

THE INDUSTRIES (DEVELOPMENT AND REGULATION) AMENDMENT BILL, 1965

THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRY IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND SUPPLY (SHRI T. N. SINGH) : Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI T. N. SINGH: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

MR. CHAIRMAN : We shall now take up the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Here again, Sir, permit me to invite your attention to a point. This is the first time that we are discussing the President's Address after the Budget has been presented. Normally, in Parliamentary practice this is discussed before the budget—at least the discussion starts—because the President in this underlines the policy of the Government and the Budget comes in a different context and certain other things. Normally, the idea is that the discussion on the President's Address is supposed to be taken into account in the Budget Speech. Now, Sir, this again is an anomalous situation. I do not know why our discussion of the President's Address was delayed and now we are to discuss it in an unprecedented way after the Budget has come. This is not a very happy state of affairs but since you have so willed, we will continue the discussion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I need not say anything. You have said the final word.

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SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Since you have willed it but it is not due to you, Sir. I realise your difficulty. It is for the Government to arrange the business in such a manner that certain conventions we have been following so far are maintained. What happens is that we shall be discussing the Budget about the middle of the month, about the 12th or so. Last year, a meeting took place between the leaders of the parties and it was settled that we should discuss it immediately afterwards. Even the Members of the Lok Sabha agreed and this pactice was adopted last year. This need not be a precedent but an agreement was arrived at between the Lok Sabha Members and the Rajya Sabha Members, their representatives. That is now being violated.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am sure, Mr. Gupta, you do not object to the discussion being held even now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not object to the discussion being held. You kindly look into this matter.

SHRIMATI SHYAM KUMARI KHAN (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Chairman, I beg to move:

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

"That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 17th February, 1965."

I am deeply grateful, Sir, for this singular honour in being chosen to propose this Motion. I also wish to express the gratitude of us all to the President who, despite his eye trouble, read out the major portion of his Address. It has been announced in the Press, Sir, that the President will be shortly proceeding abroad for an eye operation. On behalf of myself and on behalf of the Members of this House, I offer our best wishes for a very successful operation, a speedy recovery and safe return home.

[Shrimati Shyam Kumari Khan.]

Sir, last year has been one of trials and tribulations. We lost Jawaharlal Nehru who was not only our Prime Minister but he was our beloved leader, so much so, that we had learnt to depend on him entirely for almost everything. The light was no longer there to illumine our darkness. Our philosopher was no longer there to advise us and to guide us and to give us his friendly advice and the issues facing us were tremendous. But Sir, true to the tradition that he himself taught us we rallied unanimously round our new leader with grim determination, to face our trials shoulder to shoulder with him.

Our greatest anxiety, Sir, came with the scarcity of food. This was the biggest threat to the country. For months together, the nation tightened its belt. There were acute shortages. One State came to the rescue of the other. The Government of India tried to come to the rescue of all the States wherever it could and wherever the need was the greatest. The position has fortunately eased considerably now and we expect that the future holds promise of one of our best crops. A long-term policy has been adopted. The Agricultural Prices Commission and the Food Corporation have been set up and these will be able to help in the stabilisation of prices ensuring proper marketing conditions and building up of stocks. It is, however, an unfortunate fact Sir, that anti-social trends in the trading community have been present throughout this crisis. Government must, therefore, continue to remain vigilant and buffer stocks must be built up so that long-term stability in agricultural prices may be achieved. India is still very much an agricultural country despite its efforts to industrialise itself in various directions of trade and industry. In order to fully develop agriculture itself, a great deal has to be done. We have to ensure a proper supply of fertilisers in time. We have not only to guarantee but to give proper irrigation facilities and good seeds. These, Sir, are the minimum requirements of our peasants. Actually, we have also to prepare our peasants and to educate them and to persuade them to accept new methods of agriculture. The community development movement is directed towards this goal and the co-operative movement is the economic unit to reach it. On the political side, Sir,

decentralisation through Panchayati Raj is being achieved rapidly. We are taking the risk of making mistakes in pursuance of the ideal that the participation of the people in the Government is necessary.

Development in the economic sphere can only come with rapid industrialisation. Production has gone up in many public sector undertakings and in the current year we have been told that there will be an increase of eight per cent. in industrial production. The national income has risen but the impact cannot be felt because of the rapid rise in prices.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

Consumer goods have become easily available but the demand for them has risen in the rural areas and we have to go on increasing our production to meet that. In cloth, Madam, production of mill-made cloth rose by two hundred million metres in 1964 and India has every reason to be proud of the quality, variety and the amount of cloth that it is producing. Our handloom materials have a unique position and there is a demand for these all over the world.

But, Madam, our housing problem continues to be acute. There is a pressing need for more houses, for more building materials and it is absolutely necessary that this problem should be tackled on a high-priority basis. Ugly towns, narrow streets, slums from our cities and hovels from our villages have to be cleared and we should provide houses in which decent conditions of life are possible. Madam, we are now engaged in the formulation of the Fourth Five Year Plan. We have to ensure that each citizen of our country is guaranteed a decent minimum standard of life. Our social services must have one prime object—the abolition of want. Relief of distress and elimination of squalor must remain the main object of social expenditure and special assistance must be given to any part of the community that is in need of it. Unemployment, pauperism, old age and often a squalid lack of social amenities have to be dealt with. The first priority, Madam, in any socialist country must be given to the poor, to the unfortunate and the “have-nots”. The community should be asked to give a helping hand in

this great task of re-construction but, in a country as backward and poor as ours it is necessary for the Government to provide the basic amenities that will raise the general status and standard of life. I plead for more investment in the human being—higher wages, better conditions of life and the availability of basic necessities to all. It is only when these are available that we can expect a better response from the people.

Madam, if people have to rise to the occasion, ignorance has to be dispelled. The pattern of education has to be finalised and a thorough overhaul of the whole of our educational system has to be made. We have been told that an Education Commission has already been appointed and we know that it is carrying on its work. I merely wish to point out that we can ill-afford to lose time and early steps should be taken to start this great reform. Therefore, Madam, the urgent necessities of the country at the moment are a speedy and efficient plan of both agricultural and industrial development without neglecting the social services which are the only means of making the life of the common man worth living.

In the industrial sector, it is realized that the time has come for a fresh momentum. Various measures for this have been taken. Once again Government has announced concessions for unaccounted and undisclosed money provided it is voluntarily surrendered and we have been given a revised structure of taxes that will bring some measure of relief to the lower income groups. Our reserves of foreign exchange are showing a decline despite the fact that our exports in 1964 showed an increase of nearly Rs. 50 crores. Government has already announced its intention to give various incentives to increase exports further and to relieve the situation.

But, Madam, all efforts for accelerated development, whether in agriculture or industry, cannot succeed unless there is adequate control of the increase in our population. Government is furthering the family planning programme which is absolutely necessary when we realize that at the present rate of increase the population of

India will be 490 million by the end of the Third Five Year Plan and 550 million by the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan.

Madam, well might the poet sing and tell us that—

"In every little child that comes to earth
The nation comes to birth."

But when the rate of birth exceeds all the resources that the nation can offer, the little child suffers, the mother suffers, the prosperity of the family and society are affected and to that extent the nation's development is retarded. Therefore this programme of family planning should be taken to every home in India and popularised and the people must be persuaded and encouraged to adopt it as their own. We know that the Government is trying to provide expert services. We have been told that 12,000 clinics have already been opened. Social workers are being trained rapidly and mobile vans are visiting various areas and operations are being performed in camps and hospitals practically in every State of India. Even voluntary workers have been enlisted as honorary family planning education leaders to take this message to every nook and corner of the country. Research shows that the birth rate increases with ignorance and that it is lower amongst the educated people. It also shows that a slightly higher age of marriage will considerably reduce the number of births. This programme will have a direct impact on the welfare of the people and it should be adopted.

Another matter to which I wish to draw attention is the condition of our labour. Our labour needs special attention and by promoting various measures of negotiation, conciliation and adjudication it is hoped that it will benefit. The question of wages is often one of disputes and new Wage Boards are being set up for the industries. With the establishment of consumer co-operatives and fair price shops in industrial areas labour will be free from anxieties that take away from its efficiency. It is necessary that cordial relations between employers and employees should be established as at the present juncture the country needs the maximum output of work.

[Shrimati Shyam Kumari Khan.]

One issue, Madam, has unfortunately overshadowed all others in India today. A large number of amendments to the Motion also refer to it. I refer, Madam, to the unfortunate orgy of violence in South India which was linked up with the issue of the national language. We hold our heads down in shame at the many attacks on public property, attack on the Aurobindo Ashram where books of all languages were collected in their library, and the horrible attack on the library of our revered President where incidentally there were books in English. Madam, violence must be condemned in no uncertain terms but no democracy can afford to ignore the conditions that led to it. Time was when Hindi was voluntarily accepted by the whole of India as the national language. It is even now the language of a very sizeable percentage of people and it is definitely the goal of our aspirations. Nothing must be said or done to belittle it but, if there are fears in the minds of the people of any part of India that Hindi will be imposed on non-Hindi-speaking people when they are in a state of unpreparedness, those fears should be dispelled with all the means at our command. This, I submit, is in the interests of Hindi itself. It is a matter of satisfaction that the Government adheres to the assurances given by Jawaharlal Nehru. Any steps should be acceptable to make the people of non-Hindi States feel and believe that the Government will not go back on them. We must not allow language to become a dividing factor instead of a unifying one. English should be retained as an associate language till our brothers in the South and other non-Hindi-speaking States are ready to accept the national language and have been educated thoroughly in it. Language, Madam, cannot be enforced through orders, or political agitations, or through violence. Language is developed in a quiet atmosphere free of political passions and other passions that are excited through violence. What we have to do is to pay more attention to the constructive aspect of the question. We must also pay more attention to the regional languages and restore them to their own wherever they are neglected. I am sure that our educationists who are experts in this line, in consultation with the Union Public Service Commission, will evolve a formula that will be acceptable to all parts

of India and will remove the deep-seated fears of large sections of people.

There is, however, Madam, one note of warning that I would like to sound here. Let us not rush into easy solutions of percentages or quotas based on linguistic States merely because it suits us for the moment. This, Madam, in my humble opinion, will lead to inefficiency in the services. The All-India Services are expected to maintain a very high standard of quality which they have done, but it will become impossible if quotas are introduced. Nothing should be done to intensify regional and linguistic divisions. India's need is to emphasize its unity which is there despite the diversities that exist with its many peoples and languages. Actually, in my humble opinion in the interests of national integration no officer of an All-India Service be posted to his own home State. It would also perhaps help if language schools to teach easy conversational Hindi and other regional languages are opened in every State and the teaching of Hindi should be made compulsory in every school of India. This will require time and that time should be given. Language must not be allowed to remain a threat to the unity of the country or to become a festering sore that detracts our attention from more important problems. Language and literature are treasures that cannot be cast away irrespective of the country to which they belong. Therefore, we are happy that the Prime Minister has assured us that every detail of the different suggestions made will be fully considered by experts before any decision is taken or recommended.

On our frontiers, Madam, the Chinese threat continues. The prime function of the State, so long as the risk remains, must be the provision of adequate defence. A sense of security is of the essence for peaceful life in any country. The Five Year Defence Plan which will end in 1969 is being implemented. It is not our objective to enter into an arms race with any country but our defence forces must be strong enough to repel any attacks on us and to defend India's vast borders.

It is a matter of pride that the Prime Minister has decided that India will not

embark on the manufacture of atomic weapons. We are fully aware of the dangers involved in the explosion of a nuclear device by China and we have perhaps knowledge that another explosion may not be far off. But, Madam, we are wedded to the policy of international understanding by peaceful methods and it will be a sad day for India if we go back on this policy. We have also accepted the essential principles of non-alignment and co-existence as the basic planks of our foreign policy. As neighbours we are vitally interested in peace prevailing in Asia and the Vietnam situation has led us to make a concrete proposal for settling the dispute. Peace is essential for the progress of mankind and our relations with most countries remain friendly. In the U.K., U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. new Governments have been installed. We are friendly with them all. Distinguished visitors from different nations have been coming to India and we have also received some Parliamentary delegations. Our leaders who have been going abroad have made friendly contacts. We have every hope that these visits will continue and the image that India has built up in world politics will also continue.

There is, however, no improvement unfortunately in our relations with either China or Pakistan. Our strained relations have resulted in a great deal of critical propaganda against us even in friendly States. It is, therefore, necessary that a great deal of attention must be paid to our publicity abroad. Goodwill for a country can be seriously impaired with wrong impressions about its people or its policies.

Madam, the world today, in this jet age, is a small one. Our internal economy has to be developed, but I wish to submit that we cannot neglect the picture of India that should be projected abroad. We are a nation that has faced colossal problems ever since we attained freedom. The refugee problem has been recurring again and again periodically and we have tried to retain and rehabilitate as many refugees as came to us to the best of our ability.

Madam, it has been said that "for perfect working democracy would require a community of gods". But the strength of the

democratic form of Government is the liberty and the goodwill that flow from the identification of the rulers with the ruled. This is our ideal and we have to so shape our policies that it may be achieved. Nature is most attractive because of its infinite variety, and I humbly submit that this is the beauty of the races of India. Every Indian, whether from North or South, East or West, is bound together by past traditions. Our present interests and future aspirations are also common. These give us a sense of unity. Whether it be the Sharavathy Dam or an ultra-modern plutonium plant, whether it be an agreement on Bokaro or the confirmation of the basic outlines of the Fourth Five Year Plan, it is a common national interest that motivates us. Let us not hesitate at any sacrifice to maintain the fundamental unity of India, its people and its unique traditions. The issues facing the country are tremendous, but, if I may humbly submit, the opportunities for services also are very great.

Once again, Madam, I express my gratitude to the President for his Address.

Thank you very much.

SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR (Mysore) : Madam, it is a privilege for me to second the motion just now moved by my distinguished colleague. The President has rightly referred at the outset to the progress achieved by the country during last year. Industrial production has gone ahead of the targets fixed for the Third Five Year Plan. As regards the shipping target, we have already finished our work in less than four years' time what we had planned to be achieved in five years' time. Exports have also achieved a very distinct improvement. As against Rs. 576 crores in 1958-59, we have reached the tall total of Rs. 800 crores and we have been able to add substantially to our export earnings. This has not been done without effort. I should like to congratulate the Government and the Ministers concerned on the signal achievement in their respective sectors. Then, secondly, apart from these items of progress, the general outlook of the plans has been fairly healthy. It is always said that we need

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not slavishly depend upon the estimates of others, but still what others say about us over the years has also a lesson for us. Almost every one of our well-meaning foreign critics has testified to the fact that by and large the rationale and the basis of our planning has been sound and though our achievement has fallen short of our targets under the Third Five Year Plan, it has not been disappointing. It is encouraging.

But as the President has rightly observed in his Address, we have had to face two very difficult problems. One of them, if I might say so, is emotional and the other one is practical.

Now, about the food problem every one of us knows it. I am afraid that my small study of the prices for the last eighteen or twentyfour months has shown to me that Government last year perhaps were not aware of the seriousness of the situation that was developing. It is not as if the situation developed all of a sudden and what disturbed a common citizen like me was not so much the shortage because in a way our crops were bad for two years. There was a shortage of cereals all round. But what disturbs one is the fact that in certain cases there were occurrences which should disturb every one of us. I happen to come from the lucky district of Dharwar, which is normally self-sufficient in grains. We normally export cereals, but last year it did happen that, on account of the high, rising prices there were riots at six places in my district, rioting and looting mind you, not by the conventional, professional holligans, but mostly by well-meaning, sound-minded citizens, who could not get grain in the open market and in one of the attacks on a truck-load of grains all the villagers assembled, looted the grain from the truck and then each of them paid 75 p. per kilogram for the jowar that they took. That is rather unnerving, if they were to happen on a large scale. If I were to be asked what was the most disturbing point in last years food situation, I would not say the shortage. I would not even say the high prices, though the prices were almost the highest on record. What I would say is that the people in many parts of the country had lost faith in the Government's

capacity to deal with the situation. That is very distressing. I wish that it were not so. We have got now the Food Corporation, for the whole of the country. I do hope that the States also, each of them, will help in its working so that we may evolve a better distribution system. Happily for us the crop this year is promising well, but I should like to say very gently but firmly that even now in some of the places, in a surplus area like my district jowar is being sold at 75 p. per kilogram. Rice is selling at 85 p. per kilogram. Normally the relative prices of jowar, wheat and rice ought to be like this. Rice should be one and a half times as expensive as wheat and it should be twice as expensive as jowar, but today in my district jowar is selling almost on a par, at the same price as rice. If that happens when the crop is coming into the market, I wish Food Ministry should take special note of it.

In regard to the food reports in the Government of India they are following our masters in the nomenclature of grams. We know of what you call the food proper, about the finer grains, namely, rice and wheat. About jowar and bajra and everything else regarding coarse grains, they do not worry so much, though there are crores of people eating jowar, eating *ragi* and eating bajra. We just do not pay attention to them. If rice rises in price we are scared. If wheat rises in price we are scared.

1 P.M.

Jowar, *ragi* and bajra do not attract the attention that they deserve. I wish that this unscientific practice of having this food-grain division into fine grain and coarse grain goes away. Every cereal that is imparted to the population should be all fine, should be placed on the same level. This difference in the nomenclature just helps us in forgetting the jowar-eating people, bajra-eating people and the *ragi*-eating people, though what I learned as Health Minister shows that any day jowar is more nutritious, bajra is equally nutritious, and *ragi* is much more nutritious than wheat and rice put together. That is the point. I just made this point because something that is said here on the floor of the House sometimes attracts attention.

Then again the second disturbing factor apart from food is the high cost of living. I will not treat the House with too many

figures. If we take 100 as the standard for 1952-53, last year the cost of living rose to 139. This year, the current year, it rose to more than 150. In terms of sufferings of the poor one can easily imagine what that means. The average earning of a man labourer is Rs. 2 per day and a woman labourer is about Re. 1 per day. Anyway that is the normal average. Now he eats much more than we do. If a man earns Rs. 2 and if Rs. 1/8 is consumed in buying jowar or wheat or rice, what is he going to do with eight annas? Incidentally—though I am not supposed to discuss the Budget—this is the high cost of living, and I should like to say that it passes my understanding how the Finance Minister had the courage to impose an additional 10 per cent import duty on all products except food and a few other articles.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We will hear Mr. Karmarkar and then rise for lunch

SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR : I am mentioning this because later on in the discussions there will be an encomium paid to the Finance Minister for the relief that he has given. His is a budget in the right direction. For the first time he has broken new ground. That is a correct thing. He has had the courage to take away some of the imposts from the consumer variety of goods. That is a correct thing. But with all that, with all his ability and cleverness, it passes me how quietly ten days before the Budget he added a ten per cent import duty on all articles excepting of course the absolutely necessary food articles and other things. Now I will not use very strong language. Had I been in the British period, I would have said that it is criminal on the part of any Government to add any impost now to the cost of living. I would not say that now. In view of our new democracy I leave all that type of indiscretion to my friend over there, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. But I will say nevertheless that to add a single blade of grass to the burden already borne, to add a single little paisa to the cost of living is something which is inexcusable and to that extent I am afraid this ten per cent import duty is unjustified. They do not tell us how much they are going to add to the resources by the additional duty. The other day a very able

Secretary, gave a press interview, but he held from the public one thing which was most important, the additional revenue accruing from this additional duty. On a rough estimate, I feel, it will be 60 to 80 crores. Now take away that Rs. 60 crores or Rs. 80 crores from all the virtues of the relief given in the Budget and what remains? I am sorry about that, therefore, I am speaking about that. We need to do all that we can during this year to keep the cost of living down.

Then there is a third point which I would like to touch, and that is something about the Fourth Five Year Plan. I happen to have always held the view humbly and firmly that our plans are what we call Western-oriented—American experts, English experts, Western experts are there. We sometimes pay lip sympathy to what Russia has done but our planning is not in that direction. We utterly exclude the Russian pattern where the Parliament meets for two days in the year. If Mr. Bhupesh Gupta were in the Opposition in Russia, he would not be able to take as wrong a view or speak for as long a time. So have we excluded the Russian pattern in the economic planning also. Our planning is wholly what we call income-minded, *per capita* income-minded. What was our *per capita* income ten years back? What is our *per capita* income today? That is all we think about. But then I should like humbly to plead with the Government and the planners that we need to take up one thing from Russia, and that is the building of the base. We need not wholly copy the English model where the industrial revolution threw a large number of people out of employment, almost starved them and killed them. We do not want to repeat that experiment. I went through the figures which my esteemed elder colleague Shri Khandubhai Desai has got as to what was the backlog of unemployment at the beginning of the Second Plan. It was 3 million or 4 million. What was the backlog at the end of the Second Plan? It was 6 million or 7 million. Now what is the backlog likely to be of unemployment by the end of the Third Plan because in the meantime boys are growing into men? The fear is it will be anywhere between 80 lakhs and 90 lakhs, so that the greater the *per capita* income during the last ten years the

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larger the number of people wholly unemployed let alone under-employed. We have had some scholars who have pointed out to us that there is something wrong about this. What is the solution? There is a very good analysis of the whole Third Plan by one distinguished author, Mr. Lewis, who happens now to be the Minister in charge of the U.S. Aid in Delhi. His has been a friendly but critical review. There is one suggestion he has made. I was fumbling with the idea as to how it is—but then I found myself strengthened; I am an economist by the road-side as they say; I picked up my knowledge of economics by way of experience; I find myself reinforced by this distinguished author. What does he say? He says that unemployment is growing with the Plans. It will take 30 or 40 years till sustenance percolates from above. May be after 40 years when we give them a high national income and a high *per capita* expenditure we will employ all of them. Till then they have to die. What is the remedy? I said a moment ago that Russia built a base. They gave water-supply to every little village. They gave a dwelling to every one of the 5.5 million people in and round about Moscow. Of course, they are rigid. Anyone who wants to go into Moscow from a village requires a permit. If he is found there without permission, he is sent to jail. We are a little liberal in that matter. Anyone can come to Delhi and create problems.

Look at the way we are functioning. During the Third Plan 5000 villages were selected for survey—and there are about 5 lakhs of villages. Out of them 3,575 were actually surveyed and 2,860 were selected for implementation of the plan. This is about all the progress that we have made. We have not been able to spend what we call the allotted fund for the Third Plan to increase the water-supply. Public Health engineers have estimated that roughly Rs. 1,100 crores would be necessary for giving good drinking water for the urban areas piped water for villages Rs. 600 crores; any type of water Rs. 200 crores. So a minimum of Rs. 1,300 crores is required. What is our history? We have got a national water supply plan. We spent about Rs. 100 crores odd during the Third Plan. As against this requirement of Rs. 1,300 crores, we are proposing in the outline of the Fourth Plan to spend about Rs. 340 crores

for all the five years together. Thanks to our tardiness, our achievement will be round about Rs. 250 crores, when there is Rs. 1,300 crores worth of work to be undertaken to give the last man in the village good drinking water. At that rate, a man who is living today will not have the good fortune of seeing the last village provided with drinking water supply. We shall be able to do it, on a rough computation, 30 years hence. Now, is that the way of building the base? The *per capita* income will enlarge, double itself, by the end of 1971 or 1976. But the villager will have to go beyond that, without sanitation, without water supply. Now, I wish it were possible to organise a camp, specially of the Members of Parliament, all of us including the Leader of the House, the members of the Planning Commission, the Prime Minister with all the members of the Government. If we all camp in any village for one night or two, a village with a perfectly insanitary water supply, we will realise the problem. I cannot realise the poor man's misery unless I am a poor man myself and I go down with him. I cannot otherwise appreciate the misery that is suffered by a villager by having a distant water supply or an insanitary water supply, and I am afraid that we have yet to develop that feeling. Here . . .

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras) : You should have enough imagination to . . .

SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR : Your imagination or my imagination may be fertile but we do not go to the root of the question. At the end of the Third Plan, we shall have one Primary Health Centre for every 60,000 villagers. First let us take one more Primary Health Centre in each block and reduce the gap, and it is thus that we have to build up the base. Let us make a resolve now and here today that before ten years lapse, every village will have a good water supply, will have access to a hospital, will have a school and that every small man will have a house of his own. And in the cities, town-planning should be done, it could be done. But, Madam, it requires funds. Out of Rs. 22,000 crores which we have earmarked for the Fourth Five Year Plan, we shall have to allot Rs. 3,000 crores. Now, it means one rupee of investment brings Rs. 3 of national product. During all those five years, the investment of Rs. 3,000 crores that has been taken away from other invest-

ments, will mean that we shall have less of Rs. 10,000 crores of national income. It does not matter. The *per capita* income will be Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 less. But we shall have built the base. I am making this point strongly because I feel strongly about it. We are getting more and more prosperous by and large, but on the margin, thousands and lakhs and millions of our people will go on suffering for want of housing, for want of water supply, for want of sanitation and of other facilities. That is all that I have to say by way of a few observations regarding the points made in the President's Address.

Madam, I should fail in my duty if I do not associate myself with my distinguished colleague in what she said about Shri Jawaharlalji. I would like to refer to the greatest misfortune that we have suffered in the loss of our leader. Many encomiums have been given to him, the world has paid its tributes. Having had the privilege of seeing him a little close during the last seventeen or eighteen years, there is one thing that stands above all. Jawaharlal Nehru was a great man, was a great sacrificer, was a fighter, about whom his erstwhile adversary the late Sir Winston Churchill, a noble man nevertheless, said : "If there is one man who has conquered hatred and fear, it is Jawaharlal Nehru." He was very great. One thing we in this House always remember—Jawaharlal Nehru was a man of grace. I remember very well one incident which happened on that day, last year. That was his last session. He was unwell, invalid, and he rose up six or seven times for answering questions from the Opposition. My friend, Shri Bhargava, shouted from there, "Let not the Prime Minister rise up". And do you know what the Prime Minister said? It is something which is just imprinted on our hearts. He said, "There is something like a decorum of the House." That was the man, a man of grace, who never thought ill of the Opposition, who wished, in a sense, the Opposition to be active. He was always worried that the Opposition or anybody should not think that he was ungracious. Grace above all, first, second and last. I wish we maintain that great virtue of his, and we shall have paid no greater tribute to him than by doing so.

Thank you very much.

The question was proposed

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : There are 271 amendments but I do not think all the Members are here. So, the amendments could be moved when we reassemble.

The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifteen minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half past two of the clock, THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : There are 271 amendments which may be moved at this stage.

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB (Uttar Pradesh) : Madam, I move :

12. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not make any mention of any concrete programme for bringing about socialism and establishing a welfare State in the country with the co-operation of all the Opposition parties."

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

"but regret that the Address presents no definite programme for removing unemployment and poverty in the hilly and other backward areas of the country and makes no concrete suggestion for putting an end to the injustices which are being meted out to the poor landless farmers and agricultural labour."

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

"but regret that the Address does not present any programme for increasing the food production."

[Shri P. L. Kureel *ur* Talib.]

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw attention towards declaring the ending of the emergency.'"

16. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not mention the measures for checking misuse of the emergency and the Defence of India Rules and for releasing as early as possible the political prisoners who have been detained under the Defence of India Rules.'"

17. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not indicate any concrete steps for granting economic and social equality to all the citizens.'"

18. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not refer to the indifference on the part of Government to give an honoured place to the common language for establishing democracy.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw attention to the failure of Government to stabilise the prices of agricultural and industrial products of daily use by checking the rising prices.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not make a mention of the declining foreign trade, the depleting foreign exchange and the deteriorating economic situation.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not give any directive for the restoration of the Indian territory under Chinese occupation.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw attention to the wrong policy adopted by Government in applying the Defence of India Rules to political workers, Members of Parliament and of Legislative Assemblies and members of local institutions instead of applying the same to those indulging in bribery, black-marketing, profiteering and hoarding of foodgrains.'"

23. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not give reasons for the indifference on the part of Government with regard to conducting business in Hindi in all the High Courts of Hindi-speaking States instead of in English.'"

24. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not make any concrete suggestions for putting an end to the increasing threats of communalism, provincialism and linguism.'"

25. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not lay stress on the necessity of formulating a practical, active, and independent policy of non-alignment in place of the present foreign policy of non-alignment of the Government of India.'"

26. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not make a mention not only of the failure

of Government to remove the marked disparity between low incomes and high incomes but even the lack of effort on their part in that direction.’”

27. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not make mention of the failure of Government to improve the condition of the backward classes, the Harijans, the tribals and women by providing for them special opportunities or of Government’s failure to bring them up to the level of the other sections of the society.’”

28. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address makes no mention of the misuse by Government of the Defence of India Rules and their application in suppressing the opponents.’”

29. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address neither makes any mention of the country-wide Satyagraha resorted to by the Republican Party of India in which more than two lakhs of people were arrested, nor does it direct the Government to accept their reasonable demands.’”

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

31. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address displays in general a dangerous amount of unjustified complacency and self-satisfaction and gives little indication of the grim economic situation, of the great distress suffered by the people due to food shortage and high prices, and of the fact that the country has been taken to the brink of bankruptcy as shown by the Finance Minister’s Statement in

the Lok Sabha on February 17; in particular the House regrets :—

(a) the absence of any indication of a policy that could effectively end inflation and create conditions permitting of rapid growth in industrial and agricultural production;

(b) that, on the contrary, the Memorandum on the Fourth Plan referred to in the Address is calculated to lead to accelerated inflation and a general collapse of the economy and shows that no lesson has been learnt from the failures of the Second and Third Five Year Plans to fulfil most of their objectives;

(c) that, while referring to the explosion of a nuclear device by Communist China and anticipating a second explosion, the Address does not suggest a positive policy by which India may be able adequately to resist nuclear blackmail on the part of Communist China;

(d) that, while expressing concern over recent events in South-east Asia, the Address suggest the convening of a Geneva type conference, notwithstanding the fact that the present grim situation in that region is a direct consequence of the two previous Geneva Conferences on Vietnam and Laos respectively and that the Address shows a singular lack of understanding of the fact that the defence of Laos, Vietnam and Malaysia against Chinese Communist expansionism is essential for the defence of India itself; and

(e) that, the Address fails to express solidarity and support to the Government and people of Malaysia in their resistance to aggression and to give any assurance of India’s readiness to give military assistance to Malaysia.’”

(Amendment No. 31 also stood in the names of Sarvashri S. P. Singh Dev, Ram Singh, S. S. Mariswamy, Lokanath Misra and Devi Singh).

श्री विमल कुमार मन्नालाल जी चोरेड़िया
(मध्य प्रदेश) महोदय मैं अपने संगोष्ठी
प्रस्तुत करता हूँ :

41. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address, while stating that there is a decline in our reserves of foreign exchange and thereby recording a note of optimism, does not express regret for the wrong and optimistic estimate made last year that our foreign exchange reserves have not been under the same kind of pressure as in the previous year.'

42. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that, in spite of adopting the policy of price support for major agricultural crops with a view to raising the level of agricultural production as enunciated in the Address last year, the present Address does not comment on the non-fixation of prices by Government even now on a scientific basis.'

43. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely—

'but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the presentation of the Indian Crop Insurance Bill which was announced last year, nor does the Address give any reason therefor.'

44. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that, in stating that the railways have adequate capacity to meet our current needs, the Address fails to show any awareness of the miseries of the railway passengers travelling in the third class.'

45. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that in its reference to the progress in the production of power,

production of cloth and other consumer goods and increase in the national income, the Address has failed to take note of the fact that the difficulties of the common man have increased, indebtedness has increased, power supply to Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh has been reduced and a reduction in the power supply to Kerala has been announced and essential commodities like cement, iron sheets, sugar, foodgrains etc. are not available in sufficient quantity.'

46. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address makes no declaration in regard to abolishing the existing food zones for distribution of foodgrains and converting the whole of India into a single unit for that purpose.'

47. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the statement in the the Address that the prices of agricultural commodities have been fixed at economic levels does not reflect the correct position, because in fixing the prices on a scientific basis the production of marginal land, capital expenditure on production, five yearly rotation of agricultural land and the increased prices of other material used in production would have to be taken into account.'

48. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address makes no mention of the evaluation of the utility of using cow dung along with chemical fertilizers.'

49. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address, while showing awareness of the threat of inflation, mentions only the curative measures for facing the threat but does not

mention the preventive measures which rest only with Government and are not in the hands of the people."

50. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address, while showing awareness of the threat of the unaccounted money, has only suggested curative measures to meet it and makes no mention of the preventive measures against the accumulation of such money in future and for removing the causes thereof.'

51. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address makes no mention of Government's responsibility for bringing about deterioration in the monetary position, although an attempt has been made in it to enunciate the principle of balancing the imports and exports of which the Government is fully aware.'

52. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not point out that the present crisis in the foreign exchange position is the result of the defective policy followed by Government so far and that no lesson has been learnt therefrom so that the position of the foreign exchange may not become more critical.'

53. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address, in restating the objectives of the Fourth Five Year Plan, does not mention that in spite of these objectives the number of the unemployed in the country has increased, dearness has increased, economic disparity has increased and the miseries of the people have increased.'

54. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that keeping in view the policies of the Government, the views expressed in the Address regarding extension of facilities to private sector for the removal of the shortage of cement will remain only as pious wishes.'

55. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that while the Address expresses concern over the increase in population, it fails to take note of the weak policy of Government by which lakhs of people are migrating to India from Pakistan, and Government does not make any demand for land for the persons so migrating from Pakistan.'

56. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address (i) does not take note of the fact that Government has failed to enunciate and publicise its specific policy about Hindi, the national language as a medium for unifying India, thereby giving rise to certain misgivings in the minds of the people; and (ii) does not criticise the elements which were responsible for giving rise to those misgivings in the minds of the people which led to the unfortunate incidents in South India during the agitation there against the National Language.'

57. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address while admitting the danger from China, and the growing atomic power of that country, reiterates the Government's determination not to enter into an arms race with any country, and, not to manufacture atomic weapons though it is mentioned that Government will strengthen its means of defence.'

[Shri V. M. Chordia.]

58. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address, by referring to the policy of non-alignment, gives an impression that Washington and Moscow are still the two centres of the power blocs whereas the obvious centres now are Delhi and Peking and therefore, instead of adhering to the policy of non-alignment, Government should bring together its allies in order to make Delhi more powerful than Peking.'

59. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address fails to take note of the indiscipline among the students and the indifference of the Government towards Ayurved, etc.'

(Amendment Nos. 41 to 59 also stood in the names of Sarvashri G. K. Kapoor and D. Thengari)

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh) :
Madam, I move :

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern over the failure of Government to take adequate measures to prepare the people educationally and psychologically for the acceptance of the official language as laid down in the Constitution, in consequence whereof there was manifestation of widespread discontent and active hostility to the change over, and does not propose any steps to promote cultural fellowship amongst different linguistic units.'

70. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern over the Government's failure to take effective steps to hold the price line and check steep rise in prices of foodgrains and other essential commodities, resulting in unbearable hardships to the poor and middle classes of the community.'

71. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address makes no mention whatever of the firm resolve of the Indian people, affirmed by Parliament in November 1962, to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however hard and tough the struggle may be, and betrays Government's lack of awareness of the potential menace from the collusion of China and Pakistan.'

72. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that in the Address while the development of a prosperous socialist society is claimed to be the basis of Government policies, no attempt is made to chalk out any programme for the advancement of the nation towards a socialist order free from unemployment, exploitation and capitalist hold over national economy'.

73. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address fails to show any concern over Government's wilful negligence of the need to strive for the amelioration of the economic conditions of agricultural workers and to ensure to peasants social justice and a fair deal without which agricultural development will continue to be in doldrums and the food problem will not be solved.'

(Amendment Nos. 69 to 73 also stood in the names of Sarvashri Faridul Haq Ansari, Niranjana Singh, R. S. Khandekar and Ganga Sharan Sinha.)

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

74. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that there is a palpable decline in the leadership of the Government in the country, coupled with a growth of authoritarian trends in the Government.'

75. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that in the background of the declining leadership of the Government, the extreme reactionary forces are regrouping themselves and building up pressures on the Government for reactionary modifications of progressive Government policies.'

76. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the fact that the monopoly of political power enjoyed by the Party in power and in particular the recent negative trends in Government policy pose a major threat to parliamentary democracy and its future.'

77. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not recognise that fundamentally the growth of authoritarian and undemocratic trends in the Government lay at the root of the Government's failure to anticipate the recent developments in the South over the language issue and to tackle the problem correctly, having due regard for the sentiments and apprehensions of the non-Hindi speaking people.'

78. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address while recording the sorrow at the passing away of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, does not recognise that the void created by his death in the leadership of the Government is not only being not filled but, on the contrary, is being taken advantage of for beating a retreat from the positive policies under the late Prime Minister Nehru'

79. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take due cognisance of the fact that the centrifugal forces are gaining an upper hand in the highest ruling circles in the country since Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's passing away.'

80. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not mention that the positive policies evolved under the late Prime Minister can be upheld and carried forward not through verbal protestations but by resisting the pressures to reverse them on the one hand and by concrete practical steps in both national and international spheres on the other.'

81. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take into account the actual reality of the country's economic and political situation and fails to indicate any change in the policies and practices of Government which pose a positive threat to the cause of the progress of the nation on democratic lines.'

82. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not make any promise of an early lifting of the state of emergency which has been encouraging and bolstering authoritarian trends all along the line and which has invested the bureaucracy and the police with almost unrestrained powers of suppression of democratic rights and liberties.'

83. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the continuance of the state of emergency and the suspension of certain normal pro-

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]
visions of the Constitution mean, in effect, the undermining of the very principles on which our Constitution is founded.”

84. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the powers under emergency are being used for purposes other than those for which the state of emergency was proclaimed in October 1962.’”

85. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address has not show any awareness of the dangers involved in the continuance of the state of emergency in so far as the working of a parliamentary democracy is concerned.’”

86. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address has not taken any note of the many specific complaints that have been made since October 1962 throughout the country about the gross abuse of emergency powers and the Defence of India Rules thereunder.’”

87. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not show any concern for the fact that the continuance of the emergency in the present situation puts India’s parliamentary system in disrepute and creates an impression abroad that its ruling authorities no longer want to run the administration of the country in a normal way.’”

88. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address overlooks the fact that the emergency

powers and the Defence of India Rules are used for covering up acts of omission and commission on the part of the administration in dealing with public affairs.’”

89. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the popular feelings in the country that the powers under the emergency and the Defence of India Rules are now being used not for the security of the country but for the security of the rule by the party in power.’”

90. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address fails to see that the Government is trying to get the country habituated to the continuance of the emergency, which is clearly contrary to democratic principles and the interest of the country.’”

91. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the continuance of the emergency powers has greatly contributed to the negative anti-people trends which arise from the monopoly of political power by a single party rule in the country.’”

92. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not recognise even the need for a proper review of how the emergency powers and the Defence of India Rules are being used.’”

93. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not even take note of the observations made by the Supreme Court regarding the

Defence of India Rules in connection with a *habeas corpus* case by some political detenus under those Rules."

94. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take any note of the opinion expressed by eminent jurists in the country to the effect that the continuance of the emergency and the Defence of India Rules are harmful.'"

95. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that practically all the Opposition Parties and the Trade Union organisations in the country have demanded the lifting of the emergency.'"

96. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that despite the continuance of the emergency and unlimited powers thereunder given to the Government, problems affecting the life and living of the people such as food, high-prices and unemployment have been aggravated.'"

97. "That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the continuance of the emergency has only encouraged and emboldened the monopolists, the big business, big speculators and other elements of high finance.'"

98. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the continuance of the emergency and the Defence of India Rules are daily undermining the very basis of the rule of law.'"

99. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address misses the fact that when it came to the protection of the minority community in Calcutta and other parts of the country in January 1964 there was no enthusiasm on the part of the Government to use the emergency powers to put down communal disturbances at least at the beginning.'"

100. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the fact that the emergency powers and the Defence of India Rules at their disposal are making the members of the Council of Ministers increasingly defiant in their relations with the people and the Opposition.'"

101. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the big capitalists in the country are taking advantage of the emergency powers and the Defence of India Rules to intimidate and suppress the working people.'"

102. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that in the country-side the emergency powers and the Defence of India Rules are being taken advantage of by the big landlords, hoarders, profiteers and other anti-social elements for harrasing and suppressing the peasants and other sections of the rural poor.'"

103. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address overlooks the fact that while the Government leaders try to cover up their failures in the name of emergency, they on the other hand are indulging in ostentatious living as well as extravagance.'"

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104. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the emergency powers are used even against the teaching community and students thereby degrading our education and culture.'

105. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the powers under the emergency are encouraging corruption and malpractices in public administration, especially at the higher levels.'

106. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address misses the fact that by subjecting India's parliamentary democracy in its formative years to a continued rule under emergency the growth of India's parliamentary system is in effect being stifled and debased.'

107. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that in no modern bourgeois parliamentary democracy in the world the state of emergency and such extraordinary powers as the Defence of India Act and the Defence of India Rules are used for so long a time and in this manner in conditions of peace.'

108. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not recall that even under the British rule in India the Defence of India Rules were not continued in conditions of peace for so long a time.'

109. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not acknowledge that the continuance of emergency militates against the traditions of India's freedom movement and the teachings of the pioneers of national movement.'

110. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Government is guided in the matter of the state of emergency by narrow partisan interest and is out to defy public opinion in the country.'

111. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not express any sorrow or remorse at the fact that ever since the emergency came into existence hundreds of political workers, trade unionists and other workers of the democratic mass organisations have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules and detained without trial.'

112. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not even take note of the fact that whenever it so wishes the Government uses the Defence of India Rules to put in prison without trial members of Parliament and State Legislatures belonging to the Opposition.'

113. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Defence of India Rules were used in 1964 in Kerala to arrest several members of the State Legislatures on the eve of the discussion on a no-confidence motion in the Kerala Assembly against the Congress Ministry.'

114. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Defence of India Rules have been used to suppress the peaceful agitation for food and against high prices instead of taking positive steps to relieve the food crisis and reduce prices.'"

115. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Defence of India Rules have been used against the workers in factories for their demanding the implementation of the Tripartite agreement and for making it easier for the employers to disregard such agreements.'"

116. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not make any mention of a serious subject, viz., the arrest and detention without trial of about one thousand leaders and workers of the Communist Party (Marxist) otherwise known as the rival Communist Party, including a good number of members of Parliament and of several State Legislatures.'"

117. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not offer any explanation at all of the use of the Defence of India Rules on a mass scale against the political opponents of the Party in power.'"

118. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address overlooks the fact that a new drive for a large scale arrest and detention without trial of the Communists belonging to what is known as the rival Communist Party was first launched in West Bengal in October 1964 and then extended to the whole of the country from December 30, 1964.'"

119. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that many of the Communists belonging to the rival Communist Party who have been taken into custody under the Defence of India Rules and detained were only recently released from detention under the same measure.'"

120. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take any notice of the serious criticism which has been voiced in the leading newspapers of the country against the large scale arrest and detention of political opponents of the Party in power.'"

121. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does take note of the adverse international reactions to these arrests and detention without trial of political workers including members of Parliament and State Legislatures.'"

122. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the likelihood of the question of large scale arrests and detention without trial of the political leaders and workers in the country being taken up by international organisations of jurists and lawyers which cannot but put the Government of India in an embarrassing and difficult situation.'"

123. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the large scale arrests and detention under the Defence of India Rules of the leaders and workers belonging to what is known as the rival Communist Party

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has been a subject-matter of strong criticism by foreign papers like the Daily Worker (London) and l'Unita (Rome, Italy)."

124. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the fact that large scale arrests and detention without trial of political opponents of the Party in power go not only to lower the image of India in the eyes of the freedom loving people but is also liable to encourage the reactionary forces in the political life of the Afro-Asian countries.'

125. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take into account the fact that the large scale arrests and detention of the political opponents of the Party in power in India are bound to mock at protestations about democracy on the part of the ruling circles.'

126. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take even any notice of the fact that the large scale arrests of the 'Left Communists' had been criticised even in conservative papers like the London Times.'

127. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the large scale arrests and detention of the political opponents of the Congress are viewed in the country and abroad as an attack on the democratic movement as a whole.'

128. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the pub-

lic resentment against the arrests has become all the more intense because of the fact that these have been made when the Government have failed to tackle the problems of food, high prices etc.'

129. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the entire Opposition in both Houses of West Bengal Legislature strongly voiced their protest against the use of the Defence of India Rules to detain the political opponents of the Party in power including 16 members of the State Legislature.'

130. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that a number of Communists continue to be in detention in Maharashtra ever since the end of 1962.'

131. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not make any mention of the production of a White Paper on the large scale arrests of "Left Communists" although immediately after the arrests a promise was made by the Union Home Minister that such a White Paper would be produced.'

132. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that large scale arrests of political opponents of the Congress, including members of Parliament and State Legislatures, have taken place although there is no mention of any overt act to show that there was any plan or move on the part of those who have been arrested for violent subversive acts.'

133. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

but regret that the Address omits any reference to these arrests even when there is no suggestion in the Address that the security of India is in any way threatened by internal forces'"

134 "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the adverse reactions of statements made by the Union Home Minister at Trivandrum towards the end of January in support of the large scale arrests of those whom he describes sometimes as "Left Communists"'"

135 'That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

'but regret that the Address does not take any note of the fact that the Government has broken the long-standing precedent of releasing political detenus on parole in the event of their contesting elections to Lok Sabha or State Assemblies'"

136 "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

'but regret that the Address does not indicate any official reactions to the widespread popular demand for the immediate release of all these political opponents of the Party in power who are now detained under the Defence of India Rules'"

137 "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Government is using the Defence of India Rules and not the Preventive Detention Act against their political opponents with a view to avoiding even the limited procedures and safeguards provided for in the Preventive Detention Act,'"

138 That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

'but regret that the Address does not recall the assurance given in the early 50's when the Preventive Detention Act was amended to the effect that the Preventive Detention Act would not be used against persons belonging to any sections of the Opposition or the Trade Union and democratic movements'"

139 'That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the political detenus under the Defence of India Rules are not being given due status in prison or proper treatment'"

140. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the peoples' protest in Tripura against the arrest of a number of leading political workers, including a member of Parliament a member of the State Assembly and a sixty year old respected woman leader and their removal from Tripura to the Hazaribagh Central jail in Bihar'"

141 'That at the end of the Motion the following be added namely —

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that a trade union worker who was a detenu and was released on parole for contesting Dehra Dun Municipal elections was sent back to jail even after he had won the elections with a thumping majority thereby once again registering in him the confidence of the citizens of Dehra Dun'"

142 'That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the large scale arrests of political opponents of the Party in power have been particu-

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larly widespread precisely in those States where the position of the Congress is weak, viz., Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal.' "

143. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the cross sections of public opinion in the country are by no means convinced at the explanations given by the Home Minister that these arrests have nothing to do with the mid-term elections in Kerala or with the rights of the people to conduct democratic movements.' "

144. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not give any assurance that the Members of Parliament and State Legislatures who were detained under the Defence of India Rules will be allowed to attend the sessions of their respective Houses in order to answer the charges which have been made against them and their respective parties in their absence.' "

145. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take proper cognisance of the fact that to detain without trial Members of Parliament and other legislators and then to make charges against them in their absence is wholly unfair to the persons concerned and equally contrary to the accepted ways of parliamentary democracy.' "

146. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Government has, by its acts of omission and commission, failed to tackle the language problem, especially in the recent period.' "

147. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that many people in the country, especially in the South, felt that the assurances given by the late Prime Minister in 1959 in regard to certain aspects of the language question were not being properly implemented.' "

148. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the speech delivered by the Home Minister on January 26, 1965 in Hindi on the All India Radio was in some ways misconceived, including the choice of his words, when he tried to allay apprehensions among the non-Hindi speaking people particularly in the South.' "

149. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that immediately before the 26th January and thereafter the Government did not take effective and wise steps to forestall the possible repercussions under the conditions then existing on the formal and legal change over from English to Hindi at the Union official level.' "

150. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that in the initial stages of the disturbances in Tamil Nad over the language question, Government looked upon the entire development as a law and order problem and proceeded to help the State Government of Madras by placing the military at its disposal, etc., instead of giving political leadership and guidance to face up to the situation.' "

151. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that despite the machinations of some extreme reactionary and anti-social elements to exploit the sentiment of the people of Madras and utilise the language issue for their own ends, the political and moral responsibility for allowing the situation to take such an ugly turn must rest with the Union Government and the State Government of Madras.' "

152. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not yet indicate vigorous measures to upgrade the regional languages in the States and give them their due places as a part of the overall transition from English to India's own national languages and for the cultural political advancement of the people.' "

153. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that Urdu is not recognised as a regional language in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, nor does it hold out any assurance that Urdu shall be given its due status as regional language in these and other States where it is spoken by large numbers of people.' "

154. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not give any assurance that the Central Government will intervene so that proper judicial inquiry is held into all cases of police and military firings and violence in Madras and Andhra.' "

155. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that in order to

solve the language question in a democratic and popular way it is urgently necessary to counter the extremist positions in regard thereto.' "

156. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take due cognisance of the fact that the solution of the language problem can be brought about only on the basis of undiluted democratic principles and in full cooperation with all healthy forces in the country.' "

157. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that whatever good work was done at the earlier National Integration Conference was not followed up by the Government either in the Centre or at the State levels.' "

158. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that when several States were not implementing the three-language formula, agreed to by all concerned, the Union Government did not show any concern or take any initiative in order to ensure its implementation.' "

159. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the fact that corruption in high places is growing even though some Chief Ministers of States have had to resign their offices on account of serious allegations of corruption and/or impropriety on their party.' "

160. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the pro-

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mise made by the Union Home Minister that within two years corruption would be eradicated are far from being fulfilled.' "

161. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that there is a strong opposition in national political circles in the country including Government circles to the work of the Vigilance Committees.' "

162. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that some members of the Central and the State Governments have openly come out against even the very restricted initiative taken under the so-called Sadachar movement.' "

163. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the public does not have much confidence in the Government's declaration about fighting corruption, especially in view of the fact that whenever people in high places are involved there is generally a tendency to delay and hush up the allegations.' "

164. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not recognise that it is impossible to develop people's initiative in the fight against corruption while using the Defence of India Rules and other repressive measures against the Opposition and the country's democratic movement.' "

165. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not call upon the Government and the

nation to go to the social, economic and political roots of corruption in the administration and in the country's public life.' "

166. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that corruption in high places today arises largely from monopoly of political power on the one hand and from the growth of monopolies and monopolistic tendencies in our economy on the other.' "

167. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the authorities do not pick up sufficient courage in fighting corruption in high circles for various extraneous considerations.' "

168. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that one source of corruption is political donations by the big business and the joint stock companies under its control to the funds of the ruling Party as well as other Parties that generally stand for the vested interest.' "

169. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not note the imperative need for enlisting the co-operation of the working people and their trade union organisations at all levels in fighting corruption.' "

170. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not indicate any assurance to the effect that the Government has drawn correct lessons from such important

reports as that of the Das Commission and the Vivian Bose Commission.'"

171. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not pin-point corruption as exemplified in the crisis of the present economic and political system in which the ruling circles are getting more and more associated with big business and other monopolistic interests.'

172. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the serious allegations about the use of public funds and State resources for promoting the purposes of the Party in power.'

173. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not indicate any policy for the cultural remaking of the nation, through, among other things, reorientation of our educational system.'

174. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take proper note of the country-wide agitation of the teachers of all categories as well as of the student community for the redress of their long-standing grievances.'

175. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that mere allocation of funds by the Central Government to the States does not exhaust its responsibility towards the cause of education.'

176. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not offer any promise that higher education, especially in science and technology would be increasingly made cheaper and thus be available to boys and girls of the poorer sections of the community.'

177. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not indicate any initiative on the part of the Central Government to review the implementation of reforms in education or measures for improving the conditions of the teachers and students.'

178. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not show sufficient concern at the fact that the rate of economic growth under the Third Five Year Plan had not only fallen short of the modest targets, but has not even kept pace with the growth of the population.'

179. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not emphasise the need for a critical review of the guiding policies and practices under the Five Year Plans, even when many physical plan targets are not being fulfilled.'

180. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the semi-stagnancy in agriculture, nor does it promise any radical agrarian reforms which would break the concentration of land-ownership in the hands of the few and give land to the actual tillers of the soil, thus facilitating radical reorganisation of India's agriculture.'

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181. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take any note of the fact that the agricultural indebtedness of the peasant masses is growing and that unless the entire policy of rural credit, backed up by provision of adequate funds, is changed, rural indebtedness would continue to crush the peasantry to the detriment not only of our agriculture but of the national economy as a whole.'

182 "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not promise any vigorous measures for encouragement to the cottage and rural industries which have to play an important part in the regeneration of the national economy.'

183. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not note the absence of effective concrete measures for curbing the growth of monopoly and monopolistic trends in national economy.'

184. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not even categorically promise the complete abolition of the Managing Agency system and effective amendments to the Company Law to prevent the Secretaries and Treasurers, directly or indirectly, assuming, in effect, the role of Managing Agents, and thus help both inter-locking of companies and concentration of economic power.'

185. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the popular demand for nationalisation of banking and

general insurance and for taking over the entire whole-sale trade in food-grains in the public sector under State Trading.'

186. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not promise the nationalisation of the export-import trade, although the country is running heavy deficit trade balances and India's foreign reserves have reached an all-time low.'

187. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not promise to bring down the profits in the corporate private sector by fixing an effective ceiling on profits.'

188. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take any note of the dangers of increasing operation of private business investment in our economy whereby the foreign capitalists seek to exploit India's resources and take advantage of the protected market.'

189. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the so-called foreign collaboration agreements with foreign private business interests promote fresh penetration of foreign capital in our national economy.'

190. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the fact that in the recent months foreign private business enterprises are making it a special point to take advantage of India's poor foreign exchange resources in order

to secure for themselves new concessions and better terms for operating on India's economy.'"

191. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the present reliance on collaboration with foreign private business interests is fraught with serious consequences for the country's future.'"

192. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not give any assurance that the present drift in the direction of seeking more and more private collaboration and more and more private investments will be checked and stopped.'"

193. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the present policy of the Government with regard to foreign private investments in India is contrary to the national objectives of attaining full economic independence.'"

194. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the financial advantage gained from the western countries through collaboration agreements and 'aids', etc., are more than offset by the loss India's economy suffers on account of unequal trade relations with these countries.'"

195. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not promise any forthright review of the present decline of India's foreign assets notwithstanding the fact that an all time peak has been achieved in exports.'"

196. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take a realistic view of India's growing repayment liabilities, nor does it indicate any concrete policy to improve the situation.'"

197. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not recognise the need for preventing or at least restricting remittances by foreign investors in India of profits, dividends, commissions and other charges, etc.'"

198. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take serious note of the huge amount that are being paid as freight charges to foreign concerns.'"

199. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not lay any emphasis on doing away with the imported technical know-how and on relying on and developing faster Indian know-how and expertise.'"

200. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not promise any ending of India's continued dependence on food imports from the U.S.A. and other countries.'"

201. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not warn against the continuance of food imports under PL 480 and the utilisation of the rupee funds accruing under this arrangement for purposes inimical to the interest of the country and its economy.'"

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202. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the failure of Government to defend the interest of our national economy at the recent Conference of the International Chamber of Commerce held in New Delhi.'"

203. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the departures from the accepted national policies in regard to oil, fertilisers, etc., by permitting fresh private investments in these lines.'"

204. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not stress the urgency of recovery of more than 26 crores of rupees as capital and interest due to the Government from the Tata Iron & Steel Company and Indian Iron and Steel Company, especially when education, for example, needs bigger financial provisions.'"

205. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the funds at the disposal of such institutions as the State Bank of India, the Life Insurance Corporation and the Industrial Finance Corporation are being used to finance and bolster up big business interests in the country.'"

206. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the dangers involved in inviting delegations of foreign private business interests to India and then allowing them to come to bilateral deals with their counterparts in the country.'"

207. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not recognise the need for the speeding up of the growth of the public sector through a policy of nationalisation as well as of setting up new State-owned industries and undertakings.'"

208. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the public sector undertakings are more and more coming under the influence of big business or those who uphold the latter's interests.'"

209. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not give any assurance that the Patent Laws in the country will not be modified in order to invite foreign private business investments.'"

210. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not give any assurance of a vigorous all-out drive against unaccounted money.'"

211. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not offer any promise of either amending the Constitution to abolish privy purses or of taking steps to mobilise the resources of the former Indian princely rulers, whether these resources are within the country or are held in foreign lands.'"

212. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not see the necessity for withholding

all payments of compensation to big landlords whose lands have been acquired by the State.’”

213. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not make any promise for abolition of all privileges and special amenities now enjoyed by the former Indian Princes.’”

214. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not indicate any measures against the various Trusts created by the big business families and other wealthy people in the country with a view to avoiding income-tax and other levies.’”

215. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not promise any concrete measures for equitable distribution of the national income or for effectively reducing income disparities.’”

216. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not promise any review and change of the wage and labour policy of the Government which is working to the detriment of the working people and to the advantage of the monopolies.’”

217. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not promise that such methods as the modifications by Government of the recommendations of the Bonus Commission will be given up, having regard to the social objectives of the State.’”

218. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not promise even the minimum rise in the wages and dearness allowances of the working people, despite the fact that living standards of vast sections are falling owing to high prices and unemployment.’”

219. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not promise any protection of the trade union rights of the working people against encroachment by the employers.’”

220. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not give any promise of controlling speculation in land in urban areas, especially in the big cities, and for reduction of house-rent by legislative and other measures.’”

221. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not sufficiently take into account the growing hardships and suffering of the overwhelming majority of the people on account of rising prices.’”

222. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not promise a general reduction of economic burdens, including tax burdens, on the mass of the people.’”

223. “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

‘but regret that the Address does not recognise the need for a radical reorientation of budgetary and fiscal

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policies so that they become an instrument not only of planning but of material and cultural well-being of the masses.' "

224. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not assure the people that in the Fourth Five Year Plan effective steps will be taken to raise the living standards of the working people.' "

225. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not promise better prospects and better living conditions to the medical profession and the scientific personnel in the country, nor does it take note of the fact that many qualified medical men are leaving the country or remain abroad.' "

226. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not promise improvement in the conditions of the members of the armed forces, especially the other ranks in the army, as well as better care for their families including, in particular, the education of their children.' "

227. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not assure proper rehabilitation of the displaced persons from East Pakistan, particularly those who have migrated following the recent disturbances there last year in keeping with the pledge that this question will be treated as a truly national one.' "

228. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not make any sympathetic references

to the problems of the Indians who have now returned to the country from Burma, nor does it promise any concrete assistance to them for their rehabilitation and living.' "

229. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not promise any proper review of the policies with regard to the backward communities or their implementation in full measure, nor does it take note of the complaints of neglect which emanate from the representatives of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.' "

230. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not give a clear assurance that all those small men in the foodgrains trade who will be affected by the operations of the Food Corporation will be suitably employed either under the Corporation or be provided with alternative avenues of livelihood.' "

231. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the minority communities still continue to suffer from a number of disabilities and discriminations in the sphere of employment, business, etc., due to the prevalence of communal bias in those who control them.' "

232. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not promise any special financial provision and other measures for the propagation of women's education in the country.' "

233. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not recognise the need for directly taking care of the children of the working people, and making necessary arrangements for that purpose, especially, when their parents are at work.'"

234. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take any note of the evil of employment of temporary contract labour by the coal mines and other concerns including some under the Government.'"

235. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not promise a minimum living wage to the agricultural labourers and immediate improvement of their conditions through other measures.'"

236. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take any note of the fact that the laws against untouchability are not being properly implemented in vast parts of the country.'"

237. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take into account the serious shortage of drinking water for vast sections of the rural population.'"

238. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that many co-operatives in the country are in the control of exploiting classes and are run in disregard of the purposes for which they are promoted.'"

239. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the precarious condition of housing in the country, especially rural housing, nor does it promise any adequate measures for its improvement.'"

240. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the very inadequate implementation even of the existing housing schemes for low-income groups.'"

241. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the serious situation which has arisen as a result of the absence even of the minimum requisite housing accommodation for the employees of the Central Government as well as those of the State Government.'"

242. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not note that whereas the housing requirements of the working people should receive priority, the building materials are being more and more made available to the richer sections of the community.'"

243. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the deteriorating crime situation in big cities like Delhi and Calcutta, nor does it give any assurance that serious efforts will be made to prevent crimes.'"

244. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the display

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of certain American films and propagation of crime literature imported from the U S A encourage criminal tendencies in young minds ”

245 ‘That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘but regret that the Address does not promise any review of the actual working of the basic policy of anti-colonialism and non-alignment with a view to overcoming the shortcomings in its actual implementation ’ ”

246 That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that a narrow, nationalistic and chauvinistic approach in matters of foreign policy weakens the image of India in the eyes of the peoples of the world and reduces her capacity to intervene effectively in world affairs ’

247 “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that certain misgivings and reservations have risen in a number of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries about India’s role in international affairs ’ ”

248 “That at the end of the Motion the following added, namely —

but regret that the Address does not come out firmly against colonialism and neo colonialism without which India can never play her rightful part in developing Afro-Asian solidarity or promoting world peace ”

249 “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘but regret that the Address does not warn against the hesitations and vacillations on the part of Government

of India in the conduct of the world-wide struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism ’ ”

250 ‘That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the armed intervention by the U S forces in Vietnam as well as the armed attacks by the U S forces on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam ’ ”

251 ‘That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘but regret that the Address does not give any call for the withdrawal of U.S. troops and military installations from South Vietnam in consonance with the Geneva agreement of 1954 ’ ”

252 “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the threats to the security and peace of the Afro-Asian region on account of the presence of the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Pacific region and its entry into Indian Ocean ’ ”

253 “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘but regret that the Address does not condemn the underground nuclear test by the United States of America ’ ”

254 “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the so-called American aid is an instrument of the U S policy for advancing neo-colonialism ’ ”

255 “That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely —

‘but regret that the Address does not name the powers responsible for armed intervention in order to main-

tain the position of the colonialists in the Congo, Uganda, Angola and other places in Africa.'"

256. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not give any assurance of full diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic.'"

257. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not note that the non-recognition by India of the German Democratic Republic is being taken advantage of by the revanchist forces in West Germany.'"

258. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the failure of the International Control Commission to examine the complaints regarding U.S. actions in violation of the Geneva agreement of 1954 in Vietnam.'"

259. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not make a correct realistic assessment of the emergence of Malaysia nor does it take note of the fact that Malaysia is being opposed by a good number of freedom-loving nations.'"

260. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not give a clear call for the reorganisation of the United Nations Organisation in order to make it conform to the present-day realities of the world.'"

261. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not note that the continuance of the

Kashmir issue in the Security Council and in the UN is only helping the forces which are opposed to India and which want this issue to be kept alive for provoking tensions and conflict between Pakistan and India.'"

262. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the continued military aid to Pakistan is responsible for the present bad state of Indo-Pak relations, nor does it come out openly with a call to the U.S. to stop such military aid.'"

263. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the failure on the part of the Government to secure an assurance through appropriate international commitments that the US weapons supplied to Pakistan shall not be used against India.'"

264. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that India's continued membership in the Commonwealth serves no positive purpose, but, on the contrary, provides prestige to the forces that are inimical to the cause of national liberation.'"

265. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not give any assurance that India's Foreign Services shall be properly educated and reorientated so that they can correctly interpret and promote the policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism, especially in the context of the Afro-Asian peoples struggle for national liberation and against colonialism.'"

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

266. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that a firm stand against imperialism in the Afro-Asian region and elsewhere as well as a bold initiative to unite all freedom and peace-loving nations against imperialism is the key to the success of the noble mission of India in world affairs.' "

267 "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not give any assurance that effective measures and correct positions will be taken by the Government for the preservation of the democratic gains of the masses and for carrying forward these gains in the social, economic and political spheres in the face of the growing offensive of the forces of right reaction and communalism.' "

268. "That at the end of the Motion the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address fails to feel the pulse of the masses and note their strivings and urges.' "

The questions were proposed.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Madam. I think at the outset it would be right for this House to express its concern at the health of our President. We notice that he is getting on in years and the effect of that is visible. We are very sorry that he could not even read through his Address himself. We hope that he will take the necessary treatment and be able to get complete cure soon.

Madam, the President has rightly drawn the attention of the country in the review that he gave in his Address to so many important aspects and problems that are facing us. So far as economy is concerned, the Address frankly acknowledges that the past record of the industrial sector is not

impressive, fresh momentum is required not only in the interest of stability of prices but also in the acceleration of growth.

As regards agricultural production, particularly food production, while the year has begun well, great anxiety was experienced by the country very recently and the political pulls resulted in acute shortages on the one side while the Food Minister called a Conference of party leaders and was agreeable to remove the zones. The pulls inside the party or otherwise prevented him from carrying out the policy. He very much wanted to remove the zones. Therefore, great hardship was experienced by the people.

Again, the Food Minister is inclined and willing to learn from countries which have made agriculture a success. But we suffer from a sort of political blindness that has put a curtain across our eyes or the eyes of our Government, and they refuse to see what is so clearly visible and refused to learn the lessons which smaller and bigger countries have learnt and applied with great success. We have been talking of food shortages since the time we attained independence. Every time we are told that our shortage is very small, that if we add .5 per cent. production, there will be no shortage and every time we go to import food from America. Our whole basic approach to the food problem is to be changed completely. But before any one could do it, we go by theories leaving aside the practical aspect of it. We rush in for different types of legislation copied from countries where they have proved unsuccessful and because of this faulty policy our failure in agriculture is making us suffer more and more. The late Prime Minister of India had also said that if we failed on the agricultural front where would our Plans be? But not only he, his planners and also his Ministers lost sight of that policy. What are we doing about it? I do not see anything serious being done about it.

Madam, the country has been bled white by taxation both for State enterprises and large river valley projects. What is the return from them? In regard to many of them the complaint is that water is not being utilised. Why not? Instead of spend-

ing so much money for purchasing food from outside, why not utilise that money to give water at a lower or even free rate to our agriculturists which would immediately pay us returns? Have we got any man in our Agriculture Ministry at the Centre or in the States that goes from village to village and advises the agriculturists what to do and how to increase his crop yield as has been done by smaller countries who have made agriculture a success. That is, Madam, one of our great failings.

Madam, the Address of the President rightly emphasise the need for curtailment of public expenditure particularly because of Government's intention to have no deficit financing in this year.

Madam, we are in a peculiar situation this year. Before we finished with the President's Address, we heard the Finance Minister's Budget. I do not know whether the President had the benefit of having a glance through it before he delivered his Address to this House. Though he held out this hope, it does not bring us any relief.

I have said and it has to be recognised that our Finance Minister is a very clever financier. What he has up his sleeves, it is very difficult to understand. What he has in his mind it is very difficult to fathom. I heard his speech sitting in the Gallery.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What he has in his head is difficult to comprehend.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : I heard his speech and I tried to analyse. I do not think I have yet understood the full implications but there are people who understand the implications of it and are very sensitive and the Bombay Stock Market crashed immediately after his speech. I am told that it is better today. I am not sure that it is better because of purchases by the L.I.C. and other Government bodies, with the large moneys of which it is always possible to boost the market. Is it the manipulation of the prices or is it the natural return of confidence?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh) : You do not want high prices . . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : I think this is not a thing which you can understand Mr. Arora.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : I can better understand than yourself . . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Otherwise you would not have said what you said. I was referring to the prices in the stock market. High price of stock does not mean necessarily high prices of food, or normal prices. Then we are faced with a very difficult balance of payments situation. What is it due to? It is also due to the failure of the Congress Government and particularly the public sector undertakings, to pay what they were expected to, the yields that they were expected to bring. This country has invested more than Rs. 2,000 crores in public sector undertakings and taken as a whole, the return is miserable. Are we getting even half a per cent. return on that Rs. 2,000 crores? If we are not getting even half a per cent, and we are paying interest, the poor taxpayer of this country is taxed not only for the return of the capital but for the deficiency of having to pay interest, where interest is not earned which is a very very great failure on the part of the Government. A study of the President's speech discloses the crisis in the capital market. This crisis in the supply of food, balance of payments, all these are matters which need very serious thinking on behalf of the Government and a new policy, a new approach to change the general economic climate. I do not see that that is coming. I was looking with expectations from the rumours that were prevailing. I do not see very much in this. The President has rightly hinted that so far as the internal economy is concerned, the position is virtually critical. The rate of interest, the rate of increase in industrial production, even according to the President's speech, is estimated at not more than 8 per cent. As regards agricultural production, it has declined from 3 per cent. in 1962-63 to 2.4 per cent in 1963-64. The only salutary feature for which I do not think the Government can claim much credit is that the expected kharif crop for the next

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season is a little better. Let us pray to God that it will be really good and the poor people of this country that have been bled white by the heavy taxes that have been imposed suffer less and get some relief. I was referring to the conditions of money and the stock market before I was interrupted. One of the reasons why the situation is so bad is and I believe so many foreign businessmen, financiers, who come in such large numbers to this country at the invitation of the Government, at the invitation of the businessmen have also remarked, that frequent changes in the tax structure, frequent changes in the administration of the Company Law, are not conducive to the growth of capital, capital formation or to the growth of industry. The Government should once for all make up its mind and have a policy, that would be stable at least for a few years. Just as the targets in the shape of plans are fixed and they are sought to be adhered to even though there are difficulties, with deficit financing, with borrowing—all that was not envisaged when the Plan was made—similarly, a firm policy on these aspects is necessary before we can make progress industrially. Unfortunately the Government have not displayed the right response at the appropriate time. Piece-meal solutions are found as and when the crisis come. Ideological considerations are not correlated to the realities of the economy. The much-needed distinction between the minimum and the long-term solution is not properly assessed. The difficulties in the food and capital markets could be attributed to the adherence to stereotyped policies, programmes and procedures. The recent meeting at Durgapur showed how divided the leadership of the ruling party itself is and how different the thinking is. So we have a Government that is not clearly on its own mind. Different Ministers contradict each other. In that context how is the Government going to have a clear policy and how is it going to solve the problems that are facing us, the gap between the resources and what is available, the food problem and the crisis of confidence? There is lack of co-ordination if not conflict. I say there is conflict between the Centre and the States. The States want to go their own way.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh) : Question.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Well, you have the questions. If you do not, why do you not agree to an enquiry in Orissa? Why are you wanting to go? What is the way? Have you not seen what has happened in Punjab and what is the result of it? Every State Minister wants to be a dictator on his own.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : Would the Congress Benches question too?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : I will come to that later. In the matter of food, the policy of the Government seems to be to lay more emphasis on the distribution and that, I believe, is because somehow they want to introduce State Trading. They want to put the blame on the traders and to introduce State Trading which has been found to have failed in this country. They have tried it more than once. They have introduced rationing. It has not led to lowering of prices. Whatever Government has taught, wherever you have introduced controls, the prices have gone up. Besides, this is invariably followed by the evil of corruption. Why do you forget what Gandhiji told us all his life that controls would breed corruption? It is inherent in the type of controls that have to be introduced. The remedy is to produce more, the remedy is to see that more is produced than to control. And what is Government doing about it?

Madam, in the matter of industrial production, for instance, there are many many spheres where more could be produced but for the preaching of 'go slow' What has Government done to combat it? The Indian National Trade Union Congress is supposed to be a union that will follow the ideals of Gandhiji. I should like to know what the I.N.T.U.C. is doing to preach this enlightened patriotism to the workers, namely, to give honestly a day's work for the wages that they get. Madam, it was only a few months ago that we had a bank employees strike in Bombay, where the bank employees struck work because they felt that their salaries were low and the prices were going up. I then happened to go to an office where there is a bank underneath.

I asked the manager—because he happened to be passing—“What is the trouble?” “Why is all this?” He said, “They want more wages, because the prices are going up.” “But what is the quarrel with you?” I asked, “Have you done anything?” “No, we have done nothing” was his reply. I went a few months later, after the Bank Award had been given, and we happened to cross each other again there. I asked, “How are things now?” “Fortunately I am a little happier. I have peace.” was his reply. Now, after the Bank Award, a person who was getting about Rs. 100 is getting over Rs. 200. I said, “I am glad you have peace, but do you get the work that you should get from the employees?” He said, “Please do not talk about it.” I asked, “Why?” He said, “No bank employee does more than two-thirds of the work that he can easily turn out in a day.” Madam, that is the general picture, but why I name the bank employees is because theirs is supposed to be an enlightened union. The bank employees are people who read and write, who understand; at least they should understand that when they fail, that when they stop work for a few hours, they are not merely taking away from the bank but also from the country. And what is our Government trying to do in this matter? They have been failing in this matter, Madam. I have mentioned this more than once on different occasions and I still think that it is a very very great failure on their part, and it needs to be emphasised. When we talk of the railways, it is the same thing. It is the same thing with every enterprise. And why is it so? It is because the rules of discipline have been so loosened that you cannot do anything. They have not been loosened like that, they have not been allowed to go that way, in the communist countries. When Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Bulganin had come to Bombay, when they were attending one of the meetings of the businessmen, somebody asked them, “What do you do to workers who go slow?” Promptly came the reply, “We send them to Siberia, because their action does not merely hurt that enterprise, but it hurts the country.” It is a wrong notion that the Congress Party and, if you please, the Communist Party, together, have dinned into the ears of the people, into the ears of the employees or workers that, when they work in a factory or even when they work

in a public undertaking, they should not give their full day's work, because they are working for somebody else. Madam, every patriotic citizen should put in a full day's work honestly for his country, and unless we infuse that spirit in them, I do not think we will be able to pull our country out of the situation that we are in today. I should like to know what our Government is doing about it.

Madam, we have a very clever Finance Minister. We have also a Home Minister; I wish I could say the same thing about him. In a way he is clever, but he gets found out a bit too often; at least I found him out. Madam, in this House and in the other House questions have been asked of the Home Minister about many things, about crime. And the answers that he gives are surprising. Now, the Home Minister expressed his great grief at the murder of the ex-Chief Minister of Punjab. We also feel sorry for it. No one can be happy; no one can feel in any way happy at heart that such a thing should happen in our country. In our country we do not like this business of shooting at each other if we do not like each other. We may be political opponents; we may be anything, but this is a thing that is not known to this country, and it is a sad day for this country that such a thing has come to pass. But then, with all the noise that the Home Minister made about it, what is happening to this case? In this country punishment of guilty people is a matter that is delayed too long. Has not the Home Minister received complaints of so many things? I have sent him complaints of so many matters, where he should inquire. But I am not satisfied with what he has done, in many of them. Now one of the things that engaged the attention of even Members of Parliament was this; I think thirty Members of Parliament wrote to him—I did not write to him; at least I do not think I did—and there was the question of thefts of scooters and motor-cycles in Delhi. What did the Home Minister do about it? I did refer to it, but I do not think I was one of the persons who wrote to him about it. I wrote to him subsequently, certainly, but I am not satisfied with the answer. He promised to write to me; he sent me an answer, but I am sorry it reached me only this morning. I am not satisfied with the answer.

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But pertinent questions were asked publicly in the House by Members of Parliament, and even by a newspaper, by a Bombay weekly. But the Home Minister has given no answer. Certain matters were brought to light because of the actions of certain people. Has the Home Minister enquired into them? I am afraid he has failed to do that, and if he goes on in this way, how are the people going to have confidence in him? And here this is a matter which concerns high people. One of the questions asked was

"Is it a fact that early in the morning of May 17, a Joint Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs had gone to the residence of a well-known resident of Nizamuddin and had enquired whether any scooter or a motor-cycle had been stolen or lost from his place?"

Now this should provide the police with an obvious link. But instead of finding out the link, the offer of a new car out of priority, was made to hush up the matter. Surely this is not what the police should do. There was a further question put

"Is the hon. Minister aware of the fact that a son of this particular Joint Secretary was involved in a serious motor-cycle accident the previous night?"

I am sorry for the boy involved in that serious accident; he may be crippled for life, I am sorry about it. I do not mean to hurt his feelings or the parents' feelings. But there is a certain link between the fact that a group of youngsters have been playing pranks in Delhi and some effort has been made to shield them. That is the most objectionable feature of this episode. Some sort of news was published of some of these boys having links with people in Kashmir. Does the Home Minister know anything about it? Has the Home Minister questioned the persons with whom these boys went and stayed? There is a Miss Muhammadi, principal of a women's college in Srinagar, who seems to know quite a lot about it. Has the Home Minister or any police officer gone and questioned her? This sort of suppressing matters is not going to lead us anywhere. Madam, I had occasion to press something else about the

present Home Minister a couple of years ago, to which he gave an answer in my absence and I thought it was not fair of him to have done so. I asked a very simple question in this House: 'Is the Home Minister in the habit of carrying a cooker with live coal so that he can get hot food in the aeroplane?' Now when I had gone to Chandigarh when the Punjab matter was very warm, the Home Minister came here and made a statement about the matter and about my

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh).
He denied it.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL. I wish to say that the denial was false because, two days later, two Ministers of the inner Cabinet of which he is a member, met at a third Minister's house at a party and one of them said "That is true but it was a few years ago. He does not do it now." That means that the truth of what I said stands that it is established. I never said that he did it yesterday. But he was doing it some time, doing it as a Minister in recent years. The fact is there. And what is the use of denying it? And Mr. Nanda should know better, as a Minister he should have a better sense of responsibility than deny it in my absence in this manner.

If he wants, I will name the Ministers though I am not very anxious to do so. Madam, I overheard a conversation among two Ministers and therefore I got the information. I put the question in this House. Two days later I happened to hear it and it was repeated that it was true.

SHRIMATI SHARDA BHARGAVA (Rajasthan). On a point of information Madam

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL. How can we have confidence if Ministers are going to behave like this?

SHRIMATI SHARDA BHARGAVA. On a point of information Madam, I want to know whether the hon. Minister informed the Home Minister when he was going away that he would not be present here.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Did the Home Minister inform me that he would be replying to my question on that day when I was not here ? It was only courtesy due from the Home Minister that he should inform me that he was going to answer my question.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : Was it not necessary to have it *vice-versa* ?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : No. How is it possible for us ? Mr. Bhargava is a Member of Parliament and is also the Whip of the Congress Party in Parliament. Being the Whip he will certainly have certain facilities. But you know all Members of Parliament do not have such facilities, they do not have a room and stenographers and secretaries behind them to do things so fast. You need only say : “उसको ऐसा चिट्ठी लिख दो” That is the trouble. We have to do things ourselves, we have to stand in queue and get the thing typed and then see that it is issued and so on. So, we cannot do things as quickly as Ministers and others do though we want to.

Madam, as I said, this is the state of affairs. Where are we in our financial affairs ? Where are we in the matter of our home affairs ? If these are the Ministers who are going to manage our Government, where are we going ? The President has given a timely warning and as usual in his learned language he has given them the warning very mildly. But are these people going to learn from it ?

Madam, lastly I will refer to a matter on which people seem to get very much excited which, to my mind, is absolutely unnecessary. I am very sorry there has been so much violence, heat and bitterness on the question of language for which there was no place. Madam, to my mind, language is an instrument for the expression of one's thoughts. It is not the objective. If I were to say it in Hindi, I would say it is only साधन and not साध्य। Why are we, then losing ourselves and losing our balance completely on this question ? Why did people get mad ? I would appreciate if they got mad when there was food

shortage, when financially we are going down, when our country is losing money every day. We are practically going into liquidation and we are practically mortgaged to the foreigners. They are polite and they may not say so. But that is our economic position. That is our financial position and people do not seem to lose their heads about it, even when there is no food for the poor people. But they seem to get mad over the question of language. Madam, I think there are many more serious problems facing us, problems that are much more serious than this one. I would like our country to learn tolerance, our people should tolerate each other and tolerate each other's feelings and solve the problem in a very amicable manner, without this heat which to my mind, Madam, is unnecessary. It is possible that some people feel that they have got a grievance. Well, I would say that that grievance should be remedied. But I would put the blame for this also on the Government, because the Government has given the impression that it will not move unless there is large-scale violence. How did the State of Andhra Pradesh come ? A patriot like Shri Sri Ramulu fasted and lost his life. His son was here in Delhi and also in Bombay a few years ago and he told me “We did not get Andhra because my father died, but because of the violence, because of the destruction, of so much Government property, the stopping of railway trains and the burning and looting that took place.” I was very sorry to hear it. I do not think it is the right remedy. But if the Government takes up a stubborn attitude, then these things happen. They seem to hear only the language of violence. Then can we put the blame on the people ? I would blame the Government for not taking stock of things long before the situation boils up into something so serious. Therefore, I blame the Government for all this. Madam, if the Government does not move, if it does not take stock of the situation and does not realise that we are going down every day, whether it is economically, whether it is in the matter of food, whether it is in the law and order position, then what is going to happen ?

We talk so much of international problems. But what is our position in the international world ? Who is going to listen to us when we advise people not to interfere

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in Vietnam? Why should we do it? Have we not suffered sufficiently at the hands of the Chinese aggression that we want to plead their cause? If Vietnam has suffered from Chinese aggression, if they want help or if they want to protest against it in any way, what should we do? Our attitude should be sympathetic to the people who are suffering from the aggression, whether it is active or whether it is subversion, having learnt the lesson that we have when the Chinese invaded this country. Have they not been subverting by certain agents who are infiltrating into the country? Did they not infiltrate into the Himalayas for years before they made their attack? If they had been a little wiser, they would have tried to stop this infiltration. But did they do anything to stop it? No. They now, after having suffered such an ignominious defeat, are going to advise the world. Who is going to listen to that advice? Madam, I can understand a big power which has got the strength, I can understand if England or America or Russia gave a warning to another power. They are strong. But who are we? We cannot defend our own home and yet we want to preach to the whole world. This attitude, Madam, is wrong and it should be given up. The foreign policy that we have been following is a mistaken one in many ways and it needs to be reoriented. Madam, this morning there was a question I had asked about Indian enclaves in Burma and I am not at all satisfied with the answer that the Finance Minister gave me. The Finance Minister did not seem to know.

AN HON. MEMBER : You mean the External Affairs Minister.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Yes, I beg your pardon, I am sorry. Thank you for the correction, I mean the Minister of External Affairs. About his Ministry I had said much on another occasion and I will not repeat it again. I will only say that I am not satisfied with that answer and if this is our foreign policy, it is not going to take us far.

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN (Madras) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I deem it a great privilege and a high honour to

be associated in the offering of thanks to the President for his Address.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You will have to restrict your speech to fifteen minutes.

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN . The President's Address is characteristic of his parliamentary sublimity and it has given a masterly survey of the national scene and touched on the vital and vibrating aspects, not only on our achievements but also on our shortcomings. I would submit, Madam Deputy Chairman, that the analysis of the President's Address has been really revealing in many aspects about our national endeavour. Particularly I must beg to point out that, with reference to the achievements that stand to our noble credit, the steady purpose with which we have been endeavouring to rehabilitate and revitalise our economy. On the national stage, Madam Deputy Chairman, the economic scene has been reassuring with regard to certain important aspects of improvement. In the first place, Madam Deputy Chairman, as the President has rightly pointed out, our industrial output has shown a marked increase to the extent of 9.2 per cent and whatever may be the cynical aspersions offered here or elsewhere about the slow and niggardly growth of our economic improvement, I must certainly state that there is vitality and there is propensity and there is velocity in the improvement of our economic endeavour.

There may be certain cynicism in regard to the success of planning but I am a relentless believer in the potency of our Indian planning and if today India has recorded a phenomenal growth both of expansion and elevation, I submit that it is entirely due to our efforts in planning. The President's Address has equally drawn our attention to another important aspect of our achievement, namely, some of our public undertakings are getting the production momentum which is indeed very assuring in the coming times. My esteemed friend, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, was very doubtful and he was even critical to the extent of remonstrance that some of the public undertakings in which we have invested a large amount of capital have not

yet yielded even reasonable returns. I most respectfully join with him in this regret but may I most respectfully point out to him that the public undertakings are getting themselves into a production momentum? It is really acknowledged on all hands by experts that such public undertakings in a planned effort must necessarily take some time before they could give any return. The President's Address also points out, Madam Deputy Chairman, that there has been an increasing availability of the consumer goods for the satisfaction of our people. I realise, and I realise it with great regret that our success in regard to consumer satisfaction might have been much more but unfortunately one has to feel perfectly sure with regard to the policy that one pursues, with regard to the principles that one proclaims and with regard to the endeavour that one has to put in in regard to realising some of the consumer satisfaction. I may also bring to the notice of the House, Madam Deputy Chairman, that the President's Address is significant in another aspect, namely, that it has drawn very pointed attention to the way in which we must move in the future. Our minds are very much agitated particularly with regard to the size and strategy of the Fourth Five Year Plan and in this context, Madam Deputy Chairman, I value what the President in his Address has said. He has given us an indication and a kind of way for the contemplation of the size and strategy of the Fourth Five Year Plan. It has been pointed out that a high rate of national growth must be envisaged in the Fourth Five Year Plan and it has also been pointed out that in the accelerated momentum of our Plan endeavour, we must not lose sight of some of the lessons that the Third Five Year Plan had taught us and it is in this context, Madam Deputy Chairman, that the balance between heavy and small industry has been pointed out in the President's Address. I lay great stress, if not much emphasis on this aspect that our thinking on the Fourth Five Year Plan, as indicated by the President in his Address, that our endeavour for the Fourth Five Year Plan must not be too much bombastic and too much bloated. Madam Deputy Chairman, the President's Address is significant in one respect, namely, the direction in which the Fourth Five Year Plan has to be conceived, executed and consummated, that is, a minimum level for every family in this

country must be ensured. I beg to lay considerable stress if I may say so, on this aspect of the Fourth Five Year Plan, namely that we can have many huge industries, we can have big plans, we can have very great heights in economic endeavour but unless we are able to give the poor man the bare minimum living level, what we might call the absolute minimum level to each citizen of this great country, I am afraid, Madam Deputy Chairman, all our piety, all our tears with regard to the success of planning may be in vain.

One other factor, Madam Deputy Chairman, is that the President's Address has rightly drawn attention to the international scene. I must express my profound thanks to the pin-pointing in the President's Address to the way in which the Big Powers are now coming together and in that conglomeration of the Big Powers a new vision of the peace of this world and the relaxation of tension in vulnerable parts of this world is coming up, I mean, Madam Deputy Chairman, the great efforts of the United States of America vitalised by the new look of Great Britain's politics and at the same time backed by the Soviet sagacity. I visualise that in this combination of the three Big Powers, as the President's Address rightly stresses, a new vision of peace for this world and I may also say that this Address has touched some important aspects of our foreign policy with reference to what we have to do in the Far East. My esteemed friend, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, was again, as usual, critical of the way in which we look at foreign affairs and he has asked us a question—why we interfered with regard to Vietnam. May I most respectfully submit that our concern is not only on our borders? In other words, our foreign policy is global and if it is global, as it should be, we are anxious as much as we are anxious in our border when something happens in Vietnam. Therefore, Madam Deputy Chairman, the President's Address has rightly pin-pointed and highlighted our basic policy and pursuit in regard to the global aspect of peace throughout this world and in that context we offer our most grateful thanks for the light and lead that the President's Address has given us on this aspect.

One other important matter, Madam, and I am sure your goodness will give me the

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indulgence if I were to elaborate a little on this aspect namely the language question. This has become a burning question both figuratively and otherwise and if it has to be settled it has to be understood by this august House in all its true colours and before I have your indulgence and the leave of this House to place most intimate facts and the historical circumstances that led to that great conflagration in the part from which I have the honour to hail, I may state some basic facts. Madam Deputy Chairman so far as the official language of our country is concerned, what has been enshrined in the Constitution—to some of us who have been in the struggle for the freedom of this great land—is something of a *sanctum sanctorum* and there can be no variability with regard to this question but on the other hand Madam may I beg of this House to note that so far as the upsurge in the South is concerned it might be that it has gathered momentum it might be that the flames were fanned by some undesirable elements both political and otherwise I would be failing in my duty and would be dishonest to myself if I did not take this House into my confidence and tell this House that it is an upsurge of the people themselves. It might be that we on our part had not done enough in anticipation as Mr Dahyabhai Patel rightly remonstrated or we believed that that question would not take that diabolic dimensions to which it has risen but may I assure this House if assurance is at all necessary that the people in my part are not less patriotic than those my comrades here? We recall to ourselves with pride and glory that in the vanguard of the national struggle we of the South carried the Cross with all the cheer with all the courage and with all the confidence but at the same time Madam Deputy Chairman this question of official language I must point out has given rise to very serious misgivings and I say, not merely as a politician belonging to the Congress Party but as one who can move with the people and feel the pulse of the people that there have been certain misgivings certain misapprehensions certain doubts and certain despairs certain difficulties and, if I may say so certain danger visualised on account of this official language policy. All that we pray Madam is not to ask anything that is impossible is not to ask

anything that will be difficult, is not to ask anything that will go counter to the great verdict of history that our nation has built up but we only ask for small things. Our late lamented leader Prime Minister Nehru whose absence we feel most miserably today gave some assurances on this issue. We only request our comrades of the North to realise that on this question of language the assurances which our late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave must be codified in and given some form of statutory shape.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V PATEL He gave many assurances to many people. He gave assurances to the peasants about land.

SHRI T CHENGALVAROYAN Not, Madam Deputy Chairman, that we do not at all value the assurance that our present Prime Minister can give, we value our Prime Minister in the image of our late Jawaharlal Nehru but the people will have to be satisfied and we are almost unanimous on this question that that satisfaction can be secured to the minimum level only if the Official Languages Act gets suitably modified incorporating the assurances given by our late lamented leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. And I promise this Madam Deputy Chairman that if that assurance is statutorily codified in the Official Languages Act, the South will gear up and a new outlook will come upon our people and I have no doubt in my mind that the bigger questions more complicated matters and more vital aspects of our national life that are now clouded will hereafter get a new vigour and new participation. In conclusion, may I plead with my comrades here and elsewhere that in all these matters there is what is called magnanimity in politics as there is magnanimity in private dealings which is a virtue. Magnanimity in politics is a greater virtue now in the context of our country particularly at the present juncture. We value the unity of India much more precious than our life, a unity which the Father of our Nation has founded, which Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has forged, which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has focussed, a unity which Nature has blessed us, a unity which history has enshrined, a unity which geography has ensured, a unity which planning has welded, a unity which our destiny binds, such a unity, Madam Deputy Chairman, should not be

impaired by petty prejudices, narrow fanaticism and there should not be even an idea of swaying away from it because if once this grand pinnacle is impaired, nothing can repair it; no piety, no tears can repair it.

With these words, Madam Deputy Chairman, may I also join in the chorus of thanks to the President's Address? This President's Address, as it has been the case with all such Addresses, has given us a new look and has made us realise some of the burning problems that our country faces. I agree with Mr. Dahyabhai Patel that there have been certain shortcomings. What I will say is, there have been failings but not failures. There is a difference between the two. We shall rectify the failings. And may I conclude, Madam Deputy Chairman, with what Edmund Burke said when he was pleading for his party?

"Applaud us when we run; we run very fast;

Console us when we fall; we fall very rarely;

Cheer us when we recover; we will recover soon;

For God's sake, for the sake of the country.

Let us pass on and on."

SHRI ABDUL GHANI: Madam, there was no announcement and I could not move my amendments.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before we rose for lunch I had announced that all Members who were moving amendments were not present and therefore the amendments will be moved after lunch at 2.30 P.M.

SHRI ABDUL GHANI: I am very sorry I left the House ten minutes earlier. So I now move my amendments Nos. 1 to 8 and 60 to 68.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not think any one of those who were absent can move their amendments now. Prof. M. B. Lal.

SHRI ABDUL GHANI: Madam, on a point of order. As I was not in the House I could not get your instructions and so I came a few minutes late. And just now I was informed that the amendments had been moved. You kindly allow me to move my amendments.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order. Hon. Members must have a sense of responsibility. When there is an amendment standing in their name they should be here all the time till the amendment is moved.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, before you give the ruling . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta; we have hardly any time

PROF. M. B. LAL: Madam, the President's Address is invariably an index of the Government's mind. It is expected to be not only a record of Government's achievements and failures in different spheres but also an index of its vision, policies and programmes. The Address under discussion, I regret to say, does not satisfy any of these conditions. It lacks vision and direction as well as any impact of the personality of the President or the Prime Minister. It is a poor performance of the Secretariat. It is as dull and uninspiring as it could be. Only at about the end of the Address it is said that the development of a prosperous socialist society remains the basis of our policies. But nowhere in the Address is any attempt made to assess our achievements in this direction and to indicate what is proposed to be done for the establishment of a socialist society in the next few years.

The Address makes a reference to the Memorandum on the Fourth Five Year Plan placed before Parliament and it will not therefore be improper on our part to study that Memorandum and find out whether anything definite has been said about this matter in the Memorandum. But as in the Address so in the Memorandum on the Fourth Five Year Plan socialism is referred rather indirectly in a casual form

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at about the end of the Memorandum. Towards the end there is a brief reference to socialism where it is said that "in a society based on democracy and socialism and in the background of our movement for national freedom, planned development will succeed in the measure in which it meets the aspirations of the people as a whole, brings to them a sense of opportunity and of participation and evokes from them a new plan. The Plan has, therefore, to embody a picture of social order, the economic institutions and the values which the nation seeks to realise." Unfortunately while the need for these things is stressed in the Memorandum no attempt is made in the Memorandum to project the picture of a socialist society nor has any attempt been made to correlate the various economic plans with the social objective of socialism. Even the conception of a socialistic pattern of society is conspicuous by its absence in the Memorandum.

In the Memorandum it is said that the basic objectives which have been enunciated for the fifteen-year period commencing with the Third Plan, are to lay sound foundations for a self-sustaining economic growth to provide avenues of opportunities of employment to all those who seek it and, while narrowing economic and social disparities, to ensure a minimum level of living to every family in the country. I beg to submit that these basic objectives can surely be accepted as their objectives by social liberals and such social welfare economists as do not claim to be socialists. As was pointed out long ago by Prof. Anjaria, the then Economic Adviser to the Planning Commission, there is nothing significantly socialist in these objectives I beg to submit that many of these basic social objectives which are being enumerated in various Plans repeatedly are not properly attended to by the Planning Commission or by the Government. In an article published in the "Yojana", in its issue of January 26, 1965, perhaps by some authority present in the Planning Commission, it is said that "our Plans have presented the social objectives of development in broad terms without setting time-limits, without specifying in detail the means to be employed and without establishing sufficiently

effective machinery and instruments for achieving or moving rapidly enough towards the declared objectives. Thus, between the statement of social objectives and the practical ability to achieve them, there has been a gap, whose very continuance now throws increasing doubt on the very process of planned development. This statement is true, for instance, of such objectives as establishment of greater equality of opportunity, bringing about reduction in disparities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power, ensuring adequate expansion of employment opportunities, utilising the country's manpower resources and meeting the minimum needs of the bulk of the population." The Planning Commission hoped at least in this article that greater efforts would be made to see that there is a proper correlation between these social objectives and the Plan and its implementation. But the Memorandum is not even as explicit as the Third Plan was in regard to planning and implementation of these social objectives. In certain respects the Fourth Plan Memorandum is even more retrograde than the Third Plan. For example, in the Memorandum the sad plight of denotified tribes is completely ignored. Nothing is said about their rehabilitation. Certainly, no attention is paid to the great many recommendations of the Dhebar Commission with regard to the betterment of social and economic conditions of the tribals residing in forests. The Dhebar Commission maintained that the forest department be required to realise that it is as much their duty to promote the economic development of the tribals residing in forests as it is their duty to promote the economic development of forests. The Dhebar Commission also laid emphasis on the need for correlating forest development with the advancement of the people residing in the forests. No attention whatsoever is paid to such important questions in the Memorandum or in the President's Address.

No adequate attention is paid to the economic advancement of agricultural workers. Again and again in Government reports it is maintained that the economic conditions of agricultural workers have

not improved during the Plan period. Every in the Mahalanobis Committee's Report it is said that agricultural workers have not in any way shared the benefits that accrued to the national economy during this Plan period.

Indeed, while no attention is paid to the eradication of illiteracy, the tempo of expansion at the elementary stage is proposed, in the Memorandum, to be slowed down and the full implementation of constitutional obligation of providing eight years' universal education for all children is proposed to be further postponed. In an article recently written by Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao, a Member of the Planning Commission, it is confessed that though there has been very slow progress in the percentage of literates, in absolute terms there are more illiterates in India today than there were ten years ago or in 1951. Again, under the Constitution, eight years' free and compulsory education was to be provided to all children of the age group 6—14 by the end of January, 1961. In the Third Plan it was hoped that at least five years' education would be provided to all children by the end of the Fourth Plan. But in the Fourth Plan Memorandum only 87.7 per cent children of the age group 6—11 are expected to be enrolled by the end of the Fourth Plan and only 43.7 per cent in the age group 11—14 may have necessary facilities for education by the end of March, 1971. No attempt whatsoever is made in the Address or in the Memorandum to so reorganise education as to befit the students of India to function as democratic citizens and to shoulder the responsibilities of democratic leadership at various levels. The less said about unemployment the better.

In 1955 the Party in power passed a resolution regarding the socialist pattern of society. It was hoped in that resolution that in ten years there would be no unemployment. But what are the conditions today? In the Third Plan it was also hoped that all the new entrants at least would be absorbed in new economic enterprises and that there would be no increase in the number of unemployed. But now it is recognised in the memo-

randum that the number of unemployed would increase by 50 per cent, from 8 million to 12 million. No account is taken of the sad plight of the under-employed.

With regard to the Fourth Plan period it is said in the Memorandum that the employment potential contemplated in the Fourth Plan will be nearer to the equivalent of new entrants to the labour force than in the past, but it is also said that there may be a gap between the increase in the labour force over the plan period and the anticipated increase in employment opportunities. All that it means is that the Planning Commission wishes us to hope that during the Fourth Plan period there will not be an increase of unemployed by 4 million; the increase will be less than 4 million.

Madam, there is nothing in the Memorandum or the Address to hope that the disparities in income are likely to be decreased and a minimum level of living will be ensured to every family in the country; nor is there anything to hope that socialist transformation of the economic structure of the country will take place. The stranglehold of monopoly capitalism is increasing daily; economic and social disparities instead of being narrowed have also increased during the plan period, and persons of low income groups are made to suffer unbearable hardships due to high prices and growing unemployment and under-employment. Peasants are denied. Madam, both social justice and adequate facilities for their economic development.

As was pointed out by the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission in his inaugural address to the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, this lag in agricultural development is not wholly due to unfavourable weather conditions. He says :

"The limited performance of agriculture in the Second and Third Plans was, to a considerable extent, due to the failure of industry, power and irrigation to supply the growing needs of agriculture.

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In concrete terms this meant the inadequacy of fertilizers, pesticides, farm equipment and other material inputs produced by industry for use in agriculture. It also meant the insufficient and delayed utilization of water resources and failure to take the fullest advantage of the increasing supply of power for agricultural uses.

This, however, did not mean calling one's attention away from some aspects which had occurred in agriculture itself, for instance, the slow pace of implementing land reforms, inadequate deployment of extension services and the lack of a proper price policy."

Madam, both in the Mid-term Appraisal and in the Memorandum on the Fourth Plan, the Planning Commission has bemoaned the lack of proper implementation of land reform measures. In the Memorandum certain glaring defects in land reform laws are also pointed out. It is said that "there are still certain gaps in the legislations which have been enacted. The principal points calling for action concern :

- "(1) replacement of temporary provisions for prevention of ejection of tenants by comprehensive legislation for security of tenure;
- (2) restricting the right of resumption for personal cultivation;
- (3) removal of legal and administrative deficiencies relating to registration of voluntary surrenders of tenancies;
- (4) conferment of rights of ownership on tenants of non-resumable lands; and
- (5) commutation of rents in kind into cash rents."

As far as the disparity in income is concerned, one is only to read the Mahalanobis Committee Report. The Mahalanobis Committee Report has pointed out that there is no clear indication of a significant change in income distribution over the plan decade. The Committee points out that while over the period 1951-59 the average incomes received by contractors have risen

the highest increase, agricultural labourers as a group do not seem to have shared in the increase of incomes, and there is nothing to prove that in the last six years the situation has changed to the advantage of the low income groups.

Madam, the Mahalanobis Committee further points out that the degree of inequality in wealth distribution is higher than in income distribution. Wealth distribution seems to be more unequal than in income distribution. It says that "there is a greater degree of concentration in personal wealth held in the form of company shares than in the form of land or owner-occupied houses, also that the ownership of shares is much more concentrated than the ownership of land holdings or residential house property." Whenever this question of concentration of shares is raised, it is said by the capitalists that about 1 lakh persons have shares in these factories. But as is pointed out by the Mahalanobis Committee Report, "in 1954-55 of the estimated number of 1,01,033 share holders—itsself an infinitesimal part of the total population—1.4 per cent accounted for 31.5 per cent of the dividend income, while 50.3 per cent could claim only 10.8 per cent of that income."

The Committee further points out that in 1959-60 there was a greater concentration of shares because in that year "1.5 per cent of dividend receivers accounted for 34.6 per cent of the total income assessed by tax." The Mahalanobis Committee's Report further points out, and invites attention to, a study carried out by the Reserve Bank of India in March, 1960, covering 70 companies with a paid-up capital of Rs. 212 crores, with a market value of Rs. 417 crores and says that according to that study 0.5 per cent of the total number of shareholders accounted for 56.5 per cent of the total value of the shares covered by the enquiry. From this, one can understand the concentration that exists there.

It is further pointed out by the Mahalanobis Committee's Report that there is considerable producer concentration in the private industrial sector and that there is also considerable concentration of opera-

tional control in the private corporate sector and the Committee observes that the operational control is more important than ownership. The normal behaviour of the large majority of the shareholders whose individual holdings are quite small, does not indicate on their part any real interest in exercising the control that goes with ownerships and the growing importance of impersonal holders like the banks, trusts, companies and the like has increasingly tended to divorce individual ownership from control. And the Committee holds that the banks and the Government are largely responsible for this concentration of economic power in the private sector of large-scale industries. It is pointed out in this Report:—

“Bank advances to concerns in which the directors of the banks concerned are interested, accounted for Rs. 184 crores in 1962. This constituted 12.4 per cent. of the advances given by all scheduled banks. For the top 15 banks, the total was 4.1 per cent.”

And with regret the Committee has to remark that it was as high as 26.9 per cent. in the case of the State Bank of India. From this one can imagine that the State Bank of India, a public sector enterprise, is not being run as an instrument of socialism, but as a medium to help some capitalists who are favoured by the Government to be non-official directors of those banks.

Madam, it is also pointed out in the Report that the growth of the large complexes, which represent the concentration of economic power, is largely due to bank loans and the working of planned economy. It is said in the Report that the growth of the private sector industry, especially that of the big companies, has been facilitated by the financial assistance rendered by public institutions like the Industrial Finance Corporation, the National Industrial Development Corporation, etc. In the Report, attention is also invited to the baneful effect of the managing agency system. It is pointed out that while the reform of the company law has reduced the role of the managing agents in corporate affairs, within the reduced

number of managing agents, the tendency is clearly visible of a strengthening of the influence of the bigger managing agents and consequently of concentration of economic power through the exercise of managing agency functions. It has said :

“The number of managing agents managing the smaller units with a net worth or total asset of less than Rs. 50 lakhs declined substantially in 1959 as compared to 1955, whereas the number of managing agents managing bigger units, namely, with a net worth or asset exceeding Rs. 5 crores has increased during this period.”

Now, in the Address, no attention worthwhile has been paid to this problem. Though the Memorandum has laid some stress on the implementation of the land reform laws and the removal of the weaknesses in these laws, it has also made no worthwhile suggestion with regard to the control of this concentration of economic power in the industrial sector—with regard to the increasing stranglehold of monopoly capital. I do not know whether the Government really wants the country to march ahead towards a socialist economy or the Government now and then chants this *mantra* of socialism because somehow due to the efforts of certain socialists, the word ‘socialism’ has become very popular in this country and the Government cannot help taking advantage of this slogan to the extent it can.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have taken half an hour. 11.19

PROF. M. B. LAL : Madam, I will just finish.

Before I sit down, I wish to invite the attention of this House to one other important question, that is the question of the Chinese menace, no reference whatsoever is made to the pledge taken in this Parliament in November, 1962 with regard to the vacation of Chinese aggression. I do not know what the Government pro-

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poses to do. One can appreciate to some extent the Government's slight shift on the question of the Chinese behaviour in Tibet and on the question of Chinese admission to the United Nations. But I beg to submit that even now there is lack of proper awareness on the part of the Government of the growing Chinese menace with which this country is faced

4 P M

To meet the Chinese menace, India, I beg to submit, will have to prepare itself on all fronts—strategic, economic, ideological and diplomatic. Defence no doubt requires us to cast off all inhibitions and to build up a strong military strength for self-defence with the aid of friendly power. To this some reference has no doubt been made in the Address. But, I beg to submit, Madam, it also requires us to foster national unity, physical strength, efficiency, courage, determination, will, to resist and capacity of co-ordinated efforts as well as social awareness about the needs of the situation. To meet the Chinese menace, I beg to submit on ideological front it is necessary for the Indian people to cultivate faith in democratic ideals and values and disbelief in dictatorship of all sorts and the Communist way of life as well as to foster a healthy democracy and march ahead towards social equality. I beg to submit nothing very tangible is being done by this Government in this direction. Detentions of a thousand or so left Communists cannot by themselves solve this problem, cannot make the people conscious of the evils of Communistic dictatorship and the virtues of Parliamentary democracy to which we are pledged

Madam, India's diplomacy also requires reappraisal and reorientation in the context of Chinese militancy. All possible effort should be made to expose to the world Chinese perfidy and expansionist character and to secure moral and material support of the world against the Chinese threat.

In the end I wish to submit that it will be possible to face the Chinese menace only if we are prepared to promote healthy democracy in this country, to pro-

mote people's faith in democratic ideals and democratic traditions and this can be possible only if the people are assured by the Government both freedom and prosperity through democratic processes.

سری جی۔ ایم۔ سر (جموں اور کشمیر) : میڈم ڈپٹی چیر مین -
آج صبح ریڈنڈنٹ کے ایڈریس
پر شکرہ کی جو متحرک مس
کی گئی ہیں اس کی نائڈ مس
کھڑا ہوا ہوں -

میڈم ڈپٹی چیر مین ، راسٹر
سی کا یہ ایڈریس پارلیمنٹ کے
مشترکہ اجلاس میں سنا گیا
گیا - ایک طرف ہم راسٹر سی
جی کے ایڈریس پر بحث کر رہے
ہیں تو دوسری طرف ہمارا
دل و دماغ انہی ہندوستان
کے مایہ ناز سون انہی محبوب
انڈر نڈب جواہر لال نہرو کی
جدائی کی طرف جا رہا ہے -
انہوں نے ہندوستان کے کروڑوں
انسانوں پر حکومت کرنے کے
بجائے ہندوستان کے وسیع ملک
پر حکومت کرنے کے بجائے
ہندوستان کے لوگوں کے دلوں
پر حکومت کی - آج وہ موجود
نہیں ہیں جو کہ ایک نئے
ہندوستان کے معمار تھے جنہوں
نے ہندوستان کی آزادی کے لئے

ہندوستان کی تعمیر و ترقی کے لئے جنہوں نے ہندوستان کے غریب عوام کا معیار زندگی بلند کرنے کے لئے انہی جان نیک قربان کر دی اپنے خون کا آخری قطرہ بہا دیا۔ آج ہم اس کی جدائی کو بری طرح محسوس کر رہے ہیں جو کہ خود اپنے آپ ایک انسٹی ٹیوشن بنا۔ جیسا کہ کہا گیا ہے :—

“Jawaharlal was India and India was Jawaharlal.”

مڈم ڈنٹی حرمن - راسٹری جی کا یہ جو انڈرس اس معزز ایوان میں بس کیا گیا وہ بجا طور پر اور صحیح معنوں میں کروڑوں ہندو بھائیوں کے جذبات ان کے احساسات ان کی امنگوں اور ان کی خواہشات کی ترجمانی کرنا ہے۔ اور ایک شاندار مستقبل کا آئینہ دار ہے۔ مڈم ڈنٹی حرمن - ہندوستان میں غربی کو دور کرنے کے لئے مفلسی کو دور کرنے کے لئے جہاں اور لاعلمی کو دور کرنے کے لئے اور ہندوستان کی تعمیر و ترقی

کو آگے بڑھانے کے لئے راسٹری کے اس ایڈریس میں کافی ترجمانی کی گئی۔ میں اس کا ذکر کر کے اس معزز ایوان کا وہ ضائع نہیں کرنا چاہتا۔ لیکن کچھ اسی بات میں جن کی طرف میں اشارہ کرنا چاہا ہوں جو کہ اس راسٹری کے ایڈریس میں موجود نہیں ہیں۔

مڈم ڈنٹی حرمن، ہندوستان کی آبادی کا بھر حصہ دہات میں رہا ہے۔ جو کہ ایک بک بون ہے جو کہ ایک ریڑھ کی ہڈی کا کام دیتی ہے۔ تو اس کے معنی اور کوارٹرو موومنٹ کو بڑھاوا دینے کے لئے بنچائی راج کو بڑھاوا دینے کے لئے اس ریڈیڈنٹ ایڈریس میں کوئی خاص ترجمانی نہیں کی گئی ہے۔ میں چاہا ہوں کہ لڈر آف دی ہاؤس نا آریبل پرائم منسٹر صاحب جب اس بحث کا جواب دے تو اس طرف بھی اشارہ کریں۔ اور اس معزز ایوان کو یقین دلائیں کہ وہ ان بے شمار لوگوں کے لئے جو کہ گاؤں میں رہتے ہیں کیا کچھ کریں، واپس ہمیں، جن

(سری جی۔ ایم۔ سر)
 کا معیار زندگی بلند کرنے کے
 لئے ہم نے سمس کھائیں
 ہمارے بڑے بڑے سوپ جلوں
 میں گئے اور نکلس اٹھائیں۔
 تو ان کے معیار زندگی کو
 سوسل طور پر، ساسی طور پر
 امصادی طور پر اوجھا کرنے کے لئے
 کیا جا رہا ہے اس پر اس میں
 کوئی خاص اشارہ نہیں کیا گیا۔

ریڈنڈٹ کے انڈریس میں
 ملک کی تعمیر و ترقی کے لئے
 تمام ان باتوں کا ذکر ہے جن
 سے کہ ملک ایک بلاڈ ڈولمنٹ
 کے طریقہ پر آگے جا سکا ہے۔
 ملک بھر میں صعی انقلاب
 لانے کے لئے کوسس کی جا
 رہی ہے اور اس کے لئے ضروری
 ہے کہ ناور جنریسن کو ہم
 ترقی دیں۔ جب ہم ریڈنڈٹ
 کے انڈریس کو دیکھے ہیں
 تو یہ باتیں ہیں کہ نمایاں
 طور پر اس میں سب سے زیادہ
 راریٹی ناور جنریسن کو دی
 گئی ہے۔ اور جیسا کہ آپ
 ریڈنڈٹ انڈریس میں دیکھیں
 گئے اس میں یہ ہے۔

11.7 million kw as against 5.6 million
 kw at the end of the Second Plan"

تو اس سے یہ لگتا ہے
 کہ ہم سب سے زیادہ اس
 کو ترقی دے رہے ہیں لیکن
 اس سے بھی ضروری یہ ہے کہ
 ہماری آبادی کا سسر حصہ جو
 دیہات میں رہا ہے۔ جس
 کی روری کا ذریعہ ایگریکلچر
 پروڈیوس پر ہے اس کو سب
 سے زیادہ ترجیح دیں۔ آب
 نے دیکھا کہ بھلے مہینوں
 میں ہماری غذائی صورت حال
 کس قدر خراب رہی، کس قدر
 ہمیں مصیبت اٹھانی پڑی۔
 اور کس قدر ناخوشگوار
 حالات پیدا ہو گئے۔ ہماری
 بدقسمتی ہے کہ ہندوستان
 جو بنیادی طور پر ایک ایگریکلچرل
 کٹری ہے جس کی سسر آبادی
 کی روزی کا دارومدار ایگریکلچر
 پر ہے وہ اب تک اس معاملہ
 میں خود فضل نہیں ہو
 سکا۔

نڈت جواہر لال نہرو کا
 وہ مصمم ارادہ کہ ہم اپریل
 ۱۹۵۲ء کے آخر تک غذائی
 صورت حال میں فوڈ کے معاملہ

میں خود کفیل ہو جائیں گے ،
آج پورا نہیں ہو رہا ہے ۔
پنڈت جی کا وہ جو اعلان تھا
وہ آج پورا نہیں ہو رہا ہے
اور پنڈت جی نے اسی لئے
پارلیمنٹ میں جب فوڈ کے اوپر
غذائی صورت حال کے اوپر
ہوئی بحث کا جواب دیا تھا تو
انہوں نے فرمایا تھا ۔

"I regret that my words have been falsified and I feel thoroughly ashamed that what was almost a pledge to the nation has been broken."

یہ ٹھیک ہے کہ جہاں
تک غلہ کی پیداوار کا تعلق
ہے اس میں کئی رکاوٹیں
آئیں ۔ کچھ آسمان سے گری
ہوئی آفتوں کی وجہ سے، کچھ
فلڈ کے ذریعہ، کچھ زراعتی
بیماریوں کی وجہ سے غلہ کی
حالت خراب ہوئی لیکن میں
اس معزز ایوان میں یہ کہوں
گا کہ سب سے زیادہ ضروری
چیز ہمارے لئے یہ ہے کہ
ہم اپنے عوام کو کم سے کم
دو ٹائم کا کھانا پیٹ بھر کر
دیں ۔ اس کے لئے جد و جہد
کریں ۔ آخر ہم کب تک

باہر کے ملکوں پر ڈیپنڈ کریں
گئے ۔ پنڈت نہرو ہمارے محبوب
نیتا تھے جو اپنی ساری عمر اس
کے لئے کوشش کرتے رہے
اور کہتے رہے کہ ہم اپنے
ملک میں غلہ کی بوزیشن
ٹھیک کریں ۔ یہ ٹھیک
ہے پریذیڈنٹ کے ایڈریس
میں اس طرف اشارہ کیا گیا
ہے اور فوڈ کارپوریشن، ایگریکلچر
برائس کمیشن، فرٹیلائزر کی
تقسیم، مائنر اور میجر اریگیشن کی
سکیموں کے بارے میں کہا
گیا ہے کہ وہ عمل میں لائے
جا رہے ہیں ۔ یقیناً یہ ہندوستان
کی تاریخ میں ایک اضافہ ہوگا
لیکن ضروری یہ ہے کہ جہاں
ہم صنعتی انقلاب کی طرف جا
رہے ہیں جہاں ہم چاہتے ہیں
ملک میں انڈسٹریل ریوولوشن
لایا جائے جہاں ہم صنعتی انقلاب
کے پیچھے لگے ہوئے ہیں
وہاں ہمیں دیکھنا ہے کہ ہم
ذریعہ انقلاب کس طرح ملک
میں لائیں ۔ ابھی ہمیں اس
چیز کو فراموش نہیں کرنا
چاہئے لہذا پریذیڈنٹ ایڈریس
میں اس چیز کی طرف توجہ دی
گئی ہے ۔

(شری جی - ایم - میر)

مجھے سب سے ضروری بات یہ کہنی ہے کہ جب میں نے پریذیڈنٹ کے ایڈریس کو پڑھا تو بہت افسوس ہوا کہ پریذیڈنٹ کے ایڈریس میں کشمیر کے اس حصہ کو جو پاکستان کے ظلم و ستم کا شکار ہو رہا ہے کشمیر کے وہ بھائی جو آج تک جمہوریت کے لئے تڑپ رہے ہیں، سیکولرزم کے لئے تڑپ رہے ہیں جن کی خواہشات اور امنگیں ہیں کہ وہ اپنے بنیادی حقوق کا استعمال کریں، جو چاہتے ہیں ہم اپنے بھائیوں کے ساتھ کشمیر کے اس حصہ میں جو اس طرف ہندوستان کا حصہ ہے جیسے بنگال ہے، مدراس ہے، جیسے پنجاب ہے، دہلی ہے ان کا پریذیڈنٹ کے ایڈریس میں حوالہ نہیں ہے اور اس چیز کے لئے کوئی یقین نہیں دیا گیا ہے، کوئی اشرنس نہیں دیا گیا ہے کہ ہمارے اس ابریا کو جو قانونی اور آئینی طور پر ہندوستان کا حصہ ہے ان کو کیسے واپس کریں گے کیسے اس کو ریستور کریں گے۔ پریذیڈنٹ کے ایڈریس میں کچھ نہیں کہا گیا ہے۔

श्री प्रकाश नारायण सप्र (उत्तर प्रदेश):
क्या जबरदस्ती लिजिएगा ?

شری جی - ایم - میر : زبردستی

میں بالکل نہیں کہتا - ہم چاہتے ہیں صلح کن طریقہ سے جو پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو کی پالیسی آف انٹیگریشن، پالیسی آف سیکولرزم، سوشلزم، ورلڈ پیس ہے اس میں ہم یقین کرتے ہیں لیکن میں یہ چاہتا ہوں کہ پریذیڈنٹ کا ایڈریس جہاں اور چیزوں کی طرف اشارہ کرتا ہے وہاں اس چیز کو فراموش نہیں کیا جانا چاہئے تھا - پریذیڈنٹ کا ایڈریس اس بات کے لئے خاموش ہے کہ وہ بھائی جو آزادی کے لئے تڑپ رہے ہیں ظلم و ستم کا شکار ہو رہے ہیں ان کے لئے کیا کیا گیا -

کشمیر کا سوال سیکوریٹی کونسل میں اسی طرح سے پڑا ہوا ہے - میں اپنی رائے دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمیں چاہئے، ہندوستان کو چاہئے کہ جرات کے ساتھ سیکوریٹی کونسل سے اپنے کیس کو واپس لے لیا جائے - کیونکہ جب بھی ہم ہندوستان

کی پارلیمنٹ میں کسمیر کے لوگوں کے لئے کسمیر کے لوگوں کی بھلائی اور بہتری کے لئے کوئی قانون بنائے جس ان کی غریبی اور مفلسی کو دور کرنے کے لئے کوئی قانون پاس کرے ہیں اور وہاں ہر نافذ کرنے کے لئے کوئی بل پاس کرنے جس کو ناکسان دوڑا دوڑا سکوریٹی کونسل میں جا کر سوراہا ہے ۔ اس لئے میں چاہتا ہوں کہ کوئی وجہ نہیں کہ سکوریٹی کونسل میں ہم اپنا کس فیصلہ کے لئے رکھے رہیں ۔ کون نہیں اس کس کو سکوریٹی کونسل سے واس لے لیا جائے اور ہم انہی ناؤں پر کھڑے ہونے کی کوشش کریں ۔

مڈم ڈنٹی حر من ۔ میں کسمیر کے مسئلہ کے ساتھ ساتھ ایک اور چیز کی طرف اشارہ کرنا چاہتا ہوں کسمیر میں جو سسٹمنٹ قسم کی ٹینڈنسی ہے کسمیر کو علیحدہ کرنے کی ٹینڈنسی ہے اس کو روکنے کے لئے بریڈیڈنٹ انڈرس میں کوئی اسورنس نہیں دیا گیا

ہے ۔ شیخ عبداللہ اور سگ صاحب نے کسمیریوں کا یہ کہہ کر سوسل بائیکاٹ کر رکھا ہے کہ ہم کانگریس میں شامل نہیں ہو گئے ۔ اور آج جب وہ دہلی میں آئے ہوا انہوں نے کھلے طور سے کہا کہ ہم باہر کے ملکوں میں جا کر وہاں کی بیلک اوپنن کو کسمیر کے مسئلہ کے متعلق موبلائز کریں گے ۔ یہ کہنے کے باوجود ہماری گورنمنٹ نے ناسورٹ دیا حالانکہ وہ حق کے لئے جا رہے تھے لیکن بجائے حق کے ناسورٹ دینے کے ان کو انسائی ممالک میں مسلم ممالک میں جانے کے لئے ناسورٹ دیا گیا اور وہ آج ہو ۔ آئے ۔ آئے ۔ میں بٹھ کر میڈیسن کے لئے مانگ کر رہے ہیں کہ آپ کسمیر کے مسئلہ کو حل کریں ۔

کسمیر کا مسئلہ جو حل ہو چکا ہے جس کا الحاق خود شیخ صاحب نے کیا ہے جب کسٹی ٹوسن اسمبلی میں انہوں نے ہندوستان کے ساتھ الحاق مان لیا تھا اور اسی کی بنیاد پر وہاں کے مہاراجہ کا رول ختم کیا گیا ۔

(سری جی ایم - سر)
 لسڈ ریفارم کئے گئے - وہ
 سب نو ٹھک ہے لیکن جہاں
 تک کسمر کے الحاق کا تعلق
 ہے انکسشن کا تعلق ہے نہ آج
 اس ننادی حیر کو حلچ کیا
 جا رہا ہے تو مجھے سمجھ میں
 نہیں آ رہا ہے کہ ہندوستان
 کے جو لڈران ہیں راہ نما ہیں
 انہوں نے ان تمام باتوں کے
 ہوئے ہوئے کس طرح سے نسخ
 صاحب کو ناسورٹ دیا اور
 دوسرے ملکوں میں جانے کا۔
 اسی خبریں میں دیکھ رہا
 ہوں کہ وہ ان سب ملکوں میں
 جائیں گے - میں بوجھنا چاہتا
 ہوں کہ مسٹری آف انکسٹرنل
 افسرس کی طرف سے اس پروپگنڈا
 کو روکنے کے لئے جس میں
 کسمر اور ہندوستان کے ننادی
 اصول کو چیلنج کیا جا رہا ہے
 کیا قدم اٹھائے جا رہے ہیں -
 میں بوجھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ
 مسٹری آف انکسٹرنل افسرس سے
 کہ اس نے اس کو حکم کرنے
 کے لئے اس کا مقابلہ کرنے کے
 لئے کیا کیا ہے؟

سری جی۔ ایم۔ سر : میں نہ
 بھی بوجھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ
 پاکستان کی طرف سے جو آئے
 دن ان پروپگنڈا چیلنج ہو رہا ہے،
 فائرنگ ہو رہی ہے، جو بغیر
 ہماری طرف سے کاروائی کئے
 ایک انگریسن ہو رہا ہے، ہمارے
 ملک پر گولیاں چلائی جا رہی
 ہیں، بوڑ بھوڑ کی کاروائیاں
 ہو رہی ہیں، میں نہ جاننا
 چاہتا ہوں حکومت نے اس کے
 لئے کیا قدم اٹھائے -

اسی طرح سے ناگالینڈ کا
 مسئلہ ہے - میں چاہتا ہوں
 حکومت ایک مضبوط پالیسی لے
 کر آگے چلے - ایک طرف
 کسمر کا سوال ختم ہو چکا
 ہے لیکن اس کو بار بار سکوریٹی
 کونسل میں اٹھانا جا رہا ہے -
 اس کو سکوریٹی کونسل سے
 واپس نہیں لیا جا رہا ہے -
 دوسری طرف ناگالینڈ میں حکومت
 کی بریخی کی جو پالیسی
 ہے اس نے وہاں کے لوگوں کو
 سبھا میں ڈال دیا ہے کہ نہ
 جانے ہمارا کل کیا ہوگا -
 جب اس قسم کے حالات پیدا
 ہیں - کہ جو لوگ کسمر اور

ہندوستان کے الحاق کو چیلنج کر رہے ہیں جو ہماری بنیادی باتیں ہیں ان کو چیلنج کر رہے ہیں ان کے لئے منسٹری آف ایکسٹرنل آفیر سے باقاعدہ کھانے اور ڈنر کا انتظام ہوتا ہے اور ان کے لئے کاریں مفت میں دوڑتی ہیں لہذا میں پوچھتا چاہتا ہوں کہ پریذیڈنٹ کے ایڈریس میں اس طرف کوئی اشارہ کیوں نہیں کیا گیا - اس کا جواب ملنا چاہئے - لینگویج کے مسئلہ میں میں زیادہ نہیں کہوں گا - لینگویج کے مسئلہ پر میں یہ کہوں گا کہ ونوبہا جی کا فارمولہ بیسٹ ہے اس کو اپنایا جائے لیکن جہاں تک اردو کا تعلق ہے یو۔ پی۔، بہار، جموں اور کشمیر، پنجاب اور دہلی کئی جگہوں میں اردو بولنے والے کم سے کم تین چار کروڑ انسان ہیں جو اردو پڑھنے والے اور جاننے والے ہیں آج صبح ہی ایک ممبر صاحب نے سوال کیا تھا کہ اردو کو ریجنل لینگویج بنانے کے لئے کیا کچھ کیا جا رہا ہے لیکن جواب جو ملا وہ تسلی بخش نہیں تھا - یو۔ پی۔ اور

بہار کے ۳۲ لاکھ انسانوں نے میمورنڈم اپ راشنرپتی کے ذریعے دیا جب وہ انجمن ترقی اردو کے پریذیڈنٹ تھے اس وقت بابو راجندر پرشاد کو ایک میمورنڈم پیش کیا تھا لیکن وہ آج تک بستہ خاموشی میں پڑا ہوا ہے - لیکن اس کے لئے میں چاہتا ہوں کہ جب آپ باقی زبانوں کا سوال اٹھا رہے ہیں ان کو ترجیح دینے کے لئے ان کی ترقی کے لئے قانون بنا رہے ہیں سب کچھ کر رہے ہیں تو اردو کو بھی اسی لیول پر لے جائیے تاکہ ہم چار کروڑ انسان جو ہندوستان کے اندر اردو بولنے والے ہیں ان کو ان کا حق مل جائے -

اس کے ساتھ میں پریذیڈنٹ ایڈریس پر شکریہ کی تحریک کی تائید کرتے ہوئے اس کو پورے طور سے دل کی گہرائی سے سپورٹ کرتا ہوں - شکریہ

†[श्री जी० एम० मीर (जम्मू और काश्मीर) : मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, आज सुबह प्रेजिडेंट के एड्रेस पर शुक्रिया की जो तहरीक पेश की गई मैं उस की तारीफ में खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

[श्री जी० एम० मीर]

मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, राष्ट्रपति का यह एड्रेस पार्लियामेंट के मुशतरफा इजलास में पेश किया गया। एक तरफ हम राष्ट्रपति जी के एड्रेस पर बहस कर रहे हैं तो दूसरी तरफ हमारा दिल व दिमाग अपने हिन्दुस्तान के मायानाज सपूत, अपने महबूब लीडर पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू की जुदाई की तरफ जा रहा है। उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों इंसानों पर हुकूमत करने के बजाए, हिन्दुस्तान के वसीह मुल्क पर हुकूमत करने के बजाए, हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के दिलों पर हुकूमत की। आज वह मौजूद नहीं हैं जो कि एक नये हिन्दुस्तान के मेमार थे, जिन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के लिए हिन्दुस्तान की तामीर व तरक्की के लिये, जिन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान के गरीब अवाम का मयारे जिन्दगी बुलन्द करने के लिये अपनी जान तक कुर्बान कर दी, अपने खून का आखिरी कतरा बहा दिया। आज हम उसकी जुदाई को बुरी तरह महसूस कर रहे हैं जो कि खुद अपने आप एक इन्स्टिट्यूशन था। जैसा कि कहा गया है :

“Jawaharlal was India and India was Jawaharlal.”

मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, राष्ट्रपति का यह जो एड्रेस इस मौअजिज़ ऐवान में पेश किया गया वह बजा तौर पर और सही मानों में करोड़ों हिन्दवासियों के जज़्बात, इन के एहसासात, उन की उमंगों और इनकी ख्वाहिशात की तर्जुमानी करता है और एक शानदार मुस्तकबिल का आईनादार है। मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, हिन्दुस्तान में गरीबी को दूर करने के लिए, मुफलिसी को दूर करने के लिये जहालत और लाइल्मी को दूर करने के लिये और हिन्दुस्तान की तामीर व तरक्की को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये राष्ट्रपति के इस एड्रेस में काफी तर्जुमानी की गई। मैं इसका जिक्र करके इन मौअजिज़ ऐवान का वक्त जाया नहीं करना चाहता। लेकिन कुछ ऐसी बातें हैं जिनकी तरफ मैं इशारा करना चाहता हूं जो कि इस राष्ट्रपति के एड्रेस में मौजूद नहीं है।

मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी का बेशतर हिस्सा देहात में रहता है, जो कि एक बक-बोन है, जो कि एक रीढ़ की हड्डी का काम देती है। तो इसके मुतल्लिक और कोआपरेटिव मूवमेन्ट को बढ़ावा देने के लिए, पंचायती राज को बढ़ावा देने के लिये, प्रेजिडेंट एड्रेस में कोई खास तर्जुमानी नहीं की गई है। मैं चाहता हूं कि लीडर आफ दी हाऊस या आनरेबल प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब जब इस पर बहस का जवाब दें इस तरफ भी इशारा करें और इस मौअजिज़ ऐवान को यकीन दिलाएं कि वह इन बेशुमार लोगों के लिए जो कि गांवों में रहते हैं क्या कुछ करने वाले हैं, जिन का मयारे जिन्दगी बुलन्द करने के लिये हम ने कसमें खाई, हमारे बड़े-बड़े सपूत जेलों में गये और तकलीफें उठाई तो इनके के मयारे जिन्दगी को सोशल तौर पर, सियासी तौर पर, इख्तिसादी तौर पर, ऊंचा करने के लिये क्या किया जा रहा है उस पर इसमें कोई खास इशारा नहीं किया गया है।

प्रेजिडेंट के एड्रेस में मुल्क की तामीर व तरक्की के लिए तमाम उन बातों का जिक्र है जिन से कि मुल्क एक प्लान्ड डेवलपमेंट के तरीके पर आगे जा सकता है। मुल्क भर में मन्नरी इन्कलाब लाने के लिए कोशिश की जा रही है और इसके लिए जरूरी है कि पावर जनरेशन को हम तरक्की दें। जब हम प्रेजिडेंट के एड्रेस को देखते हैं तो यह पता है कि नुमायां तौर पर इस में सब से ज्यादा प्रायोरिटी पावर-जनरेशन को दी गई है। और जैसा कि आप प्रेजिडेंट एड्रेस में देखेंगे इस में यह है।

“Power generation by the end of the Third Plan is expected to amount to 11.7 million k.w. as against 5.6 million k.w. at the end of the Second Plan.”

तो इससे पता लगता है कि हम सब से ज्यादा इस की तरक्की दे रहे हैं लेकिन इस से भी जरूरी यह है कि हमारी आबादी का बेशतर हिस्सा जो देहात में रहता है, जिस की रोजी

का जरिया एग्रिकल्चर प्रोड्यूस पर है उस को सब से ज्यादा तरजीह दे। आप ने देखा कि पिछले महीनों में हमारी गिजाई सूखतेहाल किस कदर खराब रही। किस कदर हमें मुर्साबते उठानी पड़ी और किस कदर नाखुश गवार हालात पैदा हुये। हमारी बदकिस्मती है कि हिन्दुस्तान जो बुनियादी तौर पर एक एग्रिकल्चरल कंट्री है जिस की बेशतर आबादी की रोजी का दारोमदार एग्रिकल्चर पर है वह अब तक इन मामलों में खुद कफील नहीं हो सका।

पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू का वह मुसम्म इरादा कि हम अप्रैल 1952 ई० के आखिर तक गिजाई सूखतेहाल में फूड के मामलों में खुद कफील हो जायेंगे, आज पूरा नहीं हो रहा है। पंडित जी का यह जो एलान था वह आज पूरा नहीं हो रहा है और पंडित जी ने इसी लिए पार्लियामेंट में जब फूड के ऊपर गिजाई सूखतेहाल के ऊपर हुई बहस का जवाब दिया था तो उन्होंने फरमाया था —

"I regret that my words have been falsified and I feel thoroughly ashamed that what was almost a pledge to the nation has been broken."

यह ठीक है कि जहां तक गल्ला का पैदावार का ताल्लुक है इसमें कई रूकावटें आईं कुछ आसमान से गिरी हुई आफतों की वजह से, कुछ फ्लड के जरिये, कुछ जरायती बीमारियों की वजह से गल्ला की हालत खराब हुई लेकिन मैं इस मौअजिज़ ऐवान में यह कहूंगा कि सब से ज्यादा जरूरी चीज़ हमारे लिए यह है कि हम अपने आवाम को कम से कम दो टाइम का खाना पेट भर कर दें। इसके लिए जदोजहद करें। आखिर हम कब तक बाहर के मुल्कों पर डिपेंड करेंगे। पंडित नेहरू हमारे महबूब नेता थे जो अपनी सारी उम्र इसके लिए कोशिश करते रहे और कहते रहे कि हम अपने मुल्क में गल्ला की पोजीशन ठीक करें। यह ठीक है प्रेजिडेंट के एड्रेस में इस तरफ इशारा किया गया है और फूड कारपोरेशन, एग्रिकल्चरल प्राइस कमीशन,

फरटिलाइजर की तकसीम, माइनर और मेजर इरीगेशन की स्कीमों के बारे में कहा गया है कि वह अमल में लाए जा रहे हैं। यकीनन यह हिन्दुस्तान की तारीख में एक इज़ाफा होगा लेकिन जरूरी यह है कि जहां हम सनअती इन्कलाब की तरफ जा रहे हैं जहां हम चाहते हैं मुल्क में इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन लाया जाए, जहां हम सनअती इन्कलाब के पीछे लगे हुए हैं, वहां हमें देखना है कि हम जरूरी इन्कलाब किस तरह मुल्क में लाएं। अभी हमें इस चीज़ को फरामोश नहीं करना चाहिए लिहाजा प्रेजिडेंट एड्रेस में इस चीज़ की तरफ तवज्जो दी गई है।

मुझे सब से जरूरी बात यह कहनी है कि जब मैंने प्रेजिडेंट के एड्रेस को पढ़ा तो बहुत अफसोस हुआ कि प्रेजिडेंट के एड्रेस में कश्मीर के उस हिस्से को जो पाकिस्तान के जुल्मोंसितम का शिकार हो रहा है कश्मीर के वे भाई जो आज तक जम्हूरियत के लिए तडप रहे हैं, सेक्यूलरिज्म के लिए तडप रहे हैं, जिनकी स्वाहिशात और उमंगें हैं कि वह अपने बुनियादी हक्क का इस्तेमाल करें, जो चाहते हैं हम अपने भाइयों के साथ कश्मीर के इस हिस्से में जो इस तरह हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा है जैसे बंगाल है, मद्रास है, जैसे पंजाब है, दिल्ली है, उनका प्रेजिडेंट के एड्रेस में हवाला नहीं है। और इस चीज़ के लिए कोई यकीन नहीं दिया गया है, कोई एश्योरेस नहीं दिया गया है कि हमारे इस एरिया को जो कानूनी और आईनो-तौर पर हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा है उस को कैसे वापिस करेंगे कैसे इस को रेस्टोर करेंगे। प्रेजिडेंट के एड्रेस में कुछ नहीं कहा गया है।

श्री प्रकाश नारायण सप्रू (उत्तर प्रदेश) : क्या जबरदस्ती लीजिएगा ?

श्री जी० एम० मीर : जबरदस्ती में बिल्कुल नहीं कहता। हम चाहते हैं कि मुल्क कुन तरीके से जो पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू की पालिसी ऑफ इण्टीग्रेशन, पालिसी आफ सेक्यूलरिज्म

[श्री जी० एम० मीर]

सोशललिज्म, वर्ड पीस है—अमन में हम यकीन करते हैं, लेकिन मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि प्रेजिडेंट का एड्रेस जहाँ और चीजों की तरफ इशारा करता है वहाँ इस चीज को फरामोश नहीं किया जाना चाहिए था। प्रेसिडेंट का एड्रेस इस बात के लिए खामोश है कि वह भाई जो आजादी के लिए तड़प रहे हैं जुल्मोंसितम का शिकार हो रहे हैं उनके लिए क्या किया गया।

कश्मीर का सवाल सिक्कोरिटी कौंसिल में इसी तरह से पड़ा हुआ है। मैं अपनी राय देना चाहता हूँ कि हमें चाहिए, हिन्दुस्तान को चाहिए कि जुरीत के साथ सिक्कोरिटी कौंसिल से अपने केस को वापिस ले लिया जाए। क्योंकि जब भी हम हिन्दुस्तान की पार्लियामेंट में कश्मीर के लोगों के लिए कश्मीर के लोगों की भलाई और बेहतरी के लिए, कोई कानून बनाते हैं, उनकी गरीबी और मुफलिर्मी को दूर करने के लिए कोई कानून पास करते हैं, और वहाँ पर नाफिज करने के लिये कोई बिल पेश करने हैं तो पाकिस्तान दौड़ा-दौड़ा सिक्कोरिटी कौंसिल में जाकर शोर मचाता है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि कोई वजह नहीं कि सिक्कोरिटी कौंसिल में हम अपना केस फैमला के लिये रखे रहे। क्यों नहीं इस केस को सिक्कोरिटी कौंसिल से वापिस ले लिया जाए और हम अपने पांव पर खड़े होने की कोशिश करें ?

मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, मैं कश्मीर के मसला के साथ-साथ एक और चीज की तरफ इशारा करना चाहता हूँ। कश्मीर में जो ससेसनिस्ट किस्म की टेडेसी है, कश्मीर को अलहदा करने की टेडेसी है उसको रोकने के लिए प्रेसिडेंट एड्रेस में कोई एक्शियरेस नहीं दिया गया है। शेख अब्दुल्ला और बेग साहिब ने कश्मीरियों का यह कहकर सोशल बायकाट कर रखा है कि तुम कांग्रेस में शामिल नहीं होंगे। और आज जब वह दिल्ली में आए तो उन्होंने खुशे तौर से कहा कि हम बाहर के मुल्को में जाकर वहाँ की पब्लिक ओपीनियन को

कश्मीर के मसले के मुतल्लिक मोबिलाइज करेंगे। यह कहने के बावजूद हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने पासपोर्ट दिया। हालाँकि वह हज के लिए जा रहे थे लेकिन बजाए हज के पासपोर्ट देने के उनको एशियाई मुमालिक में मुस्लिम मुमालिक में जाने के लिए पासपोर्ट दिया गया और वह आज यू० ए० आर० में बैठ कर मीडिएशन के लिए माग कर रहे हैं। आप कश्मीर के मसला को हल करें। कश्मीर का मसला जो हल हो चुका है, जिसका इलहाक खुद शेख साहब ने किया है जब कन्स्टिट्यूशन इमेम्बली में उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान के साथ एलहाक मान लिया था और उसी की बुनियाद पर वहाँ के महाराजा का रोल खत्म किया गया। लैंड रिफार्म किये गये, वह सब तो ठीक है, लेकिन जहाँ तक कश्मीर के इलहाक को ताल्लुक है, एक्ससेशन का ताल्लुक है, यह आज इस बुनियादी चीज को चैलेज किया जा रहा है तो मुझे समझ में नहीं आ रहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान के जो लीडरान हैं, रहनुमा हैं, उन्होंने इन तमाम बातों के होते हुये किस तरह से शेख साहब को पासपोर्ट दिया दूसरे मुल्को में जाने का। ऐसी खबरें मैं देख रहा हूँ कि वह इन सब मुल्को में जायेंगे। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि मिनिस्ट्री आफ एक्सटर्नल अफेयर्स की तरफ से इस प्रोपोजेडा को रोकने के लिए जिसमें कश्मीर और हिन्दुस्तान के बुनियादी उसूलों को चैलेज किया जा रहा है क्या कदम उठाए जा रहे हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि मिनिस्ट्री आफ एक्सटर्नल अफेयर्स से कि इसने इसको चैक करने के लिये, इसका मुकाबला करने के लिये क्या क्या किया है ?

SURI P. N. SAPRU : That only shows that we are a democratic country.

श्री जी० एम० मीर : मैं यह भी पूछना चाहता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान की तरफ से ओ आये दिन अनप्रोवोकड चैलेज हो रहा है, फायरिंग हो रही है, जो बाँर हमारी तरफ से कार्रवाई किये एक एग्जेशन हो रहा है, हमारे

मल्क पर गोलिया चलाई जा रही है, तोड़-फोड़ की कार्रवाइया हो रही है, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि हुकूमत ने इसके लिए क्या कदम उठाये ।

इसी तरह से नागालैंड का मसला है । मैं चाहता हूँ हुकूमत एक मजबूत पालिसी लेकर आगे चले । एक तरफ कश्मीर का सवाल खत्म हो चुका है लेकिन इसको बार-बार सिक्कीम रिट्री कौंसिल में उठाया जा रहा है । इसको सिक्कीम रिट्री कौंसिल से वापिस नहीं लिया जा रहा है । दूसरी तरफ नागालैंड में हुकूमत की बेरुखी की जो पालिसी है उसने वहाँ के लोगों को शूबात में डाल दिया है कि न जाने हमारा कल क्या होगा । जब इस किस्म के हालात पैदा हैं कि जो लोग कश्मीर और हिन्दुस्तान के इलाह का को चैलेज कर रहे हैं, जो हमारी बुनियादी बातें हैं उनको चैलेज कर रहे हैं, उनके लिए मिनिस्ट्री आफ एक्सटर्नल अफेयर्स से बाकायदा खाने और डिनर का इन्तजाम होता है और उनके लिए कारे मुफ्त में दौड़ती हैं । लिहाजा मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि प्रेजिडेंट के एड्रेस में इस तरफ कोई इशारा क्यों नहीं किया गया । इसका जवाब मिलना चाहिए । लेगवेज के मसले में मैं ज्यादा नहीं कहूँगा । लेगवेज के मसला पर मैं यह कहूँगा कि विनोबा जी का फारमूला बेस्ट है, उसको अपनाया जाए । लेकिन जहाँ तक उर्दू का ताल्लुक है, यू० पी०, बिहार, जम्मू और कश्मीर, पंजाब और दिल्ली, कई जगहों में उर्दू बोलने वाले कम से कम तीन चार करोड़ इंसान हैं जो उर्दू पढ़ने वाले और ज़ानने वाले हैं । आज सुबह ही एक मेम्बर साहब ने सवाल किया था कि उर्दू को रीजनल लेगवेज बनाने के लिए क्या कुछ किया जा रहा है लेकिन जवाब जो मिला वह तसल्लीबख़्श नहीं था । यू० पी० और बिहार के 32 लाख इंसानों ने मेमोरेडम उपराष्ट्रपति के जरिये दिया जब वह अंजमन तरक्की उर्दू के प्रेजिडेंट थे, उस वक़्त बाबू राजेन्द्र प्रसाद को एक मेमोरेडम पेश किया था लेकिन वह आज तक बस्ता

खामोशी में पड़ा हुआ है । लेकिन इसके लिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि जब आप बाकी जवानों का सवाल उठा रहे हैं, उनको तरज्जा देने के लिए उनकी तरक्की के लिए कानून बना रहे हैं, सब कुछ कर रहे हैं तो उर्दू को भी इसी लेबिल पर ले जाइये ताकि हम चार करोड़ इंसान जो हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर उर्दू बोलने वाले हैं उनको उनका हक मिल जाये ।

इसके साथ ही मैं प्रेजिडेंट एड्रेस पर शुक्रिया की तहरीक की तारीफ़ करते हुये उनकी पूरे तौर से दिल की गहराई से सपोर्ट करता हूँ । शुक्रिया ।]

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया :

उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया गया है उसमें मैंने भी कुछ संशोधन रखे हैं और उनके कुछ कारण हैं । सबसे पहली बात तो परिपाटी के अनुसार राष्ट्रपति महोदय दोनों सदनों के संयुक्त अधिवेशन में पधारे और [The Vice-Chairman (Shri M. P. Bhargava) in the Chair] पधारने के बाद अपना मार्ग दर्शन देने की दृष्टि से जो अभिभाषण दिया वह कार्य धन्यवाद के लिये है ही, पर उसके साथ ही जो अनेक त्रुटियाँ और कमियाँ अभिभाषण में प्रतीत होती हैं उनके बारे में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ ।

सबसे पहले, उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह अपेक्षा करता था कि जिस तरह से पिंजरे के तोते को सिखाया जाता है, "चित्रकोटि" "दूध रोटी" "आत्माराम" और वही का वही वह रट लगाता है तो ठीक वही स्थिति आज हमारे भी चल रही है कि सत्रह वर्षों के बाद भी हम पिंजरे से बाहर निकल गए फिर भी हम अपनी किलकारी की आवाज़ अभी तक नहीं लगा सके । हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय कई भाषाओं के प्रकांड पंडित हैं । अच्छा होता कि वे भारत की किसी भाषा में अपना

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्ना लालजी चौरङ्गिया]

अभिभाषण देते और उसकी प्रतिलिपि अंग्रेजी और हिन्दी में देते। इस तरह की बात उन्होंने नहीं की, इसका मुझे बड़ा खेद है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति जी इस बात का ध्यान रखेंगे और आगे इस बारे में कार्यवाही करेंगे तो ज्यादा अच्छा रहेगा।

दूसरी बात उनके अभिभाषण से यह अपेक्षा की जाती थी कि वे जो अपना अभिभाषण देते हैं उसके द्वारा वे हमें बतलाते हैं कि गत वर्ष सरकार ने क्या किया और आगे आने वाले साल में क्या-क्या करने वाली है। यदि इस बात को आधार ले तो मैं उनके बीते वर्ष के भाषण की ओर सदन का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ और यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि गत वर्ष के भाषण में उन्होंने जो कल्पना की थी, वह कल्पना साकार नहीं हो सकी। उन्होंने उम्मीद की थी कि उनकी सरकार बहुत सी बातें करने वाली है लेकिन वह नहीं हो पायी। इन बातों का उदाहरण मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। गत वर्ष राष्ट्रपति जी ने विदेशी मुद्रा के बारे में कहा था कि "हमारे मुद्रा कोष की हालत सुधरी है।" "पिछले साल उस पर जितना दबाव पड़ रहा था इस साल नहीं पड़ रहा है।" लेकिन इसके विपरीत में बात देखी गई। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने विदेशी मुद्रा के बारे में हमारे शासन की जो स्थिति रखी उसके परिणामस्वरूप जो दिवालियापन बनलाया, उससे ज्यादा और किसी वर्ष में नहीं हुआ। विदेशी मुद्रा की कमी के कारण जो हमारी सरकार की हालत हुई वह राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो कल्पना की थी कि इस साल विदेशी मुद्रा अच्छी रहेगी, उसके विपरीत ही काम हुआ।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में दूसरी बात खेती की फसल के बारे में बतलाई थी कि उसकी ठीक कीमत निर्धारित कर दी जायेगी। लेकिन जो कीमत निर्धारित की

गई है वह वैज्ञानिक ढंग से नहीं की गई। इस बात का निर्णय नहीं किया गया कि जो जमीन में पैदा करता है उसके उत्पादन में कितना खर्चा आता है, इस बात को दृष्टि में रखकर कीमत तय नहीं की गई। इस बारे में भी राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में जो आश्वासन दिया था वह भी पूरा नहीं हुआ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : कमीशन बैठा दिया गया है।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया : कमीशन बैठाने से खाली काम नहीं चलता है। अभी तो जो भी काम निर्धारित किये वह उपभोक्ताओं की दृष्टि से किये हैं और उत्पादन करने वालों की दृष्टि से वह सतोषजनक रूप से कोई काम निर्धारित नहीं हुए हैं। इस दृष्टि से भी यह काम अभी तक पूरा नहीं हुआ है। तीसरी बात राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में कहा था कि कई प्रकार के बिल ससद् के समक्ष आएंगे और उनमें इन बिलों का भी उल्लेख किया गया था। भारतीय फसल बीमा बिल, दूसरा अलोगड यूनिवर्सिटी बिल। ये दोनों बिल प्रस्तुत होने तो दूर रहे, उनकी झनक तक देखने को नहीं मिली। इसी तरह से उन्होंने अपने गत वर्ष के भाषण में हमको मार्ग दर्शन देने की दृष्टि से जो बातें बतलाई थी उसमें भी सरकार सफल नहीं रही और उस कसौटी पर भी वह असफल हो रहा। राष्ट्रपति जी ने जिनके आधार पर अपना अभिभाषण दिया था उनके कार्यों के बारे में कम से कम वे आलोचना तो करते कि सरकार ने ये-ये बातें गलत की हैं और इनको भविष्य में नहीं दोहराया जाना चाहिए, लेकिन राष्ट्रपति जी ने इस तरह की कोई बात नहीं कही।

इस वर्ष राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में रेलवे और विजली विभाग को प्रमाणपत्र दे दिया है कि ये विभाग बड़ा अच्छा काम कर

रहे हैं। मैं केवल यही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ—विस्तृत मैं नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ—कि रेलवे के तंतूरे दर्जे के यात्रियों को यात्रा करने में जितना अधिक कष्ट होता है उसका वर्णन नहीं किया जा सकता है। अगर हमारे ससद सदस्य दिल्ली के स्टेशन या अन्य स्टेशनों में गये होंगे तो उन्होंने देखा होगा कि तंतूरे दर्जे के यात्रियों को यात्रा करने में कितना कष्ट होता है। इस बात का हल हम अभी तक नहीं निकाल सके हैं और हमारे रेल मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण में इस बारे में ऐसा बतलाया था जैसे चाद को आसमान में उतारकर जर्मन में ले आये हैं। तंतूरे दर्जे के यात्रियों को यात्रा करने में जो कष्ट होता है, जो उनकी दुर्दशा होती है विशेषकर महिला यात्रियों की, उसकी कल्पना नहीं की जा सकती है। इसलिए हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो प्रमाण-पत्र दिया है वह ठीक नहीं लगता है। यही स्थिति बिजली की है, राजस्थान में, मध्य प्रदेश में, केरल में कमी कर दी गई है।

दूसरी बात उन्होंने खाद्य स्थितिके बारे में अपने अभिभाषण में कही। मैं इस बारे में पहले ही कह चुका हूँ कि जो काम तय की गई है वह वैज्ञानिक ढंग में तय नहीं की गई है। इस बात का प्रयास किया जाना चाहिये कि किसानों को वैज्ञानिक आधार पर कामते मिलत रहे जिससे वे फटे कपड़े की जगह पर ठीक कपड़ा पहिन सके, अपने बच्चों को अगर कालेजों में नहीं पढा सकते हैं तो कम से कम स्कूलों में तो भोजन मिल सके और उन्हें दो वक्त अच्छी तरह से भोजन मिल सके। इस तरह की व्यवस्था हमारी सरकार की करना चाहिये, ताकि उनकी उपज का उचित दाम उन्हें मिल सके।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे बड़े दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमारे कृषि विभाग ने जिस रासायनिक खाद की राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने चर्चा की उसे शराब बनाने वाले कारखानों को दिया। जो खाद खेती के उत्पादन बढ़ाने के

लिये चाहिये, उसकी काफी मात्रा शराब बनाने के कारखानों को दे दी है। इस तरह सरकार की जो नीति है उसकी मैं निन्दा करता हूँ और पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो खाद किसानों को सबसिडी के रूप में दी जाती है ताकि वह अनाज का उत्पादन बढ़ा सके, वह शराब बनाने वाले कारखानों को क्यों दी गई है? हमारी सरकार की जो यह नीति और तरीका है वह ठीक नहीं है। हमारा एक कृषि प्रधान देश है लेकिन फिर भी हमे बाहर से खाने के लिए अनाज मगाना पड़ रहा है। अगर विदेशों से अनाज नहीं आता तो हमारे समस्त देश के निवासियों को 15 दिन तक उपवास करना पड़ता। उस स्थिति में हमारे देश को क्या दुर्दशा हो जानी इसकी कल्पना आसानी के साथ की जा सकती है। इस दृष्टि से भी हमारी सरकार बिल्कुल असफल रही है और उसकी जितनी भी आलाचना की जाय वह कम है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में इस तरह की कोई बात नहीं की जो कि एक भूल है।

जहां तक आर्थिक स्थिति का संबंध है उसके बारे में हमारी सरकार कहती है कि मुद्रास्फीति, विदेशी मुद्रा तथा अनएकाउन्टेड मनी के बारे में हम हर तरह का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। लेकिन मैं इस संबंध में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब हमारी सरकार विदेशों से करोड़ों रुपया कर्ज के रूप में ले रही है और अपने देश में रुपया छापते हैं चले जा रही है तो ऐसी स्थिति में मुद्रास्फीति अवश्य होगी। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि हम इस ओर ज्यादा से ज्यादा प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सम्बन्ध में खाली एलान करने से काम चलने वाला नहीं है। सरकार कहती है कि हम इस बीमारी की चिकित्सा करेंगे। लेकिन मेरा कहना यह है कि जब तक हम बीमारी की जड़ में नहीं जायेंगे, जब तक हम रोग के पैदा होने के कारण का निराकरण नहीं कर सकते हैं, तब तक कुछ नहीं हो पावेगा। मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि हमारा

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया]
शासन इतने प्रयत्न करने के बावजूद भी वह इस काम में सफल नहीं होगा और हमारे देश में इम्प्लेशन की समस्या बढ़ती ही चली जायेगी। हमारे यहां के अनेकाउन्टेड मनी की समस्या है वह वर्तमान कानूनी तरीकों के कारण हल होने वाली नहीं है और वह बढ़ता ही रहेगा। आप इस सबंध में कितने ही क्यूरेटिव मेजर्स कर ले, 60 परसेंट की छूट जो आपने की है, उससे यह चीज बंद होने वाली नहीं है और यह बढ़ती ही चले जायेगी। इसका कारण यह है कि आपने देश में विदेशी मुद्रा को बहुत फैला दिया है और जब तक उसको आप कम नहीं करते हैं और उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ाते हैं तब तक हमारी स्थिति सुधरने वाली नहीं है, लेकिन यह बात हमारी सरकार करने वाली नहीं है। सरकार के सिर पर तो योजना का भूत बना हुआ है और वह कहती है कि जब तक योजना नहीं चलेगी तब तक कुछ नहीं होगा। योजना उनकी इतनी बड़ी है कि वह उनके ताकत के बाहर की बात है। एक कहावत है "तेरे पाव पसारिये जेति लाम्बी सौर" लेकिन हमारी सरकार की यह पालिसी है कि वह पाव अपने फैलाते चली जाती है चाहे सौर कितनी ही छोटी क्यों न हो। उसकी पालिसी का यह नतीजा हो रहा है कि काम तो फैलते चले जा रहे हैं लेकिन पूरे नहीं हो पाते हैं। इसलिए मेरी प्रार्थना है कि अगर राष्ट्रपति जी मजबूत यह चाहते हैं कि हमारे यहां से विदेशी मुद्रा का सकट टले, हमारे देश में मुद्रास्फूर्ति न हो, उसके लिए यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि उसे योजना अपनी सीमा के अन्दर ही बनाती चाहिये। आज हमारा विदेशी मुद्रा का सकट और भी बढ़ने वाला है क्योंकि जो बड़ी भारी योजना बन चुकी है उसी के परिणामस्वरूप विदेशी मुद्रा का सकट आया है। आज स्थिति इतनी खराब हो गई है कि विदेशी मुद्रा चुकाने के लिए भी हमें कर्ज लेना पड़ रहा है और वह दिवालियापन के लक्षण नहीं हैं तो और क्या है आज हम कर्जा चुकाने के लिए कर्जा लेकर

काम करे और उससे हमारे देश को लाभ हो जायेगा यह बात मैं मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ। अगर विदेशी मुद्रा के सकट को दूर करना है तो सबसे पहले जो हमारे उद्योग चल रहे हैं उनकी मांग को पूरा किया जाना चाहिये। दूसरी बात यह है कि जो नये उद्योग हैं वे पूरी क्षमता में काम करे और उनकी क्षमता में किसी तरह की कोई रूकावट न आवे। इन चीजों के लिए ही विदेशी मुद्रा का उपयोग करना चाहिए और जितना कम विदेश पर निर्भर कर सके करे। इसी तरह से यह संकट दूर हो सकता है।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में तीसरी और चौथी योजना को बहुत ही सुन्दर बतलाया। लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि तीन योजनाओं के परिणामस्वरूप आज हम बहुत सी बातें देश में देख रहे हैं। आज हमारे देश में जो भी कुछ काम हुये हैं फिर भी देश में बेकारी बढ़ी है, देश में महंगाई बहुत बढ़ गई है तथा जीवनोंपयोगी चीजों का अभाव हो गया है। इन कारणों से आज हमारे देश में भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ गया है और विदेशी मुद्रा का सकट खड़ा हो गया है और यह सकट किसी तरह से कम होने वाला नहीं है और इसी लक्ष्य को सामने रखकर हमारी सरकार योजना बनाती चली जा रही है। मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वे योजनाओं को कम करे और इस तरह की योजनाएं बनाये जिससे हमारे देश से बेकारी मिटे और जनसाधारण को आवश्यक वस्तुएं प्राप्त हो सके।

यहां पर सीमेन्ट के सबंध में चर्चा की गई है कि हमारे यहां सीमेन्ट की कमी है। लेकिन मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को गलत नीति के कारण इसकी कमी है। हमारे देश में इतना चूने का पत्थर है जिसका सीमेन्ट बनाने के काम में आमाती के साथ लाया जा सकता है। हमारे देश में सीमेन्ट के कारखाने बनाने के लिए विदेशी मुद्रा की आवश्यकता नहीं है। कारण, सीमेन्ट बनाने का कारखाना यहीं बनता है। लेकिन हमारी

सरकार की नीति ऐसी है जिसके परिणाम-स्वरूप कोई भी व्यापारी मैदान में आकर इसके कारखाने खोलने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि हर साल सीमेंट के कारखाने खोलने के लिए लाइसेंस दिये जाते हैं मगर फिर भी इसकी कमी ही दिखलाई देती है जबकि सीमेंट बनाने के लिए पर्याप्त पत्थर है। मध्य प्रदेश में ही भिलाई, अकलतरा, पाथरिया, मानपुरा, नीमच, सबलगाढ़ सिलयारी, जगदलपुर और कई स्थानों में सीमेंट का पत्थर है हमारी सरकार तीन चार सालों से बराबर कोशिश कर रही है कि सीमेंट के कारखाने खोलें। लॉग सीमेंट के कारखाने खोलने के लिए प्रोस्पेक्टिव लाइसेंस ले लेते हैं और उसके बाद कुछ नहीं हो पाता है। क्योंकि वे जानते हैं कि हमारी सरकार की नीति ऐसी है कि आज बेशक हमको लाइसेंस दे देगी, कारखाने खोलने की इजाजत दे देगी, मगर जब हम मुनाफा लेने जायेंगे, तो वह हमको मिल नहीं पायेगा। जैसा मैंने बजट के बारे में कहा था कि हमारी सरकार की नीति कैपिटलिज्म और कम्युनिज्म की क्रासबींड है, और इस क्रासबींड के परिणामस्वरूप न तो इधर का काम हो पाता है और न उधर का काम हो पाता है। इसके परिणामस्वरूप हमारे यहाँ पर केवल सीमेंट की नहीं और भी कमियाँ हैं और इसके बारे में हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय को कुछ इशारा करना चाहिये था।

राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी के बारे में भी हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने उसमें दो तीन बातें बताई हैं। उसमें कहा है कि ऐसा लगता है कि दक्षिण के लोगों के मन में भाषा के प्रति कुछ सन्देह उत्पन्न हुये, जिसमें वे उत्तेजित हो उठे। दो प्रश्न पैदा होते हैं कि सन्देह पैदा करने के लिये तथा रोकने के लिये जिम्मेदार कौन है। मुझे तो सब से बड़ा आश्चर्य यह होता है कि जो यहाँ बैठ कर के, या कैबिनेट में बैठ कर के, कोई बात तय करते हैं, जिनके मन में तय करते समय कोई सन्देह नहीं रहता, वे बाहर निकलते हैं तो उनके मन में सन्देह पैदा

हो जाता है। इतना ही नहीं, जब प्रारम्भ में आप देखेंगे इस सारे का बैकग्राउण्ड, तो यह देखेंगे कि जब निजलिगप्पा साहब को वर्षगांठ मनाने के लिये बंगलूर में हमारे गणमान्य नेता कामराज जी, अनुत्पन्न घोष और रेड्डी साहब बैठे हुए थे, तो उम रोज वहाँ पर कामराज जी ने कहा कि हिन्दी का कोई कागज आये, तो फाड़ दो। हमारे जो दूसरे लोग हिन्दी के विषय में आन्दोलन कर रहे थे, उस आन्दोलन को बढ़ावा देने की दृष्टि से, उनकी इस बात ने आहुति का काम किया। फिर हमारे मंत्री जी कैबिनेट में बैठ कर के यह तय करते हैं कि राष्ट्रभाषा के बारे में हमारी यह नीति है.....

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, may I point out that Shri Kamaraj has denied that he ever stated he would tear away any Hindi report?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: That is the habit with all Congressmen.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया :
तो उसके अनुसार उसमें सशोधन कर लीजिये।

श्री चन्द्र शेखर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आन तो पिजड़े से बाहर बोल रहे थे।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया :
ये भी पिजड़े से बाहर आने के बाद ऐसा बोले। तो यह समझ में नहीं आता कि जो मंत्री कैबिनेट में बैठ कर के तय करते हैं, यहाँ पर प्रस्ताव पास कर सकते हैं, उनके सन्देह का कारण क्या था? यदि वे यहाँ पर मसजने के बाद भी सन्देह रखते थे, तो फिर वे इस योग्य नहीं थे कि वे मंत्री पद पर टिके रहें। अगर उन को सन्देह नहीं था, तो फिर उनको खड़े होकर डके की चोट से कहना चाहिये था और प्रचार करना चाहिये था इस बात का कि यह आपका सन्देह गलत है, आपको इस सन्देह से मुक्त होकर के यह समझना चाहिये कि राष्ट्रभाषा

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया]

के लिये जो कानून है, उसमें यह व्यवस्था है। फिर उनके इस्तीफे आ जायें और इस्तीफे फिर मंजूर न करना, यह सब राजनैतिक आधार पर अगर हम चलाया करेंगे, तो हम अपने देश का कल्याण नहीं कर सकते। हमको अपना लक्ष्य सामने रख कर के चलना चाहिये। इस भाषा की दृष्टि से हमारी सरकार ने एक तरह से हमारे देश में अराजकता एवं गुंडागर्दी को जो होने दिया है, उस पर रोक लगाना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है।

जहां तक हमारी रक्षा का सवाल है, हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने भाषण में रक्षा के बारे में भी ध्यान दिलाया है। “चीनी खतरा बराबर हमारे ऊपर बना हुआ है”, “चीन के अटॉमिक विस्फोट से दुनिया के सभी शांति-प्रिय लोगों को धक्का लगा है”, “पाकिस्तान के साथ भी हमारे सम्बन्धों में सुधार नहीं हुआ है”, ये सारी बातें उन्होंने मंजूर की। मगर आगे चल कर कहते हैं कि हथियार बनाने में हम किसी का मुकाबिला नहीं करेंगे, किसी से होड़ नहीं करेंगे और हम बम नहीं बनायेंगे। मैं कभी यह नहीं कहता कि ऐटम बम इसलिये बनाइये कि आपको किसी दूसरे पर आक्रमण करना है। मगर जब तक हम शक्ति का सृजन नहीं करते, जब तक हमारे पास शक्ति नहीं होगी, तब तक हम अपने देश की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते। मैं सदन के समस्त सदस्यों से एक प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूं कि आपका लक्ष्य देश की रक्षा है या नहीं? हमारा लक्ष्य हमारे देश की रक्षा है, तो हमारे लिये यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि अपने यहां पर भी हम उस शक्ति का सृजन करें, जो कि किसी भी राष्ट्र पर हमला करने वाले का मुकाबिला करने के लिये आवश्यक है।

इसी तरह से जो यह विदेश नीति के बारे में इसमें वर्णन किया है कि हमारी विदेश नीति बहुत अच्छी है। मैं भी चाहता हूं कि हमारी विदेश नीति बहुत अच्छी रहे, मगर हमारी इस विदेश नीति का फायदा बर्मा से आने वाले

भारतीय प्रवासियों को क्या हुआ, लंका से आने वाले भारतीय प्रवासियों को क्या हुआ, अफ्रीका से आने वाले प्रवासियों को क्या हुआ? मैं प्रार्थना करता हू कि अगर हमारी विदेश नीति अच्छी है, तो हमारे अच्छे सम्बन्धों का लाभ इन भारतीय प्रवासियों को मिलना चाहिये और राष्ट्रपति महोदय को अपने अभिभाषण में इसकी चर्चा करनी चाहिये थी।

अंत में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यू० ए० आर० से हमारे सम्बन्ध बहुत अच्छे हैं और यू० ए० आर० से अच्छे सम्बन्ध रखने के लिये हमारी सरकार नहीं चाहती कि इजराइल से हम अपने कूटनीतिक सम्बन्ध बनाये। परन्तु क्या यू० ए० आर० ने हमारी भावनाओं का आदर किया है। जब हमारे एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर एम० सी० छागला साहब, इजिप्ट गये, कैरो गये, तो हमारे नासिर साहब उनसे भेंट नहीं कर पाये। मगर हमारे शेख अब्दुला साहब, जिनको देशद्रोह के कारण कई वर्षों तक जेल के सीखचो में रखा गया, उनसे मिलने के लिये वहां की अथॉरिटीज प्रयत्न कर रही हैं। एक साधारण नागरिक जो कि देश के विरुद्ध प्रचार कर रहा है, उसका स्वागत करने के लिये हमारे अम्बेसी के प्रथम सेक्रेटरी जाते हैं और हमारे शेख अब्दुला साहब यू० ए० आर० में स्टेट गेस्ट मान कर जाते हैं। इतना ही नहीं, उनके तृतीय नम्बर के जो सचिव हैं, उनको उनकी अटेंडेंस में रखते हैं। क्या यह हमारी भावनाओं का आदर है? क्या इसीलिये हम इजराइल से मित्रता नहीं करना चाहते हैं कि यू० ए० आर० के लोग हमसे नाराज न हो जायें और उनसे हमारे सम्बन्ध न बिगड़ें? यह तरीका ठीक नहीं लगता।

(Time bell rings.)

अंत में एक मिनट में यह कह कर समाप्त कर दूंगा कि इंडोचाइना के बारे में हम

यह पसन्द नहीं करते कि किसी भी राष्ट्र में दूसरे राष्ट्र की सेना आकर के रक्षण करे या उसकी मदद करे। मगर स्थिति ऐसी है कि अगर इंडोचाइना के द्वार चीन के लिये खोल दिय गये, तो हमारे देश के लिये बहुत बड़ा खतरा पैदा हो जायेगा और वह इंडो-चाइना के माध्यम से हिन्द महासागर में प्रवेश कर के, सैनिक दृष्टि से हम पर आक्रमण कर सकता है। अगर सारा दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया चीन के जिम्मे करने की नीति बना ली है, तो मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है। मगर यह निश्चित है कि चीन के जो गुरिल्ला या लड़ाई करने वाले हैं, उन्होंने उसका उत्तर का हिस्सा अपने कब्जे में कर लिया है और अब उन्होंने दक्षिण के हिस्से में काम प्रारम्भ कर दिया है और वहाँ की सरकार उसको रोकने में, उसका मुकाबला करने में सफल नहीं है। उसको रोकने में आप भी मदद कीजिये। वहाँ शांति स्थापित होनी चाहिये। अगर हम उनके देश की रक्षा का ख्याल न कर के कोई कार्यवाही करेंगे, तो वह उचित नहीं होगा।

घंटी बज चुकी है, समय हो चुका है, इस लिये केवल यह कह कर समाप्त करता हूँ कि आपने इतना समय दिया, इसका धन्यवाद।

SHRI A. D. MANI : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I join the hon. Members who have paid tributes to the President for honouring us by addressing us on the morning of February the 17th. Sir, in the course of the President's Address he made a brief reference to the language agitation in the South. I refer to para 21. I agree that all of us will join him in condemning the outbreak of violence which has occurred in South India and which has set up a most dangerous precedent. One of the most disturbing features of the situation in South India is that the leadership of the State has passed with due respect to my friend Shri Annadurai and to the Members of the Congress Party I have to say, from the Congress Party and the D.M.K. into the hands of students. This, in my opinion, is a far more dangerous portent

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than any factor which has been surfaced in the recent agitation. The State of Madras today is being led by students many of whom are immature and are not in a position to accept the leadership of the State from the hands of the trained and experienced persons who are now in charge of the administration. Sir, I would squarely place the blame for the present situation on the complete absence of preparation on the part of the Union Government with which it introduced Hindi as the official language on January 26th of this year. Though the Official Language Commission and the committee which was appointed thereunder had gone into the question of the steps to be taken to implement Hindi as the official language, no satisfactory preparations were made by Government to see that the work of administration can be carried on effectively from that date. Sir, it is well known that there are many offices in the Government of India which do not have a single Hindi typewriter. There are not enough number of Hindi trained shorthand typists. It may be said and I am completely in agreement with it, that those who have been trained in Hindi shorthand and type-writing have attained a very high speed. I have examined some of them and some of them are able to type at 60 words per minute. But there is an acute shortage of typewriters for carrying on the work of Government in Hindi from this year.

May I ask the Minister, when he replies to the debate, what steps the Government had taken to secure the technical equipment in the form of typewriters for carrying on the work of Government?

Sir, what happens is that all of us had a very glib view of our responsibilities in January, 1965. Chief Ministers' Conferences used to be held, decisions were taken on the three-language formula which were not sincerely implemented in many States. In the State of Madras, the Chief Minister made Hindi an optional language and it was not obligatory for any student to get even a satisfactory percentage of marks, a pass percentage in that subject. In Uttar Pradesh, Sanskrit was made the third language. In other words, though the Chief Ministers often met in Delhi

[Shri A. D. Mani.]

and the Prime Minister attended the celebrations and the celebrations were invested with solemnity, no serious efforts were made by the Chief Minister or by the Government of India to see that the resolutions of the Conference were satisfactorily implemented.

Sir, I believe that there has also been a good deal of confusion in the Government of India itself about the manner in which the official language should be promulgated in the country. Though it has been denied by the Home Minister and other Ministers, I am satisfied on the basis of information that I have that in the Information and Broadcasting Ministry an order was issued by a responsible official, I do not want to identify him, stating clearly that only the Hindi language need be used in routine circulars and that English may be used in important circulars. That has been denied by Government. Now, if the Government were serious about seeing that Hindi was enforced as the language of administration, they should have entrusted the work of enforcement to the office of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister, under the Constitution, not only represents the head of a Central Government but is also the principal symbol of the unity of States in India. It would have been more appropriate if the Home Ministry had transferred the responsibility of issuing orders regarding Hindi and English to the Prime Minister from that date and even today I would like to make the suggestion to the Home Minister to shed himself of this responsibility and hand over the question of enforcement of Hindi as the official language to the Prime Minister of the Union. Sir, it has been said . . .

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : It is for the Prime Minister to distribute the business. I have never heard of the theory that a Minister can distribute business. What Mr. Mani advocates is that the Home Minister, to whom certain responsibility has been assigned, should ask or invite the Prime Minister to relieve him of those responsibilities and that the Home Minister should hand over those responsibilities to the Prime Minister. This is a new constitutional doctrine which Mr. Mani is enunciating.

SHRI A. D. MANI : I would like to make my position clear. By temperament I am not one of those who want to humiliate others. It is open to the Prime Minister to take this question of the enforcement of the Hindi language from the hands of the Home Minister. That is what I have in mind but I want it to be done in a very pleasant manner and my suggestion has been that the Home Minister himself should say, in view of the fact that this question has been taken up by the Chief Ministers' Conference, that the Prime Minister should handle this question of enforcement of Hindi as the official language.

Sir, I must say not only that the preparations which were made before January 26 were not satisfactory but that tentative decisions which have been taken after that are also likely to have disastrous consequences, I refer to the recommendations of the Chief Ministers' Conference. Sir, I am glad that one of the recommendations is that the three language formula should be implemented in both the areas of India, Northern India where Hindi is spoken and the southern and eastern parts of India where other languages are spoken. Sir, it has been suggested by the Chief Ministers that all the regional languages should be made the languages of examinations for the U.P.S.C. I do not yield to any one in my admiration for the rich regional languages which have come up, which come into existence all over India but, Sir, let us realise the implications of this proposals. If all the regional languages are given parity of status with Hindi, what is likely to happen is, in course of time, the question of continuance of a strong federal Central will be taken up by all the States concerned, once we recognise all regional cultures. I am sorry Mr. Bhupesh Gupta does not agree with me. Once all the regional cultures are given recognition at the Centre, we must forget the idea of a strong Indian Federation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What is a strong Indian Federation? You are pitting the federation against our culture.

SHRI A. D. MANI : I am coming to it. My time is limited.

Then what will happen is that we may have to go back to the position which emerged at the time of the Cabinet Mission's proposals. The Cabinet Mission suggested that there should be a grouping scheme, that there should be a limited accession to three subjects, viz., Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. Now, I do not want such a situation to develop because the moment we think in terms of giving parity of status to all the regional languages, we are disarming the strong Indian Federation. I have no doubt about it. I may not live to see that day but that is coming when the strong united India will crumble. If we are going to have a strong united India, it must be on the basis of a strong Central administration. No State Government can control the economic situation in this country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Your Tamil is there; Bengali is there but you have not been able to improve the economic situation. Prices continue to rise.

SHRI A. D. MANI : That is because those who talk in terms of separate regional languages are having a separate picture of Indian nationalities. It is a federation of Indian nationalities which will come into existence. That is why I am saying that the Chief Ministers' proposals are extremely dangerous.

Sir, it has been suggested that there should be quotas in the services of the Centre. Sir, a quota system, let us remember, will immediately mark out various areas as separate distinct areas. We talk of a quota system in the United Nations Secretariat where all nations are more or less independent and have a separate existence. The moment we talk of a quota system, it means we go back to the position which many States occupy in the United Nations and are claiming places in the United Nations Secretariat on the basis of a quota system. Sir, the quota system would not stop with the Central services. The quota system will be enforced in the Army as a result of the demand of isolationist public opinion in the various States and I have no doubt that the quota system will be also applied to the Central Cabinet. Sir, I beg all the Members of this House and I would beg of all the Chief Ministers to realise what dangers they are creating for the India of the

future. If those proposals are accepted, the grave will be dug for a strong Indian Government and I would not like to see this country being Balkanised and vivisectioned by proposals which do not show any real sympathy for Hindi. Sir, I am one of those people who believe that Hindi should become the official and the national language of India not only because it is spoken by a majority of the people but because it is the language in which the freedom movement was carried on by Mahatma Gandhi. If we are really true to his heritage, we must develop Hindi as the national language but, Sir, the position today is this. With due respect to my Hindi-speaking friends, I may say this not as one who is not conversant with Hindi—I have passed examinations in Hindi. I am reading Hindi every day if I can get some time and I want to have the privilege and great honour of speaking in Hindi in the Rajya Sabha at least once before my term is over—but as one who does not speak this language but as one whose mother tongue, like that of Mr. Annadurai, is Tamil, that I feel that Hindi should become the official language of India. *(Interruption)*. Sir, I would also like to make an appeal to the Hindi-speaking friends. Are we now in a position to enforce Hindi as the official language of India? With due respect to my friends, I would like to ask this question because no preparations were made. What does bilingualism in administration mean?

Sir, I went to Bhopal the other day to judge for myself the effects of the language agitation. Bilingualism is carried on in official conversations. "आप क्यों देर से

आये हैं" Why are you late. "मैं आप से साफ कहना चाहता हूँ आपका काम मुझे बिल्कुल पसन्द नहीं है।"

I want to tell you clearly that your work is not satisfactory. The man speaks in Hindi and immediately translates it himself so that the other person can understand it. Is this bilingualism in Administration? Sir, we do not want the Indian Administrative system to be put in jeopardy by a rapid introduction of a system which will bring about chaos in the Administration. Hindi has got to be introduced gradually and it has got to be determined not by Government but by the competence of those who

[Shri A. D. Mani.]

can write and speak in Hindi in the Secretariat. We shall leave it to the patriotic impulse of those persons to accelerate the pace of Hindi. At the same time let us remember that the South Indian region, the region of Bengal and other non-Hindi speaking States have not made those efforts necessary to understand Hindi. We cannot think in terms—and here I part company with my friend, Mr. Annadurai—of English being an associate language indefinitely. Though Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that English should be an associate language as long as the non-Hindi-speaking people wanted, I am sure he had it in mind that some day Hindi would be accepted as the national language of India. If that is the position I would like to put forward a suggestion before my South Indian friends and before my non-Hindi-speaking friends. I gave out this suggestion in Bhopal to my friends and they accepted it. Hindi is the official language and they say, 'we shall try to see that Hindi is used as much as possible but if there are persons in the Secretariat who do not understand Hindi we will not try to embarrass them by forcing this language on them. We shall try to talk to them in English unless they themselves start talking to us in Hindi in order to be in tune with the policy of the Government.' I would like to prescribe a time limit of twenty years for the disappearance of the English language in the country.

(Time bell rings).

Sir, I would take only five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): No; you cannot have five more minutes.

SHRI A. D. MANI: All right, two minutes.

Sir, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta wants me to speak on other subjects but I want to finish this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): You can speak on some other occasion.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I hope, Sir, that any decision that we take on the language question will take into account the fact that Hindi should become the official language of India and that English should continue for a definite stated number of years so that we call a quietus to the agitation that is now raging in India. We will leave it to our children and grandchildren, twenty years hence, to decide this language question. We have not got the wisdom; we are too much near the scene to come to any reasonable decision on the language question. Today let us accept twenty years as the limit for English being an associate language and let the English language disappear at the end of twenty years so that this country may be united and we may have a common language of which we may be proud and which will reflect the culture, the traditions and the glory of India.

Thank you.

प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धांतालंकार (नाम निर्देशित): उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो हमारे समक्ष अभिभाषण दिया उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। आज जो सबसे महत्वपूर्ण समस्या हमारे सम्मुख उपस्थित है वह भाषा की समस्या है। 1835 से पहले एक ऐसे विषय का बीज इस देश के अंदर बोया गया था जिसका परिणाम आज हम भुगत रहे हैं। 1835 में लार्ड मैकाले ने एक अपनी रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित की जिसमें उन्होंने लिखा:

"We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect."

लार्ड मैकाले ने उस शिक्षा को जारी किया और उस शिक्षा के जारी करने का परिणाम यह हुआ कि भारतवर्ष के अंदर कुछ इन्टर-प्रेटर्स पैदा हो गए और उसके साथ कुछ ऐसे व्यक्ति पैदा हो गए जो Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste and opinions थे। तो इस प्रकार के व्यक्ति अपने देश के अंदर उत्पन्न

हो गए लेकिन वे व्यक्ति जो उत्पन्न हुए वे तो भारत भूमि के थे, वे तो यहीं पर रहे लेकिन अंग्रेज, जिनके वे इन्टरप्रेटर थे, जिनके वे मुंशी थे कारिन्दे थे, वे अंग्रेज चले गए, सात समंदर पार चले गए, ये मनुष्य ही यहां पर रह गए, ये इन्टरप्रेटर्स अपने देश के अंदर उत्पन्न हुए। यह सिर्फ इतने ही लोग नहीं थे। अंग्रेजी शिक्षा का जहां तक यह परिणाम था कि उसने कुछ इन्टरप्रेटर्स पैदा किए, कुछ मुंशी पैदा किए वहां अंग्रेजी शिक्षा का एक अच्छा प्रभाव भी था क्योंकि अंग्रेजी शिक्षा एक विश्व की शिक्षा है, अंग्रेजी भाषा केवल अंग्रेजों की नहीं है, यह विश्व भर की भाषा है और उस शिक्षा का परिणाम यह हुआ कि यहां के लोगों ने मेज़िनी और रूसो को पढ़ा और दुनिया के अंदर जो क्रांतियां हुईं उन क्रांतियों का अध्ययन किया। उस अध्ययन का परिणाम यह हुआ कि इस देश के अंदर अंग्रेजी शिक्षा ने जहां ये मुंशी पैदा किए वहां ऐसे व्यक्ति भी पैदा किए जो भारत की आजादी के लिए, यहां की स्वतंत्रता के लिए कटिबद्ध थे। वे लोग जिन लोगों ने अंग्रेजी शिक्षा का अध्ययन करके भारत की स्वतंत्रता का नक्शा अपने सामने खींचा उन लोगों ने इस बात को अनुभव किया कि ऐसा समय आ सकता है कि ये अंग्रेज लोग जिन्होंने हमें अंग्रेजी शिक्षा के अंदर दिक्षित किया है हमें कहने लगे कि तुम्हारा देश कोई देश नहीं है, यह कन्द्री नहीं है यह कान्टीनेन्ट है। और ऐसा ही हुआ आगे जाकर। आप देखते हैं कि पीछे से जो एक समस्या उठ खड़ी हुई अपने देश के सामने वह यह समस्या थी कि हम लोग कहते थे यह देश है लेकिन अंग्रेज कहता था यह देश नहीं है यह महाद्वीप है और इस समस्या का समाधान करने के लिए जो लोग अहिन्दी प्रान्तीय थे—बंगाल के लोग, मद्रास के लोग, गुजरात के लोग—उन लोगों ने एक आवाज़ उठाई और वह आवाज़ क्या थी? वह आवाज़ यह थी कि हमें अपने देश को एक करना होगा और एक करने के लिए भारत-

वर्ष के अंदर एक भाषा को जन्म देना होगा और एक भाषा को मान्यता देनी होगी।

सबसे पहले, आज से 90 साल हुए, जब कि 1875 में केशवचन्द्र सेन ने अपने पत्र "सुलभ समाचार" में लिखा कि :

"यदि भाषा एक ना हइले भारतवर्षे एकता न होय। तबे ताहार उपाय की? समस्त भारतवर्षे एक भाषा व्यवहार कराई उपाय। एखन जतोगुलि भाषा भारते प्रचलित आछे, तहार मध्ये हिन्दी भाषा ही प्रथा सर्वत्र प्रचलित। एई हिन्दी भाषा के यदि भारतवर्षे एकमात्र भाषा करा जाय तबे अनायासे शीघ्र सम्पन्न हइते पारे।"

यह आवाज आज से 90 वर्ष पहले केशव चन्द्र सेन ने उठाई। उसके बाद बंगाल के अंदर ही जस्टिस शारदा चरण मित्र ने एक समाचारपत्र निकाला जिसका नाम था 'देवनागर'। देवनागर पत्र के अंदर उन्होंने इस बात को प्रमाणित किया कि भारत की भाषाओं के अंदर कोई भिन्नता नहीं है, भिन्नता केवल लिपि की है। अगर हम एक ही लिपि के अंदर सब भाषाओं को लिखना प्रारम्भ करें तो भाषा का वैविध्य अपने आप समाप्त हो जाता है। भाषा की एकता की यही आवाज बंगाल में रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुर ने उठाई थी। उन्होंने सितम्बर 1938 में लिखा था:

"We should accept the language spoken over the largest area, that is Hindi. There is a necessity for one language."

सुभाष चन्द्र बोस, जो हम और आपके सामने के हैं, उन्होंने 1938 में लिखा था कि:

"हिन्दी के विरोध का कोई भी आन्दोलन राष्ट्र की प्रगति में बाधक है। हिन्दी जब कि राष्ट्रीय एकता की ओर अग्रसर

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होने में एक कदम है, उस का विरोध करना अकारण होगा । वह अन्तःप्रान्तीय कार्य में एक माध्यम रूप रहेगी और भारतीय एकता को एक सूत्र में बांध रखने में सहायक होगी ।”

यह आवाज बंगाल में उठी ।

गुजरात भी हिन्दी भाषी प्रान्त नहीं है, गुजरात के अंदर क्या हुआ ? गुजरात के सबसे महान नेता महर्षि दयानन्द सरस्वती थे । ऋषि दयानन्द ने गुजराती होते हुए, यद्यपि वे संस्कृत भाषी विद्वान थे, उन्होंने हिन्दी में अनेक ग्रंथ लिखे और सत्यार्थ प्रकाश और दूसरे जितने भी ग्रंथ लिखे, वे हिन्दी में लिखे ।

महात्मा गांधी जी उत्तर प्रदेश के नहीं थे, महात्मा गांधी गुजरात के थे । महात्मा गांधी जी ने 1938 के यंग यंडिया में लिखा था “यदि हिन्दी अंग्रेजी का स्थान ले तो कम से कम मुझे तो अच्छा ही लगेगा । अंग्रेजी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय भाषा है, लेकिन वह राष्ट्रभाषा कभी नहीं बन सकती । इसकी परीक्षा हम आसानी से कर सकते हैं । बंगाल अथवा दक्षिण भारत को ही ले लीजिए जहां अंग्रेजी का प्रभाव सब से अधिक है । यदि वहां हम जनता की मार्फत कुछ भी काम करना चाहते हैं तो वह अंग्रेजी के द्वारा तो कर ही नहीं सकते । यही बात गुजरात के विषय में है ।”

बाकी मद्रास को ले लीजिए जहां बहुत अधिक बवंडर उठा हुआ है । मद्रास के एक महान नेता श्रीनिवास शास्त्री थे और उन्होंने यह लिखा :

“I have often wished, friend and champion of democracy though I am, that it were in my power, for a brief spell of time, to act as a dictator of India. I had a great many scheme to put through, if I had the good fortune to be

elevated to that position. But among them all, a prominent place was assigned to that edict to go all over the country and to enforce with every authority I could command, that in all schools and colleges, in all offices of Government and in all its courts of justice Hindustani should be congnised as medium of communication.”

यह है श्रीनिवास शास्त्री जी का कथन । श्री राजगोपालाचारी, जिन्होंने हिन्दी के विरोध की बात उठाई है उन्होंने सन् 1936 में मद्रास के सब सेकेंडरी स्कूलों में हिन्दी का पढ़ना आवश्यक तौर पर जारी कर दिया था । यह बात एक प्रेस विज्ञप्ति के अन्दर दी गई है जो इस प्रकार है :

“The attainment of our Province of its rightful place in the national life of India requires that our educated youth should possess a working knowledge of the most widely spoken language of India. The Government have therefore decided upon the introduction of Hindustani in the secondary school curriculum of our Province ”

यह बात श्री राजगोपालाचारी जी ने 1938 में लिखी थी । उसके बाद उन्होंने एक पुस्तक जो वहां से प्रकाशित हुई और जिस का नाम “इंग्लिश हिन्दी सेल्फ इन्स्ट्रक्टर” है और जो दक्षिण भारत प्रचार सभा ने प्रकाशित किया, उसकी भूमिका में राजाजी ने लिखा है :

“From the political as well as cultural and business points of view, it is imperatively necessary for South Indians to learn Hindi. To make popular control real, the State language must be spoken and understood by large numbers of people. Hindi is bound to be the language of Central Government and the legislature and also of Provincial Governments in their dealings with each other and with the Government of India. It is not possible to impose English for our own sake on all and weaken the people's control over their representatives all over India.”

यह कथन श्री राजाजी का 1938 का है। सन् 1938 में मद्रास के जो शिक्षा मंत्री थे श्रीसुबारायन उन्होंने यह कहा।

"Both the Houses of Madras Legislature have after full consideration decided in favour of introducing Hindustani and if we shirk our duty to translate the verdict, we do not deserve our place in Government."

यह है सन् 1947 के पहले का किस्सा। सन् 1947 से पहले अंग्रेज हम से कहा करते थे कि तुम्हारी भाषा एक नहीं है, तुम एक जगह बैठ नहीं सकते हो, तुम्हारी परम्परा एक नहीं है, और तुम्हारे रहन-सहन का ढंग एक नहीं है। उस समय हम कहते थे कि हमारी भाषा एक है, हम कहते थे कि हमारी भाषा हिन्दी है, लेकिन 1947 के बाद जब अंग्रेज चले गए तो उनकी जवान जो अंग्रेजी है वह हम बोलने लगे। हम कहने लगे कि हम एक नहीं हैं, हम कहने लगे कि हमारी भाषा हिन्दी नहीं है और हम कहने लगे कि हम एक के नहीं हैं।

अंग्रेजों ने जहाँ यह बीज बोया कि अंग्रेजी को हिन्दुस्तान की भाषा बनाने का प्रयत्न किया वहाँ अंग्रेजों ने दूसरा बीज बोया और वह बीज यह था कि उन्होंने भारतवासियों के दिमाग के अन्दर यह ह्याल बैठा दिया कि आर्य अलग है और अनार्य अलग है। आर्य कहीं बाहर से आए हैं और द्राविड़ लोग जो हैं वे भारतवर्ष के मूलवासी हैं और ये ही वहाँ के रहनेवाले हैं। जब आर्य और अनार्यों में युद्ध हुआ उसके अन्दर आर्य लोग जीत गए और इस वजह से आर्यों का भारतवर्ष के अन्दर राज्य हुआ। वह विष का बीज अंग्रेजों का बोया हुआ है। आर्य लोग कोई जाति विशेष नहीं थे। आर्य क्या थे? आर्य उन लोगों को कहते जिनको संस्कृत में श्रेष्ठ कहा जाता है। ऋग्वेद में एक मंत्र आता है जो इस प्रकार है "कृणन्तो विश्व-मार्गम्"। संसार भर को आर्य बनाओ। अगर आर्य अनार्य ये दो जातियाँ होती तो

इन दोनों का आपस में आकृतिजन्य भेद होता। अगर आर्य एक अलग जाति है और अनार्य दूसरी जाति है तो ऋग्वेद अहाँ यह कहता है कि सब आर्य बनें, सब को आर्य बनाओ—सब को आर्य कभी नहीं बनाया जा सकता है अगर जाति भिन्न है और जाति में परिवर्तन नहीं हो सकता है। हाँ, अनार्य का मतलब यह है कि जो श्रेष्ठ न हो, जिस को वह लोग बुरा कहते थे और जिस को वेद के अन्दर दस्यु कहा गया है। दस्यु का अर्थ क्या है? जो कि सहार करे, नाश करे, उसको 'दस्यु' कहते हैं। आर्य दस्यु हो सकते हैं और दस्यु भी आर्य हो सकते हैं। इस दृष्टि से यह बीज जो अंग्रेजों ने बोया कि ये दो अलग अलग जातियाँ हैं, अलग अलग कौम हैं, उसका यह नतीजा है कि आज हम मद्रास के अन्दर इस तरह की चीजें देखते हैं जो अपने आपको द्राविड़ कहते हैं वे समझते हैं कि हम एक अलग जाति हैं। असल में क्या है? "द्राविड़" जो है वह संस्कृत के "द्रव्य" शब्द से बना है। द्रव्य और द्राविड़, ये दोनों संस्कृत के शब्द हैं। "द्रव्य यस्यास्ति तथा द्रव-समीपे निवसति सः द्रविणः द्राविण एवं द्राविडः।" "द्रव" का अर्थ है पानी, द्रव्य का अर्थ है सम्पत्ति। तो जो लोग द्रव देश के समुद्र के किनारे रहनेवाले थे, वे व्यापारी लोग हुआ करते थे। जिनके पास द्रव्य हो, रुपया हो, जो कि व्यापार करते हैं और द्रव का अर्थ चूकि जल है, तो जल के पास, समुद्र के पास जो लोग रहते हैं, वे लोग द्राविड़ कहलाएँ। इसी दृष्टि से हमें यह समझना चाहिए कि ये दोनों अलग अलग कौम नहीं हैं बल्कि दोनों भाई भाई हैं और उनके अन्दर किसी प्रकार का भेदभाव नहीं है।

अंग्रेजों ने जो दो विष के बीज बोए उनमें से एक तो यह है कि अंग्रेजी को हम पर लादकर हमारी जन्ममात्री भाषा बना दी और दूसरा हम लोगों को इस तरह से भिड़ा दिया, लड़ा दिया कि हम अलग अलग कौम बन गए हैं।

[प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धांतालंकार]

अब प्रश्न यह उत्पन्न होता है कि जो हिन्दी हम लाना चाहते हैं वह कैसी होनी चाहिए। कहा जाता है कि हिन्दी में कठिन शब्दों का समावेश किया जाता है और ऐसी हिन्दी बोली जाती है जो कि समझ में नहीं आती है। लेकिन यह बात गलत है और मैं आपको कुछ शब्द सुनाना चाहता हूँ। “शाइस्ता” शब्द को कितने लोग समझते हैं, “बुलन्दी” “गुचे”, “इस्तकबाल”, “कबल”, “जा बजा”, इन शब्दों को कितने लोग समझ सकते हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश के जो लोग हैं वे तो समझ सकते होंगे, लेकिन गुजराती, मराठी, बंगाली लोग इन शब्दों को नहीं समझ सकते हैं। अगर “शाइस्ता” की जगह “परिष्कृत” कहा जाय तो इसको गुजराती, बंगाली और मराठी लोग अच्छी तरह से समझ जाएंगे। अगर “इस्तकबाल” की जगह “अभिनन्दन” कहा जाय तो उसको बंगाली, मराठी तथा गुजराती अच्छी तरह से समझ जाएंगे।

†[श्री अब्दुल गनी : करोड़ों लपज कह जाइए—मुस्लिमान और पंजाबी नहीं समझेंगे।]

प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धांतालंकार : मैं मानता हूँ कि पंजाबी लोग नहीं समझ सकते हैं। लेकिन सवाल यह है कि गुजराती समझेंगे या नहीं, मराठी समझेंगे या नहीं। ये बड़े भारी प्रान्त हैं और इनके मुकाबले में आपका स्थान कितना है ?

इस वक्त दक्षिण से जो भेद की आवाज उठी है, वहां पर लोगों के नाम इस प्रकार हैं। कामराज, सुब्रह्मण्यम्, विशालाक्षी, वेदाचलम्, कृष्णमाचारी, राजगोपालाचारी, श्रीराम रेड्डी, ये सब संस्कृत के नाम हैं। पंजाब के अन्दर संस्कृत के शब्द नहीं पाए जाते हैं। मलयालम भाषा एक बड़ी उच्च भाषा है

†[] Hindi transliteration.

मद्रास की ओर उसके अन्दर भी बहुत से संस्कृत के शब्द पाए जाते हैं। इस भाषा में “क्रमेण”, “तारतम्येन”, “मुखेन”, “दिवसेन”, “मार्गमध्ये”, “विनाशकाले”, “अनतिदूरे”, “जन्मना”, ये संस्कृत के शब्द ही नहीं, विभक्ति-पूर्वक शब्द पाए जाते हैं। यह भाषा दक्षिण की है और संस्कृत के निकट है। ये सारे के सारे मलयालम के शब्द हैं, गुजराती, मराठी, बंगाली के शब्द नहीं हैं।

तो मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता था कि अपने देश के अन्दर जो यह सारी की सारी परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई है, यह अंग्रेजों की उत्पन्न की हुई है, यह हमारी उत्पन्न की हुई नहीं है। सन् 1947 से पहले जो बातें अंग्रेज कहा करते थे, वही बातें आज हम कहने लगे। वे कहते थे कि तुम एक नहीं हो। वे कहते थे कि तुम्हारी भाषा एक नहीं है। वे कहते थे कि तुम लड़ते झगड़ते हो, और हम अगर चले जाएंगे तो तुम एक दूसरे का खून बहा दोगे। आज वही नज्जारा हमने खुद पैदा कर दिया। अंग्रेज चले गए, मगर अंग्रेजी की भाषा हमारे मुंह से निकलने लगी। हम कहते हैं कि हमारी भाषा एक नहीं है। हम कहते हैं कि हमारा देश एक नहीं है। हम कहते हैं कि हम अलग अलग हैं। यह अवस्था क्यों उत्पन्न हुई ? यह अवस्था इस लिए उत्पन्न हुई, क्योंकि उस समय तो हम देश के लिए कुर्बानी करतये, एक निःस्वार्थ भाव से लड़ते थे, लेकिन आज हमारा स्वार्थ हर जगह उठ खड़ा हुआ है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Your time is over.

PROF. SATYAVRATA SIDDHANTALANKAR : Will you give me time tomorrow ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Your fifteen minutes are over.

PROF. SATYAVRATA SIDDHANTA-LANKAR : Others have been given more than fifteen minutes. Please let me have five minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M P BHARGAVA) : Try to finish in two minutes

प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धान्तलंकार : सब से बड़ी समस्या यह है कि जो हमसे कहा जाता है, वह यह है कि एकता के लिए अंग्रेजी को स्वीकार कीजिए । अगर एकता के लिए स्वीकार करना हो, तो एकता के लिए उस भाषा को स्वीकार करना होगा जो कि एकता उत्पन्न करे । हम लोग, जो अंग्रेजी जानने वाले हैं, केवल 2 प्रतिशत हैं, और बाकी अंग्रेजी न जानने वाले 98 प्रतिशत हैं । तो हम 98 प्रतिशत को साथ लेकर एकता उत्पन्न करेंगे या 2 प्रति शत को साथ ले कर एकता उत्पन्न करेंगे ? मैं आनरेबिल मेम्बर्स श्री भूपेश गुप्त और प्रो० मुकुट बिहारी लाल, जो कि यहाँ पर अंग्रेजी में भाषण देते हैं, उनसे कहता हूँ कि आप जनता में भी जा करके अंग्रेजी में भाषण दीजिए, आप बंगाल में जा कर के अंग्रेजी में बोलिए । हा, यह ठीक है कि जो अंग्रेजी पढ़े लिखे हैं, उनसे आप अंग्रेजी में बोल सकते हैं, लेकिन आप जनता से कैसे अंग्रेजी में बोलेगे ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA . Sir, I want to speak in Bengali Will you allow me to speak in Bengali ? I have given notice of

a Bill to amend the Constitution so that I can speak in my mother tongue.

PROF. SATYAVRATA SIDDHANTA-LANKAR : Not here The question is not about speaking here. Everybody knows English here. The question is, if you go to the masses, will you be able to speak in English ?

अगर आप जनता में जा कर के अंग्रेजी में बोलेंगे, तो आपकी बात कोई सुनने वाला नहीं होगा और आपसे सब कहेंगे कि हिन्दी में बोलिए ।

अतः मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज से 50 साल बाद जब कि इतिहास लेखक एक कलम ले कर के हमारा इतिहास लिखने बैठेगा और अगर वह यह देखेगा कि इस देश के अन्दर ऐसे लोग भी थे, जिन की कोई अपनी भाषा नहीं थी, जिन की भाषा सात समुद्र पार की अंग्रेजी की भाषा थी, तो वह इतिहास लेखक हमारे ऊपर थूकेगा और जिन कलम से वह लिख रहा होगा, उस कलम को तोड़ कर के परे फेंक देगा ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P BHARGAVA) : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow

The House then adjourned at fourteen minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 3rd March 1965