

RAJYA SABHA

Friday, the 22nd February, 1963 [the
3rd Phalguna, 1884 (Saka)]

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

MEMBER SWORN

Shri Y. B. Chavan (Maharashtra)

EXTENSION OF TIME FOR PRE- SENTATION OF REPORT OF COM- MITTEE TO RECOMMEND DRAFT RULES OF PROCEDURE

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA (Mysore):
Sir, I beg to move:

"That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Committee to recommend Draft Rules for regulating the procedure and conduct of business in the Rajya Sabha under clause (1) of article 118 of the Constitution, be extended upto Friday, the 30th August, 1963."

The question was put and the motion
was adopted

MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESI- DENT'S ADDRESS—continued.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, yesterday I was referring to the light-hearted criticism that is carried on against the Government by some responsible people. It is unfortunate that these wise and clever people use their intelligence for certain wrong purposes. Instead of that I wish they divert their energies to constructive criticisms and thereby do some useful service to the country.

Sir, some sections of the House have been criticising the Government for being too slow in carrying on the fight

against China. It is necessary, Sir, that we have to be slow and not hasty, because we have to explore all methods of a peaceful settlement. We cannot do anything in haste just to please a few people or a few sections. It is also necessary that the world should be convinced that we have explored all peaceful methods to come to some settlement without war. But if we fail in these efforts, then it becomes necessary for us to fight. One Member of the Opposition the other day was criticising our Law Minister for having made a statement somewhere that military action alone was the solution for this problem. What else to do, if China carries on dilatory tactics? They just want to gain time and prepare themselves perhaps for a further attack, and a more powerful one. Some other sections say that we are too hasty. They want us to surrender to the Western powers. They want us to go on waiting for China to make further efforts to attack us. Well, we cannot be misled by any of those people. We are doing the right thing. Our Government has been and is being properly advised by people who know things better.

Sir, as everybody knows, we have constituted the Citizens' Council for collecting moneys and other things for war effort and Shrimati Indira Gandhi is the Chairman of that Council. Some Members in the other House—we should not really refer to the speeches made in the other House but since it is about our war effort. I have to make that reference—have been saying that Shrimati Indira Gandhi has been made the Chairman of the Citizens' Council because she is the Prime Minister's daughter. Now, Sir, is it fair to make such light-hearted criticism, such unnecessary and cheap criticism? As is well known, Sir, the Nehru family has been dedicating its life to the service of the country for three generations. She has taken up this responsible work and, as we know, so much response is coming forth from all sections of the country and also from outside, because they know her worth. She has donated even her golden dolls

[Shrimati Ammanna Raja.]

with which she used to play while she was a child. What do these people know? They know nothing about service or sacrifice. They only know how to indulge in luxury and unnecessary comforts and use all sorts of cosmetics and foreign things, by avoiding which perhaps we could have saved so much of foreign exchange which would have been useful for our defence effort. It is a very sad thing that for everything they want to criticise. If something wrong is done, then of course they should criticise but they have been criticising the Government for having done so many useful things. Well, that sort of criticism will not appeal to anybody. I think it is time that we, Members of Parliament, who represent several lakhs of people try and set an example to the country and others. Just because they have a right to speak, they go on saying whatever they like, whether it is appreciated or not.

Now, Sir, our President has referred to the development made in the country in the fields of agriculture, industry and other things. It is true that we have been making rapid progress. But I only feel that this development or progress has not been evenly distributed. There are certain undeveloped States which have been carved out only recently. They are only infant States. Probably in the past when they were parts of other bigger States, they had not received sufficient attention in the matter of development. Therefore the Centre must come to their aid by extending its helping hand to them. I am sorry that the Centre thinks only of Madras when it thinks of the South. It forgets other parts of the South.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I wish to remind you, Mrs. Ammanna Raja, that you had taken ten minutes yesterday and today also you have had nearly ten minutes.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA: I will just finish in another two minutes, Sir.

In the last speech of Mr. Annadurai, Sir, he referred to something—I do not know whether it is a fact or not—and said that the other Ministers of the Madras Government were thankful to him for his agitation because of which only certain things by way of industrial development and projects were given to them. I do not know how far it is true. I do not know whether the Centre likes to be bullied by this sort of tactics. We only appeal to the Centre to come to our aid. We do not believe in this sort of bullying tactics. We want them to come to our aid and see that we also develop, we also progress. Just as we are asking other countries to give us help because ours is an undeveloped country, so also we want the Centre to come to our aid because ours is an undeveloped State. Well, Sir, with regard to the water dispute, I do not know why this question that has been settled for ever is being reopened or continued. Is there no sanctity attached to any of these agreements? Because of certain agreements, we make our Plan and we plan our projects accordingly. If so often things are disturbed, it becomes difficult for any Government to plan their development or progress. By taking the river waters through long distances, the water is not only wasted but becomes costly also. Instead of that, if water, wherever it is available, is put to the maximum use locally, maximum advantage can be had. The argument put forward is that Andhra is already irrigating so many lakh acres of land. It is true but then Andhra is an agricultural State and wherever anything is available, you must exploit it to the maximum extent and in the best interests of the economy there, of course, not to the disadvantage of the others or to the country.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD (Maharashtra): Mr. Chairman, the President's Address is under discussion for the last two days. Several speakers have spoken about the Chinese aggression and some hon. Members reminded us about the sayings of Swami Vivekananda. I want to remind this House of what our revered leader,

Dr. Ambedkar, said in this connection. I think he said it in this very House, the Rajya Sabha, on the 12th August, 1954, while speaking on the foreign policy. He said:

"China should not be allowed to occupy any further part of the free world and I think that is a principle on which all freedom-loving people would agree. There could be no objection to it."

I will only refer to the relevant portions of what he said in regard to China. Further, he said:

"On this side, by allowing the Chinese to take possession of Lhasa, the Prime Minister has practically helped the Chinese to bring their border down to the Indian borders. Looking at all these things, it seems to me that it would be an act of lavity not to believe that India, if it is not exposed to aggression right now is exposed to aggression and that aggression might well be committed by people who always are in the habit of committing aggression."

He quoted an instance of the Chinese behaviour. He then said:

"The point is this and it worries me considerably. You are, by this kind of peace, doing nothing more but feeding a giant, every time the giant opens his jaws and wants something to eat. When you are feeding the giant regularly and constantly, the question that I should like to ask is this: Is it not conceivable that this giant may one day turn to us and say, 'I have now consumed everything that there was to be consumed. You are the only person (India, this country) that remains and I want to consume you.'"

When he was speaking, the hon. Mr. H. P. Saksena had said:

"Then we will consume the giant."

I do not know where Mr. Saksena is and how he is going to consume this

giant. This is what Dr. Ambedkar had said in this connection when he was a Member of the Rajya Sabha. I want to say, Sir, that this country is not out of danger and still there is every danger to this country from the Chinese Government. I just want to bring historical facts to the notice of this hon. House. History repeats itself. Our country had lost her independence even in the past. What was the position at that time? India was ruled by Rajas and Maharajas. There was casteism and due to casteism society was divided. There were feuds and quarrels. It was easy for the Muslims to conquer India. After that, the Britishers came and same was the case at that time too. In this connection, I can only say that casteism is the greatest obstacle in the country. These days we are speaking of national integration but in my opinion as long as there is casteism in the country, you cannot have integration. Unless and until we abolish the caste system, there cannot be integration. So, in order to save the country and in the interests of the country also, it is absolutely necessary to abolish the caste system. My hon. friends of this House and the Government will see that it is done.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA (Madhya Pradesh): We are all with you here.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD: Thank you.

The question of recruitment of persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to Class I and II posts is not mentioned anywhere by the President. In this connection, I have to bring to your notice a few facts mentioned in the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes appointed for safeguarding the interests of those Tribes and the weaker sections of the country. In his Report, he has said that in Class I and II posts, the percentage of such people is of the order of 0.8 or 0.9, not even one. Seats are reserved but often you find that people are not recruited. The usual rea-

[Shri B. K. Gaikwad.]

son given is that candidates belonging to this category are not found suitable to fill the posts which, in my opinion, is not at all correct. While speaking on this Report, I will give detailed figures to prove my contention. At this time I will only bring to your notice a few facts. As regards Class I and II posts, I feel that unless some special efforts are made to increase the intake of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates in these posts in the Government of India, it will not be possible to make up the deficiency in these Services. I hope the Ministry of Home Affairs will have this reviewed at a sufficiently high level in order to ascertain the reasons for this deficiency and take steps for making it up. This is what the Commissioner also says.

I will now refer to clause (4) of article 16 of the Constitution which gives powers to the State to make provision for the reservation of appointments in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the Services in the State. Apparently, the phrase "adequately represented" means adequate representation of a particular backward class in all classes of the service of the State and not only in a particular cadre of service. This is clear from the following extract from the judgment of the Supreme Court delivered in civil appeal No. 349 of 1960, between General Manager, Southern Railway vs. K. Rangachari. You will just see what the Supreme Court has said. Yesterday when the subject was under reference during the Question Hour, the hon. Home Minister was pleased to say that article 46 relates only to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I said that it did not refer only to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It refers to the weaker sections of the community and who are the weaker sections? And what has the Supreme Court said? The Supreme Court has said that the provisions laid down in the Constitution are meant not only for Scheduled

Castes and Scheduled Tribes but to the backward classes also. That is the mistake which our Government has always been making from the beginning. The Supreme Court says . . .

SHRI K. SANTHANAM (Madras): I think the Home Minister's point was that there are certain special facilities for Scheduled Castes and certain other facilities for backward classes and that while the facilities for backward classes would be available to the converts the special facilities for Scheduled Castes would have to be confined to Scheduled Castes. That is what he said.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD: As far as my knowledge goes, the Constitution clearly says it. There is no mention that special facilities should be given only to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Constitution says that the facilities should be given to the weaker sections and particularly the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It does not mean that the weaker sections should not be protected.

SHRI K. SANTHANAM: That provision is in the latter part of the Constitution, not in article 46. There are special articles which make it obligatory to provide special facilities for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE (Maharashtra): It says "weaker sections, such as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes".

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD: There is no special article there in the Constitution which says that special concessions and facilities should be given only to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the Constitution it has been mentioned 'weaker sections of the community'. I just want to bring to the notice of the House what the Supreme Court has said:

"The advancement of the socially and educationally backward classes requires not only that they should

have adequate representation in the lowest rung of services but that they should aspire to secure adequate representation in selection posts in the services as well. In the context the expression 'adequately represented' imports considerations of 'size' as well as 'values', numbers as well as the nature of appointments, held and so it involves not merely the numerical test but also the qualitative one. It is thus by the operation of the numerical and a qualitative test that the adequacy or otherwise of the representation of backward classes in any service has to be judged, and if that be so, it would not be reasonable to hold that the inadequacy of representation can and must be cured only by reserving a proportionately higher percentage of appointments at the initial stage."

SHRI K. SANTHANAM Only one point

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD I am on my legs and I am not yielding

MR. CHAIRMAN Please sit down. He is not yielding

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD If he has to say anything he can do so later. This is what the Supreme Court has said. Now, in my opinion, when the Supreme Court has delivered this judgment it is the bounden duty of the Government to see that these facilities are extended to these people. As regards the Services I have said this. While considering the Report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes I will say what I have to say.

Then, Sir, I shall refer to another matter and it is about the pitiable condition of these people. I have moved an amendment to the motion on the Address by the President saying that there is no mention of the pitiable condition of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the weaker sections of the country. You will find that the position of those people living in villages is very pitiable. Attempts

are being made to improve their lot. I do not say that no attempts are being made, but they are so inadequate that the position of these people in the villages has not at all improved. Government may come forward and say that they are doing this and that. But let them see it. The real position of the people is very pitiable and I say that the Government should look into the matter.

Another matter to which I would like to refer is the unemployment problem. Among those who live in villages, a large number of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and weaker sections of the community are unemployed. They get work or job in villages only during the harvest season. Otherwise they do not get any work. As explained by so many friends of mine while talking on other Bills, the average income of some of these workers is two annas per day. It is left to your imagination now a man can live on two annas per day in these days. When you say that their income has gone up it does not mean that in villages there is no dearth. I can come forward and say that in cities people are comparatively well off. But in villages, especially in the remote villages, you will find that the dearth has increased because the merchants living in villages purchase all these things from cities. They bring these things from cities and due to cost of transport they have to sell them at a higher rate. Therefore it does not mean that the people living in villages get things at a cheaper rate. So this is the condition of these people.

So, when they are not in a position to earn their bread in villages, naturally they come to cities. And what is their condition here? They live here and there, having their *jhuggis* and *jhonpris*. Delhi is our capital city, but what do we find here? You will find about two lakh people in Delhi living in *jhuggis* and *jhonpris*. What are their earnings? Of course, they are living from hand to mouth and they are living in *jhuggis* and *jhonpris*.

[Shri B. K. Gaikwad.]

They have constructed their *jhuggis* and *jhonpris* wherever they found the land vacant. Many a time it was found that the land belonged to the Government and in some cases it was private land. Now, the Government have taken a decision to evict people from all these places. Now, the Government have declared an emergency due to Chinese aggression. Even in Bombay I heard that previously the Government used to issue notices to those who were living in *jhonpris* saying that they would remove their *jhonpris* by such and such date. But in this emergency period you will find that without giving any notice the police go and demolish their huts and the people are thrown on the street.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT
(Delhi): Notice is always given to them.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD: I am referring to Bombay. In Bombay and here too in Delhi, I want to bring it to the notice of the hon. lady Member that she will find lakhs of people living in *jhonpris* and even without giving notice their *jhonpris* are demolished. You will find that some people have sent their sons away as jawans and they are fighting on the front to defend our country. And here what do we find? The *jhonpris* and *jhuggis* of their parents who are living here are demolished and they are thrown on the street. Not only that. (Interruption). I am standing on my legs. I want to bring to the notice of this hon. House that the Government have taken some steps for which I am really grateful. They have a scheme and it is this. People who will be evicted from their *jhonpris* will be given a site at a different place. And what is the area of the plot given to them? Fifteen by fifteen square feet will be given to them which is not sufficient even for a latrine. Such small size of plot is given to these people. I have got the plan here. You will find from the plan that there

is no access to highway to go out. They have given a plot of 15 x 15 square feet without any access to public to go out. Such plots are reserved for these people. Is this the way to treat these people? Who are these people? They are the people who are constructing by their hard labour, all these big buildings. They are the people who are doing all these jobs in the interests of the country. So, I wish that in the interests of these people, we should see that no injustice is done under any circumstances to these people living in *jhonpris*. They are the backbone of the country. Under no circumstances should anybody think that they are beggars because they are poor people. No one should think that because they live in *jhonpris*, no care should be taken of them. We have decided that as long as this emergency exists we should not have any other agitation. But now I have come to this conclusion that if Government is going to take shelter under this emergency and going to evict these people from their places and throw them on the streets, then under such circumstances we will be obliged, we will be compelled to start the agitation, some movement against the Government whatever the consequences may be. Because we must take care of those who are the backbone of the country. This is the position about these people. So I earnestly request the Government through you, Sir, that Government should take the necessary precautions and see that at least during the emergency period no people living in *jhuggis* and *jhonpris* are evicted. If that is not done and if they are going to be evicted, then naturally we, being representatives of these people, of the down-trodden masses, will have to take up their cause and fight, whatever the consequences may be. It is not a threat but we will have to do that to safeguard the interest of these people. I do not want to see people thrown on the streets without any shelter in this regime.

Then there is another problem. I would like to be very brief in view

of the short time at my disposal, I do not want to make a lengthy speech. As regards the land problem, you will find that in India there is enough land. I am really grateful to my friend, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, the former Chief Minister of Maharashtra State. When he was the Chief Minister, he did a very good thing. When there was agitation in Maharashtra for allotment of waste land to landless labourers, there was an amicable settlement, and he decided that all available cultivable land would be given to the landless people. Accordingly, that is being done in Maharashtra. Maharashtra is the only State in India which took up this problem in the beginning; so I wholeheartedly congratulate the Maharashtra Government as well as my friend sitting there, Mr. Y. B. Chavan.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have already taken about twenty minutes, and another Member of your Party likes to speak.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD: I wish to finish within two minutes, because my Party Member must also get time.

Then, Sir, I will say that as regards this land problem, there is considerable waste land in India. But that land is lying uncultivated. During this emergency India is suffering from great scarcity of foodgrains. If we want to make our country self-supporting, how are we going to do it? Every year we go to foreign countries and beg of them for foodgrains. I wish that if we want to make India self-supporting so far as foodgrains are concerned, whatever land is available in the country should be given for cultivation to those who are landless, who are unemployed people or who are small agriculturists having one, two or three acres of land. They should be provided with this land. It is regretted, Sir, that this policy is not adopted by the Government. Even during the British Raj we found that there was the "Grow More Food" campaign. Now the emergency is there but no such scheme has been adopted

by the Government as yet. They only talk, talk and talk; that is all. I think no action has been taken in this regard. In this connection I wish to draw attention of the Government, through you, Sir, that they should take necessary action so that whatever land is available in the country is brought under cultivation. Every inch of land should be brought under cultivation, and it should be given to the landless people for cultivation. For cultivating such land people should be given implements and some loans also should be given.

Then I shall refer to only one point.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is not much of the two minutes left.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD: Thank you very much, Sir. I conclude.

SHRI SATYACHARAN (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, since the Parliament of our Sovereign Republic came into existence, it has been customary for the President to deliver his Address in the beginning of every Budget session. But the present Address assumes greater significance and importance in the context of the emergency that prevails in the country.

Sir, we are very grateful to our revered President for having given us a very illuminating Address where in there is a kaleidoscopic picture of all those events and problems that confront our country today. It is my privilege to accord my heartiest support to this Address.

Sir, it was quite in the fitness of things that the President while making his observations emphasized the fact that "the issue of the Chinese aggression has been, and is today, the overriding issue before us and everything else has to be considered in that context." While making this observation, practically in every paragraph of this Address he has given a clarion call to the nation to mobilise all the forces on all fronts to meet the Chinese menace. It is unfortunate

[Shri Satyacharan.]
that one of our esteemed colleagues while speaking on the Address made a rather disparaging remark. The President has quoted from Kathopanishad which quotation happens to be the end of the Address: "*Uttisthata jagrata prapya-varan nibodhata—* awake, arise and stop not till the goal is reached. Rightly did the President quote this great message of the Upanishad which has come to us as a part of our cultural heritage right up to this age, and I see that the fire of this message lies in every word that he has uttered. There was another esteemed colleague of ours who said that probably he blew hot and cold in the same breath. I believe that he was impelled to speak in that language because of the reference made by the President in his Address on page 3, paragraph 11, wherein he says:

"Our country, committed as it is to peaceful methods, will always endeavour to solve disputes peacefully,"

Of course he does not stop there. He goes on and says:

"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."

What else could have been said at this juncture? It shows that there is no message of despondency. There is a note of optimism, and to those who are used to the orchestra playing in a pensive note I would counsel that they ought to have looked into the spirit that emanates from every sentence given here in this Address. I should also say to those people who probably feel that they are doing a service to the country by coming out with the slogan, "Go and march and occupy the territory vacated by the Chinese", that discretion is the better part of valour. Those who have to administer the country, those who have to see how the policy is imple-

mented, have to be extremely cautious in its implementation.

Again, I would counsel those of my friends to see the contemporary history of Japan. Japan, a proud nation, a brave nation, was trampled under the feet of the Americans but the way in which Japan somehow or other endured it and slowly and gradually rose to become a powerful power is a brilliant piece, an encouraging piece, of world history.

Sir, while making references to so many events, the President rightly spoke about the Colombo Conference. Since we met here in Parliament in the last session and gave green light to the Government to pursue their efforts after accepting the proposals mooted by the Colombo Powers, we, of course, were watching the entire events, and the subsequent events have proved that we have registered a diplomatic victory over the Chinese. China today is in a very tight corner. As a matter of fact, they had been saying that theirs would be a positive response to the Colombo proposals. Now, all these professions of positive response have proved to be hollow. The stand exposed today. And the statement of their Vice-Chairman, Mr. Po Ipo, that the arrangement for stabilising the cease-fire and disengagement should embody the principle of its being equitable to both China and India cannot befooled any nation in the world. Probably, what Mr. Po Ipo means is that the Colombo Powers should give their seal of approval to the grabbing of the territories so far aggressed by China.

Sir, in this connection, I would like to quote something about the recent conference at Moshi in Tanganyika. It is said that it was Communist-dominated. I am not here to discuss the merits and the demerits of the conference nor do I wish to make any observations regarding its failure or success. The Indian delegates put forward a resolution and they wanted that the Colombo proposals should be

mentioned in the annual report. And a specific resolution also was brought forward on the floor of that conference. It was very much opposed by the Chinese delegation. But in spite of it, I find that there was a mention made in the annual report, and also the proposal was placed on the floor of the House. (*Interruption*). It is a different matter that because of certain machinations—that is a feature of such international conferences—instead of the word 'resolutions', it was changed as 'recommendations'. That is a different matter, a procedural wrangle or inaccuracy, with which we are not concerned. What I want at this particular hour to point out is that even in that international conference which was Communist-dominated, India could show that the moral force of world opinion was with her. I would like, in this connection, to speak also about the directive of the Russian Communist Party. On January 28 this year, it sent a letter to all the Communist Parties of the world and therein they bitterly criticised China for its aggression against India and they urged upon China to talk with India on equal terms, as equals. In that letter, the Russians have gone so far as to give a clear warning to China to halt further aggression and have said that "Russia means what she says." This is a very bold warning to China. And this is how one country is speaking against another brotherly country. Then comes out Marshal Tito with his slashing remarks against China. He also gave a clarion call to all the non-aligned nations to unite against the Chinese menace. And while addressing the Yugoslave People's Youth Organisation he said that the Chinese leaders were following the path of Chenghiz Khan in wishing to push the world into a war, and that they would not care if tens of millions of people were killed. Sir, these are the expressions of the Communist countries which China is aligned ideologically. There may be differences here and there but, by and large, China happens to be a member of the Communist fraternity.

Now, I come to those of my colleagues who have spoken against the policy of non-alignment which has been followed so far by our Government. I am pained to see that one of our highly respected Members here has said that we stand isolated. May I very humbly ask him: When all the parties—even the Communist Party—have supported our cause, from whom do we stand isolated? Here lies our triumph. Diplomacy is a fine art, a most delicate instrument. (*Interruption*) I have said so many times on the floor of the House and it has to be very cautiously implemented, and handled.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया
(मध्य प्रदेश) : इस भ्रामक विचार में ज्यादा
दिन तक मत रहिए, शास्त्री जी ।

SHRI SATYACHARAN: Thank you very much. I am not under my illusion, I can assure my friend. I know that because of the pursuance of this policy, today we have not only a moral stature, a stature which has been acknowledged practically all over the world, but even in spite of certain military reverses, we have been able to bag the sympathy of all the nations.

श्री गंगाशरण सिंह (बिहार) : जो
इल्युशन में रहता है उसको अगर यह पता चल
जाय कि इल्युशन में है तो कोई बात नहीं फिर
वह इल्युशन नहीं रहता लेकिन जो इल्युशन
में रहता है उसको पता नहीं चलता कि वह
इल्युशन में है ।

SHRI SATYACHARAN: I would say this. I tell him that he has attacked the policy of non-alignment. But my

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA: have not attacked the policy of non-alignment. You are putting into my mouth words which I have never said.

SHRI SATYACHARAN: My dear friend, you said that because of the

[Shri Satyacharan.]
policy of non-alignment, we stood isolated.

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA: I have never said that. Please do not put something into my mouth which I have not said.

SHRI SATYACHARAN: If you have not said that, I am sorry.

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA: I am very sorry that you are trying to put into my mouth something which I never intended, which I never said. You should not express yourself like this.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He would be happy if you say that you had not said like that.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): I say that your party has no foreign policy.

SHRI SATYACHARAN: He had said that Government's diplomatic setback as well as the Indian isolation are due to non-alignment . . .

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA: No, no. Here is my speech before me. You cannot show in it a single passage saying like that.

SHRI SATYACHARAN: Anyway, I am happy that you repudiate it.

Now, Sir, the second thing is about the Indo-Pakistan talks which have taken place recently. I am glad that so far three meetings have taken place and the fourth is to take place at Calcutta. I must pay tributes to the leader of the Indian Delegation, Sardar Swaran Singh. He showed immense patience and perspicacity in dealing with such a delicate affair. Sir, it would be rather preposterous to say anything about the results of the talks. But what has amazed me is that the press and people in high positions—I mean in diplomatic positions—have spoken rather in a fashion which is not at all conducive to fruit-

ful results of the conference. I am especially making a reference to Mr. Dehlavi, the role that he played in recent months, when he had gone abroad; he delivered many speeches abroad, and through his diplomatic missions he got immense publicity. And all those speeches were full of slander and calumny against India. I would say here that when an agreement was reached at Rawalpindi to place a moratorium on mutual hostilities or hostile propaganda, was it at all fair on his part to have made references in such a manner? No doubt, Sir, as far as Indo-Pakistan talks are concerned, we are very much concerned that somehow or other this long-drawn-out dispute should come to a happy end but at the same time, when India has behaved with a certain amount of restraint—the press, and the people who are in position here—Pakistan has gone just counter to that. This is rather painful.

Now, Sir, as far as military aid from friendly countries is concerned, there has been a lot of talk about an air umbrella. I am one who stands for military aid from all countries all over the world. We want to see India militarily strengthened—whether we get that aid from the West or the East, it does not matter—but at the same time I would say that as far as the policy of non-alignment is concerned, it should not stand disturbed. Those who were in favour of giving up the policy of non-alignment should understand what would be the position if we aligned with this power bloc or that power bloc? There are only two blocs, the Russian bloc and the American bloc—and it is also a psychological truth that if you are aligned with a greater people, with a greater power, then in that case you would be only playing second fiddle to the greater power. And how are you going to administer a curb on your own freedom and the flowering of your national personality by the method that you advocate? Therefore, Sir, I would be the last person to advocate renunciation of the policy of

non-alignment, because it is against the genius of free people all over the world. Now, Sir, when it comes to military aid, I welcome it from this bloc and that bloc, but there should be no strings attached to it. That has been said so many times by the hon. the Prime Minister on the floor of the House.

It is rather unpalatable but I have to make mention of some of the speeches made by people in power in America. I am especially referring to the speech of Senator Russell—who happens to be the Chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee. He said the other day that "Indians put up a disgraceful exhibition in permitting themselves to be driven out from what should have been impregnable strongholds in the border mountains. They seem incapable of fighting, and if we supply them modern weapons, they will just fall into Communist hands."

This is downright condemnation of our martial tradition. Again Senator Mansfield, who came here the other day and whom we welcomed in this Parliament, also has made a very slighting remark. He has sent a report to President Kennedy and therein Senator Mansfield, Senate Majority Leader, advises him "against committing the U.S.A. in India until Delhi's aims are clarified and Indians acquire a policy and plan to back it."

Now what does it mean, by India acquiring a policy? Does it mean that unless India falls in line with American policy she would be denied any further military aid? This is a thing not for us to speak about. It is for them to clarify their own remarks. While saying so, Sir, in fact I feel extremely grateful to the American nation and the American Government for giving all possible military aid at a very critical juncture. We are a grateful nation, Sir, and in that context we would be the last person to make any remarks against the people and the country which had given us the help at the hour we needed their help most. But then these remarks

take away the grace from the military aid that they have given, and if in India there is a sense of despondency or there is an amount of criticism—that we find in the Press lately—or there are some utterances on behalf of certain sections of our people, it is because of these statements made by the American statesmen themselves and they happen to be men who hold high positions; they are men who are responsible and both of them are the policy-makers of the American Government.

MR. CHAIRMAN. May I remind you that you have already taken more than twenty minutes and I have twenty Members of your party on the list?

SHRI SATYACHARAN: Just half a minute, Sir, with these words I would counsel those friends who, with all their patriotic fervour—I do not misunderstand them—had made certain remarks, that they should understand the position of the Government; they should analyse the policies, and the delicacies which are involved in their implementation, and again I say, discretion is the better part of valour. Sir, I thank you.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Mr. Chairman, although the voice that delivered the Address which we are discussing today was the voice of the President, the hand that wrote the Address was the hand of the Government of India, and so it is not his speech, not his ideas that we are discussing, not his policies and programmes that we are discussing, but the policies and programmes of the Government of India.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): On a point of order. Is it right to draw this kind of distinction and contradiction under our Constitution between the policies of the President and the policies of the Government? We understand the President is only a constitutional head and under our parliamentary system the

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

President's Address is supposed to reflect the policies of the Government, and that is how we discuss this matter.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think you need not make that distinction. President is part of the Government.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: But the policies and programmes mentioned in the Address are only the policies and programmes of the Government.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The policies enunciated by the President as President are the policies of the Government and there is no distinction between the President as President and the President as person.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: The insult offered by those children of a larger growth, the Members of the Socialist Party, must drive us to consider whether it is necessary to continue this practice of the President addressing Joint Sessions of Parliament. This is a practice which we have derived from the British, and the British owe it to the historical fact that when they started their parliamentary history the King was the President of the Parliament and the Sovereign was present at all the debates of Parliament and took part in those early debates, and so it has continued down to the present day; the British in India took that practice from England and we have embodied it in our Constitution. So it is the policies and programmes of the Government that are enunciated in the Presidential Address. I wonder whether it is not time that we amend that article in the Constitution which imposes on the President the duty of addressing the Joint Sessions of Parliament at the beginning of the first session in each year. Let the Prime Minister announce the policies and programmes of the Government in each House and let us go on to discuss them. Sir, this Address was delivered

ed in a time of emergency.
12 Noon But is there any sign or sense of emergency in that Address? If that had been so, Defence should have been the main pre-occupation of that Address. No special reference has been made to the recruitment to the Army or the equipment of the Army.

Sir, a suggestion of conscription has been made in public. It is one of the most senseless suggestions that has been made because if conscription is introduced in India, it would mean that about 40-50 millions of man would have to be recruited. And how can we find equipment, arms and ammunition for these 40 or 50 million men? Such an army would be like the army of the Czars of Russia; on the eve of the First World war they had about 37 per cent. of the population in the army but they had not enough weapons, enough arms and ammunition, and that accounted for the failure of the Russian armies and accounted also for the still greater disaster, the coming of communism into Russia.

"Business as usual" seems to be writ large across the pages of the Address. Foreign policy is to continue as usual, non-alignment is to continue in theory at least, although in practice we are denying it. A strange claim was made that apart from non-alignment being the Government ideology, it has even given dividends. "Look at the aid", they say. "We are getting from all sides, from all quarters." Beggars and borrowers also get aid from all quarters. They are non-aligned. They are among the most non-aligned in the world. They get alms or loans from all kinds of people, rich and poor, whether they can repay or not. Is this the status to which we ought to aspire?

And what are we to expect about the future of our foreign policy especially in regard to China? We seem to have come to a stalemate. The Chinese, I suppose, would continue sitting on the border. They will keep

the bit of territory they have acquired in Ladakh because it is necessary for strategic purposes in regard to Sinkiang. They need not come to the conference table because they will keep what they have got in Ladakh. What are we going to do about it? Are we going to fight in order to recover that lost territory? We seem to be living in a kind of twilight. It is neither the night of war nor the daylight of peace. And so we might be entitled to ask of the Government: "Watchman, what of the night?" Still Government are harping on the word "non-alignment". It seems to be a comforting, soothing, syrupy word. There was an old woman who was fond of reading the Bible daily. The only word she remembered in the Bible was "Mesopotamia". She told her pastor that the word "Mesopotamia" gave her a lot of comfort and solace. The very repetition of the word made her comfortable, made her consoled. That is all that she remembered of the Bible and so went on repeating the word "Mesopotamia" however unbiblical or whatever unbiblical things she did meantime. So it may be with the Government's harping on the word 'non-alignment'. We on this side, Sir, want the Government to displace this policy of non-alignment by the policy of alliance. If you do not like alliance, let it be an association with all the friends of freedom, all those who are willing to support us in the defence of freedom against a totalitarian invasion. And if you allow the colour bar to influence our foreign policy, if you do not want association or alliance with the Western Powers, why do you not begin with the South-East Asian powers—with Thailand, Malaya and even go as far as Japan?

Sir, when in my first foreign policy speech I suggested this alliance with South-East Asian powers, the Prime Minister brushed aside the suggestion saying that the military strength of South-East Asian powers would not warrant such an association, such an alliance. Are we so much superior in our military might to Malaysia, Thai-

land and Japan that we should repudiate this alliance? And while we are about it, we might consider the possibility of seeking the aid of Australia also because Australia is a Pacific power and the defence of India is also connected with the defence of the Pacific countries.

Sir, Australia has been selling wheat to the extent of £17 million to the Chinese during the last year and I have a suspicion that it is the help given by Australia to China, that it is the wheat supplies that were delivered to China that were responsible for the incursion of the Chinese into India. What was our diplomacy doing in Canberra? Did it take any steps in order to prevent these supplies of wheat to China? Did they try to stop these supplies or did they just look on because they did not want to interfere with the relations between China and Australia?

Now, Sir, let me turn to Defence because foreign policy is largely a function of defence. We are told that we are building up our defence. That is what we were told six months ago. That is what we were told on the eve of the Chinese incursion, namely, that our defences were quite adequate to meet whatever challenges it might face, whatever challenges it might come across. We should like to be fully informed about our defence preparations. We hoped that the coming in of the new Defence Minister into the Defence Ministry would bring a new wind of change into the policies and programmes of the Defence Ministry. It is time that he at least set the practice of taking the public into his confidence in regard to the defences of the country. Why has he not published a White Paper showing the weapons, not the secret ones, that we possess, the main items of defence, the course defence preparations are taking; how many thousands of guns, small arms and ammunition, how many millions of shells and bullets we are producing; how many machine guns especially, we are producing because according to the great military

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy.] expert, Liddel Hart, it is machine guns that are able to stop the mass movements of troops such as the Chinese indulged in? Let them say what is the proportion of our machine guns to our troops. Have we got at least one machine gun for every section or at least for every platoon, shall we say? This is the kind of information that we should like to possess. That will give confidence to the people and to the country that the Defence Ministry and the Government of India are really taking serious steps, are really carrying out well-organised programmes, for setting up the defences of India on a sound footing.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA: Should we expose all our plans?

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY. No, not plans, only some idea of equipment, just as illustrations of what the Defence Ministry or the Government is doing. Are we so innocent, are hon. Members opposite so innocent, as to think that the Chinese do not know all about our defence preparations?

When we ask questions about the state of our defences, about the particulars of arms and ammunition, we are told that it is not in the public interest to make the resources of our defence public. Is it in the public interest that the people should be kept in ignorance about the real state of our defences? I hope the new Defence Minister will consider the need for issuing a White Paper. Has any White Paper been issued by the Defence Ministry in the whole history of its existence on the state of our defence. In England, every year, almost every six months, the Defence Ministry or the Government issue a White Paper? Even yesterday we saw in the papers that they were issuing a White Paper in regard to the putting up of some weapons that will be of use till the Polaris weapons arrive from America.

With regard to Plans, we are told that the Plans shall continue as usual, that the Third Plan will continue with only minor variations—more steel plants, more dams, more oil refineries, more paper mills, more sugar mills, more heavy industries, all these are to continue. If these are to continue and if at the same time we are to organise our defences on a scale that will help us to meet the threat of Chinese invasion—because the Chinese menace is a permanent menace—how can we afford the money? Where is the money for all these things and at the same time to put our defences on a sound footing? We shall require Rs. 500 crores this year, probably an additional Rs. 500 crores next year. How can we at the same time finance our defences on the scale required and at the same time continue all these large-scale Plans? If 'pruning' is a word the Government abhors, why do you not 're-orientate' our Plans, if you like big words, in the interests of defence? Food production no doubt should be accelerated because food production is one of the first defences of our country. Even about food production, although there has been some progress we are still below or behind Thailand, Burma, Indonesia, not to speak of Japan. Facilities, therefore, for development of agriculture, like village roads, and other marketing facilities, like cessation of the policy of ceiling and co-operative farming which are acting as disincentives to the farmer, which are discouraging the farmer from putting forth his best. These and other obstacles to agricultural improvement must be removed.

In regard to industries, no doubt we should not neglect industrial development but let this industrial development be furthered through defence production, through our ordnance factories. Let there be an increase in the number of ordnance factories, let there be intensification in the work of the ordnance factories. Small arms and small weapons must be produced in large numbers. The small-scale industries for the production of the

parts that may be required by large-scale factories, these also are to be encouraged by the Government, Civil factories must be geared to defence production. We have been told that civil factories have been offered facilities but does the Government go out to these civil factories or do they wait for the civil factories to come and make the usual kind of applications for licences and permits?

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

The Government should go out to the civil factories as they did in England in the last two World Wars and call upon the textile mills to produce the khaki and army clothing and the woollen clothing that are required, call upon the cement factories to produce more cement in order to increase the number of buildings that may be required to house our new soldiers, to house the equipment that we are getting, costly equipment that we are getting from abroad.

With regard to the social services, I do not want any starvation of the essential services, social services. Regarding education, let all the money available be spent upon the increase of primary education, increase of literacy, and increase of technical education, especially to increase the establishment of Junior Technical Schools which will provide us with skilled workers that are necessary to work in our new ordnance and other factories.

As for the Health Services, let us be satisfied with preventive Health Services rather than with the costly curative Health Services. If only we continue our anti-malarial plans, improve sanitation and drainage of our villages, we shall be improving the health and going a long way towards the improvement of our health and therefore the improvement of the production of our workers. Let all unnecessaries be scrapped.

Regarding Community Development, evaluation report has pointed out that we are not getting our money's worth from the C.D. Projects. Now we have the Village Volunteer Force as if the Community Projects were not enough. There is a fantastic idea that every village should see about its defence, that the defence of each village should be one of the primary concerns of these Village Volunteer Forces. It is a fantastic suggestion. It is based on the idea that when a foreign army comes, it will not consider the conquest of the country complete till every single village has been visited and conquered. A country is conquered when the main army is conquered. When the main army is defeated, it is not necessary for the conquering army to go from village to village. It is one of the most fantastic ideas that this Government has invented. Choose the most necessary things, prune all that is unnecessary. This is a golden opportunity when you could choose between necessities and unnecessaries. Defence time is a time of emergency or urgency, a time which calls upon us to do the most necessary things and if we do the most necessary things and keep back the unnecessary things, all luxury, and fantastic ideas, the ideologies which we have suffered from all these years, and if we concentrate on the most necessary things, then we shall achieve our objective which is to put our defences on a sound basis and at the same time put the economic future of the country also on a sound basis.

This is a golden opportunity, this defence opportunity, and may I end by quoting an old English proverb:

"If you will not when you may,
When you will, you shall have Nay."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House will sit through the Lunch Hour.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairman, I whole-heartedly support the

[Shri Surendra Mohan Ghose.]
motion moved by my friend, Shri
Albar Ali Khan, which reads:

"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."

While doing so, I shall try to be very brief because a large number of Members are to speak. Personally I feel that there is not much to speak now, but there is a lot to do. The emergency requires that every one of us should try to help and work for the implementation of the different defence measures taken by the Government.

Madam, from the opposition side, specially from the Communist side, my hon. friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, the other day raised two points. He warned us against what he called the Right reaction. He referred also to the danger to our policy of non-alignment. I would very much like my hon. friend to understand and tell us, if our non-alignment policy is in danger today, then who has challenged it? Is it challenged by the friendly countries who have rushed so hurriedly to help us against the Mao Tse-tung Communist regime in China, or the Mao Tse-tung regime of China? This regime has deliberately attacked and challenged this non-alignment policy and the policy of peaceful co-existence of India. I say, Madam, that this has been a well-calculated and deliberately planned move of Mao Tse-tung's Communist China. They wanted to snatch leadership from Khrushchev by attacking this non-alignment and peaceful coexistence policy of India. They wanted to kill two birds at one stroke. We know Mao Tse-tung can never be satisfied without the entire domination of the world and he has very slowly and gradually developed his plans. Khrushchev was trying for an under-

standing with the Western world which Mao Tse-tung openly and publicly challenged, not once but so many times, and India was one of the strongest pillars under Pandit Nehru's leadership supporting that policy of peaceful coexistence. So they have deliberately chosen just the time when Khrushchev was about to be involved in a clash with America, to invade India from this side. Therefore, Madam, if our non-alignment policy is in danger, I would request my hon. friends to understand who has challenged it. It is not really a few Members from the other side speaking against or suggesting something against our non-alignment policy, who have challenged it. In a democratic set-up, well, these are expected and they are normal things. People will have different opinions. But none of the opposition leaders, either in this House or in the other, either in Parliament or outside, has really challenged it and none of the friendly countries which have rushed to help us has asked us to change that policy. Here and there a few Members think that if we change our policy, probably our position would be improved. Well, I have nothing to say against it because their opinion nobody has taken seriously. But the challenge has really come from China. The challenge has really come from Mao Tse-tung. Let my hon. friends realise this, that none here in the country nor those who are helping us, have challenged this position. It is Mao Tse-tung who has deliberately challenged it and he has a plan of his own. As I said on a previous occasion, the Mao Tse-tung regime in China can only be compared with Hitler's regime. It has nothing to do with communism or socialism as such. So much about the challenge to the non-alignment policy.

The other thing that the hon. Member did was to warn us against the Right reaction. The Congress Party especially after the attainment of our independence and under the leadership of Pandit Nehru, has successfully

fought against all Right reaction up till now and it has laid down the foundations of a socialist pattern of society through three successive general elections in the country in a planned way. We have every faith that the Indian people under his leadership will be able to take care of themselves and this Right reaction. The real reaction is not this Right reaction. The real reaction which is worrying us is that among the Communists themselves there are people who do not believe and who do not even now say that China has aggressive intentions against India. The real danger is there. So I appeal to my hon. friends to have a clear perspective of the present situation.

Next, Madam, I join the other friends who have spoken from this side, in expressing our gratitude to the United States of America and the United Kingdom, for coming to our aid and for giving us help and assistance, whatever was possible under the circumstances. I express my gratitude to them, although one of my friends here said something. This, as I said, is a normal affair in a democratic set-up. Everybody has got the right to express his opinion and the swing of the pendulum will be sometimes this way or that way. We have to take the country as a whole, the Government as a whole and here we find that the position is very sound and they have all appreciated the real position and everyone has appreciated the real danger and rushed to help us.

Now, Madam, I come to another point. Although there is nothing before us on which we can pin our hope, still I feel it and there is some hope in my mind that the Indo-Pakistan negotiations in the fourth round will be able to find out some basis for a reasonable understanding against the common enemy. I have faith in President Ayub's common-sense and even at this stage I feel that he will be able to see the common danger and probably he will be able to find out some basis for a proper understanding between India and

Pakistan. With these few words, Madam, I thank you and close my speech.

شری پھارے لال کرپل (دطالبہ)

(اثر پرہیز) : مہودے - بھمار ہونے کی وجہ سے میں آپ کا زیادہ سے نہیں لوں گا چائیلڈز نے جو حملہ ہندوستان پر کیا ہے میں اس کی اہمیت کی طرف آپ کی توجہ دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس سے ہم نے کیا سبق سیکھا ہے اور ہم کو آئندہ چل کر کیا کرنا چاہئے - اپوزیشن پارٹیوں کی، مخالف دلوں کی، جمہوریت میں ایک خاص اہمیت ہوتی ہے، انکا ایک ایسا استہان ہوتا ہے اور اگر جمہوریت میں مخالف پارٹیوں کے وچاروں پر توجہ نہ دی جائے تو اس سے بڑا بھاری نقصان ہونے کا اندیشہ ہوتا ہے، وہ جمہوریت ہی نہیں رہتی - اگر ہم اپوزیشن پارٹیوں کو وہ وقعت نہ دیں جو انہیں ملنی چاہیئے تو وہ جمہوریت مستحکم جمہوریت نہیں رہتی -

ہماری اپوزیشن پارٹیوں کے سدسوں نے بہت کچھ کہا ہے - اب زیادہ کہنے کی کوئی گنجائش نہیں رہ جاتی مگر کہنا ایک بات ہے اور ان پانوں پر غور کرنا جو کہ ہمارے مخالف دلوں نے حکومت کے سامنے رکھی ہیں دوسری چیز ہے - ہمیں امید ہے کہ جو بات ہماری مخالف پارٹیوں کی طرف سے سرکار کے سامنے

[شری پھارے لال کرپل ددطالبہ]

دکھی جائے گی اس پر غور ہوگا اور اسے وہی اہمیت ملے گی جو جمہوریت میں ملنی چاہیئے۔ اپوزیشن پارٹی جمہوریت کا ایک حصہ،

تو یہ کہوں گا کہ وہ سرکار کا حصہ ہے۔ ہمارے دل میں وہی جوش و خروش ہے چاہتا ہے کہ اس کا جو کسی اور پارٹی یا کانگریس کے سدھیہ کے دل میں ہو سکتا ہے۔ چاہتا ہے کہ اس حملہ هندوستان کے اوپر کیا وہ ایک طرح سے بلیسنگ ان کسٹائز ہے۔ اس حملہ سے پہلے ہم نے کبھی اپوزیشن کی طرف دھیان نہیں دیا ہے ہمارے اس ایوان کے گذشتہ سدھیہ ڈاکٹر امبیڈکر نے ۲۶ اگست ۱۹۵۲

میں نو سال پہلے جو کہا تھا اس کے بارے میں کانگوار صاحب نے ذکر کیا ہے اور سدن کے سامنے رکھا ہے۔ اس سے معلوم ہوگا کہ ان کی بات کتنی صحیح تھی۔ انہوں نے ڈاکٹر امبیڈکر کی تقریر کا کچھ حصہ ہمارے سامنے رکھ دیا ہے مگر اس تھوڑے سے میں میں کچھ ایسے وچار بھی رکھوں گا۔ جہاں تک کمیونسٹ ممالک کی ذہنیت کا تعلق ہے ان کے کیا ارادے ہیں۔ ہم اچھے طرح جانتے ہیں، سدھیہ جانتے ہیں کہ ان کے ایکسیشن کی پالیسی کیا ہے۔ مئی ۱۹۴۵ء سے بہت سے ممالک کو بہت سی آس پاس کی کٹریز کو رشیا نے غلام

بنایا ہے۔ غلام بنا کر ایک طرح سے اپنے ملک میں شامل کر لیا ہے یا وہاں پر اپنا ایک اثر و اقتدار قائم کر لیا ہے۔ ان میں سے بہت سے ملک مثلاً یہ ہیں۔ پولینڈ، چکوسلاواکیہ، ہنگری، رومانیہ، فلپائن، آسٹریا، اسونہا، لتویا، لتوانیا، بلغاریہ، البانیہ، کرویہ وغیرہ۔ اس کے علاوہ جرمنی، ناروے اور آسٹریا کے بہت سے حصوں کو اپنے میں ملا لیا ہے۔ اسی طرح تینوں آئی لینڈ، ہورن ہوم کو بھی اپنے میں شامل کر لیا ہے۔

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : ये सब हमारे फ्रेंडली कन्ट्रीज़ हैं।

[شری پھارے لال کرپل ددطالبہ]

اس کے علاوہ آپ دیکھیں گے کہ روس نے چین کا علاقہ ۳۸ فیصد لائی کے اثر میں کوویہ اور منچوریہ کی یعنی اپنے دوست ممالک کی زمین اور بڑھالی ہے۔ اسی طرح سے چین نے تبت سارے کا سارا ہوا لیا ہے اور اس نے تبت، نیفا، برما اور پاکستان کے کچھ علاقے اپنے نقشوں میں دکھائے ہیں اور وہ یہ کہتا ہے کہ یہ حصے بھی میرے علاقے میں ہیں۔ اور انہیں لینے کا ارادہ ہے۔ چین کی نظر بھوٹان، سکم اور نیپال پر بھی ہے۔ اس طرح کی ذہنیت چین کی کام کر رہی ہے۔ ڈاکٹر امبیڈکر نے اس ہاؤس میں ان باتوں کو رکھا تھا جس کو ہمارے ایک آنریبل دوست نے آپ کے سامنے

ابھی دیکھا - میں اس تقریر کا دوسرا حصہ آپ کے سامنے دکھانا چاہتا ہوں - میں آپ سے یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ چونکہ چین اور روس بالکل ہمارے سر کے اوپر ہیں اور ان کی ہمارے ہمارے دوست ممالک کی زمین پر نظر ہے - یہ کہنا بالکل غلط ہے کہ ان سے کوئی خطرہ کی گڈ جائیں نہیں ہے - ڈاکٹر امجدت کر نے ۲۱ اگست ۱۹۵۴ء نو چو کچھ کہا تھا اُس دن بھوڑا سا حصہ آپ نے سامنے پڑھ کر سنا دینا چاہتا ہوں :

"Can communism and free democracy work together? Can they live together? Is it possible to hope that there will not be a conflict between them? The theory at any rate, seems to me utterly absurd, for communism is like a forest fire, it goes on burning and consuming anything and everything that comes in its way. It is quite possible that countries which are far distant from the centre of communism may feel safe that the forest fire may be extinguished before it reaches them or it may be that the fire may never reach them."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA I should have thought the hon Member would walk out in protest instead of reading an English speech

SHRI P L KUREEL URF TALIB

"But what about the countries which are living in the vicinity of this forest fire? Can you expect that human habitation and this forest fire can long live together? I have seen comments from Canadian statesmen and from European statesmen congratulating this policy of co-existence. Their praise and their encomiums do not move me in

the least. I attach no value to their views and to their opinion."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Mr Kureel, do you want to read the whole thing?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA He is not only reading but he is reading it in English

SHRI P L KUREEL URF TALIB

"The statesmen of Canada can very easily say that co-existence is possible because Canada is separated from China and Russia by thousands and thousands of miles. Similarly, England after having pulled herself out from the great conflagration now thinks that she is too exhausted to do anything and therefore, likes to enunciate and support the principle of co-existence. But there again it is a matter of distance. One must not forget that in the foreign policy of a country the geographical factor is one of the most important factors. Each country's foreign policy must vary with its geographical location in relation to the factor with which it is dealing. What is good for Canada may not be good for us. What is good for England may not be good for us."

انہوں نے یہ کہا تھا کہ چین کے کمیونسٹ لوگ ایک جائیت کی طرح ہیں - جس کو جتنا کھلایا جائے وہ اتنا ہی ہوپ کر جاتا ہے اور جب کچھ کرنے کو نہیں ملے گا تو ہمارے ہمدردستان کو بھی کہا جائے گا - جب چین نے ہمارے اوپر حملہ کیا تو سارے ملک سے ایک آواز اٹھی اور ہمیں ایک سبق ملا - ملک کے سب لوگوں کے دلوں میں جوش و خروش پیدا ہوا خواہ وہ کسی پارٹی کے کہوں نہ ہوں - ہم چاہتے ہیں کہ ہم چین سے لڑائی

[شی پھارے لال کریاں مطالبہ]
 کریں، ہم چھین کا مقابلہ کریں اور جو
 زمین اس نے ہماری لے لی ہے اس سے
 واپس لیں۔

آپ دیکھیں گے کہ ہماری سرکار نے
 کولمبو پریوزولس مان لئے ہیں۔
 ہماری پارلیمنٹ میں ایک ریزولوشن
 رکھا گیا تھا کہ جب تک ہم اپنی سر
 زمین کو واپس نہیں لے لیتے تب تک
 ہم چھین سے صلح کی بات چیت نہیں
 کریں گے۔ پرائم منسٹر نے 11 دسمبر کو
 ہاؤس کے اندر جو اسپیچ دی تھی اس
 کو پڑھکر میں آپ کا وقت نہیں لینا
 چاہتا ہوں لیکن اس کے دو تین لفظ
 آپکے سامنے پڑھکر سنا دینا چاہتا
 ہوں :

“There could be no negotiation or
 resort to other peaceful methods
 until China vacated her recent acts
 of further aggression”.

انہوں نے یہ کہا تھا کہ ہم ان سے
 کوئی بات چیت نہیں کریں گے۔ اس
 ریزولوشن میں بھی یہ بات کہی گئی
 تھی

“With hope and faith, the House
 affirms the firm resolve of the Indian
 people to drive out the aggressor
 from the sacred soil of India, how-
 ever long and hard the struggle
 may be.”

ان سب باتوں کے ہوتے ہوئے بھی
 کولمبو پلان ہماری سرکار نے مان لیا۔
 اس کا آپ اچھی طرح سے اندازہ لگا سکتے
 ہیں کہ پچھلی لڑائی میں ڈنکرک کے
 ڈیہیکل کے بعد اگر چرچل نے ہٹلر سے

صلح کر لی ہوتی اور ارمسٹس کی
 شرائط مان لی ہوتیں تو آج انگلینڈ
 کی کھپا پوزیشن ہوتی اور دنیا کا نقشہ
 ہی بدلا ہوتا۔ انگلینڈ کی جو طاقت
 اور ہستی آج ہے وہ نہیں رہتی۔
 ہماری پارلیمنٹ نے ایک فیصلہ کیا
 کہ ہم جب تک اپنی سر زمین کو
 واپس نہیں لے لیتے ہمیں تب تک
 چھین سے بات چیت نہیں کریں گے۔
 ہمارے پرائم منسٹر نے بھی یہی بات
 کہی کہ ہم اس بات پر قائم رہیں گے
 لیکن کولمبو پریوزولس کو مان کر اس
 فیصلہ کو توڑا جا رہا ہے۔ ہم آپ سے
 کہتے ہیں کہ چھین کی اور ہماری تب
 تک صلح نہیں ہو سکتی جب تک ہم
 اپنی سر زمین کو واپس نہیں لے لیتے اور
 اس کو لینے کے لئے ہمیں ہر کوشش
 کرنی چاہوئے۔ میں یہ نہیں کہتا کہ
 آج ہی لے لیجئے آج ہی حملہ
 کر دیجئے۔ جب آپ مضبوط ہو جائیں
 طاقتور ہو جائیں میں پاور منظم ہو
 جائے۔ آرمس اور ایمونیشن ہو جائیں
 تب آپ اپنی زمین اس سے واپس لے
 سکتے ہیں۔ مگر اس طرح سے صلح
 کی بات چیت کرنے سے تو انہوں نے
 موقع دینا ہے کہ وہ ہماری اور تھریٹری
 پر قبضہ کر لیں اور جو تھریٹری اس کے
 ہاتھ میں چلی گئی ہے وہ واپس نہ
 ملے۔ اس لئے میری آپ سے یہ
 درخواست ہے کہ چھین سے تب تک
 کوئی بات چیت نہ کی جائے جب
 تک ہم اپنی سر زمین کو واپس نہیں

لے لیتے یا چین خود اس زمین کو
چھوڑ نہیں دیتا۔

اب مجھے ایک خاص بات کی اور
آپ کی توجہ دلائی ہے اور وہ ہے نیشنل
آرمی کے بارے میں۔ آج کل جو
موجودہ آرمی ہے وہ کاسٹ بھیسز پر
بنائی گئی ہے اور اس میں جو
ریکروٹنگ کرنے والے آفیسرس ہوتے ہیں
وہ صرف مارشل ریس والے لوگوں کو لیتے
ہیں۔ دوسرے لوگوں کے لئے وہ کہتے
ہیں کہ تم لڑائی نہیں لڑ سکتے ہو اور
تم مارشل ریس میں نہیں ہو۔ میں
یہ ماننا ہوں کہ گورنمنٹ کی یہ
پالیسی نہیں ہے لیکن جو بھرتی کرنے
والے آفیسرس ہوتے ہیں ان کی ذہنیت
اس قہلک سے کام کرتی ہے۔ اور وہ
کہتے ہیں کہ جات اور راجپوت لوگوں
کو ہی بھرتی کریں گے۔ اس سلسلہ
میں میں آپکی توجہ اس طرف دلانا
چاہتا ہوں کہ ۱۹۴۳ء میں میں نے
سینٹرل اسمبلی میں ایک ریزولوشن
رکھا تھا جس میں تقاضا کیا گیا تھا
کہ چھوٹی قوم کے لوگوں کو بھی فوج
میں بھرتی کر لیا جائے۔ سرکار نے اس
ریزولوشن کو مان لیا تھا اور اسی کی
بنیاد پر رجمنٹ بدھ جن کا نام چمار
رجمنٹ، مہار رجمنٹ اور بہار رجمنٹ
تھا۔ اور کئی دیگر رجمنٹ بدھ۔
میں نے اپنے پرستار میں یہ بھی کہا
تھا کہ نان کمیٹیٹ لوگوں کو
کمیٹیٹ ریزلٹ میں لے لیا جانا

چاہیے۔ مہار ریزولوشن کے بعد جو
بنامہن بلی انہوں نے جاہانوں کا بڑی
بہادری کے ساتھ مقابلہ کیا اور اس کی
تعریف اس سے کے کمانڈر-ان-چیف
شری آچلھک نے بھی کی تھی۔ یہی
نہیں جو پانڈھ کور کے سپاہی تھے وہ
بھی وقت ضرورت بگھر ہتھیار کے
جاہانوں سے لڑنے کے لئے قت کئے اور
بہادری سے لڑے۔ میں نے جو ریزولوشن
رکھا تھا اس کی خوب پبلیسٹی ہوئی
اور وہ اخباروں میں نمایاں طور پر
چھپا۔ میں نے اس وقت کہا تھا کہ
نان کمیٹیٹ لوگوں کو کمیٹیٹ
ریزلٹ میں بھی لیا جانا چاہیے۔ اس
سے کے کمانڈر-ان-چیف نے بھی اپنی
یہ رائے ظاہر کی تھی کہ ان لوگوں کو
ریگولر آرمی میں لے لیا جانا چاہیے۔
بہادری دکھانا کسی ایک ذات کی
مہرات یا کوالٹی نہیں ہے کسی قوم
میں بھی بہادر پیدا ہو سکتے ہیں
لیکن ۱۹۴۶ء کے بعد ان رجمنٹوں کو توڑ
دیا گیا اور کیول مہار رجمنٹ وہ
کئی۔ اس کے رولے کی وجہ یہ تھی کہ
اس وقت ڈائنگر امیڈیکو صاحب
گورنمنٹ میں تھے جس کی وجہ سے
اس کو توڑا نہیں گیا۔ آج بھی مہار
رجمنٹ کی ایک انفنٹری رجمنٹ ہے
جس نے حال کی لڑائی میں بہت
بہادری دکھائی اور جس کے بارے میں
آپ نے اخباروں میں پڑھا ہوگا۔ یہ
لوگ بڑے بہادر ہوتے ہیں اور اپنی
جانب کی بھی پرواہ نہیں کرتے۔ اسی

[شہری بہارے لال کوہیل دہطالبہ]
 طرح ہماری چمار رجمنٹ کے لوگوں
 نے ۱۹۴۳ء میں یوما فرنٹ میں بہت
 بہادری دکھائی۔ ابھی حال کی
 لڑائی میں ان جوانوں نے بڑا بہادری
 کا کام کیا۔ جس کے بارے میں ۲۶
 دسمبر ۱۹۶۲ء نے دہپانڈیہ میں اس
 طرح لکھا ہوا ہے :

"The hero of Daulat Beg Oldi is
 Jemadar Bhimu Kamble of the
 Mahar Regiment.

"On the cold morning of October
 22, Kamble with his platoon was
 flown to Daulat Beg Oldi, the Indian
 post near the Karakoram pass, as
 Chinese forces threatened it with
 massive numbers. The Mahars, who
 were flown from a low altitude to
 16,500 feet, immediately on arrival
 began to dig trenches at the post.

"They worked like an inspired
 band despite the high altitude
 affecting some of them and installed
 their machine-guns by the same
 evening. At 8 o'clock at night they
 received the order to withdraw as
 it was felt that the post could not
 be held by a few men against over-
 whelming numbers of the Chinese.
 The order was that they should
 make their heavy equipment un-
 serviceable and return.

"But Jemadar Kamble and his
 men, in the best tradition of the
 Indian Army, decided to take all
 their arms including machine-guns
 with them.

"In the bitterly cold night Jema-
 dar Kamble left Daulat Beg Oldi on
 a 90-mile trek through some of the
 highest passes in the Himalayas.

"They had walked four miles
 when Jemadar Kamble found that
 some machine-guns were left be-

hind. He took six men with him
 and returned to the post on the
 morning of October 23. The Chinese
 were shelling the post but braving
 it all, Kamble and his men picked
 up the machine-guns and started on
 their journey back.

"They rejoined their other com-
 rades and walked for four days
 without food carrying their heavy
 weapons and sleeping at night just
 in their woollen jackets in the open.
 (A machine-gun weighs 90 lbs.)

"On the fourth day an IAF heli-
 copter dropped them biscuits and
 blankets. Two sick comrades were
 later picked up by the helicopter.
 The helicopter crew wanted others
 to leave their weapons and come.
 They replied; 'Take our guns, we
 will find our way.'

"Kamble and his men walked on
 and reached another post in the rear
 covering 90 miles in five days. They
 brought all their weapons intact
 after trekking through precipitous
 and inhospitable terrain suffering
 no serious casualties.

"A senior commander in the
 Ladakh area in an interview said
 with pride: 'I myself never expected
 that the people of Daulat Beg Oldi
 will come back with all their arms
 as machine-guns are usually carried
 on mule back and not by human
 beings. I was pleasantly surprised
 to find that the Mahars had done
 something which no human being
 had done before. What is more, the
 Mahars with their heavy loads had
 to cross a tricky pass 17,500 feet
 high.'

"A 'PTI' correspondent asked
 Jemadar Kamble in one of the for-
 ward positions in Ladakh: 'How did
 you achieve this great feat?'

"Unassuming and with a sense of
 modesty, Jemadar Kamble replied:
 'I told my Jawans that we will take
 our weapons with us or give up our
 lives. They all agreed with me.'

"Thus they achieved a feat of great moral courage which will add a glorious chapter to the annals of India's Army."

ان باتوں کو سامنے رکھتے ہوئے میں نے نومبر ۱۹۴۳ء میں سینٹرل اسمبلی میں تقریر کی تھی اور اس میں ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی کے قائم سے لے کر ۱۹۵۷ء تک میں نے بتایا تھا کہ آرمی زیادہ تر چھوٹی قوم کے لوگوں پر مشتمل کی اور انہوں نے جس بہادری سے ہمیشہ لڑائی کی اس کا سب کو پتہ ہے۔ مہری وہ اسپیشل آج بھی پروسسنگس میں موجود ہے اور جو صاحب دیکھنا چاہیں اس کو دیکھ سکتے ہیں۔ میرے کہنے کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ یہ سب لوگ اس قابل ہیں کہ ان کو آرمی میں لیا جائے۔ پہلے ان لوگوں کو آرمی میں لیا گیا تھا اور ان کی بقالوں بنائی گئی تھی لیکن ۱۹۴۶ء میں وہ بٹالین توڑ دی گئی۔ آج ہماری نیشنل گورنمنٹ ہے۔ ہم آزاد ہیں، اس لئے ہم چاہتے ہیں کہ ان بٹالینس کو، ان ریجمنٹس کو پھر یہ دیوالیو کیا جائے اور ان لوگوں کو زیادہ سے زیادہ تعداد میں فوج میں بھرتی کیا جائے اور اس طرح ان کو اپنی بہادری دکھانے کا موقعہ دیا جائے۔

میں آپ لوگوں کے سامنے ایک سوال رکھتا ہوں۔ آج یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ سب لوگ بڑے بہادر ہیں اور یہ ایک

مارشل کمونٹی ہے۔ میں اس سدن کے سامنے یہ پوچھتا ہوں کہ کیا کرو نالک کے ٹائم میں بھی سکے ایک مارشل کمونٹی تھی۔ اس وقت یہ لوگ مارشل کمونٹی نہیں تھے۔ ایک مذہبی فرقہ تھے۔ بعد میں کرو گوبند سنگھ اور کرو تیغ بہادر نے وقت کی نزاکت کو سمجھتے ہوئے ان لوگوں کو ایک مارشل کمونٹی بنانے پر مجبور کر دیا۔ جس طرح سے کرو گوبند سنگھ اور کرو تیغ بہادر نے سکھوں کو ایک مارشل کمونٹی میں تبدیل کر دیا اس طرح سے ہم فار آرگومینٹ سیک اڈ یہ مان بھی لیں کہ چوٹی قوموں کے لوگ مارشل کمونٹی نہیں ہیں تب بھی ہمارے لئے یہ ض ہو جاتا ہے کہ ان کو مارشل کمونٹی بنایا جائے۔ آج اس بات کی ضرورت ہے کہ ہمارے یہاں ہر ایک آدمی کے ہاتھ میں تلوار ہو۔

Every man is a soldier at the time of war,

اگر آج لوگوں کا کوریکٹر ایسا بن گیا اور ہمارے دیہے کے اندر ترولی نیشنل آرمی بنائی گئی تو جو ہماری ترولی نیشنل آرمی ہوگی وہ اس ملک کی حفاظت کر سکیگی اور اپنے جان و مال کی پرواہ نہ کرتے ہوئے اپنے کو قربان کرنے کے لئے تیار رہے گی۔ عوامی بوجھ ہی دیہے کو دشمن سے بچا سکتی ہے۔

اسی طرح سے میں یہ چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمارے فارمس میں پروڈکشن پڑھے

[شری پیارے لال کرپل ددطالبہ]

اور ہماری لیگلیز میں تین شفتیں ہوں اور ہم جتنا زیادہ سے زیادہ مال تیار کر سکیں وہ تیار کریں - میں یہ جانتا ہوں کہ ہمارے دیہی میں بہت بڑی مہن پارور ہے - لیکن اس مہن پارور کے لئے آ ایلنڈ اسمونیشن کی ضرورت ہے جو تیار کیا جائے - ہمارے نوجوان بہادر ہیں - ہم نے شکست اس لئے نہیں کھائی کہ ہمارے جوان بہادر نہیں تھے لیکن آج کل کی لوائی توپوں کی ہے ، بلندقوتوں کی ہے ، آرمز ایلنڈ اسمونیشن کی ہے - اگر ہمارے بہادر نوجوانوں کو آرمز ایلنڈ اسمونیشن دئے جائیں تو ہم کسی سے پیچھے نہیں رہیں گے اور جو زمین ہمارے ہاتھ سے نکل گئی ہے اس کو ہم تھوڑے ہی دنوں میں واپس لے لیں گے - تو آج ہمیں بہادر ہونے کی ضرورت ہے - میں یہ بھی چاہتا ہوں کہ باوقار اہل زمین لوگوں کے اندر ہر تسلی دینے والے لوگ سہمہائے رہیں - ان کی غریبی کو دور کرنے کی ضرورت ہے اور ان کے یہاں قبلہ سے کمیونز بنانے کی ضرورت ہے - وہاں لوگوں کو صحیح حالات بنانے کی ضرورت ہے ، وہاں ان سے یہ بھی کہنے کی ضرورت ہے کہ وہ دیہی کی رکشا کے لئے ہر وقت تیار رہیں اس کے علاوہ وہاں پر کمیونیکیشن کا انتظام کرنے کی اشد ضرورت ہے ، راستے بنانے کی ضرورت ہے اور سڑکیں بنانے کی ضرورت ہے

ان چیزوں کو ہمیں محسوس کرنا چاہیئے - ہماری خوش قسمتی ہے کہ ہمارے پرائم منسٹر ہمارے بھیج میں موجود ہیں ، وہ اس دیہی کے وزیر اعظم ہیں بہت سے مسئلوں میں ہمارے ان سے اختلافات ہیں - مگر جہاں تک ملک کی سرکشا کا سوال ہے ہم ان کے ساتھ ہیں اور اپنے خزانے کا آخری قطرہ بھی بھانے کو تیار ہیں - یہ جو میں کہہ رہا ہوں وہ میں ہی نہیں کہہ رہا ہوں بلکہ ہماری سوشلسٹ پارٹی کے جتنے سدسہ ہیں ان سب کی یہی رائے ہے -

اسی طرح سے میں یہ چاہتا ہوں جیسا گانگواڑ صاحب نے کہا کہ ہمارے یہاں جو کاسٹھزم ہے وہ ہمارے دیہی کے لئے ایک بہت بڑی لعنت ہے اور اس کو دور کیا جائے - اس کے لئے یہ ضروری ہے کہ جب آپ لوگوں کو ریکروٹ کرتے ہیں تو کاغذات میں کاسٹ کا کالم نہ رکھئے اور کسی کو آپ سرنام یا کاسٹ لکھنے کی اجازت نہ دیجئے - مجھے اسد ہے کہ اگر ایسا کیا گیا تو بہت سے شیڈولڈ کاسٹ ، شیڈولڈ ٹرائبس کے لوگوں کو بھرتی ہونے میں آسانی ہو جائے گی - ابھی ہوتا یہ ہے کہ بھرتی کرنے والا پریجنٹوہسٹ ہوتا ہے جس کی وجہ سے صحیح آدمی نہیں آتے - اس کی بہت سی مثالیں موجود ہیں جی کا ذکر میں اس وقت نہیں کروں گا - تو میں آپ سے پھر درخواست

کرونگا کہ اس وقت ترولی نیہنل آرمی
بلانے کی ضرورت ہے - پروڈکشن بڑھانے
کی ضرورت ہے اور ڈیمو نیہنلشس کا
تھیل انتظام کرنے کی ضرورت ہے -

اس کے علاوہ میں اُردی بات یہ
کہونگا کہ اس وقت ہمارے یہاں
ایمرجنسی ہے اور قیڈنس آف انڈیا
ایکٹ ہے اور ہم اس وقت بہت زور
سے کام کر رہے ہیں اور ہمارے اندر
سنگٹمن ہے اور ہونہتی ہے - لیکن میں
یہ ضرور کہونگا کہ ہمارے دیہے کے
اُرد اور بہت سے ایسے ایکٹ موجود
ہیں جن سے کام لیا جا سکتا ہے - اس
لئے آپ ایمرجنسی کو ختم کیجئے
اور قیڈنس آف انڈیا ایکٹ اور رولز کو
ختم کیجئے - اس کے معنی یہ
نہیں ہیں کہ میں یہ چاہتا ہوں
کہ آپ فافل ہو جائور لیکن میں
چاہتا ہوں کہ جہاں تک ایمرجنسی
کا تعلق ہے ، جہاں تک قیڈنس آف
انڈیا ایکٹ کا تعلق ہے ، ہمارے دیہے
کے اندر ایسے ہزاروں اور سہلکڑوں قانون
موجود ہیں جن کے تحت ضرورت
پڑنے پر کاروائی ہو سکتی ہے - اگر
کوئی آدمی سرکار کے خلاف کام کرتا ہے
یا آپس میں نفرت پھیلاتا ہے یا
پروڈکشن میں کسی قسم کی روکاوت
ڈالتا ہے تو اس کے لئے بہت سے قانون
موجود ہیں - لا آف سڈیشن موجود
ہے ، لا آف ڈیفیمیشن موجود ہے -
اسی طرح سے ہمارے یہاں پروویڈنٹو

ڈیفینشن ایکٹ موجود ہے - اس میں
فرق کیا ہے - فرق صرف یہ ہے کہ
پروویڈنٹو ڈیفینشن ایکٹ میں ایک
آدمی کو ایڈوائزی سمیٹی کے سامنے
پیش کیا جائیکا اور ایڈوائزی کمیٹی
اگر مناسب سمجھتی ہے تو اس کو
جیل میں رکھا جائیکا اور اگر مناسب
نہیں سمجھتی ہے اور کوئی گراونڈ
نہیں ہے تو اس کو رہا کر دیا جائیکا -
یوہ فرق ہے جو ہمارے قیڈنس ایکٹ
میں نہیں ہے - اس کے علاوہ
ایسیفیشیل کمیٹیڈنر ایکٹ کے ماتحت
ہم پروڈکشن بڑھانے کے تقسیم کرنے اور
خلف خوری روکنے کے لئے بھی ہر قسم
کی کاروائی کر سکتے ہیں - اسی طرح
سے ہمارے یہاں پروڈکشن اور ڈسٹری
بیوٹن اور چور بازاری کیلئے ایکٹ ہیں -
ہمارے یہاں لہلا ایکویزیشن ایکٹ ہے
اور آئی - بی - سی میں ایسی
سیکڑوں دفعات موجود ہیں جن کے
تحت ضرورت پڑنے پر ہم کسی کے
خلاف کاروائی کر سکتے ہیں اس لئے
میں یہ ضروری نہیں سمجھتا کہ دیہے
کے اندر ایمرجنسی دے اور قیڈنس آف
انڈیا ایکٹ دے اور اس کا ناجائز
استعمال ہو -

اتنا کہکر میں آخر میں یہ
چاہتا ہوں کہ ہم اہلی طاقت کو مضبوط
رکھیں اور اس ملک کے اندر اور باہر
ہر مصیبت کا سامنا کرنے کے لئے تیار
رہیں -

†[श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील तालीब (उत्तर प्रदेश)] महोदया, बीमार होने की वजह से मैं आपका ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा। चाइनीज ने जो हमला हिन्दुस्तान पर किया है मैं उसकी अहमियत की तरफ आपकी तबज्जा दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि उसमें हमने क्या सबक सीखा है और हमको आइन्दा चल कर क्या करना चाहिये। अपोजीशन पार्टियों की, मुखालिफ दलों की, जम्हूरियन में एक खास अहमीयत होती है, उनका एक अपना स्थान होता है और अगर जम्हूरियत में मुखालिफ पार्टियों के विचारों पर तबज्जा न दी जाये तो उससे एक बड़ा भारी नुकसान होने का अदेशा होता है, वो जम्हूरियत ही नहीं रहती। अगर हम अपोजीशन पार्टियों को वो वक्कत न दें जो उन्हें मिलनी चाहिये तो वो जम्हूरियत सही जम्हूरियत नहीं रहती।

हमारी अपोजीशन पार्टीज के सदस्यों ने बहुत कुछ कहा है अब ज्यादा कहने की कोई गुजाइश नहीं रह जाती मगर कहना एक बात है और उन बातों पर गौर करना जो कि हमारे मुखालिफ दलों ने हुकूमत के सामने रखे हैं दूसरी चीज है। हमें उम्मीद है कि जो बात हमारी मुखालिफ पार्टियों की तरफ से सरकार के सामने रखी जायेगी उस पर गौर होगा और उसे वही अहमीयत मिलेगी जो जम्हूरियत में मिलनी चाहिये। अपोजीशन पार्टी जम्हूरियत का एक हिस्सा है बल्कि मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि वो सरकार का हिस्सा है। हमारे दिल में वही जोश ब खरोश है चाइना से लड़ने का जो किसी और पार्टी या कांग्रेस के सदस्य के दिल में हो सकता है। चाइना ने जो हमला हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर किया वो एक तरह से ब्लेसिंग इन डिसगाइज है। इस हमले से पहले हमने कभी अपोजीशन की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया है। हमारे इस ऐवान के गुज्रता सदस्य डाक्टर अम्बेदकर ने २६ अगस्त सन् १९५४ में नौ साल पहले जो कहा था उसके बारे में गायकवाड साहब ने कुछ जिक्र किया है और सदन के गमने रखा

है इससे मालूम होगा कि उनकी बात कितनी सही थी। उन्होंने डाक्टर अम्बेदकर की तकरीर का कुछ हिस्सा हमारे सामने रख दिया है मगर इस थोड़े से समय में मैं कुछ अपने विचार भी रखूंगा। जहां तक कम्युनिस्ट मुमालिक की जहनियत का ताल्लुक है, उनके क्या इरादे हैं, हम अच्छी तरह जानते हैं। सभी जानते हैं कि उनके एक्सपेशन की पालिसी क्या है। मई, १९४५ से बहुत से मुमालिक को, बहुत सी आसपास की कण्ट्रीज को रशिया ने गुलाम बनाया है। गुलाम बना कर एक तरह से अपने मुल्क में शामिल कर लिया है। या वहां पर अपना एक असरोइकतदार कायम कर लिया है। उनमें से बहुत से मुल्क मसलन ये हैं — पोलैण्ड, चैकोस्लावाकिया, हंगरी, रूमानिया, फिनलैण्ड, आस्ट्रिया, एस्टोनिया, लेटोविया, लिथवानिया, बुल्गेरिया, अलबानिया, क्यूबा वगैरह। उनके अलावा जर्मनी, नार्वे और आस्ट्रिया के बहुत से हिस्सों को अपने में मिला लिया है। इसी तरह डेनिश आइलैण्ड बोर्न होम को भी अपने में शामिल कर लिया है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार). ये सब हमारे फेडली कण्ट्रीज हैं।

श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील तालीब इसके अलावा आप देखेंगे कि रूस ने चीन का इलाका ३८ पैरलल लाइन के उत्तर में कोरिया और मंचूरिया की यानी अपने दोस्त मुमालिक की जमीन और बढा ली है। इसी तर्क में चीन ने तिब्बत सारे का सारा हडप लिया है और उसने — नेफा, बर्मा और पाकिस्तान के कुछ इलाके अपने नक्शों में दिखलाये हैं और वो यह कहता है कि ये हिस्से भी मेरे इलाके में हैं और उन्हें लेने का इरादा है। चीन की नजर भूटान, सिक्किम और नेपाल पर भी है। इस तरह की जहनियत चीन की काम कर रही है। डाक्टर अम्बेदकर ने इस हाउस में इन बातों को रखा था जिसको हमारे एक ओनरेबल दोस्त ने आपके सामने रखवा। मैं उस तकरीर का दूसरा हिस्सा आपके सामने रखना चाहता

हूँ। मैं आपसे यह अग्र करना चाहता हूँ कि चूँकि चीन और रूस बिल्कुल हमारे विपरीत ऊपर है और उनकी हमारे और हमारे दोस्त मुसलिक की जमीन पर तज़र है। यह कहना बिल्कुल गलत है कि उनसे कोई खतरे की कोई गुज़ाईश नहीं है। डाक्टर अम्बेदेकर ने २६ अगस्त, १९५४ को जो कुछ कहा था उसका थोड़ा सा हिस्सा आपके सामने पढ़ कर सुना देना चाहता हूँ :

"Can communism and free democracy work together? Can they live together? Is it possible to hope that there will not be a conflict between them? The theory at any rate, seems to me utterly absurd, for communism is like a forest fire, it goes on burning and consuming anything and everything that comes in its way. It is quite possible that countries which are far distant from the centre of communism may feel safe that the forest fire may be extinguished before it reaches them or it may be that the fire may never reach them."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA I should have thought the hon Member would walk out in protest instead of reading an English speech

SHRI P K KUREEL URF TALIB

"But what about the countries which are living in the vicinity of this forest fire? Can you expect that human habitation and this forest fire can long live together? I have seen comments from Canadian statesmen and from European statesmen congratulating this policy of co-existence. Their praise and their encomiums do not move me in the least. I attach no value to their views and to their opinion."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Mr Kureel, do you want to read the whole thing?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA He is not only reading but he is reading it in English.

SHRI P L KUREEL URF TALIB

"The statesmen of Canada can very easily say that co-existence is possible because Canada is separated from China and Russia by thousands and thousands of miles. Similarly, England after having pulled herself out from the great conflagration now thinks that she is too exhausted to do anything and therefore likes to enunciate and support the principle of co-existence. But there again it is a matter of distance. One must not forget that in the foreign policy of a country the geographical factor is one of the most important factors. Each country's foreign policy must vary with its geographical location in relation to the factor with which it is dealing. What is good for Canada may not be good for us. What is good for England may not be good for us."

उन्होंने यह कहा था कि चीन का कम्युनिस्ट लागू एक जाइट की तरह है जिसको जितना खिलाया जाये वो उतना ही हड़प कर जाता है और जब कुछ हड़पने को नहीं मिलेगा तो हमारे हिन्दुस्तान को भी खा जायेगा। जब चीन ने हमारे ऊपर हमला किया तो हमारे मुँह से एक आवाज़ उठी और हमें एक सबक मिला। मुँह के सब लोगों के दिलों में जोश और खराश पैदा हुआ स्वाह किमी पार्टी के क्यों न हों। हम चाहते हैं कि हम चीन से लड़ाई करें, हम चीन का मुकाबिला करें और जो जमीन उसने हमारी ली है उससे वापस ले लें। आप देखेंगे कि हमारी सरकार ने कोलम्ब प्रपोजन्स मान लिये हैं। हमारी पार्लियामेंट में एक रेजोल्यूशन रखा गया था कि जब तक हम अपनी सरज़मीन को वापस नहीं ले लेते तब तक हम चीन से मुलह की बातचीत नहीं करेंगे। प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने ११ दिसम्बर को हाउस के अन्दर जो स्वाच दी थी उसको पढ़ कर मैं आपका वक्त नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ लेकिन उसके दो तीन लफ्ज़ आपके सामने पढ़ कर सुना देना चाहता हूँ

[श्री प्यारेलाल कुरील तालिब]

"There could be no negotiation or resort to other peaceful methods until China vacated her recent acts of further aggression."

उन्होंने यह कहा था कि हम उनसे कोई बातचीत नहीं करेंगे। उस रेज्यूलूशन में भी यह बात कही गई थी।

"With hope and faith, the House affirms the firm resolve of the Indian people to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be."

इन सब बातों के होने हुए भी कोलम्बो प्लान हमारी सरकार ने मान लिया। इसका आप अच्छी तरह से यन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं कि पिछली लड़ाई में डंकर्वे के डिब्रेकिल के बाद अगर चर्चिल ने हिटलर से मुलह कर ली होती और ग्रामिस्ट्स की शरायन मान ली होती तो आज इंग्लैंड की क्या पोजीशन होती और दुनिया का नक्शा ही बदला होता। इंग्लैंड की जो ताकत और हस्ती आज है वो नहीं रहनी। हमारी पार्नियामेंट ने एक फैसला किया कि हम जब तक अपनी सरजमीन को वापस नहीं ले लेते हैं तब तक चीन से बातचीत नहीं करेंगे। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने भी यही बात कही कि हम इस बात पर कायम रहेंगे लेकिन कोलम्बो प्रोपोजल्स को मान कर इस फैसले को तोड़ा जा रहा है। हम आपसे कहते हैं कि चीन की ओर हमारी तब तक मुलह नहीं हो सकती जब तक हम अपनी सरजमीन वापस नहीं ले लेते और उसको लेने के लिये हमें हर कोशिश करनी चाहिये। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि आज ही ले लीजिये, आज ही हमला कर दीजिये। जब आप मजबूत हो जायें, ताकतवर हो जायें, मैनपावर मुतज्जम हो जायें, आर्म्स और एम्प्लूशन्स हो जायें, तब आप अपनी जमीन उससे वापस ले सकते हैं। मगर इस तरह से मुलह की बातचीत करने से तो उन्हें यह मौका देना है कि वो हमारी ओर टेरीटरीज पर कब्जा कर ले और जो टेरीटरीज उनके हाथ में चली गई है वो वापस न मिले।

इसलिये मेरी आप से यह दख्खास्त है कि चीन से तब तक कोई बातचीत न की जाये जब तक हम अपनी सरजमीन को वापस नहीं ले लेते या चीन खुद इस जमीन को छोड़ नही देता।

अब मुझे एक खाम बान की ओर आपकी तवज्जो दिलानी है और वह है नेशनल आर्मी के बारे में। आजकल जो मौजूदा आर्मी है वो कान्ट बेसिज पर बनाई गई है और उसमें जो रेकूटिंग करने वाले आफीसर्स होते हैं वे सिर्फ मार्शल रेस वाले लोगों को लेते हैं दूसरे लोगों के लिये वे कहते हैं कि तुम लडाई नहीं लड सकते हो और तुम मार्शल रेस में नहीं हो। मैं यह मानता हू कि गवर्नमेंट की यह पोलिसी नहीं है लेकिन जो भर्ती करने वाले आफीसर्स होते हैं उनकी जहनीयत इस ढंग से काम करती है और वो कहते हैं कि जाट और राजपूत लोगों को ही भर्ती करेंगे। इस मिलमिले में मैं आपकी तवज्जो इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हू कि १९४३ में मैंने सेंट्रल एसम्बली में एक रेज्यूलूशन रखा था जिसमें तकाजा किया गया था कि छोटी कौम के लोगों को भी फौज में भर्ती कर लिया जाये। सरकार ने इस रेज्यूलूशन को मान लिया था और उसको बिना पर रेजिमेंट बनी जिनका नाम चमार रेजिमेंट, महार रेजिमेंट और बिहार रेजिमेंट था और कई दिगर रेजिमेंट बनी। मैंने अपने प्रस्ताव में यह भी कहा था कि नोन-कोम्बेन्टेंट लोगों को कोम्बेन्टेंट रेक. में ले लिया जाना चाहिये। मेरे रेज्यूलूशन के बाद जो बटालियन बनी उन्होंने जापानियों का बड़ी बहादुरी के साथ मुकाबिला किया। और उसकी तारीफ उस समय के कमांडर-इन-चीफ श्री ओकनलेक ने भी की थी। यही नहीं, जो पायनिथर कोर के सिपाही थे वो भी वक्ते ज़रूरत बगैर हथियार के जापानियों से लड़ने के लिये डट गये और बहादुरी से लडे। मैंने जो रेज्यूलूशन रखा था उसको खूब पब्लिसिटी हुई और वो अखबारों में नुमाया तौर पर छपा। मैंने उन वक्ते कहा था कि नोन-कोम्बेन्टेंट लोगों को कोम्बेन्टेंट रेक. में भी लिया जाना चाहिये। उस समय

के कमांडर-इन-चीफ न मा अपन यह राय जाहिर की थी कि उन लोग का रेगुलर आर्मी मे ले लिया जाना चाहिये । बहादुरी दिखाना किसी एक जात की मीराम या क्वालिटी नहीं है । किसी कौम मे भी बहादुर पैदा हो सकते है लेकिन सन् १९४६ के बाद इन रेजिमेन्टो को तोड़ दिया गया और केवल महार रेजिमेन्ट रह गई । उसके रहने की वजह यह थी कि उन वक्न डाक्टर अम्बेदकर साहब गवर्नमेन्ट मे थे जिसकी वजह से उसको तोड़ा नहीं गया । आज भी महार रेजिमेन्ट की एक इन्फेन्ट्री रेजिमेन्ट है जिसने हाल की लड़ाई मे बहुत बहादुरी दिखाई और जिसके बारे मे आपने अखबारो मे पढ़ा होगा । ये लोग वडे बहादुर हाते हे और अपनी जान की भी परवाह नहीं करते । इसी तरह हमारी चमार रेजिमेन्ट के लोगो ने १९४३ मे बर्मा फ्रन्ट मे बहुत बहादुरी दिखाई । अभी हाल की लड़ाई मे उन जवानो ने बड़ी बहादुरी का काम किया जिसके बारे मे २६ दिसम्बर, सन् १९६२ के 'पाइनियर' मे इस तरह से लिखा हुआ है—

"The hero of Daulat Beg Oldi is Jemadar Bhimu Kamble of the Mahar Regiment

On the cold morning of October 22, Kamble with his platoon was flown to Daulat Beg Oldi, the Indian post near the Karakoram pass, as Chinese forces threatened it with massive numbers. The Mahars, who were flown from a low altitude to 16,500 feet, immediately on arrival began to dig trenches at the post.

They worked like an inspired band despite the high altitude affecting some of them and installed their machine-guns by the same evening. At 8 o'clock at night they received the order to withdraw as it was felt that the post could not be held by a few men against overwhelming numbers of the Chinese. The order was that they should make their heavy equipment unserviceable and return

But Jemadar Kamble and his men, in the best tradition of the Indian Army, decided to take all their arms including machine-guns with them.

In the bitterly cold night Jemadar Kamble left Daulat Beg Oldi on a 90-mile trek through some of the highest passes in the Himalayas.

They had walked four miles when Jemadar Kamble found that some machine-guns were left behind. He took six men with him and returned to the post on the morning of October 23. The Chinese were shelling the post but braving it all, Kamble and his men picked up the machine-guns and started on their journey back.

They rejoined their other comrades and walked for four days without food carrying their heavy weapons and sleeping at night just in their woollen jackets in the open. (A machine-gun weighs 90 lbs.)

On the fourth day an IAF helicopter dropped them biscuits and blankets. Two sick comrades were later picked up by the helicopter. The helicopter crew wanted others to leave their weapons and come. They replied 'Take our guns, we will find our way.'

Kamble and his men walked on and reached another post in the rear covering 90 miles in five days. They brought all their weapons intact after trekking through precipitous and inhospitable terrain suffering no serious casualties.

A senior commander in the Ladakh area in an interview said with pride 'I myself never expected that the people of Daulat Beg Oldi will come back with all their arms as machine-guns are usually carried on mule back and not by human beings. I was pleasantly surprised to find that the Mahars had done something which no human being had done before. What is more, the Mahars with their heavy

loads had to cross a tricky pass 17,500 feet high.'

A 'PTI' correspondent asked Jemadar Kamble in one of the forward positions in Ladakh: 'How did you achieve this great feat?'

Unassuming and with a sense of modesty, Jemadar Kamble replied 'I told my Jawans that we will take our weapons with us or give up our lives. They all agreed with me'

"Thus they achieved a feat of great moral courage which will add a glorious chapter to the annals of India's Army."

न बातों को सामने रखते हुए मैंने नवम्बर, १९४३ में सेन्ट्रल एसम्बली में तकरीर की थी और उसमें ईस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी के टाइम से लेकर १९५७ तक मैंने बताया था कि आर्मी ज्यादातर छोटी कोम के लोगों पर मुश्तमल थी और उन्होंने जिम बहादुरी से हमेशा लड़ाई की उसका सब को पता है। मेरी वो स्पीच आज भी प्रोसिडिंग्स में मौजूद है और जो साहब देखना चाहें उसको देख सकते हैं। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि ये सब लोग इस बाबिल हैं कि उनको आर्मी में लिया जाये। पहले इन लोगों को आर्मी में लिया गया था और उनकी बटालियन बनाई गई थी लेकिन १९४६ में वो बटालियन तोड़ दी गई। आज हमारी नेशनल गर्वामेंट है। हम आजाद हैं इसलिए हम चाहते हैं इन बटालियन्स को, इन रेजिमेंट्स को फिर से रिबाइव किया जाये और उन लोगों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा तायदाद में फौज में भर्ती किया जाये और उस तरह उन को अपनी बहादुरी दिखाने का मौका दिया जाये।

मैं आप लोगों के सामने एक मवाल रखना हूँ। आज यह कहा जाता है कि सिक्ख लोग बड़े बहादुर हैं और यह एक मार्शल कम्प्यूनिटी है। मैं इस सदन के सामने यह पूछता हूँ कि क्या गुरु नानक के टाइम में भी सिक्ख एक मार्शल कम्प्यूनिटी थी। उस वक़्त ये लोग मार्शल कम्प्यूनिटी नहीं थे। मैं माफ़ करता हूँ। बाद में गुरु गोबिन्द सिंह और गुरु तेग बहादुर

ने वतकी नज़ाकत को समझते हुए उन लोगों को एक मार्शल कम्प्यूनिटी बनने पर मजबूर कर दिया। जिस तरह से गुरु गोबिन्द सिंह और गुरु तेग बहादुर ने सिक्खों को एक मार्शल कम्प्यूनिटी में तबदील कर दिया उसी तरह से हम फार्म गार्गमेंट सेक यह मान भी ले कि छोटी कोमो के लोग मार्शल कम्प्यूनिटी नहीं हैं तब भी हमारे लिये यह फर्ज हो जाता है कि इनको मार्शल कम्प्यूनिटी बनाया जाये। आज इस बात की ज़रूरत है कि हमारे यहां हरेक आदमी के हाथ में तलवार हो— Every man is a soldier at the time of war अगर आज लोगों का करैक्टर ऐसा बन गया और हमारे देश के अन्दर टुली नेशनल आर्मी बनाई गई तो जो हमारी टुली आर्मी होगी वो इस मुल्क की हिफाजत कर सकेगी और अपनी जान और माल की परवाह न करने हुए अपने को कुर्बान करने के लिये तैयार रहेंगे। अवाामी फौज ही देश को दुश्मन से बचा सकती है।

इसी तरह से मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि हमारे फार्म में प्रोडक्शन बड़े और हमारी फ़ैक्ट्रीज में तीन शिफ्ट हो और हम जितना ज्यादा से ज्यादा माल तैयार कर सकें वो तैयार करें। मैं यह जानता हूँ कि हमारे देश में बहुत बड़ी मैन-पावर है। लेकिन इस मैन-पावर के लिये आर्म एण्ड एम्प्लूनीशन की ज़रूरत है जो तैयार किया जाये। हमारे नौजवान बहादुर हैं। हमने शिकस्त इसलिये नहीं खाई कि हमारे जवान बहादुर नहीं थे लेकिन आजकल की लड़ाई तोपी की है, बन्दूको की है, आर्म एण्ड एम्प्लूनीशन की है। अगर हमारे बहादुर नौजवानों को आर्म एण्ड एम्प्लूनीशन दिये जाये तो हम किसी से पीछे नहीं रहेंगे और जो जमीन हमारे हाथ से निकल गई है उसको हम थोड़े ही दिनों में वापस ले लेंगे। तो आज हमें बहादुर होने की ज़रूरत है। मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि बोर्डिंग एरिया में लोगों के अदर हर-तमलनी रहे, लोग सेटिस्फाइड रहे। उनकी गरीबी को दूर करने की ज़रूरत है और उनके यहां डिफेंस कमेटीज बनाने की ज़रूरत है। वहां लोगों को सही हालात बताने की

जरूरत है। वहां उनमें यह भी कहने की जरूरत है कि वो देश की रक्षा के लिये हम वक्त तैयार रहे और उनके अलावा वहां पर कम्यूनिकेशन का इंतजाम करने की अगद जरूरत है। रास्ते बनाने की जरूरत है और मंडके बनाने की जरूरत है। इन चीजों को हमें महसूस करना चाहिये। हमारी खुशकिस्मती है कि हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर हमारे बीच में मौजूद हैं वो इस देश के वजीरे-आजमे हैं। बहुत में मामलों में हमारे उनके एकतलाफात हैं। मगर जहां तक मुक्त की मुश्काल का मवाल है हम उनके साथ हैं और अपने खून का आखिरी कतरा भी बहाने को तैयार हैं। यह जो मैं कह रहा हूँ वो मैं ही नहीं कह रहा हूँ बल्कि हमारी सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के जितने सदस्य हैं उन सब की यही राय है।

इसी तरह से मैं यह चाहता हूँ जैसा गायकवाड साहेब ने कहा कि हमारे यहां जो कास्टीज्म है वो हमारे देश के लिये एक बहुत बड़ी लानत है और उसको दूर किया जाये। इसके लिये यह जरूरी है कि जब आप लोगों को रेकूट करते हैं तो कागजात में कास्ट का कालम न रखिये और किसी को आप सरनाम या कास्ट लिखने की इजाजत न दीजिये। मुझे उम्मीद है कि अगर ऐसा किया गया तो बहुत से शिडयूल्ड कास्ट, शिडयूल्ड ट्राइव्स के लोगो को भर्ती होने में आसानी हो जायेगी। अभी होता यह है कि भर्ती करने वाला प्रेज्यूडिस्ट होता है जिसकी वजह से सही आदमी नहीं आ पाते। इसकी बहुत सी मिसालें मौजूद हैं जिनका जिक्र मैं इस वक्त नहीं करूंगा। तो मैं आपसे फिर दरखास्त करूंगा कि इस वक्त टूली नेशनल आर्मी बनाने की जरूरत है। प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाने की जरूरत है और कम्यूनिकेशन का ठीक इंतजाम करने की जरूरत है।

इसके अलावा मैं आखिरी बात यह कहूंगा कि इस वक्त हमारे यहां एमर्जेंसी है और डिफेन्स आफ इंडिया ऐक्ट है और हम

इस वक्त बहुत जोर से काम कर रहे हैं और हमारे अंदर सगठन है और यूनियटी है। लेकिन मैं यह जरूर कहूंगा कि हमारे देश के अंदर बहुत से ऐसे ऐक्ट मौजूद हैं जिनसे काम लिया जा सकता है। इर्मलिये आप एमर्जेंसी को खत्म कीजिये और डिफेन्स आफ इंडिया ऐक्ट और रूलम् को खत्म कीजिये। इसके माइने यह नहीं है कि मैं यह चाहता हूँ आप गाफिल हो जायें लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि जहां तक एमर्जेंसी का ताल्लुक है, जहां तक डिफेन्स आफ इंडिया ऐक्ट के ताल्लुक हैं हमारे देश के अन्दर ऐसे हजारों और सैकड़ों बानून मौजूद हैं जिनके तहत जरूरत पड़ने पर कार्यवाही हो सकती है। अगर कोई आदमी सरकार के खिलाफ काम करता है या आपस में नफरत फैलाता है या प्रोडक्शन में किसी किस्म की रुकावट डालना है तो उसके लिये बहुत में कानून मौजूद हैं। ला आफ मडेशन मौजूद है, ला आफ डेफेशन मौजूद है। इसी तरह से हमारे यहां प्रिवेन्टिव डिटेन्शन ऐक्ट मौजूद है, इस में फर्क क्या है। फर्क सिर्फ यह है कि प्रिवेन्टिव डिटेन्शन ऐक्ट में एक आदमी को एडवाइजरी कमेटी के सामने पेश किया जायेगा। और एडवाइजरी कमेटी अगर मुनासिब समझती है तो उसको जेल में रखा जायेगा। और अगर मुनासिब नहीं समझती है और कोई ग्राउण्ड नहीं है तो उसको रिहा कर दिया जायेगा। तो यह फर्क है जो हमारे डिफेन्स ऐक्ट में नहीं है। इसके अलावा एमर्शियल कमीडीटीज ऐक्ट के मातहत हम प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाने, तकसीम करने और नफाखोरी रोकने के लिये भी हर किस्म की कार्यवाही कर सकते हैं। इसी तरह से हमारे यहां प्रोडक्शन और डिस्ट्री-ब्यूशन और चोर बाजारी के लिये ऐक्ट है। हमारे यहां लैण्ड ऐक्क्यूजीशन ऐक्ट है और आर्डर पी० सी० में ऐसी सैकड़ों दफात मौजूद हैं जिनके मातहत जरूरत पड़ने पर हम किसी के खिलाफ कार्यवाही कर सकते हैं। इर्मलिये मैं यह जरूरी नहीं समझता कि देश के अन्दर एमर्जेंसी रहे और डिफेन्स आफ इंडिया ऐक्ट रहे और उसका नाजायज इस्तेमाल हो।

[श्री प्यारेलाल कुरोल तालिब]

इतना कह कर मैं आखिर में फिर यह चाहता हूँ कि हम अपनी ताकत को मजबूत रखें और इस मुल्क के अन्दर और बाहर हर मुसीबत का सामना करने के लिये तैयार रहें ।]

SHRI N. M. ANWAR (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman, we are beholden to the President for his Address to the joint session of Parliament and for the very excellent survey of the achievements of our Government which he had given in the course of that Address. But that little incident which disturbed the proceedings of the joint session, the misdemeanour of the Socialist members, I am very happy, Madam Deputy Chairman, has been condemned, and rightly condemned, by all the leaders of the different political parties in our country. Indeed, I would go even one step further and say that these Socialist Members—God save this country from Dr. Lohia and his friends—must be ostracized from public life as political lepers for the manner in which they have offered this affront . . .

SHRI G. MURAHARI (Uttar Pradesh): I take serious objection to this type of terminology being used. Those who want us to be decorous and decent should also learn to use decent language.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Madam Deputy Chairman, the hon. Members of the Socialist Party have got roots only in the north. Do they understand that there are more than 250 million people in this country who do not even to this day know Hindi and are we to deny to this vast section of people of the country all opportunities of the highest honours of the realm . . .

SHRI G. MURAHARI: They should know the mother-tongue.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: despite the fact that they possess some of the best intellects that the country has ever produced? Therefore, Madam Deputy Chairman, let my friends of the Socialist Party take this warning. It is not

that they have insulted the President; they have insulted the South and the South can as well have, whether anti-secession Bill or no anti-secession Bill, if these Socialists want to walk out from the House, an opportunity; particularly those who are now committed to the theory of secession will find in this a very good opportunity to walk out of the Union. Let the Socialists realise the magnitude of what they have done to damage the sovereignty of the country. The sovereignty of our country is paramount and superior to a thousand other considerations. Let them grasp what it means. We want to preserve the sovereignty of India. Madam Deputy Chairman, I would very much wish that from out of that incident which has served as an eye-opener to us we should develop a new technique; we should evolve a four-language formula instead of the three-language formula which is now proposed for the country. I know from the experience that I have had in different countries on the continent and as a student of educational psychology myself, to have four languages is nothing of an impossibility. On the contrary, that is part of the curriculum content in ever so many countries. In our country we would wish that in the interests of national solidarity Hindi should spread and spread fast to the South. When we expect the millions in the South to learn Hindi and acquire mastery in that language, they will do it and they will beat you hollow in that in years to come. Meanwhile, take it from me that the South must also have to be given an assurance on the principle of reciprocity that people in the world of Hindi also will have as a compulsory language one of the languages that do not belong to the Hindi region. Either a Dravidian language or Bengali, whichever be the language, should be made equally compulsory for people living in the Hindi region. I know Hindi myself but even so, I would earnestly plead that, because I want to interpret the feelings of millions in the South who do not unfortunately know Hindi

today but who would love to master it, if possible, even as they have mastered English which has come to this country six thousand miles away from overseas. Let, therefore, time be given for Hindi to be made compulsory. In this connection let me tell you that we have to appreciate the delicate position in which the Government of Madras are placed when there is a mass movement in that part of the country against Hindi. (*Interrupt on*) Mr A. D. Mani does not represent any Party. But yesterday during the Question Hour he asked: Why does not the Chief Minister of the Government of Madras, who is a party to the National Integration Council's recommendation, implement the policy of enforcement of Hindi in that part of our country? Pardon me, if only he should for a moment have the responsibility of a Party, he would realise the magnitude and seriousness of the proposals which he made.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, it is a reflection on Mr. Mani, because he is an honorary member of the Swatantra Party.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Madam, on a point of information I should say that the honorary membership of any Party is better than any card-bearing membership of Peking.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He has admitted the fact.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please continue.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: When I urge the four-language formula, I mean Hindi should be compulsory all over the country. But at the same time the handicap people in the South face should be counter-balanced by imposing a handicap on people in the Hindi areas, by teaching them one of the languages not belonging to the Hindi region, preferably a Dravidian language, to promote emotional integration. Now that we have got linguistic minorities in every State that has been

organised on a linguistic basis, there must be also provision whereby sufficient opportunities are available for teaching them in their mother-tongue. The fourth language which the world has come to realise, which countries like Russia and Japan and even China for that matter, have come to provide for as a compulsory language, in the curricula of different universities, is English. Call it basic English, call it what you like. It must also be provided as a language of the world and I am sure from my own experience that it is easy to have this provision for four languages, so that India without prejudice to this or that region, without prejudice to this or that formula, can still have a record of proficiency and see that she retains the heritage which we have gained under the British regime of mastery over the English language.

Now, I was rather amused during the debate . . .

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEN: What is the fourth language?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. He has made himself very clear.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Kindly bear with me.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please carry on.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Now, Madam, I would plead with you. There has been in the course of the debate a concentrated assault on the leadership of this country . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: No, no.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: By leading lights of the Opposition. I can well imagine the frustration that obtains there for years. They have been expressing a fond hope of trying to replace that leadership. But who are these gentlemen to tell, when the people have settled it? We have come here not because of the *mehrbani* of leading lights of the Opposition. We

[Shri N. M. Anwar.]

have come into Parliament by virtue of the mandate of the vast millions of India and it is the Congress Party which has been returned to be the ruling Party. It is none of the business of the Parties in the Opposition to say as to who should be the leader of my Party. The Maharani of Jaipur can have her views as to who should be her leader, but it is for me to say who should be the leader of my Party. It is none of their business. It is beyond their jurisdiction.

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA:

Madam, I do not want to interrupt, but I would like to remind the hon. Member that the Congress Party even today has not got 51 per cent of the votes cast.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: How many votes did your Party get the dwindling P.S.P.?

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA:

You do not enjoy majority in the country. (Interruptions.)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please continue. Your time is limited.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Because of interruptions kindly allow me a little extension.

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA:

It was a correction, not an interruption.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Yes, a correction through interruption. Now, Madam, time and again, *ad nauseam*, they have been returning to this charge or assault on the leadership. The masses are masters in a political democracy and in every general election they have reposed their confidence in us and returned us to power. Go and approach the masses and try to show of your wonderful virtues. But the masses know, unfortunately for them and fortunately for us, these leading lights, however eminent they may be in public life, nevertheless in their simple arithmetic the masses understand their virtue that zero plus zero plus zero is equal to zero.

Now, let me say one thing and that is this. Yesterday, in the course of the debate, my friend, for whose intellect I have the highest regard—Mr. A. D. Mani—while trying to meet the charge of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said this. Of course, we know Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and his views. He is incorrigible. But the point is, he would very much wish to bring this country under the Peking umbrella. But that should not frighten Mr. A. D. Mani to get away from Peking umbrella and come under the U.S. air umbrella. It is the view of a Cinderella. He is a Member without a Party or a following and he can afford to make that statement. This country has come to accept the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and we have come under the Nehru umbrella and we are proud of it, a gentleman who over 45 years, in public life has come to interpret best the feelings of the masses.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, we have offered no umbrella, except the raincoat of non-alignment.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: We know you, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, and unfortunately too well.

SHRI FARIDUL HAQ ANSARI (Uttar Pradesh): You want to be under the same umbrella.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: I want to make an observation and that is, happily the emergency has given us an opportunity. But before I proceed to that point, who is it that is exploiting the emergency in the country today—Members of the Opposition?

HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Members of the Opposition who enjoy perfect freedom in our political democracy are ceaselessly trying to exploit the emergency in running down the Government, which they should know much better than I do can only be of advantage to the enemy. By trying to run down the Government and the leadership of this country, even in abnormal times of emergency, when the enemy is watching us, when the

whole world is looking at us, it is they who are undermining the security, undermining the morale of the Army and of the people. And I would beg of them as good citizens of India that they should try to set a good example, even while they are running a tirade against the Government. Madam, I have got a very serious proposal to make, a constructive criticism to offer, in view of the emergency. I admire the Government for having brought in measures for gold control. But, Madam, that is only touching the fringe of the problem. I have got reliable information which goes to show that black money in this country ranges between Rs. 4000 crores and Rs. 6000 crores, whether it is hoarded in currency or gold. We have got enough underground material in the form of black money. How are we to attract that? I have got a very persuasive suggestion to make, and that is this. Let the Government of India offer a moratorium and ask these hoarders of black money, in view of this national emergency, willingly to part with it on a 50 : 50 basis to the coffers of the State and try to plough back into industrial development, into the economic development of this country; the other part they can have with freedom for which they can render accounts. I know that this is a suggestion which will merit the serious attention of the Government today. But, Madam, the question may rightly be asked if they still do not behave very well in parting with this, give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and give unto God the things that are God's if still the blackmarketeers are not trying to come forward, let me say this that the Government can be armed with powers after prescribing a dead line to see that currency particularly of higher denominations is demonetised and black gold is seized even under a Draconian legislation. Madam, I think that is one of the things we have got to do now in order that we may provide ways and means for the defence of our country.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: I am very happy, Madam, that in the course of this debate we have an opportunity to review the work of the different Ministries. Unfortunately my time is up, but I feel proud and pleased over the record performance of the Ministry of Steel and Heavy Industries. After all, steel is a measure of the industrial progress that the country makes, and of paramount urgency for our defence and I am very particularly pleased to see the impressive figures both under the private sector and under the public sector for ingots and for saleable steel, which show that the quantum has been nearly doubled over these twelve months. I only wish that the Minister were here and that he placed in the course of the debate the record of the achievements that have been made in his Ministry.

Madam, before I wind up I must thank you.

ANNOUNCEMENT RE: GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA): With your permission, Madam, I rise to announce that Government business in this House during the week commencing 25th February 1963 will consist of:

- (1) Further discussion of the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by Shri Akbar Ali Khan and seconded by Shrimati Maya Devi Chetty.
- (2) General Discussion on the Railway Budget for 1963-64.
- (3) Further consideration and passing of the Indian Emigration (Amendment) Bill, 1963.

The General Budget for 1963-64 will, as usual, be laid at 6 P.M. on Thursday, the 28th February, 1963.