

Provident Funds (Amendment) Scheme, 1962.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-3473/62 for (i) to (v).]

(b) A copy of the Ministry of Labour and Employment Notification G.S.R. No. 1458, dated the 2nd December, 1961 extending the Employees' Provident Funds Act, 1952, to certain cane farms. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-3474/62.]

(c) A copy of the Ministry of Labour and Employment Notification S.O. No. 3087, dated the 20th December, 1961, publishing the Employees' Provident Funds (Thirteenth Amendment) Scheme (1961, under sub-section (2) of section 7 of the Employees' Provident Funds Act, 1952. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-3087/62.]

ANNOUNCEMENT RE. RESIGNATION BY MEMBER

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform Members that Shri B. Parameswaran, a Member representing the State of Madras, has resigned his seat in the Rajya Sabha with effect from the 12th March, 1962.

MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—continued

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, yesterday, when the House rose in the afternoon, I was referring to the intensity of feelings and the public opinion in India regarding Goa, and after referring to certain domestic problems I had mentioned that it was not possible for any democratic Government to resist the action that the Government of India took, although in this matter it was not on the general lines of the policy which we had been adopting all along.

Now, Sir, I would refer to the Disarmament Conference which will start its work today at Geneva. Sir, I

will be voicing the opinion of this House, of Parliament as a whole, and the whole of India when I say that our good wishes go to the success of this conference. It is not merely a political problem that they are dealing with; it is not a matter of adjustment of some territorial and other matters. I look at it from the point of view of humanity, and I consider that the problem with which they are faced, the task which they have to perform, is a human problem in which all human beings of all countries are very deeply interested. Sir, we know what havoc and destruction the two great world wars have caused. We also know what disaster these atom bombs brought about in 1945, the disaster of not only combatants but of hundreds of those others who had nothing to do directly with the war. In view of all these we do hope that some concrete steps will be taken regarding disarmament. We also hope, Sir, that nuclear tests will be banned or that some steps will be taken in connection with the banning of atomic tests. Now, Sir, the non-aligned countries have got a very important part to play in this conference, and I do hope that under the guidance of our Prime Minister our delegation will do its best to reduce the tension and to see that the two warring elements, particularly the United States and the United Kingdom on the one hand, and Soviet Russia on the other hand, come together, because it is only they who can reduce the present insecurity in the whole of the world. There are certain signs, Sir, and we do welcome them, and we do hope that something will come out of this very important conference.

Another problem that I would like to refer to is regarding the Congo. On some occasion—and I felt it during the course of the election campaign—comment is made that the Indian Government is more concerned with other countries and that it should concentrate more on domestic problems. I do not subscribe to this comment. Our belief is that in the pre-

sent condition of the world, the United Nations Organization is a blessing, and with all its shortcomings it has to be strengthened. When we have got that conviction, then naturally the consequences follow, namely, that if there is a decision of the United Nations Organization that in certain parts of the world the services of India, the services of Indian money, and Indians, both civil and military, are required, then it would be very unwise, very impolitic to say, "No, we have only lip sympathy with you", and whenever the occasion comes to carry the burden, to get out of it. I think the Indian Government should be congratulated on taking this bold step. We have gone there at the request of the United Nations. We all know, Sir, what difficulties we are facing. We all know the prickles that we are having. Still we should have that ideal before us, namely, the peace of the world and the strengthening of the position of the United Nations. With these two ideals we should be there as far as possible and be there effectively. It is with this idea, Sir, that we have gone to the Geneva Conference. It is with this idea, Sir, that in so many other matters at the initiative of the United Nations we have participated.

Sir, as an independent nation you cannot ignore the world current. We all know that there was trouble about the Suez Canal and our economic planning got a very serious setback there. Even for the sake of our own country and of our own economic development it is necessary that there is peace in the world, and if you want to keep peace in the world you will have to share your burden and carry it with dignity.

Now, Sir, the other point that I would like to refer to is about our close neighbours, China on the one side and Pakistan on the other. I share the disappointment of our respected President regarding the policies adopted by both these neighbours.

So far as China is concerned, I think we will have to come to negotiation and settle the matter. We cannot afford these two big countries, with big populations, facing each other with hatred and enmity. But certainly whatever step we take in that direction should be taken in consonance with our policy and with dignity and self-respect of the nation and I do hope the Chinese Government will reconsider and modify this policy which is provoking, which has rather provoked a very sincere and a very intimate friend of China. If they revise that policy, if they consider and just vacate the aggression that they have committed, certainly we should go the whole hog to make friendship with them, not only to negotiate this Tibetan agreement but our border question as well.

Sir, the question of Pakistan pains me because, after all, the people who are there are our kith and kin. Unfortunately, through foreign encouragement and through communal policies adopted by a certain political party we had that unfortunate thing, the partition of India. We all know, Sir, that there was quite a considerable amount of public opinion against partition. But, anyhow, under pressure of circumstances it was done. We all know what tragic things happened in the course of this partition, most inhuman things that everybody, every civilised country, will have to feel ashamed of. But, now we do not want anybody to go back on it. It is with this intention that the President's Address clearly says that we are prepared to have a 'No-war Declaration'. What better proposal could there be to establish our good faith, that we do not have an evil eye on Pakistan? Every time the propaganda in Pakistan is that India wants to attack Pakistan. Here is our offer: we want a no-war agreement. And if they are backing out or if they are not prepared to do it, it is for the people and for the outside world to judge that the propaganda about our attacking Pakistan is absolutely uncalled for. (*Time bell rings.*) If

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan.]
 you, Sir, permit me to mention two or three points, I will finish. Now, Sir, I would only say the invitation of the Prime Minister has gone to President Ayub Khan. He will come and I wish he takes stock of the situation in an objective manner. That is my only request to him.

Now, the Kashmir question is settled. The people there are happier than the people in the area occupied by Pakistan. Let any independent body go and examine the situation there. Sir, the partition has had a storm of communal hatred and destruction. We do not want the people of this country—and I am sure the people of Pakistan too would not like—to have any recurrence of those happenings which would again create a feeling of hatred and enmity. What we are all interested in, and above all, the minorities are interested in, is that this ugly chapter should close for ever. In the interest of both countries let us divert our energies to our economic development and encourage cordial relations so that once more we have a brotherly and cordial feeling.

Now, Sir, my friend, Mr. Ramamurti, who is a very able Member of this House, referred to certain Constitutional propriety and said that it was not right for the President to refer in his Address to the people registering their vote of confidence in the Government. Sir, I am sorry. If the hon. Member would look into the Addresses of the Kings and Queens of the United Kingdom he would find therein a mention of important issues which they take to the public. Here, Sir, there were three fundamental issues. One was socialism, planned economy against which we were threatened by the Swatantra Party and other reactionaries. Then there was the question of democracy against which we were threatened by our friends, the Communists.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): You know, Sir, how rajahs

and maharajahs were their candidates.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Then there was the question of national integration and in that connection we were threatened by the Jan Sangh, the Muslim League and the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmin and similar other communal organisations . . .

SHRI P. N. RAJABHOJ (Maharashtra): Akali Dal.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: These were the three fundamental issues with which we went to the public and we are glad to say that the country has placed full confidence in us. We say that the country has endorsed planned economy and socialism versus reactionaries, democracy versus communalism, and national integration versus communal organisations, and you will be glad to learn that in India as a whole, and in particular in Andhra Pradesh, we have crushed communal organisations like the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmin and the Jan Sangh. The President of the Jan Sangh was defeated in Andhra Pradesh and the President of the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmin was defeated in Hyderabad. The President of the Swatantra Party was also defeated there. Under these circumstances, I do not think if there was any inappropriateness in our President saying—he did not say the Congress Party—"My Government has received a vote of confidence". And that is perfectly right. We have come back with the full confidence of the people, and, well, we will fight on these issues. We will see to it that the advice that has been given by our President in his last paragraph referring to the principles of our Constitution regarding political, social and economic justice, will be fully borne in mind and we will do our best to establish those principles in practice. Thank you.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated): Sir, while supporting the motion of thanks that is before the House, I wish to say a few words with

regard to only one item dealt within the President's Address. The Address covers a wide range including both external and internal affairs. It is inevitable that India, occupying the position that it does in international matters, has to deal with all these external questions. Our relations with various foreign countries have their place in our discussions in Parliament. The Address also deals with all the important internal affairs. These also, naturally, have their place in our discussions in Parliament. But I want to confine my remarks on this occasion to only one particular matter relating to internal affairs. I will not refer to the very exciting question of the elections which had agitated the minds of some of my colleagues yesterday and probably will agitate others today also. I will confine my remarks to what I consider the basic problem before the nation.

We have won freedom and enjoyed the powers arising out of that freedom for all these fourteen or fifteen years. The people expect that the Government will assist the removal from India's face of the blot of being still—though internationally an important nation—one of the poorest, one of the sickliest and one of the most illiterate nations among the modern nations of the world. I think he should concentrate our attention on implementing the various programmes which are outlined in our Five Year Plan. These programmes affect all aspects of the nation's life. They affect the life of every individual citizen, and I think there was great significance in the remark let fall by the Prime Minister, that the coming five years constitute a decisive period in the nation's history. We are running a race against time. If we really are realistic and have our finger on the pulse of the nation, I think that the Government on its own part, ought to take a few steps to see that these various programmes are fulfilled to our satisfaction and they create among the people at large also a sense of satisfaction at the

end of the five years, that they have made substantial progress. I am conscious that the Government realises the need for continuous care and watch over the progress of our plans for the betterment of the people. I shall take only one minute of the House and read a very significant paragraph in the President's Address. Referring to the progress made in the plans outlined in the last Five Year Plan, this is what the President says:

"There is, however, no room for complacency or any slackening in effort. There are considerable strains and stresses, as for example, in regard to transport and supplies of coal. These are no doubt due to the sharp rise in economic development."

A determined effort to implement the physical programmes as set out in the Plan would require care in regard to economy and efficiency and the endeavour to keep to time schedules and priorities, all of which are the continuing concern of my Government, will alone help the country to overcome these obstacles."

I think one feature of our plans for the nation's progress and happiness is that there is no rigidity about them. Inherently the various factors that are responsible for the success of the Five Year Plan are changing. Each factor itself is under forces of change. Our Plan is very much like a highly complicated mechanism consisting of hundreds of parts, and if each part does not move in time and with the necessary speed, the mechanism gets out of order. Its functioning is partly suspended. Production ceases, with all the consequences of such stoppage. I will give only one illustration to show how necessary it is to keep continuous watch on the progress of every item constituting the Plan. If we do not do so, then political consequences will follow, because out of dissatisfaction with results achieved must come discontent and then its inevitable political consequences. Let us consider our proposals for foreign exchange

[Shri Jairamdas Daulatram.]

We have planned for as large a figure as Rs. 3,700 crores of foreign exchange being contributed by our exports. Our exports are largely dependent upon our production in the field and the factory. Our factories cannot be constructed in time unless there is cement and cement is not available because its production needs coal, and coal is not available in time and in adequate quantities because the Railways cannot move it in time and the railways cannot be further developed because their expansion partly depends upon foreign exchange. And so we come round in a circle and see the need of integrated timely movements. Unless everything moves according to the time schedule and gives us the results in adequate quantities, the Plan is bound to get out of order. This also is realised. But what I would suggest in the interest of the success of the Plan is that two things should be considered by the Government. I had some experience of being associated with one of the Committees of Parliament which considered the Five Year Plan. The result of that experience is that both the Members of Parliament and the members of the Planning Commission gained by understanding each other's point of view and I feel that those discussions did lead to certain changes in the Five Year Plan and they will also, hereafter, lead to further changes. What I feel most essential is that every year the Plan should be reviewed by the Planning Commission after detailed discussion with sub-committees of Parliament; not five large committees consisting of 100 or 130 Members, but a large number of smaller sub-committees, each relating to one particular subject so that the discussions could be thorough and probably better informed.

12 Noon

The second suggestion I wish to make is that it is necessary that there should be the fullest cooperation between the framers of the Plan and the

implementors of the Plan. There should be a set system of annual discussion by the Planning Commission with representatives of those who have to implement the Plan, the representatives in the agricultural field, representatives in the industrial field, representatives in the commercial field and so on. Unless these annual detailed discussions take place to find out how far we have progressed, what are the hurdles, what are the obstacles, and how they can be removed, I am afraid our success will not be as great and speedy as we desire. Already, the statement I have read out discloses that some of our calculations went wrong and both in regard to transport and coal we were out of time; economic development in other spheres had increased beyond our calculations and had upset the smooth working of the Plan. Therefore, I suggest that in the interests of the success of the Plan with which are tied up the progress and happiness of the people, with which is tied up the political contentment of the people, with which is tied up the realisation by the people of the hopes which were raised when we achieved independence, we should concentrate upon rapid results. I hope the Government will consider the two suggestions, which I have made so that in the coming time we will be more successfully able to implement the Plan which is going to affect every individual citizen in this nation in every vital aspect of his life.

SHRI BABUBHAI CHINAI (Maharashtra): Mr. Chairman, I shall restrict myself to the observations in the President's speech so far as commerce, industry, agriculture and trade are concerned. Sir, it is very fortunate for this country that in spite of floods in the last year in most of the States like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Madras and Kerala, we had a good agricultural year and the index number of production went up from 128.7 in 1959-60 to 139.1 in 1960-61 and thereby an in-

crease of nearly 8:1 per cent. has been shown but, Sir, this should not be taken as a complete picture because, on the other hand, we have not been able to take care of our cash crops like cotton and jute. We had surplus so far as sugar and jute are concerned but not in connection with cotton and oilseeds. A shortfall in production of long staple cotton made it incumbent to make larger imports from foreign countries. In regard to sugar and jute, the question of maintaining a reasonable price is **also very important**. It is **no doubt** true that of late jute is picking up due to enquiries from foreign countries and especially from the United States of America. The maintenance of the present rate of exports, let alone an increase in it, will in the ultimate analysis depend on how well and how continuously we will be in a position to supply the overseas market at competitive prices. The difficulties, the sugar industry is facing, is known to everybody and I hope that in times to come we will be able to dispose of our surplus sugar in the export market.

It is true that there has been a striking increase in industrial production though the rate of increase is relatively smaller than in the previous years. It is estimated, Sir, that the rate of increase in production may come to about 9 per cent. in 1961 as against 12.1 per cent. in 1960. Even if textiles were left out, Sir, the industrial production shows a rise of only 14 per cent. compared to 17.3 per cent. in the previous year. The index, I am aware, does not provide adequate coverage of the ancillary industries; nevertheless, the fact remains that the rate of growth has not been adequate. This state of affairs is due among others to shortage of power and transport. Scarcity of raw materials, especially steel, in a number of cases also persists. The Third Five Year Plan provides for an increase in the installed power generating capacity by 123 per cent. over the Second Plan. This, however, is wholly inadequate for during the period 1948—55, the relationship between the power consumed

and the industrial growth was such that for every ten point rise in industrial production, the increase in the power consumption index was of the order of eighteen points. For the period 1951—61, Sir, the corresponding figures are for every ten point rise in the index of industrial production, the increase in power consumption index was twenty-three points. On the same basis, for a 70 per cent. increase in industrial production that is envisaged in the Third Plan, the increase in the index of the power consumption should be in the order of nearly 163 and not 123 as planned by the planners. It should be noted, Sir, that this 123 per cent. represents installed generating capacity whereas 163 per cent. represents the actual requirement. The installed generating capacity should be more than 163 in order to allow for some idle capacity to tide over emergencies.

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

The allocations for power should, therefore, be considerably stepped up.

(Interruption)

One does not know whether the new Government will be the same or whether there will be any changes. My friend, the hon. Minister, will be in a better position to enlighten us in this House.

As regards transport, Sir, by the end of the Second Plan the railways could carry only 154 million tons of traffic. The revised target of 162 million tons could not be achieved. The programme for the railways in the Third Plan is that by 1965-66 they propose to be in a position to carry 245 million tons of originating traffic. Sir, the actual requirements will be in the order of 275 million tons. The Plan provides for an increase of originating traffic of less than 6 per cent. in respect of general goods. We all know, Sir, however, that the increase in industrial production in respect of goods of this kind will be more than 6 per

[Shri Babubhai Chinai.]

cent. A study of the various projects of the private sector shows that increase in general goods will be of the order of 12 per cent. to 15 per cent. annually. Hence, additional traffic in general goods by 1965-66 will have to be of the order of nearly 145 million tons and not 109 million tons as envisaged in the Plan.

In this connection I may refer particularly to the difficulties faced in the allocation of railway wagons for the transport of coal. You will recall that certain units in Gujarat and other parts of the country have been recently threatened with closure consequent on the failure of the railways to move coal in adequate quantity. Latest reports also indicate that the transport of coal even has not come up to expectations. Transport of coal by road even though for short distances is not a reasonable substitute due to high cost. Sir, this mode of transport could be usefully pursued only if trailer-truck combination is used which may also mean widening and strengthening of the road transport system.

May I invite your attention, in this connection, to the representation made particularly by the textile units in Gujarat to facilitate them to shift over to the use of furnace oil by reducing the duty on it to an economic level? Sir, this aspect becomes important when it is recognised that the change-over will itself entail additional capital outlay. In this context it is necessary not only to step up the programme of expansion of railways but also provide for a larger increase in road transport. The final Report of the Neogy Committee on road-rail co-ordination, I hope, will be available shortly in this behalf and should be taken cognisance of and implemented.

A number of engineering industrial units are faced with shortage of steel. The target for steel in the Second Plan was 4.3 million tons but the overall shortage was as much as 2 million tons. The Third Plan target is 6 million tons but the limestone reserves and inadequate

transport facilities have presented serious problems for increasing steel output.

We may, now, Sir, turn to the foreign exchange position. Sir, sterling balances have not shown any improvement; they are round about Rs. 136 crores and despite the assistance offered by international bodies such as the World Bank and other friendly countries, quite a lot remains to be covered. Although exports in 1961 were higher by nearly Rs. 34 crores and imports were lower by Rs. 127 crores, the picture cannot be described as a bright one. Much more effort is required to be done, greater efforts at a suitable pace. The achievement of the Third Plan target of nearly Rs. 740 crores as against Rs. 610 crores achieved during the Second Plan implies a very big increase in the exports of the country especially of the new manufactured products. I am glad that Government is not keen on insisting on compulsory exports. I am also aware that it is the duty of trade and industry to co-operate voluntarily with a view to increasing exports. It is true, Sir, that there are certain obstacles which can be cleared only by Government. There is, for instance, tax on tea and jute goods. I am glad that Government is thinking of giving some kind of income-tax rebate for promoting exports. At the same time, Sir, few can deny that in the ultimate analysis it is only the cost of production that will determine the competitiveness of a commodity in international markets. The cost of production can be reduced if rationalisation is carried out speedily in industries like textiles.

One last point and I have done. I would strongly urge upon the Government to go ahead with vigour in the programme of expanding education at all levels, right from the kindergarten age group. The only investment which has the longest gestation period is education. It would take at least two decades before we can train our engineers, doctors and other professional men, including administrators. This

aspect of the matter must be kept prominently in our mind. This aspect would give us the much-needed man-power, trained man-power which we need to develop our country. Viewed in this context, some re-thinking is necessary and I trust that my suggestions will be examined in the light of their merits.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I shall make a few brief remarks about that part of the President's Address which deals with foreign affairs and the foreign policy of the Government. Foreign affairs, Mr. Vice-Chairman, have assumed supreme importance at this point of time because the sword of Damocles hangs over the children of man and the thread by which it hangs is a very slender thread indeed. Few people realise how near we are, how desperately near we are, to a thermo-nuclear holocaust which is capable of wiping out almost the whole of human life on this earth. Considered against this sombre background all the excitement about problems of colonialism or even the great endeavour of a country like ours to find a solution to the problem of poverty pales into insignificance because what is at stake is the very existence of mankind and civilisation.

The President of the United States has announced that subject to certain conditions he has ordered the resumption of atmospheric nuclear tests next month in the Pacific Christmas Islands. The House will recollect how ordinary men and women all over the world felt outraged when last autumn Chairman Khrushchev decided to explore his 57-megaton bombs and to pollute the earth's atmosphere and rejected all appeals made to him from all parts of the world.

We have no right, Mr. Vice-Chairman, to question the sincerity either of President Kennedy or Chairman Khrushchev when each one of them says in turn that in view of the great responsibility on his shoulders for the protection of his people and for the sake of world peace, there was no

other course open to either of them except to take this distasteful decision.

Against the background of threats and counter-threats, there is to be a Disarmament Conference—perhaps later a Summit Meeting—at Geneva and even a country like ours which has not got a great deal by way of armaments to get rid of will have to think out the contribution it can make in that desperate situation.

The American Defence Secretary, Mr. McNamara, said in a public statement a short time ago that the American nuclear strike force consisted of 1700 inter-continental bombers; several dozen inter-continental ballistic missiles; some 80 Polaris missiles in nuclear-powered submarines and about the same number of Thors and Jupiters, about 300 nuclear-armed carrier-borne aircraft with megaton warheads and about 1000 supersonic land-based fighters with nuclear warheads.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI K. K. SHAH) in the Chair.]

The total American stockpile of nuclear weapons has been estimated as 30,000 megatons; in other words provision has been made for 150 tons of TNT equivalent for every man, woman and child in Soviet Russia. That seems to be a very frightening provision indeed.

Perhaps the hon. Minister will give me a hearing instead of talking.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON): I am here.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI K. K. SHAH): I hope you have heard.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH: I hope the hon. Ministers instead of talking, will perhaps give me a hearing. Our Russian friends are not so vocal as our American friends about their nuclear stockpile; but the Soviet Defence

[Shri Sudhir Ghosh.]

Minister, Marshal Malinovsky said in a public statement a few weeks ago that the U.S.S.R. has the nuclear power to destroy all the important industrial, administrative and political centres of the United States and whole countries which have provided land for American war bases. In other words the U.S.S.R. claims to be in a position to destroy the whole of Western Europe and most of the U.S.A.

While the United States has the nuclear power to destroy every single life in the U.S.S.R. several times over it is defenceless against Russian missiles. While the U.S.S.R. is in a position to destroy the whole of Western Europe and most of the U.S.A. it is defenceless against American missiles. In this curious situation in which each party has got the power to destroy the other but cannot defend itself, there is a frantic race going on to develop what is called an anti-missile device. It appears that President Kennedy suspects that the U.S.S.R. in their latest series of atmospheric tests last autumn were working on the development of an anti-missile device. Mr. Khrushchev also knows that our American friends are also frantically searching for a similar anti-missile device. And the fear is that whoever wins this race and makes the discovery first is going to be on top and will be in a position to dictate his terms to the others. And hence this mad race to resume nuclear tests in the earth's atmosphere, and to endanger the future of man.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, a vast sea of suspicion separates the two sides. The forces that are at work on both sides are highly complex. They are military, economic and also emotional. No less a man than Mr. Eisenhower, while he was still President of the United States, pointed out that he was concerned about the influence exercised on the American Government by the American arms industry and the American military leaders. This is exactly what he said:

"This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in American experience. The total influence—economic, political and even spiritual—is felt in every city, every State and every office of the federal Government. In the Councils of Government we must guard against the acquisition of unwanted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for disastrous use of misplaced power exists and will persist."

Now, the President of the United States is not a person who could be accused of un-American activities.

On the Russian side, Mr. Mikhail Suslov who is second in importance only to Mr. Khrushchev in the Communist Party organisation a few weeks ago made a very authoritative statement that co-existence was not possible between the Communist system and the non-Communist system. Incidentally, Mr. Suslov came to India a year ago to attend the annual conference of the Communist Party of India and for the first time our Russian friends made it plain that they identify themselves officially with the Communist Party of India. Before then they had made it plain to us that their support was for the Nehru Government and not for the Communist Party of India. According to Mr. Suslov the destruction of the non-Communist system by the Communist system can be carried out by methods other than a global nuclear war, that is, methods of sabotage, infiltration and so forth. Well, now, naturally the non-Communists of the world do not look forward with great pleasure to this possibility of annihilation.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, as one tries to understand both sides at this critical time, poised against each other in a posture of mortal combat, one feels so bewildered that one does not know what one could do about it—except

perhaps pray, if one believes in prayer. I had, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the privilege of seeing the President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy, in Washington last August and I was much touched to see the eagerness with which he talked about Mahatma Gandhi and the clue to the power of this extraordinary leader of men who did not have a government or an army or a navy behind him and yet whose very existence radiated such astonishing power. On my return to India I received a very friendly letter from the President and on the strength of the generosity he showed me, I ventured a month ago to make an appeal to him in the course of which I said:

"Mr. President, Mr. Khrushchev said to the Indian Ambassador in Moscow (who tried to understand why Mr. Khrushchev decided to resume nuclear tests in the earth's atmosphere) that "every profession has its own logic", meaning thereby that it was the logic of the military profession in Soviet Russia which induced Mr. Khrushchev to carry out these horrible tests in defiance of world opinion. I do hope and pray, Mr. President, that even if the logic of the military profession in the United States proves to be the same as the logic of the military profession in the U.S.S.R., political leadership in America will rise above military logic. When I saw you, Mr. President, last August, I ventured to mention to you that I had the good fortune of knowing Mahatma Gandhi rather intimately and you talked about Gandhi with feeling. May I, in the name of all that Gandhi lived and died for, appeal to you not to be persuaded by military logic as Mr. Khrushchev did?"

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am not such an unintelligent person as to imagine that the appeal of one lonely member of the Indian Parliament was going to make any great difference to the decision to be made by the President of the United States of America who

occupies the most powerful office on earth today. But I also know that it was not altogether wasted.

I have never had the privilege of knowing Mr. Khrushchev but I have heard from friends who have had long discussions with him in Moscow that Mr. Khrushchev keeps on his work desk a little statue of Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Khrushchev is a Communist. He does not believe in God and is a very different type of person from Mahatma Gandhi, and yet who knows in what strange manner this extraordinary man Gandhi touched some of the strings of Mr. Khrushchev's heart?

One more word, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and I have done. Now, what can a country like India do in this desperate situation to contribute to the discussions at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva? One thing is quite clear that in a situation which is already charged with deep suspicion cleverness is utterly useless and there is nothing that India can do by contributing her own share of cleverness in that situation. Our representative, Mr. Menon, is at a disadvantage there because in his public statements he had made it clear that he has a lot of suspicion about the British and the Americans while the British and the Americans have made it equally clear that they have certain suspicions about Mr. Menon. I am not suggesting for one moment that it is Mr. Menon's fault but the existence of this unfortunate fact makes it impossible for Mr. Menon to make any useful contribution there at all.

These are extraordinary times, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and perhaps India could take an extraordinary step. I was wondering therefore whether the Prime Minister of India would not consider the possibility of sending to the Geneva Conference as Indian spokesman Mr. Vinoba Bhave or perhaps Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Or Mr. Sudhir Ghosh.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH . . . or perhaps Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The voice of Vinobaji can perhaps help our Russian friends to understand the meaning of that little statue of the frail old Indian which their leader, Mr. Khrushchev, keeps on his desk. His voice would perhaps help our American friends to understand how Gandhiji dealt with his "adversaries." Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan is the man who enjoyed the love, confidence and trust of Mahatma Gandhi in very ample measure and he is untarnished by the politics of power. Mrs. Gandhi may not be such a great personality as her father, but everybody knows she possesses very sound common-sense and perhaps a person like her could introduce into that atmosphere a little bit of common-sense which is so very rare in clever men. And she is a woman. Who can be a better spokesman in this crisis of civilisation than a woman—a woman who is a mother?

SHRI BIREN ROY (West Bengal): Sir, we heard patiently the Address delivered by the President of India and we took note of certain of his desires and statements on which I would like to speak a few words. First, he has spoken about building a socialist society and he has mentioned that the electorate has given a renewed mandate for the establishment of a democratic socialist society. He has stated that this vast democratic exercise, that is, the election, has been peaceful, orderly and in accordance with our constitutional processes. Now, the point is whether the principles and practices are quite in order or contradictory. The subject thus I would speak on now is about the election that has just been completed and which certainly has given a mandate for the establishment of a socialist society. It is certainly a mandate to Mr. Nehru and his policies. I would rather not state whether it has been a mandate to the Congress Party or the Government, though the elections were run by the Government of the Party as it is done in America. I am stating that very

deliberately. In our Constitution it is stated that a person can spend Rs. 8,000 for an assembly constituency and Rs. 25,000 for a Parliamentary constituency. I leave it to you all to judge whether, in a democratic country striving to attain a socialist society, you can ever think of a person from any part of India not being backed by heavy finance or not being backed by a certain Government of the Party or by anybody else interested to fork out a sum of Rs. 8,000 to contest an election when it has just been pointed out that the annual income *per capita* is only Rs. 325 or so. Or is it that we must conclude that the Government of the Party or the parties in opposition must get into their fold people to boost about it, spend money and then get some people to support them in this legislature? Is it possible to build up any kind of a socialist society by such methods? No.

There is another aspect, planning. It has also been mentioned in the Address and certainly a kind of planning is being carried on. Is it possible that you can plan for a socialist society by this means? Planning envisages socialism, not democratic planning. There are certain words that I could have used, but these are in our zonal language and, therefore, it is difficult to use them here. I do not also know much of Hindi to use similar equivalents, but one could be used and that is what they say in Bengal as "Dilli ka Laddu":—

जो खाया वो भी पछताया, जो नहीं खाया
वो भी पछताया ।

The election has also shown—and it is now called a constitutional practice—that money can be donated or contributed to the parties by big industrialists and capitalists. And they have been so accepted by the Congress Party and by another party—one and no other party—the party denounced by our Prime Minister. I would not name the party. Everybody knows it. That is the party of big business. These are the two parties which have

been paid money constitutionally, not undemocratically, by the feudal lords and big business. Is it the desire of big business, by just financing both sides, to build up a socialist society and a planned economy? Is it not a contradiction? It is against any principle. Not only that. We find something very peculiar. Previously some of the ex-rulers and princes came to both Houses independently. Perhaps some later joined the Congress and some did not. This time we see a unique thing. We see some of the ex-rulers and princes trying to build up a democratic socialist society coming as members of the Congress Party, as candidates fighting a democratic election. On the other side, we are seeing them also in the opposition, supported by big business, fighting the same Government of the party. I do not know whether they profess to build up a socialist society. So, we have now to draw a distinction. What shall we do? We have to proceed very carefully. We have had ten years of planning. We are going to have the third five years of planning. We know what the results are. We shall discuss the results when we have time to speak on the Budget and other things. But we know certainly that the common man has not much benefited by planning. Also, the report of the Committee appointed to enquire into where the Plan benefits have actually gone has not yet come out and perhaps will never come out. Are we to see in the next five years, before another election, that we have a Government of the party being run as a managing agency of big money bags and capitalists in the country or are we really interested in running a democratic institution based on the principle of bringing in a socialist society—what is called a democratic socialist society in this country?

There are some friends, some of them here, who have hit at the Communist Party, calling them as dictatorial or as trying to bring about a proletariat dictatorship or something like that. I must, however, point out that here in India, the Communist

Party is different and it is the only Communist Party in the world which has accepted at least democracy, parliamentary democracy on adult franchise according to Western ideas and even came to power in one State through votes, in the same manner as you want any party to win by the votes. Things were changed there by means which let us not discuss. It is a thing of the past. But things are going to change there also again in future. Now, if we are to bring in the people of the soil as representatives, if we are to build up a socialist society, we have to see that money and such things do not play a part in corrupting society, in bribing the electorates, in bringing in people whom only these people with money want. And, therefore, we have to change our Constitution in accordance with that. We have also to change it so that the peoples' wish is reflected in this legislature in the proportion in which they have voted and not by some jugglery, as in some States you have seen. There even when the Congress got more votes, it got elected less Members in the Houses. In other places the opposition, the Swatantrites, the Communist or Jana Sanghis even though they got more votes, also got less Members. With less votes some get more Members. Such things should not be allowed to happen in a real democracy.

The proportion of voting should be reflected in the legislature. In modern democratic countries the constitution does give importance to this essential thing. A certain part is elected by majority voting and the rest of the part is then equalised for the total number of candidates according to the percentage of votes that are secured by the parties at the polls. The parties which are splinter parties and get less than a fixed minimum percentage of say 3 to 4 per cent are gradually eliminated. There the democracies therefore run as Government of the party and the parties in opposition are really respected and they are also part of the Government; they are treated as such so that some time later they can, if needed, take

[Shri Biren Roy.]

up the reins of government. I do not think that the way in which we are proceeding it would ever be so. It will perhaps be so only if we do not say any more that we are going to build up a democratic socialist state but that we are just an ordinary democracy of the western type. There is then no question of planning for socialism. Then you have a free economy, and that sort of society you can build with the type of electoral system and elections that you have at present. All that you profess them about socialist society will vanish.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I will not go on much further except to refer to the observations of the President on the policy of national integration. That is a very serious thing because these fourteen years have shown us where we are going. India is now a country of sixteen different States having sixteen different languages. But India is not a federation. It is a unitary Government. The result has been that there has been enormous dissatisfaction not only in the South but in other places also. You have seen that the D.M.K. wants a completely separate, independent State or secession from the Centre. You have seen things which have happened to the Bengalis residing in Assam. You have seen things which have happened and which are happening still about the position of the Akalis in the Punjab. National integration will not come about in this manner. Integration can only be achieved when you completely change your Constitution into a federal one and when this Council of States here is also changed into a Council of these National States that we will have with equal representation so that everybody has a sense of feeling that he belongs to it. The sense of feeling now is that they are going to be ruled by certain groups speaking certain languages. That is the feeling that is going on. This feeling is going on in Eastern India. It is going on in South India. It is going on also in Northern India. Now what is going

to happen? If we do not check it from now on, within the next ten years we will see the results of disintegration and not integration which is really what we are striving for and what we are hoping to achieve.

Regarding our foreign policy many hon. Members have already stated certain things. The Budget discussion will perhaps be the best occasion to discuss that. I shall refer to one point which has been made by our friend Mr. Khan about the Congo. The Prime Minister himself stated before in this House several times about our position in the Congo. He described Mr. Tshombe sometimes as a gangster even, and you might have even seen from the newspapers yesterday that this Mr. Tshombe is not only very much alive and kicking but is going to be protected and given all sorts of guarantees just because the nations which are behind him consider that he is the man who can deliver the goods for them, and he is going to see Mr. Adoula on equal terms. At the same time you see what has happened—it may be past history, but it is very recent history. The first legal Prime Minister of Congo Mr. Lumumba was murdered. No action was taken, no enquiry was held. The gentleman who was the follower of Mr. Lumumba, that is Mr. Gizenga, just because he was his follower, has now by some means or other, by some hook or crook been imprisoned and kept in preventive detention. This is what has happened. We tried for justice through the U.N., we tried for peace there, and so on, but we have been placed in such a position—because we have no influence in the U.N. executive at all—that we are being used as a cat's-paw in this game. Now, we do not know how long we shall remain involved in this game with our army. We cannot influence the decisions. What are we waiting there for? Are we there just to prove to the other Africans that we are there simply to watch and do what we are called upon to do as desired by the monopoly capitalists and say that the Europeans are doing all

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: The position will improve if we withdraw . . .

SHRI BIREN ROY: I have not finished. I am only stating that it is time that our Government should consider these things and as to what steps they should take. It is neither for me nor for you, but we are telling our Government that we are now in this helpless position. We must know on which side we are going to be and what rights we are going to protect, because our Prime Minister categorically stated what he thought about these when we jumped into the fray. Now he knows also where we have been placed.

श्री भगवत नारायण भार्गव (उत्तर प्रदेश):

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम लोग राष्ट्रपति जी के अत्यन्त कृतज्ञ हैं कि उन्होंने सभी मुख्य मुख्य अन्तर्देशीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं की ओर हम लोगों का ध्यान दिलाया है। मैं एक दो मुख्य मुख्य बातों के ही ऊपर अपने विचार सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में कहा है कि इंजीनियरिंग और टेक्नोलोजी के क्षेत्रों में प्रशिक्षित लोगों की मांग बराबर बढ़ रही है। इसे पूरा करने के लिये मौजूदा संस्थाओं का विस्तार और देश के विभिन्न भागों में नई संस्थाओं का स्थापन किया गया। यह विषय इतना महत्वपूर्ण है कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने भी बार बार इस सदन में, और बाहर भी, इस बात पर जोर दिया है कि देश को वैज्ञानिक उन्नति की तरफ अग्रसर होना चाहिये। हमें संसार के देशों के साथ कदम ब कदम चलना चाहिये, बल्कि उस से भी आगे होना चाहिये, तो उस के लिये विज्ञान की उन्नति करना परम आवश्यक है।

इस में सन्देह नहीं कि हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार और प्रदेश सरकारों ने इस संबंध में बहुत कुछ उद्योग किया है। सन् १९५० में टेक्नीकल एजुकेशन कोर्स

की डिग्री देने वाली संस्थाओं की संख्या केवल ४० थी जबकि सन् १९६१ में उन की संख्या १०० हो गई है। पहले डिप्लोमा कोर्स की संस्थाओं की सन् १९५० में संख्या केवल ८६ थी और अब १९६१ हो गई है। सन् १९५० में डिग्री कोर्स की संस्थाओं में शिक्षा के लिये ४,१२० विद्यार्थियों की गुजाइश थी किन्तु अब वह संस्था १३,८५० हो गई है। इसी प्रकार डिप्लोमा कोर्स के लिये पहले जहां केवल ५,००० विद्यार्थियों की व्यवस्था थी अब वहां २५,५७० विद्यार्थियों के लिये व्यवस्था हो गई है। इस तरह की संस्थाओं की संख्या हमारे देश में बढ़ गई है और विद्यार्थियों के लिये अधिक मुविधा भी उपलब्ध हुई है, परन्तु इस से हमारा काम पूरा नहीं चल सकता है। हम बराबर यूनिजन पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन की रिपोर्ट देखते हैं, जिसमें इस बात की शिकायत होती है कि टेक्नीकल और वैज्ञानिक पदों के लिये जो जगहें खाली होती हैं उन के लिये पर्याप्त संख्या में शिक्षित लोग नहीं मिलते हैं। इसी प्रकार प्लानिंग कमिशन की भी यही शिकायत रहती है कि हमें टेक्नीकल शिक्षा प्राप्त लोग पर्याप्त संख्या में नहीं मिलते हैं। बहुत सी जगहें तो वर्षों तक खाली ही पड़ी रहती हैं क्योंकि उन के लिये योग्य व्यक्ति नहीं मिलते। केवल यही एक कारण नहीं है कि हमारे देश में वैज्ञानिकों की कमी है। कमी तो है, पर कमी होते हुए भी जो वैज्ञानिक शिक्षा प्राप्त करके आते हैं, चाहे वे देश में ही शिक्षा प्राप्त कर के आते हों या बाहर से, उन्हें यहां के पदों में कोई आकर्षण नहीं होता है; क्योंकि जो ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव पोस्ट्स हैं और जो साइंटिफिक पोस्ट्स हैं, उन के वेतनों में बड़ा भारी अन्तर है। भारत का हर एक नौजवान यह चाहता है कि हम ऊंचे से ऊंचा पद प्राप्त करें। परन्तु कठिनाई यह है कि हमारे यहां की जो ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विसेज हैं उन के लिये रेकूटमेंट यहां से गवर्नमेंट की ओर से होता है और साइंटिफिक सर्विसेज के सम्बन्ध में जो अनेकों प्रकार की सेवायें हैं, उन के लिये अलग अलग ढंग से

[श्री भगवत नारायण भागवत]
रेकूटमेंट होता है। इस के अतिरिक्त साइंटिफिक वर्कर्स को वह तनख्वाह नहीं मिलती है, उन का वह स्टेडस नहीं होता है जो ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विसेज वालों का है। ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विसेज की जो पोजीशन है, उस के बराबर क्या, उस से बहुत ही गिरा हुआ उन का दर्जा है। इस वास्ते लोग चाहे छोटी से छोटी जगह, जैसे तहसीलदारी है, उस पर चले जायें, परन्तु वे साइंटिफिक सर्विसेज में आना पसन्द नहीं करते हैं। यही कारण है कि हमारे यहां कितने ही ऐसे लोग हैं जिन्होंने विज्ञान में पी० एच० डी० की डिग्री प्राप्त की है, किन्तु पी० एच० डी० की डिग्री प्राप्त करने के बाद भी वे आई० ए० एस० और आई० पी० एस० की परीक्षाओं में बैठते हैं और सफलता प्राप्त करते हैं। इसलिये यह जरूरी है कि हमारे यहां आल इंडिया साइंटिफिक सर्विस का निर्माण किया जावे। जैसे कि इंडियन ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विस है, इंडियन फारेस्ट सर्विस है, इंडियन पुलिस सर्विस है, इत्यादि, उसी प्रकार से इंडियन साइंटिफिक सर्विस हो और उन दोनों में समानता रखी जाये। यूनाइटेड किंगडम में साइंटिफिक सिविल सर्विस अलग है और ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सिविल सर्विस अलग है। पश्चिमी देशों में साइंटिफिक सर्विस वालों को और ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विस वालों को बराबर की तनख्वाहें मिलती हैं, लेकिन रूस में साइंटिफिक सर्विस वालों को और भी ज्यादा वेतन मिलता है। उन के यहां जो ऊंचे से ऊंची ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विस है, उस से भी अधिक वेतन वैज्ञानिक कार्यकर्तियों को वे देते हैं। इस ओर हमारी सरकार का भी ध्यान गया है। यहां जो एक कौंसिल आफ साइंटिफिक एंड इंडस्ट्रियल रिसर्च है, उस ने एक कमेटी सन् १९५४ में बनाई थी और उस को यह काम सुपुर्द किया था कि साइंटिफिक एंड टेक्नीकल मैन पावर के लिये डिमांड एंड सप्लाय प्रोब्लम को वह इक्जामिन करे। उस कमेटी से यह भी कहा गया था कि साइंटिफिक और टेक्नीकल सर्विस और ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव

सर्विस में जो भेद है वह कैसे दूर किया जावे। उन्होंने यह भी सिफारिश की थी कि एक आल इंडिया साइंटिफिक सर्विस बनाई जाये। कौंसिल आफ साइंटिफिक एंड इंडस्ट्रियल रिसर्च की गवर्निंग बाडी ने सन् १९५५ में एक साइंटिफिक पर्सनल कमेटी बनाई। उस कमेटी ने अपनी ३० सितम्बर, सन् १९५५ की मीटिंग में कुछ सिफारिशों की जिनका उद्धरण मे शब्दशः सदन के सामने रखता हूँ। कमेटीने कहा है :

"The Committee is of unanimous opinion that the pay and prospects, retirement and other benefits of scientific workers should be made as attractive as those of the administrative services in Government."

दूसरी बात यह है :

"Scientific workers possessing administrative ability should be given opportunity to hold higher administrative posts. There should be also provision for transfer from the administrative service of individuals seriously interested in scientific work to scientific posts permanently or for specified periods."

यह सिफारिशें उन्होंने २४ मार्च, सन् १९६० की मीटिंग में की हैं। मैंने बहुत खोज की परन्तु पता नहीं चलता है कि उस के बाद उन की कोई मीटिंग हुई या नहीं हुई और उन्होंने क्या सिफारिशें की। इस वास्ते मेरा निवेदन यह है कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने इस ओर हमारा ध्यान दिलाया है तो सरकार का यह कर्तव्य है कि वह इस प्रश्न पर गंभीरतापूर्वक विचार करे। हमारे यहां बहुत ऊंचे ऊंचे दर्जे के साइंटिफिक वर्कर्स हैं जिन्होंने विदेशों से डिग्रियां प्राप्त की हैं। परन्तु उन में अनेकों ऐसे हैं जो बिल्कुल बेकार बैठे रहते हैं। हमारे देश के सामने ऐसे कितने ही उदाहरण आये हैं कि कहीं कहीं तो उन्होंने आत्महत्या कर ली और कहीं कहीं वे नीची से नीची सर्विस करने के लिये तैयार हो गये। इस वास्ते इस सम्बन्ध में जो दूसरे देशों में बहुत से गुण हैं उन को हमें ग्रहण करना चाहिये, जैसे कि रशिया में मैंने बताया कि वहां

साइंटिफिक सर्विस वालों को इतनी ऊंची तन-खाहों दी जाती हैं जो बड़े बड़े ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विस वालों को नहीं मिलती हैं। ऐसा न करने का क्या कारण है जब कि हम भी यह चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश में विज्ञान को उन्नति हो और हमारी वैज्ञानिक सेवाओं को उन्नति हो ? आज हमारे यहां बड़े बड़े साइंटिफिक कारखाने खुल रहे हैं जिन के लिये हमें ऊंचे दर्जे के काम करने वाले आदमी नहीं मिलते हैं। हमें ऐसे आदमी दूसरे देशों से उधार लेने पड़ते हैं और उन को बहुत सा रूपा देना पड़ता है। तो अगर हम एक ऐसी आल इंडिया साइंटिफिक सर्विस कायम करें और उस का काम्पिटिव इक्वामिनेशन से रेकूटमेंट हो, तो हमारे यहां जो ब्रिलियेंट स्टुडेंट्स हों वे इस ओर सुकेंगे और ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विसेज और छोटी छोटी सर्विसेज के लिये जिस तरह आज वे दौड़ते हैं उस तरह नहीं दौड़ेंगे। जिस कमेटी का मैंने जिक्र किया है उस ने यह सिफारिश गवर्नमेंट आल इंडिया से की है कि उसे ऐसी सेवा का निर्माण करना चाहिये।

दूसरी बात जिस को ओर राष्ट्रपति जी ने ध्यान दिया है वह भी बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण है और वह इस प्रकार है :

“प्राथमिकी के लिये और ग्राम-मुधार के लिये पंचायती राज और सहकारिता की उन्नति और विकास अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। इस दशा में मेरी सरकार के प्रयत्नों के फलस्वरूप आठ राज्यों में ग्राम स्वशासन का बड़े पैमाने पर विस्तार हुआ है और अनुमान है कि देश की ६५ प्रतिशत जनसंख्या इस सुधार के अन्तर्गत आ गई है।”

यह कहना एक प्रकार का प्रावर्ब हो गया है कि हमारा देश ग्रामों में बसता है; क्योंकि हमारे देश की अधिक जनसंख्या ग्रामों में रहती है। वास्तव में जैसा कि हमारे आचार्य विनोबा जी कहते हैं, ग्राम स्वराज्य असली स्वराज्य है और हम भी इसी दिशा में अग्रसर हो रहे हैं। अगर हमारे ग्रामों की उन्नति हुई तो सारे देश की भी उन्नति होगी। अगर हमारे ग्रामों

की अवनति हुई तो सारे देश की भी अवनति होगी। आप औद्योगिक विकास करना चाहते हैं तो आप को औद्योगिक विकास ग्रामों से आरम्भ करना होगा। जिन लोगों के पास वहां खेतों से कुछ समय बचता है या जिनके पास खेती करने के लिये जमीन नहीं है उनकी आर्थिक दशा उद्योगों के द्वारा ही सुधारी जा सकती है। हम में से बाज लोग कहते रहते हैं कि गांव वाले शहरों में दौड़ते आ रहे हैं। यह ठीक है क्योंकि शहर में उनके लिये आकर्षण है, शहरों में उनको सब प्रकार का सुख है, शहरों में उन को अच्छे मकान मिलते हैं, शहरों में उन को तमाम चीजें खरीदने को मिलती हैं। अगर ग्रामों में उन्नति हो, और ग्रामों में हम यह सारी सुविधायें प्राप्त करायें, लोगों को उच्च शिक्षा मिले, अच्छा कपड़ा पहनने को मिले, उद्योग धंधे आरम्भ किये जायें, अच्छे-अच्छे कारखाने खोले जायें, तो गांव वाले शहर में नहीं आयेंगे। बल्कि शहर वाले दौड़ कर गांवों में जायेंगे। हमें वह दिन लाना है जब हमारे देश के निवासी ग्रामों की ओर आकर्षित हों। हम जानते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट की ओर से बार-बार यह कहा जाता है कि डाक्टरी पास करने वालों को डिग्री तब दी जाये जब वे कुछ दिन गांवों में जा कर काम करें। परन्तु अभी डाक्टर वहां जाते नहीं हैं। डाक्टरों को वहां जाने से एक तरह का परहेज है; क्योंकि वहां उन को कोई सुविधाये नहीं मिलती है। न उन के बच्चों की शिक्षा का कोई प्रबन्ध होता है और न उन को रहने के लिये कोई मकान मिलता है। तो उन के लिये इन सुविधाओं का प्राप्ति कराना हमारे पंचायत राज का कर्तव्य है।

इसी सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जहां जहां यह पंचायत राज स्थापित हो चुका है या जहां-जहां होने जा रहा है वहां दो बातों पर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। पहली बात यह है कि पंचायतों के अधिकार बढ़ाये जायें। अभी जो उनके पास अधिकार हैं वे इतने नहीं हैं जिनके द्वारा वे अपनी वास्तविक प्रगति कर सकें। इसके अतिरिक्त अभी सरकारी अफसरों की बहुत भरमार है और

[श्री भगवत नारायण भार्गव]

उनके पीछे पीछे ग्रामीणों को चलना पड़ता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि ग्रामीण आगे चले और अफसर पीछे रहें। उन लोगों को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए हमें उनको न केवल और अधिकार देना है बल्कि उनकी आर्थिक दशा भी सुधारनी है। उनके पास रुपया नहीं है। कुछ टैक्स लगाने का अधिकार पंचायत ऐक्ट में है, परन्तु उससे पंचायतों को इतनी आमदनी नहीं हो सकती जिससे कोई विशेष काम किया जा सके। इस लिए ग्रामों की उन्नति के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि गवर्नमेंट अपने रेवेन्यू में से कुछ परसेंटेज ग्राम-सभाओं को दे। जब ऐसा होगा तभी उनका काम चल सकता है। दूसरी बात यह है कि जो वहाँ का अधिकारि-वर्ग है उसका स्टेट्स बढ़ाया जाये। इस सम्बन्ध में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने अपने एक प्रसिद्ध भाषण में मैसूर में यह कहा था :

"The Block Development Officer is the salt of the earth."

डिप्लोमेट कमिश्नर से बढ़ कर उसका पद है, परन्तु उसका स्टेट्स बढ़ाने के लिए या उनको मुस्तकिल करने के लिए कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की जा रही है यद्यपि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने इस सम्बन्ध में कई बार राज्यों को लिखा है। इस सदन में जब भी इस विषय में प्रश्न किये गये तो सरकार की ओर से यह कहा गया कि हम कई बार लिख चुके हैं, परन्तु राज्य सरकारें इस ओर कोई ध्यान नहीं देती हैं। गवर्नमेंट को ऐसी परवशता नहीं अपनानी चाहिये। जो भी नीति भारतीय सरकार निर्धारित करे, उसका पालन राज्यों की ओर से शीघ्रातिशीघ्र होना चाहिये।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI K. K. SHAH): 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.

श्री दयाल दास कुरें (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, दोनों सदनों के समक्ष राष्ट्रपति ने जो अपना अभिभाषण पेश किया है उसका मैं हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूँ। उनका यह अभिभाषण दीक्षान्त भाषण के रूप में रहा। यह उस समय हुआ जब कि राज्य सभा के एक तिहाई सदस्य यहाँ से रिटायर हो रहे हैं और लोक सभा जो चल रही थी उसका अन्त हो रहा है, वह भंग हो रही है और आगामी लोक सभा तैयार होने जा रही है। ऐसे समय में उनका माननीय सदस्यों को एक दीक्षा के रूप में जो भाषण हुआ वह सचमुच में प्रशंसनीय है, उपदेश से युक्त है और उन्होंने अपने अभिभाषण में, दीक्षान्त भाषण में, जो बातें कही हैं वे हर एक के लिये उपदेश के लायक हैं। वे जहाँ भी जायेंगे देश की सेवा में लगेंगे और उनमें से अधिकांश जो इन दोनों सदनों में रहेंगे वे देश की सेवा में सतत प्रयत्नशील रहेंगे।

अपने अभिभाषण में उन्होंने बहुत सी बातों पर हमारा ध्यान आकर्षित किया है और इस समय देश में उनकी सरकार के द्वारा जितनी प्रगतिशील योजनाएँ चल रही हैं उन पर उन्होंने काफी प्रकाश डाला है। उन सब के ऊपर अपने विचार रखना तो असम्भव बात है परन्तु उनमें से चन्द बातों पर कुछ कहने का मैं प्रयास करूँगा।

सब से पहले यह है कि उन्होंने प्राइमरी शिक्षा—६ वर्ष से लेकर ११ वर्ष तक की उम्र के बच्चों की शिक्षा—के विषय में बहुत सुन्दर बातें कही हैं। उनमें से एक यह है कि ६ से ११ वर्ष तक के जो विद्यार्थी तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में शालाओं में जायेंगे उसके लिये वे ६० प्रतिशत के आंकड़े को अंकित करते हैं और जो कुल बालक इस देश में हैं उनके आंकड़ों को मिलाते हैं तो उनकी संख्या ७६ प्रतिशत

है। तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में शिक्षा के ऊपर बहुत ही अधिक ध्यान दिया जा रहा है और यदि यह योजना पांच वर्ष के भीतर ही सफल हुई तो हम आशा करते हैं कि हमारी शिक्षा बहुत आगे बढ़ जायेगी। अभी तक द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्त तक जितनी शालायें खुलीं उनके सम्बन्ध में हमने देखा कि सचमुच में हमें एक आशातीत सफलता मिली। परन्तु बहुत स्थानों में यह देखने में आया कि वहां पर स्कूल खुल चुके हैं और वहां पर विद्यार्थी जा रहे हैं लेकिन प्रदेश में ऐसे स्थान अधिकांश हैं जहां कि शिक्षक का या तो एक दम ही अभाव है या कहीं-कहीं विद्यार्थियों की संख्या अधिक है और शिक्षक एक ही है। उस शिक्षक को शाला के प्रबन्ध में ही सारा समय देना पड़ता है और पढ़ाई के नाम पर बहुत कम काम हो पाता है। यदि यही स्थिति रही तो शालाओं को खोलने का जो उद्देश्य है वह पूरा नहीं होगा और शिक्षा को आगे बढ़ाने का जो हम प्रयास कर रहे हैं उसको हम उतना अधिक नहीं बढ़ा पायेंगे।

दूसरी चीज हम यह देख रहे हैं कि शालायें तो हम खोल रहे हैं और योजना के अन्तर्गत सारी चीजें वहां आ रही हैं लेकिन विद्यार्थियों के लिये पाठशालाओं की व्यवस्था नहीं है। इसके लिये हम वहां पर कुछ नहीं कर पाते हैं। हम देखते हैं कि गांवों के लोग बड़े उत्सुक हैं कि उनके गांवों में शालायें चले, उनके गांवों में शिक्षक रहें और उनके बच्चों की ठीक तरह से पढ़ाई लिखाई की व्यवस्था हो। इसके लिये वे जमीन और कुछ रकम भी अपने अंशदान के रूप में दे रहे हैं लेकिन जो वहां स्थानीय संस्थायें हैं वे उस तरफ बहुत कम ध्यान दे रही हैं। इस स्थिति में शालायें बनाने के लिये और गांव वालों से अंशदान के रूप में सामान आदि जो कुछ मिलता है उसका ठीक उपयोग करने के लिये यदि सरकारी और अर्ध-सरकारी संस्थायें शालाओं के निर्माण कार्य की ओर अधिक ध्यान दें, तो ज्यादा उपयुक्त होगा।

तीसरी चीज यह है कि प्रि-प्राइमरी स्कूल की जो शिक्षा है उसकी ओर हमारा ध्यान बहुत कम जा रहा है। आज हमारे देश में इतना अधिक बच्चे ऐसे हैं जिनका पालन-पोषण ठीक रूप में नहीं हो पा रहा है और उनका पालन पोषण ठीक तरह से नहीं होने के कारण, उनकी देखरेख ठीक तरह से नहीं होने के कारण, उनकी पढ़ाई की प्रारम्भिक व्यवस्था ठीक नहीं होने के कारण हम आगे चल कर उन्हें उत्तम नागरिक नहीं बना सकेंगे। इसलिये जो शिशुशिक्षा है उसकी ओर हमें विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। शिशु शिक्षा के अभाव में हमारे बच्चों का चरित्र नहीं बन पाता। उनके भोजन आदि की व्यवस्था हर एक परिवार में ठीक नहीं होने के कारण उनका शारीरिक गठन भी ठीक नहीं हो पाता और उनका जो चारित्रिक गठन है वह भी नहीं हो पाता। इसलिये हमारे लिये बाल-सेविका-केन्द्र खोलने की विशेष आवश्यकता है। बाल-सेविकाओं की ट्रेनिंग की व्यवस्था करने की आवश्यकता है। इस समय हमारे देश में इसका बड़ा ही अभाव है। इस ओर जब तक हम ध्यान नहीं देंगे तब तक हमारे बच्चों को ठीक तरह से शिक्षा नहीं मिल पायेगी। मेरा नम्र निवेदन है कि इस समय जो बाल सेविकाओं की ट्रेनिंग की गति है वह बहुत ही धीमी है। बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि दिल्ली में इण्डियन काउंसिल फार चाइल्ड वेलफेयर ने एक इंस्टीट्यूशन इस तरह का खोला है जहां कि खास करके लड़कियों को ट्रेनिंग दी जाती है और तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत कुछ समय के बाद दक्षिण के कुछ बड़े-बड़े शहरों में ऐसे ट्रेनिंग इंस्टीट्यूट्स खोलने की व्यवस्था की जा रही है परन्तु इसकी जो गति है वह बहुत ही धीमी है। बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि इसमें मैट्रिक पास लड़कियां ली जा रही हैं और इस स्कीम के अन्तर्गत उनके लिये ६ महीने की ट्रेनिंग की व्यवस्था है और ट्रेनिंग समाप्त करने के बाद इन संस्थाओं में इन्हें स्थान दिया जायेगा। मेरा सरकार से नम्र निवेदन

[श्री दयाल दास कुरें]

हैं कि ये जो संस्थायें हैं इनकी प्रगति और तेज की जाये और अधिक से अधिक ट्रेनिंग इंस्टीट्यूट्स खोले जायें जिससे कि हम प्रि-प्राइमरी शिक्षा को आगे बढ़ा सकें।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था के बारे में बहुत सुन्दर विचार रखा है। इससे देश के नागरिक अपने को स्वतन्त्र नागरिक फील कर सकेंगे। हमारी ८२ प्रतिशत जनसंख्या गांवों में रहती है और हमारे यहां ५ लाख या ५॥ लाख के करीब गांव हैं और अधिकांश गांवों में पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था ठीक तरह से नहीं हो पाई है। सरकार चाहती है कि कम से कम एक स्वतंत्र नागरिक के लिये उसके गांव में पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था तो अवश्य ही हो। हर एक गांव में कुएं की व्यवस्था होना आवश्यक है और उसके लिये उन्होंने सरकार की तरफ से ५० प्रतिशत अनुदान की बात जो रखी है वह ठीक है परन्तु अधिकांश गांव ऐसे मिलेंगे जहां के लोग अपनी तरफ से ५० प्रतिशत की रकम कुंवों की खुदाई के लिये नहीं लगा सकते हैं। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि उनके लिये २५ प्रतिशत निर्धारित किया जाये और कहीं पर लेबर के रूप में और कहीं पर उनसे जो मैटीरियल वगैरह मिले उस सब को एकाउण्ट में लेते हुए २५ प्रतिशत का अंशदान ग्रामीण लोगों के लिये मुकर्रर करके सरकार की तरफ से हर गांव में कुएं की व्यवस्था कर सके तो यह अति उत्तम होगा और इस तरह से कम से कम शुद्ध पानी उन्हें पीने के लिये मिल जायगा।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में रोगों के उन्मूलन के बारे में बहुत सुन्दर दिग्दर्शन किया है। मलेरिया नाम की जो बीमारी हमारे देश में थी और जिसके कारण हजारों की, लाखों की तादाद में आदमी के हमारे देश में काल ग्रास में चले जाते थे, उस मलेरिया के उन्मूलन होने से

आज हम लोग सुखी हैं। देश के कोने कोने में जाकर देखने से यह जरूर मालूम पड़ा कि मलेरिया जड़ मूल से नष्ट हो रहा है।

अब इसी सिलसिले में मुझे एक और बात कहनी थी कि इसी प्रकार का दूसरा रोग भी है, कुष्ठ रोग। कुष्ठ रोग भारतवर्ष के लिये एक ब्लाट है, कलक है, जो कि हमारे यहां के लोगों को समाज से, जाति से और संस्था से बहिष्कृत कर देता है। मैंने स्वयं मुंगेली नामक स्थान में देखा जहां कि सैकड़ों की तादाद में कुष्ठ रोग से पीड़ित मरीज गांवों के बाहर पड़े हैं। मैंने यहां तक देखा कि श्मशान में वे पड़े हुए हैं, उनकी कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है, उनका कोई इलाज नहीं होता है। वहां मिशन की ओर से एक अस्पताल है जहां कि सप्ताह में एक बार उनका इलाज होता है और इसी आशा से श्मशान में पड़े रहते हैं कि सात रोज में कम से कम एक बार हमारा नम्बर आयेगा और हमारी व्यवस्था होगी। अब सरकार का ध्यान इस तरफ बहुत कुछ होता जा रहा है। आज भारतवर्ष में हिन्द कुष्ठ निवारण नामक एक संस्था काम कर रही है और इसकी अध्यक्ष राजकुमारी अमृतकौर हैं जो भूतपूर्व स्वास्थ्य मन्त्राणी थीं और उनकी देखरेख में कुष्ठ निवारण संस्था बहुत अच्छी तरह चल रही है। इस समय उसके ऊपर कंट्रोल करने के लिये है कोई ११८ केन्द्र खोले गये हैं जिनमें से कोई ३५ प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में और शेष द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत खोले जा चुके हैं। लेकिन कुष्ठ निवारण के कार्य में मिशनरीज ने बहुत महत्वपूर्ण काम किया है। उनमें से ७० केन्द्र मिशन की ओर से हैं जहां लगभग ७०,००० मरीजों की चिकित्सा होती है और कुल ११८ में बताया गया है कि ६३,००० मरीजों की चिकित्सा आदि की व्यवस्था की जाती है। यहां पर कुछ स्थान इसमें बताये हैं जहां पर कि कुष्ठ रोग निवारण के लिये ट्रेनिंग क्लासेज खोली गई हैं, एक तो नागपुर के मेडिकल ट्रेनिंग कालेज में और दूसरे पुरलिया, पूना और वलौर

में भी खोलने की व्यवस्था की जा रही है। पर फिर भी हम देखते हैं कि देश में कुष्ठ रोग इतनी अधिक तादाद में बढ़ रहा है कि अगर हम उसकी गति को नहीं रोकेंगे तो हम बहुत से लोगों को समाज से बहिष्कृत कर देंगे। इसलिये मेरा सरकार से नम्र निवेदन था कि जहां जहां पर मैडिकल ट्रेनिंग कालेज हैं कम से कम वहां पर कुष्ठ रोग सम्बन्धी ट्रेनिंग देने की व्यवस्था की जाये और इसके सिवाय, जो प्राइवेट डाक्टर्स हैं उनके लिये बारह महीने में कम से कम कुछ दिनों के लिये रिफ्रेशर कोर्स के रूप में अलग से कुष्ठ रोग सम्बन्धी ट्रेनिंग क्लास खोल करके उस प्रकार की ट्रेनिंग दी जाये और उन्हें प्रैक्टिकल फील्ड में भेजा जाये ताकि गांवों में जाकर वे कुछ काम कुष्ठ निवारण का भी आप चार्ज कर सकें। ऐसा करके हम देश की सेवा काफी अंश तक कर सकेंगे। इसकी सरजरी वर्क के बारे में बताया गया है कि कुष्ठ रोग के बारे में बेल्लोर में भी कुछ हो रहा है।

(Time bell rings.)

भारतीय संविधान की ४६वीं धारा में एक जगह कहा गया है कि बीकर सेक्शन, जिसमें गरीब तबके के लोग आते हैं, शिड्यूलड कास्ट और शिड्यूलड ट्राइब के भी लोग आते हैं, उनकी शिक्षा सम्बन्धी व्यवस्था ठीक तरह से हो और इकानामिक स्टैण्डर्ड भी उनका ठीक तरह से हो। उसके बारे में मैं सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं :

The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitations.

इस सिलसिले में मुझे यह कहना था कि सरकारी नौकरियों में उनके लिये जो सुरक्षित स्थान हैं उसकी सूचना शिड्यूलड कास्ट और शिड्यूलड ट्राइब्स के जो पढ़े लिखे लड़के हैं और गांवों

में रहते हैं उन तक नहीं पहुंचती, इसलिये सरकारी कर्मचारियों के माध्यम से उनके कानों तक यह खबर पहुंचायी जाये कि अमुक स्थानों में इतने रिक्त स्थान हैं, तुम वहां आवेदन कर सकते हो। यदि सरकारी माध्यम से यह काम कराया जाये तो अधिक उपयोगी हो सकता है। इसके सिवाय, उनका जो आर्थिक स्तर है वह बहुत ही गिरा हुआ है और उसको जब तक हम नहीं संभालेंगे तब तक उनको देश का उत्तम नागरिक नहीं बना सकेंगे और वे देश के बढ़ते हुए चरण में आगे सहयोग नहीं दे सकेंगे।

SHRI M. M. MEHTA (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this Monday we heard our President with great devotion and emotion for the last time in that capacity. He served India not merely with personal and Constitutional dignity but with friendliness, courtesy and kindness among many other qualities which have elicited greater affection and have commanded respect from all sides within and without the Legislature. Gandhiji gave a code of principles of life and prepared some persons to live according to them and the President topped among them. From here I pay my respect to him on the eve of his retirement as our President.

In his speech the President has made a broad survey of the country's achievements in diverse fields in recent years and the immediate programme of development. He has discussed extensive agriculture programme, industrial production, expansion of steel plants and coal. In the immediate programme of development, the President has discussed the provision of a thermal power station and an oil refinery at Gujarat.

He has also discussed about the decline in the trade deficit. He has touched upon the code of discipline in industrial relations, development and growth of panchayat raj and co-operation. He has also discussed primary education amongst children which is very essential. It would

[Shri M. M. Mehta.]

have been better if the remaining percentage were also included

He has also touched upon the establishment of a Sanskrit institute at Tirupati which would help the revival of our ancient culture which would bring some unity about language and will serve as a source of inspiration to the people of India. A large number of scholarships have been provided for meritorious students which will, really speaking, buck up poor students who do not get opportunities and in that way a future nation will be prepared for technical and scientific fields in which they are required most.

The President also mentioned measures for the eradication of so many communicable diseases, malaria and the widespread control of T.B. and venereal diseases which have deteriorated the health of the nation so much. Sir, as we know, the average expectation of life in India has increased according to statistics. But that is primarily due to the lessening of infant mortality and not so much because of the improvement in the health of the people. In my speech after the President's Address last year, I made a fervent appeal for the supply of pure drinking water in the many villages of India. I am very thankful to the President and the Government for making arrangements for that.

The President has also mentioned in the Address about the new broad-gauge railway line for Siliguri via Malda. This is quite welcome. At the same time, I would like to remind the Government that Kandla, the new major port of India, still remains without having any broad-gauge connection. There seems to be even some emphatic opposition and according to some press reports it seems the proposal has been shelved. Even though we hear so much about a free-trade zone at Kandla, this has not yet come into existence. The township there—Gandhidham—after the

year 1957, has met with reverses, and despair and disappointment prevail among the people there. The Kandla port was to replace Karachi as the major port, but the facilities afforded to Karachi are not seen in Kandla. Although Karachi was an established port, there were concessions in the coastal trade rates. But at Kandla they are found to be higher for certain items and there are no concessions at all for any of the items. The electricity rates and the land charges are so exorbitant that they serve as handicaps instead of facilitating the development of that area. The national highway connecting Kandla with Ahmedabad is also incomplete. I would like to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that this is the port which is coming up as the most cosmopolitan port and it requires special attention, especially as plenty of refugees are putting up in this area.

The President has also touched on a number of international problems in his Address. But I shall not dwell on them now, especially as they are being discussed by various Members and I also know definitely that when the Resolution on Goa comes up here, our intellectual wizard on international problems, our beloved Prime Minister, will be throwing more light on these matters. But the most important thing that I would like to touch upon now is the integration of India. The President has referred to the recent general elections as a result of which, he said:

“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”.

I absolutely agree with him. But the recent elections have definitely revealed that disintegrating forces all over the country are raising their heads. Our Government and every leader in the country are very much

conscious of these disintegrating forces that are coming up. Every leader in his speech and every newspaper in its editorial, is always shouting at the highest pitch about these forces. Even the Government and the present leaders have started attempts to meet the situation by creating national integration committees and allied programmes. The present elections have revealed that all these disintegrating forces have come up with greater strength and the most marked thing revealed by these elections is the coming up of the ex-rulers of the various Indian States. I am as proud as any of the hon. Members about the history of our motherland. But there is also the fact that Jaichands and Amirchands also existed here. It is these ex-rulers' ancestors who brought about foreign rule in India and nursed it. Unfortunately, even after fourteen years of the integration of the States and making India united, there are still some ex-rulers who think in terms of bringing *rajshahi* back and they do not seem to mind even foreign interests in India. But as the President has said in his Address, we take the elections as a mandate from the people to establish a democratic socialist society and the Government cannot keep these privileged persons with all their big *salamis*. They should not be allowed to use these privileges against the very aim and the mandate received from the people. It is only within the next five years that socialism will come to India, if it comes at all. Otherwise, it will never come. Our beloved Prime Minister has rightly said in the party meeting that the next five years will be decisive and we either make India strong or the country disintegrates. Therefore, a great responsibility for achieving this task lies on the ruling party and the Government.

The President also referred to the implementation of the principles of our Constitution, namely the securing of justice, social, economic and political, liberty of thought, expression, belief faith and worship, equality of status and of opportunity etc. etc. But what

pains me most is that in spite of all this, still in India there are people with privileges and status. These should go as the first step towards the establishing of a socialist society.

The President has referred to the Third Plan and to planning. About the Third Five Year Plan and the recent developments in India, say, in the last **ten years or so**, various hon. Members have spoken in detail. I would here only like to invite the attention of the House to a report of the National Council of Applied Economic Research which reveals that according to the data and surveys, with this planning there will not be any unemployment in India in 1981. The income *per capita* which is now Rs. 331, will rise to Rs. 792. One out of every two families will have a fan and a cycle. To a large extent, the people will be having fridges and air-conditioning facilities and other modern facilities and amenities. Steel production will reach the target of 5 crores tons per year. Whatever imbalance is found at present in the field of trade and commerce will disappear and instead of that, balance and a favourable trade of Rs. 200 crores to Rs. 250 crores will be established. During the coming 20 years, the capital investment will reach the figure of Rs. 1,05,381 crores and the expenditure during the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Five Year Plans would be Rs. 12,600 crores, Rs. 18,000 crores, Rs. 27,000 crores and Rs. 47,761 crores respectively. During the Fourth and Fifth Plans there will be a gradual decline in foreign aid and we will not require much foreign aid and in the Sixth Plan all the expenditure will be met out of our national income and without any foreign aid, thus completing the phase of self-sufficiency. The Director-General of the Council—Dr. P. S. Lokanathan—has rightly said that these figures are not unrealistic and without doubt, we shall reach these targets by means of our plans.

The last thing that I would like to say before concluding my remarks is that we administer too much, and too much of administration, according to

[Shri M. M. Mehta.]

me, is not good. We should concentrate on the task of solving our basic problems and the most important among them is the integration of the country. With these remarks, Sir, I lend my support to the motion before the House.

श्री पा० ना० राजभोज : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस पार्लियामेंट के आखरी अधिवेशन में राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा कि उनका संसद् के सामने आखरी भाषण है। इस अवसर पर हमारा यह कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि हम उन्हें अपनी ओर से बधाई, शुभ कामनाएं तथा कृतज्ञता व्यक्त करें। आजादी के बाद उन्होंने राष्ट्रपति के पद का भार ग्रहण किया और इसके पहले त्याग करके देश की महान् सेवा की। इन सब कार्यों के लिए देश राष्ट्रपति जी का हमेशा ऋणी रहेगा। जैसा कि हमारे उपराष्ट्रपति जी ने डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी के एक चरित्र के प्रस्तावना में लिखा है

"His life of service, suffering and sacrifice for our country will be a great inspiration for generations to come".

इसके साथ ही साथ अपने एक और नेता को बधाई देना मैं अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ। वह हैं हमारे पंत प्रधान श्री जवाहरलाल जी। देश में जो चुनाव हुए उसमें उन्होंने जो काम किया है, ऐसा काम दुनिया के किसी भी प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने नहीं किया होगा। इस ७२ साल की उम्र में छः हफ्ते तक देश के चारों कोने में घूमना—काश्मीर से लेकर केरल तक तथा कच्छ से लेकर आसाम तक—कोई आसान बात नहीं है। उन्होंने अपने तूफानी दौर में लोगों को सरकार की आर्थिक तथा राजनैतिक बातें समझाई। इस तरह का काम कोई आसान नहीं है और यह मैराथन काम कुल १५ हजार मील का दौरा लगा कर उन्होंने किया। उनके कुल १५० भाषण सुनने के लिए करीब एक करोड़

से ज्यादा लोग आये। यह सब किस लिए करना पड़ा? उन्होंने कहा है कि मैं ने यह दौरा इसलिए लगाया है :

"To meet the challenge of the last ditch stand on the vested interests who mounted an offensive against everything that I had stood for all my life—to remove poverty, destroy the gap between the high and the low, build up heavy industry and make India a powerful nation on the basis of socialism",

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मुझे इस बात की खुशी होती है कि यही बातें राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में पुनरुच्चार की हैं और यही नीति इलैक्शन में कांग्रेस को सफल बना सकी तथा उसको जनता का अनुमोदन मिला।

जब चुनाव की बात आती है तब इस सिलसिले में एक दो बातें कहना मैं अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ। मैंने भी देश का ३२ दिन तक दौरा लगाया था और लोगों की भावना को समझने का प्रयत्न किया। किन्तु मैं ने यह देखा कि इस इलैक्शन में जातीयता और कौमीवाद, इन दुष्ट भावनाओं ने अपना सिर ऊपर उठाया। इस तरह का मेरा इलैक्शन के दौर में अनुभव हुआ। सारे देश में चुनाव अच्छी तरह से करने का यश इलैक्शन कमीशन को है। लेकिन यह बात तो कानूनी दृष्टि से हुई। किन्तु इस समय देश में जो जातीयता की भावना फैली जा रही है उसको रोकने के लिए योग्य अवसर पर कदम नहीं उठाये गये। पोस्टर्स तथा हैंड बिल्स द्वारा जो व्यक्तिगत प्रचार किया गया उसको रोक नहीं गया। इस बात की सरकार की तरफ से खोज होनी चाहिये। क्योंकि यहीं चुनाव में जातीयता तथा देश विरोधी पक्षों का जन्म हुआ। जातीयवाद ने राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी जी का बलिदान लिया। उत्तरी हिन्दुस्तान में जनसंघ और दक्षिण हिन्दुस्तान में डी० एम० के० ने जातीयता

की भावना को भड़काया और अगर इनका यश बढ़ता ही गया तो यह भारत को खा जायेगा। इलैक्शन के बाद हमारे देश में यह एक अलार्मिंग परिस्थिति का निर्माण हुआ है जिसके ऊपर हम सब लोगों को गम्भीरतापूर्वक सोचना होगा। जो लोग देश में जातीय भावना को भड़काते हैं उनके ऊपर कानूनी पाबन्दी लगाने की बात पर फिर से सोचना होगा क्योंकि नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन कांफ्रेंस में जनसभ, मुसलिम लीग जैसे जातीय संघटनों को आमंत्रित करने में बहुत बड़ी गलती की गई है। ये संस्थाएं अब यह प्रचार करती हैं कि हम राष्ट्रीय पक्ष में हैं लेकिन कार्य वे अराष्ट्रीय करती हैं। इसलिए इस तरह की संस्थाओं के ऊपर कानूनी पाबन्दी लगानी आवश्यक है क्योंकि ये संस्थाएं जो भी कार्य करती हैं वे जातीय दृष्टि को सामने रख कर ही करती हैं।

इसके साथ ही साथ एक और विचार आता है और वह यह है कि अष्टग्रही के दुष्परिणाम के अवसर पर देश में जो लाखों रुपये का किमिनल वेस्ट हुआ है और लोगों की धार्मिक भावना के साथ खेल करके तथा उनकी अज्ञानता का जिन संस्थाओं या लोगों ने फायदा उठाया उन्होंने समाज विरोधी कार्य किया। जब तक इस तरह की चीज कानूनी कार्यवाही से नहीं रोकी जाती तब तक इस तरह के लोग तथा धार्मिक संस्थाएं लोगों की भावना को भड़का कर फायदा उठाती ही रहेंगी। अपनी श्रद्धा व्यक्त करना, प्रार्थना करना, भजन करना आदि चीजों के बारे में मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है। हर व्यक्ति इन चीजों को करने में स्वतंत्र है किन्तु लाखों रुपये का घी, चावल आदि जलाना यह कहां तक अच्छी बात है, इस चीज पर सरकार को अवश्य विचार करना चाहिये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में सर्व प्रकार के विषय अंतर्गत किये हैं और समाजवादी समाज

रचने का ध्येय प्राप्त करने का निश्चय व्यक्त किया है। उन्होंने अपने भाषण में ६ से ११ साल तक के बच्चों के शिक्षण का भी उल्लेख किया है। इस चीज को जो प्रधानता दी गई है वह उल्लेखनीय है और सही है। इस संबंध में सिर्फ शिक्षा तथा स्कालरशिप देने की व्यवस्था से ही काम नहीं चलेगा बल्कि देश के बच्चों को कम से कम एक दफे का खाने का भी प्रबन्ध सरकार की ओर से किया जाना चाहिये। अगर सरकार की ओर से इस तरह का प्रबन्ध किया गया तो विशेषकर पिछड़ी जाति तथा गरीब विद्यार्थियों को आगे बढ़ने का अवसर मिल सकेगा।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में अनाज की समस्या तथा औद्योगिक प्रगति का भी उल्लेख किया है और सरकार का निश्चय इन शब्दों में व्यक्त किया है।

"A determined effort to implement the physical programmes as set out in the Plan would require care in regard to economy and efficiency and the endeavour to keep to time schedules and priorities, all of which are the continuing concern of my Government..."

लोहा, इस्पात, कोयला इत्यादि के बारे में जो बात राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कही वह बहुत ही महत्व की है। इसके साथ ही उन्होंने दो और महत्वपूर्ण बातों का भी जिक्र किया है। एक तो पीने का पानी और दूसरा पंचायती राज के बारे में। ये दोनों बहुत ही अत्यन्त आवश्यक चीजें हैं और राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में इसका जो उल्लेख किया है यह एक अत्यन्त संतोषजनक बात है। लेकिन इसके साथ साथ इस संबंध में यह कोशिश होनी चाहिये कि देहात में जो शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग रहते हैं वे इस फायदे से वंचित न रह जायें। शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट में बार बार यह कहा जाता है कि अस्पृश्यता का सब से अधिक दर्शन पीने के पानी के स्थान पर होता है, देहातों में अभी तक अस्पृश्यता खत्म नहीं

[श्री पा० ना० राजभाज]

हुई है। इस संबंध में जो स्कीमें बनाई जाती हैं उनमें इन लोगों को ज्यादा हिस्सा नहीं मिलता है। गांव या पंचायत के आसपास जो कुएं, तालाब तथा नदियां हैं, वहां पर ये लोग पानी नहीं भर पाते हैं। इस तरह की बहुत सी बातें देखने और सुनने को मिलती हैं। इसलिए मेरी प्रार्थना यह है कि जब गांवों में पानी पीने की कोई स्कीम बनाई जाये तो इन लोगों का अवश्य ख्याल किया जाये। यही बात ग्राम पंचायत की है जहां इन लोगों को अच्छी ट्रीटमेंट नहीं मिलती। पंचायतों में आजकल एक विशिष्ट कम्युनिटी की मोनापली बन गई है जिससे इन लोगों को कोई भी फायदा नहीं मिलता है। इस वास्ते गांवों का उद्धार करने में आर्थिक, सामाजिक और नैतिक दृष्टिकोण अपनाना बहुत आवश्यक है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस भाषण में विदेशीयनीति के बारे में अंतर्राष्ट्रीय शांति स्थापना करने की घोषणा पुनः की गई है। आपरेशन विजय के बाद अमेरिका तथा ब्रिटेन में हमारी नीति के बारे में कुछ मिसअंडरस्टैंडिंग पैदा हुई थी, किन्तु उसको क्लियर करने की बहुत कोशिश की गई है। यह संतोषकारक बात है। जो रक्तहीन विजय हमने प्राप्त की है उससे हमारी आजादी पूर्ण हो गई है और उसका श्रेय हमारे नौजवान सैनिकों को देना चाहिये। दो दिन पहले ही हमारे रक्षा मंत्री श्री मेनन साहब ने दिल्ली के भाषण में यह विदेशी नीति बहुत अच्छे शब्दों में व्यक्त की है। उन्होंने कहा है कि पीस ऐंब्राड और सोशलिज्म ऐट होम यह सरकार की पालिसी रही है। उन्होंने यह भी कहा :

"We favour complete disarmament. We do not want to win a war. We want to avoid it."

यह बात हमारी पाकिस्तान तथा चीन के प्रति धारणा तथा दृष्टिकोण स्पष्ट करती है। चीन निगोसिएशन फिर से करने का प्रयत्न कर रहा है। यह अच्छी बात है। लेकिन

हमारा व्यू इतना स्पष्ट और दृढ़ है कि उसे हम कभी न छोड़ें और पंचशील की जो नीति है वह स्ट्रिकटली अप्लाई की जाये। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब के चीन से फैंसला करने के प्रयत्न में मैं सुयश-इच्छिता करता हूं।

मेरी प्रार्थना यह है कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट एंड शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट में भी सर्विसेज के बारे में कहा है। यह जो समाज है, वह गिरा हुआ है। अभी हमारे एक भाई ने कहा कि वीकर सेक्शन के लिए ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिये। वीकर सेक्शन से ही हमारी यह कम्युनिटी पैदा हुई है, लेकिन वीकर सेक्शन के लिए क्या हुआ? अभी तक अपने देश के एम्बैसेडर नहीं बने, गवर्नर नहीं बने, हाई कमिश्नर नहीं बने। इसमें भी क्वालीफाइड लोग हैं, पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं, एक्स्पेरियेंस्ड लोग हैं लेकिन फिर भी यह बात हुई। हमें जो रिजर्वेशन मिला है वह हमें हर वक्त नहीं चाहिये। पांच वर्ष के बाद उसके अन्त होने की आवश्यकता है क्योंकि जाति पात के मामले इससे बहुत बढ़ते हैं। सिंगिल मेम्बर कांस्टीट्यूंसी अब हो गई है। मैं जहां जहां गया वहां वहां लोग यह कहते हैं कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट क्षेत्र बन गया है और शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट क्षेत्र को सेपरेट एलेक्ट्रेट की दृष्टि से देखते हैं। हमने इस बात में जरा गल्ती की। डबल मेम्बर कांस्टीट्यूंसी अच्छी थी। गल्ती इसलिये की है कि जगह जगह यह बुरा एक्स-पीरियेंस हुआ है जो शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट का कैंडीडेट खड़ा होता है तो उम्र दृष्टि से उसको शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट का क्षेत्र समझा जाता है। मैं पंडित जवाहरलाल की कांस्टीट्यूंसी में भी गया था और जो हरिजन भाई थे वह गिर गये जो कि हरिजन सीट के लिए खड़े हुए थे। मेरी इसके बारे में प्रार्थना है कि डबल मेम्बर कांस्टीट्यूंसी को एबोलिश करने से क्या फायदा हुआ? मैंने पहले भी पार्लियामेंट में कहा था और मैं आज भी कहूंगा कि पहले वाला अरेंजमेंट अच्छा था।

सिंगल मेम्बर कांस्टीटुएन्सी करने से शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग और उम्मीदवार आइसोलेटेड हो गये हैं और उनके अन्दर भी जातिवाद आ गया है और चमार, मेहतर वगैरह के माइनारिटी और मेजारिटी के झगड़े पैदा हो गये हैं ।

मैं अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि जाति पात के प्रश्न पर उम्मीदवारों को नहीं छांटना चाहिये । राज्यों में कार्यकर्ताओं की सिफारिशें भी जाति पात की दृष्टि से जगह जगह पर होती हैं । जो प्रामाणिक हैं, अच्छा काम करने वाले हैं और जो उत्तम लोग हैं उन के लिये स्थान होना चाहिये, ऐसी कोशिश होने की आवश्यकता है और इस के लिये खोज होनी चाहिये । जब तक स्प्रीट आफ टालरेंस हमारे बीच में नहीं आयेगी तो फिर कुछ नहीं होगा । होता यह है कि चुनाव में डी० एम० के० जनसंघ वगैरह जातीय संगठन सामने आते हैं । जब तक आप माइनारिटी को अपने साथ लेने की कोशिश नहीं करेंगे तब तक आप सफलता से वंचित रहेंगे ।

मेरी यह प्रार्थना है कि जो गिरे हुए भाई हैं उन की हालत को सुधारें । जो आर्थिक और सामाजिक दृष्टि से पिछड़े हुए हैं उन को आर्थिक और सामाजिक दृष्टि से आगे बढ़ाने के लिये जब तक कोशिश नहीं होगी तब तक समाजवादी समाज की रचना पूर्ण नहीं होगी । देश में ७ करोड़ हरिजन भाई हैं, २ करोड़ आदिवासी और ७ करोड़ बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के लोग हैं । इन लोगों की उन्नति करना बहुत आवश्यक है । सरकार इन के लिये बहुत काम कर रही है, बहुत कोशिश कर रही है लेकिन पब्लिक में, लोगों में और खास कर देहातों में इस बारे में पूरी तरह से भावना नहीं पैदा हुई है । तो सामाजिक दृष्टि से, आर्थिक दृष्टि से और सब दृष्टि से उन की उन्नति करने की आवश्यकता है । हम चाहते हैं कि देश के साथ साथ हम भी रहें देश से अलग रहने से हमारा काम नहीं चलेगा । हमारे लिये देश से अलग मताधिकार मांगने

से ठीक बात नहीं होगी । दस वर्ष के लिये हमें जो साधन और सहायित्वें मिली है, वह ठीक है और पांच वर्ष के बाद जो एक और एलेक्शन होगा उस के बाद मेरी प्रार्थना है कि जल्दी से जल्दी यह रिजर्वेशन खत्म होना चाहिये और हमें भी दूसरों के साथ कंधे से कंधा मिला कर देश की उन्नति के लिये कोशिश करनी चाहिये । मुझे एक्सपीरियन्स हो गया है कि जनसंघ के लोग कितनी जातीयता बढ़ा रहे हैं और कितनी गन्दी गाली देते हैं ।

श्री बी० डी० खोबरागड़े (महाराष्ट्र) : कांग्रेस क्या कर रही है ?

श्री पा० ना० राजभोज : कांग्रेस की नीति अच्छी है और इसलिये तो चुनाव में आ गई । कम्युनिस्ट हार गये, रिपब्लिकन हार गये और सब का धुआं उड़ गया । आप मेरे प्यारे भाई हैं, आप मेरे पुराने दोस्त हैं । आप देखे कि कांग्रेस को कितनी विजय हुई है । महाराष्ट्र में देखिये । महाराष्ट्र में तो इतना अच्छा हुआ कि वहां कई लोगों की जमानत जस्ट हो गई । आप सब जानते हैं । यह जातिवाद से क्या फायदा है ? जाति के दृष्टिकोण से काम करेंगे तो देश का कभी भला नहीं होगा । पहले मैं भी जाति की दृष्टि से काम करता था लेकिन मुझे यह बात एक्सपीरियेंस में आ गई और इसलिये हम ने इस को छोड़ दिया और मैं लोकशाही तंत्र में लोकशाही की दृष्टि से काम करने में संतुष्ट हूँ और उसी तरह से काम कर रहा हूँ और करता रहूंगा ।

तो मेरी प्रार्थना है कि देश के हित में काम करना है । देश की भलाई में हमारी भलाई है और इसी हित से हमें बोलना है । दुनिया के लोगों की भलाई के लिए और सब तरह की भलाई के लिये और समाजवादी समाज की रचना के लिये और उस के ध्येय को अमल में लाने के लिये हम सब को सब प्रकार से काम करना है । इतनी प्रार्थना कर के, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय को धन्यवाद दे कर के मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ ।

SHRI DIBAKAR PATNAIK (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the President has referred in the last part of his speech to the principles of our Constitution, namely, justice, social, economic and political, liberty of thought, expression, belief, etc., but I am sorry to state that all these high ideals remain only in the books. The rights which have been granted under the Constitution by the right hand are taken away by the ruling party by the left hand. Justice is granted in all the departments of the present Congress Government, including the law courts, on payment. Under the present Government justice can be bought. Even Ministers intervene in the affairs of the courts. If these things continue, if they are not stopped, in the country justice will be denied and democracy will fail.

Economically, Sir, the poor are becoming poorer and the rich are becoming richer. Under the First Plan, the Second Plan and also the Third Plan more industries are being started in the private sector and this is the reason why the rich industrialists of the country are becoming richer and richer gradually and the economy of the country gets concentrated in a few individuals. And the national income which is shown in figures is only of a few individuals.

The whole country is now demoralised. In each election there has been bribing of the voters in the villages through Congress touters. I do not know what will happen in future if things go on like this. Our President has referred to the election affairs and in that connection I have to state what happened in Orissa in the last election. There were no elections to the Orissa Assembly this time and the voters of Orissa had only to choose 20 members to Parliament. Out of this Dr. Hare Krushna Mahtab came uncontested so that only 19 members had to be chosen by the voters in that State.

Now, first Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, our Prime Minister, visited Orissa in

the course of his election tours. He visited the three constituencies of Kendrapara, Cuttack and Balasore-cum-Mayurbhanj. When the Prime Minister reached Orissa, all the Government officials there worked day and night for the success of his tour in Orissa. He went to the remote parts of the State; he was taken to Paradip where we wished to have a harbour. You know in the other House, the concerned Minister declared in clear terms that Paradip was not included in the Third Plan, that no money had been allotted for Paradip in the Third Plan. Even the expert opinion has not reached the Government regarding Paradip port. Yet, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, our Prime Minister, had to go there and our Chief Minister, Shri Bijoyanand Patnaik, created one function, where he had to go and lay a stone for a pillar or something of that sort. Money was spent on that account like flood water in Orissa. Electric lights were lit mile after mile extending to 22 miles. For two days and nights in that part of the country life was changed, transformed like a busy city. Electric lights were lit up for two days and nights at a great cost to the Government. You know that regarding the elections our Chief Minister, Mr. Bijoyanand Patnaik, stated in a press conference that the money spent for Parliamentary elections was only Rs. 12 lakhs, i.e., Rs. 63,000 per Member. For nineteen constituencies money was spent to the tune of Rs. 12 lakhs. Two days before the elections cheques were issued to village schools, libraries, clubs and cultural institutions. Besides, money was given to individuals in the villages for election purposes. This was challenged in the Orissa Legislative Assembly and on their demand our Chief Minister, Mr. Bijoyanand Patnaik, has agreed to appoint a high-powered committee to enquire into matters connected with the election. I am glad that the P.S.P. has accepted it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I make an enquiry, if the hon. Member agrees? Since the P.S.P. has accepted

it—I know this from you—may I know from you whether you have the power to compel the Congress leaders, including the Chief Minister, to go to a temple and swear how much money they spent for the Parliamentary elections, to tell on oath before the God or Goddess, whatever it may be.

SHRI DIBAKAR PATNAIK: Do you believe in God or Goddess?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Well, Mr. Patnaik does.

SHRI DIBAKAR PATNAIK: We are demanding the Government to appoint such a committee, persons above politics and impartial persons, to go into the matter, to enquire into what happened in Orissa in the last elections.

I also just want to bring to your notice that our Congress friends are practising socialism every five years. That is, they are collecting crores of rupees from rich industrialists and then they distribute this money in the villages to the voters.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): Question.

SHRI DIBAKAR PATNAIK: They are practising socialism in the country every five years. I hope in course of time they will learn how socialism should work in the country. In the past we were fighting elections as Congress workers with empty hands against big guns of the then British Government. Without money we were winning the polls. For instance, I have fought many elections to the Assembly without any money, but today . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You can win with money.

SHRI DIBAKAR PATNAIK: Now, it is a question of questions, how a real worker can come to any legislature to serve the nation and the people. It is indeed a misnomer.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala): When you fought the election without money, were you in the Congress?

SHRI DIBAKAR PATNAIK: Oh, yes.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: With P.S.P. you have to spend money.

SHRI DIBAKAR PATNAIK: Our President also has referred to national integration, which is the burning question in our country. We know what happened at Jabalpur and Aligarh. We know what happened in Assam during the linguistic trouble. We know that to handle this vital issue of linguistic troubles, as also other conflicting ideals which are now coming up here and there like Nagaland or the Punjabi Suba, we must think very well and must plan our action. We must channel our ideas in such a way that a way should be found to overcome all these difficulties.

I am again drawing your attention to some aspects of education in our country. Some of my other friends have already dealt with primary education and foreign education.

Thus I am trying to draw your attention concerning the basic education which we are now practising or experimenting in, our country, and I am sorry to observe that we are not doing it wholeheartedly because the syllabus of basic education is not properly prepared, and the students who are reading in the basic schools cannot go to any technical side. The student cannot be a doctor, he cannot be a lawyer, he cannot be anything, and he will from the seventh year to the fourteenth year read a course which will take him nowhere. No children of M.Ps. or Ministers or Secretaries are sent to the basic school. They are only giving speeches everywhere that you must adopt the basic education. They are only extolling it in their speeches to which nobody attaches any seriousness.

Sir, I again, draw your attention that the President's Address has dealt with many subjects and I do not want to take much of the time of the House

[Shri Dibakar Patnaik.]
by going over them. Only I thank you for the opportunity given to me.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks of this House to the President for the Address he gave the other day to the two Houses. It will not be possible for me to deal with the various points dealt with in the Address or raised in this House, and I will confine myself to only a point or two.

The first thing I would like to deal with is the objection of a learned Member of the Opposition, Mr. Ramamurti, about the propriety of the President mentioning in his Address the result of the elections, wherein the President has said—I will read the passage which was objected to, it is on page 8:

“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.”

Further on it is said:

“This renewed assurance and confidence placed by the great majority of our people in my Government and the avowal of their support for policies, internal and external, that have been repeatedly endorsed by Parliament and widely discussed by the country prior to the election, reinforce these policies and place on my Government a nationally mandated obligation and added strength to implement these policies.”

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is a factually incorrect statement.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: It may be according to the notion of my friend,

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, but the objection raised by Mr. Ramamurti was that the President should not have identified himself with the Government. His objection was that he should have refrained from being happy over the results of the election which his Government had obtained at the polls.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You say there “renewed assurance and confidence placed by the great majority of our people”. I have found that according to the Election Commission the Congress polled 45.24 per cent of the polled votes; that is to say, the majority of the voters did not vote for the Congress Party. Therefore, you cannot say that the majority of people have placed confidence in the Government. Not even the electorate majority have placed confidence in the Government.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: That is a different question. I was dealing with the objection raised by Shri Ramamurti, and that is that he questioned the constitutional propriety of the President showing satisfaction at the success of his Government, which actually according to him was the success of the Congress Party. My submission is that there is some misunderstanding about it. Does this Address contain the personal views of the President or the views of the Government of which he is only the constitutional head? Anybody who is aware of the constitutional position in England—on the basis of which country most of our rules and precedents are made—knows that the King always says “My Government”, the Queen says “My Government” and describes the actions taken by the Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We do not know of any time when it has been said “My Government has received the confidence in the elections”. It is never said after the general elections.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: The correct position is that these are the views of the Government and not of

the President personally. Therefore, there is no question about that. You see that all acts are done in the name of the President, and orders are passed in his name of which the President has no knowledge.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Acts are done in the name of the Crown in England.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: Here they are done in the name of the President—"The President has been pleased to appoint such and such person"; "The President has been pleased to order such and such thing"—and the President has not even knowledge of the order passed. Everything is done here as if the order has come from the mouth of the President, but it does not incorporate his personal views. His person does not come in. Whatever type of Government is there....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Suppose there was a coalition Government at the Centre. Then the various parties in the coalition Government would have contested the elections separately. Would it have been open at that time for the Crown or the President to say, as in the present case, that "My Government has received the confidence of the people in the elections"? That is why in England, although it is done in the name of the Crown, such things are not said.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: What has the President said? He has only dealt with the policies of the Government during the year, and he has only said that these policies have found support from the electorate.

The electorate has given its verdict in favour of these policies and has returned the party in power to form the government again. That is all it comes to. Nothing more than that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All right.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: The other point on which I propose to express myself is about the development of

agriculture and the increase in production. I am gratified, like all the other Members of this House, that such good progress has been made and the production of foodgrains has gone up by 19.1 per cent. This problem of food, to my mind, is a colossal and a continuing one. With the progress that we have made, we can confidently hope that we can reach our target of self-sufficiency by the end of the Third Five Year Plan. But our demand is going up and our population is increasing day by day. The land is limited, we cannot increase its area. By intensive cultivation and by bringing those areas which are not under cultivation under the plough we can certainly continue to raise production for some years to come. But there is a limit, the land is limited. And every student of economics knows that after the optimum is reached, there is the diminishing return.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is the 19th century theory.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: We should see ahead. We cannot ignore what is to come after another twenty years. We have got to take steps. From today, even from now on, we have to see that certain measures are taken. For some time we may be able to have imports from outside. But then the population of those countries is also going up. Those countries which are surplus at the moment will not remain surplus for all time to come. They may not be in a position to export anything to us. Therefore, my submission is that this aspect of the question should not be lost sight of. Along with certain experiments which we are doing, we should have the full collaboration of all the scientists of the world in this respect and we should explore and find out new methods not only for the further development of our agriculture but also for the replacement of our food material. Certain other things may also be used for food. All these have got to continue. And then, more important than

[Shri Nafisul Hasan.]

everything else, family planning has not received proper attention and it has not reached the people sufficiently. The population is going up by leaps and bounds and we cannot go on raising our production in the same proportion if the population goes up. These are my suggestions as far as the food problem is concerned, and I hope that the Government and every one of us will give consideration to this aspect of the question also.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: Vegetarians should become non-vegetarians.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: Not necessarily. That is also an item of food. Some other substitute may also be found.

Then, Sir, I am happy that the way in which the elections have been conducted has shown that this huge experiment . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: As far as the Congress is concerned, the law of diminishing returns is operating in the elections. There is the . . .

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: Now the election is over.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: This huge experiment has for the third time been quite a success as far as its peaceful conclusion and performance are concerned. But my happiness, I should admit, is not undiluted, and I am unhappy on two grounds.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Jan Sangh . . .

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: My idea is that in order that democracy should work properly and should develop on party lines, it is necessary that we should have a clean party system in our country. What is happening today is that a person who is refused a ticket by a party goes to another party and . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Dissident Congressmen.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: I am not pointing at any particular party. I am not suggesting any party whatsoever. What I submit is that for the healthy growth of democracy it is absolutely necessary that we should have a clean party system. Unless and until there is an agreement and convention between the parties that a person who is turned out from one party will have no place in the other parties, the party system cannot be properly developed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I entirely agree.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: I therefore appeal to the leaders of all the parties in this country that they should see that the party system and the party discipline are kept according to the requirements of democracy.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But you are kidnapping Members from this side of the House. We have lost one.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: The other thing over which I am most unhappy is that I find that voting, as far as my State is concerned, has been mostly on caste lines. I too had quite a personal experience of elections this year and had personal experience in 1952. I had no personal experience in 1957 because then I was in a position in which I could not take any interest in the election. I remember that in 1952 there was not so much communalism and there was very little of casteism. What is the reason? In particular, casteism is more dangerous than even communalism. It has spread to a greater extent. What is the reason? I am giving one. I do not know whether it is correct or not. This casteism has played a great part in our panchayat elections and this casteism is reaching our Assembly and Parliamentary elections.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why panchayats? There are the *bhoomi-hars*.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: I think that unless we succeed in impressing our people that they should consider the programmes and the policies of the various parties and that should be the only criterion for determining their vote, success in democracy cannot be achieved. That should be the only criterion. It is the duty of all the parties, and all persons in authority and those who are leaders of the opposition parties, to think whether the time has not come to consider whether communal political parties should be banned or not.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: And how will you define them?

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: That will be taken care of when legislation comes in, and even when legislation will be there, it is not such an easy question that it can be solved by legislation alone. Here I am just making a suggestion for the consideration of those concerned.

Sir, I thank you very much. With these words I support the motion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very glad that certain important . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): I may tell you one thing, Mr. Gupta. Eleven minutes are left from out of your time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Give us some more minutes kindly. We have saved a lot of time.

Sir, it is very good that certain important points have been raised, but let me start with the last part of the Address where the President claims:—

“renewed assurance and confidence placed by the great majority of our people in my Government”.

Well, this is not true. According to the figures given by the Election Commission and as I pointed out, 45 per cent. of the voters who cast their votes polled for the Congress Party. So the majority did not vote for the Congress Party. Therefore it is not right to mention in a statement coming from a responsible quarter that the majority of our people—pointing out to the elections—had voted for the Congress Party. It is factually incorrect.

(Interruption)

You will not understand it. You see this is the position. Now, you can consult the Election Commissioner and see whether I am right or wrong. Secondly, many people have voted but they are not even a majority of the electorate.

Now, may I invite your attention to rather a sickening development after the elections, namely, to the formation of big-sized Ministries in the various States? I have got a list before me and here you see Bombay has got 31, Gujarat 16. Now comes, West Bengal. Last time—at the time of dissolution—they had 29; now, already they have got 36. U.P. heads the list with 43, and Punjab 29 including Parliamentary Secretaries; Rajasthan 16. In Andhra there are two quarrelling factions now, but they have already 16 and more. In Mysore it is 14; the list is not complete—the other group has to decide. Now, I can point out the case of Punjab, for example, where the law of diminishing returns is operating as far as the return of Congress candidates is concerned and the law of increasing returns has come to operate as far as the Ministry is concerned. In Punjab a short while ago they had 19 members in the Congress cabinet, and they have got 29 now including Parliamentary Secretaries; one in every three is either a Minister or a Deputy Minister or a Parliamentary Secretary, and the newspaper ‘Tribune’ has written an editorial condemning such a thing. Well, Sir, as

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

far as West Bengal is concerned, they go on increasing—so far to 36—, and one in every four or a little more than four is a Minister or a Minister of State or a Deputy Minister or a Parliamentary Secretary. I do not know how Andhra will settle its quarrel, because it seems Mr. Sanjiviah has started a sit-down strike; he did not go to the oath-taking ceremony because he thinks that his faction has not been properly represented; I do not know how many members from his faction will have to be taken by Mr. Sanjiva Reddy and what will be the ultimate size of the Andhra Ministry. Similarly, yesterday there was a meeting at the house of Mr. Tripathi in U.P. Their faction thinks that they have not been given adequate representation. And I do not know, Sir, what will be the size of the Ministry of your State, because even at the very beginning it is 43, and after five years I should thank my stars if that 43 does not exceed 70.

SHRI J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh): Forty-three means that there are 12 Parliamentary Secretaries included in it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, yes, but they get salaries.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: No, no.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do not protest here; go and protest there. Twelve Parliamentary Secretaries is a consolation for me. Anyway . . .

SHRI J. S. BISHT: No salary given and therefore no burden to the exchequer.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But they get something.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN) in the Chair]

Now, would you become a Parliamentary Secretary? Therefore, this is the position. In Punjab, see the *per capita* income there, but you see one

in every three right now in the Cabinet. Now, it is stated in the newspapers that this is necessary to accommodate the various factions—Bhoomihars here and non-Bhoomihars there—Mr. Jatti belongs to one caste and Mr. Nijalingappa belongs to another caste—it is happening like that in Mysore. I have no quarrel with the Government if they could accommodate these people either in the Congress Parliamentary Board or in the A.I.C.C. or in the Congress Working Committee; that would have been done at the cost, if at all, of the Congress Party. But why should factional quarrels of the Congress Party be sought to be settled at the cost of the public exchequer, because Ministers cost salaries and allowances, house allowance and various other items of expenditures? What kind of morality they are laying down in the country by trying in this open and unabashed manner a solution of their factional problem, by enlarging, even within a few days after the General Elections, the Ministries that are already on the scene?

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: (Uttar Pradesh): But, Mr. Gupta, you forget that the salaries of Ministers have been reduced in all the States.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, Sir, but you have not done so in all the places. Otherwise, the treasury will get empty.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: Yes, in U.P. also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Otherwise the treasury will be empty. Now imagine . . .

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: The salary of Ministers now is Rs. 800 only in U.P.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, yes, but if it is so, why then do you clamour for it and lead a deputation to Delhi? If it is nothing of advantage, then why do you clamour for it? Now, in the Constituent Assembly, when

this article, article 61 of the draft Constitution, came to be discussed, Mr. Muhammad Ali Baig Bahadur, representing the Madras Muslims, wanted to restrict the Ministry, restrict the Central Cabinet to 15 Members. Answering to the debate Dr. Ambedkar was very apologetic about it, and he said that it might be necessary to go beyond 15 since the functions of the Government might increase. Now that was how the matter was approached at that time, and naturally the amendment was not passed. However, nobody at that time was in favour of big Ministries and Dr. Ambedkar said that there might be some contingency. We do not also deny that in some cases the Ministry may be somewhat bigger than 15. I do not know what will be the size of the Central Ministry, because there are the dissidents, there are the factionals, there are the frustrated and there are the disappointed—so many categories are there and if they are to be accommodated, what will be the number, I cannot say.

SHRI P. A. SOLOMON (Kerala): 101.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Well, I do not know. But why is it so? I would ask. When we were in the Government of Kerala we had only 11 Ministers; we abolished the posts of Deputy Ministry, Parliamentary Secretary, and so on. Even now Madras has got a smaller number of Ministers. It is no partisan question. So why are you having such things? What exhibition you are making before the country, I mean this Government, this ruling party, which is in doldrums because of its factional squabbles and so on, because of its internal dissensions? And why this internal problem of the Congress Party should be solved in this manner, at the cost of public exchequer, is something which I would like to know from the Prime Minister of the country. I am told he is advising.

SHRI SATYACHARAN (Uttar Pradesh): I believe what the hon. Mem-

ber says refers to the States, and he is also imputing motives for the formation of Ministries there, according to his own judgment of the matter. They have got the right to form Ministries as they think best. I say it is a State subject and it will be unjust to attribute motives to such an action.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You better sit down please. I know it is a State subject—the Constitution is there. Ask your Prime Minister—he is giving advice on the telephone.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAJISUL HASAN): The hon. Member will please address the Chair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But he is so very attractive that it takes away your attraction also.

Now, I say this is entirely wrong. My quarrel here is this; this is what is happening—this scandalous exhibition. I think the Prime Minister should exercise his influence and authority to put a stop to this kind of thing, and let us see whether they can get on with smaller-sized Cabinets and so on. Otherwise, the number is so big right at the beginning that after five years what it will be, nobody can say—I have my fears. I have calculated it. They will have normally in the States about 1,700 M.L.As. out of them nearly 500 to 600 will have become Ministers, Deputy Ministers or Parliamentary Secretaries.

4 P.M.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: May I enquire from the hon. Member what is the size of the Kerala State as compared to U.P.?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: U.P. is big-sized in every matter. It has become too flabby for democracy to manage. There, I say, have less Ministers and you will have some of the problems solved.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR (Madras): On a point of information. Sir, Madras State, which has a population of about

[Shri N. M. Anwar.]

three crores has only eight Ministers. U.P., I understand, has a population of seven crores and, I think, on that basis the Ministry should not be more than seventeen.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, if you have a State of the size of Sahara, then the size of Sahara will be very big. We are not concerned with all that. What we are concerned with is that you are doing it for factional reasons and the newspaper headlines tell this.

The meeting at Mr. Kamlapati Tripathi's house was not to discuss about the size of Uttar Pradesh or what should be the number in the Ministry. The question was how many people from his group should go. This is the question that was being discussed. Now, Sir, I do not want to dilate upon this thing any more.

(Time bell rings.)

Then, Sir, I want to raise one or two matters. My time has been taken unnecessarily. I have just started. I want to speak just on one or two matters. I do not want to speak very much on anything.

Sir, the question of Kerala was raised. Yesterday in another place when the matter was brought up by way of an adjournment motion, the Prime Minister seemed to have lost his temper and said that it was preposterous to have tried an adjournment motion on that. What happened in 1958 and 1959 when every other day adjournment motions were brought forward in the other House when the Communist Party was in control of Kerala? It seems that the Prime Minister liked those adjournment motions and he was very happy that they were being brought forward. And not only that, he sent somebody, Mr. Dhebar, to go there and discover and invent a sort of shift of the masses away from the Communist Party and the High Command gave its blessings to the

'direct action' movement. Why suddenly he felt so unhappy and annoyed we do not understand.

Now, Sir, the question before the Prime Minister in this connection is if the verdict of the electorate of Kerala has gone against the unholy alliance of the Congress and the P.-S.P., which has got only 6 seats as against 10 seats by the Communist Party and others of the Front, and while the Congress has received winning majority only in 42 out of 126 Assembly constituencies, I would like to know whether the Prime Minister does today recognise the shift of the masses away from the Coalition Ministry in Kerala? If so, let him recognise it and say so and tell us what advice he has given to the Coalition Government in Kerala. He called Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, our colleague, who was then the Chief Minister of Kerala, and advised on the basis of the invented shift of the masses that he should resign or should go in for mid-term election. May I know today from him what advice he has given to Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai or those who are the rulers—he is the prince consort—or the other gentlemen Mr. Shankar and Mr. Chacko? Has he asked them to resign and go in for mid-term election to acknowledge the shift that has taken place? We do not want Prime Minister's blessings for direct action. We do not mean any such thing but we would at least like double standards to go. Play cricket in this matter in terms of your own Constitution . . .

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND (Madhya Pradesh): Is the hon. Member aware that the results of the Assembly constituencies do not always go the same way as the results of the Parliamentary constituencies? As would be seen from the results of so many seats, what he is contending is not correct.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know, Madam, that is so but at that time when you discovered a shift there was not even a Parliamentary election. It

was discovered in Jantar Mantar Road which was to be belied when the elections came, when we got 1:2 million votes more than what we got last time. Therefore, you will understand . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: You can bring forward a no-confidence motion in the Assembly.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: A no-confidence motion will not work because you will maintain that Government. Therefore, Sir, in fair play I say the Prime Minister should not play double standards. The world is looking at it. There should not be one set of rules when the Congress is in power and another set of rules when the Opposition gets into the other side and the Congress is in opposition. It should not be as if heads I win, tails you lose. The Prime Minister is pursuing exactly this policy in this matter.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL (Punjab): On a point of order, Mr. Vice-Chairman. Is it not the usual practice in this House and in the other House that when an hon. Member is not present he should not be attacked? My hon. friend is constantly referring to the Prime Minister who is not present in the House. If he wants to say anything about the Prime Minister he can do so when he is present. He could easily turn round and charge the Government for all the things then.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Here it is not a point of order at all. In that case all the Ministers should be sitting here when we speak. I am speaking about the Government, and the Government is represented. When we speak about the Iron and Steel Minister you point out to the Minister of Rehabilitation. The Prime Minister is represented here. Here again, Sir, double standards.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL: It is the Government that has to be charged . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You know it very well.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL: . . . May I inform my hon. friend that it is the Government that has to be charged and not any individual Minister. When my hon. friend is referring to the Prime Minister he is really going out of his way to do a thing which is not permitted.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am very much in my way. I am charging the head of the Government of India, the Prime Minister of India, of applying double standards in the matter of Kerala. That is what I am charging and I shall continue to do so till he recalls what he did in 1959 and applies the same standard, take note of the verdict of the people expressed in terms of the Constitution of the country that a shift has taken place in reality against the Coalition Government which has lost all moral and material right to continue in office and that as a member of the Government and as head of the Government of India he should advise the President on the one hand to take care of the Constitution and the Kerala Ministry's Chief Minister should be asked to resign from the office. This is all I have to say.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL: Would it not be relevant for my hon. friend to ask his friends in Kerala to bring forward a no-confidence motion against the Ministry there? Then he will have the verdict of the people.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I shall certainly do so but you did not, at that time in 1959, advise your friends to bring a no-confidence motion in Kerala because you knew the fate of such a thing. You sent your Prime Minister to discover a shift against the Communist Party and advised the President to dissolve the Government, used your extraordinary emergency power and played ducks and drakes with the Constitution of the country. Therefore, let us not talk in this way.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): The hon. Member should continue to address me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I would very much like to but Diwan Chaman Lal . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): In your emotion you always forget to address the Chair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I think, Sir, in that case you put me in a strait jacket. Sir, this is one thing I do not want to say. It is not a question of Government or not Government. We are not trying to . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): You have already taken seven minutes more than your time. Just two or three minutes more. Please finish in another three minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: One or two things let me point out.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): Just three minutes more.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, no. Let me finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): No. I cannot give more than that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Anyway I wonder why you should not be generous to me. Please give me a little more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): There is a long list of persons who have to speak.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): Please try to finish in five minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Minus the interruptions. Anyway, Sir, here is a photograph of Pandit Girdhari

Lal, Chief Priest of the Lakshmi Narain Temple, performing the *puja* ceremony at Safdarjung Airport prior to inauguration of the Indian Airlines bi-weekly service to Haldwani on Tuesday, and in the picture you see the Home Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. I do not know whether the airworthiness of aircraft depends on a high priest coming and chanting *mantras* there. I am not raising these things just for the sake of fun. Is it not a direct intrusion of religion into State functions? Why should the Home Minister have associated with this kind of thing and brought the high priest of Lakshmi Narain Temple to participate in the inauguration of the flight which was an official function?

AN HON. MEMBER: It is a lie.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The photograph does not lie and certainly a photograph from the *Statemen*, according to the Government, would not lie at all, and I do not know if this photograph is hung up in the priest's house or the Home Minister's house, but it is there. Here is another example I have given. (*Interruption*) Diwan Chaman Lal unnecessarily diverted my attention.

Here is an election pamphlet by Shri Asoke Kumar Sen published in Bengali. It has many pictures and in the pamphlet there he is talking with the President. I at once drew the attention of the Prime Minister and the President, especially of the President, that the picture of the President was being used by the Law Minister in his election pamphlet, a thing unprecedented in this country. No Union Minister has ever done it or in England nobody ever did it. The picture of the Crown is not used by Ministers in their election literature. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): Please do not interrupt. Let him proceed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now, this is the thing. I sent it to the President and the President was good enough to ask for the pamphlet and I sent it to him and the matter was under his consideration. I got a telegram and the telegram is also with me, received on the 20th. But before it was considered, Mr. Sen rushed back here and met the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister wrote me a letter which is here, dated the 20th stating there was nothing wrong in it. That is to say, he has given judgment even when the matter was under the consideration of the President. I do not object to his giving his judgment on it privately to me. But on the 23rd the letter of the Prime Minister was published in the Calcutta newspapers. I sent another telegram to the Prime Minister asking: How is it you publish my letter? And he wrote me another letter, dated the 23rd which is also here with me, saying: I did not publish it, may be Asoke Sen has done it. Just imagine, when the thing is before the President, under his consideration, the letter of the Prime Minister is published, the letter written to me by the Prime Minister, either without referring to the Prime Minister and securing his consent—of which the proof is the Prime Minister's own letter—or seeking my consent, and it is published in the newspapers.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF REHABILITATION (SHRI P. S. NASKAR): Your letter to the Prime Minister was . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Anyway, I am not the Law Minister and you cannot interrupt here. Are you representing the Government? Here is a Deputy Minister representing the Government, representing the Prime Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): He is a member of the Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore, Diwan Chaman Lall's point is met here.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Take it gracefully. If your candidate was defeated, take it gracefully.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am on the constitutional propriety of it. The letter says:

"I am sorry that the letter was published in this way without reference to me. As far as I remember, however, the letter was not marked 'Confidential' or 'Personal'. The letter I sent to you was not released by me to the Press. I sent a copy of the letter to Shri Asoke Sen for his information as it concerned him. It is possible, though I don't know, that my letter got to the Press in Calcutta."

This is what the Prime Minister wrote on the 24th. He is a good man and he wrote this thing. My constitutional points are two. First of all, the photograph of the President should not have been utilised by the Law Minister in his election literature. Secondly, having done it and when the matter was referred to the President the Prime Minister should not have given his opinion immediately, for expediting the election campaign, and even if he did it privately to me in a sealed letter, the Law Minister should not have published that letter of the Prime Minister in the Press, without taking the Prime Minister's consent or without referring to me. I do not know whether he took the President's consent, but the letter from the Secretary to the President which is with me, would suggest that the matter is still under his consideration, and he is asking for material and so on. Here is the telegram. So, Sir, these are improper things.

Then the last point I want to touch upon is this. Here is another pamphlet of the West Bengal Government—no, not the Government, but it is by the Congress Party. It is a big thing distributed free. Now they say to everybody: Do not bring in religion.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

But here is this document. I will give it to them. Here is this document which . . .

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: But what is the . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Please don't get excited. You know it very well.

(Time bell rings.)

Here it contains religious appeal, I say, and the . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): Please stop now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You don't allow me to finish my sentence?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): No, no. Do not put the last straw on the camel's back.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But, Sir, the . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): No, no. You have been given fifteen minutes more. Do not let it be the last straw on the camel's back, I say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let me finish the sentence.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): All right. Finish it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Just a minute. I am not concerned with what you are saying about us or about communism, but here the appeal is made to the voters in the name of religion and Communists are called atheists, which the Congress Party should not have done. It is published by the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee and given in the name of the President of the Congress. At least we expect the Congress Party not to seek the voters' votes by calling the Communists atheists, by saying that they do not believe in religion. That should be left to the Jan Sangh and other parties.

Lastly one more point and I finish. Sir, the elections have been discussed. You are concerned about them and I am also concerned. As far as the Congress Party is concerned everybody knew that it would be returned here. Everybody knew it. Were we in doubt about that? No. But what should cause concern in the country is the growth of the Jan Sangh and communal parties and reactionary parties like the Swatantra Party. And in the elections it is disturbing that even in the Prime Minister's own place the Congress votes declined by 37 per cent, and the ground has been gained largely by the Jan Sangh. It is a serious matter which should cause serious thinking on the part of those who stand for progress. Here I am with the hon. Member Diwan Chaman Lal and I say I am against communalism. But this should be discussed. It is no use trying to waste your eloquence on the fact that the Congress got so many votes and so on. (Inter-rptions.) Everybody knows that. Again they are taking away my time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): Let him proceed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You also, Sir, tried to refer to this point and you were, I think, trying to develop the point. I think this subject we should discuss and these elections should be a reminder to the nation that we should not be complacent about either communalism or right reactionary forces, like those represented by the Swatantra Party. We know we have quarrels with the Congress Party. We stand, broadly speaking, with all progressive-minded people and against communalism and for barring the way to the emergence of right reactionary forces. The discontent of the people is being exploited by these forces in order to make a come-back here. They want to be the first party—what I don't know—in the Opposition. But this is the position and therefore, you must take note of its developing. Here it is no use trying just to accuse Shri:

Rajagopalachari. I entirely agree with the Congress Party that the maharajas and ranis are out-dated and so on. I agree. But what happens when these maharajas and ranis become the Congress Party candidates and fight the elections with the Congress tickets? Would it be that if Shri Jawaharlal Nehru rode in a 1910 model Ford car it would become modern and up-to-date, and when Rajaji rides in it it becomes out-dated or back-dated and an old-fashioned car? It is not so. Therefore, I think the Congress Party giving tickets to the rajas and ranis in the country has encouraged the rajas and ranis elsewhere and that public feeling that should be created against the emergence of these people, these feudal interests and so on, into the political life of the country, is somewhat frustrated by the fact that the ruling party in the country which stands for secularism and whose leaders speak often against the rajas and ranis, itself backed the rajas and ranis.

I am not afraid of them just at the moment because I know they are not in a position to come. But it will be a serious situation in the country if the Swatantra Party were to occupy the treasury benches. It would be a terrible thing. What I am afraid of, Sir, is that if they become strong in the country they will . . .

SHRI SONUSING DHANSING PATIL (Maharashtra): How much time is he going to take?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do You belong to the Swatantra Party?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): Please sit down. He is just finishing.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, Sir, it is a new point and you will appreciate it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): No, it is no new point. Please finish.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is an old one, because we think alike. What really matters is that we should think in this connection. We know that there is little danger of their taking over the administration. But within the Congress Party they have got many Swatantrites and from there they will try to put pressure on the Congress Government in order to push backwards, in order to push the wheel back, in order to modify the policies of the Government in a reactionary direction and in order to prevent the assertion of the progressive forces from both sides. This danger is there and it is a danger to the democratically minded people within the Congress Party and it is a danger to us and to the country.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: But the C.I.P. has . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): Please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: So let us discuss this question. The problem of communalism should be seriously discussed and in one of my letters to the Prime Minister I pointed out about that pastoral letter in Kerala and he was good enough to denounce that short of thing, the issuing of that pastoral letter in Kerala saying what else could be done.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): No no. You should now stop. You have got to sit down now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But Sir . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): No, no. I will not allow you any more time. Please sit down. Not a word more. You have exhausted my patience altogether.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will sit down.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): You never accept my advice.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You give the advice.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): I have been giving you advice all the time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will accept it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): You should now sit down. Not a word more. Please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): You have got to obey. No, no. Please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will obey, but you will not get our co-operation in future. I sit down.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): Thank you. Now, if you like, I will give you one minute. You don't sit down when I ask you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Would you have done the same thing when they speak? Suppose the Minister was speaking. This is the way you treat the Opposition? All right; you do it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): Anyway . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Anyway, this is not how you should treat the Opposition, in this manner, and the country should know it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): You never listened to me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I would obey you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): I advised you time and again.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I point out to you—you were not in the

Chair—yesterday the Ministers concerned were not there in the House and we had to wait for three minutes for a Minister to come here? It was because he was a Minister whereas if it is the Opposition just for one sentence, for one minute or two minutes you take this attitude. You can do it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): You don't hear my advice. You had only 11 minutes. You have taken 20 minutes more.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is not just a question of 11 minutes. I said I will take a little more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): When there is an arrangement you ought to stick to it. I can extend it just by a minute or two; not more. I have no power.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Have I complained against you?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): You had 11 minutes. You ought to have finished at four. Now it is 4:21.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Even before you occupied the Chair, I had told them that I will take a little more time. And you know, Sir, the interruptions came. You should consider that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): I always took that into consideration.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have done it but I do not like the manner in which you have asked us to stop. Anyway, I will wait to see anybody from the Chair controlling the Ministers. If you do not do it, we shall create scenes in this House to stop the Ministers. You can turn us out of the House.

SHRI SATYACHARAN: Before another speaker begins his speech, I would like to point out one thing. We, the Members of Parliament, feel extremely incensed and pained to see

that the hon. Member has behaved in this fashion. We all respect the Chair and if the hon. Member questions ... (Interruptions.)

It is a question of dignity and grace of Parliament and if there is any Member who is going to insult the Chair, he insults the entire House. We are there to take notice of it and we must express our opinion about it . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I now say that I did not at all mean any insult?

SHRI SATYACHARAN: . . . he should be named.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The hon. Member should not arrogate to himself the task of maintaining the dignity of the Chair. I know how to maintain it but rights are rights and duties are duties, and we here in the Opposition—maybe sometimes we are right, may be sometimes we are wrong—certainly would insist on what we in good faith consider to be our rights and it is for you to give directions.

SHRI SATYACHARAN: But you never . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will never be silenced by you. Sir, I may submit to you that when you said, 'Don't complete the sentence!' I argued with you but I did not proceed with the sentence any further. I only pointed out a precedent that only yesterday the House had to wait for two minutes for getting a Minister.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL: May I request you, Sir, to call the next speaker?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I agree with Diwan Chaman Lall but why should Mr. Satyacharan pretend as if he only has understood the dignity of the House and we are just trampling it under our foot? Sir, your dignity

is our dignity but we also have got a certain mandate from the people; may be we are right, may be we are wrong. You have got the correcting rod in this matter but not the hon. Member.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFI-SUL HASAN): I take the assurance from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta that he did not mean to show disrespect to the Chair and on that the matter ends but I will request him and all other Members not to behave in a manner that might give the impression to other Members that the Chair is not being properly respected.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I entirely reciprocate it, Sir. But I would also request you not to do anything which despite your good intention might give an impression to the country that the Opposition is being treated in a partisan way.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: The Opposition has been treated with generosity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFI-SUL HASAN): Mr. Joseph Mathen.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I support the motion of thanks moved by Shri Bhargava. I was thinking of saying something about water supply, agriculture, industries and some other subjects referred to in the Address but after the tall claims of achievements of the Communist Party in Kerala by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I think it is my responsibility to say something of what happened in Kerala during the last election. Sir, during the last election, the Communist Party, the Congress and some other parties contested the election. In the 1957 election the Communist Party got 9 seats out of the 18 seats and during the last election in 1962 the Communist Party could get only 6 seats out of the 9 that

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they had captured during the 1957 election.

About the popular support that he has been claiming I should like to bring to the notice of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta that during the 1957 election they could claim 37·4 per cent. of the electorate but during the 1962 election actually it has gone down to 33 per cent. So from the records we can see that the Communist Party has actually lost their hold, whereas the Congress which had six seats during the 1957 election could retain all the six seats during the 1962 election. Above all during the 1962 election we have seen a special feature in Kerala and that is the alliance of the Communist Party with the Muslim League.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Not at all. I strongly repudiate the suggestion.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: Even for the success of their top-ranking leader in the northernmost constituency they had to depend on the Muslim League. There the Muslim League could claim 90,000 voters and the Muslim League candidate was withdrawn and the Muslim League passed a Resolution to support the Communist candidate. Even though Mr. Bhupesh Gupta had been there on his electioneering tour and he had been all the time claiming that he would be preferred to fight other democratic parties to fight communalism in the country, he did not mention even a single word against the Muslim League. Whereas in the Kuttipuram by-election where the Muslim League had put up a candidate, the Muslim League had received . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I did mention . . . (Interruption).

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: He mentioned on the floor of the House that he was prepared to support a Congress candidate. So when there are such tall claims if we see the facts

and figures we can understand that even now the democratic forces in the State still hold a majority and they can easily show that they have the confidence of the people of the State.

Sir, even though the Communist Party had been talking a lot about moral standards and all that, they never respect moral standards because the Communist ideology itself does not give much respect to moral values. And here Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's speech on moral values reminds me of a speech on chastity by Lady Chatterley.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, it is obscene.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFTUL HASAN): Not the name of the book.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The High Court has ruled it obscene.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN: The Communist Party, whenever it wants to take advantage of any particular development, whether it is communal or not, it will appreciate it but whenever it goes to its disadvantage it will criticise it and summon all the forces in the country to join with it to fight this. Actually as far as the Communist Party is concerned, they cannot in any way claim any moral standards in this country and in politics whenever they fight the democratic forces they have double standards. Sir, I do not want to expatiate on what happened in Kerala and on the stand taken by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta during his tour there in Kerala but the fact is that the Communist Party as such is in alliance with the communal forces there in Kerala. As I said in the beginning of my speech, I wish to bring to your notice some of the essential needs of this country to which this Government will have to pay immediate attention. First of all—I am repeating it again—we have to think about drinking water for the people of our country. Even after

fifteen years of independence we cannot claim that we have supplied drinking water to the people of this country. Most of the people in the coastal areas and in the backwater areas are drinking saline water. In some other places a good number of people are even now drinking muddy water. Now, the Central Government will have to take the responsibility of supplying good drinking water to the people of the country, wherever they are.

In the same way, when we speak of agriculture have we have seen that in the agricultural front we could find a lot of development. It is appreciable that food crops in general have shown an upward trend, whereas the money crops have not shown that trend. In Kerala the most important money crop is cocoanut and for cocoanut cultivation unless we give long-term loans we may not be able to encourage the cocoanut cultivators. Cocoanut cultivation is a perennial cultivation and the medium and short-term loans that are given to food crops and the annual and biennial crops will not be suitable for the development of cocoanut cultivation. Again, as we give to the rubber plantations, for cocoanut cultivation we will have to give re-plantation grants so that we can have better gardens and better yield.

In the same way, nothing has been mentioned in the Address with regard to the development of fisheries. Fishery is a source of income to this country which is having a vast number of miles of coastal area and so many lakhs and lakhs of fishermen of this country depend on it. Unless we pay more attention to the development of fisheries and we spend more amount, at least proportionate to what we spend for agriculture, it will suffer. A big sum will have to be spent for the development of fisheries. Unless we form some committee or some board or some other official body to supervise the working and development of this section, we may not be able to handle it, as we expect it to

be. The money that is spent on this section will definitely contribute to the development of the country, single it goes direct to the humblest of men in the country.

Similarly, I wish to say a few words with regard to the educational system of our country. The educational system is revised every time and most often our children in the schools are treated as objects for our experiments. Here we do not have a scheme whereby we have completely accepted an educational policy for our country as a whole. In certain States they have now switched on to their regional language as the medium of instruction. I have been pointing out that it is a very dangerous indication. We, Indians, will have to have the same medium of instruction throughout the country and each and every State should not be permitted to have their regional language as the medium of instruction. Unless we have the same medium of instruction, a person from one State may not be able to go to another State or to go even to the capital. So, for the present, if we are not able to switch on to Hindi as our medium of instruction throughout the country, as should continue English as the medium of instruction throughout the country, so that we may have a feeling of unity even in educational institutions.

In the same way, I wish to point out our deficiency in the matter of technical education. Every year lakhs and lakhs of matriculates and graduates are turned out from the schools and colleges of most of the States, who are only suitable for some clerical job. Such persons should be given ample facilities for technical training. Even those matriculates and graduates, if they apply for technical training, should be given facilities for undergoing technical training in any institution that is organised either by the Centre or by the States. Generally, the State Government is now taking up the responsibility of organising the

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technical training, but it is quite inadequate. Unless the Central Government comes forward to aid, either by grant or loan, the State Government, the technical training scheme may not be successfully worked out.

With these few words, I support the motion.

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण (महाराष्ट्र) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे उम्मीद थी कि यहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के सम्बन्ध में कुछ चर्चा होगी, परन्तु मैं देख रहा हूँ कि हर एक को चुनाव सूझ रहा है और चुनाव के मुद्दे उखाड़ने की बातें यहाँ हो रही हैं। आशा थी कि चुनाव के बाद जो कुछ चुनाव में हुआ उसे हम भूल जायेंगे और आगे की सोचेंगे। मेरे पहले अभी भूपेश गुप्ता जी बोल रहे थे। सारे भाषण में उन्होंने राष्ट्रपति का नाम तक नहीं लिया और न राष्ट्रपति के भाषण को सम्बोधित किया। सारा शुरू से आखिर तक चुनाव के सम्बन्ध में बोलते रहे। पर यह तो सब जगह देखा जाता है कि जो हारता है, वह जीतने वाले को हर वक्त गालियाँ देता है। कहीं जाइये, नीचे से ऊपर तक, चुनाव में ही नहीं बल्कि यह तो एक बाज़ारू बात है कि जो हारता है वह जीतने वाले को हर वक्त दोष लगाता रहता है। कम्युनिस्टों की तो यह सदा से रीति चली आई हुई है कि जब वे हारते हैं, तब वे हाथ-पैर पटकते हैं और दूसरों को दोष लगाते हैं। तो मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि यहाँ यह कहना कि चुनाव में यह हुआ, वह हुआ, ठीक नहीं है। मैं तो सब भाइयों से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि चुनाव को आप भूल जायें और आप सोचें कि चुनाव में जो कुछ हुआ, उस को आगे सुधारना है। पाँच वर्ष के बाद फिर देखा जायेगा। आते पाँच वर्ष में हम एक दूसरे के नज़दीक आयेंगे और एक दूसरे से मुहब्बत से, एक दूसरे के विचारों की इज़ाज़त करते हुए हम अपना रास्ता आगे निकालेंगे।

इसके बाद मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि जो कुछ आज तक हमने प्रगति की है, आगे बढ़े हैं, यह सब कुछ ठीक है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने ठीक ही कहा है कि हर तरफ—अनाज को ही लीजिये—हमारी तरक्की हो रही है, रोज़गार, धंधे, उद्योगों को लीजिये, हमारी तरक्की हुई है। यह सब होते हुए भी मैं दो, चार बातें कहना चाहता हूँ।

जहाँ तक अनाज का सम्बन्ध है, आज अनाज की कमी नहीं है, परन्तु आप किसान से पूछिये कि क्या वह खुश है अनाज पैदा करने में? मैंने कुछ दिन हुए पढ़ा कि इस सीज़न के लिये गेहूँ की बाटम प्राइस १८ रुपये गवर्नमेंट ने मुकर्रर की है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि १३ रुपये मन आज गेहूँ मिल सकता है?

पंडित श्याम सुन्दर नारायण तन्खा :
१३ रुपया मन खाली पंजाब के लिये मुकर्रर किया गया है।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : पंजाब और यू० पी० दोनों के लिये किया है।

पंडित श्याम सुन्दर नारायण तन्खा :
यू० पी० के लिये नहीं किया गया है।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : अच्छा। आप ज़रा पूछिये तो कि १३ रुपये मन में किसान गेहूँ बेच सकता है। क्या १३ रुपये मन में उसकी उपज हो सकती है और क्या उसका खर्च निकल सकता है। तो इस तरह से किसान से बिना पूछे हुए, किसान की हालत को, किसान के खर्च को, बिना देखे हुए उसकी कीमत मुकर्रर करना जहाँ तक मैं देखता हूँ ठीक नहीं है। सीज़न से पहले ही . . .

SHRI P. C. SETHI (Madhya Pradesh): It is bottom price.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: Yes, bottom price. I know that.

आखिर में नतीजा क्या होता है बाटम प्राइस का? आप जानते हैं कि मध्य प्रदेश में गत वर्ष क्या हुआ? आज बाजार में गेहूं की प्राइस २० रुपये या २२ रुपये मन से कम नहीं है। तो जब आप बाटम प्राइस १३ रुपये मन रखते हैं तब किसान के दिल पर क्या असर होता है यह आप सोचियेगा। आपने कुछ वर्ष पहले तय किया था—दो वर्ष हुए—कि हम बुआई से पहले अनाज की प्राइसेज मुकर्रर करेंगे जाहिर करेंगे, ताकि किसान सोच सकेगा कि क्या बोना, मेरे लिये फायदेमंद होगा, परन्तु आज तक यह नहीं किया गया। उसका नतीजा यह होता है कि किसान सोचता है कि क्या बोऊँ और किसमें मुझे अधिक फायदा होगा। हर साल यह होता है और इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि कभी कपास की पैदायश बढ़ जाती है, कभी मूंगफली बढ़ जाती है, कभी गन्ना बढ़ जाता है। तो किसान को जब यह लगता है कि आती फसल में फलानी चीज का अधिक भाव होगा तो अंदाज़ लगाकर वह उसी को बोने लगता है। यह चीज ठीक नहीं है और इसलिये मैं कहूंगा कि इसमें 'क्राप प्लानिंग' की बहुत जरूरत है। जैसे जैसे हिन्दुस्तान में आबादी बढ़ रही है और अधिकाधिक अनाज की जरूरत है, वहां इसकी आवश्यकता है कि हम अनाज कितना बोयें और काटन या जूट या गन्ना कितना बोयें, इसके लिये क्राप प्लानिंग की सबसे अधिक जरूरत है, यह मुझे गवर्नमेंट से कहना है।

श्री सोनू सिंह धन सिंह पाटिल : आप उसे एग्रिकल्चर सेक्टर में लाना चाहते हैं?

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : हां, मैं जानता हूँ। हम सुझा सकते हैं। यहां एग्रिकल्चर के मामले में क्या होता है, यह तो आप जानते हैं।

इसके बाद, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में जो यह कहा कि अब पंचायत राज मेरी सरकार ला रही है, बहुत अच्छी बात है कि राजकीय सत्ता का, पोलिटिकल पावर का डीसेन्ट्रलाइजेशन हो रहा है, परन्तु जब तक इकानामिक डीसेन्ट्रलाइजेशन नहीं होगा, तब तक पोलिटिकल पावर का डीसेन्ट्रलाइजेशन करना, यह कोई बहुत फायदेमंद वाली बात नहीं है। और पंचायत के द्वारा जो पोलिटिकल डीसेन्ट्रलाइजेशन किया जा रहा है उसमें भी बहुत सी बातें सोचने लायक हैं। आज आपने देखा कि यहां पर चुनाव की चर्चा हुई। सभापति जी, खुद आपने ही अपने भाषण में कहा कि जातीयता बढ़ रही है। परन्तु जातीयता की जड़ कहीं है तो वह गांवों में है और खास कर के जातियाना पंचायतों के इलेक्शन्स में अधिक दिखाई देती है। यह स्वाभाविक बात है कि पंचायतों के चुनाव गांवों में होंगे और गांव भी अक्सर एक एक कुटुम्ब के बड़े हुए रूप हैं—वहां आपको एक ही जाति अधिकतर देखने को मिलेगी, दस पांच जातियां नहीं मिलेंगी। उसका नतीजा यह होगा कि जो छोटी छोटी जमातें होंगी उनको कोई मौका नहीं मिलेगा। इसलिये जहां तक पंचायतों का सवाल है, मैं तो सरकार से भी यही कहूंगा और अपने भाइयों से भी प्रार्थना करूंगा कि पंचायतों का इलेक्शन जहां तक हो सके एक मत से, यूनेनिमसली, होना चाहिये। वहां पार्टीबंदी नहीं होनी चाहिये, वहां पार्टीबंदी पहुंचेगी तो खून खच्चर होगा, जैसा कि एक वर्ष पहले यू० पी० में कई जगहों में हुआ। पंचायतों में आप अच्छी हवा पैदा करेंगे तो वह हवा ऊपर तक पहुंचेगी और वहां अगर हवा बिगड़ी तो ऊपर भी हवा बिगड़ जायेगी। इसलिये मेरी प्रार्थना है कि पंचायतों के बारे में यूनेनिमस इलेक्शन की ही कोशिश होनी चाहिये और यह संभव है। इससे गांवों के लोगों में एकता बढ़ेगी, परस्पर सहकार होगा, परस्पर प्रेम होगा, जैसा कि पहले था। पहले सब जाति के लोग वहां प्रेम से रहते थे। ब्राह्मण और चमार में आपन मे

[श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण]

सार्वत्रिक व्यवहार में कोई फर्क नहीं होता था। ब्राह्मण के घर में कोई विवाह होता था तो नीचे की कौम भी मदद करती थीं और ऊपर की कौम भी नीचे वालों की मदद करती थीं और एक-दूसरे का सहारा लेते थे। वह बात आज नहीं रही। इन इलेक्शन्स ने इतनी कन्प्यूजन पैदा कर दी हैं कि मैं आपसे कहूंगा कि पंचायत में यह बीमारी न पहुँचे और आप यह कोशिश करें—सभी पार्टियाँ इस बात का प्रयत्न करें कि जिससे पंचायतों का इलेक्शन यूनेनीमसली हो और उसमें यह पार्टीबन्दी न पहुँचे।

सिंचाई तथा विद्युत् मन्त्री (हाफिज मुहम्मद इब्राहीम) : यूनेनीमसली कैसे होगा, जरा बताइये।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : मुझे पन्द्रह मिनट में खत्म करना है, मैं फिर आपसे कहूंगा। आज भी आप देखेंगे कि बहुत से प्रदेशों में यूनेनीमस इलेक्शन पच्चीस परसेंट तक हुआ है और कई जगह मैंने देखा, बिहार और अपने प्रान्त में, कि ऐक्ट में यह प्रोविजन है कि जहाँ यूनेनीमसली इलेक्शन होगा, वहाँ कुछ स्पेशल कन्सेशन्स होंगे। उसके लिये कुछ अधिक कन्सेशन्स वगैरा ऐसी बहुत सी बातें हैं जिनके जरिये यह हो सकता है। यह बात नहीं है कि वह न हो सके।

आदरणीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में इस बात की खुशी दिखलायी है कि अब हम छः से ग्यारह वर्ष के लड़के और लड़कियों की प्राथमिक शिक्षा कम्पलसरी और फ्री करने जा रहे हैं। खुशी की बात है, जो बात आज से पांच दस साल पहले हो जानी चाहिये थी; वह हो रही है : better late than never. परन्तु मैं देख रहा हूँ कि अभिभाषण में लिखा है कि छः से ग्यारह वर्ष तक की उम्र के जितने इस देश में लड़के हैं उनमें से सैकड़ा ६० लड़कों के लिये व्यवस्था

की जायेगी और लड़कियों की सैकड़ा ६२ की होगी। यह फर्क मैं नहीं समझा। यदि आपको कम्पलशन करना है, तो पहले लड़कियों के लिये कीजिये, ताकि आगे आपके बच्चों की अच्छी तजवीज हो सके। आप लड़कियों के लिये कम की और लड़कों के लिये ज्यादा की तजवीज रखते हैं, तो फिर वही आपत्ति पैदा करते हैं, जो आज तक होती आई है। इसलिये मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि कम्पलशन करता है तो पहले सेन्ट परसेन्ट लड़कियों के लिये कीजिये और बाद में लड़कों के लिये, तो भी उसमें कोई बहुत असुविधा नहीं होगी। जब आप छः से ग्यारह तक के बच्चों के लिये शिक्षा कम्पलसरी करते हैं, तो हो सके तो दोनों के लिये एक सा रखियेगा और यदि किसी कारण से, आर्थिक कारण से, दोनों के लिये आप बराबरी से नहीं रख सकते हैं तो लड़कियों के लिये पहले रखिये और लड़कों के लिये बाद में। इसके साथ मुझे एक बात और कहनी है, छः से ग्यारह वर्ष के लड़के लड़कियों के लिये प्राथमिक शिक्षा देना आवश्यक है, परन्तु आप जानते ही हैं कि लाखों बच्चे इतने गरीब घरों के होते हैं कि वे स्कूलों में जा नहीं सकते। स्कूलों में जाने के लिये उनके पास पहनने की कपड़ा नहीं होगा, उनके पास स्लेट नहीं होगी, उनको पूरा खाना नहीं मिलता होगा। और जब तक आप ऐसे गरीब लड़कों के लिये, खास कर आदिवासी, हरिजन और बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के लड़कों के लिये दोपहर के खाने की तजवीज नहीं करेंगे और उनकी पाटी पेन्सिल की तजवीज नहीं होगी तब तक आपका यह प्रयोग, एक्सपेरीमेन्ट, कामयाब नहीं होगा।

एक बात मुझे और कहनी है। आपके कांस्टिट्यूशन में यह डाइरेक्टिव दिया हुआ है कि इस देश में जल्दी से जल्दी हम नशाबन्दी करेंगे और हर वक्त कहा जाता है कि अब हम नशाबन्दी को बढ़ायेगे। परन्तु मैं देख रहा हूँ कि जो प्रदेश, जो राज्य जैसे कि महाराष्ट्र है, गुजरात है, मद्रास है, वे कर तो चुके हैं, परन्तु पूरे कामयाब नहीं हो रहे हैं; क्योंकि

आसपास के राज्यों में, सारे देश में नशाबन्दी नहीं है, और नशाखोरी होती है, इसलिये वे कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस का राज चारों तरफ सारे देश में होते हुए भी एक जगह एक न्याय और दूसरी जगह दूसरा क्यों होता है। नशा एक जगह बुरा समझा जाता है, दूसरी जगह नशाखोरी क्यों अच्छी समझी जाती है, यह समझ में नहीं आता। इसलिये इसका बुरा असर उन प्रान्तों पर भी होता है जहां नशाबन्दी है। मेरे बहुत से भाई कहते हैं कि महाराष्ट्र में प्राहिबिशन क्यों पूरा यशस्वी नहीं होता। उस सम्बन्ध में मेरा यह कहना है कि इस कारण से वह नहीं होता है क्योंकि सारे देश में प्राहिबिशन नहीं किया जा रहा है। सारे देश में प्राहिबिशन किया जायेगा तो मुझे उम्मीद है कि महाराष्ट्र में या मद्रास में यशस्वी तो होगा ही, साथ ही साथ सारे देश में यशस्वी होगा और गरीबों की और मजदूरों की भलाई इसी में है। इसलिये मेरी सरकार से प्रार्थना है, यदि कोई राज्य सरकार इस काम में सेन्टर से मदद चाहती है, खास कर जैसे कि बंगाल है, जो इस चीज के लिये तैयार नहीं होता, क्योंकि बहुत सा रुपया चला जायेगा, बहुत सी पैदायश चली जायेगी, और यह नहीं समझते कि अच्छे काम के लिये भले ही वह पैदायश चली जाय लेकिन दूसरी तरफ से आप उस को पैदा कर सकते हैं। महाराष्ट्र का मेरा अनुभव है कि जब से वहां प्राहिबिशन किया गया है, उस दिन से वहां की पैदायश बढ़ गई है। सोलह करोड़ रुपया जो नशे की दुकानों से मिलते थे, उसकी जगह ३० करोड़ ६० की पैदायश वहां बढ़ गई है। तो यह पैदायश घटने वाली नहीं है, कुछ हिम्मत करनी चाहिये। परन्तु यह पैसे का लालच है या और किसी बात का लालच है, यह कहना मेरे लिये मुश्किल है। मैं तो यही निवेदन करूंगा कि यदि आप सारे देश में जल्दी से जल्दी प्राहिबिशन लाने की कोशिश करेंगे तो आप बम्बई के साथ, यानी महाराष्ट्र के और मद्रास के साथ न्याय करेंगे।

एक बात और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि गरीबी कम हो रही है, यह कहना बहुत मुश्किल है, साथ साथ बेकारी बढ़ रही है। आप सब जानते हैं कि तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की किताब में लिखा हुआ है कि यह बेकारी बढ़ रही है और बेकारी बढ़ने के कारण जनता देहातों से शहरों की तरफ दौड़ रही है। शहरों की आबादी बढ़ रही है और शहरों में रहने के लिये घर नहीं हैं। शहरों में हजारों लोग फुटपाथों पर सोते हैं। बम्बई और बड़े बड़े शहरों में स्लम्स की तादाद दिन पर दिन बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है। हम यहां पर तजवीज करते हैं कि स्लम्स की तादाद कम हो, परन्तु स्लम्स की तादाद तब ही कम होगी, जब देहातों से लोगों का शहर में आना रुक जायेगा। जब तक लोगो का शहर में आना नहीं रोका जाता तब तक हम शहरों में स्लम बढ़ने से नहीं रोक सकते। सन् १९५१ में देश में ७५ ऐसे शहर थे, जिनकी आबादी एक लाख से ऊपर थी; परन्तु १९६१ की जनगणना से यह मालूम होता है कि देश में ११५ ऐसे शहर हो गये हैं, जिन की आबादी एक लाख से ज्यादा है। इस का मतलब यह हुआ कि एक लाख से ऊपर के शहरों की आबादी ५० टका के हिसाब से बढ़ती चली जा रही है। इस का मुख्य कारण यह है कि देहातों में लोगों के लिये कोई न धन्धा है और न किसी प्रकार का कोई नया रोजगार है। जब उन्हें देहातों में कोई उद्योग नहीं मिलता है तो वे शहरों की ओर दौड़ते हैं। देहात में जो पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं, जो देहात के लिये आवश्यक है, जो वहां पर सुधार कर सकते हैं, वे सब देहातों से निकल कर शहरों की ओर रोजगार की तलाश में चले जाते हैं और इस तरह से शहरों में स्लम्स बढ़ते ही चले जा रहे हैं। शहरों में स्लम्स खत्म नहीं होंगे, बल्कि हमें यह प्रयत्न करना चाहिये कि देहातों से जो लोग रोजगार के लिये शहरों की ओर जाते हैं, उन्हें देहातों में ही रोजगार

[श्री देवकीनंदन नारायण]

देकर शहरों की ओर जाने से रोका जाय । जब तक हम इस दौड़ पर कोई बन्धन नहीं लगाते, कोई मर्यादा नहीं डालते, तब तक हम इस चीज में कामयाब नहीं हो सकते हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री नफीसल हसन) : अब आप का समय खत्म हो चुका है ।

श्री देवकीनंदन नारायण : मैं दो तीन मिनट में अपना भाषण समाप्त कर दूंगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री नफीसल हसन) : आप दो तीन मिनट ले सकते हैं ।

श्री देवकीनंदन नारायण : आखिरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि चुनाव की चर्चा इस सदन में काफी हुई । चुनाव में कांग्रेस की जीत तो हुई और यह स्वाभाविक ही था कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने हम लोगों को बधाई दी, क्योंकि मतदाता ने अपना मत देकर पांच वर्षों को सरकार के किये काम पर अपनी पसंदगी की मुहर लगा दी । परन्तु इस जीत में कुछ हार भी दिखलाई देती है । आज आप चारों तरफ देख लीजिये, चुनाव में भी देखा होगा और चुनाव के बाद भी देख रहे हैं कि आज देश में एक विचित्र चित्र दिखाई दे रहा है और ऐसा डर लगता है कि कहीं इस जीत में हार तो छिपी नहीं है, क्योंकि हमारी एकता टूट रही है ।

आज हमें पहले यह देखना है कि नेशनल यूनिटी और नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन का हाल क्या है ? अगर देश में नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन नहीं होगा तो हम राष्ट्रीय एकता नहीं ला सकते हैं । यदि हम देश में राष्ट्रीय एकता नहीं ला सकेंगे तो हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना और जितनी बातें देश को आगे बढ़ाने की हम कर रहे हैं, वे सब खत्म

हो जायेंगी । इसलिये हमारी सरकार को, हमारे नेताओं को, हमारे मिनिस्ट्रों को और सब को अपनी ताकत इस काम में लगा देनी चाहिये कि देश में जल्द से जल्द नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन पैदा हो । नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन के बल पर ही हम अपना रक्षण कर सकते हैं और अपने प्लानों को यशस्वी बना सकते हैं । बिना नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन के हम आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते ।

नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन कांफ्रेंस के बाद हर एक प्रदेश में कुछ थोड़ा काम हुआ और इसके बाद ही देश में आम चुनाव सामने आ गये । आम चुनावों के लिए सब पार्टियों ने एक आचार संहिता बनाई और उसमें कुछ बातें तय की गईं । लेकिन मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इस आचार संहिता को सब से पहले मेरे दोस्त कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी और जनसंघ के लोगों ने तोड़ा ।

श्री बी० डी० खोबरागड़े : पहले कांग्रेस ने तोड़ा ।

श्री देवकीनंदन नारायण : मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूं कि पहले आचार संहिता को हमारे कम्युनिस्ट और जनसंघ के भाइयों ने तोड़ा । रिपब्लिकनों ने तोड़ा ।

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: One instance I want.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: This is not the place to give you an instance. हमारे जो रिपब्लिकन भाई हैं, उन्होंने पहले तोड़ा और बाद में जनसंघ बलों ने तोड़ा । नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन के काम को हमें बड़ी गम्भीरता से करना होगा और गहरी नज़र से इस काम को देखना होगा । नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन के लिए हमें एक प्रयत्न नहीं, हजारों प्रयत्न करने होंगे और बगैर इस चीज को किये हम देश को आगे नहीं बढ़ा सकते हैं । इसलिए मेरी सरकार से और खासकर आदरणीय

श्री जवाहरलाल जी से यह प्रार्थना है कि वे ज्यादा से ज्यादा अपनी निगाह इस प्रश्न की ओर दें और इस देश में ऐसी हवा पैदा करें, ऐसा मूवमेंट शुरू करें, ऐसा एजिटेशन खड़ा करें, जिससे इस देश में नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन के काम में सब लोग लग जायें ।

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while discussing the President's Address, almost every Member has referred to the recent elections. Even Shri Deokinandan Narayan who objected to Shri Bhupesh Gupta's reference to elections could not control his feelings and passions, and he also has referred to elections. Naturally I would also like to deal with some of the aspects of the recent elections. Because every individual who believes in parliamentary democracy who desires that parliamentary democracy should be strengthened in this country and who desires that national integration should be achieved as early as possible, will definitely continue to think about the elections and about what has happened in the elections.

Sir, Shri Deokinandan Narayan has stated that the Congress Party has achieved victory in these elections. But I may mention here that the Congress has secured victory by adopting illegal and corrupt means.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: Question.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: One instance has been quoted by Shri Bhupesh Gupta. Even the personality of the President has been introduced in the election campaign. Actually the President is above all party politics. He should not be involved in any party politics. But no less a person than the Law Minister of the Government, Shri Asoke Sen, has published one book and he has printed the photograph of the President.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have got the book.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: The book is here. Shri Deokinandan Narayan, if you want you can read the book. Shri Bhupesh Gupta has got the book. Casteism is rampant. Everybody says that. Even the leaflets and the literature that have been published by the Congress Party refer to religion. And there is another book which has been produced by Shri Bhupesh Gupta. There are numerous instances. I will not quote many because the time at my disposal is very short. But I will quote only two very important instances. Shri Deokinandan Narayan said that the Republican Party was the first to break the code of conduct. He could not quote even one single instance. But I will quote now... (*Interruptions.*) Shri Kannamwar is the Health Minister of the Maharashtra Government; he is the Deputy Leader of the Maharashtra Government. While addressing an election meeting in the Katol constituency in Vidarbha, he said that the Samyuktha Maharashtra Samithi candidate was a *marwari* by caste and therefore nobody should vote for him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Shri Humayun Kabir sought votes in the name of the Muslim religion. (*Interruption.*)

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: In the same strain, even in a worse strain you did it.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Shri Kannamwar appealed to the people that they should vote for the Congress candidate because he was a Mahratta Kunbi by caste and that they should not vote for the opposition candidate because he happened to be a *marwari*, a candidate of the minority community. What has the Congress Government done? I will quote another instance. Dr. Panjab Rao Deshmukh happens to be a Minister of this Government. Sir, he addressed an election meeting—his own election. I would like to mention that

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the opposition party had set up Shri Gawai, a Scheduled Caste candidate there. While addressing a public meeting, Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh, the Agriculture Minister of this Government, said that the people should not vote for that candidate because he was *Mahar* by caste. He said, "Don't vote him."

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN:
Did you not quote Dr. Ambedkar every now and then?

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Is it referring to communal feelings, my dear friend?

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN:
Is it not the same thing?

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Dr. Ambdekar is not . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But how does it justify Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh's action?

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh referred to the *Mahar* community which is one of the Scheduled Caste communities in most derogatory and highly objectionable manner and said that the *Mahar* community had given up eating meat and therefore the prices of foodgrains had gone up. This is the argument, this is the logic, this is the reasoning of not an ordinary person, but of one Minister, and that too the Minister of Agriculture. He is giving the explanation as to why the prices of foodgrains have gone up. According to Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh it is because the *Mahar* community has given up eating meat. This is the propaganda done by the Congress candidate. There are numerous instances. I will not quote them, but two important instances of Ministers have been quoted.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE:
These are all fabrications.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Let the hon. Member institute an enquiry and I will produce the evidence, and prove that my allegations are correct.

We had amended the Representation of the People Act and made it an offence that if any candidate or any party indulges in communal or caste propaganda such candidates would be prosecuted and punished. May I know, when we have brought instances of this kind to the notice of the Government, what action has been taken by the Government against Shri Kannamwar and Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh for having indulged in communal propaganda in the elections, and if the Government cannot take any action why should Shri Deokinandan Narayan blame the opposition party members? If they cannot take any action, it clearly proves that the communal element, the caste element is being introduced by the Congress party and not by the opposition parties. Take the list of any State candidates set up by the Congress for Parliament or for the Assembly. The candidates set up by the Congress were set up on one consideration only, that was on caste consideration.

What about the money that has been spent? The Representation of the People Act has made a provision that no candidate should spend for the Assembly election in Maharashtra more than Rs. 7,000. In other States it is different. But in Maharashtra for the Assembly, no candidate should spend more than Rs. 7,000 and for the Lok Sabha more than Rs. 25,000. Now, my friend, Shri Patnaik, said that the Congress Party spent in Orissa Rs. 12 lakhs for 19 candidates. That is the party expenditure, and each individual candidate has spent more than Rs. 2 lakhs, Rs. 5 lakhs and in some cases Rs. 10 lakhs. Sir, it has been reported in a number of papers that the Congress candidates spent Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 lakhs.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: That is a good case. You can go to the Election Commission and get it modified.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: My hon. friend need not give me advice.

I know the question of going to the court is not important. We can do that. But if our people want that democracy should flourish in this country, and if we desire that there should be national integration then it is up to the Government and to our hon. friends to see that such things do not happen in the elections. It is not a question of going to an Election Tribunal with a view to setting aside an election. It is a question of the fostering of Parliamentary democracy in this country; it is a question of achieving the national integration in this country as early as possible.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: But your line of approach is worse than communal approach.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Well, if you want to ruin our country, I have nothing to say. Now let me proceed. Well, here are the instances that I have been quoting, but if you do not pay attention to this problem, then our country will be ruined, and in the interests of the nation I may say that the Government must look into all these allegations and enquire whether these allegations are correct.

Sir, there is another aspect of the elections. Now the Congress Party could poll only 45 per cent. votes, and with the support of 45 per cent. of the voters in this country they have secured 72 per cent. seats in the Lok Sabha. The Communist Party have polled 10 per cent. of votes but they have secured only 5 per cent. of the seats in the Lok Sabha; it is little less in proportion to the votes they have polled. The Swatantra Party polled about 8 per cent. votes, but the seats secured are 3 per cent. The same is the case with the Republican Party; the Republican Party polled about 2 per cent. of votes but secured less than 1 per cent. seats. Our country is divided into a number of castes and communities, and as I have pointed out, communal feelings are always exploited during the elections. Therefore, there comes the question of

minority and majority. In such an atmosphere, naturally it is difficult for the minority people to get their due representation if we have these single-member constituencies and this voting system. The Lok Sabha does not correctly reflect the opinion of masses. Therefore, I would like to suggest. If we want to give due representation to the minority communities and if we want that Lok Sabha should correctly reflect the opinion of masses, then the present voting system should be changed. We should have multi-member constituencies with cumulative voting system. Then only we shall be able to give proper representation to the minority communities, and the parties polling a certain number of votes will have proper and proportionate representation in the Lok Sabha and in the Assemblies. Therefore I would like to suggest that before the next elections this point should be considered and every effort should be made to have multi-member constituencies with cumulative voting system.

Then I would like to refer to another question. The President has referred in his Address to Indo-Pakistan relations. He has stated that "Indo-Pakistan relations have shown no signs of improvement." I am rather disappointed to read this sentence. Sir, it should be our responsibility and endeavour to maintain cordial and friendly relations with our neighbours. Unfortunately, as it is, even the relations between India and Nepal have recently become strained, whereas the quarrel between India and Pakistan is a long-standing one. But even then effort should be made to wipe out all the differences and to foster friendly and cordial relations between the two countries. Sir, we have solved all the problems that were outstanding between India and Pakistan. We have paid about Rs. 85 crores and solved the canal waters dispute with them. We have even given them Berubari—our territory. And so the only problem that is facing our country today is that of Kashmir, and effort should be made to solve this

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problem also. If I remember correctly, I had read in the papers that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, our Prime Minister, has made an offer to Pakistan suggesting that the issue of Kashmir should be solved by negotiations, and the proposal was—to solve the Kashmir problem—that Kashmir should be divided, the cease-fire line between India and Pakistan forming the basis for discussions between the representatives of India and Pakistan. It was unfortunate that President Ayub Khan of Pakistan did not accept the proposal.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: Pandit Nehru never said like that.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: You please read the papers. Recently I read that he has invited the President of Pakistan to visit India, and it is encouraging to note that the President of Pakistan has accepted the invitation and he will be visiting our country. Every effort should be made to solve the Kashmir issue on this basis. Long before, that is, about 10 or 12 years back, Dr. Ambedkar had suggested that we should have friendly relations with Pakistan and for that purpose we should solve the Kashmir problem peacefully by negotiations. He even suggested that Kashmir should be divided, the area of Muslim population going to Pakistan, and the area of Hindu population coming to India. The Republican Party has included this programme in its manifesto. I am glad to learn that, ultimately, after some 12 years of conflict and struggle, our Prime Minister has accepted this policy.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA (Madhya Pradesh): Not on the basis of the existing cease-fire line.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Whatever it be. What I am trying to say is that the policy of dividing Kashmir has been accepted by our Prime Minister, and where the actual line dividing Kashmir should lie, what areas should go to Pakistan and what to

India, are different questions—they can be settled during discussions and negotiations with Pakistani representatives. But I am glad to learn that ultimately our Prime Minister has accepted this policy, this line of action, and he is thinking in the direction of dividing Kashmir, and I hope that when President Ayub Khan comes here, our talks, discussions and negotiations with him will bear some fruit and that ultimately we shall be able to solve the problem of Kashmir and try to create friendly relations between India and Pakistan.

Sir, we have liberated Goa; it is really an encouraging thing; this had to be done. Actually, every other political leader in this country had stated that we cannot liberate Goa until and unless some military action is taken. But unfortunately no attention was paid to the advice given by almost all the party leaders in this country, great philosophers, politicians and statesmen. But ultimately our Prime Minister had to take that action, and ultimately it proved that the Goa problem was one that could not be solved by peaceful methods. If you wanted to liberate Goa, there was only one alternative and that alternative was military action. We are glad that we have liberated our brethren in Goa, and that now they will be part and parcel of this country. Here, what I want to know is this. What would be the political set-up in Goa? Would Goa be a separate State? Would it be a Centrally-administered area, or would it be integrated with some other adjoining State, Mysore, or Maharashtra? In my opinion the will or the opinion or the views of the people there should be taken into consideration. The view should be respected. But so far as I am concerned Goa cannot be a separate State. It will be too small and economically it would not be viable. Therefore, it cannot be a separate State. But then there are two alternatives. Either it can be a Centrally administered area or it should be integrated with some other State. Sir,

in my opinion, Goa should be integrated with Maharashtra. It should not be Centrally administered. Goa has linguistic, cultural and other ties with the State of Maharashtra.

AN HON. MEMBER: And Mysore also.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE: Very little. I do not think if there are many schools or other institutions which can show some sort of affinity with Mysore but there are hundreds of schools and other cultural associations and institutions which definitely indicate that the people in Goa have cultural associations and link with the people of Maharashtra. If we take into consideration all these factors, then in my opinion Goa should be integrated with the State of Maharashtra.

Sir, after the liberation of Goa, the world reaction to some extent was not favourable. There were a number of independent countries, particularly from Africa, which approved our policy with regard to Goa but there were a few exceptions where they could not approve our policy. I fail to understand why they should disapprove the policy which was adopted by the Government of India. I am particularly perturbed to know the reaction of some of the people in America. Sir, we have waited to liberate Goa for the last fourteen or fifteen years. Actually this portion of our country should have been liberated long before but we waited with patience, we negotiated with the Portuguese power but they could not come to any understanding with us and, therefore ultimately we had to take this step. Therefore, we have done nothing wrong in liberating Goa by military action. But the point that I would like to make is this. Our representatives abroad have done nothing to create a favourable reaction in favour of the action that we took in Goa and due to that failure we have lost the goodwill of some foreign countries. Therefore, in the next few days we should try to create goodwill in foreign countries, parti-

cularly in America. Because our development plans are there. We have to see that our development plans succeed, they do not fail for want of sufficient and adequate financial aid and support from other foreign countries. Only recently we have read in the papers that America would not be setting up the steel plant at Bokaro because of our action in Goa. If that is the reaction which was created in America we feel sorry for it. Therefore, our representatives in America and other Western countries should try to make people understand our point of view about the Goa action and convince them that whatever we had done was inevitable and was done as a last resort. If we can create such goodwill in foreign countries, then I am quite sure and confident that foreign aid will be forthcoming to help our country to develop industrially. Therefore, Sir, this point of view should also be considered and every effort should be made to create goodwill in other ways.

SHRI N. K. DAS (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I deem it a pleasure and a privilege to associate myself whole-heartedly with the Motion of Thanks that has been so ably moved by my friend, Shri Bhargava, in respect of the Address that was given to both the Houses of Parliament by the President the other day.

The Address very rightly touches upon our many achievements in several sectors of our national life. It also gives a correct picture of the position in which we have found ourselves internationally. That we have registered remarkable progress in stepping up agricultural production not only of food crops but all commercial crops and at the same time we have added to the industrial growth of our country by producing more iron, more steel, sugar, cement, etc., is a thing which will be disputed by none except those having perverted minds.

Sir, the figures indicated in the President's Address and also extensively quoted by the honourable mover

[Shri N. K. Das.]

of the motion constitute a conclusive proof of our achievements. Our achievements in the sphere of international politics have been no less remarkable. As a result of our Government's accepted policy of keeping aloof from the power blocs and maintaining an attitude of absolute neutrality; we have risen high in the estimation of all big nations of the world, and in spite of the pinpricks of our immediate neighbours, Pakistan and China, we have been forging ahead in playing a more and more effective role in the solution of world crises.

It is also an indubitable fact that our country under the leadership of our Prime Minister has on all occasions behaved in a manner which has added to the dignity and prestige of the world organisation, the U.N.O., while some of the big world powers, who call themselves the protagonists of the U. N. O., have on several occasions felt no scruples to sabotage the decision of the U. N. O. by pulling strings from behind. That India has always come to the rescue of the U. N. O. and courageously vindicated its authority, was admitted by no less a person than the late Mr. Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the U. N. O., a few days prior to his unfortunate death or assassination.

Sir, the liberation of Goa is an apt illustration of what I have stated above. India waited for long fourteen years for a peaceful solution of the Goa issue. This question was raised repeatedly in the United Nations Assembly and Portugal was called upon to end its colonialism there. The Salazar regime not only turned down the mandate of the U.N.O. but declared Goa to be part and parcel of their mother country and started a series of provocative actions against our country. India's patience came almost to a breaking point. Any further waiting and inaction would have amounted to cowardice and cowardice, according to the apostle of non-violence,

is a worse form of violence than naked violence itself. India had no other go but to send her armed forces for the protection of her nationals. The liberation of Goa was brought about with the minimum of violence conceivable. While the entire world acclaimed this action of the Government of India, the discomfiture of Portugal was too much for some of its NATO allies to accept the inevitable and unnecessarily a false alarm was raised by them for the time being. The passage of time, however, has allowed truth and justice to vindicate themselves and Portugal's NATO allies appear to have now become reconciled to the change-over. The way in which we have successfully handled and solved the Goa issue augurs well for the solution of our problems in respect of our relations with China and Pakistan. It is now only a question of time when we shall solve the Chinese and Pakistan problems to the full satisfaction of our people.

References have been made by some of the friends opposite to the general elections and they tried to black-mail the clear and unambiguous verdict of the general elections which have just ended. I am sorry that my hon. friend from Orissa belonging to the Ganatantra Parishad . . .

AN. HON. MEMBER: Not the Ganatantra Parishad but the Swatantra Party.

SHRI N. K. DAS: I mean the Ganatantra Parishad which has now merged itself into the Swatantra Party, that hon. Member made some unhappy and uncharitable remarks in his attempt to prove that the success of the Congress in the parliamentary elections was brought about by unfair means. I hold no brief for the Congress chief in Orissa, Shri Patnaik. But I have personally seen him work incessantly day and night and against heavy odds for the success of the Congress nominee. Personally speaking I do not subscribe to the common saying that nothing is unfair in love

and war. I do not know how much money was spent by the Congress in the recent elections there. But I have heard it said in certain quarters that Shri Patnaik, the Chief Minister of Orissa, made a statement somewhere to the effect that the Congress spent Rs. 12 lakhs in the elections. I have not tried to verify.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA: How are we concerned with Mr. Patnaik here?

SHRI N. K. DAS: I have not tried to verify this statement and so I am not in a position either to confirm or contradict this figure of Rs. 12 lakhs. I can, however, boldly contradict my hon. friend's other allegation that the official machinery was used during the elections in favour of the Congress nominee. I can say so boldly and freely in respect of my own district Balasore where I attended several election meetings and also attended meetings addressed by the Chief Minister. There was no official interference in the elections as such or in the electioneering campaign prior to the elections. (*Interruption.*) May I most humbly and respectfully say to my friend and his other colleagues of the Ganatantra Parishad, now merged into the Swatantra Party, that in my opinion they will be simply deceiving themselves if they think that their discomfiture in the recent elections was brought about by the influence of money. To say that huge masses of the people were influenced to vote for a particular set of people means an unmerited reflection on the electorate.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Votes you can buy.

SHRI N. K. DAS: The Ganatantra Parishad was an ally of the Congress in the twenty-two months old Coalition Government in Orissa and they broke away from that Coalition and parted company with their Congress colleagues, on the ground that they could not see their way to merge with

the Congress which is admittedly a national organisation of long standing. Some of us did not like this decision of the party at that time. But all the same, we respected their decision. But to our great surprise immediately prior to the last elections they had no scruples whatsoever in merging themselves completely with the Swatantra Party which is an anti-national and reactionary party.

AN HON. MEMBER: Anti-national?

SHRI N. K. DAS: Such frequent change of fronts does not behove a respectable political party and the electorate have taught them the only lesson that they deserve. It is therefore, no use . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): What about the P. S. P. and Communist allies of the Congress?

SHRI N. K. DAS: It is no use, therefore, charging the Congress with adoption of unfair means and my humble advice to my friends of the Ganatantra Parishad is that they will do well to desist from blackmailing the Congress or any other political party and turn the searchlight a bit inwards. With these words, Sir, I conclude my remarks. Thank you.

श्री पी० सी० सेठी : आदरणीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, तीन या चार मिनट का समय रह गया है और राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर मुझको विचार प्रकट करना है . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFIGUL HASAN): You may speak till 5.30 P.M. when the Budget will be presented. And then you can continue tomorrow. You may start your speech

श्री पी० सी० सेठी : राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण के सम्बन्ध में जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव इस सदन में प्रस्तुत है उसका समर्थन

[श्री पी० सी० सेठी]

करने के लिये मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अपने अभिभाषण में माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने कई बातों का उल्लेख किया है और उन बातों में से कई की तरफ इस सदन का ध्यान कई माननीय सदस्यों ने आकर्षित किया है। उन सब के बारे में कुछ विचार व्यक्त करना किसी भी एक सदस्य के लिये संभव नहीं है अतः कही हुई बातों में से कुछ की ओर तथा मेरी दृष्टि में अभिभाषण में जो बातें नहीं कही गई हैं उनके सम्बन्ध में कतिपय जो मुद्दे हैं उन की तरफ मैं आपके द्वारा सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में मजदूरों के और कारखाने के मालिकों के बीच में, चाहे वे निजी उद्योग के क्षेत्र हों अथवा सरकारी उद्योगों के क्षेत्र हों, औद्योगिक सम्बन्धों का उल्लेख किया है और बताया है कि उन उद्योगों में पिछले दिनों में काफी शांति का और समन्वय का वातावरण उद्योगपतियों के बीच में और मजदूरों के बीच में, कामगारों के बीच में रहा है। इस सम्बन्ध में यद्यपि राष्ट्रपति जी ने संतोष व्यक्त किया है तथापि मुझे इस बात का खेद है कि हाल ही में भोपाल में हैव्ही इलेक्ट्रिकल्स में जो एक हड़ताल हुई थी उसके सम्बन्ध में उनके अभिभाषण में कुछ नहीं कहा गया। कल जब कि उस हड़ताल का यहां उल्लेख हुआ था तो मेरे एक माननीय सदस्य जब यहां बोल रहे थे तब मैंने इस बात का उल्लेख किया कि वह हड़ताल एक राजनैतिक हड़ताल थी और उसका सम्बन्ध चुनाव से था। तब इस बात को लेकर उनको कुछ गरमी आयी थी

लेकिन बात जब सच होती है तब वह चुभ जाती है। और हकीकत यह है, माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कि भोपाल के हैव्ही इलेक्ट्रिकल्स में हड़ताल ऐसे समय आयोजित की गयी थी जब कि चुनाव सिर पर थे और उसका एक मुख्य मुद्दा यह था कि उस हड़ताल के द्वारा सरकार पर या हैव्ही इलेक्ट्रिकल्स के जो अधिकारी थे उन पर एक बजन डालने का सवाल था, लेकिन साथ ही साथ सबसे बड़ा मुद्दा यह था कि उस हड़ताल के द्वारा एक फायदा उठाने की जरूरत थी। चुनाव के लिये भोपाल की सीट को एक प्रेस्टिज सीट माना गया है और प्रेस्टिज सीट को लड़ने की दृष्टि से वह हड़ताल की गयी थी।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): You may continue tomorrow.

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1962-63

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT): On behalf of Shri Morarji Desai, 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.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI NAFISUL HASAN): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirty minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 15th March 1962.