

**REQUEST FOR DISCUSSION ON
THE REPORT OF THE VIVIAN
BOSE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE**

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam, I have a submission to make. You will remember that on the very first day I requested that the Report of the Vivian Bose Enquiry Committee in respect of the affairs of the Dalmia-Jain Company should be separately discussed in this House. Members from this side including myself have given notice of it, and I do not know why the Government is not providing for a discussion immediately on the subject which is agitating the minds of the public and the press. I understand, Madam, that some sections in the Government do not want that this matter should be discussed. I say that Government can only show that it is not so by agreeing to an immediate discussion, because we want to make suggestions with regard to the action that should be taken as no action so far has been taken with regard to the persons against whom such serious allegations have been made. My information is that these authorities have put their men who are lobbying here and are trying to bring pressure on Government so that the matter is hushed up. We would not like this report to be ignored in this House or in the other House. We want a discussion in order to make our suggestions, in order to make criticisms and also to compel the Government to take action. These people should have been arrested by now. Nothing has been done. The Company should have been taken over under the Industries Regulation Act. Nothing has been done. Madam, I say that this is a matter of the gravest and utmost importance today before the country. The Vivian Bose Enquiry Committee report is a most vital and urgent matter before the nation in regard to the monopolies and so on, because it has revealed some ugly spots, most dangerous spots in our economic and public life. What are we here for if we are not allowed to discuss that?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you have given notice . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is the Government's position? I would like to know that. Why is the Government not initiating discussion?

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA): I think the hon. Member has already discussed that report. I think he could not have delivered a more bitter attack.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I shall ask the Minister. If you have given notice, then Government should consider it. Anyway, the Chairman has taken note of it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is the Government's position? Do they stand for discussion?

SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA: Government will certainly discuss it. But when we will discuss it, I cannot say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: When?

SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA: You cannot dictate the time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not dictate the time but I want a reply. The report is before the public. We do not even circulate it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Minister says it will be done. It is only a question of time. The time cannot be given just now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let him consult the Opposition Parties and discuss in order to accommodate them.

MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—continued

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Madam, the President has rightly stated in the Address that the issue of the Chinese aggression has been and is today the overriding issue before us. When the Chinese

committed their massive and unprovoked aggression against India, the entire country rose to a man to defend the integrity and honour of India. The emergency was declared and everybody expected that this emergency would be utilised by the Government to gear up the administration to increase industrial production and also increase agricultural production in India because of the massive challenge by the Chinese, but unfortunately nothing appears to have been done. The war efforts or the defence efforts that have been made by Government are not quite adequate to meet the challenge of the Chinese. Added to that, the Chinese unilateral withdrawal and unilateral cease-fire have lulled the Government of India into a sense of complacency. This does not augur well for the country.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, addressing the Board of Irrigation some days ago, has given a clear warning to the Government and the people at large that the country is going in a way which is not in the best interests of the country. The productive apparatus of the Government has not been functioning properly. The industrial capacity that has been licensed has not been fully utilised. The power potential that has been there has not been properly utilised, and the power projects that have been sanctioned have not been properly functioning. He has also mentioned that the Ministers and politicians have been giving lectures and have been gloating over imaginary achievements, and he has rightly given a warning to the country that the Government of India should be shaken to its senses. And this sense of complacency should be removed from them so that some concrete steps are taken to increase production in the fields of agriculture and industry.

When China committed this unprovoked aggression against India, some friendly countries unreservedly and unstintingly came to our support and

rightly the President has expressed his gratitude to the United States of America and the United Kingdom for the support they have given us in a moment of crisis.

Some controversy has been going on in the country with regard to the air umbrella scheme. It is true that the U.S.A. and the Commonwealth Air Missions have been touring India assessing the possibilities of developing the Indian Air Force to meet the challenge of the Chinese if any fresh attack were to take place on India. It is true that some fears have been expressed that the U.S.A. and the U.K. are going to establish their bases in India. That point has now been made clear by the Prime Minister while answering a 'call attention' motion in the Lok Sabha yesterday that there is no such thing contemplated. What has been contemplated is to strengthen our Indian Air Force, to improve our air strips and, if necessary, when an attack takes place, to take the help of friendly countries, and it has been made clear that the United States or the United Kingdom should not get perturbed over some statements made by some Members of the Communist Party or by fellow-travellers in the Congress.

Dr. A. SUBBA RAO (Kerala): It is in 'The Times of India'. You are absolutely mistaken.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: What I say is that these friendly countries should not get perturbed over some of the statements made by some Members who are in a microscopic minority in Indian politics in the present context.

Madam, when the Emergency was declared, voluntary collections for the Defence Fund were initiated and the working classes and the poorer sections of the people gave their all to the National Defence Fund. But the richer classes, the maharajahs and the property-owning classes in India, have given very little to the National Defence Fund, which really shows that the Government have not taken pro-

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.]

per steps to collect moneys from these land-owning and rich classes. The Emergency should have been utilised for freezing the Privy Purses that are given to the Princes, it should have been utilised for getting more collections from those classes who can pay, who have earned money by illegal means, who have evaded wealth tax, who have evaded income-tax. Government of India has done well in bringing the Gold Control Rules. But, unfortunately, these rules have not been of much use in unearthing the gold that has been hoarded by the black marketeers. More stringent steps should be taken to see that the gold which is estimated to be worth about Rs. 4,000 crores is unearthed. The quantity of gold that has to be worn by any male or female should be limited. Then only can the gold that has been hoarded by these people be unearthed.

Regarding collections, I should sound a note of warning. From almost all the States reports have come in that coercive and pressure tactics have been used by the officers to collect money for the National Defence Fund. It is necessary that we should raise funds but mere collection of these funds will not strengthen our defence forces or enable developmental activities to go on. On the other hand, it is absolutely necessary that a defence levy should be resorted to in order to raise funds—nearly Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 crores—to strengthen our defence forces. It should be voluntary and only then will it create enthusiasm among the people and we will be making them realise we are at war with China and we should do our best to increase the defence potential of the country. That does not mean that the officers concerned should make use of coercive methods to collect funds. Reports have come in, and the Prime Minister has also been apprised of this fact and he has advised the State Governments concerned that they should not resort to coercive methods to collect funds.

Madam Deputy Chairman, inefficiency, corruption and red-tapism still continue to persist in Government offices. A scheme sanctioned will not be put into effect even two years after it has been sanctioned. So, this complacency should be shaken and they should see that whatever capacity is sanctioned is fully utilised; whether it is in the Defence Department or in civil factories, whatever capacity has been sanctioned should be fully utilised. And even for sanctioning a scheme, the Government of India and their different departments take too long a time and this kind of red-tapism should be cut down to the minimum. Particularly, the Emergency should make them cut down this red-tapism so that quick decisions and quick actions are taken.

Regarding agricultural production, the President has stated that there is an increase in agricultural production. It may be true to some extent but the increase that has been registered is not because there is any increase in the yield per acre but it is because more land has been brought under cultivation. So, this should not make us feel complacency that there is an increase in agricultural production. The incentives that have been given to the agriculturists are not many. Floor prices that should have been fixed for agricultural commodities have not been fixed and there is no such incentive to the agriculturists. On the other hand, you see the prices of consumer goods, particularly industrial goods, going up, whereas the prices of agricultural commodities, for example, rice, pulses and cereals, are coming down. So, in order to obviate the difficulties that the agriculturist is put to, the Government of India should declare the floor prices which will give an incentive to the agriculturists to produce more. And the other thing that the Government of India has not done successfully is this. They have not implemented the land reform legislation that is now being enacted in most of the States. It requires an amendment of the Constitution and therefore I urge upon

the Government of India to bring forward in this Parliament, before the present session ends, such a measure in order that land reforms are given effect to. A quarrel is now going on between different States with regard to the sharing of waters and with regard to power projects. This should be decided in the interests of the nation as a whole and there should be properly constituted commissions to advise on how water resources should be utilised by different States and how best the power projects should be started. There is the categorical lashing out at the Government by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari that the D.V.C. project, the biggest project executed after India got independence, has not been properly utilised. Nearly five lakhs of acres have not been cultivated though there is the irrigation potential. Though there is water needed for the purpose, though there is land for the purpose, it has not been utilised because the other ancillary steps have not been taken, for example, the digging of channels for bringing the land under cultivation. This shows that the irrigation potential that has now been created has not been properly utilised. I therefore urge that whatever the capacity, whether in power, whether in irrigation, whether in industry—that has already been sanctioned, it is used to the maximum extent.

Another point that I would like to mention is that the development of Mangalore port has been accepted and sanctioned, but the Planning Commission has sanctioned only Rs. 10 lakhs, which may not be sufficient to maintain the staff working on the development of this Mangalore port. I would like to observe here that the Planning Commission, as it is now constituted, works as a super Cabinet. It seems the Government of India has abdicated its authority and its function to this super Cabinet—the Planning Commission—on which are members who are not very much interested in the welfare of the people, who are not drawn from the agricul-

tural community, who have no interest in the general progress of the community at large, and they have got very pet notions which they have borrowed from books that are written by some foreigners, and they are not in touch with the people at large. I can understand a Central Government Minister or a State Government Minister who is drawn from the people and who is in constant touch with the people; he can realise the aspirations and the needs of the people and he can work out some measures to allay fears or do something in the interests of the country as a whole. But the Planning Commission, constituted as it is, the members of which are not in close touch with the Members of Parliament or are not in close touch with the people at large, are not in a position to decide which project is to be taken up now and which project is to be taken up later and how best it should be done. I therefore urge that the Government of India should assert itself in implementing the decisions that are now taken by Parliament.

The Minister for Community Development said recently that the benefits of the Community Development Programme have not reached the public at large, the toiling masses at large, because the officials and some non-officials are the stumbling block in this programme. I fail to understand why Mr. Dey made this statement when he had ample power to dismiss such officials who are not co-operating in implementing the decisions of Parliament. It should be said that the co-operative movement has benefited larger sections of the people but the Community Development movement has not helped the masses. It has helped only the richer classes of the agriculturists, only the people who have some access to the Block Development Officers, but the poorer sections of the people, by the very rules under which loans or grants are made by the Block Development authorities, are not benefited at all. I therefore urge that there should be a revision of

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.]

the rules that are now governing the disbursements of loans and grants by the Block Development authorities in order that these benefits may accrue to the working classes, to the poorer sections and to the small peasants in the rural areas.

Now the need for implementing the land legislation that has now been passed by different States is very necessary and I therefore urge that the Government of India should undertake an amendment of the Constitution in order to give meaning to the slogan, land to the tiller.

Madam Deputy Chairman, we are short of foreign exchange. Whatever scheme we want to put into effect has not been put into effect because there is shortage of foreign exchange, and in order to earn more foreign exchange our exports should be stepped up. Not only exports should be stepped up but research into methods for replacing or substituting the imports should also be thought of and research in this direction should be pursued.

Lastly, Madam Deputy Chairman, the President has announced in his Address the Bills that are coming up before this session of Parliament, but unfortunately the Bill for continuing English as an associate language as long as the people from the South or the non-Hindi-speaking people want it has not been included in this. That Bill was expected to be introduced in the last session of Parliament, and because of the emergency that was dropped at that time, and now that the emergency is not so much visible as it was at that time, it is absolutely necessary that the Government of India should think of introducing that Bill and passing it before this session ends.

With these words I thank you.

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar): Madam, Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks moved by my esteemed colleague, Mr. Akbar Ali Khan.

The President in the course of his brief Address before the Joint Session of Parliament has said many things vital to the nation. This year's Presidential Address has got special significance as this is the first occasion when the constitutional head of the country addressed Parliament since the nation faced an unprecedented crisis arising out of the full-scale Chinese invasion. Naturally the President in the course of his Address referred somewhat at great length to the background of Chinese aggression, the nation's firm resolve to face this peril to the nation's freedom and integrity, and also to the Colombo proposals and subsequent events.

I am really surprised to find that a few hon. Members have tabled a number of amendments expressing regret that the Address did not reiterate the nation's firm resolve, as solemnly and unanimously expressed in Parliament on November 14, 1962, to drive out the Chinese and recover every inch of territory occupied by them by aggression. I would like to quote here the relevant observations of the President in this regard. In paragraph 7 of his Address the President observes:

"These massive attacks and further aggression on our territory had a powerful effect on our people, and resulted in a widespread and spontaneous display of unity all over the country. All the petty internal differences were hushed and stopped in the face of this peril to the nation's integrity and freedom. Parliament gave a lead to the nation in this matter in November last and our people, throughout the length and breadth of India, wholeheartedly followed this lead."

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

This reference to November resolution of Parliament clearly means reiteration of that resolve. Further, the President, in paragraph 9, observes:

"But the experience of the last few months has warned and steered

us and made us resolve to protect ourselves from this menace and to strengthen our defences and economic structure to the utmost. Our Government is devoting itself to the urgent and vital task . . ."

I would submit, Madam, does it not show a strong determination to make all necessary preparation to meet the challenge thrown by the Chinese?

The President further goes on, at the end of paragraph 11 and the beginning of paragraph 12:

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

"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. The freedom and honour of a country must be given the first place and, if a country cannot defend them, then other matters lose significance. The nation's activities have thus been concentrated on this basic issue."

I maintain, Sir, that the President, instead of reiterating the solemn resolve of Parliament, has elaborately given a clear indication to Parliament that the Government has been seriously thinking to implement faithfully the direction as given by Parliament in November last. I submit, Sir, that the honourable Members who in the course of their speeches doubted the bona fides of the Government's intention in regard to dealing with the Chinese aggression were causing immense disservice to the country and trying to take political advantage of the crisis. In fairness they should unreservedly withdraw their amendments on this issue.

One hon. Member of the P. S. F. said the other day that it was unfortunate that the Members of the Congress Party depended only on one person, that is, our Prime Minister, for

everything. In reply I would like to state that the Congress Party is fortunate enough to get a leader of the stature of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on whom the Members as well as the whole nation can depend fully as they are aware that this leader can rise to the occasion and has risen to the occasion. And they also know that their leader has acquired this enviable position not only on account of his head and heart but his extreme democratic outlook in every matter. I feel pity, however, for the P. S. P. that they have not got a leader on whom all of them can depend. They had one or two such leaders but they left them being disgusted with the rank and file of the Party members. The fling made at the Congress Party by the P. S. P. Member reminded me of the well-known fable of a jackal who lost his tail. I need not elaborate it further.

The Communist spokesman in the House, honourable Shri Bhupesh Gupta, in his inimitable way not only tabled a large number of amendments but in the course of his eloquent speech tried to impress upon the House that our non-alignment policy is under fire from all quarters which he termed as right reaction, and cautioned the Congress Party and the Government against this onslaught not only from right Opposition parties within the country but also from the party within. He alleged that persons working for right reaction have infiltrated not only in police and administration but also in the Cabinet. He also alleged that powerful Western-bloc countries are putting strong pressure on the Government to give up its non-alignment policy. I think, Sir, Shri Bhupesh Gupta's attention has been drawn to the reports that appeared in yesterday's papers in which Prof. Galbraith, the U. S. Ambassador, in a speech frankly enunciated the U. S. policy towards India and effectively rebutted the unfounded allegation often repeated by Communists and fellow-travellers not only within the country but outside also, particularly by the Chinese Government. I seek your

[Shri P. C. Mitra.]
indulgence to quote here a few lines from Prof. Galbraith's speech to show how ably he has analysed the situation as it exists now:—

"The threat to India's policy of non-alignment did not arise from American assistance. The boot was on the Chinese leg and Professor Galbraith felt that it was the Chinese who had undermined this policy. It was in his opinion very hard to be non-aligned against an invader.

"This being so, I become a little uncomfortable at the implication that those who help you are the threat to your policy—that, somehow we (the Americans) are the dangerous people to know."

To put the record straight he wanted to categorically state that the U. S. A. was not interested in extending her system of military alliances. "We share with you a co-operative concern over the Chinese expansion. It is obviously in our joint interest that Chinese aggression not be rewarded anywhere."

I would like here to emphasise that by and large all sensible persons in India realise that our policy of non-alignment to any of the power blocs has paid good dividends in the Sino-Indian conflict and they do not ask the Government to give up this policy. Shri Bhupesh Gupta's tirade against the Western countries, particularly the U.S.A. in every conceivable opportunity is nothing but to wreak vendetta on these countries for their ready help to us at the hour of extreme national crisis. It is unfortunate that some M.Ps., who are expected to be more sober, became easy prey to Communist propaganda, and knowing well that our Prime Minister is the father of the non-alignment policy in foreign relations which has been adopted by a large number of countries subsequently, rushed to the Prime Minister in a delegation to enquire from him whether there was any proposal under consideration to hand over certain

bases and also the command of our air defence to the U.S.A. and certain Commonwealth countries. Not only that, but they gave publicity to it in the Press. Absurdity of the inspired report was so apparent that no person who has got a little intelligence should have any apprehension on this count when Shri Nehru is the Prime Minister. In regard to one thing, however, we should be very clear. Non-alignment is a means, so that we may not be involved in a war between the power blocs, and not an end in itself.

I would, however, like to draw particular attention of the House to the underlying feeling that prompted the U.S. Ambassador to say the following words:

"This being so, I become a little uncomfortable at the implication that those who help you are the threat to your policy—that, somehow we (the Americans) are the dangerous people to know."

I wish that all responsible persons understand the implications of this statement and refrain from doing or saying anything that may cause misunderstanding in the friendly countries, not only the U. S. A. and the U. K. but also Soviet Russia who are helping us to some extent to build our defence.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta, in another amendment, wants us to be guided by comments in foreign Communist Press relating to our internal matter of law and order. His amendment naturally refers to certain comments made by *Pravda* and other papers of Communist countries regarding the arrest of Communists. I would like on the other hand that our Government send our strong protest to the Governments concerned for interfering in our internal affairs. Shri Gupta has further alleged that the Government is wreaking political vendetta against the Communist Party, taking advantage of the emergency. I say, Sir, that actually my feeling is that the Government has been too soft in this matter.

Recently I had been to Ranchi. There I was sitting in the Bar library. There was a talk between some lawyers, one of whom happened to be a Communist. By the way, one of them referred to a statement of Mr. Khrushchev and addressing the Communist friend said that he is your Gurudeva. Immediately the Communist lawyer retorted, "No. He cannot be my Gurudeva." He said, "All right, Gurubhai." The Communist lawyer said, "No. No. Lenin was our Gurudeva. We recognise only two Gurubhais: Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. There cannot be any third man." So, that is their attitude. They are still making propaganda that they are not afraid to show their preference for Mao Tse-tung. These people have not been arrested. And yet Shri Bhupesh Gupta says that the Government is wreaking political vendetta during the emergency against the Communists.

Sir, I would be failing in my duty if I do not expose the underlying reasons that prompted Shri Bhupesh Gupta to hit the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta below the belt. He did not elaborate the article that he considered so objectionable as to infringe the provisions of the Defence of India Rules. He tried to confuse the House by dragging Acharya Vinoba Bhave's and the Ceylon Prime Minister, Shri-matj Bandaranaike's names as if both have been slandered in one article. If I remember aright, there were two articles on different dates. In one, the paper strongly criticised Shri Vinoba Bhave's article that appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in which the saint advocated peace talks with the Chinese Government without insisting on withdrawal to the pre-8th September line. In that article, the saint spoke some good words about the Chinese people and also argued that the persons who have self-confidence should not hesitate to have negotiations at any stage. I must confess, I thought that Shri Vinoba Bhave was doing positive harm to the country and that it might affect the morale

of the people. I am sure many readers must have shared that view. I do not think that the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* did any harm to the defence effort by strongly criticising the saint for the article. It may be argued that the criticisms could be made in milder words but to suggest that it advocated violence and so on is to stretch the imagination too far. I can well understand the real reason that actuated Shri Bhupesh Gupta to attack the paper off and on . . .

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT (Delhi): Even the Prime Minister has said that the article in the paper was objectionable. What is your view?

SHRI P. C. MITRA: I say that the reference of the article to which the Prime Minister objected was relating to Mrs. Bandaranaike. Actually Shri Bhupesh Gupta mixed up the two articles. Thus he tried to confuse the Prime Minister also.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala): Were you criticising the hon. Member or Shri Bhupesh Gupta?

SHRI P. C. MITRA: Since the Chinese invasion, this Bengali daily of Calcutta consistently asked the people to be on guard against the Communists and fellow-travellers and this has naturally infuriated Shri Bhupesh Gupta and he has tried to attack the paper off and on.

The President, while concluding his Address, has reminded us of our commitment to build a democratic socialist society. I am afraid we are not very serious to fulfil our commitment to which the President has, in his wisdom, thought fit to draw the attention of the Parliament. It is true that we have built up a democratic society but socialism is still a far cry. I would like that the emergency powers should be utilised to bring a more equitable distribution of wealth in the country and bring down disparity in income. The wrong notion that has been created that we are proceeding towards the goal by expanding the public sector in industries should be

[Shri P. C. Mitra.]

dispelled forthwith. This, in my opinion, is nothing but State capitalism. The various corporations that are running the various public sector organisations have no socialistic outlook. You will be surprised to know that one of the economy measures due to the emergency taken by the Heavy Engineering Corporation Ltd. at Ranchi, was to stop the house rent allowance to the employees who live at Ranchi town at about 10 miles' distance from the site. I would request the Minister in charge to make enquiries into the matter as to what led the Corporation to stop this allowance that the employees were getting since its inception, and that also during this emergency. Again, the quarters that are being built for Grade IV employees have not even enough space for one man to remain. One door is being provided for two rooms, for two employees. This way the socialist society is being built up. Thank you.

SHRI S. C. DEB (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I associate myself with the Motion of Thanks moved by Shri Akbar Ali Khan. Now the President, in his speech, generally dealt with the Chinese situation and the defence efforts that our Government is making. There are many references there. I am quoting some:

"But the experience of the last few months has warned and steeled us . . ."

I lay very much stress upon the word 'steel':

" . . . and made us resolve to protect ourselves from this menace and to strengthen our defences and economic structure to the utmost. Our Government is devoting itself to this urgent and vital task . . ."

There are other references also like:

" . . . by reorienting our industrial pattern so as to give priority to defence needs. Thus, in the field of agriculture, industry, transport, communication, power, technical education and research we have to continue to do our utmost."

So the President in his Address has dealt at great length with our defence efforts and how the priority should be given and also basing it on the economic structure that is going to be built. Unless a country is economically developed, no war effort, no technical measure, no industrial background, can be there. So, as we are building up our defence enterprises, we are also at the same time developing the industries in that direction. We are orienting our Third Plan to the defence efforts and these are ably mentioned in the President's Address. But the Opposition Members are finding fault with some governmental measures which, in their view, are not considered sufficient. They may have their views and there is nothing wrong in it but to accuse the Government of going slow is highly objectionable. In the major portion of the speech, the fact that defence measures will be given priority is very evident. So when the Opposition Members are trying to build up their case, they must realise how to build a country industrially and also build up our defence effort and the defence organisation. We know that China was trying for years together to build up its defence production. We are moving in another direction. We are always trying to have peace in the world. We are going in the international sphere for the peace of the world because the peace of the world is paramount for the existence of the people and the general masses. There are little countries and they are getting their independence and coming up in numbers. So if we only think in terms of warfare, if we think only in terms of developing our resources and spending our resources on war efforts, then what will be the fate of the small nations? How can they defend themselves? So the great powers like the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. are also thinking in terms of world peace. They are also making adjustments here and there. The example of that we had in Cuba and there we have seen how two great powers with all their material resources and with all their efforts

and war weapons at their disposal tried and preserved the peace of the world. They are trying for peace in the world because only when there is peace in the world can countries progress and cultural and other development programmes can go on. But now the challenge has come to us through this Chinese aggression. We are now re-thinking and we are now trying to develop our defence organisations and our defence efforts and we are also trying to the best of our ability to build up the country economically in order that we may not depend on any country any further. This is the prevailing spirit and the Government's efforts are also directed in this manner and they are moving ahead. Those who find fault with the Government measures are doing so without any foundation and their criticism has no meaning. The Opposition Members are also trying the leadership of the country. They are also trying to cast aspersions on our national leader, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. But he has the full confidence of the party in power and he also has the confidence of the masses and of the Opposition too. That being so, how anyone can criticise such leadership in an unmannerly way, I cannot understand. In his personality, his outlook, his thoughts, in his sentiments and sacrifices, nobody in this country can stand equal to him.

Some hon. Members of the Opposition were also expressing their opinion against the continuance of the state of emergency in the land. I fail to understand them. In one breath they say that our war efforts should be moulded and developed swiftly and in the same breath they say that the state of emergency should be ended. How is that possible? The emergency is actually there still and the spirit and the war mentality in the country are growing. We are now thinking that not only the soldiers at the front but everyone in the land behind the soldiers should feel that he is fighting the war and he should help the coun-

try in the war effort. We do not know how long the Chinese will be there keeping silent. We do not know what will come in the future. Our leader was saying that this will be a long-drawn war. So we should bear all these things in mind and we should mould our minds in such a way that we may all think together and act together. We should all feel that we are one nation, one country and everyone of us is moving in the same direction.

In these days much of the criticism comes from the Opposition, both from the platforms and the Press and in an emergency this is not a happy sign. They must all seriously feel that all our war efforts should be strengthened, that all our defence resources should be mobilised in a particular direction and they must have this outlook, that there should be no disruption in our efforts to mobilise the resources of the country for the national war effort and for strengthening the country.

In this connection I would like to mention one thing. The Chinese are doing a lot of mischief by carrying on false propaganda all over the world. Their propaganda machinery is so strong that whatever we may be doing is not able to cope with it. Therefore, my submission to the Government would be that our foreign propaganda machinery should be made stronger in order to meet this challenge that is made by the Chinese on the propaganda front. They are always carrying on false propaganda. At Moshi and other places also they have created confusion and they have created misgivings in the minds of those who attended the meetings there. I do not want to enter into details about all those things. I would only say that their propaganda machinery is such that they carry the people with them for the time being. So our foreign propaganda machinery should be made much stronger so that we can meet this challenge also from the aggressor, ably, quickly and efficiently.

[Shri S. C. Deb.]

In the President's Address mention has been made of many things connected with agriculture. However, my own feeling is that the Government is not doing things to the extent that it is necessary for us to do. In the field of agriculture, for instance, the cooperative movement should be growing stronger and stronger. This is not the case now. Another thing is that land distribution is lacking. Land to the cultivator, land to the agriculturists, is not the case in many parts of the country. Fertilizers, minor irrigation programmes and so on are given to the States, but those at the Centre should see how the States are moving and whether they are moving in the desired direction. It has been stated that the Central Government is asking the State Chief Ministers to take over the portfolio of agriculture. I do not know how far they are seriously thinking of doing it and how far the States have proceeded in that direction, and how far they have succeeded in having more production. We have seen that whenever there are floods the crops fail and in many places in the land the crops thus fail and the economy of the people suffers and their economic condition becomes very bad indeed. We should see to these things and when we make a programme, we must see to it that it is carried to its logical conclusion.

श्री गोड़े मुराहरि : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, यहाँ जो भाषण हुए हैं उनको सुन करके मुझे ऐसा लग रहा है कि हमारे देश में चीन का संकट तो दूर रहा, लेकिन दो चीजों पर जरूर संकट आया हुआ है, एक तो जो सरकार बिन लगाव की नीति कहती है उस पर और दूसरे हमारे प्रधान मंत्री के नेतृत्व पर। सारे भाषणों में इन्हीं दो चीजों का जिक्र सुनाई पड़ा है। मैं दावे के साथ यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी जो विदेश नीति १५ साल से चली आ रही है वह बिन लगाव की नीति हाँगिज नहीं है। अगर है भी तो वह एक निष्क्रिय और नकारात्मक बिन लगाव की नीति रही है। अगर सही ढंग की और क्रियाशील बिन लगाव की हमारी

नीति होता तो जो परिस्थिति आज हमारे सामने दिखाई दे रही है विदेश नीति के संबंध में वह हमारे सामने नहीं आती। अगर हमारी नीति क्रियाशील होती तो एक तीसरी शक्ति आज दुनिया में खड़ी होती। आज एक तरफ तो कम्युनिस्ट देशों का एक गुट है और दूसरी तरफ अमेरिका का गुट है जो यह कहता है कि हम स्वतंत्रता के हामी हैं। इस तरह आज दुनिया में दो अलग अलग गुट खड़े हैं और बीच में कोई तीसरी शक्ति दिखाई नहीं पड़ रही है। अगर हिन्दुस्तान उस चीज का नेतृत्व करता और आदर्श दुनिया के सामने रखता, जिन आदर्शों को ले करके एक तीसरी शक्ति दुनिया में खड़ी हो सकती तो वह असली ढंग की बिन लगाव की नीति कही जाती। लेकिन जो नीति पिछले १५ साल से हम लोगों ने चलाई उसमें कभी एक गुट का साथ दिया गया, कभी दूसरे गुट का साथ दिया गया। इस तरह से एक आल्टरनेटिव सविस को हमारी नीति रही है और सही ढंग की नानअलाइन्मेंट की नीति नहीं रही है। इस लिए सरकार का यह कहना कि बिन लगाव की नीति पर बड़ा भारी संकट आ गया बिलकुल गलत है। असलियत में सरकार को यह कबूल करना चाहिये कि आज तक जो उसकी विदेश नीति रही है वह गलत रही है और सही ढंग की विदेश नीति अब चलायेगे, सही ढंग की नानअलाइन्मेंट की पालिसी अब चलायेगे। अब ऐसा जमाना आ गया है जब सरकार को अपनी पिछली भूल पर पर्दा न डाल करके सही नीति को आगे चलाना चाहिये। इसीलिये मेरा यह कहना है कि सरकार को यह कबूल करना चाहिये कि उसकी जो नीति रही है वह सही ढंग की नानअलाइन्मेंट की नीति नहीं रही है और आगे चल करके हम उसको सुधारेंगे। आज कोई संकट इस नानअलाइन्मेंट की पालिसी पर है ही नहीं। यह तो एक भूत खड़ा किया गया है हिन्दुस्तान के सामने असली जो मसले हैं उनसे नजर हटाने के लिये। अगर कभी हिन्दुस्तान को बिन लगाव की नीति ने सही ढंग का कार्य

किया है पिछले १५ साल में तो वह सिर्फ इंडोनेशिया के सवाल पर किया है। जब इंडोनेशिया का स्वराज्य की लड़ाई चल रही थी उस वक्त जो हमने काम किया है वह सिर्फ एक ऐसी नीति रही है जो वाजिटिव रही है और नानअलाइन्मेंट की हिमायत में रही है। बाकी जितनी भी पालिसी हमने चलायी है वह गलत पालिसी रही है और नानअलाइन्मेंट की बिल्कुल हमी नहीं रही है। मैं आपको कुछ मिसालें देना चाहता हूँ जिनके ऊपर हमारा रुख बिल्कुल गलत रहा है। जब अफ्रीका में लुमुम्बा सरकार का सवाल उठा तो हमारी सरकार ने मान्यता नहीं दी। लुमुम्बा मारे गये और वहाँ कांगो में जो असली जनता की शक्ति थी उसको खत्म किया गया और उसको हमारी सरकार देखती रह गई। इस तरह पूरे अफ्रीका में जो हमारा ताकत था वह घट गई और अफ्रीका में हमारे प्रति एक ऐसा घृणा पैदा हो गई जिसका फल हम आज देख रहे हैं। बाद में जब अलजीरिया का सवाल आया तो जब तक फ्रांस की सरकार ने अलजीरिया को मान्यता नहीं दी तब तक हमारी सरकार ने भी अलजीरिया की सरकार को मान्यता नहीं दी। ३३ देशों ने अलजीरिया को मान लिया था, लेकिन हमारी सरकार बैठा रह गई। अगर हमारी सही ढंग की नानअलाइन्मेंट की पालिसी होती और हमारी स्वतंत्र विदेश नीति होती तो उस वक्त हमें चाहिये था कि जो सही सरकार हो उसको हम मान्यता दें, लेकिन हमारी नीति ऐसी नहीं रही। फिर आज भी हम देख रहे हैं कि जहाँ तक जर्मनी का सवाल है, वहाँ पर जब मान्यता की बात होती है तो वेस्ट जर्मनी और ईस्ट जर्मनी दोनों को मान्यता दी जानी चाहिये। लेकिन हम क्या कर रहे हैं? हम वेस्ट जर्मनी को मान्यता देते हैं और ईस्ट जर्मनी को मान्यता नहीं देते हैं। इस तरह हमारी विदेश नीति की स्वतंत्रता कहाँ रही?

यह और भी शर्मनाक बात है कि जब चीन हमारे देश पर आक्रमण करना है और हमारे देश के हिस्से को हड़प लेता है, उस समय भी हमारी सरकार यू० एन०ओ० में जा करके लाल चीन को स्थान दिलाने के लिए प्रयत्न करती है। यह क्या चीज है? यह एक शर्मनाक बात है। अगर हम लोगों को प्रयास करना चाहिये था तो दोनों चीन को वहाँ बिठलाने का प्रयास करना चाहिये था। अगर हमारी कोई स्वतंत्र पालिसी है तो हम दोनों चीन की मान्यता के लिये प्रयास करते। आज हम कम्युनिस्ट चीन को वहाँ बिठलाने के लिये हर प्रकार का प्रयत्न करते हैं। इस तरह से जो हमारी सारी विदेश नीति रही है वह गलत रहा है। हिमालय के बारे में, नेपाल, भूटान, सिक्किम और जितने भी हिमालय के प्रान्त हैं उनके बारे में भी जो हमारी नीति रही है वह गलत रही है। पहले से हम लोग कहते आये हैं, खास करके सोशलिस्ट पार्टी कहती आयी है कि तिब्बत के ऊपर हमें चीन का अधिकार नहीं मानना चाहिये। शुरू में जो गलती कर दी गई उसका नतीजा आज हमें दिखाई दे रहा है। लेकिन आज भी सरकार यह मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं है कि उसने गलती की थी। सरकार अब भी दावा करके कहती है कि तिब्बत के ऊपर चीन का अधिकार रहना चाहिये। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जब बार-बार यह कहते हैं कि हजारों वर्षों से चीन का अधिकार तिब्बत पर रहा है तो ताज्जुब होता है। इतिहास में कहीं कोई ऐसा मिसाल नहीं है कि हजारों वर्ष तिब्बत के ऊपर चीन का अधिकार रहा हो। कई बार तो तिब्बत का चीन के ऊपर अधिकार रहा है इसको क्यों नहीं देखते हैं हमारे प्रधान मंत्री। असल में चाहिये कि वे इतिहास फिर पढ़ें।

फिर हिमालय के बारे में जब हम कहते हैं तो हिमालय के जो प्रान्त हैं उनके बारे में हमें एक अलग से पालिसी बनानी चाहिये। हिमालय के प्रान्तों में जो लोग हैं उनको जब तक हम यह विश्वास नहीं दिला सकते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान उनकी हिफाजत कर सकता है

[श्री गोड़े मुराहरि]

शक्ति के साथ कर सकता है तब तक हम उन प्रदेशों में अपनी ताकत और अपना जो कुछ सम्बन्ध है उसको कायम नहीं रख सकते। इसलिये हमें चाहिये कि हम हिमालय के बारे में एक अलग से पालिसी बनयें। हम को हाल में एक चीज मालम हुई है कि शिमला में एक नया रूल निकाला गया है। ७५ साल से कोई शिमला अलाउन्स चला आ रहा था, लेकिन उसको बन्द कर दिया गया है। इस तरह की छोटी मांटी चीजों को हमें देखना चाहिये। जो चीज ७५ साल से पहाड़ी लोगों को दे रहे हैं वह अगर आप बन्द कर रहे हैं तो उनके मन में क्या होगा? हिमालय के जो बसने वाले हैं उनके मन में हम ऐसी प्रतिक्रिया पैदा कर रहे हैं जो हमारे खिलाफ जायगी इस तरह की चीजों को भी हमें बन्द करना चाहिये। साथ साथ हमारी सरकार को इस बात के लिये सावधान रहना चाहिये कि जो तिब्बत के शरणार्थी आये हुये हैं उनको हिमालय के प्रान्तों में नहीं बसाना चाहिये क्योंकि चीन हमेशा से यह दावा करता आया है कि जहाँ जहाँ तिब्बती हैं वह चीन का प्रान्त है। इसलिये क्या ठिकाना कि कुछ साल के बाद चीन यह कहने लगे कि बर्मशाला, शिमला और मसूरी के पास जहाँ जहाँ तिब्बती बसाये गये हैं वह चीन का प्रान्त है। इसलिये हम लोगों को भी दूरदर्शी रह करके इन सब चीजों पर गौर करना चाहिये। इनका वहीं बसाना हो, तो मैसूर में बसा सकते हैं या नीलगिरी में बसा सकते हैं।

चीन के बारे में जब बड़े बड़े भाषण दिये गये तो हमें यह भी सोचना चाहिये कि चीन के ऊपर जो भी हमारा रुख रहा है वह गलत रहा है और अभी भी उसको सुधारने की कोई कोशिश नहीं हो रही है। जब तक हम चीन की शक्ति को नहीं पहचानते और उसका मुकाबिला करने की हर तैयारी नहीं करेंगे, तब तक हम उसका क्या मुकाबिला करेंगे। उसकी शक्ति क्या है? कुछ यहां पर आंकड़े दिये गये हैं। फौलाद में हमारा सालाना प्रोडक्शन ३५ लाख टन है

और चीन का सालाना प्रोडक्शन डेढ़ करोड़ टन है। और कोयला ६१ करोड़ टन हमारा है और ४० करोड़ टन चीन का है। अनाज को आप ले लीजिये तो हिन्दुस्तान का अनाज ८ करोड़ टन है और चीन का २५ करोड़ टन है। इस तरह से उनकी उन्नति होती जाती है और हम यहां बैठे बैठे कहते हैं कि हम बड़ी तैयारी कर रहे हैं। क्या तैयारी हुई है? सरकार कहती है कि आर्थिक रंग में तैयारी कर रहे थे, देश की उन्नति कर रहे थे इसलिये रक्षा में उतनी तैयारी नहीं हो पाई, तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि चीन जब आर्थिक रंग में इतनी तैयारी करके इतना बढ़ सकता है तो क्या वजह है कि हम बढ़ नहीं पाये? कहीं न कहीं दोष जरूर है। यह कहना कि चीन बड़ा देश है और चीन में ज्यादा लोग बसते हैं भी गलत होगा क्योंकि चीन की जनसंख्या हमारी जनसंख्या से डेढ़ गुनी है लेकिन उसका जो प्रोडक्शन है उसमें वह बहुत आगे चला गया है। तो क्या वजह है? तो हमको पूरी चीज को देख करके आर्थिक चिंता को भी सुधारना पड़ेगा और जब तक हम आर्थिक रंग और रक्षा रंग दोनों को साथ साथ ठीक नहीं करते हैं हम चीन का मुकाबिला नहीं कर सकते हैं। दोनों प्रकार की तैयारी होनी चाहिये—एक हिस्सा रक्षा का है तो दूसरा हिस्सा आर्थिक उन्नति का है।

जब हम आर्थिक शक्ति की बात करते हैं तब हमें आजकल समाज में जो गैरबराबरियां हैं उसको भी ठीक करना चाहिये। जब तक ये गैरबराबरियां रहेंगी तब तक आर्थिक रंग में हमारी कोई उन्नति नहीं हो पायेगी और जब तक आर्थिक रंग को सुधार नहीं पायेंगे तब तक चीन का मुकाबिला नहीं कर पायेंगे।

मैं एक चीज इमर्जेंसी के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं। इमर्जेंसी बहुत दिन चली लेकिन उसका आज क्या फल हमें मिला है। हमें यह देखने में आता है कि कोई भी चीज ऐसी नहीं हुई है जो कि इस इमर्जेंसी के कारण हुई हो। देश की जनता में उत्तेजना आई थी और देश

की जनता रक्षा के काम के लिये हर कुर्बानी करने को तैयार है, तैयार थी और अभी भी है, लेकिन उसका पूरा पूरा इस्तेमाल सरकार की ओर से नहीं हो पाया है, क्योंकि सरकार असल में चीन से लड़ाई नहीं करना चाहती है, वह चीन से बातचीत और वार्तालाप करना चाहती है। हमारा चीन के प्रति जो ख रहा है उसको हम देखे। पांच साल पहले अक्सार्ड-चिन के बारे में हमने कहा था कि अक्सार्ड-चिन को पहले छोड़ो उसके बाद हम तुम से बात करेंगे लेकिन उसको हमने छोड़ दिया। फिर बाद में हमने कहा कि सितम्बर ८ की जो पोजीशन है उस पर चले जाओ तो फिर बात कौन ले लेकिन उसके बाद कोलम्बो प्रोपोजल्स हो गया—जिसके लिये प्रधान मन्त्री साहब कभी कभी बड़े जोश में कह जाते हैं कि ८ सितम्बर से भी अच्छा है। अब हमारी स्थिति यह है कि हमने कोलम्बो प्रोपोजल्स मान लिया है और अगर कल चीन उसको भी नहीं माने तो फिर और भी प्रोपोजल्स आयेगे और उसको भी मान कर चलेंगे। तो हमारा सारा रुख उनके साथ बातचीत करने का है लड़ाई का नहीं है। तो एक तरफ इमजेंसी लागू करियेगा और दूसरी तरफ इमजेंसी का जो रुख होना चाहिये, सरकार में दृढ़ता नहीं होगी लड़ाई चलाने के लिये तो फिर इमजेंसी से क्या फायदा है। मैं कहता हूँ कि इमजेंसी को तुरन्त खत्म करना चाहिये और हमारी सरकार रक्षा के लिये जो कुछ करना चाहती है वह साधारण कानून के जरिये से कर सकती है। इमजेंसी के डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रेगुलेशंस वगैरह जो है उनका बहुत दुरुपयोग हो रहा है। आज ही मुझे एक पत्र मिला है सम्भलपुर से, जहाँ कि हमारे एक लोकसभा के सदस्य को गिरफ्तार किया गया है और उनके साथ साथ १० अन्य लोगों को भी गिरफ्तार किया गया है। उनका सिर्फ यही गुनाह था कि वहाँ एक सम्मेलन हुआ जिस में उन लोगों ने कुछ भाषण दिया और उन भाषणों में यह कहा गया था कि जबरन डिफेंस फंड का कलेक्शन जो हो रहा है वह नहीं होना

चाहिये और उसके साथ ही साथ यह भी कहा गया था कि हम देश की रक्षा के लिये हर तैयारी करने को तैयार हैं और किसानों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा कुर्बानी करने की बातें कही गई थीं। लेकिन वहाँ के एक पुलिस आफिसर ने इन लोगों को बुलाकर थाने में गिरफ्तार किया। एक और बात है। बोलंगीर में बार-पली के गांव में एक नायब तहसीलदार बैठे हुए थे। यह ७ फरवरी की बात है। वह सुबह ६ से १० बजे तक वहाँ बैठे हुए थे और किसानों को बुलाकर जबरन डिफेंस फंड एकट्ठा करवा रहे थे। तो इस तरह का जबरन फंड एकट्ठा करने से कोई उत्तेजना नहीं आयेगी और जो उत्तेजना आई थी वह भी खत्म हो जायेगी। असल में जो सरकार का रुख है वह वही है जो कि अंग्रेजी जमाने में था। जिनने अफसर हैं वे वही हैं। अंग्रेजी की जब लड़ाई चली तो उनको जबरन कलेक्शन करना पड़ा था और उन्होंने किसानों से बहुत मुश्किल से जुल्म और जबरन करके कलेक्शन किया था, वही अफसर आज भी हैं और वे वही रुख आज भी दिखा रहे हैं। जो इस तरह से किसानों में और जनता में जो जोश आया था उसको भी खत्म करने वाली बात हो रही है। इसलिये मैं सरकार से कहूँगा कि इस तरह की चीज नहीं होनी चाहिये और जबरन कलेक्शन को तुरन्त बन्द करना चाहिये और इमजेंसी को खत्म करके डिफेंस आफ इंडिया रेगुलेशंस में जो भी इस तरह की अरेस्ट्स हुई हैं उसको खत्म करके सब को रिहा करना चाहिये।

अगर हिन्दुस्तान को सही ढंग से रक्षा करने के लिये तैयार होना है तो सेना में भी सुधार होना चाहिये। जो सेना पहले की रही है उससे काम नहीं चलेगा। सेना को अगर सही मानों में जनता की सेना मानना है तो फिर कांस्ट्रिप्शन की जरूरत है। कोई एक साल का ग्रुप ले लीजिये और सबका कांस्ट्रिप्शन करके चाहे वह बंगी का लड़का हो या चाहे सबसे बड़े आदमी का लड़का हो, सबको जबरन भर्ती करके—एक सही ढंग की पीपुल्स आर्मी, जनता

[श्री गोडे मुराहरि]

की सेना, बनानी चाहिये जो कि हमेशा के लिये सेना बन कर नहीं रहे लेकिन जब हमारे ऊपर संकट आये तो उनको सेवा के लिये बुला सकते हैं। तो इस तरह का कांस्क्रिप्शन करके सबको ट्रेनिंग देना चाहिये।

इसके साथ साथ मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारी सोसाइटी में जो बैंकवर्ड लोग हैं जिनमें औरतें भी हैं उनको खास कर के रिजर्वेशन देना चाहिये। हम कहते हैं कि कम से कम ६० परसेंट उन लोगों के लिये हर स्थान में रिजर्वेशन होना चाहिये, औरतों के लिये, बैंकवर्ड क्लास के लिये, हरिजनों के लिये और आदिवासियों के लिये। ये ६० परसेंट आबादी के होते हैं और हम तो सिर्फ ६० परसेंट की मांग कर रहे हैं।

इसके साथ ही साथ, सोशलिस्ट पार्टी की नीति के बारे में जो एक बड़ी गलत-फहमी फैली हुई है—भाषा नीति के बारे में—उसे भी साफ करना चाहूंगा।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): It is time to wind up, Mr. Murahari.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि: This is the last point. यह कहा जा रहा है कि हमारी भाषा नीति हिन्दी को लादने की है, यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है। सोशलिस्ट पार्टी की यह नीति रही है कि जो हिन्दी प्रान्त हैं वहां पर तुरंत अंग्रेजी को खत्म कर के हिन्दी को लागू करें और जो अहिन्दी भाषी प्रान्त हैं वहां पर अपनी भाषा चलायें—आंध्र में तेलगू चलायें और मद्रास में तमिल चलायें, यानी अपनी मातृभाषा में ही सभी कामकाज हो और अहिन्दी भाषी प्रान्त और उनके केन्द्र के साथ जो ताल्लुकात होंगे, वह चाहे तो अंग्रेजी में भी कर सकते हैं और जब तक चाहे तब तक कर सकते हैं। यह हमारी पालिसी रही है लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की सारी पोलिटिकल पार्टीज और हिन्दुस्तान के सारे अखबार इस चीज में मजा लेते हैं कि सोशलिस्ट पार्टी को

बदनाम करे इस भाषा नीति को लेकर करक। तो मैं इस चीज को भी साफ करना चाहता था।

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I support the motion. Under the stress and strain of the great responsibility shouldered by the Administration I do not think a better statement of policy could have been placed before both Houses of Parliament by the President to protect the freedom, integrity and the progress of this great nation. Critics who are interested in criticism only may find some loopholes here and there in the Address to find fault with the Administration and the achievements of this Government. But even all these critics from what we have seen, could not have a common ground to attack the Administration and the policies chalked out and placed before Parliament. When we go through the overall picture of what has been enunciated, we can come to the conclusion that under the present circumstances these can be the only policies that can be chalked out to meet the present emergent situation. For the last 15 years this country had been striving hard with the meagre resources that it had and with assistance from friendly countries to provide a sound economic status to all the citizens of this country. It had been the policy of this Government to establish by democratic and peaceful means a socialistic State and even though we have not achieved to the full extent of our ambitions we can easily claim that the achievements of this country for the last 15 years have been spectacular and we can find progress in the economic, social, cultural, educational and on almost all other fronts in the country. In spite of that there may be persons who may hold extreme views, who may say that our policies are quite slow and there may be persons who may be having conservative views, saying that all our progressive policies do damage to the economic set-up of this country. With all that we have the great satisfaction that till this time our policies have been well appreciated by the people of this country and these have been fully supported in the last fifteen years by the

majority of the citizens of this great nation. When we speak of the economic progress of this country, we are led to think of the various aspects by which the nation is to be built up. Hitherto, being a peace-loving nation, we have been under the impression that by building up the economic set-up of our country we will be doing everything for the progress and preservation of the status of our country. But the Chinese attack on our borders came as a stab in the back and the people of this country have now realised that economic progress alone will not do for the existence and for the preservation of the freedom and progress of the country. That we have realised. And now for the last few months we have been experiencing that the entire nation rose up like one man to defend the freedom of this country. We have seen that in spite of the extreme friendship that we have been extending to our neighbour, Communist China, we could get only attack on and even aggression against our borders. We have seen that the friendship that we have shown in the international field and also in all other spheres towards the Chinese Government has not been well appreciated by China. It may have been due to their ideology that these people could not appreciate the friendly attitude of this nation. This Chinese attack, according to me, is a blessing in disguise. We have now started thinking of building up our defence forces. In spite of the economic progress made, we realise that unless we build up a strong defence, this country cannot exist as a free nation in the comity of nations. So, every effort is being made now by our own people's co-operation and from the assistance from friendly countries to strengthen our defence forces. When we speak of the defence of this country, I am led to say something about the way in which we are handling defence matters at present.

Whenever we talk of defence every Tom, Dick and Harry wants to know how we are managing the defence affairs, how much ammunition we are manufacturing, how much we are get-

ting, where it is stored, where it is to be used and how it is to be used. All such details are asked by every man and even by some supposed to be or so called responsible persons. They indulge in asking such questions and surprisingly enough our Government also at times divulges some of the secrets which should not have been divulged as far as defence matters are concerned. Defence means not only acquiring the best of arms and ammunition but also keeping a sort of secrecy in handling them. This tendency should go. We have been experiencing that this Government had not kept as much secrecy as they should with regard to defence matters. The attention of the Government should be drawn to this and I hope that the tendency on the part of some of the responsible persons in this country in asking for each and every minor detail about the defence activities of this country will not be repeated on patriotic grounds.

Again, from the President's Address we could see that in order to augment defence production we are going to have ordnance factories established and wherever there are factories we are going to expand them to augment defence production. Since most of these ordnance factories were existing at the time of World War II, I think most of the neighbouring countries know the details about the working of almost all the factories that are existing at present. They know in which factory, in which location, what ammunition is manufactured. They also know what capacity those factories have and how much modern arms can be manufactured in the factories in India. All such details they know. Even though it has been kept as a secret within India, it is not a secret outside India because during World War II most of the countries were co-operating in the war effort in this country. So, while establishing new factories it should be the endeavour of the Government to establish them in various distant places irrespective of the cost and irrespective of the non-availability of materials and such other matters. And when-

[Shri Joseph Mathen.]

ever we establish these factories it should be our intention to maintain the maximum possible security and secrecy with regard to them.

Now, during this emergency we have been experiencing an all-out co-operation from the various sections of the people. We have been experiencing an all-out support from all political parties for our defence effort.

[THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

The day before yesterday I had been listening to the speech of the hon. Shri Bhupesh Gupta. He has been complaining that in spite of the all-out support that has been extended by his Party some of his colleagues are still kept under detention. This is a matter which should be given much importance. On the very face of his appeal it is quite reasonable that being a prominent member of the Communist Party remaining outside it is his responsibility to see that his colleagues are brought out of jail detention. But when we go into the details of the matter our attention is drawn to what had actually happened in the meeting of the Communists' National Council when they were to pass their resolution on the Chinese aggression. If that resolution was passed at that time unanimously, I do not think that this Government or any person in this country would dare to say that any of the Communists should be kept under detention even during the emergency time. That democracy has taken deep root in this country is quite evident from the fact that even at a time when the Communist Government of China had been launching great attacks on our borders, even at a time when they were preparing for war on our borders, even at a time when the pro-Chinese and pro-Russian Communists of West Bengal were fighting in the streets, the Communist Party was recognised as a political party to function in this country as any other political party. This is a matter which should merit the attention of all democrats of this country and elsewhere. Had it not been for the Indian

National Congress which is in power and which from its very inception is brought up with the ideals of democracy, this Communist Party would not have had the right to function in this country at a time when . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: I have only started, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You started at 2-15.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: As I was saying, the Communist Party would not have had the chance to function in this country at a time when even according to them there are anti-social elements, anti-national and unpatriotic elements within their Party. Madam, I hope Mr. Bhupesh Gupta who had been pleading for the release of those who are kept under detention will take the initiative to expose those unpatriotic elements within his Party, who have been all the time functioning against this Government and who cannot believe that a Communist country can commit aggression. Such people will have to be exposed by Shri Bhupesh Gupta, and I hope he will come forward to bell the cat and thus enable the Government to detain only those persons who are anti-national and unpatriotic. In this connection I hope the Communist Party will help the Government and enable it to avoid detaining the patriotic elements in the Communist Party, so that Government may not be compelled to depend upon the Intelligence reports to detain their members. Narrow party feelings should not stand in the way of the patriotic instincts of Shri Bhupesh Gupta to point out the anti-national and non-patriotic elements of his Party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There is no anti-national or non-patriotic element in the Party.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: There is a pro-Chinese section in the Party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is all C.I.D. lie, all these utterances, to repeat this kind of thing. Do you belong to the Intelligence Branch?

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: Then, Madam, he has been complaining that there is compulsion for the collection for the Defence Fund in Kerala. Regarding that information also, he being a good soul might have been misled by the pro-Chinese elements in the Kerala Communist Party. He might have been misled, and I know perfectly well that if Shri Bhupesh Gupta had known the fact that the Kerala people were so liberal in contributing to the National Defence Fund, he would not have dared to point out that matter on the floor of the House.

Again I wish to say something about the industrial policy of the Government. With regard to the industrial policy there had been a lot of criticism. Whenever we are to establish industries in this country, there are monopolist areas which claim them, and because of the way in which the cases are handled most often we have found that most of the regions of this country are to be satisfied with Community Development and Panchayati Raj programmes, whereas there are certain areas which are monopolising in establishing public sector and private sector industries. This tendency should go. There should be parity as far as the distribution of industries is concerned. Regional parity should be the motto whenever licences are issued for the establishment of private industries, and whenever we are to establish public sector industries, it should be our endeavour to see that they go to the non-industrialised areas.

Madam, I wish to say a word on the educational system and I finish. We have been hearing for the last two years that the medium of instruction throughout this country would be changed over to the regional language. I have been all the time pointing out the danger of changing over the medium of instruction to the regional

language. If at all the medium of instruction should be changed in this country, it should be to the national language, so that when people educated in the various parts of the country assemble in the capital, they may not feel that they are people from some other countries. Madam, according to me, it is not time yet for switching over to Hindi as the medium of instruction. So, to maintain the integration of this country and to avoid regional feelings and other conflicts, it would be better to wait and see when we can introduce Hindi as the medium of instruction. Thank you.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: Madam Deputy Chairman, I felt rather sorry when I heard the speeches of the Members of the Opposition Parties. Some of them are of the opinion that the emergency should continue. Others are of the opinion that it should not. Then also they are of the opinion that some more people should be arrested. Some other Members said that those who have been arrested should be let off. When they say that there is no emergency, they also at the same time criticise the Government that defence preparations are not being made. They say that we should now get the maximum amount of help from wherever it is available, and they also plead that there is no emergency. Some Members of Jan Sangh had said in the last session as well as in this session that there was not going to be any more attack by China at all. I personally am not at all sure that there will be no attack.

**श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौर-
ड़िया :** किसने कहा ?

कुमारी शान्ता वशिष्ठ : एक थापके
मेम्बर ने कहा ।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालाल जी चौरड़िया
यहां तो हम दो ही मेम्बर हैं ।

कुमारी शान्ता वशिष्ठ : श्री वाजपेयी
जी ने कहा ।

श्री विनय कुमार मन्नालाल जो चोरडिया:
भाप गलत कहती हैं।

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: I do feel that we cannot be complacent about it that there will be no attack. If no attack is coming from China, where is the quarrel, where is the trouble? If no attack is coming, then we should not be worried about the defence of the country and all the rest of it. We are making preparations and we are worried about it and there are all the heat and stress because we are expecting that there may be further attacks on the country. If the Opposition Members feel that there will be no attack and so on, then I suppose there should be no difficulty, there should be no disagreement amongst the various Members in this House.

Mr. Mani as usual—speaking I do not know on whose behalf—said . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: On his own behalf.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: He said that there is no war, no aggression and no emergency, and that we should have emergency declared only for the northern parts of India and not for the South. I do not see how if North India has difficulty, South India will escape that difficulty or how the whole country will not be affected by it. Our stand is that even if Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim has any trouble, it will become our trouble. If there is any trouble in a nearby country, we cannot remain unaffected by its repercussions. So, Mr. Mani's analysis is very dangerous and I wonder what he means.

Mr. Mani also referred very unkindly to and made a very dirty remark about the Chief Minister of Orissa as to what the gentleman was doing in secrecy. And he wanted the Government to expose their plans and come out with their plans about the defence preparations and so on. I would like Mr. Mani to expose his plans as to what they are, say what

he means and what his motives are. Here is an adviser of the Government to advise them on various matters affecting defence and other preparations. He is an expert and a very capable person. I do not understand as to how Mr. Mani could have any objection to that.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: If you want, you should make him a full-time adviser and ask him to resign his Chief Ministership.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: If the advice is needed only on occasions, he can do it part-time. If it is wanted full-time, he can be made a full-time adviser.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: There are a number of complaints from Orissa.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: These complaints are baseless.

AN HON. MEMBER: They are masquerading under the Congress flag.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: And he has accused, along with a number of other Members, that the Emergency is being used for party purposes. I would be happy to inform him a little bit as to how things are functioning; he may not very much know about the functioning of political parties or even about the Congress Party, if I may say so. The parties which have been all through parading their unity and devotion have said in each speech, at each meeting and from each platform that they are interested in helping the war effort and so on and 90 per cent. of their time and energy they have spent in criticising the Government and making capital gain out of this propaganda. I am sorry to say that while professing to give support, they have criticised everybody, beginning from the Prime Minister down to everybody else with a desire to make capital out of it, whereas he is very much worried that the Congress Party is making capital out of the Emergency. It is the duty and responsibility of the Congress Party, that is the

ruling party, to help in the war effort because the Government basically and essentially because of its responsibility as government, has to look to defence and other work connected with defence, work like the promotion of war effort, etc. and the ruling party's job is to help the Government in the promotion of defence efforts. It is part of the ruling party's job to do that work but the party is not making political capital out of it, whereas the other parties, particularly the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Parties, have been carrying on a lot of propaganda and using the situation for party ends. And if Mr. Mani is interested, I would like him to study this aspect a little more deeply than he has done.

Mr. Ganga Sharan Sinha said that we suffered a diplomatic loss and we were isolated, and quoted Vivekananda who said some sixty years ago that we should not depend upon the Chinese. Now he must remember that even as far back as twenty or twenty-five or thirty years ago, when General Chiang-Kai-Shek was in charge and head of State in China, the Americans gave him full help and they were friendly with him. They were giving him as much help as they could. But, unfortunately, the people did not want his regime and that regime was thrown out and a Communist set-up came into being. (*Interruption*) Anyway, the fact is that even America was helping Gen. Chiang-Kai-Shok at that time. He and his family came here sometime in the 1940s. They were received by our Prime Minister. We welcomed them, we were very excited about their visit. And today, of course, they are in Formosa; they are no more ruling China. But to say that for ever and ever and for decades and centuries we should never trust a nation, is a sort of thinking which I cannot appreciate or like. It is wrong to say that we should have never trusted China. Well, at one time, Japan and America were engaged in a very bitter conflict, they were fighting a war. Atom bombs were dropped on Japan and they completely finished those

cities in Japan, and Japan was badly defeated. But it is the Americans who have been helping them and who have been carrying out the reconstruction programmes in that country. So, you cannot say that for ever you will not be friendly with any country or that for ever you will be against any country. That criterion cannot be applied. I would like . . .

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: China also will be able to help us build our country after some time.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: Well, America and England are helping us; Russia is helping us and the European countries are helping us. Therefore, do not worry about that. I would like to give one or two suggestions about the war effort. If we want every single human being to become a part of the war effort, if we want every single family to invest something in the war effort, to defend and to feel for the country genuinely rather than be a spokesman of A or B or C or D—being a spokesman of somebody is not going to help our country—and if we want to unite this country and also work for the strong defence of our country, conscription is, I suppose, absolutely inevitable and essential. Mr. Ruthnaswamy said that conscription was not feasible because we had a large number of people and a lot of equipment would be necessary. If we want to fight the Chinese whose army is four or five times larger than ours, we must have a large number of people involved in the war effort, and they should be equipped and trained for the defence of the country. Unless every single family is involved in the defence of the motherland, everyone will not feel the same way; everyone will not be as genuine as the other. Everyone should invest something to protect the country because today a certain section is working hard, making sacrifices and investing funds to protect and defend the country. And there is another section—the very rich section, the moneyed section—which will not part with its money, with its gold. But those people want to make capital

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht.]
 out of the Emergency. Out of the war effort, out of the war situation, they want to promote their sales, they want their trucks to be used, they want their machinery to be used, they want their factories to be used for production purposes, for war operations, so that they may make more and more money. When one section of the country is making tons of money and another section is making sacrifices, there can never be any unity in that country. That will only be a foolish dream. Only when every single individual is involved in the defence of the country, only when every single family sacrifices something for the defence of the country and only when every person—even the sons of Tatas, Birlas and of Mr. Jaipuria also and the other rich people—go to the front, there will be unity in the country; otherwise there can be no unity because these people would be wanting to make money and become richer and richer and carry on propaganda on behalf of various other countries and be their spokesmen and condemn their own country and their own government. And they will not move their little finger to help this country at all. They will become even allied with various other countries and with various people outside this country and they may become capable of owing their loyalty beyond this country and outside this country, as the Communists are said to be. Therefore, I feel that every single adult should be given compulsory military training and we should instil in people a greater sense of discipline, a greater sense of responsibility and also make them partners in the building up of the country, in the defence of the country. I think it is absolutely necessary that we should have compulsory military training for adults for two or three years, I mean for people between the ages of 18 and 40. And every single person must be conscripted and put in the regular army. Apart from this at least one adult member from each family should be in the defence services. Only then would they feel that this is their country and

they will speak rightly and behave also rightly and this question of who should be arrested and who should not be arrested will partly disappear because everybody will be involved in the welfare of the country.

Another point that I would like to make here is about our intelligence service which is very, very poor indeed. So long as our intelligence is as bad as it is things cannot improve. Foreign people and foreign countries know what is happening in our country, but our own intelligence and our own men do not know what is happening in our country. How can we take good care of our defence, our security, our plans and programmes when we have no idea as to what foreigners are doing in our own country, what our neighbours are doing in our country and what is happening in other countries about our own situation? It is absolutely necessary to improve the intelligence department of our country radically and extensively, to bring about better quality in the department and to collect intelligence from every higher sources, higher levels and from higher society. Anybody can go to a public meeting and find out what is said there. Everybody knows what is said in a public meeting. But what is happening behind the scenes is very necessary to be found out if we want to take good care of our security etc. Closing our eyes to the various things and developments that are taking place is not going to help our country particularly at this juncture.

I would also make a few points here about what our friend, Mr. Mitra, said. He was rather worried that some of the Members went and asked the Prime Minister whether air bases were going to be handled by foreign powers and foreign technicians and so on and so forth. Every Member has a right to go and find out, make some enquiries and get some information from the Prime Minister or from the Government. The Prime Minister said this, not on those 15 M.Ps.

who went there—I was one of them—but he also said it to the Executive Committee of the Party and in the House yesterday, in the Lok Sabha, and I do not see why this should upset Mr Mitra so much, because people have a right to know, and therefore he clarified a certain point though, I think, the press is still carrying on the controversy, leading front page news is being made out of this so-called air umbrella, and so on and so forth.

Mr Mani yesterday pointed out in his speech—referring to the air umbrella—that the US Ambassador had said that all the help was being given at the instance of the country asking for it and the Prime Minister should clarify it. Yesterday, the Prime Minister also made a statement in the other House about it. Further I do not see why Mr Mitra should be so worried and come out with a fantastic defence of the Anand Bazar Patrika, which even the Prime Minister yesterday had to condemn in no uncertain terms as the paper was very objectionable and so on and so forth. Not only the Anand Bazar Patrika, but I think there are a large number of other papers also which use very indecent and very objectionable language and make propaganda, and they are not helping the war effort by any means at all, and they should be banned by the Home Ministry very quickly, without any delay. There is this “Opinion,” there is this “Disturbing Trends” and some other papers including some of our . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Gopala Reddi's photograph appeared in the Hindustan Standard together with that of the owner of the Anand Bazar Patrika, Mr. Ashok Sarkar, Hindustan Standard of 17th of this month.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: Now the photograph is not of any concern to us, but I am sorry that these papers are doing a lot of bad propaganda against the Government and the func-

tioning of the Government. They should be banned, and when Mr Mani referred to Mr Churchill, I may remind him that in the country of Mr. Churchill all these people would have been behind bars, and these papers would have been banned, and I want to know what happened to his sense of democracy when America did not always speak that India should be given freedom, when the freedom battle was going on, they did not categorically and dogmatically say that India should be free. Even when trouble was going on in the Congo and the work of the United Nations there was being sabotaged by some of the western countries, even then Mr Mani did not get very disturbed about it. Mr Murahari said that when Mr. Lumumba was killed our Government did not take any action and they became very unpopular. Perhaps he has forgotten the facts, and I may remind him that the Government was deeply concerned about the Congo affair. That was one reason why our troops were sent as a part of the United Nations' team to help in the work in the Congo, which they have done creditably and very well and for which they have been given credit by various countries, and I may also say that various other countries had been sabotaging and hindering the work of the United Nations there, which they should not have done. If they were a party to the United Nations, they should have honoured the commitments and responsibilities of the United Nations in the Congo. They had not done so. But our freedom-loving friends do not seem to bother about what happens in the Congo; even to our troops in Congo. They are highly worried about three people being arrested somewhere in Delhi, and such things, and I am very sorry that the democratic principles which they want to be applied here, they do not want that those should be applied even in those democratic countries from which we have drawn these democratic principles. When the parties are banned or even when every single individual is arrested during the time of war, at that time

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht.]

nobody questions it; nobody says that this is a restriction on the liberty of the individual. Mr. Mani would be surprised to know that in the Second World War every single Japanese in America, even when they had been there for three generations, was interned and kept in camps, and in that country even the American nationals who had married Japanese had been kept in internment camps and they were not trusted by their own people, because this was necessary for the prosecution of the war effort. And if any such restriction on individual liberty is imposed here, they become very worried. During the 1942 movement, when the newspapers were banned, when news was completely censored, nothing of the movement could come out in the press, at that time none of my friends on the Opposition side was ever worried as to why the press was not having freedom. Even the press did not complain about it though the press is highly touchy about it at this point of time, and I submit that these standards are not quite correct.

I would not like our friends here to think that in this country we should be such representatives of the people that our own people should begin to dislike us. I do not like to think of the fate of Mr. Chiang Kaishek who was not able to carry his country with him and who had to leave his country and live abroad for the last so many years. Also I do not enjoy nor like the fate of Mr. Syngman Rhee who was thrown out from his own country because he failed to keep that balance between keeping his own people together as well as being able to take help from foreign countries—he failed to maintain that balance. This is a very difficult balance to keep and Mr. Syngman Rhee had to leave, and his son had to commit suicide very recently. This country's leadership knows the pulse of the people and even if people may make tremendous efforts to undermine the leadership of this country and the leadership of this Government, the fact remains

that only this leadership and this Prime Minister of India knows the pulse of the people and tries to keep the people happy and satisfied, and promote things in the interest of the country. Surely our friends do not want that our leaders should become like Syngman Rhee, who may please American friends but be thrown out of their countries in due course and their sons may have to commit suicide. As a third example I would like to quote that in Japan, recently, when some American friend was coming there, the people were so hostile and so angry that they practically refused to receive him. People became restive and even some attempts were being made to shoot some of those Ministers of the Japanese Cabinet, because they were not happy with their very pro-American and anti-Japanese approach, or may be it was exclusively a pro-American approach, and that created difficulties for the leaders of Japan in the country of Japan.

Our leaders want, first of all, to satisfy the aspirations and hopes of our own people, and they have also to keep a balance between the help from the Western countries and that from the Russian bloc countries and our people. There has been no doubt about it that China has betrayed this country and has let down our country. There is also a very grave doubt as to how far the Communist Party is dependable in various matters, because in their armoury deception is a very recognised weapon; stabbing in the back is also a recognised weapon. Therefore I do not know how far we can depend on them. But I think it is very wrong on the part of Americans to expect us every single day to thank them and express our gratitude to them. Where a friend has to express his thanks to his friend every day, something is radically wrong with that friendship. When you need to express your gratitude day after day in every meeting, in every resolution, by every Minister and every Member of Parliament, as if we have no work to do except to thank our friends, there is something

wrong with it. If they are our friends, they should have confidence in us and we should accept the fact that they are our friends; there is no need to thank them every morning, evening and night. This is not a proper way to treat friends, and it is not becoming for their dignity to expect or want thanks and gratitude from us and from our leaders and from our people, because we are not equals then; if we have to thank every day, then we are not equals. We should be functioning on a basis of equality and that, I think, is highly necessary in international affairs.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is over.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: With these words I offer my thanks to the President for his Address.

SHRI SITARAM JAIPURIA: (Uttar Pradesh): I thank you, Madam Deputy Chairman, for giving me this opportunity for participating in the debate on the President's Address.

I hope you will agree with me that 'it is a happy augury that *Shanti* is talking of war, weapons and fronts, and I do think, and I hope everybody feels and realises, that if the *Shanti Pujaris* can think of and invoke the blessings of gods with *Sudarsan Chakra*, or bow and arrow, that would certainly be a great thing, and the victory of the country can be certainly assured.

Now, the Chinese attack has undoubtedly been one of the most unfortunate events in the modern history of our country. It has been a gross betrayal of the confidence that we had reposed in their peaceful intentions, if they at all had any. They have not only attacked us but have occupied a great portion of our territory. In both the Houses of Parliament, the solemn resolution that was passed on the 14th of November last year, I am sure, needs no repetition. That Resolution was to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India however hard and long the

struggle may be. I respectfully submit, Madam, that the President's Address does not make any mention of this Resolution, one of the most important Resolutions that has ever been passed by both Houses of Parliament, but this much it says in paragraph 9 on page 3 of the Address:

"But the experience of the last few months has warned and steeled us and made us resolve to protect ourselves from this menace".

Undoubtedly protection has to be done, but what has happened to that Resolution? Have we forgotten that Resolution? How are we going to drive the aggressor out of our country? Not by protecting ourselves but by attacking them even if it is on our soil. The spirit of the resolution is not visible. And, if I might say so, Madam, this situation needs great attention. The supremacy and sovereignty of Parliament, the resolution that was passed by it, has got to be acted upon not only in letter but also in spirit.

In fact, many politicians have been saying, and probably rightly, so, that the enthusiasm of the people has cooled down. Who is responsible for that is at the same time for all of us to judge. If the first citizen of India, our most revered President, in his Address to both the Houses of Parliament does not even mention of the Parliament's solemn resolve of November 14, 1962 to drive away the Chinese and talks of merely protecting ourselves, how are the people to react to a change in our stand? It is, in fact, a matter of regret that quite a few politicians have been taking advantage of the present situation to feather their nests by preaching class hatred, by shouting from housetops that businessmen have not contributed enough to the National Defence Fund. I can only say that this is an unfair charge.

Madam, the Colombo Proposals are before us and I sincerely wish them all success. They are up against a

[Shri Sitaram Jaipuria.]

very difficult task. The fight between India and China is a fight between a saint and a rogue. There is no doubt that ultimately the victory is of the saint but let us not forget the agony of the saint has all the time to be remembered.

Paragraph 11 on page 3 of the Address says:

"After full consideration and reference to Parliament, our Government conveyed their acceptance of these proposals, as clarified by the Colombo Powers, without any reservation."

My memory does not fail me, Sir, the acceptance of the Colombo Proposals along with their clarifications, was conveyed to the Ceylonese Prime Minister before it was considered by both Houses of Parliament. If a decision to discuss a matter in Parliament is "full consideration and reference to Parliament" I have nothing to say.

We have made very great progress in the field of education. But we should know that the curriculum of schoolgoing children is too heavy. The textbooks are often changed. Teaching of science in the elementary classes is quite unscientific and unmethodical. In the field of technical education we should have more of short-term courses. There is no doubt that we need a large number of trained graduate students and engineers. But more important is our need for having semi-skilled supervisory staff. They are to take hints from specialised engineers and have to ensure implementation of projects at the workers' level. Practical experience in industry reveals that this class is not coming up as it should be to ensure smooth functioning of industrial programmes.

There is no doubt that there has been an increase in certain lines of industrial production. But overall industrial production has not been commensurate with our requirements.

What is still more surprising is that neither production nor consumption rise or fall steadily. In one year the production is shown as abundant, but only a few months hence we feel that there is a shortage of a certain commodity. One glaring example of this is that of sugar. In reply to my question the other day, the Deputy Food Minister mentioned that export of sugar during the months of December, 1962 and January, 1963 totalled 41,101.2 tons as against 66,827 tons during the corresponding period last year. In East Uttar Pradesh and Bihar production of sugar went down by as much as 30-35 per cent. This has happened, if I might submit, due to the hectic propaganda undertaken by the States, of course, in accordance with the policy of the Centre. Do you call it sound planning? It has affected not only our much-needed foreign exchange but has also been responsible for the shortage of sugar to a certain extent for our internal consumption. There is rise in sugar price and fears of rationing and controls cannot be ruled out with their natural consequences.

Planning in fact should inculcate zest for new ideas and vision. But what is the state of planning in our country? Here the Planning Commission with its staff has become a permanent feature. It has become stale in thinking, if I may submit, and in its working. It functions more or less as a super Cabinet treating Ministries as errand boys. Many a time it is influenced by various heads of different Ministries and this mars independent thinking about planning. It acts as a super body either to put its stamp of approval on projects of various States or as an obstruction in pushing up projects by others. It has outlived its utility and should be done away with. Why not have a Planning Ministry instead of a Planning Commission where we have a full-fledged, sincere and straight-forward Planning Minister and thus utilise the great talents that are there for better use? I am one who is not against

planning as such. But I feel that the planning in our country lacks in co-ordination and integration and it has thrown us into an abyss of waste, confusion and miscalculations.

The President's Address in item No. 16 on page 5 speaks about the rise of per acre yield in certain agricultural produce. The hon. Minister of Agriculture the other day, on the 20th February, in reply to my question observed that there was no overall advance in agricultural production in the first year of the Third Plan and in the second year also, on the present reckoning, the progress may be quite modest. I trust that our Food and Agriculture Ministry must have supplied this figure about the increase in agricultural production. Why then this marked discrepancy in the two statements? It is for the Ministry concerned to explain.

Before I finish, Madam, I wish to express my gratitude to our most respected President for his Address to the joint Session of Parliament. I end with the hope that whatever else may happen in any spheres of our activities, our solemn resolve as solidly expressed by our Parliament in its resolution on the 14th November, 1962, to drive out the aggressor from our sacred soil would be honoured in letter and spirit. Thank you.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Madam Deputy Chairman, I associate myself with the hon. Members who have proposed and seconded the Motion of Thanks to the President. I am particularly thankful to the President for what he has said about the war effort of the workers. I may remind the House of what the President said:

"I should like to express our Governments gratitude to the workers of all these factories. They have responded wonderfully to the cause of the nation. This is true of others working in fields and factories and in Government undertakings all over the country"

I should say that the President was in a position to say the same thing about industry, about those who are responsible for the management of industries in this country. When the Chinese aggression began, the workers in the country were united. They were not organisationally united. They did not merge their organisations. But they were united for one purpose—increasing our industrial and defence production.

The Union Labour Ministry took a welcome lead and on the 3rd of November it brought together the representatives of all the central trade union organisations as well as the organisations of managements. Thus industrial truce was arrived at. The workers willingly agreed to work more, to forego their right to strike, to forego many other things in the interests of the country and the war effort. How the employers in the country have followed the Industrial Truce Resolution is a question. From all over the country we get reports of industrial managements, the employers of labour, curtailing production, slowing down production. The workers in the country offered to work on Sundays, they offered to forego their holidays. The employers in the country have responded, well, in a peculiar manner. They have closed their mills. They have laid off workers and retrenchment is the order of the day. If that is not fifth column activity, what is it? Take the example of Ahmedabad, the centre where the workers, under the able leadership of the INTUC, have built a very sound union. In Ahmedabad, 10 mills have closed their third shifts and 20 mills have suspended operation of looms on a large scale. Nearer home, at Kanpur—I find the Kanpur industrialists are not here at the moment—there are re-organisation schemes. There is the scheme to curtail production, there is the scheme to change the time of work of the workers which they could not enforce right from 1953 and they have been now enforced in the name of emergency because the workers are not in

[Shri Arjun Arora.]
a position to strike and retaliate and they are being laid off and the looms are idle. In Bombay, 20,000 substitute workers are idle because the employers in the textile industry, in a batch, decided that they will not employ replacements for workers going on leave. Twenty thousand badli workers, who wait at the mill gates in the off-chance of being employed as replacements are today out of work in Bombay. In other parts of the country one finds similar stories. The Hira Mills of Ujjain has closed down completely during this period when cotton textile production is as important for war effort as munition production. A cotton mill at Gulbarga in Mysore has also closed down and the Keshav Ram Cotton Mills of Bengal owned by the famous Birlas has also curtailed production, and this, in spite of the fact that the cotton textile industry in the country has made tremendous profits during the last 12 months. They are curtailing production because in the name of the emergency, they ask the workers not to strike, not to retaliate. They are carrying out re-organisation, they are closing mills and curtailing production.

The story of West Bengal is of course very alarming. Both the INTUC and the AITUC which have unions there have sent memoranda to the Government of India and the Union Labour Ministry. When the Industrial Truce was arrived at, the idea was that it would be periodically reviewed, that its observance will be periodically reviewed. This alarming situation created by the employers of the country is such that the Union Labour Minister must immediately recall the Conference at which the Industrial Truce Resolution was arrived at and ensure that in the name of emergency, the employers do not victimise the workers. The stories which one gets from all over the country go to show that the employers are doing nothing else except this. The famous Hindustan Motors of the famous Birlas whose Hindustan Times

has launched a political effence against the Congress and the Government and the defence and security of the country, have victimised 15 trade union workers. They publish front-line stories about the war effort. They publish front-line stories in the Hindustan Times claiming themselves to be the biggest patriots and in their Hindustan Motors they victimised trade union workers during this emergency when they know that for the sake of the country the workers will not strike. Now this is the situation of which the Government must take immediate notice. The workers of the country, almost everywhere, contributed one day's wages to the National Defence Fund. From a number of instances, it is clear that some of the employers in the country have pocketed the workers' contribution altogether. The workers work for the day and their contribution was not sent. Then there has been an extra day's work and every day's work in an industry means some profits to the industry. It was the moral duty of the industry, if it has an elementary sense of unity, to contribute its profit of that extra day's work to the N.D.F. That they have not done. That is something which the Government should look into. The industry in the country has failed the country during this emergency. The very fact that from all over the country one gets reports of factories closing down, curtailing production, makes it obvious that the industry is not interested in the defence of the country, in strengthening the economy of the country but is utilising even this opportunity for greater profits.

The Gujarat Branch of the INTUC has recently passed a Resolution and said that:

"It was a matter of great regret that the labourers, who had worked enthusiastically for meeting the Plan targets of the industry, should be made to suffer unemployment by industrialists just because of slight difficulty."

This is what comes from Gujarat. From West Bengal also one finds similar story. The President of the West Bengal Branch of INTUC says:

"We are convinced that the national enthusiasm that has been demonstrated by the working population and the poor middle class during the emergency, on the call of our leader, Prime Minister Nehru, is conspicuously absent in the rich and the capitalist class in our country."

The industrialists having been motivated by profiteering are seizing all opportunities provided by national emergency and industrial truce resolution. The workers, it seems, are in a boxing ring with hands tied behind their back due to the truce resolution while the other side, the employees, are with their open fists and protected by the resolution."

SHRI FARIDUL HAQ ANSARI: Take action against them.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: That is what I am demanding and I am glad that at least on this matter the P.S.P. agrees with me.

SHRI FARIDUL HAQ ANSARI: The P.S.P. agrees in all the matters that you have proved against the capitalists.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: That is a good development in the P.S.P.

SHRI FARIDUL HAQ ANSARI: Not a recent development.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: I am not reading from a communist publication. I am not quoting Mr. Dange. I am quoting the President of the West Bengal Branch of the INTUC. I am reading from *The Indian Worker* published by the INTUC. When a responsible and constructive trade union organisation like the INTUC feels that way, Madam, I cannot imagine what the workers at large in the coun-

try will be feeling. I think that in the interest of national defence it is necessary that suitable action should be taken against those capitalists who have curtailed production during this emergency. It is also necessary that immediate and quick action should be taken on the Vivian Bose Commission's Report on the Dalmia Jain group of industries. I am happy that this House will be discussing that Report one day during this session and I will deal with it when it comes. But I do feel that it is wrong for the Government to allow cement, sugar, cotton textiles and many other important industries and a section of the powerful press to remain in the hands of those criminals whom the Vivian Bose Commission has squarely condemned. That Report was laid on the Table of the House on the 23rd December and a vigilant government, particularly during this emergency, should have taken over all those industrial enterprises of that group the very next morning. I am sorry that the government of my party has not done it. I hope that the Government will do it and do it sooner than later. (*Time bell rings*). I will take only two more minutes, Madam.

An independent Member of this House, my hon. friend Mr. A. D. Mani, the other day stated that the Chinese refusal to accept the Colombo Proposals should lead to our declaration that our acceptance lapses. I was amazed to find this usually intelligent Member, belonging to an independent group or no group, was willing to accept the Chinese lead. I personally feel, Madam, that during our struggle with the Chinese aggressors the only diplomatic victory or rather the most important diplomatic victory that we have achieved is that we have accepted the Colombo Proposals which were fair and which were as near to our 8th September line as possible, and the Chinese have not.

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

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: I am not yielding.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: The hon. Member accepts the Chinese lead and he says if there is something that is good it becomes bad because the Chinese have not accepted it. Well, the Chinese are being condemned today and they will be condemned more at the bar of world opinion.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh): Who condemns them?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: You.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Thank you.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: And they will be condemned more tomorrow because they have not accepted these proposals, I mean these Colombo Proposals. These proposal should, I think, be utilised as our biggest handle to beat the Chinese with as far as Afro-Asian public opinion is concerned. We should not falter and I am amazed that a very intelligent Member of this House . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: Thank you.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA . . . a person with thirty years of experience of journalism, asks us to follow the Chinese lead. I want to tell him that as far as we can help it, we will not follow the Chinese lead.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Only the Colombo lead.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: He may, if he likes, follow that lead. (*Time bell rings.*)

One minute more, Madam, so that I may deal with my friends of the P.S.P. Madam, the friends of the P.S.P. get annoyed whenever you speak on the foreign policy. This morning my colleague here Shri Satyacharan said that they did not accept non-alignment and then Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha got angry. The other day I said that they want us to join the

Western Bloc and Mr. Rohit Dave of the P.S.P. got angry. So I am unable to fathom the foreign policy of the P.S.P.

SHRI FARIDUL HAQ ANSARI: Read our policy statement and then you will know.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: I have read it. It is as confusing as you are. So the P.S.P. in the matter of foreign policy is like the maiden about whom the English song says:

She will neither say "yes"

She will neither say "no".

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया
उपसभापति महोदया, जो राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने अभिभाषण दिया और उसके लिये जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखा गया, जहां तक धन्यवाद का सवाल है उसके लिये तो कोई आपत्ति हो नहीं सकती, किन्तु उसके साथ ही जो कमियां अभिभाषण में रह गई उनके बारे में कुछ चर्चा करना मैं आवश्यक समझता हूं। उसके सम्बन्ध में मैंने कुछ संगोष्ठन भी दिये हैं और उनकी कुछ बातों पर मैं सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा।

जहां तक अभिभाषण में पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं की सफलताओं के बारे में चर्चा की गई है, मुझे बड़े दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमारी सरकार के द्वारा जो प्रकाशन हुये हैं उन्हीं में उनका वर्णन दिया है कि ऐसे कई आइटम्स हैं जिनमें हमारा जो लक्ष्य था उस लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति हम नहीं कर पाये। लक्ष्य भी ऐसे थे जिनको तोड़ मरोड़ कर हम अपनी सुविधाओं के अनुसार आखिरी क्षण तक कम ज्यादा करते रहे। उसके बाद भी हम अपना लक्ष्य प्राप्त नहीं कर पाये। कुछ उदाहरण मैं सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूं। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में जो हमने कपास, शक्कर, जूट, बिजली उत्पादन,

कच्चा लोहा, तैयार लोहा, एल्युमिनियम, आटोमोबाइल, सीमेंट, अमोनियम सल्फेट, सुपर फास्फेट आदि के बारे में लक्ष्य निर्धारित किये थे, उनको हम पूरा नहीं कर सके। दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमारी यह स्थिति रही। फूडग्रेन्स का हमारा लक्ष्य यह था कि हम ८१.८ मिलियन टन अनाज पैदा करेंगे और हम पैदा क्या कर पाये—कवल ७७.२ मिलियन टन।

आइल सीड्स का हमारा लक्ष्य था ७.६ मिलियन टन और हम पैदा कर पाये ७.२ मिलियन टन। जूट का लक्ष्य था ५.५ मिलियन बेल्स और हम पैदा कर पाये ४ मिलियन बेल्स। काटन का था ६.५ मिलियन बेल्स, पैदा कर पाये ५.१ मिलियन बेल्स। कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट में ३,८६,००० विलिजेज कवर होने थे और कवर हुये ३,६८,००० विलिजेज। बिजली के उत्पादन का लक्ष्य रखा गया था ६.६ मिलियन किलोवाट और केवल ५.७ मिलियन किलोवाट बिजली का जनरेशन कर पाये। आइरन और १२.७ मिलियन टन पैदा करना था और हम कर पाये केवल १०.६ मिलियन टन। कोयला ६१ मिलियन टन पैदा करना था और हम ५५.५ मिलियन टन पैदा कर सके। एल्युमिनियम के बारे में हमारा लक्ष्य यह था कि हम २५.४ हजार टन पैदा करेंगे और हम पैदा कर सके १८.८ हजार टन। आटोमोबाइल के बारे में हमारा लक्ष्य यह था कि हम ५७ हजार बनायेंगे और हम ५३५०० ही बना सके। सीमेंट का भी यही हाल है। लक्ष्य था ८.६ मिलियन टन्स पैदा कर पाये ६.६ मिलियन टन्स। अमोनियम सल्फेट के बारे में यह लक्ष्य था कि २६४.७ हजार टन पैदा करेंगे और पैदा कर सके ११७.७ हजार टन। सुपर फास्फेट की भी यही स्थिति है। इस तरह से इसमें जो वर्णन किया गया था कि हम बड़े सफल हुये, उसके संबंध में मैंने यह थोड़े से आइटम्स निकाल करके बताये और इससे यह स्पष्ट

है कि हम अपनी लक्ष्य प्राप्ति में सफल नहीं हुये। इस प्रकार यह जो कहा जाता है कि हमारी योजनाएं सफल रहीं, वह मिथ्या है। कुछ कुछ मामलों में हमें सहायता भी मिली है। ऐसा नहीं है कि हम बिलकुल सेंट परसेंट फेल्योर रहे। लेकिन बहुत सी चीजों में हम अपना लक्ष्य प्राप्त नहीं कर पाये हैं। रोड सरफेस्टाइजिंग नेशनल हाईवे का २३१.७ हजार किलोमीटर का लक्ष्य था और हम २२०.६ हजार किलोमीटर ही बना पाये। शिपिंग कोस्टल ऐंड ऐडजेसेंट का लक्ष्य था ४१० हजार जी० आर० टी० और उसमें हम २६२ हजार जी० आर० टी० ही कर पाये। इस तरह से इसमें यह उल्लेख न करके कि बहुत से आइटम्स में हम अपने लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति नहीं कर सके, यह जो उल्लेख किया गया है कि हम अपनी योजनाओं में बिलकुल सफल रहे, यह उचित नहीं है।

दूसरे इसमें कृषि के महत्त्व का वर्णन किया गया है। इसके साथ साथ यह भी कहा गया है कि हमने कृषि में प्रगति भी की है। दूसरे देशों की प्रगति हम देखें और अपने देश की प्रगति हम देखें तो ऐसा लगता है कि हमारे देश में उसे प्रगति नहीं बल्कि अप्रगति ही कहा जायेगा। उदाहरण के तौर पर मैं बताऊं कि प्लान के पहले हमारे यहां गेहूं ६७० किलोग्राम पर हेक्टर पैदा होता था और प्लान के बाद अब ७८० किलोग्राम पर हेक्टर होने लगा है। जब कि चीन में प्लान के पहले ६६० किलोग्राम होता था और प्लान के बाद अब १८१० किलोग्राम प्रति हेक्टर होने लग गया है। मैक्सिको में ८८० किलोग्राम होता था और अब वह १४२० किलोग्राम होने लग गया है। तो इस तरह से हमारा जो लक्ष्य था उसके हिसाब से भी हम बहुत पीछे बैठे हुए हैं। गेहूं जब कि हमारे यहां पर एक हेक्टर में ७८० किलोग्राम होता है तो डेनमार्क में ३६०० और नेलजियम में ३७७० प्रति

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया]
हेक्टर होता है। तो हम जो यह दावा करते हैं कि हमारा कृषि प्रधान देश है और हम एग्रीकल्चर के मामले में बहुत आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, ठीक नहीं है। दूसरे देशों के मुकाबिले में कितना फर्क है, पांच गुने, छ गुने का फर्क है और ऐसी स्थिति में भी हम यह बलेम करे कि बहुत ज्यादा उत्पादन हो रहा है, हम बहुत प्रोग्रेस कर रहे हैं, तो हम ऐसा कह कर अपनी प्रोग्रेस को ही रोकते हैं। दुनिया जितनी आगे बढ़ी है उसके मुकाबिले में हम बहुत पीछे हैं।

मकई को लीजिये। इसकी पैदावार प्रति हेक्टर प्लान के पहले भारत में ६६० किलोग्राम थी और अब वह ९१० हुई है लेकिन इजराइल में वह पहले ९७० थी और अब वह वहां ४२६० पर पहुंच गई, तो वहां इतनी अधिक प्रोग्रेस हुई है। इसी तरह फ्रांस में पहले १३८० थी और अब ३४१० हो गई है। चावल भी यहां भारत में प्लान के पहले ११३० किलोग्राम पर-हेक्टर के हिसाब से पैदा होता था और प्लान के बाद वह १५२० हो गया है जब कि सीलोन में १२९० से १८८० पहुंच गया है, और आस्ट्रेलिया में ४८६० से ६१९० पहुंच गया है। हम १५२० को ही समझते हैं कि हमने बहुत प्रोग्रेस की है। जूट का भी यही हाल है, कपास का भी यही हाल है। इन सब की फिगर्स दे कर के मैं सदन का समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूं, केवल इसी बात की ओर ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि जिस प्रोग्रेस की हम दुहाई दे रहे हैं उसको यदि हम दूसरे देशों की प्रोग्रेस की तुलना में देखें तो हमें मालूम होगा कि हम अभी बहुत पीछे हैं और हम को अभी बहुत उन्नति करनी है। जैसा कि कल माननीय वाजपेयी जी ने कहा था कि यहां भाषण बहुत होते हैं, चर्चाएं बहुत होती हैं, इसमें हम बहुत आगे हैं लेकिन यदि वास्तविकता को देखा जाय, तो वह कुछ नहीं है।

प्लान में बताया गया कि हम बेकारी को दूर करेंगे लेकिन हम ज्यों ज्यों प्लान में बढ़ते गये त्यों त्यों बेकारी बढ़ती गई। कहा गया कि खाद्यान्नों का उत्पादन बढ़ा कर स्वावलम्बी बना देंगे लेकिन ज्यों ज्यों प्लान चला त्यों त्यों विदेशों से ज्यादा अनाज मंगाने की आवश्यकता बढ़ती गई। जो लक्ष्य सामने रख कर हम चले थे उसकी प्राप्ति भी नहीं कर पाये हैं और राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण में जो इस सम्बन्ध में उल्लेख किया गया है उस से मैं मतभेद रखता।

अब इस में यह है "हम ने अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मामलों में उद्देश्यपूर्ण दिलचस्पी ली और हम संसार की शान्ति की अहमीयत पर हमेशा जोर देते रहे।" वगैरह वगैरह। माननीय राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने पेज २ पर बताया है "कुछ मौकों पर तो हमारे हिस्सा लेने से बड़ा फर्क पड़ा और उसके कारण शान्ति के काम को बढ़ावा मिला। हमें आशा थी कि न केवल संसार में शान्ति सुनिश्चित होती जायगी बल्कि हम भी अपने पड़ोसियों के साथ अमन से रह सकेंगे, " वगैरह वगैरह। हमारा शान्ति का ऐसा प्रयास रहा कि दूसरे देशों के मुकाबिले में हम को हमला सहन करना पड़ा और हमारे कुछ क्षेत्रों में तो मरघट की शान्ति हो गई। ऐसी स्थिति में यह कहना कि हमारे शान्ति के प्रयास बड़ी सही दिशा में थे और बिल्कुल अमन चैन से हम सब काम करना चाहते थे, बिल्कुल गलत साबित होता है। हमारी नीति कुछ ठीक नहीं थी, हमारा व्यवहार कुछ अच्छा नहीं था और उसके परिणामस्वरूप हमारे देश पर आक्रमण हुआ और इसका हमको सामना करना पड़ा। ऐसी ऐसी मित्रता बाध कर चले थे और ऐसों ऐसों पर विश्वास करते थे कि आखीर में हमको मंजूर करना पड़ा कि हम करुणा के साम्राज्य में विचरण कर रहे थे और उसका फल हम को भोगना पड़ा। इस विषय पर मैं विशेष चर्चा नहीं करना

चाहता हूँ क्योंकि काफी सदस्यों ने इस पर चर्चा की है ।

इसी तरह से पाकिस्तान के बारे में भी यही बात है । हम ने जब भी पाकिस्तान से मित्रता का हाथ बढ़ाने की कोशिश की और हम जब जब इसके लिये आगे बढ़े तब तब हम को त्याग करना पड़ा, अपनी भूमि देनी पड़ी, अपना धन देना पड़ा और हमेशा कुछ न कुछ देते रहेंगे । चीन अपनी मिलिटरी के आधार पर चाहता है कि पहले "नोमैस लैंड" बन जाय फिर हम कब्जा कर लें और पाकिस्तान अपनी गुंडागर्दी के आधार पर चाहता है कि दोनों देशों के बार्डर पर ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हो जाय कि वहां से भारत के रहने वाले भाग भाग कर दूसरे स्थानों पर चले जाते रहे । और धीरे धीरे हम बढ़ते जायें, कब्जा कर लें । प्रति वर्ष सैकड़ों घटनायें सीमा पर होती हैं कि आदमी को उड़ा कर ले गये, मकान जला गये, झाड़ काट कर ले गये, आदि आदि । जब उनके आदिमियों को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया तो फिर उन को भी छोड़ा कर ले गये । केवल १ अप्रैल, १९६२ से ३१ जुलाई, १९६२ तक यहां ऐसी १०१ घटनायें हुईं जिन में आदमी को उड़ा कर ले गये, या यहां १ प्रापर्टी लूट कर ले गये या यहां की महिलाओं को उड़ा कर ले गये, बन्दूक छीन कर ले गये या सामान लूट कर ले गये । यहां की एक सीता गई थी तो राम और रावण में युद्ध हुआ था लेकिन अब आये दिन महिलाओं को पाकिस्तान वाले उड़ा कर ले जाते हैं और हम प्रोटेस्ट नोट्स भेज कर बैठ जाते हैं और ये प्रोटेस्ट नोट्स पाकिस्तान के वेस्ट पेपर बास्केट की शोभा बढ़ाते हैं तो बढ़ाते हैं, कोई परिणाम उस का देखने में आया नहीं । तो ऐसी स्थिति में इस तरह की जो अव्यवस्था हो रही है इस ओर भी हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय का ध्यान जाना अति आवश्यक था ।

राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा कोष के बारे में बड़ी भारी चर्चा की गई । यह सही बात है कि कई लोगों ने स्वेच्छा से धन दिया, सोना दिया, सब कुछ दिया मगर कही कही शासन की ओर से एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की ओर से इतनी ज्यादाती बरती गई है कि—माननीय उप सभा-पति महोदय—सुन कर बड़ा दुख होता है । स्थिति यह है कि लोगों पर मुकदमा चलाया गया और मुकदमा सुनने की जब तारीख आई तो उन से कहा गया कि इतना रुपया राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा कोष में रख जाओ और तुम्हारा मुकदमा निपट जायेगा और उन लोगों को अपने गहनों को, रकमों को, गिरवी रख करके राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा कोष में देना पड़ा । ऐसे एक नहीं कई उदाहरण मैं प्रस्तुत कर सकता हूँ । वैसे ही किसी को बन्दूक का लाइसेंस दिया गया उस से कहा गया कि लाइसेंस के नम्बर में और बन्दूक के नम्बर में फर्क है और उस ग्रामीण आदमी की बन्दूक ले कर रख ली गई और फिर कहा गया कि तुम एक हजार रुपया दे दो तुम्हारा बन्दूक का झगड़ा निपट जायेगा । नम्बर में कोई फर्क वागैरह नहीं, एक हजार रुपया सुरक्षा कोष में लिया और झगड़ा निपट गया । इसी तरह सीमेंट का लाइसेंस लेना हो, शुगर का लाइसेंस लेना हो, किसी भी चीज का लाइसेंस लेना हो तो राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा कोष में सौ रुपया, डेढ़ सौ रुपया, ५० रुपया, जो भी हो वह, देकर परमिट या लाइसेंस ले लो । चम्बल बांध योजना से कुछ लोग विस्थापित हुए थे और उन लोगों को कम्पेनसेशन दिया गया था लेकिन उस कम्पेनसेशन में से भी २ परसेंट राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा कोष के लिये काट लिया गया । तो जो हम देशभक्ति की भावना जागृत करना चाहते थे उस के विपरीत हम देखते हैं कि एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के गलत कामों की वजह से जो ऊंचा लक्ष्य ले कर हम काम करना चाहते थे उस के खिलाफ हो रहा है । तो इस दिशा में भी कुछ सोचना अत्यंत आवश्यक है ।

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया]

इसी भाषण में रक्षा श्रम बैंक की चर्चा की गई कि ग्राम के आदमी महीने में एक एक रोज मुफ्त काम करे यानी साल में १२ दिन सुरक्षा श्रम बैंक में महीने में एक एक दिन के हिसाब से अपनी मजदूरी दे जावें। मध्य प्रदेश सरकार ने भी पहले इसी तरह का एक परिश्रम कर चलाया था जो साल में पांच रोज के लिये होता था। तो पारंपरा कर के सम्बन्ध में यह हुआ कि जब लोगों को फुसंत होती थी तब तो उन से काम नहीं लेते थे और जब उन से काम लेना चाहते थे तब लोगों को फुसंत नहीं होती थी और इस का परिणाम यह होता था कि मजदूरी तो नहीं करवा सकते थे इसलिये नकद रुपया ले कर पूरा कर लेते थे। अब वहां पर इस के लिये कुर्की ले जा कर रुपया वसूल किया और ऐसे कई उदाहरण दिये जा सकते हैं। तो यहां जो साल में १२ दिन का सिद्धान्त रखा है वह सिद्धान्त में बड़ा अच्छा लगता है, लोगों को इतना त्याग भी करना चाहिये, महीने में एक दिन देना कोई बड़ी बात नहीं है, लेकिन इस योजना को कार्यान्वित करने वाले जो हाथ हैं वे इतने खतरनाक हैं कि इस योजना को भी खराब बना देंगे। इस बारे में मेरा एक और मतभेद है। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के लिये तो आप यह प्रतिबन्ध लगाना चाहते हैं कि वे १२ दिन अपने प्रतिरक्षा श्रम बैंक में दें एक एक दिन का त्याग करें और देश की सेवा करें लेकिन क्या कारण है कि हम शहर वालों को इस से मुक्त रखते हैं। यदि वह अच्छी योजना है तो शहर वालों पर भी लागू होनी चाहिये और यदि बुरी योजना है तो ग्रामीणों को भी इस से मुक्त करना चाहिये। अगर चूंकि ग्रामीण झुकटा नहीं हो सकते, अपनी आवाज आप तक पहुंचा नहीं सकते और वे तार काटने या रेल काटने का काम नहीं कर सकते तो इसलिये उस पर चाहेजितना-शब्दों के आडम्बर में कि आप बड़ा त्याग कर रहे हैं और यह १२ दिन दीजिये-प्रतिबंध लगा दें लेकिन शहर वालों से आप का बंध

चलता नहीं है। आप उन पर भी क्यों नहीं यह कम्पलशन करते कि १२ दिन दीजिये, अगर वह काम नहीं कर सकते हैं तो कम से कम १२ दिन का रुपया ही दे दें, भगर यह आप की हिम्मत नहीं होती है। यही हालत टैक्स की है, डाइरेक्ट हो, इनडाइरेक्ट हो वह ग्रामीण पर ही पड़ता है, गरीब पर पड़ता है। खरबूजा कटता है छुरी नहीं कटती है। आप समझते हैं कि व्यापारियों पर, पैसे वालों पर टैक्स लगा रहे हैं लेकिन अल्टीमेटली वह उसी पर जाता है जो कि गरीब आदमी है, जो कि खेत में काम करता है या मिलों में मजदूरी करता है, गरीब लोगों पर ही पड़ता है। तो ऐसी स्थिति में यह जो दो तरफा नीति चलती है कि गांव के लिये १२ दिन का सिद्धान्त अच्छा है और शहर के लिये ठीक नहीं है उचित नहीं कही जा सकती है।

इसी तरह से सोने के तस्कर व्यापार के बारे में है (Time bell rings.) दो मिनट में खत्म करता हूं। चूंकि सोने का तस्कर व्यापार रोक नहीं सकते इसलिये सोने के बारे में एक के बाद एक प्रतिबन्ध लगाना शुरू किया है और ऐसी स्थिति का निर्माण कर दिया है कि हमारे श्री मुरारजी भाई देसाई ने गांव गांव में तस्कर व्यापारी पैदा कर दिये हैं। कोई भी गांव ऐसा नहीं होगा जहां पर कि सोने का तस्कर व्यापार नहीं चल रहा हो। पहले सोने के व्यापारी डालर में एक रुपया, बारह आना या आठ आना कमाते होंगे लेकिन आजकल हालत यह है कि डालर पर १५-२० ६० कमाते हैं। खुले आम इस का व्यापार चल रहा है, उस को रोकने की कोई सरकार की ताकत नहीं है, वैसे मोरारजी साहब स्टेट-मेंट में लिखेंगे कि जनाब इतने तस्कर व्यापारियों को पकड़ लिया गया है। लेकिन असली तस्कर व्यापारी तो उन की डिपार्टमेंट की पकड़ में नहीं आए उल्टे सारे देश में लोगों को बेईमानी सिखाने की कोशिश की। तस्कर व्यापारियों की संख्या बढ़ा रहे हैं। १४ कैरट सोने के नाम पर देश भर में लोगों को गिर-

पतार किया जा सकता है। मुझे इस में आपत्ति नहीं कि आप १४ कैंट करें, १० कैंट करें या कम करें लेकिन जो एक आस्था लोगों के मन में सोने के प्रति थी कि कहीं जा कर रकम ले सकते थे, गिरवी रख सकते थे वह सारा का सारा आपने एक क्षण में समाप्त कर दिया है। ईमानदार दुखी हो गये। तस्कर व्यापार बहुत बढ़ गया। उन का मुनाफा बढ़ गया। जो व्यक्ति बालर में न आने, १२ आने पैदा कर सकता था वह आज १५-२० रु० पैदा करता है। आज एक्साइज डिपार्टमेंट का हाल यह है कि उन को खुद कानून मालूम नहीं। वे जानते नहीं कि क्या करना है, कौन सा फार्म भरना है, कौन नहीं भरना है। वे कहते हैं ऊपर से हुकम नहीं आया।

हमारी पब्लिक अकाउन्ट्स कमेटी ने कस्टम डिपार्टमेंट के बारे में कहा है कि :

"The Committee are surprised to note that the important books of reference like Indian Customs Tariff Books, the clauses of which have far-reaching financial implications are not kept up-to-date and assessment of duty is based on uncorrected scheduled."

कस्टम डिपार्टमेंट जिस को कि एक जिम्मेदार विभाग होना चाहिये वहां भी ऐसी भंयकर पोल चलती है। यह जो एक कानून बनाकर साधारण लोगों को परेशान करने की नीति सरकार चला रही है उस की मैं भर्त्सना करता हूं। इस के प्रति सब के मन में अनास्था और घृणा पैदा हो गई है।

वैसे ही संविधान के बारे में सरकार की नीति कथनी कुछ करनी कुछ है। हिन्दी के लिये जनमत जाग्रत हो चुका है और संविधान में तो उस भावना को प्रतिष्ठित किया ही गया है। संविधान बड़ी पूजनीय वस्तु है, हम उस का आदर करते हैं लेकिन इसका मतलब यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि अपनी सुविधा के अनुसार कभी उस की नाक

बदल दी, कभी आंख बदल दी। जब संविधान कहता है कि अंग्रेजी को इतनी अवधि से आगे नहीं चलने दिया जाय तो फिर क्यों अपनी सुविधा के लिये आप अंग्रेजी को बनाए रखना चाहते हैं? क्या यही संविधान के प्रति आदर है?

इतना निवेदन कर के मैं प्रार्थना करता हूं कि जो अमेन्डमेंट मैंने दिए हैं उन्हें सदन स्वीकार करेगा।

SHRI M. M. MEHTA (Gujarat): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the motion. Some hon. Member complained here that nobody says how to expel the Chinese aggressor. When the country is attacked there are so many fronts and we have to fight on all the fronts. Especially we, Members of Parliament and Legislatures, wedded as we are to socialism, have to fight on the most formidable front that has arisen due to the circumstances. Here I would like to say that the Chinese aggression, while retarding the progressive forces of India, has given a tremendous opportunity to the capitalists and the exploiters to strike at the very root, at the very purpose of our economic independence. These exploiters have tried to exploit even this national calamity to the extent even of trying to overthrow our national Government. The other day it was heard that the Swatantra Party Leader passed remarks on our Prime Minister that he should have been dismissed long before. I happened to meet one American expert and he showed his surprise and indignation at such remarks from the leaders of the opposition at such a critical moment. I would say that if wishes were horses beggars would ride. If the Swatantra Party were to come to this place, they will have to serve the masses who fought for their independence and expelled the British imperialists and not to dance attendance on a few Rajas and Maharajas who brought the British rule in here and nourished it. We have to be very cautious that while doing away with the evil of Chinese aggression we

[Shri M. M. Mehta.]

do not succumb to a greater evil. There is a clamour among the people today that due to pressure within and without this Government may succumb to these exploiters, these capitalists. These capitalists are organised and just like the Communists are looking for guidance and inspiration somewhere outside the country. And if the Government does not take care and take proper steps, the very goal of independence will not be reached; the very purpose of independence will be put in danger. China has betrayed not only us; she has betrayed the very ideology of Communism by fighting the Socialist State of India. But these exploiters, these capitalists won't betray anybody. They can be relied upon very much to behave just like capitalists. We have heard these things from many Senators and Members of Parliament abroad as my friend, Mr. Shastri, just now narrated. Here also so many people are trying to see that we change our basic policy of non-alignment. They want to draw us towards them. If Mr. Chakrapani has any phobia for non-alignment, then I say it is not a non-alignment policy, it is a policy of alignment with all the people of the world. We do not want to go anywhere; we want to be aligned with everybody, with the people of the whole world. It is you people, excuse me, who want us to limit ourselves to a particular section of the people. Our policy is not merely going here and there, as my friend mentioned just now, "you go with America." We want everybody to be our friends. To us the goodwill of Russia is more important than 100 Divisions from America. To us America's help in time is much more important than a few MIGs from Russia. We want the goodwill of even the Chinese people. We have no war with the Chinese people. We are only at war with the treacherous Government of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. When the Britishers were driven out of India we never fought with their people; we only fought with the imperialist Government there. And that is our strong point today. The

strongest weapon of the world that one can have today is the goodwill of the people of the world and I think by our policy we have got that and in course of time you can see that we are going to win. I have no doubt about it. But we know, as I told you, how these exploiters want to take advantage of this moment. Take the National Defence Fund. You will find that the poor people, the common people have contributed their mite and stood by the nation's cause but the rich have failed tremendously. They actually tried to exploit the situation as was pointed out by hon. Members here. I do not want to expatiate on it. We can very well read the mentality of these capitalists from the recent report on the working of the Dalmia Jain companies. This is their mentality. I am very sorry that the Government, the so-called Socialist Government, has not taken any step on that. It pains me really. Rigorous steps, especially at this time of emergency, must be taken against them. Even most of the ex-Maharajas also have not risen to the occasion. Sardar Patel tried to remove those boils from the body of India but the scars remain. As a medical man, let me tell you when the scars get inflamed it is much more painful. These Rajas and Maharajas have got inflamed and inflated due to heavy privy purses and due to the various privileges that they have been given. I would like the Finance Minister to let the House know how much loss our exchequer undergoes by giving exemptions from taxes to these Rajas on their investments in Governments securities, besides their privy purses of course. Our President has rightly referred in the very beginning of his speech to our Constitution providing equal status to all the citizens of India. With all these privileges to these Maharajas, where is equal status? All these privileges and the heavy privy purses must go. This critical moment of emergency in the country demands it. Here I cannot remain silent without thanking our Finance Minister. My congratulations to him on the Gold Control Rules that

he has brought forward. He has rightly been described as a 'Rightist' man taking the right step and I hope that he will go with much more speed towards the direction that he has taken when there is no satisfactory response from the gold hoarders. This is the time when wealth should be tackled and our goal of a socialistic society should be achieved by reducing the disparity. A capitalist country like Great Britain also attacked their wealth in their last emergency and we can see how the disparity there is reduced nowadays. This is the right time. By doing away with the aggressors we can achieve our goal of a socialistic State. Our next Budget is coming. More taxations are expected. People are even prepared for it, but I hope these taxations will be in the nature of reducing the disparity. The wealth lying underground, unused, or used for luxury should be taken out first. What is the use of that wealth which is not used at such a critical moment? Taxation should be levied proportionately, of course, in proportion to the wealth.

Our President has referred to the talks going on with Pakistan. Everybody is agreed that we should have good relations with our neighbours, but it should not be at the cost of our honour. Submitting to foreign pressure, I hope, not an inch of our soil will be given up just to satisfy our friends who have helped us in time. We thank them very much for their help in our critical time. I thank the British Parliament. Just now they have taken a decision to give us more aid. But there should not be any submission. It is for our soil that we are fighting China and I hope we shall stand by the promise that we have given to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. They are very much part and parcel of the rest of India.

We have accepted the Colombo proposals. China has rejected them. We do not know what next. We are not clear about it. I think we will have to take a clear stand about it. At least we will have to be clear in our

own mind about . I am sorry that we have not got back the prisoners that have been taken away by China. Some 3,227 prisoners were taken away by them and we do not know how many were taken away from Ladakh and how many from NEFA. They have returned only 720 of our wounded men from the NEFA region.

The President has also referred to the Third Five Year Plan. Of course, it should be achieved. It is the fulfilment of this Plan that will make us strong. But under the shadow of this emergency I know that so many things are being delayed. The major part of Kandla remains undeveloped after spending Rs. 16 crores there because all the facilities for development are denied. The broad gauge rail connection has not started yet. The national highway remains unfinished. People there are mostly refugees and were given promises of employment and means of earning. A free trade zone was planned with the very conception of the Kandla port. People were told that a free trade zone will be set up and all these twelve years preparations were going on there. But I do not know it, there has been something wrong with the machinery or there is some delay. Nothing has been heard about the free trade zone recently and I do not see from any of the Plans that we are going to achieve our free trade zone. All these things are delayed. People there are 'Sarnathis'. They came there as refugees. Nobody is there to hear them.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is over, Doctor.

SHRI M. M. MEHTA: These things should be set right very soon. I thank you very much.

SHRI PANNALAL SARAOGI (West Bengal): Madam, our President in his present Address has dealt with

[Shri Pannalal Saraogi.]

many aspects—social, political and economic, but I would make my observations confining myself to a few salient points within the limited time available to me. The President has very rightly dwelt at length on India-China relations. I would state in this connection that the Sino-Indian dispute is an ideological conflict between militant, imperialist, power-mad communism of China and peaceful, democratic socialism of India. How could there be permanent amity between peace-loving, religious-minded India and an atheist, belligerent, belligerent, expansionist China, frightfully deceitful, perfidious and mischievous containing a vast army of marauders and plunderers? While 'Panchsheel' was being signed, China stealthily infiltrated into Ladakh and started building roads and air strips. To keep China as our friend, we went so far as to declare Tibet as a part of China. And as events have proved, this has turned out to be our Himalayan blunder and now we have to build up Himalayan strength to meet the Chinese dragon for all times to come. Never in the history of our nation was this more true than today that the price of defending our country's freedom and integrity, is eternal vigilance and increase of physical prowess. It looks as if we can never rest on our oars because our enemy is both powerful and unreliable.

I would draw the attention of the House and I will present before the House how lack of foresight and imagination is going to cost the country a good deal. A very difficult situation is going to arise in the country because of the extraordinary fall in the production of sugar this season. Sugar production was 3 million tons in the year 1961 and it is going to be less than 2.2 million tons in the present season, which means that the production will be less to the extent of 27 to 28 per cent. While I was speaking on the President's Address last year in early May I had warned the Government—and that was in

the midst of plenty—about this state of affairs. I had told the Government that they have got to be very watchful lest they should have to face difficulties next year. On the 19th November, 1962, only three months before, in the course of a supplementary question which I put to the Deputy Minister for Food, I asked him whether he was aware that the production of sugar in the season which had just started was not going to be more than 2.5 million tons and the consumption of sugar in the country was not going to be less than 2.5 million tons this year. There was going to be an export of 5 lakh tons which was going to eat up our reserves. In the circumstances, did not the Minister feel that restricting the cultivation of sugarcane was going to hit the interests of everyone very badly? The Deputy Minister, Mr. Thomas, replied in the following language:

"As far as the apprehension voiced by the hon. Member is concerned, it is unwarranted. The sugar season has just now started. We have a carry-over of one million tons of sugar. As far as exports are concerned, I may make it very clear that we are not going to starve the domestic market. We are going to export only as much quantity as would be warranted by our success with regard to the estimates of production of 25 lakh tons. Of course, it is not possible to mention any figure at this stage, but I can assure the House that the production would be more than the current consumption requirements."

Madam, I want to tell the House that all his assurances have completely fallen flat today and they are very much out of tune with the result that while he was gloating over 1 million tons carry-over, we are today faced with a situation which I shall narrate presently before the House.

The internal sugar consumption is going to be of the order of 27 lakh

tons. Our internal consumption last year was 25 lakh tons. Despatches in the months of November, December and January have been 65,000 tons more than what they were in the corresponding months of November, December and January in the last year. If the present rate of consumption is not inhibited, the consumption is going to be well over 27 lakh tons. The production this year being less than 22 lakh tons, it will mean that 5 lakh tons of our reserves will be eaten up by internal consumption. We have entered into firm commitments of more than 5 lakh tons—to be exact, 5.12 lakh tons—of export, and this quantity is going to move in the next four, six or eight months, which means that the entire carry-over of 1 million tons is going to be completely eaten up before the next season. And God knows where we will stand.

In the years 1953-54, 1954-55 and 1955-56 we had to spend Rs. 68 crores for the purpose of bringing sugar into this country to the extent of 13 lakh tons. I will not wonder if the Government, not being alive to the situation, will be gloating over past figures without coming to brass-tacks. Government will be burning their hands, and will be in a dilemma out of which it is extremely difficult for them to extricate themselves.

Another difficulty which we are going to face is this. Sugar is a very good exchange earning commodity, and the prices of sugar in the international market have already jumped up considerably. We are in a position to sell sugar without much loss, but we have no sugar to export next year. All these factors must be judged by Government and steps should be taken immediately so that sugar consumption is inhibited and, if necessary, rationing or sales through Marketing Boards are attempted without any further delay. I had been to the Finance Minister this morning and I had also mentioned these things to him and I am sure that the Food

and Agriculture Ministry will immediately take steps in consultation with other Ministries to see that the consumption of sugar does not go beyond 23 lakh tons this year instead of the anticipated 27 lakh tons in order that the country is left with the same amount of sugar for the next year.

I would like further to deal with a small point. It has become the practice recently of some Union Ministers to make critical statements which cast unhappy reflections on the Government. Critical statements coming from people at the helm of affairs are likely to be bewildering to masses who may wonder what the Government is doing if some of its prominent members could not themselves improve the situation. The admission of the Government's failure implicit in these statements may be a good vote-catching device, but these criticisms from the highest quarters in land may erode the people's faith in the efficiency of the democratic form of government.

Madam, our foreign exchange position will continue to remain difficult for many more years in spite of all the friendly help and assistance that we have received and we may receive in future. I therefore wholeheartedly support the efforts of our Finance Minister to mobilise the available gold from within the country for utilising it for productive purposes and for defence. Our Finance Minister has set in a movement to reduce the unproductive demand of gold, and he wants to achieve it in the democratic way, that is, with the consent of the people. This means that we in this House should take upon ourselves to carry this movement to every nook and corner of this vast country. I wonder if this House should not strengthen the hands of the Finance Minister by giving a lead to the movement initiated by him. Some people have commented that the Finance Minister is going to become unpopular by the present step which he has taken. But

[Shri Pannalal Saraogi.]

I would really congratulate the Finance Minister for the really bold and patriotic zeal with which he had been actuated. I would rather like that he should be more serious and more severe about it than what he is doing now. (*Interruption*) I am saying this because on account of the criticism, he may lose the seriousness about it.

The most assuring aspect of the President's Address lies where he says that "economic development and industrial growth are the very basis of our defence preparedness". His is perhaps the echo of the entire nation. People seem to be convinced that the Chinese perfidy has proved that peaceful progress of our egalitarian growth requires to be fortified by effective defence programme over a considerable period of time, and therefore national endeavour for defence and development must go hand in hand without inhibition of ideologies.

This part of the President's speech provides a guide to us in this House to consider how best we can meet the challenges on both the fronts—external defence and internal development—in spite of imbalances, bottle-necks and other inevitable hardships. Here I would like to say that we must undertake personal responsibility for the implementation of any task assigned to us. I have found so often the tendency to pass the baby on to somebody else to cover our own deficiencies in our activities. It is my personal conviction that more effective organisation and co-ordination in every sphere of activity for the speedy utilisation of whatever we have may secure the needed momentum in our development process. Thank you.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: (Kerala): Madam Deputy Chairman, it is a matter of gratification that in spite of the severe stresses and strains our basic national policies had to undergo during the recent period, the President has reaffirmed the determination of his Government to

follow the policies of world peace, non-alignment, democracy and socialism. All the same I expected that there will be some indication in the Address as to how the Government is going to reorient the economic growth of this country to suit the needs of the situation.

SHRI A. D. MANI: You will get it in the Finance Minister's speech.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Negotiation or no negotiation, there are no two opinions in this country that we should build up our defence potential, and this task cannot be done in isolation from the general overall economic development. This question becomes very important when we remember that the present challenge has come from a country which attained freedom only two years after we had attained freedom and when it attained freedom, it was industrially backward compared to us. So, in this context, we have to reassess and re-examine the economic policies that we have been following hitherto.

It was claimed in this House that during the last decade we had made an impressive progress. I do not deny that. There was progress. In the matter of agriculture, I think, there was an increase of 40 per cent. Industrial development was almost doubled. In the matter of education also there was progress. All that I concede.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: It was their alliance with Russia which enabled them to get modern arms and ammunition, and not industrialisation.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: But at the same time how does this compare with the other nations of the world during this particular period? India was not the only newly liberated country. If we compare, we will find that though we have made some progress, it does not compare favourably with the developments during this decade in many of the other countries. Even today, after these

developments, 30 per cent. of our people have an income below Rs. 15 per month; 60 per cent. of our people have an income below Rs. 20 and even the top-most 10 per cent. of our people have only an average income of Rs. 62. This is the state of our country.

SHRI LALJI PENDSE (Maharashtra): Annually or daily

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Monthly.

This is the pace of our progress and unless we radically change this rate of progress, it will be very difficult for us to cope with the situation. Now, instead of taking lines which will help further development, tendencies are soon patently which, in my opinion, are detrimental to the progress of the country. Now, in the name of the Emergency, there is a tendency to encourage more and more of the private sector. Even certain defence industries have been allotted to the private sector. I think this is a dangerous trend because, as planned by the Planning Commission, if we have to progress, there should be investments and as far as investments are concerned, we have to depend more and more upon the savings from the public sector. Now, from the figures it is seen that in the year 1960-61 the public sector had a saving of Rs. 35 crores, while the private sector had a saving of Rs. 80 crores. Now, these two figures should be understood from another angle. The private sector had made a net profit of Rs. 240 crores of which only Rs. 80 crores were available for reinvestment, Rs. 160 crores were distributed by way of dividends, while in the public sector the whole saving had gone mainly for reinvestment. So, while planning for the future, the Planning Commission mainly laid their emphasis on the savings from the public sector and if today in the name of the Emergency you are going to change the pattern,

that will adversely affect the future development of the country.

Here I was surprised to find that one of our colleagues wanted even the Planning Commission to be scrapped. He said that he was not against planning as such. The little restraint that the industrialists were facing due to the activities of the Planning Commission had become absent. Now they are trying to find out ways and means by which that could be avoided. During this Emergency, it has been known to everybody how the industrialists have been behaving. I need not go into all those things. The President himself in his Address has expressed his gratitude to the working people. He is silent about the attitude of the industrialists. I do not think it was an omission. The way in which they were utilising this particular situation was very well explained here by a number of friends. So, I am not going into it. But instead of utilising these emergency powers against those people who have been actually going against the interests of the country, what the Government has done is to put the Communist Party members in jail.

Now, much has been said about the Vivian Bose Commission's Report. All those gentlemen are still out. No action has been taken against them. Not only that. It is very surprising that another report which may be equally shocking when published and which was submitted to the Government some four or five years ago, has not yet even been placed on the Table of the House. I think that it was in 1954 that two auditors were appointed to look into the affairs of two insurance companies run by the Birlas, the New Asiatic and the Ruby Insurance. It is said that a very damaging report has been submitted by those people who were entrusted with the enquiry. The report was submitted in 1959 or 60. Till now it has not been published. I believe that while we may have an occasion to discuss the Vivian Bose Commis-

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair.]
sion's Report regarding the Dalmia-Jain concerns, the Government will create opportunities to us whereby we may be able to compare the dealings of Birla Brothers also with those of Dalmias and Jains, so that we may know who is better in the matter of looting and swindling. Then again people were congratulating the Finance Minister for his Gold Control Order. I shall just quote one or two examples. It is reported, I do not know, that a leading figure in the Gold Board, a few months ago, while he was coming back from Goa, was arrested.

SHRI LALJI PENDSE: That was about the Chairman himself.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I do not know that, but he was arrested. And for what? For smuggling gold.

SHRI LALJI PENDSE: That is the reason why they have put him there.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: And then he was released on the ground that it was the driver and that he did not know anything about it. May be, but why should you put such suspicious people there? That is the question.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): For their expert knowledge.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Then let me give another example. In Bangalore the Central C.I.D., without giving any information to the Madras Government or the Mysore Government, unearthed gold worth nearly Rs. 35 lakhs, and currency notes worth Rs. 50 lakhs from the house of a person. The news appeared in one small paper—Mysindia, and in no other paper this news appeared. They managed it, and today he is one of the leading members of the Defence Council in Bangalore. Maybe because he is a Congressman.

Again my friend quoted the day before yesterday an instance of sugar-cornering. Two crores of rupees

worth of sugar was cornered. The Government is not even willing to tell us who that gentleman is.

Now when all the parties ungrudgingly allowed the Defence of India Act to be passed, we expected that the Defence of India Rules would be applied for the furtherance of the actual defence efforts. Instead of that all these culprits are allowed to escape and the Act is utilised only against the Communists. My friend referred the other day to the demand of a deposit from a Communist weekly. Here is the order and I place it on the Table of the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What did you say?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I referred to a Government order against the 'Tripurar Katha', I mean an order against the printing press printing the 'Tripurar Katha' demanding a deposit of Rs. 3,000.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Will you please read it?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: order is this:

"WHEREAS I am satisfied that in the issue of 'Tripurar Katha' dated the 13th January, 1963, the Janasiksha Co-operative Printing Works Ltd., Agartala, have printed and published under the caption..... a prejudicial report intended or likely to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of persons;

"AND WHEREAS the said Janasiksha Co-operative Printing Works Ltd., Agartala, has been used for the purpose of printing and publishing the aforesaid prejudicial report;

"NOW, in exercise of the power conferred by sub-rule (1)(F) of Rule 45 of the Defence of India Rules, 1962, I hereby direct the said Janasiksha Co-operative Printing Works, Limited, Agartala, to deposit Rs. 3,000 only as security

either in money or in Government Securities within seven days from the date of issue of this order."

And what is the prejudicial report? The report is this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The report appeared in 'Letters to the Editors'.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: The Congress President of that place made a speech wherein he attacked the tribals. That was narrated here by my friend the other day. And in the 'letters to the editor' column somebody quoting the relevant portion of the speech criticised it and wrote that it was harmful.

SHRI A. D. MANI: How dare he write against that Congress President.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: That is another matter. The Congress President is not pulled up; on the other hand, the press has been asked to furnish a deposit of Rs. 3,000.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is over, Mr. Nair; please wind up.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: One thing more. Everybody connected with our national movement in those days knows the name of Chandra Singh Garhwali. In 1930 he was in the military, and for refusing to shoot the freedom-fighters he was court-martialled, and as far as the present defence efforts are concerned, he was speaking in the same meeting with Mr. C. B. Gupta. But today he is in jail. So see the way the Defence of India Rules are being abused. You cannot get a better example than this.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: Perhaps he was led astray since.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Till very recently he was addressing meetings with Mr. C. B. Gupta, the

Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, in the matter of defence efforts.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up now.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Therefore I would request the Government to see that the emergency powers are utilised not to persecute people for political reasons.

Thank you.

SHRI KRISHAN DUTT (Jammu and Kashmir): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am happy to associate myself with the Motion of Thanks to the President for the inspiring Address which he was pleased to deliver to the Members of the two Houses assembled together on the 18th of February, 1963.

Madam, the most important subject which in my view requires the focused attention of this House and the country is that portion of the Address wherein the President invites our attention to the issue of Chinese aggression. In paragraph 12 of the Address the issue of Chinese aggression is mentioned, and it says:

"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. The freedom and honour of a country must be given the first place and, if a country cannot defend them, then other matters lose significance. The nation's activities have thus been concentrated on this basic issue."

Madam, the whole country the entire nation has stood up like a man against this aggression by our neighbouring Communist Chinese nomads and in this context I would request those of us who have expressed the view that since there is no fighting going on at the moment we should discontinue this state of emergency to imagine the consequences of such a step. I cannot understand their way of thinking. Is there any hon. Member here or any man in the country who is bold enough to guarantee that there will be no

[Shri Krishan Dutt.]
 repetition of a similar aggression by the Chinese Government? I am sure nobody can give such a guarantee. I ask: unless the Chinese aggression is ended, how can we think of ending the state of emergency? In the press hon. Members must have read reports of the Chinese troops concentrating across the Mac Mahon Line. They are strengthening their defences across the line of "actual control", as they call it, in Ladakh. So we must remain prepared and alert lest the same story should be repeated again at any moment. Our defence efforts must be carried on with greater vigour and greater rapidity. I feel that the sense of urgency and speed that we found three months back has really relaxed. That is not desirable. That is not good for the country, not good for our defence. I would urge upon the Government and this honourable House that we should speed up the tempo of our defence preparedness, our defence effort. We should not relax, we should not rest till we have reached a point of preparedness where no aggressor will think it profitable to cast an evil eye on our sacred soil.

Moreover, Madam, the illegal occupation by China still continues and in this state of affairs to talk of discontinuing the state of emergency I cannot understand. I simply cannot understand how such an idea can enter the mind of any patriotic person in our country. Rather I would have expected that hon. Members should have pressed for intensifying our efforts for preparedness and intensifying the activities which are connected with the state of emergency.

Next, Madam, I would also like to refer to the Indo-Pak. talks regarding Kashmir and related matters that are still in progress. The next meeting is going to be held at Calcutta on the 12th March. I wish well to the talks. I hope and pray that the talks would succeed and the relations between India and Pakistan would be established on a permanent, friendly and amicable basis, and the two countries would together march on the path of peace and progress and mutual

help and goodwill. That is my hope and prayer and I think every one in this House shares with me these sentiments.

With all that, Madam, I want to place before this honourable House and before the country certain basic considerations which should be kept in view while these talks are carried on. The people of Jammu and Kashmir mingled their destinies with those of their Indian brethren by acceding to the Indian Union in the hope and trust that their cherished ideal and goal of secularism will be safe and sound and remain intact by their becoming part and parcel of the Indian Union. That was their basic ideal and basic goal, the cherished ideal of their life. Secularism is in the blood of the Jammu and Kashmir people. Therefore, I want to strike a note of caution that when talks are again initiated at Calcutta, this aspect of the matter will not be lost from view. Pakistan must be made to understand that if she wants any progress to be made in these talks, it must concede the principle of secularism. Secularism is the life-breath of our Indian Republic, the life-breath of our Constitution, and any tampering with this principle, any relaxation of this principle, will have and is bound to have very disastrous and injurious consequences on the Indian Republic and Indian freedom. We will be opening the floodgates of never-ending communal disputes, never-ending communal demands if we, at this critical juncture, show any weakness on this principle.

Another matter of great importance, which would be conducive to the success of these talks and which must form a prerequisite to the initiation of any proposals in these talks is that before any talks can be carried on the Government of Pakistan must put a curb on its press and platform which day in and day out indulges in the most provocative propaganda of hatred and contempt against India in foreign countries and in its own land. That is hardly an atmosphere

which can be called conducive to the successful end of these talks. If we are serious to achieve any results out of these talks, we must ask the Government of Pakistan to put an end to the vituperative and abusive campaign that is carried on daily through the so-called Azad Kashmir Radio. Those of us who have ever heard the so-called Azad Kashmir Radio broadcasts will be simply shocked when we hear from it mean attacks, most vulgar and vituperative attacks on the venerable leader of our nation, on the members of the Kashmir Government and even our leader, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad. If this sort of propaganda is to go on unhampered, I cannot understand how we can enter into any talks with the leaders of Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. I think we should impress upon the leaders of Pakistan that the only constructive approach, the only solid, stable and everlasting basis for an amicable settlement can be only when Pakistan concedes to the principle of secularism, to the principle of equal treatment to all castes and classes of people inhabiting the sub-continent. Then and then alone the edifice of agreement and friendliness and a permanent solution can be built upon that. So far, I hope, our delegation has kept these basic things in view and brought these things to the notice of the Pakistan leaders in their talks and I hope they will continue to press these points of view in those talks. One other matter and I would have finished, Shri Chordia who preceded some Members before me enumerated a long list of certain commodities and tried to show from facts and figures that we have not succeeded in attaining the targets that we had set before us in the First and the Second Plans. As I listened to the figures he gave and the percentage he mentioned, I was all along comparing the percentages that were attained and the percentage that was not attained and he did not refer to the percentage that we had succeeded in attaining the targets. Barring a very few items, in most of the items I venture to say, we succeeded in attaining the targets nearly, in

some 70 per cent, in some 80 per cent. and in some even more.

SHRI LALJI PENDSE: Can you name them?

SHRI KRISHAN DUTT: If the hon. Member takes the same figures from the speech of Mr. Chordia and calculates the percentage, then my assertions will be proved but to ignore the large percentage that we have attained and give prominence to the small number of items and the small percentage that we have failed to achieve and then to give a verdict that we have failed in achieving the targets of our Plans is not fair and not just. I am convinced that we have done very well in our Plans and in the Third Plan that we are still carrying on, we hope that we will do better and in the context of the emergency, I hope the activities of the nation and of the Government will be accelerated in the same measure in view of our defence purposes, because to have full defence preparedness is not possible without adequate preparation on the economic front.

With these words, I express my gratitude to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver. Thank you.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Madam, the President has devoted much of his speech to the Chinese aggression and it is quite natural. As mentioned by the President in his speech, 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. But even though the President has given considerable importance to this issue, I am sorry to mention that the President has not suggested any positive line of action in his speech to carry out the firm resolution which was passed by both the Houses of Parliament on 14th November to remove Chinese aggressors from our sacred soil. The President has also stated that the Chinese Government has not so far accepted the

[Shri B. D. Khobaradage.]

Colombo proposals. I am not surprised. It was quite natural. We expected that the Chinese Government would never accept the Colombo proposals. What I want to know is this. What would be the reaction of the Colombo Powers and what further steps the Government of India desire to take in this respect? Just now, while speaking in this debate Mr. Arora said that it is a sort of diplomatic victory for India as the Chinese Government has not accepted the Colombo proposals. I fail to understand what sort of diplomatic victory it is. Because, we knew from the very beginning that the Chinese Government would never accept these proposals. China wants to grab our territory only. If at all we want to consider this to be some sort of a diplomatic victory, it is essential at least that the Colombo Powers should condemn China who has not accepted these proposals. Because the Chinese Government has not rejected nor accepted these so far, merely ignoring the proposals of the Colombo Conference is not a diplomatic victory. The Chinese Government will continue to ignore these proposals and ignore this issue for a pretty long time because the Chinese Government is in possession of thousands of miles of our territory. In spite of the assurance given by the Chinese Government or declarations made by the Chinese Government that China would accept the proposals in principle, China is trying to find out some excuses not to accept the proposals. This is, in my opinion, a great affront to the Colombo Conference and the Colombo Powers. If it is a great affront by China, what attitude the Colombo Powers are going to take? If the Colombo Powers condemn the Chinese Government outright, then only we can say that there is some diplomatic victory. Not until then there will be any sort of diplomatic victory.

But even if the Colombo Powers condemn the Chinese Government, are we to be satisfied with this diplomatic victory alone? Perhaps Mr. Arora and some of his colleagues might be satis-

fied with this diplomatic victory. So far as we are concerned, we can never be satisfied unless and until the firm resolution of both the Houses of Parliament that we will never have rest unless and until the Chinese aggressors are removed from our sacred soil, is carried out. Unless it is done, we can never be satisfied however great the diplomatic victory might be. That is the fundamental issue. Therefore it is very essential that we should try to take steps to remove the Chinese aggressor from our soil. It is very essential that in this respect we should continue to strengthen our defences.

An emergency has been proclaimed in this country. When this emergency was proclaimed, everybody expected that this emergency would be utilised to strengthen our defences, to strengthen our military strength so that we can take effective steps to drive out the Chinese aggressors from our land. But what do we find now? No doubt some efforts are being made to strengthen our defences. We are getting every day stronger and stronger so far as the military strength is concerned. But the question is, are we utilising this emergency fully for this purpose alone? The answer to this question must be given in the negative, because during this emergency, as has been expressed by so many Members in this House, the Congress Party has tried to create rifts and dissensions in the opposition parties and to have the upper hand. Not only that, while the Congress Party is trying to suppress the other opposition parties, what do we find? There is an ugly struggle between two rival groups within the same Congress Party, for supremacy and for domination.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY
(Mysore): Absurd.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE:
Absurd? I can quote a number of instances. What about Madhya Pradesh?

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA: That fact is absurd, not what you say.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I see, thank you. Whether it is in the District Congress Committees in Maharashtra or State Congress Committees, there is this rivalry going on and this rivalry is hampering the progress of the defence efforts because one Congress group tries to say it should be associated with a particular thing and another group says—no. Therefore, there is this rivalry and when that is the position, how can we strengthen the defences? The rivalry is for supremacy or domination of one group of Congressmen over another group of Congressmen. Madam, let us compare the two situations. I mean the situation some two or three months back and the present situation. On the 20th October there was the massive invasion by China and then the whole country rose as one nation. The clarification call was given by the hon. Prime Minister that we must sacrifice everything to defend our land, and every individual from Kashmir to Kanyakumari, supported the Prime Minister and his Government and said: "We will sacrifice everything, we will give you our money, our gold, our blood, our lives, everything, for the defence of our land." We then experienced a unity, integration and solidarity the like of which we never noticed during the last fifteen years of our independence. But what is the position today after these three months? The rolling of the ball was started by Panditji himself. By accepting the Colombo proposals he created dissensions and opposition in the country. Except the Congress Party and a few other persons, all were opposed to it, all the opposition parties said that there was danger in accepting the Colombo proposals and so we should not accept these proposals. But in spite of that, in spite of the opposition and in spite of the opinions expressed by well-intentioned people, those Colombo proposals were accepted and then these dissensions started. Apart from that, there are attempts made to run down the opposition parties. Just now, this morning also, I think, a reference was made to it and our Communist friends also referred to it. One Socialist Mem-

ber of Parliament has been arrested in Bihar. For what? Just because he opposed and criticised certain policies of the Congress. He was addressing a meeting exhorting the people to contribute everything that is possible for them, towards the defence of the country. While exhorting the people to contribute everything possible, he criticised certain actions of the Congress and so one M.P.—not an ordinary citizen—was immediately arrested. Thus this emergency is being utilised to suppress Fundamental Rights, to suppress the freedom of speech, to suppress the opposition parties and to have domination of one Congress group over another Congress group. May I ask the Government whether such an attitude and such a policy would help to strengthen the defence of the country? Nobody says that the emergency should not be continued. Just now an hon. Member from the Congress benches said that the opposition wanted the emergency to be removed. We do not say that the emergency should be removed. As long as there is the danger and the threat of Chinese aggression we do not say that the emergency should be removed. But what we want is this. The emergency should be utilised to strengthen our defences and not for wiping out the opposition parties or to wipe out rival groups in Congress whether it be the left group or the right group, which is not in power. Therefore, this emergency should be utilised for defence purposes only.

Only recently we learnt that the Congress Party is also having internal elections. What would be the effect of such internal elections? Will there not be these ugly rivalries coming up again? Will not one group try to dominate another group? Will not one group try to gain power and destroy the other group? If such rivalries are allowed to continue, would it not affect the morale of the people. Only a few days ago the Election Commission announced that they are going to have bye-elections. What will be the effect of those elections on the morale of the

[Shri B. D. Khobaragade.]

people? On the one hand the Congress Party will be utilising this emergency rule. On the other hand they will try to suppress all other political parties and if they try to criticise the policies of Pandit Nehru and his Government, they will immediately be arrested, as we have seen during the last few days. So will these elections be free and fair in such an atmosphere? Mr. A. D. Mamm suggested yesterday that except on the border areas where there is immediate danger of the Chinese aggression, in all other parts there should not be any emergency. I do not accept that proposal. I would suggest that if we are going to have these bye-elections, if we want to have free and fair bye-elections, then it is essential that at least from the day the elections are declared to the day of polling, the emergency provisions should be suspended and should not be applicable to that area, so that every political party may have the freedom of speech and freedom of action and the freedom to organise their election campaign and propaganda. Only then can we say that there will be free and fair elections.

Madam, the opposition parties today are giving their full co-operation to the Government and they are extending their helping hand to the Congress and to the Government so that our defences may be strengthened. But unfortunately what do we find? The Congress Party in its meeting yesterday has passed a resolution directing every Congressman, every Congress worker, not to associate himself with or take part in any function sponsored by or connected with a communal organisation and other opposition parties whose policies are different from or opposed to the policies of the Congress. Yesterday Mr. Sadiq Ali tried to explain this resolution and he said that Congressmen were only directed not to attend or be present at or participate in the meetings that are sponsored by other political parties. I can understand that, because if the Congress Party sponsors a meeting, a Republican party man will never like to participate in that meeting. And if a

meeting is organised by the Republican Party, we will not allow any Congressman even if he desires to do so, to participate in it. We will not allow him to participate in it. But that is not the purport of that resolution. Because the resolution specifically mentions "sponsored by or connected with". Suppose tomorrow all the opposition parties join hands and organise a meeting for the purpose of strengthening our defences. I would like to know from the Congress benches whether they would allow Congressmen to participate in such a meeting or whether this resolution would be shown to them and they would be directed not to participate in such a meeting. From this resolution it is clear that even if the opposition parties come together and join hands and organise a meeting or some function for furtherance of defence effort then Congressmen will not be allowed to participate in that function or that meeting. That is the clear meaning of that resolution.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have to wind up now.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I will take about five or ten minutes more. Or if you wish I can continue tomorrow.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Five minutes? Take two minutes and wind up.

5 P.M.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Therefore this Resolution of the Congress Working Committee has affected the morale of the people because people began to think that we are sacrificing everything, giving our blood and gold and if this is the attitude of the Congress Party, why should we sacrifice our blood and gold? Naturally there will be frustration among the masses and when there is frustration among the masses because of the policies pursued by the Congress Party it will not be possible for us to organise our defence efforts on a strong basis.

Madam, I would like to refer to one or two problems only now. First I would refer to the gold policy of the Government. No doubt the object of this policy is good but the question is whether by pursuing this policy we shall be able to achieve our objective. From the experience of the past six months we have known that the gold policy of the Government has proved a total failure. The hoarded gold, as mentioned by Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha yesterday, the big bricks of gold are not coming out. It is only the small golden ornaments of peasants, of working classes, that are coming out into the Defence Fund. I want to know from the Government where these golden bricks have disappeared. A question was asked in this House during the last session and Mr. Morarji Desai could not reply as to how much gold there was in the country. He could not say how much gold could be expected to be invested in the gold bonds. Madam, instead of bringing out the hoarded gold this policy has created numerous other problems. Morarjibhai wanted to solve that problem. He could not solve that problem but he has created a number of other problems. Now the middle class people are suffering. As you know, Madam, the middle class people or small businessmen do not have enough capital with them. The moment there is any difficulty, the moment they need some money, immediately they pawn their golden ornaments, get some money and carry on their business. Again when they get back some money, they get their ornaments back. This is what is happening. But because of this new policy all this middle class people will be put to trouble, and they will not be able to carry on their business effectively. And secondly, we have created another problem, the problem of unemployment. If not lakhs, at least thousands of goldsmiths have been thrown out of the jobs. They are thrown on the streets. As was mentioned yesterday by some hon. Member, somebody has taken up a job as taxi driver, some as a rickshaw

driver and so on. They are looking for all sorts of jobs. In this respect I would like to suggest this. Let there be some sort of ceiling on the possession of pure gold or ornaments, and let that ceiling be liberal. Let it be 50 tolas or a hundred tolas for every family; we do not mind. At this time we have given them limitless golden ornaments. If those people have any golden ornaments at this moment, let them have them but in future let us say that no individual or no family can be allowed to have pure gold or pure golden ornaments beyond a certain limit. Thereby we will be helping the goldsmiths also who will be able to prepare ornaments of pure gold. We will also be helping the middle class people who can purchase pure ornaments worth about a thousand rupees or two thousand rupees which can be utilised in times of difficulties. Let the Government consider this suggestion. If they want to impose some sort of ceiling on the possession of golden ornaments, let the Government do so but let Government give the people liberty to purchase some pure golden ornaments. And that will solve the problem of the goldsmiths.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken the five minutes that you wanted.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Few minutes, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up. You wanted only five minutes and you have taken that time.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: I only want to refer to the problem of Hindi language. The Socialist Member, when he spoke today, said that the regional language should be immediately introduced. He also said I do not know whether it is the official policy of the Socialist Party—that when the State Governments want to communicate with the Centre it does not matter if the State Government

communicates with the Central Government in the English language.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: Yes; quite

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: If this view is correct, then I think it will mean that you are giving the English language an official place. It will be the official language if it could be used between the States and the Centre. Is it the policy of the Socialist Party?

SHRI G. MURAHARI: Yes; for non-Hindi speaking States.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: It means that after 1965 also English should be allowed to have the status of official language; of associate language. My own opinion in this respect is, the question of language is not important; the question of national unity and integrity is more important. There is a considerable section of people in India who want that English should be continued for some time as official language. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru could not resist this demand and he had to give a promise at the

meeting of the Congress parliamentary group that a Bill will be introduced immediately for extending the time limit for English language. At this time of emergency when we are facing Chinese aggression on our frontiers if you want that there should be solidarity and integrity of the country, then we cannot but continue the use of English as official language because the independence, integrity and solidarity of the country is much more important than the Hindi policy or the language policy. Therefore, Madam, I would say that we should continue the English language for some time.

In conclusion, Madam, I thank you very much for the time you gave me to speak on this occasion.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. on Monday.

The House then adjourned at seven minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 25th February 1963.