[Dr. Rajat Kumar Chakrabarti] authorities and the telephone people. This problem can be solved by having conduit pipes. To my mind, if you have a system of underground conduit pipes through which the cables will pass, this problem can be solved. For laying underground conduit pipes, the Telephone Department will require more money. I would also request the Minister to look into this matter.

Lastly, I would like to cite only one example of working during the emergency period. One gentleman, Shri Haripada Ghosh, who is an upper Division Clerk in the Calcutta Port Trust, has been submitting memorandum after memorandum. I have raised this question in this august House many a time. He was the first person to point out that crores of rupees are being defalcated or taken out by some unscrupulous people from the Calcutta Port Trust by under-invoicing and over-invoicing. He has submitted many memoranda on this question and on the basis of these memoranda, an inquiry has been made both by the Public Accounts Committee and the Ministry of Shipping and Transport. Most of his allegations have been found to be correct. Unfortunately, this gentleman, Mr. Ghosh, has been suspended from the Calcutta Port Trust. He has been under suspension for the last 8 months. No action has been taken. Who can take action? The Financial Advi-ser who is the punishing authority in Calcutta Port Trust is the culprit also. That means that they are not appointing any independent committee to enquire into the whole thing. Without giving any show cause notice or any chargesheet, he has been simply kept under suspension for the last eight months. So, I would like the Shipping Ministry to look into it. Sir, another trouble is whenever I want to put any question or any Short Notice Question, there is no Minister of Shipping and Transport to answer and this matter is pending for a long time and no action has been taken in the case of this poor fellow. Thank you, Sir.

## STATEMENT BY MINISTER

### Resignation of Justice Mathur as Commission of Inquiry into the Affairs of Maruti Concerns—contd.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MAQSOOD ALI KHAN); Before I call upon the next speaker, I request the hon. Home Minister, Mr. Charan Singh, to lay before the House the papers to which he referred earlier this morning.

SHRI CHARAN SINGH: Sir, as decided by you, I lay on the Table Of the House a copy each of the four letters that I promised this morning. [Placed in Library. *See* No. LT-762 77]

**श्री रबी राय** (उड़ीसा): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं चाहूंगा कि इस पर बहस के लिए समय दिया जाए और मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि आप हमें समय देंगे।

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री** (उत्तर प्रदेश): एक बात हम भी चाहते हैं कि इस पर बहस होनी चाहिए।

**श्री कल्प नाथ राय** (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम भी चाहते हैं कि इस पर बहस होनी चाहिए।

THE APPROPRIATION NO. 2 BILL, 1977—contd.

**श्री श्याम लाल यादव** (उत्तर प्रदेश): माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो यह बजट जनता सरकार ने पहली बार पेश किया है, इसमें हमें आशा थी कि जिन भावनाओं को लेकर के और जिन घोषणाओं के साथ यह सरकार बनी थी उसकी पूर्ति करने हेतु कदम उठाने का प्रयास किया जायेगा। लेकिन यह देख कर बहुत दुःख हुआ कि यह बजट एक ऐसे बजट की तरह से पेश हुआ और ऐसे लोगों द्वारा पेश हुआ जिन्होंने देश की सेवा में

अधिकांश समय बिताया परन्तु इस में जैसी आशा थी वह बात नज़र नहीं आती। मैं समझता हूं कि यह समय की ही विडम्बना है । इस बजट में दो बातों की तरफ विशेष ध्यान दिए जाने की आवश्यकता थी । पहली बात बेकारी दूर करने का प्रयास होना चाहिए था लेकिन इस बजट में ऐसी कोई भी बात दिखाई नहीं देती जिससे यह नतीजा निकाला जा सके कि बेकारी दस साल के अन्दर दूर हो सकेगी या दूर होने की आशा है । सरकार ने वायदा किया कि 10 साल में बेकारी दूर हो जाएगी लेकिन कम से कम इतना तो इस बजट में प्रकट होना चाहिए था कि बेकारी का दसवां हिस्सा दूर करने का इस साल प्रयास किया जाएगा । इसलिए मेरा विचार है कि जो सरकार ने वायदा किया है कि दस साल में बेरोजगारी दूर हो जाएगी, यह दूर नहीं की जा सकती ।

दूसरी बात मूल्य में गिरावट की विषय में है । मान्यवर यह एक बहुत बड़ा प्रश्न है, बहुत महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न है । हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने दूसरे सदन में भी और इस सदन में भी बार बार कहा कि पिछली सरकार के दिनों में कीमतें बढ़ी । मेरी समझ में यह बात नहीं आती कि किस आधार पर वे ऐसा कहते हैं जब कि पिछले 18 महीनों में जनता सरकार आने के पूर्व मूल्यों में बराबर गिरावट होती रही । लेकिन आर्थिक वर्ष के शुरू के 6 महीनों में जो थोड़ी बहुत वृद्धि हुई वह पिछले 6 महीनों में एकदम स्थिर रही । उस के बाद जो मूल्यों में वृद्धि शुरू हुई है मार्च, 1977 से लेकर वह बराबर जारी है और उस वृद्धि को कम करने के लिए अभी तक कोई ठोस कदम नहीं उठाया गया । ढाई महीनों में लगभग 3.1 परसेंट मूल्य में वृद्धि हुई है । अकेले जून में, 18 जून को समाप्त होने वाले सप्ताह में 0.2% और 28 जून को समाप्त होने वाले सप्ताह में 0.3 % मूल्यों में वृद्धि हुई है । इस वृद्धि को रोकने के लिए क्या कदम उठाए गये, अभी तक उसका कोई स्पष्टीकरण हमारे सामने नहीं आया । केवल वायदा मात्र है । कामर्स मंत्री ने कहा है अगले तीन महीनों में हम कदम उठायेंगे । एक बात जरूर हुई कि व्यापारियों से बार बार अनुरोध प्रधान मंत्री ने भी किया और वित्त मंत्री ने भी किया कि मूल्यों में कमी करो । लेकिन इन अपीलों का, अनुरोधों का, हम देखते हैं कि कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ा है । बाजार में व्यापारी लोग बेचते हैं, वह बराबर कहते हैं कि हमने जनता पार्टी को धन भी दिया है, वोट भी दिया है, उसको वह पूरा करना चहते हैं । इन्हीं कारणों से हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने हाल में कहा कि जनता ध्येय सभी वर्गों को प्रसन्न करने का है और तभी इस में जमाखोरों, काला बाजारियों को प्रसन्न करने का विचार किया गया है, ऐसा हमें दिखाई देता है।

मान्यवर, यह सरकार वादा करती है कि गांधीवाद के सिद्धान्तों को चलाने के लिये लेकिन गांधीवाद के सिद्धान्तों को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये क्या कदम उठाये गये हैं, इस पर विचार किया जाय तो हम देखते है कि दूर हटने का ही प्रयास किया गया । कृषि पर अधिक ध्यान देना, लघु उद्योगों को बढ़ावा ठीक है लेकिन पिछले वर्षों में जो कृषि पर ध्यान दिया गया है यह उसका ही परिणाम है कि आज इतनी अधिक पैदावार हुई और इतना अधिक भंडार सरकार के पास मौजूद है कि वह उस भंडार की सुरक्षा भी नहीं कर सकती है । हम हापुड़ से रेल से आते हुए देखते है कि और भी भी दूसरे रेलवे स्टेशनों पर देखते हैं कि अनाज का भंडार रखा हुआ है, पालिथीन का कवर भी तमाम स्थानों पर नहीं है । खुले आसमान में गेहूं सड़ रहा है । इस प्रकार उस गेहूं की भी रक्षा सरकार नहीं कर पा रही है । यह बड़े अफसोस की बात है ।

[श्री श्याम लाल यादव]

इस सरकार का ऐसा लगता है कि लेना देही और देना देही का सवाल हो गया है कि गेंहू करे क्या ? विदेश भेजे रूस को भेजे जो गेहूं आया था उस के बदले में, कोई भी व्यवस्था करें लेकिन जो खरीददार है उसको गेहूं का अधिक मूल्य देना पड़ रहा है । वितरण प्रणाली से मान्यवर, सरकारी दुकानों में गेहू का मूल्य 133 रु० क्विटल है लेकिन बाजार में उससे बेहतर गेहूं जो मिलता है वह उससे ज्यादा मूल्य पर है और ज्यादातर लोग उसी गेहूं को खरीदना चाहते हैं । यही कारण है कि सरकारी वितरण केन्द्रों पर गेहू की अधिक बिक्री नहीं हो रही है और इस कारण सरकार गेहूं के स्टाक का वितरण करने में असमर्थ हो रही है और उन्होंने यह नया नारा दिया है कि गेहूं का नया स्टाक करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है हमारे पास बहुत गेहूं है । लेकिन जब लोगों को खाने को न मिले साधारण मूल्य पर कोई खरीद न सकता हो यह कसे मानलें कि गेहूं उपलब्ध है । ठीक है गेहूं है लेकिन उसको खरीदने की क्षमता साधारण जनता में नहीं है । गांव में जो गरीब मजदूर है जो छोटे किसान है उन की क्षमता नहीं रह गयी है । जब फसल नहीं है, गांव से निकल चुकी है तो कसे कहा जावे कि इतना गेहूं है कि जिसका उचित वितरण हो और लोगों को लाभ हो ।

मान्यवर, गृह मंत्री जी ने बहुत सही बातें कहीं इस सम्बन्ध में । उन्होंने अपनी जो पुस्तक 'इंडियाज पावर्टी एण्ड इट्स सोल्यूशन' लिखी उसमें भी इसका वर्णन किया कि कृषि पर ध्यान देना चाहिये । उन्होंने अभी यहां पर दिल्ली में व्याख्यान में कहा कि जो चीजें छोटे पैमाने पर पैदा हो सकती हैं उन्हें बड़े पैमाने पर पैदा नहीं करना चाहिये और अगर बड़े पैमाने पर जो मिलें पैदा करती हैं तो उनके माल को देश के अन्दर नहीं बल्कि बाहर भेजने की इजाजत दी जानी चाहिये । इसलिये मुझे गृह मंत्री जी से जो स्वयं प्लानिंग कमीशन के मेम्बर हैं और सरकार में भी एक प्रमुख स्थान रखते हैं, ऐसी आशा थी कि वह बजट में इस तरफ कोई कदम उठायेंगे । इस प्रवृत्ति को लागू करने के लिए कोई प्रयास किया जायगा । छोटे छोटे उद्योग धंधों को बड़े उद्योग धधों के कम्पीटीशन से रोका जायेगा इसे बन्द किया जायगा और बड़े उद्योग धंधे और बड़ी फैक्टरियां या मिले हैं उनके उत्पादन को बाहर भेजा जायगा । इससे अधिक लोगों को काम मिल सकेगा । लेकिन इस तरफ वित्त मंत्री जी ने कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया । उनके बजट में इस प्रकार की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है । लेकिन गांधी जी की बात कही जाती है कि गांधी जी की जो विचारधारा थी उस पर हम चलने का प्रयास करेंगे । मैं समझता हूं कि गांधी जी को जैसा सब लोग समझते हैं कि वह समाजवादी विचार धारा के थे मार्क्स से भी आगे थे और उनका कहना था कि इस प्रकार से उत्पादन हो कि वह आम जनता को मिल सके और उत्पादन के साधन अगर कछ लोगों के पास रहते हैं और वह ठीक से नहीं चलाते तो उसे सरकार को ठीक तरह से चलाना चाहिये । इसमें कहीं रुकावट नहीं होनी चाहिये । लेकिन आज की सरकार, मान्यवर, जो, पब्लिक सेक्टर है उसकी तरफ इसकी भवें चढ़ी हुई हैं और दूसरी तरफ वह देखने का प्रयास नहीं कर रहीं है । इसलिए हमें आशा है कि धीरे धीरे सरकार की इमेज जो राइटिस्ट है उस तरफ जा रही है । इससे बेहतर तो मान्यवर, अभी महाराष्ट्र की सरकार ने व्यवस्था की है । उन्होंने एक स्कीम चलाई है इम्पलायमेंट गारंटी स्कीम । एक आदर्श स्कीम उन्होंने अपने दायरे में चलाने का प्रयास किया है । उन्होंने यह कहा है कि हम गांवों में जिसको काम नहीं मिलेगा और जो काम मांगेगा

लेकिन उस को काम नहीं दिया जा सकेगा तो एक रुपया प्रति दिन प्रति व्यक्ति के हिसाब से दिया जायगा । यद्यपि कोई बहुत बड़ी व्यवस्था नहीं है फिर भी एक प्रयास है और हम समझते हैं कि केन्द्रीय सरकार को भी इस तरह के प्रयास करने चाहिएं जिससे कि जो बेकार हैं उन्हें बेकारी का भत्ता मिल सके और इस वर्ष में बेकारी कम होने का कोई प्रयास हो सके । मान्यवर, इस सरकार की विचार-धारा का पता इसी बात से लगता है कि इन्होंने श्री पालखीवाला को टैक्स कानून में संशोधन करने के लिए जो एक विशेषज्ञ समिति बनायी, उसका उन्हें अध्यक्ष बनाया । *(Time bell rings)* योग्यता की दृष्टि से पालखीवाला जी ठीक हैं, इस में आपत्ति नहीं की जा सकती लेकिन उनके विचारों में और जनता पार्टी के घोषित विचारों में कहीं मेल नहीं खाता । जनता पार्टी ने कहा है कि मौलिक अधिकारों से संपत्ति के अधिकार को उखाड़ फेंकेंगे और पालखीवाला जी ने अपने पुस्तक--कांस्टीट्यूशन डिफेन्ड एण्ड डिफाइल्ड --में कहा है कि संपत्ति का मौलिक अधिकार संविधान का मूलभूत स्वरूप है, उसकी आत्मा है । यह कैसे मेल खायेगा ? और जब उन्हें ही अधिकार दिए गए हैं कानून में सुझाव देने के लिए तो मैं समझता हूं, वे उस विचारधारा को कैसे क्रियान्वित कर सकेंगे जो जनता पार्टी ने स्वयं अपने अपने चुनाव घोषणा पत्र में कहा है ।

मान्यवर, दो-एक बातें कह कर मैं समाप्त करूंगा अपना निवेदन । वित्त मंत्री ने कहा है कि प्रदेश की कांग्रेस सरकारों ने 400 करोड़ रु० की जो आय थी, उसको नष्ट कर दिया । ठीक है, यह कहा है उन्होंने, लेकिन अब तो प्रदेशों में जनता पार्टी की सरकार है , जनता सरकार उन प्रदेशों में उगाहे और कांग्रेस सरकार की बात तो कह दी लेकिन भूल गए कि अभी उत्तर प्रदेश में जो नए मंत्रिमंडल में नए मुख्य मंत्री ने शपथ ली, शपथ लेने के साथ ही कह दिया कि सवा 6 एकड़ तक के किसानों को लगान, मालगुजारी माफ कर दी जाएगी जिस से अकेले एक वर्ष में 11 करोड़ रु० की हानि सरकार की होगी। उस पर उस की नजर नहीं गई और कांग्रेस सरकार ने जो किया उस के ऊपर बहुत जल्द नजर चली गई । यह तो केवल धोखा देना है । जनता पार्टी राजनैतिक लाभ उठाने के लिये ही इस तरह की भ्रमात्मक बात कहना चाहती है और अगर आज जनता सरकार समझती है कि रिसोर्सेज रेज करने की जरूरत है तो उन का रास्ता खुला हुआ है ; वह रिसोरसेज रेज करे । आज सारे प्रदेशों में उन की सरकारें हैं, कोई रुकावट नहीं है और उन्हें चाहिए कि फिर से, जिस प्रकार से वे करना चाहें , करें ।

एक बात और मान्यवर, मुझे कहनी है । पिछले चुनाव में, जो लोक सभा के चुनाव हुए, उसमें जो बातें उभर कर सामने आई कि किस प्रकार से गलत मत डाले गए; उसके लिए मेरा सुझाव था-कि जनता पार्टी ने खुद यह कहा कि तारकुंडे कमेटी की सिफारिश थी, श्री जय प्रकाश नारायण का ऐलान था और शुरू में पहले जब संसद् बैठी थी चुनाव के बाद तो जनता सरकार ने कहा था कि वह चुनाव के नियमों में संशोधन करेगी, आज उसकी कोई चर्चा नहीं थी --तो मेरा सुझाव था कि जो बैलट पेपर के काउंटर-फौइल हैं उन पर मतदाताओं के दस्तखत होने चाहिएं । दस्तखत नहीं होने से फर्जी वोट पड़ते हैं । मैं ने सुझाव दिया था कि मतों की गणना पोलिंग स्टेशनों के हिसाब से होनी चाहिए और मतदाताओं को पोलिंग स्टेशनों पर लाने ले जाने पर सवारियों के इस्तेमाल पर जो प्रतिबंध लगाया गया है

[श्री श्याम लाल यादव]

वह भ्रामक है, वह धोका है । हर पार्टी, हर उम्मीदवार उसकी व्यवस्था करता है । जो लोग फर्जी वोट डालते हैं उन के लिए सख्त सजा होनी चाहिए ।

मान्यवर, मैं एक दो बातें कह कर समाप्त कर रहा हूं । बहुत संक्षेप में उनका जिक्र करूंगा । जनता पार्टी इस समय गड़े मुर्दे उखाड़ने में लगी हुई है । एक तरफ आप के साधन नहीं , दूसरी तरफ लगातार आप इस प्रकार के कार्यक्रम बनाते चले जा रहे हैं जो इस देश द्वारा स्वीकृत और घोषित नीतियों को उखाड़ कर फेंकने का प्रयास किया जा रहा है ।

अंत में मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं भाषा नीति के संबंध में । जनता पार्टी ने यहां पर इस प्रकार की भाषा नीति को अपनाया है कि जिसका बुरा प्रभाव सारे देश में पड़ रहा है । तमिलनाडु में जो पहले जवाहर लाल जी के जमाने में भाषानीति घोषित हुई थी, थ्री लैंगुएज फार्मूला स्वीकृत हुआ था, आज तमिलनाडु की सरकार ने कह दिया दो लैंगुएज फार्मूला हम चलायेंगे । बिहार की सरकार ने एक दूसरा बयान दे दिया । केन्द्र के मंत्री और दूसरा बयान दे रहे हैं। एक ऐसी नीति अपनायी जा रही है भाषा के संबंध में, जनता पार्टी की तरफ से, जिस से लगता है कि इस देश में विघटनकारी तत्वों को बढ़ावा मिलेगा और देश की एकता को खतरा होगा । इसलिए मैं चाहता हूं कि जनता पार्टी अपनी भाषा की नीति को स्पष्ट करे कि आया वह थ्री लैंगुएज फारमूला को मानती है या नहीं मानती है और उस को चलाने की कोशिश करेंगे या नहीं करेंगे ?

*(Time bell rings)*

अंतिम बात , मान्यवर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि 42वें संविधान संशोधन को रद्द करने का बहुत बड़ा एलान जनता पार्टी ने किया था, लेकिन मुझे कहीं यह दिखाई नहीं देता कि वह इस संबंध में कोई विशेष विधेयक बना रही है या कोई और काम कर रही है । ऐसा लगता है कि कुर्सी पर बैठने के बाद सभी सरकारें एक तरह से ही सोचती है और जो ब्यूरोक्रेसी है उस को सुरक्षित रखने के लिये वह स्वयं प्रयत्नशील हो जाती है और उस के मशविरे से ही काम करना मुनासिब समझती है । और इस के साथ ही वे पुराने वायदों को भूल जाती है । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूं कि जनता पार्टी ने एक वायदा किया था अन्य पिछड़ी जातियों को नौकरियों में आरक्षण दिया जायगा । लेकिन मुझे अफसोस है कि इस बजट के अन्तर्गत मैनीफेस्टो का जो वह अंग था उस के लिये कोई प्रयास नहीं किया गया और न उन के लिये कोई आरक्षण की व्यवस्था ही की गयी । यह संदेह पैदा करता है कि धीरे धीरे जनता पार्टी भी अपने वायदों से खिसकती जा रही है । प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो प्रैस कांफरेंस में कहा था कि समय बीतने के साथ साथ हम बुद्धिमान होते जाते हैं, उस से ऐसा लगता है कि अपने वायदों को पूरा न करने का यह एक अच्छा तरीका जनता पार्टी ने निकाला है ।

SHRI K. S. MALLE GOWDA (Karnataka): Sir, speaking on the Appropriation Bill, I would like to lay-stress on a vital subject which should be the concern of every overpopu-lated and developing country in Asia and Africa, namely, population control. In these poor countries,, health, wealth and annual income of each and every family is inter-linked- 'With family planning. It has a direct bear.

ing on increasing the incomes of the poor masses and the middle classes, raising their living standards, making their thoughts beautiful, human and humane and making their country beautiful and bountiful. If the promise of the Janata Party to end poverty in ten years is not to become just an election slogan like the 'Garibi Hatao' slogan of the former Congress Government and if this is not to prove a false promise at it •did, the Janata Government should, in all seriousness and determination achieve success in family planning in our country.

Sir, population control in a developing country like ours is a great economic reform. It is a great so. cial reform. It amounts to a great political reform if all the political parties in this country sincerely support the programmes to bring down the population growth rate,, for, then it means that they are interested in eradication of poverty of the people rather than in its) continuation, to make a political base out of it.

For the benefit of the democracy-loving people of India, I want to quote Sir Julian Huxley here:

"Sir Julian Huxley, eminent British scientist, told the Sixth International Conference on Planned Parenthood held at New Delhi in 1959, that India's position in the matter of population was crucial. 'She is the largest democratic underdeveloped nation not only in Asia but in the world. Failure' to solve her population problem will be a political and social disaster! Sucess will secure her leadership in Asia and give hope to the world at large,' he said."

In a brilliant article in The Hindu entitled 'Tyranny over the Mind',, Mr. Aldous Huxley asserts that 20 years from now—he said this in 1959—all the world's overpopulafed and underdeveloped countries will be under some form of 'totalitarian rule'. He continues.

"Whenever the economic life of a nation becomes precarious, the Central Government is forced to assume additional responsibilities for the general welfare. It must work out elaborate plans for dealing with a critical situation. It must impose ever greater restrictions upon the activities of its subjects, and if, as is very likely, worsening economic conditions result in political unrest, or open rebellion, the Central Government must intervene to preserve public order and its own authority. More and more power is thus concentrated in the hands of the executives and their bureaucratic managers. But the nature of power is such that even those who have not sought it but have had it forced upon them, lend to acquire a taste for more.

'Lead us hot into temptation', we pray and with good reason; for when human beings are tempted too enticingly or too long, they generally yield.

'A democratic constitution is a device preventing the local rulers from yielding to those particularly dangerous temptations that arise when too much power is concentrated in too few hands.'

'Such a constitution works pretty well where, as in Britain or the United States, there is a traditional respect for constitutional procedures.

Where the republican or limited monarchical tradition is weak,, the best of constitutions will not prevent ambitious politicians from succumbing with glee and gusto to the temptations of power. And in any country where numbers have begun to press heavily upon available resources, these temptations cannot fail to rise.

[Shri K. S. Malle Gowda]

Overpopulation leads to economic insecurity and social unrest. Un-rest and insecurity lead to more control by the Central Government and an increase of their power. In the absence of a constitutional tradition, this increased power will probably be exercised in a dictatorial fashion.

Even if Communism had never been invented, this would be likely to happen. But Communism has been invented. Given this fact, the probability of over-population lead, ing through unrest to dictatorship becomes a virtual certainty. It is a pretty safe bet that, 20 years from now, all the world's overpopu-lated and underdeveloped countries will be under some form of totalitarian rule."

Sir, I am sure that in these discerning days the Indian people who are generally wedded to human values and human development would not like to go under the political systems which curb the human spirit which deny fundamental rights and human freedoms and suffer the way their brothers and sisters in China, Russia or Cambodia or Vietnam are suffering. Therefore, it is for the Indian Government and Parliament to ensure that the economic growth in this country is quite rapid and far outpaces the population growth.

Sir, I want to make a few sugges. tions about Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, Arunachal and other smaller States. As you are aware. Sir, in the eastern States there is some unrest. "We are also seeing that Mr. Phizo from London has some influence over the Naga People. In all the eastern States the population in total is less than about 50 lakhs. But they are sensitive States. Our India is a very vast country and it has vast resources and it would not be difficult for us to allot more funds for these eastern States. The existing allotment of funds is not sufficient. It could be trebled or it could be even four times of the existing allotment. We can win their hearts by making more allotment of funds. When Phizo from London can influence them, can our Prime Minister and the Government not easily influence them by spending more money for them and ameliorating their hardships. I, therefore, appeal to the Finance Minister to allot more funds for the welfare of these hilly areas.

If the Janata Government is to make an impact on the mind of the poor masses in this country,, it must concentrate on providing them with the minimum needs within a definite period of ten to fifteen years.

In this context, rural housing and rural water-supply assume greater importance. Sir, our shortage in rural housing, including the bulk of sub-standard houses to be rebuilt or substantially improved, is about 7 crore houses. Even if two-thirds of them to be rebuilt or improved, we need a colossal sum. "of about Rs. 30,000 crores.

This sorry housing position alone shows how poverty is perpetrated in rural India. There is need to make a massive effort to stimulate savings in rural India by increasing the incomes of the rural families so that they could invest in better agriculture,, better housing and better living. There is imperative need to change the invidious urban-biased policies of the former Congress Government.

As a first step in providing houses to the poor and the weaker sections of society, I would urge upon the Janata Government to provide the Harijan and Girijan families with free houses. Government of India should give an outright grant of Rs. 100 crores annually to the States so that $2^{1/2}$ lakh houses, costing Rs. 4,000/-each, can be built each year and gifted to the poor Harijan and Girijan families in the country.

With these few words, I thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir, we are coming to the close of the Budget Session and I must say that from what we have been listening to, it is very difficult to say exactly how this Government wishes to proceed in economic spheres. But before I speak on the economic subjects, may I have a word or two on the general political situation and on political issues?

Sir, it is not accidental that the Government party is not in a position to present a, snail we say. reasonable image as a functioning body. This is due to the fact that it seems that big rivalries, internal rivalries, are going on in what is called the Janata Party hut which, actually, is a *morcha.* Only today, in the newspapers we read Shri Jagjivan Ram complaining that the parties have not merged. Yet we have the signboard of a single party. As we have been watching from here and also we read newspapers, we do find that intense fighting is going on. I say these things because it is the ruling party, on if you like to call it anything else, the ruling body in the country.

Well, Sir, 1 hope my friend, Mr. Advani, will not misunderstand me, but it does appear that our friends of the .Tana Sangh and the BLD have made a very formidable combination in order to get the better of the situation within the party and the others are feeling somewhat disappointed, disenchanted and somewhat frustrated. Now, Sir, this in fight is affecting policies also. It does seem that behind the veneer of the Janata Party and the facade of the consolidation, broadly, of *janata* power, we find a consolidation of the combined power of the BLD and the Jana Sangh. It is rather interesting these days when we see the RSS journal, the *Organiser, com-*ins out in sharp attack against Mr. Morarji Desai, the Prime Minister of the country. I do not know how to interpret it but those who are more

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conversant with the subject will enlighten us as to why it is happening in this manner. Sir. Mr. Morarji Desai has said that for overriding circumstances he could not complete the ministerial team. We are not interested in that. We would only like to be enlightened about the circumstances which are coming in the way of, what is called, the completion of the formation of the ministerial team. It is their business but we would like to hear something from the Government as to how they want to proceed in this matter.

Here we find that all kinds of things are seaid and done. If you hear Mr. George Fernandes, you have one idea of the Government; if you hear Mr. Rajnarain, you have another idea of the Government; If you hear Mr. Charan Singh, you get a different view of the Government; if you hear somebody else, you get another view of the Goernment. Now, this is what is happening today. They seem to be in great confusion. And, as far as **our** friend, the Finance Minister, is concerned, he seems to know his mind because he is going full steam ahead with the free enterprise concept of economy, giving concessions right and left to the monopoly capital in the name of investment allowance and under various other heads. We are now having such a situation.

Sir, what is happening to the other problems? I have got before me the Janata manifesto. Now, Sir, where is the Bill to repeal the MISA? **The** Government gave a solemn assurance in the President's Address that the MISA would be repealed. But there is no such proposal before us. Well, what happens to MISA? We are told that a Constitution Amendment Bill will come. We are for retaining the good amendments that have been made in the interest of the people but wc are certainly interested in deleting the anti-people and anti-democratic amendments which have crept into the 42nd Constitution Amendment Bill. Why should it not be possible for the

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Government to hold consultations with the opposition in order to come to an agreement in the changed situation at least to delete those amendments which are outrageous, which are anti-people, which are anti-democratic and do not conform to any democratic standard? It is possible to do so that way. That is not being done.

Mr. Charan Singh has declared that the emergency provision, article 352. should go. We welcome that statement. We do not want the emergency provision in our Constitution. But what is the use of making speeches? Where is the Bill for deleting article 352 and Other relevant articles in order to do away with the outrageous provision in the Constitution which has been so grossly misused in the past by the previous Government? Come forward with a Bill.

Sir, we have been told that all political prisoners will be released. Even now, thousands of prisoners are there —some under trial, some convicted. Why is the Central Government not taking the initiative in getting the prisoners released? Many of the States are now under the Janata Government. Take the step. Sir, steps are not being taken. On the contrary, Mr. Charan Singh is asking the political prisoners —Naxalites, as they call them—to give an undertaking. That was not the commitment in your election manifesto, to ask for an undertaking of that type. This has encouraged some of the State Governments not to release them.

I was a little shocked and surprised when I read in the newspapers that the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh was relating, in the Assembly, the atrocities committed by the Naxalites whereas his Government is in the dock for having committed tortures and killings. Do I understand from the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh that if a citizen commits a crime, the Government is entitled to go and shoot people at sight, carry on torture in the police lock-up, beat up people and kill them? Well, a civilised Government does not behave in this manner. It is unfortunate that the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh should have taken this position. When he should be explaining the conduct of the Government of Andhra Pradesh, he has been explaining how the Naxalites committed offences, which does not entitle him to do all the things that the Andhra Pradesh Government has done in Srikakuiam and other places by arresting the political people, by killing the people in the so-called encounter that never existed. Sir, such things are happening. Now, I do not want to go into this kind of thing.

Here again I find a statement by Mr. Morarji Desai—there is a political point I wish to make—that he has discovered that he is very close to Mr. Jimmy Carter. Well, it has been stated here: "...Mr. Morarji Desai told the group of professors from South California who called on him at New Delhi on Monday... Mr. Desai felt that in this matter he would get more sympathy from the U.S. President Mr. Jimmy Carter than from anywhere else. "President Carter seems to be believing in the same values that I do. The setting is different and there may be differences in details, but we agree on fundamentals." Sir, on what fundamentals Mr. Morarji Desai agrees with Mr. Jimmy Carter, I should like to know. Let him tell us. I am reminded of many other past statements, but I am not going into that matter. When Mr. Jimmy Carter is carrying on arms race all over the world, building Diego Garcia, giving weapons to the countries hostile to us, in order to intimidate and pressurise us, on what fundamentals does he agree, I should like to know. Sir, you will be surprised to know that the Pentagon is spending 50 million dollars per hour on military. Under Jimmy Carter, the Defence budget of the United States of America has gone up by 10,000 million dollars, whereas he had promised to reduce it. So many other acts are being committed by the U.S. administration. Sir, this is not an accidental thing. Of course, we have no quarrel with the American people.

In the matter of foreign policy, I am surprised to find that Mr. Morarji Desai the Prime Minister, and Mr. Vajpayee place the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the some footing *vis-a-vis* Diego Garcia military base whereas we as a nation are committed to the dismantling of the base. They ignore the facts. In 1973 and this year when Mr. Gromeiko came here, the Soviet Union gave us assurances and again and again reiterated their stand for the abolition or dismantling of the military base in the Indian Ocean and that they want to turn the Indian ocean into a zone of peace. Now, we find that the policy is being changed in that direction. Mr. Morarji Desai in the other House said that he wants to save Asia from what he calls two Super Powers in the Indian Ocean. Never did we hear such things before. This has not been the position of India. Are we changing the foreign policy of the country? Is it the definition of our dynamic and flexible foreign policy, of genuine foreign policy? This is what I should like to know from the Government. Therefore, I need not go into this. The only thing that I would like to say is that various intrigues, as I referred to yesterday, are going on. Hon. Members, you are very good people here. As you have been sitting here, in some important bungalows in some houses, intrigues are going on in the style of bringing a coup *d'etat* some day. It may be a parliamentary ccup d'etat. I do not know which lea-der is maintaining connection with which leader in this House or outside the House.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal): None of this House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Very good, I am re-assured. It may be outside the House, if you like. Sir, the real leaders are outside the House. But now that is beside the point. Now that is going on. Therefore. Sir, let us settle down to work. Let all of us settle down to work now that the elections are over.

Sir, coming to the economic policy, where is the policy on bonus? Why has the Bonus Act as it was before it was amended by an ordinance and then by an Act in 1975, not been restored? Why has the bonus cut not been restored to 8.33 per cent? The Government is committed to it. The ruling party is committed to it. Having accepted that, why are they dragging their feet over this pattern? Why is the CDS accumulation not being returned in cash to the employees and workers?

Sir, now new theories are being spun out by this Government. On the one hand they are talking of economic development. It seems that Mr. Charan Singh has become the greatest economic theoritician of the Government. The Planning Commission has been reconstituted. We do not know what ideas are being given. Mr. Charan Singh, Jagjivan Babu, Mr. Morarji Desai, all are there in the Planning Commission, but you do not have a Planning Minister yet. I should like to know who will be the Planning Minister. There is no Planning Minister. They have all crowded it. Dangerous ideas are being put. What are these ideas?

First of all they talk of primacy of agriculture. Agriculture should get attention in our country. It is a vital sector of our economy. An overwhelmingly large population of our people sustain on it. But where is the assurance for radical land reforms? Will these legislations which are already on the statute book be implemented? Nothing is said about them. Sir, agricultural workers are suffering. Poor peasants are there who may be given necessary assistance in land, inputs and other things they need. There is no suggestion at all. On the contrary, there is emphasis to build up capitalism in agriculture and a kulak economy.

Sir, the advent of the Janata Power at the Centre meant marching order for the landlords in the villages, and the moment they came into power the landlords thought that it was their power and went into action on at

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] rampage against the Harijans, against the poor peasants and against agricultural labourers. All over the country today the landlords are blood-hound hyenas are On the rampage against the Harijans, the manhood of the Indian nation and they are attacking them day in and day out. The Bihar incident is one of the incidents. Shri Morarji Desai has written letters to the Chief Ministers asking them to stop these attacks on the Harijans. But, what steps have been taken? Everyday, to our shame, to our sorrow and to our agony, we read that the Harijans are being attacked; they are being attacked in their homes and in their fields by the landlords who lake the Janata power as their own power. That characterises the Janata power. Sir, that is why I say that something is going wrong As we are talking here, what is happening in the industrial field? Sir, the monopolists are the happiest today. How, of course, the monopolists change their political hue and colour, you know very well. We have got many of them. For example. Mr. K. K. Birla who was, well, a man of the caucus—around the caucus, not actually the man of the caucus—said in London on August 10 last year which I am quoting:

> "It (emergency) has created a remarkable transformation in India, generated a sense of national discipline, a feeling of national involvement and accelerated economic growth."

This is what he has said. And he paid tributes to the previous Government. Now they are paying tributes to you. That is how they behave, the monopolist class. Now, we have got the Indian Express group. The *Indian Express* group also did a lot of things at that time. According to the information supplied to me by the Government, during 1975-73 or last year, the *Indian Express* group got nearly Rs. 12 lakhs by way of advertisements from the Central Government. It is there with me. I have also got the figures for other papers. The Birla paper got about Rs. 11 lakhs and so on. Now these are the papers which have now shifted their loyalties to you. They are supporting you. But how do the people feel? That is most important. Industrial development by giving con-cession.3 to the monopolists, by fostering monopoly capital, by denigrating the public sector, can never take place.

Sir, in the name of Gandhian way, they are giving up some of the basic concepts of our national economy, as if Gandhiji was opposed to Jawaharlal Nehru, as if before he died, he made a testament disowning Jawaharlal Nehru. Now they do not like the name of Jawaharlal Nehru. I had been in this House when Jawaharlal Nehru was sitting there. We differed ideologically, we differed politically. That is why he sat opposite. But at the same time, we were functioning in a developing country at that time, as indeed we are functioning now. We had some common ground also. What was that? It was the development of the Indian national economy against the forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. What has happened to it? It is being given Up by this Government. Today they are borrowing from the World Bank. World Bank ideas have been borrowed by this Government; IMF ideas have been borrowed by this Government. Mr. Asoka Mehta was talking in the old days about back-seat driving. It has already begun in our country. I would not say it is back-seat driving. Now those ideas are at the wheel when the vehicle is moving. Sir, this is happening as far as the industrial sector is concerned. The public sector in denigrated by them.

The public sector has been frozen whereas the monopoly-dominated private sector has been given a lot of encouragement by these people. Today we find in the papers that Mr. Shanti Bhushan revealed in the other House that the assets of Tatas and Birlas taken together have gone up to well over Rs. 1,454 crores or so. The figure has been given. At the time of independence Birla's assets amounted to

Rs. 50 crores and those of Tata. Rs. 150 crores or so. Today between them, they possess assets worth nearly Rs. 1,460 crores or 80. This has happened. Now they are giving concessions to them. In this Budget, what has happened? The economic policy has been so contrived, so formulated, that the savings of the society will go to the monopoly dominated private sector, and the Government will not be attracting them because things have been so arranged. Development rebate, industrial development allowance, investment allowances, rebate on capital gains and many other things have been given. Is that the way to industrialise the country?

Much is said about the small industry. Crocodile tears are shed. But I would ask the Government: Who is responsible for the precarious situation in which the small industry finds itself today? They have the problem of finance, they have the problem of marketing, they have the problem of production. And it is the monopoly capital which is just crushing them and squeezing them. And the Government is supporting the monopoly capital.

Now, are you going to help the small .sector in this manner? So, that is again a plot. What do they really want? They want free enterprise. It is surprising that Mr. Palkhiwala has become the greatest spokesman, at the non-official level, over the radio and in the press, of the Government's economic policy. I heard him giving his talk on the Budget, and he praised our Finance Minister in glowing terms. He has been praising all of them. Now Mr. Palkhiwala has come. Committees are being appointed. Mr. Palkhiwala has been appointed the head of the committee to go into the question of income-tax and other taxation matters and so on. Today we find that the MRTP Act will be reviewed—by whom?—by Mr. Hegde. We have seen him in the Supreme Court as a judge. He was the man strongly wedded to monopoly capital, the ideas of monopoly capital. I hope he will not be there if he becomes the Speaker. It is not my job to say who should be or who should not be the Speaker. But these are your choices. This is how you are going ahead in such matters. Sym-ptoms are very bad.

Now, Jawaharlal Nehru is attacked as if Jawaharlal is the cause of all the ruin, the cause of all the sins that had been committed. Mr. Charan Singh has been making public statements openly denigrating Jawaharlal Nehru. We have differences; we have differences openly. But jet us not denigrate people in the wrong way. Certainly we have to improve upon what they have left. There was much wrong. But today denigration of Jawaharlal has started in the same way as President Naiser, Gamal Abdul Nasser, was being denigrated in Cairo and Egypt in order to push certain other ideas. It is not accidental.

Denigration of Jawaharlal is part of the philosophy of this Government, and they take the name of Gandhiji. May I know how many Members opposite know it? Did Gandhiji say Jawaharlal was not to become the Prime Minister of the country after independence? Or did he suggest that he should be the Prime Minister of the country, of free India? I can understand our RSS friends doing it. But when Mr. Charan Singh and others are doing it, I say, Jawaharlal would have said, perhaps in his own way, "Well, you too Brutus!" That is what he would have said. All these gentlemen who come from Congress origin have grown in the shadow of Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. Today under Janata power, having gone with other elements, they have started disowning the *alma mater* in the political life of the country. What a shame I What a bad standard to set before the nation! This is happening. Industrial development as such is in jeopardy. The whole thing is being reversed completely in a subtle manner. Mr. Patel has undertaken the task of doing in a subtle way what perhaps another Minister would do in a rather crude and vulgar way.

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They say we want employment-oriented industry. What employment-oriented? Who will give them employment? How will employment be created? Today we have got about one crore registered unemployed people. But even Government papers say by next year the unemployed number may go to six crores taking all types of unemployed into account. The public sector is being denied its due. And do you think this way you can create employment in the industry? What is the record of the industry? The industry in the private sector does not offer employment opportunities. The rate of growth of employment opportunities in the private sector is lower than the rate of growth of employment opportunities in the public sector. And yet they say that the private sector will create employment opportunities. Sir, in the rural areas employment opportunities can never be created even to the minimum extent unless the land reforms are implemented, the problems of agricultural labour and poor peasants are solved and agriculture is helped at the grass-root level by giving assistance to the people engaged in it and not by diverting funds to kulaks and rich landlords—the mainstay of the Jatana support in the rural areas. Therefore I say these are bluffs and they have to be exposed today by us In the opposition.

Sir, economy is being distorted. What will happen to our aim of self-reliance when multinationals are being invited to come and invest in this country? Today there is rejoicing in the western circles. In the western Aid India Committee or Consortium, whatever you may call it, there is satisfaction that this Government has come to power and they will be resuming help. On the issue of uranium for Tarapore they were blackmailing us till now. Now they have decided to send a shipment of uranium to us. The next shipment, we do not know when it will come. But it is clear to those who are following papers that this shipment has been sanctioned by the appropriate body in America only after they had received an assurance from this Government that there will not be any peaceful nuclear explosion. I am not advocating any nuclear explosion. But who are they to ask us to give them such an undertaking? To get uranium that undertaking had been given by Shri Morarji Desai and the Government. At least it is stated in the report or in the explanatory note which has been circulated by the nuclear committee that this shipment is being made for larger diplomatic interests. Are we offering ourselves to the nuclear blackmail now? Is it a matter of self respect? Is it how you maintain the .self-respect of the country? Everybody in America knows that only after giving an undertaking to the United States of America and the Carter administration has India succeeded in getting this present shipment of 12 tonnes of uranium for Tarapore project. This is happening. Many other things are there, as far as this Government is concerned. I do not know.

We think that the previous Government was a capitalist Governments There was no *iota of* socialism in it at all. There is no difference of opinion at all on that score. But all the negative features of that Government in the economic field are being accelerated now by this Government. Indira Gandhi Government started giving concessions in a big way to multi-nationals and monopoly capitals in 1973 and 1974 forgetting their electoral pledge of 1971. Now you are accelerating these processes by giving them more concessions. What was done under her regime covertly or under some cover or pretext or some kind of excuse, you are doing in a blatant manner. Is it accidental that changes are being made in the bureaucracy?

Those who have been known for their love for free enterprise and free market economy and tho^e who have connections with monopoly capital are now being put in important positions in the economic ministries and other

ministries of the Government of India. Can the Government deny this? Let their names be disclosed. We have been in this House for quite some time and we know some of them. We know what their role has been in the past and how they functioned as emissaries of the World Bank and how come of them have come from the World Bank to take important positions in the economic and other Ministries of the Government of India. This, Sir, is very dangerous.

We are being driven into the process of reversal of economic policies. What has happened to your pledge to the workers? You have not given them anything. You have not fulfilled your electoral pledge in regard to bonus and CDS. You are, on the other hand, giving all sorts of arguments as to way you cannot do it. You should have given these arguments when you went to the polls.

Sir, taxation and other matters I need not go into. The monopolists are making profits now as never before and the process will continue today. Sir, the prices are rising. During the past four months, during the regime of this Government, the prices have risen by four per cent and during the past one year, rise of more than fifteen per cent has taken place and the prices of all the essential commodities, barring, for the time being, sugar perhaps, riave gone up. What are they doing to check this price rise?

Well, the Chief Ministers' Conference will be called. We have known many such Chief Ministers' conferences. Prices are not going to fall on account of the Chief Ministers' Conference. There is a need for a policy change now. You have to take over some of the consumer goods industries like textiles, sugar,, etc. in the public sector and you must have physical control over some essential commodities. You have to take over the foreign drug industry. But what have you done here? You have given a free hand to these people. Is this the way to control the prices of essential commodities? Is this the way to control the distribution of the essential commodities? A free market economy is in operation. Now, Sir, this Government is complaining about hoarding and profiteering. Some weeks ago, Sir, we were told that this Government had come to an understanding with the monopolists who were pressurised to declare that they would not raise the prices for seven months. Have they not raised the prices during the past seven months or during the last three months or four months of the Janata power? Now you are forced to say that they have let you down. It is your policies which encouraged them all along the line. That is our main problem today.

Therefore, I seay that the Janata Party definitely stands for a rightist shift in the economy and that is very clear and day by day it is becoming clearer. Why had Mr. Chandra Shekhar to issue a statement from the nursing home condemning your previous Industries Minister? And then you changed the portfolio of the Ministers. You have sent him somewhere and Mr. George Farnandes has come now. Mr. Fernandes has come now to the Industry Ministry. Has Mr. Fernandes come to the Industry Ministry with dynamite to blow up the monopoly capital? No. He has not come with dynamite to the Industry Ministry to blow up the monopoly capital. He is, and he has come, as a member of the Government and he will be carrying out the policies of the Government and the policy of the Government is clearly biased in favour *at* the multinations and the monopoly capital and it is blatantly anti-working class. Therefore,, you will see what an exhibition of the Janata power is.

Yes, they have done certain good things. They have restored the democratic frights and liberties. Sir. the nightmare of emergency is a shame for all of us. Today, all of. us are ashamed to think that there

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was the emergency nightmare and there were the excesses and so on. Sir, the crimes of the emergency call to *my* mind horror and nothing but horror. We would not like to go back to those days. Have we climbed out of all the nightmare of the emergency in order to deliver the nation to the capitalists' plunder and to the depradation of the monopoly capital? That is what I would like to ask. No. It is not for that that you ended the nightmare of the emergency. You have done it to put the nation on the road to economic progress and social advance and for raising the living standards of the masses and to build our nation On an independent economic foundation. Everywhere. Sir, they are doing the wrong thing. These are the things to be discussed and not the petty things here and there.

Sir, these people are very grateful to this Government and to -the past Government also. But for their crimes during the emergency, but for their excesses during the emergency, my Janata friends Mr. Raj Narain and others, would not have been there and they would have been sitting here. Therefore, the greatest gain of the emergency for you is your power and I think the greatest beneficiary of the emergency is the Janata power, the Janata Party. We are ail sufferers and the people are the sufferers. The people wanted to do. away with the caucus, the unconstitutional or extra-constitutional power or authority, to tear down the emergency that silenced the nation and tried to defile the society. You yourself have said all that and you went to the people for getting their votes on that score only. But that has given you a cover today for everything that you do. Every thing that you do becomes a heroic act. Even if you remove a minor bad law which had been passed in the past, you appear in the robe of a hero.

The previous regime has put you in this great position, advantageous position. But, friends, now come down to earth and see what you are doing. In the States where they have got power, what are they doing now?

In every State where the Janata Party has come into power, the Harijans are being harassed—in Bihar, in Orissa, in Uttar Pradesh, in Madhya Pradesh, and so on. Explain it. It is no use merely writing letters to Chief Ministers. Something bigger has to be done. Sir, the Harijans take the Janata power as a challenge against them. Jagjivan Babu, your Minister, is complaining against it. He seems to be very upset; this is what I find by reading the newspapers. May I know from men like Jagjivan Babu, what steps they are going to take in this matter, what steps he is going to take along with his other colleagues in order to put a stop to this violence against our Harijan brothers and sisters? I should like to know.

Sir, these are some of the things. Therefore, on this Appropriation Bill I do not know what to say. Friends, we have only seen the consolidation of their power—power, power and more power. But they do not see that the power is for the people; it should be for the people. Their consolidation of power is helping the exploiting classes like monopolists, who are very happy today. Sir, I may tell you that Mr. Goenka has taken exception to my statement that he has foreign accounts. Sir, he has asked me to prove that he has a foreign account in a Swiss bank. Sir, if I could prove the foreign accounts in the Swiss Bank, the Swiss Bank would not have been the Swiss Bank and I would not have been in the Rajya Sabha also . . . *(Interruptions)*

Sir, I would like to have a little more information about Mr. Goenka. He had written to some of his friends. Between December 1976 and February 1977, the Enforcement Directorate obtained certain counterfoils of cheques, running into thousands of dollars, issued by Mr. B. D. Goenka and Saroj Goenka. The Enforcement Directorate also got the original receipts of school fees, run-

King into thousands of dollars, through the Swiss bank, about Miss Aruchi Goenka daughter of B. D. Goenka. The Enforcement Directorate also got a letter written by Ramnath Goenka, asking somebody in Europe to obtain financial help for the wife of a former Chief Justice of the High Court of Madras.

Now, these are facts. Files are there. The documents are there. Now, therefore, get them here. Sir, Mr. Goenka says that I have to prove it. I can ask my friends there. Kindly come to my help. I have given you the facts and figures. This is how things are being done.

Sir, another thing I would like to give, before I sit down . . . (Time bell *rings)* ... I am finishing. An officer, whose name was D. K. Guha, started cases against Birla and Shaw Wallace. As a result of investigation, W. D. Jone, Director of Hindustan Motors, was arrested for helping in the contravention of foreign exchange regulations, involving Rs. 7 crores. Shri J. P. Singh, Finance Secretary, ordered the arrest and search in October, 1969. Then the United Commercial Bank entered into a fraud of forward booking of about one million pounds worth of foreign exchange on the last working day before the devaluation. Reports were suppressed as a result of some intervention. They know all these things. The Calcutta office of Shaw Wallace was searched. Lots of documents were found. These documents are in the possession of the Government. In one file No. D. 104, which contains many pages, it will be seen—the document is with them—that Shaw Wallace was making political donations to a very important political personality of Madhya Pradesh. M|s Shaw Wallace, in 1970-71, were making donations to a veteran politician of Madhya Pradesh who lived here in Madhya Pradesh House in order to help some people here. It is there. Now, Sir, the documents have been seized. These documents are there with the Government. You should bring them and tell us.

You know I am a good man and I never mention the names unnecessarily. These things are there. All these things have been suppressed, Why? Some people are shirting loyalty. What happened as a result of this search? That officer was victimised. Shri D. K. Guha has been victimised. He is no longer in the service because wrong entries were made in his confidential record. He was reverted to the Income-tax Department and then forced resign. This is what happened. This is happening even now. Where are these officers? Yesterday, a question about Kohinoor Mills came and in that connection the Reserve Bank of India Governor Mr. Puri, was mentioned. He was in the Punjab National Bank and the caucus had him transferred from the Punjab National Bank to the Reserve Bank of India as a Governor. Why don't you tell us these kinds of things. Yesterday I raised, a question asking the Government to give us information about the number of companies which have shares in Maruti and which have been helped by the Public finance institutions including the nationalised banks. The Government has given the answer. The information is being collected. Very good. Collect information. But I have already collected it. According to my incomplete information, there are various companies holding shares in Maruti Limited. Kapadia is one of them. Do you know how much accommodation they have got from the nationalised banks and from the financial institutions. According to my incomplete figures, it is 14 crores of rupees. It may be much more. Why delay it? Yesterday, you replied: Information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House to the extent possible. How much time will you take?

Sir, I do not want to go into any such thing. In the end, I should like to say that from the economic stance of the Janata Government, it seems that the Janata Government is out to reverse some of the nationally accepted policies such as public sector and

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

building a modern industry. If the country has to be strong, it must be a modern industrial country and modern industry cannot be built on Mr. Charan Singh's fads or Mr. Charan Singh's ideas. Modern industry has to be built by utilising to the fullest possible extent the scientific and technological revolution. Science and technology is very . important in developing modern industry. How do you do it? Under the British, we missed the Industrial Revolution. Must we miss under the Janata rule the technological and scientific revolution. This is the question I put before you. The line they have chosen is that we have no scientific and technological revolution and we do not develop modern industry, which is possible only under the commanding position of the public sector,, and we are asked to rely on monopoly capital, the local industrialists and we give some encouragement to the kulaks and landlords in the rural areas. That will not be building a national economy.

National economy in a developing country facing the problem of poverty, the problem of unemployment, of hunger, of destitution, of disease, of sorrow and, suffering has to be built on the solid foundation of public sector, of radical agrarian reforms which must be attuned to improving the living conditions of the people by promoting social justice and by giving socialist orientation to our economy. But nothing of the kind.

Mr. Charan Singh said that socialism is bogus. He said that democracy and socialism cannot go together. May I say, Sir, the Preamble of the Constitution says both of socialism and democracy? Mr. Charan Singh seems to have decided not to respect the oath of office under the Constitution. It is very clear now: taboo socialism, denigrate the great Jawaharlal Nehru, talk about Gandhiji go to the Gandhi Samadhi, take the oath in order to form the Government. Having taken the oath,, go and attack the Harijans and start atrocities against them. Is it the Gandhian way? Is it Gandhian to placate the monopoly capital in the manner in which you are doing? Is it the Gandhian way to deny the working class the bonus and withhold the accumulations under the CDS? Sir, these are some of the questions. Sir, the trouble has started now. Whenever the reaction wants to do something wrong in the social and economic life, they counterpose Gandhi's name to progressive ideas, to progressive trends. And even they counterpose Gandhi's name to Jawaharlal Nehru's name.

*{Time bell rings)*

Sir, I have spoken enough. I hope I provoked my friends enough. Here is the Janata power sitting. How many power centres are there inside? Interestingly enough, they have decided upon the two-party system. Mr. Chavan said that they are trying to crush the Congress. Let the Congress look at itself. Mr. Prafulla Sen of Calcutta says that the Congress must be put back to dignity. A good idea, perhaps, they have given. Now, here what are they doing? Here the Janata Party has a party within the party. Well, previously, we had a state within the state, constitutional authority and extra-constitutional authority. Today, we have the Janata Party and within that Party we have the BLD and Jana Sangh parties ruthlessly going ahead with their plan, carrying out them. Sir, you are creating a crisis. Sir, we have seen that under the system, they will not be able to save democracy. Democracy is unsafe in their hands as it had been in the hands of the previous Government because unless we deal with the monopoly capital, with the hoarders and profiteers and with the landlords for whom democracy is an anathema and who are hostile to democracy, hostile to the working class people, democracy cannot he safeguarded for long. Therefore,. Sir, we see in the ways of the Janata power the signs of creating a crisis in our polity, in our economic

and political system. In any case, Sir, the time has now come for the nation to be alerted against the Janata power.

Sir, the Janata power, during the last three or four months has made one thing clear. This power is meant, more than the previous power,, for exploiting the classes. They want to go one better on what the previous Government did in the matter of economic policies. Concessions had toe. gun to be given much earlier. They are giving more and they want to go ahead. They are exploiting the discontent of the people" against the past regime and the tragedy of it is that the people's mandate is being misused in this manner in order to strengthen the position of the exploiting classes. I do hope, Sir, that there are many people in the country who will see through this danger and take necessary action. I do not see any alternative before the country in the Congress. The Congress Party is no alternative to the Janata Party.

*(Time bell rings)*

THE VICE-CHAIRAN (SHRI MAQSOOD ALI KHAN): Please conclude now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA; Nor is the Janata Party an alternative to the Congress Party. Progressive, democratic and left forces must rally together to build up an alternative. *(Time bell rings).* The two-party system concept is preposterous and the time is past when between the Janata Party and the Congress Party they can solve the problems and take the nation forward. The time has come for the nation to take the decision to build up a third alternative—the alternative of the patriotic left, democratic and progressive forces—who will take the nation forward along the path of democracy, inspired by the ideas of socialism because only under socialism can we realise the dreams of our country and achieve the objectives that we have set before us. And the Janata Party has to be fought. Thank you.

**श्री नत्थी सिंह (राजस्थान)** : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं। उस तरफ से यह बात कही जाने के बाद कि न तो इस पार्टी की कोई कृषि संबंधी नीति है और न कोई औद्योगिक नीति है, इन सारी बातों को सुनने के बाद मैं

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Shyam Lal Yadav**)** in the Chair]

इस विधेयक का समर्थन कर रहा हूं, यह मैं इसलिए कर रहा हूं कि इस देश में 100 में से 80 आदमी गांव में रहते हैं, खेती पर निर्भर रहते हैं। अगर श्री भूपेश गुप्त और हमारे शंकर घोष साहब इस देश को आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं, तरक्की चाहते हैं तो निश्चित रूप से इस देश की ग़रीब जनता को देखना होगा जो गांव में रहती है और खेती पर निर्भर करती है। पहली दफा इतने दिनों में आजादी के बाद इस देश में इस देश की सरकार ने जनता की तरफ गौर ही नही किया है बल्कि इस बजट में प्रावधान किया है। हमारा जो विकास की योजना का व्यय है उस के व्यय में से 30.4 प्रतिशत अर्थात् तीन हजार चौबीस करोड़ रुपये कृषि विकास के लिए रखे गए हैं। केवल कृषि विकास के लिए ही धन नहीं रखा गया है बल्कि वे गांव जहां पीने के पानी की सुविधा नहीं है, पीने के पानी के लिए जहां लोग तरसते हैं, उनके लिए भी 40 करोड़ रुपये अतिरिक्त देने की व्यवस्था की गई है। गांव में जहां सड़कें नहीं हैं, चौमासे में जब बरसात होती है वहां पहुंचा नहीं जा सकता तथा जिन किसानों के पास गल्ला होता है वे बाजार में नहीं ला सकते वहां पर विलेज रोड बनाने के लिए ध्यान दिया गया है। हम तो नेशनल हाईवे की बात करते हैं क्योंकि हमारा ध्यान उधर बहुत शीघ्र चला जाता है। पहली बार विलेज रोड बनाने के लिए 20 करोड़ रुपये की राशि की अतिरिक्त व्यवस्था इस बजट में की गई है। सिंचाई की सुविधाओं को दुगना करने की बात की गई है, ग्रामीण विद्युतीकरण की बात की गई है, इसलिए मैं

[श्री ...ष्वी सिंह]

इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूं । मैं इस बात को भी मानता हूं जो भूपेश गुप्त जी कह रहे थे, कल शंकर घोष जी ने कहा था और अभी इधर बैठे हुए सदस्यों ने भी कहा कि अगर हमें खेती में तरक्की करनी है तो क्रांतिकारी रूप से भूमि सुधार करने पड़ेंगे । लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूं भूमि सुधारों के संबंध में उनका मतलब क्या है ? मेरा सुझाव यह है कि इस संबंध में समूचे हिंदुस्तान के संदर्भ में सुधार किए जाएं । इन भूमि-सुधारों का मतलब यह नहीं है कि हम सामूहिक खेती को लावें । इस देश में हमें यह बात कतई स्वीकार नहीं है और सामूहिक हम नहीं लाना चाहते । तो आज तक जो हम करते रहे हैं कि एक एक आधा-आधा बीघा जमीन पट्टा करते रहे और उनको बहकाते रहे । हम यह कहें कि आपको जमीन का अलाटमेंट कर दिया है, जमीन का कब्जा दे दिया है, उससे गरीब की भूख नहीं मिटती है । इसलिए जब हम भूमि सुधार करें तो हम इस बात को भी देखें और जमीन की जहां ऊंची सीलिंग तय करें वहां इसके साथ-साथ जमीन की नीची सीमा भी तय करें ।. यह भी तय करें कि अगर किसी को जमीन देंगे तो जितनी सीलिंग है उससे कम नहीं देंगे । जो भूमिहीन किसान हैं, उनको चार, पांच या छ; बीघे तक जमीन अवश्य दें । लेकिन एक-एक बीघा और आधा-आधा बीघा देकर आज तक हम उन्हें तरसाते रहे हैं और भूखा मरने के लिए मजबूर करते रहे हैं, यह पद्धति हमें छोड़नी पड़ेगी । दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जहां हमने खेती की पैदावार बढ़ाने की बात की है वहां अभी तक खेती का धन्धा मजबूरी का का धन्धा, हानि का धन्धा और नुक्सान का धन्धा बना रखा है, वह पद्धति भी बदलनी होगी । यह ठीक है इस बजट में काफी ध्यान दिया है एग्रीकल्चर की ओर लेकिन मैं यह भी मानता हूं कि अभी बहुत कुछ गुंजाइश है इस बात को करने के लिये कि हम खेती को हानि का नहीं बल्कि मुनाफे का धंधा बनायें। इसलिये मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूं कि जहां ाप सबको सुरक्षा देते हैं वहां किसानों को क्यों नहीं देते हैं ? अगर हम मोटर खरीदें, ट्रक खरीदें या कोई अन्य चीज खरीदें तो बीमा की शर्त पहले है । लेकिन किसान जिसके लिये हम नारा दें, जिसके लिये सबसे ज्यादा हित की बात कहें, जो सबसे ज्यादा मेहनत करे और उसकी खेती में जो गल्ला पैदा हो चाहे ओला पड़ जाय, चाहे सूखा पड़ जाय या जाड़ा मार जाय लेकिन उसके लिये कोई सुरक्षा नहीं है । इसलिये यह जरूरी है कि हमारा ध्यान इस बात पर भी जाय, किसानों की फसलों के बीमा पर विशेष तौर पर खाद्यान्नों पर जिनकी तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है । पिछले बजट में एक या दो व्यापारिक फसलों के बीमा करने की बात कही गयी थी लेकिन मैं यह कहता हूं कि सारी फसलों के बीमे की योजना लागू की जानी चाहिये ताकि किसान भी अपने आपको सुरक्षित महसूस करे ।

उपरोक्त के साथ साथ-इस देश में जो दाम की नीति है, कीमत की नीति है वह भी हमें साफ करनी होगी । अभी श्री भूपेश गुप्त इंडस्ट्रीज की बात कर रहे थे । मैं जानता हूं चाहे वह प्राइवेट सेटकर की इंडस्ट्रीज हो या दूसरी हों, उनका एक नामं तय होता है कि इतनी लागत आती है और इतना मुनाफा हमें चाहिये इसलिये लागत और मुनाफे को जोड़कर मूल्य तय कर लिया जाता है । लेकिन खेती ही एक ऐसा धंधा है जहां यह नीति कतई लागू नहीं होती है । मजबूरी में किसान को जिस भाव भी हो अपना गल्ला, अपनी फसल बेचनी होती है क्योंकि उसे पेट पालना होता है । इसलिये यह जरूरी है कि अगर हम खेती को मुनाफे का धंधां बनाना चाहते हैं, किसानों को स्वालम्बी बनाना चाहते हैं तो हमें मूल्य नीति अवश्य तय करनी पड़ेगी । किसानों के फसल की लागत और उनको कितना मुनाफा देना

चाहते हैं इसको जोड़कर विक्रय नीति तय करनी पड़ेगी। परन्तु आज यह नहीं है आज जो कृषि मूल्य आयोग बनते हैं। उसम किसान का प्रतिनिधित्व पिछली बार केवल एक आदमी ने किया था। अगर आज किसी इंडस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन का मूल्य तय किया जाता है तो उनका पूरा का पूरा रिप्रेजेंटेशन होता है तो जरूरत इस बात की है कि जो कृषि मूल्य आयोग बनें उसमें किसानों के प्रतिनिधियों का प्रावधान हो और चेयरमैन भी खेती करने वाला हो तब ही कृषि मूल्य नीति सही तौर से तय हो सकेगी। एक बात मैं इस संबंध में और कहना चाहता हूं और वह यह है कि कल श्री शंकर घोष साहब ने एक बात कही थी और उनकी बात का मैं इस बात में समर्थन करता हूं कि बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण के साथ इस देश में एक सही कदम उठाया गया। इसमें कोई दो राय भी नहीं हैं। लेकिन उन्होंने जो यह कहा कि बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण के बाद क्रेडिट फैसिलिटीज गांवों में बढ़ी वह पूरी तरह सही नहीं है। मुझे अनुभव है कि बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण के बाद यह घोषणा हुई थी कि हम खेती में और मजदूरों आदि को ज्यादा से ज्यादा धन देंगे, ऋण देंगे। लेकिन आप सब जानते हैं कि इस तरह वह बहुत कम जा पाये हैं। आज जो हमने नयी नीति बनायी है जिसमें कि नेशनलाइज बैंकों या शिड्यूल्ड बैंकों को यह आजादी है कि वे कोई भी ऋण नीति अपनाये, कौन सी ऋण नीति उनके लिये सही होगी यह वह तय करेंगे लेकिन इसमें मुझे और धोखा नजर आता है। अब तक एग्रीकल्चर सेक्टर में ऋण मिले हैं, ऋण की मिक्दार मिली है लेकिन वह ज्यादातर कोआपरेटिव सेक्टर से आया है। इस साल एक अजीब स्थिति है और वह यह है कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने बजट में, ए आर डी सी या कृषि पुर्न वित्त निगम के जरिये माइनर इरीगेशन में दीर्घ कालीन ऋण देने के लिये 260 करोड़ रुपये की व्यवस्था की है। लेकिन इस साल एक ऐसी स्थिति है रिजर्व बैंक में एक और ए आर डी सी ने एक नियम यह बना रखा है कि जब तक भूमि विकास बैंक से जो ऋण लोग टर्म लोन विशेष रूप से माइनर इरीगेशन के लिये दिये गये हैं, उनका 75 प्रतिशत वसूल नहीं जाय। तब तक उनको पूरा ऋण नहीं दिया जायगा। अगर 50 प्रतिशत से कम वसूली होगी तो ऋण बिल्कुल ही नहीं दिया जायगा। मैं विशेष तौर से वित्त मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूं कि यह साल एबनार्मल है। क्योंकि जब खरीफ की फसल हो रही थी तो लोक सभा के चुनाव हो रहे थे और जब रबी की फसल हुई तब हमारे यहां विधान सभाओं के चुनाव हुए। जिन परिस्थितियों में विधान सभाओं के चुनाव हुए हैं, लोक सभा के चुनाव तो सब जगह हुए हैं, जो स्टाफ इन कोआपरेटिव में होता है लोंग टर्म ऋण को फाइनेंस करने के लिये वह सब सरकारी है और उन सबको चुनाव हेतु गवर्नमेंट ने ले लिया, उनकी जीप्स भी ले ली गयी इसलिये अबकी बार ज्यादातर वसूली में 75 प्रतिशत के स्टेण्डर्ड पर नहीं पहुंचा जा सका है। माइनर इरीगेशन की स्कीम चले, किसानों को फायदा हो और 260 करोड़ रुपया काम आये तो इसके लिये हमें विशेष रूप से जोर लगाना पड़ेगा।

इस साल को तो एबनार्मल ईयर मानते हुए

5 P. M. —30 जून 1976 की तिथि (30 जून सहकारिता में पवित्र दिन माना है)—उस आधार पर लोन दिए जांए। रिजर्व बैंक में जो आफिसर आते हैं उनकी थिंकिंग स्टीरियोटाइप्ड होती है। इसलिए मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूं इस पर विशेष ध्यान दें।

एक बात विशेष तौर से कहना चाहता हूं। यहां पर इस बात को कहा गया कि हमारी इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी कैसी है? मैं

(श्री नत्थी सिंह)

मानता हूं हमें पब्लिक सेक्टर को निरंतर बढ़ाना चाहिए क्योंकि आज बेरोजगारी की समस्या है । इस देश में कहीं रोजगार मिला है तो सरकारी नौकरियों में मिला है या पब्लिक सेक्टर में मिला है । यह सही बात है, प्राइवेट सेक्टर में रोजगार की जो गति वह बहुत कम है, धीमी है । भूपेश जी नहीं है, मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूं कि कहीं भी पब्लिक सेटर को बंद करने की बात नहीं कही गई । एक बात पर जरूर जोर दिया जा रहा है—अगर बेरोजगारी मिटानी है तो निश्चित रूप से, जो मास प्रोडक्शन की बात है, उसकी बजाए प्रोडक्शन बाई मासेज की बात को मानना पड़ेगा क्योंकि हमारे देश में मैन पावर बहुत है और उसका उपयोग करना पड़ेगा । इसके लिए आटोमेशन की जो थ्योरी रही है उससे देश की गरीबी और बेरोजगारी को दूर नहीं कर सकते । इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि हम ऐसे उद्योग धंधे खोलें जिससे हाथ से काम करने वाले ज्यादा हों और मशीन का प्रयोग कम हो । लेकिन एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूं और वित्त मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान, जो जनता पार्टी का चुनाव घोषणापत्र है, उसकी तरफ आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं क्योंकि पिछली जून को ही एक प्रस्ताव रखा था . . .

**श्री एन० पी० चौधरी** (मध्य प्रदेश): आप कैसे चुनाव घोषणापत्र की बात करते हैं जब आप जनता पार्टी के टिकट पर आए नहीं ?

**श्री नत्थी सिंह** : घबड़ाते क्यों है ? आप भी जनता पार्टी में आ जाएंगे । पछताते क्यों हो, बैठो रहो । इसी सदन में मैंने एक प्रश्न उठाया था और जनता पार्टी के घोषणा पत्र में मेरी उस बात को शामिल किया गया । मैंने प्रस्ताव रखा था कि इस देश के संविधान में यह संशोधन किया जाना चाहिए कि संपत्ति के अधिकार को मूल अधिकारों से निकाला जाए और काम के अधिकार को फण्डामेंटल राइट, मूल अधिकार माना जाए और मुझे खुशी है जनता पार्टी के चुनाव घोषणापत्र में इस सिद्धांत को माना गया है । मैं चाहता हूं इस चुनाव घोषणा पत्र में जो बात कही गई है उसको असली रूप दिया जाए और संविधान में संशोधन किया जाए जिससे काम करने की, काम मिलने की गारण्टी हर एक आदमी को मिले और यह संपत्ति के अधिकार के नाम पर जो देश में गड़बड़ी हुई है वह मिटे और मूल अधिकारों से संपत्ति का अधिकार हटाया जाए ।

इसके साथ-साथ मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि अगर बेरोजगारी मिटानी है तो हमें लक्ष्य बनाना पड़ेगा—एक आदमी और एक काम । आज एक आदमी दसियों काम करता है और दूसरा भूखा मरता है, उसको कोई काम नहीं है । इसलिए एक काम के लिए एक आदमी की नीति अब तक नहीं बताएंगे तब तक इस देश से बेरोजगारी मिटा नहीं पाएंगे । उसमें भी हमें पेट भरने के काम की बात करनी चाहिए ।

इसके साथ ही हमारे देश में बोनस का जो प्रश्न है, भूपेश जी ने जो कहा वह ठीक है अपनी जगह पर, मैं भी उसका समर्थन करता हूं । लेकिन एक बात मैं पूछना चाहता हूं और वह यह है कि क्या हम इस सदन में केवल संगठित मजदूर की बात करते रहेंगे या करोड़ों की तादाद में जो मजदूरों का असंगठित वर्ग है उसकी भी बात करेंगे ? आज जो विषमता हम देख रहे हैं, जो विषमता मजदूर-मजदूर के बीच में हो रही है, संगठित मजदूर को ज्यादा लाभ मिल रहा है और असंगठित मजदूर, जो गरीबी जीवन रेखा का मानदण्ड है उसके नीचे रह रहा है, इसके लिए जरूरी है कि हम इस बात को देखें कि जिन का कोई खुद का संगठन नहीं है, उनकी तरफ भी ध्यान दें । अगर हम इस देश में अशांति नहीं होने देना चाहते तो इस बात

की तरफ भी विशेष ध्यान रखें। तभी हम असंगति को भी मिटा सकते हैं।

एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं। यहां पर मोनोपोलिस्टस के बारे में कहा गया है। यह तो हम और आप सब मानेंगे कि ये मोनोपाली हाउसेज बड़े हैं। इसके लिए चार महीने की सरकार को हम दोष नहीं दे सकते। उस सरकार को ही दोष देना पड़ेगा जिस के साथ तीन-चार साल मैं भी रहा हूं। इसलिए 30 वर्षों में अगर बिड़लाओं और टाटाओं की संपत्ति इतनी बढ़ गई तो उसका दोष इधर नहीं, उधर बैठने वाले लोगों पर है, इस बात को मानना पड़ेगा।

*(Interruption)*

मैं इस बात को मानता हूं, लेकिन एक बात आप को माननी होगी कि जब बीस और पचास करोड़ की बहस चली कि मोनोपोली हाउसेज की परिभाषा बदली जाये तो उधर से कोई आवाज नहीं उठी। चन्द्रशेखर जी कोई और नहीं हैं। वह जनता पार्टी के अध्यक्ष हैं। आवाज उठायी तो जनता पार्टी के अध्यक्ष ने ही आवाज उठायी और जो भ्रम हो रहा था उसे समाप्त कर वह सब को सही राह पर ले आये। इसलिये मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूं कि आप विश्वास रखिये निश्चित रूप से कि जनता पार्टी में वह शक्ति है कि वह अपनी नीतियों को गलत दिशा में नहीं जाने देगी और सही दिशा में उनको ले जाकर हम एक शोषण मुक्त समाज की रचना करने में अवश्य सफल होंगे। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस विधेयक का पुनः समर्थन करता हूं।

**श्री कल्प नाथ राय** (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जनता पार्टी की सरकार चार महीनों से इस देश में कायम है और इस सरकार ने जो बजट पेश किया है उस जनता सरकार के बजट से इस देश में गरीबी और अमीरी की खाई और ज्यादा बढ़ेगी। हिन्दुस्तान में मोनोपोली कैपिटल और पूंजीपतियों की ताकत और बढ़ेगी और हमारे देश के अंदर जो पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्र हैं उनका का जो विकास हो रहा था उस की गति रुकेगी। हमारे देश के अंदर जो कुछ हम ने पिछले तीस वर्षों में प्राप्त किया है उस सब को समाप्त कर के, हमारी नीतियों को परिवर्तित कर के राष्ट्र का पतन की तरफ ले जाने की कोशिश की जायेगी। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो बजट हमारे सामने पेश किया गया है यह बजट मैकनामारा और पालकीवाला के दिमाग की उपज है। इस बजट के द्वारा हिन्दुस्तान में टाटा, बिरला और डालमियां जैसों की ताकत दिन दूनी और रात चौगुनी मजबूत होगी। आदरणीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज का आधुनिक हिन्दुस्तान जो कुछ आज है वह जवाहरलाल नेहरू और श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के दिमाग की उपज है। नये हिन्दुस्तान की हम कल्पना भी नहीं कर सकते थे अगर जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने हिन्दुस्तान में पब्लिक सेक्टर इकोनामी को न चलाया होता, हिन्दुस्तान की इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी की नयी नीति को न निर्धारित किया होता, हिन्दुस्तान में अगर नयी कृषि और उद्योग की नीति को न चलाया होता। हिन्दुस्तान ही नहीं, 1947 के बाद एशिया और अफ्रीका के सैकड़ों देशों में प्रजातंत्र आया और सैकड़ों देशों ने साम्राज्यवाद और नवउपनिवेशवाद और पूंजीवाद के खिलाफ संघर्ष किया और उस के बाद एशिया और अफ्रीका के अनेक देशों में प्रजातंत्र आया और आजादी प्राप्त की, लेकिन वह आजादी की झलक जो एशिया और अफ्रीका के राष्ट्रों ने प्राप्त की वह जल्दी ही बुझ गयी। केवल दो चार, पांच वर्ष के अंदर ही एशिया और अफ्रीका में जकार्ता से लेकर मिश्र और अफ्रीका के अनेक देशों में देखते ही देखते मिलिटरी हुकमतें कायम हो गयीं और उनमें प्रजातंत्र का गला घोंट दिया गया। केवल हिन्दुस्तान में ही प्रजातंत्र कायम रहा और अमरीका साम्राज्यवादी और अनेक साम्यवादी ताकतों के प्रयत्न के बाद भी हिन्दुस्तान में

[श्री कल्प नाथ राय]

प्रजातंत्र कायम रहा । इस का क्या कारण हैं । हिन्दुस्तान के नेताओं ने देश की आजादी की लड़ाई के बाद हिन्दुस्तान में एक नया संविधान बनाया और संविधान बनाने के बाद हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी का लक्ष्य घोषित किया । आजादी का लक्ष्य घोषित करने के बाद 1954 की आवाडी कांग्रेस में समाजवादी समाज की रचना का उद्देश्य हम ने घोषित किया और 1956 में हम ने इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी रेजोल्युशन पास किया जिस के बल पर हम ने हिन्दुस्तान में पब्लिक सेक्टर इकोनामी का निर्माण किया । आदरणीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना, द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना और तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के डाक्युमेंट में, उन के बनाने में हमारे आज के प्रधान मंत्री श्री मोरार जी देसाई भी रहे हैं और यह वही इन्डस्ट्रियल पालिसी रेजोल्युशन है जिस के बल पर हम ने हिन्दुस्तान में देश के निर्माण का काम शुरू किया और एक इंडस्ट्रियल बेस का निर्माण किया, एक एग्रीकल्चरल बेस का निर्माण किया । जनता पार्टी की तरफ से कहा जाता है और आदरणीय भुपेश गुप्त जी भी कहते हैं कि समाजवाद की स्थापना की बात कहना आसान है लेकिन उस का इंप्लीमेंटेशन बहुत बड़ी चीज है । जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी की समाजवादी नीतियों को कार्यान्वित करने में कितनी ही मुसीबतों का सामना करना पड़ा है और उन नीतियों के कारण ही कांग्रेस का विघटन हुआ और जिन समाजवादी नीतियों की निंदा कुछ नेताओं ने कांग्रेस पार्टी में रह कर ही वही आज जनता पार्टी के प्लैटफार्म से भी उन की निन्दा कर रहे हैं । उस समय वे कांग्रेस के अंदर रह कर समाजवाद का विरोध कर रहे थे । तो हिन्दुस्तान में आजादी आयी और उस को स्थायी रखने के लिये हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर समाजवादी समाज की रचना का लक्ष्य घोषित किया गया था । समाजवादी समाज के लक्ष्य की स्थापना के लिए प्लानिंग कमीशन बनाया गया और प्लानिंग कमीशन के माध्यम से हिन्दुस्तान में प्लांड इकानामी का और हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर पब्लिक सैक्टर इकानामी का निर्माण किया गया ।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कहा जाता है कि हिन्दुस्तान की कांग्रेस सरकार ने कृषि के लिए क्या किया ? मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि कृषि के लिए किया किसने ? पिछले 30 वर्षों में हिन्दुस्तान में 6 करोड़ टन गल्ले से बढ़ाकर 13 करोड़ टन गल्ले का कीतिमान स्थापित करने का काम कांग्रेस सरकार के नेतृत्व में हुआ । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि 24 मार्च, 1977 से पहले हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में क्या हिन्दुस्तान इतना शक्तिशाली था ? क्या हिन्दुस्तान आर्थिक दृष्टि से इतना शक्तिशाली था ? क्या 24 मार्च, 1977 के पहले औद्योगिक दृष्टि से इतना शक्तिशाली था ? क्या हिन्दुस्तान 24 मार्च, 1977 के पहले एकता की दृष्टि से इतना मजबूत था ? कभी नहीं । आर्थिक दृष्टि से, औद्योगिक दृष्टि से, ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से, एकता की दष्टि से पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू और इंदिरा गांधी, महान देश की महान नेता के नेतृत्व में हिन्दुस्तान ने इतनी तरक्की की ।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आधुनिक खेती का मतलब क्या है ? खेती होगी चौधरी चरण सिंह कह देते हैं । भला कैसे आधुनिक खेती होगी ? आधुनिक खेती सम्भव नहीं है बिना फर्टिलाइजर के, बिना बिजली के, बिना नलकूपों के । जब फर्टिलाइजर का निर्माण करना होगा तो उसके कारखानों का निर्माण करना होगा, उसके कारखानों का निर्माण करने के लिये लोहे के कारखाने चाहिएं । भिलाई, राउरकेला, दुर्गापुर के स्टील प्लांट बनाने होंगे और जब उन कारखानों का निर्माण करना होगा तो उसमें फर्टिलाइजर पैदा करने के लिए हमें टरबाइन मशीनें बनानी होंगी और उसके लिए हमें भिलाई, तिरुचिरापल्ली में हैवी इलेक्ट्रिकल्स के कारखाने बनने होंगे और उन कारखानों के अन्दर हमको

यूरिया पैदा करना है तो उसके लिए हमें आयल की प्रोड्क्शन करनी होगी जिसके माध्यम से हम नेफ्था को इकट्ठा कर सकेंगे। तो नेफ्था, बिजली और स्टील की बुनियाद पर हम फर्टिलाइजर का उत्पादन कर सकते हैं और फर्टिलाइजर से, बिजली की ताकत से ही हम गांवों में बिजली की ताकत से चलने वाले नलकूप या नहरों का निर्माण कर सकते हैं। तो हिन्दुस्तान की कृषि की बुनियाद को जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने रखा। उसी बुनियाद के कारण हिन्दुस्तान आज 6 करोड़ टन की जगह पर 13 करोड़ टन गल्ले का उत्पादन कर रहा है।

श्रीमन्, अमरीका की आबादी 20 करोड़ है, रूस की आबादी 20 करोड़ है और रूस का क्षेत्रफल हिन्दुस्तान के 7 गुना है और आबादी हिन्दुस्तान की एक तिहाई है, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान खाद्यान्न के मामले में पहली बार आत्म-निर्भर हुआ इंदिरा गांधी के नेतत्व में, जब कि हम ने 120 मिलियन टन गल्ले का उत्पादन हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर किया और अगर इंडस्ट्रियल पावर की दृष्टि से देखा जाए तो रूस और अमरीका के बाद हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया का तीसरा इंडस्ट्रियल और टेक्नोल जिकल पावर है।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस सरकार के मंत्रियों से कहना चाहता हूं कि इंदिरा गांधी ने भाषण देते हुए कहा—

"Once we did not join the industrial revolution, it was the reason for the slavery of India. If India will not join the technological revolution, India cannot afford not to be slave of the European countries."

जब हिन्दुस्तान में आणविक बम का विस्फोट हुआ तो अमरीका के बड़े-बड़े साम्राज्यवादी बौखला उठे, दुनिया के राष्ट्र बौखला उठे, तो अमरीका की उस बौखलाहट का जवाब देते हुए इंदिरा गांधी ने पार्लियामेंट में कहा था कि हम ने दुनिया के अन्दर औद्योगिक क्रान्ति में भाग नहीं लिया, यही कारण था कि हिन्दुस्तान गुलाम हुआ। यदि आज हम ऐटम बम बनाने की टेक्नोलाजी में भाग नहीं लेंगे तो पुनः गुलाम होने का खतरा था। यह दृष्टि किसने दी? जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने, इंदिरा गांधी ने यह दष्टि दी जिसके माध्यम से हम भविष्य में सुहावने भारत का निर्माण कर सकेंगे, जिसमें भारत की आने वाली संतानें सुखी हो सकेंगी और अपनी आजादी की रक्षा कर सकेंगी।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जब स्टील प्रोड्क्शन की बात आई तो दुर्गापुर, भिलाई और राउरकेला में स्टील प्रोड्क्शन के लिये नेहरू जी ने अमेरिका से सहयोग की मांग की तो अमेरिका ने कहा कि जितना फिनिस्ड गुड्स आप चाहें हम से ले सकते हैं लेकिन अपने देश में स्टील मत बनाइये, फर्टीलाइजर मत बनाइये, आयल प्रोड्क्शन मत करिये, अपने देश में बिजली का प्रोड्क्शन मत करिये, हैवी इलेक्ट्रिकल्स और आर्डिनेंस फैक्टरीज मत बनाइये। उस वक्त जवाहरलाल जी ने यह सोचा था कि जब तक हम अपने देश में बुनियादी उद्योगों की नींव नहीं डालेंगे, जब तक अपने देश में आयल प्रोड्क्शन नहीं करेंगे, अपने देश में बिजली का प्रोड्क्शन नहीं बढ़ायेंगे, अपने देश में लोहे के कारखाने नहीं बनायेंगे, अपने देश में एयर क्राफ्ट नहीं बनायेंगे, अपने देश में रेलें नहीं बनायेंगे, अपने देश में शिपिंग कारखाने नहीं बनायेंगे, पब्लिक सेक्टर में आर्डिनेंस फैक्टरीज नहीं बनायेंगे तो जो कुछ भी हम समाजवाद की दिशा में उपलब्धि प्राप्त करने जा रहे हैं वह नहीं कर पायेंगे। इस प्लांड नीति को न चलने देने के लिये ही अमेरिका ने बार-बार पाकिस्तान से हिन्दुस्तान पर हमले करवाये। जब भी दुर्गापुर में स्टील के कारखाने की नींव डालने की बात आई उसी वक्त पाकिस्तान ने हमारे पर हमला किया, जिस वक्त त्रिचनापल्ली में हैवी इलेक्ट्रिकल्स की नींव डाली गई उसी वक्त पाकिस्तान ने हमारे देश पर हमला

[श्री कल्प नाथ राय]

किया। जब भी हिन्दुस्तान में ग्रायल की खोज शुरू हुई तभी अमेरिका ने पाकिस्तान से हमला कराया ताकि जवाहरलाल की प्लांड नीति चल न सके। जवाहरलाल जी हमेशा दुनिया के अंदर विश्व शांति की बात कहते रहे वह इसलिये कि शांत रहने से प्लांड इकोनोमी के माध्यम से हम अपने देश को शक्तिशाली बना सकते हैं। अगर दुनिया में जंग हो जाएगी तो अपने देश में जो हम अर्थ-व्यवस्था का निर्माण कर रहे हैं उस अर्थ-व्यवस्था का निर्माण नहीं कर पायेंगे और देश की आजादी को जिसको भगत सिंह और चन्द्रशेखर आज़ाद के खून से हमने प्राप्त की है, उस आजादी की हम रक्षा नहीं कर पायेंगे। इसीलिये जवाहरलाल नेहरू हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर प्लांड इकोनोमी के माध्यम से देश में और संसार में शांति की बात करते थे।

कौन नहीं जानता जब पब्लिक सेक्टर के अंदर आर्डिनेंस फैक्टरीज बनाने का सवाल आया तो जवाहरलाल जी ने केबिनेट में श्री वी० के० कृष्णा मेनन ने कहा था कि पब्लिक सेक्टर के अंदर आर्डिनेंस फैक्टरीज बननी चाहियें, क्योंकि अगर हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर पब्लिक सेक्टर की इकोनोमी और समाजवाद की इकोनोमी की हमें रक्षा करनी है तो अमेरिकी साम्राज्यवादी साजिश से हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को बचाना होगा। उन्होंने यह कहा था कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में आर्डिनेंस फैक्टरीज़ होनी चाहियें, क्योंकि हम विदेशी हथियारों से अपने मुल्क की इकोनोमी को नहीं बढ़ा सकते। उस समय इसी मोरारजी देसाई ने वित्त मंत्री की हैसियत से पब्लिक सेक्टर में आर्डिनेंस फैक्टरीज बनाने के लिये पैसा देने से इंकार किया था और श्री वी० के० कृष्णा मेनन के खिलाफ हिन्दुस्तान के पूंजीपतियों ने, हिन्दुस्तान के पूंजीपति अखबारों ने जबर्दस्त हो-हल्ला मचाया। जब केशवदेव मालवीय ने आयल प्रोडक्शन की बात कही तो सबोदा पाटिल ने कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान को तेल अमेरिका दे देगा। तेल की खोज की क्या जरूरत है, क्योंकि करोड़ों रुपये तेल की खोज में लग जायेंगे। इसी कारण अमेरिका से एक एक्सपर्ट टीम की मांग की गई। वह एक्सपर्ट टीम हिन्दुस्तान में आई और सारा हिन्दुस्तान देखा। आखिर में उन्होंने यही कहा कि इस देश में तेल नहीं है। जब केशवदेव मालवीय को इस बात का पता लगा तो उन्होंने रूस से एक्सपर्ट टीम की मांग की। उस वक्त भी मोरारजी देसाई ने विरोध किया था लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी रूस की टीम हिन्दुस्तान में आई। रूस की टीम ने हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर तेल की खोज की और यह कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान की धरती में दुनिया में सबसे ज्यादा तेल है और उसी के आधार पर हिन्दुस्तान में जगह-जगह से तेल निकाला गया। आज हिन्दुस्तान 48 परसेंट क्रूड आयल के मामले आत्म-निर्भर है। हमने समुद्र की छाती फाड़ कर तेल की खोज जारी रखी। मैं समझता हूं आने वाले समय में हिन्दुस्तान पूरी तरह से तेल के मामले में आत्म-निर्भर हो जायेगा।

जवाहरलाल जी की बुनियादी नीतियों की ओर ध्यान दीजिए जिनके कारण आयल प्रोडक्शन हो सका। उन नीतियों की ओर भी ध्यान दीजिए जिनके कारण हिन्दुस्तान में एटोमिक एनर्जी, स्पेस एक्सप्लोरेशन की नींव जवाहरलाल जी ने डाली। आप साराभाई को, भाभा को जानते हैं जिन्होंने एक्सप्लोजन किया। सेठना साहब के बारे में भी आपने सुना है उनको भी हम नहीं भुला सकते। उसके बाद दुनिया में विशेषकर अमेरिका में इसी विस्फोट का विरोध किया गया। इस चीज को हिन्दुस्तान का बच्चा-बच्चा जानता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हमने हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर औद्योगिक विकास की नींव डाली और औद्योगिक विकास के ऊपर ही कृषि निर्भर

करती है। 'इंडस्ट्रीयल डैवलोपमेंट एंड एग्रीकल्चरल डैव्लोपमेंट ग्रार कंपलीमेंटरी एंड सप्लीमेंटरी टू ईच ग्रदर'। हम एग्रीकल्चर को किसी भी उद्योग से ग्रलग नहीं कर सकते ग्रौर उद्योग को एग्रीकल्चर से ग्रलग नहीं कर सकते। दोनों एक दूसरे से जुड़े हुए हैं। चौधरी चरण सिंह ने कहा है कि गांधी जी ने बड़ी गलती की जो जवाहरलाल जी को प्राइम मिनिस्टर बनाया। कहां राजा भोज कहां गंगुवा तेली? कहां श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू ग्रौर महात्मा गांधी ग्रौर कहां चौधरी चरण सिंह? मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि चौधरी चरण सिह ग्रौर मेरी किसी भी विषय पर बहस हो जाय ग्रौर ग्रगर बहस में मैं पराजित हो जाऊं तो मैं पालियामेन्ट की मेम्बरी से इस्तीफा देने के लिए तैयार हूं। लेकिन ग्रगर बहस में चौधरी चरण सिंह हार जाते है तो उन्हें इस्तीफा दे देना चाहिए। हमारे देश के लोग पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ग्रौर महात्मा गांधी का नाम लेने में सौभाग्य का ग्रनुभव करते हैं लेकिन चौधरी चरण सिह कहते हैं कि श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू ग्रौर महात्मा गांधी ने गलती की है। चौधरी चरण सिंह गांधी जी की ग्रालोचना करते हैं, जवाहरलाल नेहरू की ग्रालोचना करते हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि गांधी ग्रौर जवाहरलाल एक ही सिक्के के दो पहलू हैं। जो गांधी की निन्दा करता है ग्रौर नेहरू की प्रशंसा करता है वह देश का दुश्मन है। इसी तरह से जो गांधी जी की प्रशंसा करता है ग्रौर नेहरू जी की निन्दा करता है वह जनघाती राष्ट्रघाती ग्रौर कौम की जिन्दगी को बरबाद करने वाला इंसान है। इस तरह से जिस व्यक्ति को ग्रर्थशास्त्र का क ख भी मालूम नहीं है जो इकनोमिक्स का ए बी ग्रौर सी भी नहीं जानता है, जो जातिवाद का जहरीला विष फैला कर ग्रौर जनता पार्टी बना कर किन्हीं कारणों से हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति में ग्रा गया है, ऐसे लोगों से हिन्दुस्तान का कुछ भला हो सकेगा इसमें संदेह है।

ग्रादरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यहां पर ग्रनेक सवाल उठाये गये हैं। इन सब बातों के बारे में मैं ग्रापके सामने कुछ विचार रखना चाहता हूं।
The infra_structure required for the economic growth has 'been built up during 25 years under planned economy under the Congress rule.
हिन्दुस्तान में कृषि ग्रौर उद्योग के लिए जिस इंफास्ट्रक्चर की ग्रावश्यकता है उसकी बुनियाद को कांग्रेस सरकार ने पहले ही रख दिया था।
A strong industrial base has been built up for various power projects and industrial projects in this country by the Congress Government...

*(Interruptions)*

मैं इस बात की कसम खा चुका हूं कि मातृभाषा में बोलूंगा, वरना इनके ग्रौर मेरे मध्य में ग्रंग्रेजी भाषा में कोई बहस हो जाय ग्रौर मैं हार जाऊं तो मैं इस्तीफा देने के लिए तैयार हूं......

*(Interruption)*

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव):** कृपया ग्राप ग्रब ग्रपना भाषण समाप्त कीजिये।

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय :**
Agricultural development with the potential of ever-increasing production has been... (Interruptions). All this has become possible mainly due to scientific and technological competency which was due to Jawaharlal Nehru's vision in the country. We are the third power in scientific and technological development, next only to the USA and the USSR. We have built up buffer stocks of 18 million tonnes of foodgrains and there are foreign exchange reserves of its. 3200 crores.

ग्रादरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमने 32 करोड़ रुपयों की विदेशी मुद्रा ग्रर्जित की। ग्रन्त में मैं केवल एक बात इंडस्ट्रियल

[श्री कल्प नाथ राय]

रिजोल्यूशन के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं । इस जनता पार्टी की सरकार का दिल टूटा हुआ है, इनका मन टूटा हुआ है, इनके विचार टूटे हुए हैं और इनका दिमाग टूटा हुआ है । इस जनता पार्टी की सरकार में एक तरफ तो श्री चन्द्र शेखर और श्री जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज जैसे पब्लिक सेक्टर की इकनोमी के समर्थक लोग हैं, दूसरी तरफ मल्टी नेशनल कारपोरेशन और हिन्दुस्तान में मोनोपोली केपिटेलिजम के समर्थक चौधरी चरण सिंह, श्री बृजलाल वर्मा और श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी जैसे आदमी हैं । आप जानते हैं कि श्री बसंद *कुमार बिरला कांति देसाई के घर पर भोजन* करते हैं और श्री बृज मोहन बिरला श्री बृज लाल वर्मा जी के घर पर जा कर कहते हैं कि मोनोपोली हाउसेज की परिभाषा 20 करोड़ से बढ़ाकर 50 करोड़ कर दी जाए। (*Interruption*) मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या श्री के० के० बिरला और श्री बृज मोहन बिरला ने श्री बृज लाल वर्मा, भूतपूर्व उद्योग मंत्री से इस बात को डिफेन्ड करने के लिए नहीं कहा था ? मैं चाहता हूं कि श्री बृज लाल वर्मा इन बातों के बारे में अपना स्पष्टीकरण दें । मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि श्री बृज मोहन बिरला ने श्री बृज लाल वर्मा और श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी से इस बैठक में यह कहा था कि मोनोपोली हाउसेज की परिभाषा 20 करोड़ से बढ़ाकर 50 करोड़ कर दी जाय । मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि इस संबंध में श्री बसंत कुमार बिरला ने श्री कांति देसाई को बम्बई के होटल में एक पार्टी दी थी जिसमें उनसे कहा गया था कि मोनोपोली हाउसेज की परिभाषा 20 करोड़ से बढ़ाकर 50 करोड़ कर दी जाय और श्री के० के० बिरला इसी संबंध में श्री चरण सिंह से घर पर मिले थे । इसका भी पता लगा लिया जाय । गोयनका साहब किसके घर पर रह रहे हैं इसकी जानकारी भी ली जाय ।

(*Interruption*)

**डा० रामकृपाल सिंह** (बिहार) : प्रमाण आप को दे देते हैं ।

(*Interruption*)

**श्री कल्प नाथ राय :** आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, ....

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :** श्रीमन्, समाप्त करें ।

**श्री कल्प नाथ राय :** आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब हिन्दुस्तान में औद्योगिक नीति का रेजोलूशन रखा गया...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :** आप कृपया समाप्त कीजिये ।

**श्री कल्प नाथ राय :** जब हिन्दुस्तान की की पार्लियामेन्ट में...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :** कृपया अपना आसन ग्रहण करें ।

**श्री कल्प नाथ राय :** ...औद्योगिक नीति का.....

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :** आप आसन ग्रहण कीजिये ।

**श्री कल्प नाथ राय :** आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय.....

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :** कृपया आप आसन ग्रहण कीजिये ।

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): When Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is allowed to speak for more time, why should he not be allowed to do so?

**श्री कल्प नाथ राय :** मैं अपनी एक बात कह कर खत्म कर दूंगा ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) :** आपको केवल एक मिनट का समय मिलेगा ।

**श्री कल्प नाथ राय** : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी रेजोलूशन जब पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने 1956 में पालियामेन्ट में रखा, वह यह था:

"The Constitutional rights enunciated in the Directive Principles of the State Policy are proceeded on an organised basis and the Fifth Five Year Plan will be completed. Parliament has accepted the socialist pattern of society as the objective of social and economic policy. These important developments necessitate a fresh statement on industrial policy. The Constitution of India, in its preamble, has dec. lared that it aims at securing to all its citizens: Justice, social, economic and political, Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, Equality of status and opportunity, and to promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation. The State is trying to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, political and economic shall inform the institutions of national life and property. Further,, the Industrial Policy Resolution says that the States shall, in particular, direct its policy towards the citizens, men and women, equally for a right to adequate means of livelihood."

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, तीन बातें इंडस्ट्रियल रेजोलूशन में कही गई हैं।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव)**: कृपया समाप्त करें।

**श्री कल्प नाथ राय** : मैं केवल तीन बातें कहना चाहता हूं।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव)** आपकी स्पीच बहुत लम्बी हो गई है, आप कृपया अपना आसन ग्रहण करें।

**श्री कल्प नाथ राय** : तीन बातें पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने इंडस्ट्रियल रेजोलूशन में कहीं हैं :

"The basic and general principles were given a more precise direction, and Parliament accepted in Decern, ber, 1954 the socialist pattern of society as the objective of the social and economic policy. The in dustrial policy and other policies must, therefore, be governed by the principles of that direction. In this first category will be the industries, the future development of which will be the exclusive responsibility of the State and the second category will con sist of industries which will be pro gressively State-owned, in which the State would, therefore, generally take the initiative in establishing new undertakings."

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, दूसरी बात...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव)** : आप अपनी स्पीच बढ़ा रहे हैं।

**श्री कल्प नाथ राय** : आदरणीय...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव)** : जी नहीं, आप आसन ग्रहण कीजिये। आप कृपया... *(Interruption)*

मैं सदस्यों से अनुरोध करूंगा कि जो समय निर्धारित है, उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए बोलें। वक्ता अधिक हैं। इसलिये मैं आपसे अनुरोध करूंगा कि आप सहयोग करें अन्यथा....

*(Interruption)*

**श्री कल्प नाथ राय** : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसका मतलब है कि...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव)** : मान्यवर, आप कृपया स्थान ग्रहण कीजिये।

**श्री कल्प नाथ राय** : मुझे एक मिनट का समय दिया जाए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : आप एक मिनट बोल सकते हैं।

SHRI KALP NATH RAI:

"The industrial undertakings in the private sector have necessarily to fit into the framework of the social and economic policy."

तीसरी चीज, आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो कही गई है वह है :

"The rural and small scale industries will be supplementary to the key sector industries."

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, ये नीतियां श्री जवहार लाल नेहरू की है। श्री जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज ने जो बातें कही हैं, वह उनकी व्यक्तिगत बातें हैं, वह जनता सरकार की नीतियां नहीं हैं चाहे विदेश नीति हो, चाहे खेती की नीति हो और चाहे औद्योगिक नीति हो, यदि जवहार लाल नेहरू जी की नीतियां चलेंगी तभी आधुनिक हिन्दुस्तान का निर्माण हो सकता है और हमारे देश की महान नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के सपनें पूरे हो सकते हैं। इन शब्दों के साथ धन्यवाद।

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN (Delhi): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, before I inflict another speech on the Minister, I would submit that the Minister, has been listening very care fully to all these speeches and I hope he would bear with me also far a little while.

Sir, before I speak on the Appropriation Bill, I feel tempted to say that this year's Budget was disappointing and the Budget proposals were not designed to ensure price stability, to achieve a faster rate of economic growth and to promote social justice. It fails to inspire or give much hope in the future also, as the areas and spheres in which continuity of thought and planning was necessary have been completely ignored. This is obviously due to the fact that our hon. Finance Minister earlier had made us believe that the state of economy of the country was depressing and in bad shape. This we were asked to believe in spite of the well-known fact that we had a food buffer stock of 18 million tonnes, the balance of trade was most favourable and industrial output increased by about nine per cent in 1976. In fact, the Indian economic scene has been chang-ing very rapidly during the last few years. The public sector has over the years come to occupy a very prominent place in our economic development. The concessions which the hon. Minister has announced have not gone to the poorer sections because he has refused to give any concession on biris, which are smoked by the poor people, but he has been kind enough to allow concessions on luxuries for the rich people.

Now, dealing with some of the items mentioned in the Schedule, I should like to say, regarding the Ministry of Chemicals and Fertilisers, that in view of the increased production of crude, it is necessary that we should now reduce the incidence of excise on petroleum products. It is very necessary because this will also reduce the cost of transportation in the country, besides the cost of fertilisers for our farmers, a very essential requirement of the country.

As regards the allocation for the Ministry of Communications, its performance really does not justify a li. beral allocation. As is well known, we always receive inflated telephone bills and whenever a reference is made, we are told that the bills are computed by the computers. But I would like to know how many computers they own, how many computers are in working condition and how many have been knocked out for a long time and are not in working condition.

Similarly, Sir, no doubt we do not mind meeting all the demands of the

Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, but we must get our money's worth. Gross mismanagement in hospitals, poor food, lack of medicines, these are very common things today. These should be looked into. The patient should be looked after well. As regards the Rural Health Scheme, it may be good, but one thing has completely been ignored and that is the Unani system of treatment. In fact, the Unani system of treatment is a system which has got its roots in this country. If you go by the name only, it does not mean Yunan or Greece.

In regard to allocation for the Home Ministry, it must be admitted that the expenditure on police has enormously increased. But their performance is most disappointing and depressing. It is a known fact that Hari jans and minorities have been the target of harassment by the police authorities and the police have never come to their rescue in times of communal tension and other troubles. Then how can we go on spending large sums on such a force which is not in a position to give protection to a large section of the population of this country For instance, I would like particularly to mention here the role of the CRP and the BSF. They have never added to their reputation wherever they have been deployed. Our experience of their deployment is a sad commentary on their performance and it is necessary that this aspect is looked into very carefully. In fact, we expect that they will give us more sense of security, security of life and property. But on the contrary we find that they have been Responsible for more offances, they have been responsible for more trouble in the name of keeping peace, wherever they have been deployed for keeping peace and for protection of the people. The minorities particularly have got a lot of grouse against these two Forces, the CRP and the BSF. Not only have these two Forces failed to give protection to the minorities: I must also admit that in the matter of recruitment in these Forces the minoritiees have been completely ignored. And how long are you going to ignore them? This is a very sad commentary on the performance of these two Forces. I hope something can be done in this regard and the Home Minister will move and do something to ensure that the minorities also get their due share in recruitment to these Forces. Another important thing which has re lation to the Home Ministry is the proposed Minorities Commission as has been promised. We expect that this Commission will be set up soon and that this Commission will do some really useful service to the minorities and it will not be another ordinary type commission with advisory powers but without any effective control and without any real thing to be done for the people.

Similarly, Ministry of Civil Supplies, in spite of generous allocations, we must say, has failed miserably in its basic duties. The public distribution system is most defective. Prices are increasing day by day in fact they are soaring so high that soon they will be out of the reach for the ordinary people of this country. Today we find the prices are rising rapidly and all the appeals of the Government have failed to produce any results. Do you think that by making appeals to the traders or to the manufacturers you can achieve the desired results? If you are thinking in these terms, then I must say really you are sadly mistaken and you will be greatly disappointed. The Government has to move fast and effectively in this regard and let us hope that the Union Government's decision to call a conference of the Chief Ministers to evolve a national policy to hold the price line will produce some results. But I must warn here that no half-hearted measures will produce results and the Government will have to take some really effective steps ignoring the interests of the traders who **have** been their benefactors in the past and from whom they still expect some better results.

[Shri Khurshed Alam Khan]

As regards Ministry of Shipping & Transport I would like to say that this Ministry has failed to provide the necessary shipping facilities for the Haj pilgrims. Last year the Haj pilgrims had to face a lot of trouble and a lot of inconvenience due to the failure of the scheduled sailings. This year we hope that they will not have to face similar difficulties now that the passage money has been increased and the poor Haj pilgrims will have to pay a much higher fare than what they paid last year. Therefore, we naturally expect that this year they will be able to provide adequate sailings and sailings in time.

Regarding Ministry of Tourism I would like to mention that generous allocations for tourism and its infrastructure are really necessary. But the present set-up of the Department of Tourism is not suitable for doing the job that they are doing. And it is for this reason that every year they failed to utilise their allocations and at the end of every year we find large sums of money remain unutilised because they are unable to spend the money on the schemes and programmes and projects that they have undertaken to complete during the year. Tourism is a highly competitive industry and therefore the present set-up must be changed and it should have more autonomous functioning so that it is in a position to spend all the allocations and really build up an infrastructure for the tourists that we expect to visit this country. Under the item 'other expenditure of Home Ministry' the Union Territory of Delhi needs special consideration. No doubt Delhi's budget for 1977-78 is Rs. 214.84 crores, which is a slight improvement over the last year's allocation. But Delhi has its own tale of woes to tell and therefore we expect that the problems of Delhi will be solved in a realistic manner. The real problem in Delhi is that there is no unified single authority and there are half a dozen Ministries involved in every project or work in Delhi. It is, therefore, absolutely essential that Delhi should have a unified set up with its own legislature. I must remind the Janata Government that in their election manifesto for Delhi they had promised that they would provide Delhi with its own legislative Assembly. I do not know why they are not coming forward to implement their own promise that was made at the time of election.

Delhi's population has already crossed about 45 lakhs and it is ex. pected that by 1981 it will be about 55 lakhs. Even now the basic civic services are completely outsripped by the requirements. Therefore, additional grants have to be made for electricity, for transport, for water supply and housing accommodation. In fact Delhi is now a city of short, ages and unless more generous funds are provided, it will not be possible to meet all the requirements of this capital city.

Hospital and health service facilities are completely outsripped because Delhi's hospitals and health services do not only cater to Delhi citizens. A large number of people come to Delhi from neighbouring cities and towns and therefore it is necessary that more hospital facilities should be provided. For this Delhi needs more generous grants than have been provided in the budget.

Education facilities also need special attention. I do not know why Delhi has still no legislature of its own. This is beyond my comprehen. sion. Janata Party had given a definite promise that Delhi will have its own legislature. I would like to know the reason why this election promise has not yet been fulfilled.

Delhi's police is most inadequate and requires complete reorganisation as it is evident from the increasing crimes in this capital city. No doubt schemes for underground railways have been made for other metropolitan cities like Bombay, Calcutta and

Madras. It appears nothing of the sort is thought of for Delhi and it seems the city is already underground.

I think Delhi should have its own Acts. New Delhi borrows Acts from other States. Sales tax is a very important matter for Delhi because Delhi has got its own distributary character. Therefore, we must look into the matter and find out whether this high rate of sales tax in Delhi does affect its distributive character adversely or not.

Lastly I would like to say about the provision for the national capital region. The implementation of this scheme is rather disastrous. Unless you do something about the imple. mentation of this scheme, I am sure it will not be possible for us to reduce the pressure of population or other things in Delhi. Therefore, the implements tion of this scheme is most essential for which adequate and generous provision has to toe made.

Regarding the redevelopment of the walled city, Shajahanabad requires special consideration because you would be surprised to find that this area has got a density of population at the rate of 800 per square mile. Umless something is done and done earfier, it" will not be possible to provide relief to the people there who have already suffered very heavily daring the Turkman Gate incident. And, Sir, I hope that it would be possible for this Government to do something to rehabilitate those people very soon. Thank you,. Sir.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON (Kerala): Sir, to give promises and to get voles: This was the trick play, ed by the Congress during the last thirty years. They were giving promises and they were getting the votes and they were ruling this country. For the first time, the Janata Government has come to power and it has come into the picture. These people also gave- some promises. But, unfortunately, one after another, they are forgetting the promises they made to the people in this country at the time of the elections. So, the same steps that were taken toy the Congress are being taken by the Janata Government also. Sir, it is really unfortunate that within these three months, all those promises have been thrown to the winds and they are forgetting their promises which they had made in their election manifesto. Sir, in their manifesto, they said a lot about bonus and about scrapping the CDS and so on. But, when it came to actual implementation the story is different. The bonus question has not yet been decided. They promised 8.33 per cent bonus to the workers. But they are not in a position to do anything about it even now. About the CDS also, the same thing is there. Though they have scrapped the CDS, they have done nothing to pay back the money already deposited. When are they going to pay it back to the workers? They brought forward a Bill in the Lok Sabha and got it passed. But they are afraid of bringing it here in the Rajya Sabha because they are sure that it would be defeat, ed. So, why not they pay it back to the workers with grace? I say this because it is workers' money and it is not the money of the Government.

Sir, with regard to the other issues also, we face the same difficulty. After the dark days of those 19 months, Sir, we have got the civil liberties back. I accept that and I congratulate the Government. But the story ends there. Afterwards, Sir, what is happening in the country now? They are trying to act against their own promises on the question of bonus to the workers. Now, in my own State, For the last one month or so, there is strike in the Central Government industrial units, the HMT and the Modern Bakeries. The workers are agitating there and they are asking for some relief. But the Gov. ernment is sitting tight on the question and the Central Government is not intervening and doing anything. They are trying to put the blame on

[Shri Viswanatha Menon]

the State Government because the State Government is run by the Con. gress Party there. The State Government cannot do anything in the matter and they say that they are helpless because they are Central Government units. The HMT and the Modern Hakeries are facing the strike by the Workers. The Labour Department and the concerned Minis, ters are keeping mum and sitting tight on the question. This is not the way to deal with the workers who have stood by you during the elections. The workers were so sincere in their words and they are now being treated very badly, especially in my State of Kerala. Again,, in the case of Thumba also, the same situation prevails. The workers working in this project are agitating for their rights and their demands are genuine. This portfolio is with the Prime Minis-ter. But he is' also sitting tight and he is talking in the same old language the language of the Congress. This is very bad. This kind of treatment to the workers should be changed. Otherwise, Sir, the same thing will happen to the Janata Party as it happened to the Congress because you cannot treat the people like animals.

Now, Sir, I would like to come to another important question. It is about the freedom fighters. In Kerala, a series of freedom fights had taken place like Kavumbai, Kayyoor, Muna. yan Kunnu, Punnapra Vayalar etc., which have not been recognised by the Central Government, tout which have been recognised by the State Government.

Even now the attitude of the pre sent Central Government is the same. There were so many struggles against the British. They also fought against the autocratic rule of princely maharajas. All these struggles were recognised by the State Governments. But even now, just like the Congress Government, the Janata Government is not prepared to recognize them and help these freedom fighters. This is very bad. These things must be changed. I am not expecting any wonderful economic change from this Janata Government, because the Janata Party and the Congress Party represent the same class. But at least, do small things. They can do some thing, but they are reluctant to do them.

My learned friend, the Minister of Communications, is here. What is happening in his Ministry? In 1974 there was the railway strike. There was a strike in P. & T. in Kerala as a fraternal action to the Railway strike, and some twenty-five persons are still out, although the railway employees have been taken back by Prof. Madhu Dandavate. I hope that he will also consider to take back those P. & T. employees who went on strike in 1974. Sir, such victimisation is still there. Even now the present Janata Government is run by the same bureaucrats who were running administrations during Indira era. So my humble submission is this. I do not expect any wonderful things from this Government. I am not wanting that. But at least these small things can be done. These twenty-five P. & T. employees who were thrown out for fraternal action may be taken back. Such things must be done, otherwise this will have very bad repercussions all over India.

Sir, I now come to another important topic. I was the first person who took up the Rajan case in this House. I informed that Rajan, an engineering student, was killed in jail. I asked: "Where is Rajan, we want Rajan." The first reaction of the then Home Minister of Kerala was that the boy had not been arrested. But finally he had to come before the Kerala High Court and say that he was arrested and he died. That is the position now. But what is happening now in Kerala? All over India the excesses committed during the emergency have been looked into, but in Kerala it is left to the State Government. And the State Government is arranging a big farce. Some police officials are arrested. The

Minister who gave orders is still not arrested. Police officers are arrested, and they were let off on bail. The judgment of the Kerala High Court in the bail petition has clearly indicated that the charge-sheet is a humbug. Nobody will be convicted on that charge-sheet. In the judgment it is clearly stated that nobody can be convicted on this chargesheet. The police officials were let off on bail. Some dramas are being conducted in Kerala. But the Janata Government is merely looking on. I was surprised to see Mr. Charan Singh who talks like a very strong, iron man, when it comes to Kerala, he has given a clean chit and said that in Kerala everything is good. He is interested only in U.P. He has given a clean chit to Anthony and said: Anthony is doing everything good. But we have seen the attitude of the State Government. Now, that issue has been thrashed out in the State Assembly and it has come out that Mr. Karunakaran, the then Home Minister, of Kerala knew that this boy was under custody and when he got my letter, he had given directions to the I.G. Police that Rajan should not be treated as a MISA detenue. My humble submission is that if the Centre is sincere about these things, then they should intervene at this juncture and the Central Intelligence must take up the investigation. Otherwise, with the present chargesheet, all the accused persons will be let off. Sir, I press this because there was not only one death in Kerala. There were 27 deaths in Kerala jails during the emergency. All these things are being covered up. All these things were not known. Now, one by one, things are coming out. I want to pay a tribute to the Kerala High Court because it is at the instance of Kerala High Court that Rajan issue has come to such a stage that Mr. Karunakaran had to go before the court and say: "Rajan is dead. I was not aware when I said that Rajan was not arrested". Without proper investigation, Rajan case will go and all the accused will be let off without any punishment. My humble submission to the Home Ministry is that they should come forward at this juncture and order a reinvestigation of the case by the Central Intelligence and not by the local police officials of the Kerala State.

Sir, I come to another important point. The Janata Government claims that it can rule this country without MISA. Then, why do they not scrap it? Why have they not scrapped it? My allegation is that the Janata Government has used it in Kashmir against the National Conference workers. MISA was used against them during the elections. It is very bad. They talk high things, but they act as small fellows. I understand when you attack Mrs. Indira Gandhi. We also attack Indira Gandhi. But that does not mean that you are doing correct things. You are also using MISA. Indira Gandhi was also using MISA. Indira Gandhi wanted to make India 'Indira'. But if Charan Singh wants to make India as his India, we are not going to stand by that. My humble submission is that if the Janata Government is sincere in its promises, then it must change its attitude. They must act according to the promises that they have given and they should work accordingly.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD (Kerala): Is MISA not to be used against the black-marketeers and the hoarders?

SHRI ' VISWANATHA MENON: Even they must be given a chance to go to the court of law. Even if a person is a hoarder or a black-marketeer, he must be given a chance to go to the court of law. The judiciary's powers or the judiciary's jurisdiction must be respected. That is my position.

(Time bell *rings)*

SHRI K. B. ASTHANA (Uttar Pradesh): That is the position in law. He can go to the court.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON: If a person is arrested under MISA, he cannot go to the court. MISA is still on the statute book. Why do they not

[Shri Viswanatha Menon]

scrap it? You should do it. You are not doing it. You are also using MISA.

Then you are speaking of bi-party system. We are not for that kind of thing. We are not going to support bi-party system because there are other parties like my party, Communist Party of India (Marxist), which is a small party and which stands for the down-trodden people of this country. We are not going to support this kind of bi-party system. If Kamalapati Tripathi comes- to this side and Advani goes to that side, it will not be for the good of the people. My party stands for the people, for the working classes and for the downtrodden of this country. Sir, with these words, I conclude.

6'P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Now, Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay,

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: Not today. I am not going to speake for only five minutes, Sir. It is already 6 o'clock.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Then we adjourn for the day. The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at one minute past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 21st July, 1977.

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