

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairmaⁿ, in my school days, when I was asked to summarise a thing, I could not do it very well. Therefore, I suffered from that drawback and you will sympathise with me.

PROF. M. B. LAL: In the school you would have been pulled up by the teacher.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Still, Madam Deputy Chairman, I can tell you that I stood among the best in the class—I just say this. Now the other statements I would not read out. I obey you. Why should I not obey? I just say that various statements have been made as an authoritative pronouncement by the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, in which they have not only explained their position. Also they have said that they have asked India to do this and that. I only wanted to know whether that part of the statement was correct. This is all that I wanted to know as far as the U.S. press release was concerned. Shrimati Indira Gandhi may take it that I have been reading every day these press releases, and they are full of these things, their propaganda against your country, which you share and I share and she shares. Propaganda is being carried on against us to create an impression, as if Mr. Humphrey's visit has succeeded in putting certain things across to the Government of India according to the taste of Americans. Now, I would not like that propaganda to succeed if you can help me. These are my positions and you know how Mr. Humphrey has denounced the country.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have not really understood what is the clarification you sought after all this long statement.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Being brief I could not at the same time make you understand.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. I think you don't have any points at all.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, plenty of points according to me, but the trouble is . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You don't have any. So we go on to the next item on the Order Paper.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will tell the Prime Minister and the Government only this that, in future, they should tell the foreign dignitaries no' to anticipate what the Government of India has to say on a discussion held in this country and not to go out to the press and say things. In New Zealand, Mr. Humphrey has been saying very many other things also to the detriment of our country.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is only a suggestion made to the Prime Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You can abuse Russia freely, here; it was done by American, you cannot say a word against.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We go to the next business, Motion of Thank: on the President's Address. Mr. Satya narayana.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

श्री एम० सत्यनारायण (नाम-निर्देशित) :
उपसभापति महोदया, मैं इस सदन के सामने
यह प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत करता हूँ :—

“ राष्ट्रपति ने 14 फरवरी, 1966 को
संसद् की दोनों सभाओं की सम्मिलित बैठक
में कृपया जो अभिभाषण दिया है, उसके
लिये राज्य सभा के सदस्य, जो सभा के
वर्तमान सत्र में उपस्थित हैं, राष्ट्रपति के
प्रति अपनी हार्दिक कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित करते
हैं । ”

[That the Members of the Rajya Sabha
assembled in this Session are deeply
grateful to the President for:]

† [] English translation.

[श्री एम० सत्यनारायण]

the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 14th February, 1966.")

उपसभापति महोदया, यह मेरे लिये बड़े सौभाग्य की बात है कि परम सम्माननीय राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के प्रति, जो उन्होंने 14 तारीख को संसद की दोनों सभाओं के सम्मुख प्रस्तुत किया, इस सभा की तरफ से और अपनी तरफ से हार्दिक धन्यवाद देने का अवसर मुझे मिल रहा है। परम सम्माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने जिन शब्दों तथा भाषा में देश की वर्तमान स्थिति की तथा गत वर्ष की सरकार की गति-विधियों की संक्षिप्त ही नहीं परन्तु स्पष्ट रूप से जो चर्चा की और हमारे सामने जो बड़े बड़े सवाल उपस्थित हैं उनकी तरफ हमारी दृष्टि आकृष्ट की उसके लिये हम उनके बड़े ही अनुगृहीत हैं और साथ ही आभारी हैं।

इस सिलसिले में मैंने हिन्दी में बोलने का निश्चय इसलिये किया कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण का जो अनुवाद हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत किया गया था वह इतनी अच्छी, इतनी सरल, इतनी सरस और आसान भाषा में प्रस्तुत किया गया। इसके लिये हम अपने उपराष्ट्रपति के बहुत ही बड़े कृतज्ञ हैं। उन्होंने अपनी भाषा को बहुत ही अच्छी और मंजी हुई बना कर ऐसी शैली की तरफ हमारा ध्यान आकृष्ट किया जो कि गांधी जी के जमाने में हम कहते थे कि हिन्दुस्तानी इस देश की भाषा बननी चाहिये। इसलिये मुझे इस बात की हिम्मत हुई कि एक अहिन्दी-भाषा-भाषी होते हुये भी ऐसी सरल भाषा में हिन्दी में अपने विचार यहां पर प्रस्तुत कर सकता हूं। इसके लिये उनकी भाषा से मुझको बड़ा प्रोत्साहन मिला।

यह मानी हुई बात है कि राष्ट्रपति को इस बात का जिक्र करते हुए कि ना दुख हुआ कि पारसाल और इस साल हमारे देश के उच्च कोटि के नेताओं का निधन हुआ पारसाल हमारे प्रधान मंत्री पंडित जवाहर लाल जी के निधन का उन्होंने जिक्र किया और इस साल हमारे देश के परम सम्माननीय नेता शास्त्री जी के निधन का जिक्र किया। यही तो हमारे लिये दुर्भाग्य की बात है और दुख की बात है। लगातार दोनों वर्षों में इस बात का, दुखद समाचार का, जिक्र करने का मौका आया और उस मौके पर उन्होंने जो कुछ भी कहा उससे हम सहमत हैं। यह अभी भी हमारे दिमाग में बहुत ही ताजा है कि शास्त्री जी ने, जिन के निधन के सिलसिले में हम लोगों ने यहां अभी हाल ही में प्रस्ताव पास किया, कितना महान कार्य किया। वाकई में उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान की जो उच्चकोटि की संस्कृति है, उसके एकमात्र प्रतिनिधि के रूप में, ताशकंद में जैसा व्यवहार किया और अपने कार्य कलाप से, अपने निर्णयों से, उन्होंने शांति स्थापित करने के वास्ते ताशकंद के लोगों को किस तरह से अपनी तरफ खींचा और रशिया के लोगों को अपनी तरफ खींचा, अपने विरोधियों को अपनी तरफ खींचा, उस से स्पष्ट मालूम होता है कि इस देश की बहुत महान, ऊंची संस्कृति थी जो प्रेम में सनी हुई थी। प्रेम से बहुत सा काम किया जा सकता है जब कि विरोध से बहुत सी कठिनाइयां साधी नहीं जा सकती हैं, संघर्ष से कार्य साधे नहीं जा सकते हैं, इस बात को उन्होंने प्रमाणित किया। इसलिये वे हमारे लिये अमर हो गए और उनका सौभाग्य था कि वे इस उच्च कोटि के स्थान में पहुंचने के बाद फिर चले गए स्वर्ग में। हमारा बहुत ही बड़ा दुर्भाग्य है, कि ऐसे शक्तिशाली नेता को हमने खोया और हम आशा करते हैं कि उनकी शक्तिशालिता उन्हीं की नहीं है बल्कि इस देश की है। इस देश में समय समय पर ऐसे महान नेता उत्पन्न होते आए हैं और उन उत्पन्न नेताओं में से हमारे शास्त्री जी भी

एक थे। हम आशा करते हैं ऐसा मौका आएगा, हमारे देश में ऐसी स्थिति अवश्य पैदा होगी, कि हम अपने देश को कभी भी ऐसे नेताओं से खाली नहीं पाएंगे — न ऐसा पहले देखा न आगे देखेंगे, ऐसा हमारा विश्वास है।

उपसभापति महोदया, हर साल जब राष्ट्रपति का अभिभाषण होता है—पार-साल के अनुभव से मैं कह सकता हूँ—कि पहले भी कोई न कोई संकट हमारे सामने ऐसा आ जाता है तो राष्ट्रपति अपना दुःख प्रकट करने के लिये मजबूर हो जाते हैं। पार-साल तो एक हिन्दी आन्दोलन था जिसकी वजह से हमारे सारे देश की सोचने की विचार धारा और संतुलन छिन्न-भिन्न हो गये और शायद राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के संबंध में चर्चा करते हुए हमने इस देश के हिन्दी आन्दोलन के संबंध में, जो दक्षिण भारत में चला और जिसकी वजह से देश में एक बहुत बड़ा भारी क्षोभ हुआ था, उसके ऊपर ज्यादा से ज्यादा चर्चा की थी। उस से हमने कितना फायदा उठाया और उस संतुलन को कैसे हम लोगों ने वापस ले पाया, और क्या क्या हम कर सके, यह तो आगे का इतिहास बताएगा। लेकिन मुझे इस बात का पूरा संतोष नहीं है, कि उसके सिलसिले में हम जो कुछ भी कर सकते थे हम र गये।

इस साल एक बहुत भारी क्षांभपूर्ण संकट हमारे देश में ऐसा आया है, कि जिसकी तरफ राष्ट्रपति ने हमारा ध्यान आकृष्ट किया। वह है हमारा अन्न संकट। हमारे देश में काफी मात्रा में इस समय अन्न पैदा नहीं किया जा रहा है, इसलिये हम बड़े संकट में पड़े हुए हैं, मुझे तो बड़ा इस बात का दुःख होता है, कि ऐसी कभी-कभी, दस-दस, पन्द्रह-पन्द्रह साल में हमारे देश में अन्न के लिये त्राहि त्राहि क्यों मचाई जाय। एक तो हम सदियों से इस देश को अन्नपूर्ण कहते आए हैं। ब्रिटिश के

जमाने में भी कभी अकाल पड़ जाते थे, दुष्काल पड़ जाते थे और लोग अन्न के लिये त्राहि-त्राहि मचाते थे। लेकिन जिस समय अन्न उनको नहीं मिलता था तो कमर कस कर वे आकाश की तरफ देखते थे अपने देश के—दूसरे देशों के नहीं—और भूमि की तरफ देखते थे कि आकाश से पानी बरसेगा। और भूमि देवता अन्न देंगे। लेकिन मुझे आश्चर्य है कि लोग, जब अन्न की कमी होती है, तब न आकाश की तरफ देखते हैं, न भूमि की तरफ देखते हैं, और देखते हैं किसी दूसरे की तरफ ताकि वहाँ से पुकार हो जाय तो यहाँ पर अन्न लाकर दे दें और लाखों टन में अन्न दे दें, वस्त्र दे दें, तरह-तरह की चीजें दे दें। यह तो हमारे लिये, हमारी संस्कृति के साथ ही साथ हमारे देश की परम्परा के, हमारी वर्तमान स्थिति के और आगे के, भविष्य के, खिलाफ ही कहा जायेगा। यह हमारे लिये अनुकूल नहीं है।

ऐसा नहीं है कि हमने इसके ऊपर नहीं सोचा, जो सोचना चाहिये था वह बराबर सोचा नहीं गया, ठीक सोचा नहीं गया। वास्तविकता यह है कि हमने अपने देश की आय के वास्ते यह बहुत ही आवश्यक समझा कि हमारी इस्पात की मात्रा बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ाई जाय, हमारे कारखाने बहुत बढ़ाएं जाय, और हम इस तरह के कारखाने बढ़ा रहे हैं, कि जिस से शहरों में, दूसरी जगह भी, जितनी सम्पदा और ऐश्वर्य हम इकट्ठा कर सकें उतनी सम्पदा और ऐश्वर्य इकट्ठा करें, हम लोगों को दिखा सकें कि हम बहुत ही ऐश्वर्यवान हो गए, हमारी स्थिति बहुत अच्छी है, हमारी आय बहुत अच्छी है। यह हमारी आय का जो प्रश्न है, हम गलत रास्ते पर जा रहे हैं, हम सोच रहे हैं कि हमारी आय की अमेरिका की आय से, यू० के० की आय से, रशिया की आय से, किस तरह तुलना की जा सकती है। इस तरह की सोचने की गति हमारे देश के लिये ठीक नहीं है। यही कारण है कि हमने अपने देश में अधिक

[श्री एम० सत्यनारायण]

से अधिक मुद्रा जापान करने की, फैलाने की, कोशिश की। आप आंकड़े देखें तो यह साफ हो जायगा कि पंद्रह साल पहले हमारे देश में मुद्रा का जो जापान था, उससे इस समय दुगुना है, शायद दुगुना से भी ज्यादा है और इतनी मुद्रा हमने समाज में भेज कर, समाज को हमने क्या प्रेरणा दी, क्या स्फूर्ति दी, शक्ति दी, कि जिससे यह मुद्रा-स्फीति के अनुकूल वस्तु उत्पादन की हमने कोशिश की। लेकिन यह स्पष्ट भाव होता है कि मुद्रा-स्फीति की तरफ हमारे राष्ट्रपति को संसद का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना पड़ा और उन्हें कहना पड़ा कि मुद्रा-स्फीति हमारे देश में बहुत भयंकर हो रही है और इसलिये उसको कम करना बहुत जरूरी है। तो उससे स्पष्ट है कि हमारी योजना, हमारी सरकार, इस बात में सफल नहीं हुई है—पूरी तरह से विफल हो गई ऐसा तो नहीं कहा जायेगा—लेकिन सफल नहीं हुई। जितनी मुद्रा हमने समाज में भेजी, जिस मुद्रा का एकमात्र उद्देश्य यह है कि वस्तु उत्पादन को बहुत ज्यादा आगे बढ़ाएं और वस्तु उत्पादन को इस तरह से बढ़ाएं कि जिससे मुद्रा-स्फीति का अनुभव लोगों को न हो। वह काम हम नहीं कर पाए। इसकी तरफ राष्ट्रपति ने हमारा ध्यान आकृष्ट किया और अपने अनुभव और दूसरों के अनुभव से वह उन्होंने कहा। लेकिन हम इसके लिये क्या करना चाहते हैं, उसकी तरफ शायद मुमकिन है कि जब हमारे सामने बजट आएगा स्पष्ट रूप से निर्देश होगा और वह चीज हमारे सामने आएगी। अगर बजट में नहीं आएगा तो इस मुद्रा-स्फीति के प्रश्न पर, उसकी भोक्थाम करने के वास्ते क्या करना चाहिये, उसको बताना इस सदन का कर्त्तव्य होगा और जिस तरह यह सदन तमाम कर्त्तव्य-पालन करता रहा है उस तरह यह कर्त्तव्य पालन करना पड़ेगा।

राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में देश और विदेश की नीति और हमारे साथ उनका

अच्छा प्रेमपूर्ण व्यवहार और संबंध जो हो रहे हैं उसकी तरफ बड़ा अच्छा उल्लेख है। हम अपना अहोभाग्य समझ सकते हैं कि हमने अपनी सशस्त्र सेना के द्वारा और अपनी निशस्त्र देश की जनता के द्वारा एक ऐसा नज्जारा दुनिया के सामने खड़ा कर दिया जिससे दुनिया खुश ही नहीं हुई, बल्कि बाहवाही कर रही है कि हमारी बड़ी अच्छी विजय हुई, और विजय हुई अपनी राजनीति में, विजय हुई अपनी कार्य दक्षता में भी। ऐसा दुनिया मानती है। तो इस बात का जब राष्ट्रपति ने जिक्र किया तो हमें भी बड़ी खुशी हुई। लेकिन वह हुई कैसे? यह हुई इसलिये कि हमारे नेतृत्व ने इस बात के लिये काफी कोशिश की, और हमारी सशस्त्र सेना जो है उसने भी विजयी होने के वास्ते एक अच्छा सा मौका ढूंढ़ा। उस मौके से हमने पूरा फायदा उठाया। लेकिन एक बड़ा भारी नज्जारा इस सिलसिले में हमारे सामने आया जिसकी तरफ राष्ट्रपति ने भी हमारा ध्यान आकृष्ट किया। हम इस बात से बहुत ही ज्यादा खुश हैं कि इस देश में जब कि हमारी सशस्त्र सेना निशस्त्र जनता के सहारे से आगे बढ़कर पाकिस्तान के साथ संघर्ष में लड़ाई कर रही थी उस वक्त समूचा देश एक था, सारा देश एक सूत्रता पर चला और एक ऐसी महान एकता इस देश में पैदा हुई कि जिस एकता की तुलना कभी की नहीं जा सकती। उस वक्त हम अलग-अलग भाषाभाषी हैं यह भूल गए, अलग-अलग धर्म के मानने वाले हैं यह भूल गए, अलग-अलग तबकों के हैं यह भूल गए, फिरकाबंदी भूल गए और यह भी भूल गए कि कौन धनी है, कौन गरीब है—अपने पास जितना था वह अपने देश की रक्षा के लिये, देश के लिये दे दिया। लोगों ने दिल खोलकर करोड़ों रुपया दिया और सोना-चांदी, जो कुछ भी अपने पास था, दे दिया। अब आगे हमें इस बात की कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि संकट ग्रस्त लोगों के ऊपर मुद्रा-स्फीति का प्रभाव न पड़े और जनता की सेवा को और उसकी भक्ति को बनाएं रखें।

उसके साथ देश में अन्न और वस्त्र का उत्पादन करने के लिये क्या उपाय किया जा सकता है, उसके लिये हमें क्या कायवाही करनी चाहिये यह हमारे सामने एक बड़ा भारी सवाल है। उस सवाल को हल करने के वास्ते हमारे राष्ट्रपति जैसे पुरुष, जिनके पास विद्वता भी है, शक्ति भी है और कल्पना भी है, उनसे हम फायदा उठा सकते हैं। आगे जो हम काम करते हैं अवश्य करना चाहिये।

3 P. M.

जब हम अपने अन्न संकट की तरफ ध्यान देते हैं तो कोई पन्द्रह साल पहले हमारे पास इसी तरह का संकट आया था। पन्द्रह साल के बाद हमारे देश की जनता की संख्या बढ़ गई, हमारी आबादी बढ़ गई, हमारी ताकत बढ़ गई, हमारे देश में जो खेतीबाड़ी होती है वह बढ़ गई और हमारी भूमि की सिंचाई का जो क्षेत्र है उसकी भी संख्या बढ़ गई। आंकड़े तो हमारे पास बराबर आ जाते हैं कि हम एक कदम, दूसरा कदम, तीसरा कदम, चौथा कदम, कदम पर कदम बहुत ज्यादा आगे बढ़ जाते हैं। लेकिन क्या कारण है आज भी जब कोई दुष्काल आता है तो उस दुष्काल में लोगों को अन्न देने के वास्ते हम शक्तिशाली नहीं बन पाते। इसका कारण मैं जानता हूँ और वह यह है कि हमने जो सिंचाई योजनाएं तैयार की और उन योजनाओं में जिस तरह से ध्यान देना चाहिये था, वह नहीं दे पाये। पहले सोचा गया था कि हमारे देश में जो बड़ी बड़ी नदियां बह रही हैं, उनके द्वारा जितना पानी समुद्र में बह जाता है उसको रोकने से हमारी सिंचाई बहुत अच्छी होगी। उस वक्त हमने सोचा था कि इस काम के लिए ऐसे बांध लगाये जाने चाहिये जिससे लाखों एकड़ जमीन की सिंचाई की जा सकेगी और जिसके द्वारा इस देश में अच्छी खेतीबाड़ी हो सकेगी। यह काम हमने दामोदर वैली से शुरू किया और इसी तरह दूसरी जगहों पर भी किया। लेकिन मैं यहां पर एक बात का जिक्र कर देना

चाहता हूँ जिसका संबंध मेरे साथ है। मैं यहां पर नागार्जुनसागर की बात कहना चाहता हूँ। जिस समय नागार्जुनसागर में बांध बनाने की बात सोची गई तो यह अनुमान था कि अकेले इस बांध द्वारा—जैसा कि आन्ध्र प्रदेश के चीफ मिनिस्टर कहते थे कि यह बांध समूचे देश को अन्न दे सकता है—लेकिन नागार्जुनसागर की बात हम 18 सालों से करते चले आ रहे हैं, लेकिन वह काम अभी तक पूरा नहीं हो पाया है। 10, 12 साल से इस में काम हो रहा है लेकिन अभी तक बांध पूरा नहीं हो पाया है। पानी को रोकना तो आसान है लेकिन रुके हुए पानी को हर एक काफ़तकार को देना, हर एक जमीन को सिंचाई के लिए देना, यह कैसे हो सकता है? इसके बारे में यह कहा जाता है कि इसके उपाय अभी सोचे जा रहे हैं और पता नहीं पांच, छः साल बाद भी यह कार्य पूरा होगा कि नहीं। यद्यपि इस बात का वायदा किया गया है कि पांच-छः लाख एकड़ जमीन के लिए सिंचाई का पानी मिल जायेगा, लेकिन यह भी पूरा किया जाता है या नहीं, इस पर विश्वास नहीं होता है क्योंकि इसके पहले भी यह कहा जाता था कि यह योजना जल्दी पूरी हो जायेगी। यह तो देखने की बात है कि कब यह कार्य किया जाता है या नहीं? इसका एकमात्र कारण यह है कि जो चीज हम पैसे से बनाना चाहते हैं उससे काम नहीं चलेगा। लेकिन जनता के सम्पर्क से, जनता के सहयोग से, जनता की सहकारिता से, जो काम एक रुपये में हो सकता है वह हजार रुपया खर्च करने पर भी नहीं हो सकता है।

उपसभापति महोदय, इस वक्त हमारे देश में अन्न संकट के अलावा जो दूसरे संकट आने वाले हैं उनमें अधिकांश कारणों के बारे में यह स्पष्ट कहा जा सकता है कि हमारे देश में जो कार्य चल रहे हैं उन्हीं की वजह से यह संकट आ सकता है। तीसरी योजना हमने बड़ी सफलतापूर्वक पूरी की लेकिन तीसरी योजना के आखिरी साल में जहां हम आ गये,

[श्री एम० सत्यनारायण]

तो हमें बड़ा धक्का लगा। जिस तरह से हमने पहले सालों में, दूसरे सालों में काम किया था, वैसा काम नहीं हुआ और हम थोड़ा सा रुक गये। चौथे और पांचवें साल में जिस शक्ति से हमारा काम होना चाहिये था, वैसा काम नहीं हो रहा है। इसका कारण कौन हो सकता है? हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर हो सकते हैं, उनका बजट हो सकता है, मुद्रास्फीति हो सकती है और क्या हो सकता है? इस के लिए तरह तरह के विचार हो सकते हैं और तरह तरह से लोग इसको अपने अपने दृष्टिकोण से देख सकते हैं। लेकिन मैं जिस दृष्टिकोण से देखना चाहता हूँ उसको मैं आपके सामने प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ।

मेरा दृष्टिकोण यह है कि इस वक्त इस देश की जनता और नेताओं के बीच में एक बहुत बड़ी खाई बन गई है। जनता को हम याद करने की बात तब ही सोच सकते हैं जब हमारे लिए कोई चुनाव का प्रसंग आ जाता है। चुनाव के वगैर जनता के पास जाना और उनसे सम्पर्क स्थापित करना, उनके कष्टों को दूर करना, उनका सहयोग प्राप्त करना, इस देश की वस्तु, उत्पादन को उन तक पहुँचाना, अन्न पहुँचाने का काम करना, यह हमारे लिए सब पुरानी सी होती जा रही है। एक जमाना था जब हम सोचा करते थे कि हमारा कोई भी काम जनता के सम्पर्क के वगैर नहीं हो सकता है, लेकिन आज वह जमाना नहीं रहा। जब तक हम इस चीज का पुनर्स्थान नहीं करेंगे, इसको दोहराया नहीं जायेगा, तब तक हम अपने उद्देश्य में सफलता प्राप्त नहीं कर सकते हैं।

हमारा देश इस वक्त ज्यादातर देहातों में बँटा हुआ है। जो लोग शहरों में बसते हैं उनके लिए यह बात समझने और सोचने की है कि इन 15-20 सालों में, यानी इन 18 सालों में जब से हमने स्वराज्य प्राप्त किया, तब से शहरवासियों की संख्या कितनी बढ़

गई है। हमने शहरों के लिए कितना रुपया खर्च किया और मकान तथा मशीनों के हम किस तरह गुलाम हो गये और इन चीजों के लिए हमने कितनी अधिक से अधिक मात्रा में मुद्रा खर्च की। अगर इस बात का हिसाब लगाया जायेगा तो हम पायेंगे कि शहर वालों के लिए हमने बहुत ज्यादा खर्च किया है। अगर हम इसका दसांश भी अपने देहात के लोगों पर खर्च करते, उन कार्तकारों के बीच खर्च करते, अन्नदाता को मदद पहुँचाने के लिए खर्च करते, तो मुमकिन था कि इस समय देश में अन्न के बारे में जो त्राहि-त्राहि मच रही है वह नहीं मचती और अमरीका की तरफ हर मिनट जो देखने की जरूरत पड़ रही है, वह नहीं पड़ती। हमारे मित्र जिस बात के लिए विरोध करते हैं, उस विरोध के लिए कम से कम मैं सहमत हूँ कि जब हमारे ऊपर संकट आ जाय तो हम अमरीका की तरफ न देखें या त्राहि-त्राहि न मचायें। एक पुरानी कहावत है कि जहाँ पर ऐसा होगा, जब हम त्राहि-त्राहि मचायेंगे तो ऐसा करने से वे अपना रुपया ले आयेंगे, अपना अन्न ले आयेंगे, अपना कारखाना ले आयेंगे और अपने यंत्र ले आयेंगे। तो यह सही बात है कि जब ऐसी स्थिति होगी तो हम अपने को भिखमंगे के रूप में देख सकते हैं कि नहीं, इस बात में मुझे थोड़ा सा शक नज़र आ रहा है क्योंकि भिखमंगे की ताकत बढ़ नहीं सकती है। जब दूसरे की कोई चीज हमारे पास आती है, उसका हम उपयोग करते हैं, तो उसके लिए हम कृतज्ञता प्रकट करते हैं और उसकी पूरी जिम्मेदारी से हम मुक्त नहीं हो सकते हैं। तो कुछ ऐसी हालत में, भले ही हम लोग यह कह दें कि हम गुटबंदी से मुक्त हैं नान-एलाइन्ड हैं और इसके बहुत बड़े हामी हैं। लेकिन गुटबंदी से अलग होते हुए, नान-एलाइन्ड होते हुए, इसके बड़े हामी होते हुए भी हमारा मन यह कहेगा कि जिसने हमारे संकट में मदद की है, उसकी मदद करना, उसके साथ जाना हमारे लिए अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। यह मनुष्य का स्वभाव है और ऐसी मनुष्यता

से पूर्ण हो कर हम मौके पर देवता बन सकते हैं, ऐसा विश्वास मुझको नहीं है। मेरा विश्वास है और मेरे जितने भी साथी हैं उनका भी विश्वास होगा। इसलिए इस बात की तरफ हमें आवश्यक ध्यान देना चाहिये कि हम स्वयं समर्थ कैसे हो सकते हैं, आत्म निर्भर कैसे बन सकते हैं और अपनी ताकत को कैसे बढ़ा सकते हैं। ताकत तो हमारी बहुत बड़ी है और सारे संसार में हम दूसरे नम्बर पर हैं। जहाँ तक जनता का सवाल है, चीन के बाद हम दूसरे नम्बर पर हैं। दुनिया के लोग इस बात को देख रहे हैं कि कौन किस को खा जाय और इस बात पर ही दुनिया का ध्यान लगा हुआ है। ऐसी हालत में इतने बड़े देश को भीख मांगना, सहायता के लिए कहना—सहायता तो हमारी उन्होंने की है—फिर उनकी तरफ ध्यान देने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है, ऐसा लोग कहते हैं, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि जो हमारी सांस्कृतिक परम्परा है वह इसके खिलाफ है और इसको हमारे देशवासी मानेंगे, ऐसा मुझे विश्वास नहीं है। इसलिए अच्छा यह है कि इस देश को आत्मनिर्भर बनना चाहिये और इसके लिए हमें जितनी कोशिश करनी चाहिये वह की जानी चाहिये।

मैं इस बात का भी जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ कि हमने अपने संकट-काल के समय में बहुत भारी काम किया और इस देश को एकसूत्रता में चलाया। इस देश की एकता को, प्रतिष्ठा को और राष्ट्रीयता को जगाया। इस देश में धर्मों के बीच जो झगड़ा था, लोगों के बीच जो झगड़ा था, दलों के बीच जो झगड़ा था, उस सब को मिटाया और सारे देश को एकसूत्रता में बाँधा। लेकिन हमको फिर से काम करके इस एकता को बनाये रखना है और इसके लिये जो कार्य किये जाने चाहिये वे कार्य हमें करने चाहिये। मेरे भाग्य से इस समय हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री जी यहाँ सदन में मौजूद हैं और यह उनका काम है। इस देश की सांस्कृतिक परम्परा को देखते हुए देशवासियों को देश के प्रति अधिक से अधिक प्रेम हो,

यह देश अधिक से अधिक शक्तिशाली बने उसकी सेवा करने के लिये जनता का उपयोग कैसे लिया जा सकता है, यह हमारे शिक्षा मंत्रालय का काम है। मैं यह देखता हूँ जब ब्रिटिश जमाना था तो उस समय जो हमारी शिक्षा नीति थी और आज की जो शिक्षा नीति है, उन दोनों के बीच तुलना करने का जब मौका मिलता है तो मुझे तुलना करने में कोई विषमता मालूम नहीं होती है, समानता ही ज्यादा मालूम होती है। इतनी ज्यादा समान है कि ऐसा मालूम होता है कि उसी समय की नीति आज भी चली आ रही है। अंग्रेज तो गए उनके खिलाफ हम लड़े, हमने कहा कि हमको विदेशी शासन में रहने से काफी तकलीफ होती थी, इसलिए उनको हमने हटाया। अंग्रेज गए, लेकिन अंग्रेजी साथ छोड़ गए। अंग्रेजी से मेरा विरोध नहीं है। मैं भी अंग्रेजी के प्रेमियों में से हूँ, उसे पढ़ता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि देश में फैले, लेकिन अंग्रेजी मनोवृत्ति हमारे देश के लिए ठीक नहीं है। अंग्रेजी मनोवृत्ति से मतलब है कि हर चीज के लिए दूसरों की तरफ न देखें। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह नहीं है कि आत्म-निर्भरता अंग्रेजी की वजह से गई, लेकिन मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि हमें अपनी देशी संस्कृति से, देशी भाषाओं से, देशी इतिहास से ऐसी शक्ति पैदा कर लेनी चाहिए जिससे अपने देश के प्रति, अपने लोगों के प्रति, अपनी भाषाओं के प्रति, अपनी संस्कृति के प्रति भक्ति पैदा हो, ताकि जब कभी उस भक्ति के काम में आने की आवश्यकता हो, काम में आए, ताकि हम अपने झगड़ों को भूल कर देश की सेवा कर सकें।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How much more time will you take? You have already taken over twenty minutes.

श्री एम० सत्यनारायण : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं आपका बड़ा ही कृतज्ञ हूँ कि आपने मुझको इतना मौका दिया। आपने मुझको यह चेतावनी भी दी कि मैं अपने समय से

[श्री एम० सत्यनारायण]

अधिक आगे जा रहा हूँ। मुझे विशेष कहना नहीं है, जो और है दूसरे सदस्य उसके सम्बन्ध में कहेंगे, लेकिन अन्त में इतना ही कह देना चाहता हूँ, उपसभापति महोदया, कि जो हमारे राष्ट्रपति ने अभिभाषण दिया वह बहुत ही सामयिक है। उच्च कोटि के पूर्ण पुरुष होने के कारण उन्होंने बहुत सारी बातों को जोड़ा। वे स्वयं पाण्डित्य से, ज्ञान-विज्ञान से, दार्शनिक विचारों के नेपथ्य से और ताकत से सारे संसार के बहुत ही प्रियतम बन्धु माने जाते हैं। हमारे लिए यह सौभाग्य की बात है कि आज हमने अपने समय के, इस युग के प्रतिनिधि के रूप में उनको अपने बीच में पाया है और उनके अभिभाषण के लिए हम धन्यवाद देते हैं। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना वक्तव्य समाप्त करता हूँ और आपको एक बार और धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझको यह मौका दिया।

The question was proposed.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I consider it a privilege and honour to associate myself with the motion of thanks to the President. The motion has been ably moved by my hon. friend Shri Satyanarayana, and I second it.

The respected President has opened his address with a well deserved tribute to the memory of Lal Bahadur-ji, our late Prime Minister Lal Baha-durji's life was a dedicated one. He lived for the service of the country and also died in its service. Essentially Lal Bahadurji was a man of peace but the whole world saw that when faced with that unjustified and wanton attack by Pakistan Lal Bahadurji was firm as a rock. After the fighting ceased he tried his best to establish good neighbourly relations with Pakistan and with that object he unhesitatingly accepted the invitation of Mr. Kosygin and went to Tashkent and the Tashkent Declaration was the result of the efforts of those assembled there. This Decla-

ration opens a new chapter in our relations with Pakistan. In the words of our respected President:

"It was Lal Bahadur Shastri's hope and belief that the Tashkent Declaration would lay the foundation for an enduring peace and friendship between India and Pakistan. More even than the letter, it is the spirit of the Tashkent Declaration that is important. Both sides have to fulfil it with faith and vision."

Madam, the debate on the Tashkent Declaration has concluded only today. The Minister for External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, has given a suitable reply to the criticisms objecting to this Declaration. I am not therefore going to deal with it at any length. The most vehement criticism is against our agreeing to withdraw from Kargil, Tithwal and Haji Pir and even our late Prime Minister has been accused of going back upon the assurance he had given to Parliament and to the country on this question. I have before me the statement of the late Prime Minister which he made on the 16th September and along with that statement copies of letters which passed between him and U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations were also placed on the Table of the House. In his letter dated the 14th September, on this question the late Prime Minister wrote:

"Let me make it perfectly clear Mr. Secretary-General, that, when consequent upon cease-fire becoming effective, further details are considered, we shall not agree to any disposition which will leave the door open for further infiltrations or prevent us from dealing with the infiltrations that have taken place. I would also like to state categorically that no pressures or attacks will deflect us from our firm resolve to maintain the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country, of which the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part."

In reply to this the Secretary-General in his letter dated 14th September said:

"I note, however, that both governments have added to their replies to my request for an unconditional Cease-fire conditions an^ qualifications upon which I have no right under the Security Council resolution to give undertakings. These aspects of the replies of the two governments must be referred to the Security Council for its urgent consideration, and they will be so referred immediately by me."

In reply to this our Prime Minister said:

"Thank you for your message of September 14, 1965, which was conveyed to me late last night. You have said that you cannot give any undertakings. I fully appreciate and understand this and in fact. I did not ask you for any. It was, however, essential for us to state clearly our stand in regard to certain matters which are of vital importance to us."

The main reason why we were not prepared to withdraw from these three places was that we wanted to prevent further infiltration. Now, what has been agreed upon at Tashkent? (1) Both sides have abjured violence and have agreed to settle all disputes by negotiation. (2) Both parties have agreed to fully respect the cease-fire line. (3) Both parties have agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of the other. Therefore, the question of infiltration does not arise. What Lal Bahadurji said was that he would not allow anything which might leave the door open for further infiltration. Therefore, when the object was achieved there was no reason for insisting on our troops remaining in these places. This Declaration has been signed with the help of Mr. Kosygin. It has been applauded by the whole world. Besides that Pakistan has already tried its strength against us and has seen the result. Therefore, it is most unlikely that they will dare to do anything of this sort

again. We must try to fulfil our obligations with faith and confidence, because whatever we do here will have reaction on that side also. If we have faith in them, they will also react in the same way. But we have got to be vigilant and be prepared not as far as Pakistan is concerned. That may not happen, I pray. But there is another neighbour, the danger from whom has not disappeared. We should not relax. We should continue to be prepared to face any attack on the integrity of our country and we must be vigilant. As I said, a new chapter has opened. I am reminded of a line from an Urdu poem:

“बड़ा मज़ा उस मिलाप में है कि सुलह
हो जाय जंग हो कर ।”

The Address deals with the various activities of the Government and the various problems which it has to face. Sufficient emphasis has been laid in the Address on the food problem. This year our food position is, really very grave. The reduction in production, as compared to last year, is to the tune of 11 or 12 million tonnes. That is the estimate. According to a note issued by the Food Ministry, which I received only this morning, it seems that we require at least 15 or 16 million tonnes to meet our needs in a modest way. No doubt, we expect sufficient import of wheat from the USA, for which we must be grateful. But this condition should not be allowed to continue longer than it is absolutely necessary. We should make all efforts to increase the production of foodgrains. The scheme of the Government is to have intensive cultivation by scientific methods over an area of 32 million acres by the end of the Fourth Plan and to provide the cultivator with all necessary inputs such as high-yielding seed, full irrigation facilities, fertilisers, pesticides, loans on easy rates of interest, etc. This scheme, no doubt, is a sound one. It has been realised that it is by intensive cultivation mainly and not by enlarging the area of cultivation only that real progress can be made.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA (West Bengal): Both are necessary.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: Of course, both. I do not dispute it. But more progress can be made by intensive cultivation. New land has got to be first broken for cultivation.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: It is no where now, neither this side, nor that side.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: This scheme is, no doubt, a sound one, but its execution requires a properly coordinated teamwork, so that all the inputs are available to the cultivator and that too in time. The question of time is very important, because in the past I have learnt that fertilisers leached the cultivators when the time had passed. So, there has got to be team work and co-ordination.

Now, in regard to irrigation by means of canals, which we have mostly in Northern India, I find that the area of command is so large that not even one-third portion of the area is kept fully irrigated by the water which is available through these canals. Irrigation has got to be supplemented by minor irrigation works such as tanks and tubewells. Steps should be taken to see that particularly in areas in which intensive cultivation is to be made, there is no dearth of water.

Steps appear to have been taken and an earnest effort is being made for fertiliser factories and till such time as we are able to produce fertilisers, quite a lot of money, probably Rs. 60 crores, has been set apart for the import of fertilisers, even during this difficult time of foreign exchange. Big seed farms are being opened and they are to replace the small seed farms and there will be proper investment. I hope and pray that our energetic Food Minister will see that all the activities are properly co-ordinated and that we reach a state of self-sufficiency in food at no distant date.

Intimately connected with the food problem is the problem of rising prices. Food being the first necessity,

the prices of other commodities are to a certain extent dependent upon the prices of foodgrains. When the prices of foodgrains go up, the labourer wants to raise his wages and naturally, they are increased. The cost of production goes up and there is dearth as far as other commodities are concerned. Moreover the other effect of these high prices is that the cost of production of goods which are to be exported also goes up. We cannot expect to increase our exports unless we can offer our goods at competitive prices in the world market. So, it is absolutely necessary that prices must be kept within limits. No doubt this is the result of inflation consequent upon the deficit financing. I remember our former Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, assuring the House that since inflation had reached a saturation point, there would be no more deficit financing. I hope that the new Finance Minister and the Government will respect that assurance.

Before I sit down, Madam, I pray for the success of the new Government under our new leader to tackle the difficult problems that are facing the country, and I am confident that our new Prime Minister will have full co-operation from Parliament and the country in solving those problems. Thank you.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: Madam, I move:

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

"but regret that while touching upon the various problems confronting the country, the Address says nothing to inspire anybody, particularly the starving common man and the exploited masses."

**श्री विभलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौर-
ङ्गिया (मध्य प्रदेश) :** महोदया, मैं अपने
संशोधन प्रस्तुत करता हूँ तथा संशोधन
क्रमांक 21 में 'कलईगर' (transmit) के
स्थान पर "ठंडेरे" (braziers) को संशो-
धित कर प्रस्तुत करता हूँ :

*2. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the political injustices perpetrated under the cover of the state of emergency and does not assure that they would not be repeated in future'."

*3. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the economic crisis all over India'."

*4. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, name-ly:-

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of the inflation of the currency and the consequent dearness and the sad state of affairs arising there from'."

*5. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the problem of increasing unemployment among the educated and does not indicate steps for the solution thereof'."

*6. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the sad plight of the goldsmiths caused by the gold control nor indicate measures for relieving them from their plight'."

*7. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not indicate steps for the '

abrogation of article 370 of the Constitution regarding Kashmir'."

*8. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

but regret that the Address does not caution the people in regard to the influence being exercised by the U.S.S.R, on the question of Kashmir."

*9. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, name-ly:-

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the pitiable plight of the Harijans and the members of the Scheduled Tribes, nor indicate measures to give relief to them'."

*10. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

but regret that the Address does not take note of the failure of the Government of India in regard to—

- (a) eradication of corruption;
- (b) removal of unemployment;
- (c) ending inflation of currency;
- (d) checking rising prices;
- (e) solving the food crisis;
- (f) reducing administrative expenditure;
- (g) solution of the power crisis;
- (h) solution of the water crisis'."

*11. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, name-ly:-

'but regret that the Address does not refer to sacred resolve

*†Original received in Hindi.

(Shri D. L. Gupta.) of liberating parts of the territory of India which are under the unlawful occupation of Pakistan and China and the measures for liberating them'."

*12. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to indicate the measures to be taken to raise the standard of living of the common man'."

*13. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of the necessity of establishing diplomatic relations by India with Israel'."

*14. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of the kidnapping of people by Naga hostiles and to indicate the measures for checking the recurrence of such incidents in future'."

*15. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the growing lack of restraint, immorality and corruption in the society and does not indicate the measures for removing them'." *16. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to give any inspiration to the people to follow the eternal and truthful principles in order to reform the society'." *17. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not call upon the country-

men to make India militarily strong and to prepare the people to face any future crisis'." *18. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to indicate measures for channelling the feelings of patriotism aroused by the Pakistani aggression and for promoting the interest of the nation while maintaining the unity of the countrymen'."

*19. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of the increasing burden of indebtedness upon the farmers and their worsened economic condition'."

*20. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not indicate the measures for relieving the farmers of their indebtedness and for ameliorating their economic condition'."

*21. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of the ever-increasing poverty and unemployment amongst the oilmen, the cobblers, the ironsmiths, the potters, the braziers etc., in the rural areas and does not indicate the measures to remove the same'."

*22. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not make proper mention of the unsatisfactory state of foreign trade and does not indicate the measures to improve the same'."

♦23. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of the problems of forced immigration of Indians from abroad to India, of permission not being given to them to bring their property to India, and of the failure of the Government to rehabilitate them in India'."

*24. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address does not make mention of the encouragement to be given to Hindi, the national language of India'."

*25. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address fails to give any concrete suggestions in respect of making the country self-sufficient in foodgrains'."

♦26. "That at the end of the motion the following be added name-

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the deplorable tendency of Government to make India indebted'."

*27. "That at the end of the motion the following be added name-
ly:— ;

'but regret that the Address does not make mention of the important problem of setting up of new industries in the industrially backward areas of Madhya Pradesh'."

♦28. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely :-

*but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that due to want of equipment Madhya Pradesh is not able to utilise its power generating capa-

city and the power generated by it nor does the Address promise to meet that shortage'."

*29. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'but regret that the Address does not lay emphasis on setting up of new iron works in Madhya Pradesh for utilising its iron-ore resources'."

*30. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address, while making reference to the friendly ties with our neighbours having been strengthened, does not take note of the fact that the people of Indian origin are not being treated properly in the neighbouring countries, that they are being compelled to flee those countries, and that no compensation is being paid for their properties'."

♦31. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address merely refers to the peaceful methods for resolving the conflict in Vietnam instead of giving priority to the just methods for resolving the conflict'."

*32. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, name-

'but regret that the Address takes note only of the figures of the growth of national income without at the same time giving statistics with regard to dearness also'."

*33. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address while making a reference to statutory rationing does not take

note of the food crisis being faced by the people in different parts of the country and does not indicate the solution for resolving this crisis'."

*34. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address, while making a reference to other measures to increase the production of foodgrains, fails to make a special reference to the fundamental factor in this regard, namely, the irrigation facilities without which all other measures yield no result'."

*35. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address while making a reference to the education of the children of the primary schools does not take note of the fact that at many places there are insufficient arrangements for accommodation for the children of the primary schools, playing grounds and other similar amenities'."

*36. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely—

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of the fact that during the last year the Chinese have been regularly committing aggression against India and does not indicate the measures to prevent such aggression'."

*37. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address does not make any reference to the liberation of Pakhtoonistan and Tibet'."

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL
(Gujarat): Madam, I move:

•Original received in Hindi.

40. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address does not give any indication of an intention immediately to end the state of emergency declared by the President and to restore the normal functioning of full democratic liberties in the country'."

41. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address fails to suggest a complete reorientation of the Government's policies to deal with the serious economic situation and the distress caused by its faulty food policies, and concrete measures to put agriculture on its feet so as to end the present over-dependence on imported foodgrains, such as—

(i) abolishing zonal and local restrictions on the sale and movement of foodgrains, gur, groundnut and all edible oils and the re-establishment of a common market throughout India;

(ii) giving the highest priority in all plans and allocations for water, credit, roads and providing incentives and facilities to farmers through the availability of fertiliser, good seed, electric power, implements, diesel and kerosene oil at reasonable prices;

(iii) putting an end to compulsory procurement and accepting the right of the farmer to sell his grain in the free market without any maximum price being imposed;

(iv) working out a price support policy under which the Government would, alongside of the traders, be an unlimited buyer of foodgrains from producers at remunerative prices to be determined according to

clearly stated principles enunciated by an Agricultural Price Commission functioning as an independent statutory body; and

(v) as a temporary measure, until production catches up with demand, supplying the poorer sections of the population with subsidised foodgrains purchased by the Government from the big farmers at remunerative prices'."

42. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address fails to admit the Union Government's responsibility for the current debacle in the provision of adequate food supplies to the people of Kerala, and to mention the existence of scarcity conditions in Orissa'."

43. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address does not show any recognition of the fact that the defence of South Vietnam and of Malaysia against aggression is in India's vital national interests, nor any readiness to take the initiative in building up a system of regional co-operation and security among the countries that lie between India, Japan and Australia to meet the threat of Chinese Communist expansionism'."

44. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address does not indicate any readiness to follow up the implementation of the Tashkent Agreement by building an economic base for friendship between India and Pakistan by the abolition of tariffs and

duties on goods crossing the frontier between the two countries and by setting up a Joint Committee to consider ways and means by which economic and other forms of co-operation between the two countries may be furthered to the mutual benefit of both'."

(Amendment Nos. 40 to 44 also stood in the names of Sarvashri Lokanath Misra and S. S. Mariswamy.)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam, I move:

60. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

'but regret that the Address does not take any notice of the fact that prominent jurists, lawyers and newspapers in the country as well as Opposition parties and mass organisations and many others have demanded the revocation of the state of emergency and the annulment of the Defence of India Act and the Defence of India Rules framed thereunder'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take notice of the fact that the emergency and the powers under it, including in particular the Defence of India Rules, are being used by Government and the ruling party for suppression of popular movements, for intimidating and persecuting the political opponents of the ruling party and keeping alive an atmosphere of fear'."

62. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:-

*but regret that the Address does not take note of the serious observations made by the Supreme Court as well as many High

Courts in the country regarding j emergency and the use of "the Defence of India Rules'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take any notice of the fact that well over a thousand leaders and workers of different political parties including Members of Parliament and State Legislatures are still held in detention without trial under the Defence of India Rules'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that whereas the ruling party in the country has already started its preparations for the fourth general elections, the Opposition parties are handicapped in many ways by the continuance of the emergency and the Defence of India Rules making their preparations for the elections difficult'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that there cannot be any free and fair elections at all unless the state of emergency is withdrawn and the Damocles' sword which is a constant intimidation and threat to the masses is removed'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the continuance of the emergency and the Defence of India Rules have been condemned by eminent

jurists in the country as tending to give rise to constitutional dictatorship'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to announce the immediate end of the state of emergency and the release of all political detenus'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to condemn the resumption of bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the continued violation of the Geneva Agreement and the escalation of hostilities by the USA endangering world peace and particularly peace in South East Asia'."

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

'but regret that the Address fails to recognise the dismal failure of the food and agriculture policy of Government leading to starvation, high prices, widespread distress and dangerous dependence on imports; and also fails to spell out the necessary steps for self-sufficiency in food and national control over the wholesale trade and distribution of foodgrains'."

The questions were proposed.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Madam, I would be entirely in agreement with the mover of the motion as regards the remarks or the compliments that he paid to our President, to his high learning, to his personal qualities, but the Address is the address of the Government and, Madam, I have quite a lot to say about it. I shall try to confine my remarks as

briefly as possible so as to leave room for other friends also.

It is quite true that the late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, brought about a great sense of unity in this country, a sense of purpose, a new look on the Government, a look that made the Government look at its own faults and correct them, some of them ranging for eighteen years. As was said before, eighteen years of indecision were followed by eighteen months of a purposeful Government, and therefore he had the support of all sides and the whole country. But, Madam, it is unfortunate that after his going, perhaps we are drifting back to that uncertainty or confused thinking that has been the main difficulty with the Congress Party.

Madam, we have been discussing the Tashkent Agreement. That chapter I think is over, our conflict with Pakistan, and I am sure that every lover of peace will pray that this agreement will be observed not only in the letter but in the spirit. But the conflict with Pakistan has given a rude jolt to our economy. It has brought some sense into us and it has knocked off our complacency and made us realise the vulnerability of our economy, the lack of reality in our planning, all of which need to be tackled. Madam, I read in one of the papers, the "Times of India" of 18th February, where the new Prime Minister in a statement to a U.A.R. paper on her impressions about her visit to China in 1954 said that she had her own suspicions about the intentions of that country. Why was not the country told about this and why were we being misled into that "bhai, bhai" spirit? Why after her visit did she not warn her father as to what was happening in NEFA? Perhaps she could not counteract the influence of a dark shadow that loomed large over Prime Minister Nehru and his policies.

Madam, the other sharp knock that we got is after eighteen years of this great benevolent socialist Congress rule, after crores of rupees have gone

'toward the drain in river valley projects, we are going abegging to every country in the world, nay, we have invited the Ambassadors in Delhi, the Food Minister invites them and says like a beggar in the street: 'I am hungry, give me'. This is a horrible thing. It is a most shameful thing for any self-respecting country to happen that the Food Minister has to call the Ambassadors of all the countries and say, we are starving, do something about it. On the other hand, the Government will not look at facts. There have been Members in this House who have seen things, how things are done on both sides of this country. Why don't we look and learn?

Madam, for the last two or three years, I have been pointing out the example of what was done in Taiwan but under that dark shadow, even literature from that country, even literature on how to improve agriculture, was banned. Some of it is trickling in. I received parcels and letters from many friends including an old Member of Parliament, Rajah Mahendra Pratap. Even now, a large number of papers are coming from Taiwan which are held up by the Customs. And they have a printed circular letter which they have sent to me saying, "Your papers are held up at the Customs at Calcutta. You come and collect them. Otherwise, after a certain time, we will destroy them." Do you expect anyone to make a journey from any corner of India to Calcutta to get those papers cleared? This is the wrong policy which we have followed. We are not looking at facts. A little country like that has made its production of rice—which is so difficult in this country—increase by three times. Last year they increased production by 40 per cent.

Looking to our things, the Rockefeller Foundation offered us a grant of how many million dollars?—the Minister would know. Prime Minister Nehru said, we have plenty of rice in this country, we do not want it. That centre has gone to Manila instead of being here and we are getting Taiwan

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.] seed—we call it by the peculiar name of Taichung—through Manila instead of getting it directly from Taiwan. If it was done two years ago, our position would have been easier today. But the Congress Government will not learn. Today everyone—even our own papers, even the 'Yojana'—is now talking of this. Taichung rice is a variety of rice which matures quickly in 2-112 months. Where there are two monsoons or where there are two irrigations, two crops can be had; besides, a third crop in between also. How much easier would our food problem have been if we had learnt this thing?

The other lesson is from the other side, Israel. We won't look at that, Madam. And how pig-headed we are. When the President of Israel wanted to pass through Delhi, he was told through diplomatic channel that he could not come to Delhi, he should go away to Calcutta, because if he came, as the Head of a State, he would have to be shown courtesy, and our Government was even lacking in courtesy. We have a lot to learn from that little country also where they have changed the desert area into blooming fields and they export their fruits to all over Europe and earn rich foreign exchange which they require.

Madam, the highest priority should be given to our agricultural production. But if things go on as they are now, I do not see much hope. We quarrel over every little thing. In my own State of Gujarat, when the first election came, we were told that the Tapi Project was being brought to Surat, that so many million acres would be irrigated, that so much of power would be given. It is now 15 years since that election had been held. There is neither power nor irrigation to so many million acres. A little water is trickling through. Similarly, when the second election came, it was the Mahi Project and for ten long years, two governments—or perhaps three—have been quarrelling as to how much water

should take. So many crores of rupees were spent on digging of canals. Some of the canals have been lying with cement to take a large quantity of water. But there is no water to flow. That area is a rich rice-growing area. But there is no water. Now the next election is coming. The carrot is dangled before the donkey of the Government of Gujarat. You will get the Narmada Project. And they have started quarrelling over it even today. It is fortunate that the Government have got somebody who understands engineering, irrigation and power, Dr. Rao. But Dr. Rao has no experience of the Congress intrigues and policies, and I am sure he must be feeling very sorry in his own heart that there is still a quarrel over something that should have begun last year—what is going to be the height of the dam, how much area is to be irrigated, etc. And there are some people who will say that we will require this generations ahead; after 100 years, we may want that water and so, we will not allow you to use it. That is the state of our country.

Madam, I dare say that such is the state in most other States also. I am familiar with my own State of Gujarat and therefore I have mentioned it. Other Members spoke about the Nagarjuna Sagar Project. How much irrigation has been brought to that area? If all the output, if all the potential of the works that have been taken in hand had been executed, we would not be in this condition. Because we do not produce enough food, we go on importing more and more food. We have got into the habit of borrowing because borrowing is easy and when somebody tells you that you are a spendthrift, you put our house in order, you do not know how to spend money, you adopt an attitude of righteous indignation. I do not understand it. If you do not know how to manage your house, certainly the person who gives you money will say that you do not know how to manage your house, that you should manage it properly before you ask for more money. And, of course, you have got friends who

put on attitudes so that they want you to be in that state because it suits them, it suits them that you are in that state. And it is to countries like that that you look to for inspiration. If I may say so, they are still in that condition—even after 50 and 60 years of their idealism, they are in one place. Even they have started revising their attitude to farming, to individual ownership but we will not learn.

Madam, with this difficulty of the food situation, we are also facing a very serious financial situation. Why is that so? It is because we are not able to put our house in order. How many crores of rupees we have put into the public sector projects. If they pay their way, if they meet the deficit, if they meet the interest or the service charges that they are required to pay, perhaps our exchequer would be saved of the deficit of Rs. 500 crores annually.

But here we go on borrowing more and more. That does not earn interest and the debt of the interest that we have to pay elsewhere goes on mounting.

This country should, therefore, reorganise its policies. Agriculture should be given the priority that it deserves. Agriculture should not only feed this country but it should earn foreign exchange. Then alone would we be saved the trouble of the difficult situation that we are facing.

Madam, we should, therefore, at least, impress upon the Government—that I would like to do—to give up some of its wrong notions, to j,ive up talking of socialism and to have a policy that will really bring . . .

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh): There is no talk of socialism in the President's Address. ;Do not bother your head about it.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I was talking of the policy of the Gov-

ernment. I am glad that the President has not referred to it.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): He has referred to it.

PROF. M. B. LAL: The Government is coming nearer to you.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I am sure the country will heave a sigh of relief if they do that because for the first time the country will be saved from the burden of crushing taxation that they have to impose for following these wrong policies.

Madam, I am sure you know that our Party very recently observed a day demanding of the Government that this country could not bear any further taxation. Whether it was one Finance Minister or another, whether it was Mr. Krishnamachari who promised one thing and did exactly the opposite, the result has been that this country is groaning under heavy taxation, people have been impoverished. Therefore, we demand on behalf of the people that there should be no more impositions in the new Budget, that there should be no enhancement in land levies; actually land levies should go. There should be no procurement, the policy that the Government has tried to adopt in many States. The excise duties on the basic necessities of life should go. The strangulating taxation that the middle class suffers from, along with high prices, should be reduced and the in famous Gold (Control) Order should go. Madam, unless these policies of the Government are revised, I am afraid, all talk of giving any relief to the people is a moonshine.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA
(Orissa): The number of smugglers
will increase only when there is
control.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: It is only under the patronage of Congress Ministers that smugglers thrive.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, has he finished his smugglery?

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to give my wholehearted support to the Motion of Thanks moved by my friend, Shri Satyanarayan. Madam, I consider that we are fortunate to have Dr. Radhakrishnan, a true Indian representative, as our President, a true Brahmin by birth as well as by education, character and culture. He has carried this burden through a very critical period of our history, both internal and international.

Madam, the President has rightly referred to our most beloved late Lal Bahadur in the opening paragraph of his Address. We have discussed about the Tashkent Declaration for the last two or three days which concluded today. I do not want to go into details or the merits and demerits of the Tashkent Declaration. I would like to draw your attention and the attention of the House to one aspect of this Declaration, and that is, before this Declaration we had all around us an unappreciative world, sometimes even a hostile world against us. After this Declaration we have a friendly and appreciating world all around us. This is the difference that this Declaration has made so far as India's position is concerned. Shri Lal Bahadur not merely signed that Declaration but he has sanctified it for ready acceptances by laying down his life for the pursuit of peace soon after signing this Declaration. Madam, I believe, and I very strongly believe that this Declaration has really laid the foundation for peaceful neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan.

Our most respectful and grateful appreciation goes to the Chairman of

the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Mr. Kosygin, and while appreciating the efforts which Mr. Kosygin put in, it is not necessary for me to recollect the remarks made by Shri Bhupesh Gupta the other day. It was not necessary for him to cast a suspicious eye on the U.S.A. I have good reasons to believe that the U.S.A. also has appreciated the effort which has brought about this understanding between India and Pakistan.

This Tashkent Declaration, if I may say so, not only laid the foundation stone for a peaceful co-existence between India and Pakistan, but it has laid the foundation for a new era of peaceful co-existence and for the lessening of tension all over the world.

The President has drawn our attention to the Vietnam situation. Madam, we all hope and pray that a peaceful solution of the Vietnam problem also will be found. But the real danger to peace is Mao Tse-Tung's expansionist policy and his strong determination to impose his will all over the world. That is the real danger to peace. That is the real threat to peace.

4 P.M.

The President has drawn our attention to our need for being alert and vigilant about the Chinese affair, about our conflict with China. I consider that if our conflict with China is not resolved, peace will be nowhere in the world. We are to remember that about 14,000 square miles of our territory is still under the forceful occupation of Mao Tse Tung and the Chinese have built up massive military strength all along the Indo-Tibetan border threatening and claiming about 50,000 square miles more of our Indian territory. We are always to remember this danger. It is not only a challenge or danger to India but I consider that the challenge is to the entire human civilisation.

I next come to the food problem which the President has mentioned in his Address. Our Food Minister is a dynamic person and is doing his level best to find out some solution to the problem. I would like to draw his immediate and urgent attention to the crying needs of West Bengal. Here it has been mentioned once or twice that the position is very acute there and about one lakh tons of food would be an immediate necessity there. That should be sent as quickly as possible.

Then I come to the production side of the food problem. In my opinion we shall have to change the entire outlook for solving this problem. Food is to be grown in the fields. It cannot be grown in the Secretariat by changing plan after plan. Our administrators must go to the fields, establish direct contact with the farmers, know their requirements and then make their plans to implement and meet the demands of the farmers so that they can produce more. In this connection I would like to draw the attention of our Government to a suggestion for intensifying the drive in certain selected areas for more food production, where irrigation facility is already available or where there is likelihood of introducing minor irrigation facilities immediately, by supplying good seeds and also by offering credit facilities to the farmers. That is the only way how we can tackle the production side of our food problem.

I would have been glad if there had been some mention about the unfortunate displaced persons from East Bengal in the President's address. Their condition is very pitiable. I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the pitiable condition of many of these East Bengal displaced persons who have been suffering a lot, and immediate steps should be taken to alleviate their condition and to find out some solution for their proper rehabilitation and resettlement. The President has drawn our attention,

in a small paragraph, to our newly ejected Prime Minister that she belongs to the younger generation of freedom fighters. I entered politics at the age of fifteen and I am completing seventy-three now. Many of our dreams have been realised but there are some and they are important that have not yet been fulfilled.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: When you used to (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE: I hope that under her new leadership most of those unrealised dreams will be realised and most of the things that we expected will be done under her leadership.

One word more about our friend. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, who has gone from here now. He mentioned that Shastriji has done in eighteen months what Nehru could not do in eighteen years. I fail to understand this comparison. It is the eighteen years' build-up which has made it possible for Shastriji to show results in eighteen months. We must not forget this.

With these few words, I wholeheartedly support the Motion of Thanks moved by my friend Shri Satyanarayan.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Before you call upon the next speaker, I would bring to your notice one thing. It is a very unpleasant question for me. We have only two Deputy Ministers in the House. The President's Address is an occasion which comes only once a year and on such an important occasion, what has prevented the Cabinet Ministers who belong to this House to be present here? I am told that they are flocking elsewhere. Is wisdom being distributed only there and not here at all? This is something which should be taken note of.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you sure that they are elsewhere?

PROF. M. B. LAL: They may be somewhere else if they are not here.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: May I draw the attention of the Treasury Benches that this House should be treated with greater courtesy and some Cabinet rank Ministers should be presented all through the debate on the President's Address. Mr. Govindan Nair.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR (Kerala): Madam, I share with the President the deep sorrow of the nation at the sudden demise of our late beloved Prime Minister. The courageous lead he gave when we were faced with the Pakistani aggression and the courageous and successful pursuit he made for the achievement of peace will ever be remembered by the people of this country. Within eighteen months of his rule he was able to earn for himself a unique place in the hearts of the people and I am sure his memory will be ever-cherished with the utmost affection and respect. I am also happy that the Tashkent Declaration to which he has put his last seal is being implemented by both the Governments of Pakistan and India. If, as a result of this, the tension between the two countries lessens, I am sure a proper climate will be reached when we will be able to settle even the dispute on Kashmir.

I hope both Governments will have sense enough to understand that a proper settlement of the Kashmir will be on the basis of accepting the present cease-fire line as the international border between the two States.

But when, Madam, we come to the question of the Government remodelling its policies to suit the needs of the situation on the basis of past experiences and also on the basis of taking stock of the present situation, both in the matter of internal policies as well as in the matter of external affairs the President's Address has deplorably failed. Now, it should

still be fresh in the minds of the Members of this House, the treacherous role played by the British when we were confronted with Pakistani aggression—I do not mean to go into details. At that time voice was raised from every corner of this House that we should end our relations with the Commonwealth. So I thought that, in the President's Address, there would be some indication that the Government is deciding to take that step. But, unfortunately, there is absolutely no mention about it. Now when that question was discussed here, it was made out by some Members that in the Commonwealth all these African nations were there, and that after all U.K. was only one among the nations. But let us see what the present position is. Most of the African nations, who love their freedom, have since broken away from the Commonwealth, have broken even diplomatic relations with Britain. So here was an opportunity where, by breaking your ties with the Commonwealth and trying to forge a better unity with the newly independent African nations, your position in the international field as well as the cause of the African people would have been very much strengthened. Unfortunately, excepting your stand on Rhodesia, I do not find a new approach to the entire question of the African nations, in the President's Address.

Now I may draw your attention to another important fact. It has been stated here that even though we have left the door open for a peaceful settlement with the Chinese, the response from the other side has not been very favourable. Now, with the connivance of the West German Government, American planes are being sold to the Chinese for defence purposes, the same type of planes which are now used in Vietnam to bomb the Vietnamese people; these planes are being sold through West Germany to the Chinese. This, of course, is an unfriendly action on the part of the West Germany. At the time when Indo-Pakistani war was

there, you know what was the attitude taken by the West Germans. They were not on our side. But still, afraid to irritate the West Germans, you are refuse to give recognition to the German Democratic Republic. Now, during our conflicts with both China and Pakistan, East German stood solidly with us. I need not make mention about the trade relations that exist and that are growing with the East Germans. Simply because you do not want to irritate or offend West Germans, you are not recognising East Germany. I think Government should change this attitude and take steps immediately to recognise that country.

Now coming to South-East Asia, the people in many of the States there are like the people caught between the devil and the deep sea. In the name of containing communism, America is trampling the freedom of all those small States. They are reducing those small States to virtual colonies of the Americans. And you know what is happening in South Vietnam, a small State with a population less than that of our State, Kerala. They have been putting up a very heroic fight against the Americans to defend their freedom. On the other side, there are the disastrous and disruptive policies of the Chinese and they are weakening the national liberation movements in those countries. That is why I said that these nations are like those placed between the devil and the deep sea. And here India, which has experienced the agonies of colonialism for centuries, is expected to go to the aid of these nations. If we take an anti-imperialistic stand, if they stand for the national aspirations of the people of these countries, there is a very big opportunity for building a better solid relationship with these nations. Unfortunately, I do not find any mention of such an approach in the President's Address.

Now coming to the internal problems, well, we are on the eve of the

Fourth General Elections. We pride ourselves as the biggest democratic nation in the world. We also pride in individual liberties, which have been assured to the citizens of this country under the Constitution. But, Madam, from 1962, you know, our fundamental rights have been suspended. One could understand, when the Chinese attacked us, the Government assuming emergency powers. But, long, long ago, open conflict between the two countries ceased. The recent Pakistani aggression has also come to an end. And still, even in this situation, even when we are faced with a General Election, instead of paving the way for a free and fair election by scrapping this emergency, the Chief Minister of this country and the Home Minister at the Centre, coolly sit down and decide, "that the emergency must continue."

Well, one paper, "The Statesman" has commented on this. It says:

"To expect the Chief Ministers and the Union Home Minister voluntarily to give up the arbitrary, unquestioned and unquestionable authority that they yield under the Emergency would be like expecting a conclave of Cardinals to make a collective declaration of atheism or a convention of tycoons to renounce the profit motive."

Now, during this period the Supreme Court Chief Justice, the Bombay High Court, the Punjab High Court, the Allahabad High Court, almost all the "High Courts of this country, have come out condemning these Emergency provisions. All the leading jurists and all the leading journalists, all the leaders of political opinion, even professors, all have come out with this one demand of scrapping the emergency.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY
(Madras): Why even professors?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: You can say even the ex-Law Minister has said it.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Yes, I wonder why while he was the Law Minister he did not give his colleagues this sound advice.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: To whom are you saying all this? There is only a Deputy Minister of Railways and there is a Deputy Minister of Metals.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Does not matter. The railways run and they carry things.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Madam, what has happened to your ruling?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I think even though only the Deputy Minister of Metals is here, I have to say this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Has a plane been sent somewhere to bring the others?

AN HON. MEMBER: They are taking notes, those present here.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Be a little patient. They will arrive.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I do not want to read all these judgements and statements. I am, with your permission, placing this document on the Table of the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is that document?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: It is named "Restore Citizens' Fundamental Rights." They are all quotations.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It cannot be laid on the Table.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I read the quotation from "The Statesman."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You read other portions also.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I read a portion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I demand that it be laid on the Table.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Shall I read the statement of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court?

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: We all know that.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: You know it. Because you want me to be brief Madam I am not reading other portions. I have mentioned. All the names, I think, since I have already read from it, I can place it on the Table of the House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, there is no harm.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: You are permitting?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Even without placing it on the Table, the contents are known to all. Even the man in the street knows what all these people have said about the emergency.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Except the Cabinet.

AN HON. MEMBER: They also know.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: No, they are immune to all this public criticism. Otherwise there would have been some mention about it in the President's Address and they would have said since we are facing the General Elections, we are going to restore the Fundamental Rights that had been suspended. But, unfortunately, it has found no mention in the President's Address.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They belong to a rare specimen*

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: It is not only that fundamental rights are denied. Do they keep at least the norms of democratic functioning? I come from the State of Kerala. There the democratic set-up is suspended until the Congress is assured that it would get the majority. That is our fate.

AN HON. MEMBER: Why don't you return the Congress?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: There you have sent a Governor. You know the convention that the Speaker of an Assembly, even though he may belong to a party, had to sever his connection with the party before assuming his office as Speaker. But our Governor, Mr. Jain, was a member of the All-India Congress Committee while he was holding his office as Governor.

PROF. M. B. LAL: Is that a fact, Madam?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: How can Madam know?

PROF. M. B. LAL: I am asking the Minister through Madam Deputy Chairman.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Let there be a clarification. He questions whether he was a member of the A.I.C.C. Not only that, While he was Governor he comes here to Delhi and he suddenly decides to canvass for the Prime Minister's election.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: And not for sunlight soap?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: He came to canvass for the election of the Prime Minister. He should not have done it while holding his post as Governor, but he has done it.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR (Madhya Pradesh): He resigned.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Yes, and that is another part. On the 17th he resigns and on the 21st his resignation is accepted.

(At this stage Dr. Ram Subhag Singh entered the House)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is how your direction has been responded to, Madam.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Still till the 6th of next month, the President could not find another man to replace him. And the tragedy of it is this. President's Rule itself is a caretaker Government. And after his resignation is accepted the Governor is asked when he is responsible to none to be caretaker to an already caretaker Government. He is asked to go and shoulder the responsibility of a government at a most critical period.

AN HON. MEMBER: After he had finished canvassing.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I do not think that now he is anybody in the Central Ministry or in the Government and so I do not want to go into what all things he did there during his last days. When a man is not responsible to anybody or anything, if he is asked to shoulder the responsibility for a State, especially at such a critical time, then naturally he will be like a mad man and that is exactly what he has done.

So it is not a question of denying the Fundamental Rights only. It is * question of even denying the forms and the norms of democratic functioning. Well, the Congress has a brute majority and so they think they can do anything they like.

I come now to another important question, namely the question of food.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA (Andhra Pradesh): You fasted for nine days.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: We are very happy he is back again.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: He does not look it.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: When you have reduced our *State* to a position where the entire popula-

tion has compulsorily to fast, what does it matter if I fast for a few days? After these eighteen years of your administration do you have a national food policy? Any man with an iota of shame in him would have resigned his post and gone. But Mr. Subramanian!, our Food Minister will never do it. He will never admit failure.

(At this stage Shri Jagannath Rao entered the House)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How many Ministers of State make one Cabinet Minister?

AN HON. MEMBER: It is improving. Within a few minutes I expect some Cabinet Minister also will be here,

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Coming in steps.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Coming to the question of the food policy pursued by this Government, we are very much surprised to hear advice pouring in from various corners that we people in the south should change our food habits. That is to say, instead of sticking to this rice and clamouring for rice, why don't you take to wheat? An impression is thus created by this kind of a propaganda that we have an abundance of wheat in the country and that what the country is in actual shortage is only rice. Now I ask the Food Minister as to what the real position is. According to his own statistics the country is deficit in wheat by 36 per cent of its domestic production; while as far as rice is concerned, taking the figures for the last three years the country is deficit by only 1.3 per cent. Unless you consider America as part of your State, from where wheat flows into this country, how can you ask anybody to change the food habits when you are more deficit in wheat than in rice? Then, why is it you want to improve wheat on us? It is because wheat is the only thing which is under the control of the Central Food Minister.

He has not pursued a policy by which the rice that is produced in this country is procured by the Centre and distributed equitably. Nor has he the guts to do it. That is the problem. Yesterday, during the Question Hour, he was not answering but evading questions. Do you know what is the position in, Andhra? I challenge him to come with me with money in his pocket. On the basis of the price fixed by the Government, lakhs and lakhs of tons of rice can be purchased from Andhra from the peasants direct. The problem there is that the Andhra peasants are faced with the problem of disposing of his stock. In Krishna, East Godavari, West Godavari and in Guntur the peasants are faced with the problem of finding out ways of disposing of their stock. Has the Government any machinery? You asked the Food Corporation not to step into the surplus districts and you asked the millowners who are your political supporters to procure. Did they have sufficient resources? If we are to purchase the marketable surplus in Andhra, we need at least five hundred crores of rupees. The millowners do not have this amount. The Government had its own organisation but you did not allow it to purchase from these areas for political considerations the people in Andhra are facing the problem of disposing of their rice while people in Kerala are starving.

The situation in Madras is also not very different because Madras and Andhra were the traditional sources of supply to Kerala. Here is an hon. Member from Madras. Tanjore is considered to be a granary. But the Tanjore rice is produced for our consumption. Madras does not relish Tanjore rice; they want rice from Nellore and they are getting it. In Madras, in, some places you can get rice at a cheaper rate than the one fixed by the Government. Why is this happening and how did it happen? Unless you go into this question, unless you evolve a national policy, mere talk will not solve th»

problem. In November, 1964 you should be remembering that even while the southern zone existed there was an acute shortage in Kerala. That was the first warning which the Centre should have taken note of. The southern zone was there and legally movement was not prohibited but both the Madras and the Andhra Governments, informally restricted the movement of rice and there was acute shortage in our State. That should have been taken as a hint and the Centre should have advised the State Chief Ministers to behave differently. On the other hand, what did they do? They yielded to the pressure of the State Chief Ministers of the surplus States; they abolished the southern zone and single State zones were introduced. Do you know what the members of the Price Commission said when this question was discussed? Of the three members of the Commission, one, Dr. Raj Krishna, said that the nation must not be cut up into fourteen or more sovereign nations in the field of food. He has argued out his case in his dissenting note. I am not going into all this as that would take 3 more time. He said that this would be disastrous and that this should not be done, but the majority rejected this. They said that the single State zone was not meant to impose any restriction on movement of rice from one part of the country to the other but was only meant as a restriction on the movement of rice by private traders so that the Government may be better placed, they may have better opportunities to purchase and move rice from one part of the State to another. They also have warned that this involves the acceptance of the principle of national sharing by the surplus. If restriction on inter-State movement of foodgrains means simply sharing of the surplus left-over after the requirements of the people of the surplus area are met, then the economic and social justification of such restriction breaks down. The single State zone was introduced but did the Government take any steps to prevent it

falling into the hands of the Chief Minister of the surplus States. No. On the other hand, what did happen? They made single State zones and asked the State Governments to procure. Even when the Food Corporation complained that it was not permitted to purchase from the surplus districts the Centre did not intervene to help them. The Union Food Minister admitted that yesterday and the whole thing fell into the hands of the Chief Ministers.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Nair, you have taken, nearly half an hour. Your Party has forty-five minutes and I am sure Mr. Bhupesh Gupta would take some time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let him speak.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He will take away the entire time and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta will squeeze in.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: The State zones were carved out, the Chief Ministers were made responsible for procuring, and the Food Corporation was kept out of the picture and the result was that the people of deficit States were left at the mercy of the Chief Ministers of the surplus States. This is the real position. It is not only we the people of Kerala who are suffering. What about the people of Bengal? The traditional market for Bengal consists of Bihar and Orissa. The people of Orissa get seventeen ounces and what is it that the people of Bengal get? People should be ashamed to call themselves Central Ministers. If they can not intervene to protect the deficit States, I draw your attention to another aspect. When there was this food crisis in Kerala and an agitation was going on, what did the Cabinet do? We did not hear of any meeting of the Cabinet. We read about the meeting of the Chief Ministers. They decided to raise the ration by another ounce. The Chief Ministers' Conference is gradually assuming the position of a super-Cabinet. When it

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair.]

comes to a question of fundamental rights of the people, it is not the Cabinet that takes the decision; it is the Home Minister and the Chief Ministers. When it comes to a question of food, it is the Chief Ministers and the Food Minister. Then, why have we this Cabinet, and this Parliament? Even in the making of the Prime Minister

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: They appoint the Prime Minister.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Regional commanders becoming Nawafos themselves.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: That is the tragedy of the situation. Where are you drifting to? Think about it seriously. Do you want this country to be kept as one or, like the traditional empires of the old, like Ashoka and others, you want one chakravarti at Delhi and Rajas and Maharajas in the name of Chief Ministers in the States? Is that what you want? If that is not what you want, you have to evolve a proper national policy on food. You should not allow this so-called Food Minister to tackle this problem in the cavalier manner in which he is doing. I would like to draw the attention of the House to another matter. It is very interesting and I think the House should know it. Yesterday, in the name of Shri Niren Ghosh, there was a question on the food situation in Kerala. The question was whether there has recently been a cut in food ration in Kerala; if so, the previous quantum of ration and the existing quantum; what steps Government have taken or are due to take to alleviate the food situation there; and whether there has been any Satyagraha in this connection. This was a question for a written answer put by a Member of this House and do you know the answer? The whole world knows that the ration was cut in Kerala; the whole world knows that all types of agitation were there but

there is one Ministry which does not know that such a thing has taken place and that is the Ministry of Food. This is the answer it has given. To the question whether there was any cut in ration in Keraia, the answer is 'no'. Are they not ashamed of sitting there as Ministers? And with regard to the question whether there was agitation etc., the answer is 'Do not rise'. When according to them the rice ration was not cut, how can there be any agitation? What has happened to you? In which world are you living? Do you mean to say that by any kind of irresponsible answers you can silence the Opposition or dupe the public?

And this is not a stray instance. Here is another example. Everybody knows in Kerala that levy is imposed on lands above one acre. And do you know what has been the written answer by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in this connection? They have said: "Levy is charged only above two acres." This is the written answer.

Now, how are you treating Parliament? This answer was given in Lok Sabha and the other one was given here in Rajya Sabha. They seem not to bother about Parliament. There is the Conference of the Chief Ministers to decide things. Now about the Conference of the Chief Ministers. We know in Orissa Mr. Biju Patnaik is not the Chief Minister but in the photograph published, of the Chief Ministers' Conference, I find him. What is this?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: We can have the photographs of Mr. Nair also.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: What is all this? You have no norms, no form, nothing. You just behave as you like? Then scrap this Constitution and say that you are all powerful and that you are going to rule over the country as you like. That would be much better.

Now, Madam, we have in our President as the Head of the State one of the leading educationists of our country. His international reputation is well known. So also we have in our Vice-President another educationist, another eminent educationist. Well, people like me joined the national movement when we were students. Even during the British days, the police dared not enter the campus of the universities. The students were safe inside the college compound but now what is happening? It is not only in Kerala but this morning the sad story of what happened in Banaras has been narrated.

SHRI D. P. KARMAKAR (Mysore): On a point of order, Madam, if he shouts a little less we shall be able to understand it better.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I can try to speak in a lower tone but the other thing I cannot attempt to do.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He is trying to reach the Cabinet Ministers; you see, they are not here.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: The other day we read in the papers that the police entered the campus of the Lucknow University and about a hundred students were beaten up.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: That is probably because none of these Ministers ever got into a University.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: In Kerala what has happened during this struggle is most deplorable. Somebody asked why I fasted. I fasted because children and students were beaten brutally and I wanted a public enquiry. Students were in their class rooms and against the objections raised by the college authorities the police entered the college premises, went up to the class rooms and beat them up. There were a number of students whose heads were broken. And it did not happen only in one college. In another place in a poly-

technic the students were in the dining hall. They were taking their food and some were resting. The police entered the premises and beat up the students so much so that one mother in her agony wrote to the Prime Minister saying that unless some enquiry was conducted and the guilty people punished, she was going to commit self-immolation. In another school—it was not even a college—there was a previous grudge against the students on the part of the police of that locality. It was at Tripoonithura. A few months ago, there a girl student was found dead in a pond under suspicious conditions. There were rumours in the town that this was a case of murder. So the students took up the issue. The police resisted to have, any *post mortem*. They imposed section 144 and the children were even beaten up. But still the children persisted in their demand for *post mortem*. Finally the Government had to agree to conduct the *post mortem* and it was proved that it was a case of murder. A number of people were then arrested. The police could not forgive the students for this. The food agitation was used as a cover by the police to wreak their vengeance on the poor students of this school. The Headmistress refused permission for the police to enter the school premises. But the same day they entered the school four times and beat up the students and three or four lady teachers swooned at this sight. This is what is happening. I want to know from the Government whether the sanctity of the educational institutions be assured or not? Will our children be safe at least within the college and school precincts? If you cannot do even that, then I do not know what is going to happen to this country.

Other countries, even in times of war and in times of shortage of food, take special care of the younger generation. Even during the second world war when people had to starve in European countries, they were careful to see that the food ration of the

[Shri M. N- Govindan Nair.], children was not reduced. Milk for the children was not reduced. That is how they looked upon children because they are the guarantee for the future. How are you dealing with them? Are you allowing them to grow up as self-respecting citizens? If any policeman can get into any college and break the head of any student, what is the security for him in this country? At least can you not have some way by which this is prevented?

In Banaras, police officer wanted the registrar to hand over charge of the university to him. If this is the policy which you are going to pursue, why do you make Governors the Chancellors by convention? Ask the I.G. and police of each State to be the Chancellor, then discipline will be maintained by the police in universities. If the children are to be chastised by the police, if that is the way you want the younger generation to grow up in this country, better close down these institutions. So, I expect from this Government a categorical statement that the sanctity of every educational institution will be maintained, that no police will ever be permitted to enter the campuses of the universities or the compounds of schools. So, also I would request the Government at least to change the food policy, if not the Food Minister, so that a national policy on food is followed by which the food produced in this country would be equitably distributed to all the people. So, also, I would request the Government to take steps to immediately withdraw the emergency powers and restore the fundamental rights of this people of this country.

Thank you, Madam.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: Madam, I fully share the sentiments of my friend, Mr. Govindan Nair, which were eloquently expressed this evening. While moving any amendment I would only tell this House that if India is proud of anything, she is proud of her democracy. She is the

biggest democracy in the world. We are a poor people. Economically we are crushed. There are charges of corruption against Ministers, members of the ruling Party, throughout the country and nobody is checking it. We have no help. We have no vision. But still we proudly profess that we are a big democracy. That democracy is cracking and that is my warning.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.]

The tests of a democracy are three: firstly, the rule of law, secondly, respect for the Opposition; and, thirdly, conformity with and guarantee of Fundamental Rights. So far as rule of law is concerned, we have, this morning, got a learned speech by no less a person than Mr. Justice Vivian Bose, formerly one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of India and to whom the Government of India entrusted the job of enquiring into the Dalmia-Jain affairs. In his speech in Nagpur, he observed that law is there, but law is not implemented. If in Great Britain the Chief Justice or a Judge of the highest court of the land commits an offence, he may be fined by a District Magistrate and there are instances of that. In our country if a Minister runs over a boy, that Minister's case is hushed up because a Minister is immune from offence. If that is the state of things, then here there is no rule of law. Here two sets of law govern, one set of law for the Ministers and the powers that be and another set of law for the common man. He has also observed that here justice can be purchased. Those who have money can purchase judgment in their favour. For the poor people there is no justice. Nothing could be more dangerous than this.

So far as respect for the Opposition is concerned, it is also a criterion in democracy. I can tell this House that the present Ministers have no respect for the Opposition parties.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Not even for the Chair.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: Not even for the Chair, but the Chair will take care of itself.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: We should take care of it.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: Let us see what happened. On the 16th, whereas in West Bengal people were being chased like anything, tortured like anything—they were all teenagers purely, demanding rice from the shops, where there was no rice at all— and for demanding rice from the SDO, Basirhat, who said that he was helpless, the police had to open fire, on that day here in this House Mr. Subramaniam showed his extreme discourtesy to the political parties. He shamelessly observed that the professional agitators had become unemployed in Calcutta. That was not to the point either this way or that way. He considers the political parties as professional agitators. That is something foreign to democratic sense. He is devoid of that democratic sense. So, he could use that language. So far as democracy in other countries is concerned, no Minister on the floor of Parliament will use that language. I am constrained to observe that they *do* not know the state of things in the country. There is a saying that when Rome was burning, Nero was fiddling. Similarly, Shri Subramaniam was fiddling here. Similarly, all the Ministers go on fiddling when the country is burning. They do not take stock of the situation. They do not know the situation.

Now, so far as constitutional propriety and Fundamental Rights are concerned, another guarantee in a democracy, another test of a democracy, no less a person than Shri M. C. Setalvad, who till the other day was the Attorney-General of India, the most respected jurist in India—he is not a leftist, he is not a professional agitator, he has not become unemployed— has said this. His observation is that the present DIR amounts to constitutional Fascism. So, this is a country

where the topmost jurist also says that the DIR amounts to constitutional Fascism. You usurp the power under the cloak of emergency. The Ministers of State or Deputy Ministers behave in, a manner befitting an emergency. Everybody is in a funny mood. They do not mind what happens in this country. Only for the purpose of keeping the DIR alive, the state of emergency is being kept running.

I can speak with authority, let the Minister deny it, that in the last Chief Ministers' Conference the Government of India told the Chief Ministers not to apply the DIR in any case other than that of national emergency, other than, where national security is endangered. But in our State of West Bengal, for food agitation only, more than 450 men have been arrested under the DIR. That is the news which I have just now read in the Library from yesterday's papers. More than 450 men have been arrested under the DIR only for demanding food. Is this our democracy? There is no fundamental right, and people are indiscriminately put under arrest. We are the people who supported the DIR; we are the people who supported the emergency when the Chinese attacked us, because we thought that our national security was in danger, because we thought that as patriotic Indians we should help the Government in every possible way. But when they misuse the DIR, when they misuse that emergency, when they abuse the authority given to them, we say that the emergency must go. So in 1962, in the month of October, when in the West Bengal Assembly this question came up, we gave all our support and said that there should be confiscation of everybody's property, if need be. But today we say from the floor of Parliament that it should be withdrawn without a day's delay, because that is the demand of our democracy, that is the demand of the people in this country. Let there be a ballot

[Shri D. L. Sen Gupta.]

on this, let the people's verdict be taken. I am sure even the Congress will be divided on this issue. Even the Congress will not support *en masse* that the DIR should continue. So far as the emergency is concerned, we know that the Chinese threat is there. But it has become almost a settled fact now that because of the impact of world opinion, China will not dare attack India again.. If China had any mind to attack India or capture further territory from us, they would not have withdrawn. If you believe honestly that China is going to invade India or commit further aggression, then you should prepare the atom bomb immediately because that is the effective weapon to face the Chinese aggression. China is already in possession of atomic weapons. How can you fight China without atomic weapons? No respectable Indian will expect that you should depend on America or Great Britain or France or Russia to assist you at the time of war. Believe in war if you do or withdraw the emergency. There is no justification to maintain double standards.

So far as your foreign policy is concerned, it is a dubious foreign policy. If you believe in peace and peace with Pakistan, you can very well take the help of even Russia or any other foreign, power to start negotiations with China. I know that so far as China is concerned, it betrayed us in the past. This Panchsheel, which Shri Jawaharlal Nehru introduced, they have betrayed that. But that betrayal we had also from Pakistan. In August when Pakistan sent infiltrators over the sacred soil of Kashmir, what was it? Was it not betrayal? So long as we are weak, betrayal we must face. If we are strong, there will be no betrayal. Your policy is dubious. For so long 14,000 square miles of Indian territory are in the possession of China, and you are not taking any step to vacate that aggression. Is that not a national insult? How long have we got to

bear with it? After 25 or 30 years the position of India vis-a-vis China will be the same as it is vis-a-vis Pakistan with regard to Kashmir. Even yesterday or the day before Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, clearly said that once we gave the offer of division of Kashmir. So when you say that Kashmir is an integral part of India and in the same breath you say you gave this offer of division, is it not dubious? Where is your stand? If it was Indian territory, what right Shrimati Indira Gandhi or her father had to divide Kashmir and give a part of it to Pakistan?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): He is misrepresenting. The Prime Minister never said that she made the offer.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: What I say is

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: On a point of information. She never said that. She only said that an offer was sometime back made by somebody and it is dead.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: Her father gave that offer. That is what I said. When it was given^ it was given by her father. It is not her father's property that he could give his offer. It was Indian property. That is what I say. If you could do that business with Pakistan, why not do the same with China and settle? The question is this. Where do you stand? I am very glad so far as the Tashkent agreement is concerned because it creates a climate of peace. We want to live as brothers with Pakistan. But my view is that understanding or settlement with China is much more important than settlement with Pakistan because I am not afraid of Pakistani attack. I can fight Pakistan. But I am definitely afraid of the Chinese attack, a much bigger attack. If you want to fight, I am with you. But if you cannot fight, and I know you cannot fight,

you must settle. You must face facts. That is the need of the hour. There cannot be any duplicity in business. You cannot keep the emergency alive for all time to come.

Only one more minute and I am finishing. So far as the question of food is concerned, I am sorry I have no time, but I shall only expect the Treasury Benches not to play foul with food. So far as the food situation, is concerned, you must remember that the zonal business cannot be allowed to continue. So long as the zonal business remains, the scarcity cannot be wiped out. West Bengal is contributing to the treasury funds, to the Indian exchequer, possibly the

largest amount by way of foreign exchange through the export of tea, jute and all that. But there is West Bengal starving, starving and starving and you must not play foul with West Bengal. Rice must flow and flow immediately; otherwise, there may be conflagration and the whole of India may be burnt.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The House stands adjourned till 11 00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at ten minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 23rd February, 1966.