

**REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF  
ENQUIRY INTO THE AFFAIRS OF THE  
LIFE INSURANCE CORPORATION OF  
INDIA**

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS <SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM> : Sir, on behalf of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Report of the Hon'ble Mr. M. C. Chagla, Chairman of the Commission of Enquiry into the affairs of the Life Insurance Corporation of India. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-522/ 58.]

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): May I make a submission in this connection? It appears that the other House has more or less decided to discuss this report early next week. In another place, the Prime Minister stated that this House also might discuss this and that he had no objection to it. I think we are entitled to discuss this report. I would like, Sir, that the discussion should take place simultaneously in both Houses; that is to say, we should take it up early next week as has been decided upon in the case of the other House. I would therefore request you to ask the Government to so arrange its programme that the discussion takes place simultaneously in both the Houses and we do not lag behind.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH (Madras): I have given notice of a motion after this has been presented.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We will take it -up after the discussion on the President's Address. Copies of the report will be distributed at the Lobby.

**PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE**

**ACTION TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT ON  
ASSURANCES, PROMISES AND  
UNDERTAKINGS GIVEN IN THE HOUSE**

THE MINISTER or PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table

the following statements showing the action taken by the Government on the various assurances, promises and undertakings given during the sessions shown against each: —

- (i) Statement No. II, Nineteenth Session, 1957.
- (ii) Statement No. VI, Eighteenth Session, 1957.
- (iii) Statement No. VIII, Seventeenth Session, 1957.
- (iv) Statement No. III, Sixteenth Session, 1957.
- (v) Statement No. XVI, Twelfth Session, 1956.

[See Appendix XX, Annexure Nos. 8 to 12 for (i) to (v)].

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

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, I join Shri Vyasji in supporting the Motion of Thanks to the President for the Address he delivered to both Houses of Parliament. It was suggested that the Address of the President was a complacent Address and that it did not really take the real situation into consideration, nor gave a policy, clear and definite, regarding the future. I think that, if something could be said about this Address, it is that it is realistic and constructive and where there has been difficulty or where there has been weakness, it has admitted and referred to it. So, the charge that the Address was of a complacent nature, I respectfully submit, is not warranted.

Coming to foreign policy, we are all agreed and we have always repeatedly said that so far as the policy of the Government of India with other nations is concerned, we fully support it. Notwithstanding this, as has been the practice, some attack has been made on the point that we are in the

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan]

Commonwealth. We have repeatedly answered that charge. We feel that not only is it helpful to solve world problems but it has not been pointed out that because we are in the Commonwealth, we have deviated from our non-alignment policy, our independent policy, that we do not follow any one bloc but we try to live in a

friendly way with them and 12  
**No**OHif necessary, to bring together  
 the two warring blocs. So I respectfully submit that we entirely endorse the foreign policy of the Government of India and we welcome the suggestion that has been given in this Address that so far as the use of atomic energy is concerned,—it is unequivocally said— though we may be in a position to find out means and ways to use these weapons for destructive purposes, we will not do so and I think it is in consonance with the policy of the Government of India. Not only that, but it is in consonance with the history of this country of how we have gained independence non-violently. At the same time I am sure the House will join with me that we raise a very strong protest and we agree with the Government that the demand by some countries in the Baghdad Pact meeting that nuclear weapons should be supplied to them is abominable, to say the least. When once these weapons are supplied to Eastern or Asiatic countries, one bloc supplies to some and the other bloc supplies to the other, then we can imagine what will be the position and what will be the situation in the Asiatic countries. **The** idea of some of these countries is to have experiment in the East. Previously also they have used these atom bombs not in Europe but in Asia and if possible, this time also they will try to use these weapons in Asia or in Africa and not in Europe. Let us be alive to the situation. Let us fully realise what the implications of this policy is and let us firmly declare that we strongly protest against suggestions and encouragement given in **the Baghdad Pact meeting.**

Leaving the foreign policy there, taking the internal or domestic matters, I would say that the suggestion made by Shri Vyas that although we stand firmly on the stand regarding the Kashmir question, but still I hope that these friends will take initiative and see that the differences between the ear-Premier and the present Premier are settled and we shall see that if possible, maintaining our stand, we can win over the ma l who has worked for a long time in the national movement standing shoulder to shoulder with some of our revered leaders. I entirely support that all those friends should take initiative and try to see that this matter is settled and all the difficulties are removed.

Now, coming to the home front, as I said in the beginning, more than 3/4th of the Address is devoted to domestic matters and perfectly correctly. I say it is 10 years since independence, which we had through a long struggle of going over 20 years—I refer to the non-cooperation movement,—we have been through a long political struggle and before independence the economic condition of our people which was backward, on account of the colonial policy of the then Government, became worse. Now, it is nearly 10 years when we see that we are still having the problem of our food, we have the problem regarding our education, we have the problem regarding our shelter and so many other matters by virtue of which we cannot improve the economic standard of our people. The question comes in—is it not the duty of all of us now, instead of drifting our energy in matters which I think, for the time being are absolutely irrelevant or I would say, not have any force or meaning. For instance, the other day the representative of the Communist Party said 'Well, **why** not again have a separate Gujerat and a separate Maharashtra?' I don't say that the matter has been decided once for all and it will never be opened but let us take a resolve **and**

see that at least for 10 years, for the remaining period of this Plan and for five years. Let us leave that contentious subject. Let us concentrate all our energies on the economic development, on the implementation of the Plan. Similarly, certain suggestions were made by a certain Member which certainly creates interest but I think does not create that atmosphere i—serene atmosphere, which is needed viz., about Dakshina Pradesh, about having 4 States there and 2 Parliaments and so on. I wish my friend would have given a little more attention to the movement of Dravida Kazhagam and condemned it. I wish he would have given more serious attention to the news that appeared two days back that 'We Tamils want a Sovereign State in our country\*. These are fissiparous tendencies, no matter whether they are in the North or South. These are to be taken very seriously and let us all decide. Notwithstanding differences, the country is one and we are the citizens of this great country and only for administrative reasons or for convenience we are divided into different States. It is high time—I don't say that it is anything very serious—but that indicates how our mind is working and instead of concentrating on constructive things, on the unity of the country, we are wasting cu\- energy in things which are most detrimental to the interests of the country. It is not for me to say, and all our leaders have said that one lesson that India has to learn is that we have been fighting between ourselves on things which are absolutely unimportant and we have been neglecting to concentrate our energies on things which are more important. Let us resolve today. The President has given us a lead. Let this House also make a resolve that in future everyone, no matter from which State he comes in, whenever we see anything which directly or indirectly or impliedly challenges the unity or unification of our country, we will all raise our voices, not only that, but do our best

to see that these fissiparous tendencies are nipped in the bud.

I do feel now that there are many things to be done so far as domestic front is concerned and especially economic planning is concerned. I

have been repeating on more than one occasion in this august House that so far as education is concerned, especially primary education and the quality of education, whenever I referred that this should be taken seriously and we should implement the promise given in the Constitution that as early as possible we should have compulsory free primary education and educate our masters, whenever I say that the quality of education that is even now given is communalistic, is sectarian and that it has to be stopped, the answer that I get from the Education Ministry is that this is a matter in the hands of the State Government and what could they do. If that is the answer, then I say there is no need for having a Ministry in the Government of India. I do admit that the Constitution does divide the work between the State and the Government of India but this matter of compulsory elementary education and of the quality of education is fundamental and let us see that at least the future generation which is coming, let it come with humanist ideas, with-nationalist ideas, with ideas which will bring together instead of separating people. This matter is a question of policy and that is why I have referred to that matter in connection with this Address. So far as technical education is concerned, Government did take some steps to advance technical education but, after a year or two, retraced the steps already taken. In the case of private institutions they said that they would bear 75 per cent, of the non-recurring expenditure while the balance 25 per cent, was to be met by State Governments and or private parties and' public charities but they now say that they will give help only on a 50 : 50 basis. Sir, it is evident that so far as our planning is concerned, in-my humble opinion, it is not so much-

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the financial side of it that matters but it is the personnel and the technical side that matters. Everywhere, we are finding difficulties in the way of getting technical people of all grades, engineers, supervisors and so on. Is it not the duty of the Government to see that we develop institutions which would equip people technically so that our Plan may go ahead? That is a matter to which I, with your permission, would like to ■ draw the particular attention of the Government. As regards financial - difficulties and especially the difficulty that we have in regard to foreign exchange, I have got the latest information from some of the Middle East Countries. We have ' captured the market there so far as the textile goods are concerned. There is a big scope there for our sugar, for our leather goods and cement. There is scope for all these things to be exported there so that we can get dollars and foreign exchange by this process. Although we say that there is difficulty in obtaining foreign exchange, we are not doing anything tangible. The one Board for foreign trade will not be able to meet and understand or implement the problems and solutions connected with this question of exports from this country. "The problem of West Germany is an independent problem. The delegation that we have sent there has submit-• ted us a report and we find from that : report that even in West Germany " there is scope for our goods to be sent there so as to enable us to 'get in return machinery and other things that we require. My humble suggestion is that we should divide the world into different groups and categories so far as our export policy is ■ concerned. Let there be a committee vfor the Middle East composed of •people who know the conditions prevalent there; let there be a committee, in regard to the Far East, which knows the conditions obtaining there.

If we have such committees, they - would be able to look into the matter

more closely and stimulate exports. Very definite and particular attention is necessary regarding the other parts so that we might have our foreign exchange position eased. I know that this is not the occasion when I should go into the other details but I wanted to make this humble suggestion so that the Government might take this matter into their serious consideration and attend to it.

Lastly, Sir, I have a suggestion to make so far as we the Parliamentarians are concerned. This is not the time for slogans or for generalisation of the matter. Now, we are all convinced that we have to improve the economic conditions, we have to increase our production, we have to see that production does not go into a few hands but goes equitably to all hands, etc. This is not the occasion for giving notice of strikes. It is the duty of all concerned, and especially my Communist friends, to see that at least for ten years we all do our best to settle these matters without strikes. We are tackling that problem and we are trying to have labour, as far as possible, in the management. Let us see that there is no strike for at least ten years and let each one of us try our best to see that no such strikes come off. Similarly, Sir, it is our duty to see to our constituencies and to give our time to the constituencies. Members of this House should visit their own areas and see what practical difficulties are being undergone by the people in matters relating to the community development blocks and in having more agricultural production. Their difficulties should be attended to in a brotherly atmosphere so that the Government and the people might be brought together. The whole difficulty at present is that all these things are at present managed by Government. They have nothing to do, generally speaking,—I am talking about these agencies—with the representatives or with the people. The representatives of the people think that their duty is only to come into

the Assemblies and to attend the Parliament. I am speaking generally —there may be a few noble exceptions^—that this is so but, in the context of the present economic crisis, in the context of our serious efforts to develop our economic activity, it is our duty to come down to brass tacks and to see how we can improve the conditions in these blocks and thus improve the agricultural produce.

With these observations, Sir, I support the Motion of Thanks moved by Shri Vyas.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We have a large number of speakers. I think we will have to restrict the time. Each Member will take not more than fifteen minutes. You can sit through lunch hour. The Minister will reply on Monday morning.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY (West Bengal): Mr. Chairman, I rise to address a few words in support of our esteemed colleague, Shri Jai Narain Vyas's Motion conveying the respectful thanks of this House to the President for his simple, chaste and dignified Address. Addresses of this kind are usually formal and flamboyant and more often than not, couched in certain stock-exchange phrases of the particular political trade the ruling party belongs to. Such Addresses also exaggerate whatever achievements are made or not, conceal more than reveal and sometimes also aim poisoned arrows at enemies that are more imaginary than real. This Address does nothing of this sort. What it has to say, it says in a straight forward, simple and honest manner and in a characteristically quiet dignity. If the Address errs at all, I should think it does err in certain understatements.

It would not have been necessary at all for me to speak but for certain criticisms that have been levelled by the Opposition by way of amendments and speeches made in support of them.

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Before I comment on a few of them, I would like to refer very briefly—indeed I feel tempted to do so—to one remark of my esteemed and gracious colleague, Shrimati Pushpalata Das. She felt very happy—and I know, most of us do feel happy—indeed she congratulated the Communist Party of India for having revised their policy. I believe she has been a little bit too hasty in her congratulations. We remember very well that not very long ago, one of the most distinguished leaders of the contemporary world —Mao Tse-tung—said, indeed he wanted that so far as China was concerned, he would be pleased to see a thousand flowers blossom together. And a year has not yet elapsed and we witness how the thousand blossoms are gradually fading. Indeed, we are hearing of dozens of instances where poets and artists are not being extended the freedom that they are entitled to in a situation where a thousand flowers were expected to bloom. We have to wait and see, for I believe, it was on the very day or the day after the news of this revision of policy was published in the newspapers, the Secretary of the Communist Party of India came forward to explain what it meant and he said that despite whatever revisions had been made, the party still adhered to the Marxist-Leninist ideology. I do not know how the revision, the words and terms in which that revision has been made and the basic thesis of Marxism and Leninism can go together. Anyway, this is neither here nor there.

I will refer to two or three points that have been raised by way of criticism by our friends on the other side. The most important point my friend Mr. Rajah tried to make out was in respect of our attitude towards the Commonwealth. I believe, time and again, the Government of India's policy in this matter was explained in this House and in the other House and also outside of Parliament, in public. The Government of India's general

(.bnn JNinar Kanjan Kay j policy has always been to associate India, to associate our Government and our people, with increasingly concentric circles of non-military, political, economic and cultural import. It is with this purpose in view that we joined the biggest circle—the United Nations. But this biggest circle contains also other circles, and one of those circles is the circle of the commonwealth. By itself I do not see if we could get into a Bandung circle, why we could not get into the Commonwealth circle as well. After all, they do not curb our freedom in any manner. We were only opposed to such associations as stood for power in terms of nineteenth century military and political power blocs. We are opposed to military blocs, but we were not opposed to blocs as such. May be the Commonwealth is a bloc. But nobody is that blind as not to be able to see that the Commonwealth is fast changing its original character. It is changing its character because of increasing number of independent nations and peoples coming inside of its orbit. That we did never sell our freedom, that we did never oblige to barter even a whit of our independent policy was more than made clear in respect of our attitude relating to the Suez crisis. The world has seen what India stood for at that time, and I do not see for myself how our association with the Commonwealth has ever fettered our hands either politically or economically. It is better to be a little bit objective in these matters. May be, whenever we speak of the British Commonwealth—it is no longer the British Commonwealth, we should remember—whenever we speak of the British, perhaps we smell a rat. I do not know if this is not an emotional attitude. After all, here we are talking in terms of politics and economics and it is better to be a little bit objective than merely emotional and subjective.

My friend, Mr. Kishen Chand, referred to the community projects

and he »as definitely of the opinion that the community projects as such have failed altogether. This indeed is very hasty to conclude. We are only ten years old and we have been attempting to do very many things at one and the same time. The community projects is a new venture, or perhaps not altogether new. It is not true to say that we took up the community projects at the behest of certain foreign powers or that we wanted to please foreigners who came to this country by trying to show them some dressed-up windows. In fact, the idea and the programme of the community projects appealed to us and we did try sincerely and actively to build up our community blocks by way of developing and transforming large areas to which we had not yet been able to bring the civilised amenities of life, the basic social and economic amenities. May be we have erred here and there. May be we have made mistakes. May be we have not been able to achieve the results we were looking for. But one only learns through trial and error.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Andhra Pradesh): But not at the cost of the nation.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: Nor, I believe, it is proper to impute motives. We did it in a manner which may not have succeeded to the fullest extent. We only learnt thereby. And only very recently the Prime Minister did admit that we have to think of the community projects in new terms, may be we shall have to rearrange the whole programme, look at it and analyse it from a different angle.

There was another point made out by Mr. Kishen Chand, which I could not exactly follow. He congratulated the Government of India in respect of its attitude towards nuclear arms. But in the same breath almost, perhaps logically following it, he argued that the Government of India should reduce their expenditure on arms. Of

course, I have no idea, though I know the budgetary estimates a little bit, and I do not know whether the Government of India has been manufacturing large-scale arms, or has been spending out of all proportions on the Army budget. I know that it is much more than perhaps we would like it to be. But to say that the expenditure on the army should be decreased, that it should be curtailed to the minimum at this stage is to ignore realities altogether. Whatever we spend on our army, we are not aiming at attacking any other Power, or even of being aggressive in tone, temperament and attitude. The whole expenditure is strictly on the defence of the country, and knowing fully well that there are frontiers that have to be defended, that the integrity and the sovereignty of the country have to be defended, how is it possible, how can it be suggested even, that at this moment when we are not yet out of the woods, our expenditure on defence can be curtailed without running grave risks. I am afraid, we are misinterpreting our attitude towards peace and non-violence. If we are genuinely eager for peace, if we are generally, by and large, non-violent, it does not mean that the State is non-violent. It is a question of attitude and approach, not a question of Aristotelian logic. My friend's logic would come to this that we should wipe off our police, that we should wipe off our army altogether (*Time bell rings*) which is fantastic. I believe that it is a misunderstanding of the total policy of the Government of India.

Sir, I have not the time to refer to other points which, I believe, can be taken care of by other Members. Nor do I understand much about economics or commerce, but one thing I would refer to. Sir, there has been some confusion in me because of certain utterances of the Opposition. Someone has suggested that our Second Five Year Plan has been much too ambitious and that it should be curtailed, while others have suggested

that the Plan should not be curtailed at all and that it is not at all ambitious. In this confusion I do not know which position to argue against. We have been told and we have seen that our friends on the other side are very eager to see the Plan succeed. This is all very right. Only on one point I would make a plea. This Plan is not the Plan of the Congress Party; it is a national Plan and should be viewed totally from a national angle. Apart from other things which are too many, one of the impediments to my mind, so far as the success of the Plan is concerned, is some maladjustment in the relations between the management on the one side and labour on the other. I would make a fervent appeal that not only the Government but the Opposition also should see to it that there is, for at least during the Plan period, a moratorium on Government and labour or management and labour disputes. If we are really eager for the success of the Plan and if we mean business, there should be some understanding, some adjustment, on the management-labour front. Thank you, Sir.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Mr. Deputy Chairman, in view of the short time at my disposal it is not possible for me to deal with the many points that have been raised in the Address of the President, and I would therefore like to take up only one or two points which strike me to be important.

First of all, the President in his Address has stated that the malaria control programme has made considerable progress and reduced greatly the incidence of malaria. "From control, our efforts are now being directed to a complete eradication of malaria." Sir, it may be true that in some parts of the country our programme has met with success but it is a surprising fact that in areas where there was no malaria previously, you find it raging now. In some parts of the country which were dry and

[Shri Jaswant Singh.] where there was hardly any water—the rainfall averages to 6 to 10 inches—and where malaria was completely unknown and where people had not known of a mosquito-curtain, I can say authoritatively, coming as I do from Western Rajasthan, particularly in the former State of Bikaner, where malaria was completely non-existent, that malaria is as virulent as it was in other parts of the country a few years ago. People cannot sleep out without a mosquito net—people who can afford this—and soon after the monsoon every year now for the last 10 to 15 years or so malaria comes on in a virulent form and thousands and thousands of people, particularly agriculturist classes, are laid up with malaria at the time of harvest. I would therefore invite the attention of the Health Ministry that while it may be true that they have succeeded in eradicating malaria in some places, in places where malaria was almost nonexistent, it is raging in a virulent form, and some steps should be taken. While they are meeting with success in other parts of the country, malaria mosquitoes are being driven to places where they never existed.

Then in regard to food, I have to offer a few remarks. Somehow or other we feel that on the part of the Government a reorientation of the food policy has become very very necessary. It appears that the Government has fallen into some fixed grooves and that they are not in a position to deliver the goods. The President in his Address stated that in the year 1956-57 larger production of foodgrains took place and it almost touched the peak level reached in 1953-54. But what is the position? In spite of this, people are not getting foodgrains to which they are accustomed. We were told this morning at Question Hour—and otherwise also—that so much foodgrains are lying in stock all over the country but the price at which foodgrains are made available to the people are getting beyond their means. We know that in my part of the country people have begun to sell even the

essential things needed for the production of foodgrains in order to get foodgrains, like, bullocks and other implements of agriculture, and when the time comes during the monsoon to take to agricultural operations they find they have no means to produce food. Of course there is provision for taccavi loans. But on paper these plans are very tempting and they appear to be very good. But here' also, in getting taccavi loans, party politics play a very big part with the result that people not belonging to the party in power find it difficult to get even these taccavi loans. And those people who manage to get the favour of those who are in a position to give these loans can get taccavi loans three times, four times and even more. So, if the country is to be saved from the hardship which it is facing, the Government has to reorientate its policy in regard to food production programme and unless it is done the country will ever be faced with a bad situation which we are faced with even now. Somehow or other it appears that the Government feel that if they pass resolutions either at the party meeting or in the National Development Council, the whole food problem will be solved. I say that this has complicated matters so far and we will find ourselves in course of time in a very serious difficulty unless the Government changes its view on this front. Then, Sir, I would like to deal with one more point during the time at my disposal and that is in regard to our relations with foreign countries. The President has stated in his Address that our relations with foreign countries continue to be friendly. It is true that during the current year our interests have not come into clash with any other Powers. The indication of the friendly relations appears to be that so many eminent guests visit our country and we have the privilege of extending our hospitality to them. Our Defence Minister who is also entrusted to conduct our foreign policy has time and again in this House mentioned that so many distinguished guests have visited **our**



country and this would go to show that our relation with foreign countries is very friendly. It may be true. But we have also seen that we have been faced with difficulties when some of our guests expressed their opinion in regard to the other countries. But what I would like to state here at this moment is this. In what way our relations with the foreign countries have been tested to prove that they are all friendly to us? Take the case of our neighbouring countries and our neighbours. Have our relations improved with them in any way whatsoever, in spite of our policy of being very friendly, very lenient, even at the gravest provocation that is being given to us and the interests of our nationals have been jeopardised by the policies of the foreign countries? I would not touch the usual subjects which are discussed on the floor of this House like Kashmir. In the short time at my disposal I shall try to take the case of Pakistan. We are quite friendly to them and we try to help them in their difficulties. Even at times when we have to show ourselves to be small, we try to oblige them; but what are they doing and how has our policy succeeded with them? Take the case of dacoits. Coming from a border State I know that the Indian dacoits, Indian nationals,—who have committed murders, who loot people, rich people right and left for thousands of miles no rich man can now stay there—are given shelter by the Pakistan Government. It has been proved in this House and we have protested also, though officially the Ministry may say that they take shelter. At one time here between the hon. Deputy Minister and me there was an argument. She says that they take shelter and I always say that they are provided with shelter. Neither of us agrees—and the Prime Minister loses his temper also—on this issue. But I can authoritatively state that our dangerous dacoits are given shelter by the Pakistan Government. They are provided with arms and ammunition of precision which our armed police constabulary on the border do

not possess. The dacoits are given quick transport by the Pakistan Government. They enter our territory to the extent of 150 miles, 200 miles, boldly. One of the dangerous dacoita called Bhanwar Singh entered our interior up to 200 miles. He had a public marriage. He is dead now. He was a Rajput. He married publicly in a place near Nagor in Jodhpur. He entered 200 miles, came with a marriage party and took away his bride. The police were helpless to do anything. This is not only one. Similarly there is this Jagmal Singh gang. Jagmal Singh belongs to my village. I know him very well, whatever he is doing. The police complain that they have not got the transport. They have not got the precise arms and ammunition which this gang has, and except protesting we cannot do anything.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER »» EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON) : But what did the people do?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Then, Sir. . . .

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI RAJ BAHADUR): Was the matter not reported to the police?

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: And what did the people do, I would like to know.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: The people are helpless. The Government is helpless. The people depend on the Government. If the Government is helpless what can the poor people do? When the Government cannot give arms and ammunition to their own constabulary what can the poor people do?

SHRI H. D. RAJAH (Madras): The responsibility is that of the Government. | !

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Let the Government not take income-tax and other taxes from the people and leave the people to their fate and we will be satisfied. But as long as the Government takes taxes from us it becomes the responsibility of the Government to give us full protection, and they cannot shirk the responsibility.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: That is correct.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Then we are faced with the shortage of foodgrains. What is happening? I can say that thousands and thousands of tons of foodgrains, wheat and rice, are openly smuggled into Pakistan. They throw temptations into the hands of Indian nationals. Here also party politics play a very big part. I would request the Government to tighten up the measures and impress on the people their responsibility, that it is as bad as a heinous crime to export or smuggle foodgrains, when it is a thing of such great necessity in this country itself. What are we looking at? Now, these border incidents are having serious proportions. My friend, Mr. Raj Bahadur, the hon. Minister, also comes from my State. It is a matter of pleasure to us and honour to us that he represents us here. But I can tell him that despite what he and the Government are doing as far as the border incidents are concerned, they are on the increase. Whether it is the Portuguese on the Goa border, or whether it is Pakistan on the western border or the eastern border, what do they do? On the slightest pretext they come and shoot 20 or 30 or 40 people and innocent people and take away the loot and go . . .

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: And then the police at the Indian border . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: And then what do they do? I do not know whether our police constables, constabulary or army, are provided with arms and ammunition which they

cr. not use. While Pakistan, whether they are supplied with arms and ammunition by the foreign countries or elsewhere . . .

*(Interruptions.)*

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR  
(Nominated): Non-violent police.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: They can use it because they do not consider us as friends. But in our attempt to be non-violent our army possesses arms with which they cannot shoot the enemies.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: It is wrong to say that our border police or border army does not use force or they are non-violent. It is wrong.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: They have become non-violent unfortunately. That is our difficulty.

*(Interruptions.)*

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: They use nonviolent weapons.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I can say that our police and our armies are very good to shoot down Indians whether it is in Bombay, whether it is in Jullundur, whether they are in the jail of Ferozepore, innocent people, old people, sick people and disabled people; and particularly if they are Hindus I can say that our army and our police would not hesitate. When it comes to our enemies, we become non-violent. When it comes to Kashmir, when they are on the point of being driven away, our enemies cry halt, and immediate instructions *eo* for "cease fire". This is the condition which we have reached where it can be said that in dealing with our enemies our policy has completely failed whether it is Panchsheel or whether it is non-violence. You have to deal with the people in the *lanpuHfe* in which they understand, *it* we think that by love we can win over

Pakistan and we can win the Portu- ; gueese and we can get our own territory back, I can only say that we are very much mistaken, and one day we have to regret at leisure.

*(Time bell rings.)*

Then, Sir, since my time is up, I would say lastly, what is the latest statement of the great Prime Minister of Pakistan in regard to the arresting and rounding up of Indian nationals in East Pakistan, putting them in concentration camps and making them build roads? The question was put before the Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha?

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: Here also yesterday.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I was not present here yesterday, probably it was raised here also. What explanation was given by the Prime Minister I do not know. Why is he helpless in dealing with Pakistan? Otherwise, of course, on the floor of this House and there also, always, in a very loud voice, he says he is not afraid of anybody in the world, whether it is the U.S.A. or whether it is the U.S.S.R., whatever it is. But when dealing with Pakistan something or other happens. We protested to the Pakistan Government and their reply was not coming as their Prime Minister was out on tour.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: I am sorry the whole matter was explained yesterday and I think the hon. Member should read the proceedings of the House.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: The Deputy Minister can reply to me because, if I am interrupted, my time will run short.

*(Interruptions.)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I have got before me a cutting from the papers.

They appear to be satisfied with the statement which the Prime Minister of Pakistan has given on his return. Here also, I am very sorry to say, from the statement that the Prime Minister made here in this House yesterday and what has appeared in the papers, according to some of us who do not agree with the foreign policy of our Government, that the Pakistanis are deliberately encouraged to take up this attitude against India, because they feel that the more they bully us the more cowed down we would be for the simple reason that every foreign nation's eyes are on us as to what repercussions they produce in regard to our position. Therefore, I am not in a position to support the motion which Mr. Vyas has moved in this House.

**श्री टी० पांडे (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** उपसभा-पति महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति का बड़ा कृतज्ञ हूँ कि उन्होंने कृपा करके अपना भाषण दिया। इस प्रस्ताव को जिसे श्री व्यास जी ने पेश किया है उसका समर्थन करने के लिये मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। इस संबंध में दो एक बातें मैं आपके समक्ष उपस्थित करना चाहता हूँ। पहली बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषण में द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना का जिक्र किया है। यह योजना हमारे देश की उन्नति के लिए न केवल आवश्यक है बल्कि उपयोगी भी है, लेकिन इसमें दो तीन बातें बतौर सुझाव के मैं पेश करना चाहता हूँ। पहली बात मेरे ख्याल में यह है कि कृषि या खेतीबारी के उत्पादन में वृद्धि करना आवश्यक है। इसके लिए मेरे तीन सुझाव हैं। पहला सुझाव यह है कि जो अलाभकारी जोत है उनके ऊपर किसी प्रकार का लगान न लगाया जाय। दूसरा सुझाव यह है कि भूमि की अब तक इकाई निश्चित नहीं की गई है, उस इकाई को जल्द से जल्द निश्चित किया जाना चाहिये। तीसरा सुझाव यह है कि भूमि के ऊपर वर्तमान कर पद्धति या लगान पद्धति जो है उसका अंत हो जाना चाहिये और आय कर सिद्धान्त के आधार पर भूमि के

**[श्री टी० पांडे]**

ऊपर लगान लगाना चाहिये। चौथी बात में यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो पंचवर्षीय योजना हमारे देश के लिए इतनी उपयोगी है, जिसको हम आधार मान कर इतना आगे बढ़ रहे हैं उसमें जनता की भावना का जितना समर्थन होना चाहिये या उतना नहीं हो सका है। हमको इस योजना को इस प्रकार कार्यान्वित करना चाहिये जिसमें जनता का ज्यादा से ज्यादा समर्थन प्राप्त हो सके और जनता स्वयं इस काम में रुचि ले सके।

हमारे देश में बाहर से बहुत सी चीजें आती हैं जिनमें कुछ आवश्यक भी हैं। लेकिन मेरा यह निवेदन है कि जितनी भी विलास की वस्तुयें हैं, मनोरंजन की वस्तुयें हैं, उनका देश के भीतर आना कुछ समय के लिए बंद किया जाना चाहिये।

गल्ले के भाव के संबंध में यह कहा गया है कि अनाज के भाव कुछ गिरे हैं जिससे जनता को सुविधा मिली है और किसानों को राहत मिली है। लेकिन मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि देश में कुछ ऐसा तरीका अपनाया जाना चाहिये कि जितनी भी जीवन की उपयोगी वस्तुयें हैं, जो आवश्यक हैं, उनके भाव कुछ गिरें, जिससे जनता की जो ज़रूरत की चीजें हैं, वे सस्ते दामों में मिल सकें।

एक और बात की तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। इस भाषण में मुझे एक बात यह खटकी कि हमारा देश एक कृषि प्रधान देश है, लाखों करोड़ों ऐसे किसान हैं जो खेतिहर मजदूर हैं और विभिन्न राज्यों में परम्परागत मजदूरियां हैं जो बहुत ही कम हैं। राज्यों की तरफ से इस ओर कुछ प्रयत्न भी हो रहा है। लेकिन मेरा निवेदन यह है कि जिस तरह से कारखानों में मजदूरों को अधिक मजदूरी मिलती है उसी प्रकार की कोई अखिल भारतीय व्यवस्था इस संबंध में होनी चाहिये जिससे मजदूरों को अधिक से अधिक मजदूरी मिल सके ताकि वे अपने

जीवन को अधिक सुखमय बना सकें। इस ओर सरकार को विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

भाषा और लिपि यह एक बड़ा जटिल प्रश्न है। इस संबंध में देश में कतिपय स्थानों पर विवाद भी खड़ा हो चुका है। इस संबंध में दो एक सुझाव मेरे भी हैं। पहली बात मैं यह देख रहा हूँ कि देश में बहुत सी छोटी छोटी स्थानीय भाषायें हैं, इन भाषाओं की अपनी कोई लिपि नहीं है। कुछ ऐसी बोलियाँ और छोटी छोटी भाषायें हैं, जो चौदह भाषाओं के अतिरिक्त हैं, उनमें से कुछ रोमन लिपि में लिखी जाती हैं। मेरा यह सुझाव है कि जिन छोटी छोटी भाषाओं की लिपियां नहीं हैं, उनके लिए अखिल भारतीय कानून बना कर या राज्यों को सलाह देकर उनके लिए देवनागरी लिपि बना दी जानी चाहिये। यह काम अगर सरकार जल्द से जल्द करेगी तो अच्छा होगा।

हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी को राष्ट्रभाषा के रूप में प्रयोग करने के संबंध में देश के अन्दर बहुत से विचार व्यक्त किये जा रहे हैं। इस संबंध में गोहाटी कांग्रेस अधिवेशन के समय एक प्रस्ताव स्वीकार किया गया था जो मेरी समझ में एक बड़ी संतुलित चीज मालूम पड़ती है। अगर हम उस प्रस्ताव को आधार मानकर चलें तो भाषा के विवाद का प्रश्न आसानी के साथ हल हो सकेगा। अंग्रेजी के प्रति देश में मोह अब भी है और यह आवश्यक भी है। लेकिन मेरा यह निवेदन है कि राज्यों को अपना कारोबार चलाने के लिए अपनी राजकीय भाषा का प्रयोग करना चाहिये जो उस राज्य की भाषा है। इस तरह सरकार का कार्य अधिक से अधिक राष्ट्रभाषा में होना आवश्यक है।

काश्मीर के संबंध में यद्यपि मैं इस समय कहना उचित नहीं समझता हूँ। लेकिन मुझे यह प्रश्न एक जटिल जान पड़ता है। खास तौर पर जब से शेख अब्दुल्ला साहब जेल से

मुक्त हुए हैं और उसके बाद जो उन्होंने अपने विचार व्यक्त किये हैं, मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि भारत और काश्मीर के बीच में इससे सामंजस्य पैदा नहीं होता बल्कि कुछ संदेह की सृष्टि होती है। दिल्ली में कुछ ऐसे स्त्री-पुरुष हैं, जो इस दिशा में काम कर रहे हैं। मैं उनकी नीयत में कोई संदेह नहीं करता हूँ। लेकिन मुझे ऐसा मालूम होता है कि जिस तरह के वातावरण की वे सृष्टि कर रहे हैं, उससे शत्रु पक्ष को ही अधिक बल मिलता है। उनके विचार और कार्यक्रम मुझे ऐसे मालूम पड़ते हैं जिनसे विघटन और संदेह की भावना अधिक बढ़ती है। इस तरह की चीजों से भारत और काश्मीर को कोई लाभ नहीं हो सकता है। सरकार को इस तरफ अधिक सतर्क रहने की जरूरत है।

I. P. M.

अन्त में मैं उत्तर प्रदेश के सम्बन्ध में दो एक शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। उत्तर प्रदेश भारतवर्ष की आत्मा है। खेती पर यह प्रदेश अपना जीवन यापन कर रहा है और मेरा यह मत है कि यह प्रदेश बड़े संकट में है। वहाँ कोई कल कारखाने नहीं हैं, कोई उद्योग नहीं है जिससे इस प्रदेश का भविष्य उज्ज्वल जाना जा सके। वहाँ गरीबी और बेकारी बढ़ती चली जा रही है। मैं स्वयं उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिले का रहने वाला हूँ। जिस बलिया जिले का मैं रहने वाला हूँ उसकी आबादी प्रति वर्ग मील ११ सौ से कुछ थोड़ी सी ज्यादा है। मैंने बहुत हिसाब किताब लगा कर देखा है कि कोई भी उपाय किया जाय तो भी एकमात्र जीविका का जो साधन है वह खेती है और खेती की उपज किसी भी प्रकार बढ़ाने से वहाँ की जनता का भरण पोषण नहीं हो सकता है। उत्तर प्रदेश की जो सरकार है उस के साधन सीमित हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश के जो मुख्य मंत्री हैं वे भी पूर्वी जिले के रहने वाले हैं। न भी पूर्वी जिले के हों, जब आदरणीय पंत जी ये तब उनकी भी इस ओर दृष्टि होगी और आज भी मुख्य मंत्री की दृष्टि है और देश के और लोगों की भी हो सकती है।

लेकिन मेरा मत है कि केवल खेती से उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों की तथा समूचे उत्तर प्रदेश के जीवन की समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती है। छोटे छोटे ग्रामोद्योग भी इस समस्या को अच्छी तरह हल नहीं कर सकते हैं। अब क्या किया जाये? और प्रदेश उन्नति करें इसमें मेरी रुचि भी है और इसमें मैं देश की भलाई भी समझता हूँ, लेकिन मेरा यह मत है कि उत्तर प्रदेश यदि खेती पर निर्भर रहने के लिये छोड़ दिया गया तो उससे बेकारी बढ़ेगी, गरीबी बढ़ेगी और देश के एक हिस्से में अगर बेकारी और गरीबी बढ़े तो देश उन्नत नहीं कहा जा सकता है। इसलिये मेरा यह निवेदन भारत सरकार से है कि उस को इस प्रकार का कोई प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये, कोई ऐसा कार्यक्रम बनाना चाहिये जिससे उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों में और तमाम उत्तर प्रदेश में खेती के अतिरिक्त जनता को कोई रोजगार मिल सके। बड़े बड़े कल कारखाने और उद्योग धंधे खुल सकें, इस तरफ सरकार को ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

अन्त में मैं श्री व्यास जी ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है, उसका हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ और राष्ट्रपति के प्रति कृतज्ञता प्रकट करता हूँ कि उन्होंने कृपा करके हम सब लोगों के बीच में भाषण दिया।

आचार्य रघुबीर (मुम्बई) : उपसभापति महोदय, राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में बहुत स्पष्ट और सरल शब्दों में, भारतवर्ष ने जो प्रगति की है पिछले वर्ष में, उसका विवरण दिया है और अगले वर्ष में भी जो शासन का कार्यक्रम है उसका निर्देश किया है। इस अभिभाषण के लिये सभा में अनुग्रह का, धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव सामने है। मैं इस प्रस्ताव का सहर्ष हार्दिक अनुमोदन करता हूँ।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. B. JOSHI) in the Chair.]

इस अभिभाषण में कई बातों का उल्लेख किया गया है। उनमें से एक दो पर मैं दो बार

[आचार्य रघुबीर]

शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। परमाणु शक्ति के उत्पादन के सम्बन्ध में बड़े गौरव के साथ हम कह सकते हैं कि एशिया में भारतवर्ष पहला देश है, जहाँ पहला प्रतिकर्ता अर्थात् रिएक्टर स्थापित किया गया। मैं एशिया के कई देशों में इन दिनों घूमा हूँ। सारे एशिया के वैज्ञानिकों और पाश्चात्य राजनीतिज्ञों में एक सनसनी सी फैल गई है कि क्या भारतवर्ष भी परमाणु शक्ति के उत्पादन में समर्थ है। राष्ट्रपति ने कहा है कि अब हम इसमें समर्थ हैं कि हम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं, किन्तु समर्थ होते हुए भी हम लोग शस्त्रास्त्रों के निर्माण में, संसार का विध्वंस करने में, परमाणु शक्ति का प्रयोग करना नहीं चाहते। यह ठीक ही है और समस्त भारत की इसमें सहमति है कि हम शस्त्रास्त्रों में परमाणु शक्ति का प्रयोग न करें, किन्तु यह सन्देह होता है कि मैंने राष्ट्रपति की बात को ठीक प्रकार से समझा है। यह ठीक है कि भारतवर्ष में मोनोजाइट रेत और थोरियम की प्राप्ति इतनी अधिक है कि संसार में और स्थानों पर नहीं है; किन्तु क्या हमारे पास ऐसे वैज्ञानिक हैं, जो उसका पूरा उपयोग कर सकेंगे। मुझे इस बात का दुःख हुआ कि हमारे यहाँ पहला रिएक्टर तो विदेशों से आया किन्तु दूसरा और तीसरा रिएक्टर भी विदेशों से मंगाया जा रहा है। अच्छा अब दूसरा और तीसरा भी मंगाया जा चुका। कोई बात नहीं, किन्तु प्रश्न यह है कि चौथा, पाँचवाँ और छठा रिएक्टर भी विदेशों से आयेगा, अथवा वह यहाँ बनाया जायेगा। यदि हम लोग परमाणु शक्ति के उत्पादन के मूल यंत्रों को यहाँ नहीं बना सकते, प्रतिकर्ता अर्थात् रिएक्टर जो कि एक प्रारम्भिक वस्तु है, उसको भी यदि हम इस देश में नहीं बना सकेंगे, तो हमारा उद्योग, हमारा विज्ञान किस प्रकार आगे बढ़ेगा। कुछ दिन हुए पश्चिम यूरोप में यूरेटोम की स्थापना हुई, ताकि यूरोप की जातियाँ इकट्ठा मिल जायें और परमाणु को तोड़ कर उससे उत्पादित की हुई शक्ति का प्रयोग कर सकें और उसमें अनुसन्धान कर सकें। हमारे

सामने एक प्रकार का आह्वान है, चेलेंज है, कि क्या हम उनके यदि साथ नहीं पहुँच जायेंगे तो क्या हम उनके कुछ समीप भी नहीं पहुँच जायेंगे।

हम लोग राजनीति में बहुत आगे बढ़े हैं। १०, १२ वर्षों में संसार की राजनीति में हम आगे की पंक्ति में खड़े हो गये हैं। अहिंसा, सत्य और मानव-कल्याण हमारे आधार हैं। शुद्ध स्वार्थ, जिसके आधार पर आज तक अनेक देशों की राजनीति आधार रही है, उस नीति को त्याग कर हम ने शुद्ध भाव से सर्व मानव के कल्याण को अपना कल्याण मान कर राजनीति को एक नयी दिशा दिखाई है। किन्तु राजनीति में ही आगे बढ़ कर क्या हम संसार की सम्य जातियों के समक्ष पहुँच सकेंगे? संसार की सम्य जातियों में अपना नाम लिखाने के लिये, संसार की समृद्धिशाली जातियों में अपना नाम लिखाने के लिये हम को बुद्धि के क्षेत्र में भी आगे बढ़ना आवश्यक है। इस के लिये हम क्या कर रहे हैं? जो हमारी प्रयोगशालायें बनी हैं, उनमें कितना रुपया लगा है? रुपये के अतिरिक्त उन में कितने मस्तिष्क लगे हैं, कितने वैज्ञानिक लगे हैं और वैज्ञानिकों के विज्ञान का क्या स्तर है? रूस ने स्पुटनिक उपग्रह उड़ाया, अमेरिका ने एक्सप्लोरर उड़ाया। हम लोगों ने उन दोनों के लिये तालियाँ बजाई और हमारे मन में यह गौरव उत्पन्न हुआ कि मनुष्य की बुद्धि कहां पहुँच रही है। हम भी आशा लगाये बैठे हैं कि किसी दिन चन्द्रलोक की यात्रा करेंगे। कुछ दिन पूर्व में कम्बोडिया में था तो वहाँ के प्रचान मंत्री ने मुझ से प्रश्न किया कि भाई तुम्हारे यहाँ तो रिएक्टर आ गया और अब कुछ रिएक्टर और भी आ रहे हैं, तो क्या तुम भी स्पुटनिक अथवा एक्सप्लोरर उड़ाओगे?

श्री अकबर अली खान : जरूर।

आचार्य रघुबीर : मेरी भी इच्छा है कि हम उड़ायें, किन्तु इच्छा से तो यह काम

नहीं चलेगा। क्या हमारे यहां विज्ञान को इतनी प्रगति है? क्या हम इस ओर इतना ध्यान दे रहे हैं? क्या हमारे लोग इसमें इतने दत्तचित्त हैं कि हम इस ओर भी आगे बढ़ सकें। विज्ञान में प्रगति किये बिना हमारा देश दीन-हीन रहेगा, नीचे रहेगा, यह निश्चित बात है। हमारे शासन का यह कर्तव्य है कि वह इस ओर बहुत अधिक ध्यान दे। जिस समय तक हम इस ओर पूरा ध्यान नहीं देते उस समय तक इस दिशा में सफलता मिलना कठिन है।

विरोधी पक्ष के कुछ सज्जनों ने कहा है कि हमारी योजना ओवर एम्बिशस है, अर्थात् तमारी शक्ति से बाहर है। यदि वे यह कहते कि हमारे विदेश-विनिमय की स्थिति, फॉरेन एक्सचेंज की स्थिति, हमारी शक्ति से बाहर है तो अधिक सत्य होता। योजना का ध्येय इस देश के जीवन-स्तर को बढ़ाना है। योजना में कहा गया है—पहली योजना में भी कहा गया है और दूसरी योजना में भी वही बात दोराई गई है—कि २७ वर्ष बीतने पर हमारे देश के एक एक व्यक्ति की आय दुगुनी हो जायेगी। २७ वर्ष में दुगुनी होगी तो आज यह आय कितनी है? एक किसान परिवार की आय—परिवार में पांच व्यक्ति मान लीजिये—४०० और ५०० रुपये के बीच में है। यदि हम दूसरे समृद्धिशील, प्रगतिशील देशों की ओर देखें तो उन की आय हमसे १५ गुनी, २० गुनी, २५ गुनी और ३० गुनी तक है। यदि हम २७ वर्षों में अपनी आय को दुगुनी करेंगे तो हम २० गुनी क्या २७० वर्षों में पूरी करेंगे। नहीं, नहीं, यह बात अचित्त्य है। यह बात धैर्य देने वाली नहीं है। यह जनता की ओर सारे देश की ओर करने वाली बात है। यह आवश्यक है कि देश का स्तर ऊँचा उठे, जीवन की सुविधायें सब को प्राप्त हों। हमारी जनता की जो सब से नीची श्रेणी है वह किसान है, गांव के लोग हैं। १९०१ में भारतवर्ष में ६२ प्रतिशत जनता खेती पर निर्भर थी। आज १९५७, १९५८ में हमारी जनता की संख्या ७० प्रतिशत हो

गई है, जो कि खेती पर निर्भर है। खेती पर निर्भर होने वालों की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है। यदि खेती पर निर्भर होने वालों की संख्या बढ़ती जायेगी, तो देश में दरिद्रता फैलेगी। हमारे यहां एक किसान परिवार के पास ५, ६ एकड़ भूमि होती है। अमेरिका में एक किसान परिवार के पास २५० एकड़ के लगभग भूमि होती है। वहां प्रति किसान परिवार की भूमि की मात्रा हमारे किसान परिवार की अपेक्षा पचास गुनी है। जब भूमि की मात्रा अधिक होगी, तभी तो किसान की आय बढ़ेगी, जब उसकी आय बढ़ेगी तभी तो वह शिक्षा में अधिक भाग ले सकेगा, तभी तो वह रासायनिक खादों का प्रयोग कर सकेगा, तभी तो वह आधुनिक यंत्रों का प्रयोग करेगा, तभी तो वह वैज्ञानिक पद्धतियों से खेती कर सकेगा। हमारे यहां पुराने विचारचारा चला आ रही है कि गांव में प्रत्येक व्यक्ति के पास खेती के लिये भूमि होनी चाहिये। यह विचार ठीक नहीं है। जो गणना में ने की है उस के अनुसार अधिक से अधिक २५ प्रतिशत जनता को खेती पर निर्भर रहना चाहिये। यदि २५ प्रतिशत जनता खेती पर निर्भर होगी तो उस की आय आज से ढाई गुनी या तीन गुनी बन सकेगी। यदि खेती में उतनी ही जनसंख्या रहे जितनी कि आज है तो आय बहुत नहीं बढ़ सकेगी।

एक और प्रश्न है और वह प्रश्न है विदेश-विनिमय का। वह प्रश्न है कि किस प्रकार से हमको बाहर से रुपया मिले, किस प्रकार से हमारी रुपये की आवश्यकतायें, यंत्रों की आवश्यकतायें पूर्ण हों। इस बारे में मैं यह निवेदन करूंगा कि हमको उधार की सीमा निश्चित करनी चाहिये। एक निश्चित सीमा से आगे जा कर उधार लेना देश के लिये घातक होगा। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि जितना उधार हम ले रहे हैं यह उधार जहां एक ओर हमारे विकास का साधन बनेगा, वहां दूसरी ओर हमारे आगे के विकास से जनता को जो लाभ होना था, उसमें रूकावट डालेगा। इसका एक ही उपाय है। योजना को इधर से, उधर



[आचार्य रघुवीर]

से, अन्दर से, बाहर से, किसी ओर से भी देखिये यह दिखालाई पड़ता है कि एक ही विभाग है और वह विभाग रेलों का विभाग है, जो कि इतना अधिक रुपया खा रहा है, इतना अधिक लोहा खा रहा है। इस देश में जितना लोहा बनेगा, उसका ८० प्रतिशत भाग रेलों खा जायेंगी। इस पंचवर्षीय योजना में १४०० करोड़ या १३०० करोड़ रुपया रेलों खा रही हैं। क्या वह आवश्यक है? यदि आवश्यक है, तो अवश्य व्यय करना चाहिये, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं है किन्तु मैं यह समझता हूँ कि यह आवश्यक नहीं है। जब रेलवे का प्रश्न आयेगा, तो इस सम्बन्ध के मैं आंकड़े दूंगा। रेलवे मंत्रालय ने इस सम्बन्ध में जो आंकड़े दिये हैं वे आंकड़े कुछ ठीक नहीं जंचते। वे आंकड़े ठीक नहीं हैं। यदि ५००, ६०० करोड़ रुपया हम रेलवे से छुड़ा लें, बचा लें, तो हम देश में बहुत से उद्योगों को स्थापित कर सकेंगे, जिन उद्योगों की इस देश में परम आवश्यकता है। हमारा रेल का मंत्रालय कहता है ...

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार): बिना रेलवे के विकास के सेकेंड फाइव ईयर प्लान भी नहीं चलेगा।

आचार्य रघुवीर : मैं यह नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि रेलवे बन्द कर दें। मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि जो रेलवे हैं वे रहेंगी। प्रश्न यह है कि लोहा और कोयला जो उठाना है, उसके सम्बन्ध में रेलवे का कहना है कि केवल वे ही उनको उठा सकते हैं, दूसरा कोई नहीं उठा सकता। मैंने अमेरिका की रेलों के कुछ आंकड़े देखे हैं। १९३२ से लेकर १९५४ तक, इन २२ वर्षों में अमेरिका में एक मील रेलवे भी नहीं बढ़ी, इतने समय में अमेरिका में १०० इंजन भी नहीं बढ़े, किन्तु लोहे का उत्पादन और कोयले का उत्पादन कहीं आठ गुना बढ़ा है, कहीं दस गुना बढ़ा है और कहीं पर बारह गुना बढ़ा है।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: It has very much developed its railway system.

आचार्य रघुवीर : अमेरिका में ३०, ३५ प्रतिशत के लगभग कोयला, लोहा और यात्रियों को रेलों ले जाती हैं। भारतवर्ष में ७० या ८० प्रतिशत ले जाने का उन्होंने अपने ऊपर भार उठाया है। रेलवे सारा भार और जनता को ढोने का, अनाज को ढोने का, सीमेंट को ढोने का, मशीनों को ढोने का, कपड़े को ढोने का, लोहा और कोयला भी ढोने का, यह सब पूरा नहीं कर सकेगी। १३०० या १४०० करोड़ रुपया खाकर भी रेलों ढोना पूरा नहीं कर सकेंगी। आवश्यकता है कि रेलों को सहायता दी जाये और वह सहायता रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट से ही दी जा सकती है। संसार में आज कोई देश नहीं है जहां पर रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट को डेवलप न किया गया हो, जहां पर इंग्लैंड वाटर ट्रांसपोर्ट को डेवलप न किया गया हो। यह हमारा देश ही है जहां रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट द्वारा १० या १५ प्रतिशत लोग या इससे भी कम लोग थोड़ी दूर वाले एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान को जाते हैं। जहां तक भारी वस्तुओं का सम्बन्ध है, वे तो सड़क से जाती ही नहीं हैं और जहां तक लम्बे मार्ग व्यय का प्रश्न है वहां तो सड़कों का प्रयोग ही नहीं किया जाता है। रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट के ऊपर इतना टैक्सेशन है, इतना कर है कि एक टन ढोने के लिये जितना रेलवे चार्ज करती है उतना रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट के ऊपर टैक्सेशन है। रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट का गला इस देश में घोटा गया है, क्यों घोटा गया, समझ में नहीं आता। रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट को बढ़ाना रेलवे को घटाना नहीं है, रेलवे की सहायता करना है। यदि आवश्यक हुआ तो इस सम्बन्ध में जब रेलवे का प्रश्न आयेगा, तब मैं अधिक कहूँगा। इस समय केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में बेकारी है, वृत्तिहीनता है, कर्महीनता है। हमें ऐसे काम चाहिये जो लोगों को वृत्ति दे सकें। एक रेलवे के बड़े उच्च अधिकारी ने अपने एक लेख में यह लिखा था कि रोड



ट्रांसपोर्ट में रेलवे की अपेक्षा ८० गुने अधिक लोग लगते हैं। मैं यह नहीं मानता कि उनके ये आंकड़े, यह गिनती, ठीक हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि २० या २५ गुना अधिक लोग लगते हैं। यदि २० या २५ गुना भी मान लिया जाये और रेलों के साथ हम रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट को भी विकसित करें तो दो अथवा ढाई करोड़ के लगभग व्यक्ति रोड ट्रांसपोर्ट में लग जायेंगे। इस प्रकार से बेकारी का जो प्रश्न है, उसका बहुत दूर तक साधन किया जा सकेगा और यह परमावश्यक है कि इस देश से बेकारी दूर हो।

इसके साथ जहाँ तक जनता के जीवनस्तर का प्रश्न है उस सम्बन्ध में मैं आज समय के अभाव से केवल एक ही बात कहूँगा और वह हाउसिंग की, घरों के निर्माण की बात है। मेरे पावों में चक्कर है, बाहर घूमता रहता हूँ; किन्तु जब भी पश्चिमी देशों से घूम कर आता हूँ, मुझे दुख होता है अपने देश को देखकर—यहाँ के झोंपड़े, यहाँ की कच्ची कुटियाँ, ये यूरोप के समृद्ध और प्रगतिशाली देशों के कुत्ते के भी योग्य नहीं हैं और इनमें हमारे भाई रहते हैं। क्या इसमें फार्न ऐक्स-चेंज की आवश्यकता है? नहीं। विदेशी रुपये की इसमें आवश्यकता नहीं है। मैं स्वयं इस विषय पर काम कर रहा हूँ और आगे कभी अपने विचार आपके सामने विस्तार से रखूँगा। मेरा बड़ा विनयपूर्वक निवेदन है कि यदि देश के स्तर को ऊँचा उठाना है, यदि ग्राम के निवासियों को यह भावना देनी है कि तुम भी मनुष्य हो, तुम पशु नहीं हो, तो इसके लिए रोटी और कपड़े के पश्चात् पहली सम्य जीवन की आवश्यकता—खुले, स्वच्छ चार, पाँच कमरे का घर है, पशु अलग रहें, मनुष्य अलग रहें, चारे और अनाज का संग्रह अलग हो। यदि हम गृह निर्माण को वास्तव में गम्भीर रूप में हाथ में ले लें और एक एक गांव का पुनर्निर्माण हो, उसका प्लानिंग हो, तो देश में जितनी भी वृत्तिहीनता, बेकारी है, वह बड़ी सरलता से दूर हो सकती है।

भाषा का प्रश्न है देश के सामने। पिछले कुछ मासों में एक आंधी आई। देश में उस आंधी का आधार क्या आपस में हमारी लड़ाई झगड़ा था? नहीं। उस आंधी का आधार है अंग्रेजी। यदि सारे भाषा के प्रश्न के बीच में से अंग्रेजी को, जो इस भाषा के प्रश्न की आधार भूमि है, उसको निकाल दिया जाये तो फिर जितने शेष झगड़े रहेंगे, वे अपने आप निपट जायेंगे। महात्मा जी कहा करते थे कि जब तक अंग्रेज इस देश में रहेगा तब तक हिन्दू और मुसलमान एक न होंगे। क्या यह सच नहीं था? आज जो हिन्दू और मुसलमान इस देश में विद्यमान हैं क्या वे शांतिपूर्वक और प्रेम से नहीं रह रहे। यदि अंग्रेज रहता तो यहाँ यह स्थिति कभी नहीं होती। यही भाषा की स्थिति है। जिस समय तक अंग्रेजी इस देश में बनी रहेगी, हमारे शासन और शिक्षा का माध्यम, हमारे व्यापार का, आपस की बातचीत का, तब तक हम एक दूसरे की भाषा को सीखने के लिये कैसे बाधित होंगे। मैं भाषा-विज्ञ के रूप में आपके सामने भाषा विज्ञान का छोटे से सिद्धांत का निर्देश करता हूँ। भाषा विज्ञान का यह सिद्धांत सारे संसार में है कि कोई व्यक्ति दो भाषाएं सीखना नहीं चाहता। यदि उसका एक भाषा से काम चलता है, तो वह दो भाषाएं नहीं सीखेगा। इसी प्रकार यदि दो से काम चलता है, तो तीन नहीं सीखेगा, तीन से काम चलता है तो चार नहीं सीखेगा। जिस समय तक अंग्रेजी यहाँ रहेगी—और अंग्रेजी अपने आप नहीं रह रही है, यह झूठ है, यह धारणा, यह विचार ठीक नहीं कि अंग्रेजी यहाँ बैठी है। नहीं, अंग्रेजी बैठी नहीं है, अंग्रेजी को हम बिठा रहे हैं। सारे राज्य की शक्ति, सारे देश के करोड़ों रुपयों की शक्ति अंग्रेजी के पीछे है, प्रयोग की शक्ति अंग्रेजी के पीछे है, व्यवहार की शक्ति अंग्रेजी के पीछे है। व्यवहार की शक्ति इसके पीछे से हट जाये, प्रयोग की शक्ति हट जाये, शिक्षाविदों की शक्ति इसके पीछे से हट जाये . . .

Shri SONUSING DHANSING PATIL (Bombay): Sir, on a point of propriety and order. The hon. Member happens to be a Member of the Parliamentary Committee on Language and it would be better if he does not express his opinion on the language issue.

**आचार्य रघुवीर :** मैं भाषा आयोग की बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. B. JOSHI): He may give his opinion.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: It is quite in order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI M. B. JOSHI): It is in order. He is giving his opinion.

SHRI GOPIKRISHNA VIJAIVAR-GIYA (Madhya Pradesh): Let him have his say.

**आचार्य रघुवीर :** मैं नहीं सोचता कि मैंने किसी सज्जन को दुख पहुँचाया हो। मैं किसी को दुख पहुँचाने के लिये यहां खड़ा नहीं हुआ। मैं भाषा की स्थिति को लेकर खड़ा हुआ हूँ। संसार का कौन सा देश है, जिसकी संसद् में, जिसकी पार्लियामेंट में महती जनता के बड़े बड़े प्रतिनिधि दिग्गज विद्वान और नेता विदेशी भाषा में विधान बनाते हों और भाषण देते हों और अपने आप को गण्य और धन्य मानते हों, यह स्थिति दूर होनी चाहिये। सब इसमें सहमत हैं। इसमें कोई किसी का मतभेद नहीं है। मैं इसके लिये आज कोई साधन देने के लिये खड़ा नहीं हुआ हूँ, किन्तु इस ओर ध्यान आकर्षित करने के लिये अवश्य खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

अंत में मैं अपनी विदेशी नीति के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। जो भी व्यक्ति और हममें से बहुत से संसद् के सदस्य, जो विदेशों में घूमते हैं, हमको बड़ी प्रसन्नता होती है कि हमारी विदेश नीति ने संसार के क्षणान्वित और वातावरण को कुछ मृदु बना

दिया है। संसार के विभिन्न देशों के सम्राट और महाराजा, प्रधान मंत्री और विशेषज्ञ, नेता और यात्री, इस इंद्रप्रस्थ की प्राचीन नगरी के शांति मानसरोवर की यात्रा करने आते हैं और सुख-शान्ति की अपनी पिपासा को यहां आकर मिटाते हैं। इस मानसरोवर के निर्माता और देवता पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू हमारे बंदनीय हैं। हमारा देश दिनों दिन उन्नति करे, यह हम सब लोगों की कामना है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति को धन्यवाद देता हूँ और जो प्रस्ताव यहां रखा गया है कि हम अपना आभार उनके प्रति प्रकट करें, उस प्रस्ताव का सहर्ष, हार्दिक रूप से अनुमोदन करता हूँ।

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR (Kerala): Mr.

Vice-Chairman, I would like to make out two points in regard to the President's Address. Usually Members on the other side praise the speech along with a certain amount of criticism which they call constructive. From this side also criticism was levelled on the basis of individual grievances or grievances of States.

So far as I am concerned, I must concentrate on two subjects which are highly important in relation to our development schemes and from the national point of view. The President has made particular reference to the food situation in our land and he also referred to the drought that had affected certain States even though they are not mentioned—I mean Bihar, Eastern U.P. and some others. The same reference was made in the course of his speech made in 1957. Since then the same evil of drought is continuing in Bihar, Eastern U.P. and now I am told in Orissa too. That is, the food situation there is greatly affected which also had helped in a way to affect the situation in other parts of India. I would like to ask the Government as to what steps they have taken to prevent such natural calamities? Cannot these natural

calamities be prevented by artificial or engineering methods? Certainly in other countries that we have seen like China, Soviet Union, if you don't get annoyed, and also in other countries, engineering methods have been employed to check droughts, that is, by giving more facilities for irrigating lands and also to check other kinds of calamities as flood. The Central Government has been spending lakhs and lakhs of rupees on flood control activities. It is only just if the Government is asked as to what steps they have taken to check these calamities. Secondly, the President has said that it is essential that self-sufficiency in food should be attained. I don't know how and by which means the Government is going to attain self-sufficiency in food.

Of course, they make particular reference to the community projects and the national extension schemes as activities to increase food production. At the same time, one important point we note in the speech is that the President has not referred to land reforms at all. The Planning Commission had laid great importance on land reforms, particularly in relation to the national development schemes. The Planning Commission itself has said:

"Among these measures of land reforms have a place of special significance, both because they provide the social, economic and institutional frame work for agricultural development and because of the influence they exert on the life of the majority of the population. Indeed their impact extends much beyond the rural economy. The principles of change and reorganisation on which the scheme of land reform are based are part of a wider social and economic outlook which must needs apply in some degree at every part of the economy. They have, therefore, to be viewed in a somewhat larger context than that of effecting adjustments between interests of different sections of the population which depend upon land."

Further, they have explained the necessity and the urgency of the land reforms in India not only to bring-about the social and institutional changes but also to increase food production and they have suggested that unless radical land reforms as suggested by them on the basis of the principles evolved by them are brought about, the increase in food production will be impossible to achieve. That is why the Planning Commission had given special significance to land reforms which the Central Government seems to have glossed over or has left to the particular State Governments. When this question is brought forth before Parliament, the Ministry concerned says that it is the concern of the State Governments, that it is not the concern of the Central Government and that the Central Government has no jurisdiction. They also say that it is for the State Governments to implement the land reforms programme. I can say, Sir, that that is only a lame excuse. If any serious food situation develops, it is the Central Government which is approached by the States for the supply of enough quantities of foodstuffs. This being so, the Central Government is not in a position to take up the responsibility of compelling or influencing the State Governments to bring about land reforms. We are coming into the third year of the second Five Year Plan. The land reforms question was first mooted during the first Five Year Plan. Certain principles were evolved during the period of the first Plan and those principles have been further developed at the time of the drawing up of the second Plan but, with all that, the question of land reforms is still placed in cold storage whereas in Kerala, the State Government have drafted a land reforms Bill which was, of course, introduced in the Legislature after consulting the Planning Commission or the Development Council. I think the Ministers came here and the Planning Commission discussed this matter with them. So, the Bill was formulated on the basis of the principle evolved by the Planning Commission-even though there may be omissions

[Shri N. C. Sekhar.] Now, if the same effort is made by the other States, certainly the question of food will be and can be solved within a very short period, at least in the third Five Year Plan period. In the course of the transition, there is bound to be some confusion but that can be overcome very soon by implementing effectively the proposed land reforms. The Planning Commission has suggested that ceilings should be fixed because this question of ceilings is a very important one. When this question comes up, the landlords who are now the over lords of the villages suggest that the ceilings should be fixed only on the basis of income. Even then, they suggest that it should be based on the amount spent out of the wealth they have received from their thousands and thousands of tenants. This very same question was discussed in Kerala before by the other Ministries when they were in power and it was suggested that this figure should be Rs. 8,000 or so. The peasants agitated against such a fixation of ceiling on the basis of enormous incomes which a landlord may have had every year. I refer particularly to this because friends from the other side suggested that ceilings should be fixed not on the basis suggested by the Planning Commission but on the basis of income. That kind of a land reform would not be worth while because it cannot be a land reform. It may be a reform to give vast plots of land to a few people, to a few big ones, who are out to cultivate farms on the capitalistic basis but then that is not the concern or the outlook of the Planning Commission. What is the peasantry? Seventy-five per cent. of the total population consists of the peasantry and of this, 60 per cent, are tenants. How can you bring about a reform of the land to give a living to the vast masses which is highly necessary if we were to fix the ceilings on the basis of income? Fixation of ceilings on the basis of income is certainly not advisable or desirable. On the other hand, this should be done on the basis of the recommendation made by the Land Panel which has been accepted by the Planning Commission. With

[ reference to the question of food production, I would like to bring before the House a few facts so that Government might pay particular attention to this point. The Community Project schemes, the Extension schemes and the credit system, etc., are all there and they have been extended to the villages to cover 15 millions of our people. Yesterday, Mr. Kishen Chand said that the Community Projects and the National Extension Schemes have been a thorough failure. I do not say that they have been a thorough failure but in the actual working certain difficulties have come up and I want to mention a few of them. The Professor professed that the Community Projects were not a success. That is not a fact. I am directly in contact with the National Extension Schemes as well as the Community Development Projects in several places. In these places, the system of loans was provided for and for Kerala an amount of Rs. 75 lakhs has been provided. This loan is a repayable one and is intended for minor irrigation works and the loan is to be given out to individuals, and that individual has to repay it in the course of certain years in instalments. But then this system was worked out on the basis of an irrigation system which does not exist there but only exists in other parts of the country. In Kerala, the irrigation system is not the individual's responsibility, it is common irrigation; canals, tanks, wells, if wells are available, are dug, worked and maintained by the P.W.D. Now, after the introduction of the N.E.S. Blocks and the Community Development Projects, these areas naturally come under this scheme. The P.W.D. has left these irrigation schemes to the individuals in these areas but the peasants refuse to take the loans. This was mentioned in the Development Council and the matter was discussed and a decision was arrived at but then the Community Project Development Officers say that they have no power to alter the rules and regulations framed by the Central Government and that it is the directive of the Central Government that money should be given out on loan to the individuals on the basis

of repayment in instalments. The individual peasant refuses to avail of this loan because he says that it is none of his responsibility to see that a common tank is dug and so this sum is going to lapse and is going to be useless so far as minor irrigation is concerned.

Similar is the case with goshalas. All these things come within the agricultural, animal husbandry, minor irrigation, schemes etc. and that is why I am referring to them. A goshala costing thousands of rupees has been built in Chalakudy and the poor peasants are asked to bring their cows into that goshala and pay Rs. 10 per month for looking after the cows there and also to teach them as to how the peasants should carry on animal husbandry. But there the peasants cannot afford to pay Rs. 10 per month for their cows being looked after by a particular goshala maintained by paid officials. So the Chalakudy goshala is to be closed and I think it is already closed. In another area we had to discuss this problem and there the peasants asked "Where are we to go for our cows? Where can we get the cows? And where are we to go for Rs. 10 every month?" Both these things, Sir, are absent in our area. So what is the use of establishing goshalas? Then the Development Officer made a wonderful suggestion in the Development Council. Since there are no cows and since the peasants are not in a position to pay Rs. 10 why not open a "goat sala"? Then we said, "All right. If you can get a sufficient number of goats—milking goats, of course—then open it". But even that was not successful.

Similarly there are certain provisions which are meant for giving help to the peasants to enable them to maintain their animals, to increase their irrigation and so on. There also many details are there which will go to show that there is need for revising the rules.

Next I come to the subject of providing securities for the sake of getting agricultural loans. Unless you

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make the tenant the real owner of the land, it is very difficult for the tenant to get loan from the co-operative banks. According to the present scheme, in our place, the State Government decided to issue loans to the peasants who wanted agricultural credit. But when the peasants approached the co-operative bank they were asked to produce their title deeds, to show that the tenant was the holder or the owner of the land. But as I was saying, about 60 per cent, of the agriculturists, the farmers, the actual cultivators are tenants. So how can they get any loans if they continue to maintain their position as tenants? Only the actual owner of the land has the right to get credit from the bank on the production of sufficient property security. So, what is the use of this offer of help? It is our wish that this credit should go to the real peasants in order to help him to increase production. But for that some administrative rights and authority must necessarily devolve on the State Governments, to make suitable rules and regulations in order that all this help rendered by the Centre as well as the help that the State Governments are going to render might be used by the peasants for increasing agricultural production. Therefore, for the successful working of the community projects and the Plan, land reform is very necessary. If you want that the credit system that the Central Government is establishing for the benefit of the peasant, for developing our agricultural output should be availed of, then certainly land reform is unavoidable and it is an urgent thing which should be brought about for the sake, not only of increasing production, but also for the sake of the entire economic development of the country and for the successful implementation of the Plan.

Here come the constitutional rights. It is not only administrative reforms that we demand. We demand also that certain rights and powers should devolve on the State Governments. When the question of land reform comes, the Central Government says that it is the concern of the State

[Shri N. C. Sekhar]

Governments to bring forward such measures. Take the question of education, for instance. In the morning, in answer to some question, somebody said that education was the concern of the particular State Government and not of the Centre. Then one hon. Member asked, "If that is so, what is the use of an Education Ministry at the Centre"? I was very eagerly listening to that question and that answer. So here comes the question of autonomy of the State. You have read in the newspapers of a group of people who have started an agitation in Tamil Nad, saying that they wanted a sovereign State of Tamil Nad. "We do not want to have any connection whatsoever with the Central Government," they say, "We must have our own sovereign State of Tamil land". That is the sort of agitation that is there. Of course, we cannot approve of it and it is a wrong agitation. We cannot agree to any idea of having a separate sovereign State within the boundary of our India. India is our nation, our country, with a common culture, is a common country, common to all and we cannot allow such an agitation. But at the same time, the Ministers at the Centre must look at the fact that there is an element of discontent in the people. Certainly I feel there is reason for that discontent. There is that element of discontent which has emanated from the attitude of the Centre. Ours is a federal government and that means that each of the State has its own autonomy to carry out its own development schemes, cultural and educational schemes, all schemes in fact, except those connected with foreign affairs, defence, communications etc. Though we say that ours is a federal government, and the States are autonomous, what is really happening? In fact, in actual practice, at the Centre over-centralisation is taking place gradually and imperceptibly, and in certain cases we can perceive this over-centralisation. For example, only a few months ago, our State Government passed an Education Bill. That

Education Bill was passed even though

there was strong opposition to it from certain minor sections which ran thousands of schools and got lakhs and lakhs of rupees as loans and grant-in-aids and all that, for their particular purposes. However, that Bill was passed by the Legislature and not even a single division was demanded by the opposition. That is how that Bill was passed. Now, that Bill was sent to the President for his assent, but that Bill was held up. It has not yet been assented to. At the same time, a similar Bill was passed by the Andhra Government and that Bill was assented to by the President. The other Bill was held up at the instance of the Home Department, we are told. Is it autonomy or is it the Central Government interfering in the internal affairs, particularly in subjects which mainly and solely concern the States, on some pretext or the other?

I will just point out one paltry or flimsy instance. Mr. Rajah was asking one of the Ministers when he was answering a question in Hindi, "What are you talking? We cannot follow". What was the answer? Of course, Mr. Rajah knows Hindi, but he asked that as a southerner. I did not like that question. Still he asked it. What was the reply given by the Minister? People who have got commonsense can take it in some other sense also when a Member coming from the South asks, "What is the meaning"? and the Minister replies, "I am speaking Hindi". That cannot be an answer. This is the feeling that is there among the people from the South and some other States who are not Hindi-speaking. These States may feel, "Oh, this is how they are behaving" and this is an attitude which we certainly should fight". That is the reason why the people take this attitude of fighting the Centre. So what I suggest is, instead of over-centralisation, instead of advising the State Governments to decentralise power, the Centre must show instances or examples that they are also decentralising power and authority. Of course, not in all subjects, but there should be power given to the States to see that the develop-

ment schemes as well as the plans are implemented and carried out in earnest and without failure. This is a constitutional question into which I do not want to go in great detail.

There are just two points which I would like to bring to the notice of the Central Government for their serious consideration. One is that the Central Government must take serious steps to advise the State Governments to bring about radical land reforms and the second is, that the Central Government must consider the question of devolving more and more power on State Governments to work out their developmental schemes which comprise all subjects. These are the two important things which I wanted to bring before the House.

**श्री पा० ना० राजभोज (मुम्बई) :**  
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने राष्ट्र-भाषा के बारे में जो कुछ बोला है उस तरफ मैं पहले आपका ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ। मेरी मातृभाषा मराठी है लेकिन मैं हिन्दी भाषा से बहुत प्रेम करता हूँ और इसलिये जब कभी मैं बात करता हूँ तो राष्ट्रभाषा में ही बोलता हूँ। लेकिन मुझे जो हिन्दी भाषा समझ में आ सकती है वह हिन्दुस्तानी है जो कि महात्मा गांधी जी चाहते थे। हमारी राष्ट्रभाषा लोगों की भाषा होनी चाहिये। इस भाषा में सरल और मधुर शब्द-रचना होने की आवश्यकता है और प्रादेशिक भाषा से, उर्दू से और अंग्रेजी से भी कुछ शब्द लेने चाहिये परन्तु हिन्दी भाषा का पुरस्कार करने वाले कई लोग बड़े असहिष्णु होने लगे हैं। वे चाहते हैं कि संस्कृतनिष्ठ हिन्दी—जो कि पंडितों की भाषा होगी—वह हो। मेरे जैसे लोगों को वह हिन्दी समझ में नहीं आ सकती है। जैसे आप देखिये, “प्राक्कलन समिति” से मैं क्या समझूँ। ऐसी हिन्दी मैं नहीं समझ सकता। मैं दो तीन शब्द आपको बताना चाहता हूँ। जैसे कि “प्राक्कलन समिति” है, यह शब्द तो मेरी समझ में नहीं

आता है। इसी तरह से “गैलरी” शब्द मैं समझ सकता हूँ परन्तु “दीर्घा” शब्द जल्दी समझ में नहीं आता है। “गैलरी” जो शब्द है उसको जल्दी समझ सकते हैं लेकिन “दीर्घा” को समझने में बड़ी तकलीफ होती है, वह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है। वैसे ही “संभरण और निपटान” है। यह सारा अजीब मामला है। हमारी जनता “दफ्तर” समझ सकती है परन्तु आप बोलेंगे “सचिवालय”, “महानिदेशालय” तब सारे लोग घबरा जाते हैं। मैं भी घबरा जाता हूँ। यह क्यों किया जाता है। यह इसलिये कि हिन्दी भाषा के पुरस्कार करने वाले कई लोग अंग्रेजी के विरुद्ध हो गये हैं, उर्दू के विरुद्ध हो गये हैं। यह असहिष्णुता हिन्दी भाषा के लिये घातक होगी।

हिन्दी के विरुद्ध दक्षिण में जो आन्दोलन शुरू हो गया है वह मुझे बिल्कुल पसन्द नहीं है परन्तु इसका कारण क्या है यह सोचना जरूरी है। हिन्दी के लिये पहले तो दक्षिण में बहुत प्रेम था, बहुत सारे लोग हिन्दी पढ़ने लगे थे। परन्तु, अंग्रेजी भाषा की समृद्धता और सौंदर्यता इन १०, १२ सालों में हिन्दी में कैसे आ सकती है। आखिर, अंग्रेजी एक बड़ी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय भाषा है। हमारा भाग्य है कि हमें इस भाषा का ज्ञान है। मेरी इच्छा है कि जो गरीब किसान और मजदूर हैं, हमारे जो हरिजन भाई हैं, उनके लड़कों को अंग्रेजी भाषा जरूर सिखानी चाहिये ताकि वे शास्त्रों का अध्ययन कर सकें, परदेश में जा सकें और अपना दृष्टिकोण विशाल कर सकें। मैं देखता हूँ कि हिन्दी का पुरस्कार करने वाले बड़े बड़े नेता अपने लड़कों को कान्वेंट स्कूलों में भेजते हैं। इस सब का मतलब यह है कि जब कोई स्पर्धा होती है तब वे लड़के आसानी से पास हो जाते हैं और हमारे लड़के पास नहीं होते हैं। गरीब लोगों के लड़के हिन्दी बोलते हुये प्राइमरी टीचर बन कर रह जाते हैं, क्योंकि उनको कान्वेंट में भेजने के लिये हमारे

[ श्री पा० ना० राजभोज ]

पास रुपया नहीं है। बड़े बड़े पैसे वालों के पास रुपया है और वे कान्स्टेंट में भेज सकते हैं। तो यह एक ऐसा दृष्टिकोण है जिसको कि बदलने की बहुत आवश्यकता है। संस्कृत-निष्ठ हिन्दी के भी यही माने होते हैं कि जो उच्च श्रेणी के लोग हैं उनके हाथ में ही सत्ता रहे। मद्रास में ऐसा ही षड्यन्त्र हो रहा है कि वे सत्ता चाहते हैं। यह पावर पालिटिक्स भाषा के बारे में नहीं जानी चाहिये। इसलिये ही राष्ट्रभाषा अधिकतर कठिन की जाती है परन्तु यह हिन्दी भाषा के लिये अनुपकारक है। हमारी राष्ट्रभाषा लोकभाषा होनी चाहिये जो कि लोगों को समझ में आ सके। ऐसा होने की बहुत आवश्यकता है। वह आसान, सरल और सुन्दर होनी चाहिये। मुझे आशा है कि हिन्दी पुरस्कार करने वाले अपना असहिष्णु दृष्टि कोण छोड़ देंगे। यह असहिष्णुता राजकीय कारणों से पैदा होती है। हमारे महाराष्ट्र में सावरकर जी ने भाषा-शुद्धि का आन्दोलन बहुत सालों के पहले शुरू किया था। उस आन्दोलन का प्रधान हेतु था उर्दू भाषा का विरोध। यह कोई उनके सच्चे दिल से नहीं था लेकिन चूंकि उर्दू भाषा का विरोध करना चाहिये इसलिये उनका यह आन्दोलन था। गांधी जो हिन्दुस्तानी का पुरस्कार कर रहे थे और इसीलिये सावरकर जी ने शुद्ध हिन्दी, संस्कृत-निष्ठ हिन्दी, का नारा लगाया। यह तो भाषा का आन्दोलन नहीं था, यह राजकीय झगड़ा था। भाषा के क्षेत्र में यह झगड़ा पैदा करना अच्छा नहीं है। इससे भारा की वृद्धि नहीं होगी। इससे लोगों के दिल पर चोट की जायगी। इससे हिन्दुस्तान की एकता भंग होगी। इसीलिये मेरा यह कहना है कि हमें राष्ट्रभाषा का प्रसार करने के लिये सावधानी से कदम उठाना चाहिये। सब लोगों को एक साथ ले कर आगे बढ़ना चाहिये। हिन्दी भाषी लोगों के ऊपर इस बारे में ज्यादा जिम्मेदारी है। दक्षिण में जो आन्दोलन शुरू हो गया है वह उन लोगों के लिये इशारा

है। यह असहिष्णुता हर एक रूप में हमारे सामाजिक जीवन में दिखाई देती है। हमारे अस्पृश्य भाइयों के बारे में देखिये कि मद्रास में जो हो गया—रामनाथपुरम में—उसका तो आपको पता है। दूसरे प्रान्तों में व्यक्तिगत रूप से हरिजनों को बहुत कष्ट उठाने पड़ते हैं। बम्बई प्रान्त में—मराठवाड़ा में—थोड़े दिन के पहले ऐसे ही अत्याचार हरिजनों के ऊपर हुये थे। इसका दोष मैं सरकार को लगाना नहीं चाहता हूं। बम्बई के हमारे मुख्य मंत्री श्री यशवंतराव चव्हाण ने अपनी तरफ से जो कुछ करना था वह किया। मैं इसके लिये उनको धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूं परन्तु यह सवाल बहुत बड़ा है। जनता के मन में बदल होना चाहिये। इसके लिये सरकार की तरफ से बहुत प्रचार होना चाहिये और कुछ ज्यादा कोशिश भी होनी चाहिये।

अब, मेरी हाउस के सामने यह प्रार्थना है कि हिन्दी भाषा के बारे में जो आपने कान्स्टिट्यूशन में लिखा है उसको कुछ सहूल करना चाहते हैं, उसी तरह से मेरी यह भी इच्छा है कि हमारे दलित वर्ग के लोगों के लिये, जो कि हजारों वर्षों से दबे हुये हैं और जिनके लिए कान्स्टिट्यूशन में ठहराव दिया गया है उसमें भी सहूलियत करनी चाहिये। अभी तक दलित और आदिवासी भाइयों का मामला इस देश में पूरी तरह से, ठीक तरह से हल नहीं हुआ है। इस वास्ते उनके लिये भी संविधान में १० या १५ वर्ष की मुदत बढ़ाई जाय तो मैं उसे अच्छा समझूंगा। हमारे राजगोपालाचारी साहब कहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी को राज-भाषा बनानी चाहिये। पहले राजगोपालाचारी जी ऐसा नहीं बोलते थे लेकिन बुढ़ापेपन में कभी न कभी दिमाग में फर्क जरूर हो जाता है उसी तरह वे उनके दिमाग में फर्क हो गया है। वह जो बड़े आदमी हैं। मैं उनको शिक्षा देने के काबिल नहीं हूं। यह फर्क होने के बाद भी मैं अपने दिमाग में फर्क नहीं करना चाहता।



हूँ। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि दलित भाइयों के प्राण में काफी सुधार किया गया है। मद्रासी भाई बहुत होशियार हैं, वे पहले बहुत अच्छी हिन्दी पढ़ते थे लेकिन वहाँ एक ऐसा एजिटेशन शुरू कर दिया है, हो सकता है कि उसमें कोई पोलिटिकल मोटिव हो। वहाँ रामास्वामी नायकर एक जातीयता की दृष्टि से कहते हैं कि ब्राह्मणों को जरूर काटना चाहिये। मैं तो नहीं कहता कि सब ब्राह्मण दोषी हैं। यह गलत चीज है। यह जातीयता है, यह जातीयता का वृक्षारोपण है जो कि मद्रास में शुरू हो रहा है। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि हमारे लोग, हमारा देश, सब तरह से आगे बढ़ रहा है। हमारे देश में सब प्रकार की उन्नति हो रही है। हमारे पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के नेतृत्व में यह देश एक अच्छा दृष्टिकोण बदल रहा है।

हम नहीं चाहते कि नीचे सिर झुकायें और छोटी छोटी बातों के लिये, नीची दृष्टि करके झगड़ा करें। मेरी हाऊस के सामने एक प्रार्थना है कि पहले हमें अपने देश को ऊंचा उठाना चाहिये। जब हमारा देश ऊंचा उठ जायगा तब ये छोटे छोटे मामले धीरे धीरे जरूर नष्ट हो जायेंगे। हमको जातीयता की दृष्टि से, प्राविशलिज्म, कास्टी-इज्म या कम्यूनलिज्म की दृष्टि से देश के प्रश्नों को नहीं देखना चाहिये। जिस तरह का नारा हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई लगाते हैं उससे हमें सावधान रहना चाहिये। केरल में मैं गया हूँ और वहाँ मैं ने देखा कि वहाँ ये इतना प्रोपेगेंडा करते हैं कि डर लगता है। बस, वे समझते हैं कि हमारे हाथ में पावर आ गई है तो न जाने हम क्या कर देंगे। प्रोपेगेंडा करने का भी कोई तरीका होना चाहिये, अब झूठ ही झूठ नहीं कहना चाहिये। वे कहते हैं, हरिजनों को सबको जमीन मिल जायगी, फ्री लीगल एंड मिल जायगी। वहाँ मैंने देखा लीगल एंड भी नहीं, जमीन भी नहीं। यह तो मैंने केरल की बात कही।

रामनाथपुरम में भी मैं गया लेकिन रामनाथपुरम का जो किस्सा है वह जातीयवाद का है लेकिन केरल का किस्सा एक पोलिटिकल मामला है। वहाँ दूसरी तरह का हिसाब किताब है कि वे झूठी बातें पेश करके झूठा प्रोपेगेंडा करते हैं जिनसे मुझे दुःख होता है। हमारे वहाँ जो हरिजन भाई हैं, कांग्रेस में हैं, उनके अंदर वे फूट डालने की चेष्टा करते हैं और जो लोग उनमें से कम्युनिस्टों के साथ सहयोग करते हैं उनको वे पूरा चांस देते हैं, सहूलियतें देते हैं। मेरे भाई टामस साहब वहाँ से आते हैं और उनको सब मालूम है। तो वहाँ जो स्थिति है उसमें फर्क लाने की आवश्यकता है। लेकिन मुझे राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में उसका उल्लेख न पाकर संतोष नहीं हुआ। हमारी गवर्नमेंट की मशीनरी वहाँ की घटनाओं को किस दृष्टि से देखती है यह हमको मालूम होना चाहिये। रामनाथपुरम में जो घटनाएं हुईं और दलित वर्ग को उनसे जो तकलीफ हुई है, उनका कोई पोलिटिकल मोटिव नहीं था। वहाँ तो जो एक थेवर साहब थे, आदिवासियों के बहुत बड़े नेता उन्होंने एक झगड़ा मचा दिया कि ये हरिजन लोग हमारी मुट्ठी में रहने चाहियें। अभी इस तरह का विचार देहातों में सभी जगह पाया जाता है। उपाध्यक्ष जी, अभी यह चीज दूर नहीं हुई इसी वास्ते मैं इस हाऊस के सामने ये बातें कह रहा हूँ।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि गंदी बस्तियां खत्म होनी चाहियें, यह तो ठीक ही बात है। लेकिन शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के बारे में उन्होंने कुछ नहीं कहा। भगवान उनको प्रेरणा दे कि हमारे ६, ७ करोड़ के लगभग हरिजन और आदिवासी जो सब दृष्टि से, आर्थिक, सामाजिक और शैक्षणिक, पिछड़े हुए हैं, उनकी ओर भी ध्यान दे। जब तक उनका कल्याण नहीं होगा हमारा सिर ऊंचा नहीं हो सकता। गंदी बस्ती हटाना और कंगलसरी एजुकेशन सब प्रदेशों में हमारे समाज के

[श्री पा० ना० राजभोज]

लिए, वह तो होना ही चाहिये। गंदी बस्तियों को खत्म करने के लिये हमारी गवर्नमेंट के पास कई स्कीमें हैं लेकिन उनके बारे में सरकार को हमें बताना चाहिये कि किस तरह की योजनाएं हैं और उन पर किस तरह से काम हो रहा है। पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना में कई प्रकार की योजनाएं थीं, उनमें से कितनी अमल में आई, वे सब पूरी दृष्टि में हमारे सामने आनी चाहियें। इस वास्ते में इस हाउस के सामने आपसे यह प्रार्थना करता हूं कि हरिजनों को सब प्रकार की सहायता मिलनी चाहिये। अभी उनके लिये जमीन की सहूलियत पूरी नहीं है और लीगल एड भी नहीं मिलती है। होम मिनिस्टर श्री पंत जी के नेतृत्व में बहुत सा काम हो रहा है लेकिन जो आफिशियल मैशीनरी है वह अपने आदेशों को जल्दी अमल में नहीं लाती। स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को इतनी पावर दी गई है कि जब तक गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की तरफ से उनके पास इंस्ट्रक्शन नहीं जाते हैं वे कभी भी आदेशों को अमल में नहीं लाते। हर एक स्टेट गवर्नमेंट में हरिजनों के मामले में कितनी उदासीनता दिखाई जाती है यह बैंकवर्ड और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइव्स कमीशन की रिपोर्ट से मालूम होता है। स सम्बन्ध में मिसेज अल्वा के कोटेशन मेरे पास हैं और भी बहुत से कोटेशन हैं। इसलिये मैं यह चाहता हूं कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का कोआपरेशन जल्दी से जल्दी मिलना चाहिये और जब तक ऐसा नहीं होता तब तक हरिजन सुधार का काम ठीक से नहीं होगा। गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया से जितनी ग्रांट स्टेट गवर्नमेंटों को मिलती हैं उनमें से बहुत सी लैप्स हो जाती हैं। मैं भारत दलित सेवक संघ का अध्यक्ष हूं। मैं जनता हूं कि हमारी हरिजन संस्थाओं से ग्रांटों के बारे में जो पत्र जाते हैं उनका जवाब ही जल्दी नहीं मिलता, मार्च आ रहा है लेकिन अभी तक उनको ग्रांट के बारे में कोई जवाब नहीं मिला है। नार चार, छः छः, आठ आठ, ग्यारह ग्यारह

महीने लग जाते हैं और गवर्नमेंट के जितने ग्रांट्स स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के जरिये मिलने होते हैं वे बहुत से लैप्स हो जाते हैं। इसलिए इन तरह के ग्रांट जल्दी से जल्दी मिलने की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये।

मेरी एक प्रार्थना और है कि ये जो शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइव्स के मिनिस्टर जगह जगह रखे गये हैं वे उसी एक डिपार्टमेंट में एक जाति से नहीं रखने चाहिये और उनको अलग अलग डिपार्टमेंट में काम करने का चान्स दीजिये। सरकारी नौकरियों के बारे में बात दूसरी है। कभी कभी ऐसा होता है कि शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइव्स जातियों में भी सैकड़ों जातियां होती हैं, और हर एक जाति वाले अपना अपना इंटरस्ट देखते हैं। मैं स्वयं जात पांत के मामले को महत्व नहीं देता। मैं नहीं चाहता कि उनकी बस्तियां अलग होनी चाहियें, उनकी शिक्षा अलग होनी चाहिये, उनके होस्टल अलग होने चाहिये, बल्कि मैं इसको पसंद करता हूं कि मिक्स्ड होस्टल हों, मिक्स्ड बैंक हों, मिक्स्ड कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटियां हों। एक बात और है कि मिनिस्टर बनने के बाद जितना कोआपरेशन हमको उनसे मिलना चाहिये उतना नहीं मिलता। जब उनसे मिलने जाओ तो कहते हैं देखो, कल मिलना, अभी टाइम नहीं है। और भी कई बातें हैं, मेरी जो दुख की कहानी है उसको इस हाउस में कहने के लिये मैं खड़ा हुआ हूं।

इसके साथ साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि संविधान में हरिजनों के लिए सर्वसेज में जो स्थान सुरक्षित रखे गये हैं, वे पूरी तौर पर नहीं भरे जाते। मेरे पास इस बारे में कई फिगरस हैं, जो मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूं। इन सात आठ वर्ष के अरसे में

अभी तक हम हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के जीवन स्तर को ऊँचा उठाने के लिये कितना कर चुके हैं और तीन वर्षों में हम उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने के लिये क्या कर सकते हैं। केंद्रीय सरकार के अर्धवार्षिक प्रथम श्रेणी की २२५० नौकरियों में हरिजनों की संख्या केवल १० है, द्वितीय श्रेणी की ६२०० नौकरियों में उनकी संख्या कुल ६२ है, तृतीय श्रेणी में १,७६,००० नौकरियों में उनकी संख्या कुल १०,००० है और चतुर्थ श्रेणी की ६३,००० नौकरियों में उनकी संख्या केवल ८३०० है। राज्य सरकारों में इससे भी बुरी हालत है। वे जितने गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से सर्विस के बारे में कई प्रकार के रूल्स एंड रेगुलेशंस बने हैं, होम मिनिस्ट्री वाले इनको अमल में नहीं लाते। सेंट्रल पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन में एक सिड्यूल्ड कास्ट का आदमी मेम्बर रखा है, इसी तरह कलकत्ता में रेलवे पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन में एक मेम्बर रखा है, बड़े आनन्द की बात है। हर एक स्टेट में जाति पाति के नाम पर एकाध आदमी रखे जाते हैं जैसे कहीं किसी जगह मुसलमान को ज़रूर रखा जाता है। वैसे हर एक प्रांत के पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन में हरिजन सभासद होना चाहिये। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि मैं कोई पक्षपात की बात कर रहा हूँ लेकिन मेरी प्रार्थना है कि जाति पाति के नाम पर हम हर जगह जो एक एक आदमी किसी जाति विशेष का रखना चाहते हैं यह चीज खत्म होनी चाहिये। मैं नहीं चाहता कि यह जातिवाद की बीमारी हमारे यहां हमेशा रहे। मुझे इसको देख कर दुःख लगता है, यह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है।

देहातों में आप जाइये तो वहां आप देखेंगे हरिजनों की हालत में सुधार नहीं हुआ है। परसों मैंने अखबार में उनकी दशा के बारे में एक खबर पढ़ी। यह खबर टाइम्स आफ इंडिया के ६-२-५८ के अंक में एक तस्वीर के नीचे छपी थी जो कि मेरे पास मौजूद है। टाइम्स आफ इंडिया की इस कटिंग

को मैं हाउस के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। वह इस प्रकार है :-

"In Kanpur village the lot of Harijans is deplorable. Whole families live in cramped, mud-walled rooms. Because they are denied water from the village wells, they can wash only when it rains."

मेरे पास इस तरह की कई कहानियां हैं क्योंकि तीस वर्षों से मैं यही कार्य कर रहा हूँ। यह जो चीज मैंने आपको बताई यह अभी चार दिन पहले की ही बात है। अभी हाल बनारस के विश्वनाथ मंदिर में प्रवेश का जो झगड़ा हुआ वह आपको मालूम ही है, इससे पहले बम्बई में जो कुछ हुआ था और उसमें श्री चव्हाण साहब ने जो बीच बचाव किया था, उनका जिक्र मैं पहले कर चुका हूँ। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि उनकी दशा में सुधार का महत्वपूर्ण सवाल अभी हल नहीं हुआ है। हरिजन लोग उसी तरह से देश के निवासी हैं जैसे और लोग हैं, मैं उनको दूसरों से अलग नहीं समझता। हम सब के साथ मिल कर देश का कार्य करेंगे और उसकी आवाज को बुलंद करेंगे। हमको इस देश को समृद्ध बनाने के लिए सब प्रकार की मदद देने की ज़रूरत है।

मैंने अभी कुछ देर पहले गंदी बस्तियों और पुरानी बस्तियों का हवाला दिया और उसके कार्यक्रम के बारे में जानकारी कराने के लिये कहा। मुझे खुशी है कि राष्ट्रपति ने गंदी बस्तियों का अपने अभिभाषण में उल्लेख किया है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि हर एक मिनिस्ट्री में क्या काम हो रहा है वे बतायें।

हम इस सम्बन्ध में जब मिनिस्ट्री को कोई खत लिखते हैं तो हमको कोई जवाब नहीं मिलता है और जब यहां पर सवाल किये जाते हैं तो गोल मोल उत्तर दे दिया जाता है। हम यह जानना चाहते हैं कि हरिजनों के संबंध में अब तक कितना काम

[श्री पा० ना० राजभोज]

हो चुका है और भविष्य में कितना होने वाला है। इस तरह का जवाब मैं इस हाउस के सामने चाहता हूँ। अगर हरिजनों की भलाई का काम ठीक तरह से होता रहे तो हमें सरकार से कोई शिकायत नहीं है।

आज हम देखते हैं कि हमारे भाइयों में से बहुत से भाई कोई ईसाई बन जाता है तो कोई बौद्ध बन जाता है। इसका कारण क्या है? इसका कारण उनकी सामाजिक और आर्थिक दशा है। जब तक हरिजनों की आर्थिक दशा नहीं सुधारी जायगी तब तक हम इस हालत को नहीं रोक सकते हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारा देश उन्नति करे और समृद्ध हो लेकिन जो लोग यह कहते हैं कि बहुत से हरिजन बौद्ध बन गये हैं वह एक पोलिटिकल दृष्टि से इस तरह की बात करते हैं। हमारे लोक सभा के बहुत से सदस्य कहते हैं कि हमारे बहुत से भाई बौद्ध बन गये हैं मगर बुद्ध जैसा वे लोग आचरण नहीं करते हैं। महात्मा गांधी जी ने हरिजनों की भलाई के लिए एक साल तक देश में दौरा किया, घूम घूम कर सेवा की और देश में छुआछूत और जात पात की बुराई को दूर किया। हमारे विनोबा भावे भी आज कल भूदान के लिए पद यात्रा कर रहे हैं। मैं उनसे यह प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वे भी एक साल तक हरिजनों की भलाई के लिए देश की यात्रा करें और इस समय देश में जात पात की जो भावना फैली हुई है उसे दूर करें। इस संबंध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो हमारे भाई बौद्ध होने का दावा करते हैं वे यह नहीं मंजूर करते कि बुद्ध ने तो पंचशील का अनुसरण करने की शिक्षा दी है लेकिन हमारे भाई इस तरह का अनुसरण नहीं करते हैं। मेरी तो यही प्रार्थना है कि जिस तरह से गांधी जी ने हरिजनों के लिए एक वर्ष तक दौरा किया उसी तरह से हमारे विनोबा जी भी एक वर्ष तक हरिजनों की भलाई के लिए कार्य करें। इस समय वे जो कार्य कर रहे हैं मैं उसके

विरुद्ध नहीं हूँ। वे देश के हित के लिए बहुत अच्छा कार्य कर रहे हैं। लेकिन महात्मा गांधी जी के मरने के बाद हरिजनों की भलाई की आवाज उठाने वाला हम नहीं देखते हैं।

SHAH MOHAMAD UMAIR (Bihar): Sir, I rise on a point of order. I want to draw your attention to the fact that if such unbridled expressions are going to be allowed in this House, I think it will be impossible for other Members, who are waiting for time, to speak on this particular motion. Besides, I do not think what is being discussed by my friend over there legitimately concerns the Motion of Thanks.

श्री पा० ना० राजभोज : मैं अपने आनरेबिल मेम्बर का नाम नहीं जानता हूँ, भूल गया हूँ।

श्री अकबर अली खान : श्री मुहम्मद उमेर।

श्री पा० ना० राजभोज : मेरा जन्म हरिजन परिवार में हुआ है। अगर हमारे माननीय भाई भी हरिजन होते तो उन्हें हमारे दुःखों का अनुभव होता। लेकिन मैं अब सदन का ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ। केवल एक प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि जिस तरह से हमारे विनोबा जी भूदान यात्रा कर रहे हैं उसी तरह से वे एक वर्ष के लिए हरिजन भाइयों की भलाई के लिए देश की यात्रा करें जिससे देश में इस समय जो जात पात की भावना फैली है वह दूर हो जाय। इस प्रार्थना के साथ मैं अन्त में यह कहना चाहता हूँ : सव्वे सत्ता सुखी होन्तु सव्वे होन्तु च खेमिको। सव्वे भद्राणि पस्सन्तु मा कच्चि दुक्खमागमा।

सब प्राणी सुखी हों, सब नीरोग हो, सब मंगल प्राप्त करें कोई भी दुखी न हो। इसी तरह की इच्छा मेरी भी है और उसी को मैं हाउस के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। मेरी सरकार से प्रार्थना है कि हम लोगो की

कठिनाइयों को दूर करने के लिए हर प्रकार की सहायता करे ।

श्री शीलभद्र यात्री : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सदन के सामने राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के प्रति कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन का जो प्रस्ताव श्री जयनारायण व्यास जी ने रखा है, मैं उसका अनुमोदन करता हूँ । राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण की ३८ वीं कंडिका में भारत की जो विदेश नीति और गृह नीति है, उसका पूरा विश्लेषण करते हुए बताया कि मुद्रास्फीति, विदेशी विनिमय और खासकर आर्थिक मामलों में, हमारी स्थिति संतोषजनक रही है । गत वर्ष की अपेक्षा इस साल जो मुल्क की हालत है, उससे पता चलता है कि जो हमारी दिक्कतें गत वर्ष थीं, उनमें बहुत कुछ सुधार हुआ है । राष्ट्रपति ने खाद्य स्थिति का जो विश्लेषण किया है, विशेषकर मेरे सूबे और पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश का जहां खास कर सूखे से परिस्थिति ज्यादा बिगड़ी है, उससे यह मालूम पड़ता है कि वहां भयंकर स्थिति हो गई है और कुछ हमारे पूर्वी वक्ताओं ने यह भी बताया कि शायद वहां बंगाल की सी हालत हो जाती । लेकिन सूखा पड़ने के बावजूद पैदावार में वृद्धि हुई है और खासकर सरकार ने जो कदम उठाये हैं सस्ते अनाज की दुकानें खोलीं—इससे बहुत कुछ स्थिति में सुधार हुआ है । लेकिन राष्ट्रपति ने यह भी कहा कि इससे हम लोगों को हाथ पर हाथ रख कर बैठे नहीं रहना चाहिये बल्कि आगे भी प्रयत्न करना चाहिये । खाद्य स्थिति पर हमारे बहुत से लोगों ने बोलते हुए—खासकर अमेन्डमेंट के जरिये यह बताया है कि देश में स्थिति अब भी विषम है और जिस तरह की आशा की जाती थी उस तरह की सफलता अभी प्राप्त नहीं हुई है । बात सही है, लेकिन जब तक कृषि और उद्योग के क्षेत्र में उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ेगा तब तक हमारे मुल्क की हालत नहीं सुधर सकती है । हमारे देश में इस समय जहां जहां पर इरीगेशन है, ट्यूब वेल्स हैं, कैनाल्स

हैं, वहां सिंचाई के जो रेट्स हैं, महसूल हैं वे बहुत ज्यादा हैं । इसीलिए हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि जब तक इरीगेशन के रेट्स काफी नहीं घटेंगे तब तक किसान लोग सिंचाई से ज्यादा फायदा नहीं उठा सकेंगे और न पैदावार ही ज्यादा बढ़ेगी । बहुत सी राज्य सरकारों ने इरीगेशन रेट्स, वाटर रेट्स में कमी कर दी है और किसान इसका फायदा उठा रहे हैं लेकिन जब तक हमारे देश में सिंचाई का ज्यादा से ज्यादा प्रबन्ध नहीं होगा और अच्छे किस्म के बीज बांटने का इंतजाम नहीं होगा तब तक पैदावार में जितनी प्रतिशत हम तरक्की चाहते हैं उतनी प्रतिशत तरक्की नहीं हो सकती है । इस समय देश में किसी के भूखे मरने का सवाल पैदा नहीं होता है । भूख से कोई व्यक्ति नहीं मरा है । जो कुछ भी इस तरह की खबरें आती हैं वे सिर्फ प्रोपेगन्डा के सिवाय और कुछ नहीं हैं ।

सदन में खेती की पैदावार बढ़ाने के सम्बन्ध में बहुत से व्यक्तियों ने यह विचार प्रकट किया है कि देश में लैंड रिफार्म नहीं हुए हैं । लेकिन मेरा कहना यह है कि आजादी के बाद देश में जब से कांग्रेस की सरकार बनी है, हर राज्य में भूमि सुधार का कार्य हुआ है और टैनेन्सी ऐक्ट बने । जहां जहां जमींदार मालगुजार और जागीरदारों को जमीन पर अधिकार थे वे खेती में काम करने वाले लोगों को प्राप्त हो गये हैं । टैनेन्सी ऐक्ट के जरिये जो रियल टिलर आफ दी सायल थे—जमीन जोतने वाले थे, उनको बहुत सी सुविधायें प्राप्त हो गई हैं । देश में जमींदारी प्रथा का नाश हो गया है । हमारे सूबे में ८ लाख जमींदार थे, इसी तरह से पश्चिमी बंगाल में भी थे । हिन्दुस्तान में रैय्यतवारी प्रथा को छोड़ कर जहां जहां जमींदारी, जागीरदारी और मालगुजारी प्रथा थी वह सब खत्म हो गई है । इस तरह से हमारे देश में भूमि का सुधार हुआ है । हमारे सूबे में टैनेन्सी ऐक्ट के जरिये जमींदारों को एक

[श्री: शीलभद्र याजी]

मन में २६ सेर और किसानों को १४ सेर हिस्से का अधिकार दिया गया है। इस तरह से हमारी कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट ने देश में सब जगह भूमि सुधार किया है।

श्री बी० प्रसाद राव (आंध्र प्रदेश): कितने काश्तकारों को जमीन मिली है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : वही तो मैं बता रहा हूँ कि देश में काश्तकारों को भूमि सुधारों से क्या क्या फायदा हुआ है। तैलंगाना में भी किसानों को जमीन मिली है। हमारे सूबे में जो टैनेन्सी ऐक्ट बना है, उसके अनुसार जो किसान किसी जमीन पर १२ वर्ष से काम कर रहा है और भूमि हीन है, वह जमीन का मालिक बन गया है।

एक बात जरूर है और जिसकी तरफ कुछ लोगों ने इशारा भी किया है वह यह है कि अभी तक लैंड की सीलिंग नहीं हुई है। लेकिन जहां तक हमारे सूबे में लैंड की सीलिंग का सवाल है वह एक सेलेक्ट कमेटी से गुजर गया है और आशा की जाती है कि जल्दी से वह पास हो जायेगा। लेकिन बंगाल में लैंड की सीलिंग का सवाल हल हो गया है। पेंसू और सौराष्ट्र में भी लैंड की सीलिंग का सवाल हल हो गया है। इसी तरह से देश के और भी राज्यों में कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट को इस बात की चिंता है और आशा की जाती है कि सब राज्यों में जल्दी से लैंड की सीलिंग हो जायगी। हमारे अपोजीशन वाले तो महज विरोध की भावना से इस तरह की बातें करते हैं जैसे कि किसानों को किसी तरह का फायदा ही नहीं हुआ है। लेकिन जो लोग किसानों के बीच में काम करते हैं, वे जानते हैं कि किसानों को कितनी जमीन मिली है और कितने जमीन के मालिक बन गये हैं।

इस तरह से भूमि का सुधार हो रहा है सीलिंग के सम्बन्ध में नेशनल प्लानिंग बोर्ड ने भी आदेश दिया है। उन्होंने यह डाइरेक्शन

दिया है कि कितने एकड़ भूमि को कोई रख सकता है और भूमि की चकबन्दी होनी चाहिये। उसके मुताबिक जो ट गवर्नमेंट्स हैं वे जल्दी से जल्दी उस सीलिंग को निर्धारित करके जो भूमि सुधार का आखिरी काम है वह भी कर रही हैं। यह बात जरूर है कि जब कोई काम शांतिमय तरीके से होता है तो वह कुछ धीरे धीरे होता है। इसके अतिरिक्त हमारा किसान प्रतिक्रियागामी होता है और वह वैसा प्रगतिशील नहीं होता है जैसा कि एक मजदूर होता है। यदि उसकी एक इंच जमीन भी जाती है तो वह हाई कोर्ट तक मुकदमा लड़ता है। ये सब बातें देखने की हैं। यहां हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई बंटे हुये हैं। मैं उन्हें यह बतला दूँ कि रूस में जब जमीन का बटवारा हुआ था तो वहां गृह युद्ध हो गया था। यहां जितने जमींदार थे, जितने जागीरदार थे, जितने पांच छः सौ राजे महाराजे थे, सबको हमने खत्म किया और कोई काउंटर रेवोल्यूशन नहीं हुआ। यदि यहां जमीन का बटवारा होगा तो जो बड़े बड़े जमींदार हैं या बड़े बड़े किसान हैं उनसे काउंटर रेवोल्यूशन की उम्मीद नहीं है। इसलिए सरकार इस तब्दीली में प्रयत्नशील है और लैंड सीलिंग की बात भी सब एग्जम्पली में आ रही है। इसके लिए जो कांग्रेस पार्टी है, जो रूलिंग पार्टी है वह कार्य कर रही है।

श्री बी० प्रसाद राव क्या हो रहा है ?

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : सब हो रहा है। धैर्य धारण कीजिये। अभी मेरे साथी ने मेरा मजाक उड़ाया। हमारे चैयरमैन जब रूस में एम्बेसेडर थे तो जिस प्रकार स्टैलिन को हंसी छटी थी, उसी प्रकार हमारे साथी को हंसी छटी थी कि कैसे पीसफुल मैथड से जमींदारी चली जायगी, कैसे खेती का बटवारा हो जायगा। कैसे राजे महाराजे चले जायेंगे, यह और मुमकिन बात है। उस पर हमारे चैयरमैन ने कहा था कि हंसिये लेकिन ऐसा होगा। अब तो इस पार्टी को भी सुबुद्धि आ



गई है कि पीसफुल मैथड से समाजवाद हो जायगा। जो कभी यह कहते थे कि बुलेट से समाजवाद होगा, वे अब कहने लगे हैं कि बूलेट से समाजवाद हो जायगा। तो स्टैलिन को हंसी छूटती थी लेकिन माननीय राधाकृष्णन जो कि हमारे चेयरमैन हैं, उन्होंने यह कहा था कि जमीन का बटवारा पीसफुल ढंग से हो रहा है। उनके यहां गृह युद्ध हुआ था, इसलिए उनका यह विचार था कि यह बात होने वाली नहीं है। बाद में जो यहां हुआ उसको सारी दुनिया ने देखा और सबको यह विश्वास हो गया कि अब समाजवाद बुलेट से नहीं बल्कि बूलेट से होगा। मास्को में जो लाइन गत वर्ष अपनायी गई, वही लाइन अब इंडियन कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी भी अपना रही है। मैं समझता हूं कि अब कोई फर्क नहीं है और कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को डिजाल्व करके एक करोड़ व्यक्तियों की जो कांग्रेस पार्टी है उसमें आ जाना चाहिये।

**श्री बी० प्रसाद राव :** आप यहां पचारिये।

**श्री शीलभद्र याजी :** मुझको कहने दीजिये। लैंड रिफार्म की बात यहां उठाई गई थी। अब पीसफुल और डेमोक्रेटिक मैथड को इन लोगों ने मान लिया है। इसलिए कांग्रेस, जिसकी एक बड़ी फौज है, जिसकी एक करोड़ की सदस्यता है, उसमें ये जो एक लाख छोटे भइये हैं, इनको भी आ जाना चाहिये। हमारी पार्टी जो इनकी पार्टी से जबरदस्त थी वह भी कांग्रेस में आ गई। यदि ये भी कांग्रेस में आ जायें तो ये जो लैंड रिफार्म की बात करते हैं वह जल्दी से जल्दी हो जायगी। यह लैंड रिफार्म की बात हुई। इस तरफ से बड़ी कटु आलोचना हुई थी, इसलिए उसका जवाब देना बहुत जरूरी था।

इसके अलावा हमारे एच० डी० राजा जी ने बताया कि कामन वेल्थ में हमें नहीं रहना चाहिये क्योंकि यह बड़ी ग्लानि और शर्म की बात है। हम भी इस तरह की बात

चाहते थे लेकिन जब २६ जनवरी सन् १९५० को हिन्दुस्तान रिपब्लिक हो गया तो उसके बाद यह सवाल कहां उठता है कि हिन्दुस्तान इंग्लैंड का पिछलग्गू है। जब कामरेड चाऊ एन लाई हिन्दुस्तान आये तो उन्होंने एक बयान दिया कि हिन्दुस्तान को कामनवेल्थ में रहना चाहिये। छोटे भइये लोग कहते हैं कि नहीं रहना चाहिये लेकिन कम्युनिज्म के जो बड़े ठेकेदार हैं वे कहते हैं कि रहना चाहिये। क्यों रहना चाहिये? उन्होंने दलील दी कि चूंकि इंडिया कामनवेल्थ में है, इस लिए उनके साथ रह कर शांति का जो पैगाम है, दोस्ती का जो पैगाम है, उसको जवाहरलाल जी या इंडिया गवर्नमेंट अच्छी तरह दूसरे मुल्कों को पहुंचा सकती है। इसलिए उन्होंने इससे इतिफाक किया कि हिन्दुस्तान को कामनवेल्थ में रहना चाहिये। जो हमारी विदेशी नीति अब तक रही है, स्वयं नहर के मामले में जो हमारी नीति रही है या अन्य किसी मामले में जो हमारी नीति रही है वह क्या किसी के पीछे चलने वाली नीति रही है, जिसकी वजह से हमको कामनवेल्थ से हट जाना चाहिये। एच० डी० राजा जी ने कहा कि हम सैल्यूट करेंगे। क्या नेहरू जी किसी के पिछलग्गू हैं या किसी के गुलाम हैं। जो छोटे भइये हैं वही यह कहते हैं कि हमको कामनवेल्थ छोड़ देना चाहिये जहां तक हमारी विदेश नीति का सम्बन्ध है, कुछ लोगों ने यह कहा कि क्या हमारी विदेश नीति है? हमारी विदेश नीति को दुनिया नहीं मानती है। दुनिया में हमारा कोई दोस्त नहीं है, बगल में जो पड़ोसी देश है वह भी हमारा दुश्मन है। लेकिन खुशी की बात यह है कि पंचशील के आधार पर शांति की जो हमारी विदेश नीति है, उसके सम्बन्ध में अपोजीशन के लोगों का भी यह कहना है कि वह अच्छी है। कुछ लोग जो नहीं समझते हैं वे यह कहते हैं कि अच्छी नहीं है। हमारी वैदेशिक नीति शांति का पैगाम देने वाली नीति है। आज से ढाई द्वादश वर्ष पहले महात्मा बुद्ध ने जो पैगाम दिया था उस पैगाम

[श्री शीलभद्र याजी]  
को देने वाली हमारी नीति है। २ अरब ६८ करोड़ या पौने तीन अरब जो दुनिया की जन संख्या है उसका ३/५ भाग जिसमें २६ देश और चीन और रूस जैसे बड़े बड़े देश सम्मिलित हैं, उसने पंचशील के आधार पर जो हमारी वैदेशिक नीति है उसको स्वीकार कर लिया है। आज दुनिया में यदि कोई गड़बड़ होती है तो कोई मास्को की तरफ नहीं देखता है, पीकिंग की तरफ नहीं देखता है, वाशिंगटन की तरफ नहीं देखता है, लंदन की तरफ नहीं देखता है बल्कि नई दिल्ली की तरफ दुनिया आकर्षित होती है क्योंकि हमारी ऐसी वैदेशिक नीति है कि उसकी वजह से कोई युद्ध नहीं हुआ, आतम बम का प्रयोग नहीं हुआ। इस अभिभाषण में भी राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि ऊँचे स्तर पर समिट कांफ्रेंस होनी चाहिये, तनाव कम करना चाहिये। इस दिशा में जो कार्य हुआ है उसके सम्बन्ध में हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने खासकर इस हाउस में सब बातें बताई हैं। आज हमारी वैदेशिक नीति इस तरह से सफलीभूत हुई है कि यदि कोई उसकी आलोचना करे तो वह ठीक कार्य नहीं करता।

इसके साथ साथ आजकल भाषा की बात उठाई जाती है। हमारी जो १४ प्रान्तीय भाषायें हैं उनको हमने राष्ट्रीय भाषायें करार दिया है। इसलिए कोई इन भाषाओं के सम्बन्ध में बोले, लेकिन कुछ लोग खासकर अंग्रेजी की बात करते हैं। एक शेख अब्दुल्ला काश्मीर में हैं। दक्षिण में हैं श्री राजगोपालाचारी \*\*\*आज राजगोपालाचारी अंग्रेजी की बात करते हैं— और कहते हैं कि साउथ अलग हो जायगा, नार्थ अलग हो जायगा। \*\*\* इससे देश को बड़ा नुक्सान हो रहा है। राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषण में राष्ट्रभाषा आयोग के बारे में गोल मोल बात कही है। लेकिन जरूरत यह है कि इन प्रवृत्तियों के

खिलाफ उचित कार्यवाही की जाय, नहीं तो देश छोटे छोटे टुकड़ों में बट जायगा। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि इसके लिए ठोस कदम उठाया जाय और इस प्रवृत्ति को जरूर चेक किया जाय। अगर उनको चेक नहीं किया जाता है तो कुछ एम० एल० ए० अलग बैठ करके यह कहेंगे कि तामिलनाडु अलग होना चाहिये। \* \* \* \* इस तरह से बात चल रही है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि इस भाषा के प्रश्न पर हमको संजीदगी के साथ और ठंडे दिल से विचार करना चाहिये। जो हमारी १४ राष्ट्रीय भाषायें हैं, हम उन सब भाषाओं का प्रयोग करेंगे, लेकिन अंग्रेजी को हमें त्यागना पड़ेगा।

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

पंचवर्षीय योजना के बारे में कुछ लोगों ने कहा कि यह शर्म की बात है कि हम विदेशों से मदद लें। दुनिया में सभी देश मदद लेते हैं। यदि जरूरत पड़ती है तो चीन रूस से मदद लेता है। यदि जरूरत पड़ती है तो इंग्लैंड अमेरिका से मदद लेता है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : भीख नहीं मांगते हैं ?

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : हम भी भीख नहीं मांगते हैं, कर्ज मांगते हैं। बड़े से बड़े देश भी कर्ज लेते हैं। भीख मांगने की बात श्री एच० डी० राजा ने कही कि हमें भीख नहीं मांगना चाहिये। मैं यह कहूँगा कि यह भीख मांगने की बात नहीं है। यदि हमें जरूरत होगी तो हम कर्ज लेंगे। इसके अतिरिक्त अमेरिका रूस या कोई देश यदि हमारी मदद करेगा तो हम वह मदद भी लेंगे। जिसके पास पैसा होता है वह मदद भी देता है। इसलिए विदेशों से यदि हम सहायता लेते हैं तो यह कोई शर्म की बात नहीं है। सब देशों ने एक दूसरे की मदद की है। युगोस्लाविया के मार्शल टीटो ने भी दूसरे देशों से मदद ली है। उसी प्रकार दूसरे देशों से मदद

\*\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.



लेकर यदि हम अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजना को सफलीभूत करते हैं तो यह हमारे लिए कोई शर्म की बात नहीं है।

इन शब्दों के साथ राष्ट्रपति के अभि-  
भाषण पर जो कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन प्रस्ताव है  
उसका मैं तुम्हें दिल से स्वागत करता हूँ।

SHRI B. M. GUPTA (Mysore): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the President's survey of the economic situation is marked by sober optimism, and I think that that attitude is justified in the circumstances. In one vital respect, in one very important respect, Government has achieved conspicuous success; that is, in the matter of arresting the upward trend in the price line, and therefore Government deserves congratulations in that respect. The peak was reached in August 1957 and at that time the foodgrain price index was 113.5 and that index number has now come down to 100, i.e., a fall of about 12 per cent., in six months. That, as I said, is a very important and vital matter. For months past the prices were increasing and a large mass of people were experiencing very great difficulty in maintaining themselves. There was widespread discontent and people were getting restless, and in such circumstances the situation was fraught with grave anxiety, and I am therefore, glad that the Government has succeeded not only in arresting the rise in prices but also there is a tendency for prices to fall. This relief of 12 per cent, in six months has come as a very welcome and much-needed relief. In my part of the country there is a matter for greater satisfaction, because jowar is the staple food for a very large mass of people in that part of the country and for two years there was great scarcity of this grain and those people were experiencing great hardship. No doubt Government supplied rice and wheat at subsidised prices at a number of fair price shops, but these amenities, these facilities, were not very useful to these people, because rice was costly and moreover it was available only in small quantities in an intermittent manner.

The supplies were inadequate and-naturally, therefore, nobody could rely on getting a regular supply of rice. So far as wheat was concerned, rightly or wrongly the people in Maharashtra got the idea that wheat could not be consumed without ghee. Wheat itself was subsidised but ghee was not subsidised, and people could not afford to buy ghee and therefore they could not afford to eat the subsidised wheat. Therefore, as I pointed out, these fair price shops have not given much relief, but luckily for us there has been a good crop of jowar and the price of jowar has fallen very substantially. Prices have come down from Rs. 15 a maund to Rs. 8 or Rs. 9 • a maund, and therefore the people in my part of the country, as I said, have reason for greater satisfaction. No doubt Government is in a position to keep the supplies adequate and to maintain the price line as they have made arrangements for importing about 30 lakh more tons of foodgrains. They will, I am sure, keep the price line and even try to reduce it, but we must also realise the cost of this. It is said that for 30 lakh tons, there will be a loss by way of subsidy of about Rs. 30 crores. This shows how costly it is to rely on imports. Therefore, all our efforts should be concentrated on increasing the internal production of foodgrains, and in my opinion, the approach of the Prime-Minister is quite correct. We must concentrate on those areas where-water supply is adequate either through irrigation or through sufficient rainfall. If we so concentrate there-will be a substantial increase in the internal production of foodgrains.

In that connection, I should also like to make one suggestion. When the Grow More Food Campaign was in; full swing some years ago, there was a great drive for compost-making. I understand that next year the total availability of fertilisers, internal and: imported, will be 40 per cent. less. That is a very serious matter. That, would affect the production of food. in the country. Therefore, I would suggest that the drive for compost-making should be revived. Formerly -

[Shri B. M. Gupta] the Central Government gave a subsidy for that. Later on they withdrew it, because I was told at that time there was much abuse of that subsidy. There might be abuse in various things. The point is that it should be checked; the matter should not be dropped. I therefore suggest that compost-making should be revived. In my own State of Bombay, most of the municipalities are required to utilise their refuse for compost-making. I do not know whether in the other parts of the country it is being done, and if it is not being done, it should be done. I see in Delhi also that the roadside trees are shedding a huge mass of leaves, and I do not see why these should not be used for compost-making. I do not mean to say that it has not been thought of and given up as being uneconomical; there may be other difficulties also. But if it has not been considered, then I would request that this possibility should be explored and this huge material of refuse should be utilised as far as possible.

Industrial production also is going on well. This also is a very heartening thing, especially in regard to the key article of cement. There has been greater production of cement, and I am glad that distribution may be liberalised and that perhaps even some export may be allowed. This also is a very striking feature.

Then, I would refer to another matter with regard to the small savings. We greatly rely upon it and I am glad that the Government of India has given a larger share to the State Governments who are making a determined effort to collect small savings in the best manner possible. But there are two suggestions that I should like to make. The State Governments are asking for some better facilities, and better terms, for collection. I think that the Central Government should not be miserly in this respect. The State Governments also are maintaining large establishments, parallel establishments, and there is a Central Government establishment also. The

Central Government can easily reduce their establishment and give the sum saved thereby to the State Governments to carry on their campaign in a better manner. I suggest that that should be done.

There is another suggestion of mine. It is my impression that the period of ten years and 12 years is perhaps very long and that is affecting the campaign. I therefore suggest that this should be considered and the period of the certificates should be reduced to five years. A period of 5 years is sufficient for our purposes. No doubt recently the Government has increased the rate of interest but in another direction a concession should be tried and the certificates should be issued for 5 years if possible.

With regard to international situation, there is hardly anything worth commenting on. The change is not substantial. The situation is the same. Due to our championship of peace and due to the personality of our Prime Minister, our prestige in the international world stands high and that situation will continue, it is a matter of pride for us all that that situation will continue but I would refer to one point in this respect, with respect to Kashmir.

I am glad that the Government has taken the stand that there should be no negotiation unless the aggression of Pakistan is vacated. I wish the Government had taken this stand earlier but now at last they have taken it, let them stand firm in this matter. They should adhere to this attitude and there should be no negotiation unless the aggression is vacated.

So, summarising all this, we find that we start the New Year with better cheer than we started last year, both with regard to internal situation and also with regard to the international situation; we start it in a better cheer and I hope it will continue to progress and improve. But there should be no complacency about it. We must realise that this is only a temporary evaluation. The road is hard and long and

-it calls for austerity and sacrifice. Therefore I am sure, through vigilance and through hard work, we shall have progress and at the end of the year Tve shall have progressed substantially in our march to prosperity.

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I hope you will pardon my voice. I stand here to welcome this Address and I support "the motion moved by our hon. friend Shri J. N. Vyas. I welcome this Address for so many things. I welcome it as a worthy Address delivered by the worthy President of our worthy Nation. I welcome it as it provides guiding formulae not only for our own country and the people of our own country but for the peoples of the world, to achieve peace and maintain peace. I welcome it because it provides opportunities for all of us here to say anything that we want to say, whether it relates to the Address or not and thus make our presence felt and especially when we have met after some time and record our presence. So many things I heard on the floor of this House being said which have no relevance or direct relation with the Address but still I welcome and I welcome those speeches also. Because it is no use keeping things within one's mind and it is good to let them out. An outlet is needed otherwise it destroys the mind. So I welcome it because it provides outlets for us all, for so many of us, to give vent to our pent up feelings and lets that air out which might otherwise go to the head and blow off the head.

Sir, it has been suggested that there are loopholes in the Address, that it does not deal with the entire life of the country and all the aspects of the country and loopholes have been imagined of course when they were not there, then some holes have been picked. That is also good in a way. As I said, it brings out or gives us an opportunity for all intellectual gymnastics and thus sets the ball refiling and prepares us for further work. But to those friends who try to pick holes, I have

a little and very humble suggestion that they should read the Address if they have not heard it before they start speaking about it. If there were more days provided, I would have liked to read it again and again. It does help a great deal and I think in a little while, I will perhaps learn it by heart . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):  
Only 7 pages.

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR: Good, my friend spoke, like the Oracle. Anyway, really, even if the first line is read, it would help us. It says: 'I am happy to welcome you once again to your labours in a new session of Parliament.' But labours, we limit ourselves the word 'labours' to talks. That is the interpretation some of us put on the word 'labour'. It is very unior-tunate but really it is a time, it is a period for our country in which we must all labour, labour to go forward, labour to take our people forward, labour to take the world along with us, on the road to peace and that is very essential but it is very unfortunate that people who have been blessed with Godly gifts should waste all that energy through sheer talks and talks in a deprecating way. (t is very astounding sometimes and one sometimes feels sorry for this and asks, why all this energy is wasted? How and why could a man say words like these, deprecating the words, deeds and the works of a country which, in such a short time, has achieved so much, though not having much with it, still is respected if not above all, among the best and the foremost nations of the world and it is no mean achievement, no small achievement. It does not come as anybody's gifts. It has come through perseverance, it has come through hard lab.our, it has come through our sincere and honest work and instead of looking at that work, at that achievement, we start picking holes and utter such words—well I should say such words—that perhaps I would not like to repeat them—as 'hoax' and what not as some

[Shri Prithviraj Kapoor.] friends uttered here. It is really amazing. We must concentrate all our energies—and we have our own constituencies in our homes, each man, each individual, even if he is not a Member of the Parliament, has got a little constituency, namely, his home. Of course some people have bigger influences, much bigger. Some people have influence over the entire nation and some people have influence beyond our country. If we can utilise that influence in carrying us forward instead of picking holes and putting spokes in the wheel and making that 1 wheel of life stop and retard progress, it would really carry us much forward. We should put all our energies in taking the people forward, in preparing them for the great task that nature has entrusted to us today for the benefit of the coming generations, for the benefit of the entire world I should say. Everybody knows that India has been for centuries a slave country and has had to go through great hardships for centuries upon centuries, but in such a short period after independence, India has become, if not the monetary capital of the world, if not the armaments capital of the world, if not the scientific capital or research capital though it is fast becoming that too, the moral capital of the world. People look towards our leaders, towards our country, for the maintenance of peace in the world and this is no small achievement. We can go still further and we can do still greater work. The people of our country are very simple. The people of our country have got great hearts; the people of our country are quite honest people and they want to do something not only for themselves but also for humanity at large. The old people have spread out the message to the entire world, to Manav. Those very people, when they are led astray by our talks, our rigmorales, our playing with words, and our fumbings, get lost. When they get lost, their hand shakes at the plough, their hand shakes at the wheels that they are turning, at the rivets that they are preparing. The moment

! is lost, not only one but so many, ! which could have added to the progress of the country, that could have added to the prosperity of the country, moments that could have enriched our country are all lost. I have a little and a very humble prayer for our friends here. They should realise the time that we are passing through. In these times to say things deprecatory of the great work being done by our leaders, by our country and by our Government is really harmful not only for ourselves, not only for our country but for the entire world. In these times, we should be rather careful in choosing our words because our words mean so much. We must be able to lead so many people but we are disturbing the people in the work that they are doing, we are dissuading them from their work, we are disturbing them in their work and thus, as I said, the nation's wealth is lost. I can quote instances from history and from other countries from the recent past. When the Prime Minister of England, Mr. Winston Churchill said that he had nothing to offer but blood, sweat, tears and toil, the nation accepted it and tightened its belt. Take other countries like China. You see how the people there are working. They are working because there is nobody to dissuade them from work, but here, at every conceivable opportunity, we try to dissuade them from work instead of encouraging them. This is the time when we should put our shoulders to the wheel, but instead of that, we do and say so many things to disturb the people. The people read in the daily newspapers so and so saying such and such things, that the Government has not done this and that. *(Interruption)*. About that also, I have a word or two to say because it was brought in for nothing by my hon. friend, Mr. Rajah. He knew that we were going to discuss it; he knew that we were going to get full time for it and he knew that perhaps a day or two will be allocated for it and he still must bring this out in his speech.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: They want to make political capital out of it.

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR: That is why I have to refer to it, Sir, with your permission. We, I think, are proving to be bad masters. Not the Government but we are the masters. The people are the masters and we here represent the people. We are the masters and if a master starts behaving in a childish way, if a master starts behaving like a school boy in a hostel kitchen, it is not going to be good. We might just look back and recall to our minds what we used to do in the school kitchens.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: School kitchens are better than stock exchanges.

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR: It is all right. You will get your own time.

For nothing we used to pick holes in the work of the servants. We were bad masters. We had not trained ourselves to be good masters. We must learn to be good masters. I would be a bad master if I did not allow my cook to cook a thing properly. If I go on disturbing him, if I just open the lid and see what he is cooking, if I go on asking him as to why he has not done this way or that, we are not going to do any good. We will be behaving like a bad mother-in-law. When she wants to put her daughter-in-law on the wrong side of things, she always does things like that. Sometimes, our friends, our learned friends, our hon. friends behave like those bad mothers-in-law.

*(Time bell rings.)*

How many more minutes will I be allowed, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already taken fifteen minutes.

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR: How many more minutes are you allowing me?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please close at 3.

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SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR: By which clock, Sir? By mine or by that one there? I might be allowed a few minutes more, if I do not finish by then.

We must be good masters. We must let the people realise that they are the masters and that they should be good masters and not bad masters. A man is not used to being a master; a slave is not used to being a master. Let the people realise that they are the masters and if they are the masters, they must behave as good masters and not go about disturbing the people. I am glad the Report has come but I am also afraid that by our being bad masters we are going to lose some really good workers.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Because the Report is about a Ring Master.

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR: That is the unfortunate state of things. We go on picking holes and if we go on behaving like that, nobody will have the courage to function. Nothing untoward has been found in the Report; they have said that there is no motive, no consideration behind this transaction. When the consideration is not there, then it becomes an honest effort on the part of one of the workers in the Government machinery consisting of hundreds and thousands of people. People are dying on the surgeon's table while the surgeon is operating but that does not mean that the surgeon wants to kill the people. Anyway, when the time comes, much more may be said about it but my humble prayer now is that we should teach the people. If we have any influence with the people, let us go to them and teach them to be good masters, teach them that they have got their own job to do, their own lives to live, so much has been done and so much more also will be done. There is a Hindi couplet:

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vJILShft Prithviraj Kapoor.] vWheclhas made you go steps forward /wfilismake you go miles ahead too", yif wen think in that constructive way, we will be all right but if we start in a destructive way, if we only just iflpjirish a few phrases here and there, iWie will not do anything. It pains me <yfer&l much to see this state of affairs. Here are the people who can give a dead>]to the entire people, to the people an the villages, people who can inspire I.K entire community to work and to igo ahead but, instead of doing all that, they are rather disturbing them. •Instead of utilising all their energy caiiKd zeal for the maintenance of the •freedom of this country, for spreading Siteo mission of peace all over the world, we are disturbing them in their work. I shall quote one more instance about Churchill. If you remember, Sir, in the first World War, in ■ the Dardanelles, thousands of people were destroyed by one move of jChurchill. There was so much of ^opposition for this and he was kept ,a,way from the Government, but really jie, had saved Egypt for England then by that move, by putting those people jft, the Dardanelles and but, later on, the same man comes to the rescue of .that country and wins the war for

the nation. So by our hasty \$, P.M. action we may be depriving ourselves and the nation of ■gpod workers and we would be inaking these people hold back.

"(Interruption by Shri Bhupesh Gupta). 0

- You will get your time to speak. ■Please do not waste my time, other-cwise I will have to take more time, ,with your permission, Sir. We may hold back these people.

I am from the films and it may be said that this has nothing to do with films. Why are we in this Commonwealth? Well, as film people we are glad to be in the Commonwealth, for we make pictures and we get money. We do not get such money from other countries. It does not come to us. It helps us to send our pictures. We send our work to all these countries and we

can get money which we cannot get from other countries. We can now get it from Singapore, we can get it from East Africa, we can get it from London. So many good things are there.

One thing my friends will please remember. Our Prime Minister does not go cringing. He has had his training at the feet of a great Master, one who deemed himself the 'humblest of men". Our Prime Minister goes there and stands up like that but—

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The chairman of a committee remains the chairman wherever he may sit. He is the Prime Minister and as Prime Minister he goes there. He does not cringe. He goes as the master. He is treated as the master everywhere. I have been to Russia. I have been to China. I have been to South East Asia. And everywhere I have found that our Prime Minister is respected and because of his policy we ordinary people are also respected. When I put on a Gandhi cap in China, 13,000 people clapped. They did not clap for Prithviraj Kapoor, for this body was moving about already. But these 13,000 people stood up and clapped their hands, why? I had gone to witness the Russian folk dancers at Shanghai and I as the leader of the film delegation in 1955 was the first one to enter the great big stadium. How were the people to know that we were Indians? So just for that sake—we had over-coats on, it was winter—I brought out my white cap and put it on. Then the huge gathering clapped. It was an open-air theatre. It was covered over-head, but the sides were open. It was a beautiful place. Tier upon tier, rows after rows, people started getting up and clapping, these 13,000 people clapped their hands for India, clapped their hands for Nehru, they clapped for Nehru's policy, clapped for Nehru's government and what it had done and achieved for India—for mankind.

In Russia where we had been recently in August last, the people when they see you on the roads or streets,

taxis and others, they stop at once and people get out and offer you place. They do not grudge it. "Do please get In," they say. We may say *praya-schit* "Sorry, that we deprive you of the taxi", but they say, "Oh no, please get in. You are quite welcome. Get in." What is all this due to? To the policy of the country, the policy of our leader. So kindly follow that policy. If you do not follow him, if you do not support that policy then practically the whole thing would be lost outside the country and also inside our own country. How can that policy succeed if we do not follow it in our own country, inside the country? Follow that policy. Let us tighten our belts and go ahead.

One thing more. We talk about food. Go and tell the people that there are so many ways of living healthy lives, without squandering so much rice which we are not producing properly. If we are *not* producing rice, at least we have brains and so let us change the modes of eating. If we have not got enough wheat, we have at least the brain. We do not eat wheat alone. So please go and teach the people how to eat and how to live. This is the time for it. You have here people who have sacrificed a lot for the freedom of the country, who whenever ready to make all sacrifices, even to die for the sake of the country. But now, I believe the time has come to live for the country, to live properly, live wisely, intelligently and hopefully, with faith in the heart ■ within and God overhead, with faith in ourselves, with faith in our leader and in our own destiny.

Now I come to the last word. Here the President has said "Members of Parliament, I wish you success in your labours." He has not referred to talk. He has referred to labours, and labour implies that we labour here, that we labour at home, we labour in our constituencies and everywhere we go, giving the people hope, giving them strength. We bring them strength of mind and ways and means of living a better life, a healthier life. Let them

get up in the morning and face the rising sun and get ultra violet rays. We need not wait for the machinery to be imported to supply ultra violet rays.

“आओ मैत्री चांद से करें, मितारों से करें,  
सूर्य से करें, हवा से करें, अग्नि से करें,  
विद्युत से करें।”

These things you have got to teach the people and thus give them strength. Instead of that, do not take away even the little sense that they have got and the little faith that they have in the future. If you do that, you will not only be harming your own country, but also harming the entire world. War drums are beating and their sounds are heard and this country alone can stop it. Let us as one man stand behind our leaders and raise ourselves and go forward jointly and save the peace of the world.

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I think we have to welcome the President's Address for the simple reason that it gives Government an opportunity to give us in brief a review of its achievements and its policies and it gives Members of Parliament an opportunity to ventilate their appraisal of the Government's policy. I do not know what exactly my friend Shri Prithviraj Kapoor meant when he said labour did not mean talking. After all, if we are not going to talk in Parliament, then Parliament might as well not exist. This is also one type of work and it is a necessary type of work which we cannot shirk.

There is one thing on which I can wholeheartedly congratulate the Government and that is on its policy in connection with the Nagas. They have done extremely well to withstand the opposition of the local government there and to constitute the Naga tribes into a separate unit. I was surprised to hear one of the Members criticising this policy as leading to disruption. I do not know why the constituting of a Naga unit alone should cause dis-

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.] ruption when so many of them are encouraging the Gujeratis and the Marathis to be constituted into separate States. I think there is much greater reason for the Nagas to constitute themselves into a separate unit, for the simple reason that they are backward and their goodwill has to be gained and it was not gained all these years by the Government in Assam.

I wish, Sir, I could congratulate the Government in the same way on dealing with the problem of Kashmir. I am not at all referring to Kashmir as a matter of foreign policy; some others have done it. I should like to refer to it as a matter of domestic policy and that is the attitude of the Indian Government on the utterances of Sheikh Abdulla. I think we had a right to expect the President to refer to it very clearly and say what exactly are Government's reactions to his utterances. Four years ago, when he was incarcerated it came as a very great surprise and when it was explained to us that he was drifting in the direction of independence if not of Pakistan, we all welcomed the incarceration in spite of the fact that it was not a very democratic way of doing things. But a Government has to govern. Now, all of a sudden we And that he has been released. One might have expected that the Government would make sure as to what his policy is going to be, whether he is going to be true to his own first utterances, when he welcomed crores and crores of Indian money to be spent on Kashmir, whether he is going to be true to all that or whether he is going, as soon as circumstances changed, to claim on independent Kashmir which is a practical impossibility in these days. He as a statesman, assuming that he is a statesman, should realise the limitations of the position of Kashmir. Without making sure of all that, he has been released and he has been practically flooding the mosques and the public places in Kashmir with his utterances which are very hostile to

India, very unfair and very unjust to India. We would have welcomed some statement by the President about his Government's policy as to what exactly they meant by releasing him, whether they had taken any preliminary steps to discuss the situation with him and whether at this juncture his release, however democratic it may be in theory, is really conducive to world peace.

In this connection, Sir, I was extremely pained to hear one of the speakers behind me putting Shri Rajagopalachari practically on the same level as Sheikh Abdulla. It is extremely unfair to a person like Shri Rajagopalachari who has spent his life in devoted service to the country and if today he happens to have views different from the Government about the language policy, well, certainly he does not come down to the level of Sheikh Abdulla who is out to disrupt India. On the contrary, the plea of Shri Rajagopalachari is, whether we like it or not, that the continuance of English is going to contribute to the unity of India.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: He is also preaching for a separate Tamil Nad.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: Not he.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: He has never said that.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: He has always been standing for the unity of India and he is perhaps not the only one who feels that If the unity of India is going to be maintained through the English language it will be much better than disrupting it by bringing! in some other language. If you can maintain the unity of India by having Hindi, by all means have it; there is not the slightest objection. But do not commit the fault of saying that Shri Rajagopalachari wants to disrupt India by having English. It is the one unifying factor which we have inherited and which we can carry on for some time to come.



SHRI KAILASH BIHARI LALL (Bihar): What he meant was that just as Sheikh Abdulla was misleading the country, Shri Rajagopalachari also was misleading the country. He does not mean dishonestly. You see, honestly you may do something but the result may be something different. Honestly you supported Pakistan but if the result is . . .

PROF. A. R. WADIA: That is not reading Shri Rajagopalachari correctly. It is absolutely doing injustice to him and twisting his words. I think the intentions of Shri Rajagopalachari are above suspicion, but . . .

SHRI B. B. SHARMA (Uttar Pradesh): Sometimes the intentions may be good but . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

PROF. A. R. WADIA: . . . unfortunately the intentions of Sheikh Abdul-la are not above suspicion.

In the matter of food policy I think there is on the whole a certain air of complacency in the President's Address. I am not in a position to challenge the correctness of the figures that he gives about the rise in production but at the same time some ugly facts stand out. There is the ugly fact that there is scarcity of food in the country; the ugly fact stands out that the prices are rising high. How these two things can be reconciled is not made clear in the statement. I entirely agree with my friend, Shri Rajah, when he praises the President for recognising the fact that self-sufficiency in food should be attained, but I am surprised that Mr. Rajah was not quite consistent in this matter because if we are going to have self-sufficiency in food, it is not merely a matter of putting in increased labour in agriculture but it is also a matter of putting in better manure, better fertilisers, better irrigation projects and all that, fortunately or un-

fortunately, implies foreign aid and yet that was the one thing that he was standing out against.

He was, as usual, very bitter about the connection of India with the British Commonwealth. The very use of the word acts as a sort of King Charles's head to him. It is rather unfortunate that he does not see the other side of the picture, and that is, that we are living in a world in which no country can be absolutely independent. I am not sure that America, in spite of its being the first country in the world, is absolutely independent. It is because America recognises its own interdependence with the other countries of the world that she is pouring millions and millions of dollars into other countries to help them in one way or another with the view that America could also be benefited thereby and I am perfectly certain that Russia is actuated by the same motive when she is prepared to help other countries. Therefore to talk of absolute independence in the year 1958, I am afraid, is not talking sense. It is not possible for us in this world to be absolutely independent and as has been pointed out by many speakers, the connection with the British Commonwealth has not done any harm to our country. On the contrary, it has been the means of doing some good to our country by keeping up cordial relations with the people who, not so long ago, were looked upon as our enemies. We now consider them as our friends; it is a tribute to India as well as to Britain. It is from that standpoint that I welcome the foreign policy that the Prime Minister has been following with success to a considerable extent.

My hon. friend, Mr. Kishen Chand. has proposed an amendment in connection with community development I am prepared to admit that the Community Development projects may not have produced all the results that are claimed for it, but I certainly do not share his pessimism that moneys spent on the Community Development projects are mis-spent or wasted. The

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.] unfortunate thing is that our country is very vast and our financial resources are limited and I am afraid we are trying to do too much in a very short time. It may be that our country which for centuries had followed certain methods has to be roused from its lethargy. Our people are conservative and that is the main explanation why they are not in a position to use the very waters that have been dammed up in their interest. It all requires education; it requires making them understand the economic policy and the economic implications of these vast projects. If that is done, I am perfectly certain that all the money spent on these dams is going to bring us handsome dividends. I am perfectly at one with the Prime Minister when he thinks, and very correctly thinks, that these projects are going to change the economic face of India in the near future and I say if our agriculturists can be made to appreciate that fact and if due opportunities are given to them, if due facilities are given to them to avail themselves of these waters, I am perfectly certain that our agricultural problem will solve itself. It is from that point of view that I welcome the Community Development Administration. Recently I was pleased to read that there is going to be—I won't say a definite change, but there is going to be—a greater emphasis on agricultural projects in the Community Development areas. Well, considering the fact that our villages are predominantly agricultural, that was the only thing to be expected from the very beginning. Of course, there are other things to be done that ultimately bear on agriculture. It is not possible merely to look upon agriculture as an isolated project by itself and do something for its improvement. So many other things are necessary along with it. If you are going to produce better agriculturists you have to produce stronger men. That means good food. They should be able to appreciate all the advantages that are offered to them by government. That means a cer-

tain amount of education. They have to be free from disease. That means a certain amount of health measures. All these things are interconnected. And I am glad to say, from what little I know of the community projects, that they are trying to attack the problem on various fronts, not merely on one front. Improvement of agriculture may be the direct aim, but that aim cannot be achieved merely by focussing our attention on it, because other problems are also closely inter-related and it is from that standpoint that I do look upon the community projects as perhaps the finest achievement since our independence, because it is an honest attempt to face the poverty of the country and to solve it and to make our people more independent, more self-reliant. To change a conservative people is not an easy task. It may take time. But time is on our side and I am sure we shall succeed.

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I stand in support of the motion put forward by Shri Vyas. The Address of the President is a very realistic one from every point of view. So, I welcome it in general. It has dealt with the economic problems that are facing the country in a good way. Regarding our Plan development the situation was rather threatening in the past, particularly last year, when everyone in this country was anxious as to how to proceed with the Plan work because there was a serious shortage of foreign exchange. But we all know now that the situation has now eased and there is a feeling of confidence among the people throughout the country as a result of that. In this connection we must not forget how it was possible that this difficulty could be overcome. It was due to our foreign policy and our attitude towards the affairs of the world. That has helped us in this affair and it is helping even now. It is being continued. I am happy that the capital aids that we are getting from foreign countries are mostly on a deferred payment basis. That is, we

shall be able to go on with our Plan without any further difficulty for the repayment of the loans. This is beneficial because it will not tell heavily on the external measures and it will accelerate the smooth progress of the Plan. But at the same time I would like to point that there should be greater emphasis on developing the internal resources. Unless we do that we cannot go on smoothly with our work on the Plan because we must have the people's co-operation in all respects. For that our economic measures must be such that they can give confidence to the people so that it can attract their co-operation, support and sacrifice. If there be any shady deals in the administration then this may not be possible. People may lose confidence and as a result there may not be proper cooperation, without which the smooth working of the Plan is difficult. Nothing should be done that can lower the people's morale.

The other point I like to mention is about food and agriculture. This is the foremost problem, as everyone knows and everyone has recognized and spoken. Government also have done much thinking on this point. As we all know, the problem is still there. Some of our hon. friends have stated that the situation that was there last year has changed for the better. There is no doubt about that. In the people's feeling also there is a distinct change as a result of that. But still we shall have to remove the defects in the matter of production of food. The defects are not in policy. The policy is quite all right. But the defect is there in the implementation. We go to the people. We know how the Plan is working in xietail, how the community projects are working amongst the masses. **There** we find shortcomings. To say that the Community Project is a failure is not at all a proper thing. It is doing a big thing in this big country. But the defects, as I have already pointed out, are in the implementations, because the administrative machinery

in the farthest corner of the country is not always working as it should. That is why often the lowest strata of cultivators are not properly benefited by these measures. : noii

Then there is this question of the linguistic problem. This problem is causing headache since the last S.R.C. Debate in both the Houses. Language difficulty is there. But this should not lead us to the extreme which ultimately brings about disruption in the country. No Indian will like that and want that. Britishers have done many bad things in this country during their rule, but they have done one big good thing, and that is the unification of India. They entered into this country when the country was disrupted and divided, but their rule has given at least the unification of India as one country. Of course later on for their own purposes they did riJSn^ne^ things to bring about disruption within us. We are the worst sufferers „of that. They have later ' on prbught about the question of communalism, they have brought about the question of untouchability, but that has been done later on. So, we must not do anything that may lead to disruption

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after this unification.

Sir, we have one big country and it is progressing and it is earning a big position in world politics too. (*Time bell rings.*) There is one idea given by one hon. Member about Zonal Parliaments. I think this is a dangerous idea. Such ideas should not be entertained. That will bring about disruption in the country. Rather my suggestion would be that if there be a question like that, if there be some grievances somewhere, then there may be sessions of Parliament in some area to give satisfaction to those people. But the question of Zonal Parliaments is a dangerous thing.

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The other point •&■' about atomic weapons in Pakistan. Really we do not know whether there are already atomic weapons<sup>1</sup> fiin -Paftitftan, but at least our country shouM De

[Shri J. C. Chatterji.] prepared to have atomic weapons for our defence in case there is any attack on us from outside. Preparation is necessary because if there be a sudden attack and we get some atomic weapons at the eleventh hour, we shall not be in a position to use them, because use of atomic weapons requires training. That is why I would want that we should have atomic weapons, if not for any use, at least to keep ourselves prepared.

As my time is already over, I shall resume my seat.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am grateful for this opportunity which you have been pleased to give me to offer certain observations on the President's Address and the Motion of Thanks moved by my esteemed friend, Shri Jai Narain Vyas.

Sir, as I was sitting here in this House and listening to the various observations made by hon. Members, the conviction was borne in upon me that the President's Address was a most timely expression of views coming at this juncture when the country is passing through a very critical stage. Many Members have expressed the opinion that there is no crisis in the country. I am not so complacent as to entertain such a view with any amount of enthusiasm.

Sir, "we have launched upon a very great venture to rescue the country out of the rut into which it has been placed by a century and a half of foreign domination. We have wrested power from un^l^jng^hands, poster to build up the Tcourrry, -^ power tq\*. restore [this lcouftjryCto f; its "pristine glory in'the fieM/'ofieaenomic life, social advane]Skejjit an^j^gljjectual achievementt^Fromitha^t^eijnarof view . we have delille^gwJset/ourselves on the path of execufojpg/the Plan which we have ""formulated. It is our supreme task at this moment to take such steps and measures as can facilitate the execution of that Plan with-

out deviating in any essential aspect from the fundamentals which have inspired that Plan. Now, Sir, from that point of view, several difficulties have cropped up which are facing the country at every step. The steps we are taking and the measures we are adopting for tiding over those difficulties have created a crisis which it is no use ignoring. We shall have to face that situation boldly and energetically without being overwhelmed with a sense of frustration or defeatism. From that point of view the President's Address is an inspiring document. It has made a very reasonable approach to the entire situation. It is a sober and restrained assessment of the present position. It has encouraged us to go ahead with our Plan to meet the difficulties with robust optimism, and not to be led away with the idea that all is lost.

The President has been pleased to point out the success we have achieved in different directions. He has also laid his finger on the difficulties which stand in our way. Sir, it will be an evil day when we feel that we have failed, I hope such a note of pessimism will not be raised on the floor of this House. I would not burden my observations with any discussion of the details, but the broad outlines which have been laid down by the President in his Address are inspiring and cheering, and we must go ahead along the path chalked out by ourselves for the amelioration of the condition of our people and the execution of these Five Year Plans.

Sir, a good deal of discussion has centred round the question of the nlfiparous tendencies which have Jseen rearing their head in the differ-Kfct-corners of this country. Sir, it is ias well that this House should be ^Svfere of the danger of such tendenci^cropping up in the country. That \*is the way in which we los"t<(. our independence in bygone days. And after having wrested our independence, as I said, from unwilling

hands, shall we retrace our steps and go along that dangerous path which led us to eternal perdition until this ray of hope dawned over us ten years ago?

Now, Sir, if I may strike a personal **note**, presiding over the West Bengal Lawyers' Conference in December, 1955, some time before the States Reorganisation Commission presented their report, I expressed my hope that 'these Zonal Councils which had been envisaged by the Prime Minister in one of his speeches might point the -way where we could lay the foundation of one undivided State in this country and where the main functions -which are so essential for the carrying out of the day-to-day administration of the country in important spheres of our national life might be discussed and decided upon. Well, I am glad to see that the Zonal Councils have been established, and under the able guidance of our Home Minister they are proceeding with considerable success in the different zones. That is ■the way in which we can unify the divergent elements in the neighbouring States in order that we may succeed in the all-important task of the unification of the country as a whole.

Sir, one word more and that is with regard to the community development projects which have come in for considerable criticism at the hands of my esteemed friend, Shri Kishen Chand. I for one am a great believer in the future of these projects. I had an opportunity on earlier occasions to speak about these community development projects. I entertain great hopes for the all-round improvement of our countryside and our people from the progress and development of these projects. I recently had an occasion to attend a seminar of the Community Development Ministry in Aurangabad, and I found that the officers and other workers who had assembled there from the different States were fired with a zeal and enthusiasm which did credit to them, and which has kindled hopes in

our hearts. If they proceed in **that** way, I have absolutely no doubt **that** they will be able to establish **that** contact with the people in the countryside which has got to be developed in order that this idea may really fructify into actual and effective measures for ameliorating the condition of our people. Sir, we must not forget that our people have been steeped in ignorance and poverty as a result of foreign exploitation and colonial rule. I would, therefore, submit that it would be hasty, unwise and unreasonable to pass our adverse judgment upon this great scheme of development which we have adopted through these community projects. I would, on the other hand, ask the Members of this House to extend their fullest possible support to this great endeavour. Personally speaking, I would request every Member of Parliament to align himself on the side of the Community Development Ministry, go about in the country, take active part in the work that is being done, and if necessary, to take lessons in agriculture so that ea'ch one of us might be of real service to the agriculturists in this country. We should try our very best to identify ourselves with the work that is being done in the rural areas under the aegis and auspices of the Ministry, and we can very well form a liaison between the cultivators and the administrative officers who are charged with the duty of looking after their requirements and development. With these few words, Sir, I wholeheartedly support the motion which has been moved by Shri Jai Narain Vyas.

[शाह मुहम्मद उमैर]

बहुत अपनी जिम्मेदारी है, मुल्क की जिम्मेदारी है, इस हाउस की जिम्मेदारी है उसके ऊपर रोशनी डालूँ। मगर उसका मौका नहीं है, गालिबन वक्त की कमी शायद इसकी इजाजत नहीं देगी। मगर, जनावबाला, इतना तो जरूर कह देना चाहता हूँ कि हर जम्हूरी मुल्क में, उन तमाम मुल्कों के अन्दर जिनके अन्दर डेमोक्रेसी असली बुनियाद है वहाँ जम्हूरियत के सदर राष्ट्रपति का बयान, राष्ट्रपति का ख़ुतबा, अपनी जगह एक बहुत बड़ी कीमत रखता है। यह कोई रसगिया चीज़ नहीं है, वह कोई फ़ारमल चीज़ नहीं है कि राष्ट्रपति किसी मौके के ऊपर साल में एक बार या दो बार अपने ख़ुतबे के जरिये से इस हाउस को ही नहीं बल्कि सारे मुल्क को उत्साहित करें और रोशनी पहुँचायें और जरूरी बातों के ऊपर प्रकाश डालें। यह अपनी जगह के ऊपर राष्ट्रपति का, सदरे जम्हूरिया का ही हक हो सकता है। मुझे फ़ख़ है कि हमारे लायक राष्ट्रपति और सदरे जम्हूरिया ने तमाम जरूरी बातों को, तमाम उन चीज़ों को जो कि उनके ख़ुतबे के अन्दर मुल्क की बहुवृद्धी के लिये होनी चाहिये थीं उनको चुन चुन कर रख दिया है। मुझे इस बात का भी यकीन है कि उनके ख़ुतबे के जरिये से जो जोश, जो उत्साह, जो इन्स्टिक्शन, जो प्रैक्टिकल और अमली सबक मुल्क और मुल्क के लोगों के सामने, और खास कर उस जनता के सामने, जिस जनता के वास्ते आज यह फ़र्स्ट फ़ाइव ईयर प्लान और उसके बाद यह दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना है—रखा है वह अपनी जगह के ऊपर एक निहायत ही फायदेमन्द और मुफीद चीज़ जनता के लिये साबित होगा। यह भी जाहिर है कि जो इतनी वेशकीमती और अश्ली चीज़ इतनी जिम्मेदारी और जवाब देही के साथ राष्ट्रपति की जवान से हमारे कानों तक पहुँचाई गई है उसके ऊपर भी मेरे कुछ दोस्तों ने बहुत सी आलोचनाएँ, बहुत से क्रिटिसिज़्म और बहुत

तरह से एतराजात किये हैं और यह ख़ुतबा उससे बच नहीं सका है लेकिन बहरहाल यह तो हर ऐसे ख़ुतबे का दूसरा ख़ूब हुआ ही करता है। हमें उसके ऊपर बहुत ज्यादा चिरागपा होने की जरूरत नहीं है। मेरे कुछ दोस्तों ने उस साइड के, उस तरफ के लोगों की बातों के ऊपर ज्यादा ध्यान दिया है और उनके क्रिटिसिज़्म और उनके एतराजात के जवाब में अपने समय और वक्त को ज्यादा सर्फ़ किया है बजाय इसके कि ख़ुतबे के वह एड्रेस के, लफ़्ज़ व लफ़्ज़ में और ख़ुतबे का हर लाइन में जो ख़ूबियाँ छिपी हैं, जो सुन्दरता और जो ब्यूटी छिपी हुई है उसके ऊपर ध्यान देते।

मैं यह समझता हूँ कि पंचवर्षीय योजना, जिसके लिये हमारा मुल्क सैकड़ों वर्षों में प्यासा था, सैकड़ों वर्षों से तरस रहा था क्योंकि हमारे मुल्क के अन्दर डेवलपमेंट और तरक्की की कोई निशानी कोई चिह्न बाकी नहीं रह गया था, हमारे लिये एक कितनी बड़ी रहमत और ब्लेसिंग है। आज पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना के बाद दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना इस मुल्क के सामने आई है और हमारी जनता, तमाम कोने कोने की जनता जो कि इस हाउस की प्रोसीडिंग को पढ़ना नहीं जानती है, जो कि अख़बारों को पढ़ना नहीं जानती है वह भी इर्द गिर्द उनके गांवों में और शहरों में जो काम जनता के मुफ़ाद या हित के लिये किये जा रहे हैं उनको देख कर के अपने जोश व ख़रोश को, अपने उत्साह को बहुत ज्यादा मुफीद तौर के ऊपर इस योजना के काम की तरफ़ लगाना चाहती है लेकिन फिर भी मैं यह कहूँगा कि उस जोश व ख़रोश और उस ज़ून की कमी है जो कि किसी मुल्क में फ़ाइव ईयर प्लान के मुतान्निक लोगों में होना चाहिये। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि वह ज़ून लोगों में पैदा होता जो कि रया के फ़ाइव ईयर प्लान में एशियाटिक टैरीटरी कज़ाकिस्तान के लोगों में पैदा हुआ था। स्टालिन ने कज़ाकिस्तान के लिये पांच वर्ष

की एक स्कीम बनाई और कजाकिस्तान के लोगों के सामने पहाड़ों से, रेगिस्तानों से गुजरती हुई दरिया के ऊपर डैम बनाने का प्लान रखा और स्टालिन ने कजाकिस्तान के लोगों से यह दरखास्त की कि व पांच वर्ष की मुद्दत में इसको मुरतब कर दें लेकिन, जनाबवाला, मैं आपसे अर्ज करूंगा कि कजाकिस्तान के लोगों ने अपने जोश व खरोश में, अपने प्लान की दीवानगी में बाजाबता तौर पर पांच वर्ष के प्लान को ४५ रोज में पूरा कर दिया। मैं समझता हूँ कि मेरे दूसरी तरफ के लोग इसकी तारीफ करेंगे। यह स्टालिन की उस बात का असर था जो कि उन्होंने अपनी जगह के ऊपर कजाकिस्तान के लोगों से कहा था। आज यहां भी मुल्क के सामने, जनता के सामने, हमारे लोगों के सामने भी इस पंचवर्षीय प्लान को मुकम्मल बनाने के लिये, कामयाब बनाने के लिये हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर की बेचनी है। आज यह चीज उनके सामने है लेकिन मैं यह कहूंगा कि इसके लिये हम दोषी हैं। मैं कहूंगा कि इसके लिये वह लोग जो कि जवाबदेही रखने वाले हैं, यहां या किसी दूसरी जगह के ऊपर वह दोषी हैं। उनके अन्दर कमी है। हम अपने लोगों के अन्दर वह इन्थ्यूजियाज्म पैदा नहीं कर रहे हैं, वह जोश और उत्साह पैदा नहीं कर रहे हैं, वह दीवानगी पैदा नहीं कर रहे हैं जो कि कजाकिस्तान के लोगों के अन्दर स्टालिन की आवाज ने पैदा कर दी थी और रशा के लोगों ने पैदा कर दी थी। मैं अपनी जगह के ऊपर हिन्दुस्तान में कम्युनिज्म नहीं चाहता मगर यह जरूर चाहता हूँ कि रशा के कम्युनिज्म ने, रशा के लोगों में जो उत्साह, जो जोश, जो इन्थ्यूजियाज्म प्लान के लिये पैदा कर दिया था वही जोश, वही इन्थ्यूजियाज्म आज हमारे अन्दर भी पैदा हो जाय और हम अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजना को चन्द महीनों में ही पूरा कर के दिखा दें। यह तमाम वह सूरतें हैं जिनकी बुनियाद पर हम अर्ज कर सकते हैं कि आज वह कमी उसी हालत में दूर हो सकती है जब

कि इस किस्म की टीका टिप्पणी में, तनकीद में क्रिटिसिज्म में जो हम अपने वक्त को जाया कर रहे हैं उसको कम से कम छोड़ देते और मेरे दोस्त आज इस काम में सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का हाथ बटाते, प्लानिंग कमिशन का हाथ बटाते और आज की हुकूमत का हाथ बटाते। अगर वह अपना थोड़ा बहुत वक्त और अपनी थोड़ी बहुत इजर्जी निकाल कर के इस प्लान की मदद करते तो बहुत कुछ हो सकता था। उनके दिल में जो कांटे हैं उनको निकालने के लिये बहुत से मंदान हैं लेकिन खुदा के लिये ईश्वर के लिये कम से कम वे इस पंचवर्षीय योजना को कामयाबी के साथ, सफलता के साथ पूरा होने दें। साथ ही साथ, जनाबवाला, मुझे यह भी कह देने दीजिये कि मैं समझता हूँ कि यह पंचवर्षीय योजना कामयाबी के साथ और सफलता के साथ पूरी हो कर रहेगी। इस वक्त इसका पूरा होना लाजमी और कतई जरूरी है। जिस तरह से हम सूरज को चमकता देखते हैं उसी तरह से हम इस फाइव ईयर प्लान को कामयाब होते हुए देख रहे हैं, उसकी कामयाबी उसी तरीके से हमें दिखाई दे रही है मगर मेरे उन दोस्तों को इसका अफसोस होगा कि इसके लिये जो उनका कांट्रीब्यूशन होना चाहिये था वह नहीं हुआ है, जिस दयानतदारी के साथ अपने हक को अदा करना चाहिये था उसको उन्होंने अदा करने में कोताही और कमजोरी दिखाई। मैं चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे पछतावे का वक्त उनके सामने न आये।

बिलाशुबहा, मैं इससे भी इंकार नहीं कर सकता कि मेरे दूसरे लोग कह सकते हैं कि इस एड्रेस के अन्दर बहुत सी बातों की कमी है। कमी तो मैं नहीं कह सकता लेकिन हां, मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारी बुनियादी तालीम, हमारी बेसिक एजुकेशन का भी कोई जिक्र होना चाहिये था, उस बेसिक एजुकेशन का जिसके ऊपर हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना

[शाह मुहम्मद उमर]

का ही नहीं बल्कि हमारे इस मुल्क, हमारे इस देश की तमाम आने वाली जेनरेशन का जिन्दगी और जीवन का दारोमदार है उसके मुताल्लिक कम से कम इस एड्रेस के अन्दर थोड़ी या बहुत रोशनी पड़ जाती तो अच्छा था। जनाववाला, मैं आपसे अर्ज करूँ कि १९५४, १९५५ में कहा जाता था कि रक्षा के अन्दर ६ लाख एक्सपर्ट्स हैं, ६ लाख वहाँ स्पेशलिस्ट्स हैं। क्यों हैं? इसीलिये हैं कि उन्होंने बुनियादी तालीम के जरिये से मुल्क को इतना बड़ा बनाया था। उस मुल्क में जिसमें आज भी हमारे मुल्क से ५० फीसदी कम आबादी है वहाँ उनके अन्दर ६ लाख स्पेशलिस्ट्स का होना उनकी बुनियादी तालीम का ही नतीजा है, उनकी बेसिक तालीम की ही ब्लेमिंग है जिसकी बुनियाद के ऊपर जो लड़का मिडिल क्लास से भी अपने स्कूल को छोड़ता है वह भी किसी न किसी विभाग में स्पेशलिस्ट बन कर के छोड़ता है। इस खूबी से उन्होंने अपनी तालीम का तरीका कर दिया है कि मिडिल की तालीम के बाद भी वह अगर आगे नहीं पढ़ना चाहता है तो भी कम से कम वह एक विभाग का एक्सपर्ट बन कर के निकलता है। मैं यह चाहता था कि कम से कम बेसिक तालीम के मुताल्लिक सदर के खुतबे में कोई रोशनी डाली जाती। हाँ, मैं यह भी जानता हूँ कि हमारी सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की मजबूरियाँ हैं, रुपये की, फारेन एक्सचेंज की, एक्सपेंडीचर की, बजट की, इन तमाम चीजों की मजबूरियाँ हैं लेकिन मैं यह कहता हूँ कि यह बेसिक एजुकेशन, यह बेसिक तालीम आप के फर्स्ट फाइव ईयर प्लान का और सेकेंड फाइव ईयर प्लान का फर्स्ट एंड लास्ट लेटर है, पहला और आखरी लफ्ज है। अगर आपने बुनियादी तालीम के ऊपर ज्यादा से ज्यादा रुपये का इंतजाम कर के खर्च किया तो उसका नतीजा निकलेगा और मैं नहीं समझ सकता कि हमारी आगे आने वाली जेनरेशन किस जगह पर होगी।

4 P.M.

हुजूरवाला, मैं आपके जरिये से सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के सामने और मंत्रिजिज मेम्बरो के सामने जो इस वक्त हुक्मत को रिप्रेजेंट कर रहे हैं, यह चीज रख देना चाहता हूँ कि बेसिक एजुकेशन के वास्ते हमें रुपये की कोई कमी महसूस नहीं होनी चाहिये। खास तौर से होम मिनिस्टर साहब से जो अपनी जगह पर एजुकेशन के मामले में भी उसी तरीके से माहिर हैं जैसे कि रूस के माहिरीन हुआ करते हैं, मैं गुजारिश करूँगा कि वे इस चीज को नोट कर लें कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को बेसिक एजुकेशन पर खर्च करने के लिये रुपये की तलाश की जरूरत नहीं है। आज हमारे प्रदेशों की हुक्मतें, हमारे स्टेट्स की हुक्मतें, लोकल बाडीज के ऊपर करोड़ों रुपया बरबाद कर रही हैं और आपके जरिये से मैं अर्ज करूँगा कि जिन जिन स्टेट्स में लोकल बाडीज आज काम कर रही हैं, उनमें से एक एक की इनकम एक, एक करोड़ रुपया है जो कि लोकल रेवेन्यूज से मिलने वाली आमदनी है और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के कांस्ट्रिब्यूशन के बराबर है। एक एक लोकल बाडी का बजट जब एक एक करोड़ का है तो आप समझ सकते हैं कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर जितनी लोकल बाडीज हैं वे कितने सौ करोड़ की रकम सर्फ करती हैं। लेकिन वे लोकल बाडीज क्या कर रही हैं। एजुकेशन के ऊपर वे रुपया सर्फ नहीं करती हैं। किसी स्कूल का छप्पर सड़ा है, किसी की चौखट सड़ी है, कहीं टीचर के पास किताबें नहीं हैं, उसकी टेबल की तीन टांगें टूटी हुई हैं, एक मौजूद है। ये तमाम चीजें हैं जो लोकल बाडीज के जरिये हमारे बेसिक और प्राइमरी एजुकेशन के मुताल्लिक की जा रही हैं। मैं अर्ज करूँगा कि सैंकड़ों करोड़ों रुपया आज लोकल बाडीज के ऊपर सर्फ हो रहा है। हाँ, मैं जानता हूँ कि यह स्टेट का सबजेक्ट है लेकिन सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट यह तो कर सकती है कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को वह स्ट्रिक्ट और सख्त डाइरेक्टिव इश्यू करे कि वह लोकल बाडीज



के रुपये को, उसके चैनल्स को, उसके एक्सपेंडिचर को इस तरीके से रेगुलेट करें जिससे हमारी बेसिक एजुकेशन देहातों के अंदर, जिलों के अंदर फैल सके, बढ़ सके, बहुत आसानी के साथ। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट बगैर एक पैसा खर्च किये, बगैर किसी एडिशनल एक्सपेंडिचर के, अगर सिर्फ डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्डों के बजट को कंट्रोल कर ले अपनी जगह पर तो बहुत आसानी के साथ और बहुत तेजी से हमारा मुल्क बेसिक एजुकेशन में, बुनियादी तालीम में, आगे बढ़ सकता है। यह एक प्रैक्टिकल चीज है जिस की तरफ मैं सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की तबज्जह दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

मैं इस सिलसिले में यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपके यहां वे लोकल बाडीज भी हैं जिनमें १४, १५ बरसों से इलेक्शन नहीं हुए हैं। मेरे एक दोस्त ने जमींदारी अबोलिशन का जिक्र किया। जमींदारी का अबोलिशन तो हो गया लेकिन उसी के साथ एक इतना बड़ा राज, इंडिविजुअल राज, लोकल बाडीज को उसी तरह से कायम रख कर छोड़ दिया गया है। आज एक एक आदमी इतने करोड़ का मालिक बन कर रह गया है और वह रुपये को इस तरह से बर्बाद करता है। वह इसलिये है कि आपने १५ बरस से वहां इलेक्शन नहीं किया है। आज हम जिन बहुत सी बातों का रोना रोते हैं उनमें यह चीज बहुत फंडामेंटल है, (Time bell rings) इसकी बुनियाद पर पब्लिक ओपीनियन भी हमारे खिलाफ है। पब्लिक ओपीनियन इसके खिलाफ गिरती जा रही है और इसी के साथ साथ हमारा एजुकेशनल प्लान भी पूरा नहीं हो रहा है।

बहुत से हमारे दोस्तों ने कहा है कि काशमीर के मामले को इस खुतबे के अंदर जगह क्यों नहीं दी गई है। मेरी समझ में यह बात नहीं आती है कि काशमीर और गोआ का मामला अलग से क्यों सोचा जाता है। अपने दृष्टिकोण को, अपने नजरिये को इस तरह

से पेश करके हम खुद इस चीज को बिलकुल अलग चीज की तरह दुनिया के सामने पेश कर रहे हैं। जिस तरीके से हमारे और प्रदेश हैं, जिस तरह से हमारे और तमाम स्टेट्स हैं उसी तरह से काशमीर और गोआ हमारे मुल्क के खास हिस्से हैं जो मुल्क से अलग नहीं किये जा सकते। मैं तो यह कहने को तैयार हूँ कि जब तक चन्द्रमा की रोशनी, जब तक सूरज की रोशनी हिन्दुस्तान की सरजमीन के ऊपर और काशमीर की सरजमीन के ऊपर पड़ती है तब तक काशमीर को दुनिया की कोई ताकत जुदा नहीं कर सकती। इसलिए राष्ट्रपति के लिए जरूरी न था कि एक ऐसी चीज जो हमारा घरेलू मसला है, अपने खुतबे में दाखिल करके एक ऐसी चीज पैदा करते जिससे दूसरा वातावरण पैदा होता।

जहां तक शेख अब्दुल्ला की रिहाई का सवाल है, मैं चाहता था कि आज शेख अब्दुल्ला होश में आते और वे जो बहकी बहकी बातें कहते हैं उनसे अपने को संभालते। उनकी बेलगाम बातों के जरिये से जो अलतफहमी पैदा हो रही है, उन्हें चाहिये था कि कम से कम अपने फ्यूचर को दुस्त करते। मैं इससे इंकार नहीं करता कि अगर शेख अब्दुल्ला डिमोक्रेटिक वे में, डिमोक्रेटिक डेस्क से अपने घरेलू झगड़ों को हल करते तो मुमकिन है कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोग जो ईमानदारी के साथ और दयानतदारी के साथ अपना ध्यु रखते हैं वे उनका साथ देते। काशमीर के खिलाफ इस किस्म की आवाज बुलंद करना, उस शक्ल के लिये जिसने काशमीर के लिये इतनी कुर्बानियां कीं और जो घरे काशमीर कहा जाता था, इसलिए कि आज साढ़े चार बरस बाद वह जेल से रिहा हुआ, और इसके लिये उसके दिल में गुस्सा है, मुनासिब नहीं था। पृथ्वी जवाहरलाल नेहरू से वे कितने बरस जेल में रहे, लेकिन उन्होंने गुस्से के बावजूद उसका इजहार इस तरह नहीं किया। गान्धी जी ने जेलों में रहकर बड़ी संजीदगी के साथ सियासी मामला पर गौर किया। लेकिन आज चार बरस बाद जेल से निकलनें

[शाह मुहम्मद उमर]

पर, शेख अब्दुल्ला का दिमाग इतना गरम हो गया कि वे अपनी तमाम जवाबदेहियों को भुलाकर आज ऐसी बहकी बहकी बातें कर रहे हैं। शेख अब्दुल्ला के लिये मेरे दिल में इज्जत है, लेकिन वह इज्जत उसी वक्त तक है जब तक कि वे नेशनल और डिमोक्रेटिक उसूल के पाबन्द हैं। (Time bell rings). इसी बुनियाद पर उनके फालोअर भी उनके साथ थे जो आज भी उनके सामने दिखायी देते हैं लेकिन वह तभी तक दिखायी देंगे जब तक वे नेशनलिज्म और डिमोक्रेसी को सामने रखकर चलेंगे। अगर उन्होंने ऐसा करने में देर की, गफलत की, तो मैं शेख अब्दुल्ला को यह कह देना चाहता हूं कि वे सियासी मैदान में, पोलिटिक्स के मैदान में, राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में तनहा रह जायेंगे, आइसोलेटड रह जायेंगे और जो कोई उनकी तरफ बातें करने वाले लोग कहीं कहीं दिखायी देते हैं वे भी नजर नहीं आयेंगे।

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: Mr. Deputy Chairman, indeed from the President we did expect a realistic appraisal of the work that was done in the previous year and an indication of what the Government is going to do in the coming year but I am sorry to point out that instead of a realistic appraisal, we were given a very complacent picture that everything is going on all right, that very little effort is needed to keep the things going. Such sort of picture instead of helping the nation, instead of helping our masses to put in their best, will lull them in to a false sense of completeness which is in fact not the reality. I don't mean to say that nothing has been achieved in the last year. Far from that but actually, in order to really appraise what has transpired in the whole of last year, we should also take the failings into consideration. Without that I am afraid we cannot chalk out a proper programme to take our nation forward and to enthuse our people to greater efforts for the better prosperity of our country. The

biggest thing, as far as the Government is concerned, is the gap between their proclamations and practice. Of course, as far as proclamations from the Government side are concerned, they will be very rosy and very idealistic but when the actual practice comes, they all come to naught. Take, for instance, the food problem. Last year, at the time of the Budget Session, it was pointed out that 'food is going to be plenty, the country is going to have enough food etc' but hardly two months did elapse when again the same Food Minister came to the House and said that there was a crisis going on, that everything must be done to save the country from the food crisis. Again, this year also, the same sort of picture is being painted. They come up and say that today there is a five per cent, increase in the production of foodgrains or that our country is nearly self-sufficient in foodgrains. Sir, hardly two months ago the Committee which was appointed by us to go into this question submitted its report and it has been said in that report that even during this second Plan there will be big lag between the total requirements of the country and the actual production. So many methods have been suggested but the first and foremost to solve the food problem in a permanent and basic way, not in a temporary way, is to have agrarian reforms, land reforms on a proper basis. It has been said in the Report that unless and until we put our land relations on a proper footing, a permanent remedy for the food problem cannot be found. Temporarily we might import certain foodgrains, we might take on loan or we might take as a dole some of the surplus grains that are rotting in some other countries' godowns but that does not solve our food problem. In order to do that basically, what we need is a basic reorganisation of agricultural relations. From the Planning Minister downwards, everybody says that land reforms must be expedited. From the platforms of the party in power it will be very loudly proclaimed,

"Hullo, friends, we had not succeeded in pushing ahead with the land reforms. We must mobilise ourselves and do something about this land reform" but when it actually comes to practice, the State Governments that are weighted with the interests of the landlords, where the landlords are very strongly entrenched, are unable to do anything in fact to implement this land reform. My friend said that much had been done, that the intermediaries had been abolished, that we have been preparing ourselves to implement the ceilings but that, of course, the Opposition is not appreciating all these things. All right but then from your own sources, I shall quote. On a different occasion, it was pointed out at length that even the protected tenants are evicted from their lands to the extent of 60 per cent, in that area where ideal land reforms had been implemented, where peaceful revolutions had taken place, I am referring to Telangana where land is supposed to be given to the tiller by peaceful revolution. If this is what has happened in Telangana, where the supposed peaceful revolution had taken place—if 60 per cent, of the protected tenants could be evicted, not even ordinary tenants—I can very well imagine what will be the position in other States. I can only say that the Government has failed to implement the land reforms even as per its own programmes and proclamations. Unless we take energetic and active steps to implement this programme, very little will be done to solve our food problem on a permanent footing.

Another question, Sir, is of balanced regional development. The Report of the States Reorganisation Commission has very aptly pointed out that unless our whole economy is developed in a balanced way as far as the different regions are concerned, so many centrifugal and disruptive forces might develop. Of course, everybody says that there should be development but when it comes to |

actual practice, the interests of backward areas, the interests of under-developed areas in the country are being ignored. I need not go very far. Take the case of Assam where the Chief Minister himself had to threaten resignation in order that the claims of Assam could be recognised for the location of an oil refinery. Because this sort of attitude is not adopted, fissiparous and disruptive tendencies are developing in many other parts of the country. What I mean to say, Sir, is that unless a balanced regional development programme is taken up, unless the industries are properly located, you will be giving room for such sort of disruptive and fissiparous tendencies to develop. Everybody pays lip-sympathy to the question of the autonomy of the States but when it comes to hard facts, when, for example, we point out the question of land reforms, none other than the Planning Minister himself says that it is a State subject and that we cannot do much excepting to coordinate but, Sir, see some other subject. Instead of allowing the States more initiative and instead of allowing them wider latitude to implement the programmes the Central Government is more and more interfering in the actual work, thus reducing this autonomy of the States to a farcical thing or reducing the States to the position of glorified local bodies. For instance, take the Education Bill. We say that education is a State subject and normally the Central Government never interferes except granting funds but a strange procedure has been adopted as far as the Kerala Education Bill is concerned. It is a very normal measure and our Andhra Government adopted such a measure some six years back and nobody then thought of referring the Bill to the Supreme Court, nobody then said that there were provisions, such dangerous provisions, which were *ultra vires* of the Constitution that the Bill must be referred to the Supreme Court but, strangely

enough, because another party than

[Shri V. Prasad Rao.] the party that is in power here is in power there, you want to refer this Bill to the Supreme Court. You

want to succumb to the pressure of those reactionaries who do not want progressive legislation to be placed on the statute book there. On the one side, the Treasury Benches say that we are to safeguard the provincial autonomy but when they are actually to serve the interests of the people, they say that they are helpless. As regards land reforms, this is what they say but when the reactionaries bring pressure, they do not mind interfering in regard to the Education Bill. This is very strange that perhaps for the first time they have done this thing. I do not say that they do not have the power to refer a Bill to the Supreme Court but a very strange and an unusual procedure has been adopted in this case and they have referred this Bill to the Supreme Court so that perhaps their own kinsmen in that State might be strengthened. I do not know what prompted them to do so.

- This attitude of interfering with anything and everything that the States do is actually leading to fissiparous tendencies. I do not for a moment support some of the tendencies that are coming up in the South, for instance, the move for an independent democratic sovereign Tamil Nad, etc., but the question is we should not shut our eyes to the reasons why such slogans are coming up at the present moment. This is because the Centre is not looking to the genuine interests of the people in the States or because the States are being reduced to the status of glorified local bodies that this sort of fissiparous tendencies are cropping up.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: Correct.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: There is no use decrying such tendencies. In order to strengthen the real unity of the country, we must take a positive attitude in helping, in developing the initiative of the States in settling

their own problems and by adopting, a proper and balanced regional programme of economic development.

Another problem which I want to refer to is that of foreign exchange. So much is being said about our foreign exchange position. But is it not a fact, that the Government itself is responsible for this state of affairs? Is it not a fact that so many unnecessary things that one could find if one went along Connaught Place or other shops, luxury articles like Maxfactor make-up and so on, have been imported and our foreign exchange squandered on such luxury-articles? Is it not a fact that those who cry loud and hoarse today that we are facing a foreign exchange crisis, that we must be very very-careful in spending our foreign exchange, these are the same people responsible for giving licenses for the-import of such unnecessary things absolutely unrelated to the development of our country? Even today, if proper methods are adopted, certainly we can save foreign exchange. For instance, take this question of tea. There are also the raw materials that we are exporting. Because the export of tea is in the hands of some of the foreign monopolists we are **losing** a lot of money. A pound of tea is sold at Rs. 1-8-0 in the auctions held, I suppose in Calcutta, whereas it is being sold at Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 a pound in the United Kingdom, at about Rs. 10 in West Germany and Rs. 15 in Egypt and some other places where Indian tea is scarce. If only the State Trading Corporation, took over the export of tea we could realise a much higher amount of foreign exchange instead of allowing-it to fall into the pockets of some of the foreign concerns. So also is the case of tobacco. You know that it is a monopoly concern which is exporting our tobacco and controlling the price of tobacco. The Imperial Tobacco Company purchases nearly 60 to 70 per cent, of our tobacco and exports it to foreign countries. Tobacco is getting us nearly Rs. **13«5»** or Rs. 14 crores of foreign exchange-

If only the S.T.C. takes over the i export of tobacco I can assure the House that we can get foreign exchange by way of dollars and pounds sterling to the extent of another , Rs. 13 crores or so. But such things are being ignored. Now they come and say in the eleventh hour and hail, that our country is facing a kind of foreign exchange crisis and so we must be very careful and we must all tighten our belts.

Another thing I want to refer to is this.

*(Time bell rings.)*

Just two more minutes, Sir, and then I will resume my seat. Just two more points I will refer to. One is about administrative reforms. Many of our very laudable aims have come to naught on the rock of bureaucracy, for our administrative machinery is not yet geared to the welfare of the people. It was primarily designed by the British for exploiting our country and it will not easily respond to the wishes of the people, and unless we change it basically and change the basic set-up of the administrative machinery, our aim and our ideal of socialism cannot be achieved with this rickety administrative machinery. You know what has happened in the morning. The Chagla Commission report on the Mundhra affair was distributed to Members. Of course, we will have another occasion to discuss that. But it has been very obvious and plain what role the bureaucracy, the administrative machinery, had to play in bringing about such a state of affairs. Of course, that we shall take up when that issue comes up for our consideration here. But so far as our administrative machinery is concerned nothing has been stated here.

Also the Government has been oblivious to some of the developments taking place in the country. So many by-elections are taking place but the Government refuse to

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draw the necessary lessons from these things. The people of Maharashtra by these by-elections have shown that they are not going to reconcile themselves to this bilingual idea. Still if the Government persists in these things, I am afraid, Sir, it is going to lose what it still has In Maharashtra, and the people themselves will be forced to have their way.

SHRI SONUSING DHANSING PATIL:  
What about the results in Gujarat?

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: The Gujarat people in Ahmedabad have long ago shown what they want. If my hon. friend over there wants another testimony, he can resign and stand for some other seat in the other House in the coming by-elections, or make some other friend of his to resign his seat and contest.

Next, I come to the question of mobilisation of our internal resources. Of course, this is a correct idea, provided the proper approach is made. We are all for mobilising our resources and for the small-savings scheme. But while the target is Rs. 100 crores, you could mobilise only about Rs. 39 crores. The basic difficulty here also is one of approach and not of policy. Here the bureaucratic approach will not allow us to mobilise for the small savings. Always we find the tahsildars, the collectors and others who are in charge of these collections. They do not want to convince the people about the correctness of these things, but they want to collect the money as if it is a revenue or a tax, to be collected by force. Such measures, instead of creating enthusiasm, instead of mobilising our people, actually repel them from such efforts. That is why these efforts do not become a success.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN (Bihar): Mr. Deputy Chairman. I rise to support the Motion of Thanks to the President. A lot of criticism has been levelled against the Address. I do not object

[Shri Mahesh Saran.] to criticism, but the criticism must be healthy criticism. The criticism must be aimed at improving things, not criticism for criticism's sake. I find that my friends on the opposite are in the habit of not helping schemes that are launched by the Government. They are not willing to carry out the programmes, they simply want to put obstacles.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: Should it be help as in Kerala?

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: And then they talk of irrelevant issues on the floor of the House. My submission is that if we all sit together and confer and decide to help and carry out the schemes that are launched by the Government, I am sure very soon the face of India will be very much different and great improvement will be made.

I think my friends have not seen these community development projects. They have not been all over the place. If they had only taken the trouble, they would have seen that those villages which some ten years back were looking dismal and lifeless, have got a lot of activity and life. Of course, more improvement is necessary, but we see the effect already on the faces of the people who are a little bit happier now than before. There are post offices, there are roads and there are fertilizer factories, there are some mobile dispensaries and other dispensaries and people are really being looked after better than before.

The President's Address, we find, has given us a picture of what was done before and what has been done during the year. I am glad to find that things have improved. Nowhere is it said that things are very much better, but only that things are gradually improving. There was a criticism about the food position that a rosy picture was drawn before but things did not materialise. We cannot help if there are droughts and if there are floods. These difficulties do

arise. But we do find that while prices were rising in 1956 and early 1957, they have registered a slight fall towards the end of last year. The other trouble was that there was damage to crop due to drought. So the availability of foodgrains was difficult. Now, we find that we have managed to have stocks of grains and Government have opened fair-price shops. Even though the crop was not good, the production of foodgrains touched the peak level reached in 1953-54 which was 68·7 million tons which was more than 5 per cent, higher than the figure for 1955-56.

If we take another aspect of the question and see the position of our Second Five Year Plan, we find that there was a lot of paucity of funds. But some effort has been made and some foreign aid is coming in and we are a little better and we can breathe a little more freely now than before. Similarly, in the case of the Naga trouble, we can see that things are much better after the reforms. Therefore, my submission is that things are looking better, though they may not have improved as much as we would wish but we are making steady progress.

So far as the Community Development projects are concerned, I have to point out one or two things. The main attention of the Government is being focussed on agriculture. That I think is not a proper procedure, because all the people have not enough land and therefore if all this attention is paid only to agriculture, then it will not be very beneficial to all the people in the villages. I went round and I found that there are schemes for having co-operatives started, schemes for starting cottage industries but these are not receiving the attention that they should. My submission is that the people have not enough land. There are many people who have no land at all. Therefore, if you wish to improve the lot of people, attention should be directed towards this aspect of the question and the Block Development Officers and his

other associates should be told that merely arranging for manure or arranging for good seed will not suffice. Therefore if we all carefully try and help the Community Development and the Extension schemes, our country will be very much better.

Again, we find that so far as fertilisers are concerned, we are making arrangements for having centres where fertilisers can be had but my submission would be that the people in the block area should be told to collect the manure and use it for the purpose of fertilising the soil because every village requires it and although you may have many of fertilizer centres, that will not be enough for all. Therefore this scheme should also be taken in hand. My submission is that we are progressing; the only difficulty is that there is not that zeal among the people and we Members of Parliament are not doing all that we can to rouse that zeal, to infuse the people with enthusiasm for this scheme. We must tell them, 'this is your country; you are going to make it beautiful; you are going to make it yield more.' If we do this, things will take a happier turn and I am sure that within a very short period the face of the country will be different from what it was before.

DR. ANUP SINGH (Punjab): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the Presidential Address, I think, does not deviate from the previous Address, inasmuch as it is a candid, objective and very realistic appraisal of the situation in the country. It takes note in a very modest and humble way of some of the progress that has been made in various fields and also calls upon the people to mobilise their resources to accelerate that progress.

As far as the domestic field is concerned, I shall confine myself only to two aspects. One is the spirit behind the Community Projects and the progress that they are making. Due to lack of time it is not possible to dilate upon any of the points that I wish to

make except to say that the Government spokesmen themselves are conscious of the fact that they have not been able to mobilise public opinion as effectively as they should have done. In the latest issue of the Yojana, which incidentally I commend to the Members—I find it very illuminating although it is a Government publication, but unlike many other publications it has some very stimulating and very well written articles—there were two recent articles, one by Mr. Tarlok Singh who is now associated with the Planning Commission for a very long period and one by Mr. Guha, a Member of the Lok Sabha and they point out that up till now we have failed to mobilise the manpower, we have failed to generate the necessary enthusiasm which is a prerequisite to the success of the Community Projects. Also recently, the Times of India has been running a series called 'Villages Around Delhi'. I followed them very carefully. The contributor comes to the conclusion which is rather depressing that he found less enthusiasm among the people within ten miles of Delhi than he found about a year ago or two years ago, a progressive deterioration in the attitude of the people and their unwillingness and indifference to identify themselves with these projects. There again I would say that there is no time to apportion blame except to note that there has been a failure so far as mobilisation of public opinion is concerned.

The second problem to which I would like to invite your attention, Sir, is the lack of unity, lack of cohesive-ness among the communities in the State, the lack of common purpose among the people of various regions. I am sure nobody will dispute that unless we can generate a sense of purpose and unity among our people, a sense of patriotism which should transcend all sectional, regional and communal loyalties, unless we do that, all our multi-purpose projects are not going to take us anywhere because it is the human material, the integration

[Dr. Anup Singh] that is the bedrock, that is the foundation on which the superstructure is to be built. For myself, I would be perfectly willing to wait for the realisation of certain economic gains for a considerable period so long as I feel that we are moving in the right direction—and I do rightly feel that we are moving although slowly but surely in the right direction—but some of the tendencies that we witness in various States, in various regions, are most disturbing. The language issue, we need not discuss it here because the Report of the Commission will come before us and the findings of the Members of Parliament but I am utterly amazed, without passing any judgment on the merits of the case, that a man like Rajaji, an elder statesman, should have been driven to the desperate conclusion of suggesting that English should be the national language. I would say that we must pay all respect to the susceptibilities of the people in the South; there should be no imposition, no coercion so far as the acceptance of any language as national language is concerned but we should try to persuade the people to accept any of the regional languages as the national language, may be one or two. But it is certainly an extraordinary thing that we have been advised to accept English as the national language. When I first read it, I was reminded of a public lecture that I gave in America at one time when a lady got up at the end of the lecture and said, 'Mr. Speaker, do you have a language of your own?' I was rather irritated and I said, 'No; we happen to speak Chinese.' But if I had known Rajaji's proposition at that time I would have said, 'Yes; we do not have any national language of our own but we have adopted the English language, spoken by one per cent, of the people.' And Rajaji is assiduously busy in trying to rationalise this proposition. I mention this merely to indicate that there is something wrong in our body politic when such respected and responsible statesmen are driven to propositions which on the

very face of it, at least to me, sound very fantastic and very illogical.

Nearer home, in my own province during the last six months there has been upheaval in one city or the other, Ferozepur, Hoshiarpur and the latest in Jullundur. I do not want to make any remark about this because the Punjab Government has been very alert in instituting a judicial enquiry. So I need not go into the merit of the case except to say that the communal frenzy, the bitterness between certain sections of the Hindus and Sikhs has become so deplorable that one of the responsible Members of this Parliament told us the other day after visiting Jullundur that nothing in his whole experience during the last ten years has been so depressing, so frightful as the feeling that prevails among the Sikhs and the Hindus in Jullundur. The Indian people are expected regardless of their political affiliations to respect the sanctity of religious places. But that is being violated in Punjab. Certain elements, the hooligans and fanatics are terrorising the people and it is really amazing that Punjab, which only yesterday witnessed the most frightful experience, should so easily forget the past and permit these goondas and hooligans to indulge in these activities. I wish that a very clear-cut call could go from here to the people of goodwill in Punjab—and they are in an overwhelming majority—that they must mobilise their resources, they must build public opinion which will not permit these elements to act with impunity, because in this border State we certainly cannot afford any such disturbance.

As for the international field, I would like to make one or two observations. One is about the larger, overall picture of peace and war. I think the possibilities of a summit talk are much greater today than they were a little while ago. We need not undermine this, impute motives. Whatever may have induced or compelled the statesmen, there is a clear indication that they are willing to sit at the



table and discuss their problems. Unfortunately in some quarters—and I would say particularly in the minds of some Americans—there is still a feeling that even if they have to negotiate with the Soviet Union, they must find a suitable time, the psychological moment when they will discuss matters with them. I have here a quotation attributed to Mr. Dulles when he returned from Ankara. He said, I wish the 'Explorer' had been launched two weeks earlier, which implies that with the launching of the 'Explorer' the American prestige has gone very high. And now they are in a position to speak on equal terms with the Soviet. Here is a very pertinent quotation from one of the newspapers in America which says: had we accepted negotiations before the 'Explorer', the pressure of world public opinion might have compelled us to make concessions which our basic interests did not otherwise warrant. This may indeed prove to be the most important consequence of yesterday's achievement, which means we are now going to the peace table with a sense of pride that we have also matched the Russians. As for the Soviet leaders themselves, when Mr. Bulganin responded immediately to the invitation of our Prime Minister to suspend nuclear weapons, it was really a gratifying gesture. But I personally wish that he had not catalogued all the sins of omission and commission on the part of the Americans. This tendency on the part of each party to blame the other for the world situation is really deplorable. But I think the signs are there is a gathering public opinion that there will be a summit talk perhaps in the near future.

Just a few words about the situation in the Middle East. I think the merger of the two independent States, Egypt and Syria voluntarily without any coercion from any quarters is one of the most daring, imaginative and unprecedented move that we have seen in our times. It is indeed a reversal of the usual trend. Whenever there is no solution of the problem within a country, the tendency is to split. It

happened in India. It happened in Indo-China. It happened in Korea. But here are two independent States which have voluntarily agreed to subordinate their national sovereignty and build up a new State. Of course, there are going to be many problems. The dissolution of the political parties in Syria and the creation of only one party is certainly going to have far reaching political repercussions. It is too early to predict what is likely to happen. There is the economic problem. The economies of Egypt and Syria are not supplementary in every way; they are competitive particularly in cotton. It is to be seen whether the monopolistic controls in each country will rise to the occasion and subordinate their interests to the larger interests. But anyhow, I think, it is one of the most wholesome things i that has happened. There are many accounts that a counter-move will be made by Iraq and Jordan and possibly with the inclusion of Saudi Arabia at a later stage. There is that possibility and it may be an attempt designed deliberately to counteract the wholesome effect of the Egyptian and Syrian merger. But having been there three times during the last few months, I have come back fully persuaded that no amount of intrigues or makeshift combinations of the ruling cliques of these other countries will stop the irresistible trend, the current that has been generated, not only for the consummation of the merger, but for the feeling that exists among these people. I had the chance to attend the Afro-Asian conference attended by 500 delegates and on every issue we found that the underlying note among all the Arab countries was the Arab unity. And if I may put it very briefly their fundamental urges are the same as the urges of our people. They are passionately hostile to imperialism of any kind. They want to build up the economic status of their people. They are for a policy of non-alignment, an independent policy. (*Time bell rings.*) And these currents vibrate in the hearts of the millions of Arab people.

Also there is a tendency on the part of certain powers to dislodge Nasser.

[Dr. Anup Singh.] I feel that he is so strongly lodged in the hearts and the minds of the Egyptian people and also the Arab people that any such attempt is doomed to failure.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: How about the Western powers?

DR. ANUP SINGH: The best thing that the Western powers can do is to help these areas and help these people. It is only in the degree that any country comes to their aid to fulfil some of these desires that they will recognize it as a friend. There has been a great deal of talk of vacuum. I am fully convinced that there is no other vacuum in the Middle East except a vacuum in the hearts of the Western statesmen who do not see the political realities which are so obvious to anybody who visits these people. Thank you.

SHRI M. M. SUR (West Bengal:): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise in support of the Motion of Thanks moved by Shri Jai Narain Vyas. There has been a lot of criticism from Members opposite about the progress made in various spheres of our activities. On a careful analysis of what they have said it is found that they would have liked a bigger progress, better food production, more industrial progress, more foreign exchange and so on. But who would be satisfied with less if one can get more? Everybody would like to get more food production, more industrial development and so on, but how to do that within the framework of the Constitution? We are agreed on a socialistic pattern of society and in that there will be freedom of the individual and also proper respect for human values. Without sacrificing these two items we have to find out ways and means of better progress. In order to do that commissions are formed in which all parties have their say, and in those commissions there can be constructive suggestions, and the administration have never refused or never ignored any constructive suggestions that they may have been made on such occasions.

Then we have the food problem before us. Only a few years ago we found that perhaps the food problem has been solved. But as we **have** progressed with our Plan and there is more expenditure, and the people have more money and they have more employment, naturally the first thing on which they would spend the money is on food, and more food is being consumed in this country than was being done in 1952 or 1951. Rice is particularly short and wheat we can get from outside at a sacrifice of development in other spheres. We have been asked, particularly the rice eating areas, to consume less rice and take to wheat. But we have to consider that rice is taken boiled and is more or less swallowed and not chewed to that extent as wheat eaters who take 'chappatis' do. Therefore, in the villages where rice is consumed in greater quantities, if they are asked to take wheat, what they do is to pound wheat and make gruel out of it. They cook wheat in the same fashion as they do rice. They boil it with water. Apparently it looks as if the wheat is cooked but inside the grain remains uncooked, and it is found after some time that those people develop stomach trouble. Sir, the solution is not so easy as it seems. A better solution would be if we grow subsidiary food such as more vegetables, more dairy products, more fruits, and so on, so that there **will** be less demand on rice and more demand on the subsidiary **food**. Taking 14 ounces per capita we **are** still short of rice. But we know **that** in the villages, when they have money to buy, they consume more than 32 ounces of rice, because they **eat** practically rice and nothing else, **rice** with a little salt. Unless the habit is changed so that they take less rice—very much less rice, even 8 or 10 ounces will be more than enough. If they take recourse to the subsidiary food which can be grown much quicker—the food problem will continue. To grow more rice we **have** to take to intensive cultivation. We must take recourse to fertilisers, **and** fertilisers are in short supply. It **will**

take some years to build fertiliser factories and give adequate fertilisers to the farmers. But to encourage them to grow subsidiary food can be done much quicker through the Community Project administration. The Community Project administration is the only administration where the administration can get in direct touch with the masses. There are the Gram Sevaks and Sevikas who are the best teachers to the villagers about the use of subsidiary food, balanced dietary, etc., so that people can consume less rice. Telling rice eaters to eat wheat does not solve our problem.

We have here in India a culture and a tradition which have been built up over the centuries. The socialist pattern of society that we are aiming at is in keeping with our culture. Any totalitarian methods, anything done against the wish of the people will prove disastrous in this country. Forcing things against their background, of religion and their culture will not yield results. We have seen progress even in America where they have the capitalist or the competitive economy. That also will not suit this country, will not suit many countries, particularly undeveloped countries. There the individuals have no place. That is why here for industrial development we have these Small-scale Industry Service Institutes, we have the Small-scale Industries Corporation. For the building up of industries, giving aid to small industrialists, helping them with capital, machinery and with technical ideas so that they can develop their industries, in many ways the

has tried to help the individual. If our friends opposite would help the Government with constructive ideas and come to help the development of these village industries and other industries and help the Community Development Project instead of criticising it as severely as they have done, so that the villages can get more help from the Community Project officers and men, then the progress will be much **better**, much greater than what has been so far. Criticism does not lead us anywhere very much. After all we **are** building up our economy, we are trying to give a better standard of living to the people who have been neglected for many centuries; and to teach them, to coach them and help them we need the help of all who can give help. If they give help instead of criticism, we shall see the progress we would make and we shall see a better India which is our aim. We have aimed at only Rs. 500 per capita income in the course of 25 years, which is very low, and by the next 25 years perhaps the per *capita* income of the other countries will be three times more than what it is now. Therefore, we need the help and co-operation of all, and it is only by co-operative methods that we can develop our country and take pride in what we have developed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Government will reply on Monday. The House stands adjourned **till** 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till **eleven** of the clock on Friday, the 14th February 1958.