

[Shri A. B. Vajpayee.] detention of tile three businessmen ol Calcutta who are connected with the Jan Sangh? I gave the motion on the first day, and I wa<sub>s</sub> given to understand by the Home Ministry that they were in contact with the Government of West Bengal and that they would make a statement today.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hathi, would you like to say something about this?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): Sir, we have asked the West Bengal Government to give the particulars. They have said that they have arrested them under the Defence of India Rules. Then I would suggest that this is a matter falling within the State jurisdiction.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Sir, I had been to Calcutta and I made personal enquiries. It is a fact that they have been arrested under the Defence of India Rules. But, what are the charges on which they have been arrested? They were arrested after the communal disturbances had subsided, and immediately after it they had announced their decision to raise Rs. One lakh for the relief and rehabilitation of the East Pakistan Refugees. Is it the contention of the hon. Minister that the State Governments are free to arrest and detain any citizen that they like?

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: Sir, the State Governments are free to detain if in their discretion they feel that the detention is necessary for the purpose of law and order. I do not know the fact as mentioned by the hon. Member that they were arrested only because they had collected a lakh of rupees. Well, I do not know the facts. I wanted to ascertain from the State Government the reasons for their arrest. They say that they have been arrested under the Defence of India Act for the purpose of maintaining law and order. That is what they say. But about the collection of a lakh of rupee; I have no information.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: I have mentioned the facts in my Motion for Papers. Sir, I thought that the Minister would refer the motion to the Government of West Bengal. I had contacted the Home Secretary of the West Bengal Government but he failed to convince me that it was any problem of law and order that necessitated their arrest. It has nothing to do with their arrest. They are peaceful citizens, businessmen. They have no axe to grind but the Government of West Bengal, simply as a measure of vendetta, have arrested these businessmen.

We were given an assurance while we discussed the D.I.R. that this particular rule would not be applied against political opponents but that is what is being done in the case of these three businessmen.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In this matter the information that the West Bengal Government have sent has been placed at your disposal and the rest is a matter for comment. You should not....

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Sir, may I request you to direct the Minister to 'find out from the West Bengal Government what these businessmen actually did? Simply because they have been arrested under the D.I.R. the arrest cannot be justified.

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: We had actually sent this notice to them but I can further find out if the hon. Member wants.

#### THE FINANCE BILL, 1964—*continued*

MR. CHAIRMAN; Shri G. Ramachandran.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated) : Sir, this being the first time I am saying any thing on the floor of this House ....

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is your maiden speech. I am sorry I did not mention that before.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN; This being the first occasion when I am saying something on *the* floor of 1/his House, I would like to clear up one or

two points. I am speaking as a nonparty man. Some newspapers have published that I have joined the Congress Party but I speak as a non-party man. I speak also as a villager if I may say so. I live and work in a village in the MP in the midst of innumerable villages. What I would say to-day would be with that as my background. One more thing and that is this, that I feel it a great privilege to be a Member of this House and particularly to be given a seat in the centre. I notice that to my left are many Rightists; and to my right are quite a number of Leftists.

SHM P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Not all Rightists.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: Not all. AH are never in the right. I happily occupy a central seat. That also gives me quite a little inspiration in what I might have to say.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra): You are a Centrist.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: We are now on the Finance Bill which has already been passed by the Lok Sabha. Our debate here, our consideration of this Bill is somewhat of a limited nature and I also realise that this is the occasion when all of us, if we so wish, can take a look over the entire field of administration and policies and have our say on different matters. I should like to make use of that kind of an opportunity.

Luckily I come from the same part of India as the distinguished Finance Minister and I know something of his reputation in my part of the country, as a fearless man, a man with a grasp, almost unequalled, on public finance and as some of us have understood, a very confirmed socialist. I am quite sure he would admit that the Budget he has presented is not specially a socialist Budget. It certainly is not a capitalist or a "big-business" Budget. It is what might be called a "middle-of-the-road" Budget and I see, as I look into the provisions of the Bill, that has trouble is not only with parties outside but he must have had plenty of worry

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from his own Party. I have a feeling that if the Minister could have produced a Budget after his own heart, it would have been a different Budget but now let us take it for what it is.

I am just now remembering a quotation from Mahatma Gandhiji which I have never forgotten because I heard it coming out of his mouth. He said to somebody one day; 'You can cheat God but you cannot cheat arithmetic'. I would like to apply this joke to the provisions in this Budget and find out where we are. It is known to everybody in this House, and to everybody even outside the House that even in this year of grace 1964, nearly 75 per cent, of our people live scattered in more than 500,000 villages. In a rural country I live with them, I know what is happening, I strive with them and I have a clear conviction that our villages are not advancing as they should under the impetus and the light of Indian freedom. Since after we accept the arithmetic that 75 per cent of the people are certainly, at least arithmetically, more important than 25 per cent, of the people, I see on every side that whenever there is a programme of national improvement, it gets concentrated in the cities and round about the cities, whether it is the question of housing or sanitation or medical aid or even education. I am not suggesting that we are deliberately cheating arithmetic but this seems to be a tendency from which the educated community and, if I may say so, even the representatives of the Government seem unable to get out. Some day we shall have to pay a very heavy price if we are not taking care of the dumb millions in the villages. They are even to-day very dumb. You ask them what is happening in the Rajya Sabha and they know nothing of what is happening in the Rajya Sabha. If you ask them what are the latest discussions in the Lok Sabha, you will find that they know nothing about it. That brings me to a crucial matter in regard to our programme of education in this country. I remember in the early years of Indian independence, there was a tremendous drive for, what was then called, adult education which we later

[Shri G Ramachandran.]

on renamed social education. We thought adult education was not good enough. We thought adult education merely meant literacy work and we put more contents into adult education and called it social education, I have had my association with both adult education as it then was and social education as it became later. My feeling is that having put more contents into social education, we discovered that we could not take that social education to every man and woman in the villages of India. We got frightened by the challenges which we ourselves created and dropped the whole thing and so what is happening today is, we have neither social education nor even enough literacy work. Literacy is very pertinent to what I am saying. Where will your planning be in this country? Where will your implementation of the Plans be in this country if 70 per cent of your people can neither read nor write their own names? There is total absence to-day of a major drive in making our people literate. This is something so fundamental that it astonishes one how this national Government of ours can neglect this drive for literacy in this country. All the pamphlets, the bulletins, the speeches and writings are completely wasted because they reach nobody, or almost nobody in the rural areas. They can make nothing out of it. I would plead with the Minister for Finance, if he realises the importance of what I am saying—and I am not saying it myself; working groups have said it again and ' again in this country, groups who have gone to work on the subject in the Ministry of Education and outside—to provide adequate funds today, here and now, so that we can make our people literate. I know other countries, within the time that we have had after independence, advancing much further with literacy and social education. It would be a tremendous waste to go on as we are now doing, trying to build our nationhood on masses of people who can neither read nor write their own names. I have worked out some of these things myself and sat with

other groups, and unless the Government of India through the Finance Minister can provide at least twenty crores of rupees per year for the next five to seven years, we shall not be able to wipe out illiteracy from this country. Somebody in the Education Ministry said to me that twenty crores of rupees would not be enough. It may be so—I cannot be sure. There are, however, innumerable non-official organisations in this country, voluntary agencies, which we can use in this task. But my first question, *J&S!*, is: Is there any realisation in the Government, in the Ministry of Education, in the planners, that they cannot plan and implement plans on the basis of 70 per cent of the people who can neither read nor write? I plead with all the emphasis I can command that in the Budget we should have had a provision at least of twenty crores of rupees for this programme. It is not there; I do not know if there is any chance of its coming in at any future stage, but it is a heart-breaking lacuna.

Again turning to the rural areas, we are rightly industrialising our country. As a convinced Gandhian I think industrialisation of our country is inescapable. Industrialisation is like some force of nature from which nobody can run away. But if our industrialisation is meant to build up this nation into a great prosperous and happy nation, then we have to undertake side by side with this big industrialisation what is now called rural industrialisation. Now this rural industrialisation is the weakest point today in our national reconstruction. Very little is being done in regard to it. I know, recently some steps have been taken to set afoot the programme of rural industrialisation. But nothing is happening yet; there is half-heartedness about this programme. I am remembering what the Prime Minister of India said a few months ago when he visited my institution at Gandbigram. We discussed this matter with him, and when he spoke, he said that he was a lover of machines; he wanted machines; he loved the hum of machines and he wanted big industries.

but he was convinced that, if we wanted to raise the level of life in this country, we would have to undertake a very genuine and sincere programme of rural industrialisation. So everybody knows the importance of this, but nothing is really happening. Just as in regard to literacy everybody knows about it and yet nothing happens, or so little happens that it is not worth mentioning, equally, in this field of rural industrialisation, very little is happening, and unless this is done, we shall not take into the villages a programme of economic improvement at the village level in such a manner that the village people can digest that programme and get nourishment out of it. I plead therefore, Sir, that there should be a proper balance built between big industry and small industry, and if we do not do this, we shall create more problems than we solve, and it is one of the favourite things of our Prime Minister when he says so often that it is no good solving a problem and then creating other more difficult problems. But that is what we are doing.

I come now to one or two subjects with which I am fairly familiar. I want to come back to education; I have dealt with what I wish to say about a national campaign for literacy. One of the most neglected things in the whole educational programme is what we call the pre-primary stage of education. We seem to be under some illusion that in this country we can leave children alone till they come into an elementary school and that we can then make all these children into something good and worth while even if from the second to the fifth or the sixth year they are utterly uncared for. I am not thinking of any posh Montessori or kindergarten schools or the pre-primary institutions of the city type. There is hardly any thought bestowed on pre-primary education and hardly any provision for pre-primary education. There are some pilot projects which start as pilot projects and end as pilot projects; nothing accrues or grows out of them later on. Just as I plead for adult education in the broadest nation-wide scale in this country, equally I am pleading for

making pre-primary education the foundation of our whole educational system. Things are going on by their own momentum in elementary education, Secondary education, and University education but there is no such momentum in regard to pre-primary education. You cannot build up efficient elementary or primary education without good pre-primary education. I would therefore plead that we give thought to pre-primary education far more than we are willing to do now.

Then I come to the sad story of basic education. Sir, it is one of the most tragic things in this India of ours. In pre-independence days we were very enthusiastic about basic education. Mahatma Gandhi was there and you, Sir, were the chief captain who enabled us to put basic education on the map of educational reconstruction in this country. But what is happening today? Take our Education Ministers, and the innumerable officials who are dealing with Education throughout the country. They all talk of it very lightly, Sir; they all talk of it as though it is something best forgotten. But at the same time, at every meeting, at every conference, at every seminar we are told that this is a technological age, that science and technology are in the picture, and that unless education keeps pace with science and technology, we cannot advance. Now basic education is technology at the earliest level of education in such a manner that students at that age level can stomach any technology. I realise, Sir, that considerable harm had been done to basic education by a certain rigidity which some of us—I am including myself so that nobody may quarrel with me—had adopted, and we gave the impression to this country that there is only one craft, spinning and weaving, and no other, and we are paying a very heavy price for these mistakes today. I was one of those who broke away from this rigidity and co-operated with Government at every stage, sat in committees, sat in working groups, and

[Shri G. Ramchandran.] said basic education was not tied down to spinning and weaving only. We made the orthodox concept of basic education into an elastic and liberal one. But today we have swung to the other extreme. We have become so heterodox that there is hardly anything Basic left in Basic education!

So once we had the tragedy of orthodoxy and today we have the tragedy of heterodoxy, and between these two stools basic education has fallen to the ground. But you said, Sir, in a famous message which you gave me and which I read at the All-India Basic Education Conference held in Pachmarhi in M- P. that what is lacking is sincerity and that we have not dealt with this thing honestly. You even went to the extent of saying that if this thing, as it is now being badly developed, is given up today, it might have some chance of coming back some day, because there is nothing better for this country than basic education adapting itself from time to time to the new needs and the challenges in India. That was a very wise thing to say, what shall we do then? There are thousands of schools which—not I—but the State Governments call basic schools. There are some 8,000 of them or so in the Madras State and probably some 30,000 to 40,000 of them and more in Uttar Pradesh. Every school in U.P. is a basic school. In other States also there are many such schools. Why do we call them basic schools? I do not call them basic schools. Many States do. Merely by calling them basic schools they do not become basic schools. Now, can we not begin with these school, which are called basic schools by the Government, and make them good and genuine basic schools? If we can take up these-existing schools in the country which are today called basic schools by the State Governments and use them for giving genuine basic education, then something can still happen to build up basic education. Why do I say this? If we believe that merely by book educa-

tion, making the students cram up books and then subjecting them to the present terrible examination system, we are going to have the development of science and technology in this country, I would say we are living in a fool's paradise. Go to any Engineering Col.,-leg., polytechnic or Medical College, or anywhere where there is education of specialised technicians, and those in charge of those institutions would tell you that the students coming to them are almost impossible material. I met the other day the principal of a leading engineering college and he said to me, "We cannot make much of these boys who come to us, because they have absolutely no training in the skills of their hands." If we are thinking of technological and scientific progress, then there is nothing like basic education more suited to us in terms of the present needs of the country. But there is nothing in this Budget which gives me hope that basic education will be built up, neither in this Budget nor in any other place where I sit and talk with concerned people. It is almost given up as a lost cause. I plead that this must never happen and do not hesitate to say that this betrayal of a great ideal in education is fraught with serious consequences to our country.

And latterly, Sir,—I do not know how many Members of this House have taken interest in this matter—we have started in this country higher level educational institutions in the rural areas—Rural Institutes of Higher Education. Who started them and who took the initiative? The Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education took the initiative and produced the scheme and called upon some of us who were already working in the rural areas, to take up the experiment of rural higher education, and some of us are slaving away to build up these Rural Institutes. But what is happening? You ask anybody in Delhi where the Planners sit, and the Ministers sit, "What is the future of these rural institutes?" They do not know and cannot say what is the future of these Institutes. As for the Universities, many of them are friendly, and a little less

than many of them are unfriendly. We are up against difficulties at every stage. Our students will not get admission into the higher courses in the Universities, and so on and so forth. But these rural institutes of higher education came at the proper time, and at a proper level, after the basic and the post-basic. Even these experiments, started at the initiative of the Ministry of Education of the Government of India, are not being given, all the opportunities needed for their full development. If these Rural institutes are finally closed, it would do the greatest disservice to rural higher education in this country, and I plead that the Government should take a clear and firm decision as to what is the future of these Rural Institutes. There is a rumour—I know it is not good to give credence to rumours—that ultimately we are going to be asked to affiliate ourselves to the existing Universities. I will resist that and I will resist it with all the strength that I can command. I would say that it will be better to close down all our Rural Institutes. There are numerous ordinary colleges round about where the Rural Institutes are. I would like to submit that ultimately the solution would lie, if I may say so, in one of two directions. "Wherever Rural Institutes have done well to the satisfaction of those concerned, let those Rural Institutes become Rural Universities, in accordance with the recommendation of the Radhakrishnam Committee. The other is to put all the Rural Institutes together and make them constituent parts of a national Rural University. Otherwise we shall never be able to advance with the work that we are now doing so laboriously at the village level

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am sorry to interrupt you.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: Pardon, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am very sorry to interrupt you because I am greatly interested, I am personally interested in what you say. But you have

already spoken for more than 25 minutes,

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: But I think, Sir, that or a maiden speech

MR. CHAIRMAN: You go on.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: Sir, a maiden, deserves a little extra time!

MR. CHAIRMAN: Carry on.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I shall finish quickly, Sir, as quickly as I can.

I come next to the Community Development Ministry. It is very near to my heart because it is rural development work. I was one of those earliest from the Gandhian group, as sometimes we are called, to step in line with community development and to offer my cooperation and stand shoulder to shoulder with this effort at rural improvement in this country. But what is happening today? There was a great impetus in the earlier years and I visibly saw the villages waking up, the village people stirring. But now, Sir, in the rural areas, all this has receded. We are told now that the whole country is covered with Blocks. Arithmetically probably, they are quite right. But what exactly is the meaning of this covering of the whole of India with such Blocks? Lists of areas are reeled out where this covering is taking place, but nothing much is happening and the villages are where they were. (This is not a criticism of those who are in charge of the work. But it is a question of high policy-making. There were some visitors from Africa recently who went round and when they came back they spent some time with me in Gandhigram. They said, "There is no community development programme any more in India. There is only the agricultural programme in this country." Now, agricultural is tremendously important. It needs no saying it. It is a postulate that agri-

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culture is very important. But what did the Community Development Ministry originally attempt to do? The Community Development Ministry attempted to build up the men and women in the life of the family of the agriculturist, to build up the agricultural sector. If you take care of the farmer, he will take care of the farm. So what the Ministry did in the earlier days related to sanitation, education, medical aid, and everything that went to make the life of the farmer fuller and happier. There was a great stir. Now you ask the Grama Sewak, 'What are you doing?', The answer will be: "Agriculture", You ask the social education organiser and he will reply, "Agriculture". You ask the Block Head, the B.D.O. and he too will say, "Agriculture".

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat):  
Are they all blockheads?

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: No— that was not my meaning.' Having conceded that agriculture is vitally important, the role of the Community Development Ministry was not merely to deal with agriculture, but to take the people as human beings, those in the rural areas, with all their work of sowing, harvesting, reaping and so on, and to build up their life, the life of their families. This has received a serious set-back and unless we correct this we are not going to get out of the Community Development programme the kind of thing that this nation has a right to expect from this Ministry. The Minister in charge is a dynamic person and a person who has put himself in touch with all of us throughout the country. I have real sympathy and admiration for him. But to day I do not think he and his colleagues can do the work that they are entrusted with because the whole of the Community Development programme has become a fractional |

programme of the Agriculture Ministry.

There are one or two other points to which I would like to refer quickly and I ask for your forbearance. A great deal of heat was generated here as I sat here, on the first and the second day, and it amazed me to watch it, over the possibility of the purchase of a single submarine for our Defence. One submarine, Sir, one aircraft carrier, a few ships of the Navy and a Small number of planes up in the air, and we are developing a passion and a heat over whether there will be one submarine or not for the Indian Navy. Looking at the world and the condition of armaments in the world, it seems to me that even if we mortgage all the revenues of this country for the next thirty years and more, we cannot build up an army capable of meeting the attack by any major power in the world. Now, it amazes me that we can develop such passion for one submarine. Let us build-up our defence as best as we can, but the future of India lies in a peaceful world and even as we do everything we can for the defence of our frontiers in the normal way that any normal Government would do, let us take the initiative and go forward, as Dr. Radha-krishnan, our distinguished President, said again and again in his speeches in the United States and in the United Kingdom, towards a world federal authority and disarmament. Disarmament seems no longer a lost cause after the present rapprochement between Moscow and Washington. I had the privilege, Sir., along with Shri U. N. Dhebar, of meeting the Prime Minister of Russia. I am not quoting him but the meaning of what he said still rings in my ears. You will never catch Mr. Khrushchev starting a world war. You will never catch Khrushchev abetting in a world war. And further if, somebody starts a world war, they will see Khrushchev blocking the way. Now, this is the position of the two most powerful nations of the world and the same tone and language came and is now coming from the President of the United States. So, our Government

-will build up our armies and our defence as feebly or as powerfully as they can and they will do the best they can that way. But the future of India in the years to come will lie in the making of world peace and let me add in all humility that peace-making will be found to be less risky than war-making!

Only one point more and I shall have done. There have been expressions of anger and dissatisfaction with what my friend, Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan and some of his colleagues have said recently. We had on the floor of the House a demand for the immediate arrest of Sheikh Abdullah and then we heard from the other end the excited observation, that Sheikh Abdullah was going to be the saviour not only of Kashmir but of Pakistan and India. We got these extreme statements on the floor of the House. I think we must deal with this Kashmir problem as strong, courageous and dignified citizen; 'of a great Republic. If we could stand up to the challenge of China, then there is nothing that Kashmir can frighten us with. Sheikh Abdullah is no enemy and it is very bad wisdom to look upon a friend as an enemy or to decide that somebody is an enemy before we know that he is really an enemy. There are fundamental similarities, if I may say so, between the Sheikh and us. He wants secularism and, he wants Hindu-Muslim unity, and he has said that he wants every Hindu and Sikh in Kashmir and in India and Pakistan to live in peace and harmony. He believes in secular ideals and he believes in the true validity of Hindu-Muslim concord. Such a man cannot be an enemy of India and amidst these rash and reckless challenges that he must be arrested on the one hand and, 'on the other, that he is the saviour of the world, we can stand in between the two. We should not be frightened. A great Republic and its citizens ought not to be frightened. Let us give the Sheikh the fullest chance. Let him come and let him

talk and if there is to be any responsibility for break with us, let us not take that responsibility. Let him take the responsibility. But I have a strong conviction, Sir, that he will not take that responsibility. But, in the wake of this problem is the bigger problem of communal disharmony in this country. We have lived with it for the last seventeen years. Gandhi-ji was a martyr to it. The Republic started in a flood of blood and carnage and cruelty. We thought that after the great martyrdom of Gandhi we would not go back to that again. But we have come exactly to that again on a smaller scale but the quality—the grim quality—is the same. Let us be proud that there are in this country a few men who are still willing to turn the searchlight inward. It is easy for me to attack Pakistan; it is easy for me to throw stones at Pakistan but my stones will not reach, my voice will not reach them. Each one of us can only turn the searchlight inward. Let us be proud that there are men like Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan and Acharya Vinobha and, if I may add, the Prime Minister of India who can and do declare unequivocally that it is not only Pakistan which is doing wrong; but we too are equally doing wrong and we cannot sit in judgment over the other side. We can take care only of our own minds and deeds. We must do the right whoever does the wrong. So, let us face this problem courageously and in a dignified manner. This communal question is part of education. The communal problem is not a police problem. It is not even a political problem. It is hundred per cent. an educational problem and we have not dealt with it in our universities, in our colleges and in our schools. There is no attempt whatsoever to bring the Hindu and the Muslim closer together culturally and historically so to say. I said this at an Education Conference recently and the hon. Minister for Education agreed with me and said that this is certainly an educational problem but having said that, what



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are we doing about it? Unless we impregnate the whole of our educational system in this country, from the primary to the University stage with this idea that the Muslims are as good as the Hindus, that the Hindus are as good as Muslims in every sense of the Word, that we can live as good companions in a great Republic in harmony and in peace, unless we impregnate the whole of our educational system with this ideal, we shall meet with this problem tomorrow, the day after and the day after. I know that no party in this House would be opposed to my idea. I do not believe that there is any party in this country, which hates the Muslims or *vice versa*. I have heard speeches, remarkable speeches, in this House, particularly from my Muslim friends. One of them said, 'I feel ashamed to be a Muslim in the light of what has happened.' Let the Hindus say that; let Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan say that and let us not lose 'our temper with it. When a large number of Hindus can say that in this country, when a large number of Muslims can say that in Pakistan, we shall come nearer to a solution. Jaya Prakash Ji says that thirty young men died in Pakistan, maybe more, in defending the Hindus against fanatics of their own religion. Who were the thirty and where are the thirty such in India? There must be such people in this country also. Upon them only can we build our new nation and our great Republic,

Thank you, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN; I am afraid we will have to sit through lunch. There is a long list. And since the Finance Minister will reply at 3.30 P.M. I think we will have to sit through lunch.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR (Kerala): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this time during the discussion on the Finance Bill, in many of the speeches instead of the tax proposals the

Kashmir issue has loomed large.

LTHE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.)

It only shows the great concern of all of us in the recent developments in that problem State. In such a situation I will also seek your permission, Madam, to say a few words as to what we as a party feel on this question. We were one of those parties which urged upon the Government to release Sheikh Abdullah. Now from the various questions that are thrown at the Ministry from various quarters in this House itself an impression is created that democratic opinion in this country is not very much in favour of his release. It is not so; not only our party, but many parties and many independent persons demanded the release of Sheikh Abdullah because after long years in the case against Sheikh Abdullah the prosecution has failed to substantiate the charges against him. Secondly, because of the development in Kashmir, a fact that (incident of theft of Hazratbal, it is felt by everybody that in order to improve the political climate there a new approach was necessary, and all of us felt that the release of Sheikh Abdullah would pave the way for improving the political situation there. But unfortunately after his release some of the statements he has made have disturbed us. Especially when he questioned the accession of Kashmir to India we were all taken aback. It is common knowledge that according to the Instrument of Accession the Head of a native State was free to opt either to India or to Pakistan and the Head of the Kashmir State did accede to India. But in this context it has also to be remembered that it is not only the Head of the State that consented to this accession but the National Conference which represented the larger section of the population in Kashmir under the leadership of the very same Sheikh Abdullah was one of the staunchest supporters of this accession. Now-

a-day, many people are raising the question that the will of the people in Kashmir should be again ascertained; but it was ascertained once. Not 'only that; on that basis elections were held and if the Assembly in Kashmir okayed the accession it was only the logical consequence of this process which was started from 1947. Now, these facts of history cannot be erased either by Sheikh Abdullah or by anybody else.

I also share the view expressed by the hon. Shri G. Ramaehandran as far as our approach to Sheikh Abdullah and the problem of Kashmir are concerned. When some hon. Members in this House came out with over-simplified solutions I felt that they did not realise either the complexity or the depth of the Kashmir problem. Some hon. Members wanted Sheikh Abdullah to be arrested. Some of them suggested that because of his speeches we should prepare ourselves for a war. Such statements, especially at a time when the Government has invited Sheikh Abdullah to this country are very wrong. As has been said by the previous speaker we should create a proper atmosphere in this country; we should create a friendly atmosphere in this country, so that the talks between him and the Prime Minister may prove to be fruitful. Those hon. Members who come forward with such over-simplified solutions forget the entire history of the Kashmir problem. As you know, even at the time of the transfer of power to the Indian people the imperialist powers were not very much in favour of Kashmir acceding to India and it is well known what all things they have been trying to do in the matter. Again recently when we had the Chinese aggression before they question of Kashmir. We also know the discussion that took place recently in the U.N. and the attitude taken up by the Western powers. So you cannot find a solution to this Kashmir issue simply by

arresting Sheikh Abdullah. The problem is more complex and very delicate. We have to handle it in a statesmanlike manner. We should not give room for other people to say that we dealt with such a serious question in an infantile manner.

Now, Madam, the repercussions of these developments in Kashmir and also certain developments in East Bengal have created certain new problems in this country. Today during Question Hour some hon. Members were very furious about the statement made by Mr. Jay a Prakash Narayan and others. Before making that statement he had written to the leaders of political parties and also to the Chairman of this House and the Speaker of the other House. In that statement he has said:

"Terrible things have happened and on a scale that has not been realised by Delhi or the country at large. There is no doubt in my mind that there was organisation behind these dastardly activities which operated from a common centre, manufactured and spread rumours, planned and financed specific actions and provided the whole operation with a political and philosophical justification."

In a later statement which is published in the paper, today Shri Jaya-prakash Narayan and some three or four others have enumerated some of the atrocities that have been committed in the States of Bihar and Orissa. Now, this is a very serious state of affairs. In the name of protecting the interest of the minorities in East Pakistan if insecurity is spread among the minorities here, then I have no hesitation in saying that this will be the beginning of the end of our own Republic. We as a nation cannot afford to indulge in such activities. If in the name of Kashmir and in the name of East Pakistan such communal atrocities are done, instead of helping in the solution of those problems, you will be surrendering the interest of our country to our opponent\*. Every

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair.] communal outburst in India will strengthen the hands of Pakistan. Every attack on the life and property of a member of a minority community will only strengthen the enemies of our country. In the circumstances, the stern warning given by the Sar-vodaya leaders should be taken seriously and the Government should see that those people do not indulge in such activities, are summarily dealt with. Even after the fact that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has written that there was an organisation operating in this country, I am surprised to find that in the reply given by the Home Minister, he could not mention whether they had made any enquiry into it as to which is this organisation and whether they have found out whether the facts that have been narrated by them are true. Even after our hon. Member, Shri Vajpayee, had raised this question, the Home Minister was silent. I think it should be our endeavour to fight this communal hysteria and for that all the secular forces in this country should be brought together. Every step that is possible should be taken to check this communal hysteria and everyone of us should feel ashamed if such things are to occur again.

Now, before I pass on to the Finance Bill, I should be permitted to make a few remarks about some of the speeches made here by some hon. Members. Especially I am referring to the speech made by Shri Anwar. He belongs to the Congress Party and I was 'Shocked to hear from him that members of the minority community who are in the Congress are all show-boys and charity boys. Well, I was in the national movement. Herring him, when I look back into the history of the national movement. I find great figures belonging to the minority communities guiding the destinies of the national liberation movement in this country. Millions of people belonging to the minority community fought shoulder to shoulder with others. None of them was considered

by anybody as a showboy I feel perhaps Shri Anwar must have been looking at his reflection while he made that remark. Now, I feel that the minority communities also have a responsibility. Some of them think that by isolating themselves from the rest of the community the interest of the minority communities can be safe. That is the philosophy of the Muslim League. Now, I would request them to consider whether in their own interest it is not better that they integrate themselves with the rest of the democratic forces in this country in as many ways as possible instead of trying to isolate themselves by forming an organisation of their own.

Now, coming to the Finance Bill I have not much to say because I do not want to go into every concession that has been made or into the details of the various taxation proposals. I am trying to find out what the general theme of the Finance Bill is, what is the direction in which the Finance Minister wants the economic growth of the country to take place. From that angle I find that at a most critical stage in the economic development of our country, the Finance Minister through his taxation proposals and through the concessions given is trying to take the country in the wrong way. Now Dr. Chandrasekhar came forward with a suggestion for mass sterilisation to save the country from the economic evils it is facing. I am not against birth-control. In the present phase of our development, birth-control assumes serious importance, but birthcontrol cannot be a substitute for a sound economic policy, and mass sterilisation cannot end the sterility of our economy. So we have to see whether the policy which the Finance Minister has envisaged is going to help us to take the economy of our country forward, I felt that there was a straight way which he could have pursued. Nobody disagrees that after the development of our economy for the last fifteen years we are now at a dead end. We have to take a

sharp turn in a direction whereby we strengthen the forces of socialism by taking steps to nationalise banks, oil, foreign trade and also by taking steps to curb prices by taking over the trade in foodgrains. This course was open to them. This would have strengthened the grip of the Government on the economy of our country. This would have lessened the burden on the common people and this would have helped the country to march along the social objectives to which we are wedded. But unfortunately our Finance Minister has rejected this line. Through his rebates and concessions and incentives he is depending on the monopolists here and their foreign collaborators outside. The concessions he has given to the foreign collaborators show that he is mainly banking on them for the industrial progress of our country.

Now as far as the concentration or the growth of monopolies in this country is concerned, he has promised us a monopolies Commission. Monopolies Commissions exist even in countries like the U.S.A. and the U.K. In spite of these Commissions the monopolies in these countries have grown from day to day and from year to year. So this cannot be a solution.

We know that the Mahalanobis Committee was asked to go into this problem a few years ago. They have submitted a report, and on the basis of that report is the Government ready to take any administrative steps by which this growth of monopolies is retarded? The Government is not doing it. They are burying that report by introducing this Monopolies Commission now. I also agree that even they have recommended such a Monopolies Commission. I am not denying that. But still the present purpose . . .

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh): The contents of the Mahalanobis Committee report are so many times referred to in this House without

that report being before us. It is a fact that the Mahalanobis Committee was wise enough to reveal the contents of the report to the public and to the press without the Government publishing the report?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: As I understand it, it is the Government which is deliberately suppressing the report.

PROF. M. B. LAL: It is being quoted so much that everybody seems to know its contents.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I think there is a conflict or contradiction between the members of this Committee and the Government.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh): In the other House a lady Member offered to place the report on the Table of the Sabha.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: A Committee was appointed consisting of very important and leading persons, and no report comes. So they will feel that they have not been neglecting their responsibility. In order to convince the world that they are not responsible but those people on the Treasury Benches, I think it has been deliberately leaked out. Everybody is getting it. What I was trying to make out was that the Government have decided to bury the report. The Government have decided not to take any action to implement any of their recommendations, and to bury this report they have come forward with this Monopolies Commission.

I was speaking about the new concessions which they have been trying to give to the foreign collaborators. Foreign investment would benefit from the exemption of inter-corporate dividends from super-tax. As in the case of royalties the tax on technical services' fees has now been reduced to 50 per cent. Non-residents would enjoy exemption from tax on interest on securities approved by the Govern-

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair.] ment. Apart from this there are specific concessions given to foreign technicians working in this country.

You know, Madam, that a delegation of U.S. businessmen were here in our country, and discussion took place between the Finance Minister, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and Shri Goenka who is now the Chairman of the F. I. C. C. I. The entire plan has been revealed, that is, in collaboration with the Indian monopolists they want American capital to be imported and making India as a base they feel that the entire Afro-Asia market can be covered. This shows that in the industrial development they are mainly depending on markets outside India and for capital and technical know-how they are mainly depending upon, the United States. The Finance Minister in his speeches has made it clear that one way of getting over the balance of payment difficulties is to invite foreign capital in this way. Looking through some of the facts I find that instead of getting over the balance of payment difficulties those foreign investments are going to involve us in greater difficulties. Here in the "Eastern Economist" of April 17th somebody has made a study<sup>01</sup> of the American investments in India.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: It is half a per cent of the total investment of the United States in the whole world.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Here it is reported in "Company News and Notes" dated 2nd December 1963 that of the 12 companies with U. S. capital participation 5 paid a dividend exceeding 100 per cent; one between 50 and 75 per cent; one between 25 and 50 per cent; two between 10 and 25 per cent; two less than 10 per cent; one company nil dividend on its paid-up capital. So, I would ask the hon. Finance Minister to explain how our foreign exchange difficulties will be solved if in the form of profits and

dividends money is to flow out of this country. In the same article to which I referred after making a study of the whole thing the author has come to the conclusion which I think would help us to understand how even the attraction of foreign capital is not going to solve our difficulties of foreign exchange.

It is said—

"... the US controlled companies in India had made a higher rate of profit than some of their patent companies in the United States and the larger Indian companies in India.

"Because of this higher profitability and by resorting to increased borrowings from the Indian money/ capital market, eight US controlled companies in India were able to increase their share in the assets of these companies from Rs. 12-3 crores to Rs. 19\* 5 crores, that is an increase of Rs. 7-2 crores, of which only Rs. 1-6 crores represented the maximum inflow of US capital. . . .

So, when these companies increased their value by Rs. 7\* 2 crores, actually the money that flowed from the U.S was only Rs. 1-6 crores—

"... even after remitting a maximum of Rs. 3-8 crores a' dividends abroad."—

So, Rs. 1-6 crores flow into this country while Rs. 3-6 crores flow out of this country by way of dividends—

"Thus during the period 1957-60, there was a maximum net outflow of capital from India to the United States to the extent of Rs. 2-2 crores and the Indian assets of US companies increased by Rs. 7-2 crores. In other words, the operations of the eight US controlled companies

in India had seemingly increased Indian foreign liabilities to the extent of Rs. 9-4 crores."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken half an hour.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I will finish.

I am quoting this just to show that trying to find a solution to our economic problems with foreign collaboration is not going to help solve any of the economic problems that we are faced with. We are not the only country that has tried this method. What about the Latin American countries? They are politically independent. They are industrialised. But the entire profit flows back into the United States and the people there are in great difficulties. The standard of their life is so low that in every Latin American country, as you know, there is a great movement to liberate itself from the grip of American imperialism. Now, our friends in India feel that if American capital is invited, if they get an opportunity to collaborate with them they can exploit not only the people here, but also the people in the neighbouring countries. I have to remind them that they are living in an old world. You should remember that every Afro-Asian country is trying its best to develop independently. They are not going to permit you to exploit them as at one time they had done. So, your dependence on their market or on foreign capital, all these things, will not help to build up a healthy economic life in this country. On the other hand, you have to change your ways. You have to depend on your own internal market. In order to depend on your own internal market, you have to see that the income of the working people is raised and on the basis of the resources at their disposal, you should try to build up our economy. Unfortunately the Finance Minister has taken the former course which is not help

ful for developing a healthy economy in this country, and as such, I oppose this Bill.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: Madam, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak on the Finance Bill in spite of the fact that I had expressed myself on the general aspect of the Budget. Therefore, I do not intend to take more than two or three minutes of the House I want to make one or two points.

The Finance Bill, 1964, as amended and passed by the Lok Sabha is before us. What can our House do? I myself, as a Member of the Rajya Sabha, have participated in the debates on tax measures for nearly six years now. Year after year, we have additional taxation; conceding its necessity to meet our developmental requirements, there can be honest differences of opinion in regard to what constitutes the most appropriate kind of taxation and as to whether the taxes that are collected are properly spent.

I will content myself by drawing the attention of the hon. Finance Minister and of the House to some wise things our ancient text-books on Statecraft have to say. They have laid down certain general admirable tax principles which are applicable to day and for all time to come. Taxation should never act as a check to industry and trade. Government— they have said 'the king'— should tax as the bee sucks honey without hurting the flower. Taxes should be so fixed as to allow always a profit to the tax-payer. Articles of commerce should not be taxed more than once. Increases in taxation should not be imposed without due warning.

These text-books invariably stress the danger of unduly heavy taxation. Nobody holds honey in his mouth without tasting some of it and it is to be expected that local officers will claim more tax than their due.  
Ex-

[Shri Babubhai M. Chinai.] tortionate collectors are a great danger to the Government's—in those days, to the king's—safety. I beg of the hon. Finance Minister to keep these wise idea, in mind. I have only one word more to add and that is to wish that his own favourable estimate of his proposals will come true in the interests of our country.

**श्री ए० बी० बाजपेयी :** महोदया, वित्त विधेयक पर विचार प्रकट करने का मेरा कोई इरादा नहीं था किन्तु विवाद में दिल्ली की सदस्या कुमारी शांता वशिष्ठ ने जो बातें कहीं उनके सम्बंध में कुछ प्रकाश डालना मैं आवश्यक समझता हूँ। मैंने कुमारी वशिष्ठ से कहा था कि जब मैं सदन में बोलूँ तब वह उपस्थित रहें लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि वह किसी बैठक में भाग लेने के लिये गई हैं और इन समय सदन में उपस्थित नहीं हैं।

अपने भाषण में कुमारी शांता वशिष्ठ ने दो आरोप लगाये हैं। पहले आरोप का सम्बंध सरकार से है और कांग्रेस पार्टी से भी है—उस आरोप की ओर मैं आरका ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा कि अनेक केन्द्रीय मंत्रियों ने चुनाव के लिये रुपया इकट्ठा किया और उस रुपये को न तो कांग्रेस पार्टी के खजाने में जमा किया और न उसका कोई हिसाब किताब किया। जब वह यह आरोप लगा रही थी, तब उपाध्यक्ष महोदया, आपने उन्हें याद दिलाया कि वह बड़े गम्भीर आरोप लगा रही हैं लेकिन उन्होंने अपने आरोपों का पुष्टि का और कहा कि हों वह तमझ बूझ कर आरोप लगा रही हैं। मैं उनके शब्दों को सदन के सामने उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा :—

"These Ministers who have collected lakhs and lakhs during the last elections, who have used Government machinery for vindicating

their thing and that and for getting their election done they have collected this money."

**जब उनको बीच में टोका गया तो उन्होंने फिर दुहराया :—**

"I am saying that these Ministers have collected money from the public, without giving any accounts to the Pradesh Congress Committee, or to the All-India Congress Committee. If charges of corruption are to be levelled . . ."

**आपने कहा :—**

"THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are making a very serious charge.

"KUMARI SHANTA VA.SISHT: Yes, I am.

"PROF. M. B. LAI: It is a serious matter.

"KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: Yes, it is a very serious matter, but if these people are going to exploit their position because they happen to be in very high posts and they are going to support their friends who are officials, and if these people together are going to hit the Congress of Delhi, I am bound to say so."

महोदया, ये आरोप कांग्रेस की एक सदस्या की ओर से लगाये गये हैं, विरोधी दल के किसी सदस्य की ओर से नहीं। आरोप विल्कुल स्पष्ट हैं कि केन्द्रीय सरकार के कुछ मंत्रियों ने चुनाव के समय बहुत रुपया इकट्ठा किया और पार्टी को उस रुपये का कोई हिसाब नहीं दिया। मैं कुमारी शांता वशिष्ठ से जानना चाहता हूँ—यद्यपि वह सदन में मौजूद नहीं हैं—कि किन मंत्रियों पर उनका आरोप है। उन्हें मंत्रियों के नाम लेना चाहिये, क्योंकि यदि मंत्रियों के नाम नहीं लिए जाएंगे तो पूरे मंत्रिमंडल की प्रतिष्ठा को बट्टा लगेगा। अगर मंत्रियों के नाम नहीं लिए जाएंगे तो हर एक मंत्री पर शक की उंगली उठाई जाएगी। यह न तो

मंत्रियों के लिये उचित होगा और न उस पार्टी के लिये जिसके वे मंत्री हैं और जिसकी आरोप लगाने वाली सदस्या भी है। गृह-मंत्रालय भ्रष्टाचार मिटाने का प्रयत्न कर रहा है और सदन में एक सदस्या ऐसे आरोप लगाए तो उस आरोप के सम्बंध में सरकार चुप्पी का रवैया नहीं धारण कर सकती। उनसे पूछा जाना चाहिए कि वे कौन से मंत्री हैं, किन-किन ने रुपया इकट्ठा किया है और क्या रुपया इकट्ठा करने में उन्होंने अपने पद का दुरुपयोग किया, क्या जिनसे रुपया लिया गया उनको रुपये के बदले में शासन द्वारा सुविधाएं दी गईं, उद्योग के लिए वाणिज्य के लिए लाइसेंस दिये गये। ये ऐसे तथ्य हैं जिनको प्रकाश में लाना चाहिये। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जब वित्त मंत्री महोदय इस विधेयक पर हुई बहस का उत्तर देंगे तब वह बतायेंगे कि कांग्रेस की सदस्या द्वारा लगाये गये इस गम्भीर आरोप के सम्बंध में वह क्या करने जा रहे हैं। गृह मंत्रालय को कुमारी शांता वशिष्ठ से आवश्यक जानकारी लेनी चाहिये और वह जानकारी सदन की मेज पर रखी जानी चाहिये। यह कांग्रेस पार्टी का घरेलू मामला नहीं है, क्योंकि आरोप कांग्रेस की मीटिंग में नहीं सदन के भीतर लगाये गये हैं और सदन के हर एक सदस्य को यह जानने का हक है कि जो आरोप लगाये गये हैं उनमें कोई तथ्य है या नहीं और अगर उनमें कोई तथ्य नहीं है तो कुमारी शांता वशिष्ठ से कहा जाना चाहिए कि वह अपने आरोप वापस लें। सारे मंत्रिमंडल की प्रतिष्ठा दांव पर लगी है। भ्रष्टाचार का उन्मूलन करने की सारी घोषणाएं व्यर्थ हो जाएंगी अगर कांग्रेस के सदस्य इस तरह के आरोप लगाएंगे और उन सदस्यों से यह नहीं कहा जायगा कि या तो वे अपने आरोप वापस लें या उन आरोपों को प्रमाणित करें।

महोदया, कुमारी शांता वशिष्ठ ने एक बात कही जिसका सम्बंध मेरी पार्टी, भारतीय

जनसंघ से है। अपने भाषण में उन्होंने दिल्ली के अफसरों पर यह आरोप लगाया कि दिल्ली के अफसर भारतीय जनसंघ के साथ पक्षपात करते हैं। उनके शब्दों को मैं आपके सामने उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ। वे ये हैं :—

"The Congress Party in Delhi somehow is treated by the Delhi Administration in a very unhappy manner. They are very much interested in the Jan Sangh. They go out of their way to help the Jan Sangh Party."

भाषण में और भी स्थानों पर यह बात कही गई है कि दिल्ली के चीफ कमिश्नर, दिल्ली के बड़े अफसर जनसंघ की बात मान लेते हैं, कांग्रेस वालों की बात नहीं सुनते। पहला दफा यह बात सदन के बाहर बही गई है कि जो सरकारी अफसर हैं, तो शासन का तंत्र है, वह किसी विरोधी दल के साथ पक्षपात करता है और सत्तारूढ़ दल के साथ अन्याय करता है। अभी तक तो इसके विरुद्ध ही आरोप लगाये जाते रहे हैं लेकिन यह जो आरोप लगाया गया है मैं समझता हूँ कि जानबूझ कर लगाया गया है। जहाँ तक भारतीय जनसंघ के साथ पक्षपात करने का प्रश्न है, हम तो दिल्ली में जनसंघ की ओर से यह शिकायत करते रहे कि प्रमुख विरोधी दल होने के बाद भी हमारे साथ दिल्ली में अन्याय नहीं किया जाता, समितियां बनाई जाती हैं और उसमें सत्तारूढ़ दल के लोग भरे जाते हैं, विरोधी दल को न तो विश्वास में लिया जाता है न उनका सहयोग प्राप्त करने की कोशिश की जाती है, फिर भी दिल्ली के अधिकारियों पर, चीफ कमिश्नर पर, आरोप लगाया गया है कि वह दिल्ली की कांग्रेस की उपेक्षा करते हैं। क्या इसका अर्थ यह है कि कुमारी शांता वशिष्ठ चाहती है कि दिल्ली के अफसर उनके इशारे पर नाचें? क्या वह यह चाहती है कि दिल्ली का शासन कांग्रेस दल के दलगत स्वार्थी की पूर्ति में सहायक बने? क्या वह



[श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी]

यह चाहती है कि दिल्ली कांग्रेस के अन्दर जो एक गुट है और जिसका, जिस गुट का, वह प्रतिनिधित्व करती है उस गुट के हाथ में शासन खेले और अगर दिल्ली का शासन उस गुट के हाथ में नहीं खेले तो वह सदन में खड़े हो कर दिल्ली के शासन पर लाञ्छन लगायेंगी, आरोप लगायेंगी, और अफसरों को धमकायेंगी, डरायेंगी और उनके मनोबल को तोड़ने का प्रयत्न करेंगी। महोदया, मेरा आरोप है कि कुमारी शांता वशिष्ठ ने जो कुछ कहा है वह दिल्ली के प्रशासन को यहाँ के चीफ कमिश्नर को, डराने धमकाने के लिए कहा गया है। इस भ्रालोचना को बड़ी गम्भीरता के साथ लिया जाना चाहिये। जब से दिल्ली में गुड़ की चार-बाजारी का, उत्तर प्रदेश से लाये हुए गुड़ को अधिक दाम पर बेचने का, मामला उठा है तब से दिल्ली कांग्रेस का एक गुट दिल्ली के चीफ कमिश्नर और यहाँ अन्य अफसरों के खिलाफ हो गया है और ये जो आरोप लगाये गये हैं यह उसी गुट द्वारा किये जा रहे प्रचार की शृंखला की एक कड़ी है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि गृह मंत्री जो इस आरोप की जांच करें। अफसरों के बारे में इस तरह से सदन में कहना—जिन्हें इस बात की छूट नहीं है, स्वतंत्रता नहीं है कि वह इन आरोपों का खण्डन कर सकें—और वह भी कांग्रेस पार्टी की एक सदस्या द्वारा कहना, बड़ी दुर्भाग्य की बात है। हम दिल्ली के किसी अफसर से पक्षपात की आशा नहीं करने, उल्टे हमारी तो शिकायत यह है कि हमारे साथ अन्याय ही होता रहा है लेकिन जब कि सदन में दिल्ली के अफसरों पर इस तरह का आरोप लगाया गया है तो मैं चाहूँगा कि केन्द्रीय शासन इस आरोप के सम्बंध में जानकारी प्राप्त करें और अगर ये आरोप गलत हैं...

श्री बंशीलाल (पंजाब) : भान ए पाइन्ट आफ ऑर्डर आनरेबल मेम्बर ने अभी कहा है कि उनकी यह शिकायत है कि चीफ कमिश्नर

जो भी कोई कमेटी बनाते हैं उसमें सत्ताईय पार्टी के, मैजॉरिटी के ही आदमी लिये जाते हैं। क्या आनरेबल मेम्बर बताएंगे कि कौन कौन सी कमेटियाँ ऐसी हैं, जिनमें कांग्रेस पार्टी की मैजॉरिटी वाले लिये गए हैं ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is a point of information, not a point of order. There is no point of order.

PROF. M. B. LAL: May I ask Mr. Vajpayee whether he would be prepared to support my idea that an impartial enquiry is needed in the affairs? Kumari Shanta Vasisht says that Ministers are conspiring with officials of the State against the Ruling Party and Mr. Vajpayee, on behalf of the Jan Sangh, says that though the Jan Sangh is the main Opposition Party, it is not being fairly treated by the officials of the State. I feel that there should be an impartial enquiry into the matter so that the public may be able to know how the administration is being carried on in Delhi. We cannot ignore the Administration of Delhi specially because it may have repercussions on the Central Government also. For the Administration of Delhi, the Central Government is responsive.

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी : महोदया, प्रोफेसर मुकुट बिहारी लाल जी ने जो कहा मैं वहीं कहने जा रहा था। जो आरोप लगाए गए हैं वह बड़े गम्भीर आरोप हैं और उनकी जांच होनी चाहिये कि उन में कहां तक सच्चाई है। दिल्ली में विधान सभा नहीं है। संसद दिल्ली के कार्य भार के लिये उत्तरदायी है और जब संसद में इस तरह के आरोप लगाए जाय तो केन्द्रीय शासन उन आरोपों के प्रति उपेक्षा की नीति नहीं अपना सकता।

एक बात कुमारी शांता वशिष्ठ ने और कही है कि दिल्ली के कारपोरेशन में कांग्रेस का बहुमत है, दिल्ली से कांग्रेस के

संसद् सदस्य चुन कर आए हैं इसलिए दिल्ली में जो कुछ किया जाना है वह केवल कांग्रेस पार्टी से पूछकर किया जाना चाहिये, अन्य किसी विरोधी दल से पूछकर नहीं। मैं उन्हें याद दिला दूँ, दिल्ली कारपोरेशन में कांग्रेस कमी अल्पमत में भी रह चुकी है, दिल्ली कारपोरेशन में कमी विरोधी दलों का बहुमत था, कांग्रेस अल्पसंख्या में थी। हमने कमी नहीं कहा कि दिल्ली कारपोरेशन में कांग्रेस अल्पसंख्या में है इसलिये कांग्रेस वालों से बात मत करो। हमने दिल्ली के आफिसरों को डराने धमकाने की कोशिश नहीं की। लेकिन, कांग्रेस में जो फासिस्ट प्रवृत्तियाँ पनप रही हैं, पैदा हो रही हैं, कुमारी शांता वसिष्ठ का भाषण उसका एक उदाहरण है। वे कहती हैं, विरोधी दलों से बातें ही न करो, दिल्ली की तकदीर का फैसला केवल कांग्रेस वाले करेंगे। यह लोकतन्त्र नहीं है। लोकतन्त्र में विरोधी दल भी शासन का एक हिस्सा होता है। मेरा विश्वास है, जो आरोप लगाए गए हैं, वित्त मंत्री उन आरोपों का खण्डन करेंगे या स्पष्टीकरण करेंगे और गृह मंत्रालय की भी उन आरोपों को गम्भीरता से देखना चाहिये और उन आरोपों की निष्पक्ष और अदालती जांच की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये, जिससे कि दूध का दूध और पानी का पानी हो सके और दिल्ली की सिविल सर्विस का मनोबल तोड़ने का जो प्रयत्न किया है, उसको विफल किया जा सके।

श्री राम सहाय (मध्य प्रदेश) :  
उपसभापति महोदय, यह जो बिल हमारे सामने है उसमें जिस प्रकार से टैक्सेश लगाये हैं मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE) in the Chair]

मेरा यह खयाल जरूर है कि जनता पर डिफेंस के खयाल से और दूसरी बातों के खयाल से जितने भी टैक्सेश लगाने की

आवश्यकता हो जरूर लगाए जायें। लेकिन मेरा एक दूसरा खयाल यह भी है कि खर्चा करने में भितव्ययिता या किफायतशारी की ओर अवश्य ध्यान देना चाहिये। मेरा तात्पर्य कंजूसी से नहीं है, भितव्ययिता एक अलग चीज है और उसमें हमें यह देखना पड़ता है कि कौन सा खर्चा करना हमारे लिये जरूरी है। इस खयाल से गवर्नमेंट का ध्यान इस ओर गया तो अवश्य है लेकिन मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस ओर वह ओर अधिक ध्यान देगी तो निश्चय ही बहुत अधिक लाभ होगा।

मैंने देखा है कि कई अधिकारी इस बात की शिकायत करते पाये गये कि उनके पास काम ही नहीं है। वे दफ्तर में बैठे रहते हैं। इसी तरह से बहुत से क्लर्कस पाये जाते हैं, जो सिर्फ अपने दिन तेर करने के लिए दफ्तर में जाते हैं और बैठे रहते हैं। अगर उनके काम के डिसपोजल को देखा जाय तो मैं समझता हूँ कि उन अधिकारियों और क्लर्कों के पास दो चार फाइलें भी नहीं होती जो वे डिसपोज आफ कर सकें। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर इस बारे में कोई सरबे किया जाय या देखा जाय तो निश्चय ही हम अपने अखराजात में, अपने खर्चों में बहुत कुछ कमी कर सकते हैं और मैं समझता हूँ यह नितान्त आवश्यक है कि जब हमें अपने डेवलपमेंट के लिए, सुरक्षा के लिए, बहुत कुछ पैसा खर्च करना है तो हम जरूर इस ओर ध्यान दें और काफी ध्यान दें और अगर इसमें थोड़ी सी तकलीफ भी हो तो हमें बर्दाश्त करनी चाहिये। मैं तो यह देखता हूँ कि अभी दफ्तर का समय १० बजे से पांच बजे का रखा गया है और लन्च आवर भी रखा गया है मैंने देखा कि जब पहले ११ से ५ का वक्त होता था तो किसी को लन्च की आवश्यकता नहीं होती थी। उस लन्च की वजह से अब साढ़े तीन घंटे खराब हो जाते हैं। लन्च के पहले एक घंटे में

[श्री राम सहाय]

काम नहीं किया जाता और उसके बाद एक घंटे तक क्लब्स होटलों में बैठे रहते हैं और समय खराब जाता है। तो इस और भी विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

मेरा एक खास सजेशन है जो मैं हाउस के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। संभव है वह आऊट ऑफ प्लेस समझा जाय, संभव है कि वह कोई दक्कानूसी, बहुत पुराना ख्याल समझा जाय। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि वह बहुत आवश्यक है। चीन की लड़ाई की वजह से हमका टैक्सेशन को ज्यादा करना पड़ा। जिस प्रकार से वह लड़ाई लड़ी गई और जिस प्रकार से हमारी आरमी को, हमारी फौज को एक प्रकार से नीचा देखना पड़ा वह बात भुलाई नहीं जानी चाहिये। उसमें एक खान रहस्य जो मेरी समझ में आया और जिसको ताईव जिम्का समर्थन, मिलिटरी आफिसर्स ने भी किया। उसकी ओर मैं समझता हूँ कि डिफेन्स मिनिस्ट्री को अवश्य ध्यान देना चाहिये। बहुत से आफिसरों का ख्याल यह है कि गैर जूरो तरीके पर बहुत कुछ ज्यादा सहूलियतें और आराम मिलिटरी वाले पाते हैं। मेरा अपना ख्याल है कि जो लोग अपनी जान की बाजी लगाए वहां रहते हैं निश्चय ही वे इस बात के मुस्तहक हैं कि वे आराम पायें। जो ज्यादा से ज्यादा सहूलियतें हों वे उनको मिलनी चाहिये। लेकिन मेरा एक ख्याल यह भी है कि साथ ही साथ उनको ज्यादा से ज्यादा तकलीफ बर्दाश्त करने के लिए भी तैयार रहना चाहिये। जब तक वे ऐसी तकलीफ बर्दाश्त करने के आदी नहीं होंगे तब तक हम कामयाबी हासिल नहीं कर सकते। हमारे इन्टेलिजेन्स के बारे में यह कहा गया और यह समझा गया और देखा भी गया कि हमारी मिलिटरी का इन्टेलिजेन्स इम बोम्य नहीं था कि वे ठीक तरह से चीन की

आर्मी का जो रहन सहन है या चीन को आर्मी की क्या हालत है और उनको एकटोबिटोड क्या है उन सब के बारे में पूरी जानकारी हासिल करते और यह भी एक कारण था कि हमारी मिलिटरी को इस कारण भी कुछ थोड़ा सा खमियाजा भुगतना पड़ा। हर एक बुराई में कुछ न कुछ अच्छाई होती है। चीन के हमले से जहां बहुत सी बातें बुराई की सामने आईं वहां एक भलाई भी आई और वह यह कि हमें सोते से उमने जगाया। निश्चय ही, मैं समझता हूँ कि इस वक्त हमारा कर्त्तव्य है कि हम देखें कि हमारी मिलिटरी का कम से कम कुछ हिस्सा तो इस प्रकार का जरूर हो कि जो हिमालय पर चढ़ कर और दूसरी ओर भी जा कर अच्छी प्रकार से हमला कर सके और लड़ाई लड़ सके। यह कैसे हो सकता है? मेरे ख्याल से यह मामूली कबाबद से, परेड से, नहीं हो सकता है। हमारे ऋषि मुनि हिमालय पर नंगे बदन रहते थे। मैं नहीं चाहता हमारी मिलिटरी वाले वहां वैसे रहें लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे लोग उस तरह की क्रियाएं जरूर सीखें जिससे वे वहां आसानी से रह सकें। हमारे यहां योगिक आसन, योगिक क्रियाएं, हठयोग की क्रियाएं इस प्रकार की हैं कि जिससे आदमी स्वयं अपने में चाहे तो शीत पैदा कर सकता है चाहे आवश्यकतानुसार गरमी पैदा कर सकता है।

मुझे इसके बारे में अनुभव है और मेरा निज का इल्म भी है। आचार्य बल्देव प्रसाद जी आर्य ने मिलिटरी में कुछ आसन सिखलाये हैं, प्राणायाम के बारे में कुछ सिखलाया है। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ है कि जो लोग, जो सिपाही पहले चार या छः कम्बल इस्तेमाल करते थे वे दो ही इस्तेमाल करने लगे। मैंने आचार्य बल्देव प्रसाद जी आर्य को स्वयं देखा है वे कड़ी से कड़ी सर्दी में भी सिर्फ एक कूर्ता और एक सूती चद्दर

जो उनकी पोशाक है वह पहिना करते हैं। वे हमेशा चाहे जाड़ा हो, गरमी हो या बरसात हो अपनी यह पोशाक पहिना करते हैं। मेरा कहने का मतलब यह है कि अगर हम इस प्रकार की कुछ शिक्षा अपने विद्यार्थियों तथा अपने कुछ मिलिटरी के लोगों के को दे तो वे निश्चय ही इस योग्य बन सकते हैं कि हिमालय में जाकर अच्छी प्रकार से चीनियों का मुकाबला कर सकें। भविष्य में क्या होगा यह तो नहीं कहा जा सकता है लेकिन हमें हर तरह की तैयारी करनी है। हम वहाँ विदेशों से सहायता के रूप में तथा खरीददार बहुत सी सामग्री मंगा रहे हैं वहाँ हमें अपने श्रद्धा मुनियों द्वारा बताये गये तरीकों का भी इस्तेमाल करना चाहिये जिनका हम मामूली खर्च पर उपयोग कर सकते हैं। क्या हम अपने एन० सी० सी० के विद्यार्थियों को इस प्रकार की ट्रेनिंग नहीं दे सकते हैं, इन प्रकार के आसन तथा व्यायाम की शिक्षा नहीं दे सकते हैं जिसके द्वारा उनकी सहनशक्ति बढ़ जाय ? इस तरह के आसनों से तथा व्यायामों से विद्यार्थियों की रहने सहने की शक्ति बढ़ सकती है और वे कठिन से कठिन जाड़े के मौसम में भी कुछ दिनों तक थोड़े से कम्बलों में ही रह सकते हैं। मैं शिक्षा विभाग से जिसका विद्यार्थियों से सम्बन्ध है निवेदन करूंगा कि वे जरूर इस विषय में ध्यान दें। इस प्रकार की शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध हमारे स्कूलों में स्थायी रूप से किया जाना चाहिये। अभी तो कुछ इस तरह की शिक्षा अस्थायी रूप से दी जाती है और इस चीज का कुछ स्कूलों में प्रदर्शन भी किया जाता है, वहाँ विद्यार्थियों को कुछ सिखाया भी जाता है। लेकिन इस चीज से लाभ होने वाला नहीं है जब तक कि इस तरह की शिक्षा को स्थायी नहीं बनाया जाता। मेरा निवेदन है कि इस और शिक्षा मंत्रालय तथा डिफेंस मंत्रालय विशेष रूप से ध्यान दें। इस प्रकार की शिक्षा के प्रबन्ध करने में बहुत ज्यादा खर्च नहीं होता है। अगर हम

अपने विद्यार्थियों तथा सिपाहियों को इस तरह की शिक्षा देंगे तो उनका शरीर इस तरह का बन जायेगा ताकि वे भूख तथा प्यास को बर्दाश्त कर सकेंगे। मेरा इस चीज के बारे में स्वयं का अनुभव है लेकिन मैं हाउस का समय इन सब बातों को बतलाकर लेना नहीं चाहता हूँ। मेरा तो नम्र निवेदन यह है कि अगर हम अपने सिपाहियों को इस तरह के आसन, व्यायाम तथा प्राणायाम की विद्या सिखलायेंगे तो निश्चय ही बहुत अधिक लाभ होगा। सरकार से मेरी यह प्रार्थना है कि इस विषय की ओर उसे अवश्य ध्यान देना चाहिये।

आसन तथा प्राणायाम से कोई ऐसी बात नहीं समझ लेनी चाहिये जिसके जरिये किसी धर्म विशेष का बोध हो या यह किसी विशेष धर्म से सम्बन्ध रखता है। यह तो एक प्रकार की क्रिया है जिसको कोई भी धर्मावलम्बी आसानी से तथा बिना अपने फेय को बाधा पहुंचाने के कर सकता है। किसी भी सम्प्रदाय का आदमी हो, किसी भी धर्म का मानने वाला हो, उसको इस तरह के आसन करने तथा प्राणायाम करने में जरा भी संकोच नहीं होना चाहिये। और न संकोच करने की आवश्यकता है।

अभी हमारे स्वास्थ्य मंत्रालय द्वारा इस संबंध में एक पुस्तक अंग्रेजी में तैयार की गई है। यह चीज स्वागत योग्य है। अगर यह पुस्तक हिन्दी में भी प्रकाशित की जाती तो बहुत ही अच्छा होता ताकि सारधाण जनता भी इसका लाभ उठा सकती। मैं सरकार से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वह इस बात की ओर अवश्य ध्यान देगी और स्कूलों के पाठ्यक्रम में योगिक शिक्षा के बारे में कुछ न कुछ अवश्य कदम उठायेगी और इस से निश्चय ही हमारे देश को लाभ हो सकता है।

अभी हमारे बाजपेयी जी ने कमारी शांता-वशिष्ट के आरोपों के बारे में कुछ बातें कहीं। बाजपेयी जी ने दिल्ली जनसंघ के बारे में कहा लेकिन यह बात केवल दिल्ली में ही नहीं है

[श्री रामसहाय]

कहें यह आम शिकायत है कि बहुत से अधिकारी वर्ग कांग्रेस के लोगों की बात नहीं मानते हैं, विरोधियों की बात मानते हैं। और उनका उपाधान करना अपना कर्तव्य समझते हैं। इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि कोई भी कांग्रेसी किसी भी अधिकारी के विरुद्ध पब्लिक प्लेटफार्म में कोई शिकायत नहीं करता और न क्रिटिसिज्म ही करता है। इस तरह से अधिकारी अपने आपको कांग्रेस की ओर से सुरक्षित समझते हैं। इस तरह से अब भी कभी इस तरह की आवश्यकता होती है तो विरोधी लोग ही उनकी शिकायत करते हैं और इसी वजह से वे उनके साथ इस तरह का व्यवहार करते हैं। कांग्रेस के नेताओं ने भी कहा कि कांग्रेसी जी ने कड़ा कानूनी शान्ति बलिष्ठजी ने, आम शिकायत की है। कुनारी शान्ति बलिष्ठ यहाँ पर मौजूद नहीं हैं। उन्होंने अपने भाषण में "मंत्रियों" शब्द का उपयोग किया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि उनको कुछ गलतफहमी या भ्रम पैदा हुआ गया है। कांग्रेस की जो जमात है उसका संबंध केवल संसद् या प्रधान मंत्री जी से ही नहीं है बल्कि विशेषरूप से हाल इंडिया कांग्रेस कमेटी के प्रेसीडेंट तथा तथा सेक्रेटरी से भी रहता है। प्रदेशों में भी प्रेसीडेंट, सेक्रेटरी लोग रहते हैं जो लोगों पर निगरानी रखते हैं कि किस कांग्रेसी का किस प्रकार का अमल है। खासतौर पर जहाँ पैसे वसूल करने का सम्बन्ध है वहाँ पर कोई भी ऐसी बात नहीं होती जो कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष तथा सेक्रेटरी को नज़रों से भोजल हो जाय या तज़रअन्दाज हो जाय या वह उस चीज़ को ध्यानपूर्वक न देखें। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बात कदाचित्त किसी और उद्देश्य से कही गई हो। हमारे बाजपेयी जी ने भी शासन का ध्यान हम और खींचा है और मैं समझता हूँ कि निश्चय ही कुनारी शान्ति जी ने अगर यह बात किसी और उद्देश्य से नहीं कही होगी तो कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष का ध्यान इस ओर खींचा होगा

और इसके बारे में निश्चय ही जो उनके पास जानकारी है होगी वह उन्हें दी होगी और उसके मुताबिक अमल भी किया जायेगा।

PROF. M. B. LAL: I beg to submit that the charge is that the officials of the State are conspiring against the ruling party. A public enquiry is needed, because not only the Minis-tens are involved, the officials of the State are also involved there. A mere party enquiry won't do.

श्री राम सहाय : मेरा इस समय यह निवेदन है कि हम इस बात पर अवश्य ध्यान दें जो घटनाएँ इस समय ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में घटी हैं और उसके बाद फिर भारतवर्ष में उनका रियक्शन हुआ। जो घटनाएँ घटी उनके बारे में मेरा नम्र निवेदन है कि शासन बहुत असें से इस बारे में विचार कर रहा है कि इस देश में जो इस प्रकार की संस्थाएँ हैं, जो विष फैलाती हैं उनका बंद किया जाय। यह मसला कई सालों से निरन्तर शासन के सामने है और तीन, चार सालों से तो विशेष रूप से शासन के डेरे गौर है। इस बारे में कई कमेटियाँ बनाई गई हैं और कई प्रकार से इस बारे में विचार किया गया है। लेकिन जैसा कि हमारे शास्त्री जी ने अभी फरमाया कि हमारे भारतवर्ष में पढ़ने, लिखने तथा बोलने की बहुत ज्यादा आजादी है और हर एक व्यक्ति जो चाहे बात कह सकता है। निश्चय ही यह बात सही है कि इसी कारण हमारे विरोधी दल के लोग मनमाने तरीके से और पतनगर्भत बातें कहते रहते हैं, जिस तरह का चाहे आरोप लगाते हैं और उस स्वतन्त्रता का लाभ उठाते हैं। लेकिन मेरा निवेदन है कि ऐसी स्वतन्त्रता जिससे हमारे राष्ट्र को नुकसान पहुँचता है और हमारे राष्ट्र की बदनामी होती है, उसके ऊपर रोक लगाने के लिए हमको फिलफौर और शोषता से अमल करना

चाहिये। हम कम तक इतना इन्तजार करेंगे? हमने इसके बारे में बहुत बदनामी उठाई है। हमारा शासन और भारतवर्ष की जनता, उसका रहन-रहन हर प्रकार से बदनाम हुआ है और हम अब फिर उन बातों का इन्तजार करते रहें और फिर देखते रहें और यह समझते रहें कि हमें अपने लोगों को स्वतन्त्रता देनी है और उस स्वतन्त्रता की आड़ में हमारे देश में इस प्रकार का विष फैलाया जाय और इस प्रकार की सिर फुटोव्वल हो और लोगों को जानें जायें या उनकी बेइज्जती हो, यह शासन को बर्दाश्त नहीं करना चाहिये। ऐसी संस्थाएँ, जो इस प्रकार की अराष्ट्रीयता फैलाती हैं या दो फिर्कों में बैमनस्य फैलाती हैं, उन्हें मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे इस भारतवर्ष में रहने का हक नहीं है और अगर वे रह सकते हैं और रहते हैं तो उन पर बंधन लगाने में हमारे शासन को कोई पंशोपेश नहीं होना चाहिये। उन पर बंधन अवश्य लगाना चाहिये और इतना सख्त लगाना चाहिये जिससे इस प्रकार की बातें सामने न आ सकें। मैं समझता हूँ कि अभी भी समय है और हमारा शासन इस पर विचार करेगा, हमारी होम मिनिस्टर इस पर विचार करेगी। बहुत से विल्ल, बहुत से कानून हमारे सामने रोज़ आते हैं और उसी तरह से हमारे राष्ट्र की रक्षा के लिए, हमारे देश में जो माइनारिटीज रहती हैं उनकी रक्षा के लिए अगर हम इस प्रकार का कोई कागून बनायें और वह सख्त भी हो तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वह बुरा नहीं है। उसमें हमारे किसी उमूल का हनन भी होता हो तो भी मैं कहूँगा कि देश की रक्षा के लिए, देश की प्रतिष्ठा कायम रखने के लिए और अल्पसंख्यकों की सुरक्षा के लिये अगर हमको वह भी बर्दाश्त करना पड़े तो वह भी हमें बर्दाश्त करना चाहिये। मैं होम मिनिस्टर से निवेदन करूँगा कि वे ज़रूर इस बारे में ध्यान दें।

विदिशा, मैं जहाँ का रहने वाला हूँ,

वहाँ की एक मिनाल मैं आपके सामने अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। हमारे यहाँ एक बीजा मंडल है जो पहिले विजय मंदिर था। अब वह मस्जिद बन गया है और वहाँ मुसलमान निमाज पढ़ने जाते हैं। वहाँ कुछ लोगों का ऐसा तरीका बन गया है कि वे हिन्दू मन्ना में हो तो हिन्दू मन्ना के द्वारा यह कहते हैं कि वहाँ मुसलमानों को निमाज पढ़ने नहीं जाना चाहिये और वे जनसंघ में पढ़ने जाते हैं तो जनसंघ के द्वारा कहते हैं कि वहाँ मुसलमानों को निमाज पढ़ने नहीं जाना चाहिये। मैं कहता हूँ कि हजारों रुपये हर ईद के मौके पर सरकारी खर्च किये जाते हैं और बहुत सतर्कता के साथ अमल करने पर वहाँ निमाज हो सकती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि वहाँ हर वक्त ही ईद के मौके पर धारा १४४ लगा रहती है और उसके तहत ही वहाँ निमाज होती है। तो यह चीज़ हमारे लिए शोभनीय नहीं है। आज १५ २० माल से हम दरावर यह देख रहे हैं कि हर साल वही लोग वहाँ इस प्रकार की शरारतें करते हैं। वही लोग इस प्रकार की धितंडा खड़े कर के शासन का पैना बरवाद कराते हैं, जनता का पैना बरवाद कराते हैं, लेकिन उनमें से किसी एक को भी ऐसा नहीं होता है कि उनको अच्छी खासी सजा मिल जाय। वहाँ होता क्या है कि उनको बस में भर लिया गया और किसी डाक बंगला पर ले जा करके अच्छी तरह से जलपान कराया गया, भोजन कराया गया और बड़ी खातिर तवाजा की गई और जैसा कि शांता-वसिष्ठ जी ने कहा कि हमारी पार्टियों के साथ अच्छा सुलूक होना ही चाहिये, उसी प्रकार का सुलूक उनके साथ होता है और दूसरे दिन उनको छुट्टी दे दी जाती है। जहाँ हम इस प्रकार का अमल करते हैं वहाँ वे जनता के सामने बलिदान करने वाले हो कर निकलते हैं, देशभक्त होकर निकलते हैं और उनका सिर और ऊंचा हो जाता है और इस प्रकार

[श्री राम सहाय]

की खुराक और बदतमोजी की बातें फैलाने का उनको और अवसर प्राप्त होता है। मैं गृह-मंत्री जी से यह निवेदन करूंगा कि वे इस बारे में अच्छे खासी दिलचस्पी लें और जो इस प्रकार की १५ नाल से भुसलसल बातें होती हैं उन पर निश्चय ही उनको ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है और उन पर रोक लगाने के लिए उनको जरूर कुछ न कुछ साधन इकट्ठा करना चाहिये। इसलिये मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे यहाँ जा इस प्रकार की संस्थाएँ हैं और उनको बंद करने की आवश्यकता है और आज के जमाने में जिस प्रकार से महसूस किया जाता है, उसे महसूस करके निश्चय ही उनको बंद करना चाहिये और इनमें जरा भी तकल्लुफ नहीं करना चाहिये।

कुछ और बातें मैं अर्ज करना चाहता था, लेकिन जब मरे पास समय नहीं है, इसलिए मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras): Madam Vice-Chairman, I am happy to address this House though it is thin, for I find that the Finance Minister is here. I find from the Bill under consideration that our defence expenditure has been reduced from Rs. 800 crores to Rs. 700 crores. I wonder whether this has been made as a result of any improvement in our border situation. If the answer is in the affirmative, then I would like to know if the statement that the Defence Minister recently made in the Lok Sabha, has been taken into consideration by our Finance Minister before deciding upon this reduction. The Defence Minister made a statement in the Lok Sabha recently that the Chinese are still going ahead with the concentration of troops on the borders and that the gravity of the situation on the border prevailing before has not lessened anywhere. So I would like to know

whether this reduction in our defence expenditure has been made after taking due caution and care with regard to our border preparations<sup>1</sup>. This reduction leads me to the fear that our Government is not in a position to have the territories occupied by the Chinese wrenched from them by waging a war. Or are we going to bring about a negotiated peace through the good offices of Mrs. Bandaranayake? If that is the decision of the Government, then I am afraid we will be playing into the hands of our enemies.

As regards another aspect of the Bill, I find that there is no relief given to the poor toiling masses of our country. The poor class is being taxed right and left and even such small luxuries like soap, vanaspati and other small things are denied to them and the plight of the poor people is not taken into consideration by the Finance Minister. On the other hand, he has levied more taxes, to the tune of Rs. 25 crores. The previous Finance Minister boasted that he had taxed the people most and that none could tax more than himself. Thank God, he has gone under some plan. We are not bothered as to who was the author of that plan. But we are really happy that that Finance Minister has gone. But we expected the present Finance Minister to give some relief to the poor people and I am very sorry to see that no relief has been given to the people and as a result the poor people are groaning under the heavy taxation.

As for the middle classes, they are a prosperous class in other nations, but in our country they are the worst sufferers. Their interest are not taken care of and they find themselves in a rather awkward position or not being able to express their difficulties to the Government. The present Government has not paid any attention to the plight of the middle classes. As for the richer classes, I need not say here that they are very well looked after. Even though th«

Finance Minister might say that taxes on income, and other things have been increased, the fact is not so; we see in reality, these rich people are in a position to influence the Government and get whatever they want. They have this influence and they can get from the Government whatever they want to get by being associate members or direct members of the Congress party. I find that in almost all the cities of India, and especially in my own State, most of the rich people are now rushing to the Congress because they find that they are able to get from the Congress anything they want, if only they donate to the funds of the Congress or support some of the powerful Congressmen in their electioneering campaigns. In that manner, the interests of the rich people are very well protected and yet they say that the policy of the Government is towards democratic socialism, I wonder what they mean by that. "Socialism" which smacks of totalitarianism does not go hand in hand with democracy.

The present Government which has had an uninterrupted life of seventeen years has played, I am sorry to say, more havoc than the British could do in the rule of one hundred and fifty years. There is demoralisation in people all round. No one is happy except those who are in power and those who are very close to those in power. The poor class is rather dying and I do not find any hope for that class in the near future if the present policy of the Government is pursued in this manner. If something is not done in the near future, anything might happen in this country and then the Government would be feeling sorry for it and all the hopes that we had entertained during the time of our struggle against the Britishers would be dashed to the ground.

There is maladministration everywhere and I find that the people in power and people who are very close to them are going about the countryside canvassing votes and conducting

election campaigns in a manner which is anti-democratic, which is against the very election law itself. I come from Madras State and very recently we had an election in Aruppukottai where I found to my great horror and shock that some of the influential members of the Government went round kindling communal and caste feelings in that area to catch the votes. I also know that the Deputy Minister for Railways made a special trip all the way from Delhi to Aruppukottai to see that his caste people were wooed and made to vote for a particular candidate and I am sorry to say that his appeal which was very nearly bordering on communal lines was mainly responsible for getting some votes in that area for the Congress. I find that people belonging to the Congress Party organisations go everywhere and with the help of the local Government and their officials canvass support and hold caste and communal—Nadar community—meetings in many places to kindle up caste and regional passions to get votes for their nominees. The whole thing goes unchecked even when we make complaints. If this is the way things are going on and if this kind of activity is tolerated, I am afraid that people, without having any other course open to them, will have to pray to God that they may be freed from the democratic socialists of the Bhubaneswar Brand.

SHRI N. PATRA (Orissa): I am rising to support the Finance Bill, 1964, I particularly want to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to paragraphs six and seven of his speech wherein he has brought out that production in the industrial front has increased. So far as agricultural production is concerned, it has been reduced by 3.3 per cent. This causes great concern at a time when prices of foodstuffs are rising up and people in the lower income groups are being hard hit. More attention, therefore, should be paid to push up production. The necessary conditions have got to be created. Merely saying that there



[Shri N. Patra.]

should be more production in agriculture, that we should exert in this sphere would not do. Conditions should be created which would help the agriculturists to achieve this increased production, e.g., educational facilities and opportunities for their children to read and get employment, fair price shops, easy credit facilities, co-operative housing loans and improved agricultural implements etc., these are the things that have got to be provided for them. The rural cooperative societies should also be extended to cover the agricultural sector in the rural areas. This will give a great impetus to them. This has to be done if you want to have more production and help the agriculturists to get rid of the rise in prices. No attention has been paid to the agricultural workers. Even when the Minimum Wages Act was passed in 1948—and the Government has been good enough since then to extend it to the States—there is no enforcement, machinery. You had the Act passed in 1948 and it was also extended on paper to the States but there is no machinery to implement it today even. How then can you achieve your production unless you assure a fair minimum wage to the workers, unless you afford them all facilities? If you do not want to import foodgrains, if you do not want to depend on the foreign countries for your bare necessities of life, then you will have to give some impetus to the agriculturists to produce more. You have to give them incentives to enable them to produce more. You have sent a number of displaced persons from East Pakistan to Danda-karanya. The Government of Orissa is also shouldering the responsibility without any difficulty. The Orissa Government is also trying to help the Central Government in this respect but you have to provide facilities for the starting of various projects to absorb these people. The Orissa Government has submitted a scheme for the industrialisation of this Danda-karanya Project area and the adjoin-

ing backward area of the Koraput district. There are ample opportunities for starting more and more industries to absorb these people. From time to time when there is an influx of refugees from East Pakistan, you ask the Orissa Government to accept these people but how can the Orissa Government shoulder this responsibility unless you give sufficient funds for the establishment of rural industries? Schemes have been presented by the Orissa Government to the Central Government and they should receive proper attention. There is some controversy about the Tikker-para Dam project. Government of Orissa have completed the investigations. There may be difference of opinion about Tikkerpara but most of the people, the Government and most of the legislators and as well the public opinion are in favour of starting the Tikkerpara Dam project. If you help the Orissa Government with sufficient funds, or at least examine the scheme properly without placing any impediments in its work, then Orissa will one day—though today it is termed as a backward and a poor area—compete with the foremost of the States like Bombay or Madras economically. There are so many problems to put forth but today there is some difficulty for me because I am making my maiden speech but I want that proper attention . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): That is our difficulty too. We cannot interrupt since it is your maiden speech.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI TARA RAMACHANDRA SATHE): You have already. Continue please.

SHRI N. PATRA: Hard conditions are prevailing in the country due to the refugee problem and so many other problems of such a nature. Unless you protect the rural population, unless you give them most careful attention for their upliftment, the situation cannot be improved. You are providing for so many schemes but what about the agriculturists from whom you want more production

through whose help you want to feed your army, to feed your urban population? You have also to frame such schemes so that the agriculturist gets real incentive to increase his production. You have to create favourable conditions for him. Unless you create a favourable atmosphere you cannot expect that food production will shoot up automatically and prices can be checked. Unless there is ample production the rise in prices will never be controlled. Therefore I would request the hon. Finance Minister to provide adequate funds towards the betterment of the agriculturist population so that we can have the expected production of foodgrains in the limited time available.

SHRI ABID ALI (Maharashtra): Madam Vice-Chairman, people do not mind paying taxes, but they are angry because circumstances have made them believe that the amount which is recovered through taxes is not properly spent. Madam, it is a fact that corruption was there even during the British period; it was there in plenty and it is a fact that our Government has not been able to check it. There is evasion of taxes. Although there are a large number of officers who are honest, efficient and good, there are a few—and nobody can deny that—who are corrupt and bad. Both officials and non-officials have been able to amass plenty of wealth through unscrupulous means and it is a known fact that we have not been able to do anything to check that. What is the remedy? There are two cases; everybody is aware of them. In the case of Mr. Venkataraman, how much labour the Government had to put into sanction prosecution against him? And there is the L.I.C. case. How many days of investigations had to be there before one I.C.S. gentleman could be asked to quit? Because of these difficulties in the way of checking corruption and misbehaviour, the officials and non-officials, merchants and others, are certain that **they are in a safe position.**

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

What can be done? Something has to be done and my humble suggestion is, if the Government is really serious about checking corruption, dishonesty and inefficiency, use the Defence of India Rules. There are people who are clearly known to have accumulated money through dishonest means. Whether they are Ministers or senior officers or merchants, whoever they may be, arrest them. They are worse than the Communist traitors. By behaving in this manner when the country is in difficulty they are acting like traitors. Put them in jail for indefinite periods; confiscate every pie that has been accumulated through unscrupulous means. If you adopt this method even in a couple of hundred cases—of course there are thousands of cases—of both officials and non-officials, the situation will improve. Otherwise difficulties are there and difficulties are multiplying. There is no doubt that the people are in difficulty. It is because of the past sacrifices of the Congress and its prestige that the people are silent although the leaders of the opposition parties have been trying to exploit the situation. Had there been any other party or if such a thing had happened in any other country, there would have been a revolution. The people are not able to stand these high prices. Every day prices are going up nobody can deny it but what have you been able to do? Something has to be done, must be done, quickly done, successfully done. And we can do it but we should have the will to do it. Aaid ways there are.

First, open subsidised fair price shops immediately. It does not matter if you have to put in a hundred crores of rupees a year or even more if necessary. Please consider this. People are in difficulty, the labour class, the middle class the office-going people everybody. By increasing the dearness allowance by Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 there is no relief. By the time you increase the dearness allowance prices

[Shri Abid Ali.]

are further increased and the difficulties of the employees are adding to themselves. Please, for the sake of the country, consider this very seriously. The only remedy is that fair price shops should be opened, particularly in labour areas, in other areas, everywhere, and both the public and the private sectors should be advised and helped to have fair price shops for all their employees. I do not know what will happen to the people, to the country, if this price rise is allowed to go unchecked. Of course the Government is serious; it is trying to do something but it has to be admitted that in this particular sphere there is hundred per cent failure and this state of affairs should not be permitted for a day more. I was suggesting that you should confiscate the property and use the Defence of India Rules so that both officials and non-officials should be convinced that the protection given to them and to their property under the Fundamental Rights provision in the Constitution will be no more applicable to those traitors who are behaving in this way. Once they are convinced of it, I am sure it will not be an encouragement to them to behave in the way a few of them are behaving today. What is the state of affairs in the country today? A person came to reside for three days in Delhi and the same evening he was going back. I asked, "why are you going away today itself when you came to stay for three days?" He said, "I came for a very important job, to secure information from a Government office. I went to the office, direct to the person concerned, paid him in the office currency notes, and the file was at my disposal. I got the information sitting in the office itself and so today I am leaving Delhi though I came to stay for three days." I am making the statement because it pains me, makes my blood boil. There are still people alive in the country who have contributed their blood and bone for the attainment of independence. We did not attain independence so that there

should be a black future for the country. We wanted something else. We want to achieve all that for which independence has been achieved. Are we going to make the country's future bright when the situation has come to this state of affairs? These Communists can get done anything they want. For the Indian Workers, for the INTUC we could not get a plot in Delhi, but the "Patriot" and the "Link" have got not only plots but they have got buildings. The thing is that some people can do and make the Government bend the way they like. What is this film for which the President's Award had been presented a few days back? Can this happen in this country today? A bulldozer in Bombay, in the Sion area, goes there and breaks hutments of poor people living in small huts? From the bulldozer one man is announcing: "Get out of your hutments. The bulldozer is coming. If you do not get out, you will be killed." The bulldozer is moving. Hut after hut, hundreds of huts have been dismantled by one bulldozer. I ask Government: Can this happen? Can you go to any hutment in the shanties in Delhi and break one hut? Impossible. You cannot do it. It cannot be done in Bombay too. It cannot be done anywhere in this country. But there is a film which will go all over the world to tell people that in India, in this Congress Raj a landlord can take a bulldozer and break hundreds of huts. And then it reaches a hut where a child is being born. The woman and the child are in danger. This film must be banned but it is a disgrace to this country. It is a danger to its future. This film gets the President's Award. I do not know why. 'Simply because a Communist is the writer, a Communist is the producer, a Communist is the director . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: And who were the judges?

SHRI ABID ALI: These are Judges who can dance to the tune of **these**

people, judges who are afraid of being criticised in a particular newspaper, judges who go dancing at the feet of these blackmailers. What else can I talk of them? That paper praises Jawaharlal Nehru, but day in and day out is abusing the Congress. They think that Congress should be weakened so that Jawaharlal should be no more. Because that paper and its editor are praising Jawaharlal Nehru others are afraid of it. What are we? Where are we? What is happening to this country? I cannot understand it. Our character, where is it, in what shape in what way? Who is building up character, in what shape, in what form? Does anybody think of it? Even today for our children Macmillan's books printed and published in London are imported and used in Convent schools. After all these years of independence, attainment of independence, We have not been able, and not become fit, to get rid of Macmillan's books, printed in London, and have our own books here. Good, we have got big projects. No doubt hundreds of crores of rupees are spent for the good of the country. But if there is no character, if there is no sense of loyalty to the country, what is the use of these projects? All these big workshops, dams and canals are all valueless. Therefore, please do not be bullied by these Communist traitors. Have a little courage. If you mean business, you should have courage. Do not have the mania of democracy. As the hon. Minister himself has said it once, Communists are using democracy to kill it. Realise it. And you have a duty towards your country. But I do not know what is happening in the Government and what will happen to its future.

Now, here is this book the fourth Annual Report for 1963 of the Indian Oil Company Limited. Pomp and show, as if this Company was born hundreds of years back and has been able to earn crores of rupees. It is pomp and show, golden letters "Indian Oil Company." One full sheet is wast-

ed and what does it say.' it says: "With the best compliments of the Chairman, Indian Oil Company." Now, had it been his own affair, would he have wasted so much money on this? It is good printing. I like it. It is a good show. But what is the propaganda about? Why this pomp and show? About economy, why nine postal stamps when two can be used? Why eleven stamps when two can be used for Rs. 1:50 nP? And then here is a decoration of stamps. This is not one. I have several of them. How many of them?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Are you a stamp collector?

SHRI ABID ALI: My children do it. What is this economy? Twentytwo stamps are used where two can be used. There are worth Rs. 3.30 nP. By using one stamp for Re. 1 and another for 30 nP two stamps would do. Here I am showing it. I have written to the Department concerned.

They wrote to me apologising, but again the same thing has happened.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: (Mysore): They did not have higher denominations.

SHRI ABID ALI: Why should they not have? That is inefficiency.

Three days back I received a letter from the Deputy Secretary of a Ministry. The letter was half foolscap size, but the cover was bigger in size than the paper itself and of very good quality. Have we come to realise that this is a poor country? Administration should be cheap. It should be efficient, it should be honest. In what sphere of our activity is this fact being realised? Go anywhere. In the daytime electric light is on. In the night when nobody in there electric light is on, fan is on. In the daytime you pass through the road between the two blocks of the Secretariat. You find the light is on. Somewhere work may be going on. Therefore, the switch is on. It may be sometimes. I have made enquiries. It need not be so. Just haphazardly,

[Shri Abid Ali.] carelessly and dishonestly things are going on. So, this is not the way to make the nation and lay strong foundations for the future independence of India.

Then, about communalism something has been said here. Two suggestions are there. One is and that can be done tomorrow, please stop Government advertisements, railway advertisements, semi-Government departments' advertisements in every newspaper, whether daily, weekly,

fortnightly, monthly or yearly. 3 P.M.

Do this *one* thing please, and

it can be done easily. You know which are the papers thriving on communalism. Do not feed communalism. Be earnest about it. That earnestness means to stop advertisement to communalist newspapers and to the Communists as well, the traitors as well. Whichever newspaper behaves to the detriment of the interests of the country, whether through communalism or Communism or support to China or whatever it may be, stop advertisement to such papers. That is number one. Secondly, it is newsprint quota. Your mania for democratic standards may be coming in the way of stopping such quota. Do not give it. These two things you can do. Stop the advertisement and newsprint quota. Here there will be shouting. Do not mind it. Do not be bullied. Simply come here and say, whether it is call-attention notice or adjournment motion, that the Government is convinced that these are feeding communalism and are anti-national, that you are convinced that they are traitors, therefore you will stop giving them advertisement and you are not going to give them newsprint quota. Where will they be? They cannot exist for a day.

Then during Pakistan propaganda days I was one of those who very strongly used to oppose it. I had been beaten and sent to hospital because of the wrath of the Muslim Leaguers. But I was feeling that it would be a

mistake, that it would not solve any problem, that it was not *an* answer to the problems that had been mentioned. It has been proved accordingly. The second mistake committed was Nehru-Liaquat Pact. Once partition was there, leave the people of Pakistan alone, and we should be left alone by them. We do not want Pakistan to interfere in our affairs. That was the second mistake. What is to be done now? There was some criticism here also. Which Muslim organisation wanted Sheikh Abdullah's release? I am not considering the merits of why he was released or not released. I entirely agree with what Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri has been saying and has said this morning that Sheikh Abdullah is still uncommitted and is coming with an open mind. I entirely agree, but why should the Congress Muslims be criticised—somebody said about Congress Muslims? I ask this from those who have been charging us as the showboys and stooges of the Congress. But there should be some game in that. We are Congressmen of the pre-1947 period. Look at the Ministers' list today when they are in the Centre or in the States; look at the list of M.Ps. today; look at the list of M.L.As. today, the Congress list of Ministers or the M.Ps. or the M.L.As.; those who were abusing us, are in overwhelming majority everywhere on the Congress list. Did we come in the Congress for anything? Can anyone stand and say honestly whether there was any possibility even in our dreams that during our period India would become independent and we could come to this House? I used to come to the Viceroy's Lodge. There were big sentries standing. We would go not very near it. Just see that this was our property but we could not put our foot there. I have not entered the Central Secretariat, not put my feet in the Central Secretariat before becoming a Member of Parliament here in 1932. We did not even in our dream think

that India would become independent and that we could come to this House in our life time. We joined the Con-

gress for the attainment of independence and independence has come ana we are happy about it. We will continue our v

क्या मुझ को बूढातो तुयियानी,  
खुद अज्म हैं मेरे तूफां,...

मुझको समुद्री तूफान क्या डुवायेगा ? मेरी  
जीस्त, मेरी बिन्दगी, मेरी फिक्र, मेरा प्रोग्राम,  
मेरा ध्येय, वह खुद ही तूफान है ।

... क्या मुझको डुबोती तुयियानी,  
खुद अज्म हैं मेरे तूफां'  
फिक्रती का सहारा लेकर,  
खुद साथ मेरे तूफान चले ।

We will be continuing our fight till the objective for which the fight for independence was fought is achieved. Whatever may happen and whoever may like to say whatever he chooses, my humble request is that you kindly realise this fact that we Congressmen, particularly those who joined the Congress in very early days and who had been continuing their connection with this great organisation, are proud of it. We want that it should grow. It is like a big ocean in which Jamuna, Ganga, Brahmaputra and Krishna and all other rivers come and join and also the gutter of Bombay; that also comes. It has got a very good quality. It is a big thing like a big ocean. All join it, and it has got the salt to purify everybody. Such of the things or persons as cannot be absorbed or refuse to be absorbed, it brings them to the shore and throws them away. So, Congress will remain and Congress will grow and Congress will fulfil its objective. But the Government also should realise the need of the time and its duty.

Lastly, one word about the Bonus Commission which was appointed some time in 1961. Its report has been submitted in January 1964. So, several good years were taken up by the Commission for investigation, and it is almost a unanimous report. Gov-

ernment representatives, independent representatives and others, such a fine and honest body of God-fearing persons like my friend, Shri Govinda Reddy, were a party to it. I name him because I want his help in the immediate implementation of the recommendation which he had been kind enough to make through this Commission. Then there have been representatives of employers and employees. A man of the status of Shri S. R. Vasavada has subscribed his signature to it. Although there is a small note of dissent, the Commission's report is otherwise unanimous. I earnestly, strongly, humbly request the Government to kindly consider the feasibility, necessity, importance, urgency of accepting the recommendations, and if Government thinks that somethings more should be done, some more consultation is necessary, then it can be done quickly with the representatives of employees and employers, not a couple of months or a month is necessary for that purpose. Sit with them. If you feel that something substantial is noticed in this which is for the detriment of the industry or the country, they are all reasonable, responsible, decent people representing these workers' and employers' organisations. Talk to them, convince them, allow them to convince you, and be helpful in announcing acceptance of the report, because not only people are in difficulty but also what they were able to get otherwise through negotiations and other efforts, they should get. There should be no occasion for strike in present circumstances, I quite appreciate it, but things cannot be left just indefinitely and the report shelved indefinitely. Something should be done urgently, and I am sure that when the Government representatives sit with the workers' representatives, it will not be very difficult to And a settlement amicably. Thank you.

شوہن حی - ایم - مہر (جموں ایلتڈ  
کشمیر) : مستردہ تہی چہر مہین  
صاحبہ - آج تہی چار یوم سے فائلنس

[ شری جی - ایم - میر ]

بل اور ایروزیشن بل پر اس معزز ایوان میں بحث ہو رہی ہے۔ جہاں تک فالٹنس بل اور ایروزیشن بل کا تعلق ہے، کہتے ہیں کہ مسلمان حساب میں کمزور ہوتا ہے اس لئے اس طرف میں آنا نہیں چاہتا۔ یہ غریب تھی۔ ٹی کرشنڈا چاری کا ہی نام ہے۔ حساب میں کمزور ہونے کی وجہ سے اس پر میں نہیں آؤں گا لیکن اس معزز ایوان میں چند باتیں طارق صاحب نے فرمائیں انہوں نے نیشنل کانفرنس کی ہسٹری کو دہرایا اور کشمیر کے حالات سے آپ کو آگاہ کرایا اور اسی طرح سے جناب راجپنٹی صاحب نے یہی کچھ خیالات کا اظہار فرمایا اور باقی دوسرے آئریبل ممبران نے بھی اس معزز ایوان میں کشمیر کی موجودہ صورت حال کے متعلق کچھ تشویہی کا اظہار کیا اور کچھ اور خیالات رکھے اس لئے میں فالٹنس بل کی مدوں پر اور جو رقم خرچ کر رہے ہیں اور ایروزیشن بل میں جن قیامندس کا مطالبہ کیا گیا ہے ان کی طرف اشارہ کرتے ہاؤس کا وقت خراب کرنا نہیں چاہتا اور میں صرف ان باتوں کی طرف اشارہ کروں گا جو باتیں یہاں پر ابھاری گئی ہیں۔

مجھے انتہائی دکھ ہوا کہ جب ایک آئریبل ممبر نے جو ایروزیشن

پارٹی سے تعلق رکھتے ہیں، سوتلتر پارٹی سے تعلق رکھتے ہیں، ان سے کشمیر کے متعلق سوال پوچھا گیا، تو انہوں نے فرمایا کہ کشمیر کے متعلق سوتلتر پارٹی نے ابھی تک جو اس کا اسٹیٹمنٹ ہے اس کے بارے میں فیصلہ نہیں کیا ہے۔ مجھے انتہائی چھرائی ہے مجھے اس سے زبردست تھوہیں پیدا ہوئی کہ ہمارے یہاں ایک ایسی بھی جماعت ہے جو کشمیر کا ہندوستان کے ساتھ مکمل الحاق ہونے کے بعد بھی اور اس کو چودہ پندرہ سال گزرنے کے باوجود بھی ابھی تک یہ فیصلہ نہیں کر پائی ہے کہ کشمیر کے متعلق ان کا کیا اسٹیٹمنٹ ہے۔ مجھے انتہائی دکھ ہوا۔ جب میں نے اخبارات میں جناب مسانی صاحب کی اسپیچز، جناب راج گوبال آچاریہ کی اسپیچز پڑھیں تو مجھے انتہائی افسوس ہوا۔ کہیں پر یہ کہا جا رہا ہے کہ سہلف کنٹرمینٹیشن کا جو نعرہ لگایا جا رہا ہے اس کو نبھایا جائے اس کو پورا۔۔۔ fulfil - کہا جائے کہیں پر یہ کہا جا رہا ہے کہ کشمیر میں مذہب الیکشن Mid-Term Election کرائے جائیں۔ اسی قسم کے دوسرے خیالات کا بھی اظہار کیا جا رہا ہے۔ کشمیر کی تھوہیشناک ناک صورت ہے ایسا خیال تمام ممبروں کی طرف سے یہی

ہوا ہے - میں کشمیر سے ابھی  
ابھی آیا ہوں اور وہاں کے تازہ  
حالات کو اور وہاں کی تمام باتوں  
کو میں جانتا ہوں - تو اکثریت  
کی جو خواہشات ہوں وہ میں آپ  
کے سامنے اس معزز ایوان میں رکھنا  
چاہتا ہوں -

ایک معاملہ میں کشمیر کے  
لوگ گاندھی جی کے پیچاری ہیں،  
گاندھی جی کے فالووس —followers—  
ہیں، گاندھی جی کے ماننے والے  
ہوں - گاندھی جی نے دو نعرے  
لگائے تھے - ایک نعرہ گاندھی جی  
کا یہ تھا -

"Do or die". This has to be put to test.  
'Die' here means that Hindus and Muslims  
should learn to live in peace and amity.  
Otherwise, I would die in my attempt and  
that will be a difficult job."

یہ ہمارے سہانہ بھائیوں کا نعرہ  
تھا کہ ہندوؤں اور مسلمانوں کو  
ایک ہو کرہ کلدھے سے کلدھا ملے  
کرہ شائے سے شائے ملے کر آگے چلنا ہے -  
اس ہندوستان کی آزادی کو ہم  
نے بڑی مصہبتوں کے بعد حاصل  
کیا - ہمارے بڑے بڑے سہوت سہوتان  
جنگ میں انڈیپنڈینس —آزادی—  
کی جنگ میں کام آئے ہیں -  
بہت زیادہ کٹھنائی انہوں نے برداشت  
کی ہے - بہت تکلیفات برداشت

کی ہیں - جنہوں میں گئے ہیں  
اور اس ملک کو فارن پاور —foreign—  
power سے آزاد کرنے کے لئے  
فلسی کا جو جوا ہمارے گئے میں  
لگا ہوا تھا اس سے نجات دلانے  
کے لئے انہوں نے بہت تکلیفات  
برداشت کی ہیں -

اس کے بعد گاندھی جی کا یہ  
خواب تھا - گاندھی جی کو روٹلی  
کی ایک کون نظر آئی تھی اور  
وہ یہ تھی کہ کشمیر جو ہے وہ  
تمام انڈیا کو لہڈ —lead— کرے گا  
سہولو تہموکریسی کے لئے - اور میں  
آج نظر سے یہ کہنے کے لئے تیار  
ہوں - میرا سر نظر سے بلند ہے  
کہ گاندھی جی کے کہتے کوہ گاندھی  
جی کے خواب کوہ کشمیر کے لوگوں  
نے پورا کیا - اس کا ایک مظاہرہ  
آپ دیکھیں گے کہ جب حضرت  
لی میں موٹے مقدس کی چوری  
ہوئی تو اس وقت آپ نے دیکھا  
کہ ہندوؤں اور مسلمانوں نے اور سکھوں  
سب نے مل کر کس طرح سے کمونل  
—communal harmony—  
کا ثبوت دیا - لہکنی اس کے مقابلہ  
میں پاکستان میں دھمکانہ ہیں کا  
جو مظاہرہ کیا گیا، جو وہاں سالڈار تہز  
—minorities— کو تکلیفات پہنچائی  
گئیں، انسانیت کے نام لہولوں نے،  
اسلام کے نام لہولوں نے جو کچھ وہاں  
پر کیا اس کو جتنا بھی میں



[ شہری جی - ایم - مہر ]

کلڈم کروں وہ سیدے خھال سے ناکافی ہوگا - کچھ پائل لوگوں نے پاکستان میں جو کچھ کہا وہ کہا لہکنی اس کے ساتھ ہی اس کے رتولیشن - بدلہ - یا - ہوں، میں ہندوستان میں، کلڈم میں یا دوسری جگہوں میں روز کھلا میں، جسٹھ پور میں، جو کچھ ہوا اس کو بھی میں ایکولی - اسی طرح - کلڈم کرتا ہوں - ہمارے سیکولر ڈیموکریسی کے ملک میں، گاندھی جی نے ملک میں، ہندو جواہر لال نہرو کے ملک میں ایسا نہیں ہونا چاہیئے تھا - بہر حال میں چاہوں گا کہ ان چھڑوں کو شروع سے ہی دبا دینا چاہیئے - یہ مہرا مشورہ ہے in -the Nip the evil bud.

اب پندرہ سال کی آزادی کے بعد بھی ہمارے اوپر فلاسی کا جو ایک داغ تھا اس کو ہٹائے ہوئے اتنے دن گزر جانے کے بعد بھی جو حالت ہے اس کو آپ دیکھیں - 1961 ع کی سلیس رپورٹ آپ پڑھیں گے تو اس سے پتہ چلے گا کہ ابھی تک ہمارے ملک میں پانچ سیلن پھیل رہے ہیں -

Five millions of people are homeless. There is no shelter, there are no roofs over their heads.

یہ اچھے ہمارے پوزیشن ہے - فلاسی کو ختم کر کے ہمارا ملک ہندوستان ایک بہت بڑی ترقی کے راستہ پر تھوی سے آگے جا رہا تھا - ہم نے ہر ایک سیکٹر میں، پرائیویٹ سیکٹر میں اور پبلک سیکٹر میں ترقی کی - ہم تھوی سے اپنے مقصد کی طرف آگے بڑھ رہے تھے اور اس وقت جب کہ ہم ایک جہاد کر رہے تھے، ایک لڑائی کر رہے تھے، ایک جدوجہد کر رہے تھے فلاسی کے خلاف، جہالت کے خلاف، بے کاری کے خلاف، مفلسی کے خلاف، فریبی کے خلاف اس وقت ہمارے ایک دوسرے نے دوستی کا لبادا پہن کر یعنی چین نے ہمارے اوپر حملہ کیا - تو چین کی طرف سے جو ہم پر حملہ ہوا ہے اس سے ہمیں سبق سیکھنا چاہیئے ہیں اس کی طرف سے بالکل کمپلیسٹ - --complacent-- نہیں ہونا چاہیئے - چین کا جو ہاپا کا ارادہ ہے اس کو ہمیں سمجھانا چاہیئے - وہ پھر ہمارے اوپر حملہ کر سکتا ہے - تو یہ حالت ہے -

جہاں تک کشمیر کا تعلق ہے میں سو کر رہا تھا کہ کشمیر کے لوگوں نے آج وقت میں جبکہ چاروں طرف سے پروویشن - --provocation-- دیکھے جا رہے تھے جب کہ چاروں طرف سے مذہب کے نام پر لوگوں کو یک-ہلاکت - exploit - کیا جا رہا تھا

جب کہ پاکستان کی طرف سے ہر قسم کی باتوں کی جا رہی تھیں، اسلام کے نام پر لوگوں کو ابھارا جا رہا تھا، اس وقت کشمیر نے سیکولر ڈیموکریسی کا ثبوت دیا، دیہوں کے ساتھ، ہندوستان کے ساتھ گندھے سے گندھا ملا کر چلا۔ ایک طرف موٹے مقدس کی چوری ہوئی، دوسری طرف جنوں میں دو موڑتھیاں چرائی گئیں پہلی ایک مکمل سازش کے تحت سب کچھ کیا گیا۔ کشتواڑ میں مسلمانوں کی ایک بہت بڑی زیارت ہے وہاں بھی اسی دن جب کہ موٹے مہارک کی چوری ہوئی اس زیارت کو بھی جلا دیا گیا۔ تو یہ تمام چیزیں تھیں جو کہ پاکستان کی طرف سے کی گئیں تھیں، جو ان عناصر کی طرف سے کی گئیں تھیں جو کہ چاہتے تھے کہ یہاں ہندو اور مسلمانوں میں ایک قسم کا فرقہ پیدا ہو، بھائی بھائی کا کلا کاتا جائے۔ وہ ۱۹۴۷ء کے ہولناک نظارے کو سامنے لانا چاہتے تھے لیکن ان کے ملہت پر کشمیر کے لوگوں نے چھت لگائی اور آپ نے دیکھا کہ وہاں ایک بڑی انسان کا بال ہونکا نہیں ہوا۔ اس کے مقابلہ میں پاکستان میں، ہندوستان میں، کیا ہوا، وہ تمام چیزیں آپ کے سامنے ہیں۔ تو یہ گاندھی جی کا ایک خواب تھا، ایک روشنی کی کرن گاندھی جی کو کشمیر میں نظر آئی تھی۔

اب گاندھی جی کا دوسرا خواب جو تھا وہ چھت کے مسئلہ پر تھا اور اس میں بھی کشمیر نے لہڈ لیا اور گاندھی جی نے جو نعرہ لگایا تھا اس کو پورا کیا۔ گاندھی جی نے کہا تھا :

"To perpetuate untouchability in the manner we have done in India is a serious blot on Hinduism, an unwarranted abuse of the Smritis and the negation of love which is the basis of Hinduism."

یہ گاندھی جی کا نعرہ تھا۔ آپ کشمیر کے لوگوں میں کہیں یہ نہیں پائیں گے کہ یہ ہندو ہے، یہ مسلمان ہے، یہ عیسائی ہے، یہ ہریجن ہے، وہاں کوئی اس قسم کا سوال نہیں ہے۔ بلکہ وہاں سب ایک صف میں ہیں ایک ہی صف میں کہوے ہو گئے مصروف و ایاز نہ کوئی بلدا رہا اور نہ کوئی بلدا نواز

کشمیر میں جو لوگ ہیں وہ دیہوں کے لئے ہیں، ہندوستان کے لئے ہیں۔ کشمیر نے ہندوستان کے ساتھ مکمل الحاق کیا اور انہوں نے اپنا ایک انٹون بھی بنایا ہے اور اس انٹون کے تحت اس انٹون کی دفعہ ۳ کے تحت کشمیر کا الحاق ہندوستان کے ساتھ مکمل ہو چکا ہے۔ اس میں نہ کوئی شک و شبہ کی گنجائش ہے اور نہ کوئی ہندو یا کوئی مسلمان اس سے انکار کرنے کے لئے تیار ہے۔ اور یہ دفعہ ناقابل ترمیم

[ شری جی - ایم - میجر ]

ہے - مجھے انتہائی خوشی ہوئی جب میں نے یہاں اس ایوان میں تمام ہندوستان بھر کے گولے گولے سے جو مسلمان ممبران ہیں ان کے خیالات سنے - وہ یہی یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ کشمیر ہمارے ساتھ ہو - میں آج ان مسلمان بھائیوں کو پانچ کروڑ مسلمان جو یہاں رہتے ہیں، یہ یقین دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ آپ کے دیکھ میں ہم شامل ہیں آپ کے سکہ میں شامل ہوں - اور میں آپ کو پورا یقین دلانا ہوں کہ کشمیر جب تک رہے گا وہ آپ کی عزت کے لئے، آپ کی ترقی کے لئے، ہمیشہ آگے رہے گا - ہم آپ کے ساتھ رہیں گے ہندوستان کے ساتھ رہیں گے یہیں گے، یہیں چاہیں گے یہ ہمارا یقین ہے، یہ ہمارا ایمان ہے اور اس کے لئے ہم کو اڈر ہڑی سے بڑی قربانی دینی پڑے گی، اگر ہمیں قربانی کی ضرورت پڑے گی تو ہم اپنے سروں کو نہرو جی کے قدموں پر رکھیں گے - جہاں بھی وہ چاہوں، جہاں بھی ہماری قربانی کی ضرورت پڑے گی جہاں بھی ہمارے خون کی ضرورت پڑے گی، ہم ہسرو چشم ان کے پاؤں میں اپنے آپ کو رکھیں گے، اپنی قربانی پیش کرنے کے لئے - لیکن مجھے دیکھ ہے کہ ہاجھٹی صاحب نے اپنی تقریر یہاں کرتے ہوئے ان دفعہ چھڑ کا

دلو کیا جن پر پاکستان کے لوگوں نے مظالم ڈھائے - بڑے زور شور سے ذکر تھا - ٹھیک ہے میں سائقا ہوں کوئی انسان کہی بھی اس چیز کو نظر انداز نہیں کرے گا - انسانیت کے نام لہولوں نے جو کچھ پاکستان میں کیا وہ ہر طریقہ سے، مذہبی طریقہ سے، اخلاقی طریقہ سے، سیاسی طریقہ سے، ہر طریقہ سے اس کو کڈم کہا جانا چاہئے - میں اس کو کڈم کرنا چاہتا ہوں - لیکن پکچر کی ایک ہی سائیڈ نہیں ہے تصویر کا دوسرا رخ بھی ہے - کیا ہی اچھا ہوتا اگر ہاجھٹی صاحب نے یہاں کلکتہ میں جو کچھ ہوا، روز کیلے میں جو کچھ ہوا، جمشید پور میں جو کچھ ہوا، اس کو بھی کڈم کہا جاتا - میں سوچتا رہا، میں سنتا رہا، مجھے افسوس ہوا - یہ ٹھیک ہے انہوں نے ایک پاسنگ ریفرنس دیا ہوگا - میں یہ چاہتا ہوں کہ معزز ہارٹی کے لہڈر ہونے کی حثیت سے آپ کا یہ فرض ہے کہ آپ ان چیزوں کو اس طور طریقہ سے پیش کریں اس پھرل اور معوازی طریقہ سے چلائیں کہ جو تلخی ہے وہ کم ہو، تلخی کو بڑھانا نہیں چاہئے - تلخی کو کم کرنے کی کوشش کرنی چاہئے - آج میں ۲۵ کروڑ انسانوں کو، ہندوستان میں بسنے والوں کو، یقین دلانا ہوں کہ آپ شک و شبہ کی نگاہ سے نہیں دیکھیں -

کشمیری اپنے وعدہ سے پھرنے والا نہیں ہے۔ - کشمیریوں نے الصفاق کا وچن دیا ہے۔ اس وچن کو پورا کرنے کے لئے ہماری جانیں چائیں گی لیکن ہم کہہ رہے ہیں اپنے فیصلے سے پیچھے نہیں ہٹیں گے۔

جناب والا - پیچھلے دس بارہ سالوں میں ہندوستان کے قریب ہم نے آنے کی کوشش کی۔ آپ کو یاد ہوگا پہلے جو لوگ کشمیر جاتے تھے پرست لے کر جاتے تھے اس کو ختم کیا، سہریم کورٹ آف انڈیا کا چیورسڈکشن — دائرہ اختیار — ریاست میں لاگو نہیں تھا اس کو ایکسٹینڈ کیا لیکن کشمیر آف انڈیا کا چیورسڈکشن — jurisdiction — کشمیر میں لاگو نہیں تھا اس کو بھی ایکسٹینڈ کیا۔ اس کے علاوہ فائنڈیشن انٹیگریٹی — financial integration — اس استقامت ہو یعنی آئیگر جنرل کا دائرہ اختیار ریاست پر لاگو کیا گیا اب میں یہ چاہوں گا، ہندوستان پر کے لیگوں سے میں یہ توقع رکھوں گا کہ وہ کشمیر کے معاملہ میں ذرا تھلڈے دل سے سوچا کریں۔ تھلڈے دل سے سوچ کر کہا کریں، کھیرالے اور توہمے کی کوئی ضرورت نہیں۔ میں آپ کو یقین دلانا چاہتا ہوں۔ آپ نے چند آدمیوں کی باتیں سنی ہیں جو صرف مذہب کو ایکسپلائٹ — exploit — کرنے میں لگے ہوئے ہیں۔

میں یہ کہتا ہوں کہ ریاست میں ہی اس قسم کے لوگ ہیں جو ڈسپرٹ ہیں، جو ریاست میں فرقہ پیدا کرنا چاہتے ہیں، جو ریاست میں کڑے کرنا چاہتے ہیں، لیکن وہ چند لوگ ہیں جو انگلوں پر لگے جا سکتے ہیں لیکن اکثریت ان لوگوں کی ہے جو نیشنل کانفرنس کے ساتھ چودہ پندرہ سالوں سے لگے ہیں، اس کا مقصد بدلا نہیں ہے۔ حالانکہ ان کو کئی طرح کی مشکلات کا سامنا کرنا پڑ رہا ہے۔ آپ اخبارات کا جائزہ لیں اور تھلڈے دل سے سوچیں۔ میں چاہوں گا اس ابوالی کے مسوان اور لوگ سبھا کے مسوان پر مشتمل ایک کمیٹی بنے جو کشمیر میں جائے وہاں کے حالات کا جائزہ لے، لوگوں سے ملے۔ ابھی تک ہماری نیشنل کانفرنس جماعت کے رینک اینڈ فائل — rank and file — میں اس قسم کی کوئی پریشانی نہیں ہے جہاں تک الصفاق کا مسئلہ ہے۔

ہم نہیں جانتے کہ یہ، الصفاق کے مسئلہ کا، بار بار کہوں ذکر آتا ہے۔ پارلیمنٹ میں، پارلیمنٹ کے باہر اور پریس میں یہ باتیں کہیں سنیے ہیں۔ الصفاق ایک مکمل بات ہے۔ اس میں کوئی شک و شبہ نہیں رہا۔ اس کو جو چیلنج کرتا ہے اس کے لئے اس ہندوستان میں کوئی جگہ نہیں ہونی چاہیے۔ میں

[ شری جی - ایم - مہر ]  
 کہتا ہوں کہ کوئی بھی مسلمان  
 چاہے وہ مسلمان ہو یا کمونسٹ  
 پارٹی سے تعلق رکھتا ہو جو  
 ہندوستان میں رہتا ہے ، ہندوستان  
 کا نمک کھاکر اپنی آنکھیں دوسری  
 طرف لٹائے ہوئے ہے ، نازن مسالک کی  
 طرف دیکھتا ہے ، اس کو آنرہیلی ،  
 باقاعدہ پاسپورٹ بلماکر ، پہلوے میں  
 بگاڑ کر ، حفاظت سے اس ملک میں  
 پہنچانا چاہیئے جہاں وہ رہنا چاہتا  
 ہے لہکنی ایسے انسان کے لئے  
 ہندوستان بھر میں کوئی جگہ نہیں  
 چاہے مسلمان ہو ، چاہے کوئی اور  
 ہو - یہ ہمارا پروگرام ہونا چاہیئے -

میں نے کشمیر کے ان تمام  
 حالات کے متعلق آپ سے عرض کی -  
 مجھے انتہائی دکھ ہوا جب یہاں ہر  
 ایک ممبر صاحب نے کشمیر کے  
 متعلق کہا کہ گورنمنٹ کے خلاف  
 لوگوں نے ایجنڈیشن کیا - میں  
 حیران ہوا کہ گورنمنٹ کے خلاف  
 کونسا ایجنڈیشن ہوا حالانکہ ۱۹۴۸ء  
 سے لے کر ۱۹۶۳ء تک حکومت چلی  
 آئی - جہاں تک میرا تعلق ہے میں  
 بھی تاریخ کا ایک استقامت ہوں ،  
 میں نے کبھی نہیں سنا لہکنی ایک  
 آنرہیل ممبر نے سنایا کہ گورنمنٹ کے  
 خلاف ایجنڈیشن ہوا - یہ بات غلط  
 ہے - میں چاہتا ہوں کہ آپ ان  
 تمام باتوں کو تھلڈے دل سے سوچیں

جیسا کہ میں نے پہلے کہا -  
 ایجنڈیشن گورنمنٹ کے خلاف نہیں ،  
 ایجنڈیشن مرٹے مبارک کے متعلق  
 ہوا ، جیسا کہ میں نے عرض کیا  
 کشمیر کے لوگ سبھی اس میں  
 اعتبار رکھتے ہوں - ہندو اور مسلمان  
 اس کی دستہابی کے لئے ، اس کو  
 دوبارہ حاصل کرنے کے لئے چلا رہے  
 تھے - آپ دیکھیں گے پچھلے ڈیکوڈ  
 —decade— میں ، دس سالوں میں ،  
 اس قسم کی کوئی بات نہیں آئی -  
 ہم تمام لوگوں کو ساتھ لے کر چلے  
 ہوں - ہم نے نیشنل کانفرنس کی ہی  
 بدولت کشمیر میں کمیونل ہارمونی  
 پیدا کی - یہ کوئی ایک دو دن کا  
 کام نہیں تھا - یہ کمیونل ہارمونی  
 کیسے آئی - یہ اس لئے آئی کہ  
 نیشنل کانفرنس کی جماعت نے ،  
 نیشنل کانفرنس کی سرکار نے کچھ  
 کام کئے ، کچھ لوگوں کی خدمت  
 کی - اس کا صلہ جو تھا وہ ملا -  
 جہاں تک ایجنڈیشن کا سوال ہے یہ  
 آپ کی ویش فل تھنگنگ —wishful  
 —thinking— ہے اور کوئی بات نہیں ہے -  
 میں یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ کشمیر کے  
 لوگوں نے جو فیصلہ کیا وہ بالکل  
 مکمل اور آخری ہے - اس میں اگر  
 آپ یعنی ہندوستان کے چند دوست ،  
 ہندوستان کا پریس ، اس قسم کی  
 کوئی غلط بیانی کرے تو میں ان سے یہ  
 موڈبانہ اپیل کروں گا - ہندوستان کے  
 ۳۵ کروڑ انسانوں سے اپیل کروں گا کہ

تمام اختلافات ختم کر کے ہم سب مل کر آگے بڑھیں کیونکہ چھین اور پاکستان کی طرف سے ہماری استعماریاتی کو، ہماری انتہائی کو، ہماری سوزنی کو چھینچ کیا جا رہا ہے۔ اس لئے آگے ہم ایک ہو جائیں اور کلدھ سے کلدھا ملا کر ان تمام دشمنوں کا، ان تمام ملک دشمن عناصر کا مقابلہ کریں جو آج ہماری آزادی کو چھیننے کے درپہ ہیں، جو آج یہ نہیں چاہتے ہیں کہ ہندوستان دنیا میں ایک بہت بڑا ملک بنے، ہندوستان ایشیا کی راہ نمائی کرے، ہندوستان تعمیر اور ترقی کے راستہ پر آگے بڑھے۔ آج دنیا کی آنکھیں اس طرف لگی ہوئی ہیں۔ چھین بھی چاہتا ہے خرابی کرنا، پاکستان کی طرف سے دھمکیاں آتی ہیں، ان باتوں کو مل کر تبھی روک سکتے ہیں جب ہم ایک نیشن ہو کر، انڈین ہو کر، آگے بڑھیں۔ میں ہندوستان کے ۲۵ کروڑ لوگوں سے اپیل کروں گا کہ وہ ہماری بات پر توجہ دیں۔ جہان تک فائنلس بل کا تعلق ہے میں زیادہ نہیں کہوں گا، میں صرف فائنلس منسٹر صاحب کی توجہ دلاؤں گا کہ جب ہمیں چاروں طرف سے دشمن کا مقابلہ کرنا ہے۔ چھین کی طرف سے، پاکستان کی طرف سے ہم کو اپنے ملک کو بچانا ہے۔ تو فائنلس کے لئے جو رقمات رکھی ہیں

ان میں کسی نہیں ہونی چاہیے۔ لیکن جب میں فائنلس بل کو دیکھتا ہوں تو اس میں مہرے خیال میں ایک کروڑ روپے کے لگ بھگ کسی کی گئی۔ میں چاہتا ہوں کہ ہر ایک ایبل باقیہ پرسن able-bodied person—میں ہسٹے والے ایبل باقیہ پرسن کو کمپنری ملٹری ٹریننگ دی جائے۔ قوم کو تیار کیا جائے تاکہ ہم یہ نہ سلیں کہ ہماری فوج نے قت کر مقابلہ تو کیا لیکن پیچھے ہٹنا پڑا۔ اب ہم یہ سلیں گے تاکہ تیار نہیں ہیں۔ آج ہماری تمام فوج کو تیار ہونا چاہیے۔ فائنلس پروڈکشن کی جو فیکٹریز ہیں، آرمس اسونیشن جہاں بنتا ہے، ان کی طرف توجہ دینی چاہئے۔ ہم ان چھوڑوں کو فراموش نہیں کر سکتے ہیں۔ جب ملک میں زمین پر بہت زیادہ پھل ہے تو ہمیں چاہئے کہ رورل منسٹر میں انڈسٹری قائم کریں تاکہ وہ پھل ختم ہو جائے اور اتنا روپہ جو ہم فوڈ کریں گے پرجہز پر خرچ کر رہے ہیں اس میں کسی آ جائے۔ انٹینسہو کلٹیویشن intensive cultivation—کی طرف توجہ دی جائے۔ اور فرتلائزرس fertilizers—کی طرف زور دیا جائے۔ (Time bell rings.) ایک بات ہے جیسا کہ میں نے پہلے کہا کہ ہندوستان کی تمام پارٹیاں اس وقت

[ شری جی - ایم - مہر ]

ایک ہو جائوں نہیں تو میں آخر  
میں ایک شعر یہی کہوں گا کہ :

نہ سمجھو گے تو مسک جاؤ گے

اے ہندوستان والو

تمہاری داستان تک یہی

نہ ہوگی داستانوں میں

†[श्री जी० एम० मीर (जम्मू और काश्मीर) : मोहतरमा डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहिबा । आज तीन चार यौम से फाइनेंस बिल और एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल पर इस मुअज्जि एवान में बहस हो रही है । जहां तक फाइनेंस बिल और एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल का ताल्लुक है, कहते हैं कि मुसलमान हिसाब में कमजोर होता है इसलिए इस तरफ मैं नहीं आना चाहता । यह श्री टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी का ही काम है हिसाब में कमजोर होने की वजह से मैं इस पर नहीं आऊंगा पर इस मुअज्जि एवान में चन्द बातें तारिक साहब ने फरमाई, उन्होंने नेशनल कांफ्रेस की हिस्ट्री को दोहराया और काश्मीर के हालात से आपको आगाह कराया और इसी तरह से जनाब बाजपेयी साहब ने भी अपने कुछ ख्यालात का इजहार फरमाया और बाकी दूसरे आनरेबल मेम्बरान ने भी इस मुअज्जि एवान में काश्मीर की मौजूदा सूरते हाल के मुतल्लिक कुछ तशवीश का इजहार किया और कुछ अपने ख्यालात रखे । इसलिए मैं फाइनेंस बिल की मदों पर और जो रकम खर्च कर रहे हैं और एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल में जिन डिमांड्स का मुतालिबा किया गया है, उनकी तरफ इशारा करके हाऊस का वक्त खराब करना नहीं चाहता और मैं सिर्फ इन बातों की तरफ इशारा करूंगा कि जो बातें यहां पर उभारी गयी हैं ।

† [ ] Hindi transliteration.

मुझे इन्तहायी दुख हुआ कि जब एक आनरेबल मेम्बर ने जो आपोजीशन पार्टी से ताल्लुक रखते हैं, स्वतंत्र पार्टी से ताल्लुक रखते हैं, उनसे काश्मीर के मुतल्लिक सवाल पूछा गया तो उन्होंने फरमाया कि काश्मीर के मुतल्लिक स्वतंत्र पार्टी ने अभी जो उसका सटेंड है उसके बारे में फैसला नहीं किया है । मुझे इन्तहाई हैरानी है कि मुझे इससे जबरदस्त तशवीश पैदा हुई कि हमारे यहां एक ऐसी भी जमाइत है जो काश्मीर का हिन्दुस्तान के साथ मुकम्मिल इलहाक होने के बाद भी और इसको १४-१५ साल गुजरने के बावजूद भी अभी तक यह फैसला नहीं कर पायी है कि काश्मीर के मुतल्लिक उनका क्या स्टैंड है । मुझे इन्तहाई दुख हुआ । जब मैंने अखबारात में जनाब भसानी साहब की स्पीचिज, जनाब राजा गोपालाचार्य की स्पीचिज पढ़ी, तो मुझे इन्तहाई अफसोस हुआ कि कहीं पर यह कहा जा रहा है कि सेल्फ डिटरमिनेशन का जो नारा लगाया जा रहा है उसको निभाया जाए, उसको पूरा—fulfil—किया जाए, कहीं पर यह कहा जा रहा है कि काश्मीर में मिड-टर्म इलेक्शन—mid-term election— कराए जाएं । इस किस्म के दूसरे ख्यालात का भी इजहार किया जा रहा है । काश्मीर की तशवीश-नाक सूरत है ऐसा ख्याल तमाम मेम्बरों की तरफ से पेश हुआ है । मैं काश्मीर से अभी अभी आया हूँ और वहां के ताजा हालात को और वहां की तमाम बातों को मैं जानता हूँ तो अक्सीरियत की जो ख्वाहिशात हैं वों मैं आपके सामने इस मुअज्जि एवान में रखना चाहता हूँ ।

एक मामले में काश्मीर के लोग गांधी जी के पुजारी हैं गांधी जी के फालोवर्स—followers—हैं, गांधी जी के मानने वाले हैं । गांधी जी ने दो नारे लगाए थे । एक नारा गांधी जी का यह था ।

"Do or die". This has to be put to test. 'Die' here means that Hindus and Muslims should learn to live in peace and amity. Otherwise, I would die in my attempt and that will be a difficult job."

यह हमारे महान नेता बापू का नारा था कि हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों को एक होकर कन्धे से कन्धा मिलाकर, शाने से शाना मिला कर, आगे चलना है। इस हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी को हमने बड़ी मुसीबतों के बाद हासिल किया, हमारे बड़े बड़े सपूत मदाने-जंग में, आजादी—-independence—-की जंग में काम आए हैं। बहुत ज्यादा कठिनाई उन्होंने बरदास्त की है, बहुत तकलीफात बरदास्त की हैं। जेलों में गए हैं और इस मुल्क को फारेन पावर—-foreign power—-आजाद करने के लिए गुलामी का जो जुआ हमारे गले में लटका हुआ था उससे निजात दिलाने के लिए, उन्होंने बहुत तकलीफात बरदास्त की हैं।

इसके बाद गांधी जी का यह ख्वाब था। गांधीजी को रोशनी की एक किरण नजर आयी थी और वह यह थी कि काश्मीर जो है वो तमाम इंडिया को लीड—-lead—-करेगा, सैक्यूलर डेमोक्रेसी के लिए, और आज मैं फरार से यह कहने के लिए तैयार हूँ। मेरा सर फरार से बलन्द है कि गांधी जी के कहे को, गांधी जी के ख्वाब को, काश्मीर के लोगों ने पूरा किया इसका एक मुजाहिरा आप देखेंगे कि जब हजरतबल में मुए-मुजद्दिस की चोरी हुई तो उस वक्त आपने देखा कि हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों ने और सिक्खों ने सबने मिलकर, किस तरह से कम्युनल हार्मनी—-communal harmony—-का सबूत दिया। लेकिन इसके मुकाबिले में पाकिस्तान में बर्हक्षियाना-पन का जो मुजाहिरा किया गया, जो वहाँ माइनोरिटीज—-minorities को तकलीफात पहुंचायी गयी, इन्सानीयत के नाम लेवाओं ने, इस्लाम के नाम लेवाओं ने जो कुछ वहाँ पर किया, उसको जितना भी मैं कन्डेम करूँ, वो मेरे ख्याल से नाकाफी

होगी। कुछ पागल लोगों ने पाकिस्तान में जो कुछ किया वो किया लेकिन इसके साथ ही इसके रिटैलिएशन—-बदला—-में इंडिया में हिन्दुस्तान में, कलकते में, या दूसरी जगहों में, राउरकेला में, जमशेदपुर में, जो कुछ हुआ उसको भी मैं इक्वैली—-उसी तरह—-कन्डेम करता हूँ। हमारे सैक्यूलर डेमोक्रेसी के मुल्क में गांधी जी के मुल्क में, पंडित जवाहरनाथ नेहरू के मुल्क में ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए था। बहरहाल मैं चाहूंगा कि उन चीजों को शुरु से ही दबा देना चाहिए। यह मेरा मशवरा है। Nip the evil in the bud.

अब १५ साल की आजादी के बाद भी हमारे ऊपर गुलामी का जो एक दाग था उसको हटाए हुए इतने दिन गुजर जाने के बाद भी जो हालत है उसको आप देखें। १९६१ ई० की सैसम रिपोर्ट आप पढ़ेंगे तो उससे पता चलेगा कि अभी तक हमारे मुल्क में ५ मिलियन पीपुल होमलेस हैं। "Five millions of people are homeless. There is no shelter, there are no roofs over their heads."

यह आज हमारी पोजीशन है। गुलामी को खत्म करके हमारा मुल्क हिन्दुस्तान एक बहुत बड़ी तरक्की के रास्ते पर तेजी से आगे जा रहा था। हमने हर एक सैक्टर में, प्राइवेट सैक्टर में और पब्लिक सैक्टर में तरक्की की। हम तेजी से अपने मकसद की तरफ आगे बढ़ रहे थे और इस वक्त जब कि हम एक जहाद कर रहे थे, एक लड़ाई कर रहे थे, एक जिद्दीजहद कर रहे थे गुलामी के खिलाफ, जहालत के खिलाफ, बेकारी के खिलाफ, मुफलसी के खिलाफ, गरीबी के खिलाफ, उस वक्त हमारे एक दोस्त ने दोस्ती का लिवादा पहन कर यानी चीन ने हमारे ऊपर हमला किया। तो चीन की श्रां से जब हम पर हमला हुआ है, उससे हमें सबक सीखना



[श्री श्री० एम० मीर]

चाहिए हमें उसकी तरफ से बिल्कुल कम्प्लेसेन्ट—*complacent*— नहीं होना चाहिए। चीन का जो नापाक इरादा है उसको हमें समझना चाहिए। वो फिर हमारे ऊपर हमला कर सकता है। तो यह हालत है।

जहां तक काश्मीर का ताल्लुक है मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि काश्मीर के लोगों ने आड़े बक्ते में जब कि चारों तरफ से प्रोवोकेशन (*provocation*)—दिये जा रहे थे जब कि चारों तरफ से मजहब के नाम पर लोगों को एक्सप्लोइट—(*exploit*)— किया जा रहा था, जब कि पाकिस्तान की तरफ से हर किस्म की बातें की जा रहीं थीं, इस्लाम के नाम पर लोगों को उभारा जा रहा था, उस वकत काश्मीर ने सैक्यूलर डेमोक्रेसी का सुबूत दिया। देश के साथ, हिन्दुस्तान के साथ, कन्धे से कन्धा मिलाकर चला, एक तरफ हुए मुए-मुकद्दस की चोरी हुई, दूसरी तरफ जम्मू में दो मूर्तियां चुरायी गयीं, यानी एक मुकम्मिल शाजिश के तहद सब कुछ किया गया। किश्तवार में मुसलमानों की एक बहुत बड़ी जियारत है, वहां पर भी उसी दिन जब कि मुए-मुकद्दस की चोरी हुई, उस जियारत को भी जला दिया गया। तो ये तमाम चीजें हुईं जो कि पाकिस्तान की तरफ से की गयीं थीं, जो उन अनासर की तरफ से की गयीं थीं जो कि चाहते थे कि यहाँ हिन्दू और मुसलमान मे एक किस्म का तफरका पैदा हो, भाई-भाई का गला काटा जाए। जो १९४७ के हौलनाक नजारे को सामने लाना चाहते थे लेकिन उन के मुंह पर काश्मीर के लोगों ने चपत लगायी और आपने देखा कि वहाँ एक भी इन्सान का बाल बांका नहीं हुआ। इसके मुकाबिले में पाकिस्तान में, हिन्दुस्तान में, क्या हुआ वह तमाम चीजें आपके सामने हैं। तो ये गांधी जी का एक ख्वाब था, एक रोशनी की किरण गांधी जी को काश्मीर में नजर आयी थी।

गांधी जी का दूसरा ख्वाब जो था वह खूत-छात के मसले पर था और उसमें भी काश्मीर ने लीड लिया और गांधी जी ने जो नारा लगाया था उसको पूरा किया। गांधी जी ने कहा था—

"To perpetuate untouchability in the manner we have done in India, is a serious blot on Hinduism, an unwarranted abuse of the Simritis and the negation of love which is the basis of Hinduism."

यह गांधी जी का नारा था। आप काश्मीर के लोगों में कभी यह नहीं पायेंगे कि यह हिन्दू है, यह मुसलमान है, यह ईसाई है, यह हरीजन है। जहाँ कोई इस किस्म का सवाल नहीं है बल्कि वहाँ सब एक सफ्र में हैं।

एक ही सफ में खड़े हो गए महमूदोअघाज ना कोई बन्दा रहा ना कोई बन्दा नवाज।

काश्मीर में जो लोग हैं वो देश के लिए हैं, हिन्दुस्तान के लिए हैं। काश्मीर ने हिन्दुस्तान के साथ मुकम्मिल इल्हाक किया और उन्होंने अपना एक आईन भी बनाया है और इस आईन के तहत, इस आईन की दफा ३ के तहत काश्मीर का इल्हाक हिन्दुस्तान के साथ मुकम्मिल हो चुका है। इसमें ना कोई शको-शुबा की गुंजाइस है और ना कोई हिन्दू या कोई मुसलमान इससे इनकार करने के लिए तैयार है। और यह दफा ना-काबिले तरमीम है। मुझे इन्तहाई खुशी हुई जब मैंने यहाँ इस ऐवान में तमाम हिन्दुस्तान भर के कोने कोने से जो मुसलमान मेम्बरान हैं उनके ख्यालात सुने। वे भी यह चाहते हैं कि काश्मीर हमारे साथ हो। मैं आज उन मुसलमान भाइयों को, ५ करोड़ मुसलमान जो यहाँ रहते हैं, यह यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि आपके दुःख में हम शामिल हैं, आपके सुख में शामिल हैं; और मैं आपको पूरा यकीन दिलाता हूँ कि काश्मीर जब तक रहेगा, वो आपकी इज्जत

क लिए, आपकी तरक्की के लिए, हमेशा प्रायः रहेगा। हम आपके साथ रहेंगे, हिन्दुस्तान के साथ रहेंगे, यहीं मरेंगे, यहीं जियेंगे। यह हमारा यकीन है, यह हमारा ईमान है, और इसके लिए हमको अगर वड़ी से बड़ी कुर्बानी देनी पड़ेगी, अगर हमें कुर्बानी की जरूरत पड़ेगी, तो हम अपने सिरों की नेहरू जी के बंदमों में रखेंगे। जहां भी वो चाहें हमारी कुर्बानी की जरूरत पड़ेगी, जहां भी हमारे खून की जरूरत पड़ेगी, हम ब-सरो-बसम उनके पांवों में अपने आपको रखेंगे, अपनी कुर्बानी को पेश करने के लिए। लेकिन मुझे दुख है कि वाजपेयी साहब ने यहां अपनी तकरीर करते हुए उन रिपब्लिकन का जिक्र किया जिन पर पाकिस्तान के लोगों ने सजायें लगाए, बड़े जोरों से जिक्र किया था। ठीक है, मैं मानता हूँ, कोई इंसान कभी भी इस चीज को नजर अन्दाज नहीं करेगा। इन्ग्लैण्ड के नाम लेना लोगों ने जो कुछ पाकिस्तान में किया वो हर तरीका से सजहबी तरीके से, अखलाकी तरीके से, मियासी तरीके से, हर तरीके से उसको कन्डेम किया जाना चाहिए। मैं उसको कन्डेम करना चाहता हूँ। पिक्चर की एक ही साइड नहीं है, तस्वीर का दूसरा रुख भी है। क्या ही अच्छा होता अगर वाजपेयी साहब ने यहां बलबले में जो कुछ हुआ, राउर-कला में जो कुछ हुआ, जमशेदपुर में जो कुछ हुआ, उसको भी कन्डेम किया होता। मैं सोचता रहा, मैं मुनता रहा, मुझे अफगान हुआ। यह ठीक है कि उन्होंने एक पार्लियामेंट देकर दिया होगा। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि मुअज्जिज पार्टी के लीडर होने की हैसियत से आपका यह फर्ज है कि आप इन चीजों को इस तरीके-तरीके से गण करें, इस पैरेलल और मुताबकी तरीके से चलाएं ताकि जो तलखी है वो कम हो, तलखी को बढ़ाना नहीं चाहिए। तलखी को कम करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। आज मैं ४५ करोड़ इंसानों को, हिन्दुस्तान में बसने वालों को यकीन दिलाना हूँ कि आप जकी-मुदता की निगाह

से नहीं देखें। काश्मीरी अपने वायदे से फिरने वाला नहीं है, काश्मीरियों ने इन्हें का वचन दिया है, इस वचन का पूरा करने के लिए हमारी जानें जाएंगी लेकिन हम कभी भी अपने फंसले से पीछे नहीं हटेंगे।

जनाबे वाला, पिछले १०-१२ सालों में हिन्दुस्तान के करीब हमने आने की कोशिश की। आपको याद होगा कि पहले जो लोग काश्मीर जाते थे, परमिट लेकर जाते थे, उसको खत्म किया, मुद्राई कांट्रॉल आफ इंडिया का जुरिसडिक्शन—दायरा-ए-अधिकार—रियासत में लागू नहीं था उसको एक्सटेंड किया। इन्वेस्टमेंट कमिश्नर आफ इंडिया का जुरिसडिक्शन—jurisdiction—काश्मीर में लागू नहीं था, उसको भी एक्सटेंड किया, इसके अलावा फाइनेंसियल इंटेग्रेशन आफ दी स्टेट हुआ, यानी आर्टिकल अन्तरिम का दायरा-ए-अधिकार रियासत पर लागू किया गया। अब मैं यह चाहता हूँ हिन्दुस्तान पर के लोगों से मैं यह तक्का रखना कि वो काश्मीर के मामले में जरा ठंडे दिल से मांचा करे, ठंडे दिल से गौर किया करे, चबरातें और तड़पने की कोई जरूरत नहीं। मैं आप को यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ। आपने चन्द धारमियों की बातें सुनी हैं जो सिर्फ सजहब को एक्सप्लॉइट—exploit—करने में लगे हुए हैं। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि रियासत में भी इस किस्म के लोग हैं जो डिस्टरपगनिस्ट हैं, जो रियासत में तफरका पैदा करना चाहते हैं, जो रियासत में गड़बड़ करना चाहते हैं लेकिन वो चन्द लोग हैं जो उंगलियों पर गिने जा सकते हैं लेकिन अक्सरियत उन लोगों का है जो नेशनल काँग्रेस के साथ १४-१५ सालों से लगे हैं, उनका अकीदा बदला नहीं है। हालांकि उनको कई तरह की मुश्किलों का सामना करना पड़ रहा है आप अखबारों का जायजा लें और ठंडे दिल से सोचें। मैं चाहता हूँ इस ऐवान के मेम्बरान और लोक सभा के मेम्बरान पर मुश्किलें पड़ें, भेटीं यने जो काश्मीर में जाएं, वहां के हालात का जायजा ले, लोगों से मिलें। अपनी

[श्री जी० एम० मीर]

तक हमारी नेशनल कांफ्रेंस जमायत के रैंक एण्ड फाइल में—rank and file—इस किस्म को कोई परेशानी नहीं है जहां तक इलहाक का मसला है। हम नहीं जानते कि यह इलहाक का मसले का बार बार जिक्र क्यों आता है। पार्लियामेंट में, पार्लियामेंट के बाहर और प्रेस में ये बातें क्यों सुनते हैं। इलहाक एक मुकम्मिल बात है, इसमें कोई शको शुबा नहीं रहा। इसको जो चैलेंज करता है उसके लिए इस हिन्दुस्तान में कोई जगह नहीं होनी चाहिए। मैं कहता हूँ कि कोई भी मुसलमान चाहे वो मुसलमान हो या कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी से ताल्लुक रखता हो, जो हिन्दुस्तान में रहता है हिन्दुस्तान का नमक खा कर अपनी आंखें दूसरी तरफ लगाए हुए है, फारेन मुमालिक की तरफ देखता है, उसको आनरेबली बाकायदा पासपोर्ट बनाकर, रेलवे में बिठा कर हिफाजत से उस मुल्क में पहुंचाना चाहिए जहां वह रहना चाहता है लेकिन ऐसे इंसान के लिए हिन्दुस्तान भर में कोई जगह नहीं, चाहे मुसलमान हो, चाहे कोई और हो। यह हमारा प्रोग्राम होना चाहिए।

मैंने काश्मीर के इन तमाम हालत के मुत्तल्लिक आपसे अज्ञ की। मुझे इन्तहाई दुःख हुआ जब यहां पर एक मेम्बर साहब ने काश्मीर के मुत्तल्लिक कहा कि गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ लोगों ने एजीटेशन किया। मैं हैरान हुआ कि गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ कौन सा एजीटेशन हुआ हालांकि १९४८ ई० से लेकर १९६३ ई० तक हुकूमत चली आयी। जहां तक मेरा ताल्लुक है, मैं भी तवारीख का एक स्टूडेंट हूँ, मैंने कभी नहीं सुना लेकिन एक आनरेबल मेम्बर ने मुताया कि गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ एजीटेशन हुआ। यह बात गलत है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप उन तमाम बातों को उंडे दिल से सोचें जैसा कि मैंने पहले कहा, एजीशन गवर्नमेंट के खिलाफ नहीं, एजीटेशन मुए-मुवारक के मुत्तल्लिक हुआ।

जैसा कि मैंने अज्ञ किया काश्मीर के लोग सभी इसमें एतबार रखते हैं। हिन्दू और मुसलमान इसकी दस्तयाबी के लिए, इसको दुबारा हासिल करने के लिए, चिल्ला रहे थे। आप देखेंगे पिछले डिकेड—decade—में, १० सालों में, इस किस्म की कोई बात नहीं आयी। हम तमाम लोगों को साथ से लेकर चले हैं। हमने नेशनल कांफ्रेंस की ही बदौलत काश्मीर में कम्युनल हारमनी पैदा की है। यह कोई एक दो दिन का काम नहीं था। यह कम्युनल हारमनी कैसे आयी। यह इसलिए आई कि नेशनल कांफ्रेंस की जमायत ने, नेशनल कांफ्रेंस की सरकार ने, कुछ काम किए, कुछ लोगों की खिदमत की इसका सिला जो था वह मिला। जहां तक एजीटेशन का सवाल है यह आपकी विश-फुल थिंकिंग—wishful thinking— है और कोई बात नहीं है। मैं यकीन दिलाता हूँ कि काश्मीर के लोगों ने जो फेसला किया वह बिल्कुल मुकम्मिल और आखिरी है। उसमें अगर आप हिन्दुस्तान के चन्द दोस्त, हिन्दुस्तान का प्रेस, इस किस्म की कोई गलत ब्यानी करे, तो मैं उनसे यह मोअद्बाना अपील करूंगा, हिन्दुस्तान के ४५ करोड़ इंसानों से अपील करूंगा कि तमाम इच्छलाफात खत्म करके हम सब मिलकर आगे बढ़ें, क्योंकि चीन और पाकिस्तान की तरफ से हमारी स्टेबिलिटी को, हमारी इन्टेगिरेटी को, हमारी मोवरेंटी को, चैलेंज किया जा रहा है इसलिए आइए हम सब एक हो जाएं और कन्धे से कन्धा मिलाकर इन तमाम दुश्मनों का इन तमाम मुल्क-दुश्मन अनासर का, मुकाबिला करें जो आज हमारी आजादी को छीनने के दरपे हैं, जो आज यह नहीं चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में एक बड़ा मुल्क बने। हिन्दुस्तान एशिया की रहनुमाई करे। हिन्दुस्तान तामीर और तरक्की के रास्ते पर आगे बढ़े। आज दुनिया की आंखें इस तरफ लगी हुई हैं। चीन भी चाहता है खराबी करना, पाकिस्तान की तरफ से धमकियां आती हैं, इन सब बातों को मिस-

कर तमारांक सकते हैं जब हम एक नेशन ह्री कर, इंडियन होकर, आगे बढ़ें । मैं हिन्दुस्तान के ४५ करोड़ लोगों से अपील करूंगा कि वो मेरी बात पर तबज्जो दें । जहां तक फाइनेंस बिल का ताल्लुक है, मैं ज्यादा नहीं कहूंगा, मैं सिर्फ फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर की तबज्जो दिलाउंगा कि जब हमें चारों तरफ से दुश्मन का मुकाबिला करना है, चीन की तरफ से, पाकिस्तान की तरफ से, हमको अपने मुल्क को बचाना है तो डिफेंस के लिये जो रकमात रखनी हैं उनमें कमी नहीं होनी चाहिये । लेकिन जब मैं फाइनेंस बिल को देखता हूं तो उसमें मेरे ख्याल में एक करोड़ रुपये के लगभग कमी की गयी । मैं चाहता हूं कि हर एक एबल बॉडीड परसन् (able-bodied person) यानी तमाम हिन्दुस्तान में बसने वाले एबल बॉडीड परसन्स को कम्पलसरी मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग दी जाए, कौम को तैयार किया जाए, ताकि हम यह न सुनें कि हमारी फौज ने डट कर मुकाबिला तो किया लेकिन पीछे हटना पड़ा । अब हम यह सुनने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं । आज हमारी तमाम फौज को तैयार होना चाहिए, डिफेंस प्रोडैक्शन की जो फैक्टरीज हैं, आर्मस एमूनीशन जहां बनता है उसकी तरफ तबज्जो देनी चाहिए । हम इन चीजों को खामोश नहीं कर सकते हैं । जब मुल्क में जमीन पर बहुत ज्यादा प्रेशर है तो हमें चाहिए कि रूरल सेक्टर में इंडस्ट्री कायम करें, ताकि वो प्रेशर खत्म हो जाए और इतना रुपया जो हम फ़ड ग्रैन्स के परचेज पर खर्च कर रहे हैं उसमें कमी आ जाए । इन्टेन्सिव कल्टीवेशन (intensive cultivation) की तरफ तबज्जो दी जाये । और फर्टिलाइजरस (fertilisers) की तरफ जोर दिया जाए (Time bell rings.) एक बात, जैसा कि मैंने पहले कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान की तमाम पार्टियां इस बिलन एक हो जाएं,

नहीं तो आखिर में एक शेर यही कहूंगा कि —

ना समझोगे तो मिट जाओगे ऐ हिन्दोस्तान वालो ।

तुम्हारी दास्तां तक भी न हागी दास्तानों में ।]

श्री ए० बी० बाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदया, अभी अभी जो नये मेम्बर बोले व काश्मीर से आये हैं । उन्होंने बहुत अच्छी तकरीर की लेकिन मेरे भाषण को तोड़ मरोड़ कर पेश किया । मैंने अपने भाषण में कलकता, हरकेला, और जमशेदपुर में जो भी दंगे हुए, उन दंगों को निन्दा की है । मैं ही इस बात की मांग की है कि पाकिस्तान में कुछ भी हो, देश के भीतर हर कीमत में शांति रहनी चाहिये और मजहब के आधार पर किसी तरह का भेदभाव नहीं होना चाहिये । उन्होंने जम्मू में जो शान्ति रही उसकी बड़ी तारीफ की । तो क्या वे इस बात से इन्कार कर सकते हैं कि अगर जम्मू में शांति रही तो उसमें जम्मू प्रदेश जनसंघ का बड़ा हिस्सा था । मूर्तियों की चोरी की बात करके अगर वहां के काम करने वाले जनसंघी चाहते तो जम्मू में गड़बड़ करा सकते थे । लेकिन गड़बड़ कराना हमारा काम नहीं है और इस तरह से उन्हें भाषण तोड़ मरोड़कर पेश करना नहीं चाहिये । उन्होंने लोगों को मिलाने की अपील की है तो क्या यही मिलाने का तरीका है कि भाषण को तोड़ मरोड़कर पेश किया जाय और फिर मिलाने की अपील की जाय ?

شہری اے - ایم - طارق (جسوں اور  
کشمیر) : ہم آپ سے اور تقریر سنا  
چاہتے ہیں، اس لئے انہوں نے میدان  
تیار کر دیا ہے -

[श्री ए० एस० तारिक (जम्मू और काश्मीर) : हम आप से और तकरीर सुनना चाहते हैं, इसलिये उन्होंने मैदान तैयार कर दिया है ।]

† [ ] Hindi transliteration.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI) : Madam Deputy Chairman, it is somewhat difficult to reply to a three-day debate, the bulk of which did not cover the motion before the House. In fact the day has gone by, when we were discussing a Finance Bill during the British times, when everything under the sun used to be brought within the scope of the umbrella of the discussion on the Finance Bill. We have heard of the legend of one of my friends who is no longer with us, having spoken for a day and a half in order to keep the discussion alive so that Members might come back and vote. I have myself been guilty on several occasions of having spoken for two hours or two and a half hours, certainly not on the Finance Bill but on a number of other things. It is somewhat of a mistake perhaps that there is little overlapping between the Appropriation Bill and the Finance Bill and the discussions also overlap and when I reply to the discussion on the Appropriation Bill, I probably will have to cover some of the ground covered by hon. Members in regard to general matters. Therefore I shall confine myself strictly to those remarks of hon. Members as pertain to the Finance Bill. It is not in a spirit of patronization that I mention that the discussion on the whole has been at a very high level. Even hon. friends who did not agree with us, had used language, had used a tone that had raised the level of the debate to a much higher pedestal than what would normally be expected in the course of a discussion on a Bill which undoubtedly is controversial in parts. There are very important subjects which ultimately pertain to the economy of the country and my hon. friend—I think he is not here—Prof. Chandrasekhar, in his maiden speech

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is there.

SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI: I am glad that he is here—he spoke on

a subject in which he is very competent to speak and pointed out very clearly the dangers ahead of us arising out of this unchecked growth of population which will undoubtedly destroy all hopes of a planned and better economy if it is allowed to pursue the path it does now. Prior to him, another hon. Member, also new to the House but with a great deal of experience in regard to the practical aspects of family planning, had pointed out to us the necessity for implementing our ideas quickly and efficiently. I am beholden to these two hon. Members for their advice in this matter.

SHRIMATI SHAKUNTALA PARANJPYE (Nominated): I spoke on the Appropriation Bill—

SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI: Yes. I am indeed obliged and so is the Government to these hon. Members and I do hope to be able to persuade my colleague, the Minister of Health, to, if possible, separate this all-important task from the other important tasks with which she is charged, so that a good deal more of concentration can be given to family planning. Undoubtedly family planning has a close relation to the health of the people. I think one hon. Member opposite—I do not know who it is, I think it was Prof. Ruthnaswamy—mentioned about the economic condition of the people and the rate of growth of population. Well I suppose some people realize that if certain standards of living have to be maintained family planning comes in more naturally. It is true that the poor man, as somebody said, who has only the luxury of producing children, does so without any thought to it. The more well-to-do people have other means of forgetting one of the basic physiological factors of human existence now and again and therefore they produce less children but whatever that may be, it is certainly a matter closely connected with planning and economic development and I would agree with the hon. Member

from Poona that the realisation is there. The little experience that I have had in visiting people belonging to the poorer sections of the community where experiments are being conducted in this regard, as that they are not unalive to the basic need of raising their standards of living and to limiting the number of children they have.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Not so much in the rural areas.

SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI: I am afraid the response in the rural areas is greater than in the urban areas. Promiscuity unfortunately has a propinquity to urban living rather than to rural living where diversions are greater. I think there will be greater success if we attempt family planning in the rural areas but unfortunately what do we do? In my own constituency where we have 13 Blocks which were having a Block Samiti I had on one of the occasions when I visited the constituency made it a point to speak to the Gram Sevikas about their work, whether they are being properly treated, whether it is possible for them to move about easily and finally I asked them what work they do about family planning. In fact most of these young girls as they are, laughed. They said, the question that was asked of them was: 'How many children have you got?' It is impossible to go and tell a mother of three or four children when the person to speak about family planning is a girl who is unmarried, and therefore often times even if it happens that it is an old spinster or a person without children or a person with many children who happens to preside over the societies that are concerned with family planning, it is better that the people who go and work among the people and make them accept the need for family planning are people who know something about it, are of a certain age. I think it will be wrong to send anybody below the age of thirty. It be- j

comes a laughing matter and I think a serious matter like this should never be made the subject of laughter but I have every hope that with the help of my colleague, this Government would be able to take a big lead in this question of opening more family planning clinics and greater propaganda behind the idea of family planning, and I hope that way we shall partly solve the problem of the difficulties that face our planning. We had a very interesting maiden speech this morning from a very respected friend of ours, Mr. Ramachandran. I am most grateful to him for the few kind words he said about me. Needless to say I felt flattered. Whoever does not? Even God is supposed to be susceptible to it. But it was an interesting talk, interesting from the point of view of the change of outlook of those classes of people whom Mr. Ramachandran here represents, the element of modernity that has crept into their manner of thinking and their preparedness to accept certain imperatives which go with modern civilisation. We are happy to hear from him that even they have accepted that industrialisation is an imperative in modern times. But there is only one mistake he made—if I may respectfully point it out even if he is not here—when he said 'rural industrialisation.' I may ask, Madam, if it is not something which looks facetious—a spinster who gets married, is no longer a spinster, nor a bachelor who gets married, a bachelor. If industry goes to a rural area, the area is no longer rural; it becomes urban. The tendency for rural areas to become urban with the advent of industrialisation is a thing which we see. My own experience is that. Madam, I think it was some day in June 1955 that I went to a place called Bhilai when there was nothing there except a travellers' bungalow belonging to the adjacent town, Durg, and the station which was just then created, and the man who was working as the manager there had a tent from which snakes used to come out. Well, then a year back I

[Shri T. T. Krishnamachari.] managed to pay a surprise visit to that place. It was teeming with the lives of hundreds of thousands of people; there were more people than there ought to be there. In fact, we had intended then that there should be only about 7,500 workers there. Now I am told there are 16,000 of them, and many more, to serve there. Well, this was a rural area, completely rural, in fact so nakedly and avowedly rural with not even a tree. But things have changed. So once you take an industry, another industry comes, a third one corner a fourth one comes, and so on, and that rural area becomes urban. Therefore, while it is perfectly proper and right that we should take industries there, we should disperse them. We should not allow them to spread around big cities and make them like Greater Bombay, Greater Calcutta, Greater Delhi, and so on. But we should take them to other areas, and once those areas are industrialised, they become urban. Secondly, the factor that he mentioned was that so much money is spent on urban areas and that 25 per cent of the people live in urban areas—I think a little more than that. In the towns, at any rate in two or three States where I had done some sums—somebody mentioned that arithmetic is almost inexorably true—the arithmetic showed me that, roughly our population is 30 to 33 per cent in urban areas—the rest in rural areas. But the fact is that urban areas today represent merely a sort of an overflow or a continuous flow from rural areas to urban areas, it is a case of people constantly and continuously coming to towns and living in conditions which are hardly comparable to living in rural areas. A man can live very well, very comfortably too, in a small little shed, thatched shed under a tree in a rural area, but when that shed comes to an urban area, it becomes a slum, with all the evils, both physical and psychological, connected with it. So I have often mentioned this dichotomy rural versus urban, which again produces

a Marxist doctrine, results in a conflict which does not exist. There is nothing wrong; the one is complementary to the other. If we can keep people in rural areas, probably the strain on urban areas will not be great. If we create a number of cities, if today I as Finance Minister have independence enough to be able to create fifty new cities in India, I am sure I would solve the problem of at least twenty-five per cent of the slum-dwellers in this country; there is no difficulty at all about it. But the only trouble is, even a Finance Minister, however arrogant or dogmatic he might be, acts under limitations because other people have to pull with him. The Finance Minister's job is not a single bullock cart—I wish it were—then I can take the cart to wherever I want, and perhaps ultimately to the Garden of Eden as, I think, it should be. But it is not even a double bullock cart. It is several bullocks pulling together and many of them pulling back so that we might almost come to a stage of our being at a standstill. But I am glad that the hon. friend, Mr. Ramachandran, pointed out this fact. We realise it; we realise there ought to be industries in rural areas. But he should also realise that once an industry has come, the evils of urban society and the benefits of urban society will follow soon.

I am not going to speak about what he said about education. With some of what he said I might agree; with other things I may not. Anyway I am not now an educationist even though I might have some pretensions to it. I am now what you might call an almost Philistine arithmetician.

So to come back, Madam, to my subject, I did not listen to my friend, Mr. Govindan Nair, but the script that I have shown that he has been gentle, and I am grateful to him for it. He does not like my policies. He thinks I am going wrong; still he is prepared to wait and watch.

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh); H<sub>e</sub> is moving Right now.

SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI. No, I do not think so. Anyway let us not talk about it.

My friend Professor Ruthnaswamy and my friend Mr. Mani have one thing in common—I think a liberal tradition. Professor Ruthnaswamy's liberal tradition keeps him away from the pitfalls that this colleagues in the other House sometimes fall into, namely, using strong language. professor Ruthnaswamy does not use that language. H<sub>e</sub> is kind to me and therefore he wants to find out why a person like me who, he thinks is not bad, or good perhaps—I have known him for a very long time—why he has gone away from the correct path. Then he says there is a mental tension between being the Finance Minister faced with the grim facts of life and seeking to find a remedy for them, and then fitting into it an ideology of socialism to which, h<sub>e</sub> thinks, I am a recent convert. I am not; I do not know if I am a convert at all, and he attributes all the mistakes that I have made in this Budget and in the Finance Bill to this continuing tension between the devil and the God in me, that the net result is the Finance Bill. Madam, Professor Ruthnaswamy quoted from the saying of a French financial statesman. I do not know who it is. There have been several of them before. And he quoted from the saying of a French financial statesman: "Give me good politics; I will give you good finance." He says that as long as I have the bad politics of socialism I can never produce good finance. But I will tell him: Put it the other way about. Give me good finance and I will give you good politics. If the finances are good, if the country's economic position is good, if the people get a decent standard of living and they get education for their children, employment opportunities for them and ability for a man to function according to his capabilities, without this dead load of

and politics will be easier also. I am sure there will be good finance and financial problems will not be difficult, and politics will be easier also. I am not saying this in a mere spirit of meeting his point. The basic fact today is—and <sup>here</sup> I <sup>am</sup> certainly at one with my friend, Mr. Govindan Nair—that you cannot forget the inexorable facts of economics in life and they would certainly dominate politic.;. We cannot escape from it. You cannot see these tall poppies growing taller and the minor ones that try or attempt to come up, being sort of crowded out in the shade or destroyed. People have to rise. It they rise to a particular height, they can grow automatically. Opportunities must be given to everybody to come up and one should not feel stunted under the dead hand of dynasti-cism, of feudalism or of the princely order or the economic order that is seeking to substitute it today. That dead hand has to be removed, call it by whatever name you like, I have no quarrels with ideologies. Let somebody say that I am a socialist or that I am not a socialist, I am not affected by it. My digestion is not going to improve or deteriorate on that account. This dead hand has got to go and we should make a beginning, and we have made a beginning, and that dead hand will be removed. Well, let it grow, I don't mind. If I chop off a hand and still it grows, if there is enough strength in that old banyan tree, let it grow, I don't mind. But when it grows to a stage when the ends become dead wood, we will have to 'thop it off, and that is exactly what our socialism means. We do not want to stiff anybody from earning and using his intelligence to make money if he wants to. But so long as that money becomes antisocial I am afraid its effects hse to b<sub>e</sub> removed. May I say, Madam, that while I claim no credit, not even an iota of credit for having launched socialism by this Finance Bill—if I iay so. I must be more of a fool than what I am—but every act that we are trying to do consciously is to that very



[Shri T. T. Krishnamachari.] end? In fact, today Madam, when we hear stories that everything is being purchased, everything is being attempted, to be purchased, if somebody says, "If I have money I can do anything I want," is not that a sign that democracy is in danger? If money is allowed to operate unchecked so that it can purchase everybody, it can corrupt everybody, it is about time that money power is curbed. Well, I think, if that is socialism, the curbing of money power, the curbing of dynasticism, the curbing of feudal order, if that is socialism, I think it is very necessary for democracy. The two things have got to go together and there is no need for anybody to go and have a seminar on democratic socialism. You cannot have democracy if votes can be purchased. You cannot have democracy if positions of power and leadership can be purchased and I think this country will not tolerate it from wherever it comes. If a group of people gather together and say, "We will put out three crores and see that the Congress is out tomorrow", that three crores will not be there. I am not going to use the strong language of Mr. Abid Ali. But we do not want to put people in prison. We do not want to use the Defence of India Rules. The normal social conscience is good enough with a proper set of laws to see that these eruptions, these aberrations in the minds of the people who see more money in their hands than what they know to do with, will not go unchecked. I do not mind today if the share market is hammered down so that Mr. Krishnamachari's Finance Bill is considered to be a failure. It will come up again. You cannot hammer down things for a time. Nor is the share market the life in India. It is not. Life is something bigger. Life dominates 450 million people. There are other things of life which distort it, like communal passions, like poverty, like social tension!". But we will never allow life to be distorted by mere money power. If the Congress goes

under because it attempts it, let it go down. It will be a glorious end to a glorious organisation.

Well, Madam, everybody must have a philosophy. My hon. friend, Mr. Dange, when he was a Member in the other House used to tell me, "you should have a theory." Well, I have a theory. My theory is that democracy has to grow and it cannot grow without the economic complements that help it to grow, which prevents it being distorted by a few people with money power. The sum total of the philosophy of this Finance Bill, if hon. Members will read it, is not the Estate Duty rates only, not the Gift Tax rates only, not the Expenditure Tax only, not the Capital Gains Tax only, not even something on which somebody is making such a hullah-baloo, about the capital gains and bonus issues, as if every man in this country has a share and every man who has a share gets a bonus issue and everybody who gets an issue is going to pay the tax. None of these things is going to happen. That is not the issue. The issue, well, is our tax system growing so that the people can get more benefit out of it so that the honest man may be rewarded for being a good taxpayer. As I have said elsewhere, you cannot make one cylinder in a six-cylinder car work and carry the load of the other five dead cylinders. But that is what is happening in this country so that the poor honest man, the salaried man, roughly about 6 lakhs, carries the load of all, where perhaps there ought to be some 60 million taxpayers in this country. Out of the 450 millions I am sure some 60 millions must pay some tax or the other, but these 6 lakhs are carrying the load honestly.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: But they pay indirect taxes.

SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI: Well, they may, but they have to pay direct taxes also which they do not. In America which is a much smaller country, though a richer country,

there are 60 million taxpayers, and the tax officials who were here recently told me that they do not have to watch 57 millions. They have to watch only 3 millions, a very good percentage which speaks volumes of the honesty of the American people. So we have to make these people pay taxes and we have to see ways of preventing them from defeating our ends. As I said, if you look into the Finance Bill and read it carefully, you will find that these tax rates do not really matter. What really matters is the fence that we are trying to build round the tax evader, the information that we are trying to get from him and the publicity that we are trying to give to the non-taxpayers and the punishment that we seek to give them. Somebody asked, "How can the on in of proof boon the person to show that he has not got that income?" Is it for me to prove that somebody has got such and such income? The man must prove that he has not got the income or that his income is such and such. You cannot ask the tax gatherer to go and say, "This is what you should have." In that case it is all wrong. What we are trying today is to make the tax system and the tax laws slightly more logical with the one end, that we shall get the delinquent to pay so that the honest man may pay less. I am perfectly prepared to admit that if I stay as Finance Minister and if my methods are successful, I am quite prepared to reward the honest taxpayer by lowering his first earned income-tax, of course, everything else will remain the same, or probably increase. But the earned income taxpayer must be rewarded, because he works, uses his brain and earns money and pays the taxes. I think we can even bring it down. I do not mind. I can accept the possibility of the tax coming to sixty-five per cent from the seventy-five per cent that it is today. The other thing that we have done. Madam is in respect of this question of the corporate taxation. Some hon. Members said that we are putting more money in the hands of the rich people. Some-

body else said that we are not putting enough money in the hands of the rich people, we are not giving incentives or that the stock market is not coming up, as Mr. Mani Visualised. His liberal mind revolts against any claim that I make which he thinks is untrue. The stock market has gone down. Well, it probably has gone down. I do not say it has not. If it has and if it stays there, I have no use for it. If the stock market is not going to respond, the investor would start handling goods, for lack of investment, and makes his black money circulate, then we will have to find other means. We will go to the small man in the Unit Trust. I will make the corporate sector save, I will make the public sector projects save more, put more money into reserves so that they can expand and they can also go on probably increasing their area by going into other industries which are of a vertical nature. Well if the stock market fails to respond as it might well do we will accept the fact. There is nothing wrong about it. I do not say that my entire taxation system, my expectations of the growth of the economy are completely dependent on the stock market. If I say so, then I should hand over the Finance Ministership to somebody else. Mr. Ruthnaswamy, for instance. *(Interruption)*. He may not be willing. That is a different matter but I am trying to coax them to come and help me. I am not holding a correct nor an. I holding a stick. I have no intention of putting any force on them. If they do not want to come, they do not want to come and that is an end of it. We will find out a method. If the private sector does not want to respond, well, the public sector will take its place. Of course my hon. friend, Mr. Govindan Nair, will say that I get foreign machinery and help. Yes; what shall I do? I cannot keep quiet. My job must go on. I do not have enough engineers and enough entrepreneurs. In another twenty years' time I may have but now I am quite prepared to come in participation with

[Shri T. T. Krishnamachari.]  
 any country, the private sector industrialists of Germany and America and the public sector enterprise of Russia. I do not mind if somebody would come help me do it and if he wants to, in or sometime, I say by all means let them do it but that is not the point. There is no alternative to this. We have to keep on moving otherwise it takes a longer time to reach the goal. I am quite prepared to look over my shoulder and see whether Mr. Babubhai Chinai is coming up. If he cannot walk fast, if he says he is -luck up, I will move from there. I will leave him where he is, I go on and look for other companions, and go ahead and we will reach our goal. Don't let hon. Members think that merely because Dalai Street in Bombay or some street in Calcutta or some hole and corner stock exchange in Delhi whose President Mr. Mani quoted the other day says this, the whole thing is washed off. They are not part of my life. I do not want to destroy them. They may live. I have no animosity against them. The stock exchange gives employment to a number of people and that is the best they can do for me. They give employment to tens of thousands of brokers who live, some of them well and some of them indifferently. Well, let them live. I have no quarrel with them. I do not even say they are parasites. They are doing their work but if they are not going to help, they are going to join groups of people who say that this Government shall be put down, let them do it. The other day somebody said that this Government must be removed but removal or otherwise, the Government is in the hands of the voter who does not possess stocks or shares. Therefore, the position is very close. So far as I am concerned, I am quite prepared to accept help from whatever quarter it comes; I am prepared to accept help from countries whose politics is not mine but whose economics is something like the one with which I might agree and it may be good enough; similarly, I might

take help from countries whose economics is not mine but whose politics is like that of mine. I will accept help from anybody if it comes without any conditions, if it is genuine help but if it is not forthcoming. I am not going to get angry. So, I may say that in regard to these people, they may meet in their air-conditioned rooms, they may make their plans to put this Government out and they can collect the money. You can bribe a hundred people and you can bribe a thousand people but you cannot bribe two hundred million people, the two hundred million voters. That is the mistake which these rich people make. Therefore, they should know our policy. As I said, it is a positive policy. We want everybody to help subject to our conditions. Don't ask us to accept your economics. Our economics is something which you have to accept but we will give you a place to live. As my friend, Mr. Sapru, said, I may not be a Fabian but I cannot completely eliminate gradualness. They have to be balanced and you cannot make a change overnight. The same thing we do when we impose taxes for a year because every person has to realise that changes will be made next year. You had ample notice on the 1st of September, 1963, that changes would be made. I have removed certain of these conditions which were regressive. We do not want to hurt anyone, as Mr. Ramachandran, who does not belong to this Party, said. In fact, one of the things that has influenced the life and motives of people of this generation, whether they were associated with the great man or not, is his spirit. I had been fairly violent even physically before the age of thirty and non-violent thereafter because the influence of the powerful personality in this country made us cease to be violent. We do not want to be violent: violence is not part of our creed. I do not mind anybody in any House or any group of houses who can conspire against this Government. I have no rancour. They have been hurt and they are entitled to

be angry. I do not reciprocate but in one thing they make a mistake. If they think that they are going to stop this chariot from moving, then they are making a big mistake. It will move no matter what happens to individuals. I may be here today, I may not be here tomorrow. It will go on. Once it went off the track and we naturally put it, forced it back on the road and it will go on. That, Madam, is the philosophy behind this Bill and, therefore, it is not a question whether people like Mr. Banerjee of the U.P.S.C. fame or the Home Ministry fame or of whatever fame they may be, said something which, to my moderate friend, Mr. Mam, is gospel. No, he is wrong. Up to Rs. 3,500 there is a definite advantage so far as the low income people are concerned—may not be very much. After these people pay a tax of forty-eight or fifty rupees and if I can give them something, it can only be twenty-five rupees. Don't let hon. Members think that with twenty-five rupees I expect them to build a palace. They will not but we have lowered the tax so that the complaint that some additional burden has been put is not there; the negative factor is certainly there. I do not want him to quote Mr. Banerjee. I do not think he has got enough capacity to think of these things. He is probably doing other things, better things, but the point is this.

Mr. Mani must realise that the society to which he belongs—I do not know if he is the only Member alive now—had a positive contribution to make to thought by its liberal outlook but today life is not liberalism. Life is something which is pulsating with activity. We have no use for liberals. They have an antiquarian value, nothing more.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Madam, apart from being the last surviving Member of the liberal school of thought, I may add that my hon. friend, Prof. Ruthnaswamy also is a person belonging to the liberal way of thinking.

(interruption)

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh) : The Finance Minister paid that compliment. No, he does not want to associate . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: I would like to ask the Finance Minister, apart from Mr. Banerjee being a good civil servant, what he is doing now and all that, whether he has given relief to the Income Tax payers in every slab on four thousand rupees to ten thousand rupees. My point was that at some stages the Income Tax bore very heavily on people, on the salaried people about whom he spoke. I said, up to Rs. 8,500 there is relief even arithmetically. If his liberal thinking would not stomach it, well, I cannot help it.

Well, we come back to the main question. Now, some hon. Members have given amendments and we will probably discuss them at the clause by clause stage. Basically, Madam, I think the Finance Bill represents a great step forward in our thinking; I do not say great step forward so far as everybody is concerned, but in our thinking. We have now definitely laid down that the Government is not prepared to recognise the validity of inheritance whatever other good it do. Maybe if I did not have this 85 per cent tax as estate duty, some might expect some of it to go to investment. Some of it might go to the State Governments and they will invest it on education. It is probably a better investment. Really the money that comes to the Government sometimes is misused, as my hon. friend said that the Minister has misused the funds, but the bulk of it is properly used. In fact the province from which my friend, Mr. Govindan Nair, comes is a problem province from one point of view. The amount of public money that is going into education there is the highest in India. We have to reconcile the needs of the

[Shri A. D. Mani.] many for increased education and also the consequence of it, provision of employment after people are educated. We know the problem is a big one but we do not fight shy of it nor do we say it is wrong if people in Kerala are the highest from the point of view of education. I think they are the highest from the point of view of education all over the world, j Ninetyeight per cent, cf the child, of school-going age go to school in Kerala. I think it is a very high record in any civilised country but it is a problem. I know if money is available from the rich people, from estates, it will go to education and it is certainly an extremely good investment.

So far as the tax on gifts is concerned, it is a corollary and I have given an incentive to gifts, Madam. I think people who have more than Rs. 20 lakhs would perhaps like to give away gifts and pay only 50 per cent to the exchequer because they will have the 50 per cent at the end of their life. So it is an incentive to give gifts. This idea of gifting it away is good. I am sure my friend Mr. Babubhai Chinai is reflecting already, 'why should I not give away some gifts and pay only 50 per cent to the Government instead of 85 per cent?'

SHRI C. D. PANDE: He is too young to make gifts to avoid taxes.

SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI: Nobody is young. You see, life is so uncertain. So I plead for gifts, more gifts. Secure your life by giving more gifts. The Government is not against it. If you save 35 per cent, that way I am not angry, I am not dissatisfied. Now, I do not think it is right; somebody mentioned that someone died because of my Estate Duty. On the other hand my Estate Duty must have made him live a little longer. It is an incentive to live, not to die. Therefore it is an incentive to give

gifts; I am not laughing; it is really serious. In fact I thought whether I should make it 40 or 50. I thought even 50 per cent would be an incentive. On the other hand I would like hon. Members to note—even though it does not appeal to the moderates—that personal tax has come down from 89½ per cent to 75 per cent. It has gone up again only beyond a lakh of rupees by ten per cent more on earned incomes. As I said I would like to bring it down further if it is possible. We made, Madam, Rs. 71 crores more than what we budgeted for last year. Hon. Members might say, 'you budgeted wrong'; but I say, 'No, we collected well'. I think somebody spoke about arrears. Figures have been given to me to rebut that statement. Why should I rebut it? Against Rs. 450 crores we collected Rs. 521 crores or thereabouts. I think it was hard work on the part of the Department and the arrears are not very much. It is roundabout Rs. 290 crores and maybe some forty or fifty crores will have to be ultimately written off. Some of them are Pakistani debts. Don't think I am bringing politics into it. I am not blaming Pakistan. People have gone away to Pakistan and we do not get the money. And then there are 522 writ petitions in one High Court and I think we have got to do something about it. I wonder if hon. Members in this House will resent if we ask the House to amend the Constitution so as to import into it again the provisions of section 226 of the Government of India Act, 1935, which said that revenue matters will not be the subject of writ petitions. I suppose you will agree with me and I think it has to be done some time or other because you have 522 writ petitions in one High Court alone and see the number of High Courts we have in this country. So the collections are good and I think they will be better. In fact I have budgeted only for Rs. 550 crores but I am keeping my estimates a secret. Therefore it will be nothing new if we made more money; we ought to. Today the law provides the wea-

pon; only we have got to get the men 1 to do it.

Now, about secrecy, if anybody wants to misuse information, he will be punished. We are going—I think Mr. Sinha mentioned it—to publish if it is possible, if paper is available, figures with regard to every person getting an income of over Rs. 10,000 and also the expenditure tax he pays, so that people will immediately say, 'Here is a man with a palatial residence with three cars in the House. Why doesn't he pay expenditure tax'? Publicity is the best form of detecting expenditure of this nature and we propose to do it. Therefore without going into details, which might be gone into later, I feel that the Bill should be given a trial and I think most of the hon. Members, even those who have criticised it, are willing to give it a trial.

I am generally heartened, Madam, by the support that we have got for the main objectives that are behind this Finance Bill and behind this Budget. Of course it is true that I have not spelt out education, I have not spelt out agriculture. That forms part of the provision for the particular Ministries and if hon. Members want to speak about it tomorrow, I shall be very happy to listen to them and perhaps answer their points to the best of my ability. All of us cannot be pleased. The Budget is not divorced from the Plan. The Plan is there and the Budget has to fit itself into the four corners of the Plan.

There is one other factor and that is rehabilitation. We are taking that matter very seriously. I have made only a token provision here but I do hope that I will be able to find resources without additional taxation for the purpose of meeting this increased demand. It is our intention that our efforts in regard to rehabilitation should run *pari passu*, simultaneously with our efforts to develop the backward areas, forgotten areas that could be developed, which will add to the total wealth of the country, which

will add to the total national gross product. It is with that intention that a Ministry has been created. My colleague, Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, apart from looking after the refugees, will be saddled with the responsibility for the development of specially backward areas, areas which have not been developed, so that their development will contribute to the growth of the national economy. So I am not frightened by the prospect because I think out of evil some good will come. This idea of rehabilitation has brought us over to this fact that various areas have to be developed, various areas have to be exploited, in various areas people's lives have to be reoriented. All this task will have to be taken up. If money is not there, it will have to be found and I think there is sufficient resilience in the economy today for us to be able to say that we will not be sunk. Of course, there are imponderables. The situation around us is not too happy. It will want the best of our statesmanship to face up to the present difficulties. What the future will hold for us in the shape of enemies from abroad, we do not know. Taking all these points of view, I think the Government have put out their financial proposals with a certain amount of resilience, with a certain amount of cushion in it. Therefore, Madam, I commend the proposals to the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1964-65, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

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

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

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Clause 4. There is an amendment—No. 1—in

[The Deputy Chairman.] the name of Shri Dahyabhai Patel, which is barred. Therefore, I put clause 4 to the House.

*Clause 4 was added to the Bill.*

*Clauses 5 to 10 were added to the Bill.*

*Clause 11—Insertion of new section 44 A.*

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:  
Madam, I move:—

2. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1964, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely:—

"That at page 10, after line 42, the following be inserted namely:—

"(5) Nothing contained in subsection (2) shall apply in a case where the bonus shares are distributed in pursuance of a company's resolution passed before the 29th day of February, 1964.""

*(The amendment also stood in the name of Shri Lokanath Misra.)*

*The question was proposed.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Have you anything to say?

SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI: For any company which has passed a resolution before the 29th day of February, 1964, the tax is there and they cannot implement their resolution. I do not think any relief is called for.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I beg leave to withdraw my amendment.

*Amendment No. 2 was, by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That clause 11 stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clause 11 was added to the Bill.*

*Clauses 12 to 27 were added to the Bill.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Clause 28. There is one amendment—No. 3—which is also barred.

*Clause 28 was added to the Bill.*

*Clauses 29 to 49 were added to the Bill.*

*Clause 50—Amendment of Act 27 of 1957*

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I move:—

4. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1964, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely:—

"That at page 39, line 18, for the words "one lakh" the words "two lakhs" be substituted."

5. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1964, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely:—

"That at page 39, line 21 be deleted."

*(The amendments also stood in the name of Shri Lokanath Misra.)*

*The questions were proposed.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Have you anything to say?

SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI: With regard to the first amendment, the move is to raise the limit from Rs. 1 lakh to Rs. 2 lakhs. I would like to mention that in lowering the limit two things have been done. One is that the rate has been lowered. The minimum rate was 1 per cent. Now, up to Rs. 4 lakhs beyond the

free limit, it is half a per cent Secondly, while reducing it to Rs. 1 lakh, a house valued at not more than Rs. 1 lakh is exempted from it. In effect, it can go up to Rs. 2 lakhs. And then, there is the advantage that up to another Rs. 3 lakhs the rate is half per cent, not one per cent, which I thought was rather a hardship on this class of people, asking them to pay one per cent. So, the amendment is something which is beneficial to this class of people. Since the object of the amendment is achieved by the house being exempted, I do not propose to accept the amendment.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

4. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1964, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely:—

That at page 39, line 18, for the words 'one lakh' the words 'two lakhs' be substituted."

*The motion was negatived.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

5. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1964, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely:—

That at page 39, line 21 be deleted.'

*The motion was negatived.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That clause 50 stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted. Clause 50 was added to the Bill.*

*Clauses 51 to 65 were added to the Bill.*

*The First Schedule*

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL:]  
Madam, I move:—

6. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1964, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely:—

"That at pages 63 and 64, lines 10 to 42 and 1 to 16, respectively, be deleted."

7. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1964, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely:—

"That at page 65, lines 26-27, the words 'and which is such a company as is referred to in section 108 of the Income-tax Act with a total income exceeding Rs. 125,000' be deleted."

*(The amendments also stood in the name of Shri Lokanath Misra).*

*The questions were proposed.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Hart you to say anything?

SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI: It makes a radical change in my tax revenue. I cannot accept them.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

6. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1964, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely:—

That at pages 63 and 64, lines 10 to 42 and 1 to 16, respectively, be deleted."

*The motion was negatived.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

7. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the



[The Deputy Chairman.]

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following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1964, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely:—

"That at page 65, lines 20-27, the words 'and which is such a company as is referred to in section 108 of the Income-tax Act with a total income exceeding Rs. 25,000' be deleted."

*The motion was negatived.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the First Schedule stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*The First Schedule was added to the Bill.*

*The Second and the Third Schedules were added to the Bill.*

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

SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI: I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, we go on to the Appropriation Bill.

THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 2) BILL, 1964—contd.

श्री जगत नारायण (पंजाब) : उप-सभापति महोदय, इस सदन के सदस्यों को Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption

या सन्तान् रिपोर्ट मिली है। मैं उनमें से एक पैरा पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ। वह पैरा २१६ है :—

"It was represented to us that corruption has increased to such an extent that people have started losing faith in the integrity of public administration. We heard from all sides that corruption has in recent years, spread even to those levels of administration from which it was

conspicuously absent in the past. We wish, we could confidently and without reservation assert that at the political level, Ministers, Legislators, party officials were free from this malady. The general impressions are unfair and exaggerated. But the very fact that such impressions are there causes damage to the social fabric. That such impressions should have come into existence in so short a time after the people of this country had given themselves a Constitution of their own is all the more distressing if it is remembered that the struggle for freedom in India was fought on a particularly high moral plane and was led by Mahatma Gandhi who personified integrity. The people of India rightly expected that, when the governance of the country passed into the hands of the disciples of the Father of the Nation who were in their own individual capacities known for high characters and ability, Governments in India, at the Centre and the States, would set up and achieve a standard of integrity, second to none in the world, both in the political and administrative aspects. It has to be frankly admitted that this hope has not been realised in full measure."

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE) in the chair!]

यह मैंने रिपोर्ट में से पढ़ करके आपके सामने रखा है।

अब मैं आपकी खिदमत में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सेंटर ने पंजाब के चीफ मिनिस्टर के खिलाफ एक दास कमिशन यहां पर अर्थाइन्ट किया। अगर हमारे फाइनेंस, मिनिस्टर साहब वहां तशरीफ ले जाय और दास कमिशन की कार्यवाही जा करके देखें तो वे हैरान होंगे कि वहां जिस करप्शन के लिये सारा यह दास कमिशन बँठाया गया है, उसी करप्शन को जो हमारे मुख्य मंत्री हैं, वे आगे ले जा रहे हैं। आप कहेंगे कि वह कैसे। तो वहां पर जो उनका वकील है