

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : I leave it to the bar o world opinion to find out whether the e lias been partisanship or not.

SHRI BHUP SH GUPTA : Shall I go to the Unitei Nations for it ?

SHRI S. N. M SHRA : You go to where you want to go.

SHRI DAHY, BHAI V. PATEL : Go to Moscow.

SHRI BHUP SH GUPTA : If Mr. Mishra thinks th. I there is some validity in what he said, et him stand by it. If Mr. Mishra thinks th; t there is no such thing or he is satisfy d. . .

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : I would not say anything. I have placed the facts before the Hous< and the country as to what happened-

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : In fact you cannm sir ain what your deputy-Leader said. low is it yesterday the charge was brout hi of patrisanship against ih Chief Licet on Commissioner ? In Bengal in com; irabile circumstances in the absence of High Court direction by-elections hav taken placed. Neither their party, nor Congress, nor our party nor Bangla Con ress would say that the Chief Election C immissioner was opposed to holding election. In Bengal election has taken place Th I say this should be claril. d and I would ask the Law Mini what was wf i by the Ghiel c J-Officer and make it known to the louse. If he has written such a letter a¹ he suggests, evidently he has acted oi tside his authority, and it will for the Chi if Erection Commissioner to pull him up. But in no case should the Chief Election Commissioner in Delhi be liable to th charge that has been levelled.

SHRI S. D. MISHRA : If he gets that latter and produces it, will the Law Minister give a satisfactory answer ?

THE VIC! -CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Kulkirni.

THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 2) BILL,
197" —*wntd.*

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Mr. Vice-Chairman, you know unnecessarily these bullocks were brought in. I was disturbed.

SHRI M. 3VI. DHARIA (Maharashtra): There is nothing like buli fight. It is only one horse race.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa) : Sir, on a point of order. Members have referred to this symbol fighting as bullfighting. Members know the difference. It is a bullock fight. It is not a bull fight. Today we read in the papers the Home Minister as having said that these bullocks are to be united before the general elections and practically he is having the yoke. They are thinking of the bullocks being united and they can fit the yoke. I would like to know whether the yoke is to be used before the general elections.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Sir, I think you will allow me two or three minutes more because I have to collect the thread of my speech. What I was pleading before the House was that in this country a position where one force is pressing for greater State control and there is another force pressing for the private sector industries or the private sector trade feeing given encouragement. Government has adopted a mixed economy policy. What I am again pleading with all the political parties in this country to day is that this confusion created is becoming worse because the State sector already created is not being nourished and properly attended to by the Government, and the monopolists on the contrary are creating confusion in the minds of the Government and are reaping 'he maximum benefit out of all the coat in this country. The planning process was there. The controls were there. The licensing system was there. There were various opportunities available. The Monopoly Commission report is there. The Dutt Committee report is there. You please find out which industrial house in this country has not taken advantage of all the loopholes that were there. What I was pleading in this connection was . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Why don't you abolish controls licences, and all that ?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : It is not necessary at all. On the contrary it is necessary to hold the monopolists in their proper place in the interests of the country

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : I am just asking a clarification from the hon. Member. When he is so much opposed to controls, why does he support the party which has introduced controls ?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : If the GOuntry has to be developed and if the poorest man in this country has got to get a fair living standard, the controls are not to be abolished but to be rigorously implemented. This anti-social elements will have to be hanged in the streets. Otherwise they will not corns to terms with the new social order that is required in this country. I was pleading . . .

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ (Mya Sir, on a point of order. He is s; about the poor people w'lom he doe not appear to represent. I am representing the poor people...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Physical character does not make an unscrupulous mind in your body. That thing is in your mind. It is not the size of the body but it is the unscrupulous character of the man that is more to be attacked.

I am very seriously appealing to all political parties in the country and to all political thinkers in the country. Now a section is pressurising the Government to take more progressive steps. But there must be a band of workers a band of politicians who will take on themselves to improve the State sector wherever it has been created. In this connection I give the example of rank corruption being practised, rank corruption being followed in the nationalised banks in this country. I am one with my friend, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, when he said that out of sorrow and frustration he was criticising the Government for not implementing the policies already announced on the Congress platform in Bombay or Bhubaneshwar. I do not understand why in the case of of these nationalised banks the new judgement of the supreme Court having come, the Government is not quick enough to take steps to man the Boards with people with social commitment. The old custodians are there. They have started on a very large scale obliging their friends by any dubious means. Have the Government any courage to change the Boards ? Government have umpteen times promised that they will change the Boa'd of the Reserve Bank and of the IFC. What has happen to that ? A new LIC Chairman has been appointed. We have to see his performance.

What I was pleading for was, let the political parties stop this game of criticising the Government for more State sector or Central sector. The necessity in this

country is, whatever sector we have-created, the State sector, it has to be put in order. The house has to be put in order. In this connection, why the people are frustrated is, they do not find this sector work'ng properly and contributing to the State. Thee is no other enemy evcept politicians. The Swatantra party or the Jana Sangh is not the enemy of the State sector, it is we, the politicians, who are committed to a State sector, we are the enemies of the State sector. And that is why the Government which is representing the present ruling party duty to improve the wo: king of the State sector.

The second point that I was goin? to make ...

(Time bell rings)

Sir, I have taken only three minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Ten minutes.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Seven minutes then. I will take up to three.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Five minutes more.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Sir, I cannot do justice to my speech.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You will deprive other members of your Party.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : You are also singing. If the singing sequence is broken, the song cannot come back to the o'.ri line. I must be given that much time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Try to be brief.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala) : We arc h 'irst-class music.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : What I was pleading against was the absence of coordination among the different Ministries. Here the point alsr. was made. Just see groundnut oil. Its p-ice has risen to such a fantastic height that the poor man is unable to purchase it. It is the only item available to the poor man

in this country to add to his calories. What is the difficulty? The difficulty here is this. Another Ministry, the Foreign Trade Ministry, is exporting groundnut, HPS, groundnut; they call it. Here is the Agricultural Ministry which has forgotten its own. They are not bringing in any programme to cultivate groundnut or cotton commensurate with the requirements of the population. That is why I am highlighting this discordant note between the Ministries.

Another point is, a balance has to be struck between the different sectors, like the organised private sector, the public sector, the small-scale industries sector and the cooperative processing activity. The classic example of mismanagement of the public sector has been adversely criticised and I don't feel that the structural deficiency in the public sector is of our own making and it is no use criticising the sector or the ridiculous return on the capital invested. It is the Government and the politicians who are to be blamed for devising such administrative machineries which control the public sector and which have got in-built arrangement for defeating the purpose. It has been found particularly in the Steel Ministry, in the Heavy Engineering plant at Ranchi or the HMT or the Heavy Electricals, Bhopal. Cost of production there due to excessive manpower has to be condemned and these industries are being utilised by politicians to nurse their own constituencies by pressuring the managers of this sector to employ personnel out of tune with necessity. It has been observed by a recent survey that the per tonne cost of steel has been increased because of excessive management personnel, up to Rs. 5 or Rs. 7 per tonne. Is it the way that we are to run our own industry? It is not anybody's empire. We are running out of public sector industries. We must be more conscious of the norms of business management.

Another very important matter in the development of industry is the real infra-structure in this country. We are talking of backward States, forward States, advanced States and so on and various tensions are coming forth. In this connection, the infra-structure, that is power, roads, wells and others, is necessary particularly in the backward States and a matching five-point plan has to be made. In this connection, if you consider or study the indices of development of the infra-

structure between Madhya Pradesh and Punjab, it is one to four. There is no use saying that Punjab is advancing. It is because of the infra-structure in Punjab. It is because of the improvement in power, agriculture, roads, the marketing techniques that have taken place there that the industries have rooted themselves in Punjab just as Gujarat or Maharashtra or West Bengal had some years back. And if you want to bring Madhya Pradesh or Uttar Pradesh or Bihar to that level, a massive investment in the infra-structure is called for.

Another very important matter which I want to highlight in this House and also appeal to all the political parties is about the labour-management relations in the public and private sectors. This country now cannot afford to lose by labour strikes the working man-days in any sector. I am not against labour at all. Give them the maximum, whatever is possible. But for that purpose, the price-line must be held because ultimately the worker is at the mercy of the management. Unless, as was rightly pointed out, a rigorous control is maintained on the licensing of industries, the trading activities of the business men, the supply of raw materials, the supply of credit, and the goods required for agriculture, unless they are scrupulously brought under control, this type of deviations, this type of tensions, this type of crises are going to come up. In this connection, I want to plead with all the labour leaders that my sympathies are always with the labour. But there must be a truce for five years because we are going to compete in the world market for increasing the exports. And a stricter control should be maintained on the raw material prices and there should be harmonious relationship between the labour and the management. For that purpose, a better distribution system particularly in foodgrains is necessary. I was really surprised to learn from the speeches of some of the Ministers that the trade union should not fear that it would be taken over. Nobody said that trade should be taken over. The All India Congress Committee at Bombay has resolved that foodgrain distribution system at a strategic place will be maintained by the Government and that has to be maintained to keep the price line down, whether foodgrains or some other items or any other items.

The last point that I wanted to bring out was that the public sector industries are a failure because they have entered

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni] in this country into such industries which are the core industries and where a longer gestation period is required. Amenities like housing and other amenities are being provided. And it is the private sector which has always been criticising this public sector because they find that this type of social obligations are not incumbent upon the private sector. In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the Government that the public sector now must enter the consumer industry and particularly industries of a nature which can be called luxury but which are bringing in profits within a very small period. Sir, it is the duty of the public sector to enter into these industries. Otherwise, the entire social balance as between the public sector and the private sector in the general economy cannot be maintained. Thank you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I start with the international situation. I must say that the Government's policy with regard to Cambodia.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh) : Is there any symbol trouble in your party also?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We have solved it without bringing it before Parliament.

Now, Sir, as we are speaking here, all over the world protest actions are taking place against the naked invasion of Cambodia by the United States and now the invasion is accompanied by not only the resumption of large-scale American bombings in the inhabited territories of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam but also by the use of napalm bombs in Cambodia itself. In protest against Nixon's savage war in Indo-China, the American people are coming out—students, youths and other sections—in railita demonstrations as a result of which the American authorities have been compelled to take a cruel action; now against their own citizens. How Americans have been killed, students have been killed, is reported in the paper.

3 P-M-

I pay homage to the memory of those who praise Americans in the land of dollar where the tyran's, *vt&r* mongers and international criminals hit those people who are protesting right under the nose of worthy traditions of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson.

It is a matter of hope and assurance for us that the cause of freedom shall prevail.

Government of India is expressing sorrow and concern but does not have the courage to come out with open condemnation of the U.S. aggression. The Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Fulbright, and majority Democratic leader in the Senate Mr. Mansfield, have come out with open condemnation and Senate Relations Committee, Foreign Relations Committee stated that President Nixon is raging an unconstitutional and unauthorised war in Cambodia to-day. But, here we have men sitting in South Block who do not have the courage to say that this is a war or aggression; this is a war in violation of the Geneva Agreement; this is a war in violence of tenet of International Law and perhaps the purpose and principles of United Nations Charter. Although India happens to be the Chairman of the International Control Commission assuming certain responsibilities and obligations under that assignment, it does not have the courage (the Government have not got the courage) to pin down that America declared war or that America is committing aggression in violation of the Geneva agreement and thereby aggravating the situation in Indonesian Peninsula, threaten the peace of all Asia and indeed the entire peace-loving world. But why is this statement not being made?

Now, Sir, yesterday, we went to American Embassy 60 M.Ps and we submitted our protest note. It will be a surprise to hear the Consular of the Embassy I should have known his name the Incharge of the Political Department had the courage to say that Indian and American policy is the same. American Policy is Nixon Policy and is the same as that of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with regard to Indo-China. He said Nixon stood for withdrawal of all foreign troops; just his word 'foreign troops', just as your Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is also saying foreign troops must be withdrawn. Now we are ashamed. I know that Indian policy is not the same as the American policy. This policy is broadly on the side of peace and freedom, is utterly vacillating, timid and cowardly and is functioning under pressure of American imperialists. I think that American Consular should not have the temerity and the courage to say that the Nixon policy is the same as that of Government of India.

Now, for the Government of India, this is a serious matter and I think that the American Ambassador should be called to the External Affairs Ministry and pointedly told that such remarks should not be made and that India's policy is not the same as that of / men can but is contrary to it. Why do some Americans dare say such things? It is because Mr. Dinesh Singh made a statement in this House that he did not condemn Americans; he spoke vaguely of the withdrawal of foreign troops, which foreign troops and Indo-China Peninsula? Except the American troops, which had gone 10,000 kilometres in order to commit aggression and occupy this territory, extend war and turn the entire region into a military outpost of American imperialism to threaten and menace the peace and security of the entire region, ultimately to threaten our own independence and security in this country? I hope the Government of India will take note of it.

Here I shall invite the Hon'ble Member's attention to the Joint Communiqué which was issued on March 18, 1955 and again on January 29, 1966 after Prince Sihanouk's visit to New Delhi at the time Jawaharlal Nehru was alive. In the Joint Communiqué which talks with the Indian Prime Minister—Jawaharlal Nehru—it was paid in the first communiqué of 1955;

"The two Governments were able to agree that a new Agreement should be fully implemented and that every effort should be made to preserve and strengthen the independence of Cambodia and improve the conditions of the people. The guarantee of peace and democracy lies in the pursuit of progressive social and economic policy".

The Government of India showed Cambodian delegation their desire to give such assistance to Cambodia as lay in their power. Then again in the 1963 Communiqué, it was stated :

"His Royal Highness and the Prime Minister agree that there was deep and fundamental accord between Cambodia and India for their cooperation to peace and to economic and social development for the betterment of their people. That they affirm their faith in their policy of non-alignment followed by both their countries". 6—28 R.S.I 70

I should like to know what happened to this solemn commitment made under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru? Do I understand Dinesh Singh or for that matter the Prime Minister wants to lay down a new policy—this vacillation, lack of courage, not to say what should be stated? Are we to face in this way our international obligation? This is for them to say.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I say today Prince Sihanouk has formed the new Royal Cambodian Government and the Liberation Front is there. Why should not the Government of India continue the recognition and accredit the Diplomat to Prince Sihanouk Government? It should not keep him in the Cambodian Capital. I do not know whether they should do that sort of thing. We should continue, should not wait and withdraw our recognition. Prince Sihanouk is the legal head of the State and it is all the more necessary when he has formed the Government. With no dispute this is the legally constituted authority which should continue to enjoy the recognition. We gave friendship and cooperation under the two joint statements signed between the two Governments.

Now, Sir, I say that this position should be explained by the Government of India. I should not like to say, remember, here is one thing. You do not have the courage to say that this is aggression. When we liberated our piece of land-Goa-by military action, it was an act of national liberation, but Americans called it an aggression. They did not wait for niceties. Their Foreign Minister did not speak in the language which Dinesh Singh spoke. The American Government calls it aggression even now. Now you do not have the courage to say such a thing. I am ashamed that the Government does not stand up to its own tradition, own declaration, own commitments—and call aggression an aggression.

Now, similarly, Hanoi Embassy is not being upgraded, although it was said last year. GDR is not being given recognition. Elstein doctrine is dead and P.R.G. of South Vietnam is not being given recognition. I do not know what is our policy now. It is a matter of sentiment, pious wish. What is the matter to be translated into matter—concrete action, diplomatic and political stand to mobilise world public opinion in the struggle for peace and security and independence of"

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

countries and also in support of freedom fighters for ever wherever the freedom is in peril. I should like to know from this Government where they stand.

I say the bunch of people who are sitting in South Block, running the External Affairs Ministry, is a hopelessly rotten lot. India is going down in the world's image day after day. Although in 1954 Government attended the Geneva Conference and India played an important role in bringing peace and in promoting the deal, to-day we do not have the courage to say the thing which would raise the stature of India and establish our or credentials with regard to peace and freedom.

Now let me come to some of the economic matters. Mr. Vice-Chairman, economically I saw there was great enthusiasm when the banks were nationalised. Today, there is no such enthusiasm. Why it should be so? It is because there is drift and drift under the pressure of the rightists within the Indira Congress, under the pressure of the rightists from this side, and also the bureaucrats sitting there who would not implement anything. It seems the Prime Minister has come to the conclusion that this is the most convenient way of conducting the affairs of India. I think, this has not only disappointed the country, on the contrary, this is helping the reactionaries mount new attack and demoralise the people and then to exploit the demoralisation.

It is surprising that Bhanu Prakash Singh still continues in the Council of Ministers. It is because behind him there are many in the Congress ruling party and others who are threatening defections as has been done in certain other parties. Now that is how they are pressurised. I demand that Mr. Bhanu Prakash Singh should be expelled from the Government without delay and those rightists who are standing in the way within the ruling Congress party in pressurising the Government, blocking implementation of the Bombay Congress resolution should also be taken care of and it does not matter if some of them leave the Congress Party. Therefore, I say, the Congress Government today is pursuing the policy of drift in a manner which is disgraceful and now we are told that the party questions will not be discussed, State Chief Ministers have to be consulted.

We know what drifts there have been with regard to privy purses. My fear is they will bring a Bill by providing heavy compensation for the princes. We know these things. We know, the general insurance has not been nationalised, and there is no talk about the nationalisation of import trade of raw materials and things which was promised.

First of all, Malaviya Committee looked into the economic matter and they made recommendations to the Bombay plenary session of the Congress and these recommendations were ignored. Whatever they passed in the resolution is now being ignored. This is surely not the way to run the affairs of the country. Inadequate as they were, even those recommendations, accepted in the Congress Party's own resolution, are not being implemented. At the State level, people do not see any difference between them and the Syndicate. It is clear, therefore, that so long as this, rules of the bourgeois—by one class of the monopolists remains, whether it is led by this Congress or that Congress, no progress can be made. Certainly, the Syndicate Congress or the rightist combination should not be allowed to come to power or anywhere near it.

It is most shameful that the Congress have not implemented their own resolution. The State level people do not understand the difference between the two. People responded positively when they had that there is a split in the Congress. Certain political difference held out some promises. Now as they are fading out, people are feeling demoralised more and more.

I would, therefore, make it clear that as far as we are concerned, we are clear in our mind that there may not be any economic breakthrough on the economic front or on the political front without a Government of left and democratic unity being installed in power in place of this Government. Even so I would say that so long as this Government remains, they should do something in the interest of the people under its own commitments.

Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I tell you about the capitalist class. The Birla enquiry is not being expedited, but what has happened. I do not know, why it should take so much time to appoint an enquiry commission and make it function. Well, Birlas seem to be coming in the way. Here I have got a bunch of papers containing papers of income-tax and Birlas'

Western Coa Fields or Western West Bengal Coal Fields. Now, Sir, you see this bunch of capers originally signed and they were sought to be burnt out, but somebody got them and these have somehow reached our hands.

SHRI N. ft. MUNISWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : How did you get these?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Well, I got these; I iould not divulge in public interest, how I got theje. There is interesting inf< rmation in these papers. This is how m. av papers are being burnt by Birlas the n oment they came to know that the enqu 'y commission was going to be appoint id. This Government is doing nothing, f know it that the Government is in possi sion of certain important information wr h regard to the location of Birla's pape s and still they are not taking any acti n against them. At least four such cases ave been brought to their notice as to wh ;re some important Birla's papers are lying which would bear on the object of enqi iry of a highly incrimi-^tting nature a > action has been taken. (off, they deny They are in possession of siJfii^ reliable information and documents i^iregard to Birlas, they will not fteny. I know I bat they are not denying Because of the ft ir of breach of privileges in the House. SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY : I would like to know what are you going to do with that bo

SHRT BHUPESH GUPTA : I shall not give it to them. Why should I pas? it on to them. I am prepared to leave this in this House. They know all these things. D' you think, they do not know.

SHRT KRISH \N KANT (Haryana) : The enquiry h; i been psychologically wound up by he Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Now here for example public sector. You talk about public sector. Yes, we want to stand for the public sector, but they must be democ atised, they must be Improved, they must be efficient and should have good r ilations with the workers But what has happened in our public sector. I can give you the instance of the Hindustan Gable Factory. Mr. I. K. Gupta was the Managing Director there for two years and ! months. He sabotaged

I it. Not only that, there was a htm known as Hindustan Metal Works which belongs I to Mr. I. K. Gupta's brother. This firm was black-lifted previously for supplying defective metals i.e. heavy ingots. Within two-three weeks of Mr. I. K. Gupta's taking charge of the Hindustan Cable this black-listed company of bis brother was re-instated. This was in the knowledge of everybody that Mr. Gupta himself was getting a big share in his brother's earnings and the black-listed company was re-instated because it belonged to I. K. Gupta's brother. Not only that everybody knew that he wa? making money. JEjverybody knew in the Hindustan Cables that Mr. Gupta was taking money from that company. When the production went down m the public sector—in fact it was seen that the production of the Hindustan Cable went down so that Gupta's brother got the job and earned money. Now this is how be spoiled the entire thing. It is in West Bengal therefore I am making mention of it as to what happened. This gentleman has been brought here as the General Manager of Delhi Telephones promotion. The more you are corrupt the quicker promotion you get. Now there is a proposal secretly going on in the Government of India that Mr. I. K. Gupta should be made the Managing Director of Indian Telephone Industries Bangalore. The a step for him will be that he will be made a Governor. This is how things are happening.

Now, what about Mr. Ghatuvvedi of the Indian Institute of Public Administration? What about him? He is an ICS Officer, made its Director on the basis of a list provided to the appointing authority, that is, the Government, by the Ford Foundation and by the Home Ministry, both. Mr. L. P. Singh's list and the list of the Ford Foundation contained three names of which on> nime was that of Mr. Chaturvcdi, and there was no advertisement, and Mr. Ashok Mehta saw to it that he was appointed there and that he remains there in the Institute of Public Administration. There is an attempt by the ICS to capture this Institute. When there is a half-an-hour discussion I can relate to you all these things. I can tell you, that is how they are putting their men everywhere. And how is it that on the basis of the Ford Foundation's recommendation, endorsed and corroborated by that of Mr. L. P. Singh, the man was appointed? And now it is reve-

d that the Ford Foundation is also a

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]
 'reipient of the CIA money like (he Asia j
 Foundation. Therefore, I take it that it j is
 essentially a CIA recommendation which
 was helped by Mr. Ashok Mehta ! and
 others, in getting this Mr. Chaturvedi
 appointed as the real directing Director of
 the Institute of Public Administration ...

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY
 (Mysore) : You are so irresponsible that it
 does not require any answer.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : These stories
 are there everywhere ... *[Time bell rings]* Let
 me finish my points. Why are you ringing
 the bml so soon?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY :
 Because it is irrelevant.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : So, Mr. Vice-
 Chairman, with regard to land reforms and
 other things, nothing is being done. We talk
 of a green revolution. Everything is green.
 The green revolution is taking place in the
 Treasury Benches, not so much in the fields
 of India. What is this green revolution ? It is
 affecting only 7 per cent of the total
 cultivated area in India. And despite your
 green revolution, what has happened? Even
 today only 890 lakh acres of land unde
 cultivation, is under irrigation, out of a total
 of 3.907 lakh acres of land...

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : That is the
 worst.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : This green
 revolution is taking place only in the irrigated
 area, only in small irrigated areas which
 amoun' to not more than 6 to 7 per cent. But
 what is the result of that green revolution? The
 availability of foodgrains in 1968 was 452
 grams. And in 1969, after the green revolution
 has been accomplished by the friends of the
 Congress Party, it we.it down to 438 grams.
 Therefore, eat less, talk more about the green
 revolution. Yesterday Shrimati Indira Gandhi,
 the Prime Minister, said in the other House
 that the people should make short-term
 sacrifices ,or long-term gains. I am reminded
 of the famous saying of that great poet who
 said that mankind cannot put off with a
 promisory note on the heavens. This is what is
 happening. On the contrary, what is needed
 now¹ The monopi and <lie capitalists and the
 big landlords should be attacked and their
 positions should be weakened. And unless
 that is

done, no plan has got any meaning-A plan
 after all must be for the people. Is there any
 justification to expect these 80 to 82 per cent
 starving people of our country, who are not in
 a position to spend even one rupee a day, to
 forego their consumption, to tighten their
 belts and make sacrifices when men at the lop
 are rolling in wealth and economic power. . .

{Interruptions}

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR
 ALI KHAN) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta you have
 taken half an hour already.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am finishing
 now. Please do not disturb me.

Therefore, I say this matte'- should be gone
 into by this Government,

We say much about economy. The line of
 the Government now is, attack the trade union
 rights of the workers. I tell you, you must
 realise the temper of the times. This is the
 position in the industrial sector. In the agrarian
 sectors *jotedars* are launching attacks all over
 the country. Adivasis are being atfack^{^*^} I tell
 you, this is a serious matter toifey". It is no use
 talking about Nj-xali Naxalites, all the time
 while 1hi**jotedars* continue even after 22-23
 years of independence, to plunder and loot and
 commit rape and murder in the countryside of
 India. So naturally the young men. and others
 will feel like rising and attacking. May be, that
 is not the correct way to remove the social evil.
 But do not think that then- is no social basis for
 it because many of these Naxalites and others
 who have taken to the methods of individual
 action are people who think, wrongly of
 course, that this is the best way of coming to
 grips with the *jotedar* problem and dealing
 with them.

It is the symbol of age-long plunder and
 oppression in our countryside. There-you
 have to see that these land reforms are
 radically carried out and the landlordism is
 abolished. We have done it in Kerala. Today
 in Kerala landlordism has been abolished and
 that example should be followed by other
 States so that the problem in the rural
 economy is at hast partly handled and
 settled here and now. I am told that the
 Goverrtmen is think'ng of formulating some
 repre measures to deal with Naxalites and o in
 West Bengal. I tell you. this will be

(I by every political party in V
 Bengal if ypu dare to bring oul repressive

measures which we know well be used against the t sraocratic movement as a whole in the nterests of monopolists and *jotedan* and > bu booses. You know very wcl that such a measure will never he sup] or ed by us and others in the former United Front...

SHRI si II. BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar) : Wh t do you suggest?

SHRI BHL PESH GUPTA : It is a matter "I sha ue Me. Chandra Shekhar was hitting thi nail *of* the head when lie pointed out to he social root of the Naxalite trouble. What is happening now? Under Governor's rule the *jotedars* are coming out wi l guns in their hands shoo- ting the peopl , and the police is helping them. Tne i ipitalists and others are also coming ou in their old form and attac king the working class people. They are taking reve >ige on the poeple of West Bengal for ha\ ng dared to discard the Congress rule nd ushered in a new type of Government which was solidly commi tted to the ;n "ests of the masses, despite all thee- intern l 'roubles. Today I warn you that if th se steps are taken, I do not know, the) will have serious neg Tepexcussions e en at the centre of power. The: - measures shall be met in the streets of Vest Bengal by all of us, whatever may be ou: differences, with all the strength that we can muster. But at the sanr time these evil force; shall be met on the floor of the House, in the Legislature the e and also in Parliament. We shall no' al ow Mr. Chavan h remain in the Home Ministry with his arsenal of hatr d and repressive measures calling it Pre entive Detention Act or something elsi

Here again Mr. Vice-Chaii man as far as Manipu State is concerned why do you not ace: >t their demand for a full-fledged Statehood? Why are you allowing the agitation t< grow? It is a legit., agitation. Wir are you creating nea troubles? Simi »rry Himachal Pradesh ,] also be g ve i full-fledged Statehood, ihould Trip ira be. As far as Telan-gaaa is concern I /ou have given an awards or whatever you call it- Certain prop., have been ma l". But these prop., arc no* merely I > be backed by <i Presiden- or irder. Why should there guarantee for whatever you have givei ? By and large you can solve this probl in by creating confidence .among the pi >p!e of Telangana that

they should remain in Andhra Pradesh but with the necessary guarantees created by the necessary amendment of the law including the Constitution of the country if necessary. Some point was made about the small-scale industries. I am very concrete. Do you know what is happening? I am told Mr. Nijalingappa— I am sorry Mr. Nijalingappa is in charge of the smali-scale industries. Mr. Nijalingappa is in my mind because he is a horror. I do not know but the small-scale industry is not being helped by this man. There is one Dr. Ghosh Adviser who is refusing foreign exeliange for the small-scale industries.

[Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chaii]

A' the same' time he is very generous to tli'- Birlas and others. Find out by investigation whether my statement is correct or not. You have such people in your economic Ministry. Therefore I say this step should also be taken. Mr. Deputy Chairman I am a little inspired because of you in the Chair.

I understand ex-Andaman political prisoners are being given some economic assistance on a p°rmanent basis. Thirty of them have got but many others have not got yet this. This should be expedited and I think all freedom fighters unde- the British who suffered five years imprisonment no matter in which p'ace wh sther. in the Andamans or in the mainland everybody freedom fighter who had suffered 5 years" imprisonment should be given economic assistance. I think this little thing we can do for them.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Thank you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Tyagi, you will thank me again and again in your life.

I wrote to the Government that commemoration stamp should be issued to honour Jatindr* Nath Mukhopadyay died at Balasore lighting against the British. Even Sir Charles paid tribute to him by saying that if such a hero had been in his country, he would have been honoured. To-day we should hon >ur him. I am told the Government has decided to issue a commemo\ "it:oa stamp but I not know why in the case of Surya Sen, the leader of the Chittagong Armoury Raid, another illustrious figure in the revolutionary movement, my request had been rejected. A letter has come to me

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] from the Communications Ministry that the Government has decided not to issue any commemoration stamp in honour of Master Surya Sen, the glorious leader, the immortal leader of the Chittagon Armoury Raid. [I submit that a commemoration stamp should be issued in his name.

In fact it should be the settled policy of the Government to issue commemoration stamps in the names of all those valiant freedom fighters who dedicated all their lives and made the supreme sacrifice. It is necessary for us, especially for the younger generation, who have been born after independence to recapture our glorious anti-British tradition, our glorious tradition of fight against the British. Unfortunately there is an ideological backwardness in this. We talk about very many things. The younger generation should be told about such glorious leaders as Bhagat Singh, Surya Sen, Khudi Ram and others who fought in their days for the liberation of the country and went to the gallows with smile on their faces.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : How long will you continue?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You are an eternal source of inspiration. Many things may have happened in this House but you are a source of inspiration. Your source of inspiration is inexhaustible. Before I sit down I wish to make one thing clear. The time has come for all those who think along progressive lines and who are serious about fighting the rightist menace and who want to go forward and who want follow-up action and also, if I may say so, structural changes in the economy, to take counsel with one another irrespective of party affiliations so that we can develop some common lines of action, some joint action to resist the pressure of the rightist forces and block their road to power on the one hand and at the same time we can organise the people and the masses for getting concessions for them and for bringing about the much-needed but long-delayed changes in our national economy. This is not the time for harping on minor differences. The nation is at cross-roads. The Congress Party in power is cracking and there are some people in the Congress there who are also trying to break it and I am told that secret negotiations are going on between some leaders of the Congress (R) and Congress (O)

for a kind of rapprochement, especially in view of the coming general elections I warn you against such things. Mr. Yajee, what Bhupesh Gupta says you will learn but only after a lapse of 2 or 3 years. If it is not so, I will be very happy. Everybody knows that Mr. Kamraj and some others, Mr. Asoka Mehta and others on the other side and some gentlemen on the other side are engaged in secret confabulations for which no television view is possible in order to bring about some kind of arrangement and that gives Bhanu Prakash the courage to ask Mr. Chandra Shekhar, a Member of the Working Committee of the Congress, to be expelled from the Congress Party. Imagine Bhanu Prakash, the Cinderella of a Prince, a pocket edition of feudalism, a Privy Purse holder, has got the gumption and courage to make a public statement that the Young Turks which include men like Mr. Chandra Shekhar and Mr. Dharia and others also, trusted patriots, should be expelled from the Congress Party so that Mr. Bhanu Prakash can become perhaps the Deputy Prime Minister of this country. These are signs of danger and I am surprised the Congress Party does not take note of it. It is none of my business to give lessons to the Congress Party but we take it as a challenge and affront to the Parliament when such members say such things.

Therefore I say the conspirators are at work. I know they are not in a position to overthrow you on the floor of this House but they are engaged in internal subversion of the Party on that side what they want is a kind of *coup d'état* behind the back of public opinion in order that ultimately they can strike a blow to bring about a rightist take-over of the Country.

Thank you very much for the time you have given. The Budget Session is coming to a close. What shall we tell the people? After July nearly a year has passed after the split in the Congress. The Budget Session is concluding. What have we got from this great Budget Session? Nothing, almost zero. Some little things we have got due to the pressures of the masses. The Budget might have been worse if Mr. Desai had been in power, I agree. But what have we got in the positive manner for the people? Similarly think of other matters also. I say, therefore, that we have been thoroughly disappointed. We had not much illusion about it but Mr. Chandra Shekar may have

some, Mr. Dharia may have some, Mr. Krishan Kant may have some, Mr. Raghu-natia Roddy may or may not have, I do not know. Mr. Alva may have some illusion. I am sure they are upset, pained at it and they are thoroughly disillusioned and here was the voice of Mr. Chandra Shekhar.

I asked his speech to be circulated among the Cabinet Ministers because it is refreshing to hear such speeches coming from that side and that speech, to an extent, summed up the temper of even the Congress masses. Mr. Chandra Shekhar spoke when he wanted to articulate at the Congress in of the Congress. Mr. Chandia Shekar echoed the sentiments which were expressed at the Bombay Session of the Congress but which were suppressed by the glorious Chief Ministers of Rajasthan, Andhra and Maharashtra. The three glorious Chief Ministers, the three musketeers suppressed. Everybody knows it but all the same I am beholden to everybody who expresses good views. I again warn the Government that they are wasting precious time. They are forcing the country to the brink of a crisis. We do hope that progressive forces in the country shall unite in order to make themselves felt so that even this Government, till a beneficial change is made by the establishment of a Government of left and democratic unity, will be forced to take some step and give up its vacillations and capitulation to the pressures of the rightists from both within and from outside.

SHRI MAHA/IR TYAGI : You get married now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, he is suggesting that I should get married. Let him tell his experiences of married life and I will not accept his version until I have heard the tension of his wife about married life with him.

DR. B. N. ANTANI (Gujarat) : After being entertained with a nightmarish harangue against Hiaou Prakashji and the Birlas and the fight between two bachelors, a twice legitimately married man like myself has a very difficult task to perform.

श्री जगदम्बो प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : वह मुझे के लिये रहे नहीं, भाग गये।

DR. B. N. ANTANI : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Prime Minister while presenting her Budget as the Finance Minister observed:

"It is generally accepted that social, economic and political stability is not

forces and the augmentation of national wealth. Also, that such growth and increase in wealth cannot be sustained without due regard to the welfare of the weaker sections of the community". And she added :

"Therefore, it is necessary to devise policies which reconcile the imperatives of growth with concern for the well-being of the needy and the poor. Measures have to be devised which, while providing welfare, also add momentum to productive forces. Any severance of the vital link between the needs of growth and of distributive justice will produce stagnation or instability. Both must be avoided".

She concluded very wisely by saying :

"I can only hope that the proposal I have just presented steers clear of the opposite dangers of venturing too little or attempting too much".

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, while analysing the Appropriation Bill meant to have colossal amount of money voted by Parliament, I am unable to say that these objectives are attainable by the present method of spending taxpayers' money on this structure of Government machinery which only promotes Statism in all spheres of activity? Does Government expect to achieve the objectives and satisfy anybody by these methods? We have seen that even Members of the Government party are not happy with the measures which are being advocated and adopted. You may leave us, the Opposition, alone but your own Members are not happy. While I was listening to his speech of one of the members of the Ruling party who is either called or calls himself a young Turk, my friend Mr. Chandra Shekhar, attacking his own party Government I remembered what Oscar Wilde, the famous English writer has said. He said children begin by loving their parents: after a time they judge them and never do they forgive them. This is exactly what is happening today, this show and wasting of public funds by the Government one would wish that the people don't do what they once did in France. It pains me to observe Sir, that we are willing to vote for the grants asked for if we have a little hope of

What a sorry, sad tale is that. Has the foppish, old Minister got the courage to come here and tell us what this is all about? Why is the country suffering from this rising artistic...

SHRI J. P. YADAV : What is the resolution?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have got very little time, two minutes. Please do not waste it.

DR. B. N. ANTANI : They are complaining about the treatment that is being deliberately given to them in preference to the favourites of one foppish Minister and the other. I do not use the adjective. I have my own son who is a rising artiste of 17 years in Gujarat. He has to go on bended knees to the Director and the Director General and the General of Generals, but there are technical difficulties because he is neither handsome nor rich. Now, Sir, I am not indulging in frivolous words in a lighter vein like my hon. friend who will utter Khudiram and make us weep, but the next step he will jump at the Birlas because they are rich. *(Time bell rings)* I am not used to this. I conclude. I am neither Mr. Bhusha Gupta nor any other favourite speaker there who will not have the ringing of the bell. I know the way I have been treated.

SHRI J. P. YADAV : That is a warning.

DR. B. N. ANTANI : I will not take that warning. I, therefore, in all earnestness will request the Prime Minister who is the Finance Minister, to have a second thought on what she read before us. We are not her enemies. If she wants to topple any Government and remain in office, I, as an elder, wish her well, provided she is in good company and provided she brings prosperity to the country. Is she sure of herself? I have my doubts. I would, therefore, conclude by requesting the Prime Minister once again, if she could, to read the interesting and instructive letters written to her by her own illustrious father, who himself was not a neo-socialist. Mr. Mahavir Tale knew him. It was a task for Bapu to check him and after Bapu's departure, we became the satellite of Russia. That is the result, but whatever it is, let her read these letters again for fifteen minutes. I assure you that she will find from these letters some important material to refresh

her memory and to have a second thought on the way she is administering the country. Thank you.

श्री सवाई सिंह सिंसोदिया (मध्य प्रदेश) :

उपमहापति महोदय, योग्य वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो विनियोग विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया है, उसका मैं हृदय से स्वागत करने हुए समर्थन करता हूँ। देश और जिन मध्य प्रदेश प्रान्त से मेरा संबंध है उसकी ज्वलंत समस्याओं के संबंध में आपके मारफत मैं वित्त मंत्री से कुछ निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ।

आजादी के पश्चात् हमारे देश को अनेक मुसीबतों, जटिल समस्याओं और कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ा। अनेक आन्तरिक झगड़े और अव्यवस्थाएँ हुईं, फिर भी हमारे देश में समार के एक महान प्रजातंत्र की स्थापना हुई। इसके साथ ही साथ हमारे देश में पंचवर्षीय योजना के माध्यम से नव निर्माण तथा उन्नति की ओर ले जाने के कार्य प्रारम्भ हुए। इसमें हमारे देश का कोई भी नागरिक गौरवान्वित हो सकता है।

हमारे देश के सामने अनेक ज्वलन्त समस्याएँ भी और दो विदेशी हमले भी हुए। उनका मुकाबला उमने बड़ी धैर्य तथा हिम्मत के साथ किया। अतीत हमारा गौरवपूर्ण रहा है। मुझे आशा है कि वर्तमान शून्यतियों का सामना भी नये निश्चय, नवीन कार्यक्रमों और प्रगतिशील आर्थिक नीतियों के परिपालन द्वारा किया जा सकता है।

आज हमारे देश में अनेक ऐसी शक्तियाँ बनप रही हैं जो प्रजातंत्र को खत्म करने के लिये तैयार हैं। उनके अनेक स्वरूप हो सकते हैं। हिंसात्मक और तोडफोड़ से सम्बन्धित अनेक प्रकार की कार्यवाहियाँ आज हमारे देश के बहुत हिस्सों में हो रही हैं—और यह एक बड़ी भारी प्रखर चुनौती हमारे प्रजातंत्र के सामने हैं। मैं इस बात को ध्यान देने के लिए नैयान नहीं हूँ कि इस प्रकार की जो स्थिति हमारे देश में हो रही है वह केवल बेरोजगारी या किमी नि

[श्री सर्वाई सिंह मिसौदिया]

जनक आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण हुई हो। उसके पीछे तो राजनीतिक, सामाजिक और आर्थिक पहलू हैं। यह ऐसी शक्तियाँ हैं जिन्हें विदेशों से मदद मिल रही है और वे ही इस तरह की कार्यवाही इस देश में कर रही हैं। उनकी मंशा इस देश में ऐसी फिजा और ऐसी आवांहवा पैदा कर देना है जिससे इस देश में जिस प्रजातंत्र की स्थापना हुई है वह खत्म हो जाय और जनता की आस्था प्रजातंत्र पर से उठ जावे। इस देश से प्रजातंत्र को हटाना ही उनका काम है। मेरा निवेदन है कि ऐसे लोग जो प्रजातंत्र में विश्वास करते हैं उनमें आस्था रखते हैं उन्हें इस प्रजातंत्र को मजबूत बनाने के लिए हर तरह की महायत्ना और समर्थन देना चाहिये और इस कठिन काम को पूरा करने में शासन की मदद करना चाहिये।

श्रीमन्, हमारे देश में भूमि संबंधी बहुत से कानून बनाये गये हैं। मेरे प्रान्त मध्य प्रदेश में भी भूमि के संबंध में अच्छे कानून बने हैं, लेकिन सब से बड़ी समस्या यह है कि भूमि के वितरण का जो कार्य था वह सुचारू रूप से पूरा नहीं हो सका। उसके परिणाम जो होने चाहिये थे वह नहीं हुए और निश्चित रूप से जो भूमिहिनों को लाभ पहुंचना चाहिये था वह उन्हें नहीं मिल सका। इस वजह से उनमें एक प्रकार की निराशा की भावना पैदा हो गई है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि भूमि संबंधी वितरण का जो कार्य अधूरा है उसको पूरी शक्ति के साथ सुचारू रूप से शीघ्र सम्पन्न किया जाना चाहिये।

आज हमारे देश में हरित क्रान्ति के बारे में बहुत चर्चा हो रही है। मेरे से पूर्व वक्ता ने इस संबंध में जो निराशाजनक विचार रखे हैं उनसे सहमत नहीं हूँ। आज से कुछ वर्ष पहले कोई यह नहीं सोच सकता था कि हमारा देश अन्न की दृष्टि से, खाद्यान्न की दृष्टि से आत्म निर्भरता की ओर कभी कदम उठा सकेगा। यह हमारे लिए गौरव की बात है कि इस वर्ष हमारे देश में 100 मिलियन टन अनाज का उत्पादन होने वाला है। और इसके लिए

शासन के साथ साथ हमें अपने किसान भाइयों को मुबारकवाद देना चाहिये, खेती-हर मजदूरों और उन कार्यकर्ताओं को जो अनुसंधान के कार्यों में लगे हुए हैं, उन्हें भी इसके लिए मुबारकवाद देना चाहिये। जो हरित क्रान्ति हुई है उससे हम को आंख मूंद के नहीं बँट जाना है। काफी कार्य इस दिशा में होना शेष है।

आज आप देहातों में चल जाइये तो आप पायेंगे कि हर किसान अपनी खेती की तरक्की करने के लिए बिजली और सिंचाई के साधन माग रहा है। आज उन्हें इन साधनों को उपलब्ध कराने की जरूरत है। हम किसानों की जरूरतों को आज पूरा नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। बहुत से छोटे किसान ऐसे हैं जिनके पास साधन नहीं हैं। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि जो छोटे किसान हैं, जिनके पास 5 एकड़ या इससे ज्यादा भूमि है, उन्हें हर प्रकार के साधन उपलब्ध कराये जायें। जो साधनहीन किसान हैं। चाहे वह नदी से हो, नाले से हो, तालाब से हो, ट्यूबवैल से हो या और किसी तरीके से हो। सिंचाई की व्यवस्था होना अनिवार्य है। आर्थिक दृष्टि से अगर हमें गांवों को स्वावलंबी बनाना है, अगर हमें हर दिशा में प्रगति करनी है तो किसानों की दुर्दशा की ओर ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। 51 फीसदी से ज्यादा हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय खेतों की उपज से है इसलिए खेतों के बारे में और जहाँ तक छोटे किसानों का ताल्लुक है हमें अधिक से अधिक सावधानी से और निश्चित योजनाओं के साथ काम करना चाहिए।

4 P. M.

उपमहापति महोदय, शिक्षा पद्धति के बारे में बहुत चर्चा हुई है। हम यह देखते हैं कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति से लगा कर छोटा से छोटा कार्यकर्ता, हर राजनीतिक पार्टी के नेता इस बात पर जोर देते हैं और इसकी चर्चा सार्वजनिक रूप से करते हैं कि शिक्षा पद्धति में आमूल-मूल परिवर्तन होना चाहिए। वह कौन सा परिवर्तन है, वह परिवर्तन कब लाया जायेगा! आज हम देश में देखते हैं कि शिक्षा संस्थाओं

में, परीक्षा केन्द्रों से किस प्रकार के झगड़े हिंसात्मक उपद्रव हो रहे हैं। इस सारी स्थिति पर विचार करके हम बात की जरूरत है कि हम जो परिवर्तन लाए चाहते हैं उस परिवर्तन को शीघ्रतापूर्वक शिक्षा पद्धति में लागू कर व्यवस्था को ठीक करें।

आज पढ़े लिखों की बेरोजगारी का प्रश्न बड़े जटिल रूप से समाज के सामने आ रहा है हमारे देश में बड़े विश्वविद्यालय और हजारों महाविद्यालय हैं, लागो विद्यालय हैं, जहाँ सं पढ़ लिख कर नौजवान बाहर आते हैं। उनमें जो शिक्षा है वह इस प्रकार की होती है कि वह बाहर आकर केवल श्रमिकों के दूसरे काम नहीं कर सकते। हमारी शिक्षा की पद्धति ऐसी होनी चाहिए कि वहाँ से बाहर आकर आदमी हमारे काम में रोजगार में लग सके, अपने पावों पर खड होकर, मेहनत-मजदूरी करके आजीविका कमा सके। इस प्रकार नौ नमूनि व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए।

बिजली के बारे में मुझे यह निवेदन करना है कि आज हमारे देश में एक विवाद खड़ा हुआ है बिजली के सम्बन्ध में। वह विवाद यह है कि बिजली जो आगे भविष्य में उत्पन्न हो वह हाइड्रो-इलेक्ट्रिक स्कीम से हो या थर्मल पावर स्कीम के द्वारा हो। अभी कुछ दिन पहले तमाम प्रान्तों के इलेक्ट्रिसिटी बोर्डों के चेयरमैनो की कांफ्रेंस दिल्ली में हुई थी बिजली के सत्र बनाने वाले का खाने है श्री० एच० ई० एल० और एच० ई० ल० भोपाल आदि उनका कहना है कि थर्मल के सत्र वे महूलियन में बना सकते हैं, लेकिन थर्मल में पैदा होने वाली बिजली महगी पडती है और हाइड्रो-इलेक्ट्रिक स्कीम में पैदा होने वाली बिजली सस्ती पडती है। इस विवाद का समाधान होना चाहिए। यही कारण है कि डेकटरेशन कमेटी ने बिजली के सम्बन्ध में माने हिन्दुस्तान में एक दर का और किसानों को सस्ती बिजली देने का जो मुझाव दिया था उस पर, उस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट पर

आज तक अमल नहीं हुआ। इसी विडम्बना की ओर मैं शासन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। हमारा शासन बहुत अच्छे निर्णय करता है। नीति निर्धारित करना है लेकिन उनका अमल उन लोगों के हाथ में है जो उन नीति-नीतियों में विश्वास नहीं करते, बल्कि जो उसके विपरीत सोचते हैं। इसलिए शासन के निश्चय व्यर्थ रह जाते हैं और उन पर अमल नहीं हो पाता। जरूरत इस बात की है कि उस प्रकार की विडम्बना की ओर भी शासन का ध्यान पहुँचे और ऐसी नीति अख्तियार की जानो चाहिए जिससे हमारी कर्तव्य और कर्तव्य में किसी प्रकार का अंतर न रह पाये।

बैंक राष्ट्रीयकरण का एक महान निश्चय देश को आर्थिक क्रान्ति की ओर ले जाने वाला केन्द्रीय शासन ने किया है। उसके बारे में काफी चर्चा की गई। मैंने भी अपने प्रान्त में देखा है कि बहुत से जरूरतमन्द लोग, जिन्हो राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंक से रुपया मिलना चाहिये, छोटे किसान, मजदूर, कारखानेदार उनको रुपया नहीं मिलता है और उन लोगों को मिलना है जो कि जरूरतमन्द नहीं हैं। इस तरह उमका दुरुपयोग हो रहा है, मेरे प्रान्त में भी ऐसा हो रहा है। एक लक्ष्य निश्चित होता है कि इस बैंक से इतना धन पैसा दिया जाना है। रातों रात एजेंटों की मार्फत गलत तरीके से ऐसे लोगों को पैसा इन बैंकों की शाखाओं से जो दिया जाता है उसका उपयोग अपनी आजीविका उपार्जन के लिए नहीं करते और केवल इसी भावना से लेते हैं कि उनको वह रुपया वापस नहीं करना है। इस दिशा में भी हमको सोचना पडेगा और अच्छे उद्देश्य की जो अवहेलना हो रही है उसका इलाज करना होगा।

मुझे यह निवेदन करना है कि अभाव की स्थिति हमारे देश के बहुत बड़े हिस्से में हर साल पैदा होती है। राजस्थान, मध्य प्रदेश, बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश इत्यादि प्रान्तों में हर साल काफी बड़े इलाके में अनावृष्टि के कारण सूखा पडता है। वहाँ स्थायी तौर से कोई

[श्री सवाई सिंह सिसोदिया]
प्रोडक्टिव स्कॉप्स लागू नहीं की जातीं। गहन-कार्य पर प्रतिवर्ष करोड़ों रुपया हमारे देश का और प्रदेश के शासन का खर्च होता है लेकिन उसका कोई अनुकूल परिणाम नहीं होता है। सब खर्च व्यर्थ ही चला जाता है यह स्थिति कम बर्बाद की जा सकती है कि आजादी के 23 साल के बाद भी एक प्रकार का अनाध्य राग मान कर इस समस्या को छोड़ दे। हमें कोई निश्चित तरीका, योजना अपनानी होगी प्रतिवर्ष लाखों, करोड़ों रुपया खर्च हो, गरीब लोग परेशान ही और उनको रोजी, रोटी, अनाज और पानी के लिए हजारों मील अपना घरबार छोड़ कर जाना पड़े यह महान चिन्ता का विषय है। इस सारी स्थिति पर गौर करके ऐसा निश्चय किया जाना चाहिए जिसमें अच्छा नतीजा शीघ्र निकले और स्थायी हल इस पुराने समस्या का निकाला जा सके।

मैं अपने प्रान्त की दो-तीन ज्वलन्त समस्याओं के बारे में भी निवेदन करना चाहूंगा। मेरा प्रदेश, मध्य प्रदेश, देश का हृदय-स्थल है। शान्तिप्रिय मेरा प्रान्त है। किसी वाजिब मांग की पूर्ति के लिए भी अशान्तिपूर्ण वातावरण बनाने की बात वहाँ के नागरिक कभी नहीं सोचते हैं। लेकिन केन्द्रीय शासन द्वारा अभी जो निश्चय हुआ है इम्पात के कारखाने खोलने के लिए उससे मेरा प्रान्त में घोर निराशा हुई है। बेलाडिला का नाम आपने सुना होगा। सारी दुनिया में सबसे ज्यादा आडरन और का डिपोजिट कहीं मिलता है तो हिन्दुस्तान में मिलता है और हिन्दुस्तान में यदि कोई ऐसा स्थान है जहाँ पहाड़ खड़े हुए हैं आडरन और के तो वह बेलाडिला है। बस्तर के इलाके के आदि-वासियों, हरिजनों और हमारे प्रदेश के लोगों की मांग थी कि वे बेलाडिला में इम्पात का कारखाना कायम किया जाय। अन्य स्थानों में अपने इम्पात के कारखाने नये कायम किए उससे हमें कोई शिकायत नहीं है लेकिन आपने हमारी जायज मांग पर गौर नहीं किया। इसका जबरदस्त विरोध है। जरूरत है कि पंचवर्षीय-योजना में इसका समावेश

किया जाय। तो प्रदेश की जनता को मन्तोष हो सकता है। आजीविका, उपाजन आर्थिक विकास और उन्नति को दृष्टि से उम क्षेत्र का भला बेलाडिला में इम्पात शीघ्र खोलने पर ही हो सकता है। प्रस्तावित कारखाने के लिये अन्य सहुलियते भी यहाँ उपलब्ध हैं। यह कारखाना देश हित में भी आवश्यक है।

हमारे यहाँ जो चम्बल वीहड है उसकी चर्चा आपने मुनी होगी। वह डायग्रस्त इलाका है। वहाँ काफी अच्छी उपजाऊ जमीन नदियों के बहाव के कारण अनुपजाऊ हो गई है। उनको दुस्मन करने के लिए हमारे प्रान्त की ओर से एक योजना केन्द्रीय शासन के सम्मुख रखी गई है और यदि केन्द्रीय शासन उसको पुरा नहीं कर सकता है तो विश्व बैंक से भी कर्जा लेकर उसको पूरा करने के लिए हम तत्पर हैं। केन्द्रीय शासन को इसके बारे में शीघ्र ही निर्णय लेना चाहिए और मध्य प्रदेश का इस मांग की पूर्ति के लिये केन्द्र को पूरी पूरी सहायता करनी चाहिए।

मैं कोरवा के खाद के कारखाने के बारे में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ सब सहुलियतें मौजूद हैं, राँ मंटीरियल मौजूद है। नया कारखाना—पब्लिक सेक्टर में खोलने के लिये—मैंने पिछले दिनों इसी सत्र में एक प्रश्न पूछा था या सम्बन्धित मंत्री महोदय से तो उन्होंने कहा था कि सिद्धान्त रूप में हमने मजूरी दे दी है। दूसरी जगह खाद के नये कारखाने शुरू किये जा रहे हैं। फिर हमारे यहाँ क्यों देरी हो रही है? इस प्रकार की सिद्धान्त रूप से मजूरी की बात करने में काम नहीं चलने वाला है। इस दिशा में विचार किया जाना चाहिए और निर्णय को शीघ्र अमली रूप दिया जाना चाहिए।

अन्त में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि जो विनियोग विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया गया है उसकी अनुदान सख्या 48 में भारतीय शासकों के प्रिबी पर्स और भन्ने इस शब्दावली का प्रयोग किया गया है। आज का भारतीय शासक

हमारा हर मनदाता है, इसलिए यह कुछ अनु-
पयुक्त शब्दावली उपयोग में लाई गई है और मैं
चाहूँ कि अगले वर्ष आप विनियोग विधेयक
प्रस्तुत करें तो कम से कम भारतीय शासकों के
प्रिवी पर्स और भत्ते का रकम के लिए समर्थन
करने के लिए आग्रह नहीं करें। हम आज भी
भारी दिल से इसका समर्थन करते हैं और
चाहते हैं कि इस प्रकार की अनुदान का समावेश
अगले विनियोग विधेयक में न करें। इन्हीं
शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करते
हुए आपको धन्यवाद देना चाहूँगा कि आपने
मुझे अपने विचार रखने का यह मौका दिया।

DR K M VTHE »V KURIAN (Kerala):
Mr. Deputy Ghai man, Sir, today we are
discussing the Appropriation Bill at a time
when the danger of anti-national com-
promises with imperialism, particularly the
danger of American domination, looms large
on India in the wake of the deepening
economic and political crisis in India. The
scuttling of the Fourth Five Year Plan for
three long years under the compulsions of
foreign aid, the devaluation surrender, the
substantial concessions given to private
capital, both foreign and Indian, and the
scrapping of trade with North Vietnam and
Cuba are all sufficient indicators of the
increasing penetration of American un-
permissiveness in our country and the impending
threat to our very independence. Instead of
taking the country forward by abandoning
the discredited economic and social
policies, we find that the Government of
India is trying to unleash terror on the social
forces that are rising in the countryside, in
the name of meeting the Naxalite menace.

I would like to speak with particular
reference to our foreign policy. Today inste-
ad of establishing friendly relations with the
socialist countries like the GDR and the
Provisional Revolutionary Government of
the Republic of South Vietnam and giving
full ambassadorial recognition to the
Democratic Republic of Vietnam we find
that attempts are being made to cover the
dangerous treading on freedom by American
forces in Cambodia. We find here the
compulsions of foreign aid which
we have received, compulsions which have
led to a complete erosion of our foreign
policy.

The failure of the Government in pursu-
ing an independent foreign policy, re-
sulting in the field of
education American penetration through
various agencies like the Ford Foundation is
now increasing. Today we find the culmination
of this tendency even in the appointment of
the Director of the Indian Institute of Public
Administration. We find that this is being
increasingly manifested in the various
universities particularly at a time when the
American Government is considering
education as the fifth dimension of its foreign
policy. In addition to military and economic
aid and other forms of the penetration,
education is considered to be the fifth
dimension of its foreign policy.
I think the Government of India should
take this as a very serious matter.

Despite all the money that has been put in
by the various CIA financed agents that
primary education has been neglected.
The Central Advisory Board of Education passed
at its Thirtyfifth Meeting on 2 to 3, 1970 which states -

"The Board views with concern the
slow progress of primary education in the
country. On the basis of the present
trends, it appears that no State would be
able to realise the goal set in Article 4.
of the Constitution earlier than 1975
and several States will be able to do
only in the 21st century."

Mr Deputy Chairman, I would like to put
this question through you to the Gov-
ernment of India. Will the people of this
country wait till the 21st century even for
primary education?

In respect of planning, we find American
penetration into the very planning procedure,
in the last paragraph of the Fourth Plan
Document we find a very innocuous
statement that the Central Government is
going to train State level officials in plan-
ning procedures and techniques. As a matter
of fact this particular provision refers to an
agreement between the Planning Com-
mission and the Ford Foundation for training
State level officials in the so-called
planning procedures. As a matter of fact,
even the proposal for establishing State
Planning Boards has not been made in
most States though we have sufficient
expertise in this country.

[Dr K. Mathew Kurian]

Despite the large number of economic and statistical experts available in this country, we find to lay that the Government is relying on foreign aid, even for planning techniques.

This tragedy has obviously been accentuated by our increasing dependence on foreign economic aid.

We find that the ratio of external debt to the total public debt of the Government of India which was less than 1 per cent in 1955-56, increased to 32 per cent in March, 1966, and following the devaluation of the rupee and the consequent revision of the external debt, this proportion stood at 45 per cent.

Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, the other day expressed 'saintly indifference' between the public and the private sectors. I would like to ask the Congressmen on both sides, how they approach this very fundamental question. In order that the public sector might move towards socialism what is important is not the simple magnitude of public sector allocation. The fundamental question is what is the character of this Government, what are the class policies which this Government is pursuing. Even when investments are being made in the public sector the Government of India is pursuing class policies which support the capitalists and the landlords at the expense of the workers and the peasants. Unless therefore radical changes are made in the Government of India's policies, the public sector, in itself, cannot pave the way for future advance.

In agriculture feudal and semi-feudal relations are being perpetuated. There is considerable land monopoly, intensifying semi-feudal exploitation. Concealed tenancy, share-cropping, etc. and other forms of semi-feudal relations continue unabated in the rural areas.

We talk about a "New Strategy" in agriculture. The very concept of a New Strategy enunciated by the Government of India originated at MIT in Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. The American propelled Green Revolution, the so-called "Green Revolution" is being introduced in 60 million acres out of 250 million acres of cultivated area. This policy has aggravated social tensions, and has increased the imbalances amongst classes and sec-

tions of people in the rural areas. Instead of following radical agrarian policies, radical land reforms, we find that agricultural labour is being beaten up in the name of fighting the Naxalites. Today, the agricultural labour, the Harijans, the so-called 'black power' of the country, are getting organised. We find it in Kerala and West Bengal, and also in various other places in the country. Unless, therefore, land reforms which were scuttled for 23 years since independence and for 19 years of planning are implemented urgently and radically, it will be difficult. Even the Home Ministry's Report tells the same story. Unless this is done, it is very clear that there will be an explosive situation, politically, economically and socially. We talk about legally implementing land reforms. Bureaucratically implementing the land reforms will be of no avail. On the contrary, the rising social forces will take on the responsibility of implementing the land reforms, extra-legally or non-bureaucratically. This is the lesson which is given by the Home Ministry's Report. In fact this is the lesson which we find very ably written in the book 'Asian Drama', by Gunnar Myrdal. This is the lesson which we have learnt after 23 years of independence.

The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes who constitute 14.7 per cent and 6.9 per cent of the total population respectively are living today in the midst of a degraded, exploitative system. In addition to the traditional caste system the class exploitation is superimposed on this community, with its own grave social consequences. Today the Home Minister, in order to meet this deepening economic and social crisis comes forward with policies which are designed to completely suppress the democratic movement.

A lot of noise has been made in this House, Mr. Deputy Chairman, about the so-called Naxalite problem. We find that those who swear by Gandhiji are terribly shocked by the name of Naxalites who have destroyed the portrait of Gandhiji in Calcutta. I would ask the protagonists of Gandhism and those who swear by Gandhiji's name—are they not precisely the people who have for 23 years of independence trampled down under their feet the very precepts and principles of Gandhiji in the name of continuing the exploitative rule of capitalism and landlordism? To day we find that the Shiv Sena hoodlums are

bring let loose in Maharashtra. But the Home Minister has nothing to say about it. Instead he has talked about dealing with the Naxalites. I would make it clear in this House that this whole attempt of the Home Minister is a cover, is a camouflage for unleashing terror on the agricultural labour and the peasants in the countryside.

We find that the expenditure on the Central Reserve Police, on the so-called Border Security Police and the Industrial Security Police was Rs. 6 crores in 1959. Last year it was Rs. 83 crores. I would ask the Home Minister why is this increase the expenditure on the Central Reserve Police. Is the objective to police the State Governments which are anti-Congress which are reflected in the new way and new type of social forces? Why this increase in the Central Reserve Police? Why has the law and order situation in the entire country deteriorated? In the name of law and order, what is really happening is complete suppression of the democratic movement. And I think the Central Government, despite the increase in expenditure has completely failed in meeting even the simple social unrest, politically and economically.

Today we find police verification happening even in autonomous institutions. Here I give an example of the Indian Institute of Foreign Trade which is supposed to be an autonomous institution, which is registered under the Societies Act. Senior professors are appointed only on the report of a simple police constable. If police verification is required for the appointment of professors in autonomous institutions, I think this is a major tragedy that this country is witnessing and we are increasingly drifting towards McCarthyism even in autonomous institutions. Today we find that in regard to recruitment to the Central Reserve Police and the Border Security Police—I understand—a secret circular has been sent by the Home Ministry that people from Kerala and possibly from West Bengal also, should not be included. I think this is outright McCarthyism being practised in these institutions. Similarly, even in regard to fresh recruitment to the Government service in the Andamans, we find that a secret circular exists prohibiting recruitment of people from Kerala and other politically advanced areas.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, speaking on the Appropriation Bill the other day, Mr. Chandrasekhar made a passionate plea for

urgent implementation of declared policies. He hinted at the possibility that if we do not implement even the minimum programmes for economic and social advance, the very continuance of Parliamentary democracy will be at stake.

Indeed, the Day of Reckoning for Parliamentary Democracy is fast approaching. The future of Progressive Parliamentary system is hanging fire. If, after 23 years of independence, 19 years of capitalist planning, the entire edifice of Parliamentary system and the capitalist landlord class rule are crumbling down, the vast masses of the people in this country, workers and peasant, will have no tears to shed.

Instead of revising the discredited capitalist-landlord class policies which the Congress giant has been pursuing for two decades, attempts are being made to unleash the bogey of "Communist menace". Those parties and vested interests which are trying to exploit the bogey of "Communist menace" are utterly oblivious of the devastating consequences that such a course entails.

I must remind these parties that the democratic working class and the peasantry and other democratic forces will rise to the occasion to meet this challenge.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to conclude by saying unless industrial policy, agrarian policy and fiscal policy, the social range of national policies are revised drastically in consonance with the proposals made by the State Planning Board in Kerala last year; alternative policies made in the Fourth Five Year Plan in which the whole range of policies have been suggested, unless the nation moulds these new policies, the future of the nation will be dubious and the democracy will be in danger.

SHRI DEV DUTT PURI : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I wish to make, first of all a brief mention of some of the matters that are agitating the minds of the people of Haryana.

Sir, Haryana, came into existence on the 1st of November, 1966 by means of the Punjab Re-organisation Act. The provisions of the Act attempt to make an equitable distribution of assets and liabilities of the two states—Punjab and Haryana. There is a provision—Section 79, sub-section 1(c)—which provides that the Head

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Works of Rupar, Ferozepur and Harike were to pass on to Central Government through the Bhakra Management Board so as to make sure that no party gets advantage of the other by mis-gauging the water. Sir, I am deeply distressed to state that in spite of the attempts made for nearly three years, the Government of Punjab has refused to hand over charge and control of the three Head Works to the Central Government. By this, Haryana is losing at the rate of 1,000 Cusecs of water—1,000 cubic meter water per second—and that has gone on for nearly three years. The point I am making is that by the conduct of the Central Government, doubts are cast in the minds of the people about the capacity of the Government to take correct decisions in the face of pressure, and having taken decisions to be able to implement them. That is when the crisis of confidence starts. This is the first instance. What I have to point out is that in spite of the provision of the Act, that these three Head Works were to be passed on to the Government of India, this has not been done and on other issues the people of Haryana have been frustrated for two years and more.

Sir, another matter which is again creating frustration in the minds of the people of Haryana is that Bhakra complex agreed to supply 80 m.g. of power to Delhi at a time when Delhi was in distress. The agreement was negotiated on an *ad hoc* basis and the price was fixed at that time, to be revised later on when certain calculations could be made. Government of India have refused to revise the price and this power is being supplied to Delhi at a figure below cost.

What is aggravating the situation further, is that a part of power thus made available to the Delhi Administration is being re-sold by Delhi to U. P. at a profit and every attempt made by the Bhakra Nangal Administration or by the Government of Haryana and by the Government of Punjab to have the rate of power revised has been turned down by the Government of India. If I may say so, Sir, what Government in this instance is doing is bordering very close on black marketing the power at the cost of the people of Haryana and Punjab.

Another instance, which shakes the confidence of the people, is that the Nangal Fertilizer Plant receives 170 m.g. of power, which is a sizeable chunk of power at very much below cost. 170 M.W. is a sizeable chunk by any standards. The Administration of the Fertilizer Corporation has,

despite attempts over the last 10 years, refused to sign any contract with the Bhakra Administration at all. The Indian Electricity Act gives power to the suppliers to revise rates. The schedule has been laid down. Every attempt made by the Bhakra Administration to revise the rates under power given by the Indian Electricity Act has been turned down by the Government of India under pressure. Sir, I maintain that the annual subsidy that the Nangal Fertilizer has received from the Governments of Punjab and Haryana by the exertion of the pressure which is not in accordance with the law is of the order of over 1 crore of rupees. This has gone on year after year for 15 years. That is a serious matter. It is a very commendable effort to manufacture fertilizer in the country but is it a proper and equitable way to get this subsidy of the Governments of Punjab and Haryana to the extent of over one crore of rupees a year? Punjab does get re-compensated, inasmuch as the Nangal Complex lies within its territorial jurisdiction, and by the levy of electricity duty and other local levies, they do compensate themselves to a certain extent for the loss of revenue which is caused. But it is the unenviable position of the Government of Haryana that they are subsidising the Nangal factory and their share of the subsidy will come to over 40 lakhs a year.

There is still another matter which is agitating the mind of the people in regard to the Punjab Re-organisation Act by which the State was created. It lays down a scheme and provisional allotment of water and electricity has been made between the Governments of Punjab and Haryana, with a proviso that if any one of the two Governments do not accept (they shall in the first instance negotiate between themselves and shall try to work out a solution), failing this they can refer the matter to the Government of India under provision of section 78(1) of the Act and the Government of India shall, when such a reference is made, appoint a body which will go into the entire matter and settle it in the most expeditious manner. Sir, in regard to the matter of water as well as power, Haryana made attempts to settle the matter with the Government of Punjab. They did not succeed. Instead of 69.7% they were given 35.9% share of the power. Haryana made repeated efforts to request the Government of India to set up machinery for arbitration but for the last seven or eight months all those attempts have failed to move the Government of India in this regard and the time lag between the setting up of the

machinery and adjudication is a problem and in a problem of this nature, the redress of grievances may take quite a few years.

Sir, these are three or four instances I have given which shake the confidence of the people in receiving justice and it is when the confidence of the people is shaken that agitational methods take root.

I would like to make a brief mention; that in the course of the current year, Haryana has energised 23,300 tube wells. In the year immediately preceding they energised over 17,000 tubewells. In these two years, they energised far more tubewells as were energised in the preceding nineteen years. Haryana, Sir, has a total of 6670 villages. At the time of bifurcation of Punjab, of these 6670 villages, 1251 had been electrified. But now, that is the beginning of the current financial year, this figure of 1251 had been raised to 3367 and we are moving at a pace so that within the Fourth Plan period, given the resources, every single village in the State of Haryana will have been electrified.

Having said that, Sir, the point is that based on this excellent performance, Haryana can claim that an atomic power plant be established in the state. I maintain that like God's free air, the supply of electric power plentifully and at cheap rates is the bounden responsibility of every civilised Government. That manner and the pace at which we are proceeding, I feel that nothing short of an atomic power plant in Haryana will be able to meet our needs, not only meet the needs of Haryana, but also the needs of Punjab, Western U.P. and Rajasthan. So with all the emphasis at my command, I commend to the Government to seriously consider the establishment of an atomic power plant in Haryana.

Having mentioned some of the difficulties of Haryana, I show come to the picture of the country as a whole. I believe, Sir, that the shortage of steel, as is existing, has cast a very serious gloom over the prospects of industrialisation of this country and we may start feeling in a year or two that it might even hamper the defence effort of this country. Having maintained an excellent progress in the matter of industrial production during the first three Plan periods, I feel in the last couple of years we are heading towards the point of stagnation on the industrial front. Credit is, of course, due for all that the Government have done and they are doing very commendable work. They have revised the capacity of Bokaro from 1.77—28 R.S./70

to 4 million tonnes; alloy steel capacity is being revised from 100 to 200,000 metric tonnes per year. Three more plants are being established in the South. With all these, I maintain—and I will not go into the details here—we will not be able to get over the shortage of steel in this country. I maintain that the shortage of steel will progressively go on aggravating even after having taken the credit for the increased capacity proposed.

I am reminded, some years ago, when we were planning the three steel plants and when we were investigating Bokaro, a lot of propaganda was made by the Swatantra Party that why do you import wheat, why do you not import steel? They were opposing the establishment of steel plants in the country. Sir, it was a very wise decision at that time when very few understood the importance of steel in the national economy. We went ahead in spite of the opposition from outside the Party and even from within the Party. If we had paid the slightest attention to those gimmicks of the Swatantra Party, where would we have been today? Even having established all these plants in the country, still there is very serious difficulty and I commend to the Government to revise its targets once again. After all, we have practically all the raw materials. Japan is one of the largest producers of steel and yet they have not got even an ounce of iron ore, an ounce of coal and yet Japan is the most economic producer of steel in the world. We here have all the raw materials, that we want. We are exporting raw materials. We have got coal of the requisite quality, we have hydro electricity and after gaining the experience over the last 10-15 years, I do maintain, we have all the know-how indigenously in this country. We have the requisite fabricating capacity in this country; relatively, very little will be required from abroad now when we establish the next steel plant and we have demand of steel in the country. Today, India is still in the fortunate position of being able to produce steel at a low price below world prices. Let us maintain this position by expanding production in a big way. Japan is expanding very rapidly, even though they do not have any raw materials at all. The USSR is expanding very rapidly too and, Sir, unless we are able to keep pace to meet the internal demand of the country and thus keep the cost of production down, it will not be very long when other countries, who are not so well placed as we are in matters of raw materials,

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may overtake us. Therefore, with all the emphasis at my command, I would recommend to the Government *to* have a few more steel plants, while I welcome all that they have done.

Now, Sir, one matter to which my attention has been drawn only yesterday is that of green revolution. One aspect of it causes serious concern.

Our indigenous capacity for tractors is of the order of 20,000 and the production is of approximately 16000 or 17000 per year. Government of India very wisely and with considerable sacrifice of foreign exchange have decided to import tractors in a very big way. This was a timely decision. My attention has been drawn to the quality of some tractors imported and having been distributed in some parts of the country. The tractors were extremely defective both in the design and in the workmanship and in the raw materials used. Sir, having received lots of complaints apparently, the Government of India set up a committee consisting of the Director, Tractor Training and Testing Station, Budni, Director, Tractor Training Centre, Hissar and Director (Agr. Implements) Ministry of Food and Agriculture to go into the quality of these tractors called 700 Rs. 09 of which 416 had been received by the time the Committee started its work and it was planned to import a total 3000 such tractors. The report of this Committee states that the engine, tappet, the piston rings, lubrication, the starting system—they are all defective. All that I am Submitting, Sir, is that it is better not to supply a tractor at all than to supply a tractor which is not going to work even for 24 hours. We are supposed to have pre-dispatch inspection. I would draw the attention of the Government to the dissatisfaction that is being felt in all parts of the country where these tractors have been distributed. A great deal of damage has been done to the cause of the farmers by this serious mistake. Some of these mistakes must be rectified etore long. Thank you Sir.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair]

SHRI BIPIN PAL DAS (Assam) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, lam grateful to you and the House for the opportunity given to me and this is the first time that I am taking the floor in this House. At the very outset I would like to submit a grievance of mine. I submitted my name on the very first day, but I do not know why I have been made to wait so long to have my chance to speak.

Sir, while considering the proposals Submitted by the Government, we have *to* examine the present situation, the socioeconomic situation, in the country. And while examining this situation we find that it is desperate and very bad and for this desperate situation I hold responsible not only the present Government, but also the Government which was there last year and even before. It is the culmination of all the policies and decisions taken and actions and inactions of the Government since India became independent. Now this Government professes socialism. The Congress professed socialism as far back as 1931. Even after coming into power, the Congress Party has been professing socialism since 1954. Let us now examine the achievements of the Government from a socialistic point of view. I do not like to refer to matters which have been exhaustively dealt with by other friends. Things like capital levy, wealth-tax, curtailment or elimination of monopoly or elimination of the privileges of Princes, etc. are no doubt very important matters from a socialistic point of view. But I would like to examine this question from the point of view of the common people, of those things which affect the common people in their daily life. In any socialistic programme I think the first item must be land reforms. I know that zamindari has been abolished and some land reform measures have been taken by some State Governments. But still some of the things are yet to be done. Measures like the abolition of the remaining intermediaries, tenancy reforms, fixation of rent, security of tenure, transfer of ownership rights to tenants, ceilings on landholdings, consolidation of holdings and prevention of fragmentation of holdings, are some of the very important matters that have to be done if land reforms are to be completed. I need not go into details. Let me refer to what the Planning Commission has said. The Planning Commission says, that different States have taken up different items and there is no uniform legislation throughout the country on all these matters. And what is important, the Planning Commission has *come* to the conclusion that the implementation of the legislation already made by the States is extremely unsatisfactory.

Prime Minister Nehru said once long back, "Socialism does not mean distribution of poverty. Let us first produce. Let there be production first and only then we can talk of socialisms." All right. We have seen three Plans and the fourth is under operation now. What is the achievement of this Government in this field?

Underproduction. Let us first look at agriculture. If we take 1950 as the index number in 1949-50, in 1968-69 cereals have gone up to 165.7; pulses 102.3; food grains, all taken together, 157.5; oil-seeds 137.1. And if we take all the commodities in the agricultural sector, it is only 158.7. This is the situation after 21 years of our independence, after more than fifteen years of planning. What about our national income? If we take 1950 as the index number of 1960-61, the national income has increased from 103.6 in 1961-62 to 128.4 in 1968-69. In the agricultural sector the number is 101.6 in 1961-62 and it has gone up to only 112.6 in 1968-69. In major industries and mining it has gone up from 109.2 to 165.4. The rise in the small and medium scale industries is so negligible that even figures are not worth quoting. What about our per capita income? If we take 1950 as the index number in 1960-61, it has gone up to only 104.1 in 1968-69. I need not comment upon this situation.

Let us take the question of prices. If we take 1950 as the index number for the wholesale prices in 1961-62, in 1969 the food prices have gone up to 193.1, industrial raw materials to 178, chemicals to 187, and if we take all these commodities together it is 168.7. Regarding consumer prices if we take 1949 as the index number, it has gone up to 213 by now. The working class cost of living has gone up to 191, the cost of living of the agricultural labourer 185, the cost of living of the urban non-manual employees to 165, and so on so forth. It has been pleaded on various occasions by the Government that in a developing economy prices are bound to rise. Let me, therefore, compare the price situation of other developing countries in the world. Let us take 1963 as the base year and let us take the index number 100. From 1965 to 1968: the rise in prices in Ghana is 4.9, in UAR 11.6, in Ceylon 7.2, in Malaya 5.2, in Pakistan 17.6, in Philippines 4.7, Czechoslovakia 1.1, Poland 2.8, Yugoslavia 6.60, and India 35.5-

Now, Sir, socialism is meaningless without any progress being made towards bridging the gap between the rich and the poor, between the high and the low levels. This has been repeatedly stated even by the Planning Commission in all its reports. The Planning Commission said this in the Second and Third Plans and again repeated in the Fourth Plan that one of the objectives of planning is the achievement

of equality, narrowing down the gap between inequalities. But what is the situation today? If we take the agricultural labour on the one hand and the private enterprise on the other, the situation is simply staggering, simply fantastic. It is no use describing that situation. Let me take an easier situation. Let me take the wage of lowest daily paid unskilled worker as on 30-9-1969; under the Central Government it is Rs. 2.40; in Kerala 95 paise; Madhya Pradesh 90 paise; Maharashtra 62 paise; Mysore 75 paise; Orissa 75 paise; Tamil Nadu 62 paise; and in other States it is between Re. 1 and Rs. 1.50. In the case of agricultural labour, they have given some statistics which I have refused to believe; while the daily earning of a workman in a steel mill is Rs. 1.43 for men and 95 paise for women. As far as my information goes, the daily earning of an agricultural labourer is below 50 paise. What about the real earnings of the workers? If 1961 is taken as the base year, the all-India consumer prices have gone up to 171 in 1968 and corresponding to that the real earning of a factory worker has gone down to 95 and that of a mining worker up to only 111.

Let us now come to the Central Government. They have asked for money to run the administration. Let us see what the situation is under the Central Government itself. There are employees under the Central Government who take a monthly pay of less than Rs. 75/- and there are people who get a monthly pay of more than Rs. 3,000. The ratio can be easily worked out. Those who receive below Rs. 200 under the Central Government constitute about 88 per cent of the total number of employees under the same Government, and those who receive below Rs. 100 are about 60% of the total number employed under the Central Government.

Let us consider the question of Employment. We know that about 82% of our population live in the rural sector. The Planning Commission has computed the figure. The whole of the working population is about 46% and of this, those who are engaged in the agricultural sector is 72.9%. So 72.9% of the total working population are still engaged in agriculture and that clearly indicates how far we have progressed industrially. I am tempted to compare such figures in the other developing countries. I hope

[Shri Bipin Pal Das] total number of working people engaged in agriculture as compared to the total working population is at follows :

Ghana . . .	58%
UAR . . .	56.6
Ceylon . . .	48.9
Indonesia . . .	68.0
Malaysia . . .	51.4
Pakistan . . .	75.0 (higher than India)
Phillipines . . .	60.5
Czechoslovakia . . .	24.9
Poland . . .	47.7
Yugoslavia . . .	56.9

Even compared to those countries we are lagging behind in the matter of industrial development. What about industrial employment ? What is the figure from 1961 to 1968 ?

1961 . . .	12.09 millions
1966 . . .	16.19 »
1967 . . .	16.32 »
1968 . . .	16.33

These figures cover industry, plantation, services, construction, trade, transport etc. I have given a very rough idea about the situation to-day.

So far as the number of unemployed people is concerned, the Planning Commission has expressed regret that no accurate estimate can be made. They have made a rough estimate and that also belongs to 1960-61. In that year according to the Planning Commission, the rural unemployment was 5.8 million, urban unemployment 0.7 million and the total was 6.5 millions. I have grave doubt about this figure. If we take into consideration the growth of unemployment over the years from 1961 to 1969 and also those who are underemployed, I am sure today the figure must have gone up to 15 to 20 millions. It is a fantastic figure no doubt but that is the reality of the situation.

After having given this picture briefly about the state of economy in this country, I say this. We have talked a lot about

Naxalism and Naxalites. If we create a situation in this country, if we fail to solve the basic problems of the people, if we talk of socialism but do nothing to take the country towards socialism, is it any wonder that the Naxalites come up on the scene ? I do not support the Naxalites. I do not support them because they believe in violence which is the antithesis of democracy. I do not support them because they call Mao as their Chairman which is insulting to my nation's self-respect. But still they are there. I do not call them dacoits, or criminals. They are the products of the situation created by the wrong policies or policies not executed in the socio-economic sphere about which I have already spoken. That has created the Naxalites. You may arrest them and put them in jail. You may kill all the Naxalites but Naxalism will continue to remain in the country as long as you fail to solve the problems of this country. I am not scared of Naxalism. It is not going to succeed. The methods of terrorism and adventurism cannot lead to revolution. It is against the basic tenets of all socialist theories. It is even against the basic tenets of Marxism. No wonder that the Naxalites call Mr. Bhupesh Gupta a renegade and a revisionist and call even Mr. Nambudipad a revisionist or neo-revisionist. Naxalism will lead to no revolution and it will not solve the problems, but the Naxalites are capable of creating a situation of chaos and disorder in this country. If such situations are created, there is another danger. There is another force which will take full advantage of that situation. Unless the democrats and the socialists can act at the right time, the chaos created by the Naxalites will be taken advantage of by the right reaction which has been very well-organised and well-fortified and even armed, and that is the real danger. Let us remember what happened in Germany in 1933. When the people there were frustrated and discontented, when they suffered from a sense of national humiliation and when the communists and the socialists failed to act at the right moment it was then, through a democratic process that a new force emerged and we know about it. That danger is looming large and I warn the democrats and the socialists of this country. The organised right reaction are standing in the wings and are waiting for the opportune moment. We create a fertile ground for Naxalites by not executing the correct policies, by not solving the problems of the people. The Naxalites

will create chaos and disorder and then the fascist forces will step in. That is the danger to which I draw attention of this House.

In this House to-day I am sitting as an independent member. But for the major part of my life I have worked in the socialist movement of this country. My friends to-day in this House are sitting on both sides of the House, right from Chandra Shekha to Gurupadaswamy and from Goray to tajnarain. I appeal to them, I appeal to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta also, I appeal to all democrats and socialists in this country to look at the situation, to take into consideration the dangerous potentialities of the situation and do something so that the social and economic problems of the people can be solved, so that Fascism cannot creep in to take over power in this country.

Sir, I come from an area which is industrially backward to-day. I refer to Assam, Nag. land, Manipur and Tripura, i.e. the entire area to the east of East Pakistan. You go to Tripura and you will be sad / disappointed. Where is Bombay, Calcutta or Bangalore and where is Tripura? It will be very difficult to recognise these areas as part of India for the simple reason that there is no sign at all on the surface of any development worth the name that has taken place in that part of the country in the last 23 years of independence. Go to Manipur; the same situation. Go to Nagaland, the same situation.

5 P.M.

So far as Assam is concerned, I will give you two samples to illustrate my point. Now take the question of a simple bridge over the river, Brahmaputra. You know Brahmaputra in size is bigger than Ganges. For a simple bridge over the river Brahmaputra, people had to fight, face lathi, go to jails and only then they could get bridge. Half the Brahmaputra valley today has been found to be floating on oil but to get a refinery thousands of people had to go to jail through a satyagraha movement. Before that no refinery was granted and what sort of refinery have you finally granted? It is a toy refinery. Now for a second refinery and for a petro-chemical complex again thousands of people have gone to jail. The petro-chemical complex has come but the second refinery is still hanging in the balance. I have given these examples

just to impress upon you the fact that the people of these areas, being backward industrially always, do not get what they deserve unless they put up a struggle, go to jail, face lathi and so on. What will be the reaction in the minds of these people there? Please tell me, Sir. What would the people in this area, the rising generation, the young people would feel? What impression would they carry? You might be knowing already what kind of movement was there in Nagaland. You are also aware what kind of disintegrating forces are working in Mizo-land. If I tell you what kind of a force is raising its head in the plain areas of Manipur and also in the plains of the Brahmaputra valley you may be surprised. I tell you, Sir, I was the Principal of a college and I was in touch with the young boys for long years. I know what they are thinking: I know what they are talking about. All the time they say, what is the use of our being part of this great Indian nation if we do not get anything? They are frustrated, completely disillusioned. We talk of removing the regional imbalances in our economic development. The Planning Commission has repeatedly said the same thing. But here is an example. What have the Government done to remove the economic backwardness of this entire area lying to the east of East Pakistan? And what is this area?

The whole area is surrounded by foreign countries, three foreign countries* two of whom are hostile to us. This area is connected with the rest of the country by a very narrow corridor which is only 40 miles in width. If the corridor is snapped the whole area is gone. If in this area such separatist tendencies grow is it not a danger signal to our integrity, to our sovereignty? Why does it grow? It grows precisely because the people think that no justice has been done to them, nothing has been done for them. You might say, well, the State Government should do that. For Manipur and Tripura the State Governments can do nothing the Centre must do that. In the case of Nagaland and Assam the area being poor, the State Governments being poor, they do not have the resources to develop the area industrially. The private sector will not go there because there are transport difficulties. It is therefore the Central responsibility to develop that area industrially but they are not doing that. As a result there is widespread

[Shri Bipin Pal Das]

frustration today among the people in the whole area. Let us not forget what happened in 1962 at the time of Chinese aggression. I was in Tezpur at that time as the Principal of a college. I was a first hand witness of the whole situation in 1962. The Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on 19th November 1962 at 11 O'clock at night said good bye to Assam. And the great General who has written a book and made good money by now, Mr. Kaul, fled along with his forces. The entire army fled. The General himself ran away on the 20th November, when the situation was that the Chinese could reach Tezpur any moment. When two of our State Ministers went to the General and asked him, the Chinese are advancing, what do you propose to do? Why don't you organise some sort of resistance in the plains? In the hills you have failed, but they are now coming down in the plains—why don't you resist the Chinese in the plains? The General quietly replied in a very nonchalant manner, "Well, the military strategy dictates that we cannot resist the Chinese here we have, to do it from Siliguri". This is what General Kaul said to two of our Ministers and one of those Ministers is today in the Central Government and this can be verified. This is what the General said and everybody in Tezpur knows it. I know it, my students know it, the people of Assam know it. The Prime Minister bade good bye on the 19th and the next day the General fled. And what impression would the people there have? On the one hand they are economically backward and they feel frustrated, feel neglected and feel let down; and on the other hand, being surrounded by three countries of whom two are hostile, being connected with the rest of the country by a narrow corridor of 40 miles width, if they see the General and the army running away, what will be the impact on their mind? It is in such a situation that separatist tendencies grow and it is very dangerous. Old people like us who fought against the British, who sent to jail, now feel that those days are gone. Today there are people who have not seen Gandhiji, who have not seen the struggle for freedom; what about them? *(Time by Unrigs)*. Sir, I conclude my speech by saying that if you want to defend this part of the country, the army alone cannot do it. This is my firm opinion after my experience of all these years. The army is necessary and the army has been strengthened I

, since, I know. And I congratulate General Chaudhuri and General Maneckshaw for what they have done about it. But the army alone cannot do anything unless the people of the area are contented, unless they are satisfied, unless the people feel that they have some interest to fight for and a cause to defend, that is the integrity and sovereignty of this country. Unless they have got that feeling it will be very difficult to defend that part of the country whose borders are so wide open.

So I would submit to the Government and to the socialist forces in the country; let them see to this danger, the challenge which has come to our democratic system, the challenge that has come to the sovereignty of the country, the challenge that has come from the left and from the right alike. Don't talk of the left alone. The challenge to democracy has come from the right also and that is much more serious. If we are to meet that challenge the socialist and democratic forces in this country must learn to act, and to act together, positively and decisively for the amelioration of the conditions of the millions of oppressed and exploited people of this country.

SHRI K. S. MALLE GOWDA (Mysore) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I deem it a great opportunity of my life to speak on the floor of this House. I come from a tiny village of India, one of the 51 lakhs of villages of this great country. Eighty per cent of the people belong to rural India and, therefore, it follows that 80 per cent of the legislators of the State Assemblies and 80 per cent of the MP's here are representatives of the rural people and they are here to specifically express their grievances and help them to produce more and help them to raise their economic level, but it is not so. The village dweller is terribly discriminated against. During Gandhiji's lifetime, in pre-independence India, 80 per cent of the people lived in villages. Today 23 years after independence and in the modern moon-landing age the same 80 per cent of the Indian people are crammed in the land. The number of people living in land has gone up from about 25 crores in 1947 to nearly 38 crores as India's population is nearly 51 crores today. In advanced countries like America, the population dependent on land is only 2 per cent. The Government have utterly failed to give relief to the rural people during the last 23 years by relieving

the pressure on land. What should be the aim of a good, democratic Government of our dream India with its rich tradition of culture and heritage? There should be a healthy, healthy, growing middle-class in both the urban and rural sectors. It is vital that the rural sector with its massive voting potentiality should not be discriminated against.

Sir, as I have said earlier, I come from a village. I belong to an agricultural family. I have served in the Government of Mysore in important assignments as a Sub-divisional Officer, Deputy Commissioner, Special Deputy Commissioner for the abolition of Inams and I know the villager, his problems and his mind, as I know the palm of my hand. Some politicians, for their own ends, give tall talks about the villager and his problems, but they would be afraid and would not like to live even for a couple of days in a village, not to speak of living amidst villagers for a lifetime. Can they tell that there is capitalism in the villages after the implementation of the land reforms during the last ten years? I can tell you that capitalism in rural India is really almost non-existent. What about the much desired middle class in the villages? There are no more than three or four middleclass families and medium-sized farms on an average in our villages. Do you want to wipe them out too in the next ten years from the face of rural India? If you wipe them out too, what dire consequences will follow? To add insult to injury, to the rural sector Mr. Morarji Deas, the former Finance Minister of the Government, sent a new arrow from his bow aimed at rural India in the shape of agricultural wealth-tax. That poisonous evy is not only unjust but also involves extreme harassment to the genuine agriculturists. When he introduced the Bill he proclaimed that it would not affect the genuine agriculturists. Whom else will it affect? Does it affect the bogus agriculturists, if he meant by bogus agriculturists the industrialists and businessmen who have purchased farms here and there for their pleasure? I can warn the nation today that if you let the middle-class live in rural India it is a deathknell to democracy in India. India cannot be divided by discriminatory economic policies into urban and rural Indias like East Berlin and West Berlin, or South and North Korea or South Vietnam and North Vietnam. Let us examine whether there is justification for

levying wealth-tax on agricultural property when we are yet to become self-sufficient in agriculture and when every incentive has to be provided to produce more to feed the malnourished nation and also uplift rural India economically. The nation and for that matter the world is well aware of the vagaries of nature in India. The havoc wrought almost year after year by this devil of a flood and that demon of a famine or near-famine in this part or that part of rural India is proverbial. Is there an assured income from an acre of land to the farmer? If there are profits from a farm this year, more often than not, next year will bring heavy debts to the farmer. Do you want him to pay wealth-tax when he has been hit by a famine or nearfamine or floods or excessive rains or there has been a lean crop and loss? Do you want him to be a debtor always and come to you abegging for reliefs and concessions all his life? As against the income from a farm, take the example of a rented building. If there is a rented building in a town or city, you will be getting Rs. 500 and you will be valuing the building at Rs. 1½ lakhs. Next year also the same ten will be there, but it is not so in the case of agriculture. If you get a good crop in one year, in the next two years the crop may be bad. Some people say that only a small number of about two lakhs of agriculturists have to pay agricultural wealth-tax. To them I say that in our country there are only a small number of industrial units. Should we destroy them, as their number is small? What is the picture of an Indian village today? Under what handicaps and stresses and strains and tears has a man to live in a village today? There are even today villages without drinking water facilities. In my own village it is so. What is the protection we have in our villages? The police will come only 72 hours after the villager is murdered. With regard to telephones I can talk to Delhi from Bangalore easily, but to Chickmagalore town, 150 miles away, I cannot talk. More often than not the line will be out of order. What about education? To make his son a doctor or an engineer it will be a job for the village, but in cities it is easy. Even a serjan can make his son a doctor or an engineer in a city. With all these hardships we live in the villages. I appeal to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her Government to strengthen rural India economically and morally and not to weaken it, if demo-

[Shri K S Malle Gowda]

cracy is to be saved in our country. The wealth-tax on agricultural property should be postponed for at least five years more until the farm base is firmly strengthened.

Regarding the abolition of privy purses and privileges I only want to say that India is a great nation. It has a great name. It has a rich tradition, great culture and heritage. We must value moral values. We must honour agreements. We must be large-hearted. All of us, tall-talkers or silent sufferers, die today or tomorrow, but India lives forever. The means adopted to achieve a good end must also be good, as Mahatmaji said. Why should we break the agreement with the Princes made by the great leaders of our country headed by Prime Minister Nehruji and Vallabhbhai Patel with the assent of Mahatmaji, when the amount involved is a paltry sum of Rs 5 crores? Why harass the Princes, when a good many of them are really not rich? Please remember that there are nearly twenty Princes in Parliament and more in the State Legislatures elected by more than 25 million voters. Do you trample upon even the faith of these voters who are considerable in number? If you take an opinion poll I say that not even ten per cent of the voters of India will commend us for all the cry that has been raised for the abolition of privy purses and privileges. Talking of privileges, are not Parliament Members enjoying certain privileges? As between the same Parliament Members are not the Prime Minister and the Members of the Government enjoying certain privileges and benefits? If we check the loopholes in our public sector undertakings we will be able to save many times five crores and we can get a good part of the money required to help the poor and usher in a prosperous India. For example, in my own State I can give examples of a few public sector projects. The Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works has incurred a huge loss of Rs 5 crores. The famous Kolar Gold Fields, according to recent reports, every year, has incurred a loss of Rs 3 crores during the last three years. When I was the Director of the Bangalore Dairy, I had occasion to take the UNICEF engineers to KGFT to see the mine. They put searching questions to the officials and they elicited the information that it was working at a loss. They told me, Here is a gold mine, a gold mine which must

be giving rich dividends. The proverb is like that, but here is a gold mine that is incurring a heavy loss. I was the Director of the Bangalore Dairy and I was there for six years. It was inaugurated by the late Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri. The UNICEF gave us equipment worth Rs 35 lakhs as a gift. The Dairy suffered a loss of Rs 70 lakhs in one and a half years after I left the Dairy.

AN HON MEMBER : What was the reason?

SHRI K S MALLE GOWDA :

You must ask the State Government. I think it is due to mismanagement. Mr Mirdha the day before yesterday spoke against the import of milk powder. The major dairy projects of our country such as the Bangalore dairy, Delhi dairy, Hyderabad dairy will have to depend upon milk powder. As in the case of the Amul dairy in Khana, milk production is not more in the South. There is an agreement with the UNICEF to supply milk at subsidised rates to workers, pregnant women and children. Therefore, we will have to continue to import milk powder for some time more. In fact, UNICEF are giving us gifts of milk powder. Lastly one word. This is the most urgent need to check the population growth in our country. I must give great credit to the Government of India for what they have done so far in this direction. I only wish that Dr Chandrasekha who is doing excellently as Family Planning Minister can lead the Government.

Lastly, I would say that there is greater awareness among the Indian people in general especially after the last general elections of the need for strong and sound Governments at the Centre and in the States for their mental peace. Congress has rightly taken credit to the emancipation of our country. Why do Congressmen want to see India disintegrate and explode beginning from the Gandhi Centenary year? Let us more appeal to the two opposing Congress factions to unite in the interests of our country and in the interests of sound and strong Central and State Governments. I would appeal to the two Congress factions to unite, and in that case I would even join that Congress Party. I appeal to the two

Congress factors, to unite to give good Governments at the Centre and also in the States. Thank you

THE MINISTER OF SUPPLY AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I listened with great attention and care to the speeches made by several hon. Members on the appropriation Bill for 1970-71. It would be difficult for me in the short time at my disposal to deal with all the points raised, but certainly I will make an attempt to reply to some of the questions or matters brought before the House and some issues that were raised not directly concerning the Appropriation Bill but which are agitating the mind of hon. Members. For instance, some issues were raised by my hon. friend, Shri Chandra Sekhar, and several others. They are of a political nature. So I want to deal with them later on, but let me finish with some of the other points pertaining to the Bill under debate

For instance, the question was raised regarding the limit on borrowings of the Central Government. This is a controversial issue and I remember while I was a member of the Public Accounts Committee certain recommendation was also proposed in our report then. On this occasion Shri S. D. Misra suggested that the borrowings of the Government should be restricted and a law should be enacted by the Parliament setting a limit to Government's power of borrowing. This was also supported by Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha, and at the same time my friend, Shri Mahava Tyagi, who is a former Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, lent again his support to the same proposal. I would like to clarify the position as it is. Since the recommendation came from the Public Accounts Committee of the Parliament, the Government had considered the possibility of working within the legislative ceiling of borrowings very carefully, at the highest level, on more than one occasion since 1962 but had come across a number of practical difficulties

However, I would request the hon. Members to examine the need for any such statutory limit from a wider perspective. As the hon. Members are aware, the Five Year Plans indicate the broad limits of the new borrowings envisaged for financing

the Plans. The borrowings are shown in greater detail in the annual budget documents. These show the borrowings proposed during the ensuing year by various categories distinctly. In particular, I would like to invite the attention of hon. Members to Statement VI in Section II of Part II of the Explanatory Memorandum on the Budget which gives an idea of the growth of Public Debt of the Central Government ever since 1950-51. I wanted to give details, but it will take a long time. The details of guarantees given by the Central Government are shown in Annexure VII of the same document. It will thus be seen that the Parliament is kept fully apprised of the borrowings of Government, and Parliament has ample opportunity to consider these during the discussions on the Plan and the Annual Budgets. Moreover in the ultimate analysis, Government borrowings are limited by the Parliaments from year to year, indirectly, by setting limits to the total expenditure to be incurred by the Government.

I would also like to point out in this connection that the borrowings of Central Government are intended to meet not only its own requirements but also the requirements of State Governments, Government companies, Corporations, etc. and are mostly for developmental purposes. While the increase in Public Debt of the Central Government from 1950-51 to the end of 1970-71 will be of the order of Rs. 12,368 crores, the increase in the loans given to State Governments—his will explain that all the borrowings are for productive purposes or development purposes—and other parties, including Government Companies during the same period will be of the order of Rs. 9,106 crores. Thus, an amount equal to nearly 74 per cent of the Central Government's borrowings will have been utilised to provide loans to others. During this period the Government will also have made additional investments in departmental and non-departmental commercial undertakings of Rs. 6,158 crores. Thus, the borrowings during this period are actually less than the loans and investments made by the Government. This should be borne in mind while proposing a limit on the borrowings of the Government relating to the constitutional provisions.

Similarly, the interest paid by Government on loans is more than covered by the interest and dividend received by

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Government. For instance, as against the interest liability of Rs. 597 crores in 1970-71, interest and dividend receipts of Government will amount to Rs. 638 crores. So actually because of these investments we have earned much more by way of interest.

In conclusion, I would only say that the provision in article 292 of the Constitution is permissive and not mandatory. Even if a statutory limit were to be fixed and is related to the gross borrowings of the Central Government (including the Treasury Bills) at any time, such a limit would be unreal, as it is really the net borrowing that is relevant.

One more point that was again made here, the proportion of voted and charged expenditure, which needs a little explanation, because under the provisions of the Constitution certain expenditure is charged and certain expenditure is voted, and I would like to place before the hon. House all the relevant figures. The point was made by Shri S. D. Misra and Shri Nand Kishore that out of Rs. 16,000 crores Parliament is being asked to vote only Rs. 4,000 crores and Rs. 12,000 crores are being provided without approval. The House might recollect that in my opening remarks I have explained this at some length, but even at the risk of being a little repetitive I would like to repeat what I said then in a more explanatory way. It is true that the Bill provides for the withdrawal of Rs. 11,957 crores charged on the Consolidated Fund of India and Rs. 4,369 crores to be voted by Parliament. The House is, however, discussing the entire expenditure and not only the voted portion of the expenditure. The details of both charged and voted expenditure are shown separately as prescribed under article 113 of the Constitution. The expenditure shown as charged is as provided for in the relevant articles of the Constitution. On the Revenue side, it includes grants-in-aid to State Government under article 275 of the Constitution, payment of States share of Union excise duties and interest charges. On the capital side, the charged expenditure includes loans and advances to the State Governments and repayment of debt by the Central Government. The latter includes an amount of Rs. 9,500 crores, as I had explained while moving the Bill, to cover the entries in the accounts

relating to Treasury Bills which have a currency of 91 days, and, unless discharged after that period, are not normally shown in the accounts as repaid and simultaneously reinvested. This figure represents estimated gross figure and not the net figure, which will take into account the discharges of the Bills in the course of the year.

I therefore submit that there is no validity in the criticism that Parliament's approval is being obtained only for a small portion of the expenditure. I have already given the figures. I do not want to repeat them because it is a long statement regarding the figures. While moving the Bill, I have indicated some of the major figures involved in this. So, I do not want to repeat them.

Then, one or two other points were made. Shri T. N. Singh and Shri Jagdish Prasad Mathur, if I remember correctly, referred to the problem of rising prices and they used terms like spiralling prices and all that. I would like to state what is the position since the introduction of the Budget, prior to it and at the present juncture. With respect to the reality of price increases since the Budget, if I am not mistaken, it was Shri Jagdish Prasad Mathur who suggested that the prices have risen by about 10 per cent since the end of the Budget. Nothing could be farther from facts. A look at the Index of Wholesale Prices would show that while on February 28, the general price index was 173.8, in the week ended on April 18—the latest for which data are available—the index was 175.8. That is to say, the rise in prices has been only of the order of 1.1 per cent., not 10 per cent. This is absolutely an exaggerated figure.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I think they were referring to the retail prices.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : I am coming to that also. That also I am explaining. There is a certain seasonal rise in prices every year. That must be taken into account. One cannot say that the slight rise in prices is at all consequential to the Budget. While preparing the Budget, the maximum care was taken to see that excises levied on articles consumed by the common people are raised minimally. He said about the consumer prices, that they were

affected by the new excises. But it is not so because of various other measures that have been taken and as recently proposed by the hon. Prime Minister in the other House. Hon. Members are aware that the Prime Minister has announced certain adjustments which would favour loose tea as well as those cheaper varieties which are consumed by the common people. In the case of sugar, current market prices are not only lower than what they were about this time last year, but also lower, almost everywhere, than what they were before the Budget proposals were introduced on February 28.

So, as some say, there is no evidence to show that because of the Budget the prices of articles of common consumption have gone up. There was some slight rise in excise duty very slight. But it has not in any manner affected the current prices. The ruling prices of sugar are much lower than they were prevailing when the Budget was placed before the House.

Then, Sir, Mr. E. A. J. Patil and Shri T. N. Singh, among others, have referred to the possible impact of deficit financing on the level of prices. And it was a very relevant point. They repeated it once again because on the general discussion on the Budget, the same point was made by the same hon. Members. I can assure them that the Government are fully aware of the implications of deficit financing; this device is going to be used with judgment and circumspection. It is only if the rate of growth in the economy—and the general availability of goods and services, including foodgrains—is such as would comfortably absorb the effects of deficit financing that resort will be taken to credit creation. If the revenue accruing from the normal tax sources is sufficiently buoyant, to that extent, there would be an abatement for the need for deficit financing. The latest estimates suggest that, for 1969-70 the actual Budget deficit has been considerably less than the figure of Rs. 29 crores estimated earlier, since the revenue collections have been higher than anticipated. It could well be that a similar development will occur with respect to the current fiscal year as well. So let us suspend our judgement and not jump to any conclusion immediately that the Budget has an inflationary impact everywhere. That is not warranted by facts.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Mysore) : How much less ?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : I cannot say just now offhand. I will give you the figures if you want.

I can assure hon. Members that no Government can afford to be supercilious about price movements. In a free and democratic country it is the interests of the peasantry, the working class and the lower middle class, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, which will be the prime determinant of the Government's policy. If prices start spiralling, it would affect these classes more than any others and therefore adversely affect the position of the Government itself. Price stability commensurate with growth is thus the prime goal of the Government's policy, I can assure hon. Members.

Then, Shri S. D. Mishra was particularly severe on the country's foreign trade policy and has even argued that it is fallacious to suggest that our exports have gone up. And he has given one or two figures. Our merchandise exports were only of the order of Rs. 1,160 crores in 1966-67. These went up to Rs. 1,200 crores in 1967-68 to Rs. 1,260 crores in 1968-69, and are now estimated to have reached Rs. 1,400 crores in 1969-70. A 20 per cent increase in exports in three years is not a mean achievement given the difficult domestic situation during this period.

One small point, and then I will come to the main question I would also be willing to admit that in some of our traditional export commodities, such as jute Shri Mirdha raised this point—we are experiencing difficulties. It is being recognised. We are aware of the problems here, which embrace such tasks as raising the productivity of the raw fibre, modernising equipment and countering competition from synthetics and paper. Shri Mirdha has suggested that a Committee should go into the problem of the jute industry in its different facets. I might mention that a Committee under the chairmanship of Shri Bibhuti Mishra is already at work and is looking into the entire range of this problem.

Shri Mirdha was of the view that our import policies in regard to agricultural raw materials such as cotton have not

[Shri R. K. Khadilkar] been conducive to domestic production I would say that the problem is of a different genre. The Government have been trying to raise the productivity of cotton, jute, oil-seeds and other commercial crops. It is only because we have not yet been able to achieve a breakthrough in the way of developing high-yielding varieties of seeds for these commodities that we have to continue to depend on import*.

Several hon Members including Shri Mishra, Shri Thengari and Shri Mallikarjunudu have expressed concern about the problems posed by unemployment and under-employment. This concern will be shared by all. No Government can afford to brush aside the wide social implications of persistent unemployment in the economy. This is why in this year's Budget—I would like to emphasise this as I did on former occasions—a determined attempt has been made to expand significantly the volume of investment in the economy, particularly in the public sector, and to introduce a number of special measures, intended to expand employment. Employment, after all, is a function of economic growth.

I do not think in view of the time at my disposal being short, that I should deal with several of her points. But I would just make a mention that there can be no social justice without creation of opportunities of employment. The entire fiscal exercise which the Budget represents is for rekindling the spark of accelerated growth in the economy. It is this accelerated growth which, we all hope, will open up new and extensive avenues of employment.

The hon Shri Kulkarni alleged about a fraud of Rs 16 lakhs in the Dena Bank at Aurangabad. I shall assure him that we shall mquire into that.

The suggestion made by the Member in regard to the working of nationalised Banks will certainly receive very careful attention of the Government and I would like to assure the Hon'ble House that we are in a period after the banks were nationalised, the period of consolidation. It will take a little time and people should not get impatient about it to see the results while all the people have welcomed it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) Please expedite

SHRI R K KHADILKAR : It is being expedited. The measure has been welcomed by the vast majority of the people but at the same time it takes a little time and patience is required and let us hope that once the machinery is in proper order, people will .

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh) You have lost all credibility by now and none is going to take the lesson from you 'You' does not mean the Government.

{Interruptions}

SHRI R K KHADILKAR . Before I conclude, I would like to refer to some problems.

SHRI A G KULKARNI . You are not referring to to-day's speeches. These are yesterday's speeches.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) . He has referred to you, Mr Kulkarni.

SHRI R K KHADILKAR . Some issues which are exercising the minds of the people on the floor of the House, in particular my friend Shri Chandra Shekhar who spoke with emotion earnestness and sincerity raised some points. No doubt, these points need to be very carefully considered. I am not sure whether this was the forum to take all these issues in the way they were posed. But one or two issues that he has been brought to the notice of the House and other Members have also dwelt upon. I would like to touch on them.

One of the menace of Naxalite activities.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh) What about the menace of Shiv Sena ?

SHRI R K KHADILKAR : So, here I think most of the Members will agree that the socio-political analysis given by Mr Chander Shekhar, because some Hon'ble Members, particularly the lady Member from Bengal, made out a case that they should be treated as criminals and it is a law and order problem. Some other Members . . .

{Interruptions}

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : Shiv Sena and Naxalites should be treated at par. One is disturbing the peace at Calcutta and the other is disturbing the peace at Bombay. We talk too much of Naxalites and in fact about Shiv Sena.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Order please.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : Here the problem is from proper perspective beyond some of the members when they observed including Chandra Shekhar, that it is a challenge to the Parliamentary Institutions itself because they are quite intelligent people ready to sacrifice and somehow or other they have lost faith in Parliamentary Institutions. They are intensively frustrated and are ready to challenge the institution though from my little acquaintance of the literature they are not clear what type of institutions they would replace when they destroy Parliament. That is not clear. But let us . . .

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : They wanted guidance from Mao, not from you. You are not competent to advise them.

(Interruption)

SHRI ANANT RASAD SHARMA (Bihar) : They say it is not clear. I think it is as clear as the broad day light.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : From where they are getting inspiration that is one aspect. But if we examine our past, many of us had our inspiration from the European struggle. Let us be little self-reflective including Mazumdar leaving aside Marxist and Marxist leaders. Today, if somebody draws inspiration from the outside ageily because of that I am not prepared to condemn anyone, but if he is actively associated or getting some help to carry on the activity, that is a different matter. That should be dealt with as a law and order problem and I am sure there the law and order problem will . . .

(Interruption)

SHRI ANANT RASAD SHARMA : If anybody draws inspiration from any foreign country, I think that should be condemned. What the Hon'ble Minister says I am not prepared to accept.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : In the course of the Liberation struggle . . . (Interruption)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : On a point of order. Is the Minister giving his personal views or his Government's view? Is Government drawing inspiration from the Chinese? If he is giving Government's views, then we shall see what to do.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : Let me finish. I will reply to all questions.

(Interruption)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I am on my legs. I am raising a point of order. Please direct the Minister to say whether it is his own view.

(Interruption*)

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Please sit down. Mr. Arora, please sit down.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : I will reply to all the points.

SHRI CHANDRE SHEKHAR : What Hon'ble Khadilkar has said is not objectionable, to get inspiration from any great man from outside the country. Suppose Martin Luther King was taking inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi, should he be condemned for that? Khadilkar is quite all right.

HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : Mr. Vice Chairman, I will reply to all the points. Let me continue.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Please sit down. I am standing. Please sit down. You may differ or you may have objection but half a dozen people are standing, that is not in keeping with dignity. Mr. Sharma, what should be done with decorum. What I was saying is after hearing him, after Mr. Khadilkar answers, if anybody wants any clarification I will allow. Please let him finish.

(Interruption)

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : Mr. Vice Chairman, as I was saying, somebody put a question. I have drawn the distinction between drawing inspiration from person or thought which is not entirely Indian. I do not consider thought or a person if he has given a certain new idea or a certain new thought of social change. (Interruption) Please coming to that.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH (Gujarat) : That Mao is the enemy of the country. No thought can be drawn from him.

(Interruption)

You must clarify your issue.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : So far as inspiration part is concerned . . .

(Interruption)

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : You were a Member of the Government when our Government's conflict with Chinese took place. Government did not declare war. How is China our enemy?

(Interruptions)

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH : Mao-to-day has been accepted the enemy of India and so you cannot draw inspiration from an enemy. How is it in this you draw inspiration from our enemy?

(Interruption)

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : In this free country like ours, with a democratic institution, I will say ten times, I am free to draw and take inspiration from any thought, any person . . .

(Interruption)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN(SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Now we are dealing with specific problems and matters; we are not dealing with academic matters. What I was saying is, he has given his views about drawing inspiration, which I consider for the present discussion not necessary and relevant.

(Interruption)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: My point of order is that if anybody is going to draw inspiration from Mao, I will call him a traitor . . .

(Interruption)

SHRI ANANT PRASAD SHARMA : I want to know from the hon. Minister whether these are his personal views.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : Mr. Vice-Chairman, let us come to the issue. As I have already said, if somebody gets active help or assistance, then certainly that should be dealt with properly and ruthlessly. So it is a law and order problem. When he gets active help . . .

(Interruption)

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Delh; My point of order is simple. The hon. Minister is replying to a debate on the Appropriation Bill. That is not an academic discussion.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : Mr. A. P. Sharma and Mr. Kulkarni are speaking on your behalf.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : My point of order is, while replying on the Appropriation Bill, he is replying on behalf of the Government. That is not an academic discussion wherein he can bring in his own personal views in respect of certain matters. i

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ : No, no it is the view of the Government, it cannot be trusted upon . . .

(Interruption)

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : My simple point is that India today has specific relations with China and that relation is a sort of relation with an enemy country. It is not a simple relation. The mere fact that China has not been declared as enemy, does not make that relation different. The other day in the other House, there was a point raised that we should congratulate China on its space satellite. Even the Defence Minister felt that it is highly improper for anybody even to suggest that we should congratulate China. He rightly deplored the suggestion. The Government of India, therefore, feels China as an enemy country. If we justify drawing inspiration from the leaders of that country, it would obviously be very wrong.

(Interruption?)

I would like to seek a clarification from the hon. Minister whether these are his personal views or the views of the Government.

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ: The Minister being one of the member of the Cabinet, it is the joint responsibility of the Minister, who makes this sort of statement that inspiration can be drawn from any outside country even a country which is inimical to our country—this is a very important issue. If he makes a statement by his own person, he cannot do so on the floor of this House. Therefore, Sir, he has to think twice when he has made such a statement. Further, Sir, when he has

made such a statement, it should not find a place in the proceedings; it should be expunged.

SHRI MANU BHAI SHAH : I am not normally given to shouting or these protests, as you have seen. Sir, it was an outrageous statement by a very senior colleague of ours on behalf of the Government, whose name is also we know. It is one thing to philosophise that we can draw inspiration from all over the world—Garibaldi, Mazzini—not only me, but the Minister also. Therefore, may I humbly suggest to him that it is highly improper for a Minister to say that we can draw inspiration from Mao?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : I have not said so.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MANI BHAI SHAH : You have named that; you are withdrawing your words. You have to condemn Mao. The point at issue is that the whole issue was being discussed with respect to China and Mao, and I would appeal to him that it should not go on record that in spite of our protest, the hon. Mr. Khadilkar refused to withdraw that no inspiration of any nature could be drawn or created could be exchanged as long as the situation persists as today with China or her leaders including Mao.

(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Vice-Chairman

THE VICECHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I will give you a chance.

SHRI BAHADUR ISLAM (Assam) : My point was this. Although I am a Congressman, I am not going to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by Mr. Khadilkar. I also went to know whether the Prime Minister will also associate herself with the sentiments of Mr. Khadilkar, because this is very important. This particular speech will be printed and taken by the Naxalites that we draw inspiration from Mao. This is very objectionable.

(Interruption)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Vice-Chairman I am sorry to say that Mr. Khadilkar has been misunderstood by many hon. friends. . . (Interruption)

I am not Khadilkar, so you cannot shout me down. Please let me say my point of view. I want to submit that the lotus has many layers and every petal is precious. Any individual human being who is great in his own right—and Khadilkar has never said Mao but I say Mao in many respects is much superior . . .

(Interruption) •

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : No, no. I do not accept it.

(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : You may not accept it, I accept it.

(Interruption)

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH : No, no.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : I have no quarrel, Mr. Manubhai Shah can never get any inspiration from Mao, he can get inspiration from Rockefeller and Ford. My contention is that his devotion to his people, his tenacity, his devotion to the cause of the poor section of his own country. . .

(Interruption)

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH : Not at all, Mao cannot be applauded in this House . . .

(Interruption)

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Please sit down. I admire these qualities of Mao, while condemning his attitude towards our nation, while condemning Chinese aggression. People are traitors who condemn everything good in the world. They are destroying all human values of devotion to the humanity; they are responsible for bifurcating and slitting the humanity in many things. We may not agree on many points. We do not see eye to eye, but in this House, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and throughout the whole country, I have been saying that he is the enemy of the country, but we see Mao has done many things for the people of China.

(Interruptions)

6 P.M.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH : I object to it.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : Mr. Khadilkar said nothing about Mao Tse-tung. He has not said anything about China. He has said that in a free society, in a free country, in a democracy, you cannot shut people from taking inspiration from anywhere they get because inspiration is something subjective and inspiration is something which man can imbibe in his spirit by law, by shouting slogans; there are people who take inspiration from the Birlas and the Tatas and they are continuing here in this House. We cannot do anything. . .

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH : I object.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR : So, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Mr. Khadilkar has never said that this Government or this nation can take inspiration from Mao or China. We condemn China. We condemn the ruling clique in China ... (*Interruptions*) We cannot say that we do not get any inspiration from Confucius who was a great Chinese. Can you say that everything in China is wrong? These people do not understand history, they do not understand politics.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH : " Mao" shall be removed from the records. No, it should not be there on our records. It is beneath the dignity of the House. . .

(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) ! Order, order please. Mr. Anant Prasad Sharma, you wanted to say something. Please be brief.

SHRI ANANT PRASAD SHARMA : Sir, I want to remind this House the context in which Mr. Khadilkar was speaking. We were talking about Naxalite activities and in that context Mr. Khadilkar said that in a free country, in a democracy, like ours, we are free to take inspiration from anybody, from any country. To that extent I object to it because when we say "any country" it includes China. We were discussing Naxalite activities and there, I am very sorry, Mr. Khadilkar said in the beginning also ...

(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I understand your point.

SHRI ANANT PRASAD SHARMA And my friend, Mr. Chandra Shekhar has definitely tried to give a different trend to the discussion by defending Mr. Khadilkar. But if this is going to be the view of the Government that we in this country are free to take inspiration from anybody and any country, I totally differ from the Government. And I do not accept that this could be the view of the Government.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) Now, Mr. Kulkarni Please be briefs.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: I would only request you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, to see the record and I am prepared to stand by the record . . .

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Mr. Vice-Chairman, . . .

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : Please sit down . . .

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Who are you to ask me to sit down ? I have been called by the Chair. You are a Minister and you should know how to behave.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Kulkarni, please come to your point and be brief.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Sir, what I was pleading was that I would accept any order from you, but not from a Minister. I am here as a Member of Parliament and I have got a right to stand up and air my feelings.

What I was trying to submit was that from the beginning the discussion was on Naxalities and the unrest in the country and all those things. It is no use philosophising that we can get inspiration from everybody. There are limitations. China is arch enemy of our country and we will never draw inspiration from them, never at all. Here my colleague and friend, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, has tried to give his views. I do not mind it. He is entitled to have his views. Perhaps he was trying to save the Minister. But I would appeal to Mr. Chandra Shekhar and people like him that there is sufficient inspiration in this country and they need not take inspiration from people like Mao. Mao must be respected in China, but we are not speaking on behalf of the Chinese people we are speaking on behalf of the Indian people . . .

(*Interruptions*) I want this

to be conveyed to the Prime Minister that tomorrow she must make a statement as to what the Government's view is.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : Sir, I am very sorry to find that some honourable Members of this House have given proof of the existence of a very narrow, sectarian, chauvinistic, type of nationalism. . . (Interruptions). I want to remind Mr. Manubhai Shah and Mr. Prasad Sharma that the parliamentary institution to which we are all devoted was not born in India. The House of Commons, the British Parliament, is still correctly called the Mother of Parliaments. . .

SHRI M. P. SHUKLA (Uttar Pradesh) : No, you are mistaken.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Parliamentary institutions were not born in India. They were born in Britain. The whole world including India, has borrowed them from Britain. So, what is the crime that Mr. Khariilka and Mr. Chandra Shekhar have committed when they said that some good idea or thought can be borrowed by us irrespective of our relations with the country concerned? Some people may have very good relations with Britain, but I never had good relations with Britain; from the time I was repeatedly imprisoned by the British rule. So I do not have good relations with Britain- I treat them as an enemy. But all the same, we have all borrowed from them. Why should people get excited merely because Mr. Chandra Shekhar mentions the thought of Mao Tse-tung?

SHRI ANANT PRASAD SHARMA: It is a very wrong analogy.

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त (बिहार) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अब इस पार्टी के अन्दर कुछ लोगों के दिमाग गांधी जी का फिर गए हैं और इन्दिरा गांधी से भी निराश हैं, इसलिए अब वे माओ-त्से-तुंग की शरण में जा रहे हैं और हम लोगों को कहते हैं कि . . .

श्री अनन्त प्रसाद शर्मा : बिल्कुल नहीं जा रहे हैं, किसी की शरण में नहीं जा रहे हैं ।

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Sir, as Mr. Khadilkar has agreed, the original record should be examined tomorrow. In my reference to the Naxalities if there is any attempt on the part of Mr. Khadilkar

to protect or to safeguard or to defend the Naxalities taking their inspiration from China, I am here to condemn Mr. Khadilkar. But the records should be seen. Mr. Khadilkar has himself agreed that if there is any reference to that extent, he is prepared to withdraw that. He has agreed to that. I think there should be a study of this debate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I was going to say that we will examine it.

श्री गणेशी लाल चौधरी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : वाइस चैयरमैन महोदय, माननीय खाडिलकर आज भारत सरकार के कैबिनेट के मंत्री हैं और माओ-त्से-तुंग की तारीफ करते हैं देश में और देश के लोगों में कन्फ्यूजन पैदा करते हैं । मैं माननीय प्रधान मंत्री से आपके द्वारा कहूंगा कि वे आकर इस सदन में चाइना के प्रति अपनी नीति की जल्दी से जल्दी घोषणा करें ।

श्री राम सहाय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैं यह अर्ज करूँ कि परसों के दिन चन्द्र शेखर जी का जो स्टेटमेंट हुआ था उसमें उन्होंने यह बात कही थी कि नक्सलाइट जो जमीनों पर कब्जा कर रहे हैं वह किमिनल नहीं है । आज जो कायदा अपने देश में लागू है उसमें कैसे ऐसी बात कह सकते हैं यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता । आज फिर खाडिलकर साहब ने मिस्टर चन्द्र शेखर की उसी बात की ताईद की और अब चन्द्रशेखर उनको उसी बात की ताईद कर रहे हैं । यह मामूली मीटर नहीं है, यह बहुत सीरियस है । मैं समझता हूँ कि सारे हाउस को इस पर पूरी तरह से विचार करना चाहिए, पूरी कैबिनेट को विचार करना चाहिए, श्रीमती इन्दिरा जी को विचार करना चाहिए । क्या दरअसल उनकी पालिसी वही है जो चन्द्रशेखर और खाडिलकर कह रहे हैं ?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is unfortunate that some controversy has been raised. I would like to reiterate what I said. I said that Mr. Chandra Shekhar. . . [Severed interruptions] Please have patience. I am not to be cowed down like this. I have lived 40 years of public life, I will not be cowed

[Shri JI. K. Khadilkar] down. I want to have my say. As I said, I was trying to explain. Some points were made regarding the Naxalite activities and the challenge posed by the Naxalite activities in this country. In that context I said one point. Mr. Chandra Shekhar was giving a socio-political analysis of the whole activity and immediately somebody said I am referring to some. I said: "When any Mody draws not only inspiration"—you can find from the record—"if he gets active assistance to tarry on any activity in a country, neighbouring country, certainly we will have to treat it as a law and order problem and deal with it accordingly". You see from the record. I am prepared to give you a challenge. You see from the record.

The next point is this and I was going to refer to it and almost every Member said it and it is a very important point. In our country there is another factor. Why they get the grounds? It is because we have failed, as Members said, to implement certain land legislation which was to be implemented by the States and they have got a fertile ground. So in this context only, because I said other points I will meet on some other occasion, I referred to this and I do refer to it because this is not only in this country. I may remind this House that in the entire world there is a challenge thrown at democratic institutions and when such a challenge particularly assumes the form of an armed struggle on our land, we must look at it with all seriousness. It is not simple law and order with me. When I take it, I take it with one conviction and therefore

I again fee! that you must try to deal with this problem. No doubt it must be dealt with. The challenge must be accepted but at the same time it is on us how to make the parliamentary institution, shedding its gradualism, as an instrument, an effective instrument, a powerful instrument that would meet the challenge and bring about basic, democratic social transformation. This is the problem of the era and unless we rise to this occasion, forgetting all other divisions, I do not think we can progress. As I said earlier, the mere law and order problem, those who emphasised it, have not understood it. That is one.

I will finish in half a minute. In this connection I said while referring to Mr. Chandra Shekhar, my friend 'I cannot deal with all the problems he has raised but it is not perhaps proper to raise them in this forum.' I will cer-

tainly have a debate with him and we can do so in our free society. What is great about India? After 22 years of freedom if anybody asks from outside India, I will say that in a newly developing country, an independent country, the greatness of India to-day is a free discussion, a democratic debate. No where it is admitted as we have done. This is one greatness of India. If we remember Gandhi and Nehru, we must remember this tradition of Gandhi and Nehru of having free and open discussions and debate and conversion to your point of view. That is the basis of our social and political fabric and if we give it up and merely pay lip service to Gandhi and Nehru, we are not true to their faith in this country. Therefore I would appeal to the Members of the House that it is an occasion, it is not a party division and on this occasion, do not try to score a point of debate here and there. You must start at the fundamentals of the problem and try to meet it. With these words, I conclude.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR AU KHAN): The question is :

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1970-71, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): We shall now take up clause by clause consideration.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: I move: "That the Bill be returned." *The question was proposed.*

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: We have heard Mr. Khadilkar and I do hope that you will stand by your word that the record will be duly examined. Later on he tried to cover up all the points but in the earlier heat perhaps he said something. I know that he is a very wise and discreet person and it was least expected from him that directly or indirectly the promoters of the Naxalite activities who were smuggling tonnes, not a few ounces of ammunition and arms, and the worst type of

literature and propaganda in Bengal and in the whole of the Eastern region .. and they have now come to all parts of the country—will be applauded by a part of the Government and a responsible Minister like himself. If he has not said that, we do not have objection to a free discussion but may I remind him that even in the British House of Commons nobody could ever praise Hitler when Hitler was the enemy of England. Democracy does not mean that it gives title to lower yourself to praise traitors who are fighting your country, you are trying to dominate your country. There is not a single broadcast from China: in the last 7 years since we have ruptured relations with her when they have not celebrated Mahatma Gandhi. They have demolished the image of Pandit Nehru and even the present Prime Minister is not being spared. There is not a single man except the Naxalite whom they praise. May I therefore tell this House that lectures on democracy is one thing. Mr. Chandra Shekhar may epitomise and try to praise various people for their learning. Learnings there have been in this age of millions and millions of years and there are many wise men but you have to make a distinction between wisdom and criminality. In this case Mao and China represent criminals of the worst type as far as India is concerned. Therefore I, on behalf of the whole Opposition and also on behalf of the Member of my Party, do protest that if Mr. Khadilkar has, by any direct or indirect reference made in praise of China, it should be removed from the record and a condemnation should be recorded of the Chinese activity in this country.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, in this Parliament and in this politics we are dealing with a peculiar phenomenon. Political economy is a field where we deal with the human mind. The human mind is very perverse sometimes. If I am not again treated as traitor, may I be allowed to quote Karl Marx? He has written that as long as you preach all the good things to the Pope of the Church he will agree with you and he will say that all human beings are sons and daughters of the great Almighty. If you criticise the tenets of Christianity, I will tolerate and plead that tolerance is the cardinal principle of human values but no sooner you ask the Pope to do away with or give up one yard of land of his Church, he will just jump upon you and take you by the scruff. This is not true of Karl Marx. It is true for every human

being and in all parts of the world. When there is an attack on the self-interest or property rights of certain people, they get annoyed. From our side, I may say, with all humility, to my friend Shri Manubhai Shah that he can claim all patriotism to himself but we feel that we are less patriotic than himself.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: We are not claiming at all.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Moreover, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we have been second to none in condemning China and its aggressive designs. I said in my earlier remarks that we condemn the ruling clique of China which pleads for aggression and domination of other countries. I shall again very earnestly and sincerely urge upon men like Mr. Manubhai Shah that it is not calling anybody traitors and condemnation but the greatest traitors are those who condemn all activities of social change which are for the poorer sections of our society. What I have been trying to emphasise again and again in this House is that if we are not going to fulfil the aspirations and hopes of the toiling oppressed people of this country, it is not necessary that Mao Tse-Tung or Stalin or Karl Marx should be there to give them inspiration to revolt against the present social order. A man like Mahatma Gandhi who was an apostle of non-violence said, if man is hungry there cannot remain a lasting peace. That is what is happening in our country or in any other country of the world. If oppressed people are there sometimes this oppression will result in violent activities. While condemning Mao Tse-tung I shall like through you Mr. Vice-Chairman, to say that these harbingers of peaceful non-violent India should remember that if any revolt against the present social order is condemned inspired by a foreign country it is doing the greatest harm to this nation. This is what I have been pleading again and again. If hundreds of thousands of young men are revolting in West Bengal should we say that all of them have become traitors? Bengal is the land of Rabindranath Tagore, Bengal is the land of Subash Chandra Bose, Bengal is the land of Khudi Ram Bose, and any man in this country, any Indian should be proud of this high glorious tradition of Bengal. The greatest number of revolutionaries who sacrificed their lives came from Bengal. They sacrificed at the altar of Mother India for uplifting this nation, this country. I do not say that

[Shr₄ Chandra Shekhar] not a single man will be traitor. There may be traitors but traitors are inspired not only by China; traitors may be inspired by Mao Tse-tung may be inspired by Hitler also, may be inspired by C. I. A., may be inspired by other agencies or other nations. What I plead is, let us not condemn our own kith and kin only because they are revolting against the present social order. I assure Mr. Manubhai Shah that none of us is an admirer of Mao Tse-tung and his present activities but I cannot adopt an ostrichlike attitude; I cannot have the audacity to say that Mao Tse-tung is something which is all condemnable. Mr. Mahubhai Shah may get pleasure in it. My friends, Mr. Kulkarni and Mr. Sharma may say that all things should be expunged but Mr. Vice-Chairman, should we not know as wise men, as literate political figures, that by expunging ...

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: Why does he not go and garland Mao Tse-tung if he has so much praise for him? We have heard about all this long time before

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I am not in a mood to condemn this man and I do not wish to join issue with him. But I want to say that by expunging Mao Tse-tung from here you cannot extirpate him from history and I say again and again that ideas and thoughts are not Chinese or Indian or Russian or American they are human ideas and human ideas cannot be ignored, cannot be split. To those who are splitting human ideas I would say this. I do not say accept everything from Mao Tse-tung; I do not say do not accept everything from Mahatma Gandhi. I do not say accept anything from Marx or Lenin or anybody but ideas are Human ideas and those who have tried to fragment human achievements have proved to be the greatest enemies of humanity. There was one man to whom Mr. Shah referred in our recent memory, Hitler, the Fuehrer. He said not only his ideas are superior but I sometimes see that the voice of Hitler is being heard in a concealed form here, that we are the only great, there can be none else great. And this leads to Fascism; this is negation of parliamentary democracy, this is negation of the great and glorious tradition of parliamentary institutions and I hope that my friends on this side and that side will take our assertions, our expressions in that light. Thank you.

SHRIR. K. KHADILKAR: Normally at this late stage, nobody enters into a debate but unfortunately my friend, Shri Manubhai Shah, from the opposition has expressed something. Mr. Chandra Shekhar has cleared the position.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: He has not cleared any position. He has given an *obiter dictum*.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: So far as I am concerned as I was saying one of the best young minds, the flower of Bengal, is being infected with a thought, with a dream, and they are going astray. In such a position if in this House anybody were to say they are criminal, it is in that context...

SHRI ANANT PRASAD SHARMA: Sir, on a point of order. Again and again reference is being made to Bengal. Nobody has made reference to Bengal. We have made reference to the Naxalite activities.

[Interruptions.]

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: You are making out the Naxalites as noble people.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: Therefore, I have not the slightest doubt in my mind—and you will see from the records—that so far as the enemy of the country is concerned, we are one but I am not an enemy of ideas from wherever they come. With these words I conclude.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): As I told you in view of the very strong sentiments expressed by the House, by all sections of the House, I and I am sure Mr. Khadilkar will re-examine the whole proceedings and if I feel that there is any thing which is derogatory to the honour of the country, or to the great ideal it stands for, in view of these strong sentiments, I will expunge it.

The question is:

"That the bill be returned".

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): So far as this is concerned, the proceedings will have to be held up till tomorrow because we will have to examine the papers.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: I will not The House stands adjourned (ill : i
be here tomorrow but I leave it to you. I have A.M. tomorrow.
full faith in the Chair,

THE VICE- CHAIRMAN (SHRI
AKBAR ALI K' IAN) : So the proceedings will
have to be held up till I decide the matter
tomorrow.

The House then adjoun.ed at
twenty-nine minutes past six of the
clock til] elven of the clock on
Thursday, the 7U1 M.y, 1970.