to make an effort to know the racial components of this great country without which a real emotional integration of the country cannot take place.

Now I wish to plead for my people. There may be some people who think that these recalcitrant people of the Frontier should be dealt with an iron hand and that the only solution is occupation of the Frontier by the Army. But if any one has such a notion, may I remind him that it is always more secure to guard your own house by your own son than by a hired chowkidar? As you know, once there is a solid emotional integration of the Frontier people with the rest of the people of India, the frontier of India will be safe as anything.

When we look around our neighbours very recently there was the army *coup d'etat* in Burma, and we do not know how far General Ne Win will be able to win the confidence of the Kachin and the Chin tribals. Though our best wishes are with him, the Kachin resurgents may continue and I will not be surprised if Namseng, the Kachin rebel leader who is supposed to be in China and who is believed to be raising an army for the liberation of the so-called 'oppressed' Kachins in Burma, comes

out openly and carries on guerilla war against the Burmese forces. Once such things take place the whole of the North-western border of Burma, especially Putao area bordering our Mishmi hills and Nagaland area, and the Chin hills bordering Mizo hills and Manipur which is also reported to be restive, are bound to be adversely affected. We should also remember that the people in the border are restless. Naturally, it is a big problem, big question to be looked into.

I would like to cite an instance. For the last so many months, our attention has been drawn to the Chinese aggression. Before the Chinese aggression, there was not much of development work either in N.E.F.A. or in Naga Land. Only when it was too late, our ruling Government has realised that development work should be carried on in the N.E.F.A. as well as in the border areas. I feel that our Government always act behind time. You should remember that the Chinese will not come from Tibet or from that side. They have to see the weakest point of the border. The Naga Land border with Burma is the weakest point where our forces are very inadequate and they are completely demoralised. The reason is, there are no communications. They have to depend upon air dropping which also has to depend on weather. Our forces in the border are completely under the mercy of nature. In case of any emergency, we cannot send reinforcements. Not only that, the people of that area are spending almost all their time in carrying loads of the army personnel and civilian officers. If the Government think that these people are also real citizens of India to share equal privileges, their conditions should be looked into and the improvement of these areas should also be taken up immediately. We have heard of the formation of the Border Roads Commission. Whether it is only paper work or not, we do not know. They have not taken up any construction of roads in our area. Therefore, may I draw the attention of the Govern-

ment to see that the border roads between Burma and Naga Land are constructed at the earliest time.

Lastly, may I request hon. Members not to take the border peoples' problem lightly? Because, our entire security and the security of the country depends on the border. If the border problem is not solved, if the border people are not convinced that they are citizens of India, I am very much afraid that our forces will not be able to meet the danger that may come against our own country.

श्रीमती कृष्णा मेहता (जम्मू तथा काश्मीर) : सभापति जी, मैं राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण का स्वागत करती हूँ और उनको धन्यवाद देती हूँ। सब से पहले मैं राष्ट्रपति जी की सरकार को बधाई देती हूँ कि उसने गोवा को स्वतंत्र कराया। जिस तरह से उस ने गोवा में पुर्तगाली उपनिवेशवाद का अन्त किया वह एक बहुत बड़ी बात है। १४ साल भारत सरकार इस कोशिश में रही कि किसी तरह से गोवा का जो मामला है वह शान्ति से हल हो जाये, परन्तु बहुत खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि सालाजार ने इस की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया। जहाँ तक हो सकता था भारत सरकार ने शान्ति से काम लेने की कोशिश की और मैं बड़ी खुशी से यह कह रही हूँ कि आखिरकार भारत का वह हिस्सा गोवा आजाद हुआ। वहाँ के लोग बहुत सुखी हैं और उनकी गर्दन पर जो ५०० सालों की गुलामी का जुआ था वह अब नहीं है। मैं आशा करती हूँ कि जब वहाँ पर सामान्य हालत हो जायेगी तो वहाँ भी हमारे यहाँ की तरह जनतन्त्र फले और फूलेगा। वहाँ के लोग भी हमारी ही तरह अनुभव करेंगे कि वहाँ पर जनतन्त्र फल और फल रहा है।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने भारत की जिस उन्नति की रूपरेखा का जिक्र अपने भाषण में किया है उस को जान कर प्रसन्नता होती है। अगर हम गावों में जा कर देखें तो वहाँ पर नजर आता है कि जहाँ पर पहले अनाज का

* [श्रीमती कृष्णा मेहता]

इतना अभाव हुआ करता था वहाँ आज एक शब्द भी इस सम्बन्ध में सुनाई नहीं देता। इसी तरह हम अगर हर पहलू पर देखें तो पता चलेगा कि हमारी कितनी तरक्की हो रही है और हम आगे बढ़ने के लिए कितने उत्सुक हैं।

आज देश में तीसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना लागू है और गांवों के लोग बड़ी आशा से उसकी ओर ध्यान लगाये हुए हैं। मैं समझती हूँ कि यह एक बड़ी प्रसन्नता की बात होगी कि गांवों में सहकारी खेती आज हो रही है। आज उसकी ओर भी लोभ आशा लगाये बैठे हैं और मुझे आशा है कि बहुत अच्छी तरह उस का प्रबन्ध होगा। मेरी सरकार से प्रार्थना है कि वह तेज़ी से सहकारी खेती की ओर ध्यान दे, और इस बात का ख्याल रखे कि किसानों के साथ किसी तरह का अन्याय न हो।

13.46 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

अभी हमें गांवों में जाने का बहुत अवसर मिला। हम ने देखा कि गांव वाले देश भर में सहकारी खेती के लिये बहुत उत्सुक हैं। मैं भी यह जानती हूँ कि जब तक हमारे यहाँ सहकारी खेती को पूरा बल नहीं मिलेगा तब तक अनाज के सम्बन्ध में भारत का पूरा मसला हल नहीं हो सकेगा।

हम देखते हैं कि जहाँ पहले भारत में कुछ भी उन्नति नहीं हुई थी, कोई खास कारखाने नहीं थे वहाँ दो पंच वर्षीय योजनायें समाप्त होने के बाद यहाँ पर बड़ी उन्नति हुई है। जहाँ पर एक मामूली चीज भी नहीं बनती थी लेकिन अब हवाई जहाज, रेलों के इंजन और डब्बे और मशीनों की दूसरी चीजें आदि बन रही हैं। बाहर के राष्ट्र भी उन को अपने यहाँ मंगाते हैं और हर एक मुल्क में जहाँ पर हमारे यहाँ की चीजें जाती हैं, उन की बहुत तारीफ होती है। हम को इस को देख कर बड़ी प्रसन्नता होती है और मैं आशा करती हूँ कि एक दिन आयेगा

जब कि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना समाप्त हो जायेगी कि भारतवर्ष उन्नति के पथ पर होगा और उसकी काफी तरक्की हो चुकी होगी।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में यह भी कहा है कि ६ साल से ले कर ११ साल की उम्र तक के बच्चों की पढ़ाई भारतवर्ष में अनिवार्य होगी। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि यह निःशुल्क भी हो। मैं समझती हूँ कि इस से गरीब जनता को बड़ा लाभ होगा। राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में ऐसा जिक्र है कि राज्य सरकारों को कुछ कदम उठाने को कहा जायेगा मेरा विचार है कि जिस तरह से मद्रास में बच्चों के लिये एक वक्त का खाना मुफ्त है, अगर भारतवर्ष के हर राज्य में जनता के लिये ऐसा हो जाये तो मुझे आशा है इस से बहुत लाभ होगा और बच्चों की हाजिरी भी बहुत बढ़ जायेगी जिस से कि बच्चों की पढ़ाई को भी फायदा होगा। मुझे यह कहते हुए खुशी होती है कि काश्मीर में एम० ए० तक की पढ़ाई निःशुल्क है जिस से बहुत अच्छा प्रभाव पड़ा है और जहाँ भी आप देखिये हजारों और लाखों की संख्या में बच्चे पढ़ते हैं।

अब मैं कुछ थोड़ा सा उस के बारे में कहना चाहती हूँ जिस के लिये पाकिस्तान की तरफ से रोज आवाजें उठाई जाती हैं, यानी काश्मीर के लिये संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में प्रश्न उठाने का। उस से मैं नहीं समझ पाती कि पाकिस्तान दुनिया की आंखों में या संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ की आंखों में धूल क्यों झाँकना चाहता है। क्या आज काश्मीर के लोग वह आक्रमण भूल गये हैं जो पाकिस्तानियों ने उन पर किया था। उन्होंने काश्मीर के लोगों को किस तरह से तबाह किया इस का पता इस से चलता है कि आज भी काश्मीर में बच्चा बच्चा पाकिस्तान को आक्रमणकारी कह कर नफरत से पुकारता है। मैं नहीं जानती कि किस कारण वह हर समय यह प्रश्न सामने लाता है। वह समझता है कि ऐसी बातें कह कर वह काश्मीर की तरक्की को रोक लेगा। लेकिन काश्मीर में बहुत उन्नति

हो रही है और हर पहलू से काश्मीर आगे बढ़ रहा है। अगर पाकिस्तान को यह ख्याल है कि इन बातों का कुछ प्रभाव काश्मीर पर पड़ेगा तो मैं कहती हूँ कि उसका सोचना गलत है। मैं काश्मीर की जनता की तारीफ करती हूँ। एक तरफ चाइना और दूसरी तरफ पाकिस्तान के होते हुए वह अच्छी तरह से आगे बढ़ रही है। आज वहाँ पाकिस्तान का नाम तक नहीं सुना जाता। बल्कि वहाँ का बच्चा बच्चा उसकी हरकतों से नफरत करता है। शायद पाकिस्तान काश्मीर में जातिवाद को उभारना चाहता है इसलिए ऐसी हरकतें कर रहा है। लेकिन काश्मीर में जातिवाद बिल्कुल नहीं है।

जब पाकिस्तान ने काश्मीर पर आक्रमण किया था तो कितने बड़े बड़े अत्याचार किये गये थे। अगर पाकिस्तान जातिवाद का मानने वाला है तो उन आक्रमणकारियों ने मुसलमानों पर अत्याचार क्यों किये क्योंकि उस समय हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों दोनों पर अत्याचार किये गये थे। मैं भारत सरकार से प्रार्थना करूँगी कि वह ऐसा मजबूत कदम उठाये कि पाकिस्तान दूसरी मर्तबा ऐसी आवाज न उठा सके। मैं तो यह भी प्रार्थना करूँगी कि जो हमारा हिस्सा पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में है उसको भी आजाद करना हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार का फर्ज है। उस हिस्से को आजाद कराना चाहिए। जम्मू और काश्मीर के लोगों की आंखें इस तरफ लगी हुई हैं कि हमारा वह इलाका कब आजाद होता है और इस जनतंत्र से फायदा उटता है।

हमारे माननीय सदस्य श्री मधोक ने काश्मीर के बारे में बहुत सी बातें कहीं। अगर वह इस समय यहाँ होते तो अच्छा होता। मैं आपको बताऊँ कि काश्मीर में जो चुनाव हुआ वह बहुत शान्तिपूर्वक हुआ। कल २५ तारीख को भी वहाँ चुनाव था जब वह सदन में बोल रहे थे। मैं सदन को बतलाना चाहती हूँ कि जब जम्मू में इलेक्शन हुआ तो मैं वहीं थी। वहाँ चुनाव बड़ी शान्ति से हुआ

और बहुत अच्छी तरह हुआ। आज जम्मू और काश्मीर की जनता जानती है कि जब उसके चारों तरफ मूसीबतें हैं तो उसे कौनसा कदम उठाना चाहिए। आज आप वहाँ के लोगों से पूछेंगे तो वह आपको बतला सकते हैं कि कौनसी सरकार उनको फायदा पहुंचा सकती है। हमारे विरोधी दल वाले जो बातें कहते हैं वे मुझे गलत मालूम पड़ती हैं। वहाँ का बच्चा बच्चा समझता है कि हमें कौनसी पालिसी अख्तियार करनी चाहिए। उनको मालूम है कि उनको किस सरकार के हाथ मजबूत करने हैं। जम्मू प्रांविंस में उन्होंने अपनी लोकप्रिय सरकार को चुना और विरोधी पार्टियों को आगे नहीं बढ़ने दिया। मैं ने जम्मू में देखा कि चुनाव बहुत अच्छी तरह हुए और किसी के साथ कोई अन्याय नहीं हुआ। और जनता ने बहुत अच्छी तरह से अपने प्रतिनिधि चुने। मुझे अफसोस है कि मधोक साहब ने ऐसी बातें यहाँ लाकर रखीं। इन बातों का जम्मू और काश्मीर की जनता विश्वास नहीं कर सकती।

मैं चुनाव के बारे में कुछ बातें और यहाँ कहना चाहती हूँ। जो तीसरे चुनाव हमारे यहाँ हुए उनके सिलसिले में मुझे कुछ गांवों में जाने का मौका मिला। और मैं वहाँ काफी दिनों तक रही। लेकिन एक चीज देखकर मुझे बड़ा दुःख हुआ। जब हम पांच साल बाद गांवों में जाते हैं तो हम देखते हैं कि गांवों के लोगों से ऐसी बातें बोट लेने के लिए कही जाती हैं जो कभी सुनने में नहीं आतीं। गांवों के लोग भोले भाले होते हैं। अभी भारत वर्ष बहुत आगे नहीं बढ़ा है। और गांवों के लोग बहुत सी सही बातों को नहीं जानते। उनसे तरह तरह की बातें कही जाती हैं। मैं बहुत सी औरतों से मिली। वे रोती थीं। उनको ऐसी बातें कही गयी थीं। वे बातें मैं यहाँ नहीं कहना चाहती। हमारे बोटों को इस प्रकार की बातों से बचाया जाना चाहिए। इसलिए मैं प्रार्थना करूँगी कि केन्द्रीय सरकार कोई ऐसा कायदा कानून बनावे ताकि जो लोग जनता में गलत

[श्रीमती कृष्णा मेहता]

बातें फैलाते हैं उनको रोका जा सके। ऐसे आदमियों को गलत बातें फैलाने से रोका जाना चाहिए चाहे वे किसी पार्टी के हों। चुनाव के वक्त तो हमें गांव वालों को सही और सच्ची बातें बता कर शिक्षित करना चाहिए। इससे जनता को बड़ी शिक्षा मिल सकती है। इसलिए मैं सरकार से प्रार्थना करूंगी कि वह मजबूती से ऐसे कदम उठावे कि आगे से जनता में ऐसी बातें न फैलायी जा सकें।

इसके अलावा मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि अभी तक जम्मू काश्मीर में रेलवे का काम पूरा नहीं हुआ है। रेलवे के बिना हमारे जम्मू और काश्मीर के लोग अपने को बिल्कुल निःसहाय पाते हैं। आप जानते हैं कि सन् १९४७ से पहले वहां रेलवे थी। लेकिन उसके बाद उस तरफ कुछ खास ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में थोड़ा बहुत सर्वे हुआ था तो कुछ काम हो रहा है। तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना से ऐसा नहीं मालूम होता कि जम्मू तक रेल पहुंचेगी। मैं सरकार को . . .

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आज तो अखबार में था कि सन् १९६४ तक हो जायेगी।

श्रीमती कृष्णा मेहता : वह तो मैंने नहीं देखा, लेकिन यह बहुत जरूरी है कि काला कोट और जंगल गली में जो कोयला होता है उसको लाने के लिए रेलवे जल्दी से जल्दी बननी चाहिए और मैं तो चाहती हूँ कि सन् १९६४ से पहले ही यह बन जाये क्योंकि हमारे यहां बड़ी बेकारी है और वहां से मजदूरों को काम के लिए यहां आना पड़ता है। उनको गरमी में भी यहां रहना पड़ता है। मैं हैरान हूँ कि वे किस तरह बारहों महीने यहां रह कर काम कर पाते हैं। इसलिए मेरी भारत सरकार से प्रार्थना है कि रेलवे की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान दिया जाये ताकि इस

साथ ही मैं यह भी प्रार्थना करूंगी कि पाकिस्तान जो धमकी दे देता है उसके आक्रमण को वहां से दूर रखा जाए मैं तारीफ करती हूँ कि वहां के लोग इस चीज की परवाह नहीं करते और बड़ी शान्ति से आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। हम यहां बाहर काश्मीर के बारे में बहुत सी बातें सुनते हैं लेकिन वहां ऐसी बातें नहीं सुनायी देती। लेकिन जो दुश्मन हमारे सिर पर मंडरा रहे हैं उनको भगाना चाहिए ताकि जम्मू काश्मीर के लोग शान्ति से उन्नति के रास्ते पर आगे बढ़ सकें।

मैं धन्यवाद देती हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया

Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan (Coimbatore): I thank you for giving me this opportunity of saying a few words on the Address that has been delivered to us by the President. But I am sorry to say that in this Address we find that all the major problems that face our people today have been skirted over, and no reference has been made to them. Surely one would have thought that as a result of the experience that has been there of the election campaigning and the experience of the manner in which the voting has gone, there would be some waking up to reality, and an indication in this first Address after the general elections as to what Government proposes to do, in order to restore confidence in the minds of the people that something effective is being done in order to better their welfare.

The primary problem that came before the electorate in these elections was the question of the rise in prices. This particular problem which has been the subject-matter of many a debate on the floor of this House, and which has time and again been commented upon in the press and brought to the notice of Government, has not been dealt with or even referred to in the President's Address. The problem is one that today has reach-

ed such a proportion that unless Government takes it very firmly in hand, a very grave and explosive situation might arise. At the time the Central Government employees asked for the appointment of a Second Pay Commission, this was the major problem that came to the fore when the subject was discussed in Parliament. Similarly, on every occasion when the budget is discussed, when the Plan is discussed, a solution for the rising prices and a firm price policy from Government have been repeatedly the demands not only from the Opposition benches; that demand has found its echo from the government side also because it happens to be a demand that is today in the forefront of our country's economy.

14 hrs.

When I speak of prices, it does not mean only that we are asking for the control of the prices of the daily necessities of life, but we are asking for a price policy as such, that is to say, protection also for the agriculturist. During the third general elections, in the campaigning that went on in many parts of our country, if you go through the leaflets and pamphlets that were distributed by some parties, you will find that one of the promises featured was that the prices of foodgrains would be brought down and so on. This is from the Opposition parties. This caught on, because it was a problem that was nearest to the daily life of the people. It is no good putting before the people the facts that steel plants have come up, the fact that railway wagons are being produced and today we are in a position to export them. It is not these that will satisfy their needs; it is not these that will arouse the enthusiasm or the spirit of national endeavour of the people. Therefore, I am really pained that when we meet after the third general elections this issue, which has been a very key issue in the elections, this problem which has been a problem that has been becoming more and more acute

during the years of the First and Second Five Year Plans, has been completely ignored in the Address that the President has given us.

Apart from that, as usual, the same picture of complacency is there. We find in the Address that same streak of complacency pointing to the achievements, pointing out what has been achieved in the first phase of the Third Five Year Plan. But the problems that really face our people are not posed. For instance, there was great fanfare about how the national income had gone up. Then immediately the question arose: how is it that the lot of the common people, the welfare of the working classes, the agricultural community and the welfare of the middle-classes, are becoming worse instead of being better in spite of the rise in national income? When this question was raised, after a lot of prodding, after a lot of debating, we were told that a committee was being set up to find out where the increase in national has disappeared. There is no mention at all of this committee in the Address. In fact, it looks as though the new Parliament will be called upon to appoint another committee to look for the committee that is to go into this research as to where the rise in national income has disappeared.

These are key problems that face our people, and it is only necessary for Government, it is incumbent on Government, that they should be put before Parliament, before the people, with Government's proposals as to how they are to be tackled. All that has been listed here with regard to the various schemes are there listed in the Third Five Year Plan. They have been repeated *nauseum* by Minister after Minister in election campaigns and on the floor of the House, but the real problem that faces the people as to how make both ends meet, how to overcome the deficit budgeting that is there in the majority of the households in our country, has been completely ignored. I Hope that when we hear the reply to this debate, there will be some indication

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as to what Government propose to do, what steps they propose to take, to meet these problems.

Then there is another point I would like to bring to the notice of the House. We have had a lot spoken to us about panchayati raj, about handing over democratic institutions of government, about taking the people into the daily administration and seeing that the village political institutions become the backbone and base of the democracy that is being attempted to be built in this country. But one feature which we had not an opportunity of discussing when panchayats were being discussed in the last session of Parliament is that while the panchayats were being set up, the help that the Government were going to give to them monetarily or otherwise is now becoming more or less a mirage. In fact, panchayats have been instructed in my State by the State Government to impose new taxes on the people in order to finance their work, their administration and their schemes. For instance, panchayats in Madras State have been asked to tax the shepherds. The sheep and the goats are to be taxed per head. This is a problem that is definitely going to come up in a big way in our State. Similarly, they are being asked to tax mango, groves, coconut groves and so on. And the taxes that are going to be imposed on will fall on the lowest economic category, not certainly on the privileged section. Many of the panchayats have been resisting this. They have been writing back to Government saying that it is impossible for them to impose new taxes because the people do not have the money to pay these taxes and the taxes that are being proposed for imposition are taxes that are to be imposed on the poorest sections in the countryside. They are also being asked to increase the taxes on houses and housing sites. In this way, if the panchayats are expected to find income for their schemes, for the work that they have to carry out through imposition of new taxes, certainly no

panchayat is going to be in a position to be able to implement any scheme whatsoever. So this whole position has to be reviewed and the question of allocation of funds to various panchayats has got to be thought out very seriously; panchayats will have to be helped monetarily rather than called upon to find their own finances even for their day to day administration.

There are very small panchayats where the income that they get today from the already existing taxation is hardly sufficient even to have normal routine office staff to see that the panchayat union offices are kept going throughout the year. They have to make do with part-time staff. The income they get—almost all of it—goes into just the upkeep of the administration, and there is nothing left to carry out any work such as constructing roads, providing drinking water and so on. This is also a matter that has to be looked into very seriously.

Then in the Address we are told:

"To overcome the scarcity of pure drinking water which exists in majority of our villages, assistance will now be made available to the extent of 50 per cent on a grant-in-aid basis on approved rural schemes and on a 100 per cent loan basis in regard to urban schemes".

This may be all right in some areas, but, as an earlier speaker also pointed out, in our country there are many areas which are completely famine and drought areas. There are also areas where the water that is available today is only brackish water. In the famine and drought areas, if you visit them you will find that the condition of the people is such that they are certainly not in a position themselves to contribute in any form whatsoever for any developmental scheme that may be planned for them, and this question of giving them grants-in-aid 'only up to 50 per cent for such a key

matter, for such an important scheme as the drinking water scheme is certainly far from adequate. In fact, far from talking in terms of loans or grants-in-aids to such areas, of loans or grants-in-aids to such areas, Government will have to take up the question of giving such areas subsidies in order to guarantee their drinking water supply.

There are many areas, for instance in Coimbatore District, where the scarcity of water is such that there is not even brackish water, where today water is being sold and has to be bought by the people even for their daily household purposes—not only drinking water, but even the ordinary water that may be necessary for washing utensils, for bath, for washing clothes etc. In such cases loans and grants-in-aids have no meaning whatsoever, because the other 50 per cent that has to be found cannot certainly be found in those areas where the people have been facing this scarcity and famine condition over a period of a large number of years. And today there is hardly a single household there that is not an indebted household. In some of those villages, if you visit them, you will find that there is hardly a family that is not in debt. It is not a question of even a privileged few in that village or in that area being able to contribute, or being asked to contribute, in order to help the area as a whole. In such backward areas where there is no way of the people finding any means of livelihood, where famine conditions and drought conditions exist, Government should think in terms of giving subsidies. Certainly the Government should consider whether the Prime Minister's Relief Fund or other relief funds that do exist cannot be diverted to such areas, because it is not necessary always that relief funds should be preserved until some great natural calamity or other takes place. Relief can go on all the time, throughout the year, and certainly those areas should be given relief. Until such time as irrigation schemes, as bore wells and other schemes that take time to be drawn

up and executed come into being, certainly immediate relief for helping them to sink wells or finding drinking water supply should be provided, and subsidy can be given by the Government and should be given by the Government.

I shall now comment briefly on the elections because, after all, elections are very much in the minds of the people, and the President himself has referred to the free and fair elections that have been conducted, to this third experiment in democracy and how we have raised the prestige of our country in the eyes of the world by having the elections conducted in a peaceful manner. It is certainly to the credit of our people, the voters, and also to the credit of the vast thousands of ordinary teachers, middle class employees and so on who were responsible for the conduct of the elections, looking after the work of the booths and so on, that the elections have gone on fairly peacefully by and large, but at the same time I would request the Government that they should not fail to see the writing on the wall, for if they fail to see the writing on the wall, certainly, in spite of the manner in which these elections have been conducted, the time will come when the feeling of the electorate or the idea of free and fair elections will go by the board. Certainly because of the acts of omission on the part of the Government, fissiparous tendencies and communal forces have been in the forefront in many areas in our country in the elections. It is to the credit of our electorate, to the common people of our country, that the majority of them did not fall a victim to these fissiparous tendencies and communal forces, but the very fact that such forces could come into being, had the courage to come forward to mislead people, to threaten people, to use communal propaganda in these elections, is something that we have to beware of. If today in Tamil Nad, for instance, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, which has on its platform separatism as one of its main slogans, could come back in large numbers, let the Government

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remember that it could do so because among the people of our country today, in spite of all that they see physically before them of the progress of our country, the major problems that face our common people continue to be there, continue to be unsolved. I have already referred to these problems of rising prices, of the increasing poverty of the people, of the inability of the Government to see that the fruits of the increase in the national income is distributed fairly and that the common people, those who have laboured for it, are enabled to benefit from it.

Similarly, today those very people who from the platforms, through the All-India Radio, through their Ministers talk the most 'highfalutin' talk, the most spiritual talk about national integration, when it comes to the elections, sink to the lowest depths in order to operate against the very spirit of national integration. I do not have to go into examples because they have been repeated here on the floor of the House, they have been commented upon by the newspapers, but certainly I would request the Government, I would request the Prime Minister, I would request the President to take serious note of this and remember that there is no good saying that everything is all right because in numbers the majority may be there in Parliament or in the State Assemblies, because what has taken place in the elections ought to make all of us sit up and think seriously about it. Let those who talk of national integration start that national integration within their own parties, within their own hearts and remembers that if national integration and national unity are to be achieved in this country, it can be achieved only on the basis of a really honest appraisal of what has taken place during these elections. Fissiparous tendencies have certainly come to the fore. Their representatives today are more vocal than they were before, and if they have to be checked, then all of us unitedly have to do it with-

out throwing bricks at each other without in any way raising personal animosities amongst ourselves.

Some Hon. Members rose—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I can call only one Member now. If any Member is not likely to be here on Monday, I can call him.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla (Baloda Bazar): I will not be here on Monday.

Shri Kalika Singh (Azamgrah): I will not be here.

Shri P. S. Daulata (Jhajjar): I will not be here on Monday.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then I shall go accordingly to the list. Shri Maniyangadan.

Shri Maniyangadan (Kottayam): I am happy to associate myself with the sentiments of gratitude expressed by this House for the inspiring Address of the President. A vivid picture of the achievements our nation was able to make during the last few years is given in the Address, and we can justly be proud of it.

The President has, in his Address, given importance to the agricultural sector, and it is a welcome feature. The aim has been stated to be not only merely to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains, but also to increase production of commercial crops. In this connection, I may state that prices of commodities like pepper, ginger, turmeric etc., are very low, and something has to be done for increasing the prices of these goods. The agriculturist is now finding it difficult to cultivate these things. If reasonable prices are assured, then, production can be increased. There was a proposal to establish a corporation for the purchase and sale of ginger in Kerala. I do not know what has happened to that. Now, the middlemen take a lot of profit and something has to be done with regard to it. Unless that is done the middle classes and the lower middle classes will suffer heavily.

Regarding research work in these sectors, to prevent pests, and other

diseases of plants, especially, coconut, arecanut, pepper etc. much success has not yet been achieved. I feel something should be done in this respect also.

About industries, the President has referred to that; and there has been increase in industrial production. I may refer, in passing, to one aspect; and that is the regional imbalance that is still prevailing in the country. There are certain areas where industrial activity has not gone up to any extent. I may say that in order to maintain a regional balance in the industrial development of the country such areas as are backward must be encouraged.

Before going into other matters I may be permitted to refer to certain things alleged by Shri A. K. Gopalan, regarding affairs in Kerala. He referred to the Agrarian Relations Act and stated that its implementation is being delayed. One reason he alleges for the delay in implementation is the absence of land records. It now comes with ill grace from the leader of the Communist group. This Agrarian Relations Act was passed by the Communist party while they were in power. At that time, the then Opposition demanded that land records should be prepared before the Bill was passed. But they vehemently opposed it by saying that if land records were to be prepared before passing the Bill it would take several years and it was only an attempt to delay the passing of the Bill. Now, after the Bill has been passed they say that land records are necessary. It was claimed by Shri Gopalan that it was because of some agitation that the land records could not be prepared.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: One minute please. I want to announce—so that hon. Members may not go away—that the Speaker has sent word that this discussion would continue up to 3-30 and then we would take up non-official business. So, we will have an hour and I hope that those hon. Members who are not likely to be here

on Monday will get their opportunity. They should remain in their seats.

Shri Maniyangadan: There are already certain land records and they could be utilised. The absence of records is not the reason for the failure of the implementation or the delay. There are hundreds of writ petitions filed in the High Court and also in the Supreme Court; and that is the main reason for the delay in implementation.

Certain amendments to the Agrarian Relations Act are under contemplation by Government; and I think by passing those amendments the Act could be easily implemented. Opinions of different sections of the people have been invited on the amendments. Even after the Bill was passed by the Kerala Assembly, while it was pending before the President for his assent, the Legislature was dissolved and the Communist party stoutly opposed any amendment. Shri Gopalan led a *jatha* to Trivandrum to oppose the amendments being proposed to the Act. Now, they say that the Act is inadequate and that its implementation is being delayed because of certain defects in the Act, etc.

Shri Tangamani: It was first necessary to get the assent. Now, it is for the government to do the actual implementation. The delay is by government.

Shri Maniyangadan: But assent was obtained only after it was passed a second time in the legislature. It was at that time that certain amendments were opposed; and the Communist party, represented by Shri Gopalan, led a *jatha* to oppose any amendment. This is what I referred to.

Then, it was stated that thousands of tenants are being evicted in Kerala. My submission is, it is not at all true. No tenant who comes under the purview of the Agrarian Relations Act is evicted. It is true that there were certain evictions; but those evictions were from government

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land, of persons who occupied those lands unauthorisedly. Some of the grounds that necessitated those evictions are the necessity to preserve reserve forests and the need to start certain projects.

I may say that before these evictions took place, in the State Assembly, one member from the Communist party moved a resolution demanding that all those unauthorised occupants should be immediately evicted. That was passed by the Assembly. And, now when evictions start, the Communist party is opposing that. Before the resolution was passed it was stated in the legislature that all those occupants of the reserve land are relatives of Ministers and Congressmen. But when eviction has started they go there and pose as their saviours. This is the real state of affairs regarding these evictions.

There were evictions even before this. Even before the Communist regime there were certain evictions from reserved forests; and these evictees were not given any aid. They were simply thrown in the streets. But the present government gave one acre of land to each family which deserved, and some other facilities were also provided. They were given free rations for a number of days; they were given help to put up sheds. Shri Gopalan was saying that it was because of his fast that this one acre was given. I may submit that when Shri Gopalan went there the people had already been rehabilitated and the fast did not bring about any benefit to them at all. (*Interruption*).

His main demand at that time was that these people must be given not one acre but 3 to 5 acres each. It was not possible for government to give so much land; and, so, they had to turn down the demand. The fast which was for about 8 to 10 days ended without any benefit being brought to the people.

In this connection, I may mention that this occupation of government

land is a very serious question in Kerala. If you go along the roads you will find that both the sides are being occupied by people with small huts. It is all government land or *poromboke* land. It has become impossible to straighten or widen the roads because the borders have been occupied by the people. It is not for the pleasure of occupying these lands that they have occupied these lands but because there is no land and there is no work. Therefore, this has to be tackled as a national problem; and it is unfortunate that political parties try to take advantage of this bad state of affairs. I am also not happy about the timing and the manner of eviction that took place from these areas but the Government did whatever could be done for giving them relief. Still there are thousands of families remaining in these areas and it may be necessary that some of them should also be evicted. A committee has been constituted by the Kerala Government for going into this question to decide which portions could be kept as reserve forests and what relief could be given to persons who are to be evicted. The Government has proclaimed that it will act according to the report of the committee. It was stated that in Kottiyur in Malabar area large scale evictions are likely to take place. This place is in a private forest belonging to the Kottiyur Devaswam; it is not true that any intermediary has been created there. The affairs of this Devaswam were not run well and so an organisation of the Hindus came in and took charge of certain affairs. In the course of that it was feared by the people that they might be evicted. The Kerala Congress Committee took up the issue and after a thorough enquiry declared that it was a tenancy question and they could not be evicted. The organisation which took over its affairs has also declared that none of these persons will be evicted. The Government has declared that it is taking steps to nationalise the private forests. When the private forests are nationalised and when they be-

come Government land the tenants will be treated properly. They must be under the purview of the Agrarian Relations Act. That also is under contemplation.

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Thiruvella): Is it not a fact that the tenants are to pay money to the intermediaries also?

Shri Maniyangadan: I have no time to answer questions.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I agree there is no time.

Shri Maniyangadan: It is not a question of paying any additional money. The tenants must enter into relationship with the jenmi before they get full right over the property.

It was stated that the present Government has lost the confidence of the people. He referred to the 1959 affairs, as if in 1959, the communist Government went out of office because of the mass upsurge. The House knows that it was dismissed by the President based on the report of the Governor to the effect that constitutional Government was not prevailing there and that it was not possible to continue the Government in accordance with the Constitution. I do not want to go into the details of that matter. But what is exactly the verdict of the people? In 1957, the communist party got nine seats; they now got only six. In 1957 their percentage of votes was 37.48 per cent. and this time it is only 34.7. Now, it is this party that demands that the verdict is in their favour. An amendment moved by Shri A. K. Gopalan states that the Address does not take into account that in the Third General Elections, the electorate of Kerala have given a verdict in favour of the opposition party, namely, the C.P.I. and its democratic allies. I do not know which are the democratic allies referred to in this amendment. If we see the present elections, Congress and P.S.P. lost certain seats in the Malabar area which is predominantly Muslim League. In spite of their ser-

mons, the Communist Party got into an alliance with the League and they were able to defeat the Congress. But in the Travancore-Cochin area Congress has won three seats from the Communist Party... (*Interruptions.*) The Muslim League and the Communist Party were working together in several constituencies in Malabar area. The Congress feels that it will have no truck with the League, whatever be the consequences. It was declared before the elections and we continue to stick to that position.

A reference was made to certain pastoral letter by the Bishops of Kerala. It does not contain anything objectionable. What it says is that the Catholics are advised not to strengthen the communists.

An Hon. Member Why does the Prime Minister object to it, then?

Shri Maniyangadan: It is being done throughout the world, through the ages. What is the verdict of the courts regarding this pastoral letter issued during the election? There is the election law which could be taken advantage of. There is some difference of outlook among various people. The Catholic Church is a religious body; as a religious body it cannot condone any anti-religious or anti-God movement. So, they advise their adherents not to give encouragement to the communists or to communism. There is nothing objectionable, either legally or morally in that. The allegations made by my hon. friend on the other side are all false.

I am happy that this time he has not made any allegation regarding the activities of the Government in the elections. On previous occasions, they alleged that the Government did this and that. There is no such allegation this time and the elections were fair.

श्री राधा रमण (चांदनी चौक): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण ने देश के अनेक मसलों पर प्रकाश डाला है और किसी भी

[श्री राधा रमण]

देशवासी को उसे मुनने और पढ़ने पर गर्व हो सकता है, और इस के लिये वह जिन शब्दों में राष्ट्रपति के प्रति कृतज्ञता प्रकट करे वह मुनासिब है। इस में सन्देह नहीं कि राष्ट्रपति का इस वर्ष का अभिभाषण उनके कार्य काल का अन्तिम सन्देश है और जिस प्रकार उन्होंने अपने कार्य काल में देश का नेतृत्व किया वह बेमिसाल है और देश के इतिहास में सदा अमर रहेगा। उन की लोकप्रियता ने सारे देश में एक बहुत ही ऊंचा आदर्श सामने रख कर देशवासियों को आगे तरक्की देने में पूरे सहयोग से कार्य किया है।

इस अभिभाषण की चर्चा करते हुए सबसे पहले मैं कुछ जनरल एलेक्शन या आम चुनाव के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। यह बात स्पष्ट है कि दुनिया के तमाम देशों में भारतवर्ष ही एक ऐसा देश है जिस को यह गौरव प्राप्त है कि इतना बड़ा जनसमूह, जिसको हम २० करोड़ के लगभग कहते हैं, जनमत के आधार पर देशवासियों के सामने जाता है और उस से बनी सरकार के द्वारा हमारे देश का शासन चलता है। दुनिया का कोई दूसरा देश इस का अभिमान नहीं कर सकता। इस पर हम जितना अभिमान करें वह कम है। हमारे सदन में बहुत से भाइयों और बहनों ने इस बात की चर्चा की कि वह ठीक है कि भारतवर्ष में इतना बड़ा मतदान हुआ और बहुत काफी अच्छा हुआ, मगर कहीं कहीं इस बात का जिक्र किया गया कि जिस तरह से ऐसी शक्तियों को, जिन को हम रजतपसन्द या प्रतिक्रियावादी कहते हैं, उभार मिला, वह नहीं मिलना चाहिये था। मेरा अपना यह कहना है कि इतने बड़े देश में और इतने बड़े मतदान के समय पर छोटे मोटे मामलों को अपने सामने रख कर हमको अपना विचार नहीं बनाना चाहिये। निःसन्देह जो हमारे देश के चुनाव का नतीजा निकला है उस से यह बात स्पष्ट है कि देश का दिमाग और दिल बहुत मजबूत है और वह अपने

अन्दर न सरमायेदार शक्तियों को और न फिरकापरस्त शक्तियों को घुसने देना चाहता है। कुछ लोगों के मत अलग अलग हैं और जब कभी वे उस मत को जनता के समने रखते हैं तो कहीं उस का परिणाम ऐसा निकलता है जिस की हम को आशा नहीं होती। मगर हमें उन सब शक्तियों से लड़ना है और अपने देश को जम्हूरियत के उसूलों पर दिनों दिन आगे ले जाना है।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह जरूर कहूंगा कि बावजूद इसके कि आज हमें इस बात का गर्व है कि हमारे देश में अच्छे से अच्छे नेता मौजूद हैं, उन्होंने ने हमें ऐसा प्रोग्राम दिया है, उनके नेतृत्व ने हमें इतनी शक्ति और बल दिया है कि हम किसी भी ताकत से, चाहे वह अन्दरूनी हो या बैरूनी हो, लड़ सकते हैं। लेकिन यह बात भी स्पष्ट है कि आज देश के अन्दर जनता में हिरासा है और असन्तोष है। उसे अगर हम अपने दिल में से भुला दें तो हमें बहुत से कामों में तकलीफ होगी। आज जनता ने चुनावों में कांग्रेस पार्टी को या कांग्रेस की सरकार को इसलिये ही मत दिया है कि इस से बेहतर कोई पार्टी देश में नहीं है। इस से बड़ा नेतृत्व कोई दूसरी पार्टी समाज में नहीं रखती। जिस काबलियत से और जिस ढंग से हमारे नेताओं ने और विशेष कर हमारे प्रिय प्रधान मंत्री ने इस देश के कार्य को चलाया है, जो पालिसीज और प्रोग्राम हमारे सामने रखे हैं, वह काफी लोकप्रिय हैं, और इसी के बल पर आज सारी जनता उन के पीछे चल रही है। मगर हमारी जनता में जो असन्तोष और हिरासा है उस का कोई न कोई इलाज होना चाहिये। हो सकता है कि डिमाण्डेसी में जो कि नई नई हो हलके हलके जनता को अपनी आवश्यकताओं का और अपनी तकलीफों का और उन के निराकरण का ख्याल आता है और वह उसे समझने लगती है। जब तक वह इस को नहीं समझती तब तक उन को बहुत सा असन्तोष इस कारण भी होता है। लेकिन हमें

इस से संतोष नहीं करना चाहिये और जनता की तकलीफों को जितना भी कम किया जा सके कम करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये :

मैं इस सम्बन्ध में यह भी कहूंगा कि पिछले दस वर्षों में इस सदन ने बहुत से कानून पास किये और देश पर लागू किये इसलिये कि जनता की ताकत बढ़े और जनता के अदर हौसला हो और जनता की तकलीफें दूर हों लेकिन बदकिस्मती ऐसी है कि जो कानून हम पास करते हैं जब वह जनता पर लागू होते हैं तो उन के लागू होने से जैसे संतोष लोगों को होना चाहिये वह नहीं होता । इस में यह कारण हो सकता है कि कुछ लोगों की नासमझी है । इस में यह कारण भी हो सकता है कि जो इन कानूनों को चलाते हैं उनकी नियत साफ न हो । लेकिन हमें इस का निराकरण करना है क्योंकि यह बहुत आवश्यक है । अगर हम देश में तरक्की को और ज्यादा तेजी से लाना चाहते हैं तो हम को जनता को संतुष्ट करना चाहिये ।

इस के बाद हमारा राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में कुछ जिक्र इस बात का किया गया है कि संस्कृत को जगह दी गयी और शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में हमारे मुल्क ने बहुत काफी तरक्की की है । यह बात भी निःसन्देह हर शख्स मानेगा कि हमारे देश में पिछले वर्षों में शिक्षा ने बहुत बड़ी प्रगति की है । ६ बरस से ११ बरस तक के बच्चों के लिए तमाम देश के अन्दर संविधान के मुताबिक शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध हमारी सरकार ने अपने सिर पर लिया है और उस के अनुसार जो आंकड़े अभिभाषण में दिये गये हैं उनमें मालूम होता है कि काफी तरक्की इस दिशा में हुई है । मगर मुझे दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमने पिछली दो योजनाओं में जो लक्ष्य अपने सामने स्थिर किये थे उन को हम पूरा नहीं कर सके यद्यपि और कार्यों के लक्ष्यों को हमने पूरा कर लिया है । दूसरे जो आंकड़े हमारे सामने शिक्षा के बारे में रखे गये हैं उन से यह भी मालूम होता है कि जितनी क्वालिटेटिव और क्वांटिटेटिव

उन्नति होनी चाहिये थी उतनी नहीं हुई है । हम कुछ अपने पुराने विचारों के आधार पर शिक्षा के कार्यक्रम में तरमीम और संशोधन करते हैं, मगर उनके नतीजे वह नहीं निकलते जो निकलने चाहिये । मेरा अपना ख्याल है कि हमारी सरकार के आज सैकड़ों ऐसे काम हैं कि जिनके बारे में हम कह सकते हैं कि वे देश के अन्दर बहुत बड़ी क्रांति पैदा कर रहे हैं । लेकिन मैं कहूंगा कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में जितना ध्यान सरकार को देना चाहिये और उस की क्वालिटी पर जितना ध्यान देना चाहिये वह नहीं दिया गया है । रुपये के खर्च में भी शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में उतनी उदारता नहीं दिखायी गयी है जितनी कि इंडस्ट्री और कामर्स आदि के क्षेत्र में दिखायी गयी है । इसलिये शिक्षा की क्वालिटी दिनों दिन गिरती जा रही है । और कुछ हम अपने ख्यालों के कारण इस दिशा में पीछे पड़ गये हैं । बेसिक ऐजुकेशन का देश में बहुत बड़ा प्रचार किया गया । लेकिन अगर शिक्षा के प्वाइंट आफ व्यू से देखें तो गांवों में उस की बहुत बुरी हालत है । और कोशिश की जा रही है कि अब उस को शहरों में लाया जाये । मुझे यह समय के प्रतिकूल मालूम पड़ता है । इस शिक्षा के द्वारा हम एक भावना अपने बच्चों में पैदा करना चाहते हैं । लेकिन उस शिक्षा का जो स्वरूप हमारे सामने है वह ऐसा नहीं है जो हम को ऐसे नागरिक दे सके जो जिम्मेदारी को अपने कंधों पर उठा सकें । और जिन के बल पर हम अपने देश को उतनी तेजी से आगे ले जा सकें जितनी तेजी से हम ले जाना चाहते हैं ।

जहां तक बाहरी मामलात का सम्बन्ध है, हर देश वासी इस बात पर खुश होगा कि हमारे देश पर गोघ्रा के रूप में जो एक विदेशी कब्जे का कलंक था उसको हमारी सरकार ने धो दिया और इस काम में जो हमारी फौज ने करिश्मा करके दिखलाया उसका उदाहरण दुनिया के इतिहास में दूसरी जगह नहीं मिलता । जिन शब्दों में भी हम अपनी फौज के जवानों और अफसरों को बधाई दें, मैं समझता हूं वैसा करके हम

[श्री राधा रमण]

अपनी उन भावनाओं को पूरी तरह व्यक्त नहीं कर पायेंगे जो हमारे हृदयों में भरी हुई हैं। देश विदेश में इस बात की चर्चा हुई कि हमने जो तरीका अख्तियार किया वह पूरी तरह से शान्तिपूर्ण नहीं था। लेकिन जो समझदार आदमी हैं वह सारी बैकग्राउण्ड को देखते हुए यह मानेंगे कि यह एक करिश्मा था जो हमारे देश की सरकार ने फौज की मदद से किया और जो हमारे इतिहास में एक ज्वलन्त उदाहरण रहेगा। और यह दुनिया को बताएगा कि जहां हम शान्ति चाहते हैं वहां हम अपने देश पर किसी अन्य का कब्जा सहन नहीं कर सकते। और मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बात हर हिन्दुस्तानी के दिल और दिमाग में दाखिल हो जाएगी कि हमारी सरकार उचित कदम उठाने में कोई कौताही नहीं करती, चाहे वह चीन का मामला हो या पाकिस्तान का हो। और अगर इस देश को सरजमीन पर किसी बाहरी शक्ति का कब्जा है तो उचित वक्त आने पर और शक्ति होने पर वह उसको साफ करेगी। और हमारे देश में कोई बाहरी शक्ति काम नहीं कर पाएगी।

इस सिलसिले में मैं यह भी अर्ज करूँगा कि हमारे देश का बहुत बड़ा बार्डर है जो कि एक्सपोज्ड है और हम जितनी चेतना से उसकी हिफाजत कर रहे हैं मेरी समझ में व नाकाफी है। हमें उसको और भी टाइटिन करना होगा ताकि जो बात पहले हो सकी वह आगे बिल्कुल न हो सके और जितनी भी ऐसी शक्तियाँ हैं जिनमें हमारे मुल्क की ताकत में किसी किस्म की कमी हो सकती है उनका हमको पूरी तरह मुकाबला करना चाहिए और हमको अपने बार्डर के चैक पोस्टों पर एक्सट्रा आदमी तैनात करना चाहिए और अपने नौजवानों को बार्डर पर फैला देना चाहिए ताकि इस बात का जरा भी अन्देश न रहे कि कोई भी हमारे बार्डर पर कोई हरकत कर सके। या हमारे

मुल्क में इनफिल्ट्रेशन कर सके। चाहे चीन हो या पाकिस्तान हो हम इस तरह की किसी हरकत को कभी बरदाश्त नहीं करेंगे और ऐसं कार्रवाइयों को रोकने में अपनी पूरी शक्ति लगा देनी चाहिए।

इसके अलावा मैं एक बात और दिल्ली के सम्बन्ध में अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ। और मैं प्रार्थना करूँगा कि इसके लिये आप मुझे दो मिनट का समय और दें।

दिल्ली के सम्बन्ध में मैं यह अर्ज करूँगा कि हमारे सदन के सदस्यों ने देखा और आपने भी देखा कि यहां की जनता कांग्रेस पार्टी के और कांग्रेसी सरकार के सोलहों आने साथ है। लेकिन यह बात बराबर चलती आ रही है, जिसे हमें अपने दिल के अन्दर रखना चाहिए कि यहां की सरकार यहां का जिस तरह का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन है वह आम जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व नहीं करता और आम जनता की भावनाओं को व्यक्त नहीं करता। इसके बारे में बार बार चर्चा होती है। उसके बारे में कई बार हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब और दूसरे लोग अपनी राय जाहिर कर रहे हैं और वह इस बात को महसूस करते हैं। मैं इस मौके पर ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि इस बात की परम आवश्यकता है कि इस गुल्थी को मुलझाया जाए।

मुझे इस बात का भी दुख है कि इस गुल्थी को मुलझाने में हमारे सामने हर चौथे पांचवें साल तस्वीर पर तस्वीर आती है लेकिन वह तस्वीर एक नामुक्मिल्ल तस्वीर होती है। दिल्ली नगर जो कि देश की राजधानी है वह सही मायनों में तरक्की तभी कर सकेगा जब उसको एक प्रतिनिधि सरकार मिले। जनता की प्रतिनिधि सरकार ही दिल्ली का भला कर सकती है, उसकी तरक्की कर सकती है और उसकी ताकत को बढ़ा सकती है। इसलिये मेरी दरखास्त है कि दिल्ली को प्रतिनिधि सरकार दी जाय।

में जानता हूँ कि राजधानी में बहुत काफी खर्च होता है। यहाँ पर पुलिस भी बहुत ज्यादा है लेकिन इस सब के होते हुए भी सरकार में प्रतिनिधित्व न होना यह एक बड़ी कमजोरी है।

एक बात इस सिलसिले में मैं यह भी अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि बाबजूद इस बात के कि दिल्ली की आबादी बहुत बढ़ी है और हमारे बहुत सारे मसले हल हुए हैं लेकिन फिर भी ला एण्ड आर्डर का मामला कुछ ऐसा है जिसकी तरफ मैं सरकार की तबज़ह खास तौर से दिलाना चाहता हूँ। इतनी बड़ी पुलिस रख कर और इतना खर्चा करके भी हमें अखबारों में रोजाना दिल्ली के बारे में जो खबरें पढ़ने को मिलती हैं वह तसल्लीबख़्श नहीं होती और उन को सुन कर आज बाज़ औकात हम को काफी तकलीफ़ होती है।

चूँकि मेरे पास समय नहीं है इसलिए मैं और अधिक न कह कर समाप्त करूँगा। वैसे राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में इतने मामले हैं कि यदि उन सब पर विचार किया जाय तो बहुत वक्त लगेगा। मैं उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपका आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे अपने विचार प्रकट करने का मौका दिया। मुझे आशा है कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के ऊपर मैंने जिन चन्द एक बातों की चर्चा की है उनकी तरफ़ हमारी सरकार ध्यान देगी। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं फिर एक बार राष्ट्रपति जी को उनके अभिभाषण के लिये धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by Dr. Sushila Nayar thanking our President for the address he has delivered to us. Lots of things have been mentioned by the President and the amount of progress that has been made in our country is not hidden from those people who take active interest in the country's progress. But we who have to move amongst the people, who come into intimate and very tense contact

with the people, particularly during the elections, do feel that in spite of all this progress that is being made all over the country, there is a seething discontent amongst our people. There are two important reasons for this discontent which is prevailing for the last so many years.

The first and foremost reason for this discontent is the continuous rise in the price of essential commodities. The second reason is the bad and very unreasonable behaviour of the petty Government officials. I have a firm conviction that the calibre of Government officers, particularly at the lower rung, is not as bad as it seems. As we do, they also feel for the people and they want to do their best in the discharge of their responsibilities. But the traditions of Government officers, as have developed during the British rule, have such a bad effect even on the new entrants that even though they want to do good work, it is impossible for them to do any such thing.

The main hurdle in the way of improving the tone of administration and giving it a new orientation is the rules and procedures that continue since the British time. They have been slightly amended, but essentially they are the same. The Planning Commission also made a very strong appeal to the Government to change the rules of procedures and conduct of business of the Government, because these rules and procedures which prevail in the Government today are not meant for working a welfare State. They were meant for a Government whose main duty was to maintain law and order and have a revenue administration in the country. After the role of the Government has completely changed, the rules and procedures remain the same. I do hope that the Government will take due notice of the strong pleas made by the Planning Commission and by various other people and make far-reaching changes in the rules and procedures, so that the welfare schemes put out by Government from time to time liberally may be imple-

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla] mented and one of the biggest public grievances removed.

The second thing I want to point out is that the farmers in our country are always suffering. Even when there is a good crop, they suffer, because they do not get a proper price for their produce. During drought, they suffer because the production is not enough. The Government have always been talking about an Agriculture Commission to hold the price-line and to give reasonable prices to the farmers. But we do not see any important measure that the Government has taken in the last three years to implement any of these assurances. This is particularly so in the poor rice-growing tracts of eastern and south-eastern India, where this kind of poverty is very very serious. The rice-growing areas in eastern Madhya Pradesh, are particularly hit because there are no irrigation facilities and even if there is a slight change in the rainfall, the whole crop system becomes completely disarranged, and the farmers suffer very badly. I hope Government will implement their assurance about giving a fair price to the farmers at an early date.

Another thing I want to bring before the House is prohibition. We have been talking about prohibition since the last three general elections. This is in my opinion one of the most important measures that the Congress has put forward before the country, because it is mainly an economic measure meant for removing the exploitation of the working masses by the liquor contractors. This is clearly seen in areas where prohibition was first introduced in 1937, when the Congress Ministry took office for the first time. In my district of Raipur, which happens to be one of those districts where prohibition was first introduced, prohibition was introduced in a part of the district and the other part still remains wet. If anybody goes to my district, he can see what immense benefits prohibition has given to that area. The areas where prohibition is

enforced are doing very well in community development, intensive cultivation, local self-government, etc. In the areas where prohibition has not been introduced, the people are suffering and there is so much of economic exploitation by the liquor contractors. Almost nothing succeeds there. If you establish community blocks, nobody comes forward with voluntary labour. There is no money coming as voluntary contribution for welfare projects. The people are so much harassed by liquor contractors that during the elections, it was one of the demands of the people that the Congress Government must introduce prohibition in those areas also, so that they may also lead a better life as the people in the other part of the district.

15 hrs.

There are quite a few lacunae in the prohibition laws and I hope that, while prohibition is being extended to the rest of the country, these lacunae will be removed. We have been very happy to hear the Government assurance that during the pendency of the Third Plan period total prohibition will be introduced throughout the country. I hope nothing will deter the Government from following this policy. If anybody goes deeply into the matter, he will find that in spite of its weakness, it has a tremendous effect of well-being wherever it is introduced.

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): My constituency is bordering his constituency. They are smuggling and amount of liquor from my side to his constituency.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: That is my trouble. My electorate goes to his constituency and comes back spoiled.

Then, we have been insisting about a very rational development of backward areas. In spite of our constant efforts, we have not been able to get from the Government a definition or basis on which to determine which area is backward. All kinds of vague generalisations are put forward to say that this particular area is backward

or is not backward. We are not in a position to suggest one criterion which can be taken as the basis for deciding the backwardness of an area. The most important criterion seems to be the *per capita* income of the people in that particular area. If we go by that criterion, we find that the people of eastern Madhya Pradesh are much poorer than the people of the much publicised areas of Eastern Uttar Pradesh, which is supposed to be a very poor area. The trans-Mahanadi area of Madhya Pradesh, which includes such well-known rice tracts as the Mahasamund, Phuljhar, Bindra Nawagarh, Sarangarh etc. have been completely neglected. You will be surprised to know that in this large chunk there is not a single railway-line of any gauge, broad, metre or narrow. There are no all-weather roads. All roads in this area are fair-weather roads and transport comes to a complete standstill during six months in a year. I hope Government will pay special attention to such areas which are producing quite a good deal of foodgrain where there has not been any development of transport or industry.

Coming to our foreign policy. I would like to compliment the Government of India on its tremendous success which is continuing in the conduct of its foreign policy. Our policy has provided the world with the only alternative to cold war, and I am sure this policy will be continued. In furtherance of this policy, we have seen to it that there is no tension in the world; and wherever there is tension, we are trying to make our best effort to reduce it.

Government owes us an explanation why the *de jure* transfer of French pockets is being delayed so much. We have been hearing for the last few months that *de jure* transfer will be effected soon and no plausible explanation has been given why it has been delayed for over five years and why the French Government is fighting shy of this formality.

I also want to urge on the Government of India to grant recognition to the provisional Government of Algeria, because they have waged a heroic war of independence. So, in recognition of this heroic war we should give them recognition.

Shri Basappa (Tiptur): Although I am grateful to the electorate for returning me to the next Parliament, I do not want to lose this opportunity to express my sense of gratitude, along with other members of this House, to our worthy President for the inspiring address that he has delivered to both Houses. Even in his weak health our great President has taken the trouble to come personally and address us and he has referred to so many important matters concerning domestic and foreign affairs, which only speaks of the love that he has towards the great people of this country. We pray that he may be spared for us for many more years to come to guide the destinies of this country. We need his advice at this juncture. We have all the reverence for our Prime Minister. We have equal reverence for our worthy President. These two great people of this country are mainly responsible for the upliftment of this country both internally and externally and to raise our stature in the comity of nations. This House has been particularly careful this time to make a reference to our worthy President because it looks as though we are having his parting address this time. We wish that he will be here with us to deliver us many more addresses and guide our destinies.

He has referred to the plans we have on hand, particularly the size of the Third Plan and the aspirations of our people. Though the Third Plan includes so many programmes, priority is given to agriculture. We aim at self-sufficiency in foodgrains and also large production of commercial crops as raw materials for our industries and to earn the badly needed foreign exchange. I do not want to refer to all the details that he has referred to in his address. The growth

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of agricultural production to the extent of 19.1 per cent. is not a small achievement. But, in order to reach our goal, we have to go still far. Our industrial production has also gone up, thereby adding to our national income. He has spoken of the expansion of the steel plants and the starting of many more big irrigation projects. Even in the matter of trade, we have improved our position although there is necessity for increasing our exports still more. He has also spoken of our achievements in the field of education and health. All the same, we have to do still more in order to satisfy our people.

I do not want to weary the House at this stage with these plans, but I would like to say a word or two about our foreign policy. It is but natural that our minds are still very much exercised with the border problems of this country.

The security of this country is the concern of all of us. The China issue is still uppermost in our mind. Let there be no thinking in the mind of the people that we have given up our stand. Our stand is that the aggression committed by China must go. Till then we will not be satisfied at all.

So far as Pakistan is concerned we have to be a little more firm. With the object of making this country our friend we have given any number of concessions. We have given concessions after concessions. We arrived at the agreement about the canal waters dispute. We agreed with them in many respects. Even in regard to Berubari we have in a way conceded many things. But taking advantage of all this the behaviour of Pakistan is not very good. Hence in our future policies while we will certainly discuss with them certain matters we will have to be very firm.

They have raised the question of the Indo-Pakistan railway service. This is a very important issue and we

have to be very, very careful when solving this question. In spite of the fact that they knew that our country was passing through the General Elections they wanted the question of Kashmir to be taken up in the Security Council all of a sudden. We are happy that it has been postponed.

I do not want to say more either about the Congo or about the Disarmament Conference. According to the news that we have read this morning about the 17-Nation Geneva Conference although the picture is not very bright, we hope that these nations will try their best to see that complete disarmament is the goal that they keep in their mind.

I was very much pained or rather was a little uneasy when Shri Gopalan said that we must withdraw our forces from the Congo. The hon. Prime Minister has taken all the trouble to explain to this House that although we are in very difficult circumstances to retain our forces there, the object with which we sent these forces there is not over and it may not be possible to bring them back. On the other hand, some relief measures may be taken in that direction. Still, when I heard Shri Gopalan say yesterday that we should withdraw our forces in the Congo I was not able to understand it.

Many hon. Members have spoken about the General Elections. I for one would say that this magnificent democratic experiment in this country has brought great credit to us. There may be loopholes here and there. In a vast country like this where crores of people have gone for voting a few things here and there may have happened, but by and large this country has shown to the world that we are after all a democratic nation and that we believe in adult suffrage. The adults may be backward but in selecting their future representatives they have exhibited enormous wisdom. These General Elections have given consent to our

policy regarding both foreign and domestic affairs. They may not be contented. They may not say that everything has been achieved but the direction in which we are going, that is, socialism at home and peace abroad, the watchwards of our domestic and foreign policies, has been given consent to by the electorate.

One or two words about the great experiment that we are conducting, namely, Panchayati Raj. People have got great faith in this. It has taken the rural population to a very great extent. Of course, certain disputes may be there among the village people but ultimately even the success of the General Elections will mainly depend upon the Panchayat elections. Therefore it becomes our greater duty to see that this Panchayati Raj is put on a sound footing. They need more money. They need more proper men to guide them. I think the future Parliament will take care to see that Panchayati Raj is put on a good foundation otherwise things may change in the wrong direction.

When I speak these things naturally my mind also goes to the liberation of Goa which we have achieved. This question of Goa was agitating the mind of this Parliament for a very long time. To the credit of our Army and the Defence forces this was achieved in a bloodless way. Two things come to my mind in this connection. When this question of Goa was being solved some of our own so-called friends outside were questioning our *bona fides*. Particularly from Britain we expected a better attitude. Hence it has become the need of the hour to be vigilant about our friendship with certain countries.

Here I do not want to raise more problems about Goa but when I heard some hon. Members here speak about the future set up of Goa, I thought that it was too early for that point to be taken up. Somebody said that it must go to Maharashtra.

Shri P.K. Deo: It should go to Mysore, is it?

Shri Basappa: Geographical and historical reasons and the wishes of the people will be the prime factors for determining the future set up. I do not want to take up those things now, but at the same time I would say that the claim of Mysore cannot be forgotten when Goa's future set up is going to be decided. At this juncture, I would agree, it should be a Union territory. When Shrimati Alva spoke about this the day before yesterday she referred to the cultural side of Goa. She knows more than anybody else as to what their leanings are.

Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan was saying that certain backward areas should be given greater attention. Certain parts of my constituency lie in a most backward area known as the Pavugada Taluk where certain villages are almost isolated from the rest of the world. There is no access to them at all. People do not come for voting at all. There are deserts.

Shri D. C. Sharma: How did you happen to get the votes then?

Shri Basappa: With great difficulty I went there this time although it was not possible for me to go there during the previous elections. I told them that contour bunding and all these things were being done, but more has to be done for these backward areas in those pockets.

The last point that would urge is that certain future problems have to be met by this Parliament. I know the capacity of this Parliament to deal with these subjects. Particularly of interest to Mysore is the Krishna and Godavari rivers water dispute. We in Parliament are aware how things are going on. I think the Gulhati

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Commission has completed its work, but efforts are being made to get the big members of the Water and Power Commission elected to this Parliament so that certain States may have the advantage of their experience to plead their cause. I hope that justice alone will prevail and that no influence will be brought to bear on these questions.

To end, I express my gratitude once again to the President and to you for giving me this opportunity.

Shri P. K. Deo: I take this opportunity to pay my tribute and respectful regard to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, our beloved President who has filled this august office with dignity and honour for a period of ten years.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not point out the various lapses that have been found in the President's address as it projects the view-point of the Government. At the outset I associate myself with the national jubilation on the acquisition of Goa, Daman and Diu and on the fact that Portuguese colonialism of over four hundred years has come to a close. For this thing independent India had to wait for a period of fourteen years. In fourteen years we gained two thousand square miles, but on the other hand we lost fourteen thousand square miles on the northern border. Every session we get reports of fresh inroads into Indian territory by the Chinese. Those fourteen thousand square miles on the northern border are yet to be liberated from the Chinese, and if we proceed at the speed of Goa I am afraid it will take ninety-eight years to free these fourteen thousand square miles.

Shri D. C. Sharma: What an arithmetic!

Shri P. K. Deo: The strength and determination found in the liberation of Goa has been wanting in our dealings with China. I feel that some concrete steps should be taken and some time-limit should be prescribed

for that. The President's address has been silent regarding that; rather the address says that we are preparing for a field of negotiation with a request for the reversal of the aggressive policies pursued by our neighbour and for the restoration of a climate of peace, because, at the request of China, talks are going on for the negotiation of a fresh treaty in the place of the Indo-Tibetan Treaty of 1954. We have seen that the Indo-Tibetan Treaty of 1954 is not worth the paper on which it has been subscribed. All the various terms in the treaty have been violated to the advantage of the aggressor. So I do not think any fruitful gain can be had by all this wild-goose chase.

Coming to the home front, I feel that the election drama is over in most parts of the country. In this election we learnt new values about so many things. I would like to point out some of them. The President has expressed his satisfaction at the victory of the Congress Party in the election by referring to the "renewed assurance and confidence placed by the great majority of our people in my Government". Sir, I fail to understand how a party which has been rejected by 55 per cent of the voters in the last election and which has been returned in a much reduced strength to the Lok Sabha and to most of the State Legislatures except probably two.....

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh (Sasaram): That is wrong. Previously there were 371 Members. This time, so far there are 356 Members and elections in Himachal Pradesh, Kangra and Jammu and Kashmir are not over.

Shri P. K. Deo: If it is not so in the Lok Sabha, in most of the State Legislatures the Congress Party has been returned in a much reduced strength. And by this performance they cannot claim that they have had "the renewed confidence of the people".

Shri D. C. Sharma: What is the percentage of votes polled by your party?

Shri P. K. Deo: The rule of the game is that even though a party secures a minority of votes it is elected as the majority party, because the majority of the votes are divided among the various opposition parties. So even though the Congress has secured less than fifty per cent of votes, still they claim to be the majority party of this country.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then who should claim to be the majority?

Shri P. K. Deo: Nobody should claim.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: And what should we do? Shut up the whole thing and go back?

Shri P. K. Deo: Under these circumstances there is nothing to do but to reconcile ourselves to the present situation at the same time the fact remains that the Congress has secured less than 50 per cent of votes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then he should not complain.

Shri P. K. Deo: In this election we have seen that money power and official power has been freely used to further the electoral ends of the party in power. I do not make this charge because some of the opposition leaders have been defeated. We accept the defeat. But the defeat has been in an unequal fight. We have seen that even though some of us have been defeated, still we have secured the affection of the people (*Shri D. C. Sharma: How?*) and I am sure that as times roll on they will come back with added strength.

Another good feature of this election is that the Swatantra Party has emerged as the second largest political force and as an alternative to the Congress, having secured the largest number of elected representatives in the Lok Sabha and in the State Legis-

latures next to the Congress. (*An Hon. Member: Question*). It is 203 in the State Legislative Assemblies and 27 in the Lok Sabha.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is it not due to the self-sacrifice of the hon. Member himself?

Shri P. K. Deo: No. We fought the election on the manifesto of the Swatantra Party. It was officially adopted by the Ganatantra Parishad. So there is nothing wrong in it. We got a clear mandate from the people on the very manifesto of the Swatantra Party.

Now, coming to the election expenses, the prescription of limit of election expenses by the election law is just a farce. In this connection I would like to quote a press statement of the Chief Minister of my State. Immediately after the election results were out he came out with a press statement. If there is any Member from my State here he will bear me out. The statement was that the Congress Party in Orissa spent Rs. 12 lakhs to fight nineteen Lok Sabha seats. Even though we know that many times that amount has been spent in the last election, let us for the time being take it that an amount of Rs. 12 lakhs has been spent by the Congress Party, and that it is true. Even then it works out to about Rs. 63,000 per Lok Sabha candidate. Besides this expenditure from the side of the party, the local candidates must have spent something to further their own election prospects according to their own resources.

This prescription of Rs. 25,000 as the limit for a parliamentary constituency in my State is just a farce.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Would the hon. Member like to continue on Monday?

Shri P. K. Deo: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He may continue on Monday.