

**श्री सभापति :** आप तो पालियामेंट्री प्रोसीजर जानते हैं . . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** जी हाँ, जानता हूँ, इसीलिये अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि . . .

**श्री सभापति :** कालिंग अटेंशन नोटिस यहाँ पर है नहीं, इसलिये उसको यहाँ पर इस तरह से सरप्राइज तीर पर पेश नहीं करना चाहिये।

**श्री राजनारायण :** "यहाँ नहीं है", ऐसी बात आप न कहें क्योंकि हमने आप के दफ्तर को इसे टाइम से पहले दे दिया था।

**श्री सभापति :** राजनारायण जी, अब आप मेरी इच्छा की पूर्ति कर दीजिये और बैठ जाइये।

**श्री राजनारायण :** लोग मर रहे हैं इस खाद्य के संकट में। अब आप देखें कि बनारस में 70 हजार मन अन्न दो दिन में पकड़ा गया . . . .। खैर, ठीक है, अब आप इसको कल ले लीजियेगा।

**श्री सभापति :** आप की जानकारी इतनी है कि मैं उसका साथ नहीं दे सकता।

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, इतना आप समझिये कि हमारा अपना निजी घर द्वार नहीं है। वैसे सारा विश्व हमारा घर द्वार है और दिन भर इसीलिये दौड़ते हैं।

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE  
PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House will sit through the Lunch hour. I have still a large number of Members anxious to speak. I would request Members to be as brief as possible and not take more than ten minutes.

**श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण दास (मध्य प्रदेश) :** माननीय सभापति महोदय, 23 तारीख को आखिर में मुझे समय मिला था। मैं ने दो तीन मिनट उस दिन अपने विचार व्यक्त किये थे। मैं थोड़ी सी बातें आप के सामने कहूंगा। दस मिनट का समय है, ऐसा आपने आदेश दिया है और इसी दमियान में संक्षेप में मुझे जो कुछ विचार व्यक्त करना है, वह निवेदन करूंगा।

परिस्थिति यह है कि मैं कांग्रेस का एक निष्ठावान व्यक्ति था। 1919 में मैं कांग्रेस में शामिल हुआ। भारतवर्ष में मुझ से एक से एक बड़े विद्वान महन्त पड़े हुए हैं, परन्तु परमात्मा ने मुझे ऐसी सद्बुद्धि दी कि मैं 1919 में कांग्रेस में शामिल हुआ और कांग्रेस में शामिल होने के बाद कांग्रेस की सेवा करने का मुझे जो मौका प्राप्त हुआ, मैं थोड़ा सा उस सम्बन्ध में निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ।

अभी हाल में 17 फरवरी को श्री द्वारिका प्रसाद जी मिश्र जो मुख्य मंत्री हैं मध्य प्रदेश में उन्होंने—जहाँ तक मेरी जानकारी है—श्री विद्याचरण शुक्ल जो उस वक्त उप-मूह मंत्री थे यहाँ पर केन्द्र में और उनके भाई श्यामाचरण शुक्ल जो आजकल मंत्री हैं मध्य प्रदेश सरकार में, इनके जिम्मे मध्य प्रदेश के अन्दर जो छत्तीसगढ़ डिविजन कहलाता है बिलासपुर और रायपुर संभाग मिला कर, उन छः जिलों के चुनाव की जवाबदारी थी। ऐसी मुझे विश्वस्त सूत्र से जानकारी हुई। उन्होंने किस प्रकार की उस चुनाव के सम्बन्ध में धांधली की और सारी चीजों की उन सब बातों के बारे में संक्षेप में कुछ निवेदन मैं आपकी सेवा में करूंगा। 17 फरवरी को बगैर किसी प्रकार की पूर्व सूचना के मेरे साथियों पर किस किस का पुलिस ने लाठी चार्ज किया जो श्री विद्याचरण शुक्ल के इशारे पर वहाँ के कलेक्टर ने

करवाया, उस बन्ध में भी कुछ बातें निवेदन करूंगा। उसके पूर्व मैं अपने पूर्व चरित्र के बारे में बतलाना चाहता हूँ और उसी प्रकार श्री द्वारिका प्रसाद मिश्र के पूर्व चरित्र के बारे में कुछ बतलाना चाहता हूँ।

26 साल तक मैं जिला कांग्रेस कमेटी रायपुर का मंत्री रहा, सात साल तक जिला कांग्रेस कमेटी रायपुर का अध्यक्ष था और महाकौशल प्रान्तीय कमेटी कांग्रेस का 7-8 साल तक उपाध्यक्ष था। महाकौशल, मध्य भारत और विन्ध्य प्रदेश—इन तीनों को मिलाकर नए मध्य प्रदेश का निर्माण हुआ। ऐसा प्रसंग आया कि नए मध्य प्रदेश की कांग्रेस कमेटी का कौन अध्यक्ष हो। उस वक्त तीन प्रान्तों से तीन व्यक्ति अध्यक्ष पद के लिये उम्मीदवार थे। उस वक्त मुझे बुलाया गया, वहाँ कई जिम्मेदार लोग बैठे हुए थे, श्री द्वारिका प्रसाद मिश्र भी, जो उस समय सागर विश्व-विद्यालय के उपकुलपति थे, मौजूद थे। मुझसे यह कहा गया कि महन्त जी अगर आप अध्यक्ष पद पर खड़ा होना स्वीकार कर लें तो अध्यक्ष का सर्वसम्मति से चुनाव हो जाएगा। संक्षेप में कहने का मतलब यह है कि मैं सर्वसम्मति से मध्य प्रदेश कांग्रेस का अध्यक्ष चुन लिया गया। सिर्फ 10 मिनट हैं, इसलिये संक्षेप में कहूंगा। इस प्रकार से मैं कांग्रेस का एक निष्ठावान सेवक रहा। इतना ही नहीं जिस मन्दिर का मैं महन्त हूँ उस मन्दिर की प्रतिष्ठा कांग्रेस के सेवक के नाते इस प्रकार की रही है कि जो भी महानुभाव रायपुर आये, स्वर्गीय लाला लाजपत राय जी, आदरणीय महात्मा गांधी, स्वर्गीय आदरणीय शोकत अली मुहम्मद अली साहब, पूज्य नेहरूजी, पूज्य मालवीयजी, पूज्य विनोबा भावे, वगैरह जो भी सार्वजनिक कार्यों की दृष्टि से रायपुर गए उन सबने मन्दिर में बराबर पदार्पण करने की कृपा की। स्वर्गीय आदरणीय डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी जब कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष थे उस वक्त भी और राष्ट्रपति पद पर रहते हुए भी जब उनका

शुभागमन हुआ उस वक्त भी वे बराबर मन्दिर में पधारने की कृपा करते रहे। सारांश में कहने का मतलब यह है कि—जैसा मैं निवेदन भी कर चुका हूँ—भारतवर्ष में मुझसे एक से एक घनाढ्य और विद्वान महन्त पड़े हैं परन्तु उन लोगों को परमात्मा ने वह सुबुद्धि नहीं दी जैसी कि 19 साल की उम्र में सन् 1919 में मुझे दी कि मैं कांग्रेस में शामिल हुआ और कांग्रेस संस्था के अन्तर्गत जितना भी सन्मान मुझे तथा महन्त होने के नाते जितना सन्मान मन्दिर को मिलना चाहिए या वह सारा सन्मान बराबर कांग्रेस के जो महान व्यक्ति रहे हैं उनके द्वारा हमेशा प्राप्त होता रहा है। स्वर्गीय पंडित रविशंकर जी शुक्ल जब पुराने मध्य प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री थे उस समय श्री द्वारिका प्रसाद जी मिश्र गृह मंत्री थे और मैं चीफ व्हिप था हम लोग श्री शुक्ल जी के दायें बायें रहे, परन्तु इनकी हमेशा कुटिल नीति के कारण मेरी और इनकी कभी नहीं पटी। श्री द्वारिका प्रसाद जी की एक खास आदत है कि उन्होंने कभी किसी के होकर रहना पसन्द नहीं किया, किसी के ऊपर हावी होकर रहना ही हमेशा उन्होंने पसन्द किया। डा० खरे साहब जब पुराने मध्य प्रदेश में मुख्य मंत्री हुए उस वक्त भी उनके ऊपर उन्होंने हावी होना चाहा उन्होंने उस चीज को पसन्द नहीं किया।

**श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी (मध्य प्रदेश):**

सभापति महोदय, माननीय सदस्य राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर बोल रहे हैं या अपना जीवन-चरित्र बता रहे हैं ?

**श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण दास :** मुझे पहले दो-तीन मिनट का समय मिला था। उस समय मैं कह चुका हूँ। प्रदेश भर में चुनाव के समय लाठियां चलीं, खास तौर से मध्य प्रदेश में जो हुआ उस सम्बन्ध में कोई ऐसी खास बातें अभिभाषण में नहीं आई हैं इसमें इसलिये मैं निवेदन कर रहा था। उस दिन

[श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण दास]

जब मेरा भाषण प्रारम्भ हुआ आप यहां नहीं रही होंगी, इसलिये आपको ऐसा लगा ।

श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी : मैं समझी नहीं कि यह आपका जीवन-चरित्र है या भाषण ।

श्री सभापति : अब आपने समझ लिया, उन्होंने समझ लिया । अब आप जो बात कह रहे थे, कहिए ।

श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण दास : इस प्रकार से मध्य प्रदेश में जो गड़बड़ हुई और जो चीजें वहां पर हो रही हैं वे सब श्री द्वारिका प्रसाद जी मिश्र के इशारे पर, जो वहां के मुख्य मंत्री हैं, हुई है ।

अभी कांग्रेस के टिकट के लिये तमाम लोगों ने आवेदन दिया । उस वक्त भी यह देखा गया कि हाई कमान्ड की ओर से जिस प्रकार से न्याय मिलना चाहिए था वह न्याय नहीं मिलने के कारण ऐसी परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हुई कि बहुत से कांग्रेसियों को मध्य प्रदेश में, हम लोगों को सोचना पड़ा, विचार करना पड़ा । सैकड़ों की तादाद में लोग दौड़ कर दिल्ली आये और सारी बातें हाई कमान्ड के सामने रखीं । आल इंडिया कांग्रेस कमेटी की बंगलौर में बैठक थी उस वक्त स्वर्गीय लाल बहादुर जी से बंगलौर में लोग मिले थे । उनसे निवेदन किया गया कि देखिए कि आज इस प्रकार से हम लोगों के मध्य प्रदेश में ज्यादाती हो रही है । (Time bell rings) पांच साल में पहला मौका है मेरे बोलने का । मैं कांग्रेस का निष्ठावान सेवक था, सारी चीजें चुपचाप मुनता रहा, कभी बोला नहीं । आज यह पहला मौका है, इसलिये मुझ पर कुछ जरूर कृपा होगी ।

श्री सभापति : पहले भी आप दो-तीन मिनट ले चुके हैं, कुल मिलाकर 11 मिनट बोल चके हैं ।

श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण दास : कांग्रेस से छुटकारा मिलने के बाद पांच साल में यह पहला मौका है आपकी सेवा में यह दुख रोने का । इस वास्ते कम से कम . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Whatever time is left in favour of our party, that may kindly be granted to him.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right.

श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण दास : तो मैं बहुत थोड़े में आप से यह निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूं कि जब बंगलौर में हम आल इंडिया कांग्रेस कमेटी के वक्त में मिले और स्वर्गीय श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जब प्रधान मंत्री थे तब उनसे निवेदन किया कि कहिये शास्त्री जी क्या आप का मतलब यही है कि मध्य प्रदेश में जो कांग्रेस में रहना चाहे वह श्री द्वारिका प्रसाद मिश्र का गुलाम बन कर रहना चाहे उन्हीं के लिये स्थान है और दूसरे के लिये स्थान नहीं है ।

सरदार रघुबीर सिंह पंजहजारी (पंजाब) : इसका इसके साथ क्या संबंध है ?

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : प्रेसिडेंशियल एंड्रेस से इसका क्या मतलब है ?

श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण दास : संबंध यह है कि आपके यहां से गृह मंत्री श्री विद्याचरण शुक्ल ने चुनाव में किस प्रकार से रायपुर जिले में तथा छत्तीसगढ़ में धांधली करवाई, लाठी चलवाई गई है । मुझे सात लाठी मारी गई है पुलिस के द्वारा । श्री विद्याचरण शुक्ल के इशारे पर सभी कार्यवाही हुई है । हजारों बैलेट पेपर्स नाजायज तौर पर कांग्रेस पक्ष में डलवाये हैं और डुप्लीकेट बैलेट पेपर छपवाया गया था ऐसा भी विश्वस्त सूत्र से पता लगता है । डुप्लीकेट बैलेट पेपर किस प्रकार से वहां इस्तेमाल किया गया । मैं और मेरे साथ कई आदमी लाठी से जल्मी हुये । 17 फरवरी को जब कि आचार्य कृपलानी के चुनाव के समय

वहाँ कांग्रेस की सभा हो रही थी। इस वास्ते माननीय महोदय ये सब चीजें यहाँ पर कही गई हैं। और जगह तो रही नहीं कम से कम अपना दुखड़ा रोने के लिये यह एक जगह तो मौजूद है। आप सब लोग सुन लीजिये कि आज मध्य प्रदेश में कैसी हालत हो रही है वह मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ और आपको यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि महात्मा गांधी का जो सिद्धांत मद्यनिषेध का था उसको तिलांजलि देकर छत्तीसगढ़ में तथा रायपुर में कांग्रेस ने हजारों रुपये की शराब पिला कर चुनाव में वोट लिये नहीं तो जैसा कि मध्य भारत में हुआ है इन 9 जिलों में कांग्रेस को एक वोट एक सीट नहीं मिली है उसी प्रकार से छत्तीसगढ़ में 6 जिलों में जो 84 सीटें हैं उन 84 सीटों में अगर ईमानदारी से चुनाव होता प्रजातंत्र के मुताबिक चुनाव होता और जैसा कि श्री डाह्याभाई ने उस दिन निवेदन किया कि चुनाव से पहले तीन महीने में राष्ट्रपति शासन हो जाना चाहिये और कोई इस प्रकार का अधिकारी व्यक्ति चुनाव में न रहे जो कि पुलिस को और सरकारी चीजें ला कर जनता के ऊपर दबाव डाल कर के जायज और नाजायज वोट डलवा कर वोट प्राप्त कर सके तो मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि छत्तीसगढ़ के 6 जिलों में 84 सीटें हैं उसमें से 15 या 20 से ज्यादा सीटें कांग्रेस को नहीं प्राप्त हो सकती थीं। गुलाबी चने से तथा कई और गलत तरीकों से नाजायज तौर से रकम प्राप्त की गई है और इस रकम को नाजायज तरीके से बहुत से वोटों में बांटा गया। लोगों का अनुमान है कि प्रान्त भर में इस प्रकार से करीब एक करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया गया।

**श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी :** माननीय सदस्य क्या कांग्रेस से इसलिये नाराज हैं कि जब वह वहाँ के प्रसिडेंट थे तब हिसाब किताब की थैलियों में गड़बड़ी थी और क्या वह उनसे पूछा गया था। इसलिये वह नाराज हैं

**श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण दास :** परमात्मा की कृपा से मुझे गलत तरीकों की थैलियों की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है कारण मंदिर बनवाने वालों ने काफी जायदाद दी है। परमात्मा की कृपा से इस प्रकार से मुझे पर कोई दोषारोपण नहीं कर सकता है।

**श्री लोक नाथ मिश्र :** आइन्दा के साल आप भी ऐसा बोलना शुरू करेंगी।  
Next year you will also speak like this, I think.

**श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण दास :** कहां तक ठीक है यह तो मुझे नहीं मालूम मगर हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स के दिनांक 1 मार्च पृष्ठ 9 कालम 3 पर हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स के विद्वान सम्पादक श्री मुलगांवकर ने साफ साफ शब्दों में लिखा है कि मध्य प्रदेश में कांग्रेस की स्थिति को मतदाताओं के मध्य मजबूत बनाने के लिये सूबाग्रस्त क्षेत्रों में राहतकार्यों के बहाने मतदाताओं को अत्यंत सिद्धांतहीन तौर से 13 करोड़ रुपयों की धूस दी गई है। यह लेख जो कि एक अखबार का है जो कि मैं आपको पढ़ कर बता रहा हूँ। दूसरी बात मैं आपसे निवेदन करूँ कि आचार्य कृपलानी जो कि रायपुर क्षेत्र से लोक सभा की सदस्यता के लिये खड़े हुए थे उनको हराने के लिये किस प्रकार से कितनी गलत कार्यवाहियां की गईं। पांच पांच सात सात बैलेट पेपर एक साथ मुड़े हुए पेट्टी खोलने पर निकले और यह हुआ कि पोलिंग ऐजेंटों को कई पोलिंग स्टेशनों पर घमका कर तथा दो चार स्थानों में मार कर भगा देने की भी खबरें मिली हैं। ऐसी हरकतें इंटीरियर में ज्यादातर हुईं, उनके सामने बैलेट बौक्सों में सील नहीं लगाने दी गई। तो प्रजातंत्र के नाम पर आप इस प्रकार से चुनाव करा रहे हैं। मैं आप से यह निवेदन करूँ कि इसकी जांच कराई जाये तथा हम लोगों पर लाठी चार्ज पुलिस द्वारा हुआ है उसकी भी जांच कराई जाये। सात लाठी मूख को पड़ी और कम से कम मेरे साथी 18 आदमी

[श्री लक्ष्मी नारायण दास]  
अस्पताल में पड़े हुये थे और कम से कम 500 या 600 लोगों को दो दो या चार चार लाठी प्रसाद के तौर पर पुलिस के द्वारा सब को दी गई। जहां तक मुझे जानकारी हुई है डुप्लीकेट बैलेट पेपर छापा गया, जायज बैलेट पेपर खालियर में छापा गया और नाजायज बैलेट पेपर राजनादगांव में छपवाया गया है ऐसा पता लगा है। और ये बैलेट पेपर याने नाजायज बैलेट पेपर सैकड़ों हजारों की तादाद में डलवाये गये हैं, ऐसा भी पता लगा है।

अब बिलासपुर का एक समाचार अखबारों में आया है। अभी इस वक्त मेरे पास उसकी कटिंग नहीं है लेकिन उसमें यह था कि 150 बैलेट पेपर प्रेसाइडिंग आफिसर की जेब में बैल छाप में सील लगा हुआ था, बाक्स में डाल नहीं पाया पकड़ लिया गया। इस प्रकार से प्रेसाइडिंग आफिसरों को और तमाम लोगों को हजारों की तादाद में नाजायज बैलेट पेपर भी दिये गये थे ऐसा पता लगा है। बक्सों की सील नहीं लगाने दी गई, बक्से टूटे हुए मिले। तो इस प्रकार से समझिये कि प्रजातन्त्र का एक किस्म का चुनाव हुआ है। सुनते थे कि अयूब खां साहब ने पाकिस्तान में गलत तरीके से चुनाव कराये थे, परन्तु वह हमने सुना ही था, अखबारों में पढ़ा था शायद वहां ऐसी ज्यादाती होती होगी परन्तु अब हमने 1967 के इस साल के चुनाव में देखा कि प्रजातन्त्र का चुनाव कैसे अच्छी तरह से होता है और जिसकी दुहाई आदरणीया श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी यहां पर देती हैं। प्रजातंत्र की दुहाई दी जाती है। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि हकीकत क्या है। मध्य प्रदेश में अगर कोई कहे कि हाईकोर्ट के जज से जांच कराई जाये तो दो तीन मामलों को देख कर लोग भंका की दृष्टि से देखने लगे हैं। आज हाईकोर्ट की बात है, हालांकि वह बड़ी सम्माननीय जगह है, उनकी बावत किसी किस्म का जवान निकालना मैं एक गुनाह मानता हूँ, मगर मजबूर हूँ, आज हमारे यहां मध्य प्रदेश

में यह है कि क्योंकि हमारे श्री द्वारका प्रसाद मिश्र जो चाहते हैं करते हैं। (Time bell rings) मैं दो, चार मिनट में खत्म करता हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: I gave the entire time of your party.

जो भी आपकी पार्टी का जितना समय था वह भी मैंने आपको दे दिया।

श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण दास : मैं दो मिनट में खत्म करे देता हूँ। हमारे यहां द्वारका प्रसाद मिश्र का ऐसा है कि उन्होंने कहा कि नन्दा साहब ...

श्री सभापति : मैं आपको यकीन दिलाता हूँ कि आप दो मिनट में खत्म नहीं कर सकेंगे। आप अभी खत्म कर दें तो अच्छा है।

श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण दास : मैं आपसे यही निवेदन करता हूँ कि यह जो सारा कांड हुआ है वह उनके सामने साबित करने को तैयार हूँ कि मध्य प्रदेश में क्या हुआ। आदरणीया श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी भी मौजूद हैं उनसे मैं यह निवेदन करता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की जो हरकतें हुई हैं उसके लिये आप कृपा कर यहां से कोई ऐसा आदमी जांच के लिये मुकर्रर करें जो श्री द्वारका प्रसाद मिश्र के प्रभाव में न हों और हम उन सब चीजों को साबित करने के लिये पूरी तरह से तैयार हैं। इतना ही मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ।

SHRI M. C. SETALVAD (Nominated): Mr. Chairman, may I say a few words on the President's Address which, by tradition and convention, is supposed to tell us the Government's policies during the coming year? The recent elections and their results have shown us the trend of the public mind and the way in which the public looked upon the policies of the Government for some

considerable time in the past. So violent has been the public reaction against the policies followed by the Congress Government that I have known cases in which the common man, even Government servants., any number of them, did not consider the views or policies of the Opposition. All/ that they were concerned with was; well, "We do not want to vote for the Congress; we will vote for some one else representing another party".

Now what has led to this revulsion of feelings against a great organisation and a great party which has made so much for the advancement of the country? In my view the two prime factors which have led to this situation have been the failure of this Government on the food front and their failure also on the economic front. Does the President's Address convey to us any tangible food policy (basing on which the citizen can hope for a turn! in the sad events which) are taking place at the moment? All that it contains about the food policy is that there are certain dates specified when the Government expects to stop imports of food and a certain further date is specified as being the date on which Government hopes to attain food self-sufficiency. Now that has been a statement, self-sufficiency in food, which we have heard any number of times during the last 10 or 15 years, so that the citizen who is anxious to know how this food crisis will be solved by the Government is, in my view, told nothing tangible by the President's Address. Indeed one should have expected that this vital question of food and making the country advance in the matter of food towards self-sufficiency should have been entrusted to someone who would inspire public confidence in carrying on a policy.

We have heard about fresh blood and new blood in the new Government, but unfortunately this very important portfolio of Food has been

entrusted to what may be called very senior and mature blood, not to young and fresh blood, obviously, for party considerations or some such other reasons.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN; (Andhra Pradesh): It is a difficult problem.

SHRI M. C. SETALVAD: It is really difficult to understand why his question, which requires so much of imagination, vision and energy should have been so lightly regarded in the matter of the selection of the Minister to whom it is entrusted.

Turning next to the economic front, all that we are told in the President's Address is that the Planning Commission will be reconstituted. Well, no doubt faulty planning, a planning not based on any realistic basis has been one of the causes of our economic failure. But apart from that there are many other factors which we see nothing about in the President's Address. Evidently we could not have reached<sup>1</sup> the difficult economic position which we have reached at the present moment unless those in charge of economics and finance had not, not for a few months, but for years, pursued policies which were mistaken and which required to be rectified. Now is there any assurance forthcoming with regard to the rectification of those policies? Unless some very bold and some radical action is taken nothing really can be achieved on the economic front as a whole.

The matter does not rest merely with these two prime considerations. There is also the question of a coordinated and united Government, a strong Government at the Centre. We knew for months before the elections that the country was in many places in a state of complete disorder due entirely to a weak Government which permitted agitation, disorder and violence all over the country sometimes encouraged by some of the State Governments themselves. Now hi the

[Shri M. C. Setalvad.] new Government is there any assurance that we are going to have a stronger Government, a more united Cabinet, so on and so forth. Before the new Government was formed, for days and days we heard the newspapers carrying news of controversies about ranks in the Cabinet and labels in the Cabinet. AH that thowed that far from thinking of the good of the country, the difficulties of the country, the politicians concerned were thinking of their own powers, of their own importance and so on and so forth. That is what has really brought down, as it were, in the public eyes the last Government. Now, what we do require is a strong Government consisting of elements which will not pull one way some and one way another but will pull all united in one direction towards a common policy.

One important thing I may mention and that is the announcement made about the lifting of the state of emergency from July next. Well, that is undoubtedly a very satisfactory announcement provided it is implemented in a proper manner. Nothing has really brought down our Government and our people in the eyes of the freedom-loving internationalists more than this continuance of the Emergency for over 4J years so that a Constitution was being worked without its essential rights being permitted to be enforced. But, in my view so far fits the Emergency provisions are concerned, the matter does not rest merely in lifting the Emergency. Here are provisions in the Constitution which were abused by governments for over four years. Therefore, what is needed is a careful consideration of the Constitutional provisions in article 352, 358 and 359 so that in future such abuses may not be possible. There should be a greater control of Parliament over this declaration of these Emergencies, over the continuance of these Emergencies and there should be a greater opportunity given to Parliament to review these continuance of Emergencies from time to time.

Thank you very much.

SHRI N. PATRA (Orissa): Mr. Chairman, I am thankful to you for the opportunity you have given to me. I thank the President for highlighting the problems we are now confronted with. In his Address he has pointed out that by 1971 we will be self-sufficient in food and by 1976 we will be self-reliant and we need not have to go for economic help or extend our hands for our necessities of life or to augment our economic stability with help from America or Russia or the outside world.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair]

These are of course, very laudabla objectives of the Government contained in the Address of the President To achieve these objectives necessary steps have to be taken; otherwise our self-sufficiency in food by 1971 will be illusory. Therefore, everything has to be done to encourage the kisan, who is the real productive force in the country. His condition has to be ameliorated and his dependence at different doors in times of necessity has to be removed and the Government has to meet his economic needs. His living condition also has to be improved. There are now no cultural amenities in the rural sector nor any good housing arrangements. No communal enterprise is there to engage him. These are quite necessary for the develop-ment and stabilisation of the agricultural sector. Now scientific methods of cultivation are going to be introduced. Unless we adopt the scientific methods of agriculture and get the family members of the peasants trained in them, it will be very difficult to get the required self-sufficiency in food in the next three or four years. So necessary training has to be imparted to the family memoers of the agriculturists also. He has to be assured of his necessary supplies. Evaluation of the land under cultivation has to be undertaken and a scientincally-ibased land cadastre has

to be prepared. It is now known that after proper soil testing, if proper quantity of fertiliser is given, then doubling of the production is assured. So arrangement has to be made for proper soil testing and the evaluation of the land has to be scientifically carried out. These are important matters for augmenting agricultural production. Nobody likes to be dependent on foreign help. We have neglected so long the sphere of agriculture because we were easily having recourse to foreign imports. Therefore the enthusiasm that was necessary in the agricultural sector has dried up and no proper attention was given to this sector. All along we thought only of industrialisation of this country. If proper help had been rendered in time, this situation would not have arisen and we need not have to depend on foreign help.

About economic measures, I have a few suggestions to make. There should be compulsory retirement at the age of 55 years, and voluntary retirement with full pensionary benefits at 52 if the period of qualifying service is 25 years or more. There should be no recruitment to lower posts falling vacant on retirement of personnel for some time. There should be abolition of special pays and adoption of a uniform national wage policy having the following services:—

- (a) All India Services
- (b) Provincial Services and Gazetted Posts,
- (c) Subordinate Services (Non-gazetted posts)
- (d) Inferior Services (Peons etc.).

and fixation of the scales of employees in these services at the *Tfixt* higher stage of the particular class of service. Then Railway passes are to be issued for journeys on duty for the class to which one is entitled. There should be uniform scales of pay in the country and payment of city allowance in cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras should be according to population. The revenues of the

country should be pooled at the Centre and distributed to the States according to their population. The terms of appointments throughout the country should be uniform for the different classes of services, namely, qualifications, scales, allowances and benefits of pension or Funds. There should be gradual pruning of top-heavy administration by abolishing superfluous posts and unproductive schemes, Commissions and Committees. There should be a strict watch on expenditure on tours, telephones, printing and stationery and entertainments at public expense.

Regarding efficiency in the services, the method of work should be simplified and unnecessary notes and drafts should be avoided. This is possible only if the officers take the initiative and see that the work is carried on by their subordinates quickly and efficiently. Efforts should be made to dispose of dak daily by the officers with the help of their subordinates.

The selection to the various posts should be strictly on the basis of competition and selection.

With these few suggestions, I thank the President for providing us this chance and I close my speech.

SHRI M. VERO (Nagaland): Mr. Vice-Chairman, many of the speakers who have preceded me have expressed their views on the President's Address which deserves serious consideration. While expressing thanks to the President, I would like to point out 1 P.M. some of the omissions in his speech. Nothing has been mentioned about the nature of demarcation of boundary between India and Burma. In this connection I would like to draw the attention of the Government of India that a large tract of Naga area is still within Burma. Some of the Naga villages in Upper Konyak in Nagaland is divided between India and Burma and is thereby causing hardships and miseries to the people of that area. If the Government of India is going to-



[Shri M. Vero.] make a permanent settlement of the I boundary with Burma, the people of Nagaland should be consulted. In the year 1953, when the late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and the then Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu, visited Kohima, this boundary question also was supposed to have been discussed. If I remember correctly, there was a proposal to transfer Kobo Valley, which is situated in north-east of Manipur, to Burma, in return for the Naga area of Sumera Tract to be transferred to India. Accordingly, Kobo Valley was transferred to Burma, but then the Naga area of Burma was not transferred to India. Any arbitrary decision over this matter will have serious repercussions in Nagaland, and also in Naga areas of Manipur. I would, therefore, appeal to the Prime Minister of India to take this matter seriously.

Secondly, nothing is mentioned about the boundary dispute between Assam and Nagaland. Time and again the Government of Nagaland have asked the Government of India to appoint a boundary commission to look into this problem. The Nagas have a right to get back their lands now in Assam. If this matter is not attended to in time, a serious situation may develop. Keeping in view the likely consequences, the Government of India should take prompt action in this regard.

The President has also very rightly mentioned about the Assam Hill State arrangement. But the point is whether this arrangement will succeed. Since the hill area also will have its Cabinet and Assembly the Government of India should designate one of the Chief Ministers as the Chief Minister General. Whatever is the case, I wish them well.

The state of affairs in Mizo Hills is far from satisfactory. Though much publicity has been given to the progress of grouping of villages in Mizo Hills, I for one cannot be convinced.

How can you make satisfactory progress by uprooting the innocent villagers! from their own original villages? I can well imagine how the people are suffering as a result of the grouping of villages. It will not succeed; rather it will create bitterness in the minds of the people. Whether grouping or not, the Mizo rebels are with their families within the so-called settlements. The army will never succeed in such a situation, because a political disease can only be cured by a political medicine. The Government of India should, therefore, review its policy towards the Mizo rebels. The Government of India should immediately initiate talks with the rebels and accommodate their views in the Assam Hill reorganisation. Otherwise, the Mizo Hills area, which is far from normal, cannot participate in the arrangement. And without their participation the said arrangement will be incomplete, and at the same time will not work satisfactorily at all. All of us are aware of the shortage of food in our country. This is the most discussed and the most difficult problem of the day. We do not have food to feed our people, but then a section of people is talking about a total ban on cow-slaughter, which is rather strange and unrealistic. The question is whether we should feed human beings or cows. I think every sensible person will say, "human beings". Again, in India there is a sizeable number of beef-eaters. India being a secular State, every section of the community should have not only freedom of religion, but freedom of eating also, and if Parliament passes legislation for a total ban on cow-slaughter, it will amount to infringement of the fundamental rights in the constitution of India. As a reciprocal action, non-Hindus may also sponsor legislation for a total ban on slaughter of pigs or sheep or chicken. What will the Government do then? So it is a matter to be thought over with political wisdom and statesmanship. Again on the economic side also, a total ban

On cow-slaughter will affect our exports of leather. Today we earn foreign exchange from leather, but if we ban cow-slaughter, then we may have even to import leather from outside. In other words, the very little foreign exchange we have will be exhausted. There will then be economic chaos in the country. So I think that, at this stage, the cow will not redeem our people for our generosity towards them. Unless and until we take a broad view of the matter, no legislation, whether by way of a partial ban, or total ban, should be initiated in Parliament.

In conclusion I like to express my deep appreciation of the Prime Minister's policy towards the Nagas and other hill people. It is only through a peaceful approach that the problems of the north-eastern region of the country could be solved. She has shown magnanimity in the matter of Tribal problems and it has really paid dividends to the Government of India. It is my prayer that she will lead the country to prosperity and peace and also emancipate the tribal population of India.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI G. P. SOMASUNDARAM (Madras):  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for the opportunity given to participate in the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

The Fourth General Election is over. It has changed the face of the country. The voters have shown their mind and exercised their franchise in a fine way. The results of the Fourth General Election show how the wind blows.

As far as my State, that is, Madras, is concerned, my party, that is, the D.M.K. has formed the Ministry under the able leadership of my leader, Mr. C. N. Annadurai. Sir, this House knows Mr. C. Annadurai very well, and we all know his oratorical talents in English. As a man he is always amen-

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able to reason. In practical life he is a liberal and has occupied a high place in the hearts of the Tamilians. Now he is our Chief Minister. Because of twenty years of misrule by the Congress Party, the people have taught a lesson to the Congress Party as a whole. Now a number of States have come under the rule of non-Congress parties. So I request the Central Government to give full co-operation to the non-Congress Governments in the States. Sir, I come from Tamil Nad and my mother-tongue is Tamil, I am already 78 years old. I can express my views in my mother-tongue, namely, Tamil, more clearly than in English. But in this House we have no facility to express our views in Tamil. I am requesting the Government to recognise all the fourteen languages so as to be heard in this House. Already there are translation facilities in this House in Hindi and in English. But in order to give equal right to every citizen of this country we must make the necessary arrangements for translating all the fourteen languages in the House.

Sir, our people are worried about the rise in prices. Day by day the price of every foodstuff is going on rising. The workers, the employees and the poor are suffering because of the rising prices that are going on, unchecked in the country. The Food Minister and others come to the House only for giving assurances. The food problem is the most important national problem. We must give priority to that. The agriculturists in my State are hard working people. Because of this, the yield per acre in my State is always more than in any other part of our country. They are ready to work even harder and are ready to produce more. If we can provide them with fertilisers, insecticides and seeds at controlled prices and at the proper time, the yield per acre would go still higher. In addition to this, top priority should be given for minor irrigation facilities.

[Shri G. P. Somasundaram.] The agriculturists in our country are ignorant. They even do not know when the Agricultural Office gets the fertilisers from the District Office. It is very necessary that they should be kept well informed of the facilities available to them. I am requesting the Government to give publicity in the daily language papers about the despatch of fertilisers from the Central Office. Through this publicity we can also avoid black-marketing and corruption in government offices.

Sir, in the President's Address, I regret to say there is no mention about the political corruption and other corruptions in the country. The Government must come forward with firm determination to root out corruption from all the fields.

The Government must show a radical change in the outlook of the people. We should have honest wages, honest market value and then we can expect an honest return.

Our Government is importing maize from America to manufacture starch. Starch is a necessary thing for textile mills. In Madras State and in Kerala, a number of agriculturists are growing tapioca. That tapioca can be used to manufacture starch which can be used in the textile mills. By this arrangement we can utilise the imported maize for food stuffs and the tapioca for starch. We must not waste either our foreign exchange or the food stuffs unnecessarily in these days of scarcity. I am also requesting the Government to use the tapioca for manufacturing glucose and other things. In this connection I am requesting the Government to start a glucose industry at Salem so that the tapioca growers of that area can be encouraged.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, at present the production of sugarcane has gone down and export earnings by sugar have fallen by some Rs. 3 crores. In my view, the growers are not encouraged to

the extent that they should have been. I am one of the thousands of small cultivators in this country and I can say with confidence that the no-availability of fertilisers and pesticides in time at controlled rates is definitely discouraging to any cane-grower. Considering the enormous cost of the inputs and also the labour cost, the price offered to the cane-grower needs upward revision. But here I am concerned with another important problem.

We, the cane-growers, do not live in urban centres and not even in towns where we can have sugar at control prices from the ration shop or the super markets. So the plight of the farmers living in the rural parts of India is pathetic. We who produce the raw material of sugar, namely cane, are not able to get our quota of sugar for our own consumption. This, I think, is a great injustice done to the growers of sugar-cane. I therefore, hope and trust that the Government would make necessary arrangements to enable the growers of cane to get some quota of sugar. With this, Sir, I conclude my remarks.

SHRI P. CHETIA (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by my esteemed colleague, Shri Debabrata Mookerjee, on the 20th March, 1967.

Leaving aside the various problems posed by the President in his Address which have been adequately dealt with by many hon. Members from this side of the House, as a Member representing Assam I would like to concentrate myself on one important question which the President has mentioned in para 15 of his Address, i.e.—

"A committee will also be set up, as announced, to examine further the proposal for the re-organisation of the State of Assam in the light of the discussions held with the leaders of Assam."

This, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is one of the most important problems vitally affecting the future of Assam. I believe this question has been raised in the President's Address as a sequence to the announcement made by the Home Ministry of the Government of India on or before the 13th January, 1967, on the basis of discussions held with the leaders of the A.P.H.L.C. This announcement was released by the Chief Minister of Assam on 15th January, 1967, at Shillong which reads as follows:

"The Prime Minister and the Home Minister have held detailed discussions with the leaders of the APHLC. The Government of India appreciate the political aspirations of the people of the hill areas of Assam and have decided to reorganise the State of Assam.

Bearing in mind the geographical and imperative needs of security and coordinated development of this region as a whole, the Home Minister discussed with the APHLC leaders the proposal that a federal structure composed of federating units having equal status not subordinate to one another should provide the basis for this reorganisation.

Under this arrangement, a limited number of essential subjects of common interest would be assigned to a regional federation leaving the rest of the State functions to the federating units which will have their own Legislative Assemblies, Council of Ministers etc.

Details of the scheme including the subjects to be allocated to the regional federation would be worked out within six months by a committee on which all concerned interests will be represented. At a later stage, other administrative units in the eastern region may also join this regional federation."

While we do not know anything this stage about the details of the proposed or contemplated regional federation and the intentions of the Government of India in this regard, yet it is more or less clear from the above announcement that the federating units will have (their own Legislative Assemblies, Council of Ministers etc. having equal status not subordinate to one another. This presupposes the condition for a break-up of the present Statehood of Assam' into two or more federating units within the larger federal structure of India. The conception of such a regional federation as contemplated by the Government of India possibly at the initiative of the Prime Minister is completely at variance with the principles of the Indian Union where each State enjoys certain fundamental rights and privileges which are well defined and embodied in the Constitution. Such a regional federation is a contradiction in terms in the light of the provisions of the Constitution and is an anachronism. And above all, the unwholesome principle of lowering the present status of Assam as a full-fledged State is inherent and latent in the conception of such a federation.

When the announcement I referred to was published in the newspapers there were widespread misgivings, among all sections of the people living in the plains. This has generated a feeling of profound discontentment among the people in the plains districts and has created an unprecedented upheaval particularly among the students community in the State. Various social and cultural associations, apart from the general public, organised meetings, passed resolutions condemning and rejecting the proposed scheme of regional federation as hinted in the announcement that I have referred to.

I think it would not be out of place to recall the past and glorious chapters of history of Assam prior to the

[Shri P. Chetia.] advent of the British in the eastern region of India. It is a historical fact that there was contact and cordial relationship including matrimonial alliances between the kings and the people living both in the hills and plains of Assam. But unfortunately on account of the divide and rule policy persistently followed by the British Government, that contact and friendly relationship were completely severed by making one or two hill district as Partially Excluded Areas and the rest as completely Excluded Areas.

Except allowing the foreign Christian Missions to work among the hills people, practically there was no extension of general administration in the interior of hill areas because they were under the direct charge of the Governor. Hence, there was no development programme for the upliftment of the hill people. On the other hand, in the plains districts, on account of the introduction of a new agricultural industry, that is, tea, the British rulers had to undertake various developmental works such as introduction of Railways, Roads, Steamer Services, etc. together with other essential services mainly for the benefit of the early tea growers who were exclusively British. On account of this new tea industry, the plains people could derive certain consequential benefits and took some more advantage from the growth of the tea industry for their own upliftment than the people living in isolated hills. However, it was also true that there was considerable improvement in the economy of the hill districts during the British regime. Barring Mikir and North Cachar hills, the other three hill districts, i.e., the Mizo hills, the United Khasi and Jaintiya hills and partially the Garo hill district saw a slow growth of an agricultural economy including horticulture and cotton. But the growth of such economy in these districts was never at par with the plains and hence lagged far behind the plains districts. Then again

these three hill districts on one side have their common boundaries with areas now in Pakistan. On account of this geographical location, convenience of natural communication, the economy of the three hill districts was to a large extent linked up with the adjoining areas which now fell under Pakistan after the partition of the country. Naturally, this economy was very much shattered after partition which could not be restored to the same extent as it was during the pre-partition days. This is one of the causes of dissatisfaction among a section of the hills people.

Now coming to the background again, the policy of the British Government created a void which allowed to grow a separatist tendency among the hills people on account of their having complete separation and isolation from the rest of Assam. To corroborate this fact and also to inform this august House about the background of the Sixth Schedule, I would like to quote from the speech of the late Gopinath Bordoloi, the then Premier of Assam, who intervening in the debate on the Sixth Schedule in the Constituent Assembly observed:

"Now I want to place before **you** the background in which this draft had to be formulated. It is not unknown to you that the rule of the British Government and the activities of the foreign Missions always went together. These areas were formerly entirely excluded areas in the sense that none from the plains could go there and contact them. That was the position till 15th August 1947, when India became independent. The foreign rulers till then had in these areas power to send out of the place any one they desired within 24 hours. Again, Sir, some of these areas were war zones. During the war the then rulers and officers developed in the minds of these Tribal people a sense of separation and isolation and gave them assurances that at the end of the war they

will be independent States managing their affairs in their own ways. They were led to believe that the entire hill areas will be constituted into a Province and put under some responsible Governor. You might have possibly read in the papers that plans were hatched in England in which the ex-Governors of Assam evidently took part to create a sort of kingdom over there.

Now with this background, Sir, our investigation began in early 1946. People of this area were already fully stuffed with these ideas of isolation and separation. The most important fact that presented itself before the Committee was whether for the purpose of integration, the methods of forces, the methods of the use of the Assam Rifles and the military forces should be used or a method should be used in which the willing co-operation of these people could be obtained for the purpose of governing these areas.

The point, therefore, that presented itself to us was whether we should raise in them a spirit of enmity and hatred by the application of force or whether we should bring them up under the broad principle of Government by goodwill and love. The Advisory Committee thought that the latter course was the course that should be adopted. I am myself a firm believer in Gandhian principles. If, therefore, the Gandhian methods are to be followed, there is no alternative but to adopt the course which we have thought was the best method. Now, with this background the draft was prepared and was placed before you."

This was the background under which the hills people were living under the British regime. This was the background under which the Sixth Schedule in the Constitution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly. This was the background under which a special case was made

favour of the hills people in Assam. This is also the background under which the present psychological and mental attitude of some of the hills people took shape and form.

It was earnestly hoped that the Sixth Schedule was formulated and included in the Constitution not only to safeguard the special rights and tribal laws and customs prevalent in the different hill areas but also to infuse a sense of participation among the hills people for their own benefit and to foster a spirit of emotional integration with the rest of the people and thus creating a condition for them to become a unifying force in the general administrative machineries of the State such as common Legislative Assembly, their special District and Regional Councils. But, unfortunately, subsequent events have belied that hope. This was because the separatist tendency which was allowed to develop among the hills people during the British rule and which remained so long a dormant factor came to the surface once again in the political horizon of the State soon after the constitution of the States Reorganisation Commission.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Chetia, you will have to finish in two minutes.

SHRI P. CHETIA: I must be given some more time.

In the context of the demand for a separate hill State a question may be asked. On what ground is there such a demand for a Hill State? Was it for the reason that the Government of Assam has done very little for the development of the hill areas? Or was it due to a policy of discrimination followed by the Government of Assam between the plains and the hills? From a careful study of the Pataskar Commission Report and the facts and figures enumerated in that Report it

[Shri P. Chetia.] will 'be clear beyond doubt that such charges against the Government of Assam are entirely baseless. The Commission has itself admitted in paragraph 66 of the Report when it says: 'Thus, to conclude, we have been unable to And evidence of deliberate neglect of the hill areas.' The Government of Assam have been doing their best for the uplift and welfare of the hill areas and no charge of neglect or discrimination can be levelled against them. However, in this connection it is proper and relevant to cite the example of Nagaland. Financially Nagaland was never a viable proposition. But the Government of India have been allocating larger amounts of subvention to Nagaland after it has become a separate State than what the Government of Assam could spend having regard to its slender resources for the development of the hill districts in Assam. This special treatment to Nagaland undoubtedly served as an eye-opener to the hill leaders in Assam giving them both material and psychological cause for discontentment and a convincing ground for a separate State.

It is charged again that on account of the passing of the Official Language Act in 1960 the hills people want separation. This allegation is nothing but political blackmailing. There is no provision in the Assam Official Language Act by which the Assamese Language can be imposed on the hills people. Hence this allegation is also equally baseless and untrue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Chetia, you will have to come to the conclusion.

SHRI P. CHETIA: I am coming to the conclusion.

In the context of the reorganisation of the State of Assam, the Governor of

Assam in his address to the State Assembly declared on 20th March last:

"As far as my Government is concerned, Ibeir stand has consistently been that from the points of view of defence, security and also overall accelerated development of the region, the basic unity of Assam must be maintained and its status not impaired; at the same time the political aspirations of the people have to be respected."

The plains people in Assam will be extremely happy and welcome a formula of administrative reorganisation of the State that is acceptable to all and will satisfy the political aspirations of the leaders of the APHLC. It is earnestly hoped that it will be possible to do so. But, on the other hand, if no tangible result is achieved after discussions with the leaders of the APHLC except on the basis of a separate hill State, then, what is the remedy or the next step? Though personal, I feel constrained to express my views very candidly in this regard. In the past we lived with the hills in peace, amity and concord; in the future we sincerely pledge ourselves to live with them in harmony, peace and friendship sharing our fortunes both in prosperity and adversity. Even then if some of our brethren in the hills do not like to live with us let us have the parting of the ways with them in an atmosphere of friendship and goodwill. We bear no grudge against them and their desire for separation. We wish them well.

**SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR EXPENDITURE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF RAJASTHAN FOR THE YEAR 1966-67—contd.**

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement showing the Supplementary Demands for Grants for expenditure of Government of Rajasthan for the year 1966-67.