

Sabha, I nominate the following Members to the Panel of Vice-Chairmen:

1. Shri M. P. Bhargava
2. Shri Nafisul Hasan
3. Shri K. K. Shah
4. Dr. A. Subba Rao.

MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, I beg to move that an Address be presented to the President in the following terms;

"That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 12th March, 1962."

Sir, I am grateful to you for having allowed me to move this motion. It is the privilege of Parliament to start its new year's deliberations with an Address by the President. This Address surveys the events that had taken place during the previous year, both nationally and internationally. This year it seems as if the President's Address has taken the shape of a Valedictory Address to the retiring Members as is evident from the opening sentence of the President wherein he says,

"This is the last occasion that I shall be addressing you in this Parliament".

Then he turns to the Members of the Lok Sabha and says,

"... you are about to end your five year tenure of membership of your House."

Then towards the end, he comes back to the same subject again and says,

"Members of Parliament, I now bid you farewell. I feel confident that those of you who do not return

here as legislators, will pursue useful and constructive roles in various fields of national activity so essential for the advancement of our democracy and for the building of our socialist society and for the furtherance of peace in the world."

And he ends by saying,

"I wish you all success and good fortune wherever you may be."

Normally, this House is a continuing body and a permanent House but it is a coincidence that the term of some of our Members who retire biennially coincides with the dissolution of the Lok Sabha this time and so this valedictory address C.J. II be taken to also mean for those retiring Members of this House.

Before I proceed further, I would like to draw the attention of the House to two major events which are happening in the world today. The first is the arrival in this country of the First Lady of the United States. I hope the House will agree with me when I extend a hearty welcome to the First Lady of the United States who landed in India yesterday along with her sister. The second event to which I would like to refer is the Conference of Eighteen Nations on Disarmament which is going to open its deliberations in Geneva tomorrow. As is well known our foreign policy is based on respect for the sovereignty of nations, the determination to maintain our national independence, non-alignment in respect of power blocs and military alliances, the ending of colonialism, and the settlement of international disputes by negotiation and peaceful methods. I shall read from the Congress resolution:

"The main and compelling problem that faces nations and Governments is that of peace and human survival. The house shares the sense of relief both in our country and the world over that the grave tensions and threat to peace last-year, which still continue in certain areas of the world, did not precipi-

[Shri M. P. Bhargava.] take themselves into the crisis of actual conflict. World disarmament, with effective steps for control and inspection, leading to the outlawry of war can alone really solve and end these crises."

Then I will read from a comment made in the *Hindustan Times*, about this Disarmament Conference which is opening tomorrow:

"The most tantalizing feature of the latest effort at disarmament, due to start tomorrow in Geneva, is the startling fact that the Big Powers, democratic or communist, and the others, neutral or non-aligned, are agreed fully in advance what they want, how broadly it is to be achieved and when.

In other words, the 18-Power conference is a meeting of like-minded men dedicated to a single and the self-same goal and backed by the totality of their peoples and the peoples of the world. And yet in matters of detail, the East and the West are so fundamentally divided that to expect progress would be to believe in miracles; so that the Geneva meeting becomes an exercise in optimism illustrating the poet's dictum that hope springs eternal in the human breast."

In spite of all that has been said in the *Hindustan Times* and other papers, I wish all success to the Disarmament Conference which starts tomorrow.

Now, Sir, the most important event which took place during the course of the preceding year was the integration of Goa with India. Here again I would like to invite the attention of the House to the Congress resolution passed at Patna which will give, in a nutshell, the circumstances under which the Government of India had to take military action in Goa.

"The Congress welcomes the end of Portuguese colonialism in Goa and in other enclaves in India".

With the sovereign independence of India, these foreign enclaves had become an anachronism and an intolerable affront to our honour and a threat to our security as a nation. The Portuguese Government obstinately maintained that Goa was a part of Portugal and not India, even in defiance and disregard of the decisions of the United Nations and Portuguese overseas territories were colonies and that colonialism should be ended.

For fourteen years our Government sought to discover ways and means to obtain the termination of Portuguese colonialism by negotiated settlement. Over these long years, our Government did not intend to threaten the use of force or violence to solve this problem. But at no time did Portugal make a favourable response to our demands to negotiate a peaceful solution. On the other hand, the Portuguese Government made it known, categorically that negotiations could only be on the basis of our recognition of colonial territory on the soil of our motherland and our co-existence with it. Meanwhile, our compatriots in Goa and other areas were suffering humiliations and repression, lately even more intensified than before. Our nations, our shipping and territory were being attacked and our country was being subjected to continued vilification. Inside Goa the colonial administration was collapsing and lawless elements were taking advantage of the situation. If this situation was allowed to continue, this would have resulted in civil strife and utter chaos. Our Government entertained and gave serious consideration to every proposal and suggestion made to them even at the last moment in order to avoid the use of our armed forces. They even postponed their plans more than once. But at no time did Portugal make a favourable response even to its own allies, or to the proposal made by the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations. The tatenae repression and

large-scale killing by the Portuguese authorities in their colony of Angola in Africa also produced powerful reactions in India. In these circumstances, our Government was left with no option but to send armed forces across the border to liberate the area from colonial domination."

Now, Sir, the whole affair was a very very short one, less than twentyfour hours and almost bloodless. Casualties on the civilian side were almost nil and they were few on both sides on the military side. The army, wherever it went, got big welcome and the people rejoiced that they had been liberated from the colonial rule of Portugal. In connection with this issue of Goa, I would like to refer to the remarks of the President also before I come to another subject. This is the assurance that is being given - to the people of Goa after their liberation and integration with India. He says:

"We have, however, repeatedly assured the peoples in Goa and the world that the personality that this area has acquired as a result of history would be respected, within the limits of the fundamentals of our Constitution, and that any changes would be constructive and smooth. The people of the former Portuguese colony have the protection of the fundamental rights and the basic principles of our Constitution. My Government propose to submit a Bill to Parliament in this session on this matter".

The Bill will be coming shortly to this House and we will have occasion to talk about the subject again. Before I end, I would like to extend a welcome, on behalf of this House, to our brethren in Goa who are coming back to their motherland after a considerable number of years.

Now, Sir, the second important event of this year is the holding of

elections. India is one of the biggest democracies in the world and to conduct such a big election without any trouble is really creditable, and our thanks are due to the Election Commissioner and the staff who assisted him in holding this election. Talking about this election, the President says:

"We have set an example to ourselves and indirectly assisted the confidence in the world in the institution and the processes of Parliamentary Government."

And then he goes on to say:

"As a result of the elections my Government have received a significant vote of confidence in their internal and external policies and a renewed mandate to strive strenuously and with speed for the establishment of a democratic socialist society and for the extension of the democratic institutions and processes on the basis of universal suffrage to the remotest of our villages, making democracy a reality."

I do hope the House will join me in extending our congratulations to the Prime Minister on his achievement in this election.

Now, coming to the country's progress, if bare figures are given, they will have no meaning. We have finished two Plans and I propose to compare the position of the country as it was in 1950 with the position after the completion of two Plans and the figures that come out of this comparison will be very revealing. Now, take the case of foodgrains. In 1950, the country produced 5-30 crore tons of foodgrains and at the completion of the Second Plan the figure rose to 7.9 crore tons, an increase of 2.6 crore tons. India grew 56 lakh tons of sugarcane in 1950 which rose to 80 lakh tons in 1960. India produced 11.2 lakh tons of sugar in 1950 and in 1960 it rose to nearly double this figure. So far as jute is concerned,

[Shri M. P. Bhargava.]

India produced 51 lakh tons in 1950 and the figure rose to 71 lakh tons in 1960, an increase of 20 lakh tons. We were producing 20 lakh bales of cotton in 1950 and this went up to 51 lakh bales in 1960, the production was doubled. In 1950, a total of 5-15 crore acres were irrigated and in 1960, it went up to 7 crore acres, an increase of 1-75 crore acres. Loans given to the peasants by the cooperative societies amounted to Rs. 23 crores in 1950 and in 1960 this figure rose to Rs. 200 crores. In 1950, 3,700 villages were electrified and in 1960, 23,000 villages were electrified.

I shall now come to certain production figures. In 1950, 73 lakh yards of khadi were produced and in 1960, it rose to 7-4 crore yards—see the comparison, 73 lakhs on one side and 740 lakhs on the other. In 1950, the production figure of handloom cloth stood at 74-2 crore yards and in 1960 it rose to 190 crore yards. From powerlooms we got 14-8 crore yards in 1950 which rose to 37-5 crore yards in 1960. Mill-made cloth, in 1950 we produced 372 crores yards and in 1960 we were producing 570 crore and 70 lakh yards—an increase of about 200 crore yards in ten years.

Now, coming to education, the President has said:

"My Government have made provision for education for all children in the age group 6—11 during the Third Plan which will enable 90 per cent, of the boys and about 62 per cent, of the girls to be at school making a total of 76 per cent, of the total population of all children in the age group 6—11. Legislation to make attendance of children compulsory will be recommended to various State Governments."

This is what is proposed to be done in the Third Plan. And what we have achieved so far will be clear from the figures I read out to you now. The number of primary schools

in 1950 was 2,09,700 and at the end of 1960, 3,42,000. That means the number of primary schools had gone up by about 53 per cent. There were at the end of 1950, 13,600 middle schools and this number had almost trebled itself to 39,600 at the end of 1960. The figures in respect of higher secondary schools for the years under discussion were 7,300 and 18,600 respectively. The number of students—I am not taking into account compulsory education which is coming—at the end of 1950 was 2 crores and 35 lakhs and it rose to about 4 crores and 35 lakhs in 1960. The number of students in engineering colleges in 1950 was 4,100 and it had gone up to 13,800 in the year 1960. That means it has more than trebled itself. The number of institutions which impart technical education has also gone up manifold. In almost every State the number has trebled itself in these ten years.

Coming to health, there were 8,600 hospitals and dispensaries in 1950 and they had gone up to 12,600 in 1960. The number of doctors had increased during the relevant period from 56,000 to 70,000. The number of nurses had gone up from 15,100 to 27,100 and the number of beds available for patients had risen from 1-18 lakh to 1-86 lakh.

Now, something about communications. There were 97,500 miles of metalled roads in 1950 and in 1960 they had gone up to 1'44 lakh miles. Kutch roads had gone up from 1'06 lakh miles to 2-54 lakh miles. There were no new railway lines constructed in the period before 1950 for several years but during these ten years from 1950 to 1960, 990 miles of new railway lines were laid in the country. The number of passengers during this period rose from 131 crores to 153 crores; that means an increase of 22 crores during the ten years in question. The number of Post Offices in the country went up from 39,000 to 77,000 and the Telegraph Offices from 3,600 to 6,500. The greatest increase

has been in the number of telephones in the country which has gone up by 4-6 lakhs all over the country.

Now, I come to industrial figures. Electric power supplied to industry in 1950 was 17 lakh kws; it had gone up by more than three times in 1960 to 56 lakh kws. Production of coal which was 3 crore and 23 lakh tons in 1950 had gone up to 5 crore and 46 lakh tons in 1960. Production of iron had gone up from 32 lakh tons to one crore and seven lakh tons. It must be remembered that all the three steel plants which were put up at Rourkela, Durgapur and Bhilai had not gone into full production in the years for which I am quoting figures. Even without that the production of iron had gone up from 32 lakh tons in 1950 to one crore and seven lakh tons in 1960. Steel production went up from 10 lakh tons to 22 lakh tons and cement from 27 lakh tons to 80 lakh tons. I may add here that we have become almost self-sufficient as far as cement production is concerned.

Coming to the manufacturing side, in 1950 only seven railway engines were being produced in the country. In 1960, 295 engines could be produced. The load carried by the Railways was 9 crore and 15 lakh tons in 1950 and it rose to 15 crore and 40 lakh tons in 1960. Petrol production had gone upto 57 lakh tons in 1960. In 1950 we were producing machines and tools worth only Rs. 34 lakhs and in 1960 we had a very revealing figure. It had gone up to Rs. 5 crores and 50 lakhs. Just imagine how much foreign exchange has been saved by manufacturing these machines and tools in the country during these ten years. The number of cars rose from 16,500 to 53,500 and in regard to cycles the rise is phenomenal. It rose from one lakh to ten lakhs in ten years. Before 1950 we were importing our entire requirements of sewing machines but now we are manufacturing 3 lakh machines

every year. This much about production, agricultural and industrial.

From the figures I have given there should be no doubt in anybody's mind that the country's progress has been unparalleled and unmatched not only in this country but, I would say, throughout the world. And this is all due to the able leadership of our beloved Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who has worked day and night all these ten years for raising the standard of the country and giving it a stable Government.

Now, let us examine some figures about national income and the population. The national income in 1950 was Rs. 9,530 crores and in 1960 it was Rs. 14,600 crores. This is very good; it means all round progress but there is progress on another side which also is at a fast rate and that is population. In 1950 the population of the country was 36-18 crores after India was divided into India and Pakistan. The population at the end of 1960 was 44 crores. That means an increase of 8 crores from 36 crores in ten years. The average *per capita* income has gone up from Rs. 265-2 to Rs. 330 per year. This is about the income and other things.

One more subject and the last subject to which I attach quite a lot of importance is the question of national integration, which was tackled last year. Some progress was made, as is well known to the House, and I wish now that the elections are over the National Integration Council, which has been set up, would start its work in right earnest. I do hope that all the political parties will co-operate in the work of the National Integration Council and we will evolve a code of conduct. We shall all join hands in seeing that the country improves at a rapid pace.

I move the motion, Sir.

شری پیر محمد خان (جموں اور کشمیر) : جناب چیئرمین صاحب - میں مسٹر بہارگوا کے موشن کو سیکند کرنے کے لئے کہوا ہوا ہوں - پریذیڈنٹ صاحب نے اپنے ایڈریس میں جو صنعتی، زرعی اور اقتصادی ترقی کے متعلق ذکر کیا ہے اور شری بہارگوا نے تمام تفصیل کے ساتھ جو سب حقائق بیان کئے اس کا ریپٹیشن کرنا میرے خیال میں موزون نہیں ہوگا - میں الیٹھ الیکشن کے متعلق کچھ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمارے ملک میں تیسرا الیکشن ختم ہو چکا ہے اور اس میں ہم نے یہ دیکھا کہ جس پارٹی کے پاس بہت اچھا نصب العین یا اور اچھا مقصد تھا - اس مقصد کو حاصل کرنے کے لئے ایک اچھا اور مناسب پروگرام بنایا ہوا تھا ملک نے اس پارٹی کو سب سے زیادہ ووٹ دئے اور وہی پارٹی یعنی کانگریس، الیکشن میں کامیاب ہوئی - اس دوران میں ملک نے جو زرعی، صنعتی اور اقتصادی ترقی کی ہے اس کا سہرا ہمارے محبوب پرائم منسٹر کے سر پر ہے - اس کے علاوہ مسٹر بہارگوا نے اپنی تقریر میں چین اور پاکستان کے ساتھ ہمارے ملک کے جو تعلقات ہیں ان کے بارے میں کچھ ذکر نہیں کیا اور میں

اس پر کچھ تفصیل کے ساتھ کہنا چاہتا ہوں - اس سے پہلے کہ گوا میں جو بات ہوئی اور ہماری گورنمنٹ نے اس مہم کو بہت اچھی طرح سے پورا کیا میں اس کے لئے گورنمنٹ کو مبارکباد دیتا ہوں کہ اس نے اس کام کو بہت اچھی طرح سے پورا کیا -

اب میں کچھ چائنا کے متعلق کہنا چاہتا ہوں - پریذیڈنٹ صاحب کے ایڈریس میں یہ بات بتائی گئی ہے کہ تبت کے ساتھ ہماری ٹریٹی کے بارے میں جو جون سنہ ۱۹۶۲ کو ختم ہو رہی ہے چین پھر ایک ٹریٹی کرنے کی خواہش کر رہا ہے اور اس نے ہماری گورنمنٹ کو اس کے متعلق ایک جتنی بھی لکھی ہے - ہاؤس کو یہ بات بہت اچھی طرح معلوم ہے کہ موجودہ چائنا گورنمنٹ نے پرانی ٹریٹی کی کتنی قدر کی اور وہ پرانی ٹریٹی پر کتنی پابند رہی ہے - اس نے ہمارے ملک کے جموں کشمیر اسٹیٹ کے بارہ ہزار اسکوئر میل زمین پر بلا وجہ قبضہ کر لیا ہے - اس حصہ کے متعلق ٹریٹی میں سب کچھ تھا - لیکن اس نے اس ٹریٹی کو فالو کرنا مناسب نہیں سمجھا - اب یہ بات سمجھ میں نہیں آتی ہے کہ اس میں کیا پھلندہ نہیں ہے کہ وہ پھر تبت کے

متعلق ترقیتی کرنے کو کہہ رہا ہے۔
میرے خیال میں ایسی گورنمنٹ کے
ساتھ کوئی ترقیتی نہیں کرنی چاہیئے
جب تک کہ وہ جو اگريشن اس نے
ہمارے ملک کے علاقہ پر کیا ہے اس
کو خالی نہ کر دے۔ اس قبضہ والے
حصہ کو خالی کرنے کا مطلب یہ ہے
کہ اس نے جو ترقیتی کی ہے اس پر
وہ عمل کرتا ہے اور اس کو وہ مانتا
ہے۔ اگر وہ ترقیتی پر عمل نہیں کرتا
ہے مانتا نہیں ہے تو پھر اس کے ساتھ
ترقیاتی دیکھنا میرے خیال میں بالکل
بے فائدہ ہوگا۔

اس کے قبل میں نے اپنی تمام
سپیچز میں چین گورنمنٹ کے
طریقہ کار اور اس کی ہستری کے
متعلق تمام باتیں تفصیل کے ساتھ
کہی ہوئی ہیں۔ میں نے چین کے
بارے میں جو باتیں کہی تھیں وہ
ٹھیک تھیں اور ان کا ثبوت اب مل
رہا ہے۔ جب کہی چین کے ساتھ
بات چیت شروع کی جاتی ہے تو
اس کا نتیجہ یہ نکلتا ہے کہ ان کے
نئے نئے کلیم ہمارے علاقے میں ہوتے
جاتے ہیں۔ ہمارے ملک کی چین کے
ساتھ یہ پالیسی ہونی چاہیئے کہ
جب تک وہ پہلی ترقیتی پر عمل
نہیں کرتا ان کو نہیں مانتا ایگریشن کو
خالی نہیں کرتا یعنی ہمارے علاقے
سے ہٹ نہیں جاتا اس وقت تک

اس نے ساتھ دسی قسم کی بات
چیت کرنا میرے خیال میں فائدہ مند
نہیں ہوگا۔

چین کے متعلق اتنا کہہ کر اب
میں پاکستان کے متعلق کچھ کہنا
چاہتا ہوں کیونکہ پریذیڈنٹ کے
ایڈریس میں پاکستان کے ساتھ جو
ہمارے تعلقات ہیں ان کا ذکر کیا
گیا ہے۔ یہ ایک عجیب تماشا ہے کہ
چین نے جموں کشمیر کے بارہ ہزار
اسکوائر میل علاقے پر ہٹ گیا ہے اور
اپنے قبضہ میں لے لیا ہے۔ پاکستان
نے بھی ہمارے ہی علاقے پر ہٹ کر
اور اسٹیٹ کا ایک تہائی حصہ اب
تک اپنے قبضہ میں کر رکھا ہے۔
12 Noon۔ ان دنوں نے ہماری اسٹیٹ کے
ان علاقوں پر قبضہ کیا ہوا ہے
جو کہ اسٹیٹ کی حفاظت کے لئے ہی
تھیں بلکہ ہندوستان کی حفاظت کے
لئے بھی بہت اہم اور ضروری ہیں۔
اگر آپ نقشہ دیکھیں گے تو آپ کو یہ
بات واضح ہو جائیگی۔ پاکستان پھر
اس معاملہ کو سیکوریٹی کونسل میں
لے گیا ہے مگر سیکوریٹی کونسل نے
اس بات کا جو حل تجویز کیا تھا
اس میں پہلی بات یہ تھی کہ
پاکستان اپنی فوجیں کشمیر کے علاقے
سے نکال لے۔ کیا اس پر پاک۔تان نے
آج تک عمل کیا ہے۔ اس کی فوجیں

[شری پیپر متھمد خان]

ابھی تک ہمارے علاقے میں موجود
ہیں اور تھوڑی سی کارروائیاں جس طرح
پہلے ہوتی تھیں اسی طرح اس وقت
بھی جاری ہیں۔ میں یہ کہوں گا
کہ اب اس چھوٹے کو سیکرٹری
کونسل میں ہماری طرف سے اس طرح
لیجسلیا چائے یا گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا
اس طرح کی کوشش اور طریقہ کار
اختیار کرے کہ پاکستان کے قبضہ میں
جو ہمارا علاقہ ہے وہ واپس لیا جائے۔
میں ذاتی طور پر اس بات کا شاہد
ہوں کہ جو ہمارا علاقہ ان کے پاس
ہے اور اس میں جو لوگ رہتے ہیں
وہ تکلیف میں ہیں اور تھوڑی
تکلیف میں نہیں بلکہ زیادہ تکلیف
میں ہیں۔ پندرہ سال ہو گئے لیکن
وہاں کوئی الیکشن نہیں ہوا اور
وہاں کوئی اس طرح کی گورنمنٹ
نہیں ہے جس طرح کی گورنمنٹ
ہونی چاہیے۔ آج ایک صاحب
گورنمنٹ فارم کر لیتے ہیں اور کل
دوسرے صاحب فارم کر لیتے ہیں
لیکن لوگوں کی تکلیف اسی طرح ہے
جس طرح پہلے تھی۔ ہمیں اس بات
سے بہت دکھ ہوتا ہے کیونکہ یہ
لوگ ہمارے لوگ ہیں اور ہمارے

ان میں رشتہ دار بھی ہمارے
پڑوسی بھی ہیں، ہمارے گاؤں کے ہیں
ہمارے شہر کے ہیں، ہمارے علاقے کے ہیں۔
تو جب ہم ان کی تکلیفیں دیکھتے
ہیں اور سنتے ہیں تو ہمیں بہت دکھ
ہوتا ہے۔ میں آپ سے ایک چھوٹی سی
مثال ان کی آرام یا تکلیف کی کہ وہ
کس طرح رہتے ہیں بیان کرتا ہوں اور
میرے خیال میں اس سے ان کی
تکلیفوں کا آپ خود اندازہ کر سکتے
ہیں۔ سیز فائر لائن جو مقرر ہوئی ہے
اس کے ایک طرف پاکستان کی فوج
ہے اور ایک طرف ہماری فوج ہے۔ اس
طرف سے وہ لوگ جو ہماری طرف کے
رہنے والے تھے اور سنہ ۱۹۴۷ء میں
اپنی جان بچانے کی خاطر اس
طرف پھاگ گئے تھے وہ ہماری طرف
آتے ہیں اور اس بات کی پروا بھی
نہیں کرتے ہیں کہ یہ دونوں فوجیں
انہیں مار دیں گی یا پکڑ لیں گی۔ وہ
ہماری طرف پہنچتے ہیں اور قاعدہ
کے مطابق ان کو واپس کرنا ہوتا ہے
کچھ ٹرانویل کرنا ہوتا ہے۔ وہ سب
کچھ برداشت کرتے ہیں اور یہ کہتے
ہیں کہ ہمیں اس نہ بھیجئے۔
ہمیں اگر آپ یہیں گولی ماریں تو
اچھا ہے لیکن ہمیں واپس نہ بھیجئے۔

وہاں کی یہ حالت ہے ہمارے لوگوں کی - میرے خیال میں ہمیں اب اس بات کی کوشش کرنی چاہئے کہ ایک تو چائنا سے کوئی بات چیت نہ کی جائے جب تک کہ وہ ہمارا علاقہ خالی نہ کرے اور دوسرے پاکستان کے متعلق ایسے ذرائع دیکھ جائیں اور ایسے طریقے اختیار کئے جائیں کہ جو ہماری استقامت کا ایک تہائی حصہ پاکستان کے قبضہ میں ہے وہ اس سے واپس لیا جائے -

ہماری استقامت میں جو الیکشن ہوئے ان کے متعلق میں کچھ نہرہا کہنا چاہتا ہوں - وہاں بھی یہ تیسرا الیکشن ہے اور تیسرے الیکشن میں پھر لوگوں نے یہ ثابت کیا کہ یہ اس جماعت کے پیچھے ہیں جس کا کوئی مقصد ہے اور اس مقصد کے حصول کے لئے جس کا کوئی پروگرام ہے اور جو لوگوں کی بہتری کے لئے دن رات کام کرتی ہے - تو وہاں وہ جماعت ہے نیشنل کانفرنس -

اب تک اس کو اس الیکشن میں برابری نامیابی حاصل ہوئی ہے اور ابھی کچھ الیکشن باقی ہیں - اس وقت تک ۶۰ سیٹوں کا ویولٹ آچکا ہے جس میں سے صرف دو

ایوزیشن کو گئی ہیں - ایوزیشن ہمیشہ یہ چھٹتا ہے اور پکارتا رہا کہ اس وقت خود الیکشن کراتی ہے اس واسطے فور الیکشن نہیں ہوتے - اور ہمیشہ اس کا یہ شور رہا کہ انڈیا کا الیکشن کمیشن الیکشن کو کڈکت کرے - چنانچہ اس بار انڈیا کے الیکشن کمیشن کے ماتحت الیکشن ہوا اور نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ زیادہ فوٹر الیکشن ہونے سے وہ جو پانچ چھ سیٹیں پہلے ایوزیشن لہجاتا تھا اس دفعہ دو ہی لے سکا - اور وہاں جیسا کہ میں پہلے کہہ چکا ہوں پھر لوگوں نے اس جماعت کے حق میں فیصلہ کیا جس جماعت کا کوئی مقصد ہے کوئی پروگرام ہے اور جو لوگوں کی بہتری کے لئے کام کر رہی ہے - اس کا سپرد وہاں کے پرائم منسٹر بخشی فلم مقصد کے سر ہے جو دن رات انتہا کوشش کے ساتھ لوگوں کی بہتری اور بہبودی میں لگے رہتے ہیں -

یہ سب چیزیں کہنے کے بعد میں مسٹر بھارگو کے موشن کو سیکلڈ کرتا ہوں اور اس کی تائید بھی کرتا ہوں - شکریہ -

†[श्री पीर मुहम्मद खान (जम्मू और काश्मीर) : जनाब चेयरमैन साहब, मैं मिस्टर भागवत के मोशन को सैकिड करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। प्रेसिडेंट साहब ने तपने एड्रेस में जो सनती, जरई और इक्तसादी सरवकी के मुतल्लिक जिक्र किया है और श्री भागवत ने तमाम तफसील के साथ जो सब हकायक बयान किये उसका रिपिटेशन करना मेरे ख्याल में मौजूद नहीं होगा। मैं अलबत्ता इलेक्शन के मुतल्लिक कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे मुल्क में तीसरा इलेक्शन खत्म हो चुका है और उस में हम ने यह देखा कि जिस पार्टी के पास बहुत अच्छा नस्बुलएन था और अच्छा मकसद था, उस मकसद को हासिल करने के लिये एक अच्छा और मुनासिब प्रोग्राम बनाया हुआ था। मुल्क ने उसी पार्टी को सब से ज्यादा वोट दिये और वह पार्टी यानी कांग्रेस इलेक्शन में कामयाब हुई। इस दौरान में मुल्क ने जो जरई, सनती और इक्तसादी तरक्की की है उसका सेहरा हमारे महबूब प्राइम मिनिस्टर के सिर पर है। इस के अलावा मि० भागवत ने अपनी तकरीर में चीन और पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारे मुल्क के जो ताल्लुकात हैं उन के बारे में कुछ जिक्र नहीं किया और मैं उस पर कुछ तफसील के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ। इस से पहले गोआ में जो बात हुई और हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने इस महम को बहुत अच्छी तरह से पूरा किया, मैं उस के लिये गवर्नमेंट को मुबारकबाद देता हूँ कि उस ने इस काम को बहुत अच्छी तरह से पूरा किया।

अब मैं कुछ चायना के मुतल्लिक कहना चाहता हूँ। प्रेसिडेंट साहब के एड्रेस में यह बात बताई गई है कि तिब्बत के साथ हमारी ट्रीटी के बारे में जो जून, १९६२ को

खत्म हो रही है। चीन फिर एक ट्रीटी करने की स्वाहिश कर रहा है और उसने हमारी गवर्नमेंट को उसके मुतल्लिक एक चिट्ठी भी लिखी है। हाउस को यह बात बहुत अच्छी तरह मालूम है कि मौजूदा चायना गवर्नमेंट ने पुरानी ट्रीटी की कितनी कदर की और वह पुरानी ट्रीटी पर कितनी पाबन्द रही है। उसने हमारे मुल्क के जम्मू-काश्मीर स्टेट के बारह हजार स्ववायर मील जमीन पर बिला वजह कब्जा कर लिया है। इस हिस्से के मुतल्लिक ट्रीटी में सब कुछ था, लेकिन उस ने इस ट्रीटी को फ़ौलो करना मुनासिब नहीं समझा। अब यह बात समझ में नहीं आती है कि इस में क्या फंदा नहीं है कि वह फिर तिब्बत के मुतल्लिक ट्रीटी करने को कह रहा है। मेरे ख्याल में ऐसी गवर्नमेंट के साथ कोई ट्रीटी नहीं करनी चाहिये जब तक कि वह जो एपेशन उस ने हमारे मुल्क के इलाके पर किया है, उसको खाली न कर दे। इस कब्जा वाले हिस्से को खाली करने का मतलब यह है कि उसने जो ट्रीटी की है उस पर वह अम्ल करता है और उसको वह मानता है। अगर वह ट्रीटी पर अम्ल करता है, मानता नहीं है तो फिर उसके साथ ट्रीटी रखना मेरे ख्याल में बिल्कुल बेफायदा होगा।

इसके क़ल्ल मैं ने अपनी तमाम स्पीचेज़ में चीन गवर्नमेंट के तरीके का और उसकी हिस्ट्री के मुतल्लिक तमाम बातें तफसील के साथ कही हुई हैं। मैं ने चीन के बारे में जो बातें कही थीं वह ठीक थीं और उनका सबूत अब मिल रहा है। जब कभी चीन के साथ बातचीत शुरू की जाती है तो उसका नतीजा यह निकलता है कि उनके नये नये क्लेम हमारे इलाके में होते जाते हैं। हमारे मुल्क की चीन के साथ यह पोलिसी होनी चाहिये कि जब तक वह पहली ट्रीटी पर अम्ल नहीं करता, उन को नहीं मानता,

†[] Hindi transliteration.

एग्जेशन को खाली नहीं करता, यानी हमारे इलाके से हट नहीं जाता उस वक्त तक उस के साथ किसी किस्म की बात-चीत करना मेरे ख्याल में फायदामन्द नहीं होगा ।

चीन के मुतल्लिक इतना कह कर अब मैं पाकिस्तान के मुतल्लिक कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ; क्योंकि प्रेसिडेंट के एड्रेस में पाकिस्तान के साथ जो हमारे ताल्लुकात हैं उनका जिक्र किया गया है । यह एक अजीब तमाशा है कि चीन ने जम्मू-काश्मीर के बारह स्ववायर मील इलाका पर हिट किया और अपने कब्जे में ले लिया है । पाकिस्तान ने भी हमारे ही इलाके पर हिट किया और स्टेट का एक तिहाई हिस्सा अब तक अपने कब्जे में कर रखा है ।

इन दोनों ने हमारे स्टेट के उन इलाकों पर कब्जा किया हुआ है जो कि स्टेट की हिफाजत के लिये ही नहीं बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान की हिफाजत के लिये भी बहुत अहम और जरूरी है । अगर आप नक्शा देखेंगे तो आपको यह बात बाजे हो जायेगी । पाकिस्तान फिर इस इलाके को सिक्युरिटी काँसिल में ले गया है, मगर सिक्युरिटी काँसिल ने इस बात का जो हल तजबीज किया था उस में पहली बात यह थी कि पाकिस्तान अपनी फौजें काश्मीर के इलाके से निकाल ले । क्या इस पर पाकिस्तान ने आज तक अम्ल किया है ? उसकी फौजें अभी तक हमारे इलाके में मौजूद हैं और तखरीबी कार्रवाइयाँ जिस तरह पहले होती थी उसी तरह जारी हैं । मैं यह कहूँगा कि अब इस झगड़े को सिक्युरिटी काँसिल में हमारी तरफ से इस तरह ले जाया जाये या गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया इस तरह की कोशिश

और तरीके कार अस्तियार करे कि पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में हमारा इलाका है, वह वापिस लाया जाये । मैं ज़ाती तौर पर इस बात का शाहिद हूँ कि जो हमारा इलाका उन के पास है और उस में जो लोग रहते हैं वह तकलीफ में हैं और थोड़ी तकलीफ में नहीं बल्कि ज्यादा तकलीफ में हैं । १५ साल हो गये लेकिन वहाँ कोई इलेक्शन नहीं हुआ और वहाँ कोई इस तरह की गवर्नमेंट नहीं है जिस तरह की गवर्नमेंट होनी चाहिये । आज एक साहब गवर्नमेंट फोर्म कर लेते हैं और कल दूसरे साहब फोर्म कर लेते हैं । लेकिन लोगों की तकलीफ उसी तरह है जिस तरह पहले थी । हमें इस बात से बहुत दुःख होता है क्योंकि वह लोग हमारे लोग हैं और हमारे उनमें रिश्तेदार भी हैं, हमारे पड़ोसी भी हैं, हमारे गांव के हैं, हमारे शहर के हैं और हमारे इलाके के हैं । तो जब उनकी तकलीफें देखते हैं और सुनते हैं तो हमें बहुत दुःख होता है । मैं आपसे एक छोटी सी मिशाल उनकी आराम की, तकलीफ की कि वह किस तरह रहते हैं बयान करता हूँ और मेरे ख्याल में उससे उनकी तकलीफों का आप खुद अन्दाजा कर सकते हैं । सीज फायर लाइन जो मुकर्रर हुई है उसके एक तरफ पाकिस्तान की फौज है और एक तरफ हमारी फौज है । इस तरफ से जो लोग हमारी तरफ के रहने वाले थे और सन् १९४७ में अपनी जान बचाने की खातिर उस तरफ भाग गये थे वह हमारी तरफ आये हैं और इस बात की परवाह भी नहीं करते हैं कि ये दोनों फौजें उन्हें मार देंगी या पकड़ लेंगी । वह हमारी तरफ पहुँचते और कायदे के मुताबिक उनको वापिस करना होता है । कुछ ट्रायल करना होता है ; वह सब कुछ बरदाश्त करते हैं और यह कहते हैं कि हमें वापिस न भेजिये । अगर हमें आप यहीं गोली मार दें तो अच्छा है, लेकिन हमें वापिस न भेजिये । वहाँ की यह हालत है हमारे लोगों की । मेरे ख्याल में हमें इस

[श्री पीर मुहम्मद खान]

बात की कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि एक तो चायना से कोई बातचीत न की जाये, जब तक कि वह हमारा इलाका खाली न करे और दूसरे पाकिस्तान के मुतल्लिक ऐसे जराय देखे जायें और ऐसे तरीके अस्तियार किये जायें कि जो हमारी स्टेट का एक तिहाई पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में है वह उससे वापिस लिया जाये।

हमारी स्टेट में जो इलेक्शन हुये हैं उनके मुतल्लिक में थोड़ा कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। वहां भी यह तीसरा इलेक्शन है। और इस तीसरी इलेक्शन में फिर लोगों ने यह साबित किया कि वह उस जमायत के पीछे हैं जिसका कुछ मकसद है और उस मकसद हमूल के लिये जिसका कोई प्रोग्राम है और लोगों की बेहतरी के लिये दिन रात काम करती है। तो वहां वह जमायत है नेशनल काफिस। अब तक उसी को इस इलेक्शन में भारी कामयाबी हासिल हुई है और अभी कुछ इलेक्शन बाकी है। इस वक्त ६० सीटों का रिजल्ट आ चुका है जिसमें से सिर्फ दो अपोजिशन को गई हैं। अपोजिशन हमेशा यह चीखता और पुकारता रहा कि स्टेट खुद इलेक्शन कराती है इस वास्ते फेयर इलेक्शन नहीं होते और हमेशा उसका यह शोर रहा कि इंडिया का इलेक्शन कमीशन इलेक्शन को कंडक्ट करे। चुनावों इस बार इंडिया के इलेक्शन कमीशन के मातहत इलेक्शन हुआ और नतीजा यह हुआ कि ज्यादा फेयर इलेक्शन होने से वह जो ५-६ सीटें पहले अपोजिशन ले जाता था इस दफा दो ही ले सका। और वहां जैसा कि मैं पहले कुछ कह चुका हूँ, फिर लोगों ने उस जमायत के हक में फैसला किया, जिस जमायत का कोई मकसद है कोई प्रोग्राम है और जो लोगों की बेहतरी के लिये काम कर रही है। उसका सेहरा वहां के प्राइम मिनिस्टर के, बख्शी गुलाम मुहम्मद के, सर है जो दिन रात

अनयक कोशिश के साथ लोगों की बेहतरी और बेहबूदी में लगे रहते हैं।

यह सब चीजें कहने के बाद मैं मि० भार्गव के मोशन को सेकिड करता हूँ और उसकी ताईद भी करता हूँ। शुक्रिया।

The question was proposed.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There are 34 amendments by the Communist Party to the Motion.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Mostly related to Kerala.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have looked through them. Amendments 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 24 and 33 are disallowed. You move the other amendments.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, if there is any technical objection, you have the discretion to change the wording and make them suitable.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have not got the leisure to change the words. You have got the liberty to bring in anything you please.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not take into account the clear and massive shift in popular support that has now taken place in Kerala in favour of the main Opposition party, namely, the Communist Party and is democratic allies who contested in the Third General Elections to Lok Sabha and secured both more votes and seats than the Congress and the P.S.P. put together'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take into account the

fact that in the Assembly Constituency-wise count of the present election results in Kerala, the Congress and the P.S.P. together have not won the winning number in more than 42 constituencies whereas the Communist Party and its democratic allies which contested the election as a single-front have won a winning number of votes in the overwhelming majority of the total Assembly constituencies'."

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

'but regret that the failure in the Address to take note of these developments in Kerala is fraught with serious dangers to our parliamentary and democratic institutions'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not show concern about the manner in which the power of money has been used in the General Elections'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the Government apparatus and the advantages which the ruling party enjoys by reason of its control of the Government have been used for electoral ends of the ruling party'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the appeals in the name of religion as well as appeals to communal, caste and narrow provincial sentiments in the Third General Elections to influence the exercise of franchise'."

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

'but regret that the Address neither takes any note of the serious allegations that have been made regarding malpractices and corruption in the elections nor does it promise any enquiry into such allegations'."

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

'but regret that the Address misses the fact that a number of members of the Union Government, while conducting their election campaign, took recourse to statements against friendly countries like the Soviet Union and made remarks and observations not in consonance with the Government's declared policy towards such countries'."

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

'but regret that members of the Government in many cases made appeals in the name of caste, religion, etc., or caused such appeals to be made on their behalf in their election campaign'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the disturbing growth of the communal forces in certain parts of the country as demonstrated in the elections nor does it indicate any steps to meet the situation and combat communalism'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take due cognizance of the fact that the growth of the communal forces is a grim challenge to national integration nor does it point out that in order to promote national integration.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

these centrifugal, communal forces ' must be confronted by all those who stand for national integration and democracy'."

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

'but regret that it does not take note of the emergence of feudal and other extreme reactionary forces in the country's political life nor does it call upon the people to stand up to these retrograde forces and fight them back in the interest of democracy and progress'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not acknowledge the need for the granting of democratic set-up and responsible Government to Manipur, Tripura and Himachal Pradesh'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not indicate any constructive measure for dealing with the situation which has arisen in the Heavy Electricals in Bhopal so that the legitimate demands of the workers in this public sector project are immediately met'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take due cognizance of the violations of the Code of Discipline by the employers including the management of the State-owned undertakings'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the rising trends in the prices of a

number of essential commodities'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take any note of the behaviour of the Governments of the U.K. and the U.S.A. in the Security Council and otherwise over the question of the liberation of Goa, Da-man and Diu in December, 1961'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not recognise* the harmful-ness of India's establishing diplomatic relations with the European Economic Community'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not promise full diplomatic recognition to the Algerian Provisional Government'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not still recognise the need for giving full diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the continuance of certain pro-Portuguese elements in Goa, Daman and Diu in important positions'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take due note of the fact that certain sections of the Western Press openly supported the forces of extreme Reaction and the opponents of India's foreign policy during the General Elections'."

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

'but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the Government's views on such open interference in India's internal affairs or whether it made any representation to the Governments of the countries from which these papers and journals are published'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not firmly lay down that the Government of India does not any more recognise the jurisdiction of the United Nations Organisation in regard to Jammu and Kashmir which clearly and irrevocably is a part of India nor does it propose any steps to withdraw this question from the United Nations or at least to freeze it so that the interested parties are not in a position to make any move against India'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that the U.N. Forces in the Congo have not been in a position to ensure the implementation of the U.N. resolution regarding the withdrawal of foreign troops and the unity and independence of Congo and further that the Indian troops stationed there have not been allowed to fulfil their role in this respect'."

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

'but regret that the Address J incorrectly states that the Gene- I rai Elections have "renewed as-surance and confidence placed by j the great majority of our people J in my Government...." whereas the fact is that the majority of the electorate has exercised its franchise not in favour of the ¹

party which is in control of the Government'."*

SHRI P. A. SOLOMON (Kerala): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not take into account the danger of anti-secular forces which intervened in the elections throughout the country'."

The questions were proposed.

SHRI ROHIT M. DAVE (Gujarat):

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the motion which is now being debated refers to the Address by the President to what has been called the lame-duck Parliament . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We are not lame-ducks, we continue here.

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

SHRI ROHIT M. DAVE: The lame-duck Parliament.

. . . and the Address has the impress of this particular characteristic of the audience to which it is delivered. Mostly, the Address merely consists of some of the facts relating to the state of the nation and gives some indication regarding the policy of the Government in some measures, to which I will come presently. But by and large, it is merely a catalogue of facts and there is hardly any enunciation of a fresh policy in this Address. This being the case, it becomes a bit difficult to disagree either with the motion which has been moved or with some of the facts which have been narrated in the Address as such. At the same time one has to remember the fact that the Government which is now in power is going to continue in power when the next Lok Sabha assembles and to that extent one has to apply one's mind to the policy which is likely to be followed in the next five years and whatever indications are available in

[Shri Rohit M. Dave.]

the Address regarding that policy which is likely to be followed have to be pondered upon and debated in this House when this motion is being considered.

The first and the most important fact regarding the policy which is likely to be followed that is evident from this Address is with reference to our policies in relation to China. A very welcome enunciation of the policy to be followed is on the last paragraph on page 4 where it has been stated that—

"The Government of the People's Republic of China have offered to negotiate a new Agreement to replace the 1954 Agreement."

And then the Address goes on to say—

"My Government responding by way 'of reply, have asked for a reversal of the aggressive policies pursued by our neighbour and for the restoration of a climate of peace on the basis of the strict observance of the Five Principles."

Here, a clear policy has been laid down, to my mind, for the first time regarding the course which this Government is to follow regarding our relations with China. Now, Sir, I welcome this clear enunciation of this policy but I would like some light to be thrown on the phrase which is in the last paragraph on page 4 which says—

"----- for a reversal of the aggressive policies pursued by our neighbour and for the restoration of a climate of peace on the basis of the strict observance of the Five Principles."

What exactly does it mean? Does it merely mean that we are going to enter into fresh agreements with China in case the Government of China now shows some conciliatory

attitude and gives some clear indication of not marching further into our territory? Or does it also mean that the aggression which has already been committed on our territory will have to be vacated or at least a move in that direction will have to be started before any question of negotiating a fresh treaty with China is contemplated? The phrase is rather vague. It might mean the vacation of aggression also but perhaps it might not mean that also, and some light, needs to be thrown on the exact implication of the words that have been used over here.

The second point to which I would like to draw the attention of the House is the concern shown by the President about the problems that are still facing us in our relations with Pakistan as well as with China, and the President is pleased to state that India's uneasy relations both with China and with Pakistan still continue. But what I would like to know is what the Government proposes to do regarding this situation which has been fully recognised. Whenever we try to raise this question we are suddenly charged with warmongering, with belligerency, with unreal politics and with unreal policies. I would therefore like to make it perfectly clear that when we raise this issue of creating enough consciousness among our people regarding the need to observe strictly and to defend with the best of our ability the territorial integrity of our country, we do not at all mean that any campaign of hatred or even any cold war be started with our neighbours and that our people should be taught to hate our neighbours. That is not at all the implication of the policy which we are trying to get across the country. What we mean is that in this country which is newly liberated, consciousness of the responsibility of the citizens in dealing with the defence problems has to be created. We call this democratisation of defence. We mean thereby that every individual citizen in the country must be conscious of his responsi-

bility regarding the defence of our territory and be prepared to make any sacrifice if need be. That is all that it meant. It is because of this that we are advocating that Defence Councils should be set up in the principal centres of our country, where the military personnel and the civil authorities, where the people in charge of the defence in the country and the ordinary citizens in their respective walks of life could meet, could ponder over our defence problems, could analyse the various implications of the situation that faces us and may work out a programme which might help in creating that consciousness among people, which is necessary if our territorial integrity is to be preserved. That is all that is meant, and I would like to take this occasion once more to say that this type of consciousness needs to be generated in our country so that the concern which has been expressed in the Address may not materialise wherein we might have to suffer any further humiliations. As it is, a part of our territory is under the control of China, another part of our territory is under the control of Pakistan, and that is humiliation enough. We should not add to it by creating a situation or by permitting a situation in which it may be possible for our neighbours to take advantage of any situation that might be existing in our country.

The next question that I would like to deal with is the paragraph in the President's Address relating to the progress made in our economy, in our agricultural sector, in our industrial sector, in our foreign trade, etc. Sir, you were pleased to read out to us a very large list of the achievements of the Congress Government during the last decade and the important targets which have been achieved during the last ten years of our planned economy. You also mentioned the question of increase in food production, increase in the production of agricultural commodities, etc. Fortunately, Sir, here we have in our midst the

ex-Deputy Chairmen of the Planning Commission, Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, who has addressed a number of meetings and seminars in New Delhi recently, drawing our attention to the weakness in our agricultural sector. If the press reports are correct, in one seminar he mentioned that even if all the targets of the Third Five Year Plan are achieved, still, at the end of the Third Five Year Plan period, we may be facing a serious situation regarding the supply of agricultural commodities. He has also expressed the hope that we will be able to exceed the targets which have been fixed for the Third Five Year Plan. I do not know whether his expectation of exceeding the targets will be fulfilled or not, but it is quite clear that we have not been able to give sufficient attention to the development of the agricultural sector. It has also been stated that development of the agricultural sector is one of the most difficult tasks, tasks which have been found difficult both by democratic countries as well as by countries in which total planning is going on. It is all the more reason therefore that we should pay more attention to the agricultural sector so that it may be possible for us to meet our requirements as and when they arise and the situation which he has foreseen at the end of the Third Five Year Plan may not materialise. It is no use merely taking refuge behind some of the figures which have been compiled, and narrating the progress which has already been achieved. We are happy that some progress has been achieved, but we are anxious that more progress should be there, and for that purpose also certain definite steps will have to be taken. In this connection I am also happy to hear what the Defence Minister said yesterday in one of his public meetings, namely, that the Government of India is contemplating to create a set-up in our villages wherein our panchayats will be functioning more or less on the lines of Parliament. Unfortunately he did not elaborate that point further, and the press has not thrown any

[Shri Rohit M. Dave.] more light on what that exactly means. But if it means that the panchayats will be in charge of the resources that are available in the villages, that they will be in a position to determine how best the productive efforts in the villages are to be directed and in what direction, determine what targets are to be achieved, and when the production is there and there is a surplus to be exchanged with other centres in the country, that the panchayats will have their say in the matter, on what terms this surplus will be exchanged with other centres in the country, then I think a very valuable step forward in the direction of the building of our economy on a decentralised basis will have been taken.

We have always taken the view, Sir, that, if planning is to succeed in our country and if there is not going to be any regimentation of our productive activity and forces, what is necessary is that the common man should have a voice in determining the economic policies and in formulating the economic plans of development, and should have also his say in determining on what terms a village or a group or an industry should be working for the development of the economy as a whole. In other words, some amount of competition, some amount of bargaining power is to be generated in the lowest strata of our society and in the lowest rung of our economy so that, with the help of that bargaining power, under the overall influence and policy of the Planning Commission, it may be possible for us to develop our economy in a manner which satisfies both the interests and the requirements of the nation as well as the aspirations of the people. When people feel that they also have their say in the formulation of policies and programmes and that such policies and programmes are not something which is dictated from New Delhi but are those which have been worked out by their own efforts and as a result of their own deliberations, to that extent

these plans are a part of their own efforts in the development of their own regions, of their own crafts and their own industries. Unless we are able to build up a mighty organisational set-up in which the various organs are in a position to play an effective role in planning and development, we will not be able to solve the problem of the agricultural sector which is facing us, and to that extent our weakness in that economy will continue.

We have also been told that we have achieved some success as far as industrial production is concerned. Even as regards industrial production, Sir, certain bottlenecks have appeared, which are causing concern. The President himself, in his Address, has referred to two bottlenecks—the bottleneck regarding transport and the bottleneck regarding coal. Unfortunately, in that Address we are not told what steps the Government proposes to take to deal with these bottlenecks. The transport problem is with us for a fairly long time. The industry is complaining again and again about the bottlenecks in transport—that they do not get their requirements in time—with the result that their installed capacity remains unused, unemployment ensues, shortages develop, and the whole economy is thrown out of gear. This fact is known for a fairly long time, but unfortunately no clear and consistent policy has still emerged as to the way in which this transport problem could be tackled. We have got the Neogy Committee still working on the question of co-ordination of the various means of transport, but here again no final report is yet available, and one does not know when the final report will come and when the Government will formulate its policy in this regard and what will happen to the needs of the economy in the meantime. The consumers are suffering, the industries are suffering, the workers are suffering, all because of our inability to solve the transport problem, and the sooner greater

attention is paid to this problem, the I better for our economy and cur progress. The same is true regarding coal also. If the press reports are to be believed, certain problems are arising in the coal-producing area which need urgent attention. We have been told that we have successfully negotiated a loan from the World Bank for the requirements of the coal industry in the private sector. But, on the other hand, we are also told by the industry that it is not possible for them to make use of the loan which has already been made available because of the fact that there is chronic power shortage in that area; unless they get more electricity it is not possible for them to expand their output from mines, and unless they are able to expand their output from mines, it is not possible to make use of the loans which have already been negotiated and which have been , granted.

Sir, we are further told that this loan is only for two years and full use has to be made of this loan during these two years, but there are no j signs of any power shortage being removed during these two years, and it is more than likely that the loan which has already been negotiated and . granted will not be utilised by the private sector because of their inability to do so in which case it would be a very great tragedy and the mention of the fact that the World Bank has given this loan to the private sector in coal industry will lose much of its meaning.

Sir, what I want to emphasise is this. Let us not concentrate on the achievements which have already been made. We are happy that achievements are there, but we have also to take into consideration the problems that we are facing and to see that these problems are tackled as soon as possible because we are still to make rapid strides in the development of our economy, and these rapid strides will not be possible unless we concentrate our attention on the weak- !

nesses of our economy rather than concentrating on its strength.

Then, Sir, there is the question of national integration to which also you referred when you moved this Motion. Now, here we have not got any indication from the Address regarding what the Government proposes to do in view of certain tendencies which have been disclosed during the General Election. There are various interpretations possible of the results of the General Election but this is neither the time nor the place to go into all these various implications. But one thing is quite clear that we are still to go a long way before we can have some satisfaction of achieving national integration in this country. Fissiparous tendencies are still sufficiently powerful to make us anxious regarding what is happening in our country and we will have to concentrate our attention on how to arrest these tendencies, how to see that these fissiparous tendencies are kept in check. Mere legislative programme will not help us much in this. We have got all sorts of legislation on our Statute Book, but as long as the mind of the people is not changed, as long as every citizen is not made conscious of the dangers inherent in fissiparous tendencies, it will not be possible for us to achieve the results which all of us have in mind.

Sir, all that I would say in the end therefore, is that while we have made certain progress and while we have moved forward in the direction of the prosperity of our nation, we have still to do a lot before we can be happy and we can feel content that we have taken sufficient steps to see that the prosperity as well as the security of the nation are fully assured. Sir, I thank you.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the motion of Thanks. I have heard with a great deal o" patience the learned speech of my friend from the P.S.P. He inevitably

[Shri Arjun Arora.]

referred to the China issue. The country has just completed the General Elections, the biggest that any democratic country has ever envisaged. No other party in the country fought that election on the issue of China except the P.S.P. It was the P.S.P. which had again and again raised our China policy during the elections. Now, we have the verdict of the people which, I hope, every one, including the spokesman of the P.S.P., will understand. The unfortunate thing is that the P.S.P. refuses to understand the verdict of the people on that question which became its main plank in the election campaign. The country has endorsed the policy of peaceful settlement of disputes with our neighbours which the Congress Government has pursued. The country has also endorsed the viewpoint of the Congress Government, namely, if the Chinese do not vacate aggression on our land, they will be thrown out. It has, of course, been made clear that when and where and how to do that will be something which the Government will decide. But the P.S.P., unfortunately, has nothing else to say and persists in its futile criticism of our well-balanced policy in the matter of aggression by our Chinese neighbours.

The P.S.P., of course is not clear about what we should do in respect of Pakistan and I was not surprised that the spokesman of the P.S.P. merely mentioned the name of Pakistan and did not know what to say. I am happy, Sir, that the Government has adopted a firm stand on the Kashmir issue. Kashmir is part of India and the verdict of the electorate in Jammu and Kashmir itself shows that the people of Jammu and Kashmir regard themselves as citizens of this country. I am glad, Sir, that our Government has taken a firm stand that any differences between us and Pakistan over Kashmir will have to be settled round the table and no third party interference, no arbitration, no foreign mediation is warranted. I am happy, Sir, that this stand has been taken and I

am sure the country supports that stand in the matter of our policy in respect of Kashmir.

The dispute in respect of Kashmir became more involved because of some foreign interference which we at one stage tolerated. I am glad, Sir, that that stand has been given up and both the Pakistanis and their Western benefactors have been told that if Pakistan has to seek any solution of the Kashmir issue, it has to talk to us. The Prime Minister has extended an invitation to the dictator-President of Pakistan to come to India and now it is for him to choose to come and talk to us.

The President's Address makes mention of what has happened in Goa. That is a matter on which the whole country is united and it is a matter for jubilation that the foreign pockets in our country have been liquidated. We had shown enough patience and the time had come when the little force which had to be used was used. I take this opportunity to congratulate the Government on what has been done in respect of Goa.

The President's Address makes mention of the Code of Discipline and the happy industrial relations which are developing in the country. This Code of Discipline is a very good thing. But I am sorry to say that the success claimed for it has not come as yet. The employers in the country have not accepted this Code of Discipline in its spirit. They have not accepted it voluntarily. They have not shown by their conduct that they understand and appreciate the spirit of the Code of Discipline and something will have to be done about it. The Code of Discipline can bring about better harmonious relations. It can bring about better industrial relations and it can create conditions in which the industrial production in the country will go up by leaps and bounds. Industrialists in the private sector and some of the bureaucrats in the public sector, do not accept this Code of Discipline, and unless the Ministry of Labour does something drastic about it, unless the

Ministry of Labour does something -which would make the non-observance of this Code on the part of the employers a penal offence, I am afraid the spirit of the Code would be defeated. The Ministry of Labour has done well in bringing forward a Code of Efficiency and Welfare. There is, as yet, not enough agreement on that Code even from the labour's point of view. But I am sure efforts to further the acceptance of this Code of efficiency and welfare will be continued and if that is done, it will be a great help to industrial production in the country.

In the matter of the Bonus Commission, Sir, the progress made has been disappointing. It was as early as January, 1961 that the hon. Labour Minister announced the appointment of the Commission. The progress made in respect of the Bonus Commission during the last fourteen months has been that its terms of reference have been settled and its constitution has been agreed upon. That, I am afraid, is very slow speed in the direction of the solution of a problem whose solution is so very important.

The President has correctly mentioned the great objective of securing workers' participation in the management and the establishing of joint management councils. That is all very good. But the most important thing is that the gains or the profits should be shared by the toilers. A share of the produce of their toil should come "back to those who toil. The acceptance of profit-sharing is an old old thing. It was accepted by those responsible for the industrial truce fourteen years back. But we are yet to evolve a satisfactory formula. The full-bench formula of the Labour Appellate Tribunal, repeatedly approved and endorsed by the orthodox judges of the Supreme Court, is no solution of the problem. It just denies the workers their due share in the profits. It was because of this peculiar situation that the need of

appointment of the Bonus Commission was accepted by all parties. But what we now find is that it has taken them fourteen months to decide the terms of reference of the Commission and I do not know when we can expect its report. The members of the Bonus Commission should be directed by Government to find an early solution to this important problem.

Similarly, I must point out that the delay in the matter of evolving a consolidated scheme of social security for industrial workers is a dangerous thing. We have today a number of social security schemes. But none of them looks after the worker in his old age. The Government of Uttar Pradesh made a provision that the discharge of workers because of ill-health or old age should be treated as retrenchment. But we have now the verdict of the High Court of Allahabad that this cannot be done. The result is that while workers in industrial establishments today are covered against the risk of ill-health, there is no insurance against the risk of old age. There is no scheme of gratuity which the industry has to follow. There is no old-age pension scheme which the industries in the country have to adhere to. The result is that there is a big gap or disparity in the lives of the workers who are in employment and those who are out of it, particularly those who are thrown out of employment because of old-age or continued ill-health. Therefore, something should be done about it as soon as possible and there should be some sort of a scheme to see that the worker after meritorious service to the industry got at least the equivalent of a retrenchment relief when he retired due to old age or continued ill-health. That is a pressing problem. We know that in Kanpur industrialists have adopted the practice of terminating the employment of workers merely by giving them 12 days notice. The worker is told that he has been found by the Civil Surgeon to be unfit for work in a factory and he is given 12 days' wages and thrown out of employment, not only

[Shri Arjun Arora.]

thrown out of employment, but thrown to the wolves also. We who want to establish a socialist pattern of society and who are committed to providing social security to the industrial workers and others, should immediately look into this matter and a consolidated social security scheme covering the risks of old age should be evolved as soon as possible. That is something which has been again and again referred to committees and commissions. These committees have again and again recommended that it is a wonderful idea. Its details have also been worked out. But the only hitch is that some industrial employers in the country without whom unfortunately it is found we cannot proceed, are opposed to it. They are not prepared to pay a little extra contribution. Well, we have waited enough for persuading these industrial magnates and the old-age benefits to industrial workers cannot be left to the mercy of these people. The social security scheme that we have in the country now in the shape of Employees' Provident Fund and Employees' State Insurance cannot be allowed to be vitiated and made ineffective merely because some industrialists think that to pay a pie more than what they have been made to pay is unnecessary and unwelcome. A social security scheme covering risk of old age for our workers must be provided without any further delay.

When the industrial truce was evolved, when the aim of government and all concerned was to replace strikes by adjudication and peaceful settlement of industrial disputes, one of the gains that the workers received was the restriction of the right of the employers to terminate the services of a worker while a case is pending adjudication. They could not be dismissed without the permission of the tribunal concerned. The amendment of the Industrial Disputes Act of 1956 whittled down the restriction and a recent Supreme Court decision has taken away that

right completely. Now, it is only necessary for the employer to make an application and he can presume that it is granted. The Supreme Court has held that it is not necessary for the employer to take the permission of the appropriate tribunal before he discharges a worker during the pendency of an industrial dispute. That, Sir, is a very serious matter on which the existence of trade unions in some industries depends. I hope the Labour Ministry will take note of this serious situation and bring forward early legislation to restore the rights which were given to the workers as early as 1947.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Address of our revered President naturally makes reference to the recent elections but before coming to that reference, Sir, I would like to join in the rejoicings of all sections of the House and of the Government and the President in the fact of the recent liberation of Goa, the last vestige of colonialism in our country. It is a time, the President takes note of the fact that there were certain countries which were opposed to this and which were angry over this but the vast majority of the population of the world and a vast majority of the governments, particularly the governments in Asia and Africa, have acclaimed this act of liberation. I would like the Government of India to take note of the particular people, the particular governments, which have become extremely angry over this fact of liberation of Goa and what it signifies. I do not want to dilate much on this problem within the short time at my disposal.

Coming to the elections, I would like to read what the President has said in his Address in regard to it:

"As a result of the elections my Government have received a significant vote of confidence in their internal and external policies and a renewed mandate to strive"

I dare say that the Government of India was not a party to the elections; it is the Congress Party, the party in power which certainly was a party in the elections and I do not think it is Constitutionally proper that the President should be dragged into this kind of controversy over policies that a particular ruling party put forward in the elections. It is not good and it is absolutely unnecessary for the President to talk about this. We have to lay down Constitutional proprieties and the President of India has certainly got to be kept above party politics.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): But the Government is the Government of India.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I am saying that the Government of India did not participate; it did not contest elections. The Congress Party which runs the Government certainly participated in the elections. However, in whatever way you may interpret the results of the election—I am not going into that question now. The whole question is that there should be a certain amount of decorum, of constitutional propriety and I submit that it is constitutionally improper to drag in the President for an interpretation of the results of the election. That is all that I want to submit I hope that in the future at least these things would be avoided.

Now, Sir, coming to the election itself, it is true that the Congress Party has come back to power, has been returned with a majority, but let us consider this fact also that even after boasting about the achievements in the Five Year Plans, the percentage of votes that the Congress Party has received in this election is even less than what it got before. It has not been able to get the majority of votes polled. Let us not forget that. Let us also realise that this election was fought by the ruling party with the spending of a tremendous amount of money, more than in any previous election. We know, for

instance, one company of the Birla Brothers, Hindustan Motors, contributed a sum of Rs. 20 lakhs out of its profit of Rs. 249 lakhs in 1960-61, for the Congress Election Fund. It is there in the balance-sheet of the concern. We also know that one Company of the Tatas—TISCO—contributed about Rs. 7 lakhs and the All India Congress Committee wrote to the Company saying that Rs. 7 lakhs was not enough; they wanted more money. These were all in the newspapers. We also know that many other public limited companies in this country contributed a good lot to the Congress exchequer. If you add all this, I dare say that it would come to something like Rs. 10 crores. How was this sum of Rs. 10 crores spent? This is something which they have to consider very seriously. How is it that today after two Five Year Plans, after boasting about the socialistic pattern of society, the Congress Party is reduced to this position that it has got to fight the election by expending huge sums of money? Time was in 1937, I remember very well as a Congress worker, when we fought the biggest money magnates, biggest landlords and biggest Maharajas in this country, with no money. The same Party today has got to spend lakhs and lakhs of rupees; in certain constituencies literally lakhs and lakhs of rupees were spent in order to fight an opponent. This is something of which they should be ashamed. In my State, we know, every bus operator was asked to pay Rs. 1,000 for every bus that he was operating. Money was collected that way. Why is it that so much money was required? Why is it that it became necessary for the Congress Party to spend so much money is something about which serious consideration will have to be given.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: That proves that we do not get money from outside.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: This is an old old story which has been repeated. You are the ruling party and

[Shri P. Ramamurti.]

you run the Government. You prove that money has been received. What is the use of this kind of irresponsible talk?

Now, Sir, there is another thing about which I would like to draw pointed attention. The Madras Government issued a Communique on the 23rd November, and it was published as a Government Order in the Fort St. George Gazette, which stated that in order to avoid any kind of doubt that official machinery was being used for the purpose of elections, Ministers would not participate in official functions such as opening of this or that. But immediately after that, even before the ink was dry on that Government Order, Mr. Kamaraja Nadar, the Chief Minister of our State, participated in such a function. He was the main actor in the function and he turned the first sod for the opening of a railway line. The railway line was not opened but the first sod was turned for the Viru-dhunagar-Manamadura rail link. Then Mr. Kamaraja Nadar turned the first sod in the Salem-Bangalore rail link. Mr. S. V. Ramaswamy, the Deputy Railway Minister, was also a participant in that function.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Ramamurti, you will •continue after lunch.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR EXPENDITURE OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ON RAILWAYS FOR 1961-62

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI SHAH NAWAZ KHAN): Sir, on behalf of Shri Jagjivan Ram, I beg to lay on the Table a statement showing the Supplementary Demands for grants for Expenditure of the Central Government on Railways in the year 1961-62.

THE BUDGET (RAILWAYS) 1962-63

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI SHAH NAWAZ KHAN): Sir, on behalf of Shri Jagjivan Ram, I beg to lay on the Table a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the year 1962-63 in respect of Railways.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : The House stands adjourned till 2-30 P.M.

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

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

MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENTS ADDRESS—continued

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Ramamurti.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Before we start, where is the Minister? None is here. I am told that the President's Address, like the Government, has been returned. Where is it? Has it been returned to the lobby? I think we should adjourn. Shall I send a search squad?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Let us wait.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I think the adjournment should be recorded. Not one from the Government is here, neither big, nor medium, nor small.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Now a Minister is coming.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now a Deputy has been discovered. Thank you.