

[Mr. Chairman.]  
the following letter, dated February 19th, 1963, from the President:

"I thank you for your D.O. No. Rs. 2/2/63-L of date about the unfortunate incident on the 18th morning. I appreciate the sentiments of the Rajya Sabha which you have conveyed to me in that letter."

#### PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

THE INDIAN MAIZE (TEMPORARY USE IN STARCH MANUFACTURE) ORDER, 1963

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI A. M. THOMAS): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (Department of Food) Notification G.S.R. No. 273, dated the 7th February, 1963, under sub-section (6) of section 3 of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955, publishing the Indian Maize (Temporary Use in Starch Manufacture) Order, 1963. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-791/63].

ANNUAL REPORT (1961-62) OF THE CENTRAL WAREHOUSING CORPORATION, NEW DELHI AND RELATED PAPERS

SHRI A. M. THOMAS: Sir, I also beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Annual Report and Accounts of the Central Warehousing Corporation, New Delhi, for the year 1961-62, together with the Auditors' Report on the Accounts, under sub-section (9) of section 42 of the Agricultural Produce (Development and Warehousing) Corporations Act, 1956. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-783/63].

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

THE DELHI RENT CONTROL (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1963

SECRETARY: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message

received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha:—

"I am directed to inform Rajya Sabha that the Delhi Rent Control (Amendment) Bill, 1963, which was passed by Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 22nd January, 1963, has been passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 19th February, 1963, with the following amendment—

#### Enacting Formula

Page 1, line 1,—for "Thirteenth" substitute "Fourteenth".

2. I am, therefore, to return herewith the said Bill in accordance with the provisions of Rule 121 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha with the request that the concurrence of Rajya Sabha to the said amendment be communicated to Lok Sabha."

Sir, I lay the Bill, as amended, on the Table.

#### MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I deem it a privilege to move the following motion of thanks for the Address given on the 18th February, 1963 to both Houses of Parliament by the President of the Union of India. Sir, I move:

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

"That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 18th February, 1963."

It has been the good luck of this country to have had successively Presidents of great eminence presiding over the destinies of India. The qualities of humility, sacrifice and devotion displayed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad in the national struggle and the freedom movement, and in his terms of office as President, will ever be remembered with gratitude. I wish him a long and peaceful life. In the same manner, the scholarship, wisdom and world-wide reputation as a philosopher that our present President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, commands will inspire the people of India in the difficult task ahead of the nation. We are very grateful to the President for the Address he gave in which he has rightly referred to our achievements as well as to the programme of work that has to be completed in furtherance of the basic policies that the country has adopted to develop the economic and social conditions of our people.

Before I refer to some of the aspects of the inspiring Address, I would briefly refer to the untoward incident that happened on the 18th February, 1963, due to some misguided friends. Both the Houses have expressed apology to the President and rightly so. I am sure that it was not discourtesy shown to the President but to the whole of Parliament and disrespect to the Constitution of India. It is by such irresponsible attempts that democracies have been discredited and I do hope that in view of the greater interests of the country and in view of our commitment to respect the provisions of the Constitution, the Socialist Party will change its policy which neither serves the cause which they espouse, nor is it in keeping with the dignity of parliamentary institutions.

SHRI BAIRAGI DWIBEDY (Orissa): But this is not a matter to be commented on now when leaders of parties have expressed themselves against it.

SHRI G. MURAHARI (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I would like to make a submission.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Sir, I am not yielding.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: Shri Akbar Ali Khan has made some remarks about the Socialist Party of India and I would like it to be placed on record in the proceedings of the House that it is not the Socialist Party that is breaking the Constitution or violating the Constitution. He referred to the incident and said that the Socialist Party was violating the Constitution.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, on a point of order

SHRI G. MURAHARI: He said that we are violating the Constitution and so that must be repudiated on the floor of the House.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Anyone disturbing the decorum of the House deserves to be removed.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I hope the rest of the House will keep silent. Now, what do you want to say and how long will you take in saying it?

SHRI G. MURAHARI: Sir, I want to say that the Socialist Party has been implementing the programmes and it has been safeguarding the provisions of the Constitution. When they . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Sir, can an hon. Member stand up in this manner and obstruct the proceedings of the House by making a statement?

SHRI G. MURAHARI: But when the hon. Member makes such remarks . . .

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Sir, I move that the Member be removed.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In the interest of economy of time, let me allow the

[Mr. Chairman.]

hon. Member to have his say. I hope it will be brief.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: I want to place on record that the Socialist Party has been carrying out the programmes and it has been safeguarding the Constitution.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That you have said three times. Now you have said it for the fourth time. Thank you. Now, Mr. Akbar Ali Khan, you continue.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Sir, the President has referred in his Address:

"Under the guidance of Parliament, we have laboured for the fulfilment of the objectives, laid down in our Constitution, namely, to secure for all our citizens social, economic and political justice; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation."

The President has rightly emphasised the provisions of the Constitution which give a sense of partnership in the administration of the country to one and all, irrespective of caste and religion, and which provides for the humblest in the land opportunity to achieve the highest position in the country and which guarantees equal opportunity in all walks of life so that by the joint endeavour of four hundred millions of people the country may advance and progress from strength to strength. It is this inspiration of the Constitution and the secular character of the Union that brought about an upsurge of the enthusiasm in the whole country when the Chinese unscrupulously committed aggression. Not only the communal parties and the Communist Party wedded to international communism, have unconditionally identified themselves in their resolve to throw back the aggressor, but the whole country

has been shaken. Even in the remotest corner of the country, the people have expressed their determination to sacrifice everything that they have to save the honour and the freedom of the country. In order to give content to democracy in all its levels, Government has brought out measures on the one hand to establish panchayatiraj and on the other, through the community development, to reach the farthest villages of the country and to provide economic facilities to them. As we have for a long time been under foreign domination, our economic policy was also shaped in this manner. So it was essential to have a planned economy through successive plans so that the majority of our people could progress and we could bring better economic and social conditions to our vast masses who have been deprived of even the bare necessities of life. It is not the occasion to go into the details of the progress that agriculture and industry have made during the last decade and the improvement in the nation's health and the vast increase in the number of schools and colleges and other technical institutions. Sir, it may be said with a certain amount of confidence that the progress that India has made during the last twelve years makes one feel proud of it although still much has to be done. The President has correctly pointed out:

"Inevitably, the first duty of the nation in these circumstances was to meet this aggression effectively and to prepare the country to that end."

Thus, the first consideration that comes to every patriotic Indian and much more so, Sir, to those who hold representative capacities, is to adopt all possible measures to see that the aggression is vacated and the country's prestige and position are fully restored. In this respect, we are glad to learn that all possible measures are being taken to strengthen our forces and all possible help, subject to certain fundamentals of our policy, is being taken from all friendly coun-

tries. I have no doubt that the recommendation of the U.S. and U.K. Missions which recently visited our country to advise us in the matter of the Air Force and the advice given previously regarding other military requirements will be fully carried out. It is not for us to go into the details of this matter but we would very strongly urge the Government to implement the different schemes of defence as early as possible and for that sake, Sir, the country will be prepared to sacrifice to the utmost because it is a matter of the integrity, security and honour of the country for which no sacrifice will be too great. We are grateful to all the countries that have come to our help at the critical hour, particularly so when they have done it recognising our policy of non-alignment. I fail to understand the mind of some political leaders who want us to surrender ourselves to the Western countries in order to save ourselves from the Chinese menace. Let me tell them respectfully but most emphatically that we do not want to be camp-followers of any country. Howsoever great it may be, a nation that cannot stand on its own legs can command no respect from others. This does not mean that we do not want to settle the matters amicably and through peaceful means. It has been the basic policy of India to settle all differences and disputes through peaceful means. We are grateful to the Colombo Powers who, realising that aggression has been committed on India, have emphasised the vacation of the aggression to the point of the 8th September line so that negotiations may start in a more cordial atmosphere. The country was divided in its opinion whether to accept these proposals or not but in view of our fundamental approach and the explanation of these proposals by the Prime Minister of India who is respected and loved by millions of people, we have agreed to accept the proposals so that negotiations may be started to settle our differences. So far the Chinese Government has not

accepted these proposals. We are definitely of the opinion that unless the Chinese Government accept the proposals and the clarifications made to these proposals, there is no justification for this country to accept to negotiate with the Chinese Government.

It is a matter of some satisfaction to the House and to the country that the President has made the announcement regarding the Third Five Year Plan:

"On full consideration of the matter, our Government came to the conclusion that a very great part of the Plan was essential for strengthening the nation and its implementation was, therefore, . . ."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): I wish to make a submission. I am sorry to interrupt him a little. With your permission, Sir, I would like to submit that this matter that we are discussing, the President's Address, is an important matter and I do not see any Cabinet Minister present in the House. I think there are a number of Cabinet Ministers and I do not see as to why some of them should not be present here in the House, when we are discussing such an important matter as the President's Address. In fact, the Ministers should be divided in the two Houses, some Cabinet Ministers should be there according to their fancy and some can be here. Nobody is here. This is a very serious matter.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh): Nobody is taking note of it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will bring it to the notice . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not particularly enamoured of Cabinet Ministers but constitutional . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: I dare say you are not, except to . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: . . . dignity and the dignity of this House demands that the Government do justice on this score.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: One is coming now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Oh, I see a Cabinet Minister coming.

THE MINISTER OF LAW (SHRI A. K. SEN): There are two Deputy Ministers here . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: There are five.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sen, you are most welcome.

SHRI A. K. SEN: ....and, meanwhile, we have other work also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know that work in the Lobby. You are making defence efforts in the Lobby. The frontier is not there in the Lobby.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): I think the Law Minister's statement is most objectionable, that they have other work. The work of Parliament is most important. This is an insult to the whole House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In the first place, Parliament's work cannot go on if two persons stand up simultaneously.

SHRI A. K. SEN: May I answer that point, Sir? I strongly repudiate any suggestion that if Deputy Ministers are present in the House this does not conform to the dignity of the House. If Mr. Patel's objection is to the effect that a Union Cabinet Minister is not present, I think I am entitled to say that that objection that the Deputy Ministers cannot uphold the dignity of the House is not correct. They are as good as any one of us, Sir.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I objected to the statement that they have other work. That is what I objected to. The work of Parliament is supreme and must come over anything else.

SHRI A. K. SEN: And secondly, Sir, I was saying that Mr. Swaran Singh was here and word reached that some other Minister should come. Having regard to the physical problems of distance and communication, even Mr. Patel will find it difficult if he has to keep pace. Therefore, to say that this is meant to . . .

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Those who cannot keep pace should yield place to others who can.

SHRI A. K. SEN: I always yield to Mr. Patel's speed and efficiency and I have no shame in acknowledging that he is always more efficient than us.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think that is enough.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I wish to make a submission. I take exception to the statement that has been made by the hon. Minister. I think it is for you to decide as to whether our attention . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: If you leave it to me to decide.

SHRI A. K. SEN: May I only add one word here? When I said we had other work, what I meant was that Mr. Swaran Singh had to go. He had another meeting just now and he had to leave. He sent word to me that I should come immediately. I came almost instantaneously. This is what I meant. It was meant to be an explanation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There are many others besides Mr. Swaran Singh and the hon. Law Minister . . .

(Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel also stood up).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Patel, I take very serious objection to your standing up like this when another Member is speaking. It is not good practice.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is for you to consider. The hon. Minister need not have given us this lecture on the Deputy Ministers. They are very lovable persons, I know it, but when such matters are discussed, it is the convention and the custom that the Cabinet Ministers should be present because they are responsible people with regard to the various items under discussion and the Deputy Ministers come in only later. I make no reflection on the Deputy Ministers. In fact, I would like to have all of them present in this House, if they would.

In regard to the point he made about the physical distance and so on, it is well known, from the List of Business, that the President's Address will be discussed in both the Houses of Parliament simultaneously. Why should it not be possible for the Government to solve the problem of physical difficulties by putting somebody here and somebody there before eleven o'clock or even twelve noon?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gupta, we are not going to decide this by debate. You have brought this to my notice. That is enough.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You see . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have seen everything.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Are we to put up with this kind of attitude on the part of the Government?

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, please . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is no use telling us about the dignity of the House when the Treasury Benches flout the dignity of the House at will.

SHRI A. K. SEN: I again strongly repudiate this.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Sir, I was just going to refer to that part of the President's Address wherein he has referred to the Plan:—

"On full consideration of the matter, our Government came to the conclusion that a very great part of the Plan was essential for strengthening the nation and its implementation was therefore, necessary even from the point of view of defence. Economic development and industrial growth are the very basis of our defence preparedness. To stop or slow down this process of economic development would result in weakening the country."

The country has to face not only the enemy outside but has also to face effectively the enemy inside the country, i.e., poverty, ignorance and disease, in order to make our nation strong so that it may face any eventuality.

Now, I would refer to some of our economic and other problems indicated or not referred to in the Address of the President. It is true that the per acre yield of wheat, paddy and other food articles has increased. It is also accepted that industrial production has increased. It is also admitted that the national wealth has also increased but the question that has always disturbed the mind of this House and the other House has been how this national wealth has been distributed. I do not subscribe to the position that during this period of progress and development the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. But I do feel that the distribution of the wealth has not been equitable and on the demand of Parliament, a Committee was established to go into the matter and report. We have been long awaiting this report. I do hope the Finance Minister will see that the report and the recommendations of the Government are placed before the Parliament without further delay. In this connection, I might express our satisfaction, satisfaction regarding the policy adopted by the Finance Minister about the declaration of the stocks of non-ornamental gold and the issue of Gold Bonds so that we may stop

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the prevalent smuggling and reduce the invisible and continuing waste of our foreign exchange. I feel this policy has had good effect inside and outside the country and it has also helped to weaken the deep-rooted social habits of gold hoarding which in the present context is neither in the interest of the hoarder nor the public at large. I do feel in this respect that the sale of Gold Bonds has not been as one would have wished it to be but I hope better publicity will be adopted so that we may have greater sale of the Gold Bonds and other securities which are intended to help the development of our country.

I would refer in the same connection to the question of trade. By the breakdown of the talks by the U.K. regarding the European Common Market several questions have arisen and it is felt in our country and in other countries that some international organ should be established to look after the matter of trade and tariff. It is true that the GATT provides a forum to all contracting parties but it is not a specialised international body governing world trade as other specialised agencies of the United Nations as the World Health Organisation, etc are. It is a matter of satisfaction that the United Nations is contemplating to have a world conference on trade in March 1964 for which preparations have already been started. I do hope this conference will consider the position of the countries which have recently become independent and which have a long way to go to build up their economic position. The prosperity of the world does not consist in exploiting the weaker elements of the international society but in giving them all opportunities to develop and strengthen themselves. Similar sentiments have been expressed by world statesmen. I do hope that our Government will also emphasise in the coming conference the necessity of helping the underdeveloped countries. The Government of the United Kingdom is also contemplating to have

a Trade Ministers' Conference shortly and I have no doubt that the question of preference to Commonwealth countries and other matters will arise and well-considered decisions will be taken in the matter of trade and tariff which will strengthen the United Kingdom as well as the other Commonwealth countries. Let me make it clear, Sir, that unless we reduce the cost of production of our export commodities and are able to compete in price with other countries, no matter of trade facilities will help our exports which have to be considerably increased to meet our foreign exchange requirement.

As regards education, I would like to emphasise that as we have to educate our masters in order to have a healthy democracy, we should not grudge expenditure in spreading compulsory primary education as early as possible but I am more concerned, Sir, with the question of the quality of education. I have stressed many a time and I would repeat again that the education that is being imparted to our young generation does not contain the material to develop our patriotic urges on national scale and our moral urges to feel or make our children feel one with humanity. The Education Ministry will have to take into consideration the question of prescribing certain standard text-books so that the education that the younger generation will receive will be different from that which has been given so far with communal and sectarian bias. I would also appeal to the Education Ministry to see that the text-books are made very cheap. The cost of text-books and other exercise books is becoming very heavy and it will not be possible for a person of moderate means to supply these necessary articles to the students. Nothing is more detrimental to the interests of the country than the education which creates prejudice and narrow-mindedness instead of a broad and progressive outlook. I hope the conference that the Education Ministry is contemplating will consider all these

matters carefully and do the needful; I would also like to emphasise, Sir, that in the universities, on the science and technical side, there should be one language throughout India, English for the time being and Hindi in future. I fully realise, Sir, that in expressing this view I am isolated but I do hope, Sir, that you, and through you may I request the President and the Government, will kindly reconsider this matter because I feel it will go a long way to strengthen the unity and solidarity of India and help us to keep abreast of the latest developments in the field of knowledge. And, Sir, my experience of the Osmania University further strengthens my conviction that it is very difficult to cope with the new developments through translations. We might be able to do in one language but it is difficult to do it in sixteen languages. In the matter of technical education, the Government has taken a decision to curtail the period of diploma courses. I realise the necessity of having more technicians, but at the same time I feel that the standard and quality of technical education should not suffer. I would appeal through you to the Government to reconsider this matter as well.

I would refer to the policy of the Government to have more Central Services in consultation with the State Governments and I approve of this policy as it helps integration. The provision in the Constitution regarding the transfer of Judges could also be taken advantage of and the Constitution Amendment Bill at present before a Select Committee is seized of the matter. In this connection, I would very humbly suggest that in the High Courts also there should be only one language and that also English for the time being and Hindi in future. There is no question of any disrespect to any regional language which is equally rich, which has equally developed and which is worthy of respect as much as Hindi or English. But again in order to have a Supreme Court which will be able

to do justice to the case, it is necessary that the High Courts should pronounce their judgments in a language which will be understood but the Judges of the Supreme Court. I would appeal to my friends living in the Hindi regions that they should leave this matter of language to their brethren in South India, when and where to replace English by Hindi. It is only by adopting this attitude that we can really serve the cause of Hindi and the unity of the country. You will be glad to learn that all the States in the South have prescribed Hindi as a compulsory language. So, I am sure that in the course of ten to fifteen years, every youngman will be one who will know Hindi and then it will not be difficult to replace English by Hindi.

I would refer to the inter-State disputes which frequently arise and at present the question of the Krishna and Godavari rivers has been entrusted to the Gulati Commission which has submitted its report. The Irrigation and Power Minister has visited all the four concerned States and is seized of the situation. In matters of distribution of river waters there have been several cases in the United States and certain fundamental principles have been laid down.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

The basic consideration is the best economic use of the water for the welfare of the community at large, irrespective of the States. I would request the Government of India to take up this matter with the four States in the conference which will be presided over, according to my suggestion, by the Zonal Council Chairman, the Home Minister, so that the Ministry of Irrigation and Power and the Home Ministry may be able to tackle and thrash out the matter and finally settle this dispute. There are several schemes that are being held up which will go a long way in increasing our agricultural production and save our foreign exchange for the import of foodgrains. It is in the highest interests of the nation that a long and



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broad view is taken of these disputes and a final decision arrived at without further delay. Similarly, I hope a decision will be taken regarding the dispute between Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh and other States. We cannot afford to wait and see the deficiency in food production and deficiency in power supply because there is a difference of opinion in different States. We have to tackle this problem with a clear mind and a firm resolve in the best interests of the people of our country. I may mention that as regards the dispute about the Tungabhadra waters, with which I was connected as Legal Adviser to the erstwhile Government of Hyderabad for this water dispute, it continued between the old Hyderabad State and Madras for over eighty years. You will be glad to know that when Rajaji and the late Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung met in a conference, they decided it in a couple of hours. If this longstanding water dispute could be decided by these two great men, I think our Government of India is sufficiently powerful to decide the dispute between the different States regarding river waters.

Let us follow this example and settle all our differences regarding these matters gracefully.

In matters of allocation of industries I have no doubt the Planning Commission and the Government of India will see that all areas, particularly undeveloped areas, will receive their full share and it will not be possible for any bigger State to encroach on the legitimate claims of less industrially developed States. These are matters of national concern and they should be viewed and decided on broad principles of justice and fairplay.

The President has also referred to our relations with Pakistan and has stated:

"We settled some of our important problems with Pakistan, but, unfortunately, other important ones still remain. We are anxious to settle these also peacefully so that India and Pakistan should in accordance with our common history, culture and traditions live as friendly and co-operative neighbours."

We are grateful to the President for the far-sighted guidance in this matter. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan on 29th November, 1962, have expressed their desire to resolve outstanding differences between the two countries so as to enable India and Pakistan to live side of side in peace and friendship. In pursuance of this announcement, three meetings have been held at Rawalpindi, Delhi and Karachi and the fourth is scheduled on the 12th of March at Calcutta. We share the desire of the Government of India and we wish the talks very well. I have no doubt the frequent meetings of the two delegations also indicate the desire of the people and the Governments of both the countries, notwithstanding considerable differences, to have an amicable settlement of all disputes between the two neighbouring countries. I have no doubt in these negotiations the secular character of modern democracies and of our State will be fully borne in mind by all concerned. On several occasions President Ayub and other leaders of Pakistan have expressed their sympathy with the minority in India. The advisability of such statements may be doubted, but there is no doubt about the sincerity and genuineness of such expressions. If there is any occasion when President Ayub and other leaders of Pakistan can give content to these declarations of sympathy and demonstrate their regard for the minority in actual political life, it is the occasion when the Foreign Minister of Pakistan and the Railway Minister of India will meet at Calcutta on the 12th March. I feel that the best guarantee to secure the interests of the minorities in India and Pakistan

is, in line with the modern recognised notions of democracy, to give a secular character to political institutions. India has accepted the secular character making it evident thereby that irrespective of religion, everybody has got the same status in the Union of India. Apart from our constitutional and legal rights which are strong in the matter of Kashmir, may I throw a suggestion to the President of Pakistan? If the President of Pakistan considers this question from the point of view of the minority in India, he in my humble opinion would accept the status quo about Kashmir and strengthen the secular character of the Republic of India. In undivided India there were four major States: N.W.F.P., Punjab, Bengal and Kashmir, where the minority had the majority population. Now, it is only Kashmir that can truly represent the secular character and thus secure and safeguard the interests of the minority throughout the country. I have no doubt that the provisions of the Constitution are a guarantee to all minorities and to all citizens, but continuance of Kashmir in the Union of India will further strengthen the secular character of the Republic of India. I have no doubt, Madam, that President Ayub is aware that there are parties and people in India who do not cherish the secular character of our Indian Union, but there are also people who want to keep up the secular character and see that the country progresses without any bias or prejudice against any community or sect. The leaders of Pakistan have got to make a choice, whether they want to strengthen the hands of those who believe in modern democracy and in secular character, or they want to help those who want to change the secular character of the Indian Union. I am sure the President of Pakistan will help the minority in India by accepting Kashmir as an integral part of India. If the Kashmir question is settled as I suggest, I have no doubt that matters between India and Pakistan will be settled amicably and without much difficulty. I have ventured to make this statement in all

sincerity as I believe this to be the sentiment of the forty millions of the minority people, and I pray that it will receive the serious consideration of the authorities concerned. I may mention here, Madam, that even the Muslim League leaders have on several occasions expressed the same view.

Lastly, I would refer to the question of unemployment. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the Planning Commission on this question, nothing has been effectively done so far, and the figures are simply appalling. I have got figures, Madam, but as my time is short, I will not go into them.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is over.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I will take only two more minutes. I am glad that pilot projects to meet the question of underemployment have been taken up on a large scale. This is a matter which requires very serious consideration, and especially when we have declared a situation of emergency, it is up to the Government to make use of our human resources that are available. Let us take advantage of these human resources and make the best use of them for the development of the country.

Madam, the President has charged us in these words: "Awake, arise, understand the opportunities you have and stop not till the goal is reached". I can respectfully assure the President that we will carry this message to our people in our respective States and will do our best to prove worthy of the trust that the country has reposed in us and the expectation that the President has entertained about the responsibilities and duties of the Members of Parliament.

*"Uttisthata jagrata prapya-varan  
nibodhata"*

With these words, Madam, I move.

**श्रीमती मायादेवी छेत्री** (पश्चिमी बंगाल) : उपसभापति महोदया, हमारे आदरणीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने १८ फरवरी को दोनों सदनों के सदस्यों के सामने जो सार-गर्भित भाषण दिया है उस को इस सदन में उपस्थित करने के लिये हमारे माननीय श्री अकबर अली खान ने जो प्रस्ताव किया है उस का समर्थन करने के लिये और हमारे आदरणीय राष्ट्रपतिजी का जो महत्वपूर्ण भाषण हुआ है उस के लिए उन्हें धन्यवाद प्रदान करने के लिये मैं खड़ी हुई हूँ।

महोदया, भारत में आजादी के बाद पिछले वर्ष एक दुख का छाया पड़ा है, हमारे देश में एक बहुत भारी दुख का छाया पड़ा है। आशा है कि यह नया वर्ष नया ही संदेश ले कर हमारे भारत में आया है और इस संदेश के भीतर सुख आनन्द छिपा हुआ है। हम आशा यही करते हैं। जैसे व्यक्ति आशा से ही जीवन का निर्वाह करते हैं उसी तरह राष्ट्र भी आशा में रहते हैं, फिर उस के पीछे दुख हो या सुख हो वह तो भगवान के ऊपर है। निर्भर है। हमारे भविष्य में क्या आने वाला है—दुख या सुख—यह हम लोगों को पता नहीं, तब भी हम लोगों को चाहिये कि सदा तत्पर हो कर रहें। सैकड़ों वर्षों के बाद हम ने यह आजाद लः है और इस आजादी को कायम रखने के लिये हम सदा तत्पर रहें, हमारे सैनिक तत्पर रहें, हमारे देशवासि तत्पर रहें, हमारे किसान सैनिकों की तरह रात-दिन परिश्रम करें, खेत-बाड़ी का काम करें और उत्पादन ज्यादा करें ताकि हमारे देशवासियों और सैनिकों के लिये अच्छा खाद्य पदार्थ पैदा हो। इस लड़ाई ने हम लोगों को आतंक, भय, जितना देना था वह दिया परन्तु उस से ज्यादा हम लोगों में जोश, उत्साह और एकता भर दी है। सारा देश आज एकता के सूत्र में बंधा हुआ है और एक ही विश्वास है कि हम अपनी

आजादी को कायम रखेंगे। आज सारे देश का जनता—कारखानों में हो, खेत-बाड़ी में हो, दफ्तर में हो, कहीं भी हो,—सबसे ज्यादा मेहनत कर रहा है, परिश्रम कर रही है ताकि इस संकटकालीन अवस्था में हम आगे के जैसे सुस्त न रहें और हमारा देश आगे बढ़े। अभी हाल ही में मैं अपने लड़के से मिलने के लिये जोधपुर फ्लाईंग कालेज में गई थी। वहां मैंने देखा कि सारी फौज जो फ्लाईंग कालेज में ट्रेनिंग में है, कंडेक से ले कर आफिसर्स तक, सभी बहुत ही परिश्रम से काम कर रहे हैं। उन लोगों को इस तरह संकटकालीन परिस्थिति में परिश्रम करते हुए देख कर हमारा मन खुशी से भर गया। इसी तरह से हमारे सारे सैनिक उन दुर्गम पहाड़ों पर जहां भीषण सर्दी है, जो हिम से ढंके हुए हैं, उन पहाड़ों के अंचल में, उस हिमालय की चोटों पर, जंगलों में सिर्फ एक कैम्प लगा कर बैठे हैं। देश की आजादी के लिये, देश की रक्षा के लिये उन की जो शान है वह भारत का शान है, उन का जो परिश्रम है वह भारत का परिश्रम है। हम उन्हीं के ऊपर भरोसा रखते हैं कि उन के द्वारा हमारे देश की सुरक्षा रहेगी और देश आजाद रहेगा। उन के प्रति हमारी सरकार का भी यह मुख्य कर्तव्य होता है कि जो कुछ भी वह कर सकती है उन के लिये करे, उन के बच्चों के लिये, उन के स्वास्थ्य के लिये, उन के परिवार के लिये, उन की जाति के लिये। उसी प्रकार देशवासियों का भी उन के प्रति कर्तव्य है क्योंकि उन्हीं की खातिर वे लड़ रहे हैं। हमारे सैनिक के सामने चाइनीज ही एक दुश्मन नहीं है, हमारे सैनिक के सामने दूसरी कठिन परिस्थिति खड़ी है वह है प्रकृति। प्रकृति से भी हमारे सैनिकों को लड़ना पड़ा है। अभी ठंड में बर्फ से ढंके पहाड़ में उन्हें रहना पड़ता है, और फिर यह ठंडक और सरदी का मौसम जाने के बाद वर्षा होती है और उस वर्षा में, उस आंधी में, उस पानी में केवल एक ही कैम्प लगा कर रहना पड़ता है। अभी वहां यह हाल है

कि वहां पर रोटी मक्खन भी सख्त पत्थर की तरह हो जाता है, वहां पानी भी जम कर पत्थर हो जाता है। तो इस परिस्थिति में हमारे जवान उस इलाके में हैं। भगवान करे उन का स्वास्थ्य अच्छा रहे ताकि वे हमारे देश की रक्षा करते रहें।

अभी जो युद्ध हुआ उस के बारे में हमारी जनता तरह तरह की बात करती थी—हमारे सैनिक तैयार नहीं थे हमारी सरकार तैयार नहीं थी। पर हमारी सरकार कहां तक क्या करे? हमारी सरकार जब से देश स्वाधीन हुआ तब से ही सैनिक तैयारी करने में, सैनिकों के लिये अस्त्र शस्त्र बनाने में जुट जाती और कल कारखाने खोलती, सैनिकों की संख्या बढ़ाती, अस्त्र शस्त्र बढ़ाती तो हम आज बाहर पन्द्रह वर्ष के बाद भी बैलगाड़ी के जमाने में पड़ रहे हैं। आज ये रेलगाड़ियां सारे देश में नहीं होती, ये बड़ी बड़ी चौड़ी सड़कें देश में देखने में नहीं आतीं, इतने बड़े बड़े बांध जो देश में बने हैं वे नहीं होते। यदि हम आजादी के बाद के बारह, पन्द्रह वर्षों के चित्र को देखें, आजादी के बाद अपने देश के चित्र को देखें तो कितना भारी अंतर मालूम होता है। हो सकता है हमारे जो वाम पंथी भाई बहिर्न हैं जो हमेशा ही हमारी सरकार के विरुद्ध बात करते हैं वे न कहें कि इस बीच हमारे देश में कितनी उन्नति हुई है। पर इतने बड़े राष्ट्र की उन्नति एक दिन में नहीं होती है। परिवार की उन्नति करने के लिये भी कितना कठिन परिश्रम करना पड़ता है, अपने बाप को, अपनी मां, को अपनी संतान को पालने में। तो इतना बड़ा राष्ट्र, इतने दिनों से दबा हुआ राष्ट्र आज एक ही दिन में कैसे उन्नति के पथ पर किसी दूसरे देश के समक्ष खड़ा हो सकता है। फिर भी हमारा देश आज उन्नति कर रहा है, हमारे देश में कल कारखाने बन रहे हैं, हमारे देश में सिंचाई का काम हो रहा है, हमारे देश में

सब कुछ हो रहा है और आगे भविष्य में हमारा देश बड़े बड़े देशों के मुकाबले में तैयार हो जायेगा।

आज चीन क्यों हमारे साथ सड़ रहा है। चीन के साथ हमारा मित्रता का भाव आज से नहीं था। जब भगवान बुद्ध ने उस देश में अपना संदेश भेजा तब से हमारा चीन के साथ धार्मिक संबंध रहा है। धार्मिक सम्बंध के साथ साथ सामाजिक क्षेत्र में भी हमारा उन के साथ गहरा सम्बंध रहा। हमारे विचार, उन के विचार एक साथ चलने लगे थे। भारत तो एक महान देश है, भारत ने हमेशा से चीन का साथ दिया। जब चांग काई शेक की सरकार को कम्युनिस्ट लोगों ने उलट दिया था तब भी हम ने कम्युनिस्ट सरकार को सब से पहले मान्यता दी थी। उस के बाद भी भारत चीन को यू० एन० ओ० में लाने के लिए, एक सदस्य बनाने के लिए हमेशा ही समर्थन करता रहा। उस के बाद जब चीन के प्रधान मंत्री भारत में आये तो यहां के देशवासियों ने उन का भव्य स्वागत किया। उन्होंने भी हमारी जनता के साथ, हम लोगों के साथ, भाई भाई का रिश्ता बांध कर, हमारा आलिगन किया। पर वह आलिगन भारत की ताकत देखने के लिये आलिगन था कि भारत कितना कमजोर है या कितना बलवान है। वह हमारी नाड़ी समझने के लिए आए थे। जब उन्हो ने भारत की एकता, भारत की उन्नति, भारत की अग्र गति को देखा तो यह सब उन के मन में खटका। वे सन् १९५४ में यहां आए थे और जब वे लौट कर चीन गए तो १९५५ में उन्होंने ने अपने सैनिकों को बाराहोती में भेज कर हमारी भूमि में भेज कर, भारत का ध्यान उस तरफ आकर्षित कर दिया, वह भाई भाई का, वह मित्रता का संबंध, इस तरह से उन्होंने ने चूर कर दिया। उस के बाद फिर १९५६ में उन्होंने ने लद्दाख में हमारी भूमि के चालीस मील भीतर आ कर हमारे दूर के ऊपर गोली बरसाई जिस के फलस्वरूप हमारे कई

## [श्रीमती मायादेवी छेत्री]

नौजवान मारे गये, उनमें से तीन जवान हमारे वार्जिलिंग जिले के भी थे। तब भी हमारे भारत ने उन लोगों के साथ मित्रता का सम्बन्ध तोड़ना नहीं चाहा। हम लोगों ने कोशिश की कि हमारी परम्परागत मित्रता का भाव बना रहे। हम शान्तिपूर्ण भाव से उन को समझाते रहे कि हमारी जमीन के ऊपर, हमारी भूमि के ऊपर आ कर जो उन्होंने ने देखल दिया, उस से वे हट जायें। उस के बाद भी वे आगे बढ़ते गए, हमारी जमीन, हमारी भूमि के ऊपर उन के कदम बढ़ते गए यहां तक कि अभी हाल ही में सन् १९६२ में वे एक दम हमारी भूमि के भीतर आ गए और हमारे सैनिकों के ऊपर गोली बरसाई, युद्ध लड़ा। हमारे सैनिक लड़ने के लिये तैयार नहीं थे क्योंकि हम मित्रता के ऊपर विश्वास करते हैं, हम मित्रता के भाव से रहना चाहते हैं। पर उन्होंने ने मित्रता भाव को झोका दे कर हमारे साथ लड़ाई छेड़ी। I.P.M. तो इस तरह से चीन के साथ हमारे देश का पड़ोसी का सा संबंध रहा। यह जो कोलम्बो प्रस्ताव है उसको हमारे कुछ मित्र देशों ने मिल कर रखा और इसको रखने का तात्पर्य यह था कि भारत और चीन के बीच किसी तरह से समझौता हो जाय तथा इस समझौते के फलस्वरूप सारे विश्व में शान्ति हो। हमारे मित्र देश यह नहीं चाहते थे कि भारत और चीन के बीच किसी तरह की कोई अग्नि फैला हो जाय जिसके कारण सारे विश्व में विश्व युद्ध हो जाय। ये हमारे पड़ोसी देश शान्तिप्रिय देश हैं इसलिए वे चीन और भारत के बीच में भी शान्ति बनाये रखना चाहते हैं। हम आशा करते हैं कि जो मित्र देश हमारे और चीन के बीच में समझौता कराना चाहते हैं वे हमारी परिस्थिति को समझेंगे। जो मित्र देश हमारे और चीन के बीच में समझौता करने के लिये खड़े हुए हैं उन्हें यह समझना चाहिये कि हमारा क्या दोष है और चीन का क्या दोष है। इन सब बातों

को हमारे मित्र देशों को अच्छी तरह से समझ लेना चाहिये। हम लोग यही कोशिश करेंगे कि जहां तक हो सके शान्तिप्रिय ढंग से हमारे और चीन के बीच में समझौता हो जाय। परन्तु इसका यह मतलब नहीं है कि हम कायर हैं, हम दुर्बल हैं। हम कभी भी दुर्बल नहीं रहे, भारतीय कभी भी दुर्बल नहीं रहे और उन्होंने किसी के सामने कभी भी सिर नहीं झुकाया। इतिहास इस बात का साक्षी है कि भारतीयों ने कभी भी किसी के सामने सिर नहीं झुकाया। महाभारत से ले कर आज तक किसी स्त्री या पुरुष ने किसी के सामने सिर नहीं झुकाया और यह परम्परा आज तक कायम है और भविष्य में भी कायम रहेगी कि हम किसी के सामने सिर न झुकायेंगे। लेकिन जो आदर के साथ, इज्जत के साथ समझौता करना चाहता है उसको हम ठुकरा भी नहीं सकते हैं। हम कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों को मानने के लिये तत्पर हैं पर उसमें सच्चाई होनी चाहिये और उसमें पक्षपात नहीं होना चाहिये। यह बात बहुत ही जरूरी है जिसके बिना हमारे और चीन के बीच शान्तिपूर्वक समझौता नहीं हो सकता है।

आज चीन सरकार ने एक झूठा मानचित्र बनाया है जिसमें हमारे पड़ोसी देश भूटान को अपने हिस्से में दिखलाया है। चीन सरकार को यह बात अच्छी तरह से मालूम है कि भूटान और सिक्किम का परराष्ट्र विभाग यातायात तथा अन्य कई चीजों के विभाग भारत से सम्बन्धित है और यह रिवाज आज से नहीं बहुत समय से चली आ रही है। इस तरह का जो संबंध हमारे दो पड़ोसी देशों के बीच में है वह प्राचीन ही नहीं है बल्कि भविष्य में भी बना रहेगा किन्तु फिर भी चीन ने अपने मानचित्र में भूटान को अपने हिस्से में दिखलाया है। चीन यह जानता है कि भूटान कमजोर है और वह आहिस्ते आहिस्ते उसकी जमीन को अपने कब्जे में करके पूरे देश पर कब्जा कर

लेगा। जिस तरह से उन्होंने तिब्बत पर कब्जा कर लिया है उसी तरह से वे भूटान पर भी कब्जा करना चाहते हैं। तिब्बत और भारत के साथ कितने बड़े बड़े संबंध थे, धार्मिक संबंध हमारे यहां से वहां मानसरोवर में तीर्थ यात्रा करने जाते थे, स्नान करने जाते थे और वहां के लोग गया, सारनाथ तथा अन्य तीर्थ स्थानों के दर्शन करने के लिये यहां आते थे। तिब्बत की भाषा का जो रूप है वह पाली भाषा का ही अपभ्रंश है। नेपाल की राजकुमारी ने वहां के राजा के साथ शादी की थी और विवाह करने के बाद इधर की भाषा में उन्होंने बोली की भाषा में लिखा था जिससे यह लिखित भाषा रही। इस बात से यह मालूम होता है कि हमारे और तिब्बत वालों के साथ कितने घनिष्ठ संबंध थे जिसे चीनियों ने आक्रमण करके, कब्जा करके तोड़ा है। अब चीन की नजर भूटान और सिक्किम की तरफ जा रही है और इन देशों को भी वह तिब्बत की तरह अपने कब्जे में करना चाहता है। इसलिये यह जरूरी है कि हमारी यातायात की जो व्यवस्था इन देशों के साथ है वह बहुत अच्छी होनी चाहिये। सरकार को इन दो पड़ोसी देशों के साथ यातायात का प्रबंध जल्दी अच्छा बनाना चाहिये ताकि किसी भी संकट के समय में हम उनकी मदद कर सकें। सरकार को यह भी देखना चाहिये कि इन दो देशों के साथ हमारे संबंध ठीक है या नहीं। इन दो देशों के साथ जहां तक यातायात का संबंध है वह बहुत अच्छा नहीं है। सरकार यातायात के लिये रास्ते बना रही है और उसके लिए सहायता भी दे रही है परन्तु हमारी सरकार को इससे भी ज्यादा कार्य करना चाहिये ताकि वहां के लोगों में सतोंष रहे। असंतोष रहने से तरह तरह के झंझट पैदा होते हैं। वहां के लोगों के साथ हमारा प्रेम और श्रद्धा होनी चाहिये। हमारा यह श्रद्धा और प्रेम आदिकाल से चला आ रहा है उसको हमें और भी ज्यादा मजबूत बनाना होगा। भूटान

के साथ हमारे दार्जिलिंग जिले का गहरा संबंध है। अभी तक सरकार ने इस क्षेत्र की ओर ध्यान कम दिया था लेकिन जब से वहां पर लड़ाई का खतरा ज्यादा बढ़ गया है तब से इस पहाड़ी क्षेत्र की भी उन्नति हो रही है। हम जानते हैं कि भविष्य में इस क्षेत्र में न मालूम क्या होने वाला है इसलिये यह आवश्यक है कि कम्यूनिकेशन और यातायात के बारे में सरकार को अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिये। दार्जिलिंग इस समय एक वाटरलैन बन गया है और यहां से भूटान तथा आसाम और सब तरफ का रास्ता जाता है। दार्जिलिंग के लिए एक छोटी सी रेलवे लाइन जाती है। वहां जाने के लिए मोटर से भी रास्ता है और यह रास्ता ब्रिटिश जमाने में बना था। इस रास्ते में बहुत भीड़ रहनी है इस लिये वहां पर दो गाड़िया आसानी के साथ नहीं जा सकती हैं। यहां जाने के लिये एक ही रेलवे लाइन है और जो मोटर का रास्ता है वह भी भीड़ से खाली नहीं रहता, इसलिये रास्ता चलने लायक नहीं रह जाता। अब हमारी सरकार का इस ओर विशेष ध्यान गया है और मुझे आशा है कि सेन्ट्रल पी० डब्लू० डी० इस ओर और भी विशेष ध्यान देगा। इस रास्ते में सैकड़ों ब्रिज हैं जो बहुत पहले समय से बने हुए हैं। पहले जब लारिया जाती थी तो सिलिगुड़ी में उनका वजन लिया जाता था लेकिन अब यह चलन एमरजेंसी की वजह से बदल दिया गया है। अब इस रास्ते में मिलिटरी की गाड़िया आती जाती रहती हैं और पुल बहुत कमजोर हैं। अगर एक पुल भी टूट जाय तो उसको रिपेयर करने में काफी समय लग जायेगा जिसकी वजह से मिलिटरी का मूवमेंट रुक जायेगा इसलिये जरूरत इस बात की है कि इस रास्ते में जितने भी पुल हैं उनकी अच्छी तरह से देखभाल की जाय और एक दूसरा आल्टरनेटिव रास्ता बनाया जाय ताकि एमरजेंसी के वक्त किसी तरह की रुकावट न हो। पहले एमरजेंसी नहीं थी तो यह रास्ते महीनों

[श्रीमती मायादेवी छेत्री]

तक बंद पड़े रहते थे लेकिन आज की परिस्थिति में इस तरह की बात होनी खतरनाक है। आसाम जाने के लिये तथा नैफा जाने के लिये हमारे पास एक ही रेलवे लाइन है और उस पर इतना भार है कि हम वहाँ की जनता की मांग को पूरी नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिये आवश्यक यह है कि जिस तरह की परिस्थिति का हमें सामना करना पड़ रहा है उस को देखते हुए हमें एक दूसरा रूट बनाना चाहिये ताकि अगर एक खराब हो जाये तो दूसरे रास्ते से सामान पहुंचाया जा सके। एक ही रास्ता होने की वजह से मिजिलियन और मिलिटरी वाले सब जाते हैं जिसकी वजह से इस रूट में भार बहुत बढ़ जाता है। इन सब बातों को देख कर आसाम और बंगाल के एम० पी० ० ने एक दरखास्त दे कर यह मांग की थी कि जल्द से जल्द इस एरिया के लिए कोई दूसरा रास्ता बनाया जाय जो सिलिगुड़ी, जलपाईगुड़ी तथा डूअर्स होकर आसाम पहुंचे। अगर एक लाइन खराब हो जाये तो दूसरी लाइन चालू रहे।

दूसरा यह है कि गंगा से ले करके ब्रह्मपुत्र तक रोड बननी चाहिये ताकि वह दूसरा रूट हो सके और जैसा कि अभी हमारे इस आंचल में एक रास्ते में चाइनीज ने घेर लिया तो हमारी सारी मिलिटरी घिर गई और उमको दूसरा रास्ता नहीं मिला, वह न हो सके। इसलिये जिस तरह भी हो सके हमें अपने देश की कुछ सम्पत्ति उस तरफ लगा कर, उस क्षेत्र के पहाड़ी इलाके का उद्धार करना चाहिये और सुधार करना चाहिये और वहाँ के लोगों के ऊपर ध्यान देना चाहिये। इस तरह से उनको संतुष्ट रखना चाहिये; क्योंकि इससे अपने देश की रक्षा होती है और हमेशा के लिए उस पहाड़ी आंचल में कोई खतरा पैदा नहीं हो सकता है। इस आधार पर हमारी सरकार को उस तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिये।

मैंने टाइम बहुत ले लिया है। इतना और निवेदन करूंगी कि अभी हमारे देश

का खतरा समाप्त नहीं हो रहा है; क्योंकि हमारे देश के चारों तरफ जो हमारे पड़ोसी देश हैं, उन पड़ोसी देशों की मनोवृत्ति कब क्या हो सकती है, पता नहीं। इसलिए हमारे उस आंचल के सारे क्षेत्र में यातायात की सुविधा के लिए सब कुछ करना चाहिये। दूसरे नेपाल है। नेपाल के सम्बन्ध में हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अपने भाषण में कहा है कि नेपाल के सुधार के लिए १८ करोड़ रुपये देने का विचार है। यह बहुत उत्तम विचार है। नेपाल और भारत की परम्परा आप देखे तो एक ही है। उनके देश में और हमारे देश में कोई भिन्नता नहीं है। उनके रीति रिवाज और हमारे देश के रीति रिवाज एक ही हैं। हमारे और उनके जो संबंध हैं वे आदि काल से होने पर भी आज हमारे देश में और उनके देश में थोड़ा मतभेद बीच में पैदा हो गया है जिससे नेपाल के लिये भी खतरा है और हमारे लिये भी खतरा है। ऐसी ही छोटे छोटे और दुर्बल राज्यों पर चीन सरकार की नजर पड़ती है और यह हमारे लिये भी बहुत खतरा की बात है और उन लोगों के लिये भी अच्छी नहीं है। इसलिये जहाँ तक हो सके हमें नेपाल के साथ अपने सम्बन्ध मजबूत करने चाहिये और उन का जो विचार है उसके ऊपर हम लोगों को ध्यान देना चाहिये और मित्रता का सम्बन्ध हमेशा जोड़ना चाहिये। इतना कह कर मैं समाप्त करती हूँ।

*The question was proposed.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you are moving your amendments Nos. 1 to 66 except amendments Nos. 53, 55 and 59.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I would like to know why amendment No. 55 is not allowed. It refers to the harmfulness of cold war climate and all that. The other amendment No. 59 relates to the great revelations made in the Report of the Vivian Bose

Inquiry Commission into the Dalmia-Jain concerns. The Address does not outline any measures against the management of these concerns.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have read these amendments. Amendment No. 55 is very vague. Amendment No. 59 deals with the Vivian Bose Report. It is being disallowed. Please move your amendments.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am moving them. But, Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like you to consider at least amendment No. 59. It is not vague.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not say that amendment No. 59 is vague but it deals with the Vivian Bose Commission Report. As such it is disallowed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Report is before the Government.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But it has no reference to the discussion on the President's Address.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I want it because the Government is ignoring the recommendation. But may I point out something to you on a point of order? You can certainly disallow it if it is vague or outside the pale of discussion. This is a report which a Government committee, an official committee . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, it has been disallowed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, will you kindly listen to me?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you have been a Member of this House for ten years and you know the procedure. What does not deal directly with the Address is not permitted. Therefore, amendments Nos. 53, 55 and 59 are

disallowed. Now, with the exceptions of these amendments, will you please move your amendments?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But, Madam, . . .

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What do the hon. Members mean by saying "No, no"? Can I not argue out the case?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Not after the Chair has given its ruling.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, this is a very serious matter.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gupta, after the Chair has given its ruling you should not speak.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But I wanted to ask . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may, while you speak on the Address, speak on this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do realise that, Madam Deputy Chairman. I am not dilating on this point. But all I say is that I should be given a chance to ask you to reconsider your decision. After that certainly you can stick to your decision.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have disallowed it and it has been considered and reconsidered. Will you please move your amendment Nos. 1 to 66 except these three?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, the majesty of your mind has not been fully applied. However, I move:

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

'and the House notes with satisfaction the reference in the Address to India's efforts for the cause of world peace and for



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cultivating friendly and co-operative relations with all countries, avoiding military alliances and the House fervently hopes that such efforts will be continued with even greater vigour in the service of the international community.' "

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

'and the House notes with satisfaction that our country, committed as it is to peaceful methods, will always endeavour to solve the India-China border dispute peacefully in consonance with our honour and freedom.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not show awareness of the moves both within our country and outside among Western Powers to put pressure on India's policy of peace and non-alignment with a view first to undermining it and ultimately driving India to the arms of the Western Camp.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not recognise that the state of emergency under the democratic Constitution as well as of the emergency powers in a democratic parliamentary set-up does not constitute the way of life to which a democratic people can reconcile indefinitely and except on grounds of unavoidable necessity.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness of the need for reviewing the question of the continuance of the state of emergency in the light of latest developments as well as experience.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern for the virtual negation of certain fundamental rights under the emergency nor does it give assurance for remedying the situation.' "

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

'but regret that the Address not take note of the serious criticisms that have been made in a number of newspapers in the country about the manner in which the powers under the emergency are being used in different States.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not live up to the spirit of our Constitution inasmuch as it ignores that the emergency powers and the Defence of India Rules are being used to cripple the Communist Party of India which is the principal Opposition in our parliamentary set-up.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not recognise that when the principal Opposition in a parliamentary set-up is thus attacked in the name of emergency what really suffers is not merely the victim of attack but the democratic and parliamentary system as a whole.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that 10 members of Parliament, nearly 40 members of the State Legislatures in India and almost half the number of members of the Tripura Territorial Council all belonging

to the Communist Party and Communist Bloc have been detained without trial under the Defence of India Rules, causing thereby a serious injury to the parliamentary system itself and robbing vast numbers of electors and people and a large number of constituencies their representation in Parliament and State Legislatures.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness to the fact that these large-scale attacks against the Communist Party including its members in Parliament and State Legislatures, trade unionists and members of Kisan Sabhas have only created sorrow and apprehensions in the minds of India's friends abroad and indeed in the democratic circles throughout the world.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that many newspapers in foreign countries, friendly to India and her cause, have been forced to the painful necessity of criticising the Government of India for these arrests and detentions of Communists and other progressives under the Defence of India Rules, and that the Government should not have thought it fit to display any sensitiveness to such criticisms coming from friendly quarters.'"

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

'but regret that whereas the powers of Defence of India Rules are primarily meant, among other things, for preventing any action prejudicial to the defence of India, these powers have, however, been used to put into prison without trial nearly 800 Communists despite the fact that the Communist Party and all its members stand

for the defence of the country and for building up its defence potential.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Defence of India Rules have been used for arresting trade unionists in order to oust them from the trade union field and thus serve the interests of the employers and certain other elements.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the powers of the Defence of India Rules are being utilised to arrest members of local bodies such as municipalities, Zila Parishads and Panchayats to change their composition and in some cases for finding an alibi for superseding municipal bodies.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Union Government, instead of trying to restrain the State Governments and other authorities in the matter of the abuse of the powers under the Defence of India Rules, are on the contrary in some cases at least prodding the State Governments to continue arrests and persecutions of the Communists and others.'"

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

'but regret that the Address reconciles to the large scale arrests and detention without trial under the Defence of India Rules although there is no mentionable obstruction of any kind to our defence efforts.'"

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any awareness that arrests and detentions without trial in the name of emergency are not only unwarranted but are contrary to the fundamental principles of our Constitution and the ways of democracy.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any aliveness to the fact that under the emergency and the Defence of India Rules, the police and the bureaucracy have been invested with unbridled powers and are acting in a manner extremely harmful to India's fair name and democracy.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any serious concern about the fact that in many cases the emergency powers and the powers under the Defence of India Rules are being utilised for reasons of political vendetta and even for satisfying some grudge against Communists, Trade Unionists and others.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any serious concern for the fact that in Tripura which is a Union territory, over 70 Communists have been arrested and detained without trial under the Defence of India Rules and that most of these detenus have been removed to Hazaribagh central jail in Bihar thus denying them the opportunities of even interview with their families.' "

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

'but regret that the Address in this connection does not take note

of the fact that Tripura has only two seats in the Lok Sabha and both the elected representatives from that Union territory in the Lok Sabha are now under detention without trial, thereby denying, in fact, the electorate and the people of Tripura their rightful representation in the Lok Sabha.' "

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

'but regret to note that the Address does not show an awareness of the serious economic situation facing the country.' "

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

'but regret to state that contrary to the claims made in the Address, the agricultural production, especially of foodgrains, has come down from 79.7 million tons in 1960-61 to 78.6 million tons in 1961-62 and there is no possibility of improvement since then.' "

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

'but regret to state that the rate of growth of industrial production has been declining and the declaration of emergency has not helped the country to reach better results.' "

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

'but regret to state that while the working class has sacrificed a lot to increase the production, the owners have utilized the emergency to shut down factories, to retrench workers and create serious unrest.' "

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

'but regret to state that the Government has not done anything to curb the rapacity of the big business while at the same

time has used the emergency powers to cripple the working class movement.' "

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

'but regret to state that no efforts have been made to utilise the huge idle capacity in various industries, especially, the Engineering Industry which could service the Defence purposes.' "

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

'but regret to state that the claim made in the Address that the National Defence Fund has met with generous response is practically true inasmuch as only the ordinary people have responded while the well-to-do people and especially the big-business have not responded.' "

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

'but regret to state that Government and bureaucracy have used the emergency powers to coerce and browbeat the common people while leaving the rich people free from any obligations.' "

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

'but regret to state that the Address has failed to notice the anti-national activities of the employers who have under the guise and protection of emergency sought to take undue advantage for narrow selfish ends by (i) dismissing and victimising in other ways Trade Union leaders and functionaries, (ii) refusing out of hand offers of arbitration, (iii) intensification of the process of issuing charge sheets, suspension notices and imposition of fines, (iv) curtailing even normal production, (v) unilateral non-observance of normal labour laws and regulations, etc.' "

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

'but regret to state that the Address is a certificate of merit to the big business for obligations they have not cared to discharge.' "

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

'but regret to say that the emergency powers have been used by the Government, the bureaucracy and the Congress Party machinery for narrow partisan political ends, for wreaking vengeance on political opponents.' "

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

'but regret to state that the Address has failed to take note of the worsening unemployment in the country.' "

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to take cognisance of the failure of the gold control scheme to disgorge the huge hoards of bullion held by rich people including the erstwhile Maharajas, the Nizam and other persons.' "

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

'but regret to state that the Address is silent on the immense suffering caused to the five million goldsmiths throughout the country by the new gold control scheme.' "

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

'but regret to state that the Address does not mention any measures to alleviate the sufferings of the goldsmiths.' "

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

'but regret to state that the Address does not make any mention of any proposal to take over the huge hoards of gold in bullion held by the princes and businessmen.' "

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

'but regret to state that the Address does not make any mention of the Government's intention to amend the Constitution in order to legalise certain land reform measures declared *ultra vires* of the Constitution by High Courts and the Supreme Court.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not give any assurance that the status of Jammu and Kashmir as a constituent State of the Indian Union will not be made, directly or indirectly, a subject matter of negotiation in the Indo-Pakistan talks or otherwise.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not give any assurance that the basic policies of the Government with regard to the public sector will not be in any manner modified and that no new concessions will be given to the private sector and to the detriment of the public sector.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern at the decision to remove the restriction on foreign participation in the Indian shipping.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any concern at the present moves for wider concessions to private sector in defence industries.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not give a clear assurance that the defence industries in India will be

developed in the public sector alone.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that unemployment in West Bengal is growing and that last year nearly 4 lakhs of unemployed persons registered their names in the Employment Exchanges but did not get employment.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the fact that the price of rice is rising in places like West Bengal and there is a shortfall in production.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not still recognise the need for nationalisation of banking, mining, jute and sugar industries with a view to meeting the urgent needs of development.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that some influential daily papers in Calcutta and other places are inciting people to violence against the Communist Party, trade unions and are carrying on vicious attacks against India's basic policies such as the policy of non-alignment as well as personal and scurrilous attacks against the Prime Minister and Acharya Vinoba Bhave.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not draw the attention of the country to the serious threat posed to its future by the forces of Right reaction.'

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

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

that the so-called Defence Committees are being filled with people who are avowed opponents of India's basic policies."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that Journals, supporting the basic policies of the Government of India, have been ordered to furnish security deposits under the Defence of India Rules, as for example, *Tripura Katha* in Agartala.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the resumption of the underground nuclear test by the U.S.A. in disregard of the appeal of the U.N. General Assembly for a nuclear test ban agreement.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not warn the people of the country against pressures on India by Western Powers over the question of Kashmir.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not tell the people that in order to build up defence and strengthen the country, India, a peace-loving nation, does not require any war-like propaganda or war hysteria of any kind.'

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

'but regret that the use of such expressions as 'war efforts', 'preparing for a long war' in official utterances does not conform to

India's basic policy and only helps her position misunderstood.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not caution the country against the legitimate sentiments of the people for strong national defence being exploited by reactionary forces with ulterior political designs.'

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

'but regret that no steps have been taken to curb the control of newspapers in the country by a handful of big business houses and monopolists.'

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

'but regret that the Address does not recognise the danger to democracy arising out of the control of India's newspapers by a handful of industrialists and millionaires.'

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

'but regret that the Government have not taken effective steps under the Gold Control Order to compel the owners of gold bars, gold bullions etc. to declare such non-ornament gold in their possession.'

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

'but regret that the Government did not take steps in time to prepare an inventory of all gold deposits in the security safes in the banks, thereby helping the gold there to disappear.'

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

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'but regret that the Address does not see the need for at least suspension of all payment of privy purses to the wealthy former Princes during the emergency.' "

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

'but regret that the address does not take serious note of the fact that the big business families have made insignificant contributions to the National Defence Fund from their personal funds, while trying to pass off the contributions of the companies under their control as their own personal contribution.' "

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

'but regret that the Government are permitting the private sector to enter certain fields of defence industries. ' "

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD (Maharashtra): Madam, I move:

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

'but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the pitiable condition of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, the Buddhists and the weaker sections of the country.' "

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

'but regret that in the Address there is no mention of the help given by Soviet Russia in economic and defence spheres and the policy adopted by her which has helped India much. ' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the serious negligence on the part of the Government for not recruiting to reserved posts from the duly qualified Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates particularly to the posts of Grade I and II. ' "

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

'but regret that the Union Government have failed to—

- (a) solve the land problems;
- (b) implement the land reforms by fixing ceiling of land holdings; and
- (c) distribute the cultivable lands to the landless people in the country.' "

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

'but regret that the Address has failed to show the measures by which the standard of living of the common people is proposed to be raised.' "

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

'but regret that the Address has not taken any note of the large-scale unemployment prevailing in the country, particularly among urban landless agricultural labourers and has failed to suggest a concrete and extensive programme for the solution of these burning problems' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the increase in retail prices of essential commodities which are going up gradually.' "

SHRI D. B. DESAI (Maharashtra):  
Madam, I move:—

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

'but regret to note that there has been no mention of the national resolve to recover the territory occupied by the Chinese by aggression and the steps to be taken to implement the national resolve.'"

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

'but regret to note that there has been no mention of the deteriorating condition in agricultural production and the steps to improve the same.'"

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

'but regret to note that the Address significantly does not mention the programme of social security contemplated in the Third Five Year Plan and creates doubt in the minds of the weaker sections of the community of being neglected in the emergency.'"

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Madam, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address fails to reiterate the nation's firm resolve, as solemnly and unanimously expressed by Parliament on November 14, 1962, to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be.'"

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

'but regret the omission in the Address to indicate concrete plans or measures to prosecute vigorously the war for the liberation of the Indian territory from Communist China's occupation and for the restoration of India's territorial integrity.'"

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

'but regret that in spite of the continued occupation of India's territory by the Chinese Communists and the need of emergent action to combat it, the undue emphasis laid in the Address on peaceful methods is calculated to undermine the morale of the people and rob the national crisis of its content of urgency, and the Proclamation of Emergency is being continued mainly to strengthen the party in power.'"

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

'but regret the failure of the Government to step up efforts to ensure wholehearted and effective flow of military aid from all friendly countries.'"

(Amendment Nos. 77 to 80 also stood in the name of Shri V. M. Chordia.)

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA (Bihar): Madam, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address fails to reiterate the nation's solemn resolve, embodied in the Resolution unanimously adopted by Parliament on November 14, 1962, 'to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be', and further, to indicate concrete measures for vigorous prosecution of the war to



[Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha.]  
liberate Indian territory from  
Communist China's occupation,  
and for the restoration of our  
territorial integrity.' "

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

'but regret the failure to take  
note of the anaemic stagnation  
that has overtaken the national  
economy, and to formulate effective  
measures with a view to  
gearing it up for the urgent  
requirements of Defence and  
Development.' "

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

'but regret the failure to utilise  
the state of emergency for the  
maximum mobilisation of the  
people's energies as reflected in  
the patriotic upsurge in the wake  
of the massive invasion of our  
country by Communist China.' "

(Amendment Nos. 81 to 83 also stood  
in the names of Shri Rohit M. Dave,  
Shri M. S. Gurupada Swamy, Shri  
Mulka Govinda Reddy and Shri R. S.  
Khandekar.)

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA (Madhya  
Pradesh): Madam, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address  
does not make a mention of the  
tendency of Government of  
amending the Constitution according  
to its convenience and acting  
sometimes even against the original  
spirit of the Constitution.' "

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

'but regret that while a feeling  
has been expressed that ever  
since the Constitution of our

Republic, the Parliament has had  
to face difficult problems and to  
shoulder heavy responsibilities,  
the Address does not make a men-  
tion of many of the problems that  
cropped up because of the mis-  
takes on the part of Government  
and owing to the fact that they  
had been living in the world of  
imagination.' "

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

'but regret that the Address  
does not take note of the failures  
and the wastage in various pro-  
jects.' "

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

'but regret that the Address  
does not take note of the deteri-  
orating economic condition and  
increasing indebtedness of the  
farmers.' "

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

'but regret that the Address  
does not suggest any measures to  
remove unemployment which is  
on the increase due to industria-  
lisation among working classes,  
such as oilmen, cobblers, black-  
smiths, potters, etc., who are  
spread all over India.' "

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

'but regret that the Address  
does not take note of the unemp-  
loyment among the goldsmiths by  
the new gold policy and of the  
problems arising therefrom.' "

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

'but regret that the Address  
does not take note of the acts of

highhandedness, looting and incursions etc. by the Pakistanis in Indian territory.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the land and money that had to be sacrificed as a result of the agreements made with Pakistan.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the excesses made and being made for making collections for the National Defence Fund.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the gold control rules have been formulated in order to conceal the failures of the administration in various measures adopted by it to check the smuggling in gold, resulting in country-wide loss of confidence, disorder and unemployment among the goldsmiths.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not make a mention of the inequality created by Government by arranging for giving one day in a month for the Defence Labour Bank by the people in the rural areas and exempting the people of urban areas therefrom.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the deterioration in foreign trade, foreign

exchange and the economic condition of the country.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not suggest appropriate action against those citizens who have extra-territorial loyalties while living in India.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of safeguarding the relics of Indian Art scattered in the different parts of the world.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain any indication of a reconsideration of the decision to make English an associate official language in view of the public opinion aroused against that decision.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the defensive measures taken in view of imminent threat to the borders of Bhutan and Sikkim posed by the concentration of Chinese armies in Chumbi Valley.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of merging NEFA with Assam and of making a change in the policy in regard to NEFA.' "

[Shri V. M. Chordia.]

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

'but regret that the Address does not take into account the danger posed to the economy of the country as the targets of agricultural production under the Plan have not so far been achieved.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Tripartite Agreement has not been observed in an appropriate manner by the proprietors and mill-owners.' "

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain any direction in regard to recovering Indian territory occupied by China and Pakistan.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the fact that our Army was unprepared in NEFA.' "

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of imparting compulsory military training to able-bodied persons and of repealing the Arms Act.' "

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Madam, I move:

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

'but regret that the declaration regarding Jammu and Kashmir being a part of India has not been reiterated in the Address nor any light thrown therein on the talks being held with Pakistan on the issue of Kashmir.' "

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

'but regret that there is no indication in the Address regarding the merging of NEFA in Assam and for bringing about fundamental changes in the administration there.' "

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

'but regret that no mention has been made in the Address of the measures to be adopted for ending the crisis created by the illegal entry of Pakistanis into Assam on a large scale.' "

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

'but regret that the Address is silent about the adoption of effective measures to check the disturbances caused by hostiles in Nagaland.' "

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

'but regret that the Address makes no mention of the widely prevailing public discontent against the decision to make English an associate official language for an indefinite period after 1965.' "

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

'but regret that no assurance has been given for checking the

rise in the price of gold that has come about as a result of the gold policy of Government and for speedily providing alternative sources of livelihood to the goldsmiths."

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

'but regret that the Address makes no mention of increasing the price of sugarcane and of reducing the excise duty on sugar to remove the difficulty which is being faced by the sugar industry as a result of the fall in the production of sugarcane.'

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

'but regret that no indication has been given for the withdrawal of the action taken against the employees who took part in the last general strike of the employees of the Central Government.'

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

'but regret that no decision has been taken to give representation to all patriotic parties in the National Defence Council and the Central Citizens' Council.'

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

'but regret that the Address makes no mention of the failure of the administration to suppress firmly the fifth column activities.'

شری پیارے لال کرپل "طالب"

(اتر پردیش): مہودہ - سلسلہ

مہودہ سے پہلے ایک بات کہنا چاہتا

ہوں - میں نے اپنے سلسلہ

میں دئے تھے اور ہلدی کی بجائے  
انگریزی میں مجھے سلسلہ دئے گئے  
ہوں - مجھے ہلدی میں سلسلہ  
دئے جانے چاہئیں - آئندہ ہی  
ایسا ہو -

†[श्री प्यारे लाल करील 'तालिब' (उत्तर प्रदेश): महोदय संशोधन मूव करने से पहले एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। मैंने अपने संशोधन हिन्दी में दिये थे और हिन्दी की बजाय अंग्रेजी में मुझे संशोधन दिये गये हैं मुझे हिन्दी में संशोधन दिये जाने चाहिये। आग्रह भी ऐसा हो।]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do you move them or not? Later on you may speak on your amendments.

SHRI P. L. KUREEL URF TALIB: Madam, I move:

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

'but regret that attention has not been drawn in the Address towards the need of a radical change in the foreign and defence policies of the Government of India which are responsible for the aggression committed by Communist China.'

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

'but regret that Government, have not been advised to follow the nationally beneficial policy of starting negotiations only after driving out the Chinese beyond the 15th August, 1947.'

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

'but regret that the fact that the Government of India committed a blunder in accepting the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, has not been mentioned in the Address.'

†[ ] Hindi transliteration.

[Shri P. L. Kureel urf Talib.]

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

'but regret that the Colombo Proposals were accepted without obtaining the approval of the Parliament.'"

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

'but regret that attention has not been drawn in the Address towards the failure of Government in all the fields of production, viz. agriculture, industry and arms.'"

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

'but regret that no suggestion has been made for taking effective steps towards securing socio-economic equality for all the citizens.'"

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

'but regret the indifference of the Government towards introducing the people's language for the establishment of democracy.'"

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

'but regret that the attention has not been drawn towards the necessity of immediate formulation of a scheme for settling the homeless (nomadic) backward classes.'"

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

'but regret that attention has not been drawn in the Address towards the non-essentiality of the Defence of India Act in the present hour of cease-fire.'"

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

'but regret that attention has not been drawn towards the failure of Government in checking the rising prices by bringing about an equitable balance in the prices of vital agricultural and industrial commodities.'"

(Amendment Nos. 120 to 128 also stood in the name of Shri G. Murahari)

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

'but regret that attention has not been drawn in the Address towards the failure of Government's policy in forming a truly casteless national army during this period of emergency.'"

श्री गोडे मुराहरी : महोदय, मैं इन संशोधनों को प्रस्तावित करता हूँ :

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

'but regret that the Address has not drawn attention towards the need for a radical change in the foreign and defence policies of the Government of India and has not condemned the efforts made by the Government of India even now for obtaining recognition for Communist China in the U.N.O.'"

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

'but regret that no emphasis has been laid on the need for the formulation of a truly dynamic

and independent non-aligned policy in place of the non-aligned foreign policy of the Government of India."

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

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

'but regret the failure of Government to replace their plan by a Victory Plan, based upon—

(i) whatever national resources can be mobilised through only such taxation and public loans as can be raised without endangering the national economy and entrenching too much upon the slender resources of the masses of our country;

(ii) the whole-hearted assistance of all friendly and democratic countries through our firm alliance with them in resisting and containing Communist Chinese expansionism;

(iii) the elimination of all wasteful expenditure."

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

'but regret the failure of the Government to indicate any definite steps to protect peasant proprietorship to serve remunerative level of agricultural prices and to provide other incentives to agricultural production.'

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

'but regret the oppressive Gold Control which offends the deepest public sentiments and robs millions of highly skilled artisans of

their independent means of livelihood and undermines the rural credit.'"

(Amendment Nos. 137 to 139 also stood in the names of Shri M. Ruthnaswamy and Shri Lokanath Misra).

The questions were proposed.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Rest of the amendments Nos. 140 to 143 have already been covered.

The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

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

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

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Madam Deputy Chairman, by reading the Address of the President I have the feeling that the Address takes a very complacent view of the country's political and economic situation because politically the forces of reaction within the country have grown stronger and the forces of democracy and progress have suffered certain very serious blows. The forces of right reaction are today organised not merely in the parties of the Opposition but also within the Government and in the State apparatus.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Question.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** This is a very dangerous development for the country's democracy and its future. In this period again, politically imperialist pressures have grown on the country and the Government and despite the fact that basically our policy of non-alignment stands and stood the test of time in the crisis, it cannot however be said that we are exactly

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

in the same position where we were before September last year.

AN. HON. MEMBER: Thanks to the Chinese aggression.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The policy of non-alignment is under constant pressure and in some ways seems to have become a little vulnerable also to such pressures. This is a matter of concern for the whole country because we view this policy of non-alignment not merely as a matter of relations in world affairs but as a shield for our independence, as a source of the growth of our democratic institutions and as a source of growth of our independent economic development. Indeed without non-alignment, we could not have made whatever progress we have made and it has been time and again experienced in the contemporary world that whenever an under-developed country breaks away from the moorings of non-alignment, what follows there is blatant reaction. So we should not think as if we can give up the policy of non-alignment and place ourselves in the arms of the West and at the same time continue our independent economic development and the progress of the country. This is just not possible in the world today in the context of an under-developed country like ours.

In this connection, I would like also to say that it is possible that the Chinese forces have gone back to the pre-8th September line. In fact yesterday from the replies we gathered that they have withdrawn to the positions prevailing or to the line prevailing before 8th September. There it is a question of military withdrawals but in the political life of the country, internally it is not so easy for us today to get back to the positions that obtained before 8th September. In other words, we cannot easily recapture the political situation within the country that prevailed before

September 1962. This will require considerable efforts on the part of the forces of democracy and progress in meeting the challenges of the forces of right reaction, both open and covert attacks on their part. Therefore, I think the Address should have paid a little attention to it. I say this because the greatest danger internally within the country today is constituted by the strengthening of the forces of right reaction and this must be understood before it is too late. As I had said, let us not have the impression that they are organised only outside. It is possible to detect them when the organised parties of right reaction make speeches or their leaders make speeches but it is difficult to detect the forces of right reaction when they are surreptitiously functioning within the Cabinets, within the Ministries, within the Police, within the Government bureaucracy and within other branches of the State apparatus. They are not before the public eye; but certainly anyone who has any political sense and foresight should see that the danger grows because these forces that are in key positions in the administration are getting emboldened and stronger. What has come into existence over the past three months is a kind of *de facto* united front among all the forces of right reaction within the Congress Party and outside the Congress Party and that is a threat not only in its actuality but even more so in its potentiality because at any critical moment these forces may overtake the country and overturn our Constitution and bring about a change-over of the Government in the direction on which they had been working. Therefore I say that it is a most dangerous development. I think to defend democracy and our Constitution today would demand of us that all progressive forces belonging to all parties should join their hands together in order to meet the challenge of the forces of right reaction and to resist their pressures, to clean up these elements in the administration and thus

defend the fundamentals of our Constitution and democratic institutions.

It is not enough to acknowledge that these forces have grown. What is important in the context of today's political life is to develop a counter striking power on the part of the forces of progress and democracy so that we can bring a complete defeat and ultimate rout of the forces of right reaction. As I have said, imperialist pressures too have grown and imperialists are quite clearly linked up with the forces of right reaction. Is it not a fact that in the beginning of November, before the Parliament met, the 'Washington Post' wrote an editorial in which it said that the first casualty in this was, as they called it, "The India-China border conflict", must be Mr. Krishna Menon and is it not a fact that within a matter of days Mr. Krishna Menon had to resign?

Let us not take it as so simple as all that. We know that behind this resignation were working not only good and conscientious sentiments on the part of the Prime Minister or the Defence Minister but there were also the forces of blatant right reaction aided by imperialist powers in order to bring about the downfall of our Defence Minister. In the later days . . . (Interruptions.) You may also have worked for it. (Interruptions.)

AN. HON. MEMBER: Force of public opinion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In the later days it was to be demonstrated that the same forces which were vociferous for the downfall of Mr. Menon were working for the downfall of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and were waiting to hear when he would go to the Radio to announce his resignation . . .

(Interruptions.)

I know I have hit hard. (Interruptions.)

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh): You are the greatest danger to India.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do you belong to the forces of reaction? I do not know where Dr. Pande stands. Sometimes I do not know where he stands. I would like to be assured. I know, his agitation is understandable because he may be wavering between the forces of right reaction and the loyalties which he openly proclaims. That is what I say. Didn't you hear in those days when the country was passing through a great crisis that there was a demand for a war-time leadership? Were not such expressions made publicly in the press and from the platforms? Is it not a fact that some people went to Patna to consult somebody in order to find out whether such a leadership could be created to take the place that Prime Minister Nehru occupies today?

AN HON. MEMBER: No Congressman did it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, the chief patron and champion of these rightists is the Birla House and I clearly assert that the Birlas are playing the same role now as the Thyssen and Krupps played during the twenties and thirties before Hitler came to power and even after it.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala): Who was responsible for the exit of Mr. Namboodiripad?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let the hon. Member stand up and say, I . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Right reaction in the Communist Party?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know, I know. The Congress Party should take note of all these interruptors and report each one of them to Prime Minister Nehru, because he should know. I say this, Madam Deputy



[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

Chairman, in all seriousness for the matter has to be considered because the sources must be found out. It is really the millionaire press. At the Press Institute Seminar the other day the Prime Minister was speaking about the millionaire press and then you did not interrupt him when he was speaking. When I speak, you interrupt me and utter these remarks.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Do you represent the Prime Minister's Party or anybody else?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, it is a very interesting spectacle. When I defend the Congress Party and their policies and give some information about developments, Congressmen interrupt me. (Interruptions.) I think I have found out the reason.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: It was your support that brought Mr. Krishna Menon down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The hon. Member, it is well known, represents the right reaction in the Congress. That is well known in the country. Therefore, Madam Deputy Chairman, I need not deal with that matter now. We have now this Vivian Bose Committee's Report and we have seen how big business works in this country. Of these documents only 100 copies were published, no more. Now more copies have come. We want the Vivian Bose Enquiry Committee's Report on the Dalmia-Jain concerns to be discussed not only for suggesting measures against those companies and those gentlemen but also for developing a policy and a line against the monopolists within the country, notably against the Birla concerns. These are revelations made here. These are there before us and we should be failing in our public duty if we do not seriously study the Report and reflect over these matters concerning big business in our country and formulate policies and action to deal with them.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I cannot but regret on this occasion that a former General, namely Mr. Cariappa, made provocative speeches and gave incitement to violence and asked the people to shoot the Communists, and these speeches were reported in the Birla press. Here in the very capital, Delhi, he made such speeches. He had the gumption and the temerity to get up on a public platform and insult our Constitution, insult our democracy and insult the genius of our people by calling upon the audience to go and shoot Communists. This is how the Nazis and the Fascists and the Hitlerites had spoken. Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to know from the Government what the conduct rules are in such matters, whether a General on pension, the retired Chief of the Army Staff, can utilise his position and advantage in this manner, not only to speak against the declared basic policy of the Government but to make incitements to violence against a political party in the country. It is regrettable that some Congressmen, forgetting their allegiance to their party appeared on the same platform with General Cariappa. That might be suitable in Franco's Spain or in some South American country, but certainly it is an anachronism in the context of our political life.

Madam Deputy Chairman, our non-alignment has become the main target. Here I would ask why the Home Minister did not arrest Mr. Cariappa under the Defence of India Rules. I would ask him why he did not put him in prison because every utterance he makes, every speech that he has made in different parts of the country, was a provocation against one section of the community, against a political party. It is all a repudiation of the basic policy of the Government and is contrary to united defence efforts. Why this gentleman is let free, I would like to know. Was it because he has become, like the British King, one who can do no wrong? I should like to know. That only shows the approach of the Government.

Madam Deputy Chairman, in this connection I should like to point out that they have chosen non-alignment as the main target of their attack. That is quite understandable. Once they can make a break through by undermining the policy of non-alignment, the entire field will be open to them in order to browbeat India into capitulation and submission. That is why these people cleverly have chosen non-alignment as their target and the tragedy of the situation is that the defence requirements of the country are sought to be exploited and utilised in order to hit the policy of non-alignment and for wrecking the policy that has brought honour and strength to our country, without which we cannot survive as an honourable and decent nation. It should be understood why they are attacking this policy.

Madam Deputy Chairman, in this connection, I would like to point out here and draw your attention to what has appeared in 'The Indian Express' of today. There is a report in that issue. We met the Prime Minister about the air umbrella and we understood from him that there was no such proposal and that the question of accepting it did not arise at all. But here in this report it says that Mr. J. K. Galbraith met the Secretary, External Affairs Ministry and hold him that the Government should make a public announcement that the American missions which have come to India have come on the invitation of the Government of India. Mr. Galbraith should have greater respect for the intelligence of the people of India. We know . . .

SHRI A. K. SEN: Madam, Deputy Chairman, let us not bring in and introduce into the discussion the accredited representatives of friendly countries. We may criticise policies, but I would appeal to the hon. Member not to attack personally, representatives of friendly countries.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is not a question of my attacking anyone. The report is here.

SHRI A. K. SEN: The hon Member knows even better than I do that the representatives of friendly countries should not be brought into the discussion.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You pass on, Mr. Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I fail to understand how . . .

SHRI A. K. SEN: I may point out that he is discharging his functions as the accredited representative of a friendly country and his conduct should not be brought into question.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not discussing his conduct. I am discussing the conduct of the Government.

AN HON. MEMBER: It should be expunged.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have mentioned it Mr. Gupta, you pass on to the next point.

SHRI A. K. SEN: Discussing the conduct of the Government you can do your heart's content.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I cannot understand. I am not discussing anything else. (Interruptions.) You are all taking up my time. I can discuss it also, if I like, but at the moment I am not concerned with that. The Government should tell us its position clearly. It is said here in the report in the paper:

"The American sources in New Delhi were quoted as saying that India requested Western air protection for her cities on November 19 at the height of the Chinese invasion.

"It was two weeks after the cease-fire that India formally requested the study of her air defence needs with a view to possible intervention by American and Commonwealth interceptor squadrons to

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]  
defend the Indian cities in the event  
of a fresh Chinese invasion."

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh):  
It is obvious that no military delegation can come to India without the permission and request of the Government of India. I don't understand why the hon. Member should be talking about it now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I agree. That is why I am questioning the propriety of the U.S.A. Ambassador going and telling the Foreign Secretary to make this announcement, that they had come at the invitation of the Government of India.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Because there are men like you who say that they should not come.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The point that I wish to make in this connection is this, that it was not necessary for him to go and tell them. If they had come, surely they must have been invited by the Government. What is more important, however, is the fact that the Prime Minister made the statement that there was no proposal to have an air umbrella or protection or anything of the kind publicly but the American papers are writing such things in order to counter what the Prime Minister himself has said and make the open suggestion that the Prime Minister was not telling the truth. I take it that the Prime Minister was telling the truth but I would like the record to be set straight in this matter. I need not say much on this but you see that when I raise this point some people get very upset.

Madam, as far as the state of our economy is concerned, the agricultural front is not looking up at all. Food production is not going up and the target of one hundred million tons in the Third Five Year Plan is not going to be attained. It is quite clear by now and Government also admits it. As far as the industries are concerned,

in some sections improvements have taken place but idle capacity is great and no effort has been made to utilise the idle capacity in our industry and the engineering industry accounts for 35 per cent. of the idle capacity. Here I find that the small scale industry has been suffering as a result of certain policies of the Government and you will be sorry to hear that during the emergency the handloom industry in Kerala, for example, is suffering and is facing a serious crisis. In Punjab, the small traders and businessmen have passed a resolution pointing out their difficulties.

There is a lot of talk about defence orientation but what does it mean? Defence orientation does not mean that we should give more concessions in the matter of defence industries and other industries to the organised element in the private sector, namely, the monopolists. Defence orientation means that we should develop our industrial base and at the same time develop the public sector, defence industry being exclusively in the public sector. We should lay emphasis on the machine-building industry and certain other industries, e.g., oil, power transport and so on. This is very very important for developing a self-reliant defence potential in the country. Unfortunately, we have not had a clear picture of the orientation of that kind which we need. We are not thinking in terms of massive military aid and making our country absolutely dependent on the Western powers. What we need, and here we agree with the Prime Minister, is to build up our defence industries in such a way that our factories produce the weapons and equipment that we require for our defence and for protecting the integrity of the country. Radical steps should be taken to achieve this; but we are sorry to hear that the Defence Ministry now is making certain concessions to the private sector, that is to say, the monopolists in the defence field. Orientation needs nationalisation of

banks, mining, jute and so on and I emphasise the need for nationalising the banking industry because unless we get hold of the banks we are not in a position to control the economy in the way we would like it to be controlled apart from getting substantial resources for our development and defence purposes from these sources. Full implementation of the vital projects must be carried out instead of being postponed or curtailed or otherwise deferred. Therefore, as far as mobilisation of resources are concerned, they have done nothing to mobilise the resources from the rich. It is very well to write nice letters to the Nizam of Hyderabad and then express your indignation but what prevents this Government which has arrested 800 Communists to go and raid the palace of the Nizam and unearth the gold and seize it for national purposes if the Nizam would not even show decency to respond to the appeal of the Government by giving some donation which befits his position and wealth? Nothing of that kind is done. Well, the former princes are completely ignoring this. As you know, during this period a sum of forty crores of rupees has been raised for the National Defence Fund namely from the workers, peasants and the middle class employees. At the same time, only the other day it was revealed in the U.P. Assembly that the Government did not collect the tax arrears from the factory owners in U.P. which come to about Rs. 53 crores. This is how the poor classes, workers, peasants and the toiling people are responding to the call of national defence—see their patriotism—and this is how the Nizam of Hyderabad is behaving, the millionnaires.

**SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR (Madras):** May we know from where he gets his figures?

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** This is how the Nizam of Hyderabad behaves. He belongs to big business.

**SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR:** The allegation that he

has made that a sum of Rs. 53 crores has not been collected from the factories—I would like to know the authority on which he makes this statement. It has nothing to do with Hyderabad.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Perhaps, when all these things happened, the hon. Member was in Jakarta. Now, this is happening.

**SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR:** Has he any authority for the statement? Else, he should withdraw that statement. He cannot make a statement without producing the authority for that.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** I will ignore your interruptions for obvious reasons. I say that this is the position. If they have made any contributions, it is plain that they have tried to pass on the contribution of the companies under their control as their personal contribution. Sometimes even the contribution of the workers has been sought to be passed off like that. In this connection, I should like them to use the emergency powers in order to make them pay. As far as the Dalmia-Jain companies are concerned, Government should seriously consider the question of taking them over. We shall make detailed suggestions when we discuss this matter and I hope discussion will take place on this Report but I think, after the Report of the Vivian Bose Enquiry Commission, you cannot leave the matter at that. You must take action against those concerns and elements which have perpetrated this kind of fraud and indulged in various other malpractices at the cost of the nation, the shareholders and the people at large. I need not say much about this economy because we will discuss that when we come to the Budget.

As far as the Indo-China border question is concerned, we have signified our support to the Government stand with regard to the Colombo Proposals and the Government did a very right thing in accepting the proposal together with the clarifications. We

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] cannot understand why the Peoples' Republic of China and its Government should not have found its way to accept *in toto* the Colombo proposals because on that depends the commencement of the negotiations and the peaceful solution of the problem. That is why we hope, and it is our fervent desire, that the talks should start. In that connection, naturally, we look forward to the forces of negotiation getting stronger everywhere in our country and secondly we would expect the Chinese Government to reciprocate acceptance *in toto* by the Government of India by their own acceptance of the Colombo proposals together with the clarifications. We hope that once negotiations start, settlement will be arrived at speedily by both sides in accordance with the Bandung spirit and, as far as we are concerned, naturally we should stress, in accordance with the territorial integrity and honour of our country. Precious time should not be lost over this matter and I think delay in accepting the Colombo proposals *in toto* on the part of China encourages the forces that are opposed to negotiations and the policy of non-alignment in this country. Therefore, it serves no good cause. It would be a good gesture if China returned also the so-called Indian prisoners of war to India without delay. I am making this suggestion because somebody has to speak on this subject. There was no declared war between the two countries and yet we find many of our people who were fighting at the front are now prisoners of war in the hands of China and I think it would be in accordance with the Bandung spirit and would help to develop a better atmosphere and in the favourable direction if the prisoners of war too, like the wounded and sick who were made over to India, were allowed to return to their own country.

3 P.M.

Within the country, Madam Deputy Chairman, we should not say or do anything which makes us look as if we are warmongers. Therefore, we

would not like such expressions as 'war efforts' or 'long war' to be used at least. Defence preparations can go on without taking recourse to such expressions which do not befit a peace-loving nation and certainly do not conform to the sentiments expressed in the President's Address. However, I was a little sorry when I read in some newspaper that our friend, the Law Minister, said the India-China border question was a military question and there could be only a military solution. I do not know if the report is correct but he seems to be too intelligent to have made such an absurd observation.

SHRI A. K. SEN: It is very correct, Madam, and I have no regret that I made this statement.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If he thinks that a military solution is the only solution of the India-China border question, I would ask him to consult his Prime Minister and seek better advice in this matter. I do not think that such things help very much. Anyway, you see, he has been immediately applauded by our esteemed friend, Mr. Vajpayee.

Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, in this connection, I would not like such things. He said other things also, Ladakh Chalo, Nefal Chalo, etc. when he made his speech in Calcutta. I can understand his eloquence having got the better of him but this is not the way a Cabinet Minister, if I may say so, should speak. I say the Prime Minister offers the *modus vivendi* for every single Cabinet Minister on complicated yet very important matters like these and I do not see any reason why even our esteemed friend, the beloved Law Minister, should forsake his Prime Minister for the sake of getting some applause from an audience which has to be worked up sometimes.

Madam Deputy Chairman, in this connection, I would like to mention another matter. The United Nations General Assembly has made, at its

17th session, an appeal for a test ban agreement so that there would be no nuclear test in 1963 but unfortunately the U.S. Government has decided to resume underground tests and that too at a time when the 18-nation U.N. Sub-Committee on disarmament was meeting in Geneva. That does not help the situation at all. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, they have expressed their desire and said that they are prepared to sign an agreement and if necessary they are prepared to agree to two or three inspections although national means of inspection are adequate enough. The problem of inspection, as you know, was a complicated thing and the Soviet Union seems to have made a concession in order that a test ban agreement could be arrived at.

As far as Cuba is concerned, Cuba remains still threatened. Due to the statesmanship of the Soviet Government a nuclear catastrophe was averted and Cuba's independence too was defended and the whole mankind acclaimed the stand taken by the Soviet Prime Minister in this matter. And we are—and I think our country is also—fully with them in the stand that has been taken. But the danger remains because the Americans despite their assurances given on that occasion are not easily going to live up to them. So today vigilance is called for and I think we should express our sympathy with the Cuban people in the defence of their independence. We are committed to it and we should live up to it.

As far as Iraq is concerned, we are a little concerned about the manner in which the *coup d'etat* has been brought about and about the kind of *coup d'etat* that has taken place there. It seems that all the progressive forces, not merely the Communists and others, are under attack there. Murders are taking place on a large scale. In Iraq, thousands of people have been killed and it seems certain other agencies are behind the *coup d'etat* Government which has

come into existence and launched an attack against the people of Iraq.

As far as the Kashmir issue is concerned, all that I would like to say is that the Government should take us more into confidence in this matter and the status of Jammu and Kashmir as a part of the Indian Union, in other words the fact that Kashmir is a constituent State of the Indian Union, is certainly not negotiable either in these talks or in any other talks. At the same time we are all in favour of bilateral talks with Pakistan which we have been supporting all along in order to settle our outstanding problems with them.

Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, coming to the question of emergency, in October last when the Chinese forces were advancing into the country and constituting an act of aggression—I say it was an act of aggression; even now . . .

AN. HON. MEMBER: Very kind of you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: . . . Although they have withdrawn the aggression was there.

PROF. M. B. LAL: Even in Ladakh?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Wherever you say, I have said it. The Chinese forces were in the Indian territory—that is what I said—and a state of emergency was declared under article 352 of the Constitution and we supported, in the paramount interest of the nation, the emergency powers because they were necessary to ensure military operations in the front and supplies and other activities in the rear. If you read the Defence of India Rules you will find that most of these provisions are needed really in order to facilitate military operations and maintain supplies and other essential activities in the rear when a war is on. The Fundamental Rights were curbed under emergency and we know that article 19 of the Constitution was given up. We thought

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that the emergency powers should be provided in order to facilitate military operations when they were on and to build up defence efforts in the country and for mobilising the resources that are vitally needed for the purpose. I do not say that nothing has been done. They have been used for that purpose also but as far as the resources are concerned, they have come voluntarily from the poorer sections of the people without the use of the Defence of India Rules or the emergency powers. And that goes to the eternal credit of our people. Most of the contributions for the Defence Fund have come from the poorer sections. Even the Delhi workers have contributed two million rupees to the Defence Fund but compared to it the contribution by the millionaires in Delhi is negligible. Then an industrial truce resolution was passed at that time but unilaterally the employers have violated that truce resolution. They have increased the workload and they have carried out retrenchment, and indulged in lay-off, intimidation and victimisation of the workers. Under the industrial truce resolution the profits that accrue as a result of extra efforts should go either to the defence effort or to the welfare of the working people but it seems that the employing classes have expropriated whatever profits accrued as a result of additional efforts by the workers. The emergency powers have been used to make forcible collections to the National Defence Fund. In this connection, Madam Deputy Chairman, two articles have been written in the 'Free Press Journal' where it is said that in Mysore all Government employees drawing more than Rs. 300 a month have been asked to make a compulsory contribution of one month's salary and those earning less half a month's salary. I would like to know how many people whose assessed income is over Rs. 50,000/- a year have been asked to make a compulsory contribution of one year's income or at least six month's income. There is no such thing. So I think

the Mysore employees right'y complained to the Government. As far as Kerala is concerned, this is what is written in the 'Free Press Journal':

"On the contrary, the Government has given an impression of being arbitrary and high-handed in its approach especially to the collection of funds . . . All school-going kids were asked to give one rupee per head and all college students five rupees each. Those who defaulted were threatened with expulsion."

This is what is written there.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: There is no compulsion in Kerala as far as contribution to the National Defence Fund is concerned.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You go and ask the Kerala Chief Minister. It is written further here:

"The entire defence effort in Kerala has suffered on account of the inability of the Chief Minister or any other member of the Cabinet to provide inspiration and leadership."

Kindly convey this message to your Chief Minister in Kerala. This is the position, Madam Deputy Chairman. Therefore, I say that these powers have not been properly used. Indeed these powers have been used to attack the Communist Party on a large scale and cripple its activities and break up the party wholesale in certain places.

The worst example is the use of the power, when you come to the use of these powers under the Defence of India Rules, against the Communist Party, the trade unionists and other elements.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): They deserve much more.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do not interrupt him

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** The stand of our Party is well known and I do not know—I repeat it here—of any Communist who is opposed to the defence efforts or to the strengthening of the defence of the country. I repeat here that I do not know of any Communist in the entire Communist Party of India who is opposed to the defence of the country. Yet 800 Communists, including 50 members of the National Council, 10 Members of Parliament and about 40 Members of the State Legislatures, have been arrested and detained without trial, apart from many others who have been arrested under the other provisions of the Defence of India Rules.

**SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN:** Are there no pro-Chinese elements in the Communist Party?

*(Interruptions)*

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** One at a time. Please do not interrupt.

**SHRI A. K. SEN:** The hon. Member has been too long away from West Bengal.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** I think Mr. Asoke Sen will make an interruption of this kind after this speech there in Calcutta. Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to invite your attention to one little thing. In this connection let us recall what the British did in the last War. The Congress Party was opposed to the war effort and they made no bones about it. Millions of people supported the Congress at that time. The nation was against the British.

**SHRI FARIDUL HAQ ANSARI** (Uttar Pradesh): Except the Communists.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** In the present emergency no party in this country is opposed to the defence effort. The entire nation is behind the Government for the defence of the territorial integrity of the country. And now what do you see? Contrast it with what happened then and what

happens now. I have got it from the Government Reports. I find that in the undivided India there were only 7,574 persons in detention without trial on the 1st January, 1945 when the War was still on. This number included not only politicals but non-politicals also, foreigners like the Italians, Japanese and Germans. Therefore, the number of political prisoners or detenus at that time must have been much less than this figure. This figure of 7,574 persons included non-political elements and foreigners. I cannot get their exact total number, but a large number was there. If you leave out East Bengal, West Punjab, the North West Frontier and Sind which are now in Pakistan—from where at that time a large number of these political detenus came—the number of detenus in what now forms part of the Indian Union would be still less. That is what I say. Compare this with what the Government of India is doing here. Now, despite the fact that the Communist Party is in support of the defence effort, that no party is opposed to such effort, they have put in 900 people in detention without trial. That does not make good for your democracy. That is all I can say. You read the newspapers. Do you see in the country that there is any Communist opposition to the defence efforts? No. Everybody is supporting the defence effort in the country. Newspapers would not give the impression as if the Government is meeting with any obstruction anywhere in regard to the defence effort from any part of the country. Therefore, the entire thing should be . . .

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA:** Your work is always underground.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Orissa you know very well. Therefore, the entire thing should be viewed from the political angle and I think it is no use trying to say that you are reviewing the cases. We want a political decision by the Government of India today here and now more especially in changed conditions and situation so that all



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the political detenus who have been arrested are released immediately. I do not like to say much in this connection. But yesterday I received a letter from Tripura saying that Rs. 3,000 has been demanded as deposit from the "Tripurar Katha", which is a weekly journal of the Communist Party, although there is nothing in that journal which can be construed as prejudicial to the defence effort. On the contrary many write-ups have appeared supporting the defence effort. Why is this deposit demanded from it? It is just because the "Tripurar Katha" published a letter to the editor from an individual for which the editors are not responsible. And that letter criticised the speech made by the President of the Tripura Congress Committee on the 28th December. In that speech the President said:

"All tribal people in Tripura are 'dalals' of communists. We shall arrest and imprison the children of the tribal villagers. The rest shall be beaten with shoes."

This is what he said. Somebody reported this in the journal by way of a letter to the editor. For that the "Tripurar Katha" has been asked to furnish a deposit of Rs. 3,000. Yesterday in this very House Prime Minister Nehru castigated the "Ananda Bazar Patrika". He said that it contained something very objectionable and highly improper and indecent things. And we know that the "Ananda Bazar Patrika" wrote against Prime Minister Nehru and Acharya Vinoba Bhave and insulted Shrimati Bandaranaike and made all kinds of allegations.

(Interruptions.)

PROF. M. B. LAL: Are we not to protest against Acharya Vinoba Bhave?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Acharya Vinoba Bhave should not be attacked in a scurrilous manner. The Prime Minister himself said it and he has taken up the matter with the Govern-

ment of West Bengal. What action has been taken against the "Ananda Bazar Patrika"? How much deposit have you asked from the "Ananda Bazar Patrika"? Why is there delay in taking such action? It is because the "Ananda Bazar Patrika" is in league with the West Bengal State Government, patronises some of the Ministers. That is why this intervention by the Prime Minister at the last Session of Parliament. Nothing has been done against that paper, but our weekly paper in full support of the policies of non-alignment and of defence efforts has been asked to produce in cash Rs. 3,000. Here the "Ananda Bazar Patrika" has enjoyed the advantage of Rs. 25 lakhs of yet unrepaid loan from the LIC. This also I would like to tell you, that a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs loan is there outstanding. They are not recovering it and moneys are allowed to be sent by the proprietor of the "Ananda Bazar Patrika" to their London Office. Last year the proprietor, Mr. Asok Sarkar, visited London. It is said that he spent £8,000 out of the moneys there. We would like to know it. This is how you treat that paper which according to the Prime Minister is indulging in this kind of writing. This is how you treat another journal which supports the basic policies of the Government and which cannot be said to have written anything prejudicial to the defence effort by asking it to furnish a security of Rs. 3,000 simply because it published a letter regarding the Tripura State Congress President.

Madam Deputy Chairman, here again Mr. Nambiar has written to me a letter from the Salem Central Jail on 3rd January. He is a Member of the other House. He is the chief whip of our Party. He writes:

"I have received letters from my relations that in my Railway Union the workers and the Union are doing their utmost to collect Defence Fund and so far they have collected several lakhs. It is a big success. Though our arrest did not

affect the tempo, the feeling for my release is equally there. In general, the response of the workmen is very good in so far as the defence efforts are concerned. Newspapers also have given out much news about the good response."

Here is what a detenu in the hands of the Government, a political captive in the hands of the Government, the whip of the main Opposition in Lok Sabha, now in detention in the Salem Central Jail, writes to me. That is how they are treating him.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Has this letter come through proper channel?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, through proper channel. Here the original letter is with me and certified by the Superintendent of the Jail. If you have any doubt you can come and read it. I say these arrests are on a vindictive plane. They have taken the emergency as a godsend in order to attack the Communist Party, especially where it is strong and also in other places where it is not so strong. In Kerala they have arrested our comrades. Everybody knows what is happening in Kerala, despite the very categorical stand of the Kerala State Council and so on. I do submit that it is a matter of shame and dishonour to our country, it is an insult to our Constitution, it is a defiance of the spirit and letter of our Constitution, that the emergency powers should have been so flagrantly and violently used against the Communist Party, the major Opposition party in the country, trade union and other democratic organisations in order to crush and suppress them in certain places and cripple their activities in other places, whereas the field is left open for the right reactionary forces including the former Chief of the Army Staff, Gen. Cariappa, to go on with their provocations against certain parties, to repudiate and denounce the accepted policies of the Government, good policies of the Government. This is what is happening in our public life. I would beg of the Congressmen, I would beg of the followers of the ruling party, because in this matter they owe a special res-

pensibility, to consider the whole matter not through their intelligence branch or police department but to view the whole matter from the angle of statesmanship, political wisdom, far-sightedness and all the rest of it, and they will understand that all they should do now is to release immediately all the detenus who are in detention, to stop the use of the emergency powers against the Communist Party and other democratic forces, trade unions, Kisan Sabha and so on. For strengthening national defence you do not need emergency powers. Also we know that England, France and Italy, even countries of the NATO Alliance, are building up in many places their defence potential without having a state of emergency either in England or in France or in Italy. Is it not right that when we are today building up our defence potential, which is the common cause of the entire people, of all the parties, we do so democratically, in a democratic atmosphere, without launching an attack on the fundamental rights and liberties of the people? It is most unfortunate that the national calamity should have been exploited in this foul manner by the powers that be against a political party, the Communist Party, the organised trade union movement, the Kisan Sabha, and so on and so forth. I would ask the hon. Members to reconsider the matter and see reason in this matter and find a way to advising our Government that such things should not be done.

Madam, I do not wish to say very much. I regret very much that these things have escaped the attention of the President in whose name the emergency was proclaimed. I hope the President will reflect over this matter, because the President is the head of the State. If things go wrong in our public life, we turn to the Government, turn to the President, turn to all men of goodwill and democrats. I appeal to them in all humility so that we retrace our steps and place our country on the right footing, in the right direction, so that we can progress and prosper.

Thank you.

### श्रीमती सीता युद्धवीर (आंध्र प्रदेश) :

उपसभापति महोदया, १९६२ का वर्ष हमारे देश में तथा देश के बाहर महत्वपूर्ण घटनाओं का गिना जायेगा और स्मरण किया जायेगा। आंतरिक स्थिति और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्थिति में हमारा सरकार ने सुचारू रूप से और सफलतापूर्वक जो कार्य किया है उसके लिये मुबारकबाद देते हुए मैं राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण का स्वागत करता हूँ।

यह वर्ष की बात है कि संसार में हमारे मित्र देशों की सख्या बहुत है; जा रही है। इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि सदा से जो हमने तटस्थता की नीति अपनाई है, मुझे यह कहते हुए बहुत ही हर्ष होता कि उस तटस्थता की नीति के कारण अन्य देशों ने जो हमें नुकसान पहुंचाने का कोशिश की; वह नुकसान हमें नहीं पहुंचा सका। बाहर के देशों का ही नहीं किन्तु हमारे ही देश में कई पोलिटिकल पार्टियों और कई विद्वानों का इस नीति के साथ मतभेद रहा है और उन्होंने जब भी वक्त आया इस नीति के कारण हमें आघात पहुंचाने का प्रयत्न किया। फिर भी बाहर के देशों ने जो मुख्य देश गिने जाते हैं उन्होंने हमारी नीति का सदा ही स्वागत किया है। मुझे यह कहते हुए बड़ा खुशी होता है कि बाहर के देश, ब्रिटेन और अमेरिका ने, समय पर हमारे देश को शस्त्रों द्वारा मदद की और उसके साथ साथ हमारी इस नीति की प्रशंसा की है जो हमारे लिये एक गौरव की बात है। भारत की ४४ करोड़ जनता कांग्रेस की उन सेवाओं को हमेशा याद रखेगी जिस कांग्रेस पार्टी ने इस स्वतंत्र गणतंत्र राज्य वाले देश को सदा ही युद्ध से रोकने का प्रयत्न किया है। यह एक ताहस का कदम उठाया उन्होंने। मैं इस सदन की ओर से राष्ट्रपति का और प्रमान मंत्री का धन्यवाद करती हूँ कि जिन्होंने इस संकट के समय साहस और धैर्य से कार्य किया और जिसके कारण चीन बाहर के देशों को हमदर्दी से वंचित रह गया।

उपसभापति महोदया, चीन के इस आक्रमण का आशय क्या था इसके बारे में बहुत सी चर्चा हो चुकी है मगर जहां तक मैं समझती हूँ इसका मुख्य कारण यह था कि उसको हमारी यह तटस्थ नीति पसन्द नहीं थी और उसने केवल इसीलिये बार बार हमारे ऊपर हमला किया कि जिससे हम अपनी नीति को कायम न रख सकें। किन्तु इस लज्जाजनक चीनी आक्रमण के परिणामस्वरूप हम अपनी तटस्थ नीति को सवाल बनाने में सफल हुए हैं और चीन ने मित्रता के नाम पर हमारे देश पर आक्रमण तो किया मगर उस आक्रमण से जनता जाग्रत हो गई है। जिस चीन को हमने बुद्ध दिया उसने बदले में हमें युद्ध दिया। मगर फिर भी भारतवासियों ने मजबूर होकर पीछे कदम नहीं उठाया, किन्तु मजबूर होकर भगवान कृष्ण की तरह अपना रथ खींचकर रणक्षेत्र की ओर उन्हें ले जाना पड़ा। पाप और पुण्य, सत्य और असत्य, धर्म और अधर्म के युद्ध में भाग लेना पड़ा। उपसभापति महोदया, किसी जमाने में सेनाएं लड़ती थीं और अगर सेनाएं लड़ते लड़ते हार जाएं तो पूरा देश हार जाता था किन्तु आज देश में हम देख रहे हैं कि केवल सेना ही नहीं लड़ती मगर पूरा देश लड़ता है, देश के बच्चे बूढ़े, मर्द और औरत सभी इस लड़ाई में भाग ले रहे हैं जो कि हमारे लिये एक गौरव की बात है और मुझे कहते हुए खुशी होती है कि आज अगर हम छः सात वर्ष के बच्चों में भी इस बारे में पूछें तो वे भी थोड़ी थोड़ी जानकारी रखने हैं। कुछ समय की बात है कि जब एक स्कूल के बच्चों से मेरा मिलना हुआ और उस समय कुछ चर्चा हो रही थी कि आज हमारे देश में इतने करोड़ रुपये डिफेंस फंड के लिये जमा हो गये हैं तो फौरन ही एक छोटे बच्चे ने कहा इस पच्चीस करोड़ रुपये में एक रुपया मेरा भी है जो मैंने पाकेट मनी से बचा कर दिया था। इसी से हमें महसूस होता है कि आज केवल एक सेना के लड़ने की बात नहीं है, आज समूचा देश लड़ाई में साथ देता है।"

उपसभापति महोदया, चीन ने यह हमला क्यों किया ? उसने हमारे जवानों को बेमौत मौत के घाट क्यों उतारा ? आज वह क्या करने जा रहा है और क्या करना चाहता है ? आज उसने सीज़ फायर क्यों किया ? इनका हमारे लिये अंदाजा लगाना मुश्किल है । मगर मैं यही कहना चाहती हूँ कि हमारी सरकार को भविष्य के लिये कभी भी इसका रिस्क नहीं लेना चाहिये क्योंकि केवल बार्डर एरिया के लिये ही सोचकर ही नहीं बल्कि बहुत दूर की बात सोचकर उसने यह हमला किया है जिसके लिये हमें सदा तैयार रहना चाहिये । यह खतरा हमेशा के लिये रहेगा, केवल हमारे लिये और एशिया के छोटे छोटे मुल्कों के लिये नहीं मगर पूरी दुनिया के लिये यह खतरा पैदा हो गया है जिसके कारण हमें सदा सचेत रहना पड़ेगा । अगर कोई पूछे कि चीन कहां रुकेगा तो उसका जवाब यह है कि जहां हम उसे रोकेंगे वहां वह अवश्य रुकेगा । अगर हममें पूरी एकता के साथ इतनी ताकत हो तो चीन हमारे ऊपर कुछ नहीं कर सकता ।

उपसभापति महोदया, हम चायना के इस खतरे को आने वाली जेनरेशन पर कमी नहीं छोड़ सकते । इस समय हमें अधिक ताकतवर बनने की जरूरत है, मिलिटरी को ताकतवर बनाना हमारा प्रथम कर्तव्य है और हमारी यह खुशकिस्मती है कि हमारे पास बहुत अच्छी लीडरशिप है, प्रधान मंत्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू और राष्ट्रपति की । इसी के कारण आज हिन्दुस्तान की सब पोलिटिकल पार्टियां उनके पीछे हैं और हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे ये दोनों नेता सबकी एकता रखते हुए आगे बढ़ें और हिन्दुस्तान की लाज को बचाए रखें । आज हमारे देश में जो एकता है वह अशोक के जमाने के बाद पहली बार नजर आई है । जो कि एक बड़ी खुशी की बात है । मुझे विश्वास है कि जिस रास्ते में हम चल रहे हैं वह रास्ता हमें आगे बढ़ाते हुए ले जायेगा ।

उपसभापति महोदया, यह कहते भी मुझे शी होती है कि इतनी मुसीबत आने पर भी

हमने अपने प्लान को किसी चीज़ में कमी नहीं की और प्लान की जो बुनियादी बातें हैं उनको जारी रखा, यह हमारे लिए एक बहुत बड़ी बात है और इसके लिए मैं अपनी सरकार को मुबारकबाद देती हूँ । दुनिया यह देखकर मुतमइन हो गई है कि हमारा जो इरादा है वह पक्का है ।

उपसभापति महोदया, यह एक हर्ष की बात है कि हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के साथ काश्मीर की समस्या के संबंध में प्रेम पूर्वक बात शुरू हो गई है । काश्मीर की जो समस्या है वह कोई आसान समस्या नहीं है, सरल समस्या नहीं है, फिर भी जिस शान्ति और धीरज से हम उन से बातचीत कर रहे हैं उसमें असफल होने का कोई प्रश्न ही पैदा नहीं होता है । हमें जब भी मौका मिला हमने पाकिस्तान के साथ धैर्य से बातचीत करनी चाही और तमाम संकटों का निवारण करना चाहा क्योंकि आखिर हम दोनों पड़ोसी देश हैं और हमें आपस में प्रेम पूर्वक रहना है ।

उपसभापति महोदया, पिछले कुछ वर्षों से हमारे संबंध पड़ोसी देशों से दृढ़ होते जा रहे हैं जो कि एक बहुत अच्छी बात है । विशेषकर नेपाल के साथ हमारे संबंध अच्छे होने जा रहे हैं । चीनी हमले ने यह भी प्रयत्न किया कि हमारे नेपाल के साथ संबंध बिगड़ जायें किन्तु बिगड़ने के बजाय हमने सम्भलकर कदम उठाये । चीनी आक्रमण के बावजूद आज हमारा देश एक अटल मानव की भांति खड़ा है और यह हमारे गणतंत्रात्मक शक्ति की सफलता है जिसे आज हम सारे संसार के सामने एक इजाम्पल के तौर पर रख रहे हैं । आज हम दुनिया को गणतंत्रात्मक की एक नई देन दे रहे हैं ।

उपसभापति महोदया, चीनी आक्रमण की वजह से दोंनों हमारे सामने आई हैं । एक तो गणतंत्र राष्ट्र और दूसरी जो हमारी तत्त्व नीति है वह । हमारे इन कार्यों ने सारे विश्व को बतला दिया है कि कितनी ही

[श्रीमती सीता युद्धवीर]

कठिनाई आने के बावजूद भी हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति पर कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ा। यह भी एक अच्छी बात हो गई कि हमारी सरकार ने सोने पर नियंत्रण करके एक साहसपूर्ण कदम उठाया। मुझे महिलाओं की ओर से यह कहते खुशी हो रही है कि महिलाओं ने दिल खोलकर डिफेंस फंड में अपना सोना दिया। यह उनके लिए एक गौरव की बात है। महिलाओं को यह विश्वास है कि जो सोने की चूड़ियां हमने पहनी हैं उसके बजाय हम आज बंदूक तथा तलवार लेना पसन्द करेंगी। जो चूड़ियां हमारे मुहाग की निशानी हैं वे हथियार के रूप में आ जायें और भारत माता की अमर मुहाग की रक्षा करें। इस चीज से महिलाओं को गर्व होता है और यही कारण है कि आज वे दिल खोलकर सोना दे रही हैं।

उपसभापति महोदया, चीनी आक्रमण की वजह से साधारण जनता पर भी इसका असर पड़ा है। श्रमिकों ने, मजदूरों ने अधिक श्रम करना मंजूर किया जिससे उनकी आय का हिस्सा इस फंड में दिया जा सके। इन सब बातों से यह सिद्ध होता है कि हमारा देश सही रास्ते पर जा रहा है और इस का श्रेय हमारे प्रधान मंत्री तथा राष्ट्रपति जी को है।

उपसभापति महोदया, कोलम्बो प्रस्ताव जो हैं वे आज चर्चा का विषय बन गये हैं। इन प्रस्तावों के सम्बन्ध में हमारी सरकार को जो राय देनी थी वह दे चुकी है और दूसरे देशों ने भी यह बात स्वीकार कर ली है। इस कॉन्फ्रेंस में जिन देशों ने हिस्सा लिया उनका और श्री लंका की प्रधान मंत्री जी का भी मैं धन्यवाद करती हूँ जिन्होंने इस तरह का साहसिक कदम उठाया।

उपसभापति महोदया, अन्त में मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि चाहे कुछ विराम हो या न हो किन्तु हमें तैयार रहना होगा। आज

राष्ट्र को जिन आवश्यक चीजों की जरूरत है चाहे वह डिफेंस से सम्बन्ध रखती हो या आर्थिक मामलों से, उन्हें तैयार करना है और उसके लिए कारखाने लगाने हैं। हमारे देश की नीति हमेशा ही शान्ति की रही है किन्तु देश में सामान तैयार करके हमें ढाल तैयार करनी है। इसलिए मेरी प्रार्थना यह है कि अगर देश को बचाना है, तो हमें इस ढाल को तैयार करनी होगी चाहे वह ढाल हम धीरे धीरे तैयार करें, अपनी शक्ति के अनुसार तैयार करें लेकिन हमें उसे तैयार करना है, पीछे हटना नहीं है।

अन्त में, मैं यह कहूंगी कि देश की रक्षा का प्रयास कई वर्षों तक चलता रहेगा लेकिन इस समय सबसे ज्यादा जिस चीज की ओर ध्यान देना है वह 'नेशनल युनिटी' है। पोलिटिकल स्टैबिलिटी में जो बाधाएं निर्माण करने वाली शक्तियां हैं उन्हें हमेशा के लिए कुचल दिया जाना चाहिये।

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Madam Deputy Chairman, we are grateful to the President for the Address that he gave us, the inspiring message that he gave us. The concluding sentences, and particularly the Sanskrit quotation that he mentioned at the end of his Address, are still ringing in my ears. I, however felt that the Address, being a prepared speech, was something different from what normally he says in an extempore speech. On the 23rd of December the President visited Bardoli and his memorable words on that occasion are worth repeating:

"Indian reverses in NEFA should be regarded as a matter of sorrow, shame and humiliation. We have to retrieve our lost prestige. India's freedom, security and honour are the things which are endangered today. The qualities of courage, discipline and organised determination for which Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel stood are required of the nation now to overcome the shame."

I will not read out further. I would like to know whether the Government is working on these lines. I am afraid I have doubts. Parliament took a firm resolve on the 14th of November to vacate the Chinese aggression. Since then a lot has happened. An emergency was declared. Is the emergency visible today? If we are going to vacate the aggression, we shall require the means. Either we build them ourselves or we procure them from friends. But just words of assurance are not going to carry us anywhere. In the President's Address, there is a review of the state of economy of the country. It reveals the determination of the Government to go ahead with the Third Five Year Plan with such modifications as may be necessitated by the new circumstances, the industrial pattern would be reoriented to give priority to defence needs. This is only as it should be, for a strong industrial and agricultural base is an essential prerequisite to national defence. The question is whether this is being done. For instance, transport, power, coal mining and engineering are such vital defence needs that there is hardly anything to cut down or redirect to defence production. Again, a comfortable food position is a 'must' to ward off inflation and keep the economy on an even keel. The need for increasing the output of export commodities, such as tea and jute, is vitally necessary to earn the much needed foreign exchange. It is therefore clear that if India's economic progress is to be maintained to support the state of military preparedness, essential projects in the Third Plan should be implemented, if anything, with greater vigour.

As regards agriculture, the President's Address says:

"Agriculture, which is the most important sector of our economy, has undergone material developments and agricultural production has increased considerably \* \* \* Intensive agricultural programmes

have led to increases in per acre, yields of rice, wheat and barley."

But this does not reveal the correct picture of the agricultural situation. No doubt agricultural production advanced over the period between 1949-50 and 1960-61 at the rate of 3.8 per cent. per annum, the annual rate of increase in productivity being 1.5 per cent. and that of area 2.08 per cent. There was, however, no overall advance in agricultural production in the first year of the Third Plan, and in the second year also, on present reckoning, the progress may be quite modest. Hence, it is evident that the rate of progress is very slow, and in order to achieve a 6 per cent. per annum increase in agricultural production, as envisaged in the Third Five Year Plan, an all-out effort is necessary. Apart from this, there is yet another consideration for stepping up agricultural production, and that of course is a political one. By fostering agricultural development through democratic means, despite the new burdens placed on our economy by the Chinese invasion, India has to show to the newly independent nations of Asian and African continents that our ways of economic development are in no way less effective than, if not superior to, the Communist instruments of development through regimentation and dictatorship.

Fluctuations in agricultural output are no doubt to a great extent due to the vagaries of monsoons, but there have also been a number of other causes which could have been avoided. The policies and proposals of the Central and State Governments regarding ceiling on land, food procurement and distribution, and co-operative cultivation have contributed not a little to aggravate the situation by introducing factors of uncertainty and insecurity all round. The slow progress in the establishment of fertilizer plants and restricted imports following foreign exchange shortage have resulted in shortage of fertilizers. Production

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suffered setbacks in respect of a number of major agricultural products, both food and cash crops. Sugarcane output has decreased from 104 million tons in the sugar season ending June 1961 to 97 million tons during the season ending June 1962. Foodgrains output has likewise decreased from 80.6 million tons in the crop year ending June 1962. Among cash crops, raw cotton output declined from 5.4 million bales in 1961 to 4.5 million bales in 1962. Among those crops in the case of which production has shown marked increase is jute. Is it not necessary, in view of the current national emergency, to examine afresh Governmental policies so that the tempo of progress of the existing programmes and schemes is accelerated as also supplemented so as to achieve a rapid rate of increase in agricultural production?

As regards industry, the President's Address indicates that the upward trend in industrial production has continued. But here again the rate of improvement is moderately higher than in the preceding year. Industrial production is estimated to have increased by about 9 per cent during 1962 as against 6.1 per cent in 1961. Generally speaking, the rate of increase in the last decade has been stagnant at about 9 per cent per annum. The rate of growth could have been much higher but for certain obstacles, such as want of raw materials, spare parts and components, coal, power and transport and the like. In fact there is a large element of under-utilisation of capacity in many industries. In the engineering industry, for instance, it is as much as 50 per cent. In other industries it ranges from 25 per cent to 70 per cent. Besides, the dilatory Governmental procedures have also been responsible for impeding the rate of growth. There is a virtual ban on plans of expansion and development of industry. This is clearly evident from the announcement that applications for licence for over 210

industries will not any longer be entertained.

Even at this critical juncture Government policies seem to be hampered by old ideology and fail to meet speedily and effectively the exigencies of the situation. There does not seem to be any measurable heightened activity in the public sector enterprises either. Is there any doubt that the benefits of planning and concerted efforts of people and Government accruing over the years will suffer a great setback unless immediate corrective measures are taken? It is imperative that expansion on every front should be initiated forthwith. Otherwise, as defence expenditure mounts, as it should, the nation will be faced with a dual problem. Indeed the danger is that there may not be enough defence equipment to match the enlarged needs of our armed forces; neither will there be adequate consumer goods, resulting in excessive pressure on demand and higher prices. In this context there is need for revision of Governmental policies, beginning with gearing of the administration to a sense of urgency over the present economic situation.

I shall now refer to the general economic indications during 1962. National income recorded 2.2 per cent growth during 1961-62 over the previous year, when it increased from Rs 12,690 crores to Rs 12,970 crores. The Third Plan envisages an overall growth of 30 per cent or 6 per cent per annum over the five years. No estimate are available for the current year 1962-63. However, considering the general setbacks suffered in vital sectors like agriculture and industry, the rate of expansion in the Gross National Product is likely to record the 6 per cent increase envisaged under the Plan.

The general index of industrial production increased by approximately 6.5 per cent in 1962. This is worked out on the basis of published figures available for the first eight months of 1962. The growth rate had been about 7.1 per cent during the previous year. The rate of expansion

has slowed down in the case of chemicals, cement, electricity generation, etc.

The output has shown a declining trend in industries like diesel engines, cotton textiles, oxygen gas, lead, sulphur black, power-driven pumps, conduit pipes, razor blades, etc.

The output has been sluggish in respect of some major industries like synthetic fibres, fertilizers, cement, paper, cotton yarn, sugar, etc. though some marginal increases are not ruled out in some of these industries.

Production is likely to show some increase in the case of machine tools, industrial machinery, electrical equipment, soda ash, aluminium and steel. Coal production is expected to have reached 61 million tons in 1962 as against 56 million tons in the preceding year. Yet, the current year's achievement will be short of the target of 68 million tons. Production has either been decreasing or sluggish in respect of a number of industries, covering about 50 per cent. of the total weightage adopted for the purpose of calculating index numbers. This is likely to manifest itself in a declining general index of industrial production. What are the reasons for the uneven growth? In respect of items based on copper (bare copper conductors), the reasons for set-back may be attributed to increasing substitution of aluminium for copper on the one hand and paucity of copper on the other.

As regards cotton textiles, the stock position of finished products shows alarming increase. The monthly average of stocks of finished fabrics increased from 291 million metres in 1961 to 314 million metres in 1962. At the same time, the average monthly stocks of cotton yarn declined from 7.4 million kgs. in 1961 to 6.2 million kgs. in 1962.

Production in major industries might have suffered also due to factors, such as, accumulation of stocks, as in the case of coal, at the producing centres presumably on account of transport difficulties in conveying the goods to the consuming centres, import restrictions, power shortage and delay in obtaining controlled raw materials like steel. The declaration of emergency resulted in increasing the intensity of these problems inasmuch as supply, transport, power and imports were further subject to strict priorities. These points are, to some extent, reaffirmed by the findings based upon the Questionnaire on the State of Business issued to the constituents.

The tempo of industrial licensing has slowed down, particularly during the latter half of 1962, when over 200 items were put under the banned list and the licensing of industries was subject to more rigorous priorities.

The number of revocation of licences has gone up considerably in recent months. While licences are revoked for not taking 'effective steps' as defined in the Industries Act, there can be no doubt that the alarming increase in the number of cancelled licences is an index of the growing difficulties in the way of implementation of licenced schemes.

The Ministries or departments, directly or indirectly concerned with the scrutiny and disposal of applications, are so large that delays and bottlenecks are likely to be experienced even at the licencing stage, not to speak of their fate at the post-licencing stages.

A number of foreign collaboration agreements were concluded with foreign private investors. It may be noted that the number of agreements finalised declined from 388 in 1960 and 309 in 1961 to 299 in 1962. Against 203 agreements finalised during the first half of 1962, only as many as 96 were finalised during the second half of the year.



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According to a survey of the Reserve Bank of India, the following is the trend of net inflow of foreign private investment:

|      |    |             |
|------|----|-------------|
| 1958 | .. | 2.4 crores  |
| 1959 | .. | 11.0 crores |
| 1960 | .. | 53.3 crores |

Though no estimates are available for later periods, it is unlikely to have increased in any case in view particularly of the declining trend shown in the number of agreements finalised. Also, recently the Chief of the Federation of British Industries had occasion to remark that Government's insistence on majority Indian shareholding, high personal taxation on foreign technicians and the paucity of foreign exchange for maintenance imports for industries which will be set up with foreign collaboration, may have resulted in a declining tempo of the inflow of foreign private capital.

The employment situation is far from encouraging. The number of applications on the live registers for jobs has gone up from 18.6 lakhs in January 1962 to 22 lakhs in September and October. The registration rate has also gone up from 2.7 lakhs to 3.15 lakhs and the placement rate from 36,000 to only 39,000 during the same period. Attention to these problems has been drawn by a recent Survey on Unemployment and Structural Change made by the International Labour Office, taking into account the quantum of backlog of unemployment at the beginning of the Third Plan and the extent of job opportunities to be created during the current plan.

Export earnings during 1960-61 amounted to Rs. 630.5 crores which registered a marginal increase of 5.9 per cent. to Rs. 667.5 crores in 1961-62. This year the increase in exports is expected to be at lesser rate, i.e., about 3 per cent. The estimated export earning during the year ending March, 1963 is Rs. 690 crores against the target of Rs. 720 crores.

New capital issues by large and medium size companies amounted to Rs. 73.8 crores in 1962, showing a rise of 23.6 per cent. over 1961. Initial issues through prospectus, shares only, amounted to Rs. 25.0 crores in 1962; right issues accounted for Rs. 40.8 crores and debentures Rs. 8.0 crores.

There was a sharp set-back during the last quarter of 1962, during which initial issues through prospectus totalled only Rs. 0.35 crores. This is a record low for the 12 quarters of 1960-62. Right issues during October-December, 1962 amounted to Rs. 5.57 crores and debenture Rs. 2.25 crores.

The general downward trend in equities which began in September gathered momentum during October and culminated in a landslide in share values in November, necessitating a temporary closure of two of the major stock exchanges, Bombay and Ahmedabad, and the adoption of stringent measures by all stock exchanges. Apprehensions regarding tighter credit conditions following the Reserve Bank's Credit Control measures are considered to be one major reason for the downward trend in security prices. The index of variable dividend industrial securities had declined by about 13.0 points to 174.4 during September and October which recorded further decline to 170.5 in November, 1962. The decline had been more pronounced in industries such as iron and steel, silk and woollen and transport equipment, cement, cotton textiles and electrical machinery.

The number of floatations has gone down from 1641 in 1960 to 1639 in 1961 and further to an estimated 1540 in 1962.

The President's speech is virtually silent on the deteriorating foreign exchange situation. On the one hand, while our imports have been cut to the bone, our exports on the other have remained more or less stationary. The share of India in the world

export trade has gone down from 2·8 per cent. in 1960 to about 1·2 per cent. Our share has steadily declined though world export markets are expanding at a brisk rate. We have not been able to make a headway in the emerging markets of Asia, Africa and the Middle-East. Currently we have the largest deficits with the E. C. M. countries. The U.K. to which country we export a quarter of our total exports, is anxious to join the ECM, presumably because it feels that the Commonwealth countries are not in a position to take much of its sophisticated manufactures. To

4 P.M. add to this we have taken up a new policy, namely the gold control policy. The Finance Minister feels that control on gold is going to save his drain of foreign exchange. It is doubtful whether this policy is going to be successful and where it is going to lead us. Gold has been a matter of sentiment, of saving for years and years. The poor peasant, the cultivator, saves a little money and he puts it on the person of his wife as gold. That has been his bank for years. Unless this habit is changed in this country, regulations of this type are not going to help. But there are some people who believe that by making laws life and everything can be regulated. I am a believer in prohibition. I do not drink. But I cannot say that the prohibition policy has succeeded, particularly in Bombay. I have very little doubt that the same will be the result of this gold control also.

The popular upsurge and feelings that were aroused by the Chinese aggression should have been taken advantage of by the Government. But the Government have failed to do so. Madam, we are intrigued as to what the policy of the Government is. In the first few days of that anxious period that we had, I was one of those who asked the Prime Minister whether we were going to ask for foreign aid, for massive foreign aid, sufficient foreign aid that would be

necessary to repel the aggressor. The Prime Minister assured us that sufficient foreign aid had been asked for and that it would be forthcoming. I would like to ask the Government whether that was the end of it. What is the Government doing to revise its policies and to strengthen its position and the defence of the country so that we may not be caught napping again? Progressive countries of the world publish their defence budgets and they say that they have such and such equipments, how many war ships they have, how many cruisers and so on. They are published openly by progressive countries. Why is there so much of hush-hush in this country of hardly anything that we have? Have we got anything really worth while by way of first class weapons and so on? Why this hush-hush about this? Why this policy of wavering and not being able to make up our mind? In case of a further attack, should we need an air umbrella or not? Does the Prime Minister want to placate Mr. Bhupesh Gupta by saying that we need not have an air umbrella? Are we going to suffer the same fate once again? Madam, you understand Gujarati and so I would invite your attention to a little story that we all used to read in our story books, the story of "Wag Aya, Wag Aya." The story is that of a peasant boy who was tending cattle. He was in the habit of shouting "Wag Aya, Wag Aya" which means "Tiger has come, Tiger has come" and people ran to his rescue. But he played this joke too often and when the real tiger came, nobody came to his rescue. I am afraid the policy of the Government is taking us in that way. Their policy needs to be revised. The emergency to which everyone in this House gave his wholehearted support is not used but is allowed to lie idle on the statute book. We have been wavering and when I said that last time, many hon. Members on the other side stood up and I quoted the Prime Minister. Now, do we want the aggression to be vacated in terms of the Resolution passed by Parliament or not? That is

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 what the country would like to know. Have we got the wherewithal for that? Have we got the means and the equipments for that? Where is all this equipment to come from? The Defence Minister, Shri Chavan, when he took office very clearly said it in Bombay that he had no hope of getting anything from the Soviet Union.

AN HON. MEMBER: He has got it now.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I am glad the Defence Minister began his role with a clear mind. I hope that after his coming to Delhi and after his contacts with the senior Cabinet Members he has not been indoctrinated into a hesitating and wavering habit, because he said something different a few days back.

I think the right policy for the Government would be to take the people into confidence, because it is due to this wavering policy, this hush-hush policy, that the tempo that was roused is now falling flat very soon. The country is feeling that the Government does not want to fight. The Government must announce to the people their determination to vacate the aggression. I am sorry that utterances like saying that the Chinese aggression is going to live with us, and so on, are taking us nowhere. We have one aggression on our border and that has lived with us for the last twelve years. It could have been settled in twelve days, if the Prime Minister wanted it and had the Prime Minister listened to wiser counsel. Now, is the Prime Minister going the same way in a matter which is much more serious? Is he going to take the country into a policy which will land the country in disaster? I hope not.

Madam, though we criticise the Prime Minister we have very great regard for him and for his family, for the great sacrifices that he has made,

not only himself but his beloved wife, his father, his whole family, which had suffered so much for the cause of freedom. And even though we criticise him we do not forget all that. It is therefore, with very great sorrow that I say that the same Prime Minister seems to be taking us in the wrong way. We love him. We followed his leadership when he was taking us the Gandhian way. Is he now going the Khrushchev way? Mr. Khrushchev was angry with China because of this Chinese aggression. Not because this aggression was on a friendly country, but because this Chinese aggression of India had hurt the cause of international communism. Mr. Dange paid a hurried visit to that country. I do not know what he brought back and whether he brought a brief from Mr. Khrushchev for the release of friends of Mr. Gupta. Madam, I am not a believer in keeping people in jail for a long time. It leads to nothing. If Mr. Gupta wants his friends to come out and if the Government is satisfied that their behaviour is going to be good, the Government has got the machinery and the responsibility for it and it can release them. It is none of my concern. Let them do it. I have no objection. But let not the Government shut its eyes to the lessons of history. What happened in Czechoslovakia? How did Hitler take over Germany? Remember all that.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House will sit till 5.30 P.M. Mr. Vijay Singh.

SHRI VIJAY SINGH (Rajasthan): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the motion that has been moved by my hon. friend, Shri Akbar Ali Khan. Madam, the debate on the Address by the Head of the State is one of the most valuable opportunities in a democratic form of Government when we can review the policies of the Government and see where we are going. In these days when the democratic form of government unfortunately is disappearing from many

parts of Asia and Africa, we must be thankful indeed to Providence that we are enjoying its blessings. If I may say so, Madam Deputy Chairman, this is our great opportunity and one of our great assets if only we know how to use it well.

The President in his Address in the very beginning has paid handsome tribute to Parliament when he says:

"Ever since the constitution of our Republic, our Parliament has had to shoulder heavy responsibilities. Under the guidance of Parliament, we have laboured for the fulfilment of the objectives laid down in our Constitution, namely, to secure for all our citizens social, economic and political justice; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all, fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation."

Again, in paragraph 7, the President has stated:

"Parliament gave a lead to the nation in this matter in November last and our people, throughout the length and breadth of India, wholeheartedly followed this lead."

It is a matter of pride for every one of us that we belong to this Parliament to which the President has paid this tribute and we, Madam, must be conscious of the fact that we are being called upon to decide the destiny of the nation at such a critical juncture in our history. In the last six months the Parliament has debated vital issues that faced this country. It is said that the Lok Sabha debated this China issue for six days continuously and 167 speakers took part. I do not have the figures relating to Rajya Sabha before me but I suppose a large number of people spoke here also. This was almost record for Parliamentary debate. When I was hearing all these speeches I was all the time thinking whether we shall ourselves do what we are expecting others to do. I am sorry to say that in the last six months or so, so far as the legislators are

concerned, their standard has slightly deteriorated. It was a bad thing when it was confined to the State Assemblies but when it has come to Parliament, it is a matter of shame for all of us. No doubt it is a heartening thing to note that the House has condemned from all sides the ugly incident that we witnessed on the 18th and I have no doubt in my mind that in course of time democracy will find its own answer to this rowdism and misuse of democratic powers that some of the Members are indulging in. The present emergency has brought about a tremendous awakening among our people and they have become more conscious. In fact, during this national emergency, the response of our people has been tremendous and, if I may say so, the masses have shown better sense than the leaders. Madam, the problem of foreign affairs has never been discussed so thoroughly by our people as it has been done in this period of emergency. The country as a whole has become conscious of the vital issues that face us. You go to a remote village and people will ask you questions, about China, Pakistan, Nepal, Russia, America, England and even Cuba. The Chinese invasion has done more to teach lessons to our people in five months than what we could in five years or more. The President's Address has devoted fifteen paragraphs to the discussion of foreign affairs in a total Address of thirty paragraphs, a fact which goes to show that it correctly reflects the feelings of the people. Madam, it is said that in matters of foreign affairs geography must take precedence over history. Up till now our way of looking at Asia was through Europe. Our long association with England and the facts of history made us to think so but it is a happy thing to note that now we have changed our outlook and while discussing about Asian countries we are now thinking more about our immediate neighbours than about the remote countries. This is as it should be. The President has rightly said that we are anxious to

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settle, while referring to Pakistan and others, the issues with those people so that India and Pakistan could, in accordance with our common history, culture and tradition, live as friendly and as co-operative neighbours. We have our differences with these neighbours but the differences with China are quite fundamental. As compared with them, the other quarrels should appear to be trivial. The conflict between India and China is not merely a conflict for territory here and there but it goes much deeper. The way of life that India has come to adopt is quite opposed to what China has accepted. We believe in co-existence and China believes in world domination. We believe in democratic form of Government and China believes in dictatorship. This struggle with China, as the Prime Minister has said, is going to last for years. We will have to bring about far-reaching changes in the ways of Government and daily life. It is only then that we can face the Chinese aggressor. The President has rightly said about economy in expenditure, elimination of waste, conservation of our limited material resources and restraint of consumption—all these are of very great importance today. All these things we will have to do in order to face the great problem that has come before us. The future of democracy in India and in the whole of Asia will depend upon this outcome. We thought that it would be a peaceful competition but now it has become otherwise and quite a serious problem. To meet this challenge we have to make mighty preparations, the first and foremost of which is to put the issue correctly before the countries of Asia and Africa. Our policy of non-alignment has been appreciated by America and Russia both in a way and because of this policy we have been able to isolate China in the world. This is a great triumph for our policy but in certain countries of Asia and Africa, China has taken the upper hand. We are all familiar with the comments of the Cairo newspaper about our external

publicity. Our Government did send a delegation headed by the Law Minister to those countries and we have been able to correct the mischief that the Chinese propaganda had done there but nevertheless, the fact remains that we have a lot of things to do in this connection. Then, take the conference at Moshi. According to the account that has come to us, the Chinese were able to outmanoeuvre us there though our case was much sound. We have to take lessons from all these incidents. Our foreign policy will ultimately depend upon the strength that we are able to generate at home. In a few days' time we will discuss in detail when the Budget is presented. The President has already hinted at that, and that would be the proper time to discuss many of the problems that our country has had to face and that our country has to face now. Here, in the short time at my disposal, I would like only to bring to your notice some of the broad matters of policy. In this world, effective military strength counts more than anything else. In the last twelve years, China chose to prepare more for defence and we chose economic development. China chose guns and we chose butter. Though it is an oversimplification of the thing yet the fact is that we laid more stress on economic development as China laid more stress on defence problems. We have laid the foundation for industrial development but we must remember that China is now thinking of producing atom bombs. If that happens, it may change the situation materially. The President, in his Address, has mentioned that we are making peaceful use of atomic energy and we have made great progress but may I suggest in all humility that the time has come when we must seriously think of using atomic energy for war purposes also. It may sound as if I am talking as a war-monger but when the interests of the nation are concerned, they must be paramount before us because we know that if we survive as a nation we can change our policy; if we do not

survive as a nation then all our policies will lie flat. Look at the history of the present world. We all know the incident at Cuba. It was essentially atomic might on both sides that compelled Russia to retrace her steps. Look at the history of France. De-Gaulle is insisting day in and day out that in order that French dignity may be there, France must become a nuclear power. It is not necessary that this nuclear power must be used but the very fact that the country has got nuclear arms is a great deterrent. Take my word that if China has got the atom bomb in no time the scales will be heavily tilted against us. In the face of an enemy who has got nuclear arms, to send an army not equipped with nuclear weapons is to send an army with bows and arrows before an army who is equipped with tanks and machine guns. This is the lesson of history which we must not forget. At the cost of time, Madam, I would like to refer to an article in the "Readers' Digest" of October, 1962, by an author who is well-versed in military matters. He says:

"The free world has recently brought into being an immensely strong new weapons system which promises to make large-scale "conventional" war so costly that it is likely to become impossible for an aggressor. Called Tactical Nuclear Warfare, it has been developed to the point where it now offsets the enormous superiority of the Soviet Union in armies, armour and supplies. In addition, we have at hand a radical new way of dispersing TNW weapons so that they cannot suffer elimination by a sneak attack . . . Strategic warheads are usually measured in megatons; tactical warheads in kilotons. Strategic missile weapons have a range up to 9,000 miles, most tactical weapons from two to 200 miles. Strategic warheads can destroy great areas, especially with the titanic firestorms they bring about; tactical warheads are for use

against battle targets, bridges, troops, tanks, guns, etc., and tests have shown that they could literally dissolve these targets without harming near-by towns."

This is a point of policy which we will discuss in detail. It is said that we are a nation wedded to peaceful means. May I remind the House of the Mahabharata war? When the Pandavas were in exile the great Yudhishtira asked Arjun to go to Indra and obtain useful weapons so that they may be used in the warfare against the Kauravas. None of us can claim that we are wedded more to truth and non-violence than Yudhishtira was. That is the lesson of history both in India and abroad. And let it not be said by the future generations that we of this generation forsook the trust that people placed in us. History has been very kind to us that the destinies of the 450 million people are in our hands and by a slight mistake this side or that side we shall not only jeopardise the future of India but it will affect the future of the entire world. Madam, I would conclude with a sentence from Louis Fischer who says:

"The key to a bright future in India and elsewhere in Afro-Asia is more skill in factories, more serious study in universities, more attention to villages, less waste of manpower in Government offices, less interest in status but more in service, less word patriotism and more work patriotism."

श्री चन्द्र शेखर (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
उपसभापति महोदया, राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो सम्बोधन इस संसद् के समक्ष रखा है उसमें मैं उनका अभिनन्दन इस बात के लिये करता हूँ कि प्रारम्भ में ही उन्होंने संविधान की उन धाराओं की ओर ध्यान दिलाया है जिनके प्रति हम सब ने शपथ ली थी। हम ने यह शपथ

[ श्री चन्द्र शेखर ]

ली थी कि इस देश के सामाजिक जीवन को और इस देश के राजनैतिक जीवन को उन्नत बनाने के लिये हम सतत प्रयत्नशील रहेंगे। मैं इससे भी एक कदम पीछे जाना चाहूंगा। जब सब से पहले राज्य की कल्पना मानव के मस्तिष्क में आई तो उस समय क्या हुआ? मनुष्य ने अपने अधिकारों का हनन करके, अपने अधिकारों को छोड़ करके एक संगठन बनाया जिसको हम राज्य के नाम से जानते हैं। १९वीं सदी में राज्य की जो कल्पना थी वह पुलिस स्टेट की कल्पना थी। हरबर्ट स्पेंसर और दूसरे लोगों ने उस समय जो राज्य का कर्तव्य बताया था उसमें कहा था कि आंतरिक गड़बड़ी से और बाह्य हमलों से हिफाजत करने का काम राज्य का होता है, सरकार का होता है। पुराने जमाने में जब राज्य की कल्पना हुई थी, उसी समय से दो कल्पनाएं, दो कर्तव्य राज्य के प्रमुख माने गये थे, एक तो अन्दर कोई गड़बड़ी न होने दो और दूसरे बाहर से कोई हमला न होने दो। २०वीं सदी में जब वेलफेयर स्टेट की बात चली, जब इस देश में कल्याणकारी राज्य की बात चली और सारी दुनिया में कल्याणकारी राज्य की बात चली तो ये जो दो मौलिक मान्यताएं थीं, ये मौलिक मान्यताएं अपनी जगह पर रहीं और इनके अलावा राज्य के और काम बढ़ा दिये गये।

मुझे यह कहते हुए अफसोस होता है कि इस सदन में मैं कई बार यह सुन चुका हूं कि हम चीन से इसलिये लड़ाई की तैयारी नहीं कर सके क्योंकि हम निर्माण के कामों में फंसे हुए थे। हम चीन से नहीं लड़ सके क्योंकि हम इस देश की शिक्षा से, शरीरी से, भुखमरी से ऊंचा उठाना चाहते थे। यह नया दर्शन, यह नया सिद्धान्त, यह नई फिलासिफी राज्य के कर्तव्यों के बारे में देने का गौरव हासिल है हमारे बड़ीरे आज़म पंडित जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू की। बड़े फ़ख के साथ यह बात दुनिया

में कही जाती है कि हम शांति के देश हैं, हम महात्मा गांधी के देश के हैं, we are a gentle nation. मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूं कि राज्य का और सरकार का अगर कोई पहला कर्तव्य है तो वह यह है कि वह देश की सुरक्षा करे। जो सरकार देश की सुरक्षा नहीं कर सकती, वह सरकार सारी दुनिया में सभ्यता और शांति नहीं फैला सकती। सभ्यता और शांति फैलाने के लिये सुरक्षा का काम सब से पहले होता है। हमें इसी संदर्भ में चीन की चुनौती को लेना है। मुझे आश्चर्य होता है जब राष्ट्रपति के संबोधन में भी कहा जाता है कि जिससे हम ने दोस्ती की, उसी ने हमारे साथ दशा की और अचानक हमारे ऊपर हमला हो गया। आखिर यह आरंभ्य रोदन हम कितने दिनों तक करते रहेंगे? यह हमला अचानक नहीं हुआ। वर्षों पहले इस देश को मालूम था कि चीन के लोग हमला कर रहे हैं। मैं प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का एक अदना सिपाही हूं। मैंने सन् १९५७ के नवम्बर-दिसम्बर में उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री श्री सम्पूर्णानन्द को खत लिखा था कि ताकला कोट में चीनियों का जुमघट हो रहा है, चीन के लोग आ करके उत्तर प्रदेश की सीमा के अन्दर लोगों को बर्बाद रहे हैं, सचेष्ट होइये, अपने लोगों को तैनात कीजिये। मेरे उस खत का जवाब नहीं दिया गया। फिर वहां के चीफ़ सेक्रेटरी को मैंने खत लिखा कि श्री सम्पूर्णानन्द समझते होंगे कि मैं कोई राजनैतिक दांव चल रहा हूं, आप सरकार के वरिष्ठ अधिकारी हैं, आप इस पर कदम उठाइये। चीफ़ सेक्रेटरी का खत आज भी मेरे पास पड़ा होगा। उन्होंने लिखा कि आपके कहने की जांच खुफिया पुलिस से कराई जा रही है। उसके बाद सन् १९५६ आया। मैं आप से कहता हूं कि कम से कम तब इस देश के सामने स्पष्ट हो जाना चाहिए था जब सन् १९५६ में "पीपुल्स डेली" ने अपने एक लेख में लिखा था :—  
Revolution in Tibet and Nehru's Philo-  
sophy. मैं उसका उद्धरण नहीं देना चाहूं क्योंकि—

कि समय नहीं है। क्या उसने कहा? सीधे तौर पर कहा गया कि पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू इम्पीरियलिस्ट के एजेंट हैं। माननीय भूपेशजी गुप्त यहां पर नहीं हैं। आज बड़ी हमदर्दी भूपेशजी गुप्त को पंडित जवाहरलालजी नेहरू से है। ६ मई, सन् १९५६ को 'पीपुल्स डेली' लेख लिखता है और श्री भूपेश गुप्त ८ सितम्बर, १९६२ तक चुप रहते हैं। कांग्रेस के दोस्त जो कहते हैं कि हम अचानक खतरे में आ गये। मान लीजिये हमें पंडित जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू से उतना दर्द नहीं है, कितना आपको है, तो ६ मई सन् १९५६ को आपका दिमाग खुल जाना चाहिये था। उसके बाद जिस समय हम बराबर भाई भाई का नारा लगा रहे थे, जिस समय हम सह-अस्तित्व का नारा लगा रहे थे, हमारे कम्युनिस्ट मित्र याद करते होंगे कि मास्को में एक कॉफ़ेस हुई थी वारसा पावर्स की और उसमें रूस और चीन का झगड़ा हुआ था इस सह-अस्तित्व के सवाल पर और चीन ने रूस पर हमला किया था। अप्रैल १९६० में 'रेड फ्लैग' जो चीन का एक कम्युनिस्ट अखबार है उसने अपने एडिटोरियल में यह लिखा था :

"We believe in absolute correctness of Leninist thinking. War is inevitable."

यह बहुत लम्बा है। इसकी मैं नहीं पढ़ूंगा। 'रेड फ्लैग' के इस एडिटोरियल लिखने के बाद भी कांग्रेस के लोगों ने हुकूमत की आंखें नहीं खोलीं। इसके बाद भी यह कहने का मौका रहा कि हम पर अचानक हमला हुआ।

इसी के साथ मैं आप को यह बताऊं कि जिस समय दलाई लामा के लिये अटोनामी की बात हो रही थी, जिस समय दलाईलामा को अटोनामी की सुविधाएं देने की बात की जा रही थी, तो पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने तिब्बत के लोगों को विश्वास दिलाया था कि तुम्हारी अटोनामी कायम रहेगी, लेकिन वह नहीं रही। पंडित जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू

ने कम से कम सात बार इस पार्लियामेंट में कहा कि तिब्बत के लोगों के साथ हमारा दिल है, हमारा दिमाग है। जिस समय तिब्बत के समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर कर रहे थे उस समय न सीमाओं का ध्यान आया न तिब्बत की अटोनामी का ध्यान आया। जब तिब्बत के लोग संगीनों के नीचे कुचले जा रहे थे उस समय पंडित जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू यहां सहानुभूति के आसू बहा रहे थे। आज मैं आप से जानना चाहता हूं, आपके जरिये इस सदन से जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या इन बातों को फिर से दुहराने की जरूरत पड़ेगी? ये सब बातें क्यों की जाती हैं? आज हमारे एक मित्र ने कहा, किसी ने कहा, हां, माननीय भूपेश गुप्त ने कहा,—कि ये लड़ाई की बात करते हैं, वारमांगर्स हैं। मुझे बड़ी प्रसन्नता है, मैं बधाई देता हूं ला मिनिस्टर को कि कम से कम उन्होंने सदन में खुल कर कहा कि चाइना का मामला मिलिटरी का मामला है और मिलिटरी के जरिये हल किया जा सकता है। ला मिनिस्टर ने वह बयान दे कर कम से कम कुछ दृढ़ निश्चय का परिचय दिया लेकिन उस संदर्भ में जब मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर की बात सोचता हूं तो मुझे हैरत होती है। कोलम्बो पावर्स के प्रस्ताव पर बहस करते हुए भी—हर समय—हम को यहां पर सबक दिया जाता है कि बात नहीं करोगे असमर्थ माने जाओगे, दुनिया में, सभ्य देशों में बातचीत से कभी इंकार नहीं किया जाता। मैं इतिहास का बड़ा ज्ञाता नहीं लेकिन जहां तक मुझे याद है—अगर मैं गलत होऊं तो आप उसको सही कर दीजियेगा—कि डि वेलैरा ने इंग्लैंड के प्राइम मिनिस्टर से इसलिये हाथ मिलाने से इंकार कर दिया था कि वह कहते थे कि तुम्हारे हाथों में हमारे शहीदों का खून लगा हुआ है, तुम से हाथ नहीं मिलायेंगे। क्या यह सही नहीं है, क्या यह गलत है? जब हम विद्यार्थी थे तब बड़े जोरों से हिन्दुस्तान में प्रचार हुआ, प्राइम मिनिस्टर नेहरू ने—उस समय नेहरू प्राइम मिनिस्टर नहीं थे देश के नेता



[श्री चन्द्र शेखर]

थे—राष्ट्रनायक नेहरू ने कहा था : “मुसोलिनी से बात नहीं करोगे क्योंकि निरपराध लोगों का खून उसके हाथों के ऊपर लगा हुआ है।” मैं नहीं जानता कि उस समय पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू कोई इंकैंटाइल नानसेंस कर रहे थे, मैं नहीं जानता कि उस समय पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू कोई बचकानी हरकत कर रहे थे ? मैं समझता हूँ कि उस समय पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू एक सिद्धान्त का प्रतिपादन कर रहे थे। आज हुकूमत में आने के बाद उन सिद्धान्तों का प्रतिपादन न किया जाय तो इसकी ओर इस सदन का ध्यान और इस देश का ध्यान जाना चाहिये।

मैं इस संदर्भ में एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा कि दुनिया में कभी कभी भौके आते हैं और हर आदमी की जिन्दगी में आते हैं, हर राष्ट्र की जिन्दगी में आते हैं, जबकि चुनौती को स्वीकार करना जरूरी होता है। आप सबको याद होगा—उपसभापति जी, आपको यह स्मरण होगा—कि जब इंग्लैंड के ऊपर विपत्ति आई तो वहां के पोयट-लारियट को, वहां के राष्ट्रकवि को, रूडयार्ड किपलिंग को एक बार सारी दुनिया के सामने कहना पड़ा :

“Once more we hear the word  
that sickens the earth of old.  
No law except the sword.  
Unsheathed and uncontrolled”

क्या आप समझती है कि रूडयार्ड किपलिंग कोई असभ्य आदमी था ? क्या आप समझती है कि रूडयार्ड किपलिंग को साधारण मानव के प्रति कोई कम प्रेम था ? लेकिन परिस्थितियों ने उसको विवश किया, उस कवि को विवश किया कि वह यह कहे। अभी इस देश के महाभारत का जिक्र हमारे किसी कांग्रेस के मित्र ने किया, आखिरकार गीता में भी एक समय आया जब कृष्ण को कहना पड़ा :—  
“हृतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं जित्वा वा भोक्ष्यसे तस्मादुत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय युद्धाय कुतश्चिच्चयः ॥”

हे अर्जुन, एक बार तय करो युद्ध करने के लिये, अगर मरोगे तो स्वर्ग में जाओगे, अगर जिन्दा रहोगे तो सही मानों में प्रतिष्ठा के साथ इस दुनिया में रह सकोगे।

१४ नवम्बर, १९६२ को इस संसद् ने एक बार रूडयार्ड किपलिंग की उसी भावना को, गीता के उसी सन्देश को, दुहराया था लेकिन पंडित जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू ने, प्रधान मन्त्री ने, इस हुकूमत ने—मैं इसको चार्ज करता हूँ—उसने उस भावना को फिर से तिरोहित करने की कोशिश की। कहा कि कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों को नहीं मानेंगे तो ये छः राष्ट्र हमसे नाराज हो जायेंगे। मैं आपको याद दिलाऊंगा—यहां पर बुजुर्ग लोग बैठे हुए हैं—कि १९४२ में अगस्त में कांग्रेस की आल इण्डिया वर्किंग कमेटी में जब ‘क्विट इण्डिया’ रेजोल्यूशन आया, ‘करो और मरो’ का नारा देने का सवाल आया, तब यह सवाल उस समय भी उठाया गया था। जो लोग आज शान्ति के पैगम्बर हैं, लम्बरदार हैं, उस समय उन्होंने कहा था—अमेरिका हमारी स्वतन्त्रता का हामी है, चीन हमारी स्वतन्त्रता का हामी है, इस लड़ाई के जमाने में अगर हम अंग्रेजों से लड़ाई मोल लेंगे तो चीन क्या कहेगा, अमेरिका क्या कहेगा, ये लोग क्या कहेंगे ? क्या जवाब दिया था महात्मा गांधी ने ? महात्मा गांधी ने जवाब दिया था—मुझे यह फिक्र नहीं है कि अमेरिका क्या कहेगा, मुझे यह फिक्र नहीं है कि चीन क्या कहेगा, मुझे एक बात की फिक्र है कि इतिहास क्या कहेगा, और उस इतिहास के बनाने की जिम्मेदारी मैंने अपने कंधों पर ली है। मुझे याद है, हमारी पार्टी के जेनरल सेक्रेटरी नारायण गणेश गोरे ने जब महात्मा गांधी को आगा खां महल में एक खत भिजवाया कि अनशन तोड़ दीजिए, अपनी जान बचानी है वह बड़ी कीमती है इस राष्ट्र के लिये, तो—उपसभापति महोदया जी—क्या जवाब दिया था उस महात्मा ने—उसने कहा था कि अगर तुम्हारे दिलों में शान्ति का जख्म है तो मुझे सीख न दो, कुछ नहीं कर सकते हो

वो आग्रा खाँ के महल के सामने आकर इस देश की आजादी के लिये हाराकिरी करो। जब मैंने कहा है कि करो या मरो का नारा है तो उसका मतलब होता है करो और मरो का नारा। राष्ट्र के नियामक जो होते हैं वे इस तरह के होते हैं, उनका दृढ़ निश्चय इस प्रकार का होता है, हर दूसरे दिन आवाजें नहीं बदला करतीं, हर दूसरे दिन निश्चयों में परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ करते और जो हुकूमत—मुझे यह कहने के लिये माफ करियेगा—रोज़ रोज़ अपना निश्चय बदलती है वह और कुछ कर सकती है किसी देश में लड़ाई का नेतृत्व नहीं कर सकती। यह बात मैं आपसे इसलिये कह रहा हूँ कि आज ये सारे सवाल हमारे सामने आते हैं। जब यह लड़ाई का सवाल चला तब बड़े जोरों से एक नारा चला—मेरी समझ में नहीं आता, मैं भी राजनीति का थोड़ा विद्यार्थी रहा हूँ—आज सारी लड़ाई की बात भूलग, हर एक प्रवक्ता यह बोलते हैं :

Non-alignment has stood the test of time. क्या मतलब है ? नानएलाइनमेंट का सवाल कहाँ है ? इस देश में वो, चार दस लोगों को छोड़ दीजिये सब लोगों ने कहा कि नान एलाइनमेंट की पालिसी सही है लेकिन क्या नानएलाइनमेंट के मतलब यह होते हैं कि चीन के मामले में भी हम नानएलाइनड हैं ? जहाँ तक रूस का, अमेरिका का, सवाल है, जहाँ तक पावर ब्लाक्स का सवाल है उसमें हमारी नीति तटस्थता की नीति है, उन दो में संघर्ष होगा तो उस समय परिस्थिति के ऊपर विचार कर के औचित्य के ऊपर हम फैसला करेंगे लेकिन क्या इसी तरह की भूमिका, इसी तरह की मनोवृत्ति हमारी चीन के साथ भी रहने वाली है। यह सारा षपला क्यों होता है ? यह सारी गफलत क्यों होती है ? इसलिये कि चीन केवल हमारा दुश्मन नहीं है चीन रूस का एलाई है और रूस का सहयोगी होने के नाते अगर हम चीन के खिलाफ कुछ सक्त कदम की बात कहेंगे तो हम यह समझते हैं—जो कि माननीय भूपेश गुप्त जी कह रहे थे—कि रूस नाराज़ हो जायगा। अगर रूस के

हमारी मित्रता ऐसी है तो मैं नहीं जानता कि वह मित्रता कितने दिनों तक चलने वाली है।

एक और बात जोरों से उठाई जाती है—मैं नहीं जानता—कि काश्मीर के सवाल के ऊपर कुछ बाहरी देश दबाव डाल रहे हैं। एक महिला हैं, मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहूँगा, बड़े ओहदे पर हैं, सारे राष्ट्र में उनकी इज्जत है, लखनऊ यूनिवर्सिटी में उन्होंने भाषण देते हुए कहा—लड़ाख के लिये हम काश्मीर को दान देने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। मैं नहीं जानता इस देश का एक जिम्मेदार आदमी, एक जिम्मेदार पुरुष या महिला इस तरह का ध्यान दे तो जो लोग आज आपकी मदद कर रहे हैं क्या सोचेंगे—मैं यह नहीं कहता कि उनकी गोद में जाकर आप बैठ जाइये, मगर हमारे यहाँ शास्त्रों में कहा गया है कि जो अपने मित्र को मित्र नहीं मानता और जो अपने दुश्मन को दुश्मन नहीं मानता वह मूढ़ है, वह नीच है। मैं नहीं जानता कि ये लोग मूढ़ हैं या नीच हैं लेकिन दोनों में जरूर कुछ है। या तो समझते नहीं हैं या जानबूझ करके—वह शब्द आ रहा है लेकिन नहीं कहूँगा—जानबूझ करके वास्तविकता से दूर रहते हैं।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : आपने ये जो शब्द कहे ये पालियामेंटरी नहीं हैं।

श्री चन्द्र शेखर : मैंने किसी व्यक्ति को नहीं कहा। I am just quoting the Sastras.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please carry on. Go ahead.

श्री चन्द्र शेखर : इस सिलसिले में मैं एक बात आपसे और कहना चाहूँगा। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के साथ—जैसा माननीय परेल जी ने कहा—उसे प्लेकेट करने की कोशिश

[श्री चन्द्र शेखर]

की जा रही है और बड़े जोरों से बात कही जा रही है कि सोवियट यूनियन जो है उसने तो हमारे साथ बड़ी दोस्ती की है, उसके साथ हमारा रिश्ता बड़ा अच्छा है और उससे हमें बड़ी उम्मीदें हैं। मैं जरूर चाहता हूँ कि सोवियट यूनियन के साथ हमारा रिश्ता रहे लेकिन कम्युनिस्ट दर्शन को समझने में भूल नहीं होनी चाहिये। माननीय लाल बहादुर जी शास्त्री ने इसी सदन में कहा था कि जनसंघ के लोग कहां थे आजादी में, कम्युनिस्ट तो सौ फीसदी राष्ट्रभक्त हैं। उन्होंने कहा था कि यह करिश्मा हमारी सरकार को आज हासिल है कि कम्युनिस्टों से इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करा लिया। मैं लाल बहादुर जी शास्त्री की बड़ी इज्जत करता हूँ लेकिन मैं बहुत अदब से कहूंगा कि उन्होंने कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का इतिहास नहीं पढ़ा है या पढ़ करके उसे समझने की कोशिश नहीं की है। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी जो रूस की है उसकी बाइसवीं कांग्रेस का जो सबसे नया मसौदा है उसका एक उदाहरण मैं जरूर पढ़ना चाहूंगा। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी आज सोवियत यूनियन क्या कहती है :

"The success of the struggle which the working class wages for the victory of the revolution will depend on how well the working class and its party master the use of all forms of struggle—peaceful and non-peaceful, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary—and how well they are prepared to replace one form of struggle by another as quickly and unexpectedly as possible."

तो कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को निर्देश है सोवियट यूनियन का कि दोनों फार्म में विश्वास करो।

एक माननीय सदस्य : पीकिंग का नहीं है ?

श्री चन्द्र शेखर : यह सोवियट यूनियन की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के २२वें कांग्रेस का जो पालिसी स्टेटमेंट है उसका उद्धरण है कि

दोनों फार्म में हम इसको स्वीकार करते हैं और कितनी जल्दी हम उसको बदल देंगे यह हमारी कान्तिकारिता के ऊपर मुनहसिर करता है।

उपसभापति महोदया, इस दृष्टि से सारी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टियों के रवैये को हमको और आपको और सारे देश को सोचना चाहिये। हम जब कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का विरोध करते हैं तो केवल इसलिये नहीं कि कोई व्यक्तिगत द्वेष है, कोई इसलिये नहीं कि राजनीति में कोई ऐसी होड़ लगी है कि कल राजगद्दी पर उनके और हमारे आने में झगड़ा है। लेकिन मौलिक बातों पर हमारा ध्यान जाना चाहिये। जहां तक कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के स्टेटमेंट का सवाल है, लीडरों का सवाल है, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के १०४ सदस्य आल इण्डिया जनरल काउन्सिल में हैं, ४२ लोग जेल के अन्दर हैं, ६२ लोग प्रस्ताव पार कर रहे हैं तब भी यूनेनिमिटी नहीं हो पाती है। आप इससे समझिए क्या कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का रवैया है। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नेता माननीय भूपेश गुप्ता मुझ से एक बार नाराज हो गए जब मैंने कहा था कि ये लोग विश्वास नहीं करते इन सब बातों में। लेकिन मैं कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के बारे में और किसी का उदाहरण नहीं देना चाहूंगा। एक किताब पी० सी० जोशी की लिखी हुई है जो आज भी उनके एक सम्मानित नेता हैं। पी० सी० जोशी ने ११ फरवरी, १९५० को अपनी सेण्ट्रल कमेटी को एक खत लिखा, उस समय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लीडरों से उनका झगड़ा चल रहा था। उन लीडरों के बारे में उन्होंने लिखा :

"They are liars, cold-blooded liars. They make false statements without a blush. They suppress true evidence without a prick of conscience."

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh).  
Lawyers or liars?

श्री चन्द्र शेखर Liars. LIARS.

यह कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लीडरों के बारे में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लीडर का सर्टिफिकेट है। इस में और बहुत सी बातें हैं जिस को मैं नहीं पढ़ूंगा। मेरे पास समय नहीं है। मैं आप से कहूंगा कि कम से कम हमारी आवाज होम मिनिस्टर साहब तक पहुंचा दें कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी इतिहास को और कम से कम हिन्दुस्तान की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के इतिहास को अगर सारी दुनिया का नहीं, फिर से नये सिरे से पढ़ें। लेकिन एक बात इस सिलसिले में मैं और कहूंगा कि यह जो लड़ाई है केवल हथियारों की लड़ाई नहीं है केवल एक डिप्लोमेसी की लड़ाई नहीं है। एक दूसरे पराये पर भी लड़ाई लड़ी जा रही है जिस का बराबर इस्तेमाल हमारे भूपेश गुप्ता जी करते हैं—इस देश के करोड़ों लोग जो भूख हैं जो पीड़ित हैं जिन की आह है जिन के आज अरमान हैं आजादी के बाव उभरे हुए उन अरमानों को आज पूरा करने की जरूरत है। इस सार पर भी हमें कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को जवाब देना पड़ेगा। अगर हम गरीब की इच्छाओं को आकांक्षाओं को पूरा नहीं कर सके तो हम नहीं जानते यह लड़ाई हम कितनी दूर तक लड़ सकेंगे। मैं आप से अर्ज करना चाहूंगा कि इसी राये में देश की आन्तरिक बातों को भी हम को लाना पड़ेगा। जहां हमें बाह्य सुरक्षा की जरूरत है वहां अतिरिक्त परिस्थितियों की भी संभालने की जरूरत है मुझे यह कहते हुए अफसोस है कि उस दिशा में भी हमारी सरकार कुछ करने में नाकामयाब रही है और इस की वजह यह नहीं है कि कोई इन की नीयत नहीं है। उन को गंतव्य स्पष्ट नहीं है मंजिला उन की आंखों के सामने साफ नहीं है। समाजवाद की तो बात करते हैं लेकिन समाजवाद की बात करते समय भी पंडित जवाहर लाल जी नेहरू जो हमारे देश के वजीरे आज हैं वे जहां अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मामलों में कंप्यूज्ड हैं वहां आंतरिक मामलों में भी उन की दृष्टि स्पष्ट नहीं है। मैं पंडित जवाहरलाल जी की बड़ी इज्जत करता हूं। एक ऐसे आदमी की किताब से कोट कर रहा हूं जिस पर किसी को ऐतराज नहीं होगा।

ये हैं टिवर मेन्डे साहब 'चाइना एंड हर गैडो' के बड़े मशहूर लेखक। उन्होंने पंडित जवाहर लाल जी नेहरू के ऊपर जो किताब लिखी, चौदह भाषाओं में उस किताब का तर्जुमा साधा किया गया और बड़ी शोहरत हुई और बड़ी प्रशंसा उन्होंने नेहरू जी के बारे में की है।

Shri SHEEL BHADRA YAJEN:  
Who is the writer?

श्री चन्द्र शेखर : टिवर मेन्डे। उन की किताब नेहरू जी के ऊपर छपी थी चौदह भाषाओं में छपी। अब वे क्या कहते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की सारी समस्याओं का चीन के कन्टेस्ट में जिक्र करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि गरीबों के सवाल को हल करने में हिन्दुस्तान में जो सुस्ती दिखायी जा रही है उस का भयवह परिणाम है। वे हमारे साथ सहानुभूति रखने वाले हैं। लेकिन उस के बाद उन्होंने ने कहा है :

"Mr. Nehru, Indian by birth but his formation deeply marked by British liberal ideas, has tended to act as it were as the first Indian Viceroy of independent India. He has been more concerned to stabilise than to prepare internal forces for fast enough change. His task would not have been easy. Yet in of the existing coalition of the forces of conservation, nobody else has commanded or is likely to command in the foreseeable future any comparable degree of authority or the trust of the masses. Whatever external prestige his statesmanship could gain for India, it does not compensate for unsolved basic problems at home."

आप यह देख रहे हैं कि टिवर मेन्डे साहब ने नेहरू जी की तारीफ की है लेकिन इस के साथ उन की जो सीमाएं हैं जो उन कालिमिटेशन है उस का जिक्र किया है। जब हम उन सीमाओं का जिक्र करते हैं तो हमारे मित्र भूपेश गुप्ता जी कहते हैं :

'Reactionary forces are gaining ground. You must be careful.'

[ श्री बन्धु शेरर ]

होता क्या है ? यह पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू का कांग्रेस का इस देश का अग्रगण्य है कि सारे काम सौंप दिये हैं एक आदमी के हाथों में— या तो देश बनेगा जवाहरलाल जी के जरिये अगर देश नहीं बनेगा तो जवाहरलाल जी के जरिये ।

अभी पिछले दिनों में बार बार यह बात कही गई है । इस देश में इमरजेंसी पावर का इस्तेमाल होगा दो कामों के लिये । एक तो इस्तेमाल हुआ नेहरू जी की आलोचनाओं को बन्द करने के लिये एक इस्तेमाल हुआ नेहरू जी की तारीफ करने के लिये । नेहरू जी की आलोचना बन्द करने के लिये दिल्ली के तीन नागरिक गिरफ्तार किये गये जो राष्ट्र-वादी थे, जिन्होंने कोई अपराध नहीं किया था, सिवाय इस के कि पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की उन्होंने आलोचना की है । लेकिन उस की दूसरी तरफ, आप याद रखिए, भूपेश गुप्ता जी को बड़ी नाराजगी है कि बहुत से कम्युनिस्ट गिरफ्तार किये गये । लेकिन उसका जिक्र उन्होंने नहीं किया कि जब मैं तेजा सिंह स्वतंत्र प० जवाहरलाल नेहरू के इन्टरव्यूशन पर छोड़ दिये गये हैं । मैं अपनी ओर से नहीं कह रहा हूँ । २ फरवरी, के 'ट्रिब्यून' में श्री हिन्दुस्तान के सारे अखबारों में तेजा सिंह स्वतंत्र का बयान छपा है कि पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने इन्टरव्यूशन किया कि पंजाब और उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकारें उन के खिलाफ से वारेन्ट वापस ले । मैं व्यक्तिगत रूप से से जानता हूँ महोदया, कि यू० पी० में रामनगर में बैंक डकैती केस हुआ, उस में दो लोग मारे गये, कई लाख रुपये की डकैती हुई, पन्द्रह लोग आज उसमें ट्रान्सपोर्टेशन फॉर लाइफ का इम्प्रिसनमेंट भुगत रहे हैं, आज जीवन कारावास की सजा भुगत रहे हैं । उन को छोड़ने के लिए प० जवाहरलाल नेहरू वजीरे आजम जो डीसेन्सी और डिफेंस के सिम्बल हैं, उन्होंने उत्तर प्रदेश के चीफ मिनिस्टर को खत लिखा कि उनके खिलाफ से यह केस

वापस लिया जाना चाहिये । उन्होंने इन्कार किया कि होम मिनिस्ट्री और जुडीशल ब्रान्च इस के लिये तैयार नहीं है । दूसरा खत लिखा गया और उस खत को लिखने के बाद यू० पी० सरकार इस बात के लिये मजबूर की गई कि डकैती केस में डकैत के मुजरिम को छोड़ दे । किस के लिये ? इसलिये कि सोवर एलीमेंट को कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में प्रेन्स।हन देने के लिये । पंजाब की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सेक्रेटरी सुरजीत सिंह ने अभी चाइना के मसले के ऊपर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की सेक्रेटरीशिप से इस्तीफा दे दिया था, उनको काउन्टर एक्ट करने के लिये तेजा सिंह स्वतंत्र के ऊपर से कल और काइटी का मुकदमा वापस ले लिया गया । ये इमरजेंसी पावर है । यह कानून की विवृति की हालत है, यह अन्याय की हालत है । आखिरकार मैं आप से यह जानना चाहूँगा कि यह जो हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने प्रारम्भ में ही हमको उद्बोधन करते हुए कहा, तो क्या इसी नजरिये से, क्या इसी दृष्टिकोण से, क्या इसी मनोभावना से हम इस देश में समता का, स्वतंत्रता का, समाजवाद का राज कामय करना चाहते हैं ? क्या यही भावनाएँ हमको आगे ले जाने वाली हैं । और इस सिलसिले में मैं आप से यह जिक्र करूँ कि ये पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ, जिनका बड़ा जिक्र हुआ और बड़ा डोल पीटा गया कि बड़ी तरक्की हुई, मैं नहीं जानता हूँ कहा वह तरक्की हुई । कृषि के क्षेत्र में आप ले लीजिए, बड़े जोरो से आज से नहीं १९३०, १९३२ से कांग्रेस ने यह कहा था कि भूमिसुधार होने चाहिये, जमीन उसके हाथ में होनी चाहिये जो जमीन का मालिक है . . .

एक बार नहीं, दस बार कांग्रेस कमेटी के प्रस्ताव में यह बात आई । आज क्या हालत है ? नेशनल सर्विस सेम्पुल की फिगर्स हैं कि आज जमीन किन के हाथों में है जमीन उनके हाथों में है जिनके हाथों में कूबत नहीं है, जमीन पर मेहनत करने की हमारे देश में ७५ फीसदी लोग ऐसे कृषक हैं जो या तो बे बेजमीन हैं या

उनके पास एक एकड़ से कम जमीन है। यह सारे हिन्दुस्तान की स्थिति है जो पिछले पन्द्रह वर्षों की लाजवाब सफलता, कामयाबी इस हुकूमत ने हासिल की है। इस देश के एग्रिकल्चरिस्ट एग्रीकल्चर, कृषक आबादी के, ४५ फीसदी लोग ऐसे हैं जिनके पास कुल जमीन का एक फीसदी हिस्सा है। ३० फीसदी लोग ऐसे हैं जिनके पास १५.६ फीसदी जमीन है। १२.५ फीसदी लोग ऐसे हैं जिनके पास १७.३४ फीसदी जमीन है। ११.५४ फीसदी लोग ऐसे हैं जिनके पास ४६ फीसदी जमीन है और एक फीसदी लोग देश में ऐसे हैं जिनके पास कुल जमीन का बीस फीसदी है। यह भूमि सुधार की हालत है इस देश की। जहाँ तक उत्पत्ति का सवाल है मैं उसके आँकड़े में नहीं पड़ूँगा क्योंकि मैंने आपका बहुत सा समय ले लिया है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि १७०० करोड़ रुपये की पूरी एग्रीकल्चर आये है, पूरी कृषि आय है हमारे देश की, जिसमें से तीन फीसदी लोगों की आय ४६२ करोड़ रुपये है यानी २७ फीसदी है। इस देश का एग्रिकल्चर इन्कम, कृषि आय, का इस तरह से बटवारा है। यह मेरी अपनी फिगर्स नहीं हैं, ये फिगर्स के० एल० राज साहब की हैं जो दिल्ली स्कूल ऑफ इकॉनामिक्स के डायरेक्टर हैं। वे हमारी पार्टी के कोई मेम्बर नहीं हैं, न सरकार के मुखालिफ ही हैं, इतना आपको मालूम होना चाहिये। यही नहीं, भूमिहीनों की आमदनी भी कम हुई है और उनके ऊपर कज का भार बढ़ा है। ये सारी बातें सरकारी रिपोर्ट में कही गई हैं।

अब इसके बाद कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेन्ट के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ जिसका बड़े जोरों से जिक्र किया गया है। कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेन्ट और पंचायती राज के सिलसिले में क्या है। अभी पंजाब में एक सर्वे हुआ था। पंजाब की पंचायत समिति कमेटियों में ३०० से ज्यादा आमदनी वाले लोग जिनकी आबादी पूरे पंजाब की आबादी की १२.२ फीसदी है वे ४१.७ फीसदी स्थानों पर कब्जा किये हुए हैं। जिनकी आमदनी १५० रुपये से कम

है वे ६२.९ फीसदी है। लेकिन वे लोग जो पंचायतों में कब्जा कर पाये वे बेचारे २६.३ फीसदी थे। इस तरह से पंचायतों का हाल है। यही नहीं दूसरी तरफ ड० एस० सी० दूब जो मंसूरी इंस्टीट्यूट के डायरेक्टर हैं, उनका क्या कहना है

"Nearly 70 per cent of its benefits went to the elite group and the more affluent and influential agriculturist."

यह साक्ष्य है इस देश का। यही नहीं श्री टिवरमेन्ड साहब एक दूसरी बात कहते हैं। इस तथ्य की बात कोट करने पर आप मुझे क्षमा करेंगे। लेकिन आप यह समझें कि देश का मानस क्या बन रहा है? देश का मानस यह बन रहा है जो कि एक विद्वान आदमी निष्पक्ष रीति से सोचता है। देश के बारे में जो नियम बनते हैं, हमारे जो सुधार के कानून बनते हैं, उनको दृष्टि में रख कर श्री टिवरमेन्ड साहब का क्या कहना है :

"The Major obstacles to India's agricultural progress, however, are human rather than natural. The existing economic and social structure of Indian agriculture rather than to stimulate the cultivator's initiative, tends to discourage it. The majority of legislators in India's central parliament or in her provincial assemblies are either land-owners and money-lenders themselves, or are spokesmen of their interests."

इस तरह से हमारे बारे में दुनियाँ की धारणा बन रही है। मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूँ कि इसी धारणा से हम नये समाज की रचना करने जा रहे हैं। मैं एक मिनट में एक कोटेशन कह कर खतम कर दूँगा और इसके लिये आप मुझे माफ़ करेंगे। सन् १९२१ की कौंसिल ऑफ स्टेट की प्रोसीडिंग्स की प्रीफ़ेस लिखते हुए श्री एल० प्राइस इस प्रकार लिखते हैं :

[श्री चन्द्र शेखर]

"From all this I deduce that an economic conflict is imminent between the cultivators and the industrialists of India, and that the dice are loaded in favour of the industrialists because the agricultural interests threatened are not awake to the situation, a situation which if prolonged will give everybody in India chances to improve their economic position except the people on the land,—except the great majority."

बहु बात १९२१ में कही गई थी, ४२ वर्ष पहले यह चेतावनी दी गई और उस समय क्या राय थी ? उस समय स्मिय साहब य, उन्होंने क्या कहा था ? उस समय उन्होंने कहा था :

"Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again like magic. But destroy our farms, and grass will grow over the streets of your cities."

इसमें अतिशयोक्ति हो सकती है लेकिन इस में कुछ सच्चाई भी है। जब इस संसद में सवाल उठाया जाता है—माननीय भूपेश गुप्त ने आज भी जिक्र किया कि किसानों का जो रुपया मिल मालिकों के ऊपर बाकी है उसको वसूल करने के लिये सरकार क्या कर रही है ? हमारे खाद्य मंत्री कहते हैं कि वसूल करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। अगर एक गरीब कृषक के ऊपर पांच रुपया टैक्स का बाकी रह जाता है तो वह जेल भेज दिया जाता है। पांच करोड़ से अधिक रुपया एग्रिकल्चरिस्टों का इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट और शुगर मिल मालिकों के ऊपर है और उसको वसूल करने के लिये सरकार क्या कर रही है ? इस बात को छोड़ दीजिये, चार वर्षों से इस देश की हुकूमत यह कहती चली आ रही कि देश में चीनी अधिक पैदा होनी चाहिये गन्ना अधिक पैदा किया जाना चाहिये। इस पर कृषकों ने अधिक गन्ना पैदा किया और दो

साल बाद कहा गया कि जो गन्ना अधिक पैदा हो गया है उसको जल जाने दो। उसका हम इन्तजाम नहीं कर सकते हैं, गवर्नमेन्ट की जिम्मेदारी नहीं है खपत करने की। इस पर लोगों ने खांडसारी और गुड़ की इन्डस्ट्री कायम की। आज इस साल क्या हुआ। गन्ना कम बोया गया, गन्ने की पैदावार कम हो गई और कृषक चाहता है कि खांडसारी और गुड़ में उसको कंवर्ट कर दिया जाय तो आज हुकूमत की ओर से दबाव दिया जाता है कि तुम्हें मिल मालिकों के पास गन्ना पहुंचाना पड़ेगा, ज्यादा गन्ना देना पड़ेगा। ऐसा क्यों होता है ? क्या इस लिये नहीं कि आज मिल मालिक संगठित हैं और वे सरकार के ऊपर हावी हैं। मैं श्री भूपेश गुप्त की इस बात से इत्फाक करता हूं कि आज सरकार की जहिनियन को कंट्रोल करने वाले बिरला साहब हैं इस सरकार की जहिनियत को कंट्रोल करने वाले पूंजीपति और सरमायदार हैं और जब तक वह इस बंधन में अवरोद्ध रहेगी तब तक कम्युनिस्ट चीन सेलड़ना मुश्किल है। मैं इस बात को इस लिये कहता हूं कि चाहे मेरी आवाज में ताकत हो या न हूं लेकिन मैं आप से यह जरूर कहना चाहता हूं कि इतिहास के सामने यह गवाही रहे कि प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के लोगों ने इस हुकूमत को चीन के बारे में चेताया था लेकिन उसका मखौल उड़ाया गया। हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के सामने यह गवाही रहे कि प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के लोगों ने गरीबी, निर्धनता भूक अशिक्षा, बेरोजगार और बीमारी के खिलाफ चेताया था लेकिन इस हुकूमत ने ध्यान नहीं दिया।

जहां तक स्वास्थ्य की बात है, मैं एक मिनट में कहकर उसे खत्म कर दूंगा। स्वास्थ्य के मामले में कहा गया है कि मलेरिया को देश से उन्मूलन कर दिया गया है। मलेरिया के उन्मूलन की बहुत सी स्कीमे बनाई गई लेकिन उपसभ्यता महोदया, आपको यह सुनकर आश्चर्य होगा कि जब यू० पी० विधान

परिषद् में एक प्रस्ताव डा० ए० जी० फरीदी द्वारा लाया गया वह गिरा दिया गया। डा० फरीदी हमारी पार्टी के वहाँ पर नेता हैं और एक मशहूर डाक्टर है। वे विधान परिषद् में इस तरह का प्रस्ताव लाये थे कि लड़कों को मलेरिया के साथ चेचक और दूसरे बीमारियों के भी टीके लगा दिये जाने चाहिये। इस प्रस्ताव पर बहस हुई लेकिन वह गिर गया। आज क्या हालत है? आज उत्तर प्रदेश में कई हजार आदमी स्माल पाक्स से मर गये हैं। हमारे देश में चेचक उन्मूलन की बात हो रही है लेकिन क्या यही नियोजित व्यवस्था है? जब एक बार वैक्सीनेटर मलेरिया या खून टेस्ट करने के लिए घूमता है और तीन साल बाद चेचक का वैक्सीनेशन करने के लिये आता है तो मेरी समझ में यह बात नहीं आती है कि यह किस तरह का नियोजन है, कौनसी प्लानिंग है और कौन सा स्वास्थ्य रक्षा का इंतजाम है? वैक्सीनेशन कोई एक्सपर्ट का काम नहीं है। जब कोई आदमी मलेरिया उन्मूलन के लिये डी० डी० टी० छिड़कने जाता है और अगर उसके पास स्माल पाक्स की दवा होती तो वह वैक्सीनेशन का भी काम कर सकता है। लेकिन इस तरह की कार्यवाही नहीं की गई और आज हमारा देश स्माल पाक्स से बरबाद हो रहा है, इसके साथ ही साथ हैजा भी फैल जाता है। मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ जब मैंने उत्तर प्रदेश के अधिकारियों से इस बारे में बातचीत की। उन्होंने कहा कि पिछले साल हैजे पर वो कंट्रोल कर लिया गया था लेकिन इस साल गैस्ट्रो इन्ट्राइटिस शुरू हो गई है। मैंने कहा कि गैस्ट्रो इन्ट्राइटिस और हैजे में क्या फर्क है? मैं कोई एक्सपर्ट नहीं था इसलिये मैंने इस बारे में मेडिकल कालिज के प्रिंसिपल से बातचीत की और डा० फरीदी साहब से भी मिला और उसकी समझ में भी कोई बात नहीं आई। यह जो बारिकी स्वास्थ्य विभाग वाले निकालते हैं कि हैजा तो खत्म हो गया है लेकिन गैस्ट्रो इन्ट्राइटिस बाकी है। इस लिये कि एक समय जनून में जो बात

आती है उसमें वह बात कह दी जाती है और उसके बाद उस बात को खत्म कर दिया जाता है।

एक बात का जिक्र हमारे किसी एक मित्र ने किया कि यह जो दो प्रांतों के बीच की लड़ाई चल रही है, उत्तर प्रदेश और मध्य प्रदेश के बीच में, उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के बीच में, उसमें क्या हो रहा है। ये छोटे छोटे मामले वर्षों से अटके हुये हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार की सीमा का जो झगड़ा है उस पर सन् १९४६ बहस चल रही है। स्वर्गीय पंडित मोहिन्द वल्लभ पंत के नेतृत्व में एक कमेटी बनी, कुछ उसने फाईनलिस दी और उसपर दोनों सरकारें एक बार सहमत भी हुईं। फिर कुछ अड़चनें आ गईं उसके बाद जल्दबाजी किया गया? प्रधान मंत्री जी को उसमें पंच मान लिया गया, आर्बिट्रेटर मान लिया गया। उन्होंने सी० एल० त्रिवेदी साहब को आर्बिट्रेटर नियुक्त कर दिया। महीनों बीत गये, सारी फाइलें पड़ी हुई हैं, कागजात पड़े हुए हैं और उनका अभी तक फैसला नहीं हो सका।

रिहंड डैम के लिये हमारे भाई खांडेकर साहब और चौराड़ा साहब रोज लड़ाई लड़ते हैं। इनको मालूम नहीं है कि रिहंड डैम की स्थापना इस लिये की गई थी कि पूर्वी जिले जो गरीब हैं उनको कृषि के लिये बिजली दी जाय। लेकिन उस रिहंड डैम का बिजली का बड़ा हिस्सा बड़े सस्ते दाम पर बिड़ला साहब को दिया जा रहा है। आज से नहीं, पहले से काट्रैक्ट हो चुका है, समझौता हो चुका है। क्या ये सारी नियोजन की बातें हैं?

अन्त में मैं एक बात और कहूंगा। अभी उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों में एक टीम जांच करने के लिये गई थी। वह कैसे गई थी? दूसरे सदन में एक माननीय सदस्य ने यह कह दिया कि पूर्वी जिलों की आर्थिक स्थिति बड़ी खराब है, वहाँ दो आने मजदूरी मिलती है। इससे प्रधान मंत्री जी चौक पड़े। ऐसा मालूम



[श्री चन्द्र शेखर]

हुआ कि पूर्वी यू० पी० कोई ग्युफाउंडलैंड हो और जैसे पहली बार उन्होंने देखा हो। सन् १९५७ में फूडग्रेन्स इनक्वायरी कमेटी की अशोक मेहता साहब की अध्यक्षता में रिपोर्ट निकली। पंडित जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू की हुकूमत ने उस कमेटी को नियुक्त किया था उस कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में कहा है—मैं उसको नहीं पढ़ूंगा—कि ये १५ पूर्वी जिले जो उत्तर प्रदेश के हैं, इनकी स्पेशल चांच होनी चाहिये। उसके साथ उन्होंने उड़ीसा का जिल्ला, मद्रास के रायलसीमा या किसी इलाक़े का जिल्ला किया, पहाड़ी इलाकों का, बुंदेलखंड का, मध्य प्रदेश का जिल्ला किया स्केयरसिटी एरियाज करके इस किताब में एक पूरा चैप्टर है। मुझे नहीं मालूम की यह कागज क्यों बरबाद किया जाता है और प्राइम मिनिस्टर उसे पढ़ते हैं या नहीं। उनके पास निवेदन किया गया। सारे उत्तर प्रदेश में तीन चार हजार लोग जेल गये। प्रधान मंत्री जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू ने उस समय जवाब दिया था कि जो कानून की तोड़गा उसको जेल भेज दिया जायेगा। लेकिन आज प्रधान मंत्री जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू यह कह रहे हैं कि क्या ऐसे पूर्वी जिले भी हैं जहां दो आने गजदूरी है? तो चार लोगों की टीम गई है जांच करने के लिये। अब गुलजारी लाल जी मन्दा जाने वाले हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि यह जो बैकवर्ड एरिया है स्केयरसिटी एरिया है, इसके लिये रीजनल प्लान बनना चाहिये।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair].

एक टीम जाने से काम नहीं चलेगा। एक्सपर्ट्स की इनवेस्टिगेशन टीम जानी चाहिये। जो वहां की समस्याओं को समझे और बैकवर्ड इलाकों के लिए, स्केयरसिटी इलाकों के लिये, उन हिस्सों के लिये एक अलग प्लान बनाये।

अन्त में मैं यह निवेदन करूंगा कि राष्ट्रपति ने जो उद्बोधन किया है और उस उद्बोधन का जो आखिरी वाक्य है कि वह देश जाग्रत हो, यह देश तत्पर हो, काश! ये शब्द प्रधान मंत्री श्री नेहरू की समझ में आ सकते, काश यह वाक्य यह सरकार हृदयंगम कर पाती, तो इस देश का भविष्य संवर जाता और यह देश, यह समाज और यह सरकार अपने कर्तव्यों का पालन करने में ज्यादा मफल होती। वन्देबाद!

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): Sir, we are meeting today under the shadow of a great cloud. The cloud has become thinner, the shadow milder, but they still endure; they have not lifted. In its nth aggression—for it was not the first and I hope it shall be the last—China has occupied large areas of our territory by force. In such a situation we are conscious, at least we should be conscious of the need for national unity. The will of the nation should be united. This necessity for unity reminds me of the sad episode on the day the President of India was inaugurating the Joint Session of Parliament this year, when some persons, some wrong-headed persons, tried to disturb the situation by a most ungainly and unseemly demonstration. But the dramatic antics of those gentlemen failed to achieve their objective, if at all they had any objective for, when the President made an appeal for tolerance, there was a loud acclaim from the gathering. That was a clear indication that those gentlemen, those few gentlemen, were out of tune with the spirit of this great democracy. Sir, I feel ashamed of that incident. My shame is greater because I am Hindi-speaking; I come from a Hindi-speaking region.

The Constituent Assembly in all its wisdom ordained that Hindi shall be the official language of this country, if you are so pleased to call it, the national language of this country. what was the *raison d'être* for this

decision? The *raison d'être* was that it was difficult to conceive of one country unless you have one common vehicle of expression and communication, for the unity of one country requires that there shall be one language. And if in trying to establish one language we endanger the unity of the country by some hasty and unwise step, I am afraid we are defeating the very purpose for which one language is needed. And therefore it is proper, it is indicated that the advance in the introduction of Hindi should be cautious, not hasty, Hindi can become the national language of this country only by the willing acceptance of it by the non-Hindi speaking people. Hindi is not the only language in this country. There are many languages which are equally well developed if not more developed and some of which have richer literature than Hindi. The only argument in favour of Hindi is that it is the language of the largest bulk of the people of this country. The non-Hindi-speaking people have as much attachment, as much love for their languages as we have for Hindi. But then, in the larger interests of the country, of the people of this country, the various linguistic units of this country have accepted Hindi as the national language of this country. Therefore, if we want to have Hindi as the national language, we must allow for time, we must exhibit a spirit of tolerance, we must exhibit patience. And since the Hindi-speaking people form the largest majority of the people of this country. It is the special obligation of the Hindi-speaking people to exhibit all these virtues, to take a lead in the manifestation of this spirit of tolerance and patience. Those gentlemen who sought to make an issue of it failed. We are all ashamed of their conduct and I think this House rightly acted in expressing its regret to the President for this unseemly incident and I hope in future such unseemly incidents shall not be repeated.

Sir, I have already said that we are meeting at a time when we are faced

with a serious crisis. The clouds have thinned but they have not lifted. China occupies a large chunk of our territory by virtue of her latest aggression. It is said that they have withdrawn from a substantial portion of NEFA. It is also said that they have vacated what they gained, by their latest aggression, in Ladakh. But then, in NEFA, they have imposed the condition that while our civil administration would be free to establish itself there, we should not re-establish our military establishments in NEFA. In Ladakh they have further put it down that we shall not be able to move into the areas from which they have withdrawn and, what is worse, we shall not be able to establish even our civil posts there. In Ladakh we do not know what is happening behind that bamboo curtain, the counterpart of the Berlin Wall in Ladakh. We have no means of ascertaining what is happening there, we have no means of ascertaining whether the Chinese have really withdrawn or not from the areas from which they claim to have withdrawn. Such a situation cannot long endure and should not long endure, because if such a situation endures long, it is not only that we suffer national humiliation, it is not only that our international prestige goes down, but then such a situation becomes rigid, becomes solidified, becomes crystalised. If it continues for a long period, say, even for a period of ten years, the danger is that the Indian people will develop a spirit of some sort of complacency. They will regard as if those areas are by right the areas of China and that the areas never belonged to us. Therefore, we have to retrieve that situation, we have to change that situation.

I agree with some speakers who have said that that situation can be retrieved only by building up military might. People talk of diplomacy. People talk of brave words, of stout hearts. I remember that in the past on some occasions when reduction in the military strength was opposed, we were told "Rely on our diplomacy".

[Shri B. K. P. Sinha.]

We relied on that. And what is the effect? What is the result of that reliance? From the elevation of Thagla Ridge we come down to the depressions of the Foothills of Assam. That is where our faith in mere diplomacy has led us. Let us realise the wisdom of what Mr. Mao Tse-Tung, the great statesman of China, says. He may be our antagonist. He may be our enemy but he is a very wise man. He says, "Diplomacy without bayonets is like a broken reed". Let us heed this. We have to build our armed strength and build it up in the shortest possible time.

The philosophy of a long-range conflict, to my mind, is likely to create a spirit of depression in this country. I remember when Britain offered, at the time of the Second Great War, independence, after some time the Prime Minister retorted, "They offer us freedom in the long run, but in the long run we are all dead." Let us be reminded today of those wise words of the Prime Minister. Let us build up our defences so that in the shortest possible time we are able to throw the Chinese out of these territories.

It is futile in my opinion at this stage of our history to bandy words about alignment and non-alignment, about the virtues of peace and about the vices of war. In my opinion, in the present context they are academic discussions I have faith in the policy of non-alignment. But then I realise that non-alignment is a policy. There is nothing immutable about a policy. There can be nothing permanent about a policy. Policies are evolved, policies are forged to subserve the larger interests of the country. And if at any stage a nation realises in its wisdom that a policy is not subserving its wider interest, that policy has to be given up. That is not to say, however, that any change in this policy of non-alignment is indicated today. Even now I feel that the policy of non-alignment has paid us good dividends and

is likely to pay us good dividends. Even those generous countries, those friendly countries, which have so generously come to our aid at this stage, want us to pursue the policy of non-alignment because that is both in the interests of this country and in the interests of the world. However, there should be no slackening of our efforts to build up our defence.

Sir, when I talk of defences, I am reminded of the deficiencies in our aerial defences. So far our Air Force, our air power, has not had parity with the Chinese air power. It is considerably weaker. Should we not then make an effort to build it up as soon as possible? Moreover, weak as it is, its offensive wing is weaker still. We have been so far inhibited by the policy of defence. Because of this policy of defence while in the weak Air Force that we have we have built up some semblance of a defensive apparatus, we have not built up anything like an offensive apparatus. But then there are occasions when offence is the best defence, when without striking at the lines of communication of the Chinese enemies, we shall not be able to defend this country adequately. Therefore, this lopsided development in the Air Force should be at once corrected and the Air Force should be augmented and extended.

Sir, we know that in modern warfare the use of modern aeroplanes requires electronic installations, requires radar installations, requires very big and very firm aerodromes. Unfortunately, we are still deficient in these respects. Let us, in the shortest possible time, cure these deficiencies so that in future when any occasion arises, big planes can operate from these air bases. Those big planes shall be our planes because a nation which relies for its defence on any other country really bargains away its freedom.

But then Sir, let us also visualise a situation in which at the moment of crisis, if single-handed, if alone, we

are not able to provide adequate air cover to our advancing forces or to our industrial installations and cities, in such a situation if friendly countries, including Soviet Russia, are prepared to extend the aid of their aeroplanes to this country, we should be in a position to receive the aid and use that aid.

Sir, I agree with the previous speaker that we make defence too much of a secret affair. A hush-hush atmosphere surrounds everything. But this crisis, this rapid advance of the Chinese, has made one thing very clear that while the extent of our defences was a closed book to us, a secret for us, it was an open book for the Chinese. In the circumstances, I do not see why there should not be a change in this attitude. We know of other countries. The most classical example is that of the United States of America where both the Houses of the American Congress have powerful bodies which go into the question of actual preparedness. We can have some such committee of Parliament here, because I feel certain that if Members of Parliament, if Members of eminence, Members of wisdom, were in the know of things, this debacle would not have happened for there they would have been able to put the correct thing before us.

Sir, lastly I come to the question of our relationship with our neighbouring countries. It is indicated today that we have very friendly relations with the countries on our periphery. Unfortunately, they are not what they should have been. Nepal and Ceylon have more in common with India than any other country. Nepal especially is tied to us by attachment of race, language, religion and what not. But we find unfortunately that the relationship between our country and Nepal is extremely unhappy. I come from a State bordering on Nepal and my feeling after watching the situation, has been that the relationship between Nepal and

India is not improving because at the lower rungs Nepal is faced with bureaucratic unimaginativeness from our side, not from their side. I do not know how things are on their side. They may be as wooden. On the higher rungs Nepal is dealt with with rigid formalism. Let us be less formal in our dealings with Nepal. Let us give the King the proper respect, that is due to a monarch.

SHRI A. D. MANI: We have given him already.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: But then let us treat him more informally. Let us treat him as one of our own. I feel that if this change in attitude is there, our relations will become happy.

Lastly I have only to say that monarchy with its present institutions has come to have some stability in Nepal. It is not for us to indicate to Nepal what sort of political system they should have. If the Chinese Communists, if Chinese Communism can shake hands with monarchy in Nepal, I do not see any reason why Indian democracy should not shake hands with the Nepal monarchy.

Thank you, Sir, I join my voice with the mover of the motion who has proposed a Vote of Thanks to the President for the great Address that he delivered to both the Houses of Parliament.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, may I join the preceding speakers, hon. Members of this House, who have paid a tribute to the President for his inspiring Address to the two Houses of Parliament on 18th February? In the course of his Address, the President in paragraph 11 referred to the dispute with China and stated:

"Our country, committed as it is to peaceful methods, will always endeavour to solve disputes peacefully provided this is in consonance with our honour and freedom. But

whatever may happen, we cannot and will not submit to dictation backed by military force."

In expressing these sentiments, may I say with great respect to the President, that he has voiced the opinion of the country but we expected that on the important occasion of the Address to the two Houses of Parliament, after China had declined to accept the proposals, the President, which means the Government, would have made an announcement about the plans that they have for the future? At present we have a statement made by a top-ranking Chinese Communist leader, the Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Congress, Mr. Peng Chen who has declared in Peking on 14th February thus:

"It is very clear that whether there will be a peaceful settlement of the border question rests wholly with India."

He goes on to say that the armed clashes were entirely created by India and imposed on the Chinese people. In other words, the House should note that there has been no change whatever in the outlook of the Chinese Government regarding the settlement of the dispute. Now, I would like to ask the Government what the last word of the Indian Government is on the Colombo proposals. The proposals have been accepted by the Government. The other party has not accepted the proposals. What does the Government propose to do? I have no doubt, as the President has stated, we will not accept any solution which compromises our honour and freedom but in order to generate the enthusiasm of the people for the war effort, it is necessary that the war objectives of the Government should be very clearly and unequivocally stated. I would like to make a suggestion to the House that it is the duty of the Government to say that now that the Chinese Government has not accepted the Colombo proposals, the Govern-

ment of India does not stand by its acceptance and that the proposal, as far as the Government of India is concerned, stands cancelled and we should go on to make a declaration that the war objective of the Indian Government is to recover our lost territories. There is a great danger that the Cease-fire line created by the Colombo proposals may become frozen as a permanent Cease-fire line between us and China. We should not allow that to happen. It shall be within the discretion of our military commanders to decide when our forces should go and occupy those areas which have been vacated by the Chinese. I am not suggesting any precipitate action but some such declaration is called for from the Government and we would like the Prime Minister to state before this House or any Government spokesman to state before this House, that the objective of the Government of India is what has been stated on 13th November when this House adopted a Resolution stating that it is the desire of the people of India to drive out the invader from our soil.

I would like to go on to say that we should now throw the ball back to Ceylon and Indonesia. Our friends of the Colombo Powers have been intervening in this situation. We have accepted their advice. It is their duty as non-aligned nations to mobilise public opinion on the unreasonableness of the Chinese Government. Have we a right to ask the Colombo Powers: "Now that we have accepted your proposals and the other party has refused to accept it, you should declare that you regretted the Chinese Government's action"? A formal expression of regret from the Colombo Powers will go a long way to steady neutral opinion in Asia. After all, finally this battle has got to be won at the court of public opinion. More than the clash of arms, it is the court of public opinion which has to decide this matter.

The President, in paragraph 10 of his Address, refers to the sympathy

and support which many countries have extended to us. I must express my disappointment that in spite of the keen interest that the people of India and the Government of India have been taking in the welfare of the African continent and in the liberation of the African peoples, the recent Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference held at Moshi which was attended by two distinguished Members of this House, came as a shock to us. We found that instead of there being sympathy for India, there was scepticism and there was a little belief that the Chinese too had an arguable case. An hon Member of this House, Diwan Chaman Lall, has stated that he had been double crossed. I would like to take this opportunity of asking the Government whether we should continue to be identified with this Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation. We are interested in the liberation of Africa. (Interruptions). Yes, the Government too is indirectly interested. One of the Deputy Ministers of the External Affairs Ministry was formerly associated with it.

**SHRI M. H. SAMUEL** (Andhra Pradesh): May I point out that the Government of India is not in any way identified with the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference?

**SHRI A. D. MANI**: It may not be identified. I would like the Government to say that they regretted the attitude of the delegates of this Conference. We would like to get the support of the Government to this point of view that this kind of Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference means Afro-Asian solidarity minus India. That is what they want. It seems to be a Chinese show. It seemed to be interested in support of the Chinese point of view. The Chinese have spent millions of dollars on this Conference to get support for their point of view.

**AN HON. MEMBER**: Is it a Chinese show?

**SHRI A. D. MANI**. I mean, it was mostly a Chinese show. Why should the Government of India in any manner be indirectly associated with this Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference? Further, it is time for us to put a new concept in world affairs. Non-alignment is not like chastity to a woman. It seems to be placed on a high level of chastity, some sort of virtue without which we feel more or less decrepits. We should now think in terms of inter-allied world. We recently celebrated the Centenary of Swami Vivekananda and on every platform our speakers said "This man spoke about one world and one religion." It is not possible for any nation to live in isolation and we should now think in terms of propounding a new concept in international politics, that of inter-allied world, inter-allied on the basis of self-respect and honour and I am sure that the House will agree that freedom and independence of this country are more important than non-alignment. From the manner in which the discussions have been carried on on this subject in certain quarters, it seems to be the impression that we should preserve non-alignment, does not matter what happens to our country, does not matter if China comes and occupies a part of our territory but people must say 'You are non-aligned'. Non-aligned where? Non-aligned without your clothes? That is what it comes to. Mr Vice-Chairman, next I would like to go on and refer to some of the points connected with the future and the defence of this sub-continent. I find I have only one minute more. Shall I continue? If the House will bear with me, I will finish in another ten minutes. I will appeal to hon. Members. Or shall I continue tomorrow morning?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN** (**SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA**): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 21st February, 1963.