

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at three minutes past two of the clock, Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—*contd.*

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD (Kerala) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, let me at the outset make it very clear that Members belonging to my party, Indian Union Muslim League, did not participate in the boycott of the Joint Session of Parliament addressed by the President of India. We did not participate in the boycott not because everything is okay in this country but in view of the dignity, decorum and decency of parliamentary democracy, we thought we should attend the Joint Session of Parliament. It was only to keep up the dignity of parliamentary democracy that we attended the Joint Session of Parliament addressed by the President. But at the same time I should make it very clear that people are not at all happy today. Government has failed to solve the basic problems of the country and to satisfy the basic need of the people. People in this country are not only hungry; they are very angry also. It is quite natural that the hungry people will always be angry also.

The presidential address is nothing but a conventional one. There is nothing in it to inspire the people of India. There is no change in the domestic nor in the foreign policies of our country. President gave an apology for the price rise and the scarcity. This would only despair the people. Having admitted that the phenomenon was partly due to internal and inflationary situation, he gave us an excuse for increased deficit financing. Many other countries also have economic problems, but they have managed

to get over this economic crisis by their sound economic policies. Repeated warning against hoarders and unscrupulous people would not thrill the people, who are these hoarders and black-marketeers? • Government know them very well and they are being encouraged by the Government. The entire Government machinery and Minister who are the helm of affairs want their services for many things. When elections take place, they go to them knowing very well that they are black-marketeers, they are hoarders and they are the people who do not pay their income-tax. Knowing all these things very well, Ministers and leaders of the ruling party go to these people and get financial aid for boosting up of election funds, and so on. So, indirectly these hoarders and black-marketeers would not have interests of the nation at heart. Still they are being encouraged by the Government. By these empty threats of the President, I do not know anything good is going to come.

There is not a word about need for austerity in the administration at a time of great hardship for the country. There is no mention about the huge expenditure incurred by the Ministers and others who are at the helm of affairs by their luxurious way of living. Nothing has been said about curtailment of this wasteful expenditure.

President in his address promised legislation to facilitate award of more rigorous punishments in offences of food adulteration. That is definitely a welcome legislation and therefore [welcome that].

President impressed upon the State Governments the importance of achieving procurement targets. But where is the need to ask all the State Chief Ministers or State Governments to achieve the targets with regard to procurement? The majority of the States are being ruled by the Congress Governments. The Centre is also ruled

by the same party. If the Government at the Centre were not able to see that their own State Governments achieve the procurement targets, than what can I say in this matter? Also, the food policy adopted by the Government is not at all scientific. It is meaningless. That is one of the reasons for the existing scarcity in the country. On one thing there is uniformity in the whole country, whether it is West Bengal, Bihar or Kerala or Tamil Nadu. Price rise is everywhere. Suffering is everywhere. Discontent is everywhere. Dissatisfaction is everywhere. Unemployment is everywhere. As far as these are concerned, emotional integration is being preserved all over whether it is West Bengal, Bihar, Tamil Nadu or down in Kerala.

As far as the sufferings of the people, their unemployment and other problems are concerned, this uniformity is being preserved in the land. But, as far as the prices of foodgrains are concerned, there is no uniformity at all. Now Tamil Nadu, which is our neighbouring State, is a surplus State and the people there get rice, at a cheaper rate. But if you come to our State, that is, Kerala, the price is very high. The same is the case in Karnataka and there also it is sold at a higher rate. Therefore, it is clear that we do not have a basic policy and a uniform policy. After all, a Tamilian is an Indian, a Keralite also is an Indian and a Karnataka man is also an Indian. But each one has to pay a different price for the foodgrains that he has to buy.

Sir, the President has pointed out the hopeful trends like rise in the export earnings and the performance of the public sector undertakings. As far as the public sector undertakings are concerned, I do not think, Sir, that there is any sign of hope on this country. As far as the rise in our export earnings is concerned, I agree that it is true. But, at the same time, I would like to point

out one thing. Kerala State plays a great role in earning foreign exchange for the country. When it is so, the money that is being spent for the development of Kerala is not at all in proportion to what that State helps in earning. I would appeal to the Government to see that the State of Kerala is looked after properly, it being a backward State, and that State also should be brought to the level of the other State.

Then, Sir, the President has said about improving the backward regions and so on. But, with regard to the backward community—here I am referring to the Muslim community—nothing is said is Muslims are very backward, socially, politically, educationally, and economically. As far as this community is concerned, not even 10% of the population is educated. Not even half-a percent of women of the Muslim community is educated even after 26 years of independence. So, what steps has the Government taken to raise this section of the population to the level of the other forward communities? We appealed to the Government of India to appoint a commission or a judge to go into this matter and suggest measures for the development of this community which is socially and educationally backward in India and to bring them to the level of the other forward communities. We made this appeal to the Government of India many times so that this backward community would also get the privileges that are being enjoyed by the other backward communities in the country and come up to the level of the other progressive communities.

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD Ali (West Bengal) : Are you prepared to accept certain progressive educational policies for the muslim women in India?

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD : Sir, I may tell my friend that in Kerala, the

Muslim League as the Education Minister there, we adopted so many policies to educate the Muslim women there and scholarship schemes were also introduced.

SHRJ SARDAR AMJAD ALI : That may be in respect of the Muslim women in Kerala. But what about a progressive policy for the whole of the Muslim community in India ?

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD : You wanted to know whether there is any progressive educational policy. I say we have got a policy to educate.

DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD : (Kerala) : Sir, in Kerala, they are opposing the MES which is fighting tooth and nail for the Muslim community.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD : I say that we have got a policy.. (*Interruptions*) ... You cannot phoo-phoo what I say. If the Government is not interested in taking any step to improve this section, then what is the use ? The MES is also a political organisation like the Muslim League and they take part and took part in politics. Sir, I did not want to be dragged into this issue. But, since he has said some thing, I would also say. When the municipal elections came in Calicut, the ML and the Congress set up candidates and the MES also, which is supposed to be an educational organisation, came to the field, and worked in election. Sir, the Congress also opposed the MES there saying that it is a social organisation, an educational organisation, and so, it should not indulge in politics, it has no business to indulge in politics. That is why we also MES as my friend Seyid Muhammad opposed MES ...

DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD : They wanted to take control of the organisation. You refused. That is why they opposed, not on the ground on which we opposed.

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SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD : As far as Muslim League is concerned, Muslim League leaders are managing many colleges in Kerala, and in many other States. Definitely I can tell my dear friend that Muslim League is never never never against educating Muslim masses of the land, either men or women. He can take it from me. Being the Secretary of the Keral State Muslim League I can very boldly and courageously say we are in favour of educating Muslim women of of this land. Both modern and religious education.

Another thing I want to bring to the notice of the Government is with regard to atrocities committed in Bombay. I am very very sorry to say President has not made any reference to the South Indians in Bombay, hawkers, poor people, who have gone and settled down for years together. They have been beaten; they have been killed; they have been tortured; from the Railways from the buses they have been kicked out and they have been beaten on the foot-paths. These things are going on in Bombay city. Unfortunately, President has not made any reference about that. South Indians, they may be Tamilians, Keralites and Kannadigas, who form bulk of the population there, also contributed for developing Bombay city. For years together they are there. From generations they are there. In spite of that, they have been kicked; they have been discriminated. An Indian, Tamilian or Mala-yalee could go to Ceylon, Malaysia, Indonesia or a Middle East country. They are happy there. They have not been kicked through. But in Bombay city, they are being kicked

out. This state of affairs should not continue. I am very glad the Prime Minister issued a statement saying that she would take necessary steps. I would definitely request the Prime Minister of India and also our Home Minister and the people who are at the helm of affairs to see that all those non-Maharashtrians who are in Bombay city, should also feel that it is their home and they are also Indians. I should like to say that even the Constables there are nothing but volunteers of Shiv Sena. With regard to this, I want to draw the attention of this House to a photo which appeared in *Times of India*. It says even the police officer was helpless...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why police officers; even some Ministers of Shiv Sena...

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD : When the Constables were beating the hawkers, they could not stop them and here is a photo. It says, having been unable to stop the man from beating up a hawker, the officer's next best job was—the man being semi-conscious—to remove him bodily. He could not stop the Constable from beating. Then he removed the man bodily. Here is a photo. I place it before the House. This is the state of affairs that was going on in Bombay city. Even today that is going on. I appeal to the Government to do something. Anyhow, I am glad the Prime Minister has taken up this matter and also I hope she will...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Nothing will happen. Don't go by illusions.

SRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD : Another thing, as far as the foreign policy of the Government of India is concerned, we also welcome the foreign policy of the Government of India. As the President pointed out, our relations with our neigh-

bours show ob table , up a policy of peace, friendship and mutual beneficial co-operation. The foreign policy is really a successful one.

With regard to recognition of Bangladesh as a sovereign independent country by Pakistan, definitely it is a welcome move. It is not only a welcome move, it is a credit to India because India is responsible and India has played a role in helping Bangladesh to attain independence. As such it is a credit to our country.

With these words, I conclude. Thank you.

श्री रोशन लाल (हिमाचल प्रदेश) : जनाब डिप्टी चैयरमैन साहब राष्ट्रपति के ऐड्रेस के ऊपर जो तहरीके शुकिया इस हाउस में जेरे बहस है में उस का खैरमकदम करता हूं। राष्ट्रपति ने बड़ी मुस्तकिल मिजाजी से, दीवादिलेरी और संजीदगी से उन सब हालात पर रोशनी डाली है जो मौजूदा हाल में हमारे देश के सामने हैं। राष्ट्रपति ने अपने ऐड्रेस में साफगोई से इस बात का जिक्र किया कि देश एक एकतावादी बोहरान से गुजर रहा है और उन्होंने जखीरअंदाजों, ब्लैक-मार्केटियरों और स्मगलरों को एक कड़ी बानिग भी दी। इस में कोई शक नहीं कि देश के सामने आज जो गिरानी और जहरियाते जिन्दगी की नायाबी का मसला दरपेश है वह बहुत अहम है लेकिन अभी हाल में देखा गया कि कुछ सूबों में कुछ पोलिटिकल पार्टियों ने या कुछ गैरपसंदीदा अनासिर ने लोगों के जज्बात को उजागर किया और हमारे देश के ला एंड आर्डर में देश की मुश्किलत में और एवाम के मसाइल में इजाफा किया। यह बात अमर बाके हैं और इस बात को सही तौर पर कहा जा सकता है। राष्ट्रपति जी जिस वक्त हाउस में ऐड्रेस पेश कर रहे थे उस वक्त कुछ पोलिटिकल पार्टियों ने इस ईश्व को ले कर उन का अपमान करने के लिये भी आगे बढ़ने की कोशिश की और इस लिये यह बात यकीनन कही जा सकती है...

श्री सीताराम सिंह : (बिहार) : प्वाइंट आफ़ ऑर्डर । बिपक्षी पार्टियों के लोग राष्ट्रपति का अपमान करने के लिये आगे नहीं गये । आज देश में जो जनरोष उभर रहा है उस के प्रति उन्होंने एक संकेत किया ।

श्री रोशनलाल : यह तो रोज़ेरोशन की तरह अर्थात् है । जब आप आगे बढ़े और आप ने शोर मचाया किया तो उस से ही यह साफ़ हो गया, अर्थात् हो गया कि आप ने देश में इस तरह की फिजां पैदा की है कि जिस से देश के लोगों में गैर-इतमिनी बड़े । यह बात सही है और यह मैं ही नहीं कहता बल्कि देश के बड़े-बड़े मूदविर, सियासत दां और जुरिस्ट ने भी इस बात को कहा है कि हमारी जम्हूरियत के लिये जो उन को कारकदमी है जो उन का यह काम है यह देश के लिये नुकसानदेह है । यह बात मैं नहीं कहता, बल्कि दूसरे लोग भी कहते हैं ।

इस के बाद मैं अपनी हुक्मत और प्राइम मिनिस्टर को बधाई देता हूँ इस बात के लिये कि उन्होंने मुस्तकिल मिजाजी से, संजीदगी से, दीदादिलेरी से उन तमाम मुश्किलात का सामना किया और मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि वह उन मुश्किलात पर पूरी तरह फतेह पायेंगी । राष्ट्रपति ने अपनी कतकरीर में कुछ पसमांदा इलाकों और पसमांदा तबकों और एवाम का भी थोड़ा सा जिक्र किया कि उन की तरफ तबज्जेह दी जायेगी लेकिन उस से कुछ जरूर होता है । मुल्क में 1/5 यानी आबादी का पांचवां हिस्सा ऐसा है कि जो देश की रीढ़ की हड्डी है जो मजदूर और किसान पसमिन्दा लोग हैं उन को फलां और बहुवूदी के लिये, जिस हालात में वह मुजिश्ता 26 साल से चले आ रहे हैं उस में बहुवूदी लाने के लिये कोई खास तजवीज पेश नहीं की गई और न ही उस का जिक्र किया गया । इतनी बड़ी आबादी को इन्तोर करना जो इतनी गरीबी कसम-पूरबी की हालत में अपनी जिन्दगी बसर कर रही है मैं ठीक नहीं समझता । मुझे उस से अफसोस हुआ । मुझे अभी यू० पी० के कुछ इलाकों में जाने का इत्फाक हुआ वहाँ के एलेक्शन के दौरान

और मैंने वहाँ की आबादी देखी । यह देख कर आदमी को हैरत होती है कि आजादी के 26 साल के बाद भी उन की जिन्दगी में अंधेरा है । मैं उन तरक्कीयाफता शहरी इलाकों को भी देखता हूँ कि जिन की रातें भी उजाली हैं और दिन भी उजाला है उस के साथ उन को देख कर दुख होता है ।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने पहाड़ी इलाकों के लिये जिक्र तो जरूर किया लेकिन पहाड़ी इलाके बड़े पसमांदा हैं । उन के पास तरक्की के जराये हैं रिसोर्सेज हैं । काश अगर थोड़ी सी उस पर वह रोप रोशनी डालते कि हम उन इलाकों की बहुवूदी के लिये या उन के एवाम की बेहतरी के लिये क्या करना चाहते हैं तो हमें खुशी होती । हमारे यहाँ जैसे एक हिमाचल प्रदेश है और हम समझते हैं कि उस इलाके में हमारे पास बड़ा पोर्टेणियल है । हमारे पास बड़ी नदियां हैं जिन से हम बिजली पैदा कर सकते हैं, पानी दे सकते हैं, खाद पैदा कर सकते हैं । हमारे देश में जो लोगों को निजी जरूरियातें हैं, जो बेसिक नीड हैं उन के लिये बिजली, पानी और खाद की बड़ी जरूरत है । जब तक हम पैदावार में इजाफा नहीं करेंगे हम देश की इकतसादी हालत को बेहतर नहीं बना सकते, लेकिन आज तक इस की तरफ कम तबज्जेह दी गई है । अगर उस तरफ ज्यादा रुपया खर्च किया जाता ज्यादा तबज्जेह दी जाती अगर यह सोचा जाता कि देश को ऊपर उठाना चाहिये और अगर हमारी प्लानिंग इस तरह की होती तो मुमकिन है कि जितनी मुश्किलात का सामना हम कर रहे हैं वह दरपेश न होती । मिसाल के तौर पर हमारे पास अभी एक बहुत बड़ा प्रोजेक्ट 200 करोड़ का बना है, तो हमारे पास एक दौ सौ करोड़ का प्रोजेक्ट है जिससे 24 मील लम्बी एक दरिया से दूसरे दरिया में पानी डाला गया, टनल बनाये गये और उसे खोद कर हरियाणा, पंजाब और राजस्थान को पानी आ रहा है । वहाँ पर वह प्रोजेक्ट खत्म होने के बाद करोड़ों रुपये की सरकार की मिलकियत बेकार हो जाती है । जो वहाँ पर बर्कजाप है या और दूसरी मशीनरी है अगर सरकार उस और तबज्जेह देती है और वह

[श्री रोशन लाल]

सारी चीजें इस्तेमाल करती है खेती के काम में फर्टीलाइजर के काम में लगा देती है तो वह एक कम समय में कम टाइम में और कम श्रम से वहां कारखाना लग सकता है जिससे देश की कई जरूरियात पूरी हो सकती हैं बिजली पैदा हो सकती है।

हम समझते हैं कि सरकार के पास कोयले के बहुत से जखीरे हैं उसका एक्सप्लॉएटेशन सही तरीके से नहीं हो रहा है। आपका जो ट्रांसपोर्टेशन है उसमें भी काम ठीक से नहीं हो रहा है। अगर उस पर तबज्जह दी जाये तो उन जरायों को जो वहां पाये जाते हैं उसमें लगाया जाये तो हम समझते हैं सरकार की काफी काकयाबी हासिल हो सकती है।

अभी हमारे तेल केमिकल और पेट्रोल मंत्री बैठे हैं उनको पता है कि मुल्क में तेल के लिये बड़े काइसिज आये। तेल का काइस एक वर्ल्ड फेमिन था। सब जगह उसका असर हुआ लेकिन इसकी खोज के लिये जल्दी ही समुद्र में आपने तहकीकात की और उसमें आपको कामयाबी हासिल हुई। हमें खुशी है कि अगर आप इसी तरह से जरायों को इस्तेमाल करने की कोशिश करते रहे और सरकार इस प्रकार तबज्जह देती रही तो हमारी जितनी भी मुश्किलात हैं उन पर काबू पाया जा सकता है। अगर हम लोग एजिटेजनों से, हड़तालों से देश को नुकसान पहुंचाते रहे और पालिटिकल पार्टिज हैं जो देश के अन्दर उनकी मदद कर रही हैं उन पर काबू नहीं पाया गया तो हमें अपनी मुश्किलातों को हल करना नामुमकिन होगा। मैं समझता हूं कि इससे न सिर्फ देश को नुकसान होगा बल्कि हमारी जमहूरियत भी बेकार हो जायेगी। जो लोग इसको हवा देते हैं जो यकीन रखते हैं मैं उनको कहना चाहता हूं कि वे गलतफहमी में हैं। अगर उनको यह ख्याल है कि जो प्रिविलेज उनको मिले हैं उनसे हुकूमत को नुकसान पहुंचायेगे तो यह भी उनकी गलतफहमी है।

एक चीज और मैं कहना चाहता हूं वह यह कि

हमारे विधान में इस बात का जिक्र है कि हम एक ऐसी हुकूमत चलायेंगे जिसमें मिल्लत और मजहब का कोई दखल नहीं होगा लेकिन अभी हमने चुनाव में देखा है आज 26 साल हो चुके हैं अभी भी जात पात का मसला बना हुआ है बल्कि वह और उभरता जा रहा है, उजागर होता जा रहा है। वह उजागर होता जा रहा है उस पर कम तबज्जह दी जा रही है। मैं नहीं समझता सरकार क्यों ढीली नजर से काम कर रही है। अगर यही हालत रही तो मुल्क में जात-पात के नाम से कौम छोटे-छोटे तबकों में बंट जायेगी और उसके लिये जो हमारा सेक्यूलरिज्म और शोशीलिज्म को आगे बढाने का हमारा ख्याल है वह नाकारा हो जायेगा और बेकार साबित होगा।

तो मैं इन सब बातों को मुस्तासिर अल्फाज में कहते हुये राष्ट्रपति जी के इस एड्रेस की पुरजो तारीफ करत हूं।

SHRI NABIN CHANDRA BURAGOHAIN (Assam) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I stand to support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by Shri V.B. Raju. Member of the Opposition who spoke yesterday have failed to see the bright side of the situation in the country and they have purposely tried to see the dark side of the situation through coloured glasses. They have been expressing pessimism throughout the length and breadth of the country, which has been working as the worst enemy of the country. This pessimism is all along standing in the way of implementation of the policy and plans of the Government and consequently it has been telling upon the progress of the country. May I ask the hon. Members to have sincere faith in all Government plans and policies approved by this hon. House and to exert their might and pressure to awaken and regenere the hidden might of the Indian masses with robust optimism? May I ask the hon. Members to treat pessimism as the deadliest enemy to the progress of the nation.

[Shri Nibin Chandra Buragohain]

Sir, I would like to deliberate on some of the events on the bright side. The Government under the guidance and leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and under the Presidentship of Shri V.V. Giri deserves appreciation for steering the foreign policy in a proper and correct line with some notable successes. The foreign policy pursued by the Government with regard to the birth and support of Bangladesh and its mutual relations with India is even approved indirectly by its contender—Pakistan—by its recent recognition to the Summit Conference of Islamic countries at Lahore. Relations with our neighbouring countries particularly Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Burma, Afghanistan have been improving by and large which is backed by a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation.

To a great extent the Simla Agreement is successful. The successful implementation of the rest of the Simla Agreement is sincerely expected. The stand 'Asia should be a zone of peace and neutrality' led by Indonesia, Malaysia, Phillipines, Thailand and Singapore wins India's support. Our stand that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace and should be free from military bases of big powers has drawn support of non-aligned countries and our neighbouring countries. Our relations with countries of West Asia have been growing in good pace. Our relations with Iran and Iraq which appreciate our difficulties is praiseworthy. The agreements signed when Government of India had the pleasure of playing host to General Secretary Brezhnev in November 1973 further strengthens good relations with the Soviet Union.

The rise in export earning and improvements in the performance of public undertakings is a milestone on the way of development. Since 1972-73 there has been a marked improvement in the export earning. During the said period the exports increased

by 2.2 per cent. In the first eight months of 1973-74, exports increased by 22 per cent against so many odds like strikes, bandhs with indiscriminate backing of many political parties. It is a great achievement of the nation.

The central public undertakings have just started to yield a net profit for the first time in 1972-73. This year, I hope, will be more promising. The further success demands the sincere co-operation of all forces, workers, unions and union leaders. The solution of Andhra Pradesh problem is a worthy achievement of the Government and the people of Andhra. I hope the six-point formula may make the people there more integrated united and prosperous.

The country has been squarely facing a number of gigantic problems in quick succession during the span of the last three years. The nation has proved its worth by surviving these difficulties.

Scarcity of food articles, rise in prices have been hurting the poorer sections of the society consisting 40 per cent of the people who are below the poverty line to a great extent. Blackmarketeers, hoarders, speculators, unscrupulous traders, profiteers have made major contribution to such situations. Therefore, a ruthless strong hand is mostly needed to save the society from these evil hands. Stocks of food are being retained by rich producers and affluent consumers. Our procurement policy has not become so effective as expected due to want of cooperation of all—growers, State representatives, political parties etc. The most vulnerable section of people with the lowest income can be benefited by an efficient public distribution system. The unsocial elements like profiteers, exploiters, blackmarketeers, monopolists are up towards making the public distribution quite unsuccessful. They have been creating worse situation by creating artificial scarcity of essential foodgrains and other goods not

[Shri Nahin Chandra Buragohain] enlisted in the public distribution system. Therefore, the Opposition's stand that the Government is making a mess of distribution of food does not hold good. The people have been suffering from high prices of goods not being under the purview of the public distribution system in a worse manner. A joint effort of all the progressive forces is very urgently needed to give relief and protection from the exploitation of these unsocial elements like unscrupulous traders, speculators, blackmarketeers, hoarders etc.

The Opposition stand that the procurement has failed totally does not hold good. The taking over of wholesale trade of rice by the Government of Assam is praiseworthy. The procurement of rice has reached the target there. At the same time, the growers who depend wholly on the production of rice to meet the manifold household expenditure are having reasonable price for their rice. The fixing of price of Rs. 70 per quintal of rice will prove to be a great boost for production next year.

Deficit financing born of drought, flood is one of the main contributions to inflation. So a suitable quantum of money, by the methods like demonetisation of high valued paper currency, grant of attractive offers for having good deposits from the public in the public exchequer and credit squeeze etc. must be withdrawn from circulation for establishing a stable price of commodities. The said withdrawal of money from circulation must be accompanied by further growth of production. The requirements of defence has necessitated increased deficit financing. India is a littoral country of the Indian Ocean with a coast line of many hundred miles. Therefore, we must have a strong navy which calls for more money due to the excessive interest the major powers are now showing in the Indian Ocean.

I am happy to point out the successful holding of elections in Uttar Pradesh,

Manipur, Nagaland and Pondicherry within such a short time. The way how people exercised their right of voting in a peaceful democratic manner proves that we have been enjoying a mature democracy under the existing Government. Mr. Niren Ghosh finds pleasure in giving expression that the existing Government is the most violent one under the garb of non-violence. Many people are killed under this rule. West Bengal is also ruled by a violent government. That is his assertion. May I remind the honourable Member that during the rule of the Government led by his party for a short span of time in West Bengal, to the misfortune of the people of West Bengal, a record number of murders, rapes, kidnapping, arson, robberies, looting and abductions was committed which could not be surpassed during any rule in the annals of Bengal. I must thank the present Government of West Bengal under the leadership of Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray which has been reviving the old tradition of Bengal in leading light to others.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi spoke on North Eastern Region as below :

"The approach to the development of the region should be focussed on an integrated plan of industrialisation and what was standing in the way of the economic betterment of the area was the lack of the basic infrastructure of communication."

The lack of infrastructure of communication is a great hurdle in the way of progress and development of this region which keeps this region in the most backward state. Therefore, transport bottleneck of this region must be removed by introduction of easy and developed railway system converting the metre gauge railway lines into broad gauge ones from New Bongaigaon to Dibrugarh in the Upper Assam during the Fifth Five Year Plan.

I would have been happier if the control of the Brahmaputra had found a place in

[Shri Nahin Chandra Bursgohain]

the Presidential Address. The control of the floods of the Brahmaputra which perennially become the cause of sorrows of lakhs of people in the Valley resulting into loss of cattle, human beings, innumerable quantity of food worth crores telling upon the State finances, must be regarded as the bounden duty of the Government of India for giving relief to lakhs of suffering people. The control of floods of the Brahmaputra is beyond the capacity of the Government of Assam. I hope the Central Government would take the whole responsibility and initiative with grant of required amount of money with a view to bring up this backward region at least to a shorter distance to the advanced ones which will be gratefully regarded by the people of the North Eastern Region as a great boon of the great Indian nation.

With these words I support the motion of Shri Raju and thank the President for his Address to both Houses of Parliament.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, we are discussing the President's Address. As you know, Sir, we stand for constitutional position of the President. That is to say President must necessarily act on the advice of the Council of Ministers and in particular, by Prime Minister. So, I do not blame him very much personally. I believe he has acted according to his constitutional position. But judging by the Address he has delivered to the Joint Session of Parliament, it would appear, Sir, that President has been reduced to a mere piper of prevarication platitude, pettifoggery and pusillanimity. This is how I look at it. And it is not a very happy position for the President to be, even in his exalted office, when he has to contradict his own earlier utterances as the one he made in Lucknow and elsewhere. But the Government has nothing better to hand out to the President to come to the Joint Session of Parliament and amidst

the fanfare, deliver to the nation. I am sorry for the predicament of the President. This Address reduces the moral stature of the President and if I may say so personally it must have hurt him to have read it out to the Joint Session but that is for the President to say how he felt about it.

Now, Sir, I would not like to take much time of the House to deal with the economic situation in detail because we will have occasion to return to the subject when we discuss the Budget, yet some observations are undoubtedly called for. We are all agreed that we are passing through an unprecedented grave economic situation. Even this Government, pastmaster as it is in covering up its own tracks, cannot deny that the situation is extremely grave and is indeed out of control altogether. Now, the Government, as you know—and the Address shows it—is trying to escape its responsibility by attributing the economic-malady to external causes or what they call the international phenomenon without understanding either international politics or economics or the phenomenon in international political life. This has become a clap-trap for the Government to bamboozle the public to cover its own face and evade its responsibility in bringing about this terrible situation. I deplore this attitude on the part of the Government. If nothing also the Government should credit our people with some commonsense and intelligence so that they should not think, so that the Government should not think that they can get away by making this kind of fatuous remarks and observations as they have been making. I do not know why the Prime Minister goes on making such observations or for that matter the Finance Minister of the country. They should look at the mirror themselves and find out as to what role they are playing and their Government have played in creating such a situation as we are facing today. Now, the price spiral and the growth of unemployment are only

two of the horrifying expressions of the present economic crisis. They by no means define the crisis as a whole; there are many other symptoms which are equally disturbing but which may not be in the limelight as the two other factors that I have mentioned but nonetheless lead up the economic situation which shows hardly any signs of recovery so long as the policies are not radically changed and there is no sign or indication of any such policy change by the Government. Some years ago it was said that with the Fifth Five Year Plan the national economy would reach what they call the take-off stage. Today we are about to start the Fifth Five Year Plan : in which stage are we in now, the Economic Survey has told us yesterday. We have got stuck up in the morass of the crisis of the capitalist path, of the bankrupt policies and of collusion between the black money on the one hand and the politics of power on the other. Unless we come to grips with these basic problems we will be nowhere near a solution.

Now I will take some aspects of our economic life. The tempo of economic development has not only slowed down but has also begun to stagnate and in some spheres it is showing an alarmingly declining trend. Really we should have been after four Five Year Plans in the best form so far as the tempo of economic life is concerned. We are supposed to be a developing country. The national income during the Fourth Five Year Plan has risen by 3 per cent on an average only while their own target was 5.7 per cent. It is worse in the case of per capita income; there has been barely one *per cent* increase in per capita income at constant prices. That is where we are. That only shows how the nation is faring under this economy. Then, if you take agriculture and industry for that matter, the two vital sectors of our economy, you

will find that in 1971-72 the growth in agriculture was minus 0.8 per cent, not even plus. In 1972-73 it was again minus 9.1 per cent. Now, of course, we are told that production may be up by 10 to 15 per cent. Let us see what happens in the current year, but certainly the production is better. This is computed on the basis of minus production in the previous two years. It was envisaged in the Fourth Five Year Plan that at least there should be a compound rate of annual growth of 5.5 per cent in agriculture. Now, this is the situation. As far as industry is concerned, in 1971-72 it was minus 3 per cent and the next year it was minus 9.1 per cent and we are told that it may be improving more now. Therefore, we have entered a period where the economy has been taken to a period of decline, not merely stagnation but from stagnation to decline. Naturally in such a situation you cannot expect the living standards of the masses to go up, more especially when there is serious injustice in the matter of distribution of the national income. Even if the national income were better distributed, we would have been in an extremely precarious situation for the simple reason that our rate of economic growth is not keeping pace with the rate of growth in population which is at the rate of two per cent or a little more annually. How can you then solve the problems of hunger and poverty? Speeches do not feed the people. Whether you make speeches in elections or otherwise, sermons do not help the people. They do not solve our problems and yet we have a plethora of prodigious speeches made by the leaders of the Government, the Prime Minister and others, whereas the economy is going from bad to worse and nobody seems to be repentant. We have seen today how Mr. Chavan was boasting that his policies were right. They should have a little shame. They should have a little humility. At least they should have regard for truth, if

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] not for our common-sense. This should ask their conscience: How is it that when the nation is starving, when the nation is groaning, when the masses are in a stage of upsurge and turmoil, when the hungry people and the unemployed are on their march, when the villagers are going to rack and ruin as far as agriculture is concerned, and Harijans are concerned, when doctors and engineers are coming out in the streets to join the mass struggle, thereby increasing the pace of social struggle, these Ministers come and tell us that everything is all right with their policies. Such kind of absurd utterances can be made when they are lost to some good sense and common-sense. I do not mean anybody in a personal sense, but the fact remains that the bourgeois rule today has brought the country to such a pass that even their thinking apparatus does not work. There is bankruptcy not only in the Government's policies, but in the very character of the Government itself in many ways. What is the use of telling us that everything is right when the whole country is going to ruin? Who is responsible? Are we to believe in the dispensation of God. Are we to believe in the result of Karma? Are we living in an age of Maya that we should blame others, indefinite things and unidentifiable things, whereas the Treasury Benches must own up their responsibility before they talk about these things? We know that in this society there are antisocial elements. There are monopolists. There are profiteers and hoarders. There are landlords. There are rich, kulaks, money-grabbers and others. How is it that they are prospering today in our society when the levers of power are in the hands of the Government? That should be explained. Today, surely certain Government policies are helping them in some respects. That is not any other body's comment—in the Economic Survey which has been given, a testament of failure is

there for everybody to see.

Therefore, I say that the Government should face the reality. We are living in a state of continued poverty, we have been condemned to poverty, to the povertyline and below the poverty line. The situation therefore does not require a mere higher rate of growth, but it also requires a better and just distribution of our national income and that better and just distribution of the national income is not possible without an adjustment of our economy, which means changes in production relation. You cannot have a society in which at the top—there are some exploiting classes like the monopolists, the big landlords and others and at the bottom there are millions and millions of people who sweat and toil, those who are the hewers of wood and drawers of water, who are plundered and looted. Therefore, you are to protect the down-trodden masses. But you give licences to the monopolists, incentives to the monopolists in the name of export promotion and many other things, you give letters of intent to the Indian monopolists so that they go and talk to the foreign multilateral corporations who invade our economy, and foreign capital is entrenched. Out of the fourteen hundred crores of investment drawn from the country's resources, the drain out of the country is to the extent of not less than eighty crores annually. This is what is happening. Side by side, there is a slow rate of rise in our national income; we are already around zero rate of growth. Maldistribution of national income has become a major problem, and you cannot solve this problem unless you come to the roots of it and bring about radical structural changes in our economy. Income disparities are the result of this maldistribution of national income. 'Garibi hatao' slogan we have heard three years ago; today 'garibi hatao' is in the reverse gear. I do not know what is happening. But it is quite clear from their own statement that 22 crores of people

live below the poverty-line. Not only that—many more are being pushed towards the poverty-line; those who are a little above it they are coming to it. Those who are down, they are going further down on the one hand. But at the top the rich men prosper with the blessings of the Government, with black money and political patronage, on the other. Thirty-nine million people, nearly four crores, spend only fifty paise per day. And this was stated by the Planning Minister, Shri Dharia, in the Lok Sabha on the 18th April last year. Unemployment today is 22 millions as per the live register which they cannot deny, because it is an official register. Many people also do not register themselves. In 1971 there were 51 lakhs of unemployed persons; in 1972 the number is 68.96 lakhs—in short, 69 lakhs—of people unemployed. Last year it was 82.18 lakhs who were unemployed. Is this 'garibihatao'? Is this the way? Surely not. The people are becoming more and more unemployed; there is no means of livelihood, no gainful employment. And with the burden of the family, with the standard of their living going down, they are suffering; the whole nation is suffering. Is this understood by the Government? Educated unemployed are about 40 lakhs already. This is the new gift of the Congress regime which has created the problem of educated unemployed. Why should Biju Patnaik take advantage of the educated unemployed youth or some other antisocial elements or reactionaries should be taking advantage of the growing unemployment created by a bourgeois society, I would like to know. Shri Borooah is a knowledgeable person; he reads many books. Can he cite one example where such a situation had not been taken advantage of by all arch reactionaries and others? It will be done. There is no use bemoaning only that right reaction is there. Right reaction is not to be fought only by making speeches in elections. Elections have to be fought

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and won. But at the same time the social and economic base of the right reaction has to be dismantled by attacking their privileged position, their sources of exploitation wherein they live with their tentacles spread over our national and social life. What are you doing? We are thinking, on the contrary, of consolidating them. Today everybody, so long as he is prepared to come into the Congress, whether he belongs to the Syndicate Congress, as Mr. Kamaraj is, or he belongs to the Swatantra Party, as many of them are there is Orissa or in Gujarat, they are welcome in the fold of the Congress Party because it is said the umbrella of Indira is broad and wide enough to cover everybody. This is part of the offensive in the political front of right reaction when they want to enter the Congress. As you know, Mr. Charan Singh, in his election speech said that once the Uttar Pradesh elections are won by them, Shrimati Indira Gandhi would be removed from leadership. The American paper, Now York Times, has written an article in which the same theme has been elaborated. Now a days power change does not always take place by shifting the ruling party from the Government side to the Opposition side. Power change can also be brought about by bringing about a shift within the ruling party. They are the Trojan Horses within the Congress Party. All this is possible by blackmarketing and pressure and by installing a right reactionary in the office of Prime Ministership and in the Council of Ministers. And very soon you have a ready made right reaction taking over the country. The strategy has changed today. Today right reaction cannot be transformed in such a manner as to make immediately Congress the minority party. It remains the majority party, and within the majority party they want to bring about such changes in the political equation that right reaction can be installed. That is the strategic aim of the Uttar Pradesh elections as far as the right reaction is concerned. Therefore,

[Shri Bhupash Gupta]

Sir, oirr friends should take note of it. On that side of the House there is praise for the Prime Minister in their speeches. There is praise for the President for his speech. I can understand those who want to become Deputy Ministers or State Ministers praising the Prime Minister. But I would ask the Prime Minister never to make such people either a Deputy Minister or a State Minister or a Minister, for that matter. Those who get up in Parliament to make unnecessary speeches in order to throw bouquets to her as if she is in need of it should know that she get them smuch more outside. Therefore, why is it necessary for them to indulge in this sycophancy and flattery I cannot understand. It pains me to see my colleagues debasing themselves in this manner. Some of them may do it by virtue Of their habit. Others do it evidently and presumably to be in the right books of the Prime Minister so that when the reshuffle comes they may get a telephone call. But let me tell them that such telephone calls may prove disastrous to the nation. I would instead invite them to my house and allow them to make or receive as many telephone calls as they like.

At the moment there is talk about reshuffle. The disease is worse than a political cancer and I would ask you to get rid of it.

Then, Sir, there has been 40 per cent, price rise during the last two years. What a wonderful performance of the Government? Forty per cent in two years? And that is also according to the wholesale traders indices. The actual rise is much higher. As you know very well, the value of rupee has gone down by 30 paise while all the Ministers remain in their places prospering and harangning the nation.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It is not more ¹ than 20 paise.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am giving the official figure. Artificial shortages and scarcities are being created with the connivance of the authorities in Govern-, ment. Gujarat is one example. In spite of bumper production of groundnut and abundant supply of edible oil you saw how edible oil became scarce and was not available. And the price was raised by the discredited Chimanbhai Ministry. These gentlemen did not do anything. They themselves are raising the prices. You take a catalogue of last year or the last two years and see in how many cases, under one pretext or another, they have raised the prices, including our friend, Mr. Borooah, who is sitting here. He has raised unduly the price of petrol although it was not warranted so much. Therefore, we have reached a stage to-day when if the production goes up, the prices rise. If the production falls, of course, the prices will go up. We were told last year by one Minister after another—they were telling the nation a lie and when we objected, they repeated that lie—that with the bumper kharif crop, the prices would go down. That was their solemn forecast in this House and elsewhere, over the radio and from public platforms. What has happened to-day? They themselves say that in January this year the prices were ruling high as compared to January last year. Well, it is so. Therefore, you have created such a situation in which when production is higher, the price rise is also higher. It requires a lot of distinction on the part of this Government to have brought this country to such a situation, and we are told this is an international phenomenon. Well, it is an international phenomenon. Ask Mr. Dikshit how that phenomenon comes. If they believe in God, in the name of God, Mr. Dikshit, Mr. L. N. Mishra and others who are more knowledgeable in such matters, should tell us how it is that the Government cannot act against these people. We should like to know. Or, for that matter, ask Zainullabdin in the West

Bengal Ministry or Tarun Kanti Ghosh and others why they are not in a position to act against the hoarders and profiteers. It is no use removing only one Kashi Kanta Moitra when similar others are there colluding with the hoarders and profiteers and making nonsense of the procurement drive in West Bengal. Sir, they will never admit this thing. Self-criticism is out of bounds as far as this Government is concerned. Self-praise or self-adulation is the motto of their life. I do not know how much their wives adore our Ministers, but I do see how they adore each other. Well, it may be a subject-matter of feminine jealousy, I believe, the way the Ministers adore each other.

Therefore, I say that to-day some palliatives may be possible within the capitalist path of development, but within this framework no solution for our basic problems is even conceivable. That is what I would like to say. You should draw that lesson. The capitalist path has become the main road-block in our road to balanced economic development. That is why that path has to be given up, as it has been given up by some countries in Asia, Africa and other places. The capitalist path stands in our way of self-reliance or attainment of economic independence. The capitalist path has lied our economy to the world capitalist economy and makes it particularly vulnerable to neo-colonialism and neo-colonialist pressure. It is no use trying only to decry neo-colonialism. Of course, it should be decried. It has to be fought. And fighting it means abandonment of the capitalist path and launching an attack against the monopolists with a view not to amending them but eliminating them. The monopolists cannot be amended. Tigers cannot be vegetarian. You know very well that tigers will never be vegetarian. Tigers are tigers. Monopolists are monopolists. You may have a Monopolies Commission

sitting here or there and trying to bluff the people as if something is being done. The Monopolies Commission had been made a through eye-wash in order to deceive the masses. The situation would have definitely worsened had it not been for the fact that of late, the Government has improved its economic co-operation relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In this respect, I must appreciate some of the efforts which Mr. Borooah himself is making. This is the problem today. Today we know the European Economic Community is going in a particular way with the crisis of dollar and an attempt to create pressure on the newly developing countries. It is a good augury that our trade and economic cooperation is advancing with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which is why we warmly welcomed the fifteen-year economic cooperation agreement which has been signed following Comrade Brezhnev's visit to this country last year. Our fears are there that monopolists will be allowed to grow. The other day Mr. Chavan revealed in the other House the monopolists have made their profits at the rate of 10 per cent on an average. The big monopoly houses have done it in the last few years. The textile and other magnates have made much higher profits, at the rate of 10 per cent, 20 per cent, 30 per cent, 40 per cent. These are the rates of profit of big monopoly houses. Here you have got, for example, the Tata Textile Industry which has produced superfine and fine varieties denying production, reducing production, of coarse and medium varieties of cloth, in order to earn extra profits. We have seen how, for example, the sugar industry has been allowed to make profits, how the cement industry is being fed today in disregard of the spirit of the Industrial Policy Resolution. They have given licences to private business in order to stop the cement industry. The Tatas and the Birlas, the two families,

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] have raised their assets, despite all this talk of monopolies restriction and so on, to the order of nearly Rs. 1400 crores. Twenty larger business houses control today huge amounts of money and resources. Forty-eight industrial houses between them control 657 undertakings with assets of Rs. 20 crores or more each with the assets totalling Rs. 3637 crores. Such is the position today. And this process is being allowed. The Ministry led by Mr. Subramanian! has become a managing agency and a clearing house of monopoly capital in the country and Mr. Subramanian is very happy about it. He is issuing more invitations to even multinational corporations. You denounced Mr. Asoka Mehta one day because of his theory of back-seat driving, of opening the womb of India, etc. Today Mr. Subramanian!, in charge of the Ministry of Industrial Development, is doing the same with a vengeance, but the camouflage of being close to the Prime Minister should not be allowed to offer him a cover or should not allow him to escape from the responsibility to answer the people. Licences, letters of intent, bank credits, are all in favour of monopolists. More and more letters of intent, more and more licences go to the big business houses. Then, you have seen how credits are going to the big monopoly houses whereas the monopolists are diverting their internal resources for speculation and hoarding. They make our public financial institutions pay for the development of industrial expansion whereas their own capital accumulations go to black market or black trade. Such is the situation. In the countryside we have the paradise of landlords and some sections of rich peasants. Fertilizers on credit and other imports are going to them in the name of green revolution or in the name of improvement of farming or otherwise in the name of incentives. Land reforms are not being implemented. Evictions are taking place,

as, for example, in West Bengal. It is a matter of shame and horror in West Bengal today. The Government everytime claims that it is taking action under PDA. Whenever it is necessary they take the name of PDA to cover them. The same Government is indulging in wholesale eviction of peasants, sharecroppers, all over West Bengal. They allowed the police force to attack the peasant masses, molest the peasant women and even rape them. And yet nothing is being done against West Bengal Government by the Centre. There seems to be no authority, nobody, to raise the voice against this kind of hooliganism and vandalism and terror and tyranny let loose against our peasant masses in West Bengal. Thousands of cases are still pending. And the Siddhartha Shankar Ray's Government did not consider it necessary even to withdraw these cases. They are doing a lot of harassment to the peasant masses. And yet we hear they are for garibi hatao. Well, paribi hatao cannot be implemented at the point of police bayonet and by trusting the bayonet into the hungry stomachs of our peasant men and women. This Government in quite clear conscience should understand this thing.

Harijans are being oppressed all over the country. What is being done about it? Nothing is being done.

As far as food front is concerned, procurement has virtually failed. First, the target was 5 million tonnes. Now they say it has come down to 3 million tonnes. For coarse grains the target was 1.5 million tonnes. Now it is 2 lakhs or so. Why this? And much of the procurement has been done by Haryana and Punjab States. Even they have not fulfilled the targets. Other States, particularly the rice producing States including West Bengal have miserably failed in procurement. West Bengal had fixed a quota of 5 lakh tonnes. They have not procured even one lakh tonne of rice. Why? Because Jotdars are in collusion

with some of the Ministers. Everybody knows it. Everybody who knows about West Bengal will testify this that procurement there is a facade and it is the Jotdars who are running the show and some Ministers are in direct collusion with the Jotdars. Mr. Zainulabdin is connected with this. I make this charge. Let there be a commission of inquiry about Mr. Zainulabdin that anti-Communist-cum-Minister. These people believe in making money when the people starve. We are told that PDA relations are strained. It is because some people in it go in for helping monopolists, Jotdars and others in flagrant defiance of the 17-point programme of the PDA which is (he mandate of our people in West Bengal. It is tragic that West Bengal is being driven to such a position. Who are the men behind this? In West Bengal the right reactionary sections in the Congress Party are gaining at the moment. Some people in the Government are thinking of becoming Chief Minister in the same way as some people in the Gujarat Government, before the fall of Chimanbhai Patel Ministry, were thinking of stepping into his shoes. This is a gamble of power as if the whole thing belongs to them. They want to shine and they want to prosper. The Minister wants to become the Chief Minister and the Deputy Minister wants to become the Minister. Is it for that the people of West Bengal gave mandate to PDA? The people of West Bengal wanted the PDA to implement the PDA programme. They did not want the PDA to stand for the vested interests.

So far as procurement is concerned, it has failed. What has happened as a result of this? Public distribution system is in danger today. In 1971-72 the public distribution system accounted for 10.4 million tonnes of foodgrains. In the following year it was 9.5 millions. Today they say it will be 7 to 8 million tonnes. Therefore you can well understand what is going to happen. When the country demands expansion of the public distribution system,

it is in fact shrinking at all levels, whether in the form of fair price shops or in the form of statutory rationing or modified rationing. It is in a state of collapse today. What will happen in the next few days, we do not know.

There will be more burden on the masses. According to the Economic Survey more commodities will be taxed. Which commodities I should like to know. There will be more burden put on the masses. And deficit financing has become a built-in feature of our economy. It is a method of fleecing the common man in order to feed the rich and the capitalist plan. People must know that Plan is meant for them and not to fleece them. The credit whether in the Government or the Reserve Bank credit or in the State Bank or nationalised sector has gone up. Last year it was said that Rs. 85 crores will be the order of deficit financing. Now how much will it be? That we will come to know in a few days' time. It is said that it will be about Rs. 800 crores. We are told that deficit financing will be checked. This is what we hear after this huge amount of deficit financing. But nothing is done in this sphere.

Sir, then there is the black money. Now, I should like to say something in this connection. The total amount of indirect taxes collected by the Centre and the States and the Union Territories amounted to Rs. 4,399 crores in 1971-72 as against Rs. 495 crores in 1950-51! If anything, the common man needs tax relief. Tax on the common man is regressive and it should not be resorted to. You should tax the higher group. You know the tax arrears are to the tune of about Rs. 500 crores or so. What have you done to collect those arrears? Nothing has been done. Even Mr. Biju Patnaik, whatever may be the differences with him, has not been taken care of by you in this connection. He has not paid

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] about one crore of rupees in taxes per year which is due to the State. Nothing has been done. Why? This is what I would like to know. I want to warn the Government against this kind of thing.

Then, Sir, as far as the industrial relations are concerned, I need not say much. I think what is wanted is only democratic industrial relation. What is the use of our President saying something in his Address? Sir, his utterance in the very opening sentence of his speech is this. What did he say? He has said:

"You reassemble at a time of difficulty and trial. The people face many hardships as a result of high prices, scarcity of essential commodities and interruptions in production and supply caused by strikes, bundhs and unrest, etc.. etc..."

What does the President think of his Address or of himself? I should like to know this. Or, for that matter, what does the Prime Minister think? Are the strikes and bundhs and mass agitations to be juxtaposed with stoppages in production, with the plunder by the monopolists, with the hoarding and profiteering that are going on? Sir, it is an insult to the Parliament and an insult to the people. Strikes, bundhs and militant mass action do take place because of the sufferings of the masses and they take place because the masses are not prepared to live on their knees, but they are ready to fight on their feet and die on their feet. That is why these things are taking place. Sir, this nation would not be worth remembering or even worth looking at by other people around the world if this nation did not protest against this kind of profiteering, corruption, collusion, plundering of the people by the monopolists and others and so on. I am happy to see what the people of Gujarat have done. Sir, it is a tribute to

the genius of our people that our fighting tradition, still lives in the hungry stomachs. Sir, we may suffer a million injustices; our people may starve; our people may be unemployed; and our people may groan in agony and pain due to the social injustices meted out to them. But one thing our people have not lost and it is their patriotism, their sense of honour and their fighting calibre. Sir, you see the international phenomenon now? Even in the capitalist world, during the first nine months of the last year, nearly forty million people participated in strikes and other such actions in the US, Britain and other western countries compared to about forty-three million only for the whole year of 1972! This thing is also there. Everywhere the people are rising against capitalism. Look at the international phenomenon. Here, in India, the MISA is used and the DIR is used against the people who go on strike. But, in these countries, we do not hear of shooting of the type that we have in this country. Sir, nearly 2,70,000 coal mine workers went on strike in Britain and not one has been detained without trial and there is no such law as we have in this country. Here, Sir, the MISA and the DIR are used. They attack the strikers and shoot them. Well, you may shoot the people; but they are not going to be cowed down by your shooting.

(Time bell rings.)

Then, Sir, the present industrial relations should undergo a change. I would like to say something on this. What do we need today? There should be democratic industrial relations. We do not want P.C. Lal or the Railway Board or we do not want to have the way in which the junior doctors are being treated in Delhi right under our eyes. Mr. Karan Singh should come to an agreement with them and honourably negotiate with them and meet their legitimate demands and should not leave our young people, the doctors, in the streets.

The Government also should not blackmail the nation by saying that they are killing the patients. No. For every patient that dies due to lack of treatment, the responsibility must be borne by the Treasury Benches • and not by the doctors. If you want to kill these doctors in this way, the patients will not tolerate it and everybody knows it and yet, they have taken this plunge.

Now, the engineers are also in the same state. Now, I would like to say something about Gujarat. I had been to Gujarat.' Corruption was rampant there and there was competition in corruption amongst the ministers there. Profiteering and hoarding took place unchecked. Chimanbhai Patel, an apostle of corruption, became a symbol of corruption. So the peace-loving people of Gujarat, the law-abiding people of Gujarat, in the name of Gandhiji, rose, against them to pull down these people. They have been pulled down. We are - very happy. They should have resigned much earlier. But the Central Government gave them the backing. Repression started. Shootings started. I do not know how many people have been killed there. Sir, it is natural that ring-wing forces will try to take advantage of the situation whenever there is discontent. You are allowing the right wing to flourish not only within your own party but also outside. Bijoy Singh Nahar, by no means the paragon of progress, was a great friend of Atulya Ghosh. Morarji Desai is now campaigning in Uttar Pradesh, forgetting Gujarat—for nothing. I think an inquiry should be held into all police firings and excesses. The demand of the people of Gujarat should be met. The Ministers who were there should be subjected to a public inquiry. Allegations against them are there.

Sir, in this connection I might mention another threat to democracy. Jayaprakash Narain has recently gave the theory

of 'Daltantra'. I have great personal regard for him as an individual. But somehow or other, his utterances and statements are only helping the right reaction. The problem of the country is not that Parliamentary democracy has failed in the sense that nothing can be done. It has failed because of bourgeois. It has failed because those who are wielding power are utilizing democracy in a way which is not proper. It has failed because money has invaded our democracy. And that would not have been possible but for the cover and the reception the big money gets in the ruling circles, in the ruling class. Strengthen democracy. Take it to the masses and ensure the participation of the masses in all functionings of the State effectively instead of trying to divide democracy in this manner and create a nonparty government that may be led by Jayaprakash Narain to rule the country. Such things will never happen. Mr. Jayaprakash's politics will only help the Tightest forces. The rightest forces are acclaiming him. A new paper has come. I do not know

where this money comes from

(Time bell rings.)

Sir, I am just finishing. I must equally criticize the theory of limited dictatorship. I hope limited dictatorship is not coming . . . *(Interruptions)*. Again, I hear Mr. Shashi Bhushan propagating this theory, Mr. Shashi Bhushan is a man of progressive ideas. But he is misconceived in this matter.

I think, first of all, that this theory of limited dictatorship is not permissible in our Constitution. You have to scrap the Constitution to have any kind of dictatorship—limited or unlimited....

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: It will not be difficult. »

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This slogan of limited dictatorship will objectively help

the tightest forces. People do not want dictators. They want democracy to thrive, prosper and flourish, provided they are the real participants, free from black money and so on. So, therefore, we need expansion of democracy, Sir...(*the bell rings*.) I am just finishing.

Democracy must be free from black money. I hope the Leader of the House will kindly listen to this. I appeal earnestly that democracy should be saved from black money. (*Interruptions*)... Don't disturb me now. Tendulkar, Justice Mukherjee and Mr. Chagla, when he was Chief Justice, gave the warning that if money were allowed to enter politics and elections, this would pollute the political life of our country and the wells of democracy will dry up.

Sir, I think two things are threatening our democracy in a grievous manner. One reason is the invasion of black money in it. Black money makes democracy black democracy. It does not make it pure and white democracy. Elections should not be sought to be won by the political parties with the help of the black money. Those who pay the piper call the tune and our pipers are very weak pipers, if I may say so. (*Time bell rings*) Therefore, I must say that the ruling party has a special responsibility in this context. Big business and black money has laid a siege of our parliamentary democracy. One result is rampant corruption in high places. Another result is the sellout to the pressures and the dictates of the monopolists and other moneyed interests. Many of the State Governments have too many agents of the landlords in them, as I have pointed out in one case. The real danger is from that end. You need not look on the side. Look inside and find out what is the real danger from within.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now I will call the next speaker.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now forces are growing in the country. There is Shiv Sena. I am ashamed to say about it.

Mr. Dikshit is here.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Bipinpal Das.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Already, serious criticisms are being made by the Press in Delhi against the Home Ministry and the State Government for not giving protection to the minority community. He will do something about it. Shiv Sena in Bombay is menacing secularism and democracy.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am calling the next speaker.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You will be surprised to hear that our people are being arrested. Finally, Sir.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There seems to be no finality.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will end with a happy note. I am very happy that Pakistan has recognised Bangladesh. It is a good thing for us, for South-East Asia, for the people of the world and for the Arab world. I hope, Sir, that a new chapter will begin in the form of a tripartite initiative between the three countries on the basis of Simla Agreement, Delhi Agreement, Indo-Bangladesh Agreement and other Agreements. We are looking for better times. Therefore, we are very happy....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bipinpal Das.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let me finish, Sir. Only two more points. There is the Diego Garcia base. I am very glad to know that the Government is against it. They should take action against it. Immediate recognition of the P.R.G. is very essential. Similarly, the Palestine National Liberation Organisation should also be

recognised. Mr. T.N. Kaul should be asked not to indulge in those kinds of statements which he is making. He should be asked to mobilise American public opinion against the American action in Diego Garcia. The problem of Asian security is before us. It has to be viewed in the context of the threat the Americans have mounted against our country in Diego Garcia and elsewhere following their defeat in Vietnam and our liberation of the Bangladesh.

With regard to the portion relating to foreign affairs, I am in agreement with what the President has said because in this sphere the achievements are reflected in the policies of the Government. We are very happy to support the policies of the Government against imperialism, against neo-colonialism and for national liberation. The visit of President Brezhnev to this country was a great historical event. Many of the agreements which have been signed with the socialist countries are not being followed up in concrete actions by the Government (*Time Bell rings*) because some people in the bureaucracy and administration are not interested in the implementation of those agreements.

So, I speak in the only hope that the masses will intervene and begin to act. The international situation has improved for the better.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have called Mr. Bipinpal Dass. You should now wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The national situation has deteriorated. The foreign policy is taking the country in one direction. The national policy is taking the country in the opposite direction, in a reactionary direction.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bipinpal Dass.

DR. R.K. CHAKRABARTI (West Bengal): May I seek one clarification?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No clarifications here.

SHRI BIPINPAL DASS (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by my friend, Mr. Raju, and I take this opportunity once again to congratulate the President for his balanced speech. I must say that his speech has both the plus and minus side of the current situation.

There is no denying the fact that the situation today is extremely bad and we are passing through something like a crisis. Nobody denies it. The situation is bad. The situation may not be hopeless. The situation may be still under control. Nevertheless, the situation is quite bad; everybody admits it and nobody denies it. The situation calls for very serious thought, constructive discussions and constructive suggestions for solution the problems that are facing us today. The opposition has every right to criticise the Government for its policies inside the House and outside the House. By all means, criticise us for the acts of omission and commission. But for God's sake, come forward with some positive suggestions also. Let us put our heads together to face a crisis like this and solve the problems in the interest of those millions who are the actual sufferers of the situations.

Sir, slogans and doctrinaire approach will not help in solving the present problems. What is required is a national approach, a serious and sincere approach to the problems. What is required is sitting down together, putting the heads together, to get the country out of this situation, and not slogans and doctrinaire approaches. Sir, this morning, my hon. friend, Mr. Advani, made a speech. I am sorry I was not in the House when he spoke. Although I was not present, I would very well visualise what he would speak and I have no doubt

about what he has spoken. Normally, j Sir, I am not in a mood to refer to the rightist I parties. Their way, the rightists' path, is diametrically opposite to our way. If we want to take this country in one direction, they want to take it in a reverse direction. And it is useless to argue with them. It is absolutely useless to argue with them. But let them take note of this. Whatever they may or may not say, this country has set a goal before the people. This country has decided to go in one direction. Sometimes our speed may be slow and sometimes it may be fast. There may be slips and falls. Some may commit mistakes. But still this country has decided to go in a certain direction. We are determined to go, the people of this country are determined to go in that direction, whatever the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra may say.

Sir, I know the predicament in which Mr. Advani has fallen. He is in a great predicament. His whole problem is that unfortunately for him and fortunately for this country, for the people of this sub-continent, in the sphere of foreign policy with regard to the sub-continent, the policies pursued by this Government and the Prime Minister have proved to be successful at every stage. This was his difficulty. This is where he is in trouble. He did not want to see the Simla Agreement and the Delhi Agreement succeed. He did not even want to see Bangladesh becoming a sovereign, independent republic. He did not want to see that Pakistan should recognise Bangladesh. He does not want to see that Bangladesh should get a seat in the United Nations, but all these things are happening and going to happen. All these things are happening not only because of the heroic struggles fought by the people of Bangladesh, not only because of the justness of the cause of Bangladesh, not only because of truth and justice behind the whole struggle of the brave people of Bangladesh, but also because of the correct policies, absolutely

[Shri Bipinpal Das] correct policies, I should say hundred per cent correct policies, pursued by the Government of India and the Prime Minister in the foreign affairs. And, here, Mr. Advani is in a situation where he does not find enough sleep at night. Sir, I would like to dismiss Mr. Advani and the rightist parties with these words and I do not want to waste the time of the House by referring to them any further.

Let me now refer to what the left parties of the opposition have to say.

I have heard the speech of my esteemed friend Mr. Niren Ghosh yesterday. I just now heard the speech of my friend Shri Bhupesh Gupta. Not even one of the charges made by both Niren Babu and Nana Saheb can be substantiated. They have said that Congress is a party dominated by bourgeois-landlord class. They call it a bourgeois-landlord party. I want to ask the question not only to my esteemed friends but to everybody as to where is the party of proletariat in this country? There is that party which is led by the proletarian class. *(Interruptions)* Unfortunately one of the tragedies of the Indian socialist movement..

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : We are the servants of the proletariat.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : One of the tragedies of the Indian socialist movement is that till the present day it has failed to throw up a leadership from among the proletariat, from among the people belonging to the landless class, poor peasants, the triable population, the Harijans, actually from these who are poor and downtrodden and who are the most oppressed and exploited. In spite of their loud avocations, professions of revolution, proletarian revolution and all that the fact remains that their own movement is led by the Namboodripad on the one side and Jyoti Basu on the other side. I do not want to go into personal names. But this is the situation.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Suppose Marks was the son of a working class man.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Mr. Niren Babu, I did not interrupt you yeasterday. Have patience to listen.

• There is no use the pot calling the kettle black. If the Congress Parly is full of landlords, rich peasants, middle bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and big bor-geoise, the same is the case with most of the other parties. And, therefore, let us not talk about that.

The real question is about the policies pursued by different parties, Is it not a fact that it is the Congress Party which abolished Zamindari from this country ? Is it not a fact that it is the Congress Party which took lead in abolising the princely order from this country ? Is it not a fact that the Congress Governments alone took the lead in having landreforms in different parts of the country ? Is it not a fact that it was the present Government which nationalised the commercial banks in the country, nationalised insurance companies, coal mines, steel and copper mines in the coufity ? It is not a fact that under the regime of this Government the public sector is expending almost every day ? Is is not a fact that we were the first party who took courage in both hands to start the take-over of wholesale trade ? I do not say that we have succeeded in all these matters.

I did not say that we have made a grand success of it, but the fact remains that these are the concrete steps taken by this Government. We have still further to go. Sometimes we have taken correct steps and sometimes wa may have committed a Utile mistake here or there. We are correcting those things: For example the mistakes detected in the case of takeover of wholesale trade in wheat. And we took a pause in the case of wholesale trade in rice-not

that we have given it up. But we are trying to correct the mistakes that have been committed. These are the steps taken.

My point is, the party must be judged by the policies it pursues. This is the long list of the policies that we have pursued. My friends, Mr. Niren Ghosh, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and also my esteemed colleague, Nanasaheb Goray said that these policies indicate the bourgeois-landlord character of my party. Do they ? The answer is 'No" from the people of this country. There is no party in this country with a deeper and wider mass base than the Congress. Remember that. No other party commands the faith, the confidence, and the trust of the working class, the landless, the harijans and the tribal population more than the Congress Party itself. No other party has it. *(Interruption by Dr. Mathew Kurian)*.... And that is why my friend, Dr. Kurian's party loses lthe elections. How can I help you ? I cannot, because the Congress base is deeper and wider, supported by the landless peasants, the working class, the minorities, the Harijans and the tribal people. And that shows the character of this party. I am only pointing out to you, coming from the upper middle class you cannot judge the charcter of my party. Your party is full of people from the middle class. Jyoti Basu does not belong to the proletariat class, nor Namboodiripad, nor Bhupesh Gupta nor my friend, Niren Ghosh himself. Therefore, while characterising a party, let us judge it by the policies | it pursues.

Now, they accused us of pursuing anti-labour policies. Let us be honest. When we were facing a crisis...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Sir, he has referred to me directly. May I inform him that I have not got a single *Cluitak* of land nor have I even a roof over my head in Calcutta, and when I live in Calcutta I ¹ will be street-walking !'

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Now, Mr. Ghosh, why do you provoke me to go into your family history ?

Now we are accused of pursuing an anti-labour policy. What is the history ? What are the facts ? What is the amount of labour legislation passed in the last 26 years to protect and advance the cause and the interests of the working class.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): You are using the DIR against labour.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I am talking of labour legislation; I am talking of the Labour Ministry-not the Home Ministry-just now. Why do you run away when I am pointing out the facts ?

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Legislations on paper-without implementations.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : Why run away? I am pointing out these facts. The amount of legislations passed by the Government in the last 26 years is a record which no other democracy in the world has achieved let me make it clear. No other democratic country in the world has achieved this

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You are white-washing all the evils...

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: If Dr. Kurian says that some officials here and there take the side of the employers in a labour dispute, that is not the fault of the policy of the Government.

SHRI D.K. BOROOAH : An administration of Kurians and Ghoshes. What can you do ?

(interruption)

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: You cannot cite a single labour dispute in which basically the Government took sides with the employer against the working class. You cannot. An officer doing something somewhere is a different thing. Whenever

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such things came up the Government has always taken sides with the labour. Now Sir, what is the record of the left parties? I may be excused for saying all this. Because other friends have referred to this* I have also to say. What is their record? Have they built up any organisation to protect the interests of those who are at the bottom of the society, the most oppressed and the most exploited classes? Have they not conducted trade union purely 'on the basis of economism'? Do they have any organisation of the agricultural labour? Do they have any organisations for the poorest of the lot, for the tribals living in the four corners of the country? I have been in this House for the last four years. I have hardly heard any serious speech from the so-called left parties defending the interests of the actual poorer classes, of the actual oppressed classes of this country, but I have certainly heard them very eloquently speaking on behalf of the airlines pilots, doctors, engineers and that section of the locomen in the Railways whose monthly earning ranges from Rs. 900 to Rs. 16000. I do not say that their case is wrong; I do not say that they have no case; I do not say that justice should not be done to them. Justice must be done to every section of the population, but for the so-called revolutionaries, for the leftist parties who call us bourgeois and party of landlords, for them to take up the case of only those pilots who earn Rs. 10,000 per month, only of those doctors and engineers who are by no means poor people in this country, for them to take up the case of only those railways employees who earn Rs. 1000 per month, forgetting the case of the poor masses who are below the poverty line, I wonder what kind of revolutionaries they are. These are the facts.

Now I take up the question of price rise, which is the main problem, which is the

serious problem and which has created this grave economic situation. The situation is very bad; I do not deny it. We have • so far failed to arrest the prices; there is no doubt about it. The prices have risen to fantastic heights. But when you criticise the Government you should also try to suggest some solutions and when you try to suggest solutions you must analyse the causes. I have heard so many speeches here; nobody has bothered, nobody has cared even to once mention the causes that have led to this grave situation in the country. Of course they have said that we are a bourgeois party of landlords, we take money from the businessmen and therefore we do not take action against hoarders and profiteers. That is the only cause according to them. Dr. Kurian is an economist, but I am not. Let us forget our party differences for the moment and let.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Who increases the money supply, who prints notes? Your Government deliberately does it. Who refuses to demonetise? It is your Government.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Let us as responsible citizens, let us as responsible leaders of this country, look at it. How has the situation developed during the last two or three years? Did not the war contribute to it? Did not the 2nd refuses contribute to it? Did not the drought situation contribute to it? Is it wrong for the Prime Minister to come and say here that the international situation has also contributed to it? Is it wrong? Are these not facts? All these are known facts and I do not want to go over them again. These things have been discussed here. Why do you just shut your eyes to these factors? These are very serious and vital factors that have led to the grave situation we are facing today. Of a course combined with them is the behaviour of the hoarders and profiteers and the traders.

' know we have not been able to control them. In the economy in which we are living in this country today, in this set-up, if we want to combat these social evils I do not think Government alone can do it; I do not think that Mr. Dikshit alone can do it; I do not think that legislation alone can do it. Governmental action and legislation must be combined with people, efforts and only then such widespread and deeprooted evils can be combated. Our Prime Minister and the Finance Minister than once gave a call for consumer-resistance to the rise in prices. May I know what is the contribution of the opposition parties to any movement of consumer-resistance to the rise in prices? How many hoarders and profiteers have they detected and brought before the police? Have they so that the police could arrest them? Al) right, we have failed, we are in league with blackmarketeers, but what have you done? Let us search our hearts. (*Time bell rings*). So, if the situation has come to this, everybody is responsible.

(*Interruption*)

SHRI N.G. GORAY: Do you want us to intervene like that? You say that I have no answer, but I have an answer for every question that he has raised.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: But you wrongly arrest the people and not the hoarders. I can give you any number of instances.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I have heard you. I am answering. As far as my experience and information goes, it is not that.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: I can give you any number of cases.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: The basic question is, the Government may take any measure and any step to control prices, but unless production rises no other measure

is going to help. Other measures would not help unless the basic problem is solved. Production must be raised. For the fall in production I am not blaming anybody. If the Government's policies are wrong, you point out how the Government's policy is not correct, but as regards your own efforts in the direction of rise in production what have you done? Strikes and Bandhs Mr. Bhupesh Gupta tells us that price rise leads to strikes and bandhs, but unfortunately strikes and bandhs also lead to price rise. It is a vicious circle. A rise in price leads to strikes and bandhs and strikes and bandhs lead to a rise in prices.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : I want to point out...

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : I want to finish my speech.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN :that 60 per cent of the strikes in the last twenty year in India were only for an increase in dearness allowance, and not for any increase in wages, in order to avoid an erosion of wages.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : You have not got my point. My point is that it is a vicious circle.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Let him finish his speech.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : This vicious circle must be broken somewhere. And to break this vicious circle the only thing that we, you and everybody else can do in this country is at least not to have strikes and bandhs for three to five years. I know that the people have a right to protest....

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : The anti-labour policy comes out.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : Let them protest by demonstration. There are so many ways of protest, but I appeal to

[Shri Bipinpal Das]

you in the name of the millions of poverty-stricken people, in the name of the down trodden people, in the name of those who are actually suffering from the rise in prices, in the name of everybody, in the name of faith in democracy and in this country. I appeal to the left parties, I appeal to my own party-men in INTUC that at least for some time for three to five years, voluntarily we should decide not to have strikes and bandhs and keep the wheels of production and distribution moving. If you do that, I think you will come to some solution. (*Time bell rings*). I am concluding. Two more points I will just mention. One is about black money.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : My friend can say these things even without straining his lungs too much. We can understand him, even if he speaks slow.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That is his style.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : You will hear what I am going to say about black money.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : You do it, but you can do it slowly too.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : I am used to speaking like this for hours. You can ask Mr. Borooah. He will tell you. They say that we take black money for election funds, a major cause of all these troubles.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : इसमें कोई आशंका है क्या ?

4 P.M. SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : Shri Kuldip Nayar is not a Congressman, he is the Resident Editor of the Statesman. The Statesman is a paper which is not our admirer. Shri Kuldip Nayar often writes against our party, very critically. But this is the report he has written on UP elections. I am not taking the time of the House by reading out the whole thing, but only one sentence only to please and satisfy my

esteemed friend, Shri Pitamber Das. "No party seemed to lack money." I ask you, if the Congress Party takes money from businessmen for election funds, where do you get the.....

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra) : Because they are doing something wrong, therefore you should do it ?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : I am not saying that. I am only stating a fact of a situation in this country. If the Congress Party takes money from the businessmen, you also take money from them, otherwise, you cannot fight the elections. Therefore, let us talk about black money, but do not connect that with election funds or the Congress Party's policies. If the Congress Party's policies are wrong, criticise and condemn on merit, not otherwise.

I come to Niren Babu. He made a very interesting speech yesterday. He said that this is a multi-national country, this is a multi-national State. Sir, with all respect to Shri Niren Ghosh he is a very good friend of mine—such imported concepts from outside will not help this country but will only encourage the forces of disintegration in this country. This country is not a multi-national State, this country is a multi-lingual nation.

(Interruption by Shri Niren Ghose and Dr. K. Mathew Kurian)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Dr. Kurian and Mr. Niren Ghosh, no, no. Let him finish his speech now.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : About Gujarat I do not want to go into details because this has already been discussed in the House over a Calling Attention Motion. Things are very bad about Gujarat, no doubt. Shri Goray, Niren Babu and Bhupesh Babu condemned the Congress Party as the only villain of the piece. We have nothing to hide—there are dissensions within the Congress Party there. You say, we are the

citadel of corruption. You condemn the Congress Government, you criticise and condemn my party. We do not mind. You have a right. But at least say one word of condemnation against the violence committed by the students and some sections of the people. Please do it. You are the votaries of democracy, non-violence and all that. But how can you tolerate the looting and burning of grocery shops, attack on banks and policemen, attack on the peaceful citizens and trying to take forcibly the signature of MLAs and MPs and forcing them to resign, those elected by the people ? How is it that one hundred or two hundred people force an MLA or an MP to resign. This is the politics of gangsterism, of fascism. I conclude my speech with a note of warning... whom ?

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: To whom?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS :.... to those parties who are encouraging this kind of violence, this kind of tactics in Gujarat : If you encourage this kind of violence and method, ultimately even you cannot reap the benefit of this. Leftists and socialists and Communists, you cannot reap the benefit. The situation will lead to chaos and disorder and advantage will be taken of by the fascist forces which are waiting in the wings. Let me remind them of what happened in Germany after the great depression of 1929. It is because of the bungling of the socialists and the Communist of Germany that the Nazis came to power. I hope you will take a lesson from it. Do not encourage those dangerous forces. Criticise the Government by all means, but condemn the peoples' violent action also.

Only then you can save democracy, and if you do not do that the whole system will be wiped off and fascism in some form or the other will come to appear in this country. This is the warning that I want to give to all of you.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : The only comment that I offer to my friend—I am very friendly with him—is that whatever he has said he has almost completely identified the Congress administration with the Nixon administration.

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT (Nominated) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of participating in the discussion on the President's Address. Sir, I hope the axe of time will not fall only on me.

Sir, the President dealt with both the international and the national situation and I should like to say a few words about both.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri V. B. Raju)

In the Chair] I take the international first. The President's Address dealt with a world which is topsy turvy today. Only yesterday the dollar was fumbling and faltering. The European Community was believed to be a rising new power. Japan was regarded as the economic giant of the next century. Today the dollar has firmed up. At the first whiff of reality the European community is in disarray and Japan is dithering on the verge of an expected zero rate of growth.

The oil crisis has engulfed the entire world. This crisis was brewing for quite some time and would have come in any case. Proven reserves in the non-communist world today are 500 billion barrels. The world demand would rise by 1980 to 85 million barrels per day compared to 39 million barrels per day in 1970. This would mean that at the 1980 consumption level, there would be only ten years, supply left after that unless new oil reserves are found. No doubt new oil reserves will be found. At the same time there is little doubt about the eventual exhaustion of all this fuel. Even though the United States is least

affected by the oil crisis and even though it is rapidly trying to develop new oil resources, the problem will be mounting year after year. By 1980 the United States will consume 39 million barrels per day and domestic production will meet only two-thirds of this. In other words, as much as 8 million barrels a day will have to come from abroad even for the United States.

The Arab nations had made three major points which deserve appreciation :

(i) that prices have been raised not only by the Arab oil producing countries but also by others. Iran, for instance, Venezuela, Indonesia, Nigeria etc.

(ii) The oil companies have been making fat and fabulous profits, manipulating prices and charging exorbitant rates. The Arabs ask why should these oil companies be allowed to garner such heavy profits ?

Sir, only a few days ago, I was reading in the "International Herald Tribune" that the West German Government has given proof to the European Economic Community about the manipulation of prices by the oil companies. They have also said that the prices of other commodities like foodstuffs and machinery have also been shooting up and nobody squealed when the prices of manufactured goods were going up. However, Sir having said all that, and having accepted the logic of our Arab friends, I hope, at the same time, that our Arab friends will realise that the one country which they wanted to hurt most, the United States, has been as yet only marginally affected, while their friends are in dire straits. Obviously, I am quite sure that our Arab friends do not believe that our disaster can possibly be their gain. Therefore, it is quite apparent that the

only way out at present, apart from other steps that we will take, is a joint consideration, by fellow-developing countries and the oil producing countries, of special measures, one of them being a dual price mechanism. Sir, when I say dual price mechanism, it is not really such an extraordinary thing. I have done some calculation and I find that the dual price mechanism—that is to say higher prices for the advanced countries, and special concessional rates for the less developed countries—will not involve a very great loss to the petroleum producing countries. Of the total consumption in the world in 1980, the share of the United States will be 24 million barrels per day, the share of Western Europe, 28 million barrels, the share of Japan, 14 million barrels and the share of all the others put together, 19 million barrels per day. Sir, about 70 million barrels per day will be sold for very high prices while only 15 million barrels per day will be sold at concessional rates. Therefore, the only sensible solution lies in goodwill and mutually beneficial agreements negotiated among the developing countries. One example is the recent agreement with Iran. I welcome it. I am glad that Iran has taken certain reasonable positions in recent times. I hope that similar arrangements will be made by others, particularly the dual price mechanism that we are suggesting. Of course, in addition we will have to explore more energetically our own oil reserves. We also have to explore and develop expeditiously other sources for fuel and energy and we will have to turn immediately to coal technology.

Now, Sir, I would like to say a few words about the Indian Ocean area. Much has been said about it this morning. Mr. Advani my esteemed Colleague made a great deal of mention about it. I should like to say that the Indian Ocean has historically been an ocean of trade, commerce and friendship. It is an Afro-Asian ocean. Now disturbing

developments are taking place. The United States is building a full-fledged military base in Diego Garcia. Warships of various powers will be running up and down the ocean, and the tragedy and folly and recklessness of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean will be repeated in the Indian Ocean because, let us not make any mistake, all the tensions of Europe will be transferred to the Indian Ocean. Rivalry will breed rivalry; warships will invite warships; and base will reproduce base. Sir, what are we objecting to? Some of our friends mentioned this morning that we must equally denounce all powers. Now, personally—and I am sure the Government has the same stand—I am against all bases, whether they are Russian or American. I am against all warships, whether they are Russian or American or British or French. But I think historical realities should also be considered. The chronology of events must not be lost sight of. In the first instance, this ocean was historically dominated by British imperialism.

When the British power declined, in came other powers like the United States. Now they say that since the Soviet Union will be coming here, will be increasing its presence, we are also taking steps to meet the eventuality. Now, what Alec Douglas Home said was an exercise in sophistry, I would like to make two or three points in this respect. First of all, the Russians have no permanent presence in the Indian Ocean. Their warships have been coming in the recent years, for the last two or three or three or four years, and for three or four months they stay and they go away whereas the United States has three warships permanently based in the Indian Ocean, the British have seven, and in addition the Seventy Fleet has extended its jurisdiction to the Indian Ocean. And the United States and Britain are building permanent bases. The Russians have no base. I would like to quote just two or three sentences from it*

[Dr. Vidya Prakash Dutt] report of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs on the Indian Ocean region in Australia. In this the Committee says, "The Committee was presented with a number of reports which suggested that the USSR was obtaining or negotiating for full base facilities at Visakhapatnam (India), Mauritius,.... etc. In all cases the Committee found the suggestions unsubstantiated and can reasonably conclude that no country has offered nor intends to offer to the USSR in the near future the full base facilities described above. This is not to say that the Russians are not permitted to land or enjoy 'similar facilities afforded to other powers'. And finally I would like to mention that the Russians on four different occasions have offered to sit down and discuss with all the powers concerned including the Indian Ocean powers for a solution to the problem to make it an ocean of peace. But unfortunately the Western powers have not responded. Therefore, I am not saying that we should not condemn the presence of warships of other countries; we should condemn all of them. But I am mentioning the chronology of history as it has taken place. Why do we object? Because, these bases and these warships will become instruments to threaten and intimidate and browbeat Afro-Asian countries and any trouble anywhere, any resurgence anywhere, any reform movement anywhere, if the big power does not like it, then it will use every power at its command to throttle such movement. Therefore, pressure will be exerted on Persian Gulf countries like Iraq, Asian countries like Afghanistan and India and South Africa will be utilised to put pressure on African countries like Zambia and Tanzania. And so some people have asked, "After all, why should we make so much noise about it? What is the use of making so much noise?" Well, we know in the arrogance of power which Sir Alec Douglas Home recently exhibited, some power are determined to go ahead. But at the same

time only by making a hell of a noise against the doings of the big powers and only by mobilising world opinion, we hope that some restraint will be put on these powers; otherwise, they will ride roughshod over other countries.

I should like to say a few words about the internal situation. The President has mentioned economic hardship, rising prices, shortages, disappearance of essential goods and so on and so forth. This has been discussed and mentioned by many distinguished colleagues here whose knowledge and experience of the Indian situation is much greater than that of mine. I would like to submit that I am one of those who believe that fundamentally it is not an economic crisis, but a crisis of significant political dimensions. There is enough food in the country. There has been a record crop in Indian history this year, last year. So, it is not that there is not enough food in the country. There is also an adequate infrastructure for industry in the country. It is not as if there is no industrial base in the country. Therefore, it is not the economic content of the crisis which is at the heart of the problem but the political content. Today the Government unfortunately is having the worst of the two worlds. It has neither the advantages of control nor the irrefragability of free trade. And unfortunately we are all suffering from dichotomy of thinking. We say on the one hand that the Government must supply food and other essential commodities at reasonable prices. And on the other we say that the Government should have no control over the distribution of food. These two cannot go together...

AN HON. MEMBER: Who said?

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT: I am meeting a point that most of the opposition parties other than you are making that the Government committed a colossal mistake

by taking over the control over food trade. In the first place, let us go back to history and find out how did this measure come at but. This measure was undertaken when food prices were shooting up in the country and when the whole country was in uproar and in order to control the situation this measure was undertaken. But now if you say that this must be given up, then it must equally be accepted that the Government will therefore not be held responsible for the supply of essential commodities at reasonable prices. There might still be a case for decontrol. I have heard those people who do not want controls and who believe that controls have led to corruption and that controls will be a failure in any case, saying: "You decontrol; you take away all the restrictions". Now the point is, will the prices rise or fall down? Obviously, if our experience in the past is any guideline, the prices will rise. There are others who say; Let there be a price rise by 15 per cent. At least the things will be available. There will be no shortages in that case. Therefore, the anger of the middle class people will be assuaged and since the middle classes dominate the political system it is still feasible to go in for decontrol. With all respect to my esteemed friend Shri Goray, even Gujarat is a middle class phenomenon. There, the working class has not been affected. Not a single mill has stopped working and no worker has abstained from work. Therefore, it is a middle class phenomenon, whether in the urban areas or in rural areas..

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): What about the working classes who have gone on strike in Bombay and Calcutta? What is their reaction?

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT: Let me deal with the points raised by others. I do not disagree with some of the points.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: What about the strikes by working classes?

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT: I will come to that. I was saying that Gujarat is still a middle class phenomenon. The anger and alienation is among middle class or lower middle class sections and as political scientists we have to consider this situation. How is it that still the poorest sections of the people are working for the Congress? Even in U.P. I am told that the poorest sections, the Harijans and all the backward classes and all those who are afraid of highcas, tyranny have voted for the Congress. This process has to be analysed. If you want to assuage the anger and wrath of middle classes who dominate the political system, then take away controls and things will be available even if they cost you 15 or 30 per cent more. The other solution is to come down heavily on at least 100 or 200 hoarders in the country. You whip them or parade them on the streets and then you will find that the crisis will disappear, within two weeks. As a student of political science I make bold to say that if today you come down heavily on the hoarders, this crisis will become manageable. Now, Sir, it has been said—I think my esteemed colleague, Shri Goray, also had mentioned—that these steps are not taken because of the combination of business corruption with political corruption and that it is these people with black money who would support the political parties and all that. Probably it is correct. But, at the same time, it is also correct to say that this money is going to all the political parties and that the elections are being fought by the political parties with this money. I think it is not fair to single out one political party. I think the problem of this country today, is the combination of business corruption and political corruption, putting an intolerable strain on the political system and this kind of high money-powered electioneering is becoming an exercise

[Dr. Vidya Prakash Dutt] irrelevance and no longer is it answering the needs of the people and the demands of the political system. Therefore, obviously all the political parties will have to consider what steps they can take to keep the elections out of the purview of this black money. Finally, Sir,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Mr. Dutt, you have to wind up now.

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT: I am just finishing. Sir.

Many economists have said that there should be a strict control over money supply, that deficit financing must be kept strictly under control and that one of the problems of this country now is too much money supply. Probably, one of the problems of the whole of the western world is too much money supply and I have no quarrel with this analysis. I think there should be a strict control over money supply and with all the other measures that the economists are suggesting for controlling the money supply I have no quarrel and I support them. But I would like to say that fundamentally this is not an economic crisis, but a political crisis, which has to be dealt with not only at the economic level, but also at the political level because the transformation of this country, the elimination of the stupendous poverty, the transformation process that is required in this country—all these also require not only financial discipline, not only tightening our belts, but also the strictest austerity and willingness to sacrifice which must begin from the top first and percolate to the bottom. But, unfortunately, only the organised Sections—the intellectuals, the professionals the politicians, the organised working class—are taking away all the cake in the country whereas the people who are really suffering are not in a position at present even to raise their voices. Therefore

the transformation that is to take place in the country and the elimination of the poverty, the stupendous poverty, that is there require the involvement of the masses and that involvement can be brought about only if there is a combination of viable political and viable economic measures. This is what I would like to submit, Sir. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Now, Mr. Borooah will speak.

SHRI D. K. BORROAH: Sir, I will be very brief and I have no intention of taking away the time of the honourable Members who have a lot to say.

Sir, I have been watching this debate for the last two days and I always thought that democracy is not only an objective, but is also a method and through this method, by accepting what is called the sovereignty of discussions, we arrive at a policy and that policy is generally accepted in the country. **Sir**, our economic situation is certainly very critical although I would not say that it is very desperate. It is critical because of the high prices which are due to inflation which again is a world phenomenon. It is also due to shortages, both of things produced in this country as well as those imported from outside. True, Sir, we have had a fairly good crop. **But** then one good crop cannot in one season wipe out the deficit which is a hangover of the last two or three years.

Sir, it is a matter of happiness for us that certain States in this country have gone ahead with agricultural development and are producing surplus that is made available to those areas which are in short supply so far as foodgrain is concerned. Nevertheless, we have to bear in mind, Sir, that these States have been enabled to develop their agriculture because a massive support from the Centre was made available to them. The

big hydel projects, canals, the electrification of rural areas and also, Sir, the tube wells, inputs, supplies of diesel oil and LSD—all that, Sir, really contributes, along side their own endeavour, to the agricultural development of those areas. And for that Sir, other parts of India have had to make some sacrifice. Let's not forget this. If there is electricity today in every village in Haryana and many villages in Punjab, let us not forget that large areas in eastern U.P., large areas in Bihar, the majority areas of Orissa and majority areas of Assam and Madhya Pradesh are without electricity. If canals have been built in these areas, the other areas are without any facility of irrigation, including Nana Saheb Goray's home State of Maharashtra.

Similarly, Sir, industries in certain areas have been developed. I can bear with this with at least two or three industries. The entire drug industry is located in two States—Maharashtra and Gujarat. Eighty per cent of the chemical industry is located in Maharashtra and Gujarat, providing them a lot of employment and openings for economic advancement to the middle class, than in Assam, Orissa or Madhya Pradesh. So, therefore, Sir, we do not want to take away the grain from the cultivator. But certainly we want that he should sell this grain at a fair price to those people who are today without all these facilities in order that their areas may also be developed. So, therefore, I suppose there is nothing wrong in that if we ask rich 'kisans' who have been the beneficiaries of green revolution to share some of their prosperity with those 'kisans' or those landless labourers or those working class people who have contributed towards development.

Similarly, Sir, the other day a Maharashtra Minister came to me with a long shopping list of industries—it may be three figures. Soon after him came the Industries Minister from Madhya Pradesh. So this difference

between development also is a very important factor. But if so happens, Sir, that Gujarat, which is one of the most prosperous States in India, and Maharashtra, which is industrially much more prosperous than any other State, have thrown up a large middle class. Sir, it seems that whenever there is a prosperous middle-class, aspirations also grow and what also grows is what is known as 'consumerism'. They like to consume things. Therefore, Sir, the standard of living rises and the aspirations rise. Therefore they get annoyed very easily if there is any shortage of any kind.

Sir, Mr. Nirn Ghosh belongs to the CPI (M). He is not satisfied by calling himself a communist. He also wants to particularise that he is a marxist. Sir, in my younger days, I was also a fairly good student of marxist philosophy. I can speak in his jargon which he would have understood if he had been here. What is a revolution? According to marxist terminology, a revolution is one which introduces a social change. By whom? By the advanced corps of revolution. Who are they? They are the working class and the peasantry. A combination of the peasantry and the working class brings about a social revolution. It is the marxist theory. It is an inevitable thing. What happened in Gujarat? Did the working class or the landless labourers start the agitation? They should have been in the vanguard of the movement. Are they there? The working class and the landless labourers are being exploited by the big kisans. It is the middle class, if I may be permitted to use the marxist phraseology, the bourgeois, the petty bourgeois and the lumpen proletariat who started this movement. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, who should have known better, equates them with the people of Gujarat.

SHRI C. D. PANDL (Uttar Pradesh). He himself is a bourgeois.

SHRI D.K. BOROOAH: So am I. There is nothing wrong in that. The point is that today what we have seen is not the advanced corps of socialist revolution. It is petty bourgeois and the lumpen proletariat, the urban nobles. Then there are students also who come from these classes. Mr. Niren Ghosh wants that every State should be like Gujarat. He wants to convert every State into Gujarat. What will he do by that. He will give political domination to the bourgeois as against the working class and the landless labourers who should have been in the forefront of this movement. He knows the current history as well as I do. There are student movements and student movements. There was a student movement in France which dislodged General De Gaulle. There was also a student movement in Indonesia nearer home when President Sukarno was dislodged and the communist party was liquidated along with Us leadership. It was also done by students. I am talking of Indonesia. The entire communist party with its leadership, Mr. Aidit, was liquidated by the students and they installed there an authoritarian regime and a pro-Western and a pro-American regime. Therefore, let us not jump into any fray where there is trouble. We must scrutinise. We must bring to bear the light acquired by deep study of marxist ideology. So, from the point of view of his own attitude, he should have condemned it as right reaction. And he should have fought against it. Whom are they fighting? They are fighting the democratic process. Democracy as I said is not merely an ideal; it is a method of achieving that ideal also. Democracy can be achieved only by universal adult franchise...

AN HON. MEMBER: And also the right reaction.

SHRI D.K. BOROOAH: Not in every country. There are one or two countries.

Sir, this Government which was installed was not installed from above. It was elected by the people of Gujarat. So, the best way was to send them away, pack them* away by a vote of no-confidence, if they could do it. But what they did? They took the law into their own hands and resorted to extra-democratic method, without proving that they enjoyed the confidence of the entire mass of Gujarat. What have the bourgeois class, the petty bourgeois and the lumpen proletariat done? They created a situation in which the Chief Minister who enjoyed the confidence of the majority had to resign. Not only that. Members who were elected on universal adult franchise by the people of Gujarat have been forced by a handful of people to resign. And evidently they could not withstand the fury of the mob; They resigned. Do you encourage this? Is it not antidemocratic and authoritarian? I would like to ask the hon. Members of this House, including my esteemed friend, Mr. Niren Ghosh—He has been a fighter ever-since I remember and certainly it is a fact that he has no shelter over his head to protect himself from sun-Shine or rain. I have great respect for him. But I would like him to consider this very deeply and not to be swayed by emotion. Sir, Marxism should teach us to be scientific and methodical and not to be emotional. Therefore, from his point of view also, it is he who should have been the first man to condemn this violent, anti-democratic and authoritarian conduct by the lumpen proletariat and the petty bourgeois. But he has not. Evidently, Marxism has undergone a revision in his thinking. Another dangerous thing he has said yesterday. And it hurt me very much. In this country we have been taught ever-since Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene and earlier also by our leaders, Aurobindo Ghosh and Rabindranath Tagore, that we are Indians. Although we have diversified pattern of language and culture, my experience as well as your experience

must be that we stemmed out of the branches of the same tree. With a little difference in accent, the Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Mai-thili and Purva Hindi, can be understood easily. But what is said is that we are a multinational country and that we are nationalities in a single State. Sir, the two-nation theory has played havoc with India. The wounds are not yet healed. This multinational theory will split India as under and will make India a prey for all the birds of prey, whether they come from the South or across the seas or across the Himalayas. Sir, it hurt me when he related the demand of autonomy, the partition of Bengal. They did not fight against the partition of Bengal. Aurobindo Ghosh, Uppadyaya Brahmni, and the Great Christian Saint did not fight against the partition of Bengal. Surrendranath Bannerji and Bipin Chandra Pal did not fight for partition of Bengal alone. They fought for the unity of India. They felt that the partition of India would strike at the root of the Indian nationalism.

Therefore, Sir, we learnt that we are Indians. We learnt that India is a great country. The people from all parts of the world have come and settled here and we all are part and parcel of our culture and intellectual heritage. That is a fact of life. Every language and every religion has contributed to the greatness of India.

Sir, I was amused the other day. Urdu is written from right to left. Sanskrit is written from left to right. But, then, these two scripts were in existence in India from Ashoka's time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Some of you do not write either of them.

SHRI D.K. BOROOAH: The prakrit language in western India is written from right to left but in some parts it is written from left to right. So, this is a country which has accepted many differences. This

is a country which has assimilated different cultures.

Now, here comes another Bengali who says that we are a country of different nationalities. Sir, I do not think that he and I come from different nationalities. Howsoever much he may say that he belongs to Bengali nationality, I do not believe that he and I are different. We are Indians first, Indians second and Indians last. I think, Sir, a stop must be put to this idea of different nationalities. Mr. Bipinpal Das was right when he said do not import wrong concepts. English language can be very misleading. Nationality also means a nation. Nation may also mean nationality. We have already had the experience of two nation theory—the wounds of which are still healing. They have not healed. They are still healing and they will take time to heal. If you have this theory of multi-nationality and link it up with autonomy, what kind of autonomy that would be. It is a very big country. We have got many States. It would be better to call them Provinces. We cannot have the entire burden of administration in this country laid on the Central Government. We have to share the responsibilities. In Great Britain the Parliament does not carry on the entire burden. A good deal of responsibility is carried on by the municipalities, corporations. The Police force, except in the metropolitan city of London, is controlled by the County Councils. In America the Police force is controlled by the municipality. It is not controlled either by the Federal Government or by the State Government. It is controlled by the municipality, by the municipal corporation of New York. There has to be a division of power, but, not on the basis of nationality. It should be based on administrative convenience. If we do not do that, a day may come when after thinking of nations and nationalities they may think of cessation. Therefore, it is a very dangerous thought.

[Shri D. K. Borooah] I think, Sir, it is better to think of autonomy only for administrative purposes and that can be considered. As I said, Constitution was founded on certain conceptions, certain ideas. The ideas must change. But then the basic idea is that India is one and one only and that we are Indians first, second and last; there can be no change in that conception.

Sir, I was listening to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's speech. He certainly speaks better English than I do.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You must be interested in the results of U.P. it is ten minutes only.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA) : We already know what the results are.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, No Mr. Dikshit is here and Mr. Borooah would certainly be interested in the results.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.B. RAJU) : Now, the Chair has declared yesterday that we are sitting till 6'o clock today and tomorrow and that has to be kept in mind. Results or no results, we will be sitting.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then theic should be a quorum bell. If Mr. Borooah is not interested in the results and wants to speak, I am prepared to hear him.

SHRI D.K. BOROOAH: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta was very critical of the President and the Prime Minister because of the third sentence in the President's Address. He found it very obnoxious.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, no, it is the second sentence.

SHRI D.K. BOROOAH: You did not object to "The people face many hardships

as a result of high prices, scarcity of ejjM-tial commodities," "but your objection was-to "interruptions in production and supply caused by strikes, *bundhs* and unrest in some parts of the country have taken a »io-lentturn." He did object toil. Hemention:d about strikes but has he taken care to read a few pages more, he would have found what the President's Address says. It says: "*The tedious situation created by these develop-ments has been aggravated by hoarding and speculation by unscrupulous traders and by interruptions in production and movement caused by lapses on the part of manage-ment.*" It mentions unscrupulous traders and also "by interruptions in production and movement caused by lapses on the pirt of management". Lastly, it also says: "anl some misguided sections of organised classes. Stocks are also being hoirded by producers and affluent consumers." I suppose, it is a truth. He cannot deny that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He has put the hoarder aid the worker in the sine category.

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH: He has not said about workers. He has said abou! *bundhs* and strikes. These are the reasons for the loss of production. These are facts of life and you can never ignore ihe re ilities. It is a i'.uL

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The reports show that the loss of pri duction is caused even by the labour. Mostly they are responsible for lock outs etc.

SHRI D.K. BOROOAH: What I said was that this ii a very balanc:d statement which only describes the situation as it is without any fear or without any favour.

SHRI CD. PANDE: He belongs to the CPI, he must say that.

SHRI D.K. BOROOAH: I do not gee why he should be unduly agitated.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Bo-rooah, since you are on the point, in the second sentence, a juxtaposition is made of the hoarders, profiteers with the workers, and others going on strike. I was strongly opposing this perverted juxtaposition and I am sure you will agree with me, if not here elsewhere.

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH: Anyway, what I said was that this describes the situation in a very realistic manner and without any special slant for or against anybody.

Therefore, the whole situation today, as I look at it, Sir, is that there is inflation. There is price rise. There are certain matters over which we have no control, as for example, the price of crude oil. If we were crude oil producing country to the extent of our requirement, there would have been no difficulty. But we are not; many countries are not. Now about that we could not do anything. All we could do was to use the good offices of our friends, the Arabs, the Soviet Union and other friends in the neighbourhood. They at least did not stop our supplies. Rather they agreed to give us on what we call deferred payment. Iraq has done it; Iran has done it and I am sure other countries also will agree to this because the Secretary-General himself sponsored this idea in the OPEC when he came and discussed it. We cannot do more than that. In the meanwhile we are trying to intensify our drilling in our country. We have entered into an agreement with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Minister himself came here. He is himself a very well-known expert of oil fields. He came with 9 experts. All of them went round our oil fields and they thought it was a very prospective oil field in Assam and also in Gujarat and we are entering into agreement with them. We have prepared a scheme and we are getting new rigs and we will intensify our drilling. As you know, in Bombay High, our boys are working very hard. I must pay a tribute to the workers headed

by Capt. Sulekar. They have done an excellent job and by all account, it has been a good find. But in this matter of off-shore drilling, a cautious optimism is called for. Therefore, Sir I feel that we are doing in that sphere what is possible under the circumstances. Sir, Great Britain still claims to be a more powerful country than us. Their Finance-Minister had to wait for two hours in the ante room to meet the Shah at St. Mauritz with the Minister of Industries. As I mentioned, one of the Deputy Prime Ministers of one of the most affluent country of the world had to spend 20 days in Kuwait. But, perhaps, we have been spared. Our Arab friends have treated us much more kindly.

Sir I am not an economist but one thing is certain. One of the reasons of inflation, apart from what I said, is the high price of imported stuff like fertilizer. It was selling at 70 dollars last year. Now it is 330 dollars per tonne. In this country we produce 50 percent of the fertilizers ourselves and 50 per cent we import. Now the price has gone up from 70 to 330 dollars per tonne. We cannot help it. Therefore, our problem is to see that our production of fertilizer increases. It is a fact that one ton of fertilizer is equal to 5-1/2 tonnes of foodgrain. You cannot increase production of foodgrain unless we increase the input and that is going to be very risky that input may be reduced because of non-availability and also high price of imported fertilizer. We have bought fertilizer from the Soviet Union; we are also trying to get it from East European countries. But as I said we may run the risk of shortfall in the inputs. So it is our business that we must produce more fertilizer in this country. Our workers, our engineers in the fertilizer factories must work to the optimum capacity of the fertilizer plants. The fertilizer plants which are under construction must be

[Shri]D. K. Borooah] accelerated. All this is necessary. But, Sir, in this country, production in every 5 P. M. sphere must increase. One of the reasons for inflation and high price is scarcity. Whenever a particular thing becomes a scarce commodity the price rises and one of the reasons for inflation has been too much money chasing too few goods.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Artificial scarcities are also there.

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH : I know. But we cannot forget this factor that there are too few goods. And if the goods are few the answer is that we have to produce more. In this national effort at production everybody must play his role. I know in this country more mandays were lost last year because of lock-outs than of strikes. I also know that in public sector the loss in mandays is only less than one-tenth of that in the private sector although we engage equal number of people. Even so it is not only a question of avoiding strikes; that is a negative step. We have also to make a positive attempt at increasing production at all levels and for that everybody has to co-operate; everybody who has a sense of belonging to this country must co-operate in increasing production. That is one of the surest ways of halting high prices. There is no other way out. Therefore we should today thing in tonnes of increased production and that can be done only when you create a democratic climate in this country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But under capitalism there is this new phenomenon. Under capitalism there has been a spurt in production in a number of western countries but along with the increased production the prices have also risen. Therefore the price rise taking place because of lack of production is not a correct appraisal of the situation. The capitalist economy has created such a situation

that when production goes up the price spiral also takes place. A case in point for us is our food production.

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH : I am coming to that. In fact, before you entered the House I started with the problem of distribution. I said production and equitable distribution must go hand in hand. There is no point in having a bumper crop in Haryana when the landless labourer in Bihar is starving. Therefore production must go hand in hand with equitable distribution. This is true not only of agricultural products but also of industrial goods. From that there is no escape. I said yesterday morning and I again repeat that there is no escape from a public distribution system.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But you are shrinking away from it.

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH: I am coming to that. It has nothing to do with any ideology. I was in Japan in 1956. Japan at that time was ruled by Macarthur or Macarthur had just left. It is a capitalist country with an Emperor, yet the entire foodgrain trade there is in the hands of the State. There is no private trade in food grains in Japan. It is collected by the co-operatives and sold by the State. If the State has to take the responsibility of feeding the people it must have stocks in hand. Prof. Dutt was very right in saying that if you say that the State should not procure then you must also absolve the State of its responsibility to feed the people.

If you want the State to take upon itself the responsibility for feeding the people, then you must also give them the right to procure. There is no escape. If we want to discharge our responsibilities for feeding the people, then we have to take upon ourselves the onerous burden of procurement and distribution. There is no escape from that.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: You should bite only that must, which you can chew.

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH: I will come to that. As I said, it is possible that in a number of States, in Maharashtra, distribution is made through co-operatives. In certain areas co-operatives have not been built up and, therefore, distribution is not there. West Bengal, I am sorry to say, never built any infra-structure for procurement because the Government of India has taken upon itself the responsibility of feeding West Bengal.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, no. That is not proper. It is because of their connections with the Jotdars.

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH: Not now, but even before. Yet in the humble State of Assam, since 1962 when I was the Minister of Irrigation and I was also in charge of co-operative procurement, we have had compulsory procurement up to the wholesale level. It still continues. It is an under-developed State and intellectually not so bright as they are.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If I were to put you in the Writers Building in Calcutta, I would have to put two security guards because otherwise the Jotdars may kidnap you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.B. RAJU): I am afraid the Minister's time is being taken away by these interruptions.

SHRI D.K. BOROOAH: I am finishing. I am here to explain myself. I am not good at controversy. I have never been a lawyer.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But what are you talking about now?

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH: I am talking about something different. This morning Mr. Advani, the leader of the Jan Sangh, was speaking. Usually he is a soft-spoken man, but I noticed today, Sir, he was some

what rattled. As I said, democracy is not only an objective. It is a method. It is* also a process and procedure. If you do not accept the democratic procedure, you are not likely to get the democratic objective. He said something very interesting. Two things he said. One was that the Prime Minister has been telling falsehoods.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is that?

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH: He said that the Prime Minister has been telling falsehoods in the elections. Then, the question was put to him as to whether he heard the speech. He said 'No.' Then, the Prime Minister said: I never spoke like that. It is very interesting. The Prime Minister said that he never spoke like that and he said that he did not hear her and yet he made this accusation. If it had come from an enthusiastic, younger Member of the party I could understand it, but he is the President of the Jan Sangh who claims to represent the best in our cultural traditions. That is their claim. Yes, Sir, he made this accusation. I am not here and I do not have to defend the Prime Minister. If anything, it may be that she may have to defend me at some time or other.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: She is defending all of you.

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH: I know, but then what he said was that the Prime Minister had told falsehoods. On what basis? On the basis of something he did not hear. It is very interesting. Hear say is no evidence. Mr. Pitamber Das is one of the topmost criminal lawyers.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: But the moment the Prime Minister said that she did not say so, it was accepted. It should have been accepted and it was accepted.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT): Not at the same moment, but much later.

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH: Whatever it is, we have to set an example before the country. We are in a glasshouse whereby, whatever we may do in private life, here in public at least we have to maintain the democratic methods.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I hope our private life will not be discussed in Parliament.

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH: I do not know whether it will happen.

Therefore I would request—if we want democracy, we must maintain the sovereignty of discussion and sovereignty of discussion can be there only when we follow the democratic procedure in our discussions. Sir, about repetition there is a story—if your argument is weak, do not argue, repeat your argument. It is sometimes necessary. I can understand....

SHRI BABUBHAT M. CHINA!): Repetition loses its charm.

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH : Therefore, I would suggest—let us function in this House and outside—all political parties—in a democratic manner, and we accept the democratic verdict. He was telling me whether I would be watching the results. Certainly, I would be watching the results with great interest. But if the results go against the Congress, we will accept that verdict because it is the people's verdict. If the people accept the Congress, we will be cheerful. If they reject us, we will be unhappy. That does not mean that we will repudiate the decision of the people.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But are you sure that the reaction within your party will be exactly the same among all the members?

SHRI D. K. BOROOAH: Sir, the Congress Party is wedded to democracy, wedded to socialism, but wedded to socialism through democratic means. In this country we got

swaraj by the involvement of the people through: a mass democratic process. Therefore, democracy is the *summum bonum* of the Congressman's life, if he is worthy of a Congressman. Therefore, if any Congressman does not accept the verdict of the people and repudiates it and starts throwing brickbats and breaks glass panes and goes on a rampage in the streets, he will not be worthy of being a Congressman.

Therefore, I feel that today the most important factor, the most important problem, before us is to re-establish rededicate, ourselves to the democratic process, to strengthen the democratic system and through the democratic step let us increase our production, let us have equitable distribution of wealth and of the products both in the industrial and agricultural fields and create a situation in which the common man get his due.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There will be power crisis and oil crisis, but our Oil Minister is not short of fuel anyhow.

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the past year has been a year of crisis and a year of violence. The fury of the violence in Gujarat and now in Maharashtra has made man/ people wonder whether our democracy is in its last days and whether the country is falling apart. Such pessimism, Sir, is totally unwarranted.

In fact, I believe that more damage was done to democracy on the opening day of Parliament by the hon. Members who tried to disrupt the solemn occasion by the President than by the mobs who went on a rampage in Gujarat or elsewhere. When those who are Members of this, the premier democratic institution in the country, can flout the elementary rules of the parliamentary system, when they can

use to the fullest extent their own rights and privileges and at the same time prevent the first citizen of this land from exercising that freedom of speech which is given to aU, then I think we have cause to worry about the future of democracy.

When I say this, I mean no personal disrespect or antagonism to my honourable colleagues, some of whom are my friends and whose ability and intellect I admire. I hope in their less agitated moods they have already recognised the folly of their action. Sir, the violence of the kind we have been witnessing outside in many parts of the country is of a very different nature. For one thing, it is not premeditated. And it is not organised. This kind of violence just happens. It follows certain laws of nature. You cannot arrange thunder or lightning; they occur when certain conditions exist simultaneously. In the same way the violence of Gujarat happened when certain material conditions existed for it. When democracy, in its practical functioning, cannot produce the kind of peaceful change that ordinary people expect from it, the people should not be blamed if they demonstrate their anger. Such a loss of temper on the part of the public does not imply that they have no respect for democracy. On the contrary, it is precisely because of a growing realisation of their own rights and freedoms that they depart occasionally from their normal pattern of behaviour. Indeed, when one travels around in the country today, what strikes one as remarkable is that ordinary people, despite the vehemence of their complaints, have a healthy respect for democracy.

If we take, for instance, the case of the harijans in our country, it is extraordinary how little violence they have been responsible for. When you read in the papers about harijan homes being burnt, harijan women raped—and all these crimes in addition to

I the day-to-day insults that they have to suffer from the so-called higher castes and upper classes, the harijans, have been extraordinarily peaceful. But this peacefulness should not be taken for granted. The resentment of centuries is deposited in their hearts, and if their oppressors do not change their ways soon, there will be - terrible retribution. The emergence of the Dalit Panthers in Maharashtra is a warning which has to be taken seriously. I am certain there will be similar movements in U.P. and Bihar and in Andhra very soon. And whether Shri Borooah calls them petty bourgeois or bourgeois or lumpen proletariat, it will make no difference. It has got to happen and I for one will not be sorry when it happens. By saying this I do not want any one to think that I am encouraging violence or minimising the dangers of violence. Far from it. All that I am trying to say is that we should understand the nature of the violence and the reasons for it, and take measures to remove the causes of the violence, instead of resorting to repressive measures, instead of merely exhorting people to be peaceful and to act according to strict democratic procedures as the President does in his Address.

In the press and from public platforms we have been getting many explanations for the discontent and violence. Most of these explanations seem too simple to me. I think it is important to remember that there is no one reason for people's discontent. The popular outbursts that we see these days are the result of an accumulation

of many grievances, not one or two. It is not only scarcities of commodities and high prices that people are protesting against, though these may be one of the immediate causes. They are really protesting against years of neglect in providing them with simple amenities; they are protesting against

[Shri Abu Abraham] The insolence and the indifference of the bureaucracy, they are protesting against the delays, the corruption, the gross inequalities, the prejudices of class and caste, and a hundred other things that are a part of our social and political scene.

It is clearer today than ever before that our priorities have been wrong. We have failed to provide adequate transport in our towns, to clear the slums, to clean up the streets, provide public lavatories, get rid of flies in our market places. The excuse that we do not have enough funds to do this is not good enough. The reason is basically that in spite of all the radical talk, far too many people, whether they are in Parliament or State Assemblies or Municipal Corporations, still have a feudal attitude to the poor. The needs of ordinary people have not received the attention that they should have, in many parts of the country. Therefore, I say that there has to be a radical change in the mentality of those who exercise power at all levels.

We can no longer take the poor for granted. Sir, a number of speakers, including Shri Borooah, have said that we are one nation. Sir, I think we are two nations, the rich and the poor.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa): Two classes.

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM: Roughly we can classify our people into these two nations, (the rich and the poor. I do not want to speak here about State autonomy. Mr. Borooah mentioned the subject and one or two other speakers also mentioned it. Mr. Borooah does not seem to make a difference between distribution of labour and distribution of power. I want a fairer distribution of power between the States. That will result in greater efficiency, and if only for that efficiency, we should have more autonomy for our States. I do not want to go into that subject now. I will choose another occasion for that.

Sir, in our industrial policies there has been an obsession with luxury articles and middle class consumer goods. And the more the foreign collaboration, the greater has been the distortion of our economy, the greater has been the alienation of our educated and well-to-do classes from our own people. I agree that there is now a belated realisation of the evils of this kind of development, and the Fifth Plan lays great stress on changing this order of priorities. But we must take radical steps to do this. We have to arouse « national consciousness for reversing this trend and to start development from the bottom.

Five years ago, the Chairman of the Administrative Reforms Commission described our dependence on foreign industry as "a sophisticated form of slavery". And the Prime Minister has often spoken of the need for self-reliance. Sir, the worst evil of foreign collaboration is that our people gradually lose their self-confidence. Little by little we seem to be developing the same inferiority complex as we had in the colonial times: the feeling, which seems to be spreading, that we as a nation are incompetent, incapable of doing things ourselves, or doing things well. This mentality has greatly contributed to the extraordinary pessimism that we see all around us. In contrast to this pessimism, it is a refreshing experience to talk to some of our young scientists, among whom we have talent and ability of an order that is as high as anywhere else in the world. They do not feel pessimistic. On the contrary, they feel that given the right political direction, they can transform this country.

A remarkable recent trend is that many of these scientists have come to the conclusion that Gandhi was the greatest revolutionary of our time, that Gandhism is the true path for our salvation— not the primitive, narrow-minded, puritanical, ascetic type of Gandhism that many so-called Gan-

dhians preach, bui a moder". scientific Gandhism, where die best skills and the mD3t sophisticated technology are put to the service of tlie poor and the backward people of this country.

Sir, we talk of an energy crisis. But what are we doing about it? Nothing much except to raise the price of petrol. What has happened to the ideas of using the sun's energy ?]n Israel, virtually every house lias got a little apparatus to use sun's rays for cooking, lighting and for all sorts of things. Why can't we have the same? We have got in this country unlimited sources of energy such as sun, wind and manure gas (or gobar gas). Why don't we se.t about seriously to use these forms of energy? Why are we delaying the introduction of a five-day week in our offices and schools? Won't that be a saving of energy? Does anyone seriously thmk that people actually work on Saturdays in our public offices? Then why waste petrol in coming and going? Why haven't we changed to day-light-saving working hours in our offices? How long are we going *to take to make* these decisions? These are urgent matters.

What we need to-day is a new, scientific Gandhism. We need a national programme of meeting minimum needs such as education, h,alth, nutrition, drinking water, sanitation, housing and communication. We have goi it in our Fiftli Plan. But such a programme needs advanced scientific thinking and advanced new technologies—technologies which are not imitations of Western ideas but wholly Indian. We have the resources and we have the talent <nd ability. All we need is the will and the imagination and, above all, a true understanding of the revolutionary nature of Gandhian principles. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.B. RAJU) : Mr. Babubhai Chinai.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am thankful to you for calling me to speak. But I want to point out that there is no quorum in the House.

THE VTCE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : All right, we will have the quorum bell rung. Meanwhile you can go on speaking.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : You go on ringing the bell and I will speak when quorum is there. There are hardly seven or eight people in the House and you expect us to speak.

SHRI VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The bell is ringing. You may please start your speech.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Are we speaking for only record purposes ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The bell is ringing.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : By the time quorum is there, we will have finished our speech.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA : People do not come.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Then we can adjourn.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.B. RAJU) : There need be no controversy over it.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : There is no question of a controversy. Either there should be quorum or we should adjourn.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The bell is being rung. You please start, your speech.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Sir, I am thankful to you for calling me at this late hour when there is no quorum...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : But some body has to be called at the late hour.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : I am not reflecting on you, Sir. I am thanking you. on the other hand, that you have bestowed that kindness on me. I would like to refer to . . .

श्री सोतराम सिंह : श्रीमान, कोरम नहीं है। मदन की कार्यवाही कैसे चल सकती है ?

श्री ओम मेहता : कोरम हो गया है ।
[Interruptions] It is not proper that one Independent should take the time of all Independents...

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : What is it ? Will you please repeat it? I have not got you. I have not taken anybody's time...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): You can have it from me. What he said was this that the time must be apportioned between parties and among Independents also...

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : That is right, and I am exercising that right. I am not asking anything more, I am not taking anybody's time. If Mr. Om Mehta thinks that he is obliging me by giving me time, I do not want that at all. I am prepared to forsake it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : He has not addressed you. He has addressed me.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : So I am addressing you, Sir. You can convey it to him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Now there is quorum. You can speak now.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : What I was saying was that I had move an amendment saying,

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

"But regret that the Address does not reveal any programme of action to meet the various problems facing the country."

If you go through the President's Address* you will see that 50 per cent of the space has been occupied on foreign affairs'. And I am one with the President that our foreign policy which has been followed all these years has given us dividends, and we are on the correct path so far as our foreign policy is concerned. What I want to point out to you is that I am not one of those who agree to the suggestion to constitute an all-party Government. If we are going to have a democratic system, then we should go ahead with a two-party system. If we have to evolve a two-party system of democracy, then, this asking for a multi-party national government, according to me, is not a correct suggestion. What I would suggest is that in the hour of difficulty the Government may form an advisory committee taking into consideration...

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA :
Monopolists.

SHRI BABU BHAI M. CHINAI: Monopoly? There is no difficulty about it. It is not a monopoly of yourself...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : You need not respond to him. They will be interrupting you. You continue your speech.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Sir, this is the way of parliamentary tactics which we have been following

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Time is very important. Please come to your speech.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : I will not go beyond my time. The moment you give me a ring, I will sit down.

So, what I am suggesting is that you should have an advisory committee in times of emergency which may consist of Opposition Members also. After all, what is the idea? The idea is to get out of the present difficult situation, whether it is political or economical.

If it is political, it is meant for the political parties to solve it. If it is economical, the political party has to take a lead and others have to support and join and solve the problems of the country.

Another point on which I want to draw the attention of the House is in connection with social objective. At present Government has been able to achieve social objectives, particularly, prevention of further concentration of economic power, only by preventing industrial growth. This is the main conclusion to be drawn from the happenings of the economy during the past few years.

The President's address deals with the difficulties that people are passing through and their mood of anxiety. There is no doubt that never before the Indian economy had been subjected to such severe stresses and strains as those being witnessed now. The economy is faced with inflation, food shortages and lop-sided industrial expansion. The President is kind enough to admit that the Government's failure to stabilise prices even after a good bumper harvest has been due, in some measure to the inflationary situation resulting from deficit financing. Mere admission is not enough, for the question is how the Government proposes to tackle the issue. The time for homilies and appeals is long past. The situation calls for action, both urgent and drastic. Nothing should be left to chance. Experience has shown that the prevailing critical situation cannot be tackled with monetary and fiscal policies alone. In Indian conditions, as the former Governor

of Reserve Bank, Shri L. K. Jha had said. I quote:

If there is abundance of foodgrains, great many risks can be taken on the fiscal and monetary funds without any inflationary upsurge in prices. While there is a shortage of foodgrains, not all the fiscal and monetary restraints can hold the price line.

Growth, no doubt, is basically anti-inflationary in its impact. But if investment is pushed up to a level, well above a level of savings in the community, inflationary force can be generated by growth. Monetary expansion to keep pace with the increased availability of goods and services resulting from growth may be consistent with price stability. But what is dangerous is the belief that deficit financing is a substitute for, rather than a supplement to, resources mobilisation. To control inflation, one hears these days the Government's intention to evolve an income policy designed to regulate not only wages, but all other forms of income as well, including profits, rents and dividends. I am of the view that in the context of Government's failure to control prices and its own expenses and to arrest the role of black money which is playing havoc with the price structure, it is futile to expect that workers or white collar employees will accept wage or salary freeze and much less agree to a moratorium on strikes.

The President's address emphasized the vital importance of maximising procurement as far as foodgrain goes. He has expressed concern over the poor procurement of coarse grains and remarks :

This year's experience in procurement and distribution will be fully considered in taking corrective action for the coming rabi season.

If this implies the decision to relax the take-over of wholesale trade in wheat and avoid the rigidity to fix the procurement

[Shri Babubhai M. Chinai] price, it is all for the good. But the question is : Does this imply ?

There is no doubt that the long-term solution of food deficit is the expansion of domestic production. Though the market deficit is marginal, it has defied solution for more than two decades despite the fact that with the adoption of new technology, the output of rice, wheat and other foodgrains can be multiplied several times the national average production of these crops. Meanwhile, every effort should be made to build a sizeable buffer stock through procurement levies and confiscation, etc. cannot bring in the pipeline all the stocks. Such methods cannot provide protection against scarcities or price hikes in the way that buffer stocks based on imports can.

Sir, the Address dwells at some length on the energy crisis and it refers to the need to co-ordinate the development of coal fields, transportation and power plants and in a mildly critical tone calls on the Ministry of Mines and the Railways to gear 'themselves to the task of raising and moving coal to the various centres of consumption'. The work of oil exploration, whether on-shore or off-shore, has also been moving far too slowly and must be greatly expedited.

Sir, I am of the view that the current international oil crisis can be turned into an excellent opportunity for development and growth. Because of the crisis, the economies of the developed countries which are mostly oil-based are in a process of flux and they have to find a substitute or spend their resources in abundant quantity to make a change-over from oil to some other base. There have been reports of many factories based on oil which are in the process of closure in Japan and West Germany and many other developed countries and there have been enquiries whether India can supply products such as tyres and tubes, sophisticated engineering goods, dyestuffs

and chemicals, etc. Fortunately, India is rich in natural rubber, coal, jute, cotton, etc. In view of the shortage of crude oil, the life of synthetics will not last long. Consequently, there are prospects of revival of agro-based industries. The economists of the world argue that the future of the world economy would hereafter be agro-based until some effective substitute is found out for crude oil. Our country is rich in sugarcane growth. The wastes of sugarcane could be utilised for extracting a substitute for petrol on a commercial scale. We have also much organic waste matter which could also be utilised profitably for producing an effective substitute for petrol.

Sir, the President also speaks of the Draft Fifth Plan and calls for efforts for tackling the various problems. Unfortunately, in the Plan much emphasis is laid on resources generation. But it seems that they have forgotten that resources generation has not been very efficient in the economy. Progress does not depend on the magnitude of the plan. Sir, the first prerequisite, therefore, is full utilisation of the existing capacity. In many industries, the capacity is very much under-utilised, both in the public and private sectors. Although the reasons for this vary from industry to industry, some common factors are the acute shortage of coal, power, transport, raw materials like steel, chemicals, etc. The immediate endeavour of the Government must be to see that these handicaps are removed and the existing production capacity is fully utilised. This will prove to be an excellent handle for the generation of resources for the Fifth Plan.

Then, Sir, it is necessary to see that the future development comes about through expansion of the present undertakings to the extent possible, because such expansion involves much less investment than in new undertakings. This policy measure will help in conserving the resources for fuller

and more diversified development. The licensing system and the MRTP procedures will have to be modified in the light of what I have said just now. The pace of investment in recent years has considerably slackened because the present policy of the Government has not been conducive and new units have been finding it difficult to service loans from the financial institutions. This is one major policy area which requires to be looked into. Similarly, the Government has to review the policy in regard to the inter-corporate sector investment, the investment-dividend ratio, the conversion clause imposed by the financial institutions, etc.

Finally, there is the question whether the target for additional resources mobilisation and market borrowings is realistic. Already the tax rates have reached a high level and it would be imprudent to load the public with additional taxation. Prices are bound to increase and when the savings of the household sector are really seriously affected, possibly, there is some scope for mopping up the resources in the hands of the rich fanners. Income-tax, Corporate Tax or even Excise Duty, which are already excessive, are having a damaging effect. Further, to the extent stocks are held in the banking system, there is creation of additional money and a potential threat to price stability. These have to be carefully gone into, since any further leverage of price is bound to be quite disastrous.

Finally, Sir, I want to say a few words in connection with law and order of the country. Sir, we have witnessed what is happening in Gujarat. We have witnessed what has been happening in Maharashtra for the last three days. I would beseech the hon. Home Minister kindly to take a little more interest in the law and order situation of the country, because a thing which happens in one State is bound to rebound in other States also, with the result that the country will be in chaos if no timely action is taken to see that

and order is maintained in the country.

Thank you, Sir.

श्री सीताराम सिंह : श्रीमान् उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर चर्चा करते हुए सदन का ध्यान, सरकार का ध्यान उस वाक्य की ओर खींचना चाहता हूँ जिसमें कहा गया है कि राष्ट्र संकट की घड़ी से गुजर रहा है। संकट और परीक्षा की घड़ी की जो बात कही गई है वह यही साबित करती है कि 26 वर्षों की आजादी के बाद इस देश की प्रगति नहीं हुई, चौमुखी विकास नहीं हुआ और जनजीवन में सफलता नहीं मिली। तो यह सनद प्रदान करता है कि राष्ट्रपति का यह वाक्य कि यह सरकार अक्षम है, अयोग्य है।

श्रीमान्, राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण टकसाली भाषण है, घिसी-पिटी-वासी दलील है। न उसमें कोई दिशा है, न कोई दृष्टि है। न कोई संकल्प है और न कोई लक्ष्य है।

महोदय, 26 वर्षों की आजादी के बाद श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में राष्ट्र का विघटन हो रहा है, देश टूट रहा है, उद्योग के क्षेत्र में, कृषि के क्षेत्र में गिरावट आ रही है। रोज़ी रोटी के सवाल पर, भाषा के सवाल पर, गाम्प्रदायिकता के सवाल पर, आर्थिक चट्टान पर, अग्न्याय के सवाल पर बल्कि यह कहना ठीक होगा कि देश की प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी विघटन की देवी हैं और पतन की प्रतीक हैं।

इस सरकार की क्या उपलब्धि है? झूठे वायदे, भुखमरी, अकाल, भ्रष्टाचार, कत्ल, लाठी, गोली, करपू और सेना के बल पर राज्य चलाया जा रहा है जम्हूरियत का कत्ल किया जा रहा है।

श्रीमान् चुनाव अपने देश में मञ्चौल बन गया है। सही माने में यहाँ जनतंत्र नहीं चल रहा है, लाठी तंत्र चल रहा है, धन तंत्र चल रहा है। गुण्ठों के बल पर, काले धन के बल पर, चुनाव होता है जिसका लाजिमी नतीजा देखने

[श्री सीताराम सिंह]

को मिलता है। बंगाल में बिरोधी पक्ष के लोग दो उम्मीदवार चुनाव के मैदान से भाग खड़े हुए और सत्तारूढ़ दल के गुण्डों ने लाठियों से हमला किया और वे चुनाव ने हट गये। बिहार में मधुबनी में 24 तारीख को मतदान हुआ है। श्रीमन् एल० एन० मिश्रा जी जो अष्टाचार के प्रतीक हैं 7000 रेलवे सुरक्षा फोर्स को ले गये हैं और वहाँ पर क्रिमिनल गुण्डा गोता चलाया है बूथ पर और लोगों को वहाँ से भगाया गया, ट्रैन बन्द कर दी गई। तो यह चुनाव है यह जनतंत्र है क्या? जनतंत्र तो आखिरी माम गिन रहा है। हम चाहेंगे कि इस पर गंभीरता से समझ विचार करें। यह किसी दल का सवाल नहीं है। यह राष्ट्र का सवाल है।

श्रीमन् पूरे देश में हाहाकार मचा हुआ है रोटी के सवाल पर गल्ले के सवाल पर और सत्तारूढ़ दल के हमारे मित्र धीरज और शान्ति का पाठ पढ़ाने हैं लेकिन एक कवि ने यह कहा है:

शान्ति नहीं जब तक तब तक सुख भाग न नर का सम हो
न ही किसी को बहुत अधिक हो न ही किसी को कम हो।

जब तक इस देश में अमीरों का कैलाश चलेगा और दूसरी तरफ गरीबों का पाताल रहेगा तब तक देश में शान्ति नहीं हो सकती है। आज हाँ क्या रहा है। गरीबी का पाताल दिन प्रति दिन नीचे धंसता चला जा रहा है और अमीरी का कैलाश दिन प्रति दिन ऊँचे उठता जा रहा है।

हमारे कुछ मित्रों ने गुजरात का हवाला दिया है। आज पूरा देश गुजरात बन रहा है या बनने वाला है। हम को वह दिन याद है जब 1943 में बंगाल में भयंकर अकाल पड़ा था। मैं बक्सर जेल में बन्द था। स्वर्गीय पंडित नेहरू का एक भाषण मुझे पढ़ने को मिला था। उन्होंने कहा कि बंगाल के लोग कायर हैं बुजबिल हैं जो भूख से मर रहे हैं और गोदामों में भरे हुये गल्ले को लूट कर के नहीं खाते हैं। वह स्वर्गीय नेहरू का जो वाक्य है उस वाक्य को आज गुजरात की जनता दोहरा रही है।

श्री बहमानन्द पंडा : तब विदेशी सरकार थी।

श्री सीता राम सिंह : विदेशी सरकार हो या देशी सरकार हमारी पाकेट तो कट गई। आज भुखमरी इस देश में है इससे कोई इंकार नहीं कर सकता। इस देश की बड़ी तरक्की की गौहरत है। क्या यही तरक्की है जो आज हम देख रहे हैं। शिक्षा के सवाल को ही ले लिया जाय। आज 40 करोड़ ईमान इस देश में अनपढ़ हैं। 22 करोड़ लोग गरीबी की सीमारेखा के नीचे हैं। गरीबी की सीमा क्या मानी गई है। 19 रु० प्रति माह। जरा गौर से सोचें कि आज की आकाश छूती हुई महंगाई में क्या कोई भी ईमान 19 रु० में ज़िन्दा रह सकता है। हर ईमान को कपड़ा चाहिये। हर ईमान को भोजन चाहिये। यह लक्ष्यविहीन सरकार इस लिए है यह दिशाविहीन सरकार इसलिए है कि इस की कोई दृष्टि नहीं है। आज बुनियादी सवाल हैं खाना, दवाई, पढ़ाई, कपड़ा और मकान। क्या कोई कह सकता है कि आज इस देश के अन्दर ये जो पांच बुनियादी सवाल हैं इनकी पूर्ति हो गई है। इनकी पूर्ति नहीं हुई है। फिर यह सरकार बनाती क्या है रेफीजरेटर, टेलीविजन, मारुति कार और एयर कंडीशंड मकान। क्या चाहिये इस देश की जनता को। पहले रोटी चाहिये, पहले शिक्षा चाहिए, पहले मकान चाहिये, पहले दवाई चाहिये, और पहले कपड़ा चाहिये या पहले एयरकंडीशंड मकान चाहिये। इतना ही नहीं बड़े बड़े शहरों में करोड़ों की लागत से टूरिस्ट होटल बन रहे हैं। इतना ही नहीं शिमला और मेघालय में शराब के कारखाने लग रहे हैं। और दूसरी तरफ खेत सूख रहा है, पानी नहीं है, बिजली नहीं है, मिचाई नहीं है? तो उत्पादन बढ़ेगा कैसे? बिजली की कटीती हो रही है। 57 रुपये कुछ पैसे बोरी फटिलाइजर है लेकिन सरे बाजार 130 और 140 रुपये बोरी बिक रहा है और उस में भी मिलावट है। 89 पैसे लिटर डीजल है लेकिन सरे बाजार तीन रुपये लिटर बिक रहा है। लेकिन है कोई पुलिस कप्तान या कोई सी० आई० डी० जो उस को गिरफ्तार करे। कोई बता सकता है कि किसी की गिरफ्तारी हुई। कौन नहीं जानता कि पूरे देश में यह धंधा चल रहा है। तो यह चलता है इसका कारण है। यहाँ बड़े सेठ, बड़े राज नेता और बड़े लोकशाही इन तीनों का एक गठ-बंधन है जो लूट होती है उसमें तीनों हिस्सा पाते

हैं। तो पकड़ेगा कौन किस को ? बड़ी ज़ोरों की चर्चा है कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी और उनके दल के लोग विपक्ष पर यह आरोप लगाते हैं कि देश को विपक्षी दल कमजोर कर रहा है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ देश के प्रधान मंत्री से कि हजारों वर्गमील जमीन चीन को किस ने दे दी। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ देश के सत्तारूढ़ दल के लोगों से कि हजारों नौजवान हिन्दुस्तान पाकिस्तान के युद्ध में जो अपनी कुर्बानी किये थे जिनकी शहादत से भूमि मिली थी उसको शिमला में बैठ कर किमने दान कर दिया ? कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने किया या जनसंघ ने किया या स्वतंत्र पार्टी ने किया ? एक बात और बड़े ज़ोरों से कही जाती है कि सारी जिम्मेदारी इस देश में जो गड़बड़ हो रही है उसकी चोरबाजारी करने वाले लोगों की है। तो मैं इस सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ कि आप को जब इस बात की जानकारी है आप को जब इस की इतना है कि इस देश में चोरबाजारी करने वाले लोग, ब्लैक मार्केट करने वाले लोग, होडिंग करने वाले लोग गड़बड़ मचा रहे हैं तो आप ने उसका इलाज क्या किया ? कितने लोगों को आपने पकड़ा ? हमको तो ऐसा लगता है कि जैसे गांव में जब किसी की बारात जाती है किसी की शादी होती है तो उस गांव की औरतें बारातियों को गालियां देती हैं बड़ी गालियां देती हैं लेकिन वह मुहब्बत की गालियां होती हैं, विरोध की गालियां नहीं होती हैं। तो आज इस देश की सरकार और इस देश के पूंजीपति और यहां का उद्योगपति यह तीनों गठबंधन करके चलते हैं और जनता को गुमराह करने के लिये उसका दिमाग डाइवर्ट करने के लिए यह चेतवनी अखबार में और रेडियो पर आ जाती है कि कालाधन रखने वालों के विरुद्ध सख्त कार्यवाही की जायेगी। हमारा विश्वास है कि जब तक इस देश में गरीबों के वोट और श्रमियों के नोट से सरकार बनती रहेगी तब तक यह धंधा चलता रहेगा। श्रीमती गांधी के नेतृत्व में इस देश में जो सरकार चल रही है उसके लिए चुनाव लड़ने के लिये पैसा आना कहाँ से है। वही उद्योगपति और पूंजीपति तो पैसा देना है। तो यह धंधा बंद कैसे होगा। जब तक निष्पक्ष चुनाव नहीं होंगे तब तक गरीबों के वोट और श्रमियों के नोट से सरकार बनती रहेगी और उस समय तक इसको कोई रोक नहीं सकता है।

यह स्थिति आज अपने देश में है। तो यह खतरा हमारे सामने है और आज सोचना है पूरे देश के निवासियों श्री सीताराम सिंह : हमको बोलने दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० बी० राजू) : जरा सोच समझ कर बात करिए। इस बात को छोड़ दीजिए।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :***

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.B. RAJU) : I will examine the proceedings. आप समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री सीता राम सिंह : मुझे सबसे पीछे बोलने का मौका मिला है। मेरे साथ कुछ विशेष रिवायत कीजिए क्योंकि मैं सबसे बाद में बोला हूँ।

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को भारत रत्न की उपाधि मिली लेकिन अपने देश को क्या मिला मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ।

मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। अगर देश को बनाना है तो कारखानियां बीजों की पैदावार और कृषि से जो पैदावार हों उसमें मूल्य संतुलन की नीति अपनाई जाए। दो फसलों के बीच गल्ले की कीमत में दो आने से अधिक बढ़ोतरी न हो। जैसे आज छः आने किलो चना मिलता है तो आने वाली फसल में ज्यादा से ज्यादा आठ आने किलो मिले। कारखानियां बीजों में अगर एक रुपये किलो लागत से बीनी बनती है तो ज्यादा से ज्यादा डेढ़ रुपये किलो तक बिके। इस तरह से मूल्य संतुलन की नीति इस देश में चलाई जाए।

दूसरी बीज जन-भाषा में कामकाज चलाया जाए काले धन को पकड़ा जाए, बिजली, लघु उद्योगों का पूरा

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS :***

SHRI PITAMBER DAS :***

♦Expunged- as ordered, by the Chair.

[श्री सीता राम सिंह]
देश में जाल बिछाया जाय। रेफरीजरेटर, टेलीविजन, एयर कंडीशंड, मारुति कार आदि के कारखाने बंद किए जाएं जब तक कि देश में खुशहाली न आ जाए सब लोगों को रोजी-रोटी न मिल जाए।

यह देश बहुत ही भयावह दौर से गुजर रहा है। मैं चेतावनी के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर समय रहते जनता की शिकायत दूर नहीं की गई उसकी गुरबत को हटाया नहीं गया तो जन असंतोष आगे कितना बढ़ने वाला है। इस बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता। मैं पुनः सत्तारूढ़ दल के लोगों से बहुत श्रद्धा से कहना चाहूँगा कि राष्ट्र हित में देश को बनाने के लिए कोई विकल्प प्रदान करें यदि राजकाज चलाने में अक्षम हो।

तो इस्तीफा दे दें और जितने इस देश में विरोधी दल हैं उनकी एक राष्ट्रीय सरकार बने इस संकट की घड़ी में मेरा यह सुझाव है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V.B. RAJU) : I have decided to expunge those portions from the records to which reference has been made and objection taken to by some Members.

The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 27th February, 1974.