

[Shri N. Kanungo.]

(iii) under sub-section (3) of section 48 of the Coffee Act, 1942, a copy of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry Notification G.S.R. No. 1221, dated the 18th December, 1958, publishing certain amendments in the Coffee Rules 1955. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-1185/59.]

ENQUIRY RE NOTICE OF A QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Sir, I tabled one motion calling attention to a letter written by Mr. Mathai to the Prime Minister. That is a question of privilege.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That has been done. I answered that yesterday.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: I would like to know from the Chairman whether it has been referred to the Privileges Committee.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It has been referred. I said that yesterday.

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO (Andhra Pradesh): I have got a submission to make. The bulletin that has been circulated by the Rajya Sabha Secretariat does not even mention that such a thing has been referred to the Privileges Committee, and neither any of the hon. Members knows what that letter contains. I request that the letter and the motion may be circulated.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That has already been done.

MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

MR. CHAIRMAN: We are not sitting through the lunch hour. Shall we sit today? What do you say?

HON. MEMBERS: No, no.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Then on the next two days, you have to sit through the lunch hour if you want to have as many people speak as possible.

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN (Madras): Sir, I beg to move that an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:—

“That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 9th February, 1959.”

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it was twelve years back that on the historic night of August 14, the British handed over power to the people of India amidst trumpets, fanfare, fireworks and rejoicing. Yet one person who was the prime architect of India's freedom, and who is the Father of the Nation, was not present in Delhi to participate in the rejoicing. He was walking on his lonely tour in Noakhali. When approached to say why he was absent, he was constrained to tell that the freedom that dawned on August 14 was the political freedom and that it was not the end of the journey. Political freedom was the means to an end and not the end in itself and he will be satisfied about the freedom only when the teeming millions of this country who were spread throughout the villages will be free, will be delivered from the evils of poverty, ignorance, unemployment and under-nourishment.

Today our leaders have been wise enough to undertake the great task of rebuilding this country and we have been going through systematised planning in the past one decade. It was in the year 1950 that the Government of India first thought of planning and introduced the First Five Year Plan. The First Plan, though a modest one, was a great success. The national income increased about 18% from Rs. 9,110

crores to Rs. 10,800 crores. Allowing for an increase in population, this meant a rise of 11% in the *per capita* income from Rs. 254 to Rs. 281. Yet we cannot forget the fact that there is wide-spread disparity between the income of a city dweller and a village dweller who is wedded to the poverty stricken land in the remotest village. The *per capita* income of an agricultural labourer is only Rs. 109 against the *per capita* income of our industrial labourer which is Rs. 265.

The First Plan laid emphasis on agriculture and in 1955-56 the total output of foodgrains was 65·3 million tons, four million tons more than the target of the First Plan. The area of irrigated land increased from 51 million acres in 1950 to 65 million acres by 1955. Yet in spite of our herculean efforts we find that the food problem continues to be the biggest problem of the country. Food problem has become the problem of problems—a never ending problem. Though the Second Plan has a predominantly industrial bias, raising the food output has become vital to the success of the Plan. Food continues to be the corner-stone on which the whole economic edifice remains. A targetted increase of agricultural production by 2 to 2·5% per annum has been found to be insufficient to support a large plan of economic development as that of ours.

The target in the Second Five Year Plan has been raised by 15·5 million tons of foodgrains i.e. a total output of 81 million tons by 1961. In the first three years of the Second Plan we have been able to achieve an additional production of only 6·6 million tons i.e. half the expected yield by the end of the Second Plan. In the past year due to adverse seasonal conditions we lost 9·8% of our total food production. It is gratifying to note that the President has made specific reference to this problem and the anxiety of the Government to pay the highest attention to it to solve the food problem.

The Prime Minister recently pointed out that the food production in the country must be increased and incentives given to the people in order to achieve the target. It may be, Sir, that we may be providing the agriculturist with irrigation, storage and other facilities, but still he needs the moral incentive. That is absolutely necessary today. The Indian National Congress which met at Nagpur has given a proper incentive viz. that the land must become the property of the tiller. The Government has been wise enough to say that there must be ceiling on land holdings. That is the greatest incentive that can ever be given. Ceiling on land holding and establishment of co-operative society in every village to give service to the cultivator will be a great incentive for production. Most unfortunately, even in this decade, people who are known to be having broad views, question the validity, the sagacity of having ceilings on land. It is most unfortunate that those very people who advocated the abolition of zamindaris, who were the first to run down the princes and abolish the kingdoms in this country are now against putting ceilings on land. Today when we have abolished zamindaris, when we have abolished big jagirdaris, when we have abolished the states, it will be an anachronism to have big landlords who have no right to exist. If we are going to have land holdings without any limitation it will be bringing back the zamindari through the backdoor, and it is in this context that we must give proper incentive to the labourer.

Today a great agitation is being carried on against the introduction of co-operative societies in the rural areas for stepping up food production. May I humbly submit, Sir, that the co-operative system is not going to eliminate the peasant proprietorship over the land. Even yesterday the Prime Minister said in a nearby village that by co-operative system it does not mean that the peasant will

[Shri T. S. Pattabiraman.]

lose his individual ownership, but for most of the lands that he owns in the village, that are not properly looked after for lack of facilities, he should be given incentive through the service co-operatives. Through the help of the service co-operatives the peasant will be able to get all his needs. He will be able to produce more and satisfy the country's requirements.

Similarly, Sir, when the ceiling is introduced in all the States, there will be surplus land available. The entire surplus land will not be given away to individuals who may not have the means to cultivate it. It will be given to co-operative societies in which the tiller will be an equal partner, an equal proprietor. He will have the necessary facilities. For the maximum cultivation of this land, we have to give the incentive to the cultivator. And the best incentive is to give them the necessary facilities through service co-operative societies. That is the object of the Government. I hope there will be no more argument about it, there will be no more opposition to it and the people will realise that the path of salvation lies in their co-operative effort and through co-operative effort alone we can achieve the targets. The increased food production has not commensurated with the increasing population of this country. The Census Commissioner has indicated that by 1961 our population might exceed 41 crores. So, there is urgent need to gear up food production in proportion to increased standard of living of the people and increasing population.

Often we find that the prices of foodgrains and essential commodities soar up. Today we cannot hide the fact that the prices of foodgrains and essential commodities are going up very high and they have gone beyond the reach of the common man. This may be a temporary phenomenon of short duration during non-seasonal periods but still there is a growing

feeling in the country that the Government should do something to stabilize the food prices so that the common man, the poorer man, the man in the remote village, will be assured of regular supplies of his foodgrains at reasonable prices all the year round. The President has indicated that rice production and *rab* wheat crop are likely to be very good but still we find from the nook and corner of this country that there is very great hardship in the matter of foodgrains and that the prices have not still appreciably come down. To supplement this, we have imported 2.74 million tons of foodgrains from abroad. Yet, if the prices soar up, the fault certainly lies not only on the machinery or inadequacy of foodgrains in the country but also elsewhere. We have been able to produce enough foodgrains, we have been able to store enough foodgrains but still due to the faulty distribution system the prices have gone up very high. It must be admitted that the blame for the rise in prices rests squarely, in part at least, on the commercial community, which stocks all foodgrains and then speculates in prices to earn the maximum profits. It is well known that the producer, the man in the village, who toils all the day and night, is not benefited by the rise in prices and he seldom realizes his money, but when their produce is brought to the market, the middle-man, the merchant, hoards it and he speculates in it and he brings up the prices and thereby profits by it. In this context, the Government is entitled to our congratulations and full support for their policy of State trading in foodgrains. Food must be kept above speculation and racketing and the best means of achieving it is by State trading only, not only in wholesale but also in retail. The Government should take courage in both hands and make itself fully responsible for the supply of foodgrains to the people at reasonable prices all the year round, even in the remotest villages. I earnestly request the Government not merely to be satisfied with procuring foodgrains

from the millers and the merchants but also to take up the distribution of the same through Government retail shops. These steps will bring down the prices of foodgrains and stabilise our entire economy. Further it will be a great incentive in pushing through the Third Five Year Plan also.

In the sphere of industry it is gratifying to note that we have made commendable progress, in the past 10 years. In the First Five Year Plan the rise in industrial output was more than 40 per cent., under the Second Plan, production was, almost in all principal organised industries, higher in 1956 and the index of industrial production rose from 122.1 to 131.7. We have reason to be satisfied with regard to the progress made in the public sector especially in steel and fertilizers. Yet, there is no room for complacency. Unless we increase the tempo of industrialisation, specially in basic industries, we will be nowhere near solving the unemployment and under-employment problem. We are still the lowest in the *per capita* investment in industries. India is Rs 250 per head, United Kingdom is Rs 250 per head, U.S.A. is Rs 400 per head. We have the lowest percentage of people in industry. India has got only 10 per cent, U.K. has 50 per cent, U.S.A. has 40 per cent, Canada has 30 per cent, the Union of South Africa has 20 per cent. The tempo of industrialisation would have been greater but for the foreign exchange crisis. Yet the outlook is bright and it is hoped that with the assistance of friendly foreign countries and international institutions we shall be able to fulfil our targets of the Second Five Year Plan with its emphasis on industrialisation.

The serious foreign exchange situation necessitated the re-appraisal of the Second Plan and the result was slashing the allotment of social services. Though it was a regrettable step, yet it was unavoidable. As our Prime Minister said, every village must have a school, a hospital and a

co-operative society and with the meagre allotment, the Health Ministry has done very well. Great epidemics like plague and cholera have become things of the past. The mortality rate has been brought down by 10 per every thousand in the past one decade and it is no mean achievement. It is gratifying to note that the Government will concentrate its attention in the next few years on eradicating small-pox, cholera and malaria which even now takes a heavy toll in the country-side.

A society is judged whether it is civilized or not by the number of educational and cultural institutions it has such as schools, theatres, libraries, etc. We can be rightly proud of our achievements in the field of education in such a short time. It is anticipated that by the end of the current year additional facilities for schooling will be 6 million in the age-group of 6 to 11, 300,000 in the age-group of 11 to 14 and 75,000 in the age-group of 14 to 17. Against the plan target of 2,34,000 primary teachers, the likely increase in the first three years itself is about 2,00,000. Elementary education in rural areas has made considerable progress. The Madras Government has given an additional incentive by means of providing free mid-day meals to poor children and making education free up to the eighth standard. If socialism is to be established and equal opportunity is to be a reality, education must be made absolutely free at least up to secondary school level. We are living in an age of technology and scientific advancement. The progress of a nation depends on the number of technicians such as doctors, engineers, scientists it produces. We have made good progress though still far from the achievements of countries like the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The allotment for technical education was raised from Rs 48 crores to Rs 57 crores. Provision has now been made to train 4,553 engineering graduates and 10,285 diploma holders every year. Eleven new Engineering Colleges have been opened and Higher Technological Institutions are to be set up at Madras,

[Shri T. S. Pattabiraman]
Delhi, Bombay and Kanpur and with the increased availability of technicians our industrial progress is bound to be greater in the coming years

We shall soon have the opportunity to discuss the report of the Official Language Commission. Whatever may be the recommendations of the above Commission, I am sure that its report will have the solid support of every section of this House. Language has today become most unfortunately a dividing factor in this country. The unity of the country is at stake and I am sure that linguistic fanatics will not wreck the ship of State against the rocks of their dogmas. The principle that Hindi should become the official language has been accepted by the country and the difference is only how and when to implement it. If fanaticism is going to be there, it will breed counter-fanaticism just as violence breeds counter-violence. Language, like food, cannot be forced down one's throat but must be allowed to be assimilated by the people. Similarly there should be no haste in discarding English which is one of the greatest languages of the world. It has been rightly said by the people coming from the South and from Bengal that there should be no haste in replacing English with Hindi. I am sure that the Government and the Parliament will give due consideration to the feelings of the people—of such a vast majority of people—in the country. We have profited by the English language and we should continue to profit by it till our languages become richer. I am sure that the Parliament and the nation will accept the wise decisions of our great leaders and profit by the same. Any short-sighted and narrow-minded agitation will weaken the foundations of this great country of ours and will endanger our economic progress.

Sir, India stands in high respect and esteem not only with other Governments of the world but their people, thanks to the policy of our beloved Prime Minister

The entire world is our friend and we have no enemies. We have stood for the highest principles and never deviated from them and this has won us the esteem of all. Our campaign for world peace though not totally successful, still has yielded limited results. We can be proud of our contribution in lessening tension in the world, whether it be in Viet Nam, Laos, Lebanon, Cyprus or Formosa. The horizon of peace recedes farther and farther and there seems to be no hope. Yet, our efforts to prevent nuclear war and production of nuclear weapons and preserve peace have attracted world-wide support and let us fervently hope that the world will be saved from mad adventurists.

If the past decade witnessed the decay of colonialism and exploitation in Asia, the stage is now set for the same in the great continent of Africa. In the past ten years, the As an countries have liberated themselves from the shackles of colonialism and many a country has become free. Today, the entire scene is changing and Africa has become the centre of our attraction. Racialism and colonialism are having their last-ditch battles in the dark continent of Africa. The African lion has at last woken up from its slumbers and mighty events are likely to happen there in the near future. The recent happenings in Algeria, the Belgian Congo, Madagascar, Kenya and South Africa are only symptoms of a deep-rooted disease. Colonialism and exploitation and racial subjugation have gone on for centuries and now the revolt has begun. The brave African people are up to assert their rights that have been guaranteed to them by the United Nations. No amount of violence and terrorism can perpetuate this subjugation. It will be good for them, the Western countries and the world, to realise sooner that Africa belongs to its people and that they alone can be the masters in their houses. The Indian people have already expressed their solidarity with the aspirations of the Africans and the tremendous welcome India gave to

Prime Minister Nkrumah is an indication of our solidarity with the aspirations and the struggle of the African people in their fight for their liberation.

We have successfully implemented the First Five Year Plan and are going to see through the Second Plan though beset with obstacles. We have made considerable economic progress though much has yet to be done. We have faced internal troubles, external troubles and we have also faced internal dissensions. Five years back, at the historic session at Avadi, the Indian National Congress accepted the socialistic pattern of society as our ultimate goal. At Nagpur, after having travelled four years on the road, we have come to the definite conclusion that democratic socialism shall be our ideal and it shall be the guiding factor of our country. Socialism has been accepted finally and there is no going back. The march towards full socialism is certain and all policies are directed towards the same. With this object in view, a more ambitious and a bigger Third Plan is in the offing. The people have felt the impact of the Plan and have given the fullest support. Yet, it is regrettable that the organised business community and the capitalist class have started a campaign against the Plan and the Government. In the past few months, you must have been aware, Sir, that we, the Members of Parliament, and the public have been flooded with numerous items of literature, numerous speeches and numerous theses on economics, taxation and planning. They are all against the planning pursued by the Government of India and they have been directed against the taxation policy of the Government of India. It is an organised effort to undermine the efficacy of the Indian Government and the attempts of the Indian Government to raise the standard of living of the people; yet, nobody has been affected by it. They want us to go slow; they say that our Plan is too ambitious,

that it is impossible of realisation, that we will be finding ourselves in no man's land and that we cannot make any progress. They want to curtail the Plan and they want to curtail the services but the one thing they have forgotten is that in this country, in spite of the two Plans, millions of people are still semi-starving and without basic amenities. Many a village has not even got electricity or even drinking water. If we are going to ask these semi-starving millions of people in these remote villages to wait for a few years more to satisfy economic doctrines, it will be the cruelest joke that we perpetrate on them. I am sure that the moneyed classes, the capitalists and the industrialists, will realise that it will be in their own interest to have the Plan quickened at a great pace and to see that the economic prosperity of the country also proceeds in a rapid manner. They can at the most with their propaganda delay the progress but ultimately the giant wheels of socialism will completely crush them. Socialism is bound to come. Socialism is on the progress and nobody can stop it. If the moneyed people think that by their intelligence and by their dilatory tactics they can stop the progress of the nation, they are sorely mistaken. It is the hour when we must strike hard; we must work hard. As the President has expressed very clearly we have now to put forth our efforts. We have only made a beginning. The economic problem has only been touched. The people have been given only very little benefits. Though there has been great progress all round, the task to be achieved is very great and we have to work hard. We need not be worried that the ten years of planning have not produced much. Even in the great nation of the U.S.S.R., after 41 years of totalitarian planning, Prime Minister Khrushchev had to admit that fifteen years of hard labour and concentrated effort is further necessary to give the people their basic amenities. We got our freedom in 1947 and we became a Republic in 1950 and within this span of ten years, we have made remarkable pro-

[Shri T. S. Pattabiraman.]

gress though our goal is yet far off. We have to make the millions of people in this country conscious of the great potentialities of the country. We must ask them to work hard so that tomorrow may be there. Today we are laying the foundation of a great society where there will be no privileged and the under-privileged, where there will not be class barriers, where there will not be the rich and the exploited, where there will not be the masters and the slaves. We are partners in a great experiment of socialistic society. India is going to be a great country where everybody will be an equal partner. In this task, we have every right to expect, we have every hope, that the people of India and the Members of Parliament will give their unstinted support to the Prime Minister and the Government and make the Third Plan a great success.

Thank you.

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम (उत्तर प्रदेश)
महापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर श्री पट्टाभिरामन् द्वारा सदन के समक्ष रखे हुए इस धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का मैं हार्दिक समर्थन करना चाहती हूँ।

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

श्रीमन्, यह सौभाग्य जो मुझे मिला, उसके लिये आभार प्रकट करने के साथ ही साथ मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन केवल परम्परागत त्वग पर या चिर-प्रचलित रिवाज के आधार पर ही नहीं करती, बरन् इस सारगर्भित अभिभाषण का कुछ ऐसी विशेषतायें हैं जिन के कारण विशुद्ध वास्तविक तथ्यों के आधार पर मैं इस अभिभाषण का हार्दिक समर्थन करती हूँ।

इस अभिभाषण का सब से महत्वपूर्ण और स्ट्राइकिंग फीचर यह है कि इसमें जो उद्घाषित नीति या डिक्लेयर्ड पालिसी है, वह देश में समाजवादी समाज की रचना की

दिशा में एक अत्यंत रिवोल्यूशनरी एरा को जन्म देने वाली है, एक अत्यंत क्रान्तिकारी युग का प्रकाश देश में फैलाने वाली है। रोजगारी बढ़ाने और बेकारी दूर करने के लिये जिन प्रयासों का उल्लेख किया गया है और आर्थिक विषमता तथा असमानता दूर करने के लिये और जीवन का स्तर ऊंचा उठाने के लिये जिन विशेष कदमों के उठाये जाने की हमें इसके द्वारा सूचना मिली है वे अत्यन्त क्रान्तिकारी तथा प्रभावशाली हैं। यदि हम संसद् के समक्ष उपस्थित होने वाले इस वर्ष के प्रस्तावों पर, जो कि पृष्ठ ६ पर उल्लिखित हैं, एक दृष्टि डालें तो हमें पूर्ण विश्वास हो जायगा कि इस प्रकार के प्रस्तावों को लाने का एकमात्र उद्देश्य समाज आदी समाज की रचना के लक्ष्य को पूरा करना है। और इस सम्बन्ध में जो कदम उठाये जाने वाले हैं वे बहुत दूर तक जाने वाले हैं और देश की आर्थिक और सामाजिक व्यवस्था पर बहुत जबरदस्त प्रभाव डालने वाले हैं। जैसे, प्रस्ताव न० १, २, ३, ४ और ६ डिसपैरिटीज़ इन इनकम, इन असेट्स एंड इन अपारचुनिटीज़ को समाप्त करने, श्रमिकों को संरक्षण दे कर उन्हें उचित पुरस्कार दिलाने तथा हैब नाट्स पर "हैक्स" के द्वारा होने वाले शोषण की सम्भावनाओं को रोकने के लिये लाये गये हैं और उनका मैं हार्दिक स्वागत करती हूँ। इसी प्रकार प्रस्ताव न० ५, ७, ८, ९, १० और ११, अहिंसावादी नीति पर चल कर देश की जननी-जाति के कंधों पर जो देश के नागरिकों के निर्माण की जिम्मेदारी है, उनकी तथा शिशुओं की जो कि राष्ट्र की असली सम्पत्ति है और किसान जो कि देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था तथा आर्थिक नीति के मेरुदंड हैं उनकी रक्षा, उनकी बहुवृद्धि, उनकी तरक्की और उनकी उन्नति के लिये लाये जा रहे हैं। इन प्रस्तावों का मैं ही नहीं बरन् देश के ४० करोड़ नर-नारी बहुत भारी हृदय से स्वागत करेंगे। श्रीमन्, ये सारे प्रस्ताव देश को बहुत आगे ले जाने वाले हैं।

इस अभिभाषण का जो सर्वोत्कृष्ट गुण है, वह है, इसकी सार्वभौमिकता . . . देश की कोई भी ऐसी आर्थिक, सामाजिक एवम् राजनीतिक समस्या अथवा तात्कालिक एवम् सामयिक समस्या नहीं है जिस पर व्यापक ढंग से इस अभिभाषण में विचार अथवा विश्लेषण न किया गया हो। इस देश की शानदार सफलताओं की एक जीती-जागती तस्वीर बहुत ही प्रसादयुक्त भाषा में हमारी सम्मुख रखी गई है। और श्रीमन्, इस अभिभाषण के द्वारा इसमें कोई सदेह नहीं है कि जन-जन के मन को नयी प्रेरणा, नयी स्फूर्ति, नया बल मिलता है।

एक मनोरंजक बात इस अभिभाषण में मुझे यह दिखायी दी है कि देश की गम्भार में गम्भीर परिस्थिति और उलझी से उलझी समस्याओं पर विचार करते समय और उनका सूक्ष्म विश्लेषण करते समय भी न हमें कहीं अनुभवी राजनीतिज्ञ की सफलता के सहज स्वाभाविक दम्भ का आभास मिलता है, न हमें उन कठिनाइयों की कठोरता के प्रभाव से कोई उकताहट या कम्पन दिखायी देती है और न ही कोई थकान दिखाई देती है।

श्रीमन्, हमें यह प्रतीत होता है कि हम देश के उस महान अधिनायक की, जो निष्काम भाव से देश की सेवा में रत है और अपनी हर सास से देश के उत्थान के लिए प्रयत्नशील है, उसकी डायरी सुन रहे हैं जिसमें उन्होंने पिछले और आगामी वर्ष का विवरण और देश को कहां ले जाने का लक्ष्य है, वहां तक पहुंचने में कितनी सफलता मिली है, इस सब का क्रमबद्ध अवतरण बिना यश-अप्रयश की चिन्ता किये हुए ज्यों का त्यों दिया है और उसका हम उल्लेख सुन रहे हैं। श्रीमन्, क्योंकि राष्ट्रपति जी ने सत्र का भार सभालने के प्रति हमें हमारे कर्तव्यों से जागरूक कराया है और रचनात्मक योग देने की हममें मांग की है, इसलिए मैं इस अभिभाषण के हर अंग

पर अपने विचार प्रकट करना चाहूंगी। ऐसा मैं आलोचना की दृष्टि से नहीं, केवल सहयोग और रचनात्मक योगदान की दृष्टि से करूंगी।

जैसा कि पृष्ठ १ के द्वितीय व तृतीय पैराग्राफ में उल्लेख किया गया है, बावजूद हमारे देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था पर पड़े हुए अनेक दबावों के, हमारे देश के विकास का कार्यक्रम, पुनर्विचार और सशोधनो द्वारा योजनानुसार साधनों को जुटा कर हम कठिनाइयों पर काबू पाना चाहिए। जिस सूझ-बूझ और समझदारी से योजना का कुल खर्च घटा कर ४५०० करोड़ कर दिया गया है, वह सराहनीय है। देश के अन्य राजनीतिक दलों और अनेक आलोचकों ने अनेक खतरे बता कर प्लान को एकदम स्थगित करने का या उसे डिले करने के लिये जो सुझाव दिये थे वे केवल कुछ फ्रस्ट्रेटेड लोगों का नेतृत्व प्राप्त करने की लालमा से ही दिये गये थे। श्रीमन्, जैसा कि अभिभाषण में कहा गया है ४५०० करोड़ रुपया बचत और माधनों में वृद्धि द्वारा प्राप्त किया जायगा। बचत शब्द का प्रयोग यहां आयोजकों और देश के तमाम कर्णधारों तथा अधिकारियों को एक नयी प्रेरणा और नया संदेश देता है। हर व्यक्ति को आवश्यकता को कम करके हर वस्तु-कागज, स्टेशनरी, सेवा, समय, अन्न, धन—की बचत का एक नया अभियान शुरू करना चाहिये। हर परिवार, हर कार्यालय, हर आफिस और हर संस्था के लिये यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि अपनी अपनी आवश्यकताओं को पुन विचार करके कम करे। हमें हर क्षेत्र में बचत करने के अभियान को हर स्तर पर प्रारम्भ करना होगा और इसका संदेश हमें यह शब्द “बचत” देता है। मैं देश के कर्णधारों से उन व्यक्तियों को जो कि अपने आफिस के बजट में, परिवार के व्यय में अधिक में अधिक बचत करे, उन्हें पुरस्कृत और सम्मानित किये जाने की भी अपील करती हूँ। जिस प्रकार उन लोगों को जो

[श्रीमती नात्रिनी निगम]

देश की सेवा करते हैं आज कल सम्मानित और पुरस्कृत किया जाता है। उसी प्रकार जो लोग देश में बचत के अभियान में एक आदर्श स्थापित करें उनको भी सम्मानित करने की मैं देश के कर्णधारों से अपील करूंगी। देश की इकानोमी और सेविंग के ऊपर अभी तक उतना ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है, जितना दिया जाना चाहिये। इस विषय में एक उच्च स्तरीय कमेटी बना दी जाय और उसी प्रकार की एडवाइजरी कमेटी हर बड़ी संस्था में, कार्यालय में बनाई जाय ताकि वह विचार करके उन तमाम सिफारिशों को पेश करे जिनसे बचत लायी जा सकती है। इससे देश का बहुत कल्याण हो सकता है। आज देश की मांग त्याग है। इस योजना काल में यदि हम थोड़ा सा त्याग कर सकेंगे, तो आगे चलकर उससे हम चौगुना सुख और चौगुना लाभ उठा सकेंगे। श्रीमन्, यदि हम वार टाइम के रिकार्ड को देखें तो हम चकित रह जायेंगे कि उस समय जो इकानोमी ड्राइव चलायी गई उसमें कितनी बड़ी सफलता मिली थी। इस देश के भीतर हमने गरीबी और बेकारी के खिलाफ मोर्चा बना रखा है और हम लोगों ने गरीबी और बेकारी को पराजित करना है। इसलिए आज भी हमें उसी प्रकार से बचत करने का, इकानोमी करने का निर्णय करना चाहिए जिस प्रकार कि वार टाइम में किया गया था। बल्कि उससे भी कहीं अधिक बचत करने की इस समय आवश्यकता है।

श्रीमन्, पैराग्राफ ४ और ५ में विदेशी मुद्रा पर होने वाले व्यय में कमी और विदेश में होने वाली आय को बढ़ाने और २०० वस्तुओं से आयात कर हटाने की चर्चा की गई है। उस के सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि आयात-निर्यात नीति में गत वर्ष जो क्रान्तिकारी सुधार हुआ है उसका समुचित देश ने एक स्वर से स्वागत किया है। मैं भी हृदय से इस सफलता पर सम्बद्ध अधिकारियों को

बधाई देना चाहती हूँ और साथ ही साथ यह प्रार्थना करती हूँ कि अब भी एक्सपोर्ट-इम्पोर्ट पालिसी में कुछ थोड़े से क्रान्तिकारी सुधारों की आवश्यकता है और मैं यह मानती हूँ और विश्वास है कि यदि एक्सपोर्ट-इम्पोर्ट पालिसी में आवश्यक सुधार ला दिये जायें तो विदेशी मुद्रा की जो कठिनाइयाँ हैं उनको हम बहुत अंशों तक सफल ढंग से सुलझा सकेंगे। श्रीमन् पैराग्राफ ७, ८ में कहा गया है कि जो विदेशों से ऋण हमने लिये हैं, वे सभी राजनीतिक शक्तों से मुक्त हैं। किन्तु हमें एक क्षण के लिये भी यह बात नहीं भूलनी चाहिये कि तृतीय और चतुर्थ योजना काल में जब इन ऋणों की अदायगी का समय आयेगा तब हमारे ऊपर उन का बोझ बहुत अधिक बढ़ जायेगा। ऋण चाहे परिवार में लिये जायें, चाहे समाज में लिये जायें, चाहे राष्ट्रों या राज्यों में लिये जायें, आगे चल कर ये ऋण हमेशा बहुत कष्टदायक होते हैं और उनका बोझ हमारी इकानोमी पर, हमारे समाज पर और हमारी प्रोग्रेस पर पड़ता है। इसलिये मेरा अनुरोध है कि हम लोग अंदरूनी रिसोर्सों को बढ़ाने में अधिक योग दें और बचत के अभियान में अधिक से अधिक जोर देने की कोशिश करें।

श्रीमन्, पैराग्राफ ६ और ७ के सम्बन्ध में कोई दो मत नहीं हो सकते। हम सब एक मत से उसका हार्दिक सर्थन करेंगे। आज भारत माता देश के अस्ती करोड़ हाथों से रचनात्मक कार्यों की झोली में योगदान की भिक्षा मांग रही है। अपने को जो इंसान समझने का गौरव करता है उस व्यक्ति का कर्तव्य है कि वह अपना धन श्रम के रूप में समय निकाल कर दे। उसे श्रम-धन के रूप में देश के लिये कुछ न कुछ समय देना ही चाहिये।

श्रीमन्, पैराग्राफ ८ में जो कि समस्त अभिभाषण का मूल सार है, स्वीकृत लक्ष्यों की चर्चा करते हुए राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है,

राष्ट्रीय आय में ठोस वृद्धि, शीघ्रतापूर्ण औद्योगीकरण, बड़े पैमाने पर रोजगार का विस्तार और आमदनी तथा सम्पत्ति की असमानता में कमी। श्रीमन्, इन लक्ष्यों का मैं हादिक स्वागत इसलिये करती हूँ कि किसी भी विकाम-मुख अहिंसावादी देश के लिये इससे अधिक प्रोग्रेसिव्ह और डिसाइसिव्ह और बैलेंस्ड तथा सर्वोत्कृष्ट लक्ष्य और कुछ नहीं हो सकता। विशेष रूप से जब हम देश का विकास और योजनाओं की पूर्ति मिक्स्ड इकानोमी के जरिये से कराना चाहते हैं। पर श्रीमन्, एक सुझाव देने का लोभ मैं संवरण नहीं कर सकती। यदि इसी वाक्य में घरेलू और छोटे उद्योगों का तीव्रतर विकास और जुड़ा होता, तो सोने में सुहागा हो जाता। इसमें आगे चल कर लिखा है, "सरकार घरेलू और छोटे उद्योगों को भी यथापूर्व सहायता देती रहेगी।" यद्यपि ये शब्द निराशाजनक नहीं हैं पर उतने उत्साहवर्द्धक भी नहीं हैं, जिनकी देश को अपेक्षा है। यह कौन नहीं जानता कि शीघ्रतापूर्ण औद्योगीकरण देश के लिये आवश्यक है। पर छोटे उद्योगों को पूरी तेजी से यदि हम न बढ़ा सकेंगे और देश के लोगों की प्रौर तीन चौथाई श्रमिकों की पर्चेजिंग पावर उसी अनुपात से न बढ़ा सके, तो एक तो औद्योगीकरण के द्वारा उत्पादित जो कंज्यूमर गुड्स और अन्य सामग्री होगी, उसे कौन खरीदेगा। और फिर बाजार में चीजों की बहुतायत और खरीदारों की कमी से एक बहुत बड़ा स्लम्प आ जायेगा जो नये उद्योगों की जड़ उखाड़ देगा। इसलिये जब हम वचन बद्ध हैं कि हम जनता का जीवन स्तर ऊंचा उठावेंगे, तो हमारे लिये यह आवश्यक है कि हम जनता की परचेजिंग पावर को भी ऊंचा उठावें। आम तौर से छोटे उद्योगों के प्रति, जो उपेक्षा की धारणा बनी हुई है और कुछ बड़े उद्योगों से सम्बन्धित लोग और औद्योगीकरण के अंध भक्त अक्सर बड़ी भ्रम फैलाने वाली बातें करते हैं कि छोटे उद्योगों की उन्नति से हम पिछड़ जायेंगे या गरीबी बांटेंगे। इस प्रकार की बातें देश के

लिये बहुत ही खतरनाक हैं और सबसे ज्यादा खतरनाक यह बड़े उद्योगों के हित में है।

श्रीमन्, देश की बड़ी कृषक जनसंख्या और मौजूदा आर्थिक स्थिति और योजनाओं के विशाल कार्यक्रम को देखते हुए, जो कि आपस में इस प्रकार गुम्फित है कि यदि हम घरेलू छोटे उद्योगों को डेउद्योगों की फीडर या शक्ति का श्रोत और उन्हें जीवन रस देने वाली जड़ नहीं मानेंगे तो आगे चल कर हमारी इकानोमी और हमारी प्रोग्रेस में एक बड़ी भारी बाधा आयेगी। हम यदि एक स्वाश्रयी इंडिपेंडेंट आर्थिक नीति को जन्म देना चाहते हैं तो हमारा कर्तव्य है कि जितना बल हम बड़े उद्योगों पर दें, उतना ही छोटे उद्योगों पर भी दें।

श्रीमन्, ६, १०, ११, और १२वें पैरा-ग्राफ में खुरक की आत्म निर्भरता के लक्ष्य पूरा करने तथा कीमतें घटाने के विषय में चर्चा की गई है। भूमि सम्बन्धी सुधार, सुधरे हुए तरीकों का प्रसार, भूमि संरक्षण के कार्यक्रम रबी कम्पेन, सस्ते गेहूँ की दुकानों की व्यवस्था का मैं समर्थन करती हूँ और एक प्रकार से इस संकट काल में हमारे खाद्य मंत्रालय ने जिस हिम्मत के साथ इस समस्या को सुलझाया है उसके लिये मैं उसको मुबारकबाद देती हूँ। लेकिन मैं इतना कहना चाहती हूँ कि हमें अन्न के भाव कम करने के लिये शीघ्रतर प्रयास करने की आवश्यकता है। अन्न का होल सेल ट्रेड का राष्ट्रीयकरण करके एक बड़ा ही महत्वपूर्ण और ठोस कदम उठाया गया है। इसमें एक क्षण का विलम्ब भी हानि कारक होगा। बिना यह कदम उठाये हम कीमतों और भावों में कमी न ला सकेंगे। यह बात बावजूद अच्छी फसलों के भाव बढ़ाने वाले व्यापारियों ने स्वयं सिद्ध कर दी है। पिछले महीने चावल की फसल बहुत अच्छी बतलाई गई है। और भविष्य में जो फसल आने वाली है वह भी अच्छी होने की उम्मीद है। फिर भी भाव बराबर चढ़ रहे हैं। जो आशिक कमी है, वह भाव नहीं के बराबर है।

[श्रीमती सावित्री निगम]

श्रीमन्, पैराग्राफ १३ में सामुदायिक विकास योजना के विषय में महामहिम के हर शब्द का मैं स्वागत और समर्थन करती हूँ। चाहे कितनी भी कड़वी आलोचना आलोचक करें, किन्तु उन साढ़े सौलह लाख ग्रामीणों के जीवन में जो नया प्रकाश आया है उसे कौन मिटा सकता है। अब ग्राम पंचायतों को नये अधिकार देकर विकेंद्रीकरण की नीति का जो पुष्टिकरण किया जा रहा है, यह सुन विनोबा की ग्राम राज्य की कल्पना को पूरा करने वाला है, इससे कौन इंकार कर सकता है? श्रीमन्, सहकार आन्दोलन और परिवार नियोजन कार्य यद्यपि तेजी से बढ़ रहे हैं, पर मेरा अनुरोध है कि विकास के कार्यों में एक नई प्रगति और हमारी आर्थिक नीति में एक दृढ़ता लाने के लिये इन दोनों पर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

श्रीमन्, १४, १५, १६, १७, १८, १९, २०, २१ और २२वें पैराग्राफ में जिस औद्योगिक उत्पादन, इस्पात व कोयले के उत्पादन, तेल और प्राकृतिक गैस की खोज की सफलताओं, रसायन शालाओं और वैज्ञानिक अनुसंधानों की संस्थायें खोलने, और अनेक उपयोगी सफलताओं की जो चर्चा है, उनके सम्बन्ध में, मैं इतना ही कहना चाहती हूँ कि इन सफलताओं पर देश-विदेश के द्वारा मिली हुई बधाइयों का साथ, मैं भी अपनी बधाइयों की सूतांजलि अर्पित करना चाहती हूँ।

श्रीमन्, २३, २४, २५, २७, २८, २९ व ४१वें पैराग्राफ में महामहिम ने आणुविक शक्ति के विस्तार और उनका उपयोग केवल शान्तिपूर्ण कामों में लाने की जा घोषणा की है, वह निस्सन्देह संसार के तनाव को भावना को कम करके संसार के राष्ट्रों को एक नई शक्ति, नई दृष्टि और नई प्रेरणा देने में सहायक होगी। आज संसार के सभी राजनीतिज्ञ शान्ति प्रयासों में जुटे होने पर भी जिस तेजी से तनाव बढ़ाने वाली टूटीज एंड पैक्ट—

घोषणायें और स्टेटमेंट दे रहे हैं और शान्ति की सम्भावना को दूर ढकेल कर निःशस्त्रोकरण और विनाश के अस्त्रों पर रोक लगाने के समझौते असफल बना रहे हैं, उनका सबसे बड़ा कारण और कुछ नहीं है, फ़ैबल एक फियर काम्पैल्क्स है जो लोगों के दिल व दिमागों पर छा गया है। इस फियर काम्पैल्क्स का दूर हो जाने पर ही निर्भय राष्ट्र शान्ति की संभावनाओं को निकट ला सकेंगे। जब राष्ट्र निर्भय हो जायेंगे तब वे सेनाओं का बढ़ाना और उन्हें खतरनाक अस्त्रों से सुसज्जित करना छोड़ देंगे। आणविक शक्ति को सृजनात्मक कार्यों में और आर्टिफिनेंस फैक्टरीज को उपभोग की सामग्री के उत्पादन में लगाने का निर्णय यह बात प्रमाणित करता है कि आत्मबली और ईश्वर विश्वासी "भारत" अब विश्व बन्धुत्व की मशाल लेकर निर्भयीकरण का अग्रदूत बनने जा रहा है। इस वक्त यह घोषणा की गई है और मेरा विश्वास है कि अगले वर्ष अवश्य ही मेना के बड़े अंग को उत्पादन कार्य में लगाने की घोषणा करेगा दूसरा बड़ा कदम हम उठा सकेंगे, यही मेरी कामना है और अनुरोध है।

श्रीमन्, २५, २६, ३१, ३२, ३३ व ३४वें पैराग्राफ में जिन प्रशंसनीय निर्माण कार्यों की चर्चा की गई है, वह अत्यन्त सराहनीय हैं। कलकत्ता और मद्रास की बन्दरगाहों के सुधार के लिये जो २० करोड़ रुपया लिया गया है उसका मैं स्वागत करती हूँ। यह योजना जब पूरी होगी तो हमारे देश के व्यापार और अर्थ व्यवस्था में ही उन्नति न लायेगी, वरन् जहाजरानी के उद्योग में भी अभूतपूर्व सफलता दिला सकेगी।

श्रीमान्, ४०, ४२, ४३, ४४, ४५, ४६, ४७, ४८, ४९, ५० तथा ५१ वें पैराग्राफ में पारस्परिक प्रेम, समझदारी, मैत्री और घनिष्ठता बढ़ाने वाली यात्राओं की चर्चा की गई है, जो अनेक हमारे देश के सम्मानित नेताओं और विदेशों के महामहिम अतिथियों ने की।

इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि ये यात्राये विश्व परिवार के बीच घनिष्ठता और आपसी श्रद्धा की कड़ियों को जोड़ने में बहुत अधिक सहायक हुईं। महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने दक्षिण अफ्रीका की घटनाओं का अपने अभिभाषण में जो उल्लेख किया है, भगवान उन गलती करने वालों को क्षमा प्रदान करें और हमको सबका प्रेम और गलतियों को सुधारने की शक्ति दें। ससार के अन्य देशों की छोटो-मोटो सेवाओं का जो सोभाग्य लेबनान स्थित प्रेक्षण दल द्वारा या सिविक विकास योजना में सहयोग द्वारा पूरा कर, मिला उन पर हमें गर्व है।

श्रीमान्, ५२, ५३, ५४ पैराग्राफ में हमें महामहिम ने बधाइयाँ दी हैं। उन्होंने राष्ट्र के स्वायत्तत्व, लोकतन्त्रत्मक समाजवादी व्यवस्था और विश्व शान्ति में सहयोग का संचार करने की दिशा में हमें हमारे कर्तव्यों के प्रति जागरूक कराया, उन लिये हम हृदय से आभारा है। श्रीमान्, आपका द्वारा हम उन्हें हृदय की समस्त श्रद्धा के साथ उन चरणों में धन्यवाद अर्पित करना चाहते हैं।

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN The Motion that has been moved and seconded is that an Address be presented to the President in the following terms—

“That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 9th February, 1959”

There are 37 amendments

SHRI P C BHANJ DEO (Orissa): Sir, I move—

1 “That at the end of the Motion the following be added namely:—

‘but regret to note that no effective steps have been outlined in the Address for enlisting the Co-operation of different shades of opinion in Parliament

and outside to elicit full enthusiasm from the people and so make planning a positive success.’”

2 “That at the end of the Motion the following be added namely.—

‘but regret to note that no steps have been indicated in the Address for checking the soaring prices of foodgrains or for achieving self-sufficiency in food within a reasonable time.’”

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

‘but regret to note that diplomatic recognition of new regimes has not been comprehensive enough in the Address to ensure over-all friendly relations.’”

SHRI NIRANJAN SINGH (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, I move

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

‘but regret to note—

(i) that the picture of the food situation in the country as depicted in the Address differs substantially from reality;

(ii) that adequate measures are not being pursued to utilise fully the irrigation facilities that are already available, to remove water-logging, to bring under the plough all the cultivable waste;

(iii) that no effective short-term measures are being taken to check the rising prices;

(iv) the lack of policy in respect of the Indian territory under Portuguese domination”

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Sir, I move—

5 “That at the end of the Motion the following be added namely:—

‘but regret that the Address has failed to indicate the steps—

[Shri Mulka Govinda Reddy.]

(i) for bringing down the food prices;

(ii) for solving the ever-increasing unemployment problem; and

(iii) for fixing ceilings on urban incomes'."

DR. A. N. BOSE (West Bengal): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that no mention has been made of scarcity of food and other essential commodities, high prices, unemployment, illiteracy and distress of the common people'."

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

'but regret that no mention has been made of construction of Ganga Barrage at Farakka for saving the economy of West Bengal'."

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

'but regret that no mention has been made of the policy of appeasement followed by our Prime Minister with respect to Pakistan and the proposed transfer of Berubari under the Nehru-Noon Agreement'."

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

'but regret that no mention has been made of arrangements made for the rehabilitation of displaced persons of West Bengal in other States'."

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not fully recognise the deter-

ioration in the food situation and seriousness of the situation caused by rising food prices and low purchasing power of the people'."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment No. 13 is disallowed.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: How is it disallowed?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We do not generally admit amendments to what is not contained in the President's Address.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Sir, I move:

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

'but regret to note that the policy of Government in foreign affairs has failed to—

(a) safeguard adequately our national interests; and

(b) enlist the support of the Powers with influence in our international disputes'."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Amendment No. 15 is disallowed.

DR. A. N. BOSE: My amendment is that there is no reference to this subject.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may speak on it, but not move the amendment. Amendment No. 15 is disallowed.

SHRI ANAND CHAND (Himachal Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, before you do that, may I explain from the rules?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No explanation is necessary.

SHRI ANAND CHAND: I submit that I am going to quote a rule about it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It has been ruled, the Chairman has ruled it out.

I cannot do anything even with your explanation.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: On a point or order, if he wants to explain...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Not necessary. You can speak on it.

SHRI ANAND CHAND: I will explain it in one minute.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not necessary. It serves no purpose. You can speak on it. Amendment No. 16.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I move:

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

'but regret that the Address does not take into account the failure of Government to check the recent unprecedented rise in the price of foodgrains which has inflicted hardships on the common people and affected adversely the country's economy'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not show any sense of urgency or indicate any effective line of action for carrying out land reforms which would—

(a) enforce ceiling on present and future land-holdings;

(b) put a stop to all evictions of the peasants from land;

(c) reduce the economic burdens on the peasantry;

(d) guarantee fair prices to agricultural producers; and

(e) ensure adequate State assistance to the mass of peasants for increasing production and provide real incentives to them'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not propose any clear line of action for the implementation of State trading in foodgrains although the marketable surplus has begun to pass into the hands of wholesalers and big grain dealers'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not condemn the role of imperialist powers, especially of the U. S. A., in subverting democracy and democratic institutions and instigating, encouraging and setting up of reactionary military dictatorships in the neighbouring countries of Asia and Africa'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not refer to the question of recognition of the Free Government of Algeria'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not contain any reference to the widespread alarm and discontent at the arbitrary decision to transfer Berubari in West Bengal to Pakistan without consultation with either the Government of West Bengal or of the people of that State'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not reflect the serious situation arising out of mounting unemployment and the failure of the economic policies and programmes of Government in attaining the employment targets of the Second Five Year Plan'."

[Dr. Z. A. Ahmad.]

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

'but regret to note that the Address does not make any mention about the large scale closure of factories, curtailment of production, reduction in the number of working days and working hours, retrenchment, rationalisation etc. taking place in a number of industries in different areas of the country resulting in loss of production, unemployment, wastage of national resources, etc.'"

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

'but regret to note that the Address does not correctly analyse the reasons for the failure of the Second Five Year Plan to reach its targets either in the financial or the physical aspects, much less the objectives outlined therein'."

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

'but regret to note that the Address does not recognise that merely laying fresh targets and talking loud about Third Five Year Plan cannot help the people of the country or Government unless a review and revision of policies and programmes which were in contradiction to the interests of the vast masses of this country, workers, peasants and middle classes takes place and bold and radical policies in the sphere of land relations, industrial relations, taxation, foreign exchange, investment etc., are initiated'."

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

'but regret to note that Government is complacent about the food situation and ignores the serious crisis facing certain parts of the country in the matter of food prices, availability etc.'"

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

'but regret to note that still there is no realisation by Government that the basic reasons for the failure of the food production drive lie in the un-willingness and inability of Government to bring about radical land reforms'."

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

'but regret that the Address does not recognise the serious threat to our economy and independence posed by the undue dependence on foreign loans and aid to carry out our economic development'."

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

'but regret that in the new agreements with foreign Governments and financiers on setting up of new industrial projects like the agreements with Merck, Sharpe and Dhome on the extension of the Hindustan Antibiotics, Government is surrendering its earlier positions and is submitting to the will of foreign financiers and industrial monopolies to the detriment of the interests of the country and its people'."

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

'but regret that in enforcing foreign exchange regulation and other controls essential to the economic development of the country, Government is showing undue lenience to the big business interests, connives at their blatant violations of these regulations, fails to check the leakage of valuable foreign exchange and generally does not pursue cases brought to light vigorously and determinedly against such anti-national elements'."

(Amendment Nos. 22, 23 and 25 and 29 to 37 also stood in the names of Shri Perath Narayanan Nair and Shri J. V. K. Vallabhrao)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Motion and the amendments are before the House.

DR. A. N. BOSE: Sir, one point. I do not protest against your ruling. I only want to be informed as to what the ground is for which my amendment is disallowed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have not been admitting amendments on what is not contained in the President's Address.

DR. A. N. BOSE: All my amendments are on that line—"but regret that no mention is made in the Address", etc. I think my amendment should have been allowed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It must be on a subject which has been referred to in the President's Address. Dr. Z. A. Ahmad.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD: Mr. Deputy Chairman, allow me to submit with regret that the President's Address in so far as it represents the policy, outlook and understanding of the Government is, to say the least, uninspiring, stale in its approach, and unrealistic in its assessment. I have read it very carefully, in fact with all the care and attention that it deserves. But I am sorry to state that it has left me cold in that it does not give me any hope for the future. It does not inspire me with the feeling that things are going to change for the better in the coming one year, and therefore, Sir, I have a number of things to say and to submit.

Sir, there is an extraordinary degree of complacency in this Address, and I do not find any justification for that measure of complacency. What is the present situation in our country? Our Plan is in a state of crisis. We are suffering from acute food shortage. Our industrial production is going

down. Prices of many essential commodities, particularly of foodgrains, are rising, and the problem is acute. Therefore, how can I feel complacent about the situation.

Today I do feel, Sir, that there is need for reassessment of the situation, for a critical evaluation of the policies that the Government have pursued during the last year or two. We have to think more fundamentally and more basically as to why we are getting into a bog and why we are not able to get out of it. A sharp break with the past is to be brought about. I am sure that if we do that, we shall find our way, we shall be able to spot out the weaknesses in our whole Plan and in our policies, and we shall be able to chalk out a path for the future. This, I am afraid, has not been done in this Address.

I will now take up a few aspects of the present economic situation of our country. Take the Plan. Who can deny that the Plan is in a crisis? Who can deny the fact that because of this crisis we have to resort to a great deal of pruning of the Plan or curtailment of the Plan? Many important industries have to be rephased, many projects have to be abandoned, we have to give them up. We have to curtail our expenditure on social services to the tune of Rs. 130 crores, which is indeed a very serious matter.

Then again, in this difficult situation there are vested interests who are utilising the crisis in order to reverse the whole direction of our planning. All types of anti-social forces, hoarders and profiteers are taking advantage of our difficulties.

The crisis, then again, has created a situation in which we have to depend more and more on foreign loans. In fact we are already indebted to the tune of Rs. 800 to 900 crores, which is indeed a very big sum, and a big liability. We will have to start repaying these loans after a year or two, and then new problems will arise. Therefore, I hold and submit with all respect that the whole question of the develop-

[Dr. Z. A. Ahmad.]

ment of our country under the Second Plan has to be looked into more basically. What we have to do first of all is to see to it that the entire resources of the country are mobilised in a way that we have not to depend on foreign loans. For that, not merely the financial resources but human resources also have to be mobilised. We have to enthuse the people. We have to make them feel that the Plan is essentially for them. We have to make them realise that while the country is progressing, that progress is reflected in each individual's life. This enthusiasm of the whole people, this bringing together of all the national forces, mental, physical, financial and moral, and putting them all together—that is the biggest task that we have to do. I am afraid, Sir, that that task is not being done properly and in the measure that it should be done.

Secondly, Sir, we have to see to it that the vested interests in our country are curbed. I use that word 'curbed' deliberately because I feel that while we pass a number of laws here trying to restrict their activities, actual curbing does not take place. Somehow or other, they get a free field to operate. we pass laws about foodgrains, but we find that after we pass laws about essential commodities or after we lay down certain policies regarding them, we are not able to get hold of those anti-social forces who want to profiteer, who want to grow rich by starving the people. Therefore there should be a policy of curbing the vested interests, a policy of making them realise that they cannot get away like that, that if they are making profits it is because there are people who are working under them, and that if they starve those people and if they grow rich at the expense of the common people, it will not be tolerated by the Government. I want that firm attitude to be adopted and practical steps taken on that basis.

Then, Sir, there is the question of financial resources. We go on passing

laws regarding taxation and all that, but the people from whom that wealth can be realised, are not really taxed in a proper way. There is evasion of taxes, huge, tremendous evasion of taxes. Today evasion of income-tax is to the extent of Rs. 250 crores or so. Then there are the wealth tax and the gift tax, but they do not yield much because there is evasion. Then there is hoarded wealth in the country. We do not try to bring out that hoarded wealth. That hoarded wealth lies there. We do not tap properly and effectively those sources from where wealth can be got. On the other hand we go on enhancing excise duties which have regressive incidence, and the weight of which falls on the common people. That policy should be abandoned.

Then there is the problem of increasing our resources by Government intervening in the foreign trade of the country. Today the position is peculiar. The foreign trade is in a large measure in the hands of foreign concerns. They make huge profits in various ways, and these profits disappear. The Government is not able to get hold of those profits or do anything about those profits. Then, Sir, our whole foreign trade is restricted. The greater part of the foreign trade is restricted to a few countries, particularly the United Kingdom and the United States of America. We do not diversify our foreign trade. We do not tap new markets. We do not build new links. We are in a sort of traditional rut. Apart from the fact that all the profits from the foreign trade go into the hands of big businessmen many of whom do not belong to this country, our foreign trade cannot expand because it is in a rut. Every country which wants to expand its economy has got to pay proper attention to its foreign trade. We have got to see to it that we adopt a policy whereby our markets grow, whereby we are able to send more and more out and build new commercial contacts in the world, whereby a large part of the profits arising from foreign trade can flow into the pockets of the Gov-

ernment, which the Government wants for development purposes. We are losing all that

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN You can continue in the afternoon. 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, MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair

DR. Z A AHMAD Mr Deputy Chairman, what I was saying was, to attribute the crisis of the Plan to the difficulties in obtaining foreign exchange is only to beg the question. My contention is that the malady is more deep-seated and the root cause lies in certain policies of the Government—industrial policies and agricultural policies—which they are pursuing. I am highly critical of those policies because what I say is that these have failed to bring about any basic institutional changes in the country which are needed. These policies have for the last few years thrown increasing economic burdens on the common people. Then again, these policies have allowed vested interests in various sections of our economy to get a free hand and have their own way. Further, these policies have failed to unleash the forces of production and raise the enthusiasm of the common people. Therefore, I think that it is absolutely necessary for the Government to re-examine these policies and to see and find out the basic causes for the difficulties into which our planning has come. What I would submit is that we need in this country, if we really want to advance rapidly, radical institutional changes. We need government control over vested interests in the country. We need to change the entire structure of taxation in a manner that we get our financial resources from those sections of society which can afford to pay. Then we need to develop the public sector in

a way that this sector yields more revenues to the Government. Then we need to diversify our foreign trade and develop new markets and not depend entirely on two or three big capitalist countries. Finally, I would like to see the Government intervening more and more in the foreign trade of the country, the Government taking over certain sectors of foreign trade, so that the profits yielding from those sectors come into the coffers of the Government and are utilised by them for the development of our internal economy.

SHRI V K DHAGE (Bombay):
Namely?

DR Z A AHMAD I can give you a lot of examples if you want. Lastly, I want that our house should be set in order on the agrarian front. The agrarian sector of our economy yields about half of our national income and it is there that the Government has failed to produce any worthwhile results. It is there that the policies of the Government today have got into a bog and they do not know how to come out of that bog. I would only draw your attention to the acute food problem prevailing in this country. A few days ago, I read a speech of our hon. Minister, Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, who said that at the end of the Third Five Year Plan, we would be self-sufficient in food. Well, for the past ten or twelve years we have been told again and again that after two years we will be self-sufficient in food, give us another two years and then, another two years. Now, they have conveniently taken the date far away—by the end of the Third Plan.

SHRI V K DHAGE Seven years

DR Z A AHMAD Now, these promises are good, but they do not satisfy the people. The fact of the matter which has to be recognised and which is one of the biggest tragedies of Indian life is that food is becoming scarcer and scarcer, prices are rising and the Government does not know what to do. It is fumbling about it. Only a few months ago when some

[Dr. Z. A. Ahmad.]

sort of agitation was going on in U.P. we were told, "Well, a very good crop is in the offing and the prices are going to come down." After that the prices have risen. In the Punjab which is the granary of India, prices have almost doubled. In Madhya Pradesh, jowar and bajra are selling, I think, at prices about a hundred per cent. higher than they were selling in January, 1958. Then, who is responsible for it?

THE MINISTER OF MINES AND OIL (SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA): You.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD: I do not know who is responsible. But whenever things go wrong, it is God who is responsible according to the Government and when things improve, well, it is the Government which is responsible. That is a very strange story. In a way, the remarkable failure, extraordinary failure, of the Government on the food front, I think, is a fact worth noting and I would request the Government in all humility to shake itself out of the complacency which is the prevailing mood of the Government even on the food front. We hear a lot about the rabi campaign. They say big rabi campaigns are being launched. I myself go to the villages. I have tried to find out what is happening to these rabi campaigns. A few gentlemen from the towns go there, talk to the peasants and the peasants smile and there the matter ends. But understanding the woes of the peasantry, inspiring the peasantry to do more work, to bring about more production, giving them facilities, all these do not take place because of the extremely bureaucratic set-up of the whole administration. A huge sum of money is spent; officers are appointed. Where one officer is enough, five officers are appointed. All sorts of expenditure are incurred in order to maintain those officers and enable them to move about. But in the last analysis, that huge amount of money which is spent for agricultural development does not go to the bottom, to the poor peasants who dominate our agrarian economy, who are the vital factor in the whole

situation. That is my contention, Sir, and that is my criticism. I have not got enough time and I will not go into the details. But take one example. The other day I went to Andhra. Well, there is short supply of fertilisers there. The total amount of fertiliser that is provided for Andhra is short of its total requirements. The real rate is Rs. 39 per bag. But actually, the peasant is getting it at Rs. 70 per bag because there are merchants who have got hold of all the fertilisers. Well, obviously when there is short supply, from Rs. 39, the price of the fertiliser jumps to Rs. 70 per bag. That is the position.

Here again, I would say that the problem of food cannot be tackled in a half-hearted manner. If you want to tackle the problem of food, you will have to take up very seriously the question of production; you will have to take up very seriously the question of controlling and curbing the activities of the big middlemen, that is to say, the big grain dealers. You will have to pass laws whereby profiteering in food is made a heinous offence. Certain exemplary punishments will have to be given. Then only will it be possible to do this. Otherwise, even if you pass laws, there will be no effect. What is happening in the Punjab? The whole stock of grains has disappeared. The big merchants there make it impossible for you to do anything, throttling you, holding you to ransom. They have suddenly locked up the stocks and made them disappear. Even in a State like the Punjab where grain is so cheap, food is selling at such prices. Therefore, State trading in grains which is a good and correct principle we welcome. If it is to be made successful, a firm policy has to be adopted; a vacillating and wishy-washy policy will not do. Today, what are we doing about State trading in grains? We have appointed some licensees. Then we have fixed up the prices at which they will have to sell grains to the Government. But there are two or three big, major flaws in the whole scheme. Our Food Minister says

that the scheme is still developing and unfolding. It is unfolding itself. There are two or three big flaws in the scheme as I find it today. Number one is that the total quantity of foodgrains that we propose to purchase is much too small. You want to purchase 10 per cent. of the total marketable surplus. But only 10 per cent. of the total marketable surplus will not put you in that dominating position, because 90 per cent. of the marketable surplus will be in private hands. You can at the most set up some cheap grain shops. But if there is a crisis and if the grain dealers and hoarders unite to defeat your policies, then you will never enjoy that dominating position and you will not be able to control these elements. What I want is that at least 50 per cent. of the marketable surplus should be purchased by the Government. Then alone will you be able to control these merchants and also influence the retail market in a big way. That is one point.

My second point is that while you fix the prices of foodgrains at which the Government will buy from the millers or from the licensees, you should also fix fair prices in respect of producers. At present you may buy it at Rs. 15 from a licensee but under certain conditions that licensee may buy it at Rs. 8 or Rs. 9 from the actual peasants and thus reap profits. I think what Orissa has done should be the pattern that should be followed. The Orissa Government has fixed the price at which the Government will buy from the dealers and also the price at which the dealers will buy from the peasants, giving them a small commission. I think that that pattern should be followed all over the country. This is my second point. The third thing is that we should not be over-optimistic about the food situation. The coming days are going to be very hard days, so far as the food situation is concerned. Therefore, Sir, there should be no closing down of fair price shops. I got some reports that in Andhra such fair price shops

have been closed down. I think that will be a suicidal policy. If you close down fair price shops, you are not going to exercise any control over the retail market. I would suggest the opening of more fair price shops in the coming period, so that you may be in a position really to influence the retail market by throwing more grain into the market through such fair price shops. This is so far as State trading in foodgrains is concerned.

But there are other aspects of the agrarian question also. I am glad that the Nagpur Session of the All-India Congress Committee passed certain resolutions and made certain declarations about land reforms and about the imposition of ceilings. I welcome those declarations. But I want that those declarations should actually be translated into policies and into effective steps, so that we can bring about some radical transformation in our agrarian economy. I use these words deliberately—radical transformation—because without radical transformation you cannot improve things. On the question of ceilings there is going to be some controversy. I know that in various political parties internally there will be opposition to this principle of ceilings. But the principle is a correct principle. When we talk of establishing a classless and an egalitarian society and when we want to move towards socialism, we cannot allow some people to have thousands and lakhs of acres and some other people to have not even one acre. The principle of ceiling is quite correct, but it has got to be enforced with a revolutionary and socialist outlook, not in a spirit of compromise with some vested interests and by trying to appease them. The policy of appeasement will not succeed on any front whatsoever. It has got to be a clear-cut policy firmly enforced. Of course, I agree that you have got to get the consent of the people, but after all if you only depend on the consent of the people and if you say that hundred per cent. consent should be obtained, you

[Dr. Z. A. Ahmad.]

will never succeed in your attempts. You have to secure the consent of the big majority. There will always remain minority which will not give you its consent in matters where their vested interests are affected.

Now, Sir, the way in which the ceiling is being imposed by the State Governments is very strange. The principle of ceiling has been accepted. Enough opportunity is given to the landlords to divide up their estates. Enough opportunity is given to the landlords to sell away their estates and divide them up and ultimately nothing remains. If you move in a dilatory or half-hearted manner, you are not going to get any land for distribution among the poorer sections of the peasants after the imposition of ceilings, because prior to actual imposition all sorts of things could be done. Take the case of West Bengal. The West Bengal Government expected 6 lakhs of acres, but actually, because of the dilatory manner in which it went about, it hardly got 60,000 acres. Thus, Sir, 5,40,000 acres disappeared completely, because they were all split up and divided. So, that will not do. You have to adopt a firm policy. You have to bear in mind the interests of the overwhelming majority of the peasantry, and even at the cost of alienating some sections of the vested interests you have got to impose a ceiling in a proper way so that enough land is made available for distribution among the people.

Then, Sir, there is the other aspect of land reforms, i.e. ejectments. Sir, I know quite a lot about this agrarian problem because I have been to various parts of the country. Several laws have been passed to prevent ejectments, but there are certain loopholes in those laws. Landlords are given the right of resumption for self-cultivation, land records are faulty and most of the cultivators cannot prove in a court of law that they were the actual cultivators five, six or seven years back, and magistrates raise certain technical

points and the result is that the poorer sections of the peasantry lose. What happened in the old Hyderabad State? A fairly good law was passed there. That law was claimed to be the Magna Charta of the peasantry. According to certain official reports, Sir, 57 per cent. of the peasants were evicted, after the passing of that Act, from 59 per cent. of the total cultivated land. A more or less similar story was repeated in Bombay. In many other parts of the country, Sir, lakhs and lakhs of peasants have been evicted. Therefore, what is needed is that the Government should lay down some firm principles. It should not only lay down the principle that he who cultivates land will not be ejected, but it should also evolve a proper machinery. At present there is neither any principle nor any proper machinery. Both these things are necessary in order that tillers of the soil may become the masters of the soil and the curse of ejectments that we had inherited from the times of British imperialism may be no longer there. Therefore, Sir, this agrarian question is most vital. I am glad to know that the leaders of the ruling party have for the first time given due recognition to the seriousness of this problem, which is the basic problem of our economy and without solving which we cannot solve any other economic problems facing this country.

Apart from this, Sir, I regret to say that in the President's Address there are a number of things which have not been properly assessed nor properly stressed. I would like to draw your attention to the question of strengthening the democratic order of our society. I lay stress on this point at this juncture because we know that in our neighbouring countries certain developments are taking place which are ominous, developments which cut at the very root of the democratic system that we have in this country. In Pakistan, our sister State, in Burma and in other countries nearby, these types of developments are taking place. Therefore, we have to be quite vigilant. I know that in our country

also there would be certain elements who would like this democratic system to be scrapped, and who would also like some sort of authoritarian rule to be established. I for one would like to fight those elements. I for one would like to unite all the democratic elements in this country in order to save our parliamentary institutions and our democratic Government from being endangered in the manner it has been done in the other countries.

SHRI J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh): But the Communists wanted it.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD. I am a Communist. I am saying something which you should welcome.

SHRI J. S. BISHT. It suits you at the present moment.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO (Andhra Pradesh): It does not suit you.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD: That we shall see in future who stands where. What I would have expected from the Government and what I would have liked to see in the President's Address—today when forces of reaction are raising their heads in Asiatic countries, today when imperialist powers are planning to subjugate the people who have their newly won freedom, at such a time the unity of democratic-minded people should stand for the free development of their economy and political life—a ringing call should have come that we want that unity.

I submit, Sir, that there is talk about co-operation. Yes, co-operation! I say on behalf of the Communist Party that if co-operation for the defence of democracy, co-operation for the defence of the interests of the people, co-operation for the economic, cultural and political development of the country, is sought in a real manner, is sought in a proper manner, is sought on the basis of a real people's programme, well, the Communist Party will be second to none in offering that co-operation. After all that is a matter for you and

for me to think where the country is going. It is all right, you may laugh at this today, but a day will come when you and I will have to think on these lines. If you want to save this country you will have to change. A new outlook will have to be developed. And that is the outlook of unity of all honest people of this country for the defence of common people, for the defence of democratic life, for the defence of our freedom. I want to strike that note because I think that this is the proper time—when we are discussing the President's Address—to raise our understanding to a higher level and to look a little ahead.

Sir, I stand for the defence of democracy in all aspects of our life, defence of democracy in administration, defence of democracy because it is through these administrative centres that very often democracy is annihilated. For the last two days we have been discussing the case of one gentleman—Mr. Mathai. I personally have nothing against him. I do not know him. But I am quite perturbed about the development that has taken place because I do feel that if people in that position, in these key centres behave in that manner, “throw their weight about” in the words of our Prime Minister, do not behave in an impartial manner, utilise their positions, then it is a very serious thing. That is how democracies are slaughtered. It may be one point—it is an isolated point—but it is a point to which all of us have to pay attention. If we are properly vigilant, then all these weak spots would be gradually eliminated. I want an administration that will really be the custodian of our democratic life and not an administration full of people who want to utilise their positions for personal advantages. Therefore, Sir, I would demand that there should be a judicial enquiry which should be a public enquiry because there is nothing to conceal therein. Let these things come up. There is nothing wrong. If I am wrong, let there be a judicial enquiry. I do not think there could

[Dr. Z. A. Ahmad.]

be any exception in a really democratic State. Let there be a judicial enquiry, let it be a public enquiry. If he is innocent, he will be vindicated. If he is not innocent, people will know the truth and we shall be more vigilant, ever more vigilant.

Sir, there are other questions to which I want to refer. There is the question of properly fortifying our democratic institutions in all parts of the country. It is an important thing to which I want to draw your attention viz., that in one part of the country, in a very vital part of the country, a peculiar situation has been created by us. I refer to Kashmir. Kashmir is part of India. I do not know why in Kashmir the jurisdiction of the Election Commission should not be extended. I do not know why the Kashmir High Court should not be of the same level as our other High Courts. Why should they be excluded from the pattern that exists in the rest of the country? We are told that there the question of internal security has become a very acute question. I want the Government of India to intervene in that situation because that is a vital sector of our country. That is our frontier territory. I want Kashmiris to feel that they have not been left to their fate, that Indian democracy is looking after their interests. I do not want them to feel that they are orphans. I do not want them to feel that they are aliens. I want them to feel a part of India. Therefore, Indian democracy, the Indian people, must assert themselves. And whenever there is a violation of civil liberties there, whenever there is maladministration, we should check it as effectively and as firmly as we check it anywhere—rather even more firmly and effectively—because that is frontier territory. We have to win and maintain the confidence of Kashmiris.

In the end I would plead for a basic re-examination of our policies. When I say that, I do not say that in a critical spirit. But I do want that the

Government, that the opposition, that all people, all patriots, all well-wishers of the country, should examine the situation, viz., why we are not progressing as effectively and as rapidly as we should have progressed. Often the argument is given, "Well, the totalitarian countries can do it better than democratic countries". I say that is a very wrong thing to say. After all, you claim superiority for a democratic State. Then saying that totalitarian countries—I do not recognise them as totalitarian countries, I say they have their own democratic life—can do things more effectively is not correct. If you recognise this, then you equate the so-called democracy, with inefficiency, with slowness, with ineffectiveness. I do not want that thing to be done. I want that in my country—even in the present set-up, whatever it is—we should advance more rapidly. Therefore, a basic re-examination of the policies is essential. I want that our whole financial policy should be re-assessed. I want that very effective steps should be taken to reduce unemployment in this country in various ways—through development of small industries, development of small irrigation works—that democracy and economic planning should go down to the people and to the bottom of our ladder, that is to say, unemployment should be reduced in the villages.

Lastly I will repeat from the political point of view I want the unity of all honest democratic people. For the defence of our democratic life, I want India to proclaim that what is happening in Pakistan, what is happening in other countries roundabout, will not be repeated in India. I want India to take a firm decision in regard to all those bilateral agreements that are being arrived at in Pakistan and other places because these are not ordinary things. They are devices to surround us with a certain type of development to which we do not want to fall a prey.

I will conclude my speech by saying that these are the things to which attention should be paid, and I would

expect that the Ministers who give an answer to this discussion, will take serious note of the points that I have submitted and will give me satisfaction. Thank you.

3 P.M.

श्री अमोलख चन्द (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
माननीय उपसभापति जी, चूँकि राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण हिन्दी में हुआ था, इसलिए मैं हाउस से यह आज्ञा चाहूँगा कि वह मेरे हिन्दी भाषण को सुने। यदि कहीं दिक्कत होगी तो उसको मैं दूसरी भाषा में भी कहने का प्रयत्न करूँगा। मुझे आज गर्व अनुभव होता है और आनन्द होता है कि माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने किस सुन्दर ढंग से, साल भर में जो भारत सरकार ने किया है, उसको संसद् के सदस्यों के सामने उपस्थित किया। उनके ५४ पैराग्राफ के अभिभाषण को जिन लोगों ने सुना और बाद में पढ़ा, मुझे खेद है कि हमारे मित्र जेड० ए० अहमद साहब को उसमें कोई उत्साह नहीं मालूम दिया। शायद उनका इस पर तो ज़रूर ख्याल हुआ जो हमारे आदरणीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा कि जितनी योजनाएँ हैं, जो कुछ भी भारत के उत्थान के लिए किया जा रहा है, उस में सर्व दलों का सहयोग प्राप्त होना चाहिये। उसी दिशा में आखिर में जेड० ए० अहमद साहब ने भी यह अपील की और यह चाहा कि उनको उनके प्रश्नों का उत्तर मिले ताकि उनका और उनकी पार्टी का उत्साह बढ़े और देश के मामलों में और वैदेशिक मामलों में सब पार्टियों का सहयोग मिल सके। यह एक शुभ लक्षण है और मैं समझता हूँ कि अवश्य इस और सब का ध्यान जायेगा।

आदरणीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में जिन चीजों का जिक्र किया है, मैं उनको एकदम दोहराना नहीं चाहता। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार ने स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त करने के बाद पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना में और उसके बाद दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में जो कार्य किये हैं, जो उत्थान किया है और जिस प्रकार

देश को आगे ले गई है, क्या उससे आज हमको संतोष होता है या नहीं? यह एक परम्परा बनी हुई है कि जो काम साल भर में सरकार करती है उसको केन्द्र में राष्ट्रपति जी तथा स्टेटों में वहाँ के गवर्नर सभा के सामने रखते हैं और यह एक मौका मिलता है कि जिस समय जो कमियाँ रह गई हैं, उनकी ओर संकेत किया जाय। इसका यह मतलब नहीं होता है, जैसा कि हमारे मित्र जेड० ए० अहमद साहब ने किया कि केवल हमको सरकार की टिप्पणी ही करनी है। सरकार की कमियाँ हैं और उन कमियों को दूर करने के लिए ही ये सभा-सदन हैं। लेकिन आज यह अवसर नहीं है कि हर चीज़ पर हम सिर्फ नुक्ताचीनी करें। हमको यह देखना है कि साल भर में जो काम किये गये हैं उनसे वाकई कोई तरक्की हुई है, हम कहीं आगे बढ़े हैं या हम कुछ पीछे गये हैं, जो ज़रूरी चीज़ें करनी थीं वे हमने की या नहीं की, और जिन चीज़ों की आवश्यकता थी उन पर हमारा ध्यान गया या नहीं गया।

आप सब सदस्यों को मालूम है कि पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना में कृषि पर ज्यादा जोर दिया गया। जितनी भी चीज़ें उस वक्त की गईं, मुझे बहुत गर्व अनुभव होता है कि वे करीब करीब सब पूरी हुई और केवल पूरी ही नहीं हुई, एक अच्छे तरीके से लोगों में उत्साह पैदा करते हुए वे चीज़ें हुईं। मुझे तो पब्लिक एकाउंट्स कमेटी का सदस्य होने के नाते इन सब क्षेत्रों को देखने का अवसर मिला है। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि यदि आप बगलौर शहर में जायें और वहाँ पर जो हिन्दुस्तान मशीन टूल फैक्ट्री है उसको देखें, तो आपको पता चलेगा कि किस तरह से काम हो रहा है। उसमें जो मशीनें बनाई गई हैं उनकी प्रशंसा आज अमरीकन भी करते हैं और यह कहते हैं कि ये ऐसी मशीनें बनाई जा रही हैं जैसी कि दूसरे देशों में बनती हैं और कुछ तो उनसे भी आगे हैं। यदि आप वहाँ के काम करने वालों से बात करें या वहाँ के अधिकारियों से बात करें, तो आपको

[श्री अमोलख चंद]

मालूम होता है कि इस बात की परीक्षा की गई है, इस बात का अनुसंधान किया गया है कि एक भारतीय नागरिक या एक भारतीय श्रमिक का वही स्टैंडर्ड है, वही अनुपात है, जो एक विदेशी का है। क्या ये सब ऐसी चीजें नहीं हैं जिनसे हम को गर्व हो ? मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि किस सदस्य के हृदय में यह भावना है कि हम पीछे हटे। मैं तो यह आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि एक आप हिन्दुस्तान मशीन टूल फैक्टरी को न देखे, हवाई जहाज बनाने की फैक्ट्री को देखे, एयर क्राफ्ट फैक्ट्री को देखे, टेलीफोन फैक्ट्री को देखे, पिम्परी में जो दवाये बन रही हैं पेनीसिलीन वगैरह उनको देखे और अगर आप आगे देखना चाहते हैं तो भारत की यूनियन में कौन सा ऐसा प्रदेश है, जिसमें प्रगति नहीं हुई है। आप किसी एक ओर से चालिये। मद्रास में अगर आप देखना चाहते हैं, तो वहाँ लिगनाइट फैक्ट्री है और काल ब्रिकेट आदि ये सब चीजें बन रही हैं। इससे ऊपर आप आन्ध्र प्रदेश में देखना चाहते हैं तो वहाँ जहाज बन रहे हैं और विशाखापटनम् वही है। उड़ीसा में आप जाइये तो आप देखेंगे कि वहाँ हीराकुड है, प्रदीप बन्दरगाह है, जिसकी तरक्की की जा रही है। अगर आप आसाम में जायेंगे तो आपको वहाँ नेल की चर्चा होती मिलेगी। बिहार में जाइये। आप देखेंगे कि वहाँ चिन-रजन का कारखाना है जिसमें से अभी ८०० वा इजन बाहर आया है। पश्चिमी बंगाल में जाइये, तो आपको वहाँ लोहे का कारखाना मिलेगा। लोहे और कोयले के बारे में मैं बाद में कहना चाहता हूँ। हा, पंजाब में आप जायें तो वहाँ आपको भाखड़ा डैम मिलेगा। काश्मीर की ओर देखें, तो आपको बनिहाल टनेल मिलेगी। राजस्थान में जायें तो आपको साभर साल्ट फैक्ट्री मिलेगी और मैंगनीज वगैरह की बातें मिलेंगी। बम्बई प्रदेश में जायें तो आपको वहाँ दूध की डेरी मिलेगी।

एक माननीय सदस्य उत्तर प्रदेश में ?

श्री अमोलख चन्द उत्तर प्रदेश की बात आप छोड़ दें। वह एक ऐसा प्रदेश है जिसमें इंडस्ट्रियल काम, औद्योगिक काम कम हुये हैं। लेकिन अगर आप वहाँ भी देखें तो वहाँ की सरकार चुर्क फैक्ट्री, रेड्ड डैम, केमिकल सोडा फैक्ट्री वगैरह बना रही है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : वह तो वहाँ की सरकार बना रही है।

श्री अमोलख चन्द : वहाँ की सरकार या वहाँ की सरकार, यह प्रश्न नहीं है। किसी सरकार में विरोधाभास है, ऐसी बात नहीं। मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता था कि ५५ पंचवर्षीय योजना में इस ओर ध्यान था और इसको पूरा किया गया। द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में उद्योग की ओर ध्यान दिया गया। आप राउरकेला, दुर्गापुर आदि इस्पात के कारखानों को देखें। इन कारखानों के द्वारा जितनी हमारी आवश्यकता है, उसको पूरा करने का प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है। यदि यह आप कहें कि किसी काम में कोई कमी न रहे, तो यह आप आशा नहीं कर सकते। भगवान् की सृष्टि में भी लोग कहते हैं कि बहुत सी कमियाँ हैं। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि अगर कहीं कोई कमी हो तो हमारा यह जरूर कर्तव्य होगा चाहिये कि उस ओर हम सम्बन्धित मन्त्री का ध्यान दिलावे और उसी के लिये तो हम लोग यहाँ पर हैं। लेकिन इसका यह मतलब नहीं होता है कि कोई भी मौका हो, कोई भी अवसर हो, चाहे वह अवसर धन्यवाद देने का हो या अपनी सरकार को बधाई देने का हो, उसको भी हम आगे दिल से करें। इसलिये मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो थोड़ा समय हमें मिला है, उसमें मैं दिग्दर्शन करना चाहता हूँ कि जिसमें आत्मसन्तोष, गर्व और यह प्रतीत हो कि हा, वाकई हम भारत के एक नागरिक हैं। यह तो हुई अपने देश की बात।

अब जरा विदेशों की ओर देखिये । आपके प्रिय प्रधान मन्त्री की जो नीति है कि किसी देश से बैर भाव नहीं, हर एक में मैत्री, हर एक के काम में हाथ बटाना, उससे आपके देश की ससारा में क्या स्थिति है ? आप भारतीय प्रतिनिधि होने के नाते चाहें जिस देश में जायें, आपसे वहाँ के लोग कहते हैं कि आप गांधी और नेहरू के देश के हैं, आपका सम्मान है । मैं समझता हूँ कि इस ससारा में किसी भी देश को यह प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त नहीं है, इतना मान सम्मान नहीं है ।

मुझे कुछ यूरोप में भी घूमने का मौका मिला । मुझे पूर्व में भी चाइना, जापान, कम्बोडिया, फिलिपाइन वगैरह वगैरह जाने का मौका मिला और मैंने एक भारतीय का जो सम्मान वहाँ पाया, उससे मुझे गर्व हुआ और कभी कभी तो यह भी प्रतीत हुआ कि शायद अपने शहर में हमको वह मान नहीं मिलता है जो कि हमें दूसरे देशों में मिलता है । उसका कारण क्या है, इस पर जरा आप विचार करें । क्या उसका यह कारण नहीं है कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति को ससारा के हर कोने में मान दिया जाता है । जहाँ कहीं भी शान्ति की बात आती है, जहाँ कहीं भी ऐटोमिक इनर्जी वगैरह के पीसफुल यूज की चर्चा होती है, उसमें भारत सहयोग देता है और उसमें भारत जो हिस्सा लेता है, वह काफी शानदार है और हम सब को उसका गर्व है ।

इस प्रकार यदि आप देखें तो मुझे तो कोई ऐसी तस्वीर नजर नहीं आती है, जिसमें कि किसी को असन्तोष हो । हाँ, यह हो सकता है कि जिस चीज में हम सबको फायदा पहुँचाना चाहते हैं, हर व्यक्ति को फायदा पहुँचाना चाहते हैं, उसमें शायद कुछ देरी हो रही हो और अगर आप यह चाहें, जैसी कि एक भारतीय मसल है कि 'हथेली पर सरसों जमा दें' तो वह तो शायद कोई भी सरकार नहीं कर सकती । कोई अलादीन का चिराग तो हमारी सरकार के पास है नहीं या कोई

ऐसे जिन वगैरह तो है नहीं कि जो हुक्म देते ही कोई महल लड़ा कर दें, लेकिन उम्र और भी आप देखें तो आपके दिल्ली में ही थोड़े समय में कैसा "अशोक होटल" खड़ा हो गया और वह एक ऐसी इमारत है, जिसके लिये कि भारत को गर्व है, जहाँ कि भारत से बाहर के लोग आकर ऐसा महसूस करते हैं, उनको ऐसा अनुभव होता है, कि शायद वे किसी विदेश में हैं । यह ख्याल नहीं होता कि वह देश, जो कि गाँवों में है, उस देश में ऐसे महल भी हैं । इसका यह मतलब होता है कि हमने हमेशा इस बात की कोशिश की कि पुराने समय में ससारा में भारत का जो स्थान था और जिस दृष्टि में भारत हमेशा सम्मान पाता रहा था, उस दृष्टि को और उस काम को आगे बढ़ाये । किस ओर मैं कहूँ कि आप देखें और आपको प्रगति न मिले, शिक्षा की ओर देखिये, किसी भी ओर देखिये । जो सहायता हमको मिली है वह सब आप लोगों को विदित है । जैसा कि राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि आर्थिक व्यवस्था पर दबाव पड़ रहा है, यह सही है और यही कारण था कि हमारी योजना कुछ कट छाट करने के बाद ४,५०० करोड़ रुपये का की गई और अगर योजना का खर्च बचत आदि से लाना है, तो यह आवश्यक है कि हर नागरिक को उसके लिये कुछ सहायता करनी होगी । आज की सहायता ऐसी नहीं है कि उसका फल आपको आज ही मिल जायेगा, बल्कि ऐसी है कि भारत के जो नौजवान और जो नई सन्तति होगी, वे उसका लाभ उठावेंगे । हम लोग तो अपने को बहुत गौरवशाली पाते हैं कि हम उस समय में रहे, जिस समय कि हमारे देश ने आजादी प्राप्त की । मैं याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि पूज्य गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में जब हम लोग शरीक हुये, तो क्या हम यह समझते थे कि पार्लियामेंट के सदस्य हो कर या भारत पर शासन करने में सहायक हो कर रहेंगे । उस वक्त तो यही ख्याल था कि भाई जेल जाना है । एक बात थी, एक

[श्री अमोलख चन्द]

लगन थी, एक काम था और वह हमने भरसक करने की कोशिश की। उसमें कहां तक सफल हुये, या नहीं हुये, यह तो इतिहास बतायेगा, लेकिन यह सफलता तो हुई ही कि हमको स्वराज्य मिला। उसके बाद जब हमने शासन की बागडोर सम्हाली, तब हमने यह पाया कि जनता से हमको काफी मदद मिलती है। मैं यह भी जानता हूं कि जनता किन्हीं बातों में असन्तुष्ट है और उसके असन्तुष्ट होने के कारण है, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं है कि अगर उन कारणों को दूर नहीं करेंगे, तो शायद हम कोई अच्छे कार्य न कर पायें। जहां तक मौलिक सिद्धांतों की बात है, उस ओर यदि आप दृष्टि डालें तो आप पायेंगे कि एक समाजवादी व्यवस्था कायम करने के लिये जो कुछ भी करना चाहिये था, जो-जो बातें करने को आवश्यक थीं, वे अभी तक की गईं और जिस आवश्यकता की आज जरूरत महसूस होती है उसकी ओर आगे कदम बढ़ाने के लिये—भूमि सुधार की ओर—नागपुर सेशन ने दिग्दर्शन कराया है। अतएव आप यह देखें कि किस ओर हम जा रहे हैं। दूसरी योजना के तीसरे साल में हम आज हैं, लेकिन तीसरी योजना की ओर हमारी दृष्टि है। हम यह बनाना चाहते हैं कि आगे के पांच वर्षों में इस द्वितीय योजना के समाप्त होने के बाद क्या नक्शा हो, उसके लिये आज से हम प्रयत्नशील हैं और जैसा कि आदरणीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि मुझे पूरी आशा है कि हमारी सरकार इस साल के अन्त तक वह तृतीय योजना भी सामने रख देगी। उस पर वाद होगा, विवाद होगा, स्टेटों से, प्रदेशों से राय ली जायगी और जो जरूरी चीजें होंगी, वे की जायेंगी। मुझे तो नहीं मालूम बता कि हम कोई अन्धकार में हैं। हा, अन्धकार जनको जरूर मालूम होगा जो कि रंगीन चरम से इस दुनिया को देखते हैं। उनको जरूर अन्धकार मालूम होगा, लेकिन अगर आप तटस्थता से, बुद्धि से विचार करेंगे, तो

आपको मालूम होगा कि नहीं हमारा देश प्रगति कर रहा है और इस प्रगति का जो स्वरूप हमारे आदरणीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में रखा है, उससे हमको उत्साह मिलता है, हमको प्रेरणा होती है कि जिस तरह से हमने पिछले वर्षों में कदम से कदम मिला कर आगे बढ़ने की चेष्टा की है, उसी तरह से आगे भी हम बढ़ेंगे।

शिक्षा की ओर देखिये। हमारे यहां टेक्निकल कालेजों की जरूरत है और उसके लिये हमको देश-विदेश से सहायता मिलती है। जिस काम को करे, उसमें हमको सहायता मिलती है; जैसे बन्दरगाहों को बढ़ाना है, तो उसके लिये भी हमको ऋण मिलता है। हमारी साख कैसी है? हमारी साख यह है कि वर्ल्ड बैंक का अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सम्मेलन यहां हुआ, जिसके लिये कि यहां एग्जीबीशन लगाई गई, जिससे कि हमको ऋण मिलने में कुछ सहूलियत हुई। जो लोग बिना किसी पोलिटिकल दबाव के किसी राजनैतिक दबाव के अभाव में हमको ऋण देने को तैयार हैं—और जो कि हमको मिल भी रहा है—क्या आप समझते हैं कि वे ऋण देने वाले बेवकूफ होते हैं। उन्होंने ठोका बजाया, अपनी आंखों से देखा कि हां, भारत आगे बढ़ रहा है और समझा कि उसमें वह तमन्ना है, उसमें वह उत्साह है, उसमें वह गर्मी है, जिसके लिये कि मदद करना जरूरी है।

आप हमारे व्यापार को देखिये। हमारा व्यापार चारों ओर बढ़ रहा है। यदि हम अपने व्यापार को नहीं बढ़ायेंगे तो जो फारेन एक्सचेंज की कमी है, वह कैसे दूर होगी। इस ओर भी जो प्रयत्न किये जा रहे हैं, मैं तो उनकी सराहना करता हूं और यह चाहता हूं कि जितना भी हो सके, केवल अपने देश में ही नहीं बल्कि दूसरे देशों में भी हिन्दुस्तान का नाम हो। क्या यह सुन कर आपको हर्ष नहीं होगा कि वेस्ट जर्मनी ऐसे देश में, अमेरिका ऐसे देश में हमारे यहां की बनी

हुई चीजें भेजी जाती हैं। सीने की मशीनें जो यहां बनती हैं उनके लिये वहां अच्छा मार्केट है। आप देखें कि हमारे डिजेल पम्प वगैरह जर्मनी में भी आज मगाये जाते हैं। वह देश जो कि इन चीजों में निपुण है, जिसने इस बारे में ससार के बाजार में अपनी एक साख बना रखी थी, आज उनके यहां भी हमारी चीजों की खपत होती है। अभी तो हमको दिन प्रति दिन उद्योगों को आगे बढ़ाना है और इस ससार में हमारी तरह और जो पिछड़े हुये देश हैं उनकी ओर भी हमको ध्यान रखना है। हमें अपना उत्थान करना है और उसके साथ साथ उन देशों की भी मदद करनी है, जिससे कि वे भी आगे बढ़ें। इन सब चीजों को देखते हुये मैं तो फिर कहूंगा कि मुझे कुछ गर्व सा मालूम देता है और मैं इसको सौभाग्य समझता हू कि हर साल राष्ट्रपति जी हमको यह अवसर देते हैं कि हम यह देखें कि सरकार ने क्या कार्य किया है। उससे सब लोगों को सतोष है या नहीं, यह दूसरी बात है और यह तो आप मानेंगे ही कि सब को कभी सन्तोष नहीं होता। एक आदमी या एक सरकार सभी को प्रसन्न नहीं कर सकती। लेकिन देखना यह है कि जिन लोगों के लिये हम काम करते हैं, उनके द्वारा उसका स्वागत होता है या नहीं और जिस दृष्टिकोण से हम हर कदम को उठाते हैं, उसके अनुसार हम चल पाते हैं या नहीं।

हमारे मंत्रियों का तो यह कार्य होना चाहिये (*Time bell rings*) कि जिस योजना को, जिस कार्यक्रम को रखें, उसमें यह स्वयं देखें कि उसकी पूर्ति सही तरीके से होती है या नहीं होती। जहां कहीं किसी भी क्षेत्र में कोई कमी पायी जाय, उसको वे देखें और दूर करें। भारत के लिये क्या यह गौरव की बात नहीं है कि प० जवाहर-लाल नेहरू, पंडित पत, मोरारजी देसाई, हाफिज जी ऐसे नेताओं का नेतृत्व उसको प्राप्त हुआ है। इस नेतृत्व में अगर अब भी

हम आगे न बढ़ सकें, तो शायद दूसरा ऐसा अवसर अभी हाल आना मुश्किल मालूम देता है। अतएव मेरा यह नम्र निवेदन है कि हर क्षेत्र से, हर ओर से जो भी सार्वजनिक काम सरकार रखती है, उसमें सबको कदम से कदम मिलाकर अपने देश को उस स्थान पर पहुंचाना है, जिसमें कि ससार में उसका वही स्थान हो जो कि एक दीपक का होता है और चारों ओर जो भी अधिकार है, जो भी कमी या कमजोरी है, दुख है, वह सब दूर हो। यही मेरा प्रार्थना है। माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो रास्ता बताया है और दिग्दर्शन कराया है और जो-जो आशाएं हमसे रखते हैं, उस सब का हम पूरा कर सकें और भारत की दिन प्रति दिन उन्नति हो, इसमें ओर भी गर्व हम अनुभव करेंगे। धन्यवाद।

SHRI JASWANT SINGH Mr. Deputy Chairman, we have heard comprehensive speeches this morning covering the entire ground which in his Address the President has covered. It is not therefore necessary for me that I should also cover all the items referred to in the Address. I will confine myself to certain points, particularly those in regard to which I have moved amendments.

Sir, it is quite clear—it need not be repeated here on the floor of the House—that the country has progressed after we have attained independence. Of course we have leaders of international repute and big administrators and it is expected of them that the country should progress and it has progressed in many directions, but still as stated by my friend, Mr. Amolakh Chand, whatever you may do, there may be some mistakes here and there. I fully realise and appreciate the progress which has been made all round but there are directions where there is much room for improvement and therefore if we, sitting on the opposition side, point out certain loopholes and directions where progress has to be made, I hope it will be taken in the proper spirit.

[Shri Jaswant Singh.]

First of all I will take the all important questions of food and food prices. The existence of a man or of any country depends on food. You can do without industries; you can do without many other things but if there is no food available in any country, that country cannot exist. The Address, I am afraid, is complacent about the food situation in the country. No realistic approach has been made and it appears from the Address and from the speeches that have been made from the other side that practically all is well on the food front. I am afraid it is not so at all. We know from the very beginning, ever since the present Government took the reins of the country in their hands a wrong approach has been made in regard to the solution of the food problem in this country. From the very start high hopes have been given that before long the country will become self-sufficient. Sir, we feel that the Government somehow or other realises that they can get away by giving such hopes and, if the hopes do not materialise, they put the blame either on the monsoon or on nature or give various other reasons. But, Sir, this complacency is doing very great harm to the country and to the prestige of the Government which is in power at present. Sir, soon after they came into power, they stated that by 1950 or 1952 the country will be self-sufficient but what happened? We have only to compare the prices of food when the Government took over charge with the prices that prevailed after a few years. Afterwards we were told that if by 1955 there is no food self-sufficiency, the Prime Minister and the Government will resign. And what happened after 1955? The prices went on increasing and the production was sometimes low, sometimes high. But they took no note of the growing population. Then about two years ago when the condition was very serious the Food Minister stated that before long the prices will come down crashing. But the prices went on rising and now we are told that within two years our food problem will be solved. I

am afraid we have no more confidence in these false hopes. We want results. The proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof; not in these hopes which have been given to us for the last eight to ten years and which have not been realised. Sir, of course the Congress is a very big organisation and its representatives are governing the country and that is the only political party in the country. Yet if they pass a resolution and sit smugly in the hope that all will be well, that will not help in any way. Now the latest thing that has been put before the country for this self-sufficiency is this co-operative joint farming. Great support to this idea has been given by my friend sitting on my right and to ceilings on landholdings and land reforms. I do not know how far they will help us but if we can go by our past experience—I have had experience of this co-operative joint farming in my State of Rajasthan—we know how badly it was abused by some influential people. They took large tracts of good land near the cities in the name of co-operative farming and got thousands of rupees as taccavi and loans and tractors and what not. I am very glad that one of the Chief Ministers of Rajasthan is sitting here—an old friend and colleague of mine . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): One of the former Chief Ministers.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Yes; Mr. Paliwal sitting there opposite. It was my good fortune to be his colleague and we know how valuable land has gone into the hands of undesirables in the name of co-operative farming. Our whole aim should be that with the growth of population, there should be progressive increased production, so that all the mouths in the country could be well fed. But our experience is very sad. Similarly, if you put a ceiling on land, that would be the fragmentation of land which should not happen in a democracy of

the kind which we in the country are envisaging, but in the people's democracy probably this can be possible. My friend, Mr. Ahmad, was talking of democracy. I know democracy also has two meanings. We have a different democracy and some of our friends consider democracy in a different light. But in a democracy which we are envisaging, it is impossible, it will be beyond human possibility that production can be increased and with the policy that the Government is following it will be well nigh impossible that there will be increase in food production. And a solution of the food problem can never be within our sight not only in the near future, but I am afraid that in the life of the present generation there cannot be self-sufficiency with the steps that the Government is taking.

I would refer to one or two things in regard to food and one is this. How unrealistic the Government is in regard to this problem! Just an idea occurs and without considering the pros and cons, headlong they plunge into it. Some months ago these food zones were created by the Food Ministry. I would refer to the Western Zone in which Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Bombay were linked. I do not know what made the Government link these three States into one for the purpose of the zone. To anybody it was crystal clear that the food producing places would be denuded of food and there would be scarcity. I would give an example. The Ganganagar colony of Bikaner division in Rajasthan produces most of the foodgrains in Rajasthan. It is a food granary, one of the biggest foodgrain *mandis* in India where in living memory the price of food has never been above Rs. 16 or Rs. 17 at the most a maund. About four or five months ago I protested against the formation of this zone. The Prime Minister had asked for the co-operation of all the parties. A Consultative Committee was formed and there also I protested. Then, the Food Minister was good enough privately to call me and understand

my point of view, but he said there were difficulties and nothing could be done. The position is this. All the foodgrains of Rajasthan and particularly from the Ganganagar *mandi* were diverted to Bombay where the prices were high. And the prices in Bikaner, which had never gone above Rs. 16 or Rs. 17 per maund are today Rs. 40 a maund. Naturally it is beyond the means of the people living there. It is not a surplus division. Famine is a common thing. They never listen to the people's cries and their hardships. It is like carrying coal to Newcastle. The imported food landed at Bombay was brought to Bikaner and other parts of Rajasthan, while foodgrains from Bikaner were taken to Bombay. Has anyone heard a greater absurdity anywhere? But the Government of India would not listen to any argument. They said it had to be done and it was done and the result is there. What to talk of food prices? Even price of fodder for cattle has risen. About four months ago there was a big scarcity for cattle fodder, but grass which we call "kutari" was sold in the market of Bikaner at 2½ seers a rupee. The Government says all is well with the food problem. Everybody is well looked after and there is no complaint. I say no Government worth the name can be so complacent where conditions have gone to this extent. I am grateful to the Government that after all they have woken up from their slumber. Three or four days ago they have split this zone. Let us hope that such commonsense will oftener come to the Government. This is about food.

Then about the fair price shops much has been said. There also I do not think the arrangements are satisfactory. Fair price shops have been opened by the Government. But what is the position there? The position is that wheat worth Rs. 2 can be given to a family. We know that in these hard days people with fixed income and service-class people have been most hard hit. The earning member of the family is only one and there are big fami-

[Shri Jaswant Singh] lies, more than thirteen or fourteen members in a family. Even they can purchase only Rs. 2 worth wheat, while a single man can also buy wheat for Rs. 2 and then he can sell it in the blackmarket. This is going on openly, in front of the very eyes of the Government. But the Government is just helpless. They just cannot do anything. I am sure that all this cannot be called satisfactory. Moreover, recently, about three days ago, the Rajasthan Government called an all-parties' conference to tackle the food problem and people insisted that there should be more fair price shops opened, especially in every panchayat area. The Government spokesman said that there was not enough wheat stock with the Government to maintain supplies. Well, then, why do you say that the position is satisfactory and all is going well?

Then, Sir, I will switch on to another subject. May I know how much time will be allowed, so that I can adjust

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: One hour and 15 minutes is the time allotted to your party. You have taken 17 minutes.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I will speak for about half an hour, as my friends will speak also. Then, I will come to another point of which I had given notice but which for some technical reason has been ruled out. And that is in regard to the formation of Samyukta Maharashtra State and Maha Gujarat. Undoubtedly the President has not referred to this question in his Address, but it is high time that a revision of the policy should take place in the interests of the country. In his Address the President refers to the policy of *Apartheid* ruthlessly pursued by the Union of South Africa. He has expressed the hope that they will respond to the call of world opinion. My difficulty with the policy followed by the Government is this. We preach

these sermons to others, without for a moment thinking that they require to be put into practice. If what we profess we practise, then we stand on sound ground. Unfortunately sometimes we get emotional and we profess something and act in a different way altogether. Here it was the aim of the Congress that once the country was free and they came to power, the States would be divided on a linguistic basis. Then, certain difficulties were experienced, when the administration came to their hands. One patriot of Andhra sacrificed his life, and the Government immediately surrendered. Andhra State was formed. Of course then the ball was set rolling and the other States clamoured. The States Reorganisation Commission was set up and in the country the States more or less have been formed on a linguistic basis. For some reason or other Bombay State was made a bilingual State. We always say that public opinion should be respected. What has happened after the formation of Bombay as a bilingual State? The people of Maharashtra unanimously and expressly have proved to the hilt that public opinion in the country is for the formation of a Maharashtra State with Bombay as its capital. Similarly our Gujarati friends.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN (Bombay): How many districts are there in Maharashtra?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: That is a matter for the Maharashtrians. I would like to know from my hon. friend how many districts there are in many other States. Sir, I do not like to waste my time with irrelevant questions.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: It is most relevant.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: It may be so for you but not for me. Let him say that the Maharashtrians do not want it. The elections have shown and many other Maharashtrians have shown what they want. My friend Mr Dahya

bhai Patel has just come out from jail—it was for upholding his principle of a separate Mahagujarat State. Any-way that is a different thing. What I want to submit is that the Government have surrendered to public opinion, when one patriot sacrificed his life in Andhra—and when hundreds of men, women and children have sacrificed their lives on this issue, it seems that, because it does not suit certain leaders, Government do not form these two States. It is a matter of sorrow that some of the distinguished leaders have departed from the Treasury Benches. Otherwise the aspirations of the Maharashtrians and the Gujeratis would have been fulfilled long ago. Of course we are all proud that we are Indians, and we shall be ever proud of it. But in India we shall be proud of our respective States also. As an Indian I am proud, but in India if the interests of Rajasthan are sacrificed in favour of some other State, I will fight it tooth and nail. I am proud of being a Rajasthani because my forefathers have sacrificed their blood for the country on the sacred soil of Rajasthan. In India I am proud of being a Rajasthani. Similarly the Maharashtrians have their history. They are the scions of the great Shivaji. If their aspirations can be curbed because it does not suit some people, then it is a serious matter. Sufferings and indignities have been heaped on them that will harm the country itself. Therefore, I feel that when we swear by democracy, when we swear by public opinion, it is high time that, if what we have done is wrong, it should be revised and reconsidered, and the aspirations of these brave people should be fulfilled before long.

SHRI SONUSING DHANSING PATIL (Bombay): On a point of information. May I ask the hon. Member . . .

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I have no time. I am not yielding. (*Interruptions.*) I will give information in the lobby if any friend wants it.

109 RSD.—5.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): On a point of order. When my friend speaks on certain topics, he should hear the view of the other side . . .

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I am not yielding at all, because I never interrupt any of my hon. friends, and I object to my being interrupted. I have a limited time at my disposal.

Then, Sir, about our internal affairs, I want to touch on two little subjects. We again appear to be complacent in regard to Kashmir affairs. More or less the same condition which was created in 1953, and for which we are suffering at present, is being created there. Only recently, if we had read the papers, we must have seen that the brother of the 'second' Prime Minister of India—I say deliberately 'second' because ours is the only country which has two Prime Ministers: one is Prime Minister Nehru, and the second is Prime Minister Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad of Kashmir.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): He is not Prime Minister, he is Premier only.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I do not accept what you say. He is Prime Minister of Kashmir. However, that is a different matter. His brother had issued a statement resigning from the National Conference. There are other reports also. Kashmir forms part and parcel of our country. If one limb is allowed to suffer by corruption or misgovernment and if we sit complacently with our hands in our pockets, it is a serious thing, and as stated by my friend Dr. Ahmad, being a frontier State, complicated questions hover round this place. If we sit complacently like this, the country is going to suffer. We do not allow misgovernment in any of the other States in India, and I do not know why our Central Government is sitting silently and complacently and allowing things to develop there of the kind which developed in 1953 and for which we are suffering so badly now.

[Shri Jaswant Singh.]

If we do not take advantage of the experience that we have gained—and I should say that it is a bad experience—I am very sorry to say that nobody can give any credit to our Central Government for looking after the interests of the country as well as we all expect and as well as they profess.

Similarly, I would also support the demand made by my friend Dr. Ahmad in regard to a public judicial enquiry into Mr. Mathai's case, because very serious complaints of breach of privilege of the Parliament, of the Chairman, of the Speaker, of the sovereign body of this country, have been raised, and therefore it is a demand which should be conceded to by the Government without any hesitation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Allegations.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Yes, that is what I meant.

Then, Sir, I would come to the second amendment of mine which has been admitted, and that is in regard to our policy in foreign affairs. The President has been pleased to state the Government's view in the Address in paragraphs 37 to 41, but the essence of the whole policy is contained in paragraph 41 where it is stated: "Our own relations with the countries far and near have continued to be friendly". Sir, it may be so as far as this Address is concerned, but I would like to know how far it is in conformity with facts and reality. Can we say that our relations with Pakistan are friendly? It is a foreign country next door to us, our neighbour, and here the President states that our relations with countries far and near have been friendly. I say that our relations with our next door neighbour are inimical. They consider us as their enemies. Their acts prove that. They cry from the house-tops that they have an enemy in India.

Then, Sir, I come to Portugal. Formerly we had diplomatic relations with them, there was exchange of envoys with them. We have now cut off our relations with them. Then there is the Union of South Africa, a member of the Commonwealth. We have no diplomatic relations with that country. Similarly, Sir, there may be other countries also. Therefore, to say unequivocally that with countries far and near our relations have been friendly is not in conformity with facts. That is what I want to submit.

Then, Sir, as far as foreign affairs are concerned, during the last ten years or so, under the guidance of our Prime Minister, our leader, our country has made very great progress. We are hailed as a big country. Wherever our representatives go, they are welcomed with open arms by everybody, by all sections of the people. To whichever bloc the countries may belong, they respect India. So far so good. But unfortunately the position which has developed is this: we pay more heed to popularity than to conducting our policy with a view to safeguarding our interests. Also, Sir, howsoever outwardly we may have friends in both the blocs and in other countries and we may receive financial help from them with or without strings, I am not prepared to admit that all the aid that is being given by charitable people is without strings, but that point I do not want to stress because of the short time at my disposal; but I want to submit this point. Have we ever thought that the prime consideration with us should be that our national interest should be safeguarded first and then we should have friendly relations with everybody? I want to know the name of any country which ignores this excepting us. Take the case of some countries which have subscribed to the principle of Panch Sheel. When it comes to their national interest, they do not care for the Panch Sheel agreement that they have made with us. Or for that matter, there is no other country in the world which when it comes to its national interest

will not care for it. But I would now like to submit that after we have got independence, we have had several national problems. I would like to know from the Government spokesman and from the External Affairs Ministry whether they have been able to solve during the last ten years a single national problem which impinges on international connections. I would just like to know that. I can quote seven, eight or ten examples. We receive the guests; we show them hospitality. They make speeches at banquets. They praise us and we feel that our duty is done and we are very popular. Naturally, our prestige has increased; it is very high. But then we have not been able to solve a single national problem. I do not want to go into them. But take the major case of Kashmir. Here, in this case, we have an advocate of the calibre of our Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon. It is crystal clear and an open secret that Pakistan has committed aggression. I would like to know from the Government spokesman whether we have convinced the World Organisation that Pakistan has committed aggression. In a clear-cut case, we cannot convince the World Organisation which consists of reasonable people, with an advocate of the calibre of the Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon. Then, can we say that our foreign policy has been successful?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI (LAKSHMI MENON): Mr. Dixon's report is there.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I want to ask the hon. lady Minister whether Mr. Dixon is bigger or the World Organisation or the Security Council? The Security Council does not admit that Pakistan has committed aggression. I would submit that Jammu and Kashmir is part of our country. Two years ago, the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir wanted to pass its constitution on the 26th January. Pakistan protested. The United Nations moved Heaven and

earth to see that the Security Council met and passed the Resolution before the 26th January. What was the hurry? What were our representatives doing? They tried their best. A country like Pakistan with a Government of the type of which we all know can move Heaven and earth, move the United Nations—the World Organisation,—and fix a date for the Security Council to meet and pass a Resolution.

AN HON. MEMBER: Who is responsible for it?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Then what happens? Similarly, in our territory of Jammu and Kashmir which has been usurped by Pakistan, it is constructing a dam called the 'Mangla Dam' on account of which lakhs of people of Indian nationality will be uprooted and hundreds of villages will be removed. We protested, but what happened? Just they did not take any notice of it. They just circulated a document to the different members of the United Nations and did not care. And Pakistan is very nicely going on with the work with the help of American and British engineers, uprooting lakhs of Indian nationals. I understand that our Government lodged a protest with the British and American Governments. What is the reply? The reply is that they have no control over the private firms which are constructing the dam. I do not think that the Government and the External Affairs Ministry can be satisfied with this reply. But no reasonable man who has the interest of his country at heart would be satisfied. I do not mean to say that the External Affairs Ministry has no interest. But then they go in more for popularity than for this thing, and what is the result? When Mr. Dulles wants to stop American nationals from entering China when they want to go and see their relations there who, for some crimes they had committed, are in jail, he says, "No American can enter China" or for various reasons, he just says that no responsible American

[Shri Jaswant Singh] can go to China. And here, our Ministry is satisfied with the reply that the Americans and the British give that they have no control over their firms. If they could talk such things, it is beyond a joke. Since my time is short, I do not want to go into the question of Goa.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It has already run short.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: How much time have I taken, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken half an hour.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I will finish my speech in five minutes.

I do not want to go in detail into the question of Goa where the Government itself takes no notice because they feel that they are so helpless that they cannot do anything. But I would like to refer to one point. There are many other matters pertaining to our people, but the Government has been so helpless that they cannot do anything?

Lastly, a new kind of aggression is being committed on our country, and as usual, our External Affairs Ministry is helpless. It is helpless and therefore, cannot do anything except when Parliament meets where we express our views and give out our dissatisfaction about the way in which the affairs are conducted. Sir, a new kind of aggression is going on and that is the 'cartographic' aggression on our country. With this point, I will finish my speech. First of all, the United Nations Headquarters displayed in the main lobby of its Secretariat a map of Jammu and Kashmir showing that it belonged to Pakistan, definitely showing that it belonged to Pakistan. And we made a protest and we are satisfied if we make a protest we think we have done our duty. The reply of the Secretary was that it was a mistake due to hasty and inefficient draftsmanship.

Then we pursued the point and our stand was that it was in conformity neither with law nor with facts. The United Nations Secretariat maintains that the substance of the map is in conformity with the status of the question before the Security Council and we said we are satisfied.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: No, we never said we are satisfied.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Then, what are you doing? I would like to know exactly. Except that you are interrupting me, I would like to know what you have done.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM (Madras): What do you suggest for it?

AN HON. MEMBER: Declare war?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: In our further correspondence, we mentioned to them, here is Algeria, here is Cyprus, here is West Iran; these territories are under dispute and they are shown as parts of the countries which are in physical possession of them. Therefore, what is the justification for this special colouring? Just they do not reply and we are sitting smugly and there the matter ends. In the United Nations Year Book and the Folder, Kashmir has been painted in blue and white strips, showing that it belongs to both India and Pakistan. The matter continues and we feel that we have protested and that we have done our duty. This is what has happened as far as the United Nations are concerned.

Sir, I would like to refer to what is happening with our neighbour. We have got friendly relations with China. But when the question—quite rightly—of their national interest comes, well, first they will not agree to any arbitrary settlement; they will thoroughly go into the question of their rights. Therefore, in spite of our friendly relations, China has consistently refused to accept the internationally recognised Mac-Mahon Line as the border bet-

ween the two countries Quite right, because self-interest is there and why should they not refuse? In the July issue of the 'China Pictorial', the map of China showed a certain Indian territory as being within the borders of China We protested and an explanation was given to say that that map was not drawn by the present Government, but was drawn by the Kuomintang Government and therefore, we are not responsible for it Since then, no survey had taken place, but if and when a survey takes place and we alter the boundary, we will consult India as well as the other countries which are affected And we were satisfied Soon after, Sir, in a map published in the 39th number of the 'New Times' it has been stated that Russia made over to China nearly 30 thousand square miles of the Indian territory

4 P.M.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA May I know how big was the map?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH The map was quite big and it showed 30 thousand square miles of the territory belonging to India as part and parcel of China It is also understood that similar maps are under circulation in other Communist countries in Europe Therefore, Sir, it is rather a matter of surprise—and even I should say—and shock to find acceptance by the Government of India of the Chinese explanation at its face value My difficulty is that in such matters our Government is very complacent and it is very trustful of others' motives It is true that we have inherited such great virtues Our Prime Minister is a spiritual heir of Mahatma Gandhi, and therefore, Sir, he thinks that like him everybody is good But others have got different points of view over these matters Sir, I want to warn the Government of India about these cartographical lapses At present they may believe the explanations which have been given, but if you go into

details and see the map itself, it can be proved It is said that the Kuomintang Government had drawn it Certain latest developments about Laos, Cambodia and Viet-Nam are also shown there But I am not satisfied with this explanation, because we know that other countries will be able to look after their own interests. So, Sir, I want to give a warning to the Government to look into this matter seriously Otherwise what will happen is that these cartographic lapses may, in the end, turn out to be worse than mere remissness Therefore, Sir, I do hope that the Government will consider this matter seriously and not take it in any complacent manner, as has been the custom so far Thank you.

SHRI T S AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR (Madras) Mr Deputy Chairman, the President's speech is an impressive array of the work done in the country for the last one year. Our country is buzzing with immense activities I must appreciate all those achievements and give congratulations to the millions of workers and peasants who have been responsible for this progress

Well, Sir, I listened to the speech of the hon Member who just preceded me He referred to many things and he also referred to the foreign policy pursued by our country What I want to submit is that if there is anything about our country which has received universal appreciation, it is the foreign policy that has been pursued by the Government of India A greater certificate about that cannot be given by anything else than what I saw in certain newspapers, and I am sure many of my friends must have also seen that There were some Pakistani leaders who were telling their people "If you are going to Arabia, Mecca or Madina, call yourselves Indians and you will be respected" I think that is very important My friend himself admitted that India is respected and honoured

[Shri T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar.] in foreign countries. Well, that is something to appreciate and that is something to be proud of.

Sir, among so many things that have been said in the speech, I am afraid, one very important matter has not been referred to at all, and that is going to be very important for the next few years of our existence. That is with regard to our population policy. Most of the countries in the world have got certain population policies for them. Where populations are small and where lands are immense, the population policy is to increase their population. In a country like India there is the problem of over-population and the foodgrains that are produced cannot meet the needs of that population. Therefore, Sir, the question of having some population policy in this country becomes much more important.

In this connection, Sir, I am quoting from an article in the 'Parliamentary Studies'. It says:

"Let us examine the pressure of population which will be faced during, say, the next twenty years. On the basis of decennial increase of 13.2 per cent. during the previous decade, the Census Commissioner has estimated that the population will increase from 357 million in 1951 to 410 million in 1961, 460 million in 1971 and 499 million in 1975. Against this the estimates of two eminent demographers, Messrs. Coale and Hoover of Population Research Institute, Princeton, are 375 million in 1951, 424 million in 1961, 532 in 1971 and 605 million in 1975. There is a difference of more than 100 million in the two estimates of population in 1975."

That is to say, Sir, that in the course of 20 years the estimate made is that there will be an increase of 40 to 50 per cent. Well, it further says:

"There are various factors which are going to determine the real trend.

* * * * *

It has been argued by many economists that with rising standards of living due to planning, the rate of increase of population will automatically come down. It may be remembered, however, that every increase in the standard of living in the low income strata will tend to increase the rate of population which will just be compensated by its fall in the higher income strata. Some economists argue the other way round. They believe that with better nutrition and medical facilities and a fall in the infant mortality, the population may tend to increase much faster," and so on.

Taking all these things into consideration, Mr. Deputy Chairman, we should ask ourselves as to where we are proceeding. We are making these herculean efforts to increase our production. I am immediately coming to the question of food production. But one thing is dead clear that unless there is control over population, any effort that we may make for increasing our food production will not by itself solve the problem of feeding this increasing population. So, Sir, we must think over this problem. We are having our Five Year Plans and other plans. But we must remember that there are two very important matters which are to be taken note of. One is about food and another is about employment. We have got to provide food to our masses and we have got to create an adequate employment potential. From these points of view, Sir, it will be a colossal tragedy, which we can never think of if we allow so much increase in our population. We cannot afford to increase our population at the rate at which we are doing. To my mind Mr. Deputy Chairman, this is not a matter over which any statesman can be complacent. Individuals may be complacent. People who are well-to

do and who are rich can well afford to be complacent.

THE MINISTER OF REVENUE AND CIVIL EXPENDITURE (DR. B. GOPALA REDDI): Who are unmarried also.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: People who have no problems of this kind can afford to be complacent. But as a nation and as a people we do require some kind of population policy. It is necessary that we should educate our people so that they can co-operate with us. For this purpose we are in need of large-scale public co-operation, not that of a few individuals here and there. Therefore, Sir, I hope that the Government will face this problem squarely. Otherwise all the attempts that have been made will fail ultimately.

Sir, immediately connected with the population problem is the food problem. It is a matter of sorrow to us—may I say, also a matter of shame to us—that year after year we proclaim that we are going to be self-sufficient, but year after year foodgrains worth crores and crores of rupees are being imported. Not only that, three years ago our leaders in this House and the other House said that 40 per cent. increase in foodgrains can be made. What has happened to that? We announce about seed farms, technical devices, artificial manures and many other things that have been mentioned by the President in his Address. But what has been done? Crores of rupees have been spent on irrigation projects but we get the reports that irrigation water is not being utilised for the land. We are told that seed farms have been started but what is the result? We are told about the efforts for the distribution of manures, but what is the amount of produce? Year after year it is the same story. In one portion of the country or the other there is famine.

Connected immediately with the matter of food policy is the matter of

price control. There is only one way in which this problem can be solved, and that is the increase in food production. No amount of controls, no amount of talking can permanently solve this problem. I feel—I do not want to pin responsibility on any single individual—but this much I say that the people who have been dealing with food—Secretaries or even higher—have not done their job properly. I must say that if India is to live, if the Third Five Year Plan is to get through and if the Third Plan is to be a plan, this food problem is something very important. We want people with dynamic vision, people who can do it, not persons who just sign and issue statements merely because some Under Secretary or Secretary does it for them. Conferences are being held—Food Ministers' Conferences, Food Secretaries Conferences—all this is being done but these conferences cannot create one grain of rice. Millions of our peasants in the villages who required to be inspired have not been inspired to do that. We want something which can inspire them to do that.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, there is one other matter which I would like to mention. It was referred to by my hon. friend, Shri Pattabiraman, in his opening speech, *viz.* the official language policy as has been referred to in para. 29 of the President's speech. It does not give an inkling as to what that language policy is going to be or what the proposal of the Committee is going to be. But this much I would like to say to this House, and through this House to the people of this country. If any section of the people of this country—merely because they have a majority, because they are greater in number—try to superimpose their language upon others, I tell you that we are in danger. We want the unity of this country. But the unity of the country is not achieved by imposing one's language upon another. Language is something which is associated with sentiments just like one's affect on for one's own country, one's own

[Shri T S Avinashilingam Chettiar] mother And if there is anyone to say that simply because you are in larger number everyone of our children must study your language, I say, there lies the danger The Central Advisory Board of Education has accepted the three-language policy, that is, English, Hindi in non-Hindi areas, another Indian language in Hindi areas and the regional language We said to create unity between the various parts of the country let the people in the Hindi-speaking area study a non-Hindi language, maybe a south Indian language—maybe Marathi, maybe anything We in South India—I speak for all the four South Indian States—have provided for compulsory introduction of Hindi in our schools But may I ask anybody from north Indian States, from anybody from UP whether they have followed this language policy?

SHRI B B SHARMA (Uttar Pradesh) They know more of these languages than you appear to know Hindi

SHRI T S AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR I know, Sir, it is people like these who are against the unity of India

SHRI B B SHARMA If you come to Kashi you will find that the people there know more of these languages than you do about Hindi

SHRI T S AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR May I know if any of the north Indian States has introduced a south Indian language? Let the Minister of Education stand up and give me this information I know he cannot give this information This second language has not been introduced in any of the north Indian States I want figures, not sentimental exclamations I want facts to speak I say, Sir,—I say this is very advisedly—we shall learn Hindi True, but give us the time Forcing the pace would entail great difficulties and disastrous consequences So, let me make it clear Hindi we accept We

are sincere in our approach, but we shall not be hustled Our children shall not be made hewers of wood and drawers of water simply because they do not know Hindi We refuse to accept that position To create the unity of India I want our people to know Hindi I know many people in north India do not think that any other thing than north India exists because they do not know the language, they do not know the culture, they do not know the literature of the other language groups in India I would like that an attempt should be made, not by proposing one professorship—I know the Education Minister will come and say that professorships for south Indian languages have been provided in Universities, it is a welcome step—but more than that, they may be introduced in the schools as a third language So, Sir, I do not know what is going to happen, what is going to come as the outcome of the Official Language Committee I wish it may be something acceptable to all—maybe, they have the wisdom to say “let us postpone it, let us not hurry it up” so that south Indians will have the time and opportunity to study the language I hope, Sir, those who are in charge of affairs will be blessed with wisdom so that India will always be united and strong

One other matter that I would like to say is this We have talked so much about economic development I am for economic development Nutritious diet must be given to everybody Education must be the opportunity of all All this is true But I am not happy about the stress While we stress economic development, there should be, Mr Deputy Chairman, if I may say so, stress on simplicity of life, stress on higher ideals, stress upon limiting your needs, a stress on hard work, a stress on sincerity and all that In the Secretariat here and everywhere, I feel everybody wants to escape with the minimum amount of work Ask your Under Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries They will tell you the attitude, the way of life and the mind of our young men

Money is being wasted. We know the reports of the Public Accounts Committee. That sense of devotion, which makes you think that public funds are something sacred, must be created in the minds of our people, not only in the minds of our people, in the minds of our officers, but if I may say so, in the minds of our Ministers and others who are responsible in this matter. They must set an example in this direction. I do not know how far we have been able to do that. But I must say that if we create that atmosphere of higher idealism, of sacrifice, of hard work and living for a great ideal—for the advancement of this country—unless we lay stress on these qualities of idealism and of work, our plans will not be achieved, they will not achieve the objective for which we have lived and for which we would like to die.

Before I close I would like to say something about the conception of the socialistic form of society. I do not think many of us have thought about it—what the socialistic society really means as also how we propose to implement the socialist ideals today. I do not like to take much time of the House, but this I would like to say that according to the socialist ideal of society, apart from economic equalities which we must implement sometime or the other, not only should we fix ceilings on incomes for the landlords but also for the leading industrialists who get incomes of three lakhs, ten lakhs and fifteen lakhs every year. That is to my mind the real form that a socialist form of society should take. About this particular matter, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I hope we will have greater time and other opportunities to discuss. But here I would like to end with this note that we must try to create a great India, a great future for this great country, to create a great people in this great country. The idealism of devotion, sincerity and hard work must be inspired. How that should be done should also be a major objective in our Plan.

DR. A. N. BOSE: Mr. Deputy Chairman, the day before yesterday, when

I was witnessing the pageantry of the Presidential procession, I was struck by the novelty of the scene and I had been expecting something serene, sublime and novel but when the Address of the President came, I had a mild shock. It appeared to me as a sort of anti-climax to the dramatic situation which was reared up. It appeared to me to be a very simple ritual where Ministers were singing their own homilies through the mouth of our revered President. It is quite in the fitness of things that the Address begins with a very brief review of our national plan.

In paragraph 8, the objectives which had been set forth in the blue print of the Second Plan have been repeated—substantial increase in national income, rapid industrialisation, expansion of employment, reduction of inequality etc. Sir, these objectives do not inspire me. For me a sound national plan is one which assures a means of livelihood to all, which assures the elementary needs of life like food, clothing, shelter, health, education etc. to every citizen. My yardstick of a good plan is not the tons of steel produced, the number of factories started, the crores of rupees expended but the number of persons who are with smiling faces, cheerful faces, with a healthy body and with intelligent mind. My measure of a sound national plan is not the goods, things and services which have been produced but the number of men who have consumed these goods and services, the number of men who have shared in the consumption of the increased production. The test of a good plan is not the increase in national income or the increase of average *per capita* income but the equitable distribution of the increased national income. Judged from these standpoints, the achievements of the Second Plan have been rather modest.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU) in the Chair.]

The plans have favoured the towns and have neglected the villages. They

[Dr. A. N. Bose.]

have favoured the industries and neglected agriculture. They have produced steel, cement etc. but they have left food to the tender mercies of the gods. It is strange that after 8 years of planned efforts, food and other essentials of life like kerosene remain as scarce as ever, that after 8 years prices have soared higher and higher, salaries and allowances are chasing prices and the lag has been increasing. Population has been increasing, employment is increasing also. Employment is chasing population but is lagging farther and farther behind. If the plans have given us factories, cement and steel, the plans have also given us soaring prices and rising unemployment. The peasantry remain half-naked and half-starved. The modest land reform legislations that have been made in the States have been rendered almost infructuous. I don't want to dilate on how the land reform measures were sabotaged by the zamindars because that point has already been examined in detail by the previous speaker from the Communist Benches. The problem of landless peasantry remains almost where it had been. The question is, why is it so? Is it because of any defective policy of the planners or is it because of defective execution by the administrators? In my mind, it is not so much because of defective policy or of defective execution as it is due to lack of public enthusiasm. Here also I entirely agree with the speaker from the Communist Benches and I think many from the Congress Benches also will bear me out because our Prime Minister himself had stated so in his much disputed article 'The Basic Approach'. But why is this lack of public enthusiasm behind our plans? Our Prime Minister says that it is because of a lack of philosophy, a lack of ideology which might enthuse the people. It is not because of lack of ideology, it is because the plans do not hold out any promise of any change in the basic social order. The plans do not hold out any social equality or social justice to the common man. He finds that the big man is as big as ever, the rich man as rich as

ever and the poor and low as poor and low as ever. When I saw this Presidential procession of day before yesterday, I was just thinking: 'Does this pomp and pageantry fit in with the country where people are still going naked and starving? Does it behove our President, who is one of the foremost disciples of Mahatma Gandhi, of a man who dared to go to Buckingham Palace to meet His Majesty in loin cloth?' They proclaim off and on that Mahatma Gandhi is our master, that our whole administration, our policies and the whole set-up is modelled after the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. I don't know what he would have thought if he had seen that his disciples are drawing salaries to the tune of Rs. 10,000 per month besides other emoluments and allowances, and indulging in such pomp and pageantry. I don't say that if the President or the Governors or the Ministers cut down their salaries and emoluments, it will mean any substantial addition to our exchequer and that it will go a very long way towards the solution of the problems of capital formation; but that will have a tremendous psychological and moral effect. I think that only such a step can inspire the masses and enthuse the people on behalf of the national plan. We very often hear complaints that sufficient resources are not available for the implementation of the plan projects.

It is not because of lack of resources. There are ample resources in our country. It is because of softness to capitalists, tenderness towards the people who can really pay, that this situation has developed and that stands in our way. Sir, it may almost sound like a cliché when uttered from the side of the Opposition Benches but the same thing was said by a man of the eminence of Prof. Kaldor, the taxation expert whose advice was sought by our Government. He blamed our Government for half-hearted and piecemeal implementation of his recommendations. He says that the expenditure tax and the gifts tax are riddled with

loopholes and exemptions and he assures that if his suggestions are taken *in toto*, they will bring in an addition of about Rs. 250 crores which we are losing by way of tax evasion. Sir, our Government have made no attempt to tap the hidden resources which lie in various quarters. Very recently our neighbouring State of Pakistan had made a drive to tap the hidden resources and ferreled out sufficient resources in this way. We must give credit to the dictator where such credit is due but it is strange that what a dictator in Pakistan could do, our democratic Government could not dare to undertake.

As far as the position of food is concerned, we are where we had been before the plans were taken up if not farther behind. Costly irrigation works were undertaken with very little result. The much-boosted river valley projects are not yielding any results commensurate with the investment. If rains have brought a good harvest and if some States have come forward with price control measures, even these measures are being nullified by the wholesale traders. Sir, it is strange that after a bumper crop, rice has vanished from various States. In West Bengal, immediately after the harvest, as soon as price control measures were introduced, by the Government, rice disappeared completely. You may have seen the news today in the papers that the entire Opposition walked out from the Assembly on this ground. It is very strange. Such things, people say, did not happen under the British regime; that immediately after harvest and a bumper harvest at that the crop entirely disappears from the market. Sir, this is how our Government have been tackling the food situation.

The Second Plan has admittedly failed to reach its target because of the shortfall in resources. This is the price we have paid for the reckless spending in which we had indulged in previous years. Every Tom,

Dick and Harry found a place in a foreign mission or delegation and had a good excursion at Government's expense and consumed our foreign exchange. It is thus that our sterling balances were squandered. Now, we have been talking of pruning the Plan, scrapping down the plan projects and settling down to the hard core of the Plan. Hardly have we recovered from this crisis when we are being told of a more ambitious plan of Rs. 9,000 crores. How will this money come by borrowing, by deficit financing or in any other way? Are we heading towards a crash?

Sir, if the Plan has missed the target, it has also overlooked priorities. In paragraph 26 of the Address, there is a reference to the improvement of the ports of Calcutta and Madras at a cost of Rs. 20 crores. I do not know what the plan for the improvement of the port of Calcutta at least is. The port of Calcutta is in grave danger because of the silting of the river Hooghly. The attention of the Ministry has been drawn to this again and again in both Houses of Parliament. We have repeatedly warned the Government that at the rate at which the river Hooghly is drying up, it will not take many years for the port of Calcutta to be completely destroyed and the loss of the port of Calcutta means the loss of crores of foreign exchange. Enquiry has been going on for decades and decades about the position of Hooghly and the position of the port of Calcutta, as well as about the possibilities of the Ganga Barrage at Farakka. This point was raised in a Resolution in this House about a year ago and a few months ago in the other House also but the hon. Ministers are always coming forward with the same replies that investigations are being made, that examinations are being made and that steps will be taken as soon as possible. Sir, in Bengali, there is a maxim, *Bhadra loker ek katha*. This means that a gentleman has only one word, he does not change his word. I find that our Minister of Irrigation—unfortunately

[Dr. A N Bose]

he is not here, he had been here a few moments ago—is an ideal gentleman of one word, that investigations are being made and that proper steps will be taken as soon as possible. This was said a year ago and also a few months ago and possibly if he cares to reply to this point, he will repeat the same thing like a very good gentleman.

In paragraph 32, there is a reference to displaced persons from East Pakistan for whom rehabilitation arrangements have been made at Dandakaranya and in other States. Sir, it is good news that the Ministry is determined to see through the problem of the displaced persons but in this Address, there is no suggestion as to the arrangements that have been made for the resettlement of these persons. So far as the other States are concerned, our previous experience has been deplorable. Displaced persons of agricultural vocation have been sent to other States without implements, without animals, without capital and they have been settled in rocky soil, with uneconomic holdings and amidst hostile surroundings. The result has been mass exodus and return to the home State of West Bengal. We do not want the same thing to be repeated over again. The mere closing down of camps or stopping of doles does not solve any problem. I do not say by any means that the refugee problem should be perpetuated forever or that the refugees should be given doles throughout their lifetime. That will drain out whatever manliness might have been left in them. By all means give them healthy and hard means of livelihood, but give them the necessary resources, make the necessary arrangements. Let the representatives of the refugee organisations go and see what arrangements have been made for their rehabilitation, let them be satisfied that they will not be asked to build houses without bricks and straw, that all the necessary materials will be provided to them to settle them in gainful means of livelihood.

In paragraph 40 there is a brief reference to the agreement with the Prime Minister of Pakistan and to the exchange of enclaves of India and Pakistan. I do not think that Berubari is an enclave. The hon. Deputy Minister for External Affairs will correct me if I am wrong. Berubari is not an enclave. It was bartered out without any reference to the State Government. That has been categorically stated by the Chief Minister of West Bengal. Neither the Ministry nor the officers of West Bengal were consulted. It was bartered away in a most unauthorized and unconstitutional fashion. And after the sacrifice has been made a post-mortem sanction will be sought through a Bill. Behind this Bill there is the threat of our Prime Minister's resignation. It has already been said on his behalf that to reject this provision of the Nehru-Noon Agreement would amount to a censure of our Prime Minister and so the result of the Bill is a foregone conclusion. Sir, is this a democratic method to barter away your homeland in the parleys with a foreign country without reference to the people, without reference to the State to which the land belongs, and without reference to the legislature of the country?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P N SAPRU) But the Executive must have power to negotiate agreements.

DR A N BOSE Sir, I am questioning the power. I am questioning the propriety of the deal. Whether the Executive has the power or not, that will be discussed when the proposal comes in the form of a Bill. Sir, my submission is that you cannot earn any lasting friendship by such a policy of appeasement. You cannot earn the friendship of a State, which is determined to be hostile, by making concessions after concessions. I am reminded of what the British Prime Minister, Mr Chamberlain, did when Hitler attacked Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain tried to appease Hitler by the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia in

the Munich Pact and our Prime Minister is trying to appease Pakistan by sacrificing Berubari and other Indian territory. Such means never pay. Sir, in this deal between the two Prime Ministers our Prime Minister surrendered about 20 sq. miles of territory in exchange for about eight sq. miles of Pakistani territory making a net loss of about 12 sq. miles of Indian territory. And all this was done in a parley where neither was there any authorized copies of maps, nor were there any officers who could speak on behalf of the territories which were being bartered away.

I next come to Goa. As regards Goa and other possessions held by Portugal on the Indian soil, our Government seems to have no policy at all but a policy of drift and acquiescence. Ever since the satyagraha launched from India in Goa was stopped by force, the policy of the Indian Government has been one of humble submission and acquiescence. They silently witnessed the statement which was issued jointly by Dulles and Salazar declaring Goa as part of Portugal. They silently witnessed the parleys which have been going on between the military chiefs in Goa and Pakistan. Now lately the United States 5th Fleet has appeared in the Indian Ocean with its bases in Karachi and Goa, thus linking NATO, the Baghdad Pact—or the rump of the Baghdad Pact—and the SEATO. Far from liberating Goa, we are now seeing Goa being transformed into a potential spring board for attacking the Indian territory. Sir, I have every respect for our Prime Minister, for his integrity, his goodness and his brilliant personality. But if I judge him as our Foreign Minister from the standpoint of the interests of India or by his foreign policy, I dare say that he deserves no credit whatsoever. It is one thing to get applause and claps from abroad; it is another thing to settle the problems nearer home. He has not settled the problem of Pakistan; rather he has created it. By stopping the march of the Indian army across Kashmir, by referring the matter to

the Security Council and by signing a cease fire agreement on the advice of Lord Louis Mountbatten he created the problem of Kashmir when it was going to be solved within a few hours. Then he has not solved the problem of Goa; he has not solved the problem of Indian nationals abroad. He has not solved the question of Apartheid in Africa, the question of Indian nationals in Ceylon. Whenever we come to brass tacks, to the practical problems of our life we find that he has miserably failed.

Sir, references have been made by previous speakers to the Kashmir situation. One really wonders whether Kashmir and Jammu are really part of India. Whenever a Bill comes in this House the very first clause says, "excepting the State of Jammu and Kashmir." Our Election Commission has no jurisdiction over Kashmir; nor has our Supreme Court. Then the High Court of Kashmir is under the Kashmir legislature. All these anomalies have to be rectified. There are widespread complaints of reeking corruption and of suppression of civil liberties. I wonder why our Government should fight shy of treating Kashmir and Jammu on the same level as any other State of the Union. Does it not give a handle to Pakistan? Does it not encourage Pakistan and its supporters to say that you do not dare to treat Kashmir as your own territory when you make an exemption in favour of the State in every legislative measure you bring before Parliament? The real danger in Kashmir is that we are relying entirely on one man. Previously we had relied entirely on another man and it was almost a sacrilege to speak anything wrong against him, to criticise him in any matter. Then, one sudden morning we found that he was a traitor and he was branded as a traitor by his own erstwhile colleagues—not by the opposition—and by his friends, men of his own party. We are doing the same mistake. We are entirely depending on what one person may say about Kashmir. And recently his own brother came out with an ex-

[Dr. A. N. Bose.]
 posture of the situation prevailing in that State. I submit that our Government should take courage in both hands and interfere in the affairs of Jammu and Kashmir in the same manner as it deals with other States. The jurisdiction of our Supreme Court and of our Election Commission should extend to that State as much as to any other State.

I conclude after a brief reference to education. It was not at all mentioned in the Address. That is quite in the fitness of things, since education is not in the hands of a Minister with Cabinet rank. Apparently education is last in the priorities of our Government. But our Constitution unfortunately exhorts complete implementation of free and compulsory primary education to boys and girls up to the age of 14 by next year, by 1960. I wonder how near are we towards this goal. The Education Minister also had been here, but unfortunately by the time my turn came he has left the House. Education is in a complete muddle. Apparently there is no . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU): You have only two minutes left now.

DR. A. N. BOSE: I should speak up to the end of the House today. My time was 35 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU): That will be finished in two minutes.

DR. A. N. BOSE: I will finish immediately. There is neither any policy nor any philosophy behind our system of education in the primary and the middle stages. There are three systems running side by side—the basic education, the old type of education, and the English type education, education given in the English Public Schools. This is perpetuating the class division that exists in our society. The English type of schools is meant for

the big men and the children of our Ministers. I wonder how many children of our Ministers go for education in the basic schools designed after the Gandhian model? They are taught in English schools and the Public schools, and after graduation they are either in England or in America. There is no co-ordination between the three different stages of primary, secondary and higher education. First, we sought to readjust higher education through the Radhakrishnan Commission, then the secondary education through the Mudaliar Commission. And we have not yet started touching primary education. The reforms goes from top to base. (*Time bell rings.*) We are venturing with a new syllabus without text books. We are venturing with . . .

The VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU): Only one minute.

DR. A. N. BOSE: . . . schemes without teachers. You are cutting down my time, but the bell was not rung when others spoke. This is wasting my time, Sir.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That will go from the pool.

DR. A. N. BOSE: I shall finish. We are introducing a new scheme of education without books, new syllabus without texts, new methods of education without teachers trained in the new methods. This is how we are muddling with our education system. Above all this teaching profession, particularly at the lower levels, is as underpaid as they were. It is a poor man's job from the bottom to the top. Sir, this is the most neglected portfolio. I shall conclude by contrasting the working of the Education Ministry with what our Prime Minister has said in his much disputed article. He says at the conclusion of his article:—

"It is man that builds up the wealth of a nation, as well as its cultural progress. Hence education and health are of high importance so as to produce that quality in the

human beings. We have to suffer here also from the lack of resources, but still we have always to remember that it is right education and good health that will give the foundation for economic as well as cultural and spiritual progress."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is that?

DR. A. N. BOSE: "The Basic Approach", the article which has been criticised by Mr. Yudin. It was published in the "Economic Review", the Congress journal, and it is reprinted here from that.

The working of the Education Ministry is in sad contrast with what the Prime Minister has said in his article.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU): I am sorry to have interfered, but I could not help it. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Bombay): What time will I get, Sir?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU): You start, you close at 5 and you continue tomorrow.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have read carefully the speech delivered by our worthy President . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU): Not heard it?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Unfortunately I was not in the House. I was not in Delhi. It reads well. It is printed very well, but it means little. I am sorry I cannot be enthusiastic at all about the substance that is inside the speech. In fact, it will cause considerable amount of disappointment in the region where I come from, in my constituency, and therefore it is

necessary that I should take this opportunity to express the feelings of the people there which seem to be utterly disregarded here. We talk of democracy. We talk of the will of the people. Where is the will of the people? Here we have in this country thirteen States which have voted unilingual States for themselves and denied unilingual States to two States. Is this fair? Is this just? Is this what can be called democracy? That is the question that I would like to ask this House, this Parliament. I would like to ask them how long they wish to continue with this injustice.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU): But has each State the right to determine its own frontiers?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Each State may not have, but the country should have, and the country should decide it on a principle, not on individual convenience. If the principle is linguistic State for all but two States, then naturally the two States that have been denied this are resentful of the injustice that is heaped upon them. That is the point that I wish to make to begin with.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Is there unanimous agreement on the question of Bombay?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Agreement between whom?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Why do you want to throw the apple of discord? Why do you want to make Bombay the apple of discord? Can you not go by the vote of the people, as we are prepared to do? I was one of the first persons who opposed Bombay going to Maharashtra. That was in 1948.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: You were in the Congress then.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I am recognizing the vote of the people. At that time the Congress did not oppose Bombay going to Maharashtra. Shri Shankarrao Deo did it on his own. Nobody supported him.

I was the one exception who opposed Mr. Shankearrao Deo's statement . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: You should be consistent.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I am consistent. I recognize the vote of the people since recorded three times, the

vote for the seat of Parliament, the vote for the State Legislature and the vote recorded by the people of Bombay for the Bombay Municipal Corporation election.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. N. SAPRU): You can continue tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow, the 12th February.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 12th February 1959.