

RAJYA SABHA

Friday, the 25th September, 1965/the 2nd
Asvina, 1887 (Saka)

The House met at ten of the clock, MR.
CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

कृषक और कृषि मजदूर

*806. श्री भगवत नारायण भार्गव :
क्या गृह-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा
करगे कि श्रमिकों की कुल संख्या में कृषकों
और कृषि मजदूरों की प्रतिशतता कम करने
के लिये सरकार कौन से अन्य कदम उठाने
का विचार रखती है ?

f [AGRICULTURISTS AND AGRICULTURAL
LABOUR

*806. SHRI B. N. SHARGAVA: Will the
Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to
state what more steps Government propose to
take to bring down the percentage of
agriculturists and agricultural labour in the
total number of working force?]

गृह-कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री
जयसुख लाल हाथी): सदन के सभा पटल
पर रख दिया गया है।

विवरण

कृषि पर निर्भर रहने वालों की संख्या
में निरन्तर कमी हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना
का महत्वपूर्ण उद्देश्य है। तीसरी योजना
में यह सुझाव दिया गया था कि श्रमिकों की
संख्या में 1961-1976 तक की पन्द्रह वर्ष
की अवधि में होने वाली बढ़ोतरी के लगभग
तिहाई भाग को कृषि के अतिरिक्त अन्य
पेशों में लगाया जाना चाहिये। इस उद्देश्य को

नज़र में रखते हुए हमारी योजनाओं के
जरिये उद्योगों, परिवहन तथा बिजली, ग्रामों
के उद्योगीकरण तथा कृषि को प्रकृष्ट बनाने
के विकास कार्यक्रमों पर विधिवत अमल किया
जा रहा है। चौथी योजना के सन्दर्भ में इन
पहलुओं पर विशेष रूप से ध्यान दिया जा
रहा है।

t[THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI
JAISUKHLAL HATHI): A statement is laid
on the Table of the House.

STATEMENT

A steady reduction in the proportion of
those dependent on agriculture is an important
objective of our Five Year Plan. In the Third
Plan it was proposed that about two-thirds of
the increase in the labour force during the 15
years 1961—1976 should be absorbed in non-
agricultural occupations. To this end
programmes for the development of
industries, transport and power, rural
industrialisation and intensification of
agriculture are being pursued systematically
through our Plans. Special attention to these
aspects is being given in the context of the
Fourth Plan.]

श्री भगवत नारायण भार्गव : क्या
शासन ने कोई ऐसा सर्वेक्षण स्टेटवाइज़ और
डिसट्रिक्टवाइज़ करवाया है कि जिससे
पूरी जानकारी प्राप्त हो सके? इस समस्या के
संबंध में क्या स्थिति है ?

श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी : हां, निरीक्षण
तो कराया है और मालूम हुआ है कि अभी
तक अग्रिकल्चर के बारे में जो अन्वैष्णिकमेन्ट
है, वह है, और ज्यादा लोगों को काम नहीं
मिलता।

श्री भगवत नारायण भार्गव : क्या मैं
जान सकता हूँ कि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के

] English translation

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काल में कितनी प्रतिशत उनकी संख्या कम हुई और चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना में जो रूरल मैनवावर प्रोग्राम बनाया गया है उसके अंतर्गत कितनी संख्या कम हो गई ?

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: In the Third Plan a target of employment opportunities for 14 million was set, of which 105 million were to be outside agriculture and 35 million within agriculture. The assessment indicates that the Third Plan would be able to provide opportunities for about 9.5 million outside agriculture and 3.5 million within agriculture.

श्री भगवत नारायण भर्गव : चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना के बारे में भी मेरा सवाल था ।

श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी : चौथी का अभी विचार हो रहा है ।

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD: What is the percentage of agriculturists and agricultural labourers today?

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: That figure I have not got with me.

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : क्या मंत्री महोदय यह बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की शुरुआत में अग्रिकलचरल लेबर की संख्या क्या थी और इन चार वर्षों में हर वर्ष कितनी कमी हुई और रेकॉर्ड फाइव डायर प्लान के अन्त में जितनी थी उससे आज बढ़ोतरी हुई है या कमी हुई है और बढ़ोतरी हुई है तो कितनी हुई है ?

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: wftt It !? ||
In the Second Five Year Plan the target of employment of 10 million was set of which 8 million was to be outside agriculture and the balance within agriculture. The actual achievement under the Plan was 6.5 million outside agriculture and 1.5 million within agriculture.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Is the Government considering to have an enactment of the nature of minimum wages for agricultural labourers while bringing down the proportion?

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: Perhaps that might be under the consideration of the Labour Ministry.

PAKISTANIS RESIDING IN INDIA SECRETLY

*807. PROF. SATYAVRATA SIDDHANTALANKAR: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to a news-item in 'Nava Bhafat Times' of 26th May, 1965 in which a spokesman of the Uttar Pradesh Government is reported to have said that the investigation during the last two months had revealed that about 2,000 Pakistanis were residing secretly in that State; and

(b) if so, whether Government have asked other States to undertake such an investigation to find out as to how many Pakistanis were secretly residing in India?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Yes. But the information regarding the number of such Pakistani nationals has not been received from all State Governments.

प्र० सत्यव्रत सिद्धांतलंकार : श्रीमान्, पाकिस्तान से जो लोग यहां पर आए हैं वे तीन कोटि के हैं : एक तो वे हैं जो कि काश्मीर के अंदर शस्त्रास्त्र लेकर घुसे हैं जिनको बसपेड वाले कहा जाता है, दूसरे वे हैं जो कि छत्तारियां से गिराये गये हैं भारतवर्ष के अंदर, तीसरे वे हैं जो कि छुप छुप कर इस सतत के शुरू से भारतवर्ष में आना प्रारम्भ हुए हैं जिनकी संख्या आपने स्वीकार की है कि उत्तर प्रदेश में 2,000 के लगभग हैं । उत्तर प्रदेश में

2,000 के लगभग जब इस तरह के पाकिस्तानी हैं तो अन्य प्रान्तों के अन्दर भी होंगे और उनकी संख्या कुल मिलाकर पांच छः हजार के लगभग होगी। तो ऐसे लोग जो छतरी से गिराये गये हैं और जो काश्मीर के अंदर घुसपैस से आए हैं वे इस भरोसे पर आए होंगे कि उनका यहां पर स्वागत करने वाला, छुपाने वाला, रखने वाला होगा क्योंकि बाकी यहां के भारतवासी मुसलमान लोग तो पूरे हिन्दुस्तान के साथ हैं। इसलिये जब तक आने वालों को यह भरोसा न हो कि उनका स्वागत करने वाला भी होगा तब तक वे यहां आ नहीं सकते इसलिये वे लोग छतरी वालों से और घुसपैस वालों से भी ज्यादा भयंकर हैं क्योंकि उनका आसरा यहीं हो सकता है। तो मैं यह प्रश्न करना चाहता हूं कि यह जो 2,000 या 5,000 के लगभग लोग आए उनको कैसा आने दिया गया ?

श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी : मेरे ख्याल से सदस्य साहिब ने एक बयान किया, सवाल तो नहीं पूछा। लेकिन तीन किस्म के जो आने वाले लोग बताए उससे ज्यादा किस्म के हैं। आपने कहा कि काश्मीर में इन्फिल्ट्रेटर्स आए, वह एक प्रकार है। दूसरे आपने कहा कि जो छतरी से आए, पैराटूर्न्स, वह हुए। तीसरा, आपने कहा कि छुप छुप कर आए। ये तीन प्रकार के आपने कहे। लेकिन जो यहां पाकिस्तानी नेशनल्स हैं इससे भी ज्यादा उनकी कैटेगरी हो सकती हैं। मैं बताऊं कौन कौन कैटेगरी होती हैं। तीन तो आपने कहे, ठीक है। छुप छुप कर आए जैसे आसाम, बेस्ट बंगाल, त्रिपुरा में आए हैं। चौथे वे हैं जो ट्रवल डाक्यूमेन्ट के साथ आए हैं विद् पासपोर्ट एण्ड बीजा, लेकिन उनके बीजा का समय खत्म हो गया है तो भी रहते हैं। पांचवें होते हैं कि जो आए और उसके बाद वहां रहने लगे 1952 से लेकर 1957 तक, जब हमने इतनी स्ट्रिक्ट विजिलेन्स नहीं रखी थी। चौथे जो मैंने कहा वह हैं कि जब परमिट सिस्टम था था और पाकिस्तान में लोग दो, तीन, चार महीने के लिये गये, इस दरमियान पास-

पोर्ट सिस्टम शुरू हो गया, वहां से उनको आने का मौका नहीं मिला जब तक कि वे पाकिस्तान का पासपोर्ट न लें और उनको पाकिस्तान का पासपोर्ट लेना पड़ा। फिर वे पाकिस्तानी नेशनल बन गए। कुछ लोग ऐसे भी हैं जिनको हम हर साल एक एक साल की नियाद देते हैं। लेकिन वह बात ठीक है कि 2,000 आदमी जो उत्तर प्रदेश में हैं सारे देश में इसी प्रकार के आदमी जो पासपोर्ट बीजा पर आए हैं और पहले से आए हैं और अभी भी सीक्रेटरी रहते हैं उनकी संख्या 5,000 के करीब होगी। हमने हर एक स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को लिखा है कि ऐसे नेशनल्स जो अन्टीजायरेबल हों, सणपिणस किस्म के हों उनको इन्टर्न किया जाय, डीटेन किया जाय और उनके मूवमेंट पर रेस्ट्रिक्शन रखा जाय।

प्र.० सत्यव्रत सिद्धांतालंकार : श्रीमान्, पाकिस्तान रेडियो से यह घोषणा प्रसारित हुई है कि बाहर की लड़ाई तो समाप्त हो गई है लेकिन अंदर की लड़ाई चलेगी और अंदर की लड़ाई जिस तरह से चल सकती है वह आप जानते हैं कि किस तरह से वे सैबोटाज करेंगे, किस तरह से क्या कुछ करेंगे। इसलिये क्या मंत्री महोदय यह बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि क्या सक्षम कायवाही उनके विरुद्ध की जायगी? क्या यह नहीं हो सकता कि प्रत्येक भारतवासी को रजिस्टर कर दिया जाय चाहे हिन्दू हो, मुसलमान हो, पारसी हो, ईसाई हो और रजिस्ट्रेशन करते हुए इस बात का पता लगाया जाय कि कौन पाकिस्तानी है और कौन पाकिस्तानी नहीं है ?

श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी : जब तक पाकिस्तान के साथ काश्मीर का सवाल है वह तो बिल्कुल सही बात है कि कुछ गड़बड़ कर कर्कशे इन्फिल्ट्रेटर्स। तो इन्फिल्ट्रेटर्स को तो निकालना ही पड़ेगा और खत्म करना पड़ेगा, उसके लिये कोई कांस्टीट्यूशनल और लीगल कार्यवाही हो नहीं सकती, उनको तो हटाना होगा, निकालना पड़ेगा, खत्म करना पड़ेगा। जहां तक ऐसे लोग हैं जो 1952 में आ गए

और यहां रहते हैं उनके लिये हम कार्यवाही करेंगे कि ऐसे लोगों को तलाश कर कर के निकाल दिया जाय।

प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धांतालंकार : सिर्फ एक प्रश्न मेरा और है। शकल से तो पता नहीं लग सकता कि यह आदमी पाकिस्तानी है या हिन्दुस्तानी है आप चुन चुन कर कैसे निकालेंगे, शकल से निकलना हो तो बड़ा आसान है लेकिन अगर कोई पाकिस्तानी है तो पाकिस्तान उसके दिल के अंदर बैठा हुआ है, माथे के अंदर नहीं बैठा हुआ है ?

श्री जयमुख लाल हाथी : यह बात सही है कि शकल में नहीं लिखा हुआ है, यही दिक्कत है, लेकिन हर आदमी को रजिस्टर कर सकेंगे, जैसे इलेक्टोरल रोल में हर आदमी रजिस्टर होता है लेकिन रजिस्टर करने के बाद एक एक आदमी को शहर शहर में, गांव गांव में ढूँढ कर निकालना मुश्किल बहुत है। लेकिन ऐसे पांच छः हजार आदमी हैं जिनके खिलाफ कार्यवाही करने के लिये हमने हर एक डिस्ट्रिक्ट आफिसर, पुलिस आफिसर को कहा है कि जो कोई बाहर का आदमी मालूम पड़े उसको इन्टरोगेट करे, पूछताछ करे और उसके बारे में जांच पड़ताल करे।

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: I would like to know what has happened to the Pakistani paratroopers who were dropped between Delhi and Meerut by a transport plane which crashed. The remains of the plane are there but there is nothing known about the crew who have neither been found dead nor captured. Uttar Pradesh claims that no paratroopers were dropped while New Delhi claims that some were dropped. May I know whether the Central Intelligence had made enquiries in this matter?

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: Yes, Sir, enquiries were made and they were found somewhere round about Punjab.

شیخ عبدالغنی : کیا وزیر صاحب فرمائیں گے کہ آئیندہ ملک میں بے ایمان لوگ نہ آ سکیں، چاہے وہ پاکستانی ہوں یا مخالف لوگ ہوں۔ کیا ان کے بارے میں کوئی انڈینٹٹی کارڈ کا راستہ نکالا جائے گا جس سے کہ بوکس ووٹرس نہ بن سکیں؟ دوسری بات میں یہ جاننا چاہتا ہوں کہ جو لوگہاں ہندوستانی ہائی کمیشن سے ویزا یا پاس پورٹ لے کر آئی ہیں انہیں ہدایت کے طور پر پکڑا گیا ہے تو کیا انہیں گورنمنٹ دے کر دے کرنے کے بارے میں سوچہنگی؟

†[श्री अब्दुल गनी : क्या वजीर साहिब फर्मायेंगे कि आर्यदा मुल्क में बेईमान लोग न आ सकें, धोकाबाज लोग न आ सकें, चाहे वे पाकिस्तानी हों या मुस्लिम लोग हों, क्या उनके बारे में कोई आईडेंटिटी कार्ड का रास्ता निकाला जाएगा जिस से कि बोगस वोटर न बन सकें? दूसरी बात मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो लड़कियाँ हिन्दुस्तानी हाई कमिशन से वीजा या पासपोर्ट ले कर आई हैं, उन्हें हिदायत के तौर पर पकड़ा गया है तो क्या उन्हें गवर्नमेंट रिहा करने के बारे में सोचेगी?]

श्री जयमुख लाल हाथी : जो लोग पासपोर्ट और वीजा लेकर यहां आये हैं और जिनके बारे में हमें यह सूचना मिली है कि वे सशस्त्रीय करेक्टर के लोग हैं उन्हें गिरफ्तार किया गया है और जो दूसरे किस्म के लोग हैं उनके सूबमेंट पर रजिस्ट्रेशन लगाया गया है।

شیخ عبدالغنی : مہرا جواب نہیں ملا، جو لوگہاں پکڑی گئی تھیں؟

†[1 Hindi transliteration.

†[श्री अब्दुल सनी : मेरा जवाब नहीं मिला, जो लड़कियाँ पकड़ी गई थीं ?]

श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी : इस तरह के लोग सारे हिन्दुस्तान में पकड़े गये हैं।

شری عبدالغنی : میں پنجاب کے کورنگوں ضلع کی بات کر رہا ہوں -

†[श्री अब्दुल सनी : मैं पंजाब के गड़गाओं जिला की बात कर रहा हूँ।]

श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी : इसके बारे में मैं पंजाब सरकार से मालूम करूंगा।

SHRI FARIDUL HAQ ANSARI: May I know whether the hon. Minister has got any statistics about Delhi about the number of Pakistanis overstaying here? I am asking this question because in the papers, about a week ago, there was a news that quite a good number of Pakistanis are overstaying. I want to know what has happened to them.

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: About seventy people have been detained.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: Sir, the hon. Minister has said that there are different categories of Pakistanis in India. One of these categories is of those Indian Muslims who on some temporary business or some other work went to Pakistan when there was no permit system and then the permit system was introduced and the passport system was introduced. They were Indian citizens and they wanted to remain Indian citizens but because of the permit and passport system they could not come back unless they took a Pakistani passport. The force of circumstances compelled them to take a Pakistani passport. What is the number of such persons whom I consider Indian nationals in India at present and on whom, by treating

them as other Pakistani citizens Government is perpetrating, in my opinion, a cruelty and" is forcing them, these loyal Indians, to remain Pakistani citizens?

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: It is difficult to find out whether they wanted to come back to India or they wanted to stay there. They have come here On passports. They have made some representation, some people have made, that they had been there, they wanted to come back and in the meantime this system of passport was introduced and they had to take out a Pakistani passport. In such cases, we allow them to stay here.

श्री राम सहाय : क्या मैं यह जान सकूंगा कि पाकिस्तान जो यह प्रचार कर रहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार पाकिस्तानियों के बजाय इंडियन मुसलमानों को गिरफ्तार कर रही है, उसके बारे में क्या तथ्य है ?

श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी : जो इंडियन मुसलमान गिरफ्तार किये गये हैं वे डिफेन्स आफ इंडिया रूल के मातहत गिरफ्तार किये गये हैं और उन्हें इसलिये नहीं गिरफ्तार किया गया है कि वे पाकिस्तानी मुसलमान हैं।

श्री जगत नारायण : क्या वजीर साहिब बतलावेंगे कि पंजाब में कितने इन्फिल्ट्रेटर्स उतरे और अब तक कितने पकड़े गये और कितने पैराट्रूप्स उतरे और कितने पकड़े गये ?

श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी : मेरे पास इसकी संख्या नहीं है लेकिन जैसा मैंने वाजपेयी साहिब से कहा कि यह पंजाब के इर्दगिर्द की बात है, उत्तर प्रदेश में नहीं है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैंने उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में पूछा था न कि पंजाब के बारे में।

†[] Hindi transliteration.

श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी : इसीलिए मैं बिलयर कर देना चाहता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश में नहीं है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश में जो पाकिस्तानी सी 130 ट्रांसपोर्ट प्लेन मार गिराया गया था और जिसके टुकड़े मिले हैं, उसका न चालक अभी तक पकड़ा गया और न उसमें बैठे हुए लोग ही पकड़े गये। इसलिये मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि उस जहाज में बैठे हुए लोग कहाँ गायब हो गये ?

श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी : वही मैंने कहा कि उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में मेरे पास सूचना नहीं है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : क्या इसका अर्थ यह नहीं हुआ कि वे लोग अभी तक पकड़े नहीं गये ? आप इसका साफ जवाब दें।

श्री जयसुख लाल हाथी : उसमें से कोई पकड़ा नहीं गया।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It seems that Government does not have a clear policy in regard to this matter. We are receiving reports from "West Bengal" even this morning I got a report—that members of the minority community belonging to our Party and other secular and democratic parties are being arrested under the Defence of India Rules on the ground, in some cases, that they have "relatives in Pakistan or that they visited them last year and so on. May I know whether the country is going to have an assurance that such Muslims would not be arrested and that when the parties concerned or others can vouch for their integrity, Government would move in the matter and set all those people who have been arrested at liberty? We have brought this matter to the notice of the Home Minister and he has been good enough to consider this matter but I am bringing it

to the notice of the House also because even this morning I got a message, for example, the relatives of Poet Nazrul Islam have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules. We know them for the past thirty, fifty years. There is nothing against them.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA: It is a very different question. The hon. Member also met me and I asked him to give me the names so that I could personally see if there was anything. I will see that nothing is done which will not be on adequate grounds.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: In this connection, I would like to bring to his notice the case of a gentleman, Mr. Peer Mohammad by name . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, no names, please.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: He is it. Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Don't mention the names here. Give them to the Minister, if you so wish.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: I do not mention the name, Sir. I will give it to the Minister. ' One gentleman in Tirunelveli District, Madras State, had offered to co-operate with the officers in the war effort and the Collector appreciated his offer but even without the knowledge of the Collector, the particular gentleman has been arrested in spite of the fact that he had offered his services. He is a good propagandist and the Collector appreciated his work. He was arrested and he belongs to a minority community. Is that right?

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is the question?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: What are the reasons for his arrest?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How will such cases be dealt with by Government or have been dealt with by Government?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think he can take care of himself.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA: Although it is not a question, I think it is an important enough matter that has been raised here which calls for a clarification from me. In respect of the many persons detained, it should not at all be construed that there is any kind of bias against any community. A number of people belonging to other communities have also been detained; this is a much larger number and, therefore, in every case, it is a question of the merits, the factual circumstances of each case. This is dealt with in the States. We lay down the principles but they have to carry out their responsibilities and they do not refer to us for each case. Still, I think I can exercise my good offices when I find that there is something which calls for a fresh review of the matter.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: May I know whether Government is aware of the fact that the Indonesian Communist Party Leaders issued a statement to wage a civil war in the country when Pakistan started its aggression? Is it also a fact that the Chinese Communist Party instigated certain persons who belong to the Left Communist Party to collaborate with the paratroopers coming from Pakistan? In these circumstances, it is not a question of political affiliations but the particular activity against the nation that counts for getting them arrested.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is the question?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: The question is whether Government is aware of this fact that the Indonesian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party have been instigating the Left Communists in this country to collaborate with the Pakistani.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You do not have to repeat the whole thing. I just wanted to know what your question was.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA: All this has been made known to us from various sources as the hon. Member has been acquainted but what the response of the Left Communist has been on this, of course, we will also try to find out.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: This crisis has revealed that many foreigners, including Pakistani citizens, overstay their visa in the country. May I know if the Home Ministry will take some steps which will ensure that no foreigner, whether Pakistani or otherwise, will overstay his visa in the country, and also whether prompt action and strong action will be taken against those who overstay their visas?

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA: This is a matter fully under our consideration that our arrangements should be tightened so that there is no overstay as far as possible.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We know of the fantastic statement of an Indonesian Communist leader but we do not know of all the things he said. Anyhow may I ask the hon. Minister—it is not a question of any party; individuals are there, independents—a question? There is an independent M.L.A. in West Bengal who was arrested under the D.I.R. He was a captain in the Army and he offered his services to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. There are such people belonging to many parties. I would like to know whether the Government is going to lay down a clear-cut policy so that people are consulted. Suppose you have some doubt about some people, you can consult their party representatives or their organisations and satisfy yourself instead of getting them arrested. So I want to know from him whether he is aware that in some places—it is not Mr. Nanda or even some Minister—the local officials and others and some employers are getting some of the trade union and other people arrested because the going is good now under the D.I.R. and people could be put in jail.

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA: It is entirely repugna.it to my own attitude | that any person should be detained or i his movements restrained because he j is a trade union worker. Possibly a I mistake might occur but I do not ! think -any such thing has happened within my knowledge. And as I have told the hon. Member he can let me know if anything has occurred.

REVISION OF REFINERY AGREEMENT BY M/s. BURMAH SHELL

"808. SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: Will the Minister of PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS be pleased to state:

(a) whether M/s. Burmah Shell have agreed to revise the existing refinery agreement; and

(b) if so, when the revised agreement is expected to be signed?

THE MINISTER OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR): (a) and (b) Burmah-Shell have agreed in principle to the revision of the existing refinery agreement. Draft letters have been drawn up for the purpose and a reply from the company is awaited.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: What are the main features of the new agreement?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: The major change will be that till now there was the refinery agreement which gave them certain privileges. In future they will be governed by the ordinary industrial licence. There are two features to which I would like to draw the attention of the House as a result of this industrial licence. The first great change will be regarding the utilisation of indigenous crude oil. In future indigenous crude oil which will include crude produced in the country or outside by the Government or by the Government in partnership with others will be used by these companies. The second is about the use of tankers. Indian tankers will be given preference. Under the old

refinery agreement these companies had the option of choosing their own tankers.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: Utilisation* of tankers is the option of the company?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: Under the refinery agreement which was signed about ten or twelve years ago they had the option of choosing their tankers but under the new industrial licence it will be Indian tankers.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: May I know if the agreement will take care of the price of crude which the Burma-Shell imports?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: Regarding the price of crude also, this will be determined according to the formula laid down by the working group. There also there is a change from the past.

SHRI A. D. MANI: May I ask whether the Burmah-Shell during the present emergency, that is, during the recent conflict, was able to meet the defence requirements of India or was there any reluctance on their part to supply a certain kind of petroleum product? The second question I would like to ask is ...

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: Sir, one at a time would be better.

Now this supplementary does not arise from this question but in order to remove any misgivings or doubts, I would say that there has been full co-operation from them.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: May I know whether the Government propose to insert a stipulation that in case of non-availability of crude from their sources they will be forced to utilise the crude that we will supply to them? For example, they get their crude from Persia but if Persia failed to supply crude to them, it should be incumbent on them to utilise the crude that we may be -able to give them.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: We have got this agreement that they will use indigenous crude which will be defined by the Government. The other point I will keep in mind. The discussions started in 1962 and for two years were practically at a standstill. Since we are now on the point of reaching an agreement, I would not like to introduce fresh features at this stage but this will be kept in mind.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: The new agreement is an improvement on the last one but I would ask the hon. Minister after the bitter experience of the last one month, don't you feel that it is time that this strategic material should be nationalised instead of renewing the agreement?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: This is a question of policy and it does not arise out of this but I may tell the House that in the new agreement there is no assurance about nationalisation whether it will be done or not. It will be left to the Government.

PROF. B. N. PRASAD: Usually the Burmah-Shell gets crude oil from the Middle East and of course in the new agreement you say that they will have to take some oil from Indian sources also. In view of the present conflict will it not be desirable that Burmah-Shell should be encouraged to get crude oil from sources other than the Middle East? There are sources in Africa, Russia and elsewhere. For the sake of precaution it will be very desirable that our sources of crude oil should be extended. Will it not be worth while to tell Burmah-Shell that the countries from which they get crude oil should include also Africa and other countries other than Middle East?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: Sir, this question deals with Refinery Agreement and the point of the hon. Member hardly arises out of this. But I would say—first of all there is no conflict at the moment; fortunately the

conflict is over.—that even during the conflict we had definite assurances from the Iranian Ambassador who met me. He said there was no question of any stoppage of supplies to India. Apart from that, we have other sources. This Middle East area does not mean only one country; there are at least half a dozen countries and a large number of concerns. We have sufficient flexibility and we shall see that crude supplies are kept available.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I know whether in the light of the recent experience the Government is reconsidering the whole matter not from the point of view of general policy but from the point of view of concrete tasks? In view of the fact that many installations or pumps are there and the army units take petrol from them, they come to know the exact movements of the army and so on. What guarantee is there that these foreign concerns, "because they distribute oil in this manner through these various installations and pumps would not be knowing the army movements and so on and why steps are not being taken to take over these immediately?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: So far as defence installations are concerned they are governed according to certain rules. I shall also keep in mind the point raised by the hon. Member.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Is there a provision in the agreement for the whole of the undertaking to be nationalised or taken over by the Government if it wants to do so?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: I have already said that under the new agreement no assurances have been given to the company on this point.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: The hon. Minister said that we have sufficient sources for the supply of crude oil. Then why is it we are facing scarcity of kerosene and crude in this country?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: This is a question of foreign exchange, not of supply.

SHRI SANTOKH SINGH: The amount of crude found in the country falls short of the needs of the country itself and so we have to import crude. May I know the likely difference in the comparative rates of the imported crude and the indigenous crude and is there any scheme of fixing a common price for all the crude to be supplied to the refinery whether it is public sector or the private sector?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: Today our capacity is such that we can, if necessary, meet about 50 per cent of our requirements. Regarding price, there is an import parity price; the same price is charged.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am afraid I have to disappoint other Members because we have done only three questions so far. We pass on to the next question.

REHABILITATION GRANT TO MADHYA PRADESH

*809. THAKUR BHANU PRATAP SINGH: Will the Minister of REHABILITATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have sanctioned any further grant to the Government of Madhya Pradesh for giving relief to new migrants from East Pakistan during the period from May to July, 1965; and

(b) if so, what is the quantum of the grant?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF REHABILITATION (DR. MONO MOHAN DAS): (a) and (b) Yes, Sir, a sum of Rs. 1,99,270 has been sanctioned during the period to the Madhya Pradesh Government for certain specific relief schemes pertaining to temporary accommodation, water supply arrangements etc. This amount is in addition to expenditure on accommodation, clothing, blankets, utensils, cash doles and other relief items which the State Government were authorised to incur for the new migrants in camps run by them.

THAKUR BHANU PRATAP SINGH: May I know, Sir, which

other States have been given such grants for rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan?

DR. MONO MOHAN DAS: Several other States of India have taken upon themselves the task of helping the Central Government by rehabilitating a certain number of refugees in their own States, such as U. P., Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, etc. Everyone of these States is being given the amount spent by them for this purpose.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया :
क्या श्रीमान यह बतलायेंगे कि ये जो विस्था-
पित बसे हैं, इसके लिए मध्य प्रदेश सरकार
ने केन्द्रीय सरकार से क्या क्या मांग की
थी और वास्तविकता में मध्य प्रदेश
सरकार को क्या-क्या सहायता दी गई ?

DR. MONO MOHAN DAS: There are certain items of expenditure which will be incurred by the Madhya Pradesh Government according to the scheduled rates fixed by the Central Government. For this no previous sanction is necessary. There are other items for which previous sanction of the Central Government is necessary. For the information of the hon. Member I may tell him that the Madhya Pradesh Government has incurred, during the last few months of 1965, i.e., from April to July, an expenditure of Rs. 18,32,650 and this sum will have to be paid by the Central Government to the Madhya Pradesh Government. Up till now we have sanctioned only Rs. 1,99,270 to that Government.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD: May I know, Sir, the number of migrants on whom the Government has spent this much amount

DR. MONO MOHAN DAS: At present the total number of migrant families that are in the different camps is 5,119 and the number of persons in these families is 22,186.

SHRI A. D. MANI: The Minister stated just now that the Madhya Pradesh Government has spent about Rs. 18 lakhs and the Government of India has sanctioned only Rs. 1 lakh. Now, would he be in a position to explain why the entire amount has not been paid to the Madhya Pradesh Government, where there is no question of sanction coming in? Is it a question of scrutinising the accounts or computing the expenditure incurred by the Madhya Pradesh Government?

DR. MONO MOHAN DAS: I have already said that there are certain items, *e.g.*, payment of cash doles, providing clothing, blankets, etc. These are incurred by the State Governments in accordance with our standing instructions and no separate specific sanction is necessary for that. There are certain other items for which sanction is necessary. Now, the State Government at first incurs the expenditure and later we pay the bill. We return the money.

SHRI DAYALDAS KURRE- May I know, Sir, what are the items for which the further grants may be utilised by the new migrants?

DR. MONO MOHAN DAS: I have said that there are two types of expenditure incurred by the State Governments. For example, there are certain items like cash doles, clothing, blankets, etc. for which no previous sanction of the Central Ministry is required. There are certain other items for which it is required, for example, expenditure on police stations, construction of godowns, etc. in the relief camps, then construction of hutments and in some camps water supply arrangements. Then, certain discretionary grant is also given to the State Governments for expenditure.

DRIFT OF STUDENTS TO UNIVERSITY COURSES

*810. SHRI A. D. MANI: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Planning Commission has proposed to

Government that the drift of students to University courses, particularly in the Arts and Commerce courses, should be checked to improve the quality of higher education in India; and

(b) if so, the reactions of Government to the said proposal?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI BHAKT DARSHAN): (a) In its Memorandum on the Fourth Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission has stressed the need for provision at the post-matric and university stage for diverting students to vocational courses and increased emphasis on Science and all honours courses, postgraduate studies and research, to improve the quality of higher education in India.

(b) In formulating programmes for the development of higher education during the Fourth Plan period, efforts are being made by Government to give effect to the suggestions made by the Planning Commission.

SHRI A. D. MANI- According to the Memorandum, which was submitted by the Planning Commission, the enrolment of students in colleges would be raised from 11 lakhs by the end of the Third Plan to 16 lakhs by the end of the Fourth Plan. Has the Planning Commission argued that there is a considerable measure of educated unemployment in the country and, therefore, there should be no rush for admission to colleges?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: We have now accepted as a policy that there should be a stricter test for admission to colleges. I agree with my hon. friend that the number of entrants to colleges is increasing, which adds to the number of educated unemployed, and, therefore, we have various schemes for preventing a large number of students from going into colleges. That does not mean that we are going to deny them higher education. We are going to diversify our-

ses in the secondary schools, have more junior technical schools, have correspondence courses and have evening colleges, so that the number of students getting full collegiate education should be reduced.

SHRI A. D. MANI: The Planning Commission seems to have recommended to the Government that an autonomous organisation should be set up to provide scholarships and fellowships under the Fourth Plan for capable students. What are the Government's reactions to the proposal of the Planning Commission?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: We have a large number of scholarship schemes just at present being administered by the Ministry and I do not think any dissatisfaction has been expressed with regard to the manner or the mode of administration, but we will certainly give careful consideration to the suggestion of the Planning Commission. We have not taken any decision on it.

SHRI A. D. MANI: The Minister just now said about the educated unemployed. That was the substance of my question. May I ask him whether there are quite a large number of people who have taken technical and scientific courses and who are unemployed at the present time?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: We are trying now to work out a better manpower system. We are trying to find out how many people would need what type of jobs and prepare our courses accordingly.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Is it not a fact that according to a report published by the CSIR it is revealed that one-third of the finished engineers are unemployed in the country. In view of this fact, not only there are no avenues for other types of education for our boys and girls, but also those who are educated do not get employed. Now, in such a situation, how does the Government propose to solve it merely by restricting admission to I

cnilej • that these restrictions have meant, in fact, denial of higher education of any type to a large number of students?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: With great respect to my learned friend, the assumption underlying his question is wrong. As I said, it is the duty of the State to give higher education to everyone who needs it. The question is what type of education should be given. If everybody goes to an arts college and gets merely a degree, you add to the number of the unemployed. Therefore, we are trying to reorganise our courses so that there should be less unemployment and everybody finds a job.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Prof. Satyavrata Siddhantalankar.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before you put your second supplementary, there are other Members who have not put even one.

PROF. SATYAVRATA SIDDHANT-ALANKAR: Is it not a fact that the standards in the universities are falling due to the fact that thirty per cent of the time of the student is taken up in acquiring knowledge of a language which is not his own and consequently the student has to spend most of his time in acquiring knowledge of the language and not knowledge proper? If that is the reason, then would it be proper to allow a vast number of students to enter universities, when they are desirous of entering them?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I agree with my hon. friend ^{that} the standards of higher education are falling, but there are various causes and certainly one of the causes as mentioned by the hon. Member, is that the medium of instruction in schools is the regional language or an Indian language and when the student has to switch over to English, difficulties arise. That is why in many States now intensive

teaching in English is given before the student starts his collegiate course.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: May I know if the attention of the Government has been drawn to an imbalance which has developed in education the result of which is that the best students are not studying humanities? If so, may I know whether the Government will, during the Fourth Plan period, take some steps to encourage the study of humanities?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Yes, Sir, I am conscious of the fact that almost 60 to 70 per cent of our students want to take science courses. Even girls now want to study science. In a sense it is a good thing. But we must not forget the fact that humanities are also important and we must try to have, what shall I say, a proper adjustment between humanities and sciences. I think it is a bad thing for India if we forget the study of humanities. We have certain principles and ideals to which we must adhere.

SHRI D. THENGARI: While diverting students to vocational courses, is it proposed to introduce aptitude test?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Yes, Sir, we will certainly apply the aptitude test, if possible.

SHRI SANTOKH SINGH: Many students are destined to shine after their Higher Secondary Examination. May be by sheer luck they did not do well in one particular examination. But why should they be denied the opportunity of exhibiting themselves in life by the sheer process of elimination through the alleged strong test?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: The whole idea should be that you must discover talent and give full opportunity for talent to develop itself. That is the line we are following. It is not easy but we are doing our best.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: In view of the most critical phase through which I

our country is passing, and the dangers which are being faced by the country, is the Government considering to change the present educational system and to have it more defence-oriented?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Yes, Sir, I think we should pay special attention to the question of defence, and I think our young men and young women always respond to the call of the country. But as far as military training is concerned we are introducing special military courses in some of the universities.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The hon. Minister said that they recognise the duty. What I say is that the duty is recognised by them but it is not performed. In view of the fact that poverty rules over a large number of talented students, if you improve education without corresponding arrangements which are not in existence, it means denial of education to a large number of them. In view of this may I know whether he has held any consultations with the university and other authorities in order to evolve a plan which would ensure that talent does not get shut out simply because it has not the money, and secondly also that those who are not allowed studies in humanities are given alternative education in science and technology?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I may tell my hon. friend that I was recently in Calcutta and I discussed this question with the educational authorities there. As far as Delhi is concerned we have now decided that instead of building new colleges—because the rush of students is so great—we should utilise the existing colleges by having two shifts, morning and afternoon, and thereby meet the problem of new students.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: A nation's power is based on development and development is based mainly today on science education may I know if Government realises this and Govern-

ment would make no endeavours to check the drift of students towards science? One of the basic defects of Indian education is lack of integration between our development needs and our educational system, and Boys of their own volition are taking to science and removing this maladjustment. Why should Government feel worried? Because in my opinion the study of humanities in this inhuman age is out of place.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: My hon. friend has misunderstood my answer. I am all for science. I think unless India becomes scientific-minded, it will not become progressive. We cannot fight superstition and prejudices without science. But all that I am saying is that while we should attach the greatest importance to science, we must not wholly overlook humanities.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: The hon. Minister will appreciate that the trend towards technology is partly due to the new requirements and partly due to the fact that those who take humanities do not get any means of getting employment. Is his Ministry thinking of a scheme which would provide opportunities for those who distinguish themselves in humanities as well?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: As my hon. friend knows, in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and in other countries, humanities not as understood in the past of traditional knowledge but humanities meaning social sciences are assuming great importance, and we should certainly see that these people are employed in places suitable to their knowledge.

PROF. B. N. PRASAD: will the Minister let us know the percentage of students in some of the advanced countries like the U.S.S.R. and the USA. and even Great Britain who offer sciences and the percentage of students who offer humanities? That will give us some idea regarding the present trend on education.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I think the University Grants Commission report or some report I have seen has given the figures. I have not got them here.

SHRIMATI JAHANARA JAIPAL SINGH: Will the hon. Minister consider withdrawing the words "even girls take to science"?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I apologise to the lady Member. I want girls to be as scientific-minded as boys; if anything, more so.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The ladies did not know how to defend themselves in time.

(Interruption)

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN: Will the Minister consider making the choice by the students of a career on the basis of the aptitude test compulsory?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Some aptitude test is still being worked out in advanced countries like the U.S.A. and the U.K. It is not very easy. They have all sorts of schemes. But to find out the real talent of a young boy or girl, I think, is the most difficult thing in the world. We can only experiment.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No further question. You have taken only fifteen minutes over this question.

OIL REFINERY AT ERNAKULAM

*811. SHRIMATI DEVKI GOPIDAS: Will the Minister of PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS be pleased to state.

(a) the factors responsible for the reported delay in the commissioning of the oil refinery at Ernakulam;

(b) whether enough electricity could be made available by the Government of Kerala for the successful running of this refinery when commissioned; and

(c) if not, what alternative arrangements will be made to meet the power requirements of the refinery?

THE MINISTER OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR).

(a) According to the agreement signed in April 1963, the Refinery should have been commissioned by November 1965 but as there was delay in the acquisition of the land for the Refinery, construction could start only in March 1964 and it is expected the Refinery will go on stream in February/March 1966.

(b) The Kerala Government have assured that enough power will be available.

(c) Does not arise.

SHRIMATI DEVAKI GOPIDAS: Even during last June the most important factory in Kerala was experiencing difficulty due to electricity cut. At this juncture is it possible that the Kerala State Government will be able to give you enough electricity to this oil refinery unless the project is completed? And no project is going to be completed by the next year.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: The Kerala Government has assured us that it has several hydro-electric projects under construction and sufficient power will be available to start the refinery in January 1966. They have also a scheme for building a thermal 50 mega-watt power station which will come into stream in 1968 to supplement the power which will be available from the hydro-electric installations.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: Is it a fact that some of the industries that are to be started with the by-products of this refinery had been given up due to the reason that sufficient power was not found to be available for starting them?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: Actually we are planning a very big fertilizer plant based on the naphtha available from this refinery, and that has not been given up.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: Is it a fact that the petro-chemical complex

that was to be started there had been given up due to scarcity of power?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: No, Sir. The question is, there may be some petro-chemical industries in that area, but which industries and at what stage, this is a matter which is under discussion with the Planning Commission. It is unlikely that there will be any major petro-chemical complex in this area during the Fourth Plan.

SHRI V. C. KESAVA RAO: Is it a fact that Madras has got surplus power and may I know whether it is giving any surplus to Kerala?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: This question really should be addressed to my colleague. So far as the refinery is concerned, we are assured by the Kerala Government that power will be available.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: What are the reasons that led to the decision . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am afraid you have already put two questions.

SHRI K. DAMODARAN: Petrochemical industries will depend upon the availability of naphtha. It seems that the naphtha available will not be sufficient for the petro-chemical industries. Therefore, will the Government reconsider the question of expanding the refinery so as to make naphtha available both for the fertilizer* factory and the petro-chemical industries? What else can you do?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: I have stated, when I placed the Oil Policy Statement before the House, that the question of the expansion of refineries in future will be taken up after taking into consideration the local demand in that particular supply area and this question will be taken up at the appropriate time.

SHRI SANTOKH SINGH: What is the nature of the petro-chemical complex scheme expected to be

started there and what is going to be i the size of naphtha consumption?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: I have stated that at the moment the only item which would have to be definitely expected is the fertilizer plant. About the other plants, detailed studies will have to be undertaken. I cannot give any specific answer at this stage.

SHRI CD. PANDE: In view of the difficulties experienced in establishing this refinery and because we have already taken more than one year after the target period, will the Government take steps to see that other refineries that are under contemplation or under construction do not meet with the same difficulty and that they come up in time?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: My hon. friend's assumption is wrong. This refinery was to have been completed in November, 1965. It will be completed in January, 1966, which is a difference of only 2½ months.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Let us hope so.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: The Minister mentioned that the delay is due to difficulties in land acquisition. May I know if the land acquisition proceedings, were taken up when the site was selected or they were taken up only after the agreement with the foreign collaborators was signed?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: Sir, I would have to ask for notice for that because this matter would really concern the State Government. I do not know when land acquisition proceedings were taken up. But if he gives me notice, I shall get the information for him.

SHRI RAMGOPAL GUPTA: The Minister made a statement that the schemes of the different States for establishing refineries will be taken into consideration. In view of this statement, I would like to know if

there is any scheme to put up a refinery plant in UP in the Fourth Plan period.

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: There is no proposal to put up any refinery in UP in the Fourth Plan.

SHRIMATI DEVAKI GOPIDAS: May I know what are the reasons that led to the dropping of the petrochemical complex industries there on a large scale?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: There is no question of dropping it, because it was never accepted.

SHRI DAYALDAS KURRE: May I know how many kinds of refined oil will be produced by the Ernakulam Refinery and the annual quantum of the different varieties?

SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR: The main products I can give. The bulk products which will be produced will be motor spirit, naphtha, diesel oil, kerosene and one or two other specialities. But if he asks for a detailed break-up, I ask for notice.

SUPPLY OF ARMS TO PERSONS IN BORDER AREAS

SHRI RAM SINGH: त्रिभुवन, श्री शिवानन्द] रामाणुल: (श्री सी. एल. वरमा:

Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have considered any scheme to supply arms free of cost to persons living in border areas including hilly areas of Lahaul, Spiti and Kinnaur;

(b) whether any request has been received by concerned authorities from persons in the border areas in this regard; and

The question was actually asked on the floor of the House by Shri Ram Singh.

(c) if so, what is the decision of Government thereon?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): (a) to (c) The general question of arming persons living in border areas has been considered. While for obvious reasons weapons cannot be issued indiscriminately to people living in these areas, attention has been paid to the training of the people in the use of weapons and for the issue of weapons to those enrolled as Home Guards when they are called up for duty.

SHRI RAM SINGH: Has it come to the notice of the Government that the Himachal Pradesh Government has issued instructions for getting arms licences even 'though the people were used to handle arms without licences?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I am not aware of the instruction of the Himachal Pradesh, Sir. But those who have not got licences, they will have to surrender the arms. Otherwise, that is illegal.

SHRI A. D. MANI: During the present emergency, the Defence Ministry has been giving rifle training to the citizens at the various centres. Is it proposed to give compulsory rifle training for all the able-bodied persons in these border areas or is it going to be purely on a voluntary basis, if any training is to be given in future?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Sir, this House discussed the matter only two weeks ago. We had one full day's debate on the subject and the question was fully discussed. So far as the training part is concerned, I am not aware of the training being given by the Defence Ministry. It might be. But there is also a Civil Rifle Training Scheme launched by the Ministry of Home Affairs, and we are encouraging that scheme. But about compulsory training, it is not possible, even physically, at the moment.

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SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Not even in the border areas?

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, no, Shri Arora.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: Is the Government aware that during the war just ended our villagers in the border areas had no arms and that they had to fight the soldiers who were fully armed with modern weapons with lathis, while the inhabitants of the border villages in Pakistan had been fully equipped with modern arms?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I may inform the hon. Member that our people in the border villages were not as helpless as the hon. Member feels. They had arms, some arms were supplied to the people living in the villages in the border States.

SHRI SHIVA NAND RAMAUL: In the absence of free arms being supplied to the border people, may I know whether the Government will consider the issue of licences to as many people as possible in that area?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: The issue of licences is a question with the State Government. But there is no question of issuing free arms to the people of the border areas.

SHRI FARIDUL HAQ ANSARI: May I know whether in view of the continuing threat from China, the Government will consider the advisability of training the people in the Bara Hoti area to use arms and also distribute arms to them accordingly?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I would not like to go into details but wherever necessary, the people are being given training.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: The hon. Minister has just referred to the debate in this House—two weeks ago on this subject. May I ask him whether as a result of the debate and the recommendation from all the parties,

the Government has come to any definite conclusions so far as arming the civil population in the border areas is concerned?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I explained in my speech what we were going to do, and we are acting according to our programme.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In view of the fact that on previous occasions when steps have been taken to give training, the facilities have been abused by the authorities concerned, do we have any assurance that in future when the people are armed, it would be done properly if it is to be done and secondly that there will not be any abuse of such things, that is to say, against legitimate movements and so on?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: We are very cautious in arming people and that is why we do not want to arm people indiscriminately, and we are aware of the many elements, specially the undesirable elements, in political parties which would want to take advantage of the training scheme.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: Has any of the States in the border areas decided to arm the population there?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: As such they are not armed. Sir. But I might refer to the statement. As it is, they do arm quite a number of people..

UNIFORM SALES TAX

♦813. SHRI SITARAM JAIPURIA: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Committee on Excise and Taxation of the North Zonal Council recommended uniformity of sales tax on certain commodities;

(b) if so, what are the names of the commodities recommended for the purpose; and

(c) when this recommendation is likely to be given effect to?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c) A statement is laid on the Table of the House.

STATEMENT

The Committee on Excise and Taxation appointed by the Northern Zonal Council recommended *inter alia* in the reports of its first two meetings that the sales tax on the following commodities should be levied at approximately uniform rates throughout the Northern Zone: —

1. Paper;
2. Yarn;
3. Leather;
4. Wool including raw wool;
5. Metals;
6. Edible oils;
7. Raw hides and skins;
8. Timber;
9. Petroleum products.

The recommendations of the Committee were approved by the Northern Zonal Council at its meeting held on the 12th November, 1964. A summary of these recommendations forms part of the proceedings of that meeting, copies of which have been placed in the Parliament Library. The Council at its last meeting held on the 1st and 2nd July 1965 reviewed the progress of implementation of the recommendations and recommended that they should be implemented by the 1st October 1965. It would be for the Governments of the member States of the Zone to take further action in the matter.

2. The Committee has submitted a further report covering certain other items, which has still to be considered by the Council.

SHRI SITARAM JAIPURIA: In the statement it has been mentioned that the decision has been approved

by the Northern Zonal Council at its meeting held on 12th November, 1964 and further that it would be for the Governments of the member States of the Zone to take further action in the matter. Ma_v I know if the Government have ascertained the views of the member States in this connection?

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: Yes, yes.

SHRI SITARAM JAIPURIA: When are they going to put them into effect?

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: We have ascertained the views of the member States, we have ascertained the views of the Delhi people also . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Question Hour is over.

SHORT NOTICE QUESTION AND ANSWER

ACTION TAKEN AGAINST FORMER MANAGER OF KHADI GRAMODYOG BHAVAN, NEW DELHI

f SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: t I SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: 4. { SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU: [SHRI L. D. ASTHANA:

Will the Minister of SOCIAL SECURITY be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have taken any action on the recommendation made by the Central Vigilance Commissioner against the former Manager of the Khadi Gramodyog Bhawan, New Delhi;

• (b) whether Government have received any reports of the dismissal or suspension of workers by the former Manager; and

fThe question was actually asked on the floor of the House by Shri M. P. Bhargava.

(c) if the reply to part (b) above be in the affirmative, what action Government have taken in the matter?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW (SHRI JAGANATH RAO): (a) Yes. Government have communicated their displeasure at the irregularities found to have been committed by the previous Manager of the Bhawan and adversely commented upon by the Central Vigilance Commission. Government have also instructed the Khadi Commission not to give any further extension of service to Shri Tandon who attains the age of sixty o_n 5th October, 1965.

(b) Yes. The services of a worker of the Bhawan were terminated by the former Manager of the Bhawan, On a representation from the Khadi Gramodyog Bhawan Workers' Union the matter was referred to the conciliation Officer for arbitration. After investigations, he recommended the reinstatement of the worker and latter was accordingly reinstated ia service.

(c) The Khadi Bhawan is an establishment under the control of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission which is an autonomous body. The question of the Government taking any action in the matter, therefore, does not arise.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: May I know, Sir, from the hon. Deputy Minister whether it is a fact that the ex-Manager of the Khadi Gramodyog Bhawan was given a promotion against the specific advice of the Minister?

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: It is not exactly a promotion. He was appoint-ted as Director-in-Charge of Sales. Of course, the post carries higher pay. This was done before the report of the Central Vigilance Commission was received.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: May I know, Sir, whether it is a fact that the Deputy Minister himself advised the workers not to agitate in view of

the emergency and the result was that some morf,' workers were dismissed or suspended by the present Manager even after the advice of the Deputy Minister?

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: This question relates to the suspension by the former Manager. The former Manager . . .

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: In part (b) of my question I have read "present Manager":

"whether Government have received any reports of the dismissal or suspension of workers by the present Manager;"

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: It says "former Manager".

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: It is a misprint.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Khandekar.

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: Sir, if you allow me, I have no objection to answer.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: May I know, Sir, what was the nature of irregularities committed by the former Manager of the Khadi Gramodyog Bhawan, and was there any misappropriation or something like that, and whether he had misbehaved with the staff of the Khadi Gramodyog Bhawan; if so, what action was taken? Why was he given promotion in spite of these irregularities?

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: The allegations against the former Manager were:

- (i) that he gave tailoring work to his own wife, of course, at the usual rate at which other workers are given;
- (ii) that he was using office transport for private purposes; and
- (iii) that he was taking advances without proper authorisation.

These were considered by the Central Vigilance Commission as irregularities and he was warned.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Sir, I may very humbly request you to allow me to ask two or three questions because the hon. Minister has said that he was only given a warning. I should like to remind the Minister that on the 23rd November, 1964 in reply to my question the hon. Minister for Social Security said that "these allegations are not only simple, but they are serious. They are so serious that I think it was necessary that a proper enquiry should be made into the whole matter." Again on the 10th May 1965 the Minister of Social Security said in this House that the Commission promoted the former honourable Manager in spite of the advice given by the Social Security Minister. He had said that since the allegations were rather serious, it was considered on behalf of the Ministry that they should be properly enquired into and the Ministry directed that the matter should be sent to the Central Vigilance Commission and the matter was under enquiry by the Central Vigilance Commissioner.

MR. CHAIRMAN: These are the facts of the dispute.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I read this only because on that very day I had said that the Manager had approached to the higher people in the Ministry and the Vigilance Commission wrote a letter to the Union, saying that no enquiry would be made. The hon. Minister said that he had warned the Manager. I shall like to know on what basis the Central Vigilance Commission did not make enquiry into the matter.

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: What the hon. Member has said is correct. The Ministry felt that the irregularities said to have been committed by the former Manager were really serious. Therefore, the matter was referred to the Central Vigilance Commission. But the Central Vigilance Commis-

sioner found that they are irregularities. No *mala fides* were attributed to him. Therefore, we have to accept the findings of the Central Vigilance Commissioner.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Chairman,, the Central Vigilance Commissioner said in a letter addressed to the workers' Union that: —

"In view of the fact that since a competent authority has already taken a final decision on the basis of two enquiries made earlier into the allegations against Shri Tandon, no further action seems to be necessary in this case."

It means the Central Vigilance Commissioner did not enquire into the matter at all and the Minister says that the Vigilance Commission came to the conclusion that he should be warned and no action is necessary against him.

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: That is the finding of the Central Vigilance Commissioner.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: This is not the finding.

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: He said "irregularities" and no further action need be taken. However, the Ministry was not satisfied with the finding. The Ministry was not really satisfied with the finding of the Central Vigilance Commissioner. So in this matter we advised the Khadi and Village Industries Commission to retire the Manager on the 5th October, 1965 when he attains the age of 60. That is all we could do.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Chairman, I am sorry that the Minister should reply in this way. There were specific charges of misappropriation, fraudulent acts and documentary proof submitted to the Ministry, and on that basis the Minister referred the matter to the Central Vigilance Commissioner. Photostat copies of all the

vouchers and all the documents were produced. The hon. Minister is in personal know of all these facts. In spite of this the Manager' is being protected. He is directing his whole operations against the workers of the Khadi Gramodyog Union. Nine workers have been suspended in spite of the advice given by the hon. Deputy Minister.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is the question?

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I shall like to know what are the influences that are working upon the Ministry in order to safeguard the former Manager and also the present Manager who is working under his guidance?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Would you like to say something?

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: I have no personal knowledge as pointed out by the hon. Member. I get the knowledge from the reports that the Ministry receives. No personal influence was exercised either over me or over my senior Minister.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: May I know, Sir, if it is not a fact that after the Pakistani aggression the workers of the Khadi Gramodyog Bhawan wrote about their case to the hon. Deputy Minister for which he wants notice. He advised the workers to withdraw all agitations. On his advice they withdrew all agitations. In spite of their withdrawing the agitation, nine workers have been suspended. The Khadi and Village Industries Commission and the Government are quite helpless to give any help to these workers.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are making statement after statement without putting a question.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: My question is whether it is not a fact that the workers wrote to the Ministry that they were being harassed and

he advised the workers to withdraw the agitation and they withdrew the agitation on his advice. In spite of that nine workers have been suspended and Government have not done anything to take up their case.

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: That is a separate matter. The suspension was ordered by the present Manager, Mr. Bhatnagar. The Government is in the know of these things and we are taking action.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: Mr. Chairman, my hon. friend, Mr. Chandra Shekhar has pointed out that certain specific allegations of misappropriation of funds were made on the basis of which probably this investigation was started. I would like to know whether the Central Vigilance Commission has taken into account the specific charges of misappropriation referred to by my hon. friend; and, if so, whether he has exonerated the man concerned from these specific charges of misappropriation, and if not, then how is it that no action is being taken on this misappropriation of funds?

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: I have only seen the report of the Central Vigilance Commissioner and what was in the report I have already stated.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Minister said earlier, which has been quoted by Shri Chandra Shekhar here, that according to the Minister the charges were rather serious and he used the word 'serious' also which is why the matter was referred to the Vigilance Commissioner for investigation. The Vigilance Commissioner is not the authority to pronounce judgment and punishment. From what Mr. Chandra Shekhar has read out it is quite clear that the Vigilance Commissioner did not hold any enquiry into the matter in the belief that some action had been taken. Therefore may I know in such a situation, on the basis of this letter to the Union of Workers, he had stated that he had not enquired into the

matter and when the Government thinks that the charges are serious and the Minister concerned thinks the charges are serious, why the Government did not refer the matter to the C.B.I. for fresh investigation into the allegations and charges, leaving it to the Government and Parliament to decide how the matter should be dealt with and what punishment should be meted out?

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: The Central Vigilance Commissioner is a very responsible authority and the Government decided to accept his findings.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: His finding is not there . . .

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: Even then we have advised the Khadi and Village Industries Commission not to give extension and to retire him from 5th October.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE: As the hon. Member has referred to the Union, may I know whether it is not a fact that the employees of the Bhawan had indulged in rowdy demonstrations, display of ugly and inflammatory posters and defamatory slogans not only outside but also inside the premises several times a day during the working hours and that Shri Chhoteylal assaulted the present Manager, Mr. Bhatnagar, and the Union did not furnish the strength of their membership? Was not all this against the Code of Discipline in the industry?

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: The hon. Member is correct.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: On a point of order. The point of order is, when I asked about the present labour trouble, the Minister said that the question relates only to the ex-Manager but when the Lady Member asked about the workers' agitation, he replies that all this allegation is correct. Then he refused to reply. If you allow one question on that point,

I must be allowed to ask the question . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Anyhow, I will not allow you. You have already been allowed four questions.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: But he has made a statement which is quite baseless and which is without any basis. The workers have behaved very well.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: In view of the fact that it is clear from the answer given by the Minister that a proper enquiry has not been held into the whole matter and that the Vigilance Commissioner has only produced a report which said that certain action has already been taken by some other Department, I would like to know from the Government whether they propose to have a fresh enquiry and take action against this Manager and I would also demand of you that in view of the faulty answers that are given in this House, this House should be given an opportunity to discuss this whole thing in a half-an-hour discussion.

MR. CHAIRMAN; I will not do that.

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: There must be finality at some stage or other. We referred to the Central Vigilance Commissioner and he gave his finding and the Government have accepted the findings. Still we were not satisfied and so we advised that this gentleman must be retired from 5th October.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

TEACHERS' DAY COLLECTIONS

•814. SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether the funds collected on Teachers' Day since 1962 have been utilised for granting assistance to teachers in the country; and

(b) if so, what is the amount so Utilised during the last three years?

THE MINISTER OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI R. M. HAJARNAVIS): (a) Collections made during the years 1962 and 1963 were invested in the Defence Bonds because of the National Emergency. The scheme of assistance has commenced out of the collections made after 4th September, 1964.

(b) A sum of Rs. 1.47 lacs has been spent as financial assistance to teachers during the period 4.9.64 to 31.3.65 in 7 States/Union Territories.

AGE LIMIT FOR POST GRADUATE TEACHERS POSTS IN DELHI.

•815. SHRI JAGAT NARAIN: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the maximum age limit for candidates for the posts of Post-Graduate teachers from outside quota is 30 years in the Directorate of Education, Delhi-

(b) if so, whether it is a fact that the departmental candidates with higher qualifications are not given any relaxation in age-limit for the said posts;

(c) whether it is a fact that age concession is given to departmental candidates with higher qualifications

■ for filling up certain vacancies in the Central Government; and

(d) if the answer to part (c) above be in the affirmative, the reasons for which the departmental candidates with higher qualifications working in the Directorate of Education, Delhi, are not given any age concession for filling up the posts of Post-Graduate teachers?

THE MINISTER OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS (SHRI R. M. HAJARNAVIS): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) They get relaxation when they are promoted to the higher grade but

no relaxation is given in the direct recruitment quota.

(c) and (d) A statement containing the requisite information is laid on the Table of the Sabha.

STATEMENT

In the case of direct recruitment to class III posts under the Government of India the departmental candidates from amongst class III staff are not allowed any age concession when they are considered along with the nominees of Employment Exchange. This position is also applicable to persons holding class I and II posts when they compete for other class I and II posts in the direct recruitment quota, unless a relaxation in regard to age in the case of departmental candidates competing for the vacancies in the direct recruitment quota is actually provided in the recruitment rules of those posts.

In the Recruitment Rules for the post of Post Graduate teachers under the Directorate of Education, Delhi, age prescribed for the direct recruits does not apply in the case of promotees.

**OFFICERS OF THE EDUCATION MINISTRY
GOING ABROAD**

*816: SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) the number of officers in his Ministry who visited foreign countries during 1963-64;

(b) the number out of them who went on official delegations and study purposes in each case; and

(c) the amount of foreign exchange involved in each case?

THE MINISTER OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI R. M. HAJAR-NAVIS): (a) The number of officers of the Ministry proper who visited foreign countries during 1963-64 is nine;

(b) Five of these officers went on official delegations, none for study purposes and four for other purposes;

(c) A statement is laid on the Table of the House.

STATEMENT

Rupees equivalent Name of the Officer	Amount of of foreign exchange involved
	Rs.
1. Shri A. R. Deshpande, Adviser (Social Education)	108.11
2. Miss S. Rehman, Assis- tant Educational Adviser	200.00
3. Mrs. Sharda Rao, Assis- tant Educational Adviser	505.08
4. Shri L. S. Chandrakant, Deputy Educational Adviser (T)	Nil
5. Shri G. K. Charidramani, Joint Educational Adviser (T)	Nil
6. Shri N. M. Ketkar, Lib- rarian, Central Secretariat Library, New Delhi	200.00
7. Shri B. N. Malhan, De- puty Secretary-General, Indian National Commission for UNESCO	2,798.76*
8. Shri P. N. Kirpal, Secre- tary, Ministry of Education	571.65
9. Shri A. N. Dhawan, Edu- cation Officer	747.05

♦This excludes foreign exchange for personal use against his own money.

**HINDI BOOKS IN THE CENTRAL SECRETARIAT
LIBRARY**

*817. SHRI DAYALDAS KURRE: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) what is the annual expenditure incurred for the purchase of Hindi Books for the Central Secretariat Library; and

(b) what is the percentage spent for Hindi Books out of the total expenditure incurred on all type of 1 books, kept in that Library?

THE MINISTER OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI R. M. HAJAR-NAVIS): (a) Rs. 3,193-00 for books, excluding periodicals.

(b) 5 per cent.

मध्य प्रदेश में महेश्वर घाट

*818. श्री गुरुदेव गुप्त : क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि मध्य प्रदेश के पश्चिमी निमाड़ जिले के महेश्वर नामक स्थान पर एम० एस० विश्वविद्यालय, बड़ौदा और डक्कन कालेज पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट एण्ड रिसर्च इन्स्टीट्यूट, पूना द्वारा खुदाई करने पर हाल ही में कुछ पुरातत्व सामग्री मिली है; और

(ख) यदि हां, तो क्या कोई योजना सरकार के विचाराधीन है कि नर्मदा नदी के तट पर बने हुये महेश्वर घाट (पश्चिमी निमाड़, मध्य प्रदेश) को एक संरक्षित स्थान घोषित कर दिया जाये ?

f [MAHESHWAR GHATS IN MADHYA PRADESH

♦818. SHRI GURUDEV GUPTA: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that some archaeological material was recently found at the site of Maheshwar in the Western Nimar District of Madhya Pradesh during the excavations carried out by the M.S. University, Baroda and the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona; and

(b) if so, whether there is any proposal under Government's consideration to declare the Maheshwar Ghats

(Western Nimar, Madhya Pradesh) constructed on the banks of the river Narmada, a protected place?]

शिक्षा मंत्रालय में सांस्कृतिक-कार्य मंत्री
(श्री आर० एम० हजरनवीस) : (क)
जी हां ।

(ख) जी नहीं ।

f [THE MINISTER OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI R. M. HAJAR-NAVIS): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) No, Sir.]

IMAGES OF GODS AND GODDESSES AT PONDICHERRY

*819. SHRI J. S. PILLAI: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether there are any stone images of Gods and Goddesses of Hindu Pantheon in the park and near the old pier at Pondicherry and

(b) if so, from which temple they were taken away by Dupleix and his successors?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) No records are available to give authentic information in this respect.

POST-GRADUATE RESEARCH FELLOWS

f SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: J SHRI D. THENGARI: 820- ^ SHRI JAGAT NARAIN:

L SHRI LOKANATH MISRA:

Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Post-graduate Research fellows do not complete their thesis during the period of their research fellowship allowed

by the University Grants Commission; and

(b) if so, what are the reasons therefor?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI BHAKT DARSHAN): (a) and (b) Normally, the Post-graduate Research Fellows complete their thesis during the period of their research fellowships. In some cases, however, the completion of the thesis is delayed on account of wide scope of research projects, collection of source material, sifting of data and verification of experimental data in science subjects.

TEACHERS IN RAMJAS SCHOOLS IN DELHI

♦821. SHRI ABDUL GHANI: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have recently received a representation from the teachers working in Ramjas Schools in Delhi to the effect that they have not been paid their increments for the last three or four years;

(b) if so, the action taken on the said representation; and

(c) the number of teachers affected by the stoppage of the increments and the reasons therefor?

THE MINISTER OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI R. M. HAJAR-NAVIS): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The Management of the school has been asked to decide the cases expeditiously.

(c) Five. The management did not find the teachers fit to cross the Efficiency Bar.

FORMULA FOR SAVING CONSUMPTION OF PETROL, ETC.

♦822. SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether some scientist has evolved a new formula to save the

consumption of Petrol and Diesel Oil; and

(b) if so, whether his Ministry has examined the results obtained by this scientist?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRIMATI SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN): (a) and (b) A person named Shri Uttam Chand Nanda of Gurdaspur has written to the Indian Institute of Petroleum, Dehra Dun, that he has developed a chemical which can reduce the consumption of Petrol, Diesel and Kerosene Oils from 33% to 38% in internal combustion engines at a nominal cost and is prepared to give preliminary tests. The Director of the Institute has invited Shri Uttam Chand Nanda to visit the Institute along with samples of products to discuss what tests are required and how the same can be planned.

ज्योतिष के अध्ययन के लिए संस्था

*823. श्री लक्ष्मी नारायण दास :
क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या ज्योतिष विद्या के वैज्ञानिक ढंग से पठन-पाठन के लिए किसी संस्था की स्थापना के प्रस्ताव पर सरकार द्वारा विचार किया जा रहा है अथवा क्या सरकार द्वारा इस क्षेत्र में पहले ही से कार्यरत किसी सार्वजनिक संस्था को अनुदान दिया जा रहा है; और

(ख) क्या ज्योतिष सम्बन्धी दुर्लभ ग्रंथों के संपादन और प्रकाशन की कोई योजना सरकार के विचाराधीन है ?

**t [INSTITUTION FOR THE STUDY OF
ASTROLOGY**

*823. SHRI L. N. DAS: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether there is any proposal under Government's consideration for the establishment of any institution for the study and teaching of Astrology on a scientific basis or whether any grant is being given by Government to some public institution already engaged in this work; and

(b) whether there is any scheme under Government's consideration for editing and publishing the rare books on Astrology?]

शिक्षा विभाग में उपमंत्री (श्री भक्त दर्शन) : (क) और (ख) विवरण सभा पटल पर रख दिया गया है ..।

f [THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI BHAKT DARSHAN): (a) and (b) A statement is laid on the Table of the House.

STATEMENT

(a) This Ministry have no proposal for the establishment of an institution for the study and teaching of Astrology. Voluntary Sanskrit Organisation who *inter alio*, are engaged in the study and teaching of astrology are, however, eligible for a grant under this Ministry's scheme for financial assistance to Voluntary Sanskrit Organisations etc.

(b) Even though there is no separate scheme for editing and publishing the rare books on astrology, there is a scheme for financial assistance for editing and publication of rare manuscripts in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Persian and Arabic and under the scheme competent institutions are eligible for a grant for editing and publishing a rare manuscript on Astrology as well.]

†[] English translation.

■ CENTRAL UNIVERSITY IN THE SOUTH

1 *824 SHRI Y. A. REDDY: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether there is any proposal under Government's consideration to[^] establish a Central University in South India;

(b) if so, whether Government of Andhra Pradesh have proposed to Central Government for the location of such a University in Andhra Pradesh; and

(c) if the answer to part (b) above be in the affirmative, the reaction of a-Government to the said proposal?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI BHAKT DARSHAN): (a) to (c) A statement is laid on the Table of the Sabha.

STATEMENT

(a) There is no proposal as such to establish a Central University in South India. However, the Conference of State Education "Ministers held in October, 1962 and subsequently the Committee of Members of Parliament on Higher Education in their report published in 1964 recommended the setting up of a Central University in each State to promote emotional integration as well academic standards in the country. The University Grants Commission to whom the recommendations were referred, has supported them in principle but suggested that priority should be given to the improvement of the existing institutions and that when sufficient funds are available some of the existing universities in different States might be taken over and developed as Central Universities. Since the question is also under the consideration of the Education Commission, decision in the matter has been deferred till the Commission has given its findings.

(b) In their interim report, the Committee on Establishment of new

Universities set up by the University Grants Commission had recommended that six new universities of which one should be in Andhra Pradesh may be established. The report of the Committee was circulated to all the State Governments for keeping the recommendations in view while planning new universities. The Government of Andhra Pradesh informed the Ministry that they could not think of establishing another University due to National Emergency and suggested that the Centre might consider the desirability of starting a Central or Federal University in Andhra Pradesh wholly financed by the Central Government.

(c) As already stated in reply to part (a), the matter will be examined in the light of the recommendations of the Education Commission.

•825. SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB
VIGILANCE OFFICER UNDER
DISTRICT JUDGE, DELHI

: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) the date of appointment and functions of the Vigilance Officer under the District Judge, Delhi; and

(b) what action, if any, he has taken on complaints of delay in issuing copies of documents by the copying agencies?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): (a) No Vigilance Officer has been appointed under the District Judge, Delhi.

(b) Does not arise.

**FAST GIVEN UP BY LEFT COMMUNISTS IN
KERALA**

*826. SHRI T. V. ANANDAN: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to a news item which appeared at page 1 of the 'Times of India', Delhi edition, dated the 28th August, 1965 stating that all

the 118 Left Communists in Kerala State have given up their fast after having obtained 'Liberal Concession' from the Governor; and

(b) if so, what are these concessions?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) A statement is laid on the Table of the House.

STATEMENT

Concessions given to the Detenus in Kerala

1. *Family Allowance*.—The Government have agreed to conduct fresh enquiry through Revenue Authorities on application for family allowance from the detenus to determine eligibility.

2. *Parole*.—Dependent grant parents and sisters have been included in the definition of family. Parole will be given expeditiously in emergent cases.

3. *Bus Fare to Detenus who go on Parole*.—Detenus in receipt of family allowance are paid bus fare when they go out on parole.

4. *Correspondence*.—The security prisoners have been permitted to write five and receive eight letters in a week and Superintendents of Jail have been authorised to give permission to detenus in suitable cases for writing additional letters.

5. *Interviews*.—Interviews are allowed for the purpose of business also in cases where the detenus were conducting business themselves.

6. *Clothing*.—The detenus are permitted to select the materials for their clothes.

7. *Chappals*.—Two pairs of chappals will be supplied.

8. *Electric Fans*—Fans are provided at Government cost.

9. *Newspapers and Books*.—One newspaper is supplied to a group of 5 detenus. They are allowed to purchase all books, periodicals and newspapers which are in lawful circulation; this does not include party literature.

IIROIAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, NEW DELHI

*827. SHRI LILA DHAR BAROOAH: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state;

(a) whether it is a fact that the results of the first year supplementary examination of the Indian Institute of Technology, Hauz Khas, New Delhi, were modified one month after these were originally declared;

(b) if so, the reasons therefor; and

(c) the number of students who had originally failed and the number out of them who were declared successful after the results were so modified?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI BHAKT DARSHAN): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) According to the Examination Regulations of the Institute, a student can apply for scrutiny of his script within 15 days of the announcement of the result. On the basis of the representation received from some students, answer scripts were scrutinised and discrepancies were found in respect of three students.

(c) 23 students originally failed. Out of these, 3 students were declared successful after scrutiny of the answer scripts,

*828. [Transferred to the 22nd September. 1965.]

CONTACT-MEN ENGAGED BY INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL FIRMS

/SHRI ARJUN ARORA; ^ \SHRI P. K. KUMARAN:

Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have compiled any list of contact-men engaged by industrial and commercial firms in New Delhi;

(b) if so, whether any facilities are given to them to maintain liaison between industry and Government; and

(c) whether the list has been circulated to the departments concerned?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): (a) No, Sir; lists of accredited representatives have not been prepared but lists of only undesirable contact-men have been prepared.

(b) Attention is invited to the Press release issued on 5th September, 1965. A copy of the Press release is laid on the Table of the House.

(c) In view of the reply to part (a), this does not arise.

PRESS RELEASE

PRESS INFORMATION BUREAU

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

65

Accreditation of Representatives of Business Houses—Government's decision announced

*New Delhi, Bhadra 14, 1887
September" 5, 196-5*

The Government of India's decision; on the Santhanam Committee's recommendations in regard to the accreditation of representatives of firms; has been announced.

The number of representatives accredited for each firm would be restricted to the minimum and if a firm desires to have more than one person as accredited representative special permission will have to be obtained.

The Ministry with which a firm has its main dealings will be the Ministry for granting accreditation. The firm will be asked to give a declaration that it had not applied for recognition of their representatives to any other Ministry. On the strength of the accreditation by the main Ministry, representatives of the firm would be permitted to see officers of other Ministries also without having to obtain separate accreditation.

No restrictions would be placed on the proprietor, manager or the Resident Director of a firm from meeting officers.

The persons, including whole-time employees of the firm, working as representatives will have to produce a letter of authority from the firm they are representing.

Accreditation is not considered necessary in respect of the offices of the DGS&D., CPWD., and Chief Controller of Imports and Exports, where the existing arrangements are adequate.

The Union Home Ministry has issued instructions to various Ministries and departments to implement these decisions.

The Santhanam Committee had recommended that no official should have any dealings with a person claiming to act on behalf of a business or industrial house or an individual, unless he was properly accredited and was approved by the department concerned. The Committee felt that such a procedure would keep out persons with unsavoury antecedents or reputation. The Committee also recommended that there should be no restriction on the proprietor or manager or top executive of the

firm or the applicant himself approaching the authorities

Business houses, firms, etc., will have to submit applications for accreditation to the Ministry or Department with which their business was mainly concerned. The applications should contain information relating to the name and address of the applicant, name and designation of representative in whose favour accreditation is sought, name of Ministry or Department with which accreditation is sought, names of representatives and designation of representatives who had already been accredited or who had been provided with regular passes for entry within the security zone and particulars of the representatives in whose favour accreditation was sought, such as whether he was a whole-time employee. Applications with these particulars may be sent to the Ministry with which the firm has its main work on plain paper or on application forms to be obtained on request from the Ministry or Department concerned.

CHARGES AGAINST I.G. POLICE, ANDHRA PRADESH

*830. SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether he received a letter on or about the 24th July, 1964 from a Member of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council complaining against the Inspector General of Police, Andhra Pradesh, of some corrupt practices and acts of misdemeanour; and

(b) whether any inquiry or investigation was conducted by some officer of the Union Government in connection with these charges; and, if so, what was the result of the inquiry?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) No, Sir. The complaint was forwarded to the State Government

for disposal, who, in the absence of any definite proof, considered that further action was not necessary.

MAPS OF ASSAM OIL AREAS

/ SHRI P. CHETIA: ^{Mi}SHRI
ARJUN ARORA:

Will the Minister of PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS be pleased to state:

(a) whether maps relating to the oil areas of Assam discovered by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission have been prepared by their experts;

(b) if so, how many copies of such maps have been prepared and kept in the O.N.G.C. office at Sibsagar (Assam); and

(c) whether the maps are treated as secret documents in view of their importance?

THE MINISTER OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR):

(a) to (c) Yes, Sir. Various geological and geophysical maps and sections have been prepared from time to time but as they have to be handled by a large number of persons they cannot be treated as secret maps. For this reason, their main emphasis is on subsurface geological features and they give only the minimum topographical features. No separate record of maps issued to various individuals and sections since the beginning of the Commission's work in 1956 has been maintained.

REFUSAL BY GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES TO GO TO NEFA

*832. SHRI R. N. KAKATI: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Central Government employees posted to NEFA either resign their posts or go there reluctantly; and

(b) if so, whether his Ministry proposes to give any advice to the various Ministries in this regard?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): (a) No such fact has specifically come to the notice of Government.

(b) Does not arise.

MEMORANDUM AGAINST I.G. POLICE, ORISSA

f SHRI EBRAHIM *833.-[^]
SULAIMAN SAIT:
[SHRI LOKANATH MISRA:

Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that he has received a copy of the memorandum submitted to President by some Members of Parliament against the Inspector General of Police, Orissa; and

(b) if so, what action is proposed to be taken in the matter?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): (a) A memorandum signed by one Member of Parliament was received on 22nd July, 1965.

(b) Comments of the State Government have been called for and the same are still awaited.

*834. [Transferred to the 22nd September, 1965.]

† उच्चतम न्यायालय में विचार के लिए
पड़े मुकदमे

*435. श्री राम सहाय : क्या गृह
कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि
1 अगस्त, 1965 को उच्चतम न्यायालय में
कितने मुकदमे पांच वर्ष से अधिक से विचार
के लिए पड़े थे और उन में से कितने दीवानों
के और कितने फौजदारी के थे ?

† Postponed from the 17th September, 1965.

t [PENDING CASES BEFORE SUPREME COURT

*435. SHRI RAM SAHAI: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state the number of cases which have been pending before the Supreme Court for more than five years as on the 1st August, 1965 and the number of civil and criminal cases respectively among them?]

गृह-कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री जयसुखलाल हाथी) : पहली अगस्त, 1965 को उच्चतम न्यायालय में 5 वर्ष से अधिक से विचार के लिए केवल दो मामले पड़े थे—एक दीवानी और एक फौजदारी।

[THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): The number of cases pending before the Supreme Court for more than five years as on the 1st August, 1965, was only two—one Civil and one Criminal.]

JFREE RAILWAY PASSES TO CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

*771. SHRI D. THENGARI: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have taken any decision in regard to the grant of free railway passes to all categories of Central Government employees; and

(b) if so, what are the details of the decision taken; and

(c) if the answer to part (a) above be in the negative, what are the reasons therefor?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): (a) There is

[] English translation fTransferred from the 22nd September, 1965.

no proposal under consideration at present to extend the concession to-all classes of Central Government employees

(b) Does not arise.

(c) The existing leave travel concessions which are based on the recommendations of the Second Pay Commission are considered adequate.

TEACHERS IN RAMJAS SCHOOLS IN DELHI

828. SHRI ABDUL GHANI: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware of the fact that teachers working in Ramjas Schools in Delhi have not been paid the arrears of dearness allowance sanctioned in March, 1965;

(b) if so, the reasons therefor; and

(c) what action Government propose to take to expedite the payment of those arrears?

THE MINISTER OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI R. M. HAJAR-NAVIS):

(a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Delay in communicating the decision to the school and delay on the part of the school to prepare the arrears bill and to obtain the grant.

(c) Director of Education has been asked to expedite and he has already taken it up with the management.

PENSIONS OF PERSONS IN PONDICHERRY

829. SHRI J. S. PILLAI: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state the number of persons in Pondicherry who receive pensions from France for (i) military service and (ii) civil service rendered to the French Government?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): Information is as under:—

- (i) Number of persons in Pondi-cherry receiving pension from France for Military s^{erv}ice 1130.
- (ii) Number of persons in Pondi-cherry receiving pension from France for Civil service 208.

GOVERNMENT HIGHER SECONDARY SCHOOL, QUTAB ROAD, DELHI

830. SHRI ABDUL GHANI: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the cases of revision of pay of some teachers of the Government Higher Secondary School, Qutab Road, Delhi are pending with the Education Directorate Delhi, since 1953, though some teachers have retired in 1965;

(b) if so, what is the number of such teachers; and

(c) what are the reasons for such delay in settling these cases and when they are likely to be finalised?

THE MINISTER OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI R. M. HAJAR-NAVIS): (a) No, Sir.

(b) and (c) Questions do not arise.

AWARD OF SCHOLARSHIPS TO STUDENTS IN HIGHER SECONDARY CLASSES

831. SHRI ABDUL GHANI: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that various examinations for award of scholarships to students studying in the IX, X and XI classes are conducted by the Directorate of Education, Delhi; and

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(to) if so, when are these examinations conducted and the duration of each scholarship?

THE MINISTER OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI R. M. HAJAR-NAVIS): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) These examinations known as Merit (Open) scholarship Examinations are normally conducted in the month of September/October every year. Eighty scholarships of Rs. 50 per annum and 40 scholarships of Rs. 10 per month are awarded on the basis of merit position obtained by the participants in these examinations for Middle and Higher Secondary Departments respectively. These scholarships are tenable for three years and are renewed every year subject to the satisfactory progress of the scholars in the subsequent years.

UNIVERSITY AT NAINITAL

/ SHRI A. D. MANI: ^{83Z}- \ SHRI SITARAM JAIPURIA:

Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Uttar Pradesh Government has asked the Central Government's assistance for the setting up of a University at Nainital; and

(b) if so, the action taken by Government thereon?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI BHAKT DARSHAN): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

I.O.C.s DISTRIBUTION CENTRES

833. SHRI SITARAM JAIPURIA: Will the Minister of PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS be pleased to state:

(a) the number of distribution centres opened so far by the Indian Oil Corporation in the country;

(b) the quantity of oil sold by the Corporation during the years 1964 and 1965; and

(c) the steps proposed to be taken to boost the sale of oil by the Corporation?

THE MINISTER OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR): (a) Indian Oil Corporation has a net work of distribution centres totalling about 1612 comprising Installations, Depots and Retail outlets etc.

(b) A total quantity of 17.20 lakh Kl was sold in 1964-65 and 12.69 lakh Kl in 1965-66 (April-August 1965).

(c) The Corporation has programmed for the development of their storage and distribution facilities throughout the country.

RELAXATION IN PROHIBITION LAWS IN KERALA

834. SHRI A. D. MANI: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government of Kerala propose to relax the prohibition laws in the State; and

(b) if so, what is the extent of relaxation?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

COMMITTEE TO HELP FREEDOM FIGHTERS

835. SHRI RAM SINGH: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the news-item which appeared in the Hindustan Times dated the 7th June, 1965 to the

effect that a Credentials Committee will be set up soon to certify the credentials of a freedom fighter and recommend measures to ameliorate his hardships—economic or otherwise;

(b) if so, whether the Committee has since been constituted; and how many freedom fighters have since presented their credentials to the Committee; and

(c) whether adequate publicity has been given to this fact in all the States?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): (a) Yes. There is no proposal for any such Committee to be set up by Government.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

IMPORT OF CZECH RIFLES

836. SHRI RAM SINGH: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that 20,000 Czech rifles will be imported for being used in the civilian rifle training schemes; and

(b) if so, what would be the cost involved in the import of the rifles?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Rs. 22,66,000.00 only. Rupee twenty two lakhs and sixty-six thousand only).

SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES FOR DANDA-KARANYA

837. SHRI RAM SINGH: Will the Minister of REHABILITATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Government have sounded some countries, specialising in small-scale industries, to give assistance in setting up small

scale industries in the Dandakaranya Project area for rehabilitating displaced persons there; and

(b) if so, what are the types of industries for which assistance has been sought; what is their employment potential and what responses have been received to Government's request?

THE MINISTER OF REHABILITATION (SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI): (a) and (c) In connection with an offer for aid from Danish Government, preliminary discussions were held about exploring the scope for assistance in setting up small industrial units in Dandakaranya. No definite indication has however been received so far as to whether any aid from Denmark will actually be available and if so, for what schemes.

DISTRIBUTION FACILITIES OF PRIVATE OIL COMPANIES

838. SHRI SITARAM JAIPURIA: Will the Minister of PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that in July, 1965 the Union Government asked private oil companies to supply to it detailed information regarding their present distribution facilities and the extent of their utilisation;

(b) if so, what was the purpose of asking for this information; and

(c) what is the number of private oil companies in the country at present?

THE MINISTER OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR): (a) and (b) On receipt of a complaint in the Ministry, one of the private oil companies was asked to supply this information in relation to two of its installations at one of the ports, in order to ascertain whether these installations were fully utilized.

(c) There are five main private oil distributing companies in the country.

सागर विश्वविद्यालय

839. श्री गुरुदेव गुप्त : क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या भारत सरकार और मध्य प्रदेश सरकार के बीच सागर विश्वविद्यालय को केन्द्र के अन्तर्गत लाने के लिए कोई बात-चीत हुई है ;

(ख) यदि हां, तो क्या मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने सागर विश्वविद्यालय केन्द्र को सौंपने का प्रस्ताव रखा है ; और

(ग) यदि हां, तो केन्द्रीय सरकार ने मध्य प्रदेश सरकार के उक्त प्रस्ताव पर क्या निर्णय लिया है ?

t [SAUGAR UNIVERSITY

839. SHRI GURUDEV GUPTA: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether any negotiations have taken place between the Central Government and the Government of Madhya Pradesh for taking over of Saugar University by the Centre;

(b) if so, whether the Madhya Pradesh Government have proposed to hand over the Saugar University to the Centre; and

(c) the decision taken by the Central Government on the said proposal of the Madhya Pradesh Government?

शिक्षा मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री भक्त दर्शन) : (क) जी नहीं ।

(ख) और (ग) प्रश्न नहीं उठते ।

t [] English translation.

{[THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI BHAKT DARSHAN): (a) No, Sir.

(b) and (c) Do not arise.]

कुड्डालोर क्षेत्र में तेल की खोज

840. श्री राम सहाय : क्या पेट्रोल तथा रसायन मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि कावेरी के थाले के कुड्डालोर क्षेत्र में क्या तेल की खोज करने का कोई कार्यक्रम है ; यदि हां तो उस कार्यक्रम को कार्यान्वित करने के सम्बन्ध में क्या स्थिति है; और रूस की सहायता से कोरोमण्डल तट के समीप तेल की खोज करने के संबंध में क्या स्थिति है ?

{[OIL EXPLORATION IN CUDDALORE AREA

840. SHRI RAM SAHAI: Will the Minister of PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS be pleased to state whether there is any programme for oil exploration in the Cuddalore area of the Cauvery basin; if so, what is the position regarding the implementation of that programme; and what is the position regarding the exploratory work being done off the Coromandel Coast with the help of Russia?]

पेट्रोल तथा रसायन मंत्री (श्री हुमायून कबिर) : समस्त रूप से कावेरी थाले में, जिसमें कुड्डालोर का क्षेत्र शामिल है, तेल की खोज का कार्यक्रम है। कावेरी थाले में शैल दृश्यांशों (rock outcrops) का भूगर्भीय मानचित्रण और आकर्षण एवं चुम्बकीय सर्वेक्षण का कार्य पूरा हो गया है। भूकम्पीय सर्वेक्षण कार्य प्रगति पर है। अब तक इन सर्वेक्षणों के परिणामों ने कुड्डालोर क्षेत्र में व्यघन की आवश्यकता को सूचित नहीं किया है।

कोरोमण्डल तट के समीप अतटीय भूकम्पीय सर्वेक्षण कार्य प्रगति पर है।

{[THE MINISTER OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR): There is a programme for oil exploration in the Cauvery basin as a whole, which includes the Cuddalore area. Geological mapping of the rock outcrops and gravity and magnetic surveys have been completed in the Cauvery basin. Seismic surveys are in progress. The results of the surveys have not so far indicated the need to drill in Cuddalore area.

Off-shore seismic survey off the Coromandel Coast is in progress.]

ACQUITTAL OF CRIMINALS IN DELHI

841. SHRI RAM SINGH: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact, that during the last four months 66 per cent of persons charged for murder and 60 per cent of those held for serious crimes by the Delhi Police were acquitted due to faulty marshalling of facts; and

(b) if so whether Government propose to stream-line administrative procedure and ensure better legal briefing so that criminals do not escape punishment due to administrative lacuna?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L. NRMISHRA): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

GRANTS TO RAMJAS HIGHER SECONDARY SCHOOLS, DELHI

842. SHRI ABDUL GHANI: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether any financial grant is given to the Ramjas Higher Secondary Schools in Delhi by the Delhi Administration;

(b) whether any control is exercised by the Directorate of Education,

Delhi over the Ramjas Society which is running these schools;

(c) it so, whether the office-bearers of the Ramjas Society are elected with the approval of the Directorate, and what is the maximum tenure of the office-bearers of the society; and

(d) the number of years for which each of the said office-bearers has been in office?

THE MINISTER OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI R. M. HAJAR-NAVIS): (a) Yes, Sir, according to the provisions of the grant-in-aid rules applicable to Government-aided schools in Delhi Union Territory.

(b) No, the Directorate of Education, Delhi, exercises control over the aided schools to the extent provided in the Delhi Education Code.

(c) and (d) Do not arise.

PROMOTIONS FOR EMPLOYEES IN DANDAKARANYA PROJECT ADMINISTRATION

- 843 SHRI D. THENGARI: Will the Minister of REHABILITATION be pleased to state:

(a) the channels of promotion for the Ministerial Staff working in the Dandakaranya Project Administration, especially from the post of Storekeeper to that of Head Clerk;

(b) whether it is a fact that under the existing rules some Store-keepers have not been promoted although their promotions have been due for two years; and

(c) if so, what are the reasons therefor?

THE MINISTER OF REHABILITATION (SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI): (a) The channel of promotion is from the post of Lower Division Clerk to that of Upper Division Clerk and from the post of Upper Division Clerk to that of Assistant. Promotion to the

post of Head Clerk is made from the post of Upper Division Clerk and Store-keeper on the basis of a prescribed quota.

(b) No.

(c) Does not arise.

बनारस हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय का मेडिकल कालेज

844. श्री राम सहाय : क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग द्वारा निर्धारित ग्रेड बनारस हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय के मेडिकल कालेज में लागू किए गए थे ;

(ख) यदि हां, तो ये ग्रेड कब से लागू किये गये हैं ; और क्या बकाया रकम का भुगतान कर दिया गया है ; और

(ग) क्या यह सच है कि उस कालेज के कुछ भूतपूर्व कर्मचारी ऐसे हैं, जिन्हें बकाया रकम नहीं दी गई थी और यदि हां, तो उसका क्या कारण है ?

t [MEDICAL COLLEGE OF BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

844. SHRI RAM SAHAI: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state:

(a) whether the grades prescribed by the University Grants Commission were enforced in the Medical College of the Banaras Hindu University;

(b) if so, since when the grades have been enforced and whether the arrears have since been paid; and

(c) whether it is a fact that there are some ex-employees of that college who were also not paid any arrears and, if so, the reasons therefor?

[f] English translation.

शिक्षा मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री भक्त दर्शन) : (क) जी हाँ ।

(ख) संशोधित वेतन-मान 1-4-1961 से लागू किए गए और बकाया रकम का भुगतान कर दिया गया है ।

(ग) प्रश्न नहीं उठता ।

†[THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI BHAKT DARSHAN): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The revised grades were enforced with effect from 1-4-51 and the arrears have been paid.

(c) Does not arise.]

LAND ALLOTTED TO ULF HOUSING SOCIETY

f SHRI LILADHAR -}

BAROOAH: ^SHRI R. N. KAKATI:

Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether land has been allotted by the Delhi Administration to the ULF Housing Society in Delhi; and

(b) whether any complaint has been received by Government against this Society?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS <SHRI L. N. MISHRA): (a) No, Sir.

(b) No, Sir.

दिल्ली में सट्टेबाजों पर छापा

846. श्री राम सहाय : क्या गृह-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि दिल्ली की पुलिस ने सितम्बर के पहले सप्ताह में दिल्ली

में चूड़ी वालान में सट्टेबाजों के एक श्रृंखले पर पा मारा ;

(ख) यदि हाँ, तो इसमें कितने लोग पकड़े गये ;

(ग) क्या उन से कोई कागज बरामद किये गये ; और

(घ) यदि हाँ, तो वे कागज किस तरह के हैं ?

-J-[RAID ON SPECULATORS IN DELHI

846. SHRI RAM SAHAI: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that in the first week of September the Delhi police raided a den of speculators in Churiwalah in Delhi;

(b) if so, how many persons were rounded up;

(c) whether any documents were recovered from their possession; and

(d) if so, what is the nature of these documents?]

गृह-कार्य मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री एल० एन० मिश्रा) : (क) सितम्बर, 1965 के पहले सप्ताह में दिल्ली पुलिस द्वारा ऐसा कोई छापा चूड़ीवालान में नहीं मारा गया ।

(ख) से (घ) प्रश्न ही नहीं उठते ।

†[THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): (a) No such raid in Churiwalan was conducted by the Delhi police in the first week of September, 1965.

(b) to (d) Do not arise]

विश्वविद्यालयों को पुस्तकालयों के लिये अनुदान

847. श्री राम सहाय : क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि देश में किन-किन विश्वविद्यालयों ने 1962-63 और 1963-64 के दौरान सरकार द्वारा पुस्तकालय विकास के लिये दिये गये अनुदानों को इस्तेमाल किया है ; और किन-किन विश्वविद्यालयों ने अनुदानों का इस प्रकार से इस्तेमाल नहीं किया है और उसके क्या कारण हैं ?

t [GRANTS TO UNIVERSITIES FOR LIBRARIES

847. SHRI RAM SAHAI: Will the Minister of EDUCATION be pleased to state the name? of those universities in the country which have utilised the grants given to them by Government during 1962-63 and 1963-64 for the purpose of Library development; and the names of those universities which have not so utilised the grants and the reasons therefor?]

शिक्षा मंत्रालय में उम्मेदों (श्री भक्त दर्शन) सूचना एकत्रित की जा रही है और यथा समय सभा पटल पर रख दी जाएगी ।

t[THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI BHAKT DARSHAN): The information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the Sabha in due course.]

848. [Transferred to the 22nd September, 1965.]

COMPLAINTS AGAINST EMPLOYEES OF HOME MINISTRY

849. SHRI U. S. PATIL: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) the number of complaints relating to (i) corruption (ii) misconduct

†[] English translation.

and (iii) abuse of power received against the non-gazetted employees of his Ministry during the year 1963-64 and so far in 1965;

(b) the posts held by those employees during that period;

(c) the action taken by Government on those complaints; and

(d) whether the complaints were contacted before the complaints were adjudged as Vague or baseless?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): (a) 6 complaints of corruption and 17 complaints of misconduct were received against the non-gazetted employees of the Ministry of Home Affairs during this period.

(b) Assistants		
Hindi Teachers	..	5
Stenographer	..	1
U.D.C.	..	4
Junior Reception Officer	..	1
L.D.Cs.	..	5
Sepoys in Security Organisation	..	3

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(c) Departmental action was taken in 15 cases 2 cases are in courts and the remaining 6 complaints were found to be vague or baseless.

(d) The complaints considered vague or baseless were anonymous/ pseudonymous and the question of contacting the complaints did not arise.

KEROSENE PRICE IN DELHI

850. SHRI SITARAM JAIPURIA: Will the Minister of PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the price of kerosene has gone up in Delhi during this month, September, 1965;

(b) if so, what are the reasons therefor; and

(c) what steps have been taken to check the rise in the price?

THE MINISTER OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI HUMAYUN KABIR): (a) and (b) Yes, Sir. On account of an increase in the duty, the selling price of Superior Kerosene has been increased by Rs. 51.30 per kilolitre w.e.f., 20-8-65 throughout the country including Delhi.

(c) Necessary powers have already been delegated to the State Governments/Union Territory Administrations under the appropriate statutory provisions to prevent increase in the price of kerosene beyond permissible limits.

Visits of Ministers Abroad

773. SHRI D. THENGARI: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) the names of the Cabinet Ministers, Ministers of States and Deputy Ministers who visited foreign countries during the last four months;

(b) the names of the countries visited by each of them and the purpose of their visit; and

(c) the foreign exchange allowed to each of them?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): (a) to (c) The information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House in due course.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

BOMBING OF CIVILIAN POPULATION IN CHHEHARTA AREA OF AMRITSAR BY PAF ON 22ND SEPTEMBER 1965 AFTER ACCEPTANCE OF CEASE-FIRE

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सभापति जी, मैं आप की अनुमति से

•{Transferred from the 22nd September, 1965.

रक्षा मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान युद्ध-विराम स्वीकार करने के बाद पाकिस्तानी वायु सेना द्वारा 22 सितम्बर, 1965 को अमृतसर के छेहरटा क्षेत्र में नागरिक जनसमुदाय पर अंधाधुंध बमबारी करने की ओर दिलाता हूँ ।

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN): In one of the most barbarous and indiscriminate bombings, Pakistani Air Force attacked Amritsar on 22nd September at 4.15 P.M. Two B-57s and three F-86 Sabre jets of Pakistan Air Force raided Amritsar and dropped bombs indiscriminately in and around Chhe-harta which is about five miles from Amritsar. The aircraft came in at a low height and were engaged by our anti-aircraft guns. The raid lasted five minutes. Three bombs were dropped about 400 yards away from the Khalsa College towards Chhe-harta in the fields, injuring a woman and a child and damaging crops. Three bombs fell right in the populated area of Chheharta known as Pratap Bazar, 400 yards from the Chheharta Gurdwara demolishing 40 houses and damaging another 35. Dead bodies so far found are 55 including women and children. The debris is being searched for more bodies. About 65 seriously injured cases have been admitted in the hospital. Close to this populated area of Chheharta, another six bombs fell in the fields near the railway station. This place is about six miles from the aerodrome. All bombs were of 1000 lbs. The planes did strafing as well, as indicated by bullet marks on the walls of various houses. There were no military objectives in the vicinity.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सभापति जी, मैं तीन सवाल पूछना चाहूंगा, अगर आप इजाजत दें ।

श्री सभापति : जरूर ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मेरा पहला सवाल यह है कि पाकिस्तान ने जो बमबर्षा की, वह बिल्कुल बर्बरतापूर्ण और बहुशयाना थी और उसकी निन्दा करने के लिये हमारे पास कठोर शब्द नहीं हैं, लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि जब पाकिस्तान संयुक्त राष्ट्र संधि में युद्धविराम स्वीकार करने के बाद भी बमबर्षा कर रहा था, तो क्या यह सच है कि हमारी वायु सेना को कहा गया था कि तुम किसी प्रकार की बमबर्षा न करो, पाकिस्तान के सैनिक ठिकानों पर हमला न करो, और हमारी वायु सेना ने केवल हमारी सेना को मदद दी रक्षा के काम में मगर पाकिस्तान के सैनिक ठिकानों पर किसी प्रकार की बमबर्षा नहीं की ? आज के अखबारों में यह बात कही गई है और मैं रक्षा मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या यह बात सच है कि हमने अपनी सेना से कह दिया था कि 12.30 बजे के बाद किसी प्रकार की बमबर्षा न करो ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: It is not true because certain instructions were sent to bring into effect the Ceasefire by 3.30 A.M. yesterday morning but of course at the same time they were given instructions that if they were fired at certainly they should fire back. Those instructions were there.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Does it not mean that the Air Force was asked not to carry out any air bombing on military installations?

MR. CHAIRMAN: When?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Till 3.30. From the reply of the Defence Minister it is clear that; the Air Force was asked to reply back if Pakistan fired. Does it mean that we asked the Air Force to have a unilateral Cease-fire?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: There was no question of unilateral Cease-fire but certainly if they had to take any steps, they were free. There was no

question of giving any special instructions. The hon. Member is unnecessarily trying to create misunderstanding between the Air Force and the Government.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: I am not trying to create any misunderstanding but I would like to know whether any military installations were bombed by our Air Force after we accepted the Cease-fire, not after 3.30.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I do not want to give any information.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: The hon. Prime Minister in his broadcast stated, 'We have not attacked Karachi even though most of the aircraft, which used to attack our territory had their base there. I would like to know why Karachi was spared when they bombarded religious places, when they bombarded civilian places. Why was the Air Force asked to spare Karachi?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: It is absolutely wrong and unfair to discuss matters of strategy. Why Karachi was not bombed, there were many other reasons for that.

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN (Madras): May I know whether it is a fact that the Pakistan Army shelled Indian positions in Indian territory till 10.30 yesterday and that there were some casualties?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: No. As far as my information goes, fighting in certain sectors went up to 3.33 in the morning. The fighting was going on both sides.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Sir, Pakistan has intruded into our territory in the Jammu sector even after the Cease-fire at 3.30, and instead of throwing back the Pakistanis from our territory, we have lodged a protest with the United Nations. A group of Members of

Parliament visited the Ferozepore sector yesterday and they saw shelling, Pakistani shelling at 10 A.M. I would like to know whether our policy is to repulse back any attack, or to send applications to the United Nations.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Our instructions are that if they try to intrude, they should be dealt with very firmly; there is no doubt about that. Certainly these steps will be taken and simultaneously we will lodge a complaint with the United Nations.

SHRI G. MURAHARI (Uttar Pradesh) : In view of the fact that the casualties inflicted on Amritsar in this single raid were probably more than all the casualties that Amritsar had suffered during the course of the war after 1st September I would like to know why the civil defence measures were relaxed. Was it a fact that the Government assumed that the moment the Cease-fire was to take effect, everything would be all right and that, therefore, they relaxed every precaution even before 3.30 and did not provide adequate defence for the city of Amritsar?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: It is not true; the civil defence arrangements were there in Amritsar throughout. As I said just now in my statement, our anti-aircraft guns did go into action but, Sir, in cases of these low-flying raids, radar help is not very effective. Therefore, naturally, they could not be taken on by the Air Force. But other steps were taken.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): Is it a fact that though it was possible for us to bombard cities like Lahore and Sialkot—I mean the civilian areas—we have not done so because we believe that our war is not with the people of Pakistan?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Yes, Sir.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, U. Thant said in the J

United Nations yesterday that any violation of the Cease-fire agreement after 3.30 would be treated as violation and in spite of that it is reported in today's papers that Pakistan committed aggression on Atari border, somewhere in Atari. Is it not violation of the Cease-fire and if so what action Government is going to take in this regard?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I think I have answered this, Sir. Wherever the infiltrators are active, our instructions are that they should be dealt with very firmly.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL (Delhi): Sir, may I with your permission ask the hon. Minister while we appreciate the valour of our men there, has it been brought to his notice that there have been some cases where Pakistan is trying to infringe the Cease-fire line, and if such facts have come to his notice, how many are they **and** where have they happened?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Of course, I won't be able to give the exact number, but certainly the tendency is there and they are trying to send in groups of infiltrators to show as if they are in occupation of certain areas. Now certainly that will have to be taken care of; I mean, even after the Cease-fire, this seems to be a rather uneasy Cease-fire line. So we have to be watchful and vigilant and take action as and when things start hardening.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore); Shall we shoot them at sight?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I would not like to answer this question; if necessary, yes.

SHRI M. C. SHAH (Gujarat): What action our Government proposes to take, in view of this indiscriminate bombing of our civilian population, beyond sending protest notes? I want to know whether any reparations are to be claimed from Pakistan Government because of such inhuman acts

on their part. Our Government also knows that the Chief Minister of Gujarat flying in a civilian plane was shot down by Pakistani planes. In view of all these facts, I want to know from the Government what action Government proposes to take for reparations of these misdeeds.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Sir, I know; I very well share the sentiments of the hon. Member in this particular matter; this barbarous and dastardly attack on the Chief Minister of Gujarat is resented by every one of us, but at the same time Sir, their attacks on the civilian population as a whole are something to condemn which we have no worse words to make use of. But certainly we are doing. I mean, what action we should take—certainly we should—is a matter for the Government to consider. We have lodged a protest with the United Nations about this bombing of the civilian population. But, Sir, I won't be able to say that we would not and bombard their civilian population.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I now raise it to the next item.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

NOTE ON THE PRESENT WORKING OF DELHI MILK SCHEME

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI D. R. CHAVAN): Sir, on behalf of Shri Subramaniam, I beg to lay on the Table a note on the present working of the Delhi Milk Scheme. [Placed in Library. See No. LT—4968/65.]

REPORT (1965) OF THE CENTRAL WAGE BOARD FOR COFFEE PLANTATION INDUSTRY

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT (SHRI RATANLAL KISHORILAL MALAVIYA): Sir, on behalf of Shri Sanjivayya, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Report (1965) of the Central Wage Board for Coffee Plantation Industry. [Placed in Library. See No. LT—4967/65].

STATEMENTS SHOWING ACTION TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT ON ASSURANCES, PROMISES AND UNDERTAKINGS GIVEN DURING THE VARIOUS SESSIONS

SHRI RATANLAL KISHORILAL MALVIYA: Sir, on behalf of Shri Satya Narayan Sinha I beg to lay on the Table the following statements showing the action taken by Government on the various assurances, promises and undertakings given during the sessions shown against each:—(i) Statement No. XI—Forty-sixth Session, 1964. (ii) Statement No. VIII—Forty-eighth Session, 1964. (iii) Statement No. VIII—Forty-ninth Session, 1964. (iv) Statement No. VII—Fiftieth Session, 1964. (v) Statement No. IV—Fifty-first Session, 1965. (vi) Statement No. III—Fifty-second Session, 1965. (vii) Statement No. I—Fifty-third Session, 1965.

[See Appendix LIII, Annexure Nos. J 66 to 72 for (i) to (vii).]

I. ANNUAL REPORT (1964-65) OF NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

II. CERTIFIED AUDIT ACCOUNTS (1963-64) OF NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION AND AUDIT REPORT THEREON

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPERATION (SHRI B. S. MURTHY): Sir, on behalf of Shri Dey, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers:

- (a) The Annual Report of the National Co-operative Development Corporation, New Delhi, for the year 1964-65, under sub-section (3) of section 14 of the National Co-operative Development Corporation Act, 1962. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4969/65.]
- (b) The Certified Annual Accounts of the National Co-operative Development Cor-

poration, New Delhi, for the year 1963-64, together with the Audit Report thereon, under sub-section (4) of section 17 of the National Co-operative Development Corporation Act, 1962. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4970/65.]

AMENDMENTS IN THE KERALA PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION (CONSULTATION) REGULATIONS, 1957

SHRI B. S. MURTHY: Sir, on behalf of Shri Jaisukhlal Hathi, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of Notification G.O. (P) No. 565, published in the Kerala Gazette dated the 11th August, 1965, making certain amendments in the Kerala Public Service Commission (Consultation) Regulations, 1957, together with an explanatory memorandum thereon, under clause (5) of article 320 of the Constitution read with clause (c) (iv) of the Proclamation (G.S.R. No. 490) issued on the 24th March, 1965, in relation to the State of Kerala. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4972/65.]

I. THE DEFENCE OF INDIA (AMENDMENT) RULES, 1965.

I' L THE DEFENCE OF INDIA (REQUISITIONING AND ACQUISITION OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTY) AMENDMENT RULES, 1965

III. THE DEFENCE OF INDIA (FOURTH AMENDMENT) RULES, 1965

SHRI B. S. MURTHY. Sir, on behalf of Shri Jaisukhlal Hathi, I also beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Notifications, under section 41 of the Defence of India Act, 1962: —

- (i) Notification G.S.R. No. 741, dated the 13th May, 1965, publishing the Defence of India (Amendment) Rules, 1965. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4932/65.]
- (ii) Notification G.S.R. No. 831, dated the 9th June, 1965, publishing the Defence of India (Requisitioning and Acquisition of Immovable Property) (Amendment) Rules, 1965. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4923/65.]

- (iii) Notification G.S.R. No. 1350, dated the 10th September, 1965, publishing the Defence of India (Fourth Amendment) Rules, 1965. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4924/65.]

I. THE ALL INDIA SERVICES (PROVIDENT FUND) SECOND AMENDMENT RULES, 1965

II. THE ALL INDIA SERVICES (DEATH-CUM-RETIREMENT BENEFITS) FIFTH RULES, 1965

III. THE ALL INDIA SERVICES (DEATH-CUM-RETIREMENT BENEFITS) FIFTH AMENDMENT RULES, 1965

SHRI B. S. MURTHY: Sir, on behalf of Shri Jaisukhlal Hathi, I also beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following Notifications of the Ministry of Home Affairs, under sub-section (2) of section 3 of the All India Services Act, 1951: —

- (i) Notification G.S.R. No. 1175, dated the 13th August, 1965, publishing the All India Services (Provident Fund) Second Amendment Rules, 1965.
- (ii) Notification G.S.R. No. 1176, dated the 16th August, 1965, publishing the All India Services (Death-cum-Retirement Benefits) Fifth Amendment Rules, 1965.
- (iii) Notification G.S.R. No. 1306, dated the 1st September, 1965, publishing the All India Services (Death-cum-Retirement Benefits) Sixth Amendment Rules, 1965. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4971/65 for (i) to (iii).]

THE COTTON TEXTILES (CONTROL) SECOND AMENDMENT ORDER, 1965

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW (SHRI JAGA-NATH RAO): Sir, 'on behalf of Shri Ramaswamy I beg to lay on the Table under sub-section (6) of section 3 of the Essential Commodities Act, 1965, a copy of the Ministry of Commerce Notification S.O. No. 2712, dated the 16th August, 1965, publishing the Cotton Textiles (Control) Second Amendment Order, 1965. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4973/65.]

**NOTIFICATIONS UNDER THE ESSENTIAL
COMMODITIES ACT, 1955**

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI D. R. CHAVAN): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, under subsection (6) of section 3 of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955, a copy each of the following Notifications of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (Department of Food): —

- (i) Notification G.S.R. No. 1382, dated the 14th September, 1965 publishing the Madhya Pradesh Rice (Movement Control) Second Amendment Order, 1965.
- (ii) Notification G.S.R. No. 1383, dated the 14th September, 1965, publishing the Orissa rice (Movement Control) Amendment Order, 1965.
- (iii) Notification G.S.R. No. 1384, dated the 14th September, 1965.
- (iv) Notification G.S.R. No. 1387, dated the 15th September, 1965, publishing the Wheat Roller Flour Mills (Licensing and Control) Second Amendment Order, 1965.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT— 4953/65 for (i) to (iv).]

**TWENTY-SEVENTH REPORT OF THE LAW
COMMISSION ON THE CODE OF CIVIL
PROCEDURE, 1908**

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Twenty-seventh Report of the Law Commission on the Code of civil Procedure. 1903. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-4975/65.]

**GOVERNMENT REPLIES TO CERTAIN
RECOMMENDATIONS MADE IN
FIFTY-FOURTH REPORT OF THE ESTI-
MATES COMMITTEE 1963-64)**

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement

showing the replies of Government to the recommendations noted in Chapter V of the Fifty-fourth Report of the Estimates Committee (1963-64) on Neyveli Lignite Corporation Limited, which were not furnished by Government in time for inclusion in the Report.

**GOVERNMENT REPLIES TO CER-
TAIN RECOMMENDATIONS MADE
IN SEVENTH REPORT OF
COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDER-
TAKINGS (1964-65)**

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I beg to lay on the Table a statement showing the replies of Government to the recommendations noted in Chapter V of the Seventh Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings (1964-65) on National Coal Development Corporation Limited Ranchi, which were not furnished by Government in time for inclusion in the Report.

**THE ADVOCATES AMENDMENT
BILL, 1965**

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW (SHRI JAGA-NATH RAO): Sir, on behalf of Shri A. K. Sen, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Advocates Act, 1961.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI JAGANATH RAO: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

**THE APPROPRIATION (RAIL-
WAYS) No. 3 BILL 1965 AND THE
APPROPRIATION (RAILWAYS) NO. 4
BILL, 1965—contd.**

SHRI N. K. DAS (Orissa): Chairman Sahab, on the eve of this House putting its stamp of approval to the Railway Appropriation Bills, I should

[Shri N. K. Das.] like to make a few observations on the particular aspect of the railway-administration, that is, on the issue of time-tables.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

As hon. Members are aware, the Railway Board publishes two new time-tables. It publishes new timetables twice every year. One takes effect from 1st April and the other takes effect from 1st October. They are called new time-tables, but on going through the pages of these timetables one will notice that the time schedules for the different trains are almost identical in the new timetable and in the one just preceding it. In any two successive time-tables they are almost the same, with only slight variations. Some trains are put a few minutes ahead and some trains are put a few minutes later. I fail to understand why the Railway Board takes the trouble of publishing these time-tables which are priced publications, once in every six months, when their contents are almost identical, and the general users of the Railways are made to pay twice. So far as Members of Parliament are concerned, they are, of course, presented with complimentary copies of the All-India Time-Table. But for the general public, these time-tables are priced publications. The All-India Time-Table is priced Rs. 2.50 and those for the different zonal Railways are priced 25 paise each or even more. I should like to know from the hon. Railway Minister if this is not an unnecessary and irksome imposition on the users of the Railways. As regards the procedure for the issue and publication of the time-tables, we are given to understand that there is a Time-Table Sub-Committee attached to each Zonal Railway. I do not know on what basis this Time-Table Committee is constituted and which authority to constitute this Time-Table Sub-Committee. I do not also know if regular meetings of this Time Table Sub Committee are held prior to the publication of a new time-table.

The identical nature of the timetables goes to show that the Zonal Time-Table Sub-Committee exists, if at all, by mere name. I would be glad to know how many opinions and suggestions from Members of Parliament were sought prior to the publication of each Zonal Time-Table.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh): Often they are called We receive letters.

SHRI N. K. DAS: I do not know. So far as I am personally concerned, I think this practice has been given the go-by.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: No, no

SHRI N. K. DAS: My hon friend here says that even now this practice is being followed.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: I say so because I have been receiving their notice every time.

SHRI N. K. DAS: So far as the South Eastern Railway is concerned, to which I belong, I do not think I am receiving such notices of such meetings.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Das, you should finish in five minutes, because the time allowed for this Bill is half an hour and there are five or seven speakers.

SHRI N. K. DAS: Yes, Madam. Personally I have no happy experience, I and some other Members of Parliament from Orissa have not very happy experience in the matter of our suggestions being duly considered by the Railway Administration. Time and again, we have been appealing to the Railway Administration to arrange for the stoppage of two trains, i.e., 37 Up and 38 Down. We have been appealing to the South Eastern Railway Administration to restore the stoppage of these two trains at four or five stations from which they were withdrawn more than two or

three years back without any valid reason {Time bell rings.) We have been agitating over this matter for some time past. We have spoken about it in this House, and in the other House also this matter was being discussed, 'in April or May of this year, at a meeting of the Consultative Committee of the South Eastern Railway, which was also attended by the General Manager, we tried to invite the pointed attention of the South Eastern Railway to the restoration of the stoppages of these two trains at these four or five stations. But the South Eastern Railway Administration, it appears, is a hard nut to crack and they remain adamant. And in the latest time-table which is to take effect from the 1st October next this humble request has not been conceded. I do hope the Railway Minister will be good enough to see that early steps are taken for the restoration of the stoppage of these two trains at the four or five stations. I may name them. They are Rupsa, which is some sort of a junction, Soro which is an industrial area and . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI N. K. DAS: And Baitarani Road, Jenapur and Dhanmandal. Madam, I thank you.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया (मध्य प्रदेश): उपसभापति महोदया, जो दो बिल हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत हैं उनमें से एक तो 1962-63 में जो ज्यादा खर्च हुआ उसको रेगुलराइज करने के लिए है और दूसरा इस वर्ष हमारी सरकार जो खर्च करना चाहती है उसके लिए टोकन ग्रांट के रूप में है। उसमें कोई विशेष महत्व की बात तो नहीं है किन्तु उससे सम्बन्धित कुछ चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ।

सब से पहली बात तो यह है कि अभी हमारे यहां जो पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान का झगड़ा चला और उसमें रेलवे के द्वारा जो

कार्य किया गया उसके लिये सबसे बड़ी शिकायत तो यह है कि रेलवे में जो सैनिक लोगों ने यात्रा की उनके लिये बैठने को पर्याप्त स्थान नहीं था, भेड़-बकरी की तरह वे ठूसे हुए थे और रात भर इस तरह चलने के पश्चात् उनसे मोर्चे पर किस तरह से काम लिया जा सकता है यह जरा मेरी कल्पना से परे की बात है। तो इस दृष्टि से मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि ऐसे अवसरों पर उन लोगों को विशेष सुविधाएं प्रदान की जाएं जिससे कि वे काम ठीक कर सकें तो ज्यादा अच्छा है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि सैनिकों के स्वागत की दृष्टि से भिन्न-भिन्न रेलवे स्टेशनों पर कैटीन लगाने की लोगों ने प्रार्थना की और मांग की कि हम इनका स्वागत करना चाहते हैं, इनकी सेवा करना चाहते हैं, उसमें भी हमारी सरकार की ओर से पक्षपात बरता गया। कुछ स्टेशन ऐसे हैं जहां पर कि किसी दूसरे दल के लोगों ने मांग की तो उनको नहीं दिया गया और दूसरे लोगों को दिया गया। राष्ट्र के ऐसे काम में इस तरह का पक्षपात किया जाय, यह तो न्यायसंगत नहीं कहा जा सकता और मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इस बारे में भी हमारे मंत्री जी कुछ विशेष ध्यान दे कर जो भी राष्ट्र के लिये त्याग करना चाहें, काम करना चाहें उन सब दलों का सहयोग लेने की कोशिश करेंगे तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

तीसरी बात यह है कि युद्ध के परिणाम-स्वरूप कुछ लोग रेलवे की ड्यूटी पर थे और उस ड्यूटी पर ही उनकी मृत्यु हो गई तो उनके कुटुम्ब के लोगों को मुआवजा देने के बारे में हमारी सरकार ने क्या तय किया इसके बारे में भी हमारी सरकार कुछ स्पष्ट करे तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

अब, इसने जो सप्लीमेंटरी डिमांड की गई है वह एक सर्वे के लिए है और खास तौर पर सदन रेलवे में बिद्युतीकरण के बारे में है। मैं मंत्री महोदय को एक बात बताना चाहता

[श्री विमल कुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया]
हैं यह जो रेलवे बजट का एक्सप्लेनेटरी मेमोरैंडम है इसके पृष्ठ 95 पर दिया है कि हमारी सदरन रेलवे को कितना घाटा है, उसका व्यापक विवरण यहां दिया हुआ है कि 1959-60 ई० में 18,899 हजार के करीब घाटा था और अब 1965-66 में 27,629 हजार के करीब का घाटा अनुमानित है। तो यह रेलवे लगातार वर्षों से घाटे में चल रही है। तो एक तरफ तो यह रेलवे लगातार घाटे पर जा रही है और दूसरी तरफ हम सर्वे पर यहां खर्च करना चाहते हैं। खर्च किया जाय परन्तु मैं यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि हमारी सरकार पहले इस बात की खोज करे कि वह घाटे में क्यों चल रही है। इन कारणों को खोज कर के उनको दूर करके उसे लाभ में चलवाने की कोशिश करे।

अब, दूसरी ओर चुरू से सीकर को चलने वाली रेलवे है जिसका एक्चुअल डिस्टेंस 91 किलोमीटर है और किराया लिया जाता है 134 मिलीमीटर का। कारण पूछा जाता है तो हमारी सरकार कहती है कि मंहंगा पड़ता है इसलिए ऐसे चलाते हैं। लेकिन सदरन रेलवे वर्षों से करोड़ों के घाटे में चलती है तो वहां पर लोगों से किराया बढ़ा कर उसे लाभ पर नहीं तो बराबर पर चलने वाली नहीं बनाना चाहते हैं और दूसरी तरफ 91 किलोमीटर की लाइन के लिए यह दलील देते हैं कि चूंकि लाभ में नहीं चलती इसलिए किराया बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। तो यह दो घोड़ों की सवारी कुछ न्यायसंगत नहीं कही जा सकती। मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि जब सारे भारतवर्ष में एक रेट चाहते हैं तो इस जरा सी 91 किलोमीटर के लिये भी वैसा ही करें।

इस के बारे में धन्यवाद दे दूं मंत्री जी को कि बड़ौदा और मथुरा के बीच में एक पार्सल ट्रेन नयी चला कर के कुछ भीड़ को कम जरूर किया है मगर जो भीड़ विशेष रूप से कोटा में रहती है उस भीड़ को अभी तक हमारी सरकार

कम नहीं कर पाई। देहरादून एक्सप्रेस से पहले पार्सल ट्रेन को पहुंचना चाहिये मगर वह पहुंचती नहीं और इसके परिणामस्वरूप कोटा जो इन्डस्ट्रियली डेवलप होता जा रहा है वहां पैसेन्जर्स की भीड़ रहती है। अभी भी देहरादून एक्सप्रेस में बड़ा रण रहता है। इस दृष्टि से जो पार्सल ट्रेन चली है वह देहरादून एक्सप्रेस से आगे आए और इसके साथ ही इस बात का ध्यान रखें कि सवाई माधोपुर से जयपुर जाने वाली गाड़ी उस गाड़ी को मिल सके। इस आशय से अगर इसको चलाया जायेगा तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

जो मथुरा से बड़ौदा को ट्रेन जाती है उसको नागदा पर अहमदाबाद से भोपाल जाने वाली गाड़ी को मिलाना पड़ता है। उसका डिफरेंस पहले 28 मिनट का था अब केवल 24 मिनट रह गया है, उस 28 मिनट में कई दफा यह लोकल ट्रेन, मथुरा से बड़ौदा जाने वाली, लेट हो जाती है और उसके परिणामस्वरूप उन लोगों को यह कनेक्शन मिल नहीं पाता। आपने जो अंतर कर दिया है उससे लोगों को कठिनाई पड़ जायगी, इसलिये अगर आप चाहें तो मथुरा से आधा घंटे और अर्ली चला दें या कुछ भी व्यवस्था करें जिससे मथुरा से बड़ौदा के लिये अहमदाबाद से भोपाल जाने वाली गाड़ी का कनेक्शन मिल सके, इससे भरोसा हो जायगा। मुझे आश्चर्य है कि पहले तो ट्रेन्स बहुत लेट चलती थीं फिर हमारे पाटिल साहब के शासनकाल में वह चालीस चालीस मिनट अर्ली आने लग गईं, बिफोर टाइम आने लग गईं। जैसे ट्रेन का लेट आना खराब है वैसे बिफोर टाइम आना खराब है इसलिये ज्यादा अच्छा होगा कि टाइमटेबल में एडजस्टमेंट करें। जिससे यह दुरुस्त हो।

एक बात और निवेदन कर दूं कि कोटा और बीना से चलने वाली गाड़ी के लिये हमने कई बार सुझाव दिया कि उसे सवाई माधोपुर तक एक्सटेन्ड कर दिया जाय। अगर नहीं एक्सटेन्ड कर सकते हैं तो यह बात

[شری شہر خاں]

لوگ ہوتے ہیں اور زیادہ تعداد آپ کے ریل کے کام کرنے والوں کی ہوتی ہے جو وہاں پر آتے رہتے ہیں۔ اگر ایسی حرکت جو ہمارے لئے ایک برا اثر لائے بہت اسپریشن لائے اس کو روکنا چاہیے۔ اس کے بارے میں میں پہلے بھی کہتا آیا ہوں اور آج پھر اس کو دہشت کرتا ہوں کہ ایک چیز جو خاص طور پر میں نے محسوس کیا بریلی اور کاشی کے درمیان ٹکٹ ری سیل ہوتے ہیں۔ ایک دفعہ ہمارے شاید چھٹ کمرشل انسپکٹر نے بھی ایسے ٹکٹوں کو پکڑا تھا جو بمبئی کے لئے اشو ہوئے تھے۔ یہاں سے اشو ہونے کے بعد بمبئی جاتے ہوں۔ بمبئی میں میں نے سنا ہے کہ بڑے مدافع پر بیچے جاتے ہیں۔ یہ ایسی چیزیں ہوں جو سنگتی سے دیہاتی چاہتیں ہیں۔ اس کے ہم ریلوے کو ٹھیک ڈھنگ سے نہیں چلا سکتے۔

دوسری گزارش دلی ریلوے اسٹیشن کے بارے میں ہے۔ وہاں لاؤٹ اسٹیکر پلہٹ فارم میں میں مگر ایک چیز خاص طور پر میں نے محسوس کیا کہ کلتھ میں لاؤٹ اسٹیکر نہیں ہے۔ اگر ہم کلتھ میں جا کر کچھ دیر کے لئے بھٹوں تو کوئی ذریعہ نہیں ہے جس سے ہمیں معلوم ہو گا کہ لہٹ ہے یا وقت پر آئے

والی ہے۔ دلی میں جہاں یہ حال ہے اس کی طرف توجہ دینے کی ضرورت ہے۔ نئی دلی کلتھ میں لاؤٹ اسٹیکر کا انتظام کرائیں تو بہت ہی شکریہ۔

کرنٹ سے چلنے والی ریلوں کے بارے میں جہاں تک مجھے معلوم ہے یہ ٹھیک ہے آپ رچے واڑے تو مدراس چلنے والے ہیں مگر مدراس کورنٹ کی طرف سے شاید آپ کو آفر نہ گھا ہے کہ چلنے کرنٹ کی ضرورت ہے وہ کم سے کم دیکھنا ہے دلی کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ آخر زیادہ نہ سہی کم سے کم بلنگلور تو مدراس اگر آپ کرنٹ سے ریل چلاؤں تو جیسا کہ ہمارا چیف منسٹر صاحب کا کہنا تھا میں بھی کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ کم سے کم نام میں آپ کو کرنٹ دیا جا سکتا ہے۔ (Time bell rings.) میں تو پہلی دفعہ ہی کہہ رہا ہوں۔ تھوڑا سا قائم اور دے دیں۔

उपसभापति : अब वक्त नहीं है ।

شری شہر خاں : جلدی جلدی ختم کر رہا ہوں۔ بلنگلور سے دلی کو کوئی ڈاکٹر نہیں نہیں ہے۔ چون کہ اس وقت ہمارے رپوزنٹیٹو کمیٹی میں نہیں ہے جو فورس کر سکیں۔ کم سے کم آپ ہمارے رپوزنٹیٹو ہونے کے ناتے ایک قانونی کمیٹی بلنگلور سے دلی

تک چلوائیں تو میں سمجھوں گا
ہمارے مہسور کے لوگ بڑے احسان مند
ہوں گے اور اس کے ساتھ ہی ساتھ
آپ بنگلور تک بھی یہ میٹر گیج
کو ہرافہ گیج کروائیں تو بھی ہمارے
لوگوں کی پرانی قیامت شاید پوری
ہو سکے۔

ایک گزارش یہ کروں گا کہ
حیدرآباد کرناٹک ایریا سکندریا
ڈویژن میں جتنے بھی اسٹیشن ہیں
وہ ایسی ہی حالت میں ہیں
جیسے کہ پہلے تھے۔ حیدرآباد اسٹیٹ
گورنمنٹ کے زمانے میں جو چیز
تھی آج تک وہی ہے۔ بی دار کسٹمرکٹ
ہیڈ کوارٹر ہے۔ اور وہاں پلٹ فارم
بھی نہیں ہے گاڑیوں کی کراسنگ
ہوتی ہے۔ پیسنجر اتر کر گاڑی کو
کراس کر کے جاتے ہیں۔ یہاں پر
نارتھ سائڈ میں چھوٹے چھوٹے اسٹیشنوں
میں قبل پلٹ فارم ہوتے ہیں
لیکن ہمارے یہاں کسٹمرکٹ ہیڈ کوارٹر
میں پلٹ فارم نہیں ہے۔ ہم سینٹر
میں آپ کے ساتھ ہیں۔ ہمارے لوگ
ہم سے پوچھتے ہیں بھائیے ہمارے
لئے آپ کیا کر رہے ہیں۔ یہ ایسی
چوڑی چوڑی چیزیں ہیں جن کو
کہنے سے آپ متحسوس کریں گے ہم
یہاں کیوں کہتے ہیں۔ مگر ہم
مہسور میں جب ہمارے ایریا میں
ہمارے لوگ ہم سے پوچھتے ہیں تو
ہمیں جواب دینا پوتا ہے۔ اس لئے

میں گزارش کروں گا کہ بی دار
کسٹمرکٹ میں جہاں انڈین ایروورس
کا سینٹر ہے وہاں پر کم سے کم
قبل پلٹ فارم دوسرا بنایا جائے۔
ہم پاس کئی اسٹیشنوں پر کسٹ
تیار ہے اور ہماری اسٹیٹ گورنمنٹ
دیپے کو بھی تیار ہے۔ لیکن آپ
نے جو سیول وائز الیکٹریفیکیشن کرنے
کا فیصلہ کیا ہے اس کی وجہ سے
اگر ہم نومبر والے کے پاس بجلی نہیں
ہے اور ۱۲ نومبر والے کے پاس ہے
تو وہاں پر کام شروع کیوں نہیں
کیا جاتا۔ اس لئے میں عرض
کرتا ہوں کہ اس معاملے میں سیویل
وائز کا خیال نہیں کیا جانا چاہئے۔

†[श्री शेर शां (मंसूर) : डिप्टी
चेयरमैन साहिब, मैं न सिर्फ इस बिल
की ताइद करता हूँ बल्कि रेलवे मिनिस्टर
साहब को मुबारिकबाद देता हूँ। गुजस्ता
चायना के साथ जब लड़ाई हो रही थी
उस वक्त और अब भी जिस खुबी और जिस
बेहतरीन तरीके से डिफेंस की जरूरियात
की तकमील की, इसके लिए मैं उनको बड़ी
मुबारिकबाद देता हूँ। यूँ तो यह उसूल
रहा है कि जब कभी इस हाउस में बिल पेश
हो उस पर मेम्बरान आम तौर पर जब
कुछ कहते हैं तो अपनी जरूरियात, अपने
एरिया की जरूरियात को उनके सामने
रखते हैं। इस सिलसिले में मैं यह कहूंगा
कि जैसा आप जानते हैं इण्डिया के बड़े शहर
खसूसन सनअती शहर में जैसे कि दिल्ली,
बम्बई, कलकत्ता वगैरह हैं उनमें आज कल
जो बे टिकट फिरने वालों की तादाद है
वह दिन ब दिन बढ़ती जा रही है। उसको

[श्री शेरखा]

अगर न रोक जाए तो शायद यह मामला बड़े शहरों से हट कर देहातों में भी फैल जाए और यह खयाल बढ़ने लग जाए कि रेलवे हमारी है लिहाजा टिकट खरीद कर बैठना अच्छी बात नहीं, बिना टिकट सफर किया जाना अच्छा है। जाती तजुबों की बिना पर गाजियाबाद से दिल्ली तक मैंने खुद भी इस चीज को कई दफा देखा और महसूस किया कि न सिर्फ थर्ड क्लास बल्कि फर्स्ट क्लास के डिब्बे में जितने भी आदमी भर सकते हैं भरते थे। अब अगर रेलवे इंस्पेक्टर चेकिंग करने जाए तो उनके साथ मारपीट होती है उन गरीबों का पुरसान हाल है। अगर वे जाइज तरीके से पकड़ते हैं और उनके खिलाफ बड़े साहब अगर शिकायत करें तो इन्क्वायरी शुरू हो जाती है और वे गरीब इस खयाल से कि इन्क्वायरी के इन्जट में फंसने और मुसीबत लेने की बजाए अच्छा है कि चुप रह जायें। यह एहसास दिन ब दिन बढ़ता जा रहा है। मुझे डर है अगर उनकी सेफ्टी न हुई तो शायद यह मुल्क में आम तौर से फैले।

दूसरी बात बेटिंग रूम के सिलसिले में है और इस से पहले भी मैंने कही है। बम्बई हमारी एक इम्पोर्टेंट सिटी है। वहां फारेनर्स भी आते हैं। बम्बई बी० टी० के फर्स्ट क्लास बेटिंग रूम का जो हाल है एक धर्मशाला का रूप अख्तियार करता चला जा रहा है। वहां पर एक लॉग क्यू होती है बाथ रूम और लेट्रिन में जाने के लिए—सब खिलाफ उसूल और वर्ड में फिरने वाले ऐंटी सोशल लोग होते हैं—और ज्यादा तादाद आप के रेल के काम करने वालों की होती है जो वहां पर आते रहते हैं। अगर ऐसी हरकत जो हमारे लिए एक बुरा असर लाए बंड इम्प्रेसन लाए उसको रोकना चाहिये। उसके बारे में मैं पहले भी कहता आया हूं और आज फिर उसको रिपीट करता हूं कि एक चीज जो

खास तौर पर मैंने महसूस किया बरेली और काशी के दरमियान टिकट री-सेल होते हैं। एक दफा हमारे शायद चीफ कमिश्नल इंस्पेक्टर ने भी ऐसे टिकटों को पकड़ा था जो बम्बई के लिए इशू हुए थे। यहां से इशू होने के बाद बम्बई जाते हैं। बम्बई में मैंने मुना बड़े मुनाफे पर बेचे जाते हैं। यह ऐसी चीजें हैं जो सख्ती से दबानी चाहिये, बिना इसके हम रेलवे को ठीक ढंग से नहीं चला सकते।

दूसरी गुजारिश नई दिल्ली रेलवे स्टेशन के बारे में है। वहां लाउड स्पीकर प्लेटफार्म में है मगर एक चीज खास तौर से मैंने महसूस किया कि कैंटीन में लाउड स्पीकर नहीं है। अगर हम कैंटीन में जा कर कुछ देर के लिए बैठें तो कोई जरिया नहीं है जिस से हमें मालूम हो गाड़ी लेट है या वक्त पर आने वाली है। दिल्ली में जहां यह हाल है उसकी तरफ तबज्जो देने की जरूरत है। नई दिल्ली कैंटीन में लाउड स्पीकर का इन्तजाम कराएं तो बहुत ही शुक्रिया।

करंट से चलने वाली रेलों के बारे में जहां तक मुझे मालूम है यह ठीक है आप विजयवाड़ा टू मद्रास चलाने वाले हैं मगर मैसूर गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से शायद आप को आफर किया गया है कि जितने करंट की जरूरत है वह हम कम से कम रेट पर देने के लिए तैयार हैं। आखिर ज्यादा न सही कम से कम बंगलोर टू मद्रास अगर आप करंट से रेल चलवाएं तो जैसा कि हमारे चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब का कहना था मैं भी कह सकता हूं कि कम से कम दाम में आप को करंट दिया जा सकता है। (1 ime bell rings) मैं तो पहली दफा ही कह रहा हूं, थोड़ा सा टाइम और दें।

उपसभापति : अब वक्त नहीं है।

श्री शेरखा : जल्दी जल्दी खत्म कर रहा हूँ बंगलौर से दिल्ली को कोई डायरेक्ट ट्रेन नहीं है। चूंकि इस वक्त हमारे रिप्रीजेंटेटिव केबिनेट में नहीं हैं जो फोर्स कर सकें। कम से कम आप हमारे रिप्रीजेंटेटिव होने के नाते एक डायरेक्ट ट्रेन बंगलौर से दिल्ली तक चलवाएं तो मैं समझूंगा हमारे मैमूर के लोग बड़े एहसान-मंद होंगे और उसके साथ ही साथ आप बंगलौर तक भी यह मीटर गेज को ब्राड गेज करवाएं तो भी हमारे लोगों की पुरानी डिमांड शायद पूरी हो सके।

एक गुज्जारिण यह कहूंगा कि हैदराबाद करनाटक एरिया सिकन्दराबाद डिवीजन में जितने भी स्टेशन हैं वे वैसे ही हालत में हैं जैसे कि पहले थे। हैदराबाद स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के जमाने में जो चीज थी आज तक वही है। बीदार डिस्ट्रिक्ट हैडक्वार्टर है और वहां प्लेट फार्म नहीं है गाड़ियों की क्रासिंग होती है। पैसेंजर उतर कर गाड़ी को क्रास करके जाते हैं। यहां पर नोर्थ साइड में छोटे छोटे स्टेशनों में डबल प्लेट फार्म होते हैं लेकिन हमारे यहां डिस्ट्रिक्ट हैड क्वार्टर में प्लेट फार्म नहीं है। हम सेंटर में आपके साथ हैं। हमारे लोग हम से पूछते हैं बताइये हमारे लिए आप क्या कर रहे हैं। यह ऐसी छोटी छोटी चीजें हैं जिनको कहने से आप महसूस करेंगे हम यहां क्यों कहते हैं। मगर हम मजबूर हैं। जब हमारे एरिया में हमारे लोग हम से पूछते हैं तो हमें जवाब देना पड़ता है। इसलिये मैं गुज्जारिण कहूंगा कि बीदार डिस्ट्रिक्ट में जहां इण्डियन एयर फोर्स का सेंटर है वहां पर कम से कम डबल प्लेटफार्म दूसरा बनाया जावे। हमारे पास कई स्टेशनों पर करन्ट तैयार है और हमारी स्टेट गवर्नमेंट देने को भी तैयार है। लेकिन आप ने जो सीरियल वाइज इलैक्ट्रिफिकेशन करने का फैसला किया है उसकी वजह से अगर यकम नवम्बर

वाले के पास बिजली नहीं है और 24 नवम्बर वाले के पास है तो वहां पर काम शुरू क्यों नहीं किया जाता। इस लिये मैं अर्ज करता हूँ कि इस मामले में सीरियल वाइज का ख्याल नहीं किया जाना चाहिये।]

श्री जगत नारायण (पंजाब) : डिप्टी चेयरमन साहिब, मैं इस समय कोई शिकायत करना नहीं चाहता हूँ, मैं तो सिर्फ जो हमारे रेलवे के तीन मिनिस्टर साहब बैठे हैं, जो कि जनता के मिनिस्टर कहलाते हैं, उन्हीं से मैं अपना गिला करना चाहता हूँ कि इस समय सारे पंजाब में रेलवे के ऊपर जबर्दस्त बोझ पड़ रहा है, लेकिन हमारे तीनों मिनिस्टरों में से एक भी वहां नहीं पहुंचा। अगर हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब इस वक्त वहां जाते तो उन्हें पता चलता कि पंजाब के लोग कितनी तकलीफ में हैं। इस इमरजेन्सी में तो इस बारे में कोई ख्याल नहीं किया जाना चाहिये, लेकिन जो उनकी तकलीफें हैं उनकी ओर जरूर तवज्जो दी जानी चाहिये। मैं इस समय उनके सामने तीन चार मुझाव रखना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि मैं 8 दिन पंजाब में रह कर आया हूँ।

हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब को मालूम होगा कि पंजाब में जालन्धर स्टेशन से कई जगहों को गाड़ियां जाती हैं। वहां से पठानकोट, अमृतसर, फिरोजपुर और इधर दिल्ली की ओर गाड़ियां जाती हैं। वहां से होशियारपुर को भी गाड़ी जाती है और वह स्टेशन इतना इम्पोर्टेंट है कि अगर इस इमरजेन्सी में हमारे बजीर साहब वहां जाते तो वे स्टेशन पर लोगों की हालत को देखते। जब हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब वहां पर जायेंगे तो उनको मालूम होगा कि इस स्टेशन में एन्टी-एयर-क्राफ्ट गन लगाने की कितनी ज्यादा जरूरत है। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि आप तो इस तरह की गन मुहय्या नहीं कर सकते हैं, लेकिन अगर आप वहां पर जाते तो लोगों की तकलीफ को अच्छी तरह से मालूम कर पाते। अगर उसके

[श्री जगत नारायण]

याई में एक बम फेंक दिया जाय तो सारा कम्युनिकेशन खत्म हो जायेगा। पाकिस्तान ने इस तरह की बहुत कोशिश की, लेकिन वह कामयाब नहीं हुआ सिवाय छेहरटा क्षेत्र में। उसने इस तरह की बमबारी जालन्धर, अमृतसर और पठानकोट के रेलवे याई पर करने की कोशिश की मगर वह कामयाब नहीं हुआ। उसके जहाज जो भी बम गिराते थे वे या तो निशाने पर नहीं लगते थे या फिर एक, दो या तीन मील की दूरी पर गिरते थे। उसने जालन्धर के स्टेशन को खत्म करने के लिए 9 बम गिराये और इस वजह से गिराये थे कि उसका रेलवे याई खत्म हो जायें मगर उसको इसमें कामयाबी नहीं हुई। इसलिए मैं बड़े अदब के साथ रेलवे मिनिस्टर साहब की खिदमत में यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आप में से कोई साहब पंजाब में तशरीफ ले जायें क्योंकि अब तो सेशन भी खत्म हो जायेगा, तो वहाँ के लोग आपको बतलायेंगे कि उनकी क्या क्या तकलीफें हैं। तीसरे दर्जे के मुसाफिरों को रात में बठने के लिए बड़ी तकलीफ होती है क्योंकि वहाँ पर अभी ब्लैक आउट खत्म नहीं हुआ है। पंजाब में ब्लैक आउट का सिलसिला अभी भी जारी है और वहाँ के चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब ने कह दिया है कि अभी वहाँ पर ब्लैक आउट खत्म नहीं किया जायेगा। वहाँ पर ब्लैक आउट इसलिए खत्म नहीं किया जा रहा है क्योंकि पाकिस्तान का कोई पता नहीं कि वह फिर किस समय हवाई हमला कर दे जैसा कि उस ने 22 तारीख के दिन जब कि अय्यूब बाइकास्ट कर रहे थे और हमने सीज फायर की बात को मान लिया था तब उसने अमृतसर में शाम के वक्त बाजार पर हमला कर दिया।

श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र (उड़ीसा) : उसने सीज फायर हो के बाद भी 9 बजे के करीब फिरोजपुर पर राकेट गिराया।

श्री जगत नारायण : इस समय पंजाब में बड़ा बोझ है, इसलिए मैं अर्ज करना चाहता

हूँ कि हमारे वजीर साहब जालन्धर जायें तो मैं उन्हें लोगों से मिलवा दूंगा और तब उन्हें मालूम हो जायेगा कि उनकी क्या क्या तकलीफें हैं। इस वक्त पंजाब बड़ी मुश्किल से गुजर रहा है और वहाँ पर चार-पांच स्टेशन ऐसे हैं जो सारे मुल्क के लिए अहम हैं। पाकिस्तान का कोई ठिकाना नहीं कि वह किसी समय हमला कर दे। इसलिए मैं अदब के साथ अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब में चार-पांच स्टेशनों में जिनमें जालन्धर, फिरोजपुर, अम्बाला, पठानकोट ऐसे हैं जिनमें एन्टी एयरक्राफ्ट गन लगाई जानी चाहिये। इसलिए मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे रेलवे मिनिस्टर साहब डिफेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब से कहेंगे कि वे इन स्टेशनों पर जरूर एन्टी एयरक्राफ्ट गन लगायें ताकि हमारे पंजाब में कम्युनिकेशन जारी रहे। इस वक्त सारे पंजाब पर बहुत ज्यादा बोझ पड़ रहा है और वह बड़ी दिलेरी के साथ उसको सह रहा है। इसलिए इस समय जो हमें टाइम मिला है उसमें हमें अपनी माल गाड़ियों को खूब चलाना चाहिये ताकि सामान इधर से उधर आ जा सके। पंजाब के कारखानों को जिस रा मैटिरियल की जरूरत है वह उनको इस वक्त में मिल जाना चाहिये ताकि वहाँ पर तेजी के साथ माल तैयार हो सके। इसके साथ ही साथ वहाँ पर जो माल तैयार होता है वह भी तेजी के साथ बाहर जाये ताकि वहाँ के लोगों का कारोबार चल सके और वे भी लेबरर्स को रोटी मुहैया कर सकें। इसलिए मैं अदब से फिर अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस समय जो समय मिला है उसका जरूर फायदा उठाया जाना चाहिये क्योंकि पाकिस्तान का कोई पता नहीं कि वह कब हमला कर दे। एक महीने, दो महीने, 20 दिन या 10 दिन के भीतर भी वह हमला कर सकता है और हम उस पर एतबार नहीं कर सकते हैं। मैं सिर्फ आपके सामने दो तर्जवीज पेश कर रहा हूँ और मुझे यकीन है कि आप इन पर गौर फरमायेंगे।

एक बात मैं और अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि आपको पंजाब के हर स्टेशन

पर एक ऊंचा टावर बनाना चाहिये ताकि वहां से जहाजों का आना जाना देखा जा सके। जिस तरह से पाकिस्तान की पी० ए० पी० ने अपने यहां ऊंचे टावर बना लिये हैं उसी तरह के टावर हमारे यहां भी होने चाहिये ताकि जहाजों का आना देखा जा सके। हमारा जो रेडार सिस्टम है वह कई दफा काम नहीं करता है। इसलिए अगर स्टेशनों पर टावर बना दिये जायेंगे तो वहां पर जो आदमी बैठा होगा वह हवाई जहाज के बारे में कंट्रोल रूम को खबर दे सकेगा कि दुश्मन के हवाई जहाज आ रहे हैं और यहां पर हर तरह की अहतिथात कर ली जायेगी। इसलिए मेरा यकीन है कि जो तीन चार बातें आपके सामने मैंने रखी हैं उन पर आप जरूर गौर फरमायेंगे। बाकी जो वहां की जनता को तकलीफ है वह जब आप तशरीफ लायेंगे तो मालूम हो जायेगी। इस वक्त इस तरह की तकलीफों को नरेट करने का वक्त नहीं है, जब आप जलन्धर आयें तो मुझे बता दें और मैं आपको लोगों से मिलाकर उनकी तकलीफ बता दूंगा ताकि आप उन्हें दूर करने की कोशिश करें।

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN (Madras):
Madam, I have nothing much to add than to say . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then you will take less than five minutes?

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN: . . . that the electrification of Vijayawada-Madras section is very good but it will not fully serve the purpose unless the metre gauge line that runs between Madras and Trichinopoly is converted to broad gauge because the Thiruve-rambur Heavy Boilers are going to produce boilers which have to be transported to the north and if that metre gauge line is there, transhipment difficulty will be there. Therefore it is very necessary. And it is not only these heavy boilers. A small arms factory is also being started in the south and these products must go

to the north. Therefore there is necessity for the conversion of that metre gauge section into broad gauge between Madras and Trichinopoly. It is very essential and I hope the Railway Minister will make a note of this.

Then there is the suburban line from Madras to Arkonam which requires immediate electrification because industrial expansion is taking place there very rapidly and people do need an electric train service for that distance of about 43 miles.

Next, the Gummidipundi-Gudur section has to be doubled quickly because unless it is doubled, the electrification between Vijayawada and Madras may not be useful. Therefore first preference should be given to this.

Now a doubt was raised by my hon. friend there that the Southern Railway was running into loss every year. That means that the south is not developed, as the north is developed. That is the reason for that. Not only now but even from the days of the Britishers, Calcutta and Bombay had been very highly developed and the south with outstretched hands has had to import goods from Calcutta and Bombay. The goods train carrying goods to the south have to return empty. It is all one way traffic. As far as goods traffic is concerned, the goods wagons have to be handed over to the other Railways empty and those charges are debited against the Southern Railway and that is the reason why the Southern Railway is running at a loss. If industrial expansion takes place in the south, if the south does not expect any imports from the north and if the north expects goods from the south then the income from goods traffic will be very high in the Southern Railway.

Finally, I applaud the Railways—the Railway Minister has also paid glorious tributes to the railwaymen—for their mamificent performance

[Shri T. V. Anandan.] during the recent emergency. Instead of words I want certain concrete and material benefits to be granted to the railwaymen. I am not going to cause extra expenditure to the Railway Administration. There is some upgrading given to class III staff but there is a disparity as 3C, 40 and 55 per cent. I would request the hon. Minister to extend the 55 per cent, to all the class III staff without any differentiation. It will not cost much to the Railway Administration.

Secondly, Madam, there is always an accusation against the railwaymen for human failure, although they perform their duties diligently. The main reason is the running staff is made to work for 14 to 16 hours. I request the hon. Minister to refer to paragraph 277 of the Adjudicator's Award where it says that the normal work at a stretch should be for 10 hours. If it is reduced to eight hours or if the maximum is kept at ten hours, I think he will be doing a very great justice and there will be no expenses at all on the Railways. That is the main reason why I say this. I am very closely connected with railway-men and I am very proud of them. I do say that because the drivers, the running staff, are allowed to work for more than 12, 14 and even 16 hours, the human failure is there on their part. Therefore, it must be yielded. It will not cost much to the Railway Administration.

Thirdly, I would like to refer to one of the most fundamental recommendations, namely, reservation of 25 per cent, of class III posts to class IV. The Ministry has yielded so far only up to 20 per cent. They should reserve this five per cent, more as a generous gesture for the magnificent services rendered by the railwaymen during this struggle. If the Railway Ministry does this, it will be a very good service.

Finally, as far as our jawans are concerned, they have played a heroic

and gallant part which cannot be compared to any in the two world wars. To that extent our jawans have created a great impression. When our jawans are sent back home, when they are relieved from the Army, I would like some percentage of posts to be reserved for them on the Railways. We give employment to about 12-1/2 lakhs of railwaymen. So, if they are absorbed, a few military personnel who have rendered military service, it will not harm any. I would request the Minister to see to this. Protect their pay, but do not give them the seniority. This question has been even today pending before the Railway Ministry. The predecessor British Government had given an undertaking during the Second World War to those people who joined the Army—it was a mercenary Army—that they would be given jobs in the Railways. At the same time, the service rendered by them in the Army would be counted as Railway service. Thereby railwaymen in service are disappointed. Therefore, I request that the pay can be protected of the war service personnel, but they should take the juniormost position in the Railways when they are recruited.

I have nothing more to say. I think the Railway Minister will give due consideration to the uncommitted financial proposals of mine.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI S. K. PATIL): Madam Deputy Chairman, taking advantage of the Appropriation Bill, in respect of both excess and supplementary grants, Members have made very useful suggestions. If I start replying to every suggestion that has been made, it would take time. Besides, these are matters we generally discuss either in our Committee or at the time of the Budget. But we have taken note of all the suggestions that have been made. About the regular running of trains, etc. and other administrative matters, all that would be attended to. I am not trying to reply to a few suggestions, because I will have to miss quite a

lot and that will be a very sad discrimination.

There is one matter on which there has been unanimity and that is many Members, more than once, barring perhaps one exception—Mr. Chordia, to whom I shall come later—have paid compliments and congratulations to the railwaymen. From many men we have heard that the railwaymen have rendered good service during these very difficult hours of emergency. May I, on behalf of the Administration and railwaymen, express to the House how profoundly we are grateful for all these appreciations that not only Members of this House and the other House but the public in general have made, if I tell them under what strains and stresses the railwaymen had to work during these fateful days, these 21 or 22 days in order to meet the needs of the Armed Forces, they would appreciate it even more. If anybody has got to perform a very vital task in a war of this description, it is transport, and in transport more than anything else Railways. Members will realise that at very short notice, within one or two hours, at any odd place anywhere in India, wagons and coaches had to be assembled and the troops had to be carried and trains had to be run, not one train, sometimes ten, fifteen, twenty and even twentyfive trains had to be run, upsetting all other arrangements. That had got to be done. Therefore, our railwaymen, wherever they were, right from the Chairman of the Railway Board to the lowest gangman, worked as if the responsibility was his. He had to discharge his duty in the manner in which the country expected him to do it. That is the way in which the work was done. It was magnificent indeed and I am proud of every railwayman, because he stood up in the hour of trial and did his duty. Everybody from the Defence Minister, everybody right from the first day, whenever we met him, used to say that so far as the work of the railwaymen was concerned in this particular emergency, it was of the

highest order. That pleases me immensely and I shall convey to the railwaymen the congratulations which you, and the other House have paid.

There is one thing that I want to say. We wanted to do something for railwaymen. The hon. Member, Mr. Chordia, said that we had not attended to some of their conveniences. I quite grant that it might be like that. We did not think of how many people we're going in a coach or in a wagon, because our responsibility was to see that they reached their destination, no matter under what condition. Therefore, there was not enough time even to consider that. It may be true—I do not know—that a particular Party was not given the opportunity of distributing sweets and other things, I am extremely sorry about it, because one good that this emergency has brought about in this country is the complete unanimity in India and we are very proud of it. You, Members of the Opposition, belonging to various Parties did not find that difference which you had very reason to find. You all combined together in order that a unified leadership could be made possible in this emergency. Therefore, if any such thing has happened, I apologise. I am very sorry for it. If it had been brought to my notice I would have removed it at once. But at a time like that, it becomes very difficult to make everybody understand everything. What is of immense importance is that the troops must be conveyed at the proper time. There are risks, and many risks were taken. When the whole story is divulged, you will understand as to what great risks had to be taken during these days. I can tell you something which has come to my notice. Bombs had to be taken almost uncovered. That thing had never happened anywhere, because the security regulations are there. The security of the staff is involved. There was no question of that. If it was wanted, it had to be produced and it had to be conveyed. Otherwise, I think we would not have achieved the enormous success that

[Shri S. K. Patil] we achieved in this war. And, therefore, if a slight inconvenience was caused to our troops and jawans, surely it was not intentional and* could not be intentional. Applications used to come to me everyday. Everybody wanted to give something to the jawans, wanted to distribute sweets and we were freely allowing that but we had to restrict it for the sake of security, in respect of the people who were coming to the station because there was a risk involved in that position also.

Many cases have come to my notice. There was one case where the instinct of an ordinary man helped in saving a catastrophe, a danger that would have arisen. A shepherd boy somewhere saw that four persons were sitting near a station and they appeared to him to be somewhat suspicious. Now, the shepherd boy did not know who is a paratrooper and who is not. His instinct told him that there was something wrong about those four men who were sitting there. He immediately ran and gave that information to the Station Master, who conveyed it to the police. When the police came and these people knew what the police were coming, they ran away. They had left behind a box full of live bombs. Therefore, you could quite understand the tremendous risks these railwaymen had to take everywhere. There are many other instances and these could be multiplied as to what they did.

Now, we have done whatever is possible, just as the Army has done something going out of our way. Anything? we do for these people is not really adequate or enough. Wherever anybody died on the railways, we have seen to it that somebody in that family no matter whether he has the confirmation or not. We either inform or that besides giving them money—not more, according to law—but even more beyond it i.e., Rs. 2,500 immediately. We provide them job—so that it should continue and

there will be no difficulty at all. If anything more has got to be done, surely the Railways will see to it that it is done. Already I think we have lost about 19 people dead, and several of them were wounded. In spite of the fact that the bombs were falling every day in places like Ferozepore, Gadhra, etc.—you were listening to that, and the railway lines become the easiest target and 54 kilometres of that line, every inch of it, could not be protected by any stretch of imagination although there was a lot of protection wherever it was needed—thank Heavens that ultimately we could do all these things, no serious danger to the track anywhere was caused and the troop movement really was carried out very easily.

Somebody suggested and we have accepted and enlarged that suggestion and taken it, that there are people who have done very meritorious things something magnificent in this war, and added to the honour and dignity of this great country besides safeguarding its security and winning the war; some of them have been given various kinds of recognition and the highest of them was Param Vir Chakra. We know the places from which these people, the recipients of this Param Vir Chakra hail. Therefore, we have decided that on our railway station nearest to the place from where these people hail—we are collecting information—we shall put a permanent plaque commemorating the excellent services the magnificent services, these people have rendered. If there are any other suggestions by which we could do this, they are welcome. This would be a kind of example to generations to come so that they could draw inspiration remembering that what did happen this year may happen at any time and we shall be more ready than we are today.

Madam, I do not want to take the time of the House. So far as the suggestions that were made are concerned about the railway running and so on, we shall pay attention to it. If some inconvenience was caused

during these days, because We could not attend to the passengers' conveniences etc., that should really be condoned. It was not due to any fault on our part because that was the time when these things could not be attended to.

With these words, I commend these two Bills for the acceptance of the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall first put the Appropriation (Railways) No. 3 Bill. The question is:

"That the Bill to provide for the authorisation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the amounts spent on certain services for the purposes of Railways during the financial year ended on the 31st day of March, 1963, in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI S. K. PATIL: Madam, I move:

"That the Bill be returned".

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the Appropriation (Railways) No. 4 Bill, 1965. The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1965-66 for the purposes of Railways, as passed by the Lok

Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI S. K. PATIL: Madam, I move:

"That the Bill be returned".

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The next item on the Order Paper is the Kerala Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1965, and the Kerala Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 1965. These two Bills will be taken up together.

I may announce here that the House will sit through the lunch hour.

THE KERALA APPROPRIATION (NO. 3) BILL, 1965

THE¹ KERALA APPROPRIATION (NO. 4) BILL, 1965

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI RAMESHWAR SAHU): Madam, I beg to move :

"That the Bill to provide for the authorisation of appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to meet the amounts spent on certain services during the financial year ended on the 31st day of March, 1962, in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The Bill arises out of the Demands for Excess Grants relating to the year

[Shri Rameshwar Sahu.] 1961-62, in respect of the Kerala State, voted by the Lok Sabha on the 13th September, 1965 and the expenditure charged on the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala and incurred in excess of the sanctioned appropriations for that year. The reasons which led to the excesses have been explained in the foot-notes below each Demand of Appropriation in the Statement of Demands for Excess Grants which has already been circulated to the hon. Members.

As the House is aware, the excesses as disclosed in the Appropriation Accounts are, in the first instance, required to be examined by the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament or of the State Legislature, as the case may be, and then only after the Committee have looked into the facts of each case and recommended their regularisation that the matter is brought before Parliament or the State Legislature. The Public Accounts Committee of the Kerala State Legislature in their Second Report for 1963-64, recommended the regularisation of these excesses. The Demands for Excess Grants, which would have normally been presented to the State Legislature for regularisation, had to be presented to Parliament under Article 205(1) (b) of the Constitution read with the Proclamation issued by the President on the 24th March, 1965, under Article 356 of the Constitution. I do not, therefore, propose to take the time of the House to explain these excesses in detail.

Madam, I move. Madam,

I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala for the services of the financial year 1965-66, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The present Bill arises out of the Supplementary Demands for Grants for Rs. 59.04 lakhs voted by the Lok Sabha on the 13th September, 1965, and the expenditure of Rs. 9.54 lakhs 'Charged' on the Consolidated Fund of Kerala State. The Supplementary Demand Statements presented to the House give the explanations in support of these proposals. It is not necessary for me, therefore, to go into these in detail except to make a brief mention of the important items included in the present batch of Supplementary Demands.

Of the total voted expenditure of Rs. 59.04 lakhs, Rs. 45 lakhs are required for a loan to the newly constituted Kerala State Road Transport Corporation for its initial working capital; Rs. 6.01 lakhs for the implementation of the Special Development Programme for Fisheries and Rs. 5.5 lakhs for the construction of a sea wall at Purakkad, Alleppey District to combat the severe sea erosion and to protect the National Highway.

The 'Charged' expenditure of Rs. 9.54 lakhs is mainly required to make payments in satisfaction of court decrees against Government in various land acquisition cases.

Madam, I move.

The questions were proposed.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras) : Madam, conscious of the fact that we are racing against time, I will try to be as brief as possible. We have here two Bills called the Kerala Appropriation (No. 3), Bill, 1965 and the Kerala Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 1965. In Bill No. 3 there is a demand for excess amount of Rs. 1*4 crores and in Bill No. 4 there is a demand for Rs. 68 lakhs. It is not at all surprising to see the Government acting like this, in the name of Kerala coming out with demands for fee over-expenditure that they had incurred. It is said that bad governments, when they present their budgets, wantonly underestimate the expenditure and later come to Parliament again with

supplementary demands. Our Gov-
ernment is notorious in this regard.

There are a few facts which I have to put forward when we discuss about Kerala. Firstly, such an advanced State is now without a legislature for such a long time and there is no guarantee from the Government how soon they are going to hold the elections. If there is no legislature there, it is not because the people did not want it but it is because the Congress hierarchy could not have a government of its own. So, it indulged in this sort of thing by not giving a proper legislature to the people of Kerala and here, 1,400 miles away from Kerala, we have to discuss the budgetary demands of that State.

The crying needs of Kerala are two. One is that they want that the food ration is increased. I am told that the people of Kerala are given only six ounces of rice, whereas the other States are given more. I do not understand this discriminatory attitude of the Government. Is it because Kerala does not produce food that they are given less? If that is the theory, if that is the logic, behind this decision, then there is no use of talking about the unity of India—India, that is Bharat and all that. If this were true, then Kerala too has got a claim to say that whatever it produces may not be made available to the rest of India, I remember, Madam,—On one occasion, the former Governor of Kerala, Shri Giri, made a statement at Trivandrum or so in which he said that if the rest of India was not prepared to give enough food to Kerala, then it must have the right to export all its exportable goods and get foreign exchange and with that foreign exchange, the people of Kerala could purchase any amount of rice that they wanted.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) :
Spices.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: He said they
could get any amount of rice

that they wanted in that way. And if Kerala takes up that attitude, then the other States also would follow it and the discriminatory policy of the Government would certainly lead to the disintegration of the nation.

Another important need of Kerala is that they want to have fisheries industries. I am told that the fish available on the western coast is far superior in quality and quantity . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Very good quality.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY ... to that available in Norway and Japan I am also told that now only one-tenth of the potential is tapped. The people of Kerala demand that they should have an industry established there at a cost of Rs. 50 crores to Rs. 61 crores. If this is done, I am sure that Kerala would certainly beat Japan and Norway who are in the forefront of this industry, and this would also go a long way to meet the food shortage in that State and it can cater to the needs of the rest of India also. But unfortunately, the Government is not in a mood to do that. It is doing something piece-meal, it is not enough. And the demand of the people is there for such a long time, and I do not find any provision in these Appropriation Bills nor in the much-boasted Fourth Five Year Plan.

Also, recently, when there was a famine immediately after the monsoon period, the people were not given sufficient or enough food by the rest of India. As a result, the people living in the coastal areas. I am told, ate some leaves and other things and there were instances of cholera and other epidemics. And even now there is no attempt on the part of the Government to rush food to that area and people there are under malnutrition. But instead of sending food, our Government is celebrating a *mela* there, a peculiar *mela*. You will be surprised to know what that *mela* is. I have got a paper with me which gives out the news. When some two weeks before there was a persistent cry for

[Shri S. S. Mariswamy.] food, the Family Planning Department sent 60,000 'loops' there, with another promise that they would send another consignment of the same number.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): A long-range basis.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: And it appears, like the Kumbh Mela that we have here, in the North, it was a 'Loop Mela' there. And the way in which it was celebrated, it was something really very near 'to obscenity and vulgarity. I am quoting from the paper, Madam—

"Young women returning home from colleges and offices were accosted by loud-speakers in the Sitreets of the capital, 'Dear ladies ! a moment please!' followed by a dissertation on the latest birth control device, the IUCD. Three out of six pages of an issue of a popular Malayalam daily were filled with illustrations, descriptions and commendations of the device. Here is the gist of a news report . . ."

which is in a particular paper which I am not going to read.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Read the name.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: The paper's name is "Swarajya". It is a letter -from Kerala and now the standing joke in Kerala . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I think it is in your favour;

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: The standing joke in Kerala, I am told, is that the people do not call this raj as 'Congress Raj' but they call it the 'Loop Raj'.

Madam, before I conclude my speech, I have to say a few words about the treatment meted out to the political prisoners there. I do not hold any brief for the Communist prisoners . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: Why?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Because we oppose their ideology. But whatever might be the differences, they must also be treated properly and

there should not be any discrimination between this political prisoner and that political prisoner. They are elected members of the legislature. The Government had not given them an opportunity to form a ministry. Immediately after the announcement of the election results, the disappointed Congress got angry and put them into prison. If they are accused or if they are charged that they have done something which is detrimental to the interests of the country, it is their duty to bring them before the courts and let the courts give judgment and accordingly they can punish them, put them in prison or even send them out of the country. But they have not been given that right and now I am told reliably that they are given a very-bad treatment in jail. And that is really bad. The Government has no business to call itself a democratic government and also to say to the world that it has got democratic socialism as its policy. This must be put an end to immediately. The prisoners who are in jail must be treated properly and their families also must be taken care of by the Government. If the bread-winners of those families are put in prison and the families are left in the lurch, this sort of thing is really bad. It does not speak well of the Government.

As regards the Ashing industry, again I insist that the Government must come forward immediately and assure the people of Kerala that their demand will be met in the coming year. I am told that it involves only about Rs. 50 crores. If it is done, then Kerala will be very much satisfied and the food problem also will be solved to a great extent. I am told that the ships coming from Japan, come very near the coast of Cochin to take fish from that area. When Japan takes so much interest, why should not our Government take a little amount of interest and provide them with this industry?

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh); Government does not know . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: Kerala is very well known for its mackerel. My friend, Shri Ruthnaswamy, asked a question the other day about it.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: The Government is not only denying them the legislature but also denying every genuine demand of theirs.

With these words, I sit down.

SHRI PALAT KUNHI KOYA (Kerala): Madam, I am not going to enter too much into the detailed aspects of this Bill, because the demands of Kerala and the state of affairs prevailing there have already been brought to the notice, of this House on several occasions.

Madam, it is not a fact that nothing has been done for Kerala. In the matter of fisheries, I wish to thank the Government for starting and opening a new fishing port, Mappilabay at Can-nanore. When it is finalised, I think, it will go a long way in improving the condition of the fishermen community and Cannanore District. Now the problem is food. As every one knows here, the problem of food in Kerala was acute and is still acute because we are producing only 50 per cent, of the need. The remaining 50 per cent, we have to get from outside. Somehow it is going on. But I think it is not enough to say that we are satisfied with the present position. Much has to be done there in connection with food and other industries also. Of course, since the land available in Kerala for paddy cultivation is very little compared with other States in India, I think there is possibility of bringing some more land under the plough if irrigation and other facilities are brought in there. I think it is high time for us to do the maximum in the matter because food is not only a matter for Kerala, it has become a national question also. Especially at this juncture it is high time for us to understand that unless and until we are able to stand on our own legs, our future, I think, will be very dark. We may be getting loans and rice and all that from

outside. But how long are we going to depend upon this outside help. We must ourselves see that every part of the country is developed in all aspects wherever it is possible. I think Kerala is a place where we have got all facilities. We have good workers, who are earnest and capable. People with brains and very good energy and initiative. The only drawback is we have to push them up and give some help which is so badly needed and which is not being done.

Madam, the question of agriculture mainly depends upon irrigation. We have got about 40—42 rivers with perennial water. It is proved that Kerala is a State where cheap electricity can be tapped. This has got to be done. Electricity is the main source for our cultivation. In the matter of food, it is not only a question of shortage but it is a question of irregularities also in the matter of supply and distribution. I am of opinion that in this matter if the Government takes up these matters seriously and makes it run properly, I think what we have got will be sufficient for our needs. Madam, even when we are getting rice, the complaint is that we are getting very poor rice. At times, we get very good rice also. It comes from various parts of the country. We are importing as well as getting rice from within the country. But in the matter of distribution, something is wrong somewhere.

SHRI SUNDAR MANI PATEL (Orissa): Good in what sense—quality or quantity?

SHRI PALAT KUNHI KOYA: Let us come to quality first. Then I may come to quantity. Even with 6 ounces plus 6 ounces of rice and wheat we were not crying. We were suffering quietly even when we were finding very little there. So we want to see these irregularities rectified.

Madam, there are lands there. There are forest lands. Even Government forests are there. We have got some lands there which can be brought under the plough. But the co-ordi-

[Shri Pala't Kunhi Koya.] nation between the various departments is such that when something is asked for they have to consult amongst themselves and in many cases they cannot agree. These things are going on. It is the officials who have got to be properly checked. We do not need new plans, committees or advices and all that. We have plenty of them. We have got schemes also. The trouble is in implementing. Somehow something is wrong somewhere. It is high time for us to go into these deeply and rectify this trouble. Then I can assure you that with whatever we have got we can manage properly.

The other question is about our people who have not got work, I mean, the question of educated unemployment in Kerala. I am not going to say much about our present education. Yet I have to ask a question. All people cannot go to colleges and universities. Many of them have to stop at the fourth standard or the higher secondary. What are these people fit for? Unless they pass their S.S.L.C. and go in for further studies, they cannot be said to be educated. They must have some degree. What are the other millions to do who stop their studies in the High School and the like? They cannot get a job.

Another trouble is this. We want our full force to work in our fields and factories and all that. What is the number of these people coming out after studies? Unfortunately, the present education which we are having now, in my opinion, is not good -for the ordinary man. For example, I may be a small cultivator or a small planter or something like that. I may have three or four children. If they are not going to school, they will serve me as workers. But what happens when they are sent to High Schools and so on. I have some experience as the Vice-President of the Malabar District Board when I was managing about 1,300 schools. At that time there was only very little atten-

dance in many schools there. So we used to approach the guardians. We went to the villages and asked the parents to send their children to school. I remember once an old man asked me a question which I could not reply. He offered me tea. He had three boys of 12, 15 and 20. He said that the boys were not sent to school for further studies, they stopped after the fourth or fifth standard and learned to read and write vernacular. It was in 1949. If the boys were to pursue their studies, they will have to go about 10 or 20 miles for which, he said, he was not capable because of his financial position. He said he had small fields where these boys would work. Once the boys go to a High School they learn to wear good dresses and all that. When he comes back, he finds that his village and his home are not sufficient for him. Jokingly he told me that it was all right for rich people to send their children for higher studies but not for them. When the boys go out, they have to engage some workers on fields and plantations, and give them wages. He has to get up at 5 o'clock and look after his cattle and everything. When the boys come back after their studies, he is already half in debt. Even the house is mortgaged. Boys will be required at least one anna per day to get an English paper, not for news but to see the advertisements to apply for some job. Further he said, they would not use ordinary shirt. It must be well washed and starched. They will say, 'It is unhygienic to have cowsheds in front of the house, Father.' Cattle is their sole property. Every farmer's house will have some cattle in front of the house and these boys will say 'This is unhygienic and will breed mosquitoes and we must remove them and keep them elsewhere.' What are they going to do? The maximum that can be done when they pass the Eighth or Ninth standard is to send them for teachers' training and they may become school-masters somewhere. By the time the boy marries, he is not in a position to look after his wife, let alone the poor parents. They might

have become bankrupt by that time. Then when they go to schools, they lose something—cheap and moderate living. When India is a socialistic country, we have to infuse in the people the feeling that we must recognize dignity of labour. It has never come. For instance, if I ask my son to do some labour, he may refuse, saying that it is below his dignity. What is below dignity? Working for honest living? There must be some means whereby whenever a boy goes to the school, he must learn some work with which he can make a living. We must have such kind of education.

We have the uplift of Harijans etc. from among the working classes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What are you proposing finally?

SHRI PALAT KUNHI KOYA: When they are sent to schools, instead of improving their condition it is found that the result is in the reverse direction. We must find out some ways whereby the children may be useful, after they study to themselves, their families and thereby to the country.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR (Kerala): The system should be changed.

SHRI PALAT KUNHI KOYA: Dignity of labour must impressed and recognized. Of course, we find so many black marketeers. Who are they? They are from the middle class people who are found out of job. They are not fit for any big jobs or industry. Naturally they want to keep up their status and they want terelene shirts and polished shoes. They will not be able to get money for these and so by hook or crook they earn by black-marketing, smuggling, etc.

In Kerala and elsewhere especially in all the schools we must have some arrangements for the children to study for some jobs, apart from white collar jobs, which will be of use.

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Another matter is, hereafter we must do everything on a war footing. We have understood what has happened to us. We were passing through a very critical period in the history of our country and we have understood what it was. We cannot rely on outsiders. It must be possible for us to stand up on our own legs. This huge country with forty-six crores of people, when we want to get up and work and do something, I do not think that we cannot do what others have done already elsewhere. We must be prepared for any work and then we will find jobs. Small industries must come up in Kerala. Our State is poor in industrial matters. I do not want to say that we want only huge industries. In Kerala, small-scale industries can come up very well. They are coming up. Large-scale industries are not coming up because of shortage of raw materials and proper capital. When somebody wants to start some industries and applies for advice and help from departments, nothing is done in time because there is always delay in doing all these things. A friend of mine told me that he wanted to enquire about starting a small-scale industry and he approached an officer. While he was discussing, the officer seems to have told him: 'You cannot start immediately, it will take two or three years.' Then the friend said; 'I am not bothered, it is not for me but it is for my grandson. This kind of thing should end. Whatever we have to do, it must be done in time. That is what we have to do and the Government, as I said, is doing its bit but there is not enough co-operation among the officers and persons who are really dealing with these matters. We have to rectify our old machinery which has become unsuitable for the present set-up.

With these words, I support the Bill and conclude.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Yesterday I heard with rapt attention the broadcast to the nation by our beloved Prime Minister. My heart

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair.] was filled with pride for my country. The way in which the entire people in this country behaved must be a matter of pride for everyone. In his speech, he also referred to the free democracy in our country while on the other side, in Pakistan, it was only guided democracy. To-day coming here we are handed over two Bills which revive some unpleasant memories. These are Bills which in the normal course the Local Assembly should have dealt with. We are reminded of the fact that the Assembly that was elected a few months ago even before its first sitting, was butchered and it had been the sorry experience of our State that when the conditions are such that the ruling party, I mean the Congress Party, is not assured of power, the democratic set-up in that State falls down. So in one way the free democracy that we are enjoying is conditioned. It is conditional democracy. If the ruling party is assured a majority in any State, there we can have a democratic set-up. So this state of affairs must change and I am sorry to note that the other day, in the Lok Sabha the Law Minister said that the question of immediate election in Kerala is ruled out. That shows the approach and attitude of the Government to revive the democratic set-up in Kerala.

Again in this Appropriation Bill some Rs. 28,000 has been allotted for giving family allowance to the detenus. My friend who spoke before me mentioned about the treatment meted out to the detenus there.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala): Is it a fact that they have gained ten pounds each?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: My friend during these days, especially after his marriage, is behaving in a particular way and I think he has re-started his infantile attitude. I will not reply to him.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: He is his own self again?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: The way in which the detenus have been dealt with has been reported by my friend. I have certain information about the cruel treatment. Now, this amount which is demanded is for giving allowance. I know of one particular instance. One Mr. Kurien from Kottayam is the sole supporter of his family. He has only 30 cents, of land and that too is mortgaged. It is under mortgage to the State Bank, and any moment that land may be auctioned. Even to this day no family allowance has been given to him. I can enumerate a number of instances like that; since we are pressed for time, I am not going into all those things. But my point is, when you have taken them into custody, it is the responsibility of the Government to deal with them in a fair way. Why should the Government be so mean and petty in the matter of giving family allowance?

SHRIMATI DEVAKI GOPIDAS (Kerala): Is it the hon. Member's contention that Government should redeem such property?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I did not say that; I said that the family allowance should be given in such a measure that they can maintain themselves. You should not behave in a mean, petty way; that is my point.

Then, it is very pertinent at this time to raise this point: Why should you keep these people still in jail? In January last they were arrested and everybody knows that, at that time, there was no threat of Pakistan to our soil; not even one sheep of the Chinese had strayed into our land for them to suggest that they will again attack us. Now, at such a time they were arrested; everybody knows why they were arrested. The only emergency then in the State of Kerala was the recent election, when the Congress there was in a very bad shape. Now the elections are over; the Assembly has been dismissed, and today, more than anybody else, the

leader of the Marxist Communist Group, the General Secretary of that organisation, Mr. E. M. Sankaran Namboodiripad, has come out with a statement, which should be welcomed by all. He praises the political leadership of the nation for sending our Armed Forces to the soil of the enemy. He promises all kinds of cooperation for the war effort. He has made it clear that even if the Chinese come into the picture, he will still be supporting the war effort. Under such circumstances I cannot understand why they are still kept in jail; they should be immediately released.

Then, all the friends who spoke here mentioned about the particular problems of Kerala. We are now the smallest State, only fourteen thousand square miles, of which more than twenty-seven per cent are forests; the density of Kerala population is the highest in India, 1200 per square mile. Then, the peasantry, sixty per cent of them have land less than one acre each, and more than thirty per cent of people are landless; they have not even an inch of land to lay their heads on. In such a State, are we still to allow all these foreign plantations to continue as they are? Whenever we speak about nationalisation, it has been the attitude of the ruling party to lend a deaf ear to it. Now I ask this question, in a situation like this, when in a State more than thirty per cent of the people have not an inch of land, why should lakhs of acres, from Parasala to Wynad, be still in the possession of these people? I can understand foreign collaboration in certain industries, where the technical know-how is not known to us. But is there anybody in Kerala who does not know how to grow a tea plant or rubber plant? Therefore there is absolutely no technical know-how needed from the foreigners here. Further, I also remember how all this land was acquired by these foreign companies. When they were the rulers here, they paid nominal sums, and in some cases nothing, and acquired them, and that way lakhs of

acres were taken over by these foreign planters. So, now at least, when people in Kerala have not an inch of land, when more than thirty per cent are without an inch of land, should you permit them to continue with this possession? If at all they had made any investments, a thousand times that amount has already been realised by them. So I feel that this is the proper time for you to nationalise all these foreign plantations in Kerala and you should do it in other places also because, whenever there is some trouble on the eastern border, you will have to provide facilities for the foreign planters to go back to their country, and when things get to normal, they will again come back. Again when there is trouble, again you will have to provide facilities for them to go back. So why should you keep these foreign plantations? The entire foreign plantations in the country should be nationalised, and apart from this general reason, because of the shortage of land in our State, in Kerala, immediate steps should be taken by the Centre, when not the whole State is a colony of yours. So, this is the proper time when you should do this.

Then, Madam, the question of food has been raised here. Well, there is a Consultative Committee for Kerala, where this question was discussed rather in detail, and it was said that some two hundred grams of rice will be given to the people of Kerala, though the demand was twelve ounces of rice. But finally, as a compromise, under the able leadership of the Home Minister, Nandaji, it was said that at least eight ounces should be regularly given. Now what is the position? From two hundred grams it has been reduced to one hundred and sixty grams. Why should we be discriminated against like this? Well, since we are pressed for time. I am not quoting elaborately from documents, but from the facts supplied to us by the Food Minister, it is clear that every individual in India is entitled to 14-5 ounces per day. Now,

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair.]

as far as rice is concerned, rice production in this year has been 38·7 million tons, which was very much higher than what it was previously. So there is no reason why the people in Kerala should not get what the people in other States are getting, why we have to suffer like this. In order to explain it I may have to go into some detail, but she has warned me even outside the House that I should not take much time. So I shall not go into that, the present system whereby the single zone has been introduced. Without the Government taking the necessary quantity from the surplus States it would not be possible for the Government to supply to deficit States like Kerala. And in the matter of procurement, you know, Government did not succeed. Even though the quota fixed was 19·5 million tons or so to be procured from the surplus States, the Government was able to procure only a little over 14 million tons. So unless you have a proper procurement policy, and unless the Centre takes the responsibility of feeding us and all other deficit States—like Kerala—things will go from bad to worse. So I would request that the Government should immediately take steps to restore at least the 200 grams that was previously given to us and also to see that we also get the same quantity to which each is entitled according to the production figures of the Government itself.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken fifteen minutes, Mr. Govindan Nair.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: In this Bill, some amount has been allotted for fisheries. Coming to the question of fisheries, I would like to draw your attention to one point. My point is this. I am not quoting. Some money was allotted during the Third Plan for the developing of fisheries in the State. If I remember correctly it was more than Rs. 4 crores, but even half that amount was not expended. Yes, I find that the allocation was Rs.

4·54 crores, but the anticipated expenditure is only Rs. 2·88 crores. We have a coastline of 366 miles and one of the richest fishing grounds in the world is in our coast. Recently the Soviet experts studied the question and I think the Government is in possession of their report. Further in their trade agreement with the Soviet Union, they have specially allocated some Rs. 40 crores or so for helping us in developing fisheries. So all these possibilities are there. There is the necessary foreign exchange available. There is the presence of rich fishing grounds. Still the Government has been indifferent in this matter as is shown by the fact, that even the amount allotted in the Third Plan has not been properly spent. I do not know what will be the fate of fisheries in the Fourth Plan. Anyway, it is calculated that if Rs. 50 crores are invested, you will be able to develop this industry or at least your catch will increase by 5 lakh tons. You are always in need of foreign exchange. By developing this industry, not only will the people of Kerala be benefited, but your foreign exchange earnings also will increase. The foreign exchange needed for developing this industry so that the catch may go up to 5 lakh tons is Rs. 30·78 crores. But within this period of five years, you will be able to have an earning of Rs. 79·56 crores by way of foreign exchange. So even from that point of view, even if you ignore the plight of Kerala, at least from your own self-interest of earning foreign exchange, top priority should be given to the development of the fishing industry and I believe the Government will give due consideration to this aspect of the matter.

(Time bell rings.)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken 20 minutes and we should finish this soon, because there are two more Appropriation Bills.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I am taking the two together.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is about Kerala. There are two more Appropriation Bills, general.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: The difficulty, Madam, is there is no Assembly now where these could be discussed. Anyway, I will only just point out how the Government has been indifferent with regard to the food shortage and other matters. About food shortage, I have already spoken. But in the matter of increasing the food production, that the Government has been very indifferent is proved by the fact that out of a sum of Rs. 372 crores set apart for agricultural programmes, they have succeeded in spending only Rs. 24.42 crores. Then again, with regard to irrigation, Rs. 1.42 crores have been set apart, but they have spent only Rs. 8.91 crores. With regard to manures, our peasants are prepared to use any kind of scientific manure that may be supplied to them. There is now a hue and cry in that State that the FACT has failed to supply manure for the paddy cultivation, and the Central Government has also failed to transfer at least manure from other places so that the cultivation may take place at least as it has been done during the previous years. And then about dairying and other things, there also Kerala is the State which produces the least quantity of milk. Just two ounces *per capita* is the production of milk in Kerala and even though money is being spent, it is not spent for increasing the production of milk but only for the collection and distribution of the milk. Some special emphasis has to be laid on this matter also. Unfortunately the time available is short, even though there are so many other things which have to be brought to the notice of this House and I have to cut short my remarks. Thank you very much, Madam, for this much of time that you have allowed me.

THE MINISTER OF PLANNING (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am glad hon. Mem-

bers have raised a number of points about Kerala. Most of these have been raised before, and only recently in the Consultative Committee of the Members of Parliament we had a full discussion for two days one of which was exclusively devoted to the problems of Kerala. I am in agreement but also in great sympathy with the sentiments expressed by hon. Members.

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

There are, these problems which require to be dealt with. For example, there is the question of the reorientation of the educational policy so as to provide more gainful employment to the educated people. This is being done in the Fourth Plan. This is of great and urgent importance in a State like Kerala which has the highest percentage of literacy and instead of giving the people general education, the education should be more crop-oriented or more vocation-oriented so that they are able to stand on their own legs. This is being done.

Then a point was made about the family allowances to the detenus. As hon. Members know, the Government has accepted the principle of giving family allowances to the family of those detenus who are the sole bread-earners, and so far, out of 144 cases of detenus examined, 54 have been given family allowances.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): May I interrupt for just one second? This figure that the hon. Minister is giving was given to me by Shri Ajit Prasad Jain several months ago when he was here, and some of them are getting only Rs. 50 and a little more. Now this is the position. What is the improvement since then? In Madras which is not far from Kerala, it has been written in their rules and regulations that Rs. 100 of family allowance should be given to every detenu, even if he is a Member of Parliament.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras): Even Rs. 150.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The rates vary from fifty rupees to one hundred and fifty rupees.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is all right, the rates are there . . .

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: They vary.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Don't follow the Chinese example of accepting the principle and not following it.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The amount sanctioned varies from fifty rupees to one hundred and fifty rupees and I can certainly . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How many are getting one hundred rupees only?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I do not have the figure.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is the difficulty. I am not wanting to ask a question of the hon. Minister.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Let me complete it. ■ ,

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I want to make a submission irrespective of it.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Certain vidual cases have also been mentioned. I will pass^{on} all for the consideration of the Home Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order, Sir.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: They are looking into it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I make a submission? It is a point of order. The difficulty here is one which you will kindly consider. Kerala does not hav_e a Legislative Assembly and these Bills in the nature of Budgets really are being discussed here where all questions relating to Kerala come and it is the Home Minister who really deals with such matters. Is it not proper for the Home Minister to be

present because many of the points raised by my friends here relate to subjects under the control of the Home Ministry or with which the Minister is connected? Now I can understand his difficulty. How can he answer all that? Th_e Kerala Assembly is not there and it is all the more reason why Government should come prepared to listen to what we say and try to answer the points raised here rather than leaving the whole thing to the Planning Minister and Minister in the Ministry of Finance to deal with. Is it fair to do like this? What would the people of Kerala think when they see how Parliament is dealing now with these things, when Parliament does not even produce a full-size Cabinet Minister to speak on this subject in reply to the debate? We have got nothing against him. Today is the last day. Otherwise, I would have demanded that directions be given to the Government that when th_e Kerala matters come up, at least some responsible Cabinet^ Minister would be present to deal with this matter.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I also support the view expressed by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. It is very un fortunate that the Home Minister or any of his deputies should not be present her_e while Kerala is being discussed. This is not only a set to the people of Kerala, ignoring thus their claims, but it is a disrespect to this House and the whole or Parliamentary procedure. When we are discussing the fate of a particular State and Parliament has taken over this responsibility upon itself, th_e Home Minister should have been present to reply to such of the points which are raised here in the House and I hope that you will kindly ask the Government to send for the Home Minister or his deputies to be present here in the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.' P. BHARGAVA): Yes, Mr. Bhagat, please convey th_e sentiments to the Home Minister.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Yes, Sir, I will do that.

I have got the list hurriedly from the officials . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How many are getting one hundred and fifty rupees?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The number of people getting more than one hundred rupees is, four or five.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then we can understand this. Have you understood him, Sir? Therefore, I say that the Home Minister should be present here. He said, fiftyfour are getting the allowances and when I asked for the number of people getting more than one hundred or who are getting one hundred and fifty rupees, he says only four or five.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Some are getting seventy rupees.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But only four are getting one hundred rupees.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: But there is no wrong impression that i have created.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: The Finance Minister should know that because of the high prices, this fifty rupees . . .

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am not creating any wrong impression.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We have called off the bluff by an interrogation.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The hon. Member wanted the figures and when I tell him that this is the information

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All right, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am not blaming him at all. Why should he take it a miss?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: At least I am not bluffing.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are not. Government is the greatest 'bluffer'.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am sorry to say that the hon. Member takes everything the other way. I offer to give him all the information and he reacts in a manner.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then will you not give any information?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The best course would have been for me to plead that I do not have the information, I am sorry.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: The Minister has misunderstood the point. He did not say

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: . It is strange. He says that the best thing would be to plead lack of information. It is like saying, I have become honest but some people raise some doubt and, therefore, I should be dishonest. Is that an argument?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Anyway, the hon. Member can have his own views. That is the information that I have and I have given him.

A point was about fisheries. I entirely agree with the hon. Member that it is very important and I completely endorse his views. The Soviet experts have also said this and the result of the oceanographic study and survey indicates that the Indian Ocean, particularly that portion which is between Africa and the West Coast ...

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: The Arabian Sea.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT:..... has the largest potential for fisheries in the world. There is no doubt about that and I think it should be our endeavour to exploit it. Apart from providing good protein foods not only for the whole country belt also for Kerala which needs it, this

(Shri B. R. Bhagat.)

has a very rich potential of exports. Therefore, every effort should be made to tap it and we are giving this very high priority, in fact the highest priority. Already efforts are being made to develop this potential not only by having mechanisation of fisheries or going in for deep sea fishing but also by having facilities for refrigeration, marketability and so on so that as a project this should be exploited to the fullest extent. It is a fact that in the Third Plan, something was left out and the money could not be utilised but that was because we originally thought of having a deep-sea fishing unit at Cochin and to develop our activities there. We have now got the help of foreign agencies and we will exploit fully this potential in the coming years and I hope what could not be achieved in the earlier years will be more than made up in the coming years and we are at it. I can only assure the hon. Members that we are at it. Similarly, some of the refrigeration industries like the ice factories and others could not be fully developed but now we are at it and Government has undertaken a number of proposals for ice factories, net making plants, central fishery establishment, etc., in addition to developing port facilities and fishery reels.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: According to Government, the main thing is that they could not get these marine diesel engines. Now, the Defence Ministry is planning to start a factory and Kerala has this facility for fishing. Will you kindly see that in the Fourth Plan the marine diesel factory is started there?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Whatever leeway there has been, we will make it up. This has been given the topmost priority, that I can assure him. With these words, Sir, I commend the Bill.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I raised another point to which he has not replied. One point was, I wanted

to know what difficulty Government had encountered in nationalising the foreign plantations in Kerala.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: That is a question of policy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): That is a question of policy. How can he deal with it? The question is:

"That the Bill to provide for the authorisation of appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala to meet the amounts spent on certain services during the financial year ended on the 31st day of March, 1962, in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): We shall **now take** up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Sir, I move—

"That the Bill be returned."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Kerala for the services of the financial year 1965—68, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): We shall now take

5485	<i>Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1965</i>	[24 SEP. 1965]	<i>Appropriation (No. 4) Bill, 1965</i>	5486
	up the clause by clause consideration ae Bill.		ness Allowance and for making payments of Customs Duty on Naval Stores imported during the year 1964-ba. The Revised Estimates, 1964-65 oailed on the anticipation that the additional expenditure involved would be met from savings within the Grant proved inadequate and as it was too late to obtain a Supplementary Grant, an advance of Rs. 1.5 crores was obtained from the Contingency Fund of India which would now be recouped to the Fund.	
	Clauses 2 and 3 and the <i>Schedule were added to the Bill.</i>			
	Clause 1, the <i>Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.</i>			
	SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Sir, I move:			
	"That the Bill be returned."			
	<i>The question was put and the motion was adopted.</i>			
	THE APPROPRIATION (No. 3) BILL, 1965			
	THE APPROPRIATION (No. 4) BILL, 1965			
	THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI RAMESHWAR SAHU): Sir, on be-hall of Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, I move:			
	"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1965-66, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."			
	The Bill arises out of the Supplementary Demands of Rs. 175 lakhs voted by the Lok Sabha on the 13th September, 1965, and the expenditure of Rs. 12,000 charged on the Consolidated Fund of India as detailed in the Supplementary Demands presented to the House on the 18th August, 1965. Detailed explanations in support of the Demands have, as usual, been given in the foot-notes below the Supplementary Demand Statements. I would, therefore, confine myself to a few introductory remarks on some of the major items for which additional provision is required.			
	A supplementary provision of Rs. 1.5 crores has been sought mainly for expenditure in respect of civilian employees and the service personnel of the Indian Navy on account of the upward revision in the rates of Dear-			
			Hon. Members will, I am sure, welcome India's participation in the Global Commercial Communications Satellite System which will provide the most modern and efficient means of communications. The Government • of India have signed an agreement along with 44 other countries for capital participation to the extent of 0.5 per cent of the total estimated cost of the Satellite System. India's share of capital participation in the Satellite System is estimated at Rs. 47 lakhs. The expenditure will be spread over three years, the requirement for the current year being Rs. 16.15 lakhs.	
			The setting up of the Institute of Mass Communication account for an additional provision of Rs. 8.85 lakhs. The Institute, which will undertake training of the State and Central Government officers of the Information and Publicity Departments, is an autonomous organisation under the Ministry of Information and Broad casting.	
			On the Capital side, Supplementary Demands have been asked for the purchase of shares of the Triveni Structural Private Ltd., and for increased expenditure on the Capital Works Programme of the Posts and Telegraphs Department. A token vote of Rs. 1,000 each is being sought as the entire expenditure is likely to be met from the anticipated savings available within the respective Grants.	
			The Heavy Structural Project at Naini, near Allahabad, is being set up in collaboration with Messrs. VOEST of Austria. An, agreement was signed	

[Shri Rameshwar Sa'hu.] by the Government of India on the 30th June, 1965 under which Messrs. VOEST of Austria would participate in the equity capital to the extent of 49 per cent. Messrs. VOEST would also render assistance in planning, design and construction of the factory, training of Indian technical personnel, and in production.

The additional requirements for the Capital Works Programme of the Posts and Telegraphs Department arose as a result of expeditious procurement of equipment and material with the help of credit from International Development Association and accelerated progress of work. The increased expenditure was met partly from the savings available within the Grant and for the balance an advance of Rs. 1.8 crores was obtained from the Contingency Fund of India, which will now be resumed to the Fund.

Sir, I also move:

"That the Bill to provide for the authorisation of appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the amounts spent on certain services during the financial year ended on the 31st day of March, 1963 in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The Bill arises out of the Demands for Excess Grants relating to the year 1962-63, voted by the Lok Sabha on the 13th September, 1965 and the expenditure charged on the Consolidated Fund of India and incurred in excess of the sanctioned appropriations for that year. The reasons which led to the excesses have been explained in the foot-notes below each Demand or Appropriation in the Statement of Demands for Excess Grants which has already been circulated to the hon. members.

As the House is aware, these excesses are, in the first instance, required to be examined by the Public Accounts

Committee and it is only after the Committee have looked into the facts of each case and recommended their regularisation that the matter is brought before Parliament. The Public Accounts Committee have, in their Thirtieth and Thirty-first Reports presented to Parliament on the 23rd December, 1964 and 19th February, 1965 respectively, recommended the regularisation of these excesses. I do not, therefore, propose to take the time of the House to explain these excesses in detail.

Hon. Members may well enquire why these excesses arise and why they cannot be avoided. The payments on Government account are made by a large number of disbursing officers spread all over the country and usually there is a time-lag of a few months before the transactions relating to each Grant can be collated and brought to account against the sanctioned Grant or Appropriation. It does happen sometimes that towards the close of the year, either as a result of inevitable payments or book adjustments made by the Accounts Officers, the Grant for the year is exceeded, but these excesses come to notice when it is too late to go in for additional provision. Such excesses are, however, rare as is evident from the fact that out of a total of 151 Grants and Appropriations for the year 1962-63, excesses occurred under 18 Grants only and constitute about 0.2 per cent, of the total sanctioned Grants and Appropriation for the year. Nevertheless, I would like to assure the House that every possible effort is made to avoid or reduce such excesses to the minimum.

The questions were proposed.

SHRI SUNDAR MANI PATEL (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, India is passing through a series of ordeals, both external and internal. Time has come to give a serious thought over these events the country has been facing.

Now, it is evident from the present happenings in the world relating to Indo-Pakistan conflict that Pakistan is dancing to the tune of China.

In view of this fact I urge upon the authorities with whom the destiny of this sub-continent rests to be guided to reorient our foreign policy as well as the home policy keeping in view the self sufficiency in food within the country.

Sir, the other day when the Prime Minister made a statement on the floor of this august House in regard to China's contemplated aggression against India on some pretext, I found something very important and vital in his statement. The Prime Minister observed:

"To justify its aggressive attitude, China is pretending to be a guardian of Asian countries who according to China are being bullied by India. Surely, the basic object of China, therefore, is to claim for itself a position of dominance in Asia which no self-respecting nation in Asia is prepared to recognise.

"Large or small, strong or weak, every country in Asia has the fullest right to preserve its independence and sovereignty on terms of equality. The dominance of China cannot be accepted by any one of them. . .".

I congratulate him for his clear stand. But there is a great task before us to make China understand this fact and reality.

Prior to the last Chinese aggression against India, every country in Asia, especially the South-East and Middle East countries, had a hope to get guidance from India to achieve this goal. But this hope of these countries gradually declined because of our hobnobbing and establishing 'Hindi Chini Bhai-Bhai' with China during the regime headed by the late Prime Minister and subsequently this hope

suffered to its fullest extent after India got a setback with humiliation at the hands of the Chinese in 1962. It is not forgotten yet, it is still fresh that even the Colombo Powers had no courage to speak the truth as to who was the aggressor. Even in the present Indo-Pak conflict many of these countries have exposed themselves as to whether they are our friends or the friends of Pakistan. Keeping in view all this background, we have to reorient our foreign policy, which will definitely comply with the aspirations of the large or small, strong or weak, every country in Asia to preserve its independence and sovereignty on terms of equality. Under the present circumstances, I take the opportunity to suggest that we should not close our eyes to those countries like Formosa, which will be our real friend, to fight the common enemy, Red China, and hence let us extend diplomatic relations with Formosa, as Rama did with Sugriv.

Lastly, I would like to say one thing, that no quantum of any acreage of land or any amount of currency notes, but the restoration of the chunk of territory that we have lost to the enemies only will console the grief beaten hearts of those whose beloved ones have laid down their precious lives for the defence and to uphold the dignity and prestige of our sacred land.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I take this opportunity to draw the attention of the Government to our naval requirements. Just after this great trouble that we had, our minds are vexed as to how to defend our country if the need arises again. Now, so far as the Air Force and the ground force are concerned, we have done very well. Our jawans have given a very good account of themselves. It means that our defence requirements as regards the air force and ground force, though they require great improvements, have stood the test admirably well. The question is what is our position -and whether we are in a

[Shri Mahesh Saran.] position to put up a good defence if there is any trouble on the seas.

Now, Sir, so far as our Navy is concerned, recent events have re-emphasised the need for a planned strengthening of our National forces. China and Indonesia have good and fair-sized navies and submarines which are capable of operating in our waters. The threatening attitude of China and Indonesia makes this expansion urgently necessary. Moreover, the Navy has to ensure that our trade routes are maintained free from enemy interference. It would be wrong, in view of the present experience, to continue in the fond hope that our friends would help. We have to take steps to see that our lifeline is kept open.

We have ports at Bombay, Visakhapatnam, Cochin, Madras, Goa and Kandla. We must strengthen these ports. Today the Navy is composed mainly of old ships, which are in need of replacement. The cruiser "Delhi" is over thirty years old. While the exact type of ships to be obtained or built is a matter for the Naval staff to decide, it is clear that the Navy should no longer be treated as a step-child.

Apart from the additions to the fighting strength of the Navy, it should have adequate repair and operating bases. In this context, bearing in mind the possible threats, the island bases in the Andamans and the Laccadives should be developed rapidly. A repair base on the East Coast is also necessary to serve the Bay of Bengal. This should receive our highest priority.

Sir, the attitude of the British Government, I am sorry to say, during the recent conflict with Pakistan has caused misgivings about their future help in the programme of construction of frigates in the Mazagaon docks. The programme is of vital importance to the Navy and the Government should carefully re-examine this pro-

ject and if there is the least danger of lack of willing co-operation or deliberate delays or withholding of supplies they should take immediate steps to make alternative arrangements, so that the build-up of our Naval forces is not endangered.

Similar remarks apply to the procurement or construction in this country of other types of naval craft. The more modern fighter aircraft needed to improve the striking power of the aircraft carrier "Vikrant" should be furnished without delay.

In the end, I wish to say that the present total dependence on foreign sources for the supply of armaments and equipment for our ships may have dire consequences in an emergency. Efforts should be made to develop capacity within the country for these items as rapidly as possible. Surely some degree of co-ordination is possible and desirable between the three Services. It is understood that Ordnance Factories played an important part in Australia in the construction of naval ships, by supplying guns, machinery and the like. The Ordnance Factories in India and our well-established private industries could do a great deal to help in the early realisation of these wishes. This aspect should be carefully examined by Government now, in view of the danger of relying on other sources from abroad in such vital matters.

We realise that defence expenditure is making serious inroads into our plans for economic betterment. Well, it may be a blessing in disguise. It may teach us to rely on our own efforts and the industrial potential thus created will, without doubt, assist our economic plans as well. It is necessary, now that the threat by China is there, that special attention should be paid to strengthening our Navy and that is the reason why I have made these remarks.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):
Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am glad that this occasion has been used for discussing some rather important

and pressing general national questions. I should like to begin my speech with a matter seemingly minor but not so minor in its implications. Sir, I have been informed by very reliable people that at the request of the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, the Patton tank which was being shown on the L.I.C. ground has been removed to the Red Fort. As you know, it was brought there to be displayed to the people and many people went and saw it. The next day the American Embassy raised objections, took up the matter with the Government of India and the Government of India obliged them by removing the Patton tank from the public view to the Red Fort. I therefore demand that the Patton tank be replaced where it was, on the L.I.C. ground. I demand that if it is available, it should be brought back. Everything of that type should be on display. Well, that does not speak well of the Government.

Another thing I should like to bring to the notice of the Government. There is an American correspondent whose visa was to expire, and the Government decided earlier that his visa should not be extended on account of his systematic anti-Indian activities, and once I think the U.P. Government had also something to do against him. As he was about to leave, suddenly the Ministry got information from somewhere, and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting got advice from the External Affairs that the Government had decided to extend his visa. The whole thing is well known to the Government, the Departments and the Ministries concerned. These two small examples I have given only to show how even now after being treated in this manner with sabre jets and Patton tanks, our Ministries in New Delhi function as far as the Americans are concerned. But I again repeat that the Patton tank must be there on the L.I.C. ground.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh): Why?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We want to see this.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Is there any dead line?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not believe in ultimatum. But it would be good if it is done by this weekend, by tomorrow, so that people can come.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, one another thing I should like to mention because this is the last occasion. When we went to the Prime Minister's meeting, my esteemed friend, Mr. Vajpayee, was also there on the 6th of September. The Prime Minister, as you know, invited the leaders of parties not only in Parliament but leaders who are not in Parliament, and on behalf of some of us we made a suggestion that in this situation when the nation is united to a man, as a gesture, all political prisoners, whether detenus or others, be released, a general amnesty be declared. Now we find that that has not been done. Not only that has not been done, but even the Government's assurance in regard to certain other political prisoners who had been arrested in connection with the food movement has not been carried out. You will remember, Sir, that in this very House Mr. Subramaniam, while replying to the Food Debate, virtually read out the Government decision that it had been decided that the State Governments should release all those who had been arrested in connection with the food agitation or food movement, whatever you may call it. That promise solemnly given has not been implemented here. And in Bihar today thousands of people are still in jail or arrested in connection with food movement despite the assurance of the Government. Here I should like to invite your attention to a statement issued by Shri Ramanand Tiwari, President of the Bihar S.S.P., Shri Jaganath Sarkar, Acting Secretary, Bihar State Council of the Communist Party—he has now been arrested—and Shri Gurubachan Singh of the Revolutionary Socialist Party. The statement was issued on the 13th

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] September in which they say *inter alia*:

"When the Government of India has advised all the State Governments to release the food agitators recently arrested and the various State Governments are responding to this appeal, the Bihar Government far from declaring amnesty to over 4000 people who were arrested in the recent agitation is engaged in making fresh arrests every day. Many of those who were ordered by law courts to be released on bail are being detained under D.I.R. Those who are being released from detention because their order of detention was bad, are being sent back to jail from the jail gate itself with fresh orders of detention. Communist legislators like Messrs. Sunil Mukherjee, Indradeep Sinha, Suraj Prasad, Basta Soren, Rajkumar Purbey and Tejnarain Jha were released on the 8th September, because the High Court was sure to order their release for the same reason for which Shri Ram Manohar Lohia was released by the Supreme Court, but all of them were served with fresh detention orders at the jail gate itself."

This is the situation. We have taken up the matter with the Home Minister, and we propose to take it up with the Prime Minister also. I have been in touch with the Bihar Chief Minister, written to him, and the matter is being taken up by all parties, many parties there also. Why is this assurance not being carried out? Mr. Subramaniam said that a radio message had been sent and so on to release them. That was on the 10th. Today is the 24th. Nothing has been done. Pressure had taken place. On the 13th of this month, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Comrade Somanath Lahiri, leader of our group in the West Bengal Assembly, and I met the Chief Minister of West Bengal and represented the case of Shri Jyoti Basu, Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Abdul

Halim, M.L.C., and 37 others who had been arrested recently in August in connection with the tramfare resistance movement under the D.I.R. Shri Prafulla Sen said that they would be released. ■ I asked Shri Prafulla Sen: "Can I tell it to the press?" He said: "Yes, you could give it to the press". We said those things to the press. Not only that, again I asked Shri Prafulla Sen: "Can I meet Shri Jyoti Basu and tell him?" Then on the telephone he made arrangements for our interview Shri Jyoti Basu in the Presidency Jail. He himself did it, and in a matter of hours we saw him and communicated to him what Shri Prafulla Sen had said, the Chief Minister of West Bengal. He said they would be released. Not only have they not been released but others are being arrested. This is the situation. You will be sorry to hear that in West Bengal and other places members of the minority community belonging to our Party, for whom I can personally vouch, whose records should really be a pride to anyone who loves our secular State—whatever other differences you may have, when this emergency developed, they were taken into custody. Ghulam Mohiuddin, Secretary of our party in Hooghly, well-known for his activities, secular, democratic, anti-communal activities, was taken into custody under the D.I.R. I would not have said if I thought that he was a questionable person. I know what I am speaking. Then Dr. Yazdani of Malda, an independent M.L.A. of the West Bengal Assembly is sought under the D.I.R. although he had written immediately the emergency started that he would like to rejoin the Armed Forces because he had served as a medical Captain in the Armed Forces. Many others are ; arrested in this manner.

I am glad that Shri Nanda said that he would look into it. But it is a matter of policy. I am not saying which party, any party responsible and secular; if they satisfy the Government and if they go and tell the

the Government, if they vouch for the integrity of such members of the minority community, the Government should accept it. I told Shri Prafulla Sen and Shri Shiv Nath Lahiri, "We vouch for them. If anything is wrong, we are responsible for it." What else could we say? But he is laughing. Now, he takes it as fun. Everything is fun for him. Now, what else could we say? I said to Mr. Sen, "You have got your reports, perhaps police reports. But take our evidence also. We repudiate the suggestion of suspicion. Well, you consider it." I hope that every single person will be released and here once again, I demand the general release of all the political detainees and others in the country. There is not a single party, no one in the country who is not with the Armed Forces and for the cause of defence. And I am surprised. Shri Namboodripad made a statement. He paid a tribute to the political leaders also while supporting the Government in the matter of defence, which I would have hesitated. You see, I am a little ungenerous in such matters. Even Shri Namboodripad paid a tribute not only to the Armed Forces but to the political leaders also, it is not that they do not deserve some praise and publicly it was made. But here is this situation. Why are you keeping them? Would it not be better for us to show that we are all united, that some of the differences are gone, and now today all the parties, all the political forces in the country stand broadly united despite other differences with regard to many matters internally. I think Government should reconsider this position.

I would again beg that this should be taken up seriously by the Prime Minister. It will bring credit to us. [And as far as the minorities are concerned, I would not like a single member of the minority to be prosecuted on more suspicion unless there is something very basic and important.] And these things should be properly gone into by the Government before !

prosecution takes place. Otherwise, it is a very serious thing. That is what I would like to say. After all, we are a secular State. Let President Ayub Khan arrest people, as he will, we know, on the more ground that some people belong to the minority community in East Bengal. That is his habit, that is his way of administration. But why should it be so in our case? Therefore, it is not a question, of looking into the individual cases that we bring to the notice of the Government. The entire administration at the district level, the State level and other levels should be alerted that nothing should be done because, well, we cannot repay the martyrs in the Kashmir front by any indiscreet and unwise act of this kind towards members of the minorities just because some employers have a grudge against them or that some officers do not like them or that some Ministers do not like them or that they may belong to certain opposition parties.

So far as defence is concerned, there is an item about defence. Here I would like to say that defence we want. The Minister should be . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): You have to make another speech also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, I am not making another one. Oh! the other one? I will not make it, this is the only one speech you are quite right. I am cutting out that portion.

I am inviting the attention of the House to an American magazine called 'Time', dated the 10th September this year. In a foot-note, it is said:

'Pakistan has received some 5 billions'

Not million, but billion

"... in US aid; about dollars 15 billion of aid in military hardware. Of the dollars 5.2 billion India has received from the USA, virtually none has been of a military nature."

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] Now, this is the kind of military aid that Pakistan has received, according to a paper which is very friendly to Pakistan. In fact, there are many things said against India here, but friendly to Pakistan. And that paper reveals this thing. Now, you can understand what kind of a military build-up has taken place. As against that, we have got some arms from America and Britain on commercial terms and also under a certain agreement in 1962-63. What is this thing? We cannot use them. We are under an obligation to the Americans and the British not to use them against Pakistan. We can use them only against China, not against any other nation; even if America attacks us we cannot use them, but we can use them only against China. The result was, during this emergency, well, the Indian Government thought it fit—we do not share their views—to keep to that agreement and they could not use these modern weapons that were received from America against the Pakistani forces. When the report appeared what happened in Britain? They started demanding or discussing the question of inspection. One of the agreements of 1962-63 stipulates that the British would have the right to inspect the use of arms, and the British Government wanted to have that inspection. The matter was being discussed. Not only that. They decided that no arms should be sent and certain things were stopped in the high seas; certain consignments to be loaded were not loaded. And these reports appeared in the papers. Further, they wanted the return of these arms because some of these arms came as a kind of loan and as something, and they decided to ask for the return of the British arms: The same thing was happening in the United States of America. And what did America do? They said, we stop supplies to both. I have just read out to you that actually they have given very little to us. Everything they have given to Pakistan. For 90 per cent of the hardwares, spares.

Pakistan is dependent on American and British supplies, for oil and so on. They stopped supply to both. In other words, they wanted that the disparities or whatever the situation had been created should be maintained. That is to say, Pakistan would have dollars 1.5 billion worth of arms in their hands, given by America. India would have practically none. And under aid and under commercial terms whatever is made available should not be used against Pakistan, under the agreement of 1962-63. Such was the situation.

Therefore, what we need today, I think, is an independent defence potential. India, in matters of defence, must be absolutely independent and strong. It is good that we have Gnats. Suppose we do not have the Gnats and like industries in Bangalore and other places, what would have happened to us, you can understand. Therefore, we have been amply rewarded. We wish we had more of these things. Therefore, I only stress this point before I finish that here we must be absolutely independent in the matter of defence. We have to strengthen our defence, but strengthening our defence means not only the allocation of funds under the Budget; it also means, above all, making defence absolutely self-sufficient and independent so that nobody is in a position to create a jam in any situation.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Finally—I mentioned in another connection—I demand the withdrawal of India from the British Commonwealth of Nations. I am very glad to hear that Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad has moved a Resolution somewhere else demanding this thing. It has come from the Congress Benches, and I congratulate the members of the Congress Party who have raised this demand. Today, I think, there is no more discussion needed. Mr. Wilson has made it abundantly clear by his words as well as his actions. In this

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Therefore, I would request the hon'ble Finance Minister who is present here to kindly place a copy of it on the Table of the Rajya Sabha for the information of Members. I would never expect the Prime Minister to go back on his words. He had assured this House and the other House as well, Parliament as a whole, that a serious view would be taken if there was any adverse comments on the action of these industries vis-avis their trade with the Government of Orissa.

شری عبدالغنی (پنجاب): مقدم

قہیٹی چورمیں — اس موقع پر سرکار کی طرف سے جو بھی قیادت آئے اس کو ہر آریہل مسہر ہوی خوشی سے قبول کرے گا۔ مجھے صرف تھوڑی سی باتیں عرض کرنی ہیں جن کی طرف سرکار دھیان دے۔

ایک تو یہ ہے کہ اس لڑائی میں اس ہمدھ میں کچھ مسلمان سپاہیوں نے شاندار خدمات سرانجام دی ہیں تو سرکار آئندہ زیادہ سے زیادہ ایسے مسلمانوں کو جو وطن کے وفادار ہیں موقع دے کہ وہ دیس کے لئے اپنی بہادری اپنی وفاداری کے جوہر دکھا سکیں۔ اس بارے میں پالیسی ذرا بدلتی چاہئے۔

نمبر ۲ یہ کہ جب وہ پنجابی کے بارے میں اور پنجاب کی دوسری سمسیاؤں کے بارے میں ہائی لہول پر کچھ سوچ رہی ہے تب اسے اردو کے بارے میں بھی ہائی لہول پر تھک اپ کرنا چاہئے۔ اس زبان کو آج بھی

سارے ہندوستان میں سب سے زیادہ سمجھا جاتا ہے اور اس کی لپی میں آج بھی سب سے زیادہ اخبار چھپتے ہیں نیوز پیپر چھپتے ہیں۔ تو اس پر دھیان دینا چاہئے تاکہ جو پانچ کروڑ مسلمان ہیں وہ زیادہ سے زیادہ ان کے شکر گزار ہو سکیں اور اس کو سمجھ سکیں۔

تیسری بات جو میں عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں وہ یہ ہے کہ تھک ہے ہم پر کچھ دباؤ ہو۔ این۔ او کی طرف سے ہوتی ہے لیکن جب تک تمام باتوں کو طے نہ کر لیا جائے کہ پاکستان ہندوستان کی طرف اپنا رویہ کیا رکھنا چاہتا ہے اور کشمیر کے معاملہ کو کس طرح سلجھانا چاہتا ہے کس طرح ہمارا کشمیر وہ ہمیں دے گا تب تک سرکار کو بڑی جلدی کوئی ایسی بات نہیں کرنی چاہئے کہ صرف اس لئے کہ یہ۔ این۔ او کا دباؤ ہے اس کو قبول کرے۔

ایک عرض یہ کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ چائلیز کی طرف سے ۱۹۶۲ء میں جو زبانتیاں کی گئیں تھیں اس وقت ہمارے پرائم منسٹر صاحب نے مسٹر کرشنامیلن کو ڈیفنس سے الگ کیا تھا اس لئے الگ کیا تھا کہ سارے ملک کو یہ قیادت تھی لیکن آج ہمارے سرکار ان کو کافی اٹھانا چاہتی ہے لہنت دینا چاہتی ہے۔ تو اس پر پرائم منسٹر کو وچار

گونا چاہئے کہ اس کا دیس ہر
کھا اٹھکت ہوگا اور تمام ہارتھان
جو ہرائم مسٹر کو اپنا بہترین
لہندو مان کر سمجھکر اور یقین جان
کر ان کا دل و جان سے ساتھ دے
دہی ہوں اس ہر کھا اثر ہوگا -
اس ہر دھیان دینا چاہئے -

ایک بات جو اور کہنا چاہتا
ہوں وہ یہ ہے کہ یہ سوچنے کی
بات ہے کہ یو - این - او میں
۱۷ سہزوں میں سے سوائے ایک
کو کے کسی کو بھی ہمارے ساتھ یہ
کہنے کا موقعہ نہیں ملے کہ پاکستان
ایگریسر ہے - کہیں ایسا ہے اس
ہر بھی سرکار کو دھیان دینا چاہئے
پھر سرکار چھٹا بھی چاہے پوسہ
مانگے اور جو چاہے وہ کہے -

ایک اور بات ہے جو کہ اس
جنگ میں ہمارے سامنے آئی اور
اس کو بھی ہمیں اپنے دھیان میں
دکھنا چاہئے کہ ہم نے انڈونیشیا کی
دل و جان سے مدد کی ہم نے چائینا
کے ساتھ بھی کوئی برا سلوک نہیں
کھا ہم نے کرنل ناصر کے ساتھ بھی
بہت اچھا سلوک کھا اور لنکا کے
ساتھ ہمارا بھائی بہن کا رشتہ ہے
لیکن آخر یہ کیوں ہماری مدد کو
نہیں آئے - اس پر دھیان دینا
ضروری ہے اور اس پر بھی توجہ
کرنی چاہئے کہ ہماری فارن پالیسی

میں کھا توتھیاں ہیں کہ ہم
دنیا کے دوسرے دیسوں کو اپنی
طرف نہیں کھینچ سکتے - بارچون
اس کے کہ ہم سچائی پر ہوں ہم
حق پر ہوں اور ہماری جو قیامت
ہے وہ بالکل سچی ہے کیونکہ کشمیر
ہمارا ہے وہ بالکل اسی طرح سے
ہمارا ہے جس طرح سے کہ اس کا
فیصلہ ہوا تھا - کشمیریوں نے اس
کا فیصلہ کیا - پہلے راجہ نے کیا -
راجہ کو اس کا اختیار تھا اور راجہ کے
بعد کشمیریوں کی کئی آزاد اسمبلیاں
بلیں اور انہوں نے اپنا فیصلہ دیا
کہ کشمیر ہمارا ہے - تو جو کچھ
ہماری فارن پالیسی میں توتھیاں
ہیں ان کو دور گونا چاہئے اور ان
کو دور کر کے اس معاملہ کو سلجھانا
چاہئے -

ایک بات آخر میں کہہ رہی
بیٹھ جاتا ہوں - کیونکہ میں جانتا
ہوں کہ وقت کی بڑی تلنگی ہے -
وہ یہ ہے کہ جس وقت ضرورت تھی
بغیر سوچے سمجھے ایک غلط رپورٹ
پر کئی جمعیتہ العلماء ہند کے بڑے
بڑے ذمہ دار آدمیوں کو پکڑا اس
وقت ہم بھی یہ سمجھتے تھے کہ
ہمیں یا کسی کو بھی پکڑا لیں -
کوئی حرج نہیں کہونکہ دیس ہوا ہے
دیس کا مفاد برا ضروری ہے لیکن
ان کو اس وقت غلط طور پر غلط
پارٹی بازی کے طور پر پکڑا تھا اور

[شری عبدالعلی]

اگر وہ بے گناہ ہیں جیسا کہ میرا یقین ہے کہ وہ بے گناہ ہیں کیونکہ جمہوریتہ العلماء ہند نے ہمیشہ آزادی وطن کا ساتھ دیا۔ تو ان لوگوں کو رہا کرنا چاہئے۔ اس وقت کچھ مسلمان بیگیاں پکڑی گئیں کیونکہ ادھر سے ویڈا لے کر آئیں تھیں۔ ایک کا تو مجھے پورا حال معلوم ہے اور وہ جمعیتہ العلماء ہند کے کسی بڑے آدمی کی پوتی یا کیا ہے۔ تو اس وقت وہ پکڑی گئی۔ اس وقت ٹھیک تھا حالانکہ وہ ویڈا لے کر آئی تھی اور ابھی اس کی معینہ ۲۰ اکتوبر کو ختم ہوتی ہے۔ تو ایسے کیسز ہیں اور مجھے امید ہے کہ سرکار ان پر دھیان دے گی۔

آخر میں یہ رہا کہ قی - آئی۔ آر میں جو لوگ پکڑے گئے جو بھوک کے مارے لوگوں نے غلطیاں کیں یا اپنا پروٹسٹ کیا یا جو بھی مجھے لیجئے کیا اس کے بارے میں سرکار نے کہا تھا کہ ان کو چھوڑ دیا جائے گا کہ انہوں نے اگر کوئی غلطی کی تھی تو اب سارے ایوزیشن نے اس فعل کو کڈم کیا کہ یدعہ کے کام میں کوئی بھی کسی طرح سے رکاوٹ قبول نہیں۔ تو اس امید کرتا ہوں کہ سرکار اس پر بھی دھیان دے گی۔

اب میں بہت ادب سے کہوں گا۔ میں بہت دفعہ کہہ بھی چکا ہوں کہ اس وقت دیش کی بھلائی کے لئے ہمارے پرائم منسٹر صاحب کو دوسری پارٹیوں کے ٹیلنٹڈ آنسٹ لیڈروں کو اپنی منسٹری میں لینا چاہئے اس لئے کہ دیش کی آج کی مانگ ایسی ہے صورت ایسی ہے۔ اگر وہ اس کو قبول کریں تو مجھے بہت زیادہ خوشی ہوگی لیکن وہ اب مشورہ کے لئے ایک باقی بنا رہے ہیں اسے کنسلٹیو کہہ سکتے ہیں یا جو بھی نام رکھ رہے ہیں تو مجھے امید ہے کہ اس میں وہ تمام سینئر لوگوں کو جملہوں نے دیش کی سہوا کی ہے جو آج سے نہیں بلکہ پچاس برسوں سے دیش کے اگوا ہیں ان سب کو لئے کے بارے میں دھیان دینگے۔ ان کی رائے کا وہ احترام کریں گے اور ان کو موقعہ دیں گے کہ وہ ان کے بازو بن سکیں ان کی مدد کر سکیں — تھنک یو۔

†[श्री अब्दुल गनी (पंजाब) : मेंडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, इस मौके पर सरकार की तरफ से जो भी डिमांड आये उसको हर आनरेबल मेम्बर बड़ी खुशी से कबूल करेगा मुझे सिर्फ थोड़ी सी बातें अर्ज करनी हैं जिस की तरफ सरकार ध्यान दे।

एक तो यह है कि, इस लड़ाई में, इस युद्ध में कुछ मुसलमान सिपाहियों ने शानदार खिदमत सरअंजाम दी है। तो सरकार आइन्दा ज्यादा से ज्यादा

[] Hindi transliteration.

ऐसे मुसलमानों को जो बतन के वफादार हैं मौका दे कि वे देश के लिए अपनी बहादुरी अपनी वफादारी के जोहर दिखा सकें। इस बारे में पालिसी जरा बदलनी चाहिए।

नम्बर-2 यह कि जब वह पंजाबी के बारे और पंजाब की दूसरी समस्याओं के बारे में हाई लेवल पर कुछ सोच रही है तब उसे उर्दू के बारे में भी हाई लेवल पर टेक अप करना चाहिए। उस जवान को आज भी सारे हिन्दुस्तान में सब से ज्यादा समझा जाता है और उसकी लिपि में आज भी सब से ज्यादा अखबार छपते र्यूज पेपर छपते हैं। तो इस पर ध्यान देना चाहिए जो पांच करोड़ मुसलमान हैं वे ज्यादा से ज्यादा उनके शुक्रमुजार हो सकें और उसको समझ सकें।

तीसरी बात जो मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि ठीक है हम पर कुछ दबाव यू० एन० ओ० की तरफ से पड़ेगे लेकिन जब तक तमाम बातों को तह न कर लिया जाए कि पाकिस्तान हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ अपना रवैया क्या रखना चाहता है और काश्मीर के मामले को किस तरह सुलझाना चाहता है किस तरह हमारा काश्मीर वह हमें देगा? तब तक सरकार को बड़ी जल्दी कोई ऐसी बात नहीं करनी चाहिए कि सिर्फ इस लिए कि यू० एन० ओ० का दबाव है उसको कबूल करे।

एक अर्ज यह करना चाहता हूँ कि चायनीज की तरफ से 1962 ई० में जो ज्यादातियां की गई थीं उस वक्त हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने मिस्टर कृष्ण मेनन को डिफेंस से अलग किया था और इस लिए अलग किया था कि सारे मुल्क की यह डिमांड थी लेकिन अज फिर से सरकार उनको काफ़ी उठाना चाहती लिफ्ट देना चाहती है। तो इस पर प्राइम मिनिस्टर को विचार करना चाहिए

उस का देश पर क्या इफेक्ट होगा और तमाम पार्टियां जो प्राइम मिनिस्टर को अपना बेहतरीन लीडर मान कर, समझ कर और यकीन जान कर उनका दिलो जान से साथ दे रही हैं उस पर क्या असर होगा; इस पर ध्यान देना चाहिए।

एक बात जो और कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि यह सोचने की बात है कि यू० न० ओ० में 117 सेम्बरों में से सिवाए एक दो के किसी को भी हमारे साथ यह कहने का मौका नहीं मिला कि पाकिस्तान एग्रेसर है। क्यों ऐसा है इस पर सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिए फिर सरकार जितना भी चाहे पैसा मांगे और चाहे वह करे।

एक और बात है जो इस जंग में हमारे सामने आई और उसको भी हमें अपने ध्यान में रखना चाहिए कि हम ने इंडोनेशिया की दिलो जान से मदद की, हम ने चायना के साथ भी कोई बुरा सलक नहीं किया, हमने कनर्ल नासिर के साथ भी बहुत अच्छा सलूक किया और लंका के साथ हमारा भाई बहन का रिश्ता है लेकिन आखिर यह क्यों हमारी मदद को नहीं आया। इस पर ध्यान देना जरूरी है और इस पर भी तवज्जो करनी चाहिए कि हमारी फोरन पालिसी में क्या त्रुटियां हैं कि हमें दुनिया के दूसरे देशों को अपनी तरफ नहीं खेंच सकते। बावजूद इसके कि हम सचाई पर हैं हम हक पर हैं और हमारी जो डिमांड है वह बिल्कुल सच्ची है क्योंकि काश्मीर हमारा है वह बिल्कुल इसी तरह से हमारा है जिस तरह कि उसका फसला हुआ था। काश्मीरियों ने उसका फसला किया। पहले राजा ने किया, राजा को उसका अख्तियार था और राजा के बाद काश्मीरियों की कई आजाद असेम्बलियों बनीं और उन्होंने अपना फैसला दिया कि काश्मीर हमारा है। तो कुछ हमारी फोरन पालिसी में त्रुटियां हैं उनको दूर करना चाहिए और उनको दूर करके इस मामले को सुलझाना चाहिए।

[श्री अब्दुल गनी]

एक बात आखिर में कहकर मैं बैठ जाता हूँ, क्योंकि मैं जानता हूँ कि वक्त की बड़ी तंगी है। वह यह कि जिस वक्त जरूरत थी वगैर सोचे समझे एक गलत रिपोर्ट पर कई जमीयतुल उल्लेमाएँ हिन्द के बड़े बड़े जिम्मेदार आदमियों को पकड़ा, उस वक्त हम भी यह समझते थे कि हमें या किसी को भी पकड़ लें कोई हर्ज नहीं क्योंकि देश बड़ा है। देश का मफाद बड़ा जरूरी है लेकिन उनको इस वक्त गलत तौर पर गलत पार्टी बाजी के तौर पर पकड़ा था और अगर वे बेगुनाह हैं जैसा कि मेरा यकीन है कि हैं वे बे गुनाह क्योंकि जमीयतुल उल्लेमाएँ हिन्द ने हमेशा आजाद वतन का साथ दिया। तो उन लोगों को रिहा करना चाहिए। इस वक्त कुछ मुसलमान बेटियाँ पकड़ी गईं क्योंकि उधर से बीजा लेकर आई थीं। एक का तो मुझे पूरा हाल मालूम है और वह जमीयतुल उल्लेमाएँ हिन्द के किसी बड़े आदमी की पोती या क्या है। तो उस वक्त वह पकड़ी गई उस वक्त ठीक था हालांकि वह बीजा लेकर आई थी और अभी उसकी मेअद 20 अक्टूबर को खत्म होती है। तो ऐसे केसिज हैं और मुझे उम्मीद है कि सरकार उन पर ध्यान देगी।

आखिर में यह रहा कि डी० आई० आर० में जो लोग पकड़े गये जो भूख के मारे लोगों ने गलतियाँ की या अपना प्रोटस्ट किया या जो भी समझ लीजिए किया उसके बारे में सरकार ने कहा था कि उनको छोड़ दिया जाएगा कि उन्होंने अगर कोई गलती की थी तो अब सारे आपोजीशन ने इस फेल को कंडम किया कि युद्ध के काम में कोई भी किसी तरह से रुकावट कबूल नहीं तो मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि सरकार इस पर भी ध्यान देगी।

अब मैं बहुत अदब से कहूँगा, मैं बहुत कह चुका हूँ कि इस वक्त देश की भलाई के

लिए हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब को दूसरी पार्टियों के टेलेंटिड आनेस्ट लीडरों को अपनी मिनिस्टरी में लेना चाहिए इस लिए कि देश की आज मांग ऐसी है सूरत ऐसी है। अगर वह इस को कबूल करें तो मुझे बहुत ज्यादा खुशी होगी लेकिन वह मशवरे के लिए एक बाड़ी बना रहे हैं उसे कंसलटेडि कमेटी कहिये या जो भी नाम रख रहे हैं तो मुझे उम्मीद है कि इस में वे तमाम सीनियर लोगों को जिन्होंने देश की सेवा की हैं जो आज से नहीं बल्कि पचास बरसों से देश के अगवा हैं उन सब को लेने के बारे में ध्यान दें। उनकी राय का वह एतराम करेंगे और उनको मौका दें कि वे उनके बाजू बन सकें उन की मदद कर सकें। थैंक्यू।]

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Madam, I wholeheartedly endorse the very fine and exalted sentiments expressed on the occasion of these discussions of the Demands. I am glad that the House has generally endorsed the Demands. They have not referred to them in any specific matters and therefore I would not like to take the time of the House any more except to say that on a particular matter about the Navy, point made was that we have to strengthen then Navy and modernise it and make it a striking power. It is true that both the Finance Minister in the other House as well as the Defence Minister on an earlier occasion have assured the House that every effort is being made even to seek the help of certain Powers to develop the Navy and this point is of very great relevance, looking to our recent experience and particularly the experience of this war with Pakistan. We have to, as the Prime Minister said yesterday in the broadcast, develop a self-reliant attitude and particularly in defence I entirely agree with the hon. Members that we have to develop in this country an independent defence potential and it is because ultimately it is with our industrial and economic strength, on the strength of our defence industries that we will be able to defend the country. With

these words, I will request the House to pass these Demands.

[MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India, for the services of the financial year 1965-66, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill to provide for the authorisation of appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the amounts spent on certain services during the financial year ended on the 31st day of March, 1963 in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.-

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

DISCUSSION ON THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION OF SEPTEMBER 20, 1965 REGARDING CEASE-FIRE BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सभापति जी, मैं भारत और पाकिस्तान के बीच युद्ध विराम कराने के लिये संयुक्त राष्ट्र की सुरक्षा परिषद् द्वारा 20 सितम्बर को स्वीकृत प्रस्ताव और उसके सम्बन्ध में प्रधान मन्त्री जी के 22 सितम्बर के भाषण पर चर्चा करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। इससे पहले कि मैं प्रस्ताव और प्रधान मन्त्री जी के वक्तव्य के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहूँ मैं अपनी सेनाओं के रण बाँकुरे जवानों को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ जिन्होंने अपने रक्त से हमारी आजादी की कीमत चुकाई है। वायु सेना के जवान, थल सेना के जवान अपनी जान देकर हमारी शान बढ़ाने में सफल हुए हैं। उनका नाम इतिहास में सोने के अक्षरों में लिखा जायेगा। हम हरदम उनके प्रति आभारी रहेंगे। मैं उन्हें आश्वासन देना चाहता हूँ कि उनका महान् बलिदान व्यर्थ नहीं जायेगा और लड़ाई के मैदान में हमने जो विजय प्राप्त की है उसे कूटनीति के दरबार में विफल नहीं होने दिया जायेगा।

खेद का विषय है कि सुरक्षा परिषद् ने 20 सितम्बर के अपने प्रस्ताव में भारत के जम्मू और काश्मीर के भाग पर 5 अगस्त को आक्रमण करने के लिये पाकिस्तान की निन्दा नहीं की। उस प्रस्ताव में 5 अगस्त का उल्लेख किया गया है लेकिन विश्व शांति की संरक्षिका होने के नाते सुरक्षा परिषद् को पाकिस्तान की खुली शर्तों में निन्दा करनी चाहिये थी। यह पहला ही अवसर नहीं है जब पाकिस्तान ने जम्मू और काश्मीर पर आक्रमण किया है। 1947 में भी इसी तरह का आक्रमण किया गया था और अठारह साल बाद पाकिस्तान उसी रवैये का परिचय दे रहा है लेकिन खेद का विषय यह

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

है कि अठारह साल में सुरक्षा परिषद् भी नहीं बदली ; पाकिस्तान के आक्रमक रवैये में तो परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ मगर सुरक्षा परिषद् के रवैये में भी परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ । पहले काश्मीर पर आक्रमण करने के लिये पाकिस्तान की निन्दा नहीं की गई थी और इस बार भी सुरक्षा परिषद् पाकिस्तान के हमले के प्रति अपनी आंखें मूंद लेना चाहती है । यह पूछा जा सकता है कि जब भारत ने पाकिस्तान से अपनी आत्मरक्षा के लिये अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सीमा को पार करके सेनाएं भेजीं, तब तो सुरक्षा परिषद् में हलचल शुरू हो गई, उसकी बैठकें बुलाई गई, विश्व की राजधानियों में आदान प्रदान होने लगे, विचारों का, पत्रों का, लेकिन जब 5 अगस्त को युद्ध विराम का उल्लंघन करके, युद्ध विराम समझौते की खुली अव-हेलना करके पाकिस्तान ने जम्मू काश्मीर की रियासत में, जो भारत का अटूट हिस्सा है, सशस्त्र हमलावर भेज तब सुरक्षा परिषद् के कान पर जूं नहीं रेंगी, तब विश्व की राज-धानियों में कोई हलचल नहीं हुई । 13 अगस्त, 1948 का युद्ध विराम समझौता जो भारत और पाकिस्तान के बीच हुआ था वह संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ ने करवाया था और दोनों देशों पर जिम्मेदारी थी कि उस समझौते का पालन करें । उस समझौते के अनुसार एक युद्ध विराम रेखा खींची गई । पाकिस्तान ने उस रेखा का उल्लंघन कर दिया, उस समझौते के छीबड़े उड़ा दिये, काश्मीर में अशांति पैदा करने के लिये हथियारबंद हमलावर भेज दिये मगर संयुक्त राष्ट्र, संयुक्त राष्ट्र के भवन में सुरक्षित बैठा रहा, उसने हस्तक्षेप करने की आवश्यकता नहीं समझी । र.भ.पति जी, अगर 5 अगस्त के बाद सुरक्षा परिषद् हरकत में आती, बैठकें बुलाती, पाकिस्तान की हमलावर भेजने के लिये निन्दा करती और पाकिस्तान को आदेश देती कि तुम अपनी हमलावरों को काश्मीर की घाटी से, जम्मू और काश्मीर से, निकाल लो तो फिर यह परिस्थिति पैदा नहीं होती । मगर सुरक्षा

परिषद् परीक्षा में विफल रही और पाकिस्तान के प्रारम्भिक आक्रमण के प्रति उसने अपनी आंखें बंद कर ली और इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि इस भूखंड में लड़ाई फेली, शांति का उल्लंघन हुआ और भारत को मजबूर होकर अपनी रक्षा के लिये जम्मू और काश्मीर में युद्ध विराम रेखा को पार करना पड़ा । आखिर हमलावर युद्ध विराम रेखा पार करके आ रहे थे, वे हमलावर जम्मू काश्मीर में गड़बड़ मचा रहे थे, वे वगावत करना चाहते थे, वे कानून से बनी सरकार को पलटना चाहते थे, वे भारत के एक भाग को हड़पना चाहते थे और भारत के सामने इसके सिवाय कोई रास्ता नहीं था कि वह युद्ध विराम रेखा को पार करके अपनी सेना उन घाटियों पर, उन शिखरों पर, उन चोटियों पर भेजे जहां से हमलावर आ रहे थे । लेकिन तब भी सुरक्षा परिषद् नहीं चैती । जब पाकिस्तान ने अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सीमा का उल्लंघन करके छम्ब पर आक्रमण कर दिया तब भी विश्व शांति के रक्षक सजग नहीं हुए । लेकिन जब हमने आत्मरक्षा के लिये लाहौर की तरफ, सियालकोट की तरफ,—सेना भेजने का निर्णय किया, तब सुरक्षा परिषद् की बैठक बुलाई गई और हलचल शुरू हो गई । इस तरह से सुरक्षा परिषद् पक्षपात का रवैया कब तक अपनायेगी ? क्या विश्व शांति की रक्षा इन तरीकों से हो सकती है और क्या संसार में न्याय इस तरह से कायम किया जा सकता है ? आज जो परिस्थिति पैदा हो गई है, उससे सुरक्षा परिषद् बच नहीं सकती है ।

महोदय, युद्ध विराम समझौता हो गया है, और 20 सितम्बर, 1965 का दिन याद रखा जायेगा । लेकिन 13 अगस्त, 1948 को भी एक युद्ध विराम समझौता हुआ था, उस समझौते को किस ने तोड़ा, उस समझौते का किस ने उल्लंघन किया ? उस समझौते के अनुसार पाकिस्तान को जम्मू काश्मीर से अपनी सेना हटानी थी और जिन कबाईलियों को लेकर, पाकिस्तान

ने प्रखर रूप में हमला किया था उन कबाई-लियों को हटाना था, और सारे जम्मू काश्मीर को एक सत्ता के अन्तर्गत आना था, लेकिन पाकिस्तान ने उस समझौते को मानने से इन्कार कर दिया। क्या पाकिस्तान वर्तमान समझौते को मानेगा, क्या पाकिस्तान सचमुच में युद्ध विराम चाहता है, क्या पाकिस्तान युद्ध विराम की रक्षा करेगा? अभी युद्ध विराम समझौता पूरी तरह से अमल में भी नहीं आ पाया था कि पाकिस्तान ने आक्रमण की कार्यवाही शुरू कर दी। संसद के सदस्य जो कल फिरोजपुर में थे वे इस बात के गवाह हैं कि कल सुबेरे 10 बजे पाकिस्तानियों ने फिरोजपुर पर शेलिंग की थी जिसके कारण हमारा एक जवान मारा गया और दो घायल किये गये। जम्मू के क्षेत्र में भी पाकिस्तान हमारी भूमि पर कब्जा जमा कर खंदक खाद कर बैठ गया है। पाकिस्तान के नेता धमकी दे रहे हैं; और वे एक बड़े संघर्ष की भविष्य-वाणी कर रहे हैं। क्या सुरक्षा परिषद् पाकिस्तान युद्ध विराम समझौते को मनवाने में कारगर होगा? पाकिस्तान यदि युद्ध विराम का उल्लंघन करता है तो इसकी सूचना सुरक्षा परिषद् को दी जानी चाहिये, लेकिन इस बारे में हमारा दिमाग साफ हो कि अगर पाकिस्तान उल्लंघन करेगा तो हम उसका मुंह तोड़ जवाब देंगे। शिकायत हम करें, लेकिन सेना को कहा जाना चाहिये कि अगर पाकिस्तान युद्ध विराम रेखा का उल्लंघन करके हमारी भूमि में आता है तो हमारे सैनिक, हमारे हवावाज, उसका जवाब देने के लिये तैयार हैं।

सुरक्षा परिषद् के प्रस्ताव में 5 अंग्रेजों की चर्चा की गई है और कहा गया है कि जितने भी आर्मड पर्सनिल हैं, जितने भी हथियारबंद लोग हैं, वे सब वापस चले जायें। तब जम्मू काश्मीर में जो इन्फिल्ट्रेटर्स गये हैं उनका क्या होगा? पाकिस्तान उनकी जिम्मेदारी नहीं लेता है और पाकिस्तान उनको वापस लेने के लिए तैयार नहीं है जब सुरक्षा परिषद् इसका क्या हल करेगी? हम उनके साथ

निबटने का अधिकार रखते हैं, हम उनके साथ निबटेंगे, मगर मेरा सुझाव यह है कि भारत सरकार इस बात पर जोर दे कि काश्मीर में हमलावरों को भेजने के लिए पाकिस्तान को इतनी जिम्मेदारी स्वीकार करनी चाहिए और उन हमलावरों को वापस लेने का दायित्व लेना चाहिये। हम यह साबित करने के लिए तैयार हैं, हमारे पास प्रमाण और सबूत हैं कि वे हमलावर पाकिस्तान ने भेजे वे पाकिस्तानी सेना के अंग हैं, वे पाकिस्तानी सेनापतियों द्वारा संचालित किये गये हैं और पाकिस्तानी हथियार लेकर योजनाबद्ध तरीके से जम्मू काश्मीर में आये और पाकिस्तान उसकी जिम्मेदारी से बच नहीं सकता है। हमें सुरक्षा परिषद् पर जोर देना चाहिये, संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के सेक्रेटरी जनरल से कहना चाहिये कि पाकिस्तान ने ही हमलावरों को भेजा। एक बार पहले भी पाकिस्तान ने संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ को धोका दिया था जबकि उसने कहा था कि हमारी सेना जम्मू काश्मीर में नहीं है और जब वहां प्रेक्षक आने लगे तब उसने कहा कि हमारी सेना है। हम इस बात पर अड़े रहें कि हमलावर पाकिस्तान ने भेजे हैं और पाकिस्तान हमलावरों को वापस बुलाये। अगर सुरक्षा परिषद् पाकिस्तान से यह बात नहीं मनवा सकती है कि हमलावर उसने भेजे हैं, अगर सुरक्षा परिषद् पाकिस्तान से यह बात नहीं मनवा सकती है कि हमलावरों को वापस बुलाने की जिम्मेदारी पाकिस्तान की है, अगर सुरक्षा परिषद् यह वचन नहीं ले सकती है कि भविष्य में पाकिस्तान हमलावरों को हथियार देकर जम्मू काश्मीर की घाटी में गड़बड़ करने के लिए नहीं भेजेगा, तो फिर भारत का कर्तव्य स्पष्ट है। हम ऐसी विसी भी व्यवस्था को मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हो सकते, हम किसी रेखा पर नहीं जा सकते जिस रेखा का उल्लंघन करने पर पाकिस्तान हमलावर फिर से जम्मू काश्मीर में आ जायें। बात स्पष्ट है कि जम्मू काश्मीर में जो घटिया हैं, जो चोटियां हमारे बच्चे हैं, उन्हें खली

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

करने का सवाल पैदा नहीं होता। हम पाकिस्तान पर विश्वास नहीं कर सकते। सुरक्षा परिषद् पाकिस्तान से गारण्टी लेने की स्थिति में नहीं है, अगर गारण्टी लेगी तो उसको कहां तक मनवा सकेगी, यह हमें अपने पुराने अनुभव के प्रकाश में देखना होगा। अभी तक का अनुभव अच्छा नहीं है क्योंकि संयुक्त राष्ट्र के कहने से ही हमने पहले कारगिल की चौकियां खाली कर दी थीं। कारगिल हमारी लेह जाने वाली सड़क की रक्षा तैयारी है और लेह में हमें चीनियों का सामना करना है। पाकिस्तान और चीन की सांठगांठ हो गई है और चीन पाकिस्तान को लड़ाई में मदद देने के लिए, उसमें कूदने के लिए तैयार है। हमने संयुक्त राष्ट्र के कहने पर चौकियां खाली कर दीं और पाकिस्तान ने फिर हमारे रसद मार्ग पर बाधा डालना शुरू कर दिया जिसकी वजह से हमें वे चौकियां फिर लेनी पड़ीं। अब वे चौकियां खाली न की जायें। 5 अगस्त की युद्ध विराम रेखा पर जम्मू काश्मीर में वापस आने का सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता है। सचमुच में 5 अगस्त की रेखा क्यों? पूरा जम्मू काश्मीर हमारा है, सारा जम्मू काश्मीर भारत का हिस्सा है और पाकिस्तान ने हमला करके उसके एक हिस्से पर कब्जा कर लिया। होना तो यह चाहिये था कि हम मांग करते कि पाकिस्तान पूरे जम्मू काश्मीर से हट जायें, मगर हमने पाकिस्तान अधिभूत काश्मीर के कब्जे के सवाल को उठाया नहीं, इसलिए पाकिस्तान को मौका मिल गया कि हमारा जो जम्मू काश्मीर का हिस्सा था उस पर वह अपना बेहूदा दावा उठाये। हमें अब उस पुराने सवाल को उठाना चाहिये, हमें मांग करनी चाहिये कि उस भू-भाग पर कानूनी, संवैधानिक और नतिक अधिकार हमारा है और पाकिस्तानी सेना को उसे खाली कर देना चाहिये। हम सुरक्षा परिषद् से कहे कि वह अब पाकिस्तान को आक्रमण घोषित करे और पाकिस्तान के आक्रमण को हटायें, लेकिन सुरक्षा परिषद् यह कर सकेगी, इसमें

मुझे सन्देह है। पाकिस्तान सुरक्षा परिषद् के वचनों का पालन करेगा, इस पर भी मुझे सन्देह है। इसलिए भारत को स्पष्ट कर देना चाहिये कि 5 अगस्त की जो पुरानी युद्ध विराम रेखा है, उस पर हम वापस आने की ज़रूरत नहीं समझते हैं क्योंकि पाकिस्तान ने वह रेखा तोड़ दी है। पाकिस्तान ने युद्ध विराम रेखा के समझौते का उल्लंघन करके हमलावरों को भेजकर विश्वासघात किया है और सुरक्षा परिषद् के साथ धोका किया है। अब हमारी फौज, हमारे जवान, जिन चौकियों पर डटे हुए हैं, वहीं डटे रहेंगे और हम वहां खाली नहीं करेंगे। हमें चीनी खतरे को ध्यान में रखना है और अगर हम कारगिल की चौकियां खाली कर दें तो हम चीन से लड़ाख को कैसे बचायेंगे। चीन कभी भी हमारे ऊपर संकट पैदा कर सकता है और वह कोई नहीं कह सकता कि चीन के इरादे क्या हैं। चीन के इरादे के बारे में कोई भी राजनयिक पंडित गलत भाविष्यवाणी न करे क्योंकि वह सारी भविष्यवाणियों को गलत साबित करने की क्षमता रखता है। पाकिस्तान के साथ उसके सम्बन्ध स्पष्ट हो गये हैं, अब फिर हमारा कर्तव्य है, हमारा धर्म है कि लड़ाख की रक्षा के लिए हम उन चौकियों पर डटे रहे जिन चौकियों को हमने अपने कब्जे में ले लिया है।

महोदय, सुरक्षा परिषद् के प्रस्ताव में पोलिटिकल सौल्यूशन की चर्चा की गई है, वह पोलिटिकल सौल्यूशन क्या होगा? हमारे लिए तो जम्मू काश्मीर का सवाल हल हो चुका है और अगर कोई सौल्यूशन होना बाकी है, तो वह जम्मू काश्मीर का वह हिस्सा जो पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में है, उससे पाकिस्तान को हटाना है। महाराजा जम्मू काश्मीर ने रियासत को भारत में मिलाने का फैसला किया था और उस फैसले पर जम्मू काश्मीर की जनता ने अनेक चुनावों में मूहर लगाई और अपना मत स्पष्ट रूप से प्रकट किया। इस लड़ाई में भी जब पाकिस्तान के शाहंशाह तानाशाह, जम्मू काश्मीर में बगावत की

आशंका लगाए बैठे थे तो जम्मू काश्मीर की जनता ने जिसमें हिन्दू, मुसलमान शामिल हैं, पाकिस्तानी हमलावरों का विरोध करके, उन्हें गिरफ्तार करके, उनके आने की सूचना जम्मू और काश्मीर की सरकार को देकर यह साबित कर दिया कि जम्मू काश्मीर के लोग क्या चाहते हैं, जम्मू काश्मीर का दिल क्या चाहता है। जम्मू काश्मीर की जनता पाकिस्तान में जाना नहीं चाहती। कुछ लोग ऐसे हो सकते हैं कि जो जम्मू काश्मीर को स्वतन्त्र रखने की बात सोचते हों। मगर पाकिस्तान ने यह भी साबित कर दिया है कि जम्मू काश्मीर स्वतन्त्र नहीं रह सकता। पाकिस्तान के नेता कहते हैं कि बिना जम्मू काश्मीर के पाकिस्तान जिन्दा नहीं रहेगा। मैं पाकिस्तान के प्रेसिडेंट के भाषण का एक उद्धरण देना चाहता हूँ। प्रेसिडेंट अबूब खां कहते हैं :

"Kashmir is vital for Pakistan not only politically but militarily as well. Kashmir is a matter of life and death."

पाकिस्तान काश्मीर काश्मीरियों के लिए नहीं चाहता। वह काश्मीर को इसलिये नहीं चाहता कि आत्मनिर्णय के अधिकार के बारे में उसको बड़ी चिन्ता है। वह काश्मीर चाहता है पाकिस्तानियों के लिये। वह काश्मीरियों को बलि का बकरा बनाना चाहता है। वह अपनी राजनैतिक आकांक्षाओं की पूर्ति के लिये काश्मीर की शतरंज का मोहरा बनाना चाहता है काश्मीर के जो कुछ लोग स्वतन्त्र काश्मीर के हक में हैं, उन में से भी मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान के हमले से उनकी आँखें खुल जानी चाहियें। पाकिस्तान उन्हें स्वतन्त्र नहीं रहने देगा। पाकिस्तान किसी गारन्टी को नहीं मानेगा। पाकिस्तान जबरदस्ती काश्मीर को हथियाने के अपने मंसूबे को नहीं छोड़ेगा। जम्मू काश्मीर भारत के भाग के रूप में विकसित हो सकता है, प्रफुल्लित हो सकता है। जम्मू

काश्मीर की जनता भारत में रह कर ही अपने उद्देश्यों को पूरा कर सकती है। इसलिये हमें स्पष्ट कर देना चाहिये कि जम्मू काश्मीर भारत का भाग है। कानून से, वैधानिक दृष्टि से हमने रक्त बहाकर जम्मू काश्मीर को रखा है। जनता की मुहर पर, जनता के निर्णय पर हमारे जवानों ने अपने रक्त की बेंट चढ़ाई है। अब जम्मू काश्मीर भारत से बाहर नहीं जा सकता। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने 14 सितम्बर को यूनाइटेड नेशंस के सेक्रेटरी जनरल को जो पत्र लिखा था, उसका मैं एक अंश पढ़ना चाहता हूँ :

"Let me make it perfectly clear, Mr. Secretary-General, that when consequent upon the 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 pressure 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."

यह प्रधान मंत्री जी के पत्र का एक अंश मैं उद्धृत कर रहा हूँ इस विश्वास के साथ कि कूटनीतिक मोर्चे पर जो अब दांव पेच चलेंगे, उसमें सरकार अपने दिये गये आश्वासनों को भूल न जाय। शासन पर दबाव पड़ेगा। अनेक बड़े देश पक्षपातपूर्ण रवैया अपनायेंगे और लड़ाई के मैदान में हमने जो विजय प्राप्त की है उसे कूटनीति के दरबार में पराजय में बदलने की कोशिश करेंगे। मगर मैं विश्वास करता हूँ अपने नेताओं पर जिन्होंने सारी परिस्थिति का दृढ़ता के साथ, वज्र संकल्प की शक्ति के साथ सामना किया है, इस समय भी वे एक इंच नहीं डिगेंगे, एक इंच नहीं हिलेंगे। सारा देश उनके पीछे खड़ा है। 47 करोड़ के भारत में एक नई चेतना जाग गई है। हमारे

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

राष्ट्रीय जीवन में एक नये अध्याय का श्रीगणेश हुआ है और इस अध्याय पर पानी न फेरा जाये, बलिदानियों का रक्त कहीं व्यर्थ न चला जाय, माथे पर किसी नये कलंक का टीका न लग जाय, इस बात की सावधानी रखने की आवश्यकता है। जब तक नेता अपने दिये हुए वचनों पर दृढ़ हैं, सारा देश उनके पीछे खड़ा हुआ है।

सभापति जी, वस मैं खत्म करता हूँ। सुरक्षा परिषद् में जब काश्मीर पर चर्चा हुई और आगे जब कूटनीतिक दांव पेच चरेंगे, तो हमें यह समझने का मौका मिला है और मिलेगा कि कौन हमारा सच्चा मित्र है, कौन हमारा शत्रु है और कौन तटस्थ है। हमारे मित्रों की संख्या बड़ी नहीं है और इसे विदेश नाति की सफलता का प्रमाण नहीं माना जा सकता। हम सोवियत रूस के आभारी हैं जिस ने लगातार काश्मीर के सवाल पर हमारा साथ दिया है। हम उनको धन्यवाद देना चाहते हैं। मगर हमें ब्रिटेन से शिकायत है। उस दिन रामलीला मैदान में जब कम्युनिस्ट नेता ब्रिटेन के खिलाफ बोले तब मैंने उन्हें टोका कि यह समय ब्रिटिश सरकार के खिलाफ बोलने का नहीं है। चीन के विरुद्ध हमें उनकी आवश्यकता पड़ सकती है। लेकिन आज मेरे भी धैर्य का बांध टूट सकता है। ब्रिटेन का रवैया हमको प्रकट पटुवाने वाला है। अगर वे न्याय का साथ नहीं दे सकते, जिस पर आक्रमण हुआ है अगर वे उनका बात नहीं कह सकते, तो कम से कम ब्रिटेन कामनवेल्थ का एक प्रमुख सदस्य होने के नाते तटस्थ तो रह सकता है। मगर वे पाकिस्तान का साथ देते हैं। पाकिस्तान उन्होंने पैदा किया। पाकिस्तान को उन्होंने पाला। मध्य पूर्व के तेल क्षेत्र पर अपना प्रभाव रखने के लिये पाकिस्तान को उन्होंने अपनी मूठ्ठी में जकड़ा, मगर एक बात ब्रिटेन के नेता भूल

जाते हैं कि अगर एशिया में, दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया में, लोकतन्त्र को और धर्म निरपेक्षा राष्ट्रियता के आदर्श का जीवित रखना है, तो भारत का अहित चाह कर यह नहीं हो सकता। समय आ गया है जब हम गम्भीरता से इस बात पर विचार करें कि हमें ब्रिटिश कामनवेल्थ का सदस्य रहना चाहिये या नहीं रहना चाहिये। मैं श्री छागला की इस बात से सहमत हूँ कि हम जल्दवाजी में कोई फैसला न करें, हम गुस्से में कोई फैसला न करें। मगर लगातार ब्रिटेन द्वारा भारत के हितों की उपेक्षा और भारत के प्रति भेदभाव की नीति, इसके बारे में हम चुप नहीं रह सकते हैं।

सभापति जी, विदेशों में जो हमारे प्रचार का तन्त्र है, उसको ठीक करने की आवश्यकता है। अभी यूरोप से मेरे एक मित्र आये हैं। वे कहते हैं कि 16 सितम्बर तक यूरोप में यह प्रचार था कि पाकिस्तान की सेनायें आगे बढ़ रही हैं और भारत की सेनायें पीछे हट रही हैं। यह प्रचार किसने किया और कैसे किया? हमारे राजदूतावासों ने इसका खण्डन नहीं किया, यह एक बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है। अब 16 सितम्बर के बाद उन्हें पता लगा है कि ये पीछे हटने वाला भारत की सेनाएं नहीं हैं, पाकिस्तान की सेनाएं हैं। मगर हमारे प्रचार का तन्त्र क्यों विफल हुआ? दुनिया में सभी हमारे विरोधी नहीं हैं। शायद कुछ को हम ठीक तरह से समझा नहीं पाते हैं, कुछ को हम ठीक तरह से जानकारी नहीं दे पाते हैं। अब समय आ गया है कि हम जहां विदेश नीति पर फिर से विचार करेंगे, वहां हम विदेशों में अपने प्रचार तन्त्र का भी विचार करें।

सभापति जी, मैं एक मिनट में खत्म कर दूंगा। युद्धविराम शान्ति नहीं है और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि वे एक युद्ध विराम से दूसरे युद्ध विराम पर नहीं जायेंगे। हम दूसरे युद्ध विराम पर आ गये हैं। मगर हम शान्ति का मूय मरवाचिका

में न फर्में। पाकिस्तान के नेता धमकी दे रहे हैं कि इससे भी बड़ा संघर्ष हो सकता है। भुट्टो साहब एक हजार साल तक लड़ने की बात कर चुके हैं। हम पाकिस्तान से लड़ना नहीं चाहते हैं। हम पाकिस्तान को जातना नहीं चाहते हैं। मगर एक बात मैं कहूंगा कि अगर पाकिस्तान इस बात पर आमादा है कि भारत को तोड़ दे, भारत को फोड़ दे, भारतीय संघ को विघटित कर दे, तो हमें भी पाकिस्तान के भक्ष्य के बारे में सोचना पड़ेगा। हम जम्मू काश्मीर को अलग नहीं जाने दे सकते। जम्मू काश्मीर अलग चला जाएगा, तो यह भारत संगठित नहीं रह सकता, यह भारतीय संघ कायम नहीं रह सकता। हम एक जगह मजहब के आधार को, साम्प्रदायिकता के आधार को स्वीकार कर लें, तो हम दूसरी जगह विघटनकारा शक्तियों से नहीं लड़ सकते। इसलिये काश्मीर से केरल तक भारतीय राष्ट्र की अखण्डता का रक्षा होनी चाहिये। पाकिस्तान के शासकों से हम कह दें कि अगर इतने दिनों का लड़ाई से आपका मन नहीं भरा है, तो फिर आप जो कुछ करना चाहते हैं, उसे करिये। भारत हिम्मत के साथ, दृढ़ता के साथ आपका चुनौती का सामना करेगा और उस चुनौती का सामना करने के लिये देश को एकता बनाये रखना होगा, साम्प्रदायिक शान्ति कायम रखना होगा, युद्ध प्रयत्नों को बढ़ावा देना होगा, सेना की सेवा बढ़ानी होगी, हवाई जहाजों और टैंकों के निर्माण में गति लाना होगी, विदेशों से मांग कर या देश में उत्पन्न करके हमें अपनी सेनाओं को आवश्यकता को पूरा करना होगा और इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि राजनैतिक दल यह भूल जाय कि सन् 1967 में चुनाव आने वाला है।

देश एक अग्नि-परिक्षा में से गुजर रहा है। चुनाव टल सकते हैं, मगर राष्ट्र के निर्णय की घड़ी नहीं टल सकती। सब से बड़े दल होने के कारण सत्तारूढ़ दल पर

जिम्मेदारी है, मगर हमें भी अपनी जिम्मेदारी निभानी चाहिये, युद्ध के लिए सज्ज रहना चाहिए। हम युद्ध के लिये उत्सुक नहीं हैं, हम युद्ध के लिये उत्सुक नहीं हैं, लेकिन कोई रण के लिये ललकारे तो हम भी उस ललकार का सामना करने में पीछे नहीं रहेंगे। यदि रखिये पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ ही नहीं, चीन के खिलाफ भी—चीन और पाकिस्तान को सम्मिलित शक्ति के खिलाफ 47 करोड़ के देश को खड़ा करने का महान दायित्व हमारे ऊपर है। शायद भारत ने, विध्वंसा ने हमारे ऊपर यह जिम्मेदारी रखी है। अगर यह सदन, यह संसद, यह शासन और विरोधी दल इस जिम्मेदारी को ठीक तरह से नहीं निभा सके, तो इतिहास हमारे साथे पर ऐसे कलंक का टाका पोतेगा, जो न रक्त से धुलेगा, न आंसू से धुलेगा और न पसीने से धुलेगा। ऐसे कलंक का टीका हम नहीं लगाने देंगे, इस विश्वास के साथ मैं समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore):
Mr. Chair mail, I thank the hon. Shri Vajpayee and the hon. Shri Bhupesh Gupta for raising this discussion. Sir, the world heaved a sigh of relief when the Security Council Resolution ordering a cease-fire was accepted by Pakistan. India accepted this offer unconditionally on both the occasions, first when U Thant proposed it and later on when the Security Council passed the Resolution on September 20. When Pakistan, which had not accepted it earlier, accepted it, the world heaved a sigh of relief. Sir, the brilliant campaign of resistance against the massive aggression of Pakistan launched by India has brought new disclosures to the world and to the Security Council. I say to the Security Council also although the Council may not have realised it. One cannot doubt the good intentions of the Security Council however unsatisfactory the proceedings were in our view. Behind this brilliant campaign, Sir, was the great and firm determination of the Government of India, the people of India to fight for freedom,

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.]

to fight for a just cause. Behind this campaign was also the great valour of our Armed Forces and the great skill of our people. Behind this campaign was the greatest disclosure to the world, the oneness of India, the unity of the people of India. Sir, in this campaign, our simple Gnat proved to be a dreadnaught, and India, which was known or which was taken for a meek and passive country proved to be not just a paper tiger; it proved that it could hit and hit back. So, Sir, I join the hon. Shri Vajpayee in paying my humble tribute to the jawans of our Armed Forces who have, with great sacrifice, great courage and determination carried on this campaign in such a splendid way to an admirable success. The conduct of this campaign throughout has disclosed to the world the great statesmanship that the Indian leaders are capable of. Sir, the whole situation was handled with admirable statesmanship by our Prime Minister. Every statement that he has made is pregnant with statesmanship, is pregnant with love of peace. When the very first offer of peace was made, when the first offer of a cease-fire was made, our Prime Minister proved that India was a peace-loving country by accepting it unconditionally and when Pakistan, regardless of all deficiencies, began to bomb civilian areas, killing and maiming harmless and innocent people, our leaders restrained our Armed Forces from any such thing thus proving to the world that we are not after the blood of anybody but are only for preserving our independence. Sir, it is very unfortunate that the truth was not realised in the Security Council. I agree with Shri Vajpayee that the Big Powers in the Security Council should have realised what the truth of the matter was. It was proved beyond doubt that it was Pakistan that had committed aggression. The documents given by Gen. J. Nimmo and the Secretary General's statement to the Security Council prove beyond doubt that Pakistan was the aggressor and yet the Great Powers did not like to countenance that statement. Here is a thing which I

the whole world should stop to consider. The United Nations is today respected throughout the world because of its moral force. If it is to establish an order of one world, it is this moral force which should attract all the States to it but how can the United Nations command this moral force when the Big Powers in the United Nations shirk to face the truth? I am surprised, Sir, that when a small country—I do not mean small in the sense of status but only in size—when a country like Malaysia could say that Pakistan did commit aggression, sent in armed infiltrators into India, neither Britain nor the United States of America had the courage to say this. Britain towards whom we have been magnificent, we have forgotten her faults, we have forgiven her past sins against us, towards whom we have maintained cordial relations, when we consider almost our best friend, does not seem to have shed her old complex of divide and rule. Here unfortunately or fortunately, there is nothing for her to rule but she still can divide. The partisan attitude that she has adopted has come as a shock to those who wanted to maintain very cordial relations with her. Britain is the seat of the Commonwealth; she is the head of the Commonwealth. Being head of the Commonwealth, if she is not able to say, when a dispute arises between two Commonwealth nations, as to who is who and what is what, what would be the use of such a Commonwealth and what would be the good of India remaining in that Commonwealth? One seriously gets second thoughts over this question of the Commonwealth when Britain has taken up such a blatantly partisan attitude. The United States is a power which can take an independent decision, a fearless decision but what is her attitude? She was not able to face the truth of the matter in this context. On the other hand, Sir, even after the arms agreement was flouted the American Embassy in Karachi and the Consulate in Lahore were subjected to indignities, the United Nations Flag was torn down and the American Embassy Library in Karachi was burnt and

their cars were burnt, even then the President of the United States of America talks to President Ayub Khan over the phone and assures him of his best friendship. Sir, when I think of this I ask myself the question, what a fall from President Kennedy who did not budge an inch until the missiles were removed from Cuba. Unless these Big Powers are able to take disinterested decisions when matters of dispute come before them where is the safety for the world? I cannot understand but anyway we have in all humility proved ourselves that we hold the peace of the world above our own convenience and we have therefore complied with the Security Council's Resolution but our Prime Minister has made it perfectly clear, as Shri Vajpayee has read out, that in this issue our stand is beyond dispute that Kashmir is an integral part of India, that there can be no question of considering parting with either Kashmir or any part of it. So I think that whatever the political solution the Security Council may have in view or whatever talks may ensue on this subject, our stand is firm and the people of Kashmir have proved beyond all doubt that they stand by India. It was the fond hope of Pakistan that people in Jammu and Kashmir and in India would place faith above country but they have proved—everyone of them has proved—that everyone of them is a Abdul Hamid, that they are patriotic and that they place country above everything else. Therefore, the question of plebiscite is ruled out. So, Sir, I believe that Pakistan will at least now realise that there is no hope for her of taking either by force or by diplomatic pressure of Powers like Britain or any other Power the State of Jammu and Kashmir or any part of India.

Just a word more and I am finished. In this connection another disclosure has been brought to our notice and that is that our diplomatic wheels move very slowly. They have to be oiled. In fact when we see the diplomatic moves of Pakistan we have to own that we are weaker on that side. I

So it is for our Government now to oil our diplomatic wheels or to change them altogether. It is very necessary now in our own interests. As our Prime Minister has said in last night's broadcast we have to be self-reliant and we cannot depend upon anybody else. Therefore, we have to strengthen our diplomatic machinery and I think our Government will pay attention to it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the mover of this Resolution for our armed forces. We have paid them tributes in the course of the entire crisis and I think we have well placed our confidence in them because they have done well in defending the frontiers of our land. I think in the past few weeks India has spoken in deeds not only on the frontier but also in the rear. There is little that we can add by speeches in this House. Yet I believe some speeches have to be made in order to give expression to the national solidarity, national will, national thinking and national resolve in the matter. India, Sir, has emerged from this grave crisis with honour and dignity and above all with inspiration and confidence but then the struggle is not yet over and the issues remain to be faced again with firmness, statesmanship and a sense of perspective. We want peace; that is our motto in this wide world but we seek peace with the assurance that the frontiers of our country shall not be violated and that freedom and security of our land shall not be menaced. Unless that assurance comes not in words or meaningless resolutions or platitudes but in facts of national and international life, we shall have to be vigilant and keep the powder dry. A simple cease-fire which has the approbation of the whole country has come about, but, Mr. Chairman, peace and frond neighbourliness between India and Pakistan which we all cherish remains as ever a distant cry. For this.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

of course, Pakistan and those who equip Pakistan and support her and Pakistan's bellicosity and aggressiveness are responsible. It is most unfortunate that with a country dedicated to the cause of peace Pakistan, a neighbour, should have chosen such a path as it has chosen. It is even more tragic and disgusting if I may say that apart from the imperialist powers which have been, of course supporting Pakistan, the People's Republic of China should have taken this unprincipled stand of what I can call giving generous support to Pakistan. I say this thing in great sorrow and pain because today all of us should work for peace and for good neighbourly relations between countries. Anyhow, we have to face the situation as it is. President Ayub's broadcast and especially the speech of that comic figure, Mr. Zulfikar Ahmed Bhutto, accompanied by his threat which hardly matters today, to leave the U.N., make it clear that the Pakistani rulers are still in no mood to seek the way of peace and good neighbourliness with India despite the fact that we have all the time unilaterally chosen the path of good neighbourliness and proposed to them a no-war pact. It is clear, that cease-fire or even withdrawal will not by themselves bring about enduring peace in this sub-continent. Why? The interlude between the armed fights and clashes and the cease-fire after all we have seen is no peace especially when such interludes are sought to be exploited for consolidation for further aggradizement and aggression as we have recently experienced after the cease-fire over the Kutch issue. Therefore, while peaceful interludes are good the issue before us is how they are going to be consolidated. Are they going to be exploited by Pakistan or some others in order to prepare for another attack or are they going to be exploited for silencing the guns of Pakistan, defeat completely their policy and posture of aggression so that good sense and orderly relations

take the place of disorder and war? That is the issue today after this simple cease-fire. The basic test is whether the Pakistan regime renounces aggression and war as an instrument of State policy. The test in particular is whether Pakistan recognises that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India, a well settled fact which neither the U.S. donated Patton tanks and Sabre jets, nor the wily manoeuvres in the Security Council or elsewhere, nor the prodigious vocal support of U.S. and Britain, nor even the most inglorious and unprincipled support of China 3 P.M. can alter. This fact can never be unsettled. Kashmir remains an unchallengeable part of this great Republic as surely as, Mr. Chairman, the Arabian Sea washes the shores of Karachi and Bombay and unless this simple fact is recognised and accepted by the Pakistani rulers and their supporters, I am afraid we shall not be nearer a solution of the problems that face us. If this battle could not be won by Pakistan with Patton tanks, neither is President Ayub Khan going to win it by methods of blackmail and threats or by rushing to the United Nations and delivering bellicose speeches. There is no Kashmir problem, as far as India is concerned, and there should not be such a problem, if I may add, for any other country. Pakistan and some others have artificially created this problem, seek to extend and draw upon it to create confusion and chaos. It is the task of the world community not to encourage Pakistan, but to call her to order. That is the problem. Therefore, I think that the international ro-v-nuni- and the Security Council should, once and for all, realise the simple truth. India went to the Security Council not with a Kashmir problem, but with a complaint of aggression against us. In these seventeen years we have not h^d the aggression vacated by the United Nations. Now, today it does not lie

In the mouth of the United Nations or the Security Council, with all respect

to the gentlemen there, that they should allow the issue to be revived and agitated. Anyhow, should anybody attempt to do so, India should mobilise the entire public opinion in the country and, if possible, world public opinion to scotch that plan in the very beginning. Kashmir is not a matter to be discussed in the Security Council. It can be discussed only in the Kashmir Assembly and in this Parliament and nowhere else. That should be our approach. I think we should be clear now in our minds and accordingly we should act in the international arena.

Now, Mr. Chairman, here again we have reason to congratulate ourselves, not that we seek adulation. A nation, if it is sorry in its hour of crisis, has also to congratulate itself on its achievements and whatever good and positive the crisis brings out as a result. In the first place, we have made it known to President Ayub Khan and those who feel like him— that aggression is not going to pay and will not be tolerated. Over the last ten years and more the U.S. imperialists have built up Pakistan with lavish military aids, all **free** gifts—of the order of 1500 million dollars and perhaps more. They armed Pakistan to pressurise, intimidate, blackmail and attack India. Naturally they had been helped all these years by Britain and certain other people. Today, we have demonstrated to the "world" that India has acquired moral and material strength to stand up to the threat and this invasion by the aggressor and, if possible, hit them in his own den. Therefore, it is not a small thing that we have demonstrated. We did so not as a bellicose nation, but as a peace-loving nation, and hence dispels aggression when aggression is launched against the country. An unjust war is started against a peace-loving nation. I think the world community should, kindly take note of it, instead of trying to equate India and Pakistan, the aggressor and the aggressed

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in this matter. For the first time in a war not of our seeking, the Indian Armed Forces have demonstrated that the attackers could be repelled and that is a lesson, I think, that President Ayub Khan should bear in mind. Today that U.S.-built armour of Pakistan has been blown out, blown out with every blow that our Air Force struck and every weapon they mounted against them, when they committed their aggression. And I think here again a lesson for them to draw and for us to take inspiration from is that the entire edifice of the aggression, built with U.S. military equipment and under the SEATO and CENTO alliances, has received some staggering blows and this for the good of mankind, not merely of India. After all, what is Afro-Asian solidarity, after all what is our anti-colonialism, after all how can we contribute to the larger cause of world peace and against aggression, unless on this great subcontinent we are strong enough morally, politically and materially to stand 'up to the challenge of such a combination of military alliances, backed up by certain powers and so on? That we have done. Here again, we may humbly claim at least a word of appreciation from those who are against aggression, from those who are for peace, from those who do not like aggressive military alliances, from those who want a brotherhood of nations and international, orderly behaviour to be established in the relations between nations. Therefore, this is also another point.

Another highlight of the entire trial has been no less inspiring. It is the unity of our country. Pakistan counted upon disunity. These merchants of communal politics, of the so-called two-nation theory, of bigotry of every type expected that in such a situation India would be thrown into a cauldron of communal confusion and chaos. What we have given them in the end is complete unity. Hindus and Muslims have been united in this crisis as

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] never before in recent history and this has been our answer. Our secularism has not only passed the test of time. It has also cemented the bonds of communal amity and friendship in a manner which should be an inspiration to all and I have no doubt in my mind that this- has played an important part in inspiring the healthy democratic forces in East Pakistan, where President Ayub Khan found himself in difficulties a little. Therefore, we have contributed to the cause of secularism, not only within the frontiers of our land, but also beyond it outside. This has been a great gain. In this connection, naturally I would like to record my appreciation of the manner in which the minority community, despite certain vicious propaganda over the radio, behaved. They have shown that they are as great patriots as we are. They are our kith and kin. We are brother in happiness and we are brothers in sorrow. We are brothers in peace and we are fellow-fighters in war. The martyrdom of our soldiers on the Kashmir front symbolises that unity and brotherhood. We shall shine through the pages of our history. That is what I say. This has not been a small gain. It is not a military gain. It is a spiritual and moral gain for each and every Indian, no matter where he lives, no matter what religion he believes in. He is justly proud of it and that pride is shared not only by people here, but I am sure it will be shared by people all over the world.

Mr. Chairman, this is our experience. I need not deal with it. I should like now to say a word about the agreement. There are three Resolutions of the Security Council, their Resolution of the 4th, of the 6th and the final Resolution that is before us. May I know why the Security Council did not call the aggressor an aggressor, call the spade a spade? Even Gen. Nimmo's Report speaks of Pakistan as the aggressor. Clearly they

have violated the cease-fire line and have committed aggression. It is stated in Gen. Nimmo's Report in paragraph after paragraph. Why then Pakistan should not have been declared an aggressor under the Charter? I am reminded of the days of the League of Nations when Britain and certain other powers did not like to call the aggressor and aggressor and enforce collective sanctions in the matter. I do maintain that the Security Council has not let down India only. It has let down in this matter the Charter itself. Pakistan should have been named as the aggressor, after Gen. Nimmo's Report at least. It is clear aggression. Why the infiltrators were not called aggressors and called to withdraw? Why Pakistan was not accused of violating not only the cease-fire agreement, a bilateral agreement between two countries but also the Charter, an international commitment, sending aggressors, open aggressors, shall I say, into our territory to take Srinagar, to seize a State, to break up India, part of India? What else could be greater aggression? An army comes directed by the President himself who made the so-called "Gib-ralter Force" in July with instructions to seize Srinagar. If that is not aggression, laws have no meaning; words have no meaning; international law has given way to the law of the jungle. Therefore, I say that it was the duty of the Security Council to face up to the facts and declare what it is. I am sorry they have not done-it.

How is it in the resolution, Mr. Chairman, there are not even assurances that future violations will not take place? There are no guarantees of any kind. All that we are told is to withdraw to the position before August 5th. Well, we had withdrawn many times, but what happened? From Kargil we had withdrawn by listening to the advice of the Security Council, and in return we got the infiltrators now in order to seize Sri-

uagar. Is it not the bounden duty, all the more so after this experience, of the Security Council to clearly embody in the Resolution certain clear assurances which would satisfy India, not merely words but assurances of physical and other nature which would satisfy India that it would be impossible for Pakistan to repeat the performance again? Nothing of the kind. Therefore, I say that the Security Council's Resolutions are open to serious criticism, all the more so, Mr. Chairman, when I see an overtone of equating India with Pakistan. How can it be? Pakistan is not accused, and surprisingly enough when New York Times and all these papers of America and Britain had to admit that infiltrators had come from Pakistan, equipped by them, directed by them, the gentlemen of the West do not have even the courage to own this up and state in the Security Council that on account of that Pakistan is responsible for this development and is to be called the aggressor. If aggression is committed, it has to be defended, and there is an international law. There is no such provision that aggression has to be defended only within its own territory. Suppose aggression is mounted from outside the boundary of a particular country and the aggression continues, international Law enables me to pursue there and hit at the sources of aggression and make it impossible to take place. Well, that is what we have done, in self-defence. Then how can we be equated with Pakistan? Is it simply because we have crossed certain international frontier? First of all you catch the thief. That has not been done.

In this connection what I say is, let us face facts. Pakistan would never have dared do such things but for the military hardware that came from the great United States of America. What has Pakistan got? Not even a big steel plant, nothing of that kind. I do not know what machinery it produces. It has no petrol and no refinery worth the name. It does not even

manufacture spare parts and so on. Such a country produced such a dictator in Ayub Khan, and Mr. Bhutto struts about as if they are great masters like Napoleon. Such comic performance would not have been possible but for the fact that America has equipped them over ten years or so.' It is the American arms which equipped them. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, but for that that would not have been possible today. Therefore, the time has come to take up this issue. I think, Mr. Chairman, the time has come for us to realise the implications of this. I think sweet reasonableness will not work with the Americans. They are very tough customers. So it does not work with them. I think internationally and otherwise we have to launch a vigorous diplomatic initiative and we must tell the world that Mr. Eisenhower's assurance of February 1954 meant nothing and now it has been violated, so also has been violated Mr. Dulles' assurance, and so on. This thing has to be done. I think the time has come for realising that we must build our own defence potential and mobilise world public opinion so that America is not in a position and Britain is not in a position to render such help to Pakistan. I do not know whether what they have given can be taken back. But certainly if we can create international opinion, if we can prevent spares, replacements, etc., being given, then Pakistan will understand what it means. That suggestion I am making.

In this connection I join with others and I demand our withdrawal from the Commonwealth. Why are you in the Commonwealth? To look at the Queen? Why are you there for? I cannot understand. To Buckingham Palace you need not go. There are many palaces in our country. Now take the head of the Commonwealth, how did he behave? Premier Harold Wilson made a statement accusing India and expressed distaste when we took defensive action, and tears were not coming in his eyes when Pakistan

(Shri Bhupesh Gupta.)

was sending its hordes, its infiltrators, into our country. That is how they have behaved. Here is the "Time" magazine of the 10th September. I would just read out one or two portions, if i may, to show you how anti-Indian they are. It is not a question of magazine here.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: It is an American magazine.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:
They
are blood-brothers. Americans and
Britons go together. They write in
this magazine:

"The U.N. has four times ordered a plebiscite in Kashmir in order to determine the wishes of its inhabitants. India has always refused and in 1957 a hand-picked Kashmiri puppet legislature declared the State an integral part of India.

Kashmir's Sheikh Abdullah who belatedly objec[^]d to Indian domination and also....."

Please note the word "domination"—

" . . and also called for a plebiscite has spent most 'of his time in an Indian jail. The open seizure of Pakistan-controlled territory left Ayub Khan almost no choice.

Ayub Khan ignored the angry howls from New Delhi warning that Indian aggression cannot and shall not be allowed to go unchallenged."

Such anti-Indian articles, provocative articles are being written. May I ask the Rome Minister, what are you doing to this paper? What are you doing to this paper? Have you banned it? Have you confiscated it? I say it is no use. Do not be afraid that your PL480 will hot be thor?. Now stop the "Time" magazine ccm-ing to our country and the "Ne vs-week" and similar other papers who are openly saying that you are criminals, that you are international criminals, that y"ou have seized Kash-

mir, that you dominate Kashmir, and so on, that you are the aggressor.

Mr. Chairman I am finishing. I say that as far as the question of our withdrawal from the Commonwealth is concerned, I wish to make clear one thing. I can see that Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri's statement in this connection is quite satisfactory.. I hope we will act up to it. He says here on the 16th of September:

"Also we could not possibly revert t'o a situation in which we may find ourselves ence again unable to prevent infiltrations or to deal effectively with those who had! already come in."

Please bear this in mind. Negotiations will start. Things are now passing to the diplomatic and political level, and we must be clear in our mind. As I say, we do not propose to pass from cease-fire to ceasefire. We want to pass from this cease-fire to lasting peace. If that is not possible, then prevent Pakistan from assuming an active- ag-gressive attitude of launching attacks on our country.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, this is a discussion of short duration and there are many more speakers.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not wish to say anything. As- for the rest, there are many points which have been discussed. I think in the coming days it will be difficult for us perhaps in many ways because of the machinations against us. But once the Government maintains its policy of keeping the country united, of taking counsel of those who are not in Government or in the ruling party, and based on the unity and the collective wisdom of the nation, in a true democratic spirit, I think we shall be coming out with flying colours from the test that i_s facing us here just as our soldiers have passed their test in the battle-field with glory and honour.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): It is a solemn occasion when Parliament has been asked to pronounce its judgment on the situation that has been created by the Security Council Resolution regarding the cease-fire. The country and the Government were put to very hard tests within 17 years of the independence of the country. We had to face unprovoked, unwarranted, naked aggression without any warning, without any intimation, on the 5th of August, 1965. I join with the previous speakers in paying my humble tribute to the young jawans, to the young pilots, to all those connected with the military, and I pay my humble tribute to the millions of people here who have stood like a firm wall, like one body, behind the Government in this critical situation. We are happy in the sense that it has given us a greater sense of responsibility, a greater sense of patriotism and a greater sense of unity and we have demonstrated to the world that in difficult times, India, irrespective of differences of language and religion and culture, can stand together to face the danger, and our people and our military have established that India is second to none in defending its security, its integrity and its honour.

Now, Sir, if I may say so, on the military field we have won by the grace of God, by the hard work and patriotism of our young people. But now we have to face an equally difficult front and that is the diplomatic front. In order to face that, we have to understand basically a few things. Let it once again be repeated that according to the Indian Independence Act, the condition for the integration of any native State was that the ruler of that State should sign the document of accession. But in this particular case, we were not content with that technical and constitutional provision, but the accredited leaders of Kashmir came and insisted upon the leaders of the country that the people of Kashmir wanted to accede to India. I may reiterate that it is on the insistence of the leaders of Kashmir that the people of

India agreed to the accession of Kashmir. After that, it was further sanctified by their Constituent Assembly which fully endorsed the accession of Kashmir to India. Having that constitutional position, having that clear legal position and having that moral and public support, is there any difference between Kashmir and Madras or between Bombay or any other State? There is no difference. So far as Kashmir is concerned, it is Pakistan's aggression, pure and naked aggression, against a part of territory which belongs in all respects to India. So, I would like this stand to be taken. We have suffered and the relations of the two countries have suffered on account of the indecision of the Security Council and of the big powers on the question of Kashmir. Now, it is time to say very clearly—now hands off the whole of Kashmir as it legally and constitutionally belongs to India, and there is no question of a plebiscite so far as that part of the country is concerned, which has been constitutionally made a unit of the country. I was not able to lay my hand on certain resolutions that have been passed at international conferences and that have been passed at Afro-Asian Conferences, where it has been clearly laid down that there is no question of self-determination so far as a part of a country or a State is concerned. If that is the policy accepted by all nations, and by the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, then any attempt made whether it was in August 1947 or whether it is on the 5th of August, 1965, it is an aggression and nothing but an aggression. If we can convince world opinion on that issue, I think we will be able to stand up with greater determination and with greater moral courage. Although I say that it is the duty of the country and the Government to safeguard and protect every inch of our territory, I would humbly submit that this question does not only concern a territory or land but it involves, it implies, basic questions for which the leaders of this country such as Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru stood, sacrificed every-

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan.] thing and it is enshrined in the Constitution and laid down as the policy that this country will be a secular country, a democratic country, a country in which people belonging to every religion will be participants and sharers with equal rights and equal privileges. That is the issue now and I would like the United Nations to address themselves to this situation whether they want a theocratic State where people of other religions have no equal chance and status or whether they want a democratic State where everybody, every citizen, irrespective of caste and religion, has got equal rights. They have also to decide whether they want secularism or they want communal frenzy—again conflagration and disturbances not only in Pakistan and India but in other countries also which are recently liberated. They should not set the bad example by saying that they want to support theocracy, they want to support countries which are not democratic and they do not want to support countries which have established democracy and secularism through the provisions of Constitution. All credit to Jawaharlal Nehru, all credit to the Shastri Government, as our Government, by practising the principles of democracy and secularism, has given confidence to each and everyone who lives in this country of equal privilege and honour as citizen of India. This is the issue that will have to be placed on the diplomatic front, and all those people, who are having a very narrow and limited view of this dispute, should know its background. What is the underlying idea Sir? The underlying idea is that India was partitioned on communal or religion-basis which we contest—it was done only through an *ad hoc* division. Sir, the principle of the division on the basis of religion was never accepted. The persons who agitate, the powers who try to support those who agitate because Kashmir has got a majority of Muslims, have they ever given any thought to the fact that there are five crores of Muslims who live here and lakhs of people of other

communities also live here? That is the issue to which they will have to address themselves to appreciate the secular character of India.

Sir, they will have to address themselves to another problem. That is economic and social problem. When we are thinking of economic issues, of political issues, of socialism and other ideals so that we may light out the real enemies of the society, poverty and ignorance, to divert our thoughts and energies to issues which accentuate and strengthen the sectional and narrow ideology is terrible. To improve the economic condition of our people is our main problem. I would like that at the United Nations this matter has to be made very, very clear so that the attention may be directed to correct issues.

Sir, one thing more I would like to make clear. When at various places great communal tension was going on before partition, when the communal leaders wanted to have their ideology in Kashmir, you know, Sir, Kashmir never gave any quarter or foothold to the communal leaders. When aggression was committed in 1947 by Pakistan everybody, Hindus and Muslim, faced it boldly. They established through their blood, through their sacrifices that Kashmir is secular. Word ends in deed. That was the truth that was established. So I respectfully submit, Sir, that in dealing with this matter, let it be known to all those who are concerned that Indian Muslims stand behind the Government and they will sacrifice everything to keep up the solidarity and secularism as Kashmir is an emblem of secularism. We will do our best, we will sacrifice our utmost to keep Kashmir with India. In this matter, Sir, as we are on the right, as we want to uphold certain basic principles, we will succeed with the help of all those people who think on right lines and who want to elevate the society morally and politically in distinction to narrow communal ideology.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I join in paying my tribute and the tribute of the nation to the brave men, to our fighting Forces and to the wise leadership that has been guiding them through this difficult period. I would also like to say a word, Sir, to our Prime Minister who has followed the policy of consultation with all parties in this country so that every section, every party in this country felt that the war that was thrust upon us a war which the whole country was fighting. That phase of war is over. I do not know whether we have reason to feel very happy about it.

Sir, as certain previous speakers have said, the Resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, the United Nations, have not inspired very much to be suppressed, the manner in which the first Nimmo Report was sought to be suppressed, the manner in which the aggression committed by Pakistan was not owned, was not made known to the world, make us aggrieved. And when India took action in self-defence, the Council instead of defending us, took the stand as if India was the aggressor.

Sir, we have reason to be aggrieved about this. But if we are to indulge in a little introspection, have we no reason to be a sorry about our own faults? Has there not been a failure of our diplomatic missions, a failure of our publicity machinery, a failure of our attempt to keep the world abreast of what is happening in this country?

A Member of the other House who I very recently visited Pakistan to see some relations was asked whether really there were so many Muslims in this country more Muslims in this country than there were in West Pakistan, whether Muslims were allowed to eat meat in this country? If that is the ignorance that is prevailing just across the narrow border, how much more ignorance prevail? outside all over the world? I will

not take the time of the House by repeating an experience that I recently came across when I went out. But is it not time for us to correct this impression? Sir, I do not know how many of us remember that when the border between India and Pakistan was being demarcated and when two villages on the other side of the border of what is called Azad Kashmir and Pakistan were being demarcated, they were being cut right across the border that was marked. What did they do? Both sides felt, and the representatives of the United Nations felt that it would be a crime to bisect the villages. So they went through a process of, what is called, referendum. The vote of the villages was taken, and the vote of both the villages was more than 90 per cent, to come with India. Sir, this is a very relevant fact which took place more than 18 years ago but it is never mentioned in the Councils of the United Nations or even before the world to prove our case that the people of Kashmir have acceded voluntarily and by their free will to this country. This was a symbolic referendum. I will just quote the names. I think the names are Bodoi and Kargil—similar to that outpost but not the same. It was in these two villages on the border that a sort of referendum was taken and the vote of every person was taken and ninety per cent, of the people voted to come to India. Why is this fact forgotten? Why is this fact not known to the people all over the world and in the U.N.? It is because, with due respect, our External Affairs Ministry is in bad shape. I have mentioned once before in this House a little more than a year ago that things are not all right with that Ministry. If our case is to be brought forward before the world, if it is to be known before the world in the proper perspective, then these failings will have to be removed. The same is the case with our publicity, whether it is external or internal. Only two or three days after the aggression happened to hear the Pakistan radio which said that even the Swatantra

(Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.) leader, Mr. Rajagopalachari, is against this war with Pakistan whereas we know that it was two days earlier that his statement was published in the press. I think he has gone the farthest and I hope our Government will remember it. He has said not only must this war be won but we must demand restoration from the aggressor. Restoration is perhaps a peaceful word. A war-like word is reparation to the innocent people who have suffered in this. Will we take lessons or will we still allow our publicity to go on partially to a certain class of people, to hand over our All India Radio to hand over our external publicity to certain favourites whether it does us good or does not do us good abroad? It is high time that the Prime Minister takes serious note of these things. The country has stood behind him unitedly in this crisis. The crisis is perhaps not over but certainly the Prime Minister and the Government have had breathing time to think and to correct their faults. I do not want to, at this juncture, enumerate these faults. I do not feel at all happy to mention them. I feel very sorry that there may be Ministers both at the Centre and in the States who should not be there. Their names, their cases, their doings have been mentioned *ad nauseam* in this House. On this occasion I will not mention them, but I would urge upon the Prime Minister to take note of this if he wants this country to stand up behind him as it has been during this crisis. If he does not, I am afraid in a similar situation that may follow it would be a matter of doubt whether he would get the same measure of support.

The Prime Minister has proved himself to be able. He has conquered many difficulties by his personality, by his deep humility and the manner in which he has tackled the human problem. I would like him to consider where we have been failing. Has not our External Affairs Ministry been thinking of projecting the personality of Prime Minister Nehru and

not the personality or the image of a united India, an India that consists of so many people, of various castes, communities, religions, faiths, who live together and have lived together for centuries in peace and harmony even though the British did not like it and they wanted us to fight to suit their purposes? Harsh things have been said about the attitude of the British Government. One may be inclined to agree with them up to a point but I think such decisions should not be taken in the heat of the moment. To-day we are angry. The feeling, the heat in our minds that war generates has not cooled. Perhaps a decision on this point may be taken a little later but it is necessary to let the British Government know the strong sentiments or the feelings of the people. Indeed the Prime Minister of England should know that while we were at his instance talking to him about the Kutch border and trying to arrive at a settlement with him, it was at that very time that Pakistan was planning this aggression against India and certainly this country would have expected the Prime Minister of England to remember this and not accuse India of aggression. It is said that in England there are a large number of people, formerly retired British servants, Civil Servants and a large number of businessmen who thought that in India their sons and grandsons would lord over the country for so many years and it is these Congressmen, these Hindus in India who came and put an end to it. Perhaps some friends from our neighbouring country, Pakistan, have been encouraging the feeling and have been telling them: 'Look here these people removed you, we did not quarrel with you.' So a natural sort of human sympathy for Pakistan can be aroused by such talks and a slight antagonism for us may also be aroused but let us remember that it was the Labour Government that came and cut the Gordian knot of the difference between, the Conservative Party and India, between Mr. Churchill and this

country, when the difficulty of trans-

fer of power came about. Let us not in our anger lose sight of this and let us hope that better counsels may prevail there also. We do feel a lot of resentment that American arms are being used against us, particularly when an assurance was given not only by the Ambassador in India, who happens to be the very person to-day who was the Ambassador when this arms deal with Pakistan was signed but also by a much higher quarter in the United States. Yet these arms have been used against us but are we going to quarrel over it? Certainly we will express our protest against it but are we going to quarrel with that country and not deal with it in a proper fashion? I am sure our Government will lodge its protest in the manner in which all diplomatic protests are lodged. Our resentment will be expressed to that Government in the manner in which it is done and I am sure it will not be the way in which our friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, wants us to do. Sir, after all today the attitude of the United States of America and the attitude of the Soviet Union are such that there is little to choose between them.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): There is much to choose between them.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: But I do not see very much of it; both have stood on the same position. It is true that in the past the Soviet Union has been very helpful to us, particularly in exercising its veto over this issue. But today they have stood together.

HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL (Punjab) : What are you talking about?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: What is the voting? Ask the Minister.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: But for the Soviet Union, India would have been condemned in the Security Council for mounting aggression.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I am talking of the vote; there is no veto about it; I am not saying anything else. I have said we are grateful to the Soviet Union for exercising its veto in our favour in the past. But this time the position is different; let us recognise it.

(Interruptions)

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL: Who is giving all the aid today? May I ask my hon. friend, Sir, with your permission, as to who is giving us military aid today?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Just as we are grateful to certain other countries for their military aid, we are equally grateful to the Soviet Union for their aid. But my quarrel with our Government is that, like President Nassar, we should accept aid but we should not accept their theory of communism. But that is where we have slipped. We can accept Soviet aid certainly, if we act like President Nasser and ban the Communist Party, our position would have been different.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Soviet Union does not give you the theory of communism; it is I who is giving you the theory, which he need not accept from me.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I would like our Government to learn the lesson that this aggression has taught us; whether we get it from one side or the other, ultimately it is our strength that is going to matter. If we have a large number of tanks but do not know how to utilise them, what will happen? Therefore it is necessary for us to revise our policies to build up our strength, so that we can be self-reliant, without leaning too much on either Right or Left, and I hope our Government will take the necessary steps in the matter.

Sir, military training will be necessary for our people. I hope it will not be necessary to make it compul-

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Pate].] sory, because our people quite willingly join the armed forces. If we fight for a little money for a foreigner, I am sure for patriotism we will fight much better and our fighting forces have demonstrated it to What is necessary is to modernise and: properly equip our army, not remain complacent, as we were only a few years ago, and that alone is going to be the solution to the present situation that we are in.

A few words more, and I will have done. Sir, I have criticised the Government's bad dealings in the foreign missions, and the press. But what surprised me most was that even in this country the press, particularly the foreign press that made efforts to send its people to see things, the foreign correspondents seem to have complained that they were not treated properly. Why is this so, Sir? When the foreign correspondents go right into the fighting line, they go of course, at their own risk, and if the foreign correspondents wanted to go and see things for themselves, why should we prevent them? Why should we not give them all the facilities? Thereby, Sir, I think our case is very much misrepresented and so misunderstood, because they are not extended the facilities, because many of the foreign correspondents 'who wanted to go to the fighting line were prevented under false notions of security (*Interruptions*) I would be only too glad if my friend is right. Of course I have not myself found the truth, but I am just relating what I have been told, and what I believe is likely to be true, and I am mentioning it only because our Government should correct its policies.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra) : He has made a statement which is not a fact.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is not yielding, Mr. pharia.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: We do not want a defender of the Def-

ence Minister; the Defence Minister is capable of defending himself, I am sure. Now what I have said is a matter of general talk everywhere, everybody knows it in this capital city, because we have a large number of foreign correspondents. It is in our interests to let the foreign correspondents see things for themselves, and when you try to shu; out 'he truth, untruth comes in. Therefore, let the truth be known to the people; we have nothing to hide; this is what I was trying to say, Sir.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: On a point of information; is it not a fact that the correspondent here of the well known weekly 'Time' was given all possible facilities and he was alleged to go to the village . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has not yielded and yet you go on; please sit down. Will you please sit down? I wish to point out to the hon. Members that listening to unpleasant things is one of the important parts of parliamentary procedure.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Thank you, Sir. Now last but not the least, one small unpleasant thing, and I am afraid I have to mention it. No doubt the Shastri Government has carried on in all this with a sense of unanimity, which has pleased many people. Only one feature that gives rise to certain misgivings in my mind is this. I understand Mr. Krishna Menon has been sent out again to represent our country abroad. Have we not had enough? Has the country not suffered enough? Have we not suffered sufficient ignominy? Have not our Armed Forces unnecessarily suffered so much disgrace? And this gentleman is being chosen again to be sent out as our representative. I hope Mr. Shastri will think twice before doing anything of this kind again.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Let us take advantage of all men.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated): Sir, knowing the pressure on our time I will try to be as brief as possible, and also as unemotional as possible. I will briefly pay my tribute to the wisdom and statesmanship which our Government have shown at various stages of the happenings of the last few weeks. I must also pay my tribute to the very fine work done by Shri Chagla, our Education Minister, at the Security Council, and I have no doubt that those who read from day to day the proceedings of that Council will agree that he had very considerable influence in the shaping of the final decisions though they may not be entirely to our satisfaction. I also want to endorse all the praise showered on our brave Army, whose achievements have raised the prestige of the country "before the world. I also would pay my tribute to the civil population which rose to the occasion, it reminded me of the days of the struggle under Gandhiji. The lethargy of centuries has been shaken and I insist, from that point of view, not 4 P.M. criticise and condemn Pakistan—that has been done enough—but thank Pakistan for the misadventure on which it had launched and for having shaken India into a wide awakening to the realities of the situation.

I will make a few concrete suggestions as a humble worker who had something to do with the masses and of the mind and psychology of the people. We are in a certain emotional mood today. I do wish that we should consolidate those psychological gains of the present times and I have a few simple and apparently unimportant suggestions to make. But I think they do count and I hope they will reach the ears of the Prime Minister.

I would wish that every town and every village which has been raided by Pakistan should receive a memento of honour for the privilege which these towns and villages had of suffer-

ing for the country. That memento will remain with them. It will be presented to them in a great public gathering as the country's appreciation and honour for the spirit which they showed. I would also solemnly give to every wounded civilian in the country, some memento as recognition of the suffering which he had to undergo for our country. When we were in the movement in the olden days, it was the honour part of the suffering which always raised our morale, and if our nation, not the Army only, if our nation is to be a nation of brave individuals, we must on every occasion of manifestation of courage, give that public recognition to that act of courage. Therefore, I hope that these suggestions will reach the proper quarters and we will take suitable steps quickly and promptly. I have also one (other small suggestion to make, again of a psychological type. Religious places of some of our communities have suffered at the hands of the aggressor. May I venture to suggest to Government that they must make an exception in the case of these buildings, religious buildings, and out of public funds, make substantial grants for the reconstruction and rejuvenation of these sacred shrines of our Muslim friends, whether in Kashmir or elsewhere, and of our Hindu, Sikh or Christian friends elsewhere? I have one particular and special suggestion to make with regard to one very small religious community in our country and also one of the smaller racial communities in our country. I am referring to our Christian friends. Their great cathedral in Ambala has been razed to the ground. This is a great blow to one important element in our composite culture and that blow to that small element in our composite culture is a blow to us all. Because the Anglo-Indian community is not a rich mercantile community and also because it is one of the smallest religious communities of the country, I would suggest to the Government to go out of the way and give them the entire amount needed

[Shri Jairamda's Daulatram.] for the reconstruction of that church. After all, Christians do not live in India only. Christians are all over the world. Christians are a very very numerous community in the world and in many countries, whether of Europe or other continents, wherever Christians are living and functioning they go and pray in their churches. Therefore, I suggest that it would be a good thing and a wise thing that our Government should go out of the way and help reconstructing that church. I understand that they have suffered a loss of fifty lakhs. After all, what is fifty lakhs to our taxpayers who are paying crores and crores of rupees? It is a gift of the rest of the communities of India to that small community at this psychological moment.

Sir, I have one or two other brief suggestions to make. I think it is a very unjust, unfair, partial and dangerous formula to talk of *status quo ante*. I think we made a little slip with regard to the Rann of Kutch affair, and I must say that Parliament and all parties in Parliament were a party to that slip". What is it after all, this formula, this simple innocent-looking formula, *status quo ante*? What does it mean? It means that you go back to the position or point of the starting of the fight. How does a fight begin? A fight begins by an aggressor coming to the border, ready for action and crossing the border, and when the aggressor crosses the border aggression takes place, and the aggressed on whom a surprise attack has been launched, may have been some 20 or 30 or 40 miles away. So *status quo ante* for the aggressed means a point very far from the border. And then the Security Council very wisely and very sedately and very calmly suggests *status quo ante* as on 5th August. How can there be this *status quo ante* as on 5th August, except in the sense that it is in favour of the aggressor? The aggressor may go back only a few inches behind the border, but the aggressed has to go back 20 miles or more, because he

was there at the time of the aggression. It is a most unfair, unjust and impossible formula to be accepted. I do not want to go into the implications of this. This is my basic argument. Basically it is unjust, unfair and dangerous, because it encourages the aggressor and is in favour of the aggressor and keeps the aggressor in a position to commit aggression again. Therefore, it is an impossible formula and we cannot possibly accept it.

Then, Sir, we are told that friends from various countries, including Russia, have suggested that they are ready to mediate. Why? Why this hurry? Why this hustling of India into a fresh talk on Kashmir, may be tomorrow, or the day after or a week or ten days after? Because of the aggression by Pakistan? Is the Security Council, is the international community going to force the aggressed party to resume discussion immediately because the aggressor has asked for it? It is an impossible proposition. It is not a proposition in the interest of peace. It is not a proposition in the interest of international justice. It means that you recognise force. While you say you don't, you do recognise force by hustling India into an immediate discussion. If justice is to prevail in this world, if human relations are to be governed by justice, India cannot, ought not to be forced into an immediate discussion on Kashmir because of its implications. It means that tomorrow any aggressor can force the other party to resume discussion. We take the view that we have dealt with the Kashmir problem. Well we may be wrong, we may be right. We think that we are right. Others may think that we are wrong. Those who think that we are wrong except the interested party, have to be converted by us. I do not want to repeat what has been said about the deficiency of our diplomatic efforts. I do not want to go into that because I do not want to take more time. But I think it is wrong for India to be hustled into immediate discussions, whether it is the U.S.A.

which approaches us or whether it is the Security Council which approaches us or whether it is Russia that approaches us. When two people fight both may be wrong. Or one may be right. But why should we tell them: "Be good boys and sit round the table for discussion? If one party fails, that finishes the matter. It is no longer the concern of the world to yield to the aggressor and interfere in regard to an integral part of our country. Therefore, I feel that this is a point which we ought to stress and it is the stand that we should take up. •One other matter and I have done. I think the realities which faced us have shown that the Indian nation is not at all ^{able} to use the method of non-violence when a foreigner attacks the country. We have not today the leadership of that type which could rouse four hundred million Indians into non-violent resistance. It will be a bad and a sad day for this country if there are not some men who will stand up for the method of nonviolence even in the case of war. I hope that that small group will remain and by deeds and action prove that that method is ultimately the right one when at the right time, the right leadership of the right quality becomes available to this country. But the nation today is made for the normal method of defending the country. We as Parliament, whatever may be the individual view of anyone of us, representing the country and as trustees of the country must in that way also represent the nation and again the realities have shown us that there is no way out for a really free, independent India except to depend upon itself for developing all its military might, whether it is the latest weapons or whether it is the conventional weapons or whatever may be necessary for the defence of the country by people who believe in the normal methods. I think it is the duty of Parliament to see that that need is fulfilled. I think it will be a (Treaty day for India for which we should all work when we should not depend

upon any foreign country for giving

us military aid, for even selling us military equipment. Russia does not ask America to give it military aid or sell military equipment or ammunition; so is the case with America and England. Therefore, I believe that the time has come when India must work for the day when we become really independent in the matter of military defence.

One more other small thing. I will finish in a minute. A friend here has suggested that we should leave the Commonwealth. It is a very important issue which has been raised here and outside. Being important, it needs consideration. I do not say that there is nothing to be said in favour of it; at least, emotion has plenty to say in favour of it but I think there may be other factors also to be considered. If the Commonwealth consisted only of India and one other nation with which we differ or against which we have a feeling; the whole thing is easy but the Commonwealth at present consists of a large number of States, European, Asian and African, it has to be considered whether India should deliberately retire and give up that forum today in the hands of those who can manage that forum. If India developed its own strength as it ought to, India may have much to do in that forum and India's voice might probably carry some weight and I hope, therefore, that various aspects of this question will be very carefully considered.

Sir, this is all that I had to say.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION (SHRI M. C. CHAGLA): Sir, I will try and make my intervention as brief as possible. If I might deal with the last point raised by Mr. Jairamdas about the Commonwealth, I know how strongly we are feeling and we are entitled to feel strongly about the attitude taken by the United Kingdom on this question of Pakistani aggression. Before we take a decision

[Shri M. C. Chagla.] fraught with serious consequences, whether we should remain in the Commonwealth or not, we must give it - careful thought. I would only throw out a suggestion for the consideration of the House. Our quarrel is with the United Kingdom, our grievance is against the United Kingdom, not against the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth is not the property of the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom is only a member of the Commonwealth. In the other House, I just heard somebody saying, "We might ask the United Kingdom to leave the Commonwealth" rather than that we should leave the Commonwealth. Therefore, I would beg of this House, never take political decision of far-reaching consequences when one is in a mood of indignation or anger. I think, as I said, in London, our indignation and anger are perfectly justified but one must permit one's passion to cool down before one can come to a conclusion on so important a matter.

Dealing with the Resolution of the Security Council, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram said that it was not wholly satisfactory. I agree with him. As I was just telling the other House, this is not our draft. We did not approve of it. It was passed by the Security Council but I think, on the whole, it is a Resolution with which we might well be satisfied and it constitutes a serious and important diplomatic defeat for Pakistan. Just consider this. What did Pakistan want? She laid down four conditions, cease-fire, withdrawal of our troops from Kashmir and her troops from that part of Kashmir of which she is in unlawful occupation, induction of an Afro-Asian force and the holding of a plebiscite within three months. These were the conditions on which she was prepared to accept a cease-fire. Now, look at this Resolution. You do not find even a trace of any of these conditions. There is no motion of a plebiscite, there is no mention of an

induction of any foreign troops, there is no mention of evacuation of our troops from Kashmir and yet this Resolution, after a great deal of hesitation, Pakistan accepted. When I was arguing the case, the representative of Pakistan refused to give an unequivocal reply whether Pakistan was prepared to accept an unconditional cease-fire as our Prime Minister had accepted. It was only after the Security Council session was finished that President Ayub had second thoughts and sent Mr. Bhutto posthaste to call a meeting at midnight to offer his acceptance.

I now come to the other point raised about the 5th of August by I think, Mr. Jairamdas. He said this gives an advantage to the aggressor. Now, if you look at the Prime Minister's letter to the Secretary General, it is perfectly clear as to what we mean by going back to the positions which were occupied by both the countries on the 5th August and I made Government's position perfectly clear to the Security Council that three conditions are implicit in this date, 5th August, one, that all the infiltrators who entered Kashmir and who commenced Pakistan's aggression must withdraw, second, Pakistan must admit responsibility for these infiltrators and third—and the most important—that we must create such a situation that infiltration in future would become impossible. We have had enough of these cease-fires, we have trusted Pakistan sufficiently and we are not prepared to trust her any more. Therefore, in the interests of our country, in the interests of our defence, we must have a ceasefire line of such a character that in future no infiltration would be possible. The cease-fire line is five hundred mile* long. We may increase the number of U.N. Observers from forty to four hundred or four thousand but unless the cease-fire line is so constituted that infiltration becomes almost impossible, there is no guarantee as to what is going to hap-

pen in the future. And this is all the more important when we realise the statement made by Mr. Bhutto recently, the statement by Pakistan's representative in the Security Council and what President Ayub said in accepting the cease-fire. What did they say? They said that unless the Kashmir problem is solved and solved according to their pleasure, there will be a greater conflagration in this country. Therefore, my submission to this House is, let us not forget that the cease-fire is only a truce; it is not peace. Therefore, we have got to be watchful; we have got to be vigilant. I think the cease-fire is not the end of our trouble; it is the beginning of many things which will have to be worked out over a long period of time and we must not be caught napping again. Now we have got full notice that Pakistan does not accept this ceasefire as leading to peace. Pakistan's contention is that peace will only come when there is a plebiscite in Kashmir. No, I should not say that because what has been said in the Security Council and by Mr. Bhutto is that peace will only come when Kashmir goes to Pakistan. They have already anticipated a plebiscite; they are not worried about the plebiscite. "What they want is that Kashmir should belong to Pakistan. The Law Minister of Pakistan when he was arguing his case talked of Kashmiris as being the kith and kin of Pakistan and I asked since when the Kashmiris had become the kith and kin of Pakistan. The only bond which he could find was the fact that the majority of people in Kashmir were Muslims and Pakistan is a theocratic State. And I said that on that basis they might as well say that the 50 million Muslims in India are the kith and kin of Pakistan and the next demand they will make is they will invade India in order to bring the 50 million Muslims, here under their domination. That shows the absurdity of the claim. When you make religion the basis of citizenship you are really living in medieval times, not modern times. That is the whole trouble.

I think my friend, Mr. Akbar Ali Khan, said that something much more was at stake in this fight between us and Pakistan, not merely the question of Kashmir. I entirely agree with him and may I quote from what I said in the Security Council on this very matter? This is what I said:

"This is not merely a conflict between India and Pakistan. It has a much wider significance. The first significance is that the threat and menace of China looms large behind this war. It is much more than a mere looming how. It has almost come to a concrete shape after yesterday's ultimatum."

I was speaking the day after the ultimatum and I charged Pakistan with having committed this aggression on India with the hope and expectation that China will be behind it and support it.

"Then there is the war between the two ideologies."—

That is what Mr. Akbar Ali Khan was referring to—

"Let us face it. On the one hand there is the religious State and on the other hand the secular State. This is the conflict. It is not Kashmir. Kashmir is merely the symptom; it is not the disease. The disease is that Pakistan believes in a religious State; it believes in religion as the nexus between citizens. We believe in a secular State, in a multi-racial society. It is also a fight

between a free society' and democratic institutions on the one hand and dictatorship and regimentation on the other. These are the issues involved in this war and I think, if I may say, so, that it is in the interests of Asia and the world that our free society, our multi-communal federation should survive. The attack on Kashmir is an attack for the purpose of breaking up our federation, of breaking up our way of life and preventing us from carrying on our great experiment of men

[Shri M. C. Chagla.]

of different religions and different languages living peacefully together. You in this country are trying the same experiment. Other countries are trying it but Pakistan does not want it. It does not believe in it and wants to break it up. What we are defending today is not merely the territorial integrity of our country which is important; what we are defending today is the existence of a free democratic nation. We want to function as a free democratic nation. It is the threat to our institutions that we resist."

So this really is the conflict. It is not merely Kashmir. Of course, Kashmir is important enough; every inch of our country is important to us but something much more is involved in this fight and it is really a fight between two ideologies.

Now I think Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram said: why should India be pressurized into entering into talks with Pakistan? Now, the Resolution, if you look at it, does not pressurize us. All that it says is:

"Decides to consider as soon as operative paragraph 1 of the Council's resolution 210 of 6 September has been implemented, what steps could be taken to assist towards a settlement of the political problem underlying the present conflict."

"That is, as far as the Security Council is concerned what steps it could take.

"...and in the meantime calls on the two Governments to utilize all peaceful means, including those listed in Article 33 of the Charter."

No time limit is fixed. We are called upon to talk and I think in India we should be the last to say that we will not talk with any one even the devil. Therefore, if our Prime Minister has said that he is prepared to accept the invitation of U.S.S.R. that he and President Ayub should meet in that country under propitious circumstances

there is nothing to be frightened about it. I think the fear we have is that we will allow the Kashmir question to be reopened. Let us face it. We have done that in the past. The fear in this House which I fully appreciate is that we might be weak, we might vacillate, we might wobble over Kashmir, but I wish to give this assurance to this House—the Prime Minister has said it in his letter to the Secretary-General and I have reiterated it in the Security Council—that as far as our basic stand is concerned that Kashmir is an integral part of India, it remains unaltered. As I said, we will talk with President Ayub, we will talk with anybody else. After all there is another important issue about Kashmir that we can talk about and that is we went to the United Nations as complainants. Pakistan committed aggression on Kashmir in 1947 and that aggression still continues till today. Let that aggression be vacated. But as I said it is perfectly clear on the record that our basic stand on Kashmir remains unaltered. And may I say this? I think Mr. Dahyabhai Patel said something about the U.S.S.R. As far as the U.S.S.R. is concerned up till today she has given us every assistance; she has made it perfectly clear and she has always said that she recognised that Kashmir was an integral part of India. And let me say this. This Resolution was passed on a Sunday at quarter to three early in the morning. The Security Council sat the whole of Sunday. There were discussions over every comma, every semicolon, every phrase and throughout those discussions we had ever, help and assistance from the U.S.S.R. and I can assure this House that this Resolution would never have been passed in the course of Malavasia also helped us but for the considerable assistance and help which we got from the U.S.S.R. Of course, Malavasia also helped us but don't forget that what counts most in the Security Council is the five Big Powers which have the right of veto. Of course, Formosa does not count much

but Russia, the United States, France and the United Kingdom do count because if one of them is opposed to a Resolution it makes no difference if everybody else supports it because that country can veto it. We succeeded in the Security Council to bring about unanimity among the Big Powers and even the non-permanent Powers, and I repeat that, but for the great assistance and help we had from the U.S.S.R. this Resolution would not have been carried and I say that this Resolution favours our country. It is a diplomatic defeat for Pakistan; it does not accept any of its conditions and I think we might look upon it as something which does not go against our interests at all.

Well, Sir, I do not want to take any more of your time. I was not here—I am sorry—throughout the debate because I was in the other House, but I have tried to answer the questions that were raised while I was here. The rest I must leave to the Prime Minister, who will reply to the debate

Thank you.

श्री गंगाशरण सिंह (बिहार) : जनाब चैयरमैन साहब, कृतज्ञ देश के कोने कोने से और हर देश भवन के हृदय से हमारे जवानों और अफसरों के लिये जो जयजयकार उठ रहे हैं मैं अपने हृदय की आवाज को पूरा ताकत के साथ उसमें शामिल करना चाहता हूँ ।

लड़ाई कहीं भी हो रही हो, युद्ध कहीं भी हो रहा हो, वह जब बन्द हो तो किसी भी आदमी के लिये, जिसको थोड़ा सा अकल हो, एक हर्ष का वायस होता है, एक खुशी का जरिया होता है, इस लिहाज से जो लड़ाई बन्द हुई है, वह खुशी का जरिया हमारे लिये है लेकिन उस खुशी में सिर्फ खुशी ही नहीं है, उस खुशी में अफसोस, गुस्सा और चिन्ता भी शामिल है । मैं जिस तरह से समझता था कि यह खुशी का जरिया होना चाहिये था, उस तरह से यह खुशी का जरिया

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नहीं हुआ । युद्ध बन्द करने के साथ साथ अगर न्याय का आधार भी इसमें मिला होता, सिक्कोरिटो कौंसिल में जो प्रस्ताव पास हुआ है, उसमें अगर न्याय का आधार दिया गया होता, जिसने हमला किया उसके सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहा गया होता—जिन बातों की आज कल दुहाई दी जाती है, हमारा दुनिया के कुछ राष्ट्र, कुछ लोग बहुत नारा लगाते हैं व्यक्तिगत स्वाधीनता का, बहुत नारा लगाते हैं जनतंत्र का, लेकिन पता ऐसा लगता है जब वक्त आता है फैसला करने का, वक्त आता है काम करने का तो वह नारा मात्र नारा रह जाता है । एक ओर जहाँ जनतंत्र हो, एक ओर जहाँ व्यक्तिगत स्वाधीनता हो, और दूसरी ओर जहाँ तानाशाही हो, उसमें कोई फर्क वह उस समय नहीं करते हैं जब फैसला लेने लगते हैं, जब निर्णय करने लगते हैं, जब कोई काम वह करने लगते हैं । इसलिये आज युद्ध बन्द होने के बाद भी जिस परिस्थिति में, जिस वातावरण में, जिस पृष्ठभूमि में, यह युद्ध बन्द किया गया और जो कुछ उसके सम्बन्ध में कहा गया, उसमें गुस्से के साथ साथ अफसोस और चिन्ता भी भूषे है और मेरा ख्याल है कि देश के बहुत से व्यक्तियों को, अधिकांश व्यक्तियों को, उस खुशी के साथ अफसोस, चिन्ता और गुस्सा भी है ।

सिक्कोरिटो कौंसिल के प्रस्ताव के सम्बन्ध में हमारे हाउस के लीडर ने जो कहा, मैं बहुत अदब के साथ कहूंगा कि उसमें थोड़ा मतभेद मैं उनसे रखता हूँ । मैं वह समय नहीं भूला, हूँ, हम सब के दिमाग में वह कल्पना ताजो है कि एक ओर जब हमारे बहादुर जवान अपनी वीरता से, अपनी शूरता से, अपने शौर्य से, अपने बलिदान से देश का इच्छा-शक्ति का प्रदर्शन कर रहे थे, दुश्मन की जमीन पर, दुश्मन की छाती पर, तब वहाँ दूसरी ओर हमारे लिये यह गर्व का विषय है कि हमारे हाउस के लीडर अपनी बुद्धि से और अपनी जवान से देश की इच्छा-शक्ति

[श्री गंगाशरण सिंह]

का प्रदर्शन कर रहे थे युनाइटेड नेशंस में। इसके लिये देश उनका कृतज्ञ है, देश उनका शुक्रगुजार है, जो कुछ उन्होंने किया, देश को इच्छा-शक्ति का जिस तरह से उन्होंने प्रदर्शन किया सिक्थोरिटो कौंसिल में, वह हमारे लिये गर्व का बात है, फख्र का बात है और इसके लिये हम बराबर उनके शुक-गुजार रहेंगे, लेकिन प्रस्ताव के सम्बन्ध में जो उन्होंने राय जाहिर की, उससे मेरा मतभेद है। मैंने जब सिक्थोरिटो कौंसिल के प्रस्ताव को पढ़ा, उस पर विचार किया, दोस्तों से बात-चीत की तो मुझे पर बार बार सिक्थोरिटो कौंसिल के प्रस्ताव का यही असर पड़ा जिसको कि इन दो लाइनों में मैं बहूँ कि :

“किसी में दम नहीं अहले सितम से कुछ भी कहें,

सितमज्जदों को हर एक जा रहा है समझाने।”

यह किसी में दम नहीं कि जो अत्याचार कर रहा है उसे कहे कि तुम अत्याचारो हो और जिस पर अत्याचार हो रहा है उससे बार बार कहा जाता है कि तुम सहन करो, सहनशीलता दिखलाओ, तुम दूसरे के प्रति अच्छी भावना रखो। इन सभी चीजों की भी एक सीमा होती है। सहनशीलता की एक सीमा होती है। चन्दन समझा जाता है कि बहुत शीतल है, गर्मी की दवा है, गर्मी को दूर करने वाली चीज है, लेकिन उस चन्दन की लकड़ी को भी आप ज्यादा रगड़ेंगे तो उससे भी आग निकलेगी। आखिर हम भी आदमी हैं, हमारा देश भी आदमियों का देश है जानवरों का देश नहीं है, पत्थरों का देश नहीं है, पत्थर रगड़ने से भी आग निकलती है। ऐसी स्थिति में जो लोग जनतंत्र की दुहाई देते हैं, आज जब उनकी तरफ से इस तरह से हम पर प्रहार होता है इस तरह को चुप्पी साधो जाती है, इस तरह से अन्याय का प्रदर्शन किया जाता है, तो यह बिल्कुल स्वाभाविक है कि हमारे दिल में गुस्सा हो और भविष्य के लिये हमको चिन्ता हो।

जहां तक सवाल है आगे के सम्बन्ध में तो बहुत सी समस्याएँ हमारे सामने उपस्थित हुई हैं इस युद्ध विराम के चलते। मैं नहीं चाहूंगा कि गुस्से में कोई फैसला किया जाये, खास कर किसी अहम मामले का फैसला गुस्से में नहीं किया जाना चाहिये, यह मैं मानता हूँ मैं यह भी मानता हूँ कि खामखवाह बदले की भावना से फैसला नहीं किया जाना चाहिये, लेकिन मैं यह भी मानता हूँ कि जैसे मनुष्य का एक आत्म-सम्मान होता है, मनुष्य को एक इज्जत होती है, वैसे ही हमारे देश का भी एक आत्म-सम्मान होता है, सारे देश की भी एक इज्जत होती है और कोई ऐसा फैसला जो हमारी उस इज्जत को, हमारे उस आत्म-सम्मान को धक्का पहुंचाने वाला हो तो मेरा ख्याल है कि उस फैसले से इंकार करके, उस फैसले से इंकार करके जो तकलीफें आती हों, जो परेशानियां आती हों, उन सब तकलीफों का, उन सब परेशानियों का सामना करने को हमें तैयार होना चाहिये। लोग कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान जो है वह बड़ा मुल्क है, पाकिस्तान छोटा मुल्क है इसलिये बहुत लोगों की सहानुभूति पाकिस्तान के साथ है, हिन्दुस्तान बड़ा मुल्क है लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान ने आज तक कौन सी ज्यादाती पाकिस्तान के साथ या किसी दूसरे मुल्क के साथ की है, बड़ा मुल्क होने से क्या नाजायज फायदा हुआ, बल्कि बड़ा मुल्क होने से हमको धाटा उठाना पड़ा है, कोई फायदा नहीं उठाया। इसलिये आज इस सदन के जरिये से—पता नहीं मेरी आवाज उन तक पहुंच सकती है या नहीं—मैं उन राष्ट्रों तक, उन लोगों तक अपनी आवाज पहुंचाना चाहता हूँ जो जनतंत्र का, प्रजातंत्र का, डेमोक्रेसी का नारा लगाते हुए नहीं थकते हैं और दुनिया के राष्ट्रों का आवाहन करते हैं कि जनतंत्र के नाम पर, प्रजातंत्र के नाम पर, डेमोक्रेसी के नाम पर एक हो और जो तानाशाह हैं, जो तानाशाही के मानने वाले हैं उनका मुकाबला करो, उनके विरुद्ध गुट बनाओ, उनसे मैं

पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या जनतंत्र का भारत-वर्ष से बड़ा प्रदर्शन कहीं दुनिया में है, कोई बड़ा नमूना हमारे देश के अतिरिक्त डेमोक्रेसी का कहीं है, जितने बड़े प्रतीक हम डेमोक्रेसी के, जनतंत्र के हैं, उससे बड़ा प्रतीक दुनिया में और कहीं है? तो इस जनतंत्र के प्रतीक की रक्षा के लिये जो जनतंत्र का नारा लगाते हैं, उन्होंने क्या किया है, सिवाय पैर खींचने के, मेरा ख्याल है कि उसको खड़ा रहने का मौका भी नहीं देते हैं, 17 या 18 वर्षों में जो हमारी पालिसी डगमगाती रही है उसमें जनतंत्रों का नारा लगाने वाले इन राष्ट्रों का, इन व्यक्तियों का भी बहुत बड़ा हाथ रहा है। इसलिये आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम आगे पीछे बहुत न सोच कर, दूसरों की बातों का बहुत ख्याल न करके अपने पैरों पर खड़े होने की कोशिश करें। जो संदेहास्पद समर्थन हमें प्राप्त होने, वाला है, मालूम नहीं प्राप्त होगा या नहीं, उसके लिये, उसकी फिराक में आज हम, देश में जो एकता कायम हुई है, उसको मिटाने की, उसको हिलाने की, उसको दूर करने की, कोशिश न करें। सिर पर हमारे एक आश्रय हो, सिर पर एक छप्पर हो, इसके लिये जो दीवार, जो एकता की दीवार देश में खड़ी हुई है, उस एकता की दीवार को मत हटाइये, इसको मत तोड़िये, इसको बनी रहने दीजिये, इसको मजबूत कीजिये। आसके सिर पर एक छप्पर हो, इसके लिये जमीन में दरार न होने दीजिये, जमीन जो मजबूत हुई है, एक हुई है, उसको ज्यों का त्यों कायम रहना चाहिये। हमारे जवानों ने अपनी बहादुरी से देश की एकता को बढ़ाने में मदद दी है, यही नहीं कि उन्होंने दुश्मन के दांत खट्टे किये हैं, बल्कि जो हमारे देश में एकता नज़र आती है, जो एकता की उपलब्धि है उसमें हमारे जवानों का बहुत बड़ा हाथ है। मैं यही चाहता हूँ कि हमारे जवानों ने जिस एकता का संचार किया है, उनकी वीरता और बहादुरी की प्रेरणा पा कर जो एकता बनी है उस एकता की कीमत आपकी नज़र

में सब से अधिक होनी चाहिये, दुनिया की दूसरी चीजों से ज्यादा होनी चाहिये, और किसी भी कीमत पर इस एकता को मिटने नहीं दीजिये, नहीं तो इस एकता के मिट जाने के बाद, हमें इस बात का खतरा होता है कि शायद हमारा देश भी मिट जायेगा। जहां तक युद्ध का सवाल है, जहां तक शौर्य का सवाल है, हमारे जवानों ने अपनी बहादुरी से हमारा सिर ऊंचा किया है, हमारा झंडा बुलन्द किया है और जो आगे का काम है वह राजनीतिज्ञों का काम है, अगर राजनीतिज्ञ अपने काम में फेल हो गये, पीछे पड़ गये, राजनीतिज्ञों ने समझ-दारी से काम नहीं लिया, तो देश उन्हें कभी क्षमा नहीं करेगा और जैसा कि वाजपेयी जी ने कहा कि कलंक का जो काला टीका हमारे माथे पर लगेगा, कितना भी रक्त उसके लिये बहावे उस रक्त की लालिमा से वह काला टीका धुलने वाला नहीं है। हमारी पहचान की, हमारी असली परीक्षा की बात आगे आती है। मैं बहुत अदब से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो काम उन्होंने किया, चागला साहब ने सिक्योरिटी कौंसिल में किया वह ठीक था, लेकिन प्रस्ताव हमारे फेवरेबल है, हमारे हक में है। इस तरह की बात अगर उन्होंने नहीं कहीं होती तो देश की दृष्टि से, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय दृष्टि से, हर दृष्टि से, ज्यादा अच्छा होता। मैं नहीं समझ पाता कि कहां तक इसमें हमारे हक की बातें हैं, हो सकता है कि हमारे विरोध में बहुत सी बातें नहीं कहीं गईं, वह बड़े कानूनदा हैं, क्या वह समझायेगे कि चकि बहुत सी बातें हमारे विरोध की नहीं हैं। इसके माने यह कैसे हुए कि वह प्रस्ताव हक में हुआ, मैं तो इसको अपने हक में मानता।

इसीलिये जो आगे बातचीत होगी, जो आगे कदम उठाया जायेगा, उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं आप से जो बात करने वाले हूँ, जो हमारे शासन के अधिकारी हैं, उनसे एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूँ और भारतीय इतिहास में

[श्री गंगाशरण सिंह]

एक घटना को याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ। वह घटना यह है कि जब कौरव और पांडवों के बीच में युद्ध हुआ और कृष्ण समझौता कराने चले, और पांडवों से बात करने के बाद जब कौरवों की तरफ चले, तो द्रौपदी ने उनको अलग बुलाया, वह द्रौपदी जिसके केश भरी सभा में खींचे गये थे और उसने कहा कृष्ण से, कि तुम जब कौरवों से वार्ता करने लगे, जब संधि की चर्चा करने लगे, उस समय मेरे इन केशों को न भूल जाना, इन केशों को याद रखना। उसी तरह से मैं देश के नेताओं और सरकार के अधिकारियों से कहना चाहता हूँ : जब आगे कोई बात समझौते की करने लगे तो देश में जो सफ़रता हुई है, देश में जो सामंजस्य स्थापित हुआ है, देश ने जिस बहादुरी का प्रदर्शन किया है, और सीमा पर जो खून बहे हैं, उस खून को, उस रक्त को उनका याद रखना चाहिये। हर बात करने के समय यह उनके रास्ते का भी प्रदर्शन करेगा, उनका सही रास्ते पर भी चलायेगा, कहीं अगर उनको ख़ामा मालूम होगा तो उनको शक्ति प्रदान करेगा—मेरा ऐसा विश्वास है। वहाँ हम न भूल जायें कि ऐसा समझौता जो हमारे पैर में जंजीर बन जाये, वह समझौता किसी काम का नहीं होता है। समझौते की एक सीमा होती है। जो समझौता हम को पंगु बना दे, हम उसके हक में नहीं हैं। इसका अर्थ यह नहीं है कि गुस्से में आकर, भावावेश में आकर हम बड़े बड़े फैसले कर लें। दोनों बातों का समन्वय होना चाहिये, दोनों बातों का सामंजस्य होना चाहिये और आगे इस बात का सब से बड़ा खयाल रखना चाहिए कि देश की एकता कायम रहे, बजाय इसके कि दूरियों का सर्वेक्षण मिले।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं समय देने के लिये आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

DR. GOPAL SINGH (Nominated): Mr. Chairman, it is extremely kind of you to have given us this opportu-

nity to discuss the Indo-Pakistan conflict and also the United Nations resolution which has been recently passed. In fact I welcome the Resolution of the United Nations not for what it says but for what it does not say, plebiscite, the induction of foreign troops in Kashmir and so on. Moreover, we must admit that the recent conflict between India and Pakistan has pricked many a bubble of Pakistan. One was that by the settlement brought about over the Rann of Kutch India perhaps on account of its weakness—that is how gentleness is interpreted—had bowed down to the wishes of either international opinion or the blackmail of Pakistan and that perhaps its Government could not stand up to any aggression that Pakistan might launch against us. That one bubble has been pricked. Secondly, that as soon as infiltrators were sent into Kashmir, the Kashmiris, as the Pakistanis hoped, groaning under the heels of the Indian army would rebel and join hands with the forces of aggression. That did not happen. Thirdly, that the Indian Muslims were waiting for an opportunity to rise against the Hindu rulers, the imperialists as they are called over the Pakistan radio, and also the Sikhs who were demanding a separate State, as they put it, for themselves. There was a good deal of sympathy poured over the Pakistan radio for all the separatists in this country, for all people who could commit aggression against their own nation, for all people who could turn traitors. But they found none. This is one of the lessons that Pakistan must learn in its own interests, not in our interest only but in its own interest I repeat, and also that India is a democracy, is a free democracy, is a secular democracy, that the nation, in spite of its stresses and strains, in spite of differences in language and creed and even in political ideologies, can stand together in the face of a national crisis.

Mr. Dahyabhai Patel criticised Shri Jawaharlal Nehru for having left this

Kashmir issue open, but he did not commend what Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had done to this great country under his very wise and dynamic leadership. Three things he had done which have stood us in very good stead at this time. One was that not only was a secular, democratic Constitution written out and passed in the Constituent Assembly but it was worked by him, it was put into practice by him and everybody believed from the core of his heart that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru stood for secularism and that he was not paying it only lip service. That ideal of secular democracy has stood us in very good stead.

The second was that no amount of foreign aid and arms from abroad could help us at a time of national emergency, as Pakistan has seen to its own cost. They were searching for spare parts, and the spare parts would not come. Even their allies in CEITTO and SEATO refused to oblige them right at a time when they needed them most. One of them, Iran, sent them an ambulance car and a few nurses. The Turkish Government also promised Rs. 2.5 crores worth of spare parts, but our military experts told us that they could not be sufficient for more than two days in a war of this nature. This is also what Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had said that if this nation at all has to go to war in self-defence, it could do so only if it produced its own arms. You have seen that our Gnat and other equipment, that we derided in this very House, have stood us in good stead. We were so enthusiastic about the supersonic aircraft that we used to say that we should have them from any source we could get them because they are so very modern and sophisticated. Our own manufactures did not put self-confidence into us. But the self-confidence springs from the moral right of your cause. The self-confidence should spring from the free society of which you are a part. Self-confidence does not come from sophisticated arms, as the Pakistanis ought to know to their cost.

Thirdly, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was the first to tell us that military pacts in times of war would not help, as Pakistan would now come to realise—if it has not already realised, then it should come to realise very soon—that it just does not help you exactly when you need them most. It is a very good augury for all of us that Mr. Bhutto instead of talking of a plebiscite, of which he was talking only three days before the cease-fire, has suddenly changed his tone and said: "Even if we have to go to war for a thousand years, hence we shall wage a war and have Kashmir for ourselves". That also shows they want Kashmir anyhow and the plebiscite is only an excuse. I hope the recent experience has put some sense into Mr. Bhutto's head. Then we should be thankful to Pakistan as Shri Jairamdas Daulatram has said, for launching this aggression which has given us this self-assurance of fighting for our freedom and also for teaching them a new lesson which they ought to have learnt by now, anyhow.

Shri Dahyabhai Patel and several others have criticised the United States for having given Pakistan the Patton tanks, the majority of which we have destroyed. Those should not have been used against us, they said, because of the assurances given by the United States, and because we accepted these assurances in good faith. I do not know who gave that assurance and why we accepted it in good faith. I say this because of the fact that whoever has seen the Patton tanks will know that these cannot be used against Russia or China through Pakistan; they cannot be used even in East Pakistan; they can only be used in the flat plains of Punjab. You ask any military expert and he will tell you that these tanks, these heavy, massive structures, can only be used where they have been used in the recent conflict and not against China and Russia. Many people have criticised—and very rightly so—the attitude of the United States and Great Britain

[Dr. Gopal Singh.] towards this war. However, people who have studied with care the newspapers of Great Britain and America in the initial stages of this war and later would realise how this realisation gradually dawned upon them that it is Pakistan that has aggressed. And some of the letters and the correspondence—I am not divulging any secret when I say this—that have been exchanged between the Western diplomats and the Prime Minister lately have admitted as to the fact of aggression by Pakistan. Secondly, they have also come to realise that India is not that weak that they blurted it out to be. Thirdly, they have also realised, I believe, that it is in the interests of the United States, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. to join hands in this region, not only for the sake of preserving India's democracy, but for the sake of fighting China which is not only a menace to us, but a menace to the whole world. Therefore, we must realise it, and Pakistan would also realise in due course, I do hope, that it is in the interests of Pakistan also to join hands with us along with the USA, the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R., to fight the menace that is looming large over the horizon of the world, not only against us, but against the whole world and against all civilised values that we hold dear. Therefore, it is no use criticising either Great Britain for what it did initially or the United States. We are elated at the successes that we have achieved. Of course, our Jawans have done very well, so have our airmen; they have done a tremendous job, a magnificent job. We are proud of them and of the Defence Minister who has been their leader, and we accept his assurance that even if the attack comes from China, we will be able to meet it with the determination and resolution with which we have met the attack from Pakistan. But at this stage when we are not only being threatened by Pakistan but also by China, we should keep our fingers crossed and while we should keep our powder dry, we should also keep

our mind very calm, cool and collected, because the friends whom you are denouncing today on account of Pakistan, you might like to go to tomorrow in case of your fight with China. Therefore, we have to keep a balance in our thinking. In the heat of the moment we should not take any decision which we might regret tomorrow.

One point more and I will have done, and it is this. We have been told that we had agreed to a plebiscite in Kashmir and that we have gone back on this assurance. If any assurance had been given, it was not given to Pakistan because Pakistan is not a party to the dispute except as an aggressor; it is with the Kashmiri people with whom we had any commitment, if at all, and that commitment has been, if I may say so, fulfilled. And if the Kashmiris think that we have not fulfilled our part of the commitment, then it is for them to come and settle it with their own nation. Of course, people say that we should not go to the conference table to talk with President Ayub Khan and talk about anything. It will be a wrong attitude to take because we have got quite a few things to talk about with President Ayub Khan. Our business even in Kashmir is not yet over. They are occupying one-third of Kashmir; through the act of aggression which she committed, Pakistan is now holding one-third of Kashmir's territory. Therefore, to suggest that we should not go to the conference table, that we should not talk to President Ayub Khan on any issue whatsoever is not right. We have to talk to him, we have to talk to everybody; and as I have said, we must keep our powder dry but our heads cool, we have to take a detached view of things, and also to have as many friends in the world as possible. In this connection, I would just like to refer to the presence of U.S. armies in South Viet-Nam. I would beg of the Government not to do anything to embarrass their position because they are holding a very delicate balance

between China and the rest of the world, if I may say so. Therefore, it will not (be in our interest to ask them - to quit or ask them not to bomb the bases—as we ourselves have done—from where that aggression has come or to recognise the Viet Cong, or to have elections on the basis of 11554 Geneva agreement. We cannot recognise the guerillas in Kashmir. Can we? Therefore, do not ask them to. . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): How does the hon. Member equate India and America? When our forces operate in Kashmir, they are in our own territory, while the Americans operate in a foreign territory.

DR. GOPAL SINGH: If you ask the Americans to come to your rescue and aid you if China attacks you, they will come to your territory, and you ask them to come to your own advantage. They are going there to help South Viet Nam. Be reasonable, do not be led by party slogans and by emotion. Work in the interests of the nation, and also world peace to which We desire with all our heart. We want more and more of friends especially among those with whom we share our basic ideals. Therefore, I beg of you not to create more complex problems for your nation. We have had enough of them. We went to the United Nations as the aggrieved party in 1947, and we have come out as the aggressors, because our diplomacy misfired. We have, of course, to make better propaganda abroad, propaganda without policy is meaningless. It is through policy that you win friends and more or less permanent allies. It would be a sad day if Pakistan gets out of the Commonwealth or the United Nations. We have to convince (even Pakistan that it will be in its larger interest in its longrange interest, to stay with us and not go along with China because China might seem today to be rather a big and a very tremendous ally, but tomorrow this giant of China Would be eating up Pakistan, as it wants to eat us up today.

شری فریدالاحق انصاری (اتر پردیش): جناب چھرمین صاحب - آج جو یہ جنگ ہو رہی تھی خوشی کی بات ہے کہ وہ بلد ہوگئی اور میں اپنا یہ فرض سمجھتا ہوں کہ اپنے ان باہمیہ یا حوصلہ اور بہادر دلہو سپاہیوں کو جنہوں نے پاکستان کی بربریت کا ہمت اور جرات کے ساتھ جواب دیا ان کو اپنا سلام پیش کروں - اس کے ساتھ ہی ساتھ میں اپنا یہ بھی فرض سمجھتا ہوں کہ وہ نوجوان بہادر جنہوں نے اس بربریت کا جواب دیتے ہوئے آخری قربانی کی لیں کو بھی میں خراج عقیدت پیش کروں -

آج میں مجبور ہوں کہ میں اپنے پرائم منسٹر کی بھی تعریف کروں جنہوں نے اس جنگ کے دوران جیسے اہلی ارادہ کا ثبوت دیا قطعی فیصلہ کا ثبوت دیا اس کی وجہ سے ہندوستان کے ہر شہری کے دل میں ان کے لئے عزت بڑھ گئی ہے اور اس کو یقین ہو گیا ہے کہ ہندوستان کے اوپر پھر اگر اس طرح کا کوئی حملہ ہوا - ہندوستان کے ملک پر کسی اجنبی نے چڑھائی کی تو ہمارے پرائم منسٹر اس کا چم کر مقابلہ کریں گے اور اس اجنبی کو لڑنے والے کو اپنے ملک سے باہر نکل کر پھینک دیں گے - اور اسی وجہ سے سہرے دل میں ان کے لئے عزت ہو گئی ہے

(شری فریدالحق انصاری)

جناب چیرمین صاحب - مجھے آپ معاف کریں گے اگر میں ذرا خود غرضی کا ثبوت دوں - وہ یہ کہ جس بہادر حوالدار عبدالحمید کو لڑائی کے سلسلہ میں سب سے بڑا خطاب ملا - وہ میرے شہر غازی پور کا ہی رہنے والا تھا اس لئے مجھے اس بات کا فخر ہے - جناب چیرمین صاحب - یہ جو جنگ ہوئی ایک عجیب طرح کی جنگ ہوئی اور ہو رہی ہے - پاکستان نے جب جنگ شروع کی تو اس نے اعلان کیا کہ یہ جو جنگ ہے جہاد کی جنگ ہے - میرا دماغ کچھ عجیب پریشانی کا شکار ہو رہا ہے کہ جس طرح سے یہ جنگ روز بروز آگے بڑھتی گئی اور جس طرح سے پاکستان نے اس جنگ میں ہتھیار کا استعمال کیا اس سے میرے دل میں شیعہ پیدا ہوا مگر میں یہ یقین کے ساتھ کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ پاکستان نے جس بربریت کا ثبوت دیا وہ اسلام کی شایاں شان نہیں ہے - ہر شخص جانے لگا ہے کہ جنگ کے سلسلہ میں پاکستان نے مسلمانوں کو تباہ کرنے سے دریغ نہیں کیا - سب سے بڑی نگرانیوں میں اور دوسرے حصوں میں اس نے نماز پڑھتے ہوئے مسلمانوں پر بم برسائے - اور اس طرح سے ان کو ختم کیا - مسجد کو بھی تباہ و برباد کیا خانقاہ کو بھی تباہ و برباد کیا گورنمنٹ کالج کو بھی تباہ و برباد کیا گرجا کو بھی تباہ و برباد

کیا - میرے خیال میں اسلام اس بات کی اجازت نہیں دیتا ہے کہ چاہے کوئی بھی شخص ہو اس کی مذہبی عبادت گاہ کو برباد کیا جائے بلکہ اسلام یہ کہتا ہے کہ اس کی عزت کرو اس کی رکھوالی کرو اس کی دیکھ بھال کرو - پاکستان کا یہ رویہ پاکستان کا یہ عمل میرے خیال میں بالکل اسلام کے خلاف ہے - یہ جہاد کس لئے پاکستان کو رہا ہے؟ کیا مقصد اس جہاد کا ہے؟ کیا اسلام اس بات کی اجازت دیتا ہے کہ کسی ملک کے اوپر خودمختار لڑائی کرو؟ کیا اسلام اس بات کی اجازت دیتا ہے کہ کسی ملک پر زبردستی تم قبضہ کرو - اسلام کا تو یہ حکم نہیں ہے -

آج میں یہ بھی کہنا چاہتا ہوں جو آپ تک میں نے نہیں کہا کہ پاکستان بار بار اس بات کو کہتا ہے کہ ہم هندوستان میں جو مسلمان ہیں ان کی مدد کرنے والے ہیں ان کے ساتھ ہم کو ہمدردی ہے - میں ان سے نہایت ادب سے عرض کروں گا کہ آپ کی ہمدردی اور آپ کی مدد کی قطعی ہم کو ضرورت نہیں ہے اس لئے کہ ہندوستان کا مسلمان آج پاکستان نے مسلمانوں سے کہیں بہتر زندگی بسر کر رہا ہے -

شری اکبر علی خاں : وہ اپنی

مائنڈ تیز کی خدمت کرے تو وہ بڑی خدمت ہوگی -

شری فریدالحمق انصاری : آج

مسلمانوں کو جو حقوق یہاں ملے ہوئے ہیں آج مسلمان جس طرح کی آرام و آسائش کی زندگی یہاں بسر کر رہا ہے اور آج مسلمان جس طرح برابری کے ساتھ یہاں رہ رہا ہے اور جو شہری حقوق یورپی پاکستان کے مسلمانوں کو نہیں ملے ہوئے ہیں - تو جب آپ کی یہ حالت ہے تو آپ کس مارچ سے آ کر ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں سے کہتے ہیں کہ ہم ان کے ہمدرد ہیں - ہم ان کے مددگار ہیں - کس لئے آپ ان کی مدد کرتے ہیں - صرف اس لئے کہ ایک فائدہ پہنچا کریں مسلمانوں کو تباہ و برباد کرنے کے لئے - یہ جو جنگ پاکستان سے چلائی ہے اس کے بارے میں مجھے بالکل شبہ نہیں ہے کہ وہ مسلمانوں کو تباہ و برباد کرنے کے لئے ہے - چاہے وہ ہندوستان نے مسلمان ہوں چاہے کشمیر کے مسلمان ہوں - میں پاکستان سے یوچھتا ہوں کہ ۵ اگست کو جو انفلٹریٹرس کشمیر میں آئے تو اس کی خبر کس نے دی - ایک مسلمان نے دی - اس کے بعد وہ پانچ ہزار یا دس ہزار انفلٹریٹرس کو کشمیر میں آئے ان سے لڑائی کس نے لڑی ؟ ان سے وہاں کے مسلمان لڑائی لڑ رہے تھے اور اب بھی لڑائی لڑ رہے ہیں -

اب آپ کشمیر میں ایک جہتی اتفاق اور ہمدردی کا ایک ثبوت دیکھتے - ایک پل جس پر پاکستانیوں نے وہاں حملہ کیا تھا اس پر شاید سیکوریتی فورس کے چوڑے یا پندرہ آدمی مارے گئے - ان میں زیادہ ہندو تھے اور آخری نوجوان جو تھا وہ مسلمان تھا - اس کا نام میں بھول رہا ہوں - تو چونکہ وہاں آدمی جب بھگت سے پاکستانیوں نے مارا تو اس نے اس مسلمان سے کہا کہ میں اب ختم ہونا ہوں تم یہاں سے چلے جاؤ - اس پر اس پندرہویں مسلمان جوان نے کہا کہ جب تم یہاں ملک کی حفاظت کے لئے اپنا خون دے رہے ہو تو میں یہاں سے جانا نہیں سکتا اور اس طرح وہ بھی وہیں مارا گیا - تو پاکستان سے لڑنے کے سلسلہ میں کشمیر کے مسلمان بھی ایسی ہمت ایسی جرات ایسی یک جہتی اور ایسی برابری کا ثبوت دے رہے ہیں - آج میرے خیال میں اگر کوئی کشمیر میں جائے --- ہم لوگ تو گئے تھے اور وہاں جا کر دیکھ آئے کہ دس طرح وہاں کے مسلمان وہاں کی موجودہ گورنمنٹ کی مدد کر رہے ہیں انفلٹریٹرس کو باہر نکالنے میں - تو اس کے سوائے اور کوئی بات معلوم نہیں ہوئی کہ آج کشمیر کا مسلمان جو ہے وہ قطعی نہیں

[شری فرید الحق انصاری]

چاہتا کہ پاکستان ساتھ چائے اس لئے کہ اس کو یقین ہو گیا ہے کہ ہم اگر پاکستان کے ساتھ جائیں گے تو ہماری ہو طرح کی زندگی سیاسی زندگی مذہبی زندگی معاشی زندگی سب ختم اور تباہ و برباد ہو جائے گی۔ میں زیادہ اس کے اوپر عرض نہیں کرنا چاہتا۔

اب رہا یہ ریپوزیشن جو سیکورٹی کونسل کا ہے بدقسمتی سے میں یہ نہیں سمجھتا کہ یہ بالکل ہمارے حق میں ہے جہاں تک ہمارے وزیر اعظم نے جنگ بندی کا فیصلہ کیا میں ان کو مبارکباد دے چکا ہوں اور پھر مبارکباد دیتا ہوں اور وہ اس لئے نہیں کہ وہ ہمارے یو۔ پی صوبہ کے رہنے والے ہیں اس لئے نہیں کہ وہ میرے دوست ہیں بلکہ اس لئے کہ انہوں نے دنیا کو یہ دکھا دیا کہ آج ہندوستان جو ہے وہ ایک ظالم کا مقابلہ کر سکتا ہے اور امن و صلح کے لئے بھی قدم اُٹھ سکتا ہے۔ مگر میں وہ نہایت ادب سے عرض کروں گا کہ اس ریپوزیشن کے پورا ا میں یہ جو لکھا ہوا ہے۔

"... arid cslls upon both Governments to : ssue orders for a cease-fire at tl at moment and a subsequent wit! drawal of all armed personnel back to the positions held by them before the 5th August, 1965;"

یہ ۵ اگست کا یہاں جو ذکر ہے وہ میری ناصر رائے میں ہم کو مدد نہیں کرتا ہے بلکہ ہمارے خلاف ہے۔ ہر شخص جانتا ہے کہ ۵ اگست کو سیڈ فائر لائن کہاں تھی اور کس طرح سے پاکستان نے ۱۰ ہزار آدمی کو بھجوا۔ وہ ۱۰ ہزار آدمی کو سولہ کھڑوں میں تھے وہ ٹریڈ پاکستانی فوجی سپاہی تھے جو وہاں گھسے اور جو پکڑے گئے ان کے پاس سے جو آدمی اور امیونیشن نکلا وہ نہایت ہی اول درجہ کا تھا جو کسی معمولی حکومت کے پاس نہیں ہو سکتا بلکہ وہ کہیں باہر سے پاکستان گ دیا گیا تھا۔ دوسری بات یہ ہے کہ ان لوگوں نے اپنے بھان میں یہ مانا ہے۔ منظور کیا ہے۔ کہ وہ ۱۰-۱۰ اور ۱۵-۱۵ اور اتھارہ اتھارہ برس سے ملٹری کی دوس میں ہوں اور پاکستان نے ان کو چائنا کے لوگوں سے ٹریڈ کروا کر کشمیر میں بھجوا۔ یہ بھی یاد رکھنا چاہئے کہ ۵ اگست کو ہوا تھا۔ ۵ اگست کو تو پتہ چلا کہ وہ اندر آئے ہیں اور یہ پتہ نہیں ہے کہ وہ کب سے ان راستوں سے آئے جاتے تھے۔ وہ لوگ کن راستوں سے آئے۔ اس کو بھی میں یاد رکھنا بہت ضروری ہے اور اگر ہم یہ فیصلہ کرتے ہیں کہ کشمیر کو اپنے پاس نہیں رکھنا ہے تب تو آپ اس ۵ اگست کی تاریخ

کو مانئے - اس لئے کہ اس کو سانے کے بعد پھر جیسا کہ واقعات سے ثابت ہو کہ پاکستان کے انٹرنیٹس کو ہمدی - ہمدی فوری فوری نے جب دبایا اور ان کو ختم کرنا شروع کیا اور وہ بھاگ نہیں پائے تو پاکستان نے جموں میں ہمارے انٹرنیشنل بازرگ کو کراس کر کے ہمارے اوپر ایک بہت بڑا حملہ کر دیا اور اس کا ارادہ یہ تھا کہ ہماری لائن آف کمیونیکیشن جو ہے اس کو کاٹ دے - اس لئے میں عرض کرتا ہوں کہ اگر ہم کو کشمیر کو اپنے پاس رکھنا ہے تو پھر ہم 5 اگست کو منظور ہیں کرنا چاہئے یہ ہمارے موافق نہیں ہے بلکہ ہمارے خلاف پوتا ہے -

دوسری بات یہ ہے کہ اس میں یہ لکھا ہوا ہے پیراگراف ۴ میں -

"What steps should be taken to assist towards the settlement of the political problems underlying the present conflict."

پولیسٹیکل پرابلم کوئی دوسری تو ہے نہیں میں اپنے فریڈ دوست ایجوکیشن منسٹر سے ایگری نہیں کرتا پولیسٹیکل پرابلم تو وہی ہے - کشمیر کا سوال ہے پاکستان اس کے اوپر اڑا ہوا ہے کہ وہاں پلیمینٹسٹ کرانی چاہئے - اس پولیسٹیکل کوپسٹن کو اس میں دیکھنے کا مطلب یہ ہوتا ہے کہ ہم کشمیر کے مسئلہ کو کھولنے کے لئے - اس پر بحث کرنے کے لئے تیار ہوں گے اور پرابلم منسٹر

صاحب نے تو - میں کوٹ نہیں کرنا چاہتا - ۱۶ ستمبر کو ہمیں اس ہاؤس میں یقین دلایا تھا کہ ہم اپنے اس ادارے سے قطعی نہیں متعلقہ کہ کشمیر ہندوستان کا قطعی حصہ ہے اور جب ہم ہندوستان کی سورتی اور انٹیکریٹی کی حفاظت کرتے ہیں تو کشمیر بھی اس میں شامل ہے اور اس سے ہم متعلقہ نہیں چاہے دنیا میں کچھ بھی ہو - اس لئے میں نہایت ادب سے عرض کروں گا کہ ریپزولیشن میں ان دو باتوں سے میں قطعی ایگری نہیں کرتا - اس لئے ہندوستان کو اس بات کو منظور نہیں کرنا چاہئے - اگر ہم نے اس کو مانا تو ہم کو بڑا نقصان ہوگا -

یہی بات کہ اس وقت دنیا میں ہمارا کوئی سانہ نہیں ہے تو اس کی ہمیں پروا نہیں کرنی چاہئے - ہم نے دیکھا کہ اس وقت بھی جب ہم پاکستان سے لڑ رہے تھے کچھ زیادہ لوگوں نے مدد نہیں کی - باوجود اس کے کہ ہماری فوج نے پاکستان کی فوج کو شکست دی - حالانکہ پاکستان کے پاس اچھی فوج تھی - اچھی ہمدوق تھی - اچھی توپ تھی - اچھے ٹینکس تھے - پھر بھی ہمارے بہادر سپاہیوں نے ان سب کو ناکارہ ثابت کر دیا - ان کو پیچھے دھکیل دیا - اس لئے ہم کو اپنے اوپر بہروسہ دیکھنا ہے - ہم کو اپنی طاقت اور

[شری فرید/الحق انصاری]
 قوت پر اعتماد رکھنا ہے - اسی کو بوجھنا
 ہے - اسی کو مضبوط کرنا ہے - تبھی
 ہم اپنے ملک کی رکشا کر سکتے ہیں
 اپنی جمہوریت کی رکشا کر سکتے ہیں
 اور تبھی ہم اپنے سیکولرزم کی رکشا کر
 سکتے ہیں - ان چند الفاظ کے ساتھ
 میں ختم کرنا ہوں -

[شری اکبریدول ہک انصاری (ننار
 پریجن) : جناب چیئرمین ساہب، آج جی
 یہ جگ ہو رہی یا کھنوں کی بات ہے کہ
 یہ بھٹ ہو گئی اور میں اپنا یہ فز
 سمجھتا ہوں کہ اپنے ان واہمیت واہمیتوں
 اور واہمیتوں کے ساتھ ساتھ ان کے
 پاکستان کی ورتا کا ہمت اور
 جرات کے ساتھ ساتھ ان کے اپنا
 منام پش کرے۔ ان کے ساتھ ہ۔ ساتھ میں اپنا
 یہ ہاں فز سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ نوجوان
 واہمیتوں کے ساتھ ساتھ ان کے ساتھ
 دے ہوئے واہمیتوں کو ان کے ہاں
 میں واہمیتوں کے ساتھ ساتھ ان کے ساتھ

آج میں مجبور ہوں کہ میں اپنے پرائم
 منسٹر کا بھی تارک کرے۔ ان کے
 اس جگ کے دوران میں واہمیتوں کے
 سبوت دیا کرتے ہیں۔ ان کے ساتھ
 ان کے ساتھ سے ہندوستان کے ہر
 کے دل میں ان کے لئے ہجرت ہو گئی ہے اور
 ان کے لئے ہو گیا ہے کہ ہندوستان
 کے اوپر ہر اس جگ کا کوئی
 ہملہ ہوگا، ہندوستان کے ملک پر کسی
 ان کے لئے نہ چڑھائی کی تو ہمارے پرائم
 منسٹر ان کے لئے ہر اس جگ کا کوئی
 اور اس ان کے لئے ہر اس جگ کا کوئی
 سے باہر نکال کر فز دے۔ اور اس
 جگ سے ہر اس جگ کے لئے ہجرت
 ہو گئی ہے۔

جناب چیئرمین ساہب، میں آپ
 ماف کریں اگر میں جگ سبوت دے۔
 وہ یہ کہ جس واہمیتوں کے ساتھ
 ہمد کے لئے کے ساتھ سے
 واہمیتوں کے ساتھ سے ہر اس جگ
 کا ہو رہنے والا تھا۔ اس لئے میں اس
 بات کا فز ہے۔

جناب چیئرمین ساہب، یہ جگ
 ہوئے ایک جگ کا جگ ہوئے اور
 ہو رہا ہے۔ پاکستان نے جگ جگ
 کا تو اس نے ہجرت کیا کہ یہ جگ
 ہے "جگ" کا جگ ہے۔ میں دیکھ کر
 ان کے لئے کا جگ ہو رہا ہے۔ جس
 جگ سے یہ جگ جگ جگ جگ
 ہوئے اور جس جگ سے پاکستان نے اس
 جگ میں ہجرتوں کا ہجرت کیا اس
 ہر اس جگ میں ہجرت ہجرت میں یہ
 جگ کے ساتھ کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ پاکستان
 نے جس ورتا کا سبوت دیا وہ اسلام
 کا شایانہ نہ ہے۔ ہر اس جگ
 ہے کہ جگ کے ساتھ سے پاکستان نے
 مسلمانوں کو تباہ کرنے سے ہجرت نہیں
 کیا۔ ان کے لئے، جگ میں اور دوسرے
 ہجرتوں میں اس نے ہجرت ہوئے مسلمانوں
 پر ہجرت کیا۔ اور اس جگ سے ان کے
 ہجرت کیا۔ مسجید کو بھی تباہ و
 ہجرت کیا، خانہقاہ کو بھی تباہ و
 ہجرت کیا، گورنر کو بھی تباہ و
 ہجرت کیا، گورنر کو بھی تباہ و
 ہجرت کیا۔ ہر اس جگ میں اسلام اس
 بات کی ہجرت نہیں دے کہ چاہے
 کوئی بھی ہجرت ہو اس کو مجبور ہجرت
 جگ کو ہجرت کیا جائے۔ بلکہ اسلام
 یہ کہتا ہے کہ اس کو ہجرت کرے، اس کو
 رکھوالی کرے، اس کو دے ہال کرے۔
 پاکستان کا یہ ہجرت پاکستان کا
 یہ ہجرت ہر اس جگ میں ہجرت
 کے لئے ہے۔ یہ جگ کیس لئے پاک-
 ستان کر رہا ہے؟ کیا ہجرت اس
 جگ کا ہے؟ کیا اسلام اس بات کی ہجرت

देता है कि किस मुल्क के ऊपर खाहमखाह लड़ाई करो। क्या इस्लाम इस बात को इजाजत देता है कि किसी मुल्क पर जबर-दस्ती तुम कब्जा करो। इस्लाम का तो यह हुक्म नहीं है।

आज मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ जो अब तक मैंने नहीं कहा कि पाकिस्तान बार बार इस बात को कहता है कि हम हिन्दुस्तान में जो मुसलमान हैं उनका मदद करने वाले हैं, उनके साथ हम को हमदर्दी है। मैं उनसे निहायत अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि आप को हमदर्दी और आप को मदद को कतई हम को जरूरत नहीं है इसलिए कि हिन्दुस्तान का मुसलमान आज पाकिस्तान के मुसलमानों से कहीं बेहतर जिन्दगी बसर कर रहा है।

श्री अकबर अली खान: वह अपनी माइनारिटीज को खिदमत करे तो वह बड़ी खिदमत होगा।

श्री फरीदुल हक अन्सारी: आज मुसलमानों को जो हक्क यहां मिले हुए हैं; आज मुसलमान जिस तरह का आराम व आसाइश को जिन्दगी यहां बसर कर रहा है और आज मुसलमान जिस तरह बराबरी के साथ यहां रह रहा है जो अहुरा हक्क उसको मिले हुए है वे शहुरा हक्क पूर्वी पाकिस्तान के मुसलमानों को नहीं मिले हुए हैं। तो जब आपकी यह हालत है तो आप किस मुह से आकर हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमानों से कहते हैं कि हम उनके हमदर्द हैं, हम उनके मददगार हैं। किस लिए आप उनका मदद करते हैं? सिर्फ इस लिए कि एक फितना पैदा करें मुसलमानों को तबाह व बर्बाद करने के लिए। यह जो जग पाकिस्तान से जारा है इसके बारे में मुझे बिल्कुल शुबहा नहीं है कि वह मुसलमानों को तबाह व बर्बाद करने के लिए है। चाहे वह हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमान हों, चाहे काश्मीर के मुसलमान हों। मैं पाकिस्तान से पूछता हूँ कि 5 अगस्त को जो इन्फिल्ट्रेटर्स

काश्मीर में आए तो उनका खबर किस ने दी? एक मुसलमान ने दी। उसके बाद वे पांच हजार या दस हजार इन्फिल्ट्रेटर्स जो काश्मीर में आए उनसे लड़ाई किस ने लड़ी। उनसे वहां के मुसलमान लड़ाई लड़ रहे थे और अब भी लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं। अब आप काश्मीर में यकजहती इतिहाक और हमदर्दी का एक सबूत देखिए। एक मुल जिस पर पाकिस्तानियों ने वहां हमला किया था उस पर शायद क्रिस्टोफोर्स के चौदह या पन्द्रह आदम मारे गये। उनमें ज्यादा हिन्दू थे और आखिरों तीजवान जो था वह मुसलमान था। उसका नाम मैं भूल रहा हूँ तो चौहदवां आदमा जब बैनट से पाकिस्तानियों ने मारा तो उसने उस मुसलमान से कहा कि मैं अब खत्म होता हूँ, तुम यहां से चले जाओ। इस पर उस पन्द्रहवें मुसलमान जवान ने कहा कि जब तुम यहां मुल्क का हिफाजत के लिए अपना खून दे रहे हो तो मैं यहां से जा नहीं सकता और इस तरह वह भी वहीं मारा गया। तो पाकिस्तान से लड़ने के सिलसले में काश्मीर के मुसलमान भी ऐसी हिम्मत, ऐसी जुरायत, ऐसी यकजहती और ऐसी बराबरी का सबूत दे रहे हैं। आज मेरे ख्याल में अगर कोई काश्मीर में जाए—हम लोग तो गये थे और वहां जाकर देख आए कि किस तरह वहां के मुसलमान वहां की मौजूदा गवर्नमेन्ट की मदद कर रहे हैं। इन्फिल्ट्रेटर्स को बाहर निकालने में तो इसके सिवाए और कोई बात मालूम नहीं होगी कि आज काश्मीर का मुसलमान जो है वह कतई नहीं चाहता कि पाकिस्तान के साथ जाए इसलिए कि उसको यकीन हो गया है कि हम अगर पाकिस्तान के साथ जाएं तो हमारी हर तरह की जिन्दगी, सियासी जिन्दगी, मजहबी जिन्दगी, मुआशी जिन्दगी, सब खत्म और तबाह व बर्बाद हो जाएगी। मैं ज्यादा इसके ऊपर अर्ज नहीं करना चाहता।

अब रहा यह रेजोल्यूशन जो सिक्योरिटी कौंसिल का है। बदकिस्मती से मैं यह नहीं

[श्री फरीदुल हक अन्सार:]

समझता कि यह बिल्कुल हमारे हक में है। जहां तक हमारे वजीरे आजम ने जंग बंदी का फैसला किया, मैं उनको मुबारकबाद दे चुका हूं और फिर मुबारकबाद देता हूं और वह इसलिए नहीं कि वह हमारे यू० पी० सूबे के रहने वाले हैं, इसलिए नहीं कि वह मेरे दोस्त हैं, बल्कि इसलिए कि उन्होंने दुनिया को यह दिखा दिया कि आज हिन्दुस्तान जो है वह एक जालिम का मुकाबला कर सकता है और अमन व सुबह के लिए भी कदम बढ़ा सकता है। मगर मैं यह निहायत अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि इस रेजोल्यूशन के पैरा-1 में यह जो लिखा हुआ है।

"... and calls upon both Governments to issue orders for a cease-fire at that moment and a subsequent withdrawal of all armed personnel back to the positions held by them before the 5 August, 1965;"

यह 5 अगस्त का यहां जो जिक्र है वह मेरी नाकस राय में हम को मदद नहीं करता है बल्कि हमारे खिलाफ है। हर शब्द जानता है कि 5 अगस्त को सीज फायर लाइन कहां थी और किस तरह से पाकिस्तान ने 10 हजार आदमियों को भेजा। वे 10 हजार आदमी गो सिविलियन कपड़ों में थे, वे ट्रेड पाकिस्तानी फौजी सिपाही थे जो वहां घुसे और जो पकड़े गये उनके पास से जो आम्स और एम्पुनीशन निकला वह निहायत ही अदबल दर्जे का था जो किसी मामूली हकूमत के पास नहीं हो सकता बल्कि वह कहीं बाहर से पाकिस्तान को दिया गया था। दूसरी बात यह है कि उन लोगों ने अपने बयान में यह माना है, मंजूर किया है कि वे लोग 10-10 और 15-15 और अठारह अठारह बरस से मिलिटरी की सर्विस में हैं और पाकिस्तान ने उनको चाइना के लोगों से ट्रेड करवा कर काश्मीर में भेजा। यह भी याद रखना चाहिए कि 5 अगस्त को हुआ क्या? 5 अगस्त को तो पता चला कि वे अन्दर आए हैं और यह पता नहीं है कि वे

कब से इन रास्तों से आते जाते थे। वे लोग किन रास्तों से आए, उसको भी हमें याद रखना बहुत जरूरी है और अगर हम यह फैसला करते हैं कि काश्मीर को अपने पास नहीं रखना है तब तो आप उस 5 अगस्त की तारीख को मानिये, इसलिए कि उसको मानने के बाद फिर जैसा कि वाक्यात से साबित हुआ कि पाकिस्तान के इनफिल्ट्रेंट्स को हमारी सिक्योरिटी फोर्सिज ने जब दबाया और उनको खत्म करना शुरू किया और वे भाग नहीं पाए तो पाकिस्तान ने जम्मू में हमारे इंटरनेशनल बार्डर को क्रॉस करके हमारे ऊपर एक बहुत बड़ा हमला कर दिया और उसका इरादा यह था कि हमारी लाइन आफ कम्युनिकेशन जो है उसको काट दे। इसलिए मैं अर्ज करता हूं कि अगर हम को काश्मीर को अपने पास रखना है तो फिर हमको 5 अगस्त को मंजूर नहीं करना चाहिए यह हमारे मुआफिक नहीं है बल्कि हमारे खिलाफ पड़ता है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि इस में यह लिखा हुआ है पैराग्राफ 4 में :

"What steps should be taken to assist towards the settlement of the political problems underlying the present conflict."

पोलिटिकल प्रोब्लम कोई दूसरी तो है नहीं, मैं अपने अजीज दोस्त एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर से एग्जी नहीं करता। पोलिटिकल प्रोब्लम तो वही है। काश्मीर का सवाल है; पाकिस्तान उसके ऊपर अड़ा हुआ है कि वहां प्लीबीसाइट करानी चाहिए। इस पोलिटिकल क्वेश्चन को इस में रखने का मतलब यह होता है कि हम काश्मीर के मसले को खोलने के लिए, उस पर बहस करने के लिए तैयार होंगे और प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने तो—मैं कोट नहीं करना चाहता—16 सितम्बर को हमें इस हाउस में यकीन दिलाया था कि हम अपने इस इरादे से कतई नहीं हटेंगे कि काश्मीर

हिन्दुस्तान का कतई हिस्सा है और जब हम हिन्दुस्तान की सावरेटी और इन्टिग्रिटी की हिफाजत करते हैं तो काश्मीर भी उसमें शामिल है और उससे हम हटेंगे नहीं, चाहे दुनिया में कुछ भी हो। इसलिए मैं निहायत अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि रेजोल्यूशन में इन दो बातों से मैं कतई एग्री नहीं करता। इसलिए हिन्दुस्तान को इस बात को मंजूर नहीं करना चाहिए। अगर हम ने उसको माना तो हम को बड़ा नुकसान होगा।

रही यह बात कि इस वक्त दुनिया में हमारा कोई साथी नहीं है तो उसकी हमें परवाह नहीं करनी चाहिए। हमने देखा कि इस वक्त भी जब हम पाकिस्तान से लड़ रहे थे कुछ ज्यादा लोगों ने मदद नहीं की। बावजूद इसके कि हमारी फौज ने पाकिस्तान की फौज को शिकस्त दी, हालांकि पाकिस्तान के पास अच्छी फौज थी, अच्छी बन्दूक थी, अच्छी तोप थी, अच्छे टैंक थे, फिर भी हमारे बहादुर सिपाहियों ने उन सब को नाकारा साबित कर दिया, उनको पीछे धकेल दिया। इसलिए हमको अपने ऊपर भरोसा रखना है, हमको अपनी ताकत और कुव्वत पर एतमाद रखना है। इसी को बढ़ाना है, इसी को मजबूत करना है, तभी हम अपने मुल्क की रक्षा कर सकते हैं, अपनी जम्हूरियत की रक्षा कर सकते हैं और तभी हम अपने सिक्यूलरिज्म की रक्षा कर सकते हैं। इन चन्द अलफाज के साथ मैं खत्म करता हूं।]

SHRI G. S. PATHAK (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, I shall be very brief. I join my voice in the tributes which have been paid to our Defence Forces. They have not only defended the freedom of our country, they have achieved a greater objective. The Education Minister had stated in the course of his intervention that the real conflict between India and Pakistan is a conflict of ideologies. It is in that conflict that our Defence Forces have achieved a signal success. They have, by shedding blood together, fighting together, cemented

the unity of India and they have demonstrated to the world that this propaganda, which Pakistan has been making against the principles on which our nation is founded, is absolutely false. Let me also congratulate the Government and all the political parties which supported the Government. In particular let me congratulate the Education Minister who made a significant contribution to the proceedings in the Security Council, who made a magnificent and splendid performance there. We do not realise here quite what the atmosphere in the Security Council and in the halls of the United Nation is. Forces are working there and there are counter-forces and the resolutions emerge after a great amount of discussion. A very large amount of discussions take place and after the exposition which Mr. Chagla made, after the explanation that he has given, I feel that this Resolution is a success. Many doubts which I, along with certain other friends, had entertained, have been resolved by the statement made by the Education Minister and I feel and I hope many hon. Members in this House will feel that nothing better could be done. Now the question that arises is, how long we shall continue with this state of affairs. Through these eighteen years we have been harassed, we have suffered. Innocent people have suffered. The latest is the attack on the civilian population. Must not there now be a permanent solution to this problem? What is it which has caused this agony and suffering? Pakistan's claim is to annex the territory of India, the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. They have shown great solicitude for the welfare of our people of Jammu and Kashmir State. They are not their people. They claim that they are their kith and kin and that theory has been exploded, and the more important thing is, there is no legal basis, no rational basis for any claim to be made in the 20th century on the basis of race or religion. What claim has Pakistan to our territory? Is it not merely on

[Shri G. S. Pathak.] the ground that there are co-religionists on the other side of the line? But a more important question that arises is, why has the international community tolerated this situation so far? It is an experience of history that whenever nations have tolerated aggression, repeated aggressions for a long time, these aggressions have always resulted in wars and sometimes world wars. I am reminded of what Mr. Truman has said in his memoirs. He has given various incidents in order to prove that where aggression is not checked, war is inevitable and if I am not wrong, he was pondering over this question when he had received the news of an attack in Korea and in his memoirs he says that wars are the result if aggression is not checked and not checked at the proper time. Therefore we have had enough of these meetings in the Security Council called at the instance of Pakistan. Our Ministers have got to go to the Security Council because Pakistan, through its friends and supporters, is able to call a meeting. Sometime ago Pakistan said, when no resolution was passed favourable to Pakistan, that it was going to have a military decision. That military decision came and again there had to be a discussion in the Security Council and the question is—and it is a vital question for us—how long shall we have to suffer, how long innocent people shall have to suffer? The human aspect, Sir, must not be forgotten. According to me, this is a crime against humanity—when people have to suffer on account of this attitude of Pakistan—and unless in the conferences which are going to be held the Security Council takes an objective attitude, takes an objective view based upon international law and justice, you cannot uphold the principles on which the peace of the world can be founded, can be based, can be continued.

(Time bell rings.)

Now, Sir, I will take just a few minutes more.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Not many, I suppose, because I have a long list of speakers still, and I think I would be able to accommodate only two or three.

SHRI G. S. PATHAK: Then I won't take more than two or three minutes.

It is too late in the day now to discuss the accession or the legality of the accession in this House or : where in the world. It is well known and I find it published in a Government publication that the legal adviser of the United Nations Commission pronounced himself, or stated that the accession was legal and valid. Found- ' ed upon that views assurances were given by the Security Council in 1948 that our sovereignty shall not be challenged, etc. I shall not enumerate them. Now this amounts to a clear pronouncement by the Security Council itself, that the sovereignty of India, and Jammu and Kashmir State shall not be challenged; that amounts to a declaration. Why should then a question of plebiscite, or a question whether the accession is legal or valid be open to discussion today? When the conferences take place I am sure, after the speeches made by the Prime Minister, after the declarations made on behalf of the Government by the Education Minister, that this question shall not be open for discussion at any conference, all that can be discussed at the conference is what are the political problems. There are no political problems surviving except the enforcement of our rights to the territory which is not in our possession today; there is no other political problem surviving. Another problem may be whether we can be asked to give up those strategic positions, those territories, which we have taken, without which it will not be possible to have the security of the territory which is in our possession. Out of sheer necessity on the ground of our sovereignty, those should not be allowed to be vacated. I feel, Sir, after the statement made by the Education Minister, that this 5th of August line is a temporary phase, that there will

be a decision, an ultimate decision of the question how far our sovereignty extends. And at these conferences there must be some final decision, and I expect that the international border would be determined, so that we may have peace in future.

Thank you, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Murahari. I would request you to be brief, because I would call upon the Prime Minister at quarter to six. I want to accommodate three speakers before then.

श्री गोडे मुराहरी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
सभापति महोदय, मैं सब से पहले उन तमाम सेना के लोगों को, खास करके जेनरल चौधरी और एयर मार्शल अर्जुन सिंह को और तमाम सेना के लोगों को, जिन्होंने हमारे देश की रक्षा करने में अपनी जान को बाजो लगाई, उनके प्रति आभार प्रकट करता हूँ। और उनको भो हमें याद करना चाहिये जिन्होंने अपनी जान दे दी और जो आज अस्पतालों में घायल पड़े हैं।

युद्ध बन्दी हो गई है और जो प्रस्ताव सुरक्षा परिषद् में पास किया गया। जिसके पास होने पर हमें यह युद्ध बन्दी करनी पड़ी उसके बारे में मैं सिर्फ इतना ही कहूंगा कि जो बातें, जो दो बातें, हमने मानी हैं उसमें 5 अगस्त को जहाँ पर हम थे वहाँ वापस जाने की बात कही गई है और साथ साथ यह भी कहा गया है कि एक राजनीतिक सेटिलमेंट होना चाहिये, बातचीत होनी चाहिये और वह मैं समझता हूँ कि काश्मीर का ही होगा, और कोई चीज की राजनीतिक बातचीत तो हो नहीं सकती, इन दोनों बातों को हम ने माना है लेकिन मैं यह नहीं कह सकता कि आगे चल कर के जो कूटनीतिज बातचीत होगी उसमें क्या नतीजा निकलेगा, नतीजे के ऊपर हमें राय बनानी पड़ेगी लेकिन जिस ढंग से प्रस्ताव पास हुआ है उसको देखते हुए मैं उतने उत्साह के साथ उसके बारे में अपनी राय नहीं दे पाऊंगा जिस उत्साह के

साथ हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री श्री चागलाने दिया है। उन्होंने कहा कि यह हमारे पक्ष में है, मैं इस बात को नहीं मानता। यह सही है कि उन्होंने हमारी तरफ से सिवियोरटी कौंसिल में बहुत मजबूरी से अपनी बात रखी और मैं उनको अपनी तरफ से मुबारकबाद देता हूँ, उन्होंने अपनी जो बात कहनी थी उसको अच्छी तरह कहा। लेकिन इस चीज को भी हमें मानना पड़ेगा कि जिस ढंग से सुरक्षा परिषद् आज काम कर रही है उसमें यह हो सकता है कि जितना खराब वह प्रस्ताव हो सकता था उतना खराब नहीं हुआ, लेकिन यह भी हमको मानना पड़ेगा कि यह हमारे पक्ष में नहीं हुआ। यह प्रस्ताव उन परिस्थितियों और उन हालातों में पास किया गया है जब कि सुरक्षा परिषद् में ज्यादातर लोग हमारे खिलाफ थे और हमारी जो बात है उसको काटने पर तुले हुए थे और उनकी यह बात भी मैं मानता हूँ कि अगर सोवियत यूनियन वहाँ हमारा कुछ पक्षपात नहीं करता तो और भी खराब प्रस्ताव वहाँ पास होता, यह बात भी माननी पड़ेगी। इसलिये आगे जा कर के हम को बहुत समझदारी से काम लेना होगा और इस बात को भी हमें याद रखना चाहिये कि पाकिस्तान की तरफ से ये धमकियाँ दी जाती हैं कि हम ने युद्ध तो अभी बन्द किया है लेकिन हम फिर से लड़ेंगे और हजार वर्ष लड़ेंगे, पता नहीं किस किस ढंग की बातें वहाँ से कही जाती हैं, तो इन सब चीजों को मद्देनजर रखते हुए अपने देश को बनाना चाहिये। और जब इन चीजों के बारे में हम सोचते हैं तो उस तरफ भी ध्यान देना चाहिए कि पाकिस्तान जिस तरह से आज गठित है उसका भी क्या रूप होना चाहिए क्योंकि जब तक हम अपना दिमाग साफ नहीं कर लेंगे तब तक हम कोई अच्छी नीति चलायेंगे यह हमको समझ में नहीं आता, क्योंकि पाकिस्तान जिस ढंग से बना है वह तो एक ही धक्के में गिर जाने वाली चीज है क्योंकि ईस्ट-पाकिस्तान में जो बंगाली हैं उनके ऊपर मगरबी पाकिस्तान के लोग

[श्री गोडे मुराहरि]

हुकूमत करें वह मैं समझता हूँ कि ईस्ट पाकिस्तान के ज्यादातर लोग पसन्द नहीं करते और उसी तरह से पश्तूनस्तान में जो पाकिस्तान की हुकूमत चल रही है वहाँ भी मैं समझता हूँ कि ज्यादातर लोग पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ हैं और बलूचिस्तान में भी यही हालत है। जब इस ढंग का एक देश बना हो तो इसके बारे में हमको सोचना चाहिये कि जब एक मिलिटरी हुकूमत पाकिस्तान में अपने मिलिटरी धर्मंड को ले कर के हमारे ऊपर इस तरह की हरकत करती रहती है और 18 साल से करती आई है तो आगे के लिये पाकिस्तान के बारे में भी हमारी क्या नीति होनी चाहिये, यह हमें आगे के लिये सोचना चाहिये। वहाँ के लोगों के बारे में हमारी क्या नीति होनी चाहिये इसको हमें अपने दिमाग में साफ कर लेना चाहिये।

साथ साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहूँगा कि जो ब्रिटेन और अन्य देशों का रख रहा है इस सारी लड़ाई में, उसको भी सोचना चाहिये। यह सही है कि हमको आवेश में आकर कोई फैसला नहीं करना चाहिये लेकिन मैं बहुत अदब से कहना चाहूँगा कि यह आवेश की बात नहीं है। अठारह साल से हम कहते आए हैं कि कामनवेल्थ में रहना जरूरी है और हमको वहाँ से हट जाना चाहिये क्योंकि जो दबाव हमको कामनवेल्थ की तरफ से पड़ता है वह हमारे खिलाफ पड़ता है, राष्ट्र के हित के खिलाफ होता है, यह तो हम 18 साल से देख चुके हैं। सरकार को सोचना चाहिये कि कामनवेल्थ में रहने का क्या फायदा है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि शायद अंग्रेजों ने जब भारत और पाकिस्तान बनाया था तब शायद कोई ऐसा समझौता कर गये थे जिन्ना साहब के साथ, कोई सीक्रेट पैक्ट हो, जिससे पाकिस्तान को यह आश्वासन दिया गया कि हम तुमको कायम रखने के लिये हर वक्त और हमेशा मदद देते रहेंगे। कुछ ऐसा ही लगता है नहीं तो जो रख ब्रिटेन की सरकार लेती आई है पाकिस्तान के बारे में

वह इस बात को साफ कर देती है कि चाहे कन्जरवेटिव पार्टी हो चाहे लेबर पार्टी हो, कोई भी पार्टी हो, वह चाहती है कि पाकिस्तान के हक में और उसको कायम रखने की दृष्टि से हमको काम करना चाहिये।

मैं इन सारी चीजों के बारे में बाँजते हुए सिर्फ इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि आगे के लिये जो हम नीति बनायें हमको इस बात को दिमाग में साफ रखना चाहिये कि पाकिस्तान जिस ढंग से बना हुआ है उसको खत्म करना पड़ेगा, कभी न कभी भारत और पाकिस्तान दोनों को खत्म करके एक हिन्दुस्तान बनाने की नीति हमको अपनानी पड़ेगी। मैं जानता हूँ सरकार यह बात नहीं कह पाएगी, बहुत से कारण हैं, सरकार को कहना भी नहीं चाहिये। लेकिन जो देश के लोग हैं उनमें कम से कम यह बात साफ हो जानी चाहिये कि हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान को कभी न कभी एक करेंगे—या तो एक देश बनेगा या महासंघ बनेगा—दोनों देशों का तभी यह मामला तय हो सकता है।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mani. I would like to see if you can make a brief speech.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): I always make brief speeches, Sir. I will take c*ily ten minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Say seven minutes, I would like to accommodate another speech.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Mr. Chairman, may I join the other speakers who have paid very well deserved tributes to our Jawans who have fought for the freedom of our country and suffered and have died for the freedom of the country?

Many points have been raised in this debate and I do not want to refer to them. But I would like to refer to a statement made by the Leader of the House that the Resolution of the Security Council was a point in our favour and was a defeat for Pakistan. I quite concede, and this is

accepted by the world, that the Resolution of the Security Council has been a major reverse to Pakistan, because Pakistan expected that the plebiscite issue in some form or the other, would find place in the Resolution of the Security Council. I am glad Mr. Chagla was present in New York to counter Pakistan's moves in this matter and as far as a reference of the kind of solution of Kashmir has been omitted from the Resolution. I can certainly say that it is a point in our favour. But, Sir, the Security Council has put up a very disappointing performance. As a major and final peace-keeping agency in the United Nations, it was expected that the Security Council would designate the aggressor, because in these matters, the boosting of the moral influence all over the world is an essential factor in building up an atmosphere against the aggressor. Even though Gen. Nimmo's report was made available to the members of the Security Council, it required considerable pressure from Mr. Chagla to get the report published in the Press so that the world knew that Pakistan was the aggressor. It was open to the Security Council to have taken the line that as far as the events of August 5th were concerned, Pakistan had violated one of its major undertakings to the United Nations. And while not condemning the aggressor, I am afraid the Security Council has given more or less, indirect approval to the collusive conspiracy of China and Pakistan to invade this country.

Sir, I would like to invite your attention to a statement made by President Ayub Khan on September, 22. When he announced the ceasefire on the radio, he said:

"The moral support which the Chinese Government has extended to Pakistan will ever remain enshrined in our hearts."

He did not refer to the United Nations. He did not refer to the United States of America with whose arms he had invaded this country. He

paid tribute to China and unfortunately, by allowing Pakistan equality and parity of status with India in this matter, the Security Council has disappointed our country, and has not fulfilled our expectations and also of all those who felt that it would be in a position to rouse the moral authority of the world community.

Sir, a point was made by my hon. nd, Shri Vajpayee to which the Leader of the House referred and that was about India's continuing her membership with the Commonwealth of Nations. I know that the British attitude has been extremely partisan. It is not in tune with the tradition of British history. Unfortunately, on account of the losses that she sustained in the second World War she became a second-rate power. But still she was a first-rate power because of the values that she stood for and upheld. But by taking up openly this partisan line with Pakistan, I am sorry to say Britain has become a third-rate power and this will undermine the moral influence that she has in the Commonwealth of Nations. I would not like our Government to take any precipitate action.

With regard to the future, I would like to say that it has been made clear by the Prime Minister to U Thant that we would not allow this question of Kashmir to be brought up again because we regard Kashmir as an integral part of this country. We have also taken the line that with regard to our future security in these areas, these forward areas we would not allow any arrangements which would undermine our security. As far as the Security Council is concerned, it should be under no illusion whatever that what we have accepted is cease-fire in the terms and conditions stipulated by the Prime Minister; and in this matter may I say that the Prime Minister has shown remarkable leadership of which this country is proud? He has spoken not only for the Government but also for all sections of our population, including

[Shri A. D. Mani.] the Members of the Opposition. Therefore, when the Prime Minister has said that, it is the determined will of the whole nation, and if the Security Council tries to reopen this matter in any form, then the responsibility for peace would be that of the Security Council. There cannot be any period of compulsory friendship between one nation and another, particularly when that nation is not prepared to have a reasonable understanding with India. As long as there is no change of heart in Pakistan, it will be extremely unwise to force the pace of these meetings. These meetings should come in the natural course of time and a very heavy responsibility rests, therefore, upon the Security Council and it should not ask any time-table to be observed between India and Pakistan with regard to the other parts of the Resolution that has been adopted.

These are my submissions, Sir, and finally may I add that as far as these matters are concerned, we have demonstrated to the world that there is no Hindu-Muslim question in this country? The country has become stronger as a result of this conflict. Wars are always ghastly affairs. Even so, in this conflict we had the privilege of seeing that democracy can fight, that Indian democracy can show a remarkable sense of unity which will confound all historians who have thought that India is a nation of communities. There is only one class of people inhabiting this country. They are all Indians and it has been our privilege to see this nation rise to the same stature to which it rose in 1942, and a nation which has risen to this stature can never surrender to the aggressive designs of Pakistan.

DR. ANUP SINGH (Punjab): Mr. Chairman, before I say anything about the Resolution itself, I also have an almost irrepressible urge to pay tributes which are well deserved, to the Jawans who have really saved the honour of the country. I personally visited some of them on the front and

words are not adequate enough to convey to this House the uppermost feelings in their minds. Many of the soldiers who are wounded, when you speak to them, express the desire uppermost in their minds to go back to the front again. I was driving in a truck in police uniform and the young driver who was driving asked me—of course he spoke in Punjabi—

STT ^t ?T f "Who is the next man?" He was a colleague, a Member of Parliament and I said, "We happen to be Members of Parliament, coming from Delhi". This happened about ten days

ago. He said: %T^ft *TT% T^f SpTf q- spf "Please do not make peace in Delhi". It is not that he was necessarily a war-monger or he wanted war to be continued but it only reflects their desire that we should not accept peace which is not honourable and in the process of accepting peace we should see that we do not go to pieces. I am perfectly willing to concede what the hon. Education Minister has said about the Resolution, that it favours us in so far as the Pakistani spokesmen have not been able to get any of their four points incorporated but as it stands, I think, we should express our disappointment. I say this because when Mr. Bhutto spoke over the radio the other day, he said, "We are most disappointed. Most reluctantly we accept this". The idea that he was obviously trying to create was that they are obliging the Security Council, that they are very good people. If we do not register our protest over some of the inadequacies, some of the shortcomings, I think, the impression may go round, erroneous it will be, that we are very jubilant, very happy with the Resolution. I think the redeeming feature of the Resolution is one. the assurances given by the Prime Minister to this House and made abundantly clear to the Security Council that on matters of principle, so far as Kashmir is concerned, it belongs to India, it will stay with India, Security Council or no Security Council. Secondly, Sir, in my opinion, if any attempt is made by either of the powers in collusion with

each other to bring about the plebiscite issue, I think the Soviet Union can be depended upon to veto it. This will be quite in conformity with their previous commitments and which have been repeated up till now. As for Kashmir itself, Sir, a great deal has been said. I would like just to add one thing. There are some people in our country, and many of them abroad, who have said that an independent Kashmir may be an equitable solution. I hope that that illusion, very fine illusion is dispelled for ever. Even hypothetically, if Pakistan were to come forward for independence— I said hypothetically because no one in Kashmir, no one in his senses can, for a moment, believe that that independence can last even a day—it cannot serve any purpose. If a great country, big country like India can be invaded, infiltrators can come in surreptitiously, openly, can a State between India and Pakistan survive for a day? I think, so far as that is concerned, the problem is settled once and for all. About the future, Sir, a number of presuppositions, postulates, etc., have undergone very drastic and very serious changes. There is no time to go into all that but one thing I would like to say so far as defence is concerned. We should try to make ourselves as self-sufficient in defence as is humanly possible. Let us not have any illusion that anybody else would come to our rescue. They may, they may not but we cannot afford to take any chance. I have spoken and, I think, written against India going in for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. I must confess that I am beginning to have doubts and misgivings about that policy. I am not clear in my mind but I do submit with all humility that this is a proposition that must be considered very seriously with all the earnestness that it demands. I am also temperamentally opposed to compulsory military training but I again submit that this may also be necessary.

Finally, Sir, one thing more. I would like to add to the tributes and that is not because the Prime Minister

or his colleagues happen to be here. I think they have shown inflexibility and determination where matters of principles are concerned and realism where matters of detail are concerned. A tribute is also due to the Defence Minister who has exhibited a great deal 'of optimism and imperturbability of spirit and, finally, Sir, I say, as one humble Member of the Congress, that a tribute is also due to the Opposition which has willingly and spontaneously submerged all differences and which has risen to the occasion, India first and India last. Thank you, Sir.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI LAL BAHADUR): Mr. Chairman, I must express my gratitude to all the hon. Members who have participated in the debate today. There have been several speakers and they have laid emphasis on one aspect or the other of the burning issues but I have heard from every side of the House only one voice, the voice of patriotism, of national will to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India, no matter who the invader may be. This is the voice of the people of India expressed in unmistakable terms through both Houses of Parliament. This is the voice of the sovereign will of the people. Hon. Members would permit me to recall that in April last I had appealed for the unity of heart amongst our people. That unity has been achieved in the fullest measure and has been demonstrated effectively in these critical days. In fact, it is tMs unity which has been the biggest source of strength to all of us in these testing times.

The cease-fire has already come about in spite of Pakistan's intransigence. It is likely that when we consider the subsequent steps further difficulties and complications might arise. It is by no means going to be an easy task, especially in view of the threats given even after the acceptance of the cease-fire by President Ayub Khan and his Foreign Minister.

[Shri Lai Bahadur.] I have made India's position absolutely clear in my letter of the 14th September, 1965, addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Our understanding of the three Resolutions of the Security Council is that they are applicable to both regular forces and the infiltrators from Pakistan. Pakistan must own and discharge the responsibility of withdrawing the infiltrators from our State of Jammu and Kashmir. Further, they are continuing to disclaim all responsibility for the infiltration despite the report of the Secretary-General himself. If Pakistan persists in this attitude India alone must deal with the infiltrators effectively and force them out. More over, we shall never allow any arrangement for the future in which there may be possibilities of further infiltrations.

About our State of Jammu and Kashmir, the House knows our stand which is firm and clear. This State is an integral part of India a constituent unit of the Federal Union of India. There is no case for exercise of self-determination again. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have already exercised the right of self-determination through three General Elections held on the basis of universal adult franchise.

I feel grateful for and heartened by the unanimity of support for the policy which the Government has followed in meeting the challenge of the recent aggression. However, I would like to say that dangers still lie ahead even after a cease-fire has become effective. Those dangers are very real indeed. We should surely be prepared to meet them and our preparations will not be relaxed.

We have agreed to the use of the good offices of Mr. Kosygin, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union today is an ardent champion of peace. They have known the horrors of war and they do want in a friendly spirit I

to endeavour to bring about an improvement in the relationship between India and Pakistan. Their intentions are pure and we have, therefore, welcomed their initiative.

Some hon. Members have referred to the work of our diplomatic missions abroad. I can tell the House with complete sincerity that on the present occasion each one of our missions has been alert and vigilant. They have done a good job in keeping the Government to which they are accredited fully informed of the developments and of the justness of our cause. The attitude which some Governments take is not in my view dependent upon or even affected by what our ambassadors have to say. There are preconceived notions and prejudices which one has to contend with. It must nevertheless be our persistent effort to project our case in the best possible manner and to win friends for India in all parts of the world.

Some suggestions have been made by Shri Jairamdas Daulatramji with a view to helping those who have suffered. Government has already taken several steps. We will however, further consider the suggestions he has offered.

A few words are necessary, Mr. Chairman, about the home front. The momentum which the nation has gained will have to be kept up. Our defence preparedness will have to be improved continuously. We will have to remain vigilant all along our frontiers. For strengthening our defences a good deal of sacrifice will be needed on the part of the country as a whole. We may all have to accept privations and even our economic development may have to be slowed down somewhat in order that our defences are not weakened.

To the tasks that lie ahead
shall
address ourselves in a realistic manner and in full awareness of the fact that self-reliance must be our watchword.

I am grateful to this august House for the magnificent support which it has given in these historic times. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would appeal to the House to authorise you to carry through you or through our Defence Minister, the admiration and gratitude of the House to our armed forces for the splendid job they have dene. I would also, with your permission, like to suggest that the House should rise and observe a minute's silence to honour the memory of those soldiers, airmen, policemen and civilians who have become martyrs in the defence of their motb.erla.nd.

Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let us an stand and observe a minute's silence in grateful remembrance of all those who have shed their lives in order that we might live in honour.

(Hon. Members then stood in silence for one minute)

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned sine die.

The House then adjourned *sine die* at fifty-five minutes past five of the clock.