

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What a shameful Government that is there ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : We shall now pass on to the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Mr. Misra has not finished his speech. He will continue his speech.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Come and face a discussion.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—*continued*

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : When I was speaking on Thursday, I was mentioning about a particular portion of the Report of the C.B.I. which says that there was tampering with the files before they were handed over to the C.B.I. Unfortunately, the Home Minister in this House . . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat). He is running away from the House ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Does this indicate that he is quitting ? It is so nauseating.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Quitting what ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The portfolio.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : . . . said that he did not want to look at the C.B.I. Report which has been placed on the Table of the House in the other place. Whether he reads it or not, it stands there as the Report of the C.B.I. and he does not have the courage to deny the facts.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Is the Home Minister in *purdah* so that the moment you come with the C.B.I. Report he runs away ?

THE MINISTER OF LAW (SHRI A. K. SEN): We are here.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : There is also mention about insertion of quotations much later into the files by the persons in power there. This is something which is extremely irregular but all the same, after going through the C.B.I. Report, which formed the basis for their findings, the Cabinet Sub-Committee which is a sub-committee of Congressmen, all Congress Ministers . . .

SHRI N. PATRA (Orissa): The Cabinet Sub-Committee ought only to be of Congressmen.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : He has not taken it in the context in which I mean it. He does not understand things and hence he should not interrupt especially when he does not understand. The Sub-Committee consisted only of the members of a particular Party and therefore, they are supposed to be partisan, especially when, Sir, there is one among those who comes from Andhra Pradesh and got a stricture from the Supreme Court for abuse of power . . .

SHRI A. K. SEN : That is unfair, Sir.

AN HON. MEMBER: What is the name ?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Mr. Sanjiva Reddy. It is an open matter that he got strictures from the Supreme Court . . .

SHRI A. K. SEN : He never got a chance to . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : The Minister should not break the practice in the House. I would not like the Minister to break the convention. When I am not yielding . . .

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA (Bihar) : But you are making false statements.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Sit down.

SHRI N. PATRA : He has already clarified his position.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : It is not a false statement, Sir. Some Member took objection saying that it is a false statement. 'False' is not a Parliamentary word and in this House, Sir, . . .

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : I repeat that your statement is false.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh) : On a point of order, Sir. I can understand my Congress friends not agreeing with what Mr. Lokanath Misra may say but experienced as he is, he should not have used unparliamentary language.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : He is putting words into the judgment of the Supreme Court.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He is not putting words into the Supreme Court judgment. He is expressing his opinion, I think correctly.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Does he deny that ?

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE : Sir, the word "false" should not be used.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, as a result of the judgment he resigned the Chief Ministership of Andhra and came over here. He told the Andhra Assembly that relying on the judgment he was resigning.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : The Prime Minister, so far as I know, made a statement in the other House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I have got here the statement that Mr. Sanjiva Reddy made in the Andhra Assembly.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : I also know something about it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You do not know.

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not the point at all. Don't complicate matters unnecessarily. Will you proceed with your speech, Mr. Misra ?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : The point is that the finding of the Cabinet Sub-Committee is inconsistent with the Report of the C.B.I. and that is why I call it unjust . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Materially inconsistent.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : . . . and partisan and frivolous. It is materially inconsistent, as my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, puts it, and subsequently the Prime Minister comes forward with a statement and makes an endeavour on the floor of the House to make it appear as if the people against whom the C.B.I. had given the report had absolutely no pecuniary benefits out of the positions they held. The Report of the C.B.I. is very clear in regard to its findings that there were pecuniary advantages gained by them, there was tampering with the files and there were insertions of quotations much later and that they had earned more than twenty lakhs of rupees. There are so many other things contained in the Report. These formed the basis for their findings and yet I am surprised how six wisemen of this country, and next to the Prime Minister in rank, could come to such a finding which is so very frivolous.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : And the Prime Minister defended them.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : I am extremely surprised with the gesture of the Prime Minister also when he defends such persons when he ought to have known, after having gone through the Report of the C.B.I., that they had gained pecuniary advantages definitely. How then could he have defended them ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You have to explain how he does not get any pecuniary benefit but that the dear darling wife gets and the husband does not get it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, don't be so helpful to your colleagues. Don't be so very helpful. He can take care of himself.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I want him to explain it, Sir.

SHRI A. K. SEN : Sir, it is a rare occasion when Mr. Bhupesh Gupta supports the Swatantra Party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You support the husband, not the wife.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Misra, will you proceed ?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Therefore, Sir, the memorialists consider the findings of this Sub-Committee to be unjust, partisan and frivolous. Since the accused or the defendant, as you would call them, also disagree—they are not satisfied with the findings of the Cabinet Sub-Committee—and after the publication of the C.B.I. Report there is dissatisfaction equally in the entire country, I would demand and say, Sir, that nothing short of a Commission of Enquiry

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Under the Commission of Enquiries Act.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : . . . under the Commission of Enquiries Act would

satisfy the country. Sir, the Prime Minister had assured the House and the country that, if there is a *prima facie* case, then there must be an enquiry by a Commission of Enquiry.

There is already a *prima facie* case. What else do we need ? Even if the C.B.I. Report is called a police report, a *prima facie* case has been proved. Is there any doubt about it that the *prima facie* case has to be proved again ? The C.B.I. Report amply proves that there is a *prima facie* case and on his own assurance he has to appoint a Commission of Inquiry now. Nothing short of that is going to satisfy the country. And I must congratulate the C.B.I. people (*Interruptions*) for their courage because many persons of national stature when they went to Bhubaneswar have bowed down their heads to the splendour of this ill-gotten financial durbar. These are the people who have not bowed down to it. People of national stature have gone there, bowed down to their dictation, helped them and encouraged them but these are the people who have stood up to this sort of thing, even though they are not as great as those other people of national stature. They may not be as high in rank as others are but yet they have shown their integrity on this occasion.

I will now conclude by narrating a story which I used to hear in my childhood. I was told that during the Moghul period there was a Kazi and he was told by some informant that his bull has been killed by somebody else's bull in the street; that is, Kazi's bull.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Bulls fight.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Then the Kazi sent for the man and when the man came, the Kazi told him : "Your bull has killed my bull" 'तो साँड को साँड और तंड का तंड देना पड़ेगा।' The man replied : "हुजूर, यह गलत हो गया, आपको कोई गलत बताया है, आपके साँड ने मेरे साँड को मार दिया है।"

Then the Kazi said : 'It has made the matter so easy.'

“बैल को बैल मारा क्या हमारा क्या तुम्हारा”
That is how justice is done by the Government. That is all, Sir. Thank you.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Chairman, I stand here to support the Motion of Thanks so ably moved by Shrimati Shyam Kumari Khan and seconded by Mr. Karmarkar. We all feel extremely sorry that our President has not recovered fully from his eye trouble and he had a great strain while reading the Address. I would request you, Sir, to convey our deep anxiety and our best wishes for his speedy recovery.

The first thing that he has referred to, and quite appropriately, is the great loss that the nation has suffered in the demise of our respected leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Sir, the best way to perpetuate his memory and to respect him is to once again dedicate ourselves to the principles of understanding, fairplay, justice and hard work for which he worked, he lived and he died.

After paying my homage to him, I would like to take four points out of the Address and try to express my comments on them. One is the poverty of the country, particularly in relation to the high prices and the food affair. Secondly I would touch on defence and international relations. Thirdly I could comment on the language issue and in the end I would ultimately show, in view of the speeches of my learned friends from the opposite side, what picture they are projecting before the world, of India.

Coming to the first point, I might say that during the last year in the months of July and August we passed through a terrible time and to me it was as serious as the Chinese aggression. But for the immediate help that we received from friendly countries like the U.S.A. and others and the technical help from the

Soviet Union and but for the immediate measures against hoarding and for speedy trial of offenders, it would have been very difficult to pull through in those difficult circumstances. And I must give my compliments to the Food Minister and to the Shastri Government but at the same time I would tell them that they did not pay sufficient attention to the maintenance of buffer stocks. We had this difficulty during the past years also but we were able to meet it but this time we failed and we had difficulty because there were not adequate buffer stocks. I, therefore, welcome the measure regarding the establishment of the Foodgrain Corporation. I am also very happy that a Commission has been established to go into the prices that have to be paid to the agriculturists as well as the prices that the consumer will have to pay. I have no doubt that Prof. Dantwalla who is an experienced economist will very soon submit his Report and it will give a direction and lead to our Government to formulate its policy in such a way that the agriculturist as well as the consumer will both benefit.

Now, I would submit, without going into details on account of time being limited, that there are two or three matters that the Food Minister has to take very serious note of. I feel that this trouble was due to lack of co-ordination between the different Ministries of the States and also between the States and the Centre. This matter has to be seriously looked into. The fertilisers, seeds, etc. which are made available should reach the cultivator at the proper time. Besides, in irrigation I know that the projects are there but there is no feeder channel with the result that we are not having full advantage of all these measures which we could have had if there was co-ordination, if there is urgency in dealing with the problem of food.

The second point that I want to place before you is in connection with defence interlinked with our international policy. In my humble opinion the greatest service that this Parliament, the public leaders and others can do is to see that on account of the intimidations and pinpricks of China on the one hand and Pakistan on the other—this unholy alliance between the two

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has to be watched very carefully—we are not pushed this way or that way by their machinations. One instance that I have in mind is about the atom bomb. I would not like to go into details but we know that we have had a definite policy and that policy has grown over the last seventeen years. At the same time from the pragmatic and practical point of view also the explosion of an atom bomb by China is not so much as a war weapon but it was just to create fear in the neighbouring countries and if we join the race I am sure we will be employing our finances in a wrong direction and we will not get any benefit and become a victim of fear. Once a nuclear war breaks out, whether we like it or not, it will be an international war. In view of all these, let us consider our policy as a mature body and come to our conclusion and be firm on it. Let us not be hustled into taking different positions on account of irritations from one unfriendly country or another. This will give us strength and stability which is very much needed.

Now, regarding our policy of non-alignment and co-existence, everybody, even the Opposition mostly agrees with it, except the Swatantra Party and some others. I would not go into it. But I would refer to two things. One is regarding the present position of UNO. On account of the peace-keeping expenses more or less the United Nations has become a very weak body and it is not doing its normal work. It is high time that our Government, in consultation with other Governments took immediate steps to see that the stalemate was removed. The other point that our Government should take note of very seriously—and I am glad that the External Affairs Minister is here—is that the addition of African and Asian independent countries reflects a different position in the Assembly of the United Nations, but the same is not reflected in its various bodies, in the Security Council and other Councils. The matter of amending the Charter has been long pending. It has been coming up on the agenda of the United Nations, but it is being postponed. Unless we have some agreement between Soviet Russia and the United States, it would be difficult. Unless we do that, the present United

Nations Assembly will not reflect the aspirations and difficulties of Asia and Africa, as it should be according to its present composition.

The other point to which I would refer in this connection is about the Afro-Asian Conference. I am very glad that the President of Algeria, Mr. Ben Bella, is coming to our country. On behalf of all Parliamentarians I welcome him to this country. I have no doubt that his visit and his discussions with our Prime Minister will further strengthen the good relations that we have with that country. In regard to this Afro-Asian Conference we have to do our best and see that those parts of the Soviet Union which are in Asia get their representation. The second thing is that so far as the policy of some of these countries is concerned, although they say that they have nothing to do with South Africa or that they will have no truck with colonial powers like Portugal, if the matter is examined in detail, they are friendly to these countries. They have trade relations with them, diplomatic relations with them. So, this is the forum where we have to take these two matters, that is against apartheid and advocate enforcing stricter measures against South Africa, as well as to see that a very bold stand is taken against Portugal and other colonial countries. I have no doubt that the Government will make full preparations for the coming conference. The discussions that are going on in Peking between Peking and Pindi also show that there is a great preparation on behalf of some of these unfriendly countries. So, we have to see the significance of this move and we should be prepared for it.

Now, I would come to the question of language. I respectfully submit that the most difficult part of this problem is the approach. I feel if the approach is friendly, if the approach is with understanding, it can be solved. If it is a question of North *versus* South or slavery *versus* imperialism or taking up legalistic or technical attitudes, I think this problem cannot be solved. First of all, let us understand that. I am glad to say, after the speech of Mr. Annadurai, that if it is a question of integrity and security of India, Mr. Annadurai and every Member here will be in the

forefront to safeguard the honour and integrity of the country. So, let us not put things into their mouth or suspect them as if they are persons who are not equally as good patriots as others. So, that is the first thing that has to be cleared. Of course, when we clear that, then the question is purely a language question. If Tamil or Bengali has to be learnt by my friends in the Hindi-speaking areas, or even by me, Sir, I am sure it will require a certain period. The language tempo increases in the second generation and with due respect I submit this before you, Sir. You are an eminent educationist. Once all the students from the very start learn Hindi and they come to the matriculation or graduate stage and get out of it, the present antipathy will clear away. Then, their children, when they come up, will speak Hindi, as I am speaking English. Neither English is my mother tongue nor the mother tongue of Mr. Annadurai or anybody else, but let us understand the initial and genuine difficulties of the people who do not know Hindi language. In spite of the fact that he was not quite definite on *lingua franca*, I say that there is no question that English can remain for good in this country and it should not remain. Hindi and Hindi alone will be the *lingua franca* and the link language between States. Regarding that I have nothing to say. I can assure you that in my State Hindi is progressing very satisfactorily. The relations between Hindi-speaking, Urdu-speaking and Telugu-speaking organisations are extremely cordial and I must pay a tribute to Mr. Sanjiva Reddy and his successor, the present Chief Minister, who are also responsible for creating that atmosphere. Even in Madras, as my friend will see, hundreds of people are learning Hindi.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Andhra Pradesh) : Thousands are learning it.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : So, a little understanding, a little toleration is needed. Give them more opportunity to feel homely. That is the point. That is what is wanted and nothing else. As I have said on more than one occasion, I am one of those who think that in High Courts, ultimately in all High Courts, it should be

Hindi. I feel in the Universities, particularly on the technical side, it should be only Hindi. I think in our Legislatures, it should be bilingual, the regional language and Hindi. That is the objective that I have in mind and I have no doubt that there are many who support me in this contention. But only understanding and time factor is needed. I have no doubt about the feelings in Madras. I had been to Madras. On the 12th I was there. The feeling is general and it has given rise to feelings even in Andhra, Mysore, Kerala and Bengal. So, let us not brush aside these things by saying that it is something that has been created by some political leaders. No, it is not so. The feeling is there. You have to understand it and try to come to some solution. I do hope that the Shastri Government, with the help of all those concerned, will come to some solution and I would be happy if the language Act is amended.

Only two sentences, and I finish.

1 P.M.

Regarding the picture that we are projecting before the outside world, as I submitted, our friends from the opposite side certainly have got every right to criticize for instance, on the Orissa affair. They have got every right to express themselves strongly. But if you give the picture to the world that it is the Moghul Government in its last days—I have got the greatest respect for our friend, Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha, he is one of our best veteran Members—if he and other people are giving the idea that the Shastri Government is doing nothing, that the Indian Government is failing, that there is revolt, then I submit it is most regrettable. The Shastri Government is doing its best in difficult circumstances. Let them understand that it is a democratic Government that we are running; let them understand that it is a quasi-federal constitution that we are dealing with, let them understand that we have to proceed by persuasion and toleration, by negotiation and discussion and not by the use of force because we are living in the country of Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru. I have no doubt that the affection and tolerance that is the basis of modern India will hold us together in all our travails, whether internal or exter-

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nal, and we will see that we tide over the things.

MR. CHAIRMAN : We shall continue to sit till 1.30. I have a very long list.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL (Delhi) : Mr. Chairman, this debate on the President's Address has summed up many an important issue. We have talked of language, we have talked about Vietnam, we have talked about food and we have talked about Plan, but you will agree with me that our main preoccupation in this entire debate has proved to be the language issue. I would like to submit that this problem of language has taken a variety of shapes and forms. It has sometimes assumed the shape of linguistic States. At other times we have seen it in the shape of Punjabi Suba. We have also seen it hearing the D.M.K. in various shapes and forms, and sometimes unfortunately it expressed itself in the shape of the Assam riots. Therefore, the intensity of the trouble, whether it be in the South or in the North, should not make us feel that this development is a new one or that we are faced with it today or that we have never faced it before. Whether the issue has been Gujarat or Maharashtra, whether the issue has been the formation of Andhra, whether the issue has been of Punjabi Suba or the Assam situation or border adjustment between U.P. and Bihar or Maharashtra and Mysore, it has been to my mind like a Kathakali dancer who has only changed his mask. The issue has always been deeper and the same.

Hearing the debate here and also reading about the debate in the Lok Sabha, I have always been feeling that the obviousness of the tragedy, if it was to be seen, was here. I have the deepest respect for Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha as a very old parliamentarian and a very revered leader in this country, and he had great experience of the national cause and the national struggle. He has told the Prime Minister, if I may quote him, that the Government should function in a strong and united fashion. Similarly Mr. A. B. Vajpayee who is always sweet and always convincing has said : "प्रधान मंत्री दृढ़ नहीं हैं।" Some talk of

strength has been going on in every speech or other and this song has also been sung in the press. Unfortunately I submit that this is a very dangerous trend of thinking. It is a very dangerous trend of thinking because advertently or inadvertently we forget that, whether it is Kashmir or Nagaland, whether it is trade unionism or doctors' agitation, whether it is students' agitation or the left Communist upsurge, whether it is the language problem or land reforms, the lesson taught to the Government always is : Be strong. The same panacea of strength is pleaded particularly by those who are very much devoted, wedded to and have a long record of democratic thinking behind them. In democracy the problems need study and analysis. We do not have to be dealt with by the police or the army.

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA (Bihar) : Democracy does not mean weakness.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : What is the strength of democracy? I am glad that my friend has posed the problem. The strength of democracy to my mind is neither in jail nor in *danda* nor in police. The strength of democracy is neither in ruthlessness nor in arbitrariness. The strength of democracy always lies in trying to know your people, trying to carry them along with you, trying to understand the repercussions, to bend before a situation, to adjust, and even amending a law or a bye-law here or there is neither weakness of a person nor weakness of democracy. Any democracy which does not proceed on this basic assumption will sooner or later cease to be a democracy, and that day, I hope and pray, will never come and we will never see. We always keep in mind, whether it is the issue of language or any other, that we are dealing with our own people. We must understand their emotions and their basic compulsions. We must understand why it is that this thing is being done. If in this trend, with your permission, Sir, I may offer my very humble compliments to the Government and the Prime Minister, it is because they have exhibited a remarkable capacity for not letting themselves be provoked, and

that is essentially the inherent strength of democracy.

In democratic life the power and capacity to adjust and to appreciate and willingness to associate with public opinion, as I said, is strength, and to bend and to modify is strength. Proof of it has been given by both the Government and the Prime Minister. The language problem has to be studied and seen in a different context. In the days of the independence struggle we have also seen that Hindi was symbolised as the Swadeshi movement.

AN HON. MEMBER : *Hindustani.*

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : I am coming to that. When Gandhiji took over, he realised that Hindi only can be effective and go deep if it was Hindustani, and therefore the slogan changed from Hindi to Hindustani, and around Hindustani we built a national movement which was of great strength, and it was ultimately able to throw out that mighty British Empire. It is no use, as my friend have done here, to quote Shri Rajagopalachari's speeches of 1937 and of today. It is also no use to quote here the different history of the language build-up. The basic point remains that it is not the inconsistency of this individual or that individual, it is the basic inconsistency which has developed, and once that basic inconsistency develops, then when the malady lies deeper, we have got to study it; nor will it pay my friends on my left or right to get up here and dub all those who do not agree with them as anti-Indian and anti-patriotic. It will not serve any purpose to talk of this section or that section of the law as being the holy truth said and the last word said. The basic point is that we must realise that a very substantial section of the population of India at one time or other since 1947—and as I narrated it earlier, be it in the form of linguistic provinces, be it in the form of adjustment of border issues or be it in the latest form of storm in the South—have expressed their uneasiness and dissatisfaction with the situation. Therefore, it will serve no purpose if we do not sit down and diagnose this deeper malady, and only the very wise would not hesitate to

diagnose. If we decide not to diagnose, I am sure that whatever solution we might arrive at here will not carry us anywhere. After all what has happened that a linguistic community, be it Punjab or Madras, be it Urdu-speaking or Bengali-speaking, should feel a sense of insecurity? What has happened after all that Telegus and Tamils should have separate homes? What has happened after all that Gujarat and Maharashtra have started feeling that they cannot live together in the same State? Gandhiji very wisely recognised the basic truth that our nation was a multi-lingual and a multi-racial nation. Therefore, the twist that he gave to the national movement ultimately saw success to it, and it was not unwise when in the Karachi resolution it was decided that in the future India the States will be based on linguistic considerations. It was that which gave the bearing and content to our national struggle. And sometimes in a moment of excitement and enthusiasm, we forget the basic reality, and I am glad that my friend, Mr. Akbar Ali Khan, has drawn attention to it. Impatience with the process of history will never pay us and will not carry us anywhere. Cultural growth, economic well-being, achievement of a socialist society and the feeling of unison in a common struggle, all this is giving content to this nation. And it is not only the progress of a link language—although it is a very big factor—but these other factors also which will transform us into a nation. And therefore lest I should be misunderstood that I am talking of lack of integration, I would only draw your attention that the Chinese aggression, the death of Nehru, our faith in democracy and planning, and all these have proved the basic unity and integration of this country. Therefore if at some time discontentment or dissatisfaction is expressed, it should be neither misread nor misviewed nor miscalculated nor misunderstood. What we need today is patience, and patience, not strength, and understanding, not the blackening of the sign boards, if I may draw Mr. Vajpayee's attention to it, will bring Hindi nearer.

Sir, we decided that Hindi is not a language by itself but it is a vehicle to achieve unity and integration. If we keep this constantly before us, we will never go

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wrong. We have decided to discard English because one of the reasons is that it has increasingly become the language of the elite. Only two per cent people of this country have taken to the English language. So we thought that an effective link language should be one of our own languages, and rightly so, and this decision was right. The way we are treating Hindi today, the way we are Sanskritising Hindi today, the way we are today making it the language of the elite—are we helping it to become a link language? Are we trying to incorporate in it the words which we understand every day? It is no use calling telephone by some different name; it is no use putting up your boards in words which neither the holder nor the beholder understands. Therefore, it is essential that a link language must develop in the spirit of the link and must not develop into a language of the few.

Sir, Acharya Vinoba Bhave for whom I have the deepest respect as a leader of the nation, has also said about Hindi being spoken in the Hindi areas and English being spoken in the non-Hindi areas. With the utmost humility, I beg to differ from him, this will develop the two-nation theory straightway. And once that separatist thinking starts, integration will very badly suffer.

Another point to which I would like to draw your attention increasingly is that everywhere it has been repeated that we stand for the late Mr. Nehru's assurances but there is a strange type of resistance to codify them. I do not know and do not understand why we should not, if we are honest about it, codify them and give a feeling of satisfaction to a part of our nation which feels at the moment insecure. Similarly at the time of the switch-over, it is being said, not only the non-Hindi States but the Hindi States also should be consulted. This will undo the very basis of the assurance. Therefore the assurances should be followed not only in letter but in spirit also. And today in the papers we have read a news item that a new demand has been made for the formation of a Hindi Ministry at the Centre. Unfortu-

nately the formation of a Hindi Ministry will, again, be viewed as a position of strength. We do not want to do everything on the basis of Ministries and on the basis of jobs. That is not the way of educating one's own people and carrying them along. Mere Ministry formation will not do the job, but you have to do more on the unofficial level to convince the people and carry the people. The Chief Ministers met here a week ago and I say with humility that instead of clarifying the issues, unfortunately, they created more confusion. They not only did not solve the basic problem, but added a new problem of quotas, and I hope and pray and submit that this question of quotas should not be raised at all. We have seen its fate in Punjab. Starting with 56 per cent for the Muslims, it ended in Pakistan. Once that quota issue is raised again—God forbid—what can happen to this nation and what havoc it can play, I cannot imagine.

Sir, if I have any complaint to make, I have a complaint to make against my friends, the lovers of Hindi. They should show more patience and understanding and they should also not give the impression that they are speaking from a position of strength. Once you give your fellow-Indians the impression that you are speaking from a position of strength, insecurity is inevitable. Therefore today, when the policy is known, please state it definitely through the language of the statute. When we have decided that the late Mr. Nehru's assurances are to be implemented, let us not hesitate in stating them in law, by amending the law, if necessary. The need of the hour is this. The storm in the South is over, but the crisis in the South is not over, and the crisis has to be met with sanity, with sobriety, with patience, with understanding and with democratic action.

Thank you.

DR. GOPAL SINGH (Nominated) : Sir, as I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to His Excellency the President for his esteemed Address, I read in this morning's newspapers that a joint statement has been issued by President Ayub Khan and the

President of China about Kashmir being given the right of self-determination. I also read that the war in Vietnam has escalated. According to a recent statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who has got this information from private sources, over three lakhs of Chinese troops and two lakhs of civilians are concentrated in Tibet, besides those in the Chumbi Valley, poised for an attack on this country. A former Chief Minister of Punjab has been murdered in cold blood and the machinery of law and order has so much slackened in this country that we are not able to trace the culprits. Our food problem is increasing from year to year. Prices are shooting up. Disparities in incomes increase, as the Plans progress. Ten crores of more mouths are to be fed after independence. There is a population explosion. We have to find an answer yet to the Chinese blast, and here we are blackening our faces with black incidents over the question of language. An MLA in the UP Assembly was not allowed to speak, because he wanted to speak in Urdu. The Speaker of the UP Assembly said that he would from now on never use a word in English.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE : It was in the Council.

DR. GOPAL SINGH : I am sorry, in the Council. A Member was given a Bill in English or some kind of a question paper was provided to him in English in the UP Assembly again, and he tore it up in order to show his chivalry. Mr. Banarasi Das, a powerful member of the UP Cabinet said that Urdu was not a language of a particular region, so he would not recognise it even as a second language in UP which is the home of Urdu. The signboards in Delhi have been blackened wherever there were any English words inscribed on them. In particular I came across a most ridiculous instance. Outside a tank of dirty water in New Delhi, it was inscribed in English 'not fit for drinking'. The words in English had been erased and those in Hindi had been left to stand, so that anybody who knows English only might die of cholera but not those who know Hindi. This is what we have come to. I may submit that I am not against Hindi, I am

a scholar of Hindi, I know Hindi very well indeed. It is the language of my scriptures. I have learnt it as much as my mother-tongue, Punjabi. Therefore, I have absolutely nothing against Hindi, against Hindi being propagated, against Hindi being learnt, but it is what is at the back of the minds of the Hindi protagonists that irritates and agonises every lover of Hindi. What exactly is that you want through Hindi? Do you want integration through Hindi? Do you want to educate more people through Hindi? Do you want better administration through Hindi? Unfortunately, what you are getting through Hindi is not what you want to get through Hindi. You have told us that you want a language of the masses here, to rule over this country. You want that alone should be the official language, the language of the masses. You have divided the entire country on the basis of language. Now, we have linguistic States—a most retrograde step—and every State is doing its business in its own language. Therefore, so far as the States are concerned, there is no clash between the masses and their language, the ruler and the ruled. The spoken language is being used for administration and for every other purpose. And, we need a link language. We want to link India together, as if India is disintegrated on account of language. It appears somewhere in the minds of the Hindi protagonists there is a phobia that India is disintegrating on account of the English language, therefore, they should integrate it through the medium of Hindi. But this is not so. On the contrary, India is already united through the English language. We are disintegrating it through the medium of Hindi. Why? There is something more than meets the eye. I do not know what is at the back of the people's mind when they talk of Hindi. But about the efficacy of Hindi, I will give you an illustration.

Sir, since independence Hindi has been the medium of instruction in the Hindi-speaking States. The rate of literacy is about the least, in the entire country, in the Hindi-speaking regions; it is 13 per cent. And the *per capita* income in the Hindi-speaking States is the least also. When Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru spoke some

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time ago,—I do not remember the date— at Lucknow, he said, “When I come to the Hindi-speaking region, I find almost everything that God has blessed this earth with, present here. We have the largest number of industries concentrated in Bihar. But the *per capita* income in this region is about the lowest.” And he said further “I want you to analyse this phenomenon. Perhaps your language has got something to do with this”, he said. I do not know.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU (Uttar Pradesh): He said that it was connected with the zamindari system which has been exploiting the masses with the result that these Hindi-speaking areas could not progress further. That is what he said at Lucknow.

DR. GOPAL SINGH : Now we say that we need a language of the masses, that is, the language of the people, an indigenous language which should serve as the link language, as the official language in the country. Now, Hindi is supposed to be that link. The Central Government servants and the State Government servants, in correspondence with each other, will use that link language. Now they are using only one language, English which they have to learn. From now on, they will have to learn four languages, their mother-tongue, then Hindi and then English also and the language of the State to which they are assigned. Fifty per cent. of them, as you are aware, Sir, are to go to States other than their own. So they will be learning languages all the time and not minister to the needs of the people.

It is said that a new relationship will develop between the officers and the people as soon as Hindi is introduced as a link language. I think to the contrary because today everybody not only in the administration, but a person who is in commerce, a person who wants not to settle in his own State or who wants to settle abroad, who wants to learn about sciences, engineering, technology, the art of administration, Parliamentary democracy etc., he has to lean more and more on English.

Now people say it is a foreign language and therefore, we have to discard it because we are now an independent nation. Do you know what Stalin said when he came to power? I am reminded of what he said about the pre-Revolution trains. People said to him that they would not ride the pre-Revolution trains. They would like post-Revolution trains. But he said that there was no such thing as “post-Revolution trains”. “Trains are trains”, he said “and you should make use of them wherever they are. Make use of the property of the country whosoever has built it”. Whether it is the British Government who built the Parliament House or the President's House you have to use it. Similarly they have not given us the language. We have taken it. It is not a gift. It is an acquisition. We have learnt it with our blood and tears. Who says that English is a gift to us from the British. True, they might have imposed it in their own interest. They introduced the railway trains also for their own interest, and a net work of roads, etc. They might have utilised many other sources in the same way. They may have built a common Army, an all-India Army for their own purposes. But now we have to take over whatever good they left behind, and, no evil. We should accept what is useful and reject what is not. One thing. We must not isolate this country. More and more emphasis is nowadays being laid on the isolation of this country. When we go out to beg for food, when we go out to beg for loans or for arms and almost for everything, even for our ideas and concepts, is not our self-respect hurt? But our self-respect gets hurt as soon as we speak in a foreign tongue. Is not our self-respect hurt when we go to the foreigner and ask for money? But our self-respect is hurt in the matter of language. When we go abroad and settle there or find employment in the U.K. or in America or in Canada, there, it is the English language which is most beneficial to us. To do trade and commerce, a man can go the world over through the medium of English.

You will have to take into consideration that you are a member of the Commonwealth. Why is it that you chose to be a member of the Commonwealth even after

independence whose sole language is English? Even when you go to Africa, or to South-East Asia, to Japan or even to West Germany, or France, you can use the medium of English. You can converse with the people. You feel superior in a way because you have an asset which others do not have and which the others are now acquiring. In Russia, in Japan, in West Germany, they have all introduced English as the second language.

At the United Nations English is the only language of documentation though five languages are used in speeches. So you have an advantage over others. Why do you throw it away? Your country is integrated on the basis of one language. Why do you create confusion in the minds of the people by scrapping it? I can very well see Mr. Annadurai speaking in the language of moderation and saying: "I stand for the integrity of the country. I also stand for the fourteen Indian languages, which are as national as Hindi, being made the official languages of India." I think that will be a sad day indeed, when all of us have to have an interpreter to talk to our friends from Madras and Bengal. It is going to ruin this country completely. It will mean further disintegration if we are going to have not only the fourteen languages as the medium of instruction, but also quotas in services on the basis of regional tongues or populations.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Sad day.

DR. GOPAL SINGH : It will be really a sad day, and a tragedy. If you want really to integrate the country, then integrate it through more production, by having a sounder well-equipped army, by equalising opportunity and not merely by arguing over the issue of language. Today, your country is losing friends all over. The only friends that you can lean upon at a time of crisis, as my friends will bear me out, are the Anglo-Americans. Whatever be their other faults—the British might have done the greatest harm to us, and they have indeed during the pre-independence days—they are the only people whom you can lean upon. Are you going to destroy a language merely because it is associated

with them? Our entire Army training is based on the pattern of the British Army. You know this. All literature on this subject comes to us through English. The Army is a well-knit unit and it is the surest guarantee of our integration. You are disintegrating it by introducing the language issue. A majority of them do not know Hindi because they come from all over the country, not from the Hindi-speaking area alone. As a matter of fact, a majority of soldiers constituting the Army are from the non-Hindi-speaking States.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh) : The majority of the Army are from Punjab. Then will the hon. Member advocate Punjabi as the national language?

DR. GOPAL SINGH : I have not said that. That is why I was one of those who opposed a Punjabi-speaking State though there was a genuine demand for it. About 50,000 people courted arrest over this issue.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : Why did you oppose a genuine demand?

DR. GOPAL SINGH : I stood for the principle of integration. I stood for the integration of the country. I did not stand merely for the integrity of Punjab. Punjab does not stand if India goes under. If India stays, Punjab stays. Therefore, I have been opposed to Punjabi being made the medium of instruction at the university level in Punjab, as elsewhere.

Now we have people who say that in the States we should have only the State regional languages. The State language should also be the medium of instruction in the Universities. I say you should not do this. If, in the States you are going to have the regional language in the High Courts—Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi or Tamil, then, when you go to the Supreme Court, what language will you use?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Confusion.

DR. GOPAL SINGH : The language of confusion, my lawyer friend says. I say the

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people who come from the various States, from Gujarat, from Maharashtra, if they say that they stand for Hindi, let them prove their *bona fides* by introducing Hindi as the medium of instruction in their universities and in the State administrations. I would follow them. But when they support only their mother tongues in their own areas and stand for Hindi when they are here, then there is something more behind it; there is some kind of politics behind it, and I do not think you should play politics with language.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE : What is that politics ?

DR. GOPAL SINGH : That politics you understand as much as I do.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE : No, I do not.

DR. GOPAL SINGH : Do not be that innocent. Sir, Canada is a small country. It has two languages. Switzerland is a smaller country still. Still it has four official languages. And you will be surprised to know that there is a language, Romansch, which is spoken only by one per cent of the people. There was a referendum on the question of this language and 99 per cent. supported the claim of Romansch being made a federal language. Now they have four federal languages—German, French, Italian and Romansch. Even Pakistan which was built on the basis of Islam could not have only one language, Urdu. They had to adopt two languages. There is a good deal of demand for Punjabi in the Pakistani Punjab—I am not talking of the Indian Punjab where there is always confusion over the question of language, due to communal reasons.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh) : Finland has two languages.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : So many other countries. Canada.

DR. GOPAL SINGH : So many other countries. What did our forefathers, Shivaji

and Ranjit Singh, do after wresting power from the Moghuls ? They kept Persian as the State language. Were they less patriotic than we are ? It was a question of convenience. Language is a medium. It is not a question of imposing one language upon another. The question is one of administrative convenience. We have to see what is convenient to the administrator. What is convenient to the man who will deal with him. Believe me, Sir, that anybody who says that the language of the masses will also be the language of the administration is only fooling the people. The language of the administrator will never be the language of the people.

The language of the law courts will be completely different. The language of technology, the language of University education will be completely different.

I would like to say that Hindi, too, will become the language of the elite and not the language of the masses. These distinctions will always remain, I submit. Therefore, any body who says : 'We want to have the language of the people', is only duping the people. He is not telling the people the truth. It is not going to be their language. It is going to be some kind of special language. You cannot help it. It will have to be some kind of special language for the administrator, it will have to be a special language for the technicians, it will have to be a special language for the engineer, it will have to be a special language for the scientists and also it will have to be a special language for our lawyer friends.

Those who want too much of nationalism, and yet scream so much about internationalism, about one-world order, may I request them to think of this ? Too much of nationalism will isolate you. Do not have too much of nationalism but have a wider view, as you have on the question of the A-Bomb. You say : "We will not have the atom bomb, and we are going to depend on the Britishers and the Americans and may be, Russians, to give us the bombs in times of need," though Mr. Averell Harriman has warned you that his Government is not yet committed to it. And the Russians are keeping quiet. But, you are

pursuing the matter in the interest of world peace. So, I submit, do not be nationalist-minded in everything. We have of course to have quite a bit of nationalism too, but the English language is not only integrating you—one Indian with another—but it also integrates you with the rest of the world. So have it, accept it, and reject what is bad in the British system, reject what is bad in the American system but do not reject their language, I warn you. I say this because it will not only disintegrate the country, but will isolate you.

Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2.30 in the afternoon.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-two minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir, before you call upon the Member to speak I would bring to your kind notice that there is no Cabinet Minister here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : It is not necessary to have a Cabinet Minister all the time.

SHRI B. K. MAHANTI (Orissa) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I associate myself with the Motion offering thanks to the President for his Address to both the Houses of Parliament.

Sir, much heat has been generated in this House and outside about the Orissa affairs which formed the subject-matter of an inquiry into them by the Central Bureau of Investigation and their so-called report, which has been much made of in this House, and which allegedly has been placed in the other House of Parliament. I am referring to that and to the alleged conduct of the person concerned, a conduct which has been

much criticised here, over which so much fuss has been made here. Sir, before going to that I would like to draw your attention why this thing is coming up now, what is the history behind it. Now, Sir, during the period of Coalition Ministry in Orissa, Shri Bijoyanand Patnaik was the Leader of the Congress Party in Orissa . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : It was a great shame.

SHRI B. K. MAHANTI : . . . and he made all attempts to frustrate the activities of the non-Congress elements of that Coalition Ministry, which were prejudicial to the interests of the State, and since then consistent attempts are being made in Parliament and in certain sections of the press to defame him and of late an attempt is being made by them to bring down his image in the public eye. Sir, there are several stages through which it passed and it has come up now in the form in which we see it, the C.B.I. report and the criticism of him. You know, Sir, that in Orissa we did not have a stable Ministry, and to have stability a Coalition Ministry was formed and the members of the then Ganatantra Parishad were taken into the Cabinet. (*Interruptions*) It was done with the sole object of implementing the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress Party. But unfortunately, the Ganatantra Parishad could not discharge the obligations and the promise which they gave to the Congress Party, and therefore the Congress Party came forward with a proposal to break away from that Coalition Ministry and they did so at the instance of Shri Bijoyanand Patnaik. (*Interruptions*) And naturally the Ganatantra Parishad which was predominantly composed of the feudal elements had to come out too. Then after having a crushing defeat in the mid-term elections, they dissolved their party and they got into the Swatantra Party. As I said, the Congress Party entered into an alliance with the Ganatantra Parishad for the sole purpose of implementing the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress. They did not fulfil their promises and naturally, at the instance of Shri Biju Patnaik the Congress Party fell out of the alliance and the Coalition Ministry fell. Therefore Shri Biju Patnaik became the eyesore of everybody, belonging to the opposite camp, particularly

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of those of the Swatantra Party. Now I would analyse the allegations. Certain allegations have been made against him so far as his business concerns are concerned, the Kalinga Tubes, the Orissa Textile Mills, and so on, and also some allegations have been made against the Orissa Agents. Now, Sir, the inquiry conducted into them has been discussed in the House many a times, and I fully agree with my hon. friends, Mr. B. K. P. Sinha and Mr. Sapru, in the constitutional point raised by them, asking how far the President was justified in ordering an inquiry into that affair, which was essentially a State matter, which was the concern of the State. To this point I want a clarification from the Prime Minister. To a second point which has been raised, Sir, I would like to refer in this connection to our late Prime Minister's statement in the Lok Sabha on 22nd August, 1963, when some sort of allegations came up there. He said :

"Some of them have been, I think as someone said, referred to the Public Accounts Committee. First they were referred to the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee and the Leader of the Opposition. After accepting that work, he rejected; he would not do it. Then it was sent to the Public Accounts Committee as a whole, and I think that the Public Accounts Committee is a very suitable body. It contains Members of several parties, and the Accountant-General is there to help them, and it is right that they should go into this matter."

Sir, I would like to say that the State Legislature is an autonomous body. The Chief Ministers and the Ministers there are responsible to the State Legislature, not to Parliament, and therefore our late Prime Minister was quite justified in saying that it was only the Public Accounts Committee which should go into it, and which is now seized of the problem. Yet, in the face of this, the Union Home Minister asked the C.B.I. to inquire into the affairs. I do not know how far he was justified in asking them to inquire, when many Members, when the majority of the Members of the Congress Party in Parliament and many State legislators were opposed to this, were of the view that the C.B.I. should not be asked to probe into the affairs.

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY : Sir, the hon. Member is making his maiden speech and . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Yes, but on a controversial matter. He should not have taken this opportunity to speak on a controversial matter.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY : It is the convention of the House that no interruptions should be made during the maiden speech by an hon. Member.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Yes, Sir, the point raised deserves your consideration, that in a maiden speech my friends will observe the convention of the House.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: All right.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You go ahead, Mr. Mahanti.

SHRI B. K. MAHANTI : Therefore, Sir, I would like you to consider this matter, whether, when particular allegations against Ministers and Chief Ministers are pending, whether it is proper and justified to ask the C.B.I. to have a probe into the affair. And I strongly object to the orders of the Home Minister in this respect. And, secondly, Sir, what is the matter there so far as that Orissa affair is concerned? I have got also certain facts and I would like to place them before you. The firm of Orissa Agents was formed in 1959, two years before Mr. Biren Mitra took charge of the office of Minister in Mr. Biju Patnaik's Cabinet, and the Orissa Agents was dissolved two months before he took over the Chief Ministership of the State. They were continuing to have that business, the Kalinga Tubes Limited, and its products were being supplied to the State Government—the State Government purchased them under a contract entered into with the firm. I would like to refer in this connection as to what is the total sale of Kalinga tubes to the Orissa Government. It is less than one per cent of their total sales of the tubes.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Of the Orissa Agents' total sales ?

SHRI B. K. MAHANTI : I am referring to Kalinga Tubes, sale of Kalinga tubes and its products to the Orissa Government.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : One point I would add, Sir. Shri Biren Mitra was Deputy Chief Minister, not Chief Minister, and as long as he was functioning as Deputy Chief Minister the Orissa Agents was in existence, was in business.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Allow Mr. Mahanti to have his say uninterrupted. It was continued as a joint business.

SHRI B. K. MAHANTI : Yes, it was there. Now, Sir, the first signatory to the allegations was Mr. R. N. Singh Deo, the Industries and Finance Minister of the Coalition Ministry of the State. At that time—I would like to draw his attention to this—Mr. Biren Mitra was a Member of the State Legislature, Mr. Biju Patnaik also, and he could have objected to this then; he could have gone through the contract which they were having with the State Government and cancelled it. He did not do so then. Only later came the allegations from him.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : Mr. Lokanath Misra, no running commentary please. You have had your say. Please listen now.

SHRI B. K. MAHANTI : The Orissa Agents was formed in 1959. They were carrying on business when the Coalition Government came into power and Mr. Deo was in charge of the Administration as Minister for Finance and Industry. Then the Orissa Agents were given by the State Government the work of supplying tubular structures at a cost of Rs. 25 lakhs and he as Minister of Finance and Industry paid this concern the sum of Rs. 25 lakhs. Why did he not object to it at that time ? Why does he come forward now saying that it was not proper, when he ought to have objected to the impropriety when he was functioning

as the Finance and Industry Minister ? Was it not improper then ? I would like to pose that question now.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : He is asking me questions and naturally I must answer him.

SHRI B. K. MAHANTI : What happened after that ? I will now give the House information about something else. In the case of the son of a Uttar Pradesh Minister, the lowest tender was accepted by the U.P. Government for the supply of Rs. 1 crore worth of materials and it was accepted as *bona fide* and accepted as something proper and at the time the entire case was considered by the Cabinet Sub-Committee. Here I would like to refer to the affairs of the Orissa Textile Mills. In the Orissa Textile Mills, Shri Biju Patnaik has 3½ per cent shares and the Government of Orissa has 17 per cent shares. It is said that land was acquired and given to a firm for the benefit of Shri Biju Patnaik and his family. Sir, if land is acquired, it is acquired according to certain rules of the State and at the time the land is acquired from the private party the price is low and when it is given to another party, if the price is higher, is it not justified ? The company has paid higher price for the Government land then what they have paid to private parties during the relevant period. What is there not proper in that ? I think it is quite justified and proper.

Here I would like to refer to the appointment of Shri Srinivasan, because the other day Shri Lokanath Misra referred to this matter and said that Shri Srinivasan was appointed in an out-of-the-way manner and with the purpose of giving some business worth Rs. 15 lakhs to the Kalinga Industries, a concern which was managed by Shri Biju Patnaik and his family. I would like to say here that Mr. Srinivasan, before he was appointed, was associated with the Lower Bhawani Project in Madras State and also with the Neyveli Lignite Project. There were certain allegations about him and these allegations were enquired into by the Special Police Establishment and they were found to be baseless. If on such allegations which on the face of them are baseless,

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you say that the man is inefficient and that he is corrupt and so on, then I do not think any administration can run. It is easy in a democracy to make allegations.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Is it as easy for the Special Police Establishment to come to such a conclusion ?

SHRI B. K. MAHANTI : My information is that they were found to be baseless. Again, Sir, it has been said that after five days Mr. Srinivasan recommended the purchase of certain tubular structures from Kalinga Industries for Rs. 15 lakhs. I would like to say that these things worth Rs. 15 lakhs were not ordered after 5 days, but 6 weeks after his appointment and this was done on the understanding that the work would be completed in 3 years. This was for having cheap housing for the workers, for 6,000 workers quickly. Is it improper to recommend among other things to have housing for workers, cheaply and quickly ? Not only that, Sir, the Government has already scrutinised these proposals and found that if certain other private firms had been given the work of supply of materials as supplied by Kalinga Industries, it would have cost them Rs. 5 lakhs more and the State would have incurred a loss of Rs. 5 lakhs.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Mahanti, your time is up.

SHRI B. K. MAHANTI : One minute more, Sir, and I shall end. All these things I have just stated because I know about Orissa. I would only like to add, Sir, that many things have been said here without any rhyme or reason and motives have been attributed. It is only for political mischief that this has been done.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : The Prime Minister and Home Minister were the instruments.

SHRI B. K. MAHANTI : All this has been done only to reduce the strength of the

Congress Party in that State. Also against various Chief Ministers allegations are brought forward. Why is that ? That needs thorough examination. I will end here and I thank you for giving me this much time. I have not said all the facts and next time I participate in the debate on Prime Minister's statement I will certainly and definitely do so.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, two esteemed Members of this House have characterised the President's Address as being an uninspiring document. What else could it be when the deeds it chronicles and the projects that it proposes are uninspiring ? Taking first the achievements chronicled in the President's Address, it has been noted that the national income has increased at the rate of 2.25 per cent per year in the first two years of the Third Plan, and in 1963-64 it rose to 4.3 per cent. And in the coming year with an increase of 8 per cent in industrial production the overall increase is bound to fall in the current year. With regard to the public sector undertakings, a number of understandings have been referred to, the Heavy Engineering Plant at Ranchi, the Mining Machinery Plant at Durgapur, the Refinery at Barauni and the Machine Tool Factories at Pinjore and Kalamasseri. All these have, no doubt begun production but they are only at the pilot stage of production and they have not yet reached the stage of commercial production. And then, with regard to power and transport, the Address mentions that 40,000 villages have been electrified. Mere electrification of villages is not enough. That only throws in strong relief the squalor, the sordidness and the poverty and the misery of our villages. If this electrification has led to increased production in the villages, then we could welcome it. The shipping tonnage, it has been recorded, has risen to 1.4 million GRT. But how much of this shipping tonnage is in native bottoms, that is not recorded. Reference is also made to the Atomic Energy Plant. We are not told whether this production has reached a stage when it could be useful to agriculture and industry. We are not told whether any isotopes have yet been used in order to increase agricultural or industrial production.

In regard to the food position, the experiment of the Food Corporation of India is being tried. It remains to be seen how far it would be successful in distributing foodgrains equitably and usefully to the population. Prices have been fixed but already the merchants have taken to offer higher prices than those fixed by Government. It remains to be seen how this Food Corporation will be able to compete with the traders. If the traders are taken into confidence by the Food Corporation of India and if they act in co-operation then the Food Corporation of India would be a blessing. Much better than the fixation of prices would have been the process of giving subsidies to the farmers and farms as has been done in England and the United States of America. Fixation of prices has never served the cause of the farmers because prices depend upon world conditions and therefore prices cannot be controlled.

I must congratulate Government at last on paying more attention to anti-erosion measures and to minor irrigation. During the past three years we on this side have been insisting that minor irrigation should get top priority in regard to aids given to agriculture.

In regard to finance, the deplorable state of our foreign resources has been recorded. It has been suggested in the President's Address that an attempt would be made at the reduction of expenditure but we are not told any details about that. As regards projects for the future, family planning takes priority among all the plans mentioned in the President's Address. We are offered also a review of the administration with a view to promoting efficiency and reducing corruption. Here again we are not given any details.

I now come to the wretched question of the language policy of the Government. Bilingualism seems to be the most favoured device for the Union. It remains to be seen how bilingualism can be consistent with the provision of the Constitution that Hindi shall be the language of the Union, not a language but shall be the language of the Union. Even if it is tried in practice, Hindi and English as the official languages of the Union, it would be like

the lawful wife and the illegitimate mistress.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : No, no.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY. The lawful wife will get priority, she will get all the preferences, all the good treatment, all the precedents that a lawful wife gets whereas English will be treated as the illegitimate mistress, that is to say, it will be used as infrequently as possible, as hesitatingly as possible, as surreptitiously as possible and as clandestinely as possible.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAI VARGIYA : But more powerful.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY : In regard to this matter, I would like to deal with an argument used by the Home Minister in defence of the language policy of the Government. To the fatal facility of words which he commands, he has added the fatal facility of gestures and gestures are so much easier than words. With one horizontal wave of the hand he disposes of the argument that Hindi should not be made the official language of the country. He says, "It is in the Constitution. So, there can be no arguing about it." This from the mouth of a representative of a Government which has committed acts of assault and battery on the Indian Constitution seventeen times within seventeen years. With another vertical thrust of the hand he disposes of the argument used by the students of the South, that if Hindi is made the official language, they will be at a disadvantage. In regard to the point that Hindi and English should be the media of examinations, he, with a roll of his hands, disposes of this question. This question of examinations has worried the minds of teachers, examiners and educationists for more than a hundred years and a book which I read on examination reform is nearly a hundred years old. Even now, with only one language used as the medium of examination, students and examination reformers are not satisfied with the results of the examination. We are to have a system of examinations in fourteen languages and the Home Minister, with a roll

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy.]
of his hands, thinks that this can be achieved.

Coming now to the question of Defence, although the Defence Minister, time after time says that we are thoroughly prepared for any Chinese attack, we are not given any details about our Defence preparations. The output of Defence factories has been increased but in what way, to what extent, in what details, in what instruments and in what equipment. As a matter of fact, the number of factories that was promised two years ago soon after the Chinese aggression has been reduced by two. The Defence Minister also tells us that our troops are being practised in mountain and guerrilla warfare but as the Maharaja of Jaipur pointed out the other day, it is not on the mountains of India that the real decisions will take place but on the plains of India. How are our troops in the plains equipped for meeting the massed attack of the Chinese troops? Is our armament up to date? Have we got enough machine guns? Have we got enough automatic guns? Are our tanks enough in number? These are the details which if the Defence Minister or the President's Address had mentioned, would have. . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Does the hon. Member think that it is in the interest of the country that these details should be given?

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY : Not the details but I want the particulars. The Chinese know about the details of our equipment. They are much better informed than we are.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN : They are better informed.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY : And, as Winston Churchill stated, whatever the enemy knows we should know. That is the right which the citizen of a country has. We do not want details; we want numbers. We do not want details about the secret weapons : we want to know the

number of tanks that we have, whether that number would be enough to meet the mass attack of the Chinese troops. Defence preparation is vital to the very existence of our country. As a Chinese proverb says :

"A single day's neglect may end in a century of regret."

3 P.M.

From defence we turn now to foreign policy. We congratulate the Prime Minister on his assurance that we shall not manufacture atomic weapons but my reason for congratulation is different from his reason for the assertion of that policy. My reason is that we are not economically capable, economically able to produce atomic weapons. The mere production of an atomic weapon, the mere bursting of a nuclear shell does not cost much but the vehicles that are required in order to transport those atomic weapons cost much larger sums of money and for nuclear equipment we, on account of our economic conditions, are not at all prepared and therefore it is that it is right that the country should renounce all attempts at manufacturing atomic or nuclear weapons. The Prime Minister's assertion of this policy of nuclear armament is all the greater reason why we should seek alliances because by ourselves we cannot defend ourselves even with our conventional arms and by ourselves we cannot defend ourselves against nuclear warfare. That is all the more reason why, after China has taken to the manufacture of atomic weapons, we should seek alliances. We do not want an umbrella because umbrella denotes in Indian tradition imperialism, empire, but we want a shield that will protect us, a shield of alliances of strong and friendly powers. As a matter of fact, our prestige in foreign countries is very low because our foreign policy is passive; it waits for the next step to be taken by our adversaries; it does not follow a positive policy. Our representatives abroad are not active in seeking alliances, in seeking help, in seeking aid that will help us in the defence of our country. A foreign observer has observed that today India promises to become the sick man of Asia. I am not pessimistic as all that. I do not think either in our internal affairs or in our external policy we are so badly off as

Turkey which used to be called the sick man of Asia.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Of Europe.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY : Yes; sick man of Europe. But I think under the present regime India is becoming a chronic neurasthenic patient. Neurasthenia, according to doctors, means excessive fatigue, exhaustion and a lack of will to do anything. That, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is the present unfortunate condition of our country under the Congress regime.

SHRI BAHARUL ISLAM (Assam) : Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to our President for his Address to both Houses of Parliament assembled together in a joint sitting on the 17th February, 1965. Several problems have been dealt with in the discussion on the President's Address but I will confine myself to two problems only; one, the language issue and two, what has been described by an hon. Lady Member as the "expulsion of Indian Muslims from Assam into Pakistan."

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

On the issue of language the President has said as follows :

"We wish to state categorically that the assurances given by the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and reaffirmed by our Prime Minister will be carried out without qualification and reservation. This is essential for the unity of the country. While Hindi is the official language of the Union, English will continue to be an associate official language. This will continue as long as the non-Hindi speaking people require it."

The Constituent Assembly has already accepted Hindi as the official language of the Union and has incorporated it in the Constitution. Nobody has said that Hindi should not be the official language of the Union. That stage is long over. Now the question is whether the time is ripe for giving up English for official use and replacing it by Hindi after the period of 15

years prescribed by the Constitution has elapsed on the 26th January of this year. The answer is no. The time is not yet ripe. If Hindi alone is used as official language of the Union, the non-Hindi-speaking people will be practically rendered illiterate. There are genuine fears in the minds of the people of the non-Hindi areas. Of course assurances were given by our late Prime Minister Nehru and re-affirmed by our present Prime Minister but they cannot be implemented and executed by the officers responsible for their implementation unless those assurances are incorporated in statute. The fears can be removed only by incorporating in statute the assurances, that English shall continue to be an associate official language along with Hindi till the non-Hindi people are adequately prepared to accept it. This can be done either by amending the Constitution or by passing an Act for the use of English under article 343(3). An amendment of the Constitution for this purpose is an extreme step. When we can achieve our purpose by an easier method, amendment of the Constitution should not be lightly resorted to. It is undesirable.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY : It has been resorted to seventeen times.

SHRI BAHARUL ISLAM : The fear is about the possible imposition of Hindi. Hindi should not be imposed upon the non-Hindi-speaking people; nor should English be imposed upon the Hindi-speaking people. So the solution is that the *status quo* has to be maintained. In other words English is to continue as an associate official language along with Hindi. There should be no Hindi mania or English phobia or the reverse. There should, however, be a time limit during which the non-Hindi people are to adequately prepare themselves to accept Hindi as the official language and after which English should cease to be an official language. Otherwise there will be no serious attempt to learn Hindi by those who are to learn it.

Except propagation of Hindi by the Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samities in cities and big towns, there has been no serious attempt to propagate Hindi in the country up

[Shri Baharul Islam.]

till now. It should be made a compulsory subject of studies in schools and colleges. The three-language formula should be strictly and seriously enforced. Else the non-Hindi people will be at a disadvantage. The regional languages should also be encouraged and adequate assistance should be given by the Centre for their development. Although at a future date English will cease to be an official language, it should continue to be a compulsory subject in schools and colleges. It is one of the most important international languages: it is a window to knowledge from outside. We should not deprive ourselves of its benefit on sentimental grounds. Some of the hon. Member seem to deride English on the ground that it is a foreign language. We should not be ashamed for the fact that even after independence we continue to learn and speak a foreign language. The question is whether it is useful and beneficial to us. We have accepted so many foreign things. We have accepted the English legal system. Our system of Government is foreign. We are not ashamed of them. Perhaps we are proud of them. A substantial part of our present culture and civilization is foreign. We have retained it because it is useful and we cannot substitute it by a better one or an equally good one.

A question was also raised as to whether there should be quotas for different States so far as the Central Services are concerned. There was a suggestion in the last Chief Minister's Conference that there should be quotas to various States in the Central Services. Some hon. Members have criticised this on the ground that the quota system will lead to disintegration of the country and to inefficiency in the Administration. I respectfully submit that the proposal should not be lightly dismissed as frivolous. I shall respectfully suggest that there should be quotas not to all the states but to the backward and underdeveloped States. For an all-round development of the country more attention should be paid not only to the backward communities as is being done today but also to the backward States. Otherwise the backward States will continue to remain backward and there will be no all round development of the country. The candidates of the back-

ward States are not intrinsically inferior in merit but they cannot compete with the candidates of the advanced areas for lack of sufficient opportunities.

One of the hon. Members referred to what is called the expulsion of Indian nationals from Assam into Pakistan. She said: "There was no reason for throwing out Indian nationals from Assam into Pakistan. It was very difficult for these persons to obtain nationality certificates in Pakistan." Even if there be no difficulty in obtaining nationality certificates in Pakistan, I shall strongly protest against throwing out any Indian Muslim into Pakistan.

The Pakistan Embassy in Delhi also has been circulating propaganda pamphlets showing the number of what they call "Muslim evictees from Assam since May, 1961." The figure of such evictees, according to them, as on 13th February, 1965 is 1,27,501. Although I do not hold any brief for the Government of India or the Government of Assam, I can say without any fear of contradiction that so far as Pakistan is concerned, it is a mere propaganda; it is mischievous and maliciously false. The position of Muslims in Assam in this respect is this. There are two classes of Muslims in Assam. One class includes those Muslims who are living in Assam for several centuries and naturally they are Indian citizens. They are popularly known as indigenous Muslims. There has been no complaint at all from any quarter whatsoever that any of them have been evicted. The second class of Muslims includes those Muslims who migrated from East Bengal, which is now in East Pakistan. They are generally called as immigrant Muslims. Of these again, some and the majority of them, came long before partition. They are, of course, Indian citizens by virtue of the provisions of Part II of the Constitution. The rest 2½ lakhs, according to the admitted Government figure, came to Assam after partition and till at least October, 1952, only when the passport system was introduced between India and Pakistan. These 2½ lakhs of people who are Pakistan nationals and not Indian citizens are being evicted under the provisions of the Foreigners Act. These Pak nationals, unless they have necessary passports and visas, cannot stay in any part of our country.

Their stay in Assam is particularly dangerous in view of her geographical position, being, bounded on the North by China and on the South and West by Pakistan. China is a dangerous enemy and Pakistan is her ally. The sooner these people are evicted the better for the country in general and for Assam and the Muslims in Assam, in particular. In this respect there are no two opinions in Assam and there should not be two opinions in the country.

The Government of Assam is headed by no less a person than Shri Bimala Prasad Chaliha, a true Gandhi-ite, upon whose justice and impartiality not only the Muslims but also all the minority communities of Assam have full faith. The Foreigners Act does not provide for the issue of any quit India notice to any foreigner before he is actually evicted; or does it provide for any opportunity for any person to prove that he is an Indian citizen if he so claims. But the Government of Assam in its anxiety to see that no Indian Muslim is evicted, issue quit India notices to Pak nationals in Assam, giving time to quit. Further, they have appointed three Tribunals to consider the cases of those who claim to be Indian citizens. The Pakistani propaganda that 1,27,501 Indian Muslims have been evicted from Assam between May, 1961 and 13th February, 1965 is absolutely false.

Of course, some Muslims, who were Indian citizens, have left Assam. They have left Assam voluntarily. They had their landed and other properties in Assam. In spite of our persuasion to stay in Assam, they have exchanged properties with Hindu refugees coming from East Bengal and have voluntarily left for Pakistan. So that innocent people are not misled or harassed and may know who are Indian citizens and are entitled to live in Assam, and who are not Indian citizens and are, therefore, to quit India, big public meetings have been held in immigrant Muslim villages and they have been addressed jointly by local Hindu and Muslim leaders. This is the position of Muslims so far as Assam is concerned.

Thank you very much.

SHRI J. S. PILLAI (Madras) : Madam Deputy Chirman, at the outset I wish to endorse every word of the motion that has been so ably moved by the hon' lady Member the other day. I wish to say also that I was not happy when the President delivered his Address the other day. The reasons are very clear. You know that our President is one of the greatest orators of the English language in the country. He can speak extempore, even without the aid of notes, but on account of his eye trouble the other day, in spite of the promptings of his Secretary from behind, he had fumbled a number of times. This has moved me very much and I was thinking of the proverb which says that sometimes even an elephant slips and falls down. This was what I was thinking at that time. I hope and pray that he will recover soon. The thing that has attracted my attention in the Address is about the language solution which is given here. He says in paragraph 21 :—

"We wish to state categorically that the assurances given by the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and re-affirmed by our Prime Minister will be carried out without qualification and reservation. This is essential for the unity of the country. While Hindi is the official language of the Union, English will continue to be an associate official language. This will continue as long as the non-Hindi speaking people require it.

This should be inscribed on a slab of marble and installed at the entrance to the Central Hall, because this will prevent the future Government from muddling with language with impunity.

Madam, hon. Members who are here might have seen the happenings in Madras which took place two weeks ago. I was in Madras at that time. Fortunately or unfortunately I was in Madras at that time. One thing is I belong to Madras, I am a Madrasi. One thing that attracted my attention where was self-immolation. We have not heard of self-immolation in our life. We have heard of suttee. We have read about suttee in books, that is, the widow falling in the burning pyre of her husband and committing suicide. Then, you have heard of 'johar'. Rajput ladies

[Shri J. S. Pillai.]

used to fall into fire and commit suicide when they came to know that they had lost their empire. We have heard of these things only in history. And then we have heard of self-immolation in religion. In Tamil Nad there was one saint by name Nandanar. He wanted to enter the temple of Siva. He went and asked the Brahmins. The Brahmins wanted to kill him by some means. So, they asked him to go through fire and then only he could enter the temple. Fortunately Nandanar was a great saint. He went through the fire and came unscathed. Then, he was allowed to enter the temple. Except that we have not heard of self-immolation. In this connection I wish to tell the House that one thing I have noticed in Madras. It is that irrespective of caste, community, age and profession, all took part in that movement. Some of them took part in it. Some others sympathised with the movement. That has shown the feelings of the people there. Why I am saying it is this. It should not be misunderstood that the entire Madras is against Hindi. We are not against Hindi, nor anybody else is against Hindi. All that we want is that English should also be an associate language along with Hindi till the people in the South learnt Hindi. This is what they want. In this connection, I wish to tell the House that some people are suffering from a disease. I wish to call the disease "Anglo-phobia", that is, hatred of everything English. It must be remembered that if Shastriji is the Prime Minister of India today from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, it is entirely due to the English people. If they had not conquered and brought the country under a single flag, the Union Jack, the successor to the English Government would not have become the Prime Minister of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. That is what we have got to remember, because our memory is very short. For instance, sometimes we do injury to the statues of good people also. I can understand people throwing mud on the statue of O'Dyer or somebody else, but Lord Irwin had done good to us. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact you might have heard of. He has done some good to us. Why disfigure such statues?

In this connection I must also tell hon. Members here that no Government, no

Party will be in power always, and it is possible that the Communist Party also can come into power afterwards; what they will do is they will destroy all the statues of Congress leaders, such as Nehru's and Patel's statues. They will destroy all those things. That we must remember before we disfigure the statues of the Europeans.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN : I think some of the statues will go before they die.

SHRI J. S. PILLAI : The other thing I must tell the House is that I have got a certain belief in Shastriji and I think he will do justice to all the people. He is not the Prime Minister of Banaras. He is the Prime Minister of the whole of India, from Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Then some people say that he is short, that he is weak, and all these things. We should know that according to the Hindu mythology when Vishnu wants to do good things, he assumes the form of Vamanavatar. It is a small figure. So, being short is not a disqualification. I think it is a qualification when he can do good to all people. So I hope he will bring in an Amendment to the Official Languages Act so that English will also continue to be the associate language along with Hindi for some time to come. Let us not fix the date, and it should be left to the goodwill of the Tamil-speaking people.

The other thing that attracts my attention in the President's Address is this. "The Government are conscious of the need to expand and improve the social services, particularly for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes." Congress has been in power for the last seventeen years. I do not know what they have done. As long as Gandhiji was alive he had done some good. In season and out of season he was crying hoarse against untouchability. We see untouchability in all its forms in villages. In towns and cities there is no untouchability. In villages we still see the untouchability in some form or other. There are wells in the villages which are inaccessible to Harijans. There are temples which are not open to Harijans in spite of legislation. There are certain things in the world, Madam, which can be removed not only

by legislation but also by propaganda. For instance, untouchability, prostitution, all these things should be removed both by law as well as by propaganda.

Regarding social work, Madam, every year we are spending crores of rupees for social work. I do not know what work they are doing. I have seen that once a year some ladies with good sarees assembled together and call some Minister to preside over the meeting, and the Minister praises the work of the ladies, and while proposing a vote of thanks they praise the Minister. This reminds me of Carlyle : "Tickle me Tobby, I shall tickle thee." Madam, you might have heard of that saying. This is how social work is done in our country. I do not know what work these ladies are doing.

The other thing that attracts my attention is this :

"Emphasis in the Plan will be on agriculture, a balanced development of heavy and other industries, creation of large employment opportunities, advancement of the rural sector and narrowing down of social and economic disparities."

Madam, we are following what is known as the socialist pattern. That is what the Government says. To speak the truth it is a capitalist form of Government. Permits are given to a single firm, and that firm at the expense of the taxpayer is becoming richer every year; whereas the poor man becomes poorer every day. It gives all big employment in that firm only to relatives and people of the same community. Our Government is encouraging capitalism and communalism. They are not really doing any good social work in our country. It is high time that they should see what is taking place in our country and do some good for our country.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE (Nominated) : Madam, this is the first President's Address that I have heard and I have listened to the debate that followed. To my mind the most alarming event of recent times is the explosion of a nuclear device by China . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I thought you would talk of population.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE:

. . . I will later—this nuclear explosion to which the President has referred and to which many Members have referred also. Another explosion of a similar type, of even a more potent type, is soon expected. Madam, what is our reaction to it? Just empty protests and requests for assurances from other countries to protect us, because, Madam, we are said to be too poor to entertain any thoughts of manufacturing nuclear armaments. I have heard all the arguments for and against the manufacture of nuclear armaments. Just now the hon. Member, Mr. Ruthnaswamy, spoke about it too. I would also perhaps have agreed with this argument, but, Madam, look at the country the Prime Minister of which recently visited our country, that is, France. After the last war, Madam, France was reduced to a third rate nation. But look at her now. She has regained her position and her prestige. In spite of having had to lose as large a chunk of territory as Algeria she has again resumed her position, and both from the military and the economic point of view France today is very strong and sound, and why is that? Because she was determined to pull herself up, and she never thought that she was too poor to manufacture nuclear weapons. Why cannot we follow her laudable example and go in for nuclear armaments? France never thinks of waging a war on anybody. In fact she has given up a large part of her own territory, Algeria. You cannot deny that since de Gaulle took charge of affairs, he was determined to let Algeria have her independence, and he did. That is what I say, that we should follow her example. We have got the necessary deposits of plutonium, and once we start the manufacture of nuclear armaments, costs will come down. You will remember the lecture that we all heard in the Central Hall by Dr. Bhabha when he told us that as regards manufacture of nuclear energy at Trombay the costs had gone down and were going down still further. In fact he told us that we had improved our techniques to such an extent that now our techniques were far better than those of some of our foreign collaborators. That is why I think it is a bogie to say that we cannot

[Shrimati Shakuntala Paranjpye.]

afford it. If we try to reduce costs on other exorbitant items, I think we can go in for the manufacture of nuclear armaments.

Madam, in the President's Address mention was made about the Chinese threat and we were told that we were now strong enough to meet any attack that might be launched on our territory. But what about settling the old accounts? No mention is made about that. Why should we not strive and take back the territory which the Chinese have usurped from us? Any self-respecting country, Madam, will be expected not only to guard her frontiers, not only to defend her frontiers but to conquer back what has been unlawfully taken from her. The other day I was talking with some friends. And someone said, now, when China's attention is diverted towards Vietnam, is the opportune moment to try and conquer back our lost territory. But, Madam, our noble Government would think that such action would be highly unsportsmanlike! China is not our enemy! We still continue to exchange diplomatic relations with her! Many people like me thought that the very day an attack was launched on our territory the most natural thing for any country with an iota of self-respect would be to have severed all relations with the enemy. But no! We believe in appeasement, we take pride in it, we have a large heart, and we have a lofty motto! It is engraved on the top of this very honourable House—

अयं निजः परोवेति । गणना लघु चेतसाम् ।
उदारचरितानाम् तु । वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् ।

What does it matter if a few thousand square miles are lost on this side of the border or on that side? We believe in peace, we believe in non-alignment. And I am surprised to find that the Government has aligned itself against the Left Communists who incidentally have now created a big headache in Kerala to the Government. Government made out a case against the Left Communists and distributed a brochure to all the Members of Parliament I have read it. The case has been referred to since 1948. I wonder if the Government

ever thought of making a case against itself! When it first refused to admit of having lost any territory to China, again when it suppressed information, when it could not let out any information even to this honourable House and about later the casual manner in which it pretended that it was only a battle of maps.

Taking all these acts of commission and omission into consideration, Madam, I feel that the Government could make out a strong case, a splendid case, against itself, arrest itself and put itself into prison.

Every now and then, we hear and we see lip service being paid to the proclaimed ideals of having a socialist pattern of society. And anyone—I want to stress anyone—who really and sincerely believes in that ideals should first of all try and reduce the inequalities of wealth and income, but they are not being reduced. They are increased.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: They have stopped talking of that.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE: The rich are getting richer at a faster rate than the poor who are becoming less poor. And again the Government which believes in a socialist pattern of society should at least see that all the public undertakings it takes charge or are run well and are run at a profit. But what do we see when the different reports of the different Public Account Committees come to us? We find that the overhead charges are exorbitant, that a lot of embezzlement of public money takes place. And the saddest part of all is that the employees in these public undertakings, as my friend at the back will bear me out, do not get the fair and just treatment that they are entitled to under the very laws and regulations of the Government. This is a very sad state of affairs.

I do not propose to talk about the language problem. A lot has been said about it but I cannot refrain from saying that though the Government verbally deplores

violence, but it only wakes up when violence breaks out. That is true in every case. The State of Andhra Pradesh came into existence after violence was resorted to, after the late Shri Potti Sri Ramulu committed violence against himself. In my State of Maharashtra also, many lives had to be sacrificed before they assented to a separate State. Would it be wrong then, Madam, to say that in a negative way the Government encourages acts of violence? Even today, many issues like that of Goa, the Mysore-Maharashtra boundary question, the river disputes between the neighbouring States, are patiently awaiting solution. Will not the Government realise the urgency of solving these problems? Or is it waiting for violence to break out before it comes to grips with these problems? Madam, I would like this question to be answered.

Now, I come to my usual theme of planned parenthood, of family planning. I was very happy to notice that the first priority was given to family planning in the President's Address. Again, last week I was very happy to read in the newspapers that the Health Minister at a function expressed that no worker having more than three children should be allowed to work for family planning service. This policy, I think, should be extended to all workers in the medical and public health services. In fact, I think that some such policy of not granting more than three maternity benefits to anyone should be applied to all the services and institutions receiving Government aid. I am pleased to note—I talked on this subject last year while discussing the Budget—that family planning is now being tagged on to all the CHS dispensaries, maternity institutions and the child welfare centres. I have said that it should be done and I am glad that it has been done. But there again, it still works in a separate compartment. And naturally it is not as effective as it should be. The total load of family planning and other matters should be borne by all the staff members, starting from the medical officers, nurses, midwives, sanitary inspectors, etc. Everyone should bear this total load instead of appointing separate staff for family planning. The staff should be integrated with the health centre staff and

family planning should be treated as a part and parcel of the medical and health activity.

As regards sterilisations, operations, the Government gives some special remuneration to the staff who conducts that operation. But as regards women's operations, no such special remuneration is given to any member of the staff who conducts these operations upon women. As a matter of fact, sterilisation of women is a major operation which takes a much longer time and which is more difficult. But they get nothing; no special remuneration at all is given to them. I think this difference between the treatment of the staff conducting these two operations should be remedied. For this purpose, even some part-time jobs could be created, thereby we could persuade some married medical women to take up this work, and we can partly solve the problem of shortage of medical officers.

As regards spending of money for family planning, I am sorry I cannot help repeating myself that a great deal of unnecessary expenditure is incurred. A number of complaints were received about the working of family planning centres and an Evaluation Committee was appointed but without waiting for the Report of the Evaluation Committee, the Government has started upgrading these centres which were not already doing a satisfactory work, and larger sums are being sanctioned for these. And the one useful work which these centres were formerly doing—the one, I should say—was of contacting and making a survey of at least 10,000 families per centre. That has been discontinued, and instead, group contacts are to be made, which is neither here nor there. They are not exact, they are not so efficient as surveys. During the Third Five Year Plan Rs. 27 crores were sanctioned for the family planning budget. Now in the Fourth Plan about Rs. 100 crores are allocated. Still many people are saying that that is not enough and that more money should be given for the family planning programme. But, Madam, even if it were so, I doubt very much if better results would be obtained.

[Shrimati Shakuntala Paranjpye.]

Results do not depend only the money you spend. That depends more on how you spend the money. The benefits of having small families should be brought home to every common man and common woman. But those who are entrusted with this job cannot understand the common man or the common woman. They cannot even talk their language. They cannot understand their problems. And when the family planning programme shows poor results, Government creates more jobs and appoints more workers of the type I have already mentioned. A substantial amount of financial help is given by foreign foundations and attracted by its lure Government accepts their elaborate, impracticable and unnecessary suggestions in working out the schemes for family planning.

Foreigners little understand our conditions of life, and I am sorry to say that our own people at the top understand them no better. They can mix with greater ease and friendliness with foreign people than they can with the common men and women of their own country. That is the tragedy of our life, Madam. Interested parties and institutions tempted by the money involved in the working out of such paper schemes apply for grants and secure lucrative jobs for their staff. The outcome is a top-heavy organisation spending a pretty penny but unable to percolate its message of planned parenthood to the lowest strata of society.

I am going to cut my talk short, Madam, and just tell you about the performance of these social workers who are graduates and even double graduates. They are fresh from universities and unmarried. They cannot talk properly on this subject which necessarily is a delicate subject. They have accepted this job only as a part-time programme till they find a better job. They make no secret of the fact that their heart is not in family planning. They are deputed all over the country to spread the gospel of family planning and it is pathetic to see them trying to talk to the village folk in their clumsy, artificial and diffident manner. The village folk take no notice of them, never follow their advice and the population keeps mounting up.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have taken more than two minutes already.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE : Just one minute.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : If you can reduce the population in one minute

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE : I think if everybody paid attention to what I say and accepted my suggestions, certainly not in one minute but in one year, till the President's next Address comes about, we can do something.

Only the other day I was on tour. I asked one of these social workers to arrange a meeting for me in one of the sea-coast villages. Since, Madam, you come from the sea-coast you will be interested in this account. When I arrived I was taken to the Panchayat office which was situated nearly a mile away from the village and on the top of a little hillock. At this office a table with a beautiful cloth and chairs were nicely laid and a few carpets were spread for the audience to squat upon. There was even a flower-pot with artificial flowers on the table. But no soul was there to listen to me. I asked the social worker about the reason and he said they would be coming. He said that he had been advertising about this meeting for the last two days. He, after my arrival, even sent a jeep down to the village to collect the village men and women. I waited and waited for another ten minutes. Not even a stray dog entered the hall. I got up and accompanied by my team of workers walked down to the beach. As I went along I invited men and women that I met on the way to join me. On the beach I sat on a log of wood and practically the entire village gathered around me. Even some Muslim women who did not want to attend the mixed gathering huddled themselves in nearby a hut and stretched their ears to hear the proceedings.

After my talk my two workers—and these are the two workers who delivered the goods, Madam. I have a whole panel of such workers—who belong to the working classes themselves. They narrated their

own experiences and told the villagers why they had undergone sterilisation and what benefits they had derived therefrom. The men and women standing there gathered round them. They virtually mobbed them and many of the listeners wanted to know more about the operation.

Madam, I will not take more of your time. I thank you for the three minutes you have given me, but that is the type of thing which needs to be done.

SHRI P. ABRAHAM (Pondicherry) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Let me at first place on record my admiration for the President's sense of duty in delivering the Address in person in spite of the handicap caused by the difficult eyesight. May the Almighty relieve him of this strain and give him greater strength in the years to come to serve the country for a long time.

Madam, with deep anguish and utmost concern I venture to put forth my views on the explosive problem of anti-Hindi agitation in the non-Hindi-speaking areas. The Government was almost caught unawares by the strength of the feelings and the utmost violence with which it has burst out especially in the State of Madras and in my own constituency. Pondicherry, the place of the great patriot poet, Bharati.

It has been said that the agitation in the South over the language problem is purely political, namely, that it has been kept alive by some political parties, especially by the D.M.K. This statement is, in my view, over-simplifying the issue. It may be that certain parties took advantage of the situation. And lastly it must be understood that it is the anti-social elements that made the law and order problem a very serious matter everywhere.

Here, Madam, I want to add a few words regarding the attacks of the mob at Pondicherry and about the reportedly cir-

culated declaration and statement by the Aurobindo Ashram authorities. At about 7.30 P.M. on the 11th February when the sudden attack started, the railway station too was then burning as the fire extinguishing engines were damaged by the mob. When the attention of the police turned towards safeguarding the big petrol tanks near the burning railway station and other important government premises, the mob turned towards damaging private property at different spots in various places throughout including the Ashram. This could never be expected. The Government with the relatively small police to meet such unprecedented emergency did remarkably admirable work. The heroic efforts of our police officers brought the situation in full control within a short span of 2½ hours long before the outside police force could come in. But for the timely action of the Government there would have been considerable loss of public and private property including the Ashram's. The public too prevented looting of the Ashram's properties in many places. I know that the Honesty Society, a business premises of the Ashram, was rescued from the fire by two officers at the risk of their own lives. In spite of all the timely assistance to the Ashram at a critical juncture it is regrettable to note their unwarranted accusations against officials. Government and business interests, political parties and the elected representatives from the highest down. If by their spiritual activities, the Ashram has acquired certain hostility from certain sections of the people, it is not fair on the part of the Ashram to say that all sections of the society are their enemies. I think some hon. Members from this House as well as the other House have asked for an enquiry about the acts of violence against the Ashram.

In this connection I would also like to say that according to their statement the Ashram "is above all political affiliations and ideologies" and does not participate in any political movements and also not even in social or charitable drives. The Ashram is essentially a spiritual institution and follows the spiritual aim to the exclusion of all else. As such it is unfortunate that this institution, exclusively a spiritual one, should have, in such an explosive state, issued a statement regarding the issue of

[Shri P. Abraham.]

regional language and English ignoring the French language in Pondicherry.

SHRI A. D. MANI : They fought with the French.

SHRI P. ABRAHAM : Is it a spiritual institution ? In the same declaration it is said :

"It is said by some that the attacks were by one political group in order to discredit the present ruling group."

What does it mean ? Why one political group trying to discredit the ruling party should attack the Ashram ? Are we to understand by this that the first group was inflamed by the attitude of the Ashram changing colour to the second group ?

SHRI A. D. MANI : Which is the group—the Congress or local ?

SHRI P. ABRAHAM : Congress. Furthermore I am extremely pained to condemn strongly that part of the declaration where the Mother states :

"First, the militant Catholics, because—in spite of what the Pope declared after his visit to India,—they are convinced that whoever is not a Catholic must be an instrument of the devil."

With intense feelings I am sorry that a spiritual institution which is supposed to be for peace, truth and love should condemn one religion, the Catholic and their institutions. Her declaration, if I may say so, is an unwarranted direct attack on the whole Church. It shows the communal outlook of the Ashram. Further it is said that the attack was planned and financed by certain business interests who were envious of the Ashram connected with industrial and business sections. Who are those industrial and business firms ? Who are the proprietors ? Where does the capital come from ? What kind of connection the Ashram has with these business firms ? So I do not want to go into details. I want the Government to hold an enquiry and find out whether the Ashram which is exclusively a spiritual one has been switched

over from spiritualism to material industrialisation and to politics.

SHRI A. D. MANI : Is it connected with industry ?

SHRI P. ABRAHAM : Yes. It is true.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras) : They have their own industries.

SHRI P. ABRAHAM : I leave it to the Government.

I come to the language problem. While I condemn the resort to violence by whomsoever it may be and from whatever sources or parties it may be, I want to say that nothing is gained but everything may be lost by blinking at the real issue that the students' demonstrations were spontaneous ones which exhibited their genuine concern of what would be in store for them. Neither there was fear nor misunderstanding. Even I may say that the students were backed without reservations by other non-political bodies like associations of teachers, professors, lawyers, merchants, etc. who have voiced their feelings in regard to the sudden implementation or imposition of Hindi. I have to say 'Language is the man or it makes the man'. It is a highly emotional field. And the Government has to tread cautiously, more so in a multi-lingual country like ours. Our Constitution has adopted 14 national languages. Each has its unique importance but with different culture and heritage. It has moulded the men of the region in different ways. It was only through the medium of these languages that the regional people have been elevated to fight for freedom. Our primordial preoccupation must be to promote all the languages benumbed during the foreign domination and give them the due official status in their respective regions. To unite the people of India with their fourteen or even more languages, and English which is known to all the intelligentsia in all the States and deep-rooted, was the unifying force for all against their old rulers. Even after the independence it has been accepted to be the official language of India more by a

fait accompli and not by imposition. Still we have agreed, that it should continue so in the Supreme Court, High Courts, for science, technology, etc. as no other language in the country could successfully substitute it.

Though accepted in the Constitution to be the Union Official language, Hindi has to be spread and take deep root in all the States without exception and has also to improve its own vocabulary before it can replace English. To unify all the elements of the composite culture of India and to enrich the vocabulary of Hindi, the makers of the Constitution have advised that Hindi should borrow or adopt words from Sanskrit and all other living Indian languages. Now free borrowing is done only from Sanskrit. Borrowing is a mutual process for integrating the different languages. This will be an incentive for non-Hindi speaking areas to pick up modernised Hindi. Therefore the sudden implementation of the Constitution in this regard will lead the non-Hindi speaking people to feel as reduced to a state of second class citizenship. It would all the more endanger the non-Hindi speaking employees in the private sector. The businessman is most concerned with the utility point of view and he is not fair-minded in giving due representation to non-Hindi people. Thus the employment position and opportunities of the non-Hindi people will be affected not only in Government but in private organisations as well.

In view of all these facts, it is imperative that English should continue to be the official language till the acceptance of Hindi by each and every State. Hence the Official Languages Act has to be amended accordingly.

The quota system for All India Services that has now been thought of will be against merit and may lead to intrigues and politics in administration. I fear this will go against the fundamental rights to employment and equal opportunities guaranteed by the Constitution. Such linguistic and regional quota divisions will only affect the forces of unity and demoralise the All India Services.

Further I feel that for an emotional integration of our country, our Hindi-speaking brethren should also come forward with a will to learn not preferably as stated but compulsorily a South Indian language.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Why not Gujarathi or Marathi ?

SHRI P. ABRAHAM: I say Tamil because Tamil has not borrowed from Sanskrit and is the most ancient, original and living one.

(Interruptions)

Before I conclude I wish to appreciate the appealing words of our hon. Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, at the critical juncture, at Madras, namely, about the re-thinking on the language issue. I am happy to note that our Prime Minister is already taking steps to give shape to that re-thinking. I am sure that the needful will be done without affecting the interest of any State giving a free hand to work and considering the unifying aspects of all the States for an emotional integration with rational consideration and human understandings.

Thank you.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, I would first like to say that it is a matter of great regret that our President is suffering from eye trouble. We wish him speedy recovery. He is one of our greatest national assets. He is a scholar of the greatest distinction and he is a President of whom we are justly proud. May I invite your attention to an aspect of the matter to which no attention was drawn by the President in his lucid address ? The question to which I would like to draw attention is the fact that we have in this country over 900 pro-Peking Communists in prison.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Not pro-Peking. They are Members of the Communist Party, Marxists. Some Members belong to our Party.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Some Members belong to the Rightist group ? All right,

I do not understand this difference between the Left and the Right but we have over 900 Communists in prison. That is a very very large number and I must say that my legal conscience gets shocked at what the Home Minister has been pleased to describe as a matter of little concern for this country.

I remember that when Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh were deported, Lord Morley felt qualms of conscience about the deportation of those two people over and over again, and if you will read his reminiscences, you will find that he reverts to this subject and asks himself the question whether the action taken under Regulation III of 1818 was right or wrong. Now we claim to be better than the British imperialists, but I am wondering whether we have developed in this country a real sense of the meaning of the rule of law. Democracy and the rule of law go together, and as a firm believer in the principle of the rule of law I think that it is not right that we should mete out this treatment to the 900 odd political opponents.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): Not political opponents.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Well, they are not political opponents; they may be holding views which you and I do not hold on China, but then a person is entitled to hold his own opinion, and if you have any case against them, please sue them before a court of law or, at all events, adopt the procedure which is envisaged in your Constitution so far as preventive detention is concerned. But do not, in the name of emergency, lock them up, and now when the Government has done it, I think that it is rethinking its ideals, and I am therefore grieved to draw their pointed attention to this fact. May I say, Madam Deputy Chairman, that it is a strange commentary on the reading of the Indian situation on the part of the illustrious Home Minister that in the State of Kerala the Congress Party has not, even though 29 persons elected were in jail, even though the leaders of the Communist Group were in jail, the

Congress Party has not been able to get a verdict in its favour? It has not been able to get a majority of the seats. Twenty-nine Members of the Assembly are in jail and you can have a Congress Government in that State by keeping these people in jail

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: We are not having that idea.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Whether you are having that idea or not I am just telling you

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: President's rule should not also be the idea.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: What I want to point out is that the position in Kerala is: Left Communists 40; Congress 36; Kerala Congress 23; S.S.P. 13—you cannot hope to carry most of the S.S.P. with you; Independents 10; Muslim League 6—I doubt whether with the experience the Muslim League had of the Congress before, the Muslim League will support you and whether it would be right or wise for us to seek those votes of the Muslim League; Right Communists 3; Swatantra 1, and so on. Therefore it will be a difficult proposition for you to form a Ministry in Kerala unless you are prepared to review the situation and release the 29 Communists who are in jail and make it possible for the party in power to assume authority. The rebels in the British Commonwealth have been appointed Prime Ministers, and they have rendered a good account of themselves. Dr. Nkrumah had been a rebel; he was appointed, I think, direct from prison as Prime Minister. And did he not render a good account of himself? Why must it be assumed that a person who does not see eye to eye with you on the China question is a traitor to the country? Therefore I hope that there will be no talk of President's rule and that President's rule will not be imposed upon Kerala unless it is found impossible to work according to the provisions of the Constitution.

Now I would like, Madam Deputy Chairman, to say one or two words about China. Now I think, whether we like it or not, that we have to rethink our China policy. There are only three ways of dealing with the China question. Either you must go to war with China—and for that we are not prepared—or we must negotiate—and there the difficulty is that the Colombo proposals are not acceptable to China—or we must allow the *status quo* to remain as it is—and there are dangers there—as we often reminded the West in a state of cold war—that a cold war can develop into a hot war. Therefore my concrete suggestion is that we should open—we have diplomatic relations with China but we have, at the moment, only a *charge d'affaires* in Peking—my concrete suggestion is that we should have a full-fledged Ambassador in Peking, and if we appoint a full-fledged Ambassador in Peking, Peking will appoint an Ambassador in Delhi, and it will be possible then for talks on the border issue to be held at the ambassadorial level. Let us try that experiment.

SHRI A. D. MANI: May I ask the hon. Member . . .

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: I have got limited time and Mr. Mani often asks questions which are irrelevant. I would therefore like to say that we should approach the question from this point of view. Madam Deputy Chairman, I am also disappointed at the fact that there is no reference to the very important question of Viet-Nam in the President's Address. Now I am not a supporter of North Viet-Nam but I think that it is the interference by third parties in what is essentially a civil war that complicates matters, and therefore I think that both General de Gaulle and the Russian Government are right in pressing that there should be a conference on the lines of the Geneva Conference and that the Geneva type conference which should be held now should be a larger one, and it would not be possible for you to settle the question of Viet-Nam unless you invite China also to the conference.

I think China has been behaving as an outlaw among nations because we have been treating her as an outlaw among nations. I do not approve of her quest of atomic power. She has exploded one bomb and she will probably explode another bomb. But I am not worried about that because I think our case against the atomic bomb does not rest only on economic grounds. There is a moral basis and there is an ethical basis so far as our opposition to the atomic bomb is concerned, and I would not like the legacy of Jawaharlal Nehru to be liquidated in this country. I think, therefore, that it is incumbent on the part of the Foreign Office to act with vigour and energy in this matter.

May I also say a word about Malaysia? I have already said in this House that my sympathies in the dispute between Malaysia and Indonesia are with Malaysia. After all, Malaysia was elected by a majority of the members of the Assembly to the Security Council. But the dispute exists and one solution of the problem is to have a conference which will be attended both by Malaysia and Indonesia and the Philippines. We have taken no initiative in that direction.

Time will not permit me to go into the questions of Europe, of Western Europe. There are important questions there. We have good relations with West Germany and we would like to maintain those good relations with West Germany. I believe that the two Germanies should be reunited. But we have a form of representation here of East Germany in Delhi. Why should not that representation be given a more formal character? Why should we not recognise it as a sort of consular representation? Why should we allow the Bonn Government to veto even such an innocent step as this?

Then Madam Deputy Chairman, I am bound to express my disappointment with Mr. Arthur Bottomley's performance in South Rhodesia. Mr. Bottomley happens to be a friend of mine and for three months I had the pleasure of occasional conversations with him. I know he is a

[Shri P. N. Sapru.]

liberal-hearted socialist and I know that Lord Gardener who accompanied him is one of the greatest humanitarian lawyers that Britain has produced. I know that Southern Rhodesia is a self-governing country and there is a sort of convention that Britain does not interfere in the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia. I think it should be possible for Britain to make it clear to the Southern Rhodesian whites that any unilateral declaration of independence by them would lead to very serious complications and that she would not hesitate to apply economic sanction against them. I know that the Labour Government is in a rather difficult position. They have got a small majority and I have a very great deal of sympathy for the Labour Government, because my mind is so conditioned that I think along the lines that they do. But I think the time has come when Labour should take a stronger attitude regarding Southern Rhodesia.

Madam Deputy Chairman, may I say just a few words about the language question? I think that we have no right to impose Hindi upon the non-Hindi speaking people. It should be left to them to decide when and how it should be introduced, but we should make an endeavour to develop all the fourteen languages that we have got in this country. They are all national languages and I find nothing wrong with the three-language formula. I would rather have a four-language formula. In Europe or in England, boys at various stages of their school career, read English, Latin, Greek and French. Well, if British boys can do that, I see no reason why our children should not be able to do that. Therefore, there should be arrangements for the teaching of South Indian languages in our areas, in Northern India. We should also have arrangements for the translation of all the great classics in the various sciences and arts and literatures of the world into our regional languages. We should make our regional languages fit vehicles for the expression of the best thoughts of man. We should make them fit instruments for secretarial and official work. If we proceed along these lines, then I am certain that relations between the South and the North will improve. Mr. Annadurai does not seem to be an

impossible man. I rather liked his conciliatory manner. He is a gifted man who knows that the South cannot exist without the North and the North cannot exist without the South. Let us, therefore, approach this task of national integration in an humble spirit and if we do so, I think, we shall be able to achieve much more than what we have been able to do so far. Thank you very much for the time that you have allowed me.

डा० धर्म प्रकाश (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपाध्यक्षा महोदया, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण से पिछले वर्ष की बहुत-सी गतिविधि हमारे सामने आई और इस वर्ष में हमें क्या करना है, उसका भी मार्गदर्शन हुआ। इस अभिभाषण के प्रति जो प्रस्ताव सदन में उपस्थित हुआ है, उसका समर्थन करने और उसके लिए हार्दिक धन्यवाद देने में खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

देश की वर्तमान परिस्थिति को यदि दो-तीन शब्दों में कहा जाय तो शायद किसी को विरोध न होगा। एक स्वर से जो कांग्रेस दल के लोग हैं, जो विरोधी दल के लोग हैं, सभी इस बात को स्वीकार करते आ रहे हैं कि देश में इस समय अनेक समस्याएँ हैं जो बहुत ही जटिल बन चुकी हैं। अनेक समस्याओं के होते हुए, एक सबसे बड़ा राष्ट्र के सामने जो भयंकर खतरा है उससे भी हम अपनी आँखें बंद नहीं कर सकते। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि हमारी उत्तरी सीमाओं पर खतरा बराबर बना हुआ है। उत्तरी सीमाओं पर खतरा बराबर बना हुआ है यह सही है, मगर कुछ और सीमाएँ भी हैं जहाँ भयंकर खतरा उत्पन्न हो चुका है। अभी दो-तीन दिन की बात है, असम के मुख्य मंत्री ने एक वक्तव्य में इस बात को स्वीकार किया है कि जो व्यवस्था असम में की गई है वह चाइना और पाकिस्तान को देखते हुए पर्याप्त नहीं है। इसलिये यह कहना कि केवल उत्तरी सीमाओं पर ही खतरा है, ठीक नहीं। इधर सिक्किम और भूटान की ओर जो कदम बढ़ रहा है और जिस बुरी तरह से बढ़ रहा है वह भी खतरा कुछ कम नहीं है। इस खतरे को

भी अगर हम सामने रखें तो एक कहावत हमारे सामने आती है—एक तो करेला दूसरे नीम चढ़ा। दैवयोग से, एक तरफ चाईना खूबवार शेर की तरह और धूर्त भेड़िये की भांति आगे बढ़ रहा है वहां दूसरी तरफ पाकिस्तान भी उसके साथ सांठ-गांठ कर बैठा है, यह कम खतरे की बात नहीं। आज हम कई स्थानों पर यह देख चुके हैं कि असम को छोड़ इधर जो दोनों ओर घुसपैठ हो रही है, गुजरात की तरफ और काश्मीर की तरफ, वहां जो घटनाएं घटित हो रही हैं वे भी भयंकर हैं, हमारी आंख खोलने के लिये बहुत काफी है। मैं आपसे यह निवेदन कर रहा हूं, महोदया, कि इस समय जो संकट की घड़ी हमारे सामने है और जिसको संकटकाल कहा जाता है, उसमें जो अनेक कठिन समस्याएं हमारे सामने हैं, उन सबमें भयंकर समस्या हमारी राष्ट्र की सुरक्षा की है क्योंकि राष्ट्र की रक्षा के अलावा दुनिया में जिस लोकतंत्र की हम दुहाई देना चाहते हैं जिसका हम एक आदर्श उपस्थित करना चाहते हैं, वह हमारी स्वतंत्रता और लोकतंत्र इन दोनों धूर्त पड़ोसियों के कारण खतरे में है और इसलिये हमें सबसे अधिक ध्यान इस ओर देना होगा।

मैं एक बात और निवेदन कर दूं। कांग्रेस के दल के बहुत से भाइयों ने और विरोधी दल वालों ने भी प्रायः संकट की परिस्थितियों का नक्शा बड़े अच्छे-अच्छे ढंग से सामने रखा है। चाहे कोई कैसा ही बुद्धिमान नेता हो, चाहे प्रधान मंत्री कैसा ही बुद्धिमान और सुदृढ़ हो, उसकी सरकार कैसी भी बलशाली हो लेकिन कोई भला काम नहीं कर सकता, कोई राष्ट्र की रक्षा का कदम नहीं उठा सकता जब तक कि राष्ट्र किसी सुदृढ़ नींव पर आधारित न हो। आज जिस गवर्नमेंट को पीछे मुड़ कर देखना पड़े, साथ ही प्रधान मंत्री को भी पीछे मुड़ कर देखना पड़े, वह उस भयंकर मोरचे से कैसे मुकाबिला कर सकता है? वह पीछे मुड़ कर देखना क्या है? मुझे माफ करें, मैं बहुत स्पष्ट

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शब्दों में कहने वाला हूं—आज हमारे दल के ही बहुत से लोग ऐसे हैं कि जो हमारी सरकार और हमारे नेता की पीठ में छुरी भोंकने वाले हैं। दुर्घटनाएं एक नहीं बहुत-सी देश में हो चुकी हैं, और हो रही हैं। मैं अगर गिनाना चाहूं तो मुझे माफ करें। उड़ीसा में अभी जो कुछ हुआ है वह हमारे सामने है। पंजाब में बहुत कुछ हो चुका और जो मुख्य मंत्री इस समय हैं उन्हें अपने अस्तित्व की रक्षा के लिये रात दिन प्रयत्न करना पड़ रहा है। आज मध्य प्रदेश में जो उखाड़-पछाड़ हो रही है वह हमारी आंख खोल देने के लिये काफी है। आज हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश की मुख्य मंत्री, श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी, भी खींचतान का शिकार बनी हुई है, उधर हम जिस केरल का चुनाव का अभी रिजल्ट देख चुके हैं वह केरल भी हमें सबक देता है कि हमारी आपस की फूट के कारण ही भूतपूर्व सरकार का पतन हो चुका है। ये वे घटनाएं हैं जो एक-एक करके गिनायी जा सकती हैं।

अभी इस भाषा विवाद पर, जो एक द्रौपदी का चीर जैसा बन गया है, इस पर मंत्रियों का इस्तीफा दे देना, यह भी छुरा भोंकने के समान है। इसके अलावा और कितनी ही घटनाएं हैं जो अंदरूनी हो रही हैं, मसलन् डाक्टरों का आंदोलन, उनका हड़तालें करना, अध्यापकों का हड़तालें करना, सरकारी कर्मचारियों का धमकियां देना यह सब जाहिर करती हैं कि यह सब छुरा भोंकने के समान है। अपनी मांगों सामने रखना कोई अपराध नहीं है, लेकिन उसके भी कुछ तरीके हैं। लोकतंत्र में मांगों का होना, मांगों को आगे रखना और उन्हें हासिल करना, यह एक अधिकार भी है। मगर एक दुःख की बात यह है कि आज जो नारा हमारे सामने है वह लोगों को पथभ्रष्ट कर रहा है और नारा है समाजवाद का। समाजवाद के अगुवा मुझे माफ करें—उसमें तो अब कांग्रेस भी हमारी शामिल है—आज तक जनता के सामने समाजवाद क्या है, क्या समाजवाद हम लाना चाहते हैं।

[श्री धर्म प्रकाश]—

इसकी परिभाषा नहीं है। यही भ्रम है कि आज जनता गुमराह हो रही है। गुमराह किस मानी में हो रही है? जनता की मूलभूत आवश्यकताओं के नारे लगाए जाते हैं कि उन्हें पूरा किया जायगा, इसका आश्वासन दिया जाता है लेकिन आप देखते हैं कि वे पूरे होने वाले नहीं हैं, क्यों? इसलिये कि हम जनता को सब कुछ देने की बात तो करते हैं लेकिन जनता को आज तक नहीं सिखाया कि तुम्हारे कर्त्तव्य भी हैं, तुम्हें यह कर्त्तव्य करना पड़ेगा सब तुम्हारे अधिकार प्राप्त होंगे। जब ब्रिटिश हुकूमत यहां थी तब भी हमने मजदूरों और किसानों को, सबको सिखाया था कि तुम्हें हरामखोरी करनी चाहिये, तुम्हें काम नहीं करना चाहिये, तुम्हें तोड़फोड़ की कार्यवाही करनी चाहिये और ज़बर्दस्ती अपने अधिकार हासिल करने चाहिये, लेकिन आज तक उनको यह नहीं सिखाया कि यह सम्पत्ति हमारी है, अगर हमारे अधिकार हैं तो कर्त्तव्य भी है, बग़ैर कर्त्तव्य के अधिकार नहीं प्राप्त हो सकते हैं, इसलिये मैं संकट-काल के विषय में इतना निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि बहुत-सी जो जटिल समस्याएं हैं, उसमें चाहे कांग्रेस दल के लोग हों, चाहे विरोधी दल के, अगर वे यह समझते हैं कि राष्ट्र की रक्षा करनी है, अगर वे चाहते हैं कि लोकतंत्र की रक्षा करनी है और वे यह समझते हैं कि इसमें इन्सानियत की रक्षा है तो यह आवश्यक है कि हम सही मानों में इस तरफ सहयोग करें मैं यह नहीं कहता, कोई उल्टी बात होती है तो उसमें भी कोई सहयोग करे। उल्टी बात में सुधार करना, सही बात में सहयोग करना, यही सच्चे अर्थ में लोकतंत्र है जो आज नहीं हो रहा है।

इसके अतिरिक्त राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में दो तीन बातें खास हमारे सामने आईं। मसलन् एक बात इसमें यह भी है कि जनसंख्या बहुत बुरी तरह से बढ़ रही है। इसकी ओर कुछ संकेत हैं। चौथी योजना

की समाप्ति तक तो इतनी जनसंख्या बढ़ जायगी कि संभालना मुश्किल हो जायगा। राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में उसके आंकड़े भी दिये हैं। अभी चंद रोज की बात है, एक कांग्रेस में जो यहीं दिल्ली में हो रही थी उसमें हमारी स्वास्थ्य मंत्राणी, डा० सुशीला नायर, ने जो भाषण दिया उसमें उन्होंने यह जाहिर किया है कि हमने जो करोड़ों रुपये खर्च किये हैं और परिवार नियोजन की योजना को चलाया है तो वह सफल नहीं हुई। उन्होंने स्वीकार किया कि हम मुश्किल से 4 प्रतिशत कम कर पाए हैं वह भी करोड़ों रुपये खर्च करके, जब कि अनुमान यह था कि हम बीस से पचास प्रतिशत तक कमी कर पाएंगे जो प्रतिवर्ष 1000 के पीछे चालीस, पचास बढ़ रही है, मेरे कहने का अभिप्राय यह है कि इसी प्रकार की समस्याएं, जो मामूली समस्याएं नहीं हैं, इनको देखा जाय तो इनकी भयंकरता हमें दिन प्रति दिन आगे बढ़ती हुई नजर आ रही है।

इन सब बातों को देखते हुए मैं अपने विचार आपके सामने रखते हुए एक बात सुझाव के रूप में पेश करना चाहता हूं कि आज चाहे गवर्नमेंट हो चाहे कोई दल विशेष हो, अगर वह यह समझता है कि देश का कल्याण, देश की भलाई का ठेका सिर्फ हमारे पास है तो यह ग़लत बात है। आज इस संकटकाल में प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को, प्रत्येक दल को, सहयोग से काम करना होगा तब तो इन समस्याओं का समाधान होगा, अन्यथा उलझने घटने की अपेक्षा बढ़ती ही चली जायेगी।

इसके साथ एक संकेत समाज कल्याण और समाज-सुधार के संबंध में राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में आया है और सरकार का ध्यान विशेष रूप से अनुसूचित जातियों और अनुसूचित आदिमजातियों की ओर खींचा है। मैं इसमें केवल इतना कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी सरकार ने कम से कम पिछले 17 वर्ष से वह काम किया जो कि वह

अनुसूचित जातियों और आदिमजातियों के लिये अपने दृष्टिकोण से कर सकती थी।

मगर वह इतना नगण्य है, इतना नाकार्फ़ है कि आज यह कह देना कि इस समस्या की ओर हमारा ध्यान गया है कार्फ़ नहीं होगा। अभी कुछ दिन हुए एक आन्दोलन रिपब्लिकन पार्टी की ओर में किया गया था जिसमें उन्होंने कुछ अपनी मांगें रखी थी और इस मिलसिले में कुछ एक लाख लोग जेल गए थे। आखिर में हमें झक मारकर उन्हें आन्दोलन बन्द करने के लिए कहना पड़ा और उन्हें कुछ आश्वासन देने पड़े। लेकिन मैं आपसे यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज करोड़ों की संख्या में अनुसूचित जातियों के लोग, अनुसूचित आदिमजातियों के लोग रह रहे हैं और जिस रफ़्तार से अभी तक प्रगति चल रही है और काम हो रहा है, तो मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उनके लिए यह कार्फ़ होगा? मेरे पास ऐसे आंकड़े हैं जिनके अनुसार मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना समाप्त होने की आ गई है, लेकिन इन लोगों की आर्थिक दशा अब भी गिराई हुई है। मैंने इस बारे में अनुभव किया और इन स्थानों की जांच-पड़ताल की जहाँ पर ये लोग रहते हैं। तो मुझे यह अनुभव हुआ कि बरसात के 4 महीनों में ये लोग कर्जा लेकर अपनी उदर-पूर्ति करते हैं क्योंकि उस समय में इन लोगों का कारोबार बिल्कुल बंद रहता है। कर्जा लेकर ये लोग अपना निर्वाह करते हैं तथा अपने बाल-बच्चों का पोषण करते हैं। आज इन लोगों की ओर भी दुर्दशा हो रही है। अगर आप इन लोगों की बस्तियों को देखेंगे तो बहुत-सी जगहें ऐसी देखने को आएंगी जहाँ पर जानवर तक नहीं बांधे जा सकते हैं लेकिन ये लोग इस तरह की जगहों पर अपना जीवन निर्वाह करते हैं। तो मैं स्पष्ट शब्दों में कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं बनाते हैं लेकिन इन करोड़ों प्राणियों के लिए ऐसी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में कोई भी योजना

नहीं है और न आज तक इन लोगों के लिए कोई भी योजनाबद्ध कार्य हुआ है। यह एक शर्म की बात है, एक निकम्मी बात है। यह एक विडम्बना है कि हम दुनिया को समानता और समता का उपदेश दे रहे हैं लेकिन हम अपने ही करोड़ों भाइयों को जो आज हमारे ही व्यवहार से, हमारे अन्याय और अत्याचारों से पीड़ित हैं, सदियों से पीड़ित हैं, उनको हम समान अधिकार नहीं दे रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि केवल भाषण में यह कह देना कि उनकी तरफ हमारा ध्यान है, इतना ही पर्याप्त नहीं है।

मैंने पिछले अगस्त में एक पत्र राष्ट्रपति जी को और एक पत्र प्रधान मंत्री जी को लिखा था जिसमें मैंने कुछ प्रश्न किये थे कि इन लोगों के लिए अभी तक सरकार ने क्या किया है और आगे क्या करने का इरादा रखती है तथा इन लोगों के लिए क्या योजना है? इस संबंध में प्रधान मंत्री जी का जो पत्र मुझे मिला उसके थोड़े शब्द मैं आपको सुना देता हूँ—
“आपने चर्चा अपने पत्र में ठीक ही की है। इन प्रश्नों की ओर प्रयत्न तो सरकार कर रही है परन्तु यह कहना कि सब काम संतोषजनक हुआ है ठीक नहीं होगा। जितना भी इस ओर अधिक से अधिक हो सके वह करना हमारा कर्तव्य है”। यह प्रधान मंत्री जी का पत्र है।

राष्ट्रपति जी की ओर से जो पत्र मुझे प्राप्त हुआ वह सामाजिक सुरक्षा विभाग की ओर से आया है। वह लैटर उनका भेजा हुआ था और उसमें वे लिखते हैं “सरकार ने आपके विचारों पर खूब मनन किया। इन समस्याओं पर केन्द्रीय एवं प्रान्तीय सरकारें अपने प्राप्त साधनों के अनुसार, जो कुछ भी हो सकता है, करने का प्रयत्न कर रही है। तब भी यह निश्चित है कि अनुसूचित वर्ग की उन्नति के लिए बहुत कुछ करना शेष है। आपको निश्चित ही यह भी ज्ञात है कि इस दिशा में सरकार के प्रयत्न अबाध गति से निरन्तर जारी रहेंगे।”

[श्री धर्म प्रकाश]

इस संबंध में मेरा कहना यह है कि सरकार की ओर से जो यह कहा जाता है कि हम प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं केवल यही काफी नहीं है। मैं इस बात को इस सदन में कई बार कह चुका हूँ, कि हम इसको एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या नहीं समझते हैं। कुछ लाख शरणार्थी पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान से आये और इसी तरह से कुछ लाख शरणार्थी पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आये और उसको हमने एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या मानकर उनके बसाने के लिए, काम दिलाने के लिए एक पृथक मंत्रालय कायम किया और इस काम में करोड़ों नहीं अरबों रुपया खर्च किया तब इस समस्या को हल किया। अब भी जो बाकी है उसे हल करने के लिए सरकार पूरी तरह से प्रयत्नशील है। लेकिन जो लोग लाखों और करोड़ों की तदाद में इस देश में सद्ग्रियों से पददलित हैं, हम उन्हें उनके अधिकारों से वंचित रखते आ रहे हैं। आज हम इन लोगों को बसाने आदि के लिए अरबों रुपया खर्च नहीं कर सकते हैं और कहते हैं कि हमारे पास साधन नहीं हैं। तो मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस ओर ध्यान नहीं किया गया तो निश्चित ही आपको यह याद रखना चाहिये कि ये करोड़ों, प्राणी शान्ति से बैठने वाले नहीं हैं। मैं इसके साथ ही साथ यह भी स्पष्ट कह देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर सरकार लोकतंत्र की रक्षा करना चाहती है, अगर वह स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा करना चाहती है तो इन लोगों को सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक समानता देनी होगी। अगर आप उन्हें यह सब नहीं देते हैं तो आपको यह निश्चित कर लेना चाहिये कि कभी न कभी ये लोग अहिंसात्मक क्रांति कर देंगे। आप मुझे माफ कीजियेगा, यह कहने पर कि मुझे एक खतरा नज़र आ रहा है यह कि हम अपने देश में समाजवाद की स्थापना तो नहीं कर पा रहे हैं फिर कहीं ऐसा न हो कि इसकी आड़ में साम्यवाद आ जाय। क्योंकि हमारे देश के चारों तरफ आज साम्यवाद घेरा डाल रहा है। इसलिए अगर हमें धर्म, संस्कृति, सभ्यता, देश

की स्वतंत्रता और लोकतंत्र की रक्षा करना है तो हम उन करोड़ों पददलितों को जो हमारे बहुत ही आवश्यक अंग हैं, उनको समानता तथा समता का अधिकार देकर अपनी उदारता का परिचय देना है। अन्यथा जहाँ बहुत से खतरे हमारे देश के सामने हैं, वहाँ यह भयंकर खतरा भी आनेवाला है। इसलिए मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वह इन लोगों की समस्या की ओर विशेष ध्यान देगा और इसके साथ ही साथ विरोधी लोग भी अपना कर्तव्य समझकर कम से कम इस खतरे को दूर करने में सरकार का साथ दें। धन्यवाद।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Niranjana Singh. Your party has just twelve minutes left.

SHRI NIRANJANA SINGH (Madhya Pradesh): Ten or fifteen?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Twelve minutes; between fifteen and ten. And if the rest of the hon. Members would just stick to ten minutes each, we may have some chance for calling out as many names as we can.

श्री निरंजन सिंह : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यहाँ आज ही आ रहा हूँ और मैंने सुना है कि एक माननीय सदस्य ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि हम मुगल सम्राट की हुकूमत की तरह इस सरकार को देख रहे हैं। उस पर एक व्यक्ति ने जरा जोश में आकर इजहार किया कि मैं उस चीज को देखना चाहता हूँ। मेरे पूर्व वक्ता ने इन चीजों के बारे में अपने ढंग से बात की और मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि औरंगजेब मुगल राज्य में सबसे पावरफुल राजा रहा और उसके मरने के बाद उसके राज्य की जो हालत हो गई थी वैसे ही हालत श्री जवाहरलाल जी के मृत्यु के बाद आज हमारे देश में हो रही है। इसका कारण क्या है? इसका कारण भीतरी फूट नहीं है। उसका कारण यह है कि जो खामियां थीं उन खामियों को उच्चकोटि के जो नेता हैं पूरा करने में

असमर्थ हैं। इसलिए आज हमको यह खतरा हो रहा है कि कांग्रेस जीवित रहेगी या न रहेगी? कांग्रेस का शासन रहेगा या न रहेगा, इस बात का खतरा नहीं है बल्कि खतरा इस बात का है कि यह राष्ट्र रहेगा या नहीं रहेगा? यह हमारे सामने इस समय मुख्य सवाल है। पाटियां आती हैं और जाती हैं लेकिन यदि राष्ट्र बना रहेगा तो सब कुछ हो सकता है वरना हमारे लिए हर तरह का खतरा है। सरकार कहती है कि हम देश को मजबूत कर रहे हैं लेकिन वह देश को मजबूत नहीं कर रही है बल्कि वह इस तरह की मजबूती है कि अगर कोई पहलवान या कोई मजबूत आदमी किसी कमजोर आदमी को गाली देता है तो वह यह कहता है कि इस समय छोड़ देता हूं अगर फिर गाली देगा तो मारूंगा। इसी तरह की स्थिति आज हमारी भी हो गई है। पाकिस्तान कच्छ में हमारी भूमि पर अटक करते हैं और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी कहते हैं कि ये तो पिनप्रिकिंग हैं। इस तरह के जो हमले हमारी भूमि पर हो रहे हैं वे क्या पिनप्रिकिंग हैं, यह सोचने की बात है? यह पिनप्रिकिंग नहीं है तो इन्टेंशन है। आपने दंगे-फसाद देखे होंगे। जो आदमी कमजोर होता है उसकी जमीन मजबूत आदमी जोत लेता है। अगर वह कमजोर है तो उसकी प्रापटी धीरे-धीरे करके अपने कब्जे में कर लेता है। अगर कोई आदमी मजबूत है तो उसकी तरफ कोई नहीं जाता है और न ही उसकी जमीन को कोई लेता है। आज आपकी लोग कमजोरी देख रहे हैं और कमजोरी क्यों है? कमजोरी इसलिए है कि इस सरकार का शासन ठीक नहीं है। जिस तरह औरंगजेब के मृत्यु के बाद मुगल राज्य की हालत हो गई थी उसी तरह से आज जगह-जगह अपना प्रमुख जमाने के लिए लोग उठ खड़े हो गये हैं। जिस तरह मुगल राज्य के राजा औरंगजेब की मृत्यु के बाद जगह-जगह प्रान्तों में सूबेदारों ने अपनी हुकूमत कायम कर ली थी उसी तरह से आज हमारे यहां प्रान्तों में खींचतानी हो रही है। जिस तरह उस समय दक्षिण में

निजाम ने अपना राज्य कायम कर लिया था, बंगाल में अलग राज्य कायम हो गया था, उसी तरह से आज देश के भीतर जहां-जहां प्रान्त हैं वहां-वहां चीफ मिनिस्टर अपना गुट बना रहे हैं। उसके कारण यह हो रहा है कि फूट बढ़ती जा रही है। यहां पर बैठे हुए आदमी भी गुट बनाना चाहते हैं। हमें इस लिए नहीं बुरा लगता कि आप अपने भीतर लड़ रहे हैं। हमें बुरा इस लिये लगता है कि आप यह जो परिपाटी डाल रहे हैं, वह सारे देश में वैमनस्यता की परिपाटी हो रही है। क्या आप यह समझते हैं कि इससे देश का कल्याण होगा? हमारे भोजन के मिनिस्टर साहब जब देश को भोजन नहीं दिला सके, तो उसके ऊपर रेजि-गनेशन नहीं दिया, लेकिन उन्होंने भाषा के ऊपर रेजिगनेशन दे दिया। इसी तरह से हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब देश के बचाने के काबिल नहीं हैं, लेकिन कहते हैं कि गोआ में हम लड़ेंगे। मैं किसी व्यक्ति विशेष के सम्बन्ध में कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता। लेकिन ये जो छोटी-छोटी चीजें हैं, यह जो दृष्टिकोण आज देश के सामने कांग्रेस के लीडर्स का है, वह देश को गुलामी की जंजीरों में जकड़ने-वाला है, यह मेरा कहना है क्योंकि जिस देश में चरित्र-बल नहीं होगा, वह अपने को बचा नहीं सकता है। इस सम्बन्ध में एक उदाहरण मैं आपको देना चाहता हूँ। जब चाइना ने अटक किया, तो सारा देश एक साथ लड़ना चाहता था। लेकिन जब चाइना पीछे हट गया, तो कांग्रेस ने क्या किया? कांग्रेस ने अपना प्रभुत्व जमाने के लिये यह कहा कि यह होगा, वह होगा, और उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि लोगों ने यह समझ लिया कि डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रूल्स की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है, सिक्योरिटी की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। लेकिन कांग्रेस सरकार अपना प्रभुत्व जमाने के लिये ये सारे रूल्स और रेगुलेशन्स बनाए हुए है। तो जब रिबे-लियन की भावना मनुष्य में आ जाए, उस समय यह समझना चाहिए कि यह खतरा है

[श्री निरंजन सिंह]

और देश के लिए खतरा है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसमें बुरा मत मानिए। अगर काने को काना कह दिया जाय, तो वह बुरा मानता है। इसी तरह जो असत्य बोलता है, उसे अगर असत्य बोलने वाला कह दिया जाय, तो वह बुरा मानता है। लेकिन आप बुरा मत मानिये, यदि कोई आपसे यह कहता है कि यह आपका जो शासन है, यह अंतिम शासन है, और यह खत्म होने वाला है, क्योंकि आप अपने को खत्म नहीं कर रहे हैं बल्कि आप राष्ट्र को खत्म होने की तरफ ले जा रहे हैं।

इतना इस सम्बन्ध में कह कर अब मैं दो तीन चीजें और कहना चाहता हूँ। भाषा का विवाद भी काफी उठा है और कोटा सिस्टम आप करना चाहते हैं। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आप इन्फेटी में अब उड़ीसा के आदमी भर्ती करेंगे या एक जगह के मेकेनिक्स दूसरी जगह रखेंगे? यदि आप ऐसा करेंगे, तो रेलवे की तरह इसमें भी आप फेल्योर होंगे। मेरे भाई बुरा मानेंगे, लेकिन मैं आपको बताऊँ कि आपने रेलवे में एक ग्रेड के ऊपर दो ग्रेड के ऊपर तीन ग्रेड कर दिये और उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि उसमें इन्फिशिएंसी आ गई। यदि आप योग्यता बढ़ाना चाहते हैं, तो आप को योग्य आदमी रखने पड़ेंगे, लेकिन यदि आप पार्शियलिटी और प्राविशियलिज्म को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं और यदि आप अपने हितों को देख कर के आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं, तो इससे देश का कल्याण होने वाला नहीं है। इसलिये आप सबको अपार्चुनिटी दीजिए। यदि आप इस तरह से कोटा सिस्टम करेंगे, तो इससे हिन्दी वालों को ज्यादा फायदा हो सकता है। लेकिन हिन्दी वाले योग्य भी न हों, फिर भी उनको कोटा सिस्टम के अंतर्गत रखा जाय, यह उचित नहीं होगा। तो मेरा यह कहना है, कि आखिर, आप यह कोटा सिस्टम भाषा के रास्ते क्यों लाना चाहते हैं? जब आपने कांस्टिट्यूशन बनाया था, तो उसमें आपने हिन्दी के लिये कुछ वर्ष

नियत कर दिये थे कि उसके बाद हिन्दी कर देंगे। एक सज्जन ने कहा कि शिवाजी ने और रणजीत सिंह ने पर्शियन इंट्रोड्यूस किया था। तो क्या उस समय हर एक आदमी पर्शियन जानता था? इसी तरह से जब अंग्रेजों ने अपनी भाषा अंग्रेजी को इंट्रोड्यूस किया था, तो क्या उस समय हर एक आदमी अंग्रेजी जानता था? मैं यह नहीं कहता कि आप हिन्दी आज ही कर दीजिए। मैं यह भी नहीं कहता कि आप हिन्दी इस तरह से लागू कर दीजिये जिस से यह कहा जाय कि हिन्दी डामिनेशन हो गया या हिन्दी इम्पीरियलिज्म हो गया। लेकिन इसके साथ यह हो कि एक बार जो आप निर्णय कर लें, उस पर कायम रहें। बार-बार यह जो आप रीथिंकिंग करते हैं और चीज को आगे पीछे करते हैं, इससे कभी आप सफलता नहीं पायेंगे। जब आप कोई चीज प्लानिंग कर के करना चाहते हैं, तो उसके अनुसार आप को काम करना पड़ेगा। यह नहीं है कि आज हमने यह बात की, कल हम दूसरी बात करेंगे, इस तरह से आप आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते और इस नेशन को आगे नहीं बढ़ा सकते। तो मेरा यह कहना है कि जिस तरह से आप यह जो सोच रहे हैं कि कोटा सिस्टम हो, और जो एक बार आपने निर्णय कर लिया, उसके चेंज करने में आपको सहूलियत होगा, वह बात नहीं है। मैं तो आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब आप कोई निर्णय कीजिये, तो उसमें आप समय लगाइये। अभी होता यह है कि रात में आप कुछ सोचते हैं और दूसरे दिन आप एक रूल बना लेते हैं या एकट बना देते हैं या आर्डिनेंस लागू कर देते हैं। जहां एक रात आप को कोई स्वप्न आया, उसके दूसरे दिन आप यह कहने लगते हैं कि यह होना चाहिये। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि चाहे कोई चीज हो, पहले आप सोचिये, समझिये और मनन करने के बाद उसको कानून के रूप में परिणत कीजिये और कानून के रूप में परिणत करने के बाद फिर आगे पीछे मत देखिये। अभी हालत यह है कि अगर बैंकिंग एक्ट बनाया

गया या कोई एक्ट बनाया गया, तो जिस दिन वह एक्ट बनाया जाता है, उसके बाद दूसरा दिन नहीं होता है, उसके पहले ही आपका मनन होने लगता है कि हम उसमें क्या-क्या बदलें। तो कोई निर्णय करने से पहले जब तक आप खूब मनन नहीं करेंगे और फिर निर्णय करने के बाद जब तक आप उस पर जमे नहीं रहेंगे, तब तक आप देश का भला नहीं कर सकते हैं। अभी एक सज्जन ने कहा कि हर एक बात पर यह कह दिया जाता है कि हमारे देश में तरह-तरह की भावनाएं हैं और कांग्रेस वाले आपस में लड़ते हैं। एक और दूसरे कांग्रेस के सज्जन ने यह कहा कि, भाई, यदि ऐसा नहीं होगा, तो हम आन्दोलन भी चलायेंगे। एक और तीसरे सज्जन ने यह कहा कि यदि आपने इतने आदमियों को जेल से नहीं छोड़ा, तो आपको गवर्नमेंट बनाने का अधिकार नहीं है। इस तरह भिन्न-भिन्न विचारों वाले जब आप की तरफ इस तरह बोलते हैं, तो ऐसा मालूम होता है कि आपने कुछ सोचा नहीं, समझा नहीं और आप कभी समझने की कोशिश नहीं करते। तो मैं फिर यह कहना चाहता हूं कि पहले सोचिये, समझिये और समझने के बाद मैं फिर काम कीजिये, तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा। मैं कल का ही एक उदाहरण आप को दे दूँ। एक आफिसर यह नहीं जानता था कि मैं पार्लियामेंट का मेम्बर हूँ। वह आफिसर मिलिट्री में है और बहुत ऊँचे ओहदे पर है। सारी जितनी बातें हमारे यहां की हैं, उनको उसने बहुत लाइटली लिया। इतना ही नहीं, एक आदमी ने यह भी कह दिया कि हमने दुश्मनों का बदला देख लिया। पहले कैरों साहब ने आपको वोट नहीं दिया, इसलिये उनके ऊपर एक्शन हो गया। आपके पटनायक साहब ने आपको स्पोर्ट नहीं किया, इसलिये उन पर एक्शन हो गया, लेकिन दूसरे प्रांतों में वैसा नहीं हो रहा है। जब अपोज़िशन वाले इस चीज को कहते हैं, तब आप नहीं मानते हैं। वैसे आप देखिये कि आज आप जो कुछ कर रहे हैं, उसकी

किन्तनी नुक़्तार्चीनी हो रही है। आज आप चाहे जो कुछ कहें, लेकिन दुनिया यह समझती है कि जो आपके साथ हैं, उनकी गलतियों को आप छिपाना चाहते हैं, और जो आपके साथ नहीं हैं, उनको आप तरह-तरह से परेशान करते हैं। आप की यह मनोवृत्ति ठीक नहीं है। आज पाटिल साहब ने भी यहीं स्टेटमेंट दिया है कि अगर आपने शंकर साहब को बचाने की कोशिश न की होती, तो आज यह हालात न होती। इसलिये इन बातों को जानते हुये यदि आप कोई काम करते हैं, तो आप अपने साथ अन्याय नहीं कर रहे हैं वरन् सारे देश के साथ अन्याय कर रहे हैं।

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks on the Address of the President. Through you, Madam, I would like to draw the special attention of the Government to the repeated fires caused in the Heavy Engineering Corporation at Ranchi. In this connection, the Government should take note of the warning given by Shri B. Mukherjee, who enquired into the causes of the fire that took place in January, 1964 and which destroyed imported machinery valued at about Rs. 46 lakhs. In the course of his Report he observed :—

"As days go by and these Public undertakings come into production, they are likely to raise jealousies in some of our neighbours. This would pose additional security problems."

From the reported disclosures made by certain arrested persons in connection with the abortive attempt made to set fire again to a store of the plant in December, 1964, it appears that Shri Mukherjee's apprehension of foreign hands in these fires is unfortunately true. The investigations that are going on in Ranchi most probably will bring into light an organised conspiracy to sabotage the nation-building basic industries and may also expose the quarters responsible for previous fires in those plants there. How organised are those miscreants will be evident from the reported attempt to kill an accused arrested in this connection within the Ranchi jail last months. He,

[Shri P. C. Mitra.]

it is reported, was to make a confessional statement before a Magistrate on the following day and was lodged in the hospital of the jail. The accused however, I am informed, has survived the murderous assault with grievous injuries on his face and loss of a number of teeth.

I am glad that the Union Government have accepted on principle to form a Central Security Force to protect the public sector undertakings all over the country. The sooner such security force is formed the better for the country.

An hon. Member of the Swatantra Party, Shri Lokanath Misra, read out passages from some papers which he described as the C.B.I. report and the Cabinet Sub-Committee report . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: What do you call it?

SHRI P. C. MITRA: . . . on the allegations made against two former Chief Ministers of Orissa. The Government however have been put in a very embarrassing position as both the documents are secret, and as such they are neither in a position to deny their correctness nor can they admit their correctness. While Government may have their own reasons for their non-committal attitude, I must point out to the Government to consider the public repercussions to the publication of these alleged disclosures that are going unchallenged. In our country people generally take as gospel truth whatever comes out in print.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: We have been challenging you to deny it. Why don't you deny it?

SHRI P. C. MITRA: When certain Members of the opposition are so emphatically proclaiming that they are quoting from the true copies of the reports, the public will take them as cent per cent genuine. In my humble opinion rethinking is necessary in this regard by the Government. No word may be strong enough to condemn the

performances of certain opposition Members to utilise the parliamentary privilege in this manner, but the Government should take into account the damage that will be caused to the Congress Party if these allegations go unchallenged.

The importance of heavy industries cannot be over-estimated for developing the economic and defence potentialities of the country. But when we have got a huge manpower, small-scale and cottage industries will have to be given special importance. We have to study as to how Japan and China are solving their unemployment problems. We have many differences with China, but we must take into account that it has become capable of manufacturing atomic bombs even when it is not getting any economic and technical aid from any foreign country. Therefore, I think, Madam, we should invest more money in small-scale and cottage industries so that millions of our people can be employed.

The rise in prices of essential commodities is having an all-round effect on the society. Formerly low-paid employees of the Government and the industries indulged in agitation for redress of their grievances; but now not only low-paid employees but also better paid officers, doctors, professors, L.I.C. Class I Development Officers, etc., have taken up this agitational approach. The Government cannot ignore this manifestation. One way is to take effective steps to bring down the prices of essential commodities. Madam, the Central Government cannot absolve themselves of their responsibility for the pitiable condition of the teachers and other employees in the States. All the employees, whether at the Centre or in the States, should get equal pay and equal facilities for similar type of work. There cannot be any difference in this regard between State and State and Centre and States. A conference of all Parties may be called to discuss about these things and to decide how this agitation can be stopped. If the Government employees also do not remain loyal and contented, then how can we govern our country? Therefore, we must do everything possible to redress their genuine grievances. State Ministers are telling the school teachers, secondary

or primary teachers, that their grievances are genuine but that they have not got enough funds. I think that the Centre should come to their aid so that they can remove their genuine grievances.

On the language issue I will say a few words only. Most of the earlier speakers have dwelt on it at some length and so I do not like to deal with it exhaustively. But I must say that we may have rethinking on this issue in a calm atmosphere. So much fuss is being made over the assurances given by our late Prime Minister. But was not the late Prime Minister party to the Official Languages Act? Did he not agree with that Official Languages Act? Then why again it is argued that the late Prime Minister's assurances have not been given effect to. Under no circumstances the Government should succumb to violence as happened in certain States. Any Act or even the Constitution can be amended if the nation's interests demand it at any time, but no hasty step should be taken on the spur of the moment. Particularly I would ask the Government to form an Enquiry Commission to go into the matter as to how in Madras and other places, particularly in the Shri Arobindo Ashram at Pondicherry where so much destruction and looting occurred, the police could not come to their rescue. It is said that they called for police help but the police were not available till after midnight—I mean here the Pondicherry Ashram. Therefore, of course, the police did much and the Ashram authorities were satisfied with the steps they took.

I would like to know from the Finance Minister as to what is the amount actually recovered from the searches and seizures of unaccounted money. In reply to a question put by me and many other friends the Government said that in the last six months only Rs. 68 lakhs had been recovered. But in the papers I found that the Finance Minister claimed that over Rs. 5 crores had been recovered in this way and business hundis costing about Rs. 50 crores had also been seized. I think that when giving reply to any question the difference should not be so much. The reply was given as Rs. 68 lakhs, but

the other day he said that over Rs. 5 crores had been recovered.

5 P.M.

In regard to unaccounted money particularly, I think that only the system of penalty by way of fine will not do. It is good that Government has given some tax concessions to persons who disclose their hidden money within three months. But I think that there should be a further penalty provision that if any hidden money is found after that period, not only will they be taxed but their properties will also be confiscated. In this way only can you find out the hidden money. They should not be let off after paying some money as fine. They will think that they can hide the whole amount and that even if caught, they will be paying only the extra fine. So, I think that Government should make a further penal provision also.

RE DISCUSSION ON THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT RELATING TO ALLEGATIONS AGAINST SOME MINISTERS OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Madam, the hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is here. The Chair has been good enough to admit a motion which we have submitted for taking the Prime Minister's statement into consideration. No date could be fixed for it because he did not turn up on the occasion of mentioning the business for the next week. Now that he is here—and he may not come again this week—(Interruptions) this must be immediately decided upon. The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs is there; so also is the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. Let them decide here and give an assurance to the House that it is going to be taken up . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We are not concerned with the Home Minister, for the present we are concerned with you, Madam Deputy Chairman, and our Minister . . .