

THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 2)
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be created as if I have any sympathy with the Federation proposal. That is a preposterous proposal and it should be withdrawn.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I may tell Members that yesterday a number of members were absent and I find their names again today. That means they will be keeping out some of those who want to speak. Anyway, Mr. Krishan Kant.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): You distribute the time among those who are present.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana): Madam Deputy Chairman, I congratulate Shri Morarji Desai for having taken up the portfolio of Finance. To take up this portfolio is to accept a challenge that the present deteriorating state of the economy presents. We were in a difficult position even earlier but after devaluation it became worse. Only a brave man could have dared to take up the challenge. The Budget he presented was not a spectacular one but we appreciate the difficult situation in which he had to do it. I do hope that after presiding over the destiny of the Ministry of Finance for a year he will be able to present a Budget which will fulfil the aspirations of the country. I also welcome his Deputy, Mr. K. C. Pant, and I hope he will be a good addition to the Cabinet.

First of all, I would like to say that we in Rajya Sabha are not able to fulfil our obligations fully. We represent the States and we should be able to discuss the relationship of the States with the Centre and look after their interests in respect of the various Ministries. We are given the opportunity to speak on the Budget and the Appropriation Bills and at that time we can speak on the functioning

of the various Ministries. But what is actually happening is that the General Budget being such important subject by itself most of the Members speak on the economy of the country and on the general Budget proposals. Whatever is said by some Members about the work of the other Ministries becomes so diffused and proliferated that it does not serve any useful purpose and it does not create any impact on the Government on the basis of which reforms may be made in the various Ministries. So it is necessary that there should be a detailed discussion about the various Ministries separately in this House so that we can make an impact on the Ministries. The Finance Minister while replying naturally deals with the points raised in respect of the Budget proposals and whatever has been said in respect of other things goes down the drain. I do not think we should be bogged down by tradition. In the new circumstances we should try to think anew and adapt ourselves to the demands of the changing situation. After the last elections the question of Centre-State relations has assumed a new orientation and we in the Rajya Sabha should have opportunities to discuss it in its various facets. That is possible only if we discuss the working and administration of the various Ministries. Besides other Ministries, the work of the Home Ministry assumes special importance because it has much to do with the Centre-State relations.

The Constitution provides for the nomination of certain Members like scientists, educationists, artists and others, to the Rajya Sabha and it should be a special responsibility of the Rajya Sabha to discuss the state of Science in the country. Science today is changing the face of human society. It has not merely a direct relation to economic growth of any country but is evolving a new culture and a new civilization. One of the dominant features of our time is that the growth of science and technology

[Shri Krishan Kant.]

has given a concrete shape and meaning to such concepts as welfare State, modernity and progress. This is shown by the willingness and ability of a nation to accept social change. It is no doubt true that the Government of India has been conscious of the possibilities of science in bringing a new order, both physical and social. But we have not gone deeper to study whether the present state of Indian society is receptive to natural discipline of science. We have to be consciously aware to examine in this House what sort of social dynamic process is set in motion when a highly traditional social structure is brought face to face with the vigour and dynamism of modern science. It is only by discussion in this House that we will be able to feel and locate the social points of pressure, where a traditional society like India would, if stressed, yield rapidly to the form of change and growth.

Besides, Members of the Rajya Sabha, being a little free from the pressures of the constituencies, can give a more unbiased attention in respect of the subjects under discussion and put forward suggestions and proposals for implementation. So it is very necessary that the Rajya Sabha should not remain tied down by the conservative procedures adopted in the earlier years which are only continuation of the older thinking about the functions of the Upper House. Rajya Sabha has got to take its due place which has been denied to it up till now. I hope we will not be bogged down by mere official and para-constitutional thinking. The constitutional position of this House needs to be interpreted in the changed and changing social conditions of the country. This House should be taken as akin to the Senate of America. A new convention should be established giving enlarged powers to the Rajya Sabha and it should discuss the functioning of the various Ministries.

The Budget is and can be a powerful instrument to direct national efforts towards national goals. There is need for a clear articulation of the national goals in the field of scientific research and education, for formation of a strategy to achieve these goals and then for giving expression to these goals and strategy in the Budget. Of course the goals to be achieved in the field of science are a part of the economic, social and political objectives of the country. The present Budget lacks this.

Incidentally I would like to refer to the Grants for the Ministry of Education where for the Jawaharlal Nehru University and for a University in NEFA only a sum of Rs. 7.5 lakhs has been provided. Last year originally Rs. 100 lakhs was provided which was later revised to Rs. 80 lakhs. I think enough attention is not being paid to NEFA. The real difficulty here is that we have had no intellectual contact with the people of that area. If we could have established such intellectual contact by opening a University there in 1947 itself the present situation that we face there today would not have arisen. When the resources are very limited as in our case there is all the more need for a scientific and objective evaluation of competing demands. A good deal of attention is of course being already paid to this subject. However it may be desirable to obtain not only expert economic advice but also scientific advice in the preparation of Budgets. Scientists should also be associated in preparing the Budgets. In the context of our times it is not only important to find more resources for such subjects like education and scientific research but we have also to find new ways of spending to meet the new demands and aspirations. We have also to give serious thought to increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of our current spending, and radical changes are necessary in this field.

The defence budget should incorporate more considerations of 'cost effectiveness'. The possibility of cutting down defence expenditure and yet raising the level of effective military strength should not be dismissed lightly. This matter needs very careful consideration. I know the Ministry is doing that but more attention needs to be paid to this.

The present administrative and financial procedures are often an accretion and a legacy of the past which was totally different from the needs and challenges that we face today. If we are to get value for the money we spend on education and scientific research, it is most important to ensure that administrative and financial procedures are appropriate to and in keeping with the spirit and efficient functioning of scientific and educational institutions. Laboratories are not offices, nor are they factories. Their climate and their ethos are different. This has to be taken into account in organising the administration of laboratories and their accounting procedures. In this connection the most urgent need is in the field of agricultural research. Serious thought should be given to providing for agricultural research a type of organisation, procedure for recruitment of staff, procedure for sanctioning of grants for capital equipment on somewhat the lines that apply to the Atomic Energy Department, which is one of our highly successful organisations. It is not unoften that dialogues between well-meaning competent officers of the Finance Ministry and the representatives of the research and educational organisations are disheartening and frustrating. Attention at the highest level has to be given to improve the present situation so that instead of spreading frustration and indifference, the dialogues between those who provide the money and those who have the responsibility and obligation to use it, are constructive and creative. In this connection I may refer to what Prof.

RS I—5.

Kapitza, the great Russian scientist, who wrote: "A lady has sent 100 roubles, buy whatever you wish." But there was an additional condition, namely, that you must not "buy anything white or anything black, you must not say 'Yes' and you must not say 'No'", etc. So, it turned out that one could not spend the 100 roubles without trickery. A Director is in a similar position. He is given money, but is severely limited in spending it. The situation is very much worse in India. Before we reach the take-off stage, we should see that the creative worker is not discouraged, but encouraged.

It was somewhat amusing to find that both in the U.K. and in India the expenditure on research and development is very nearly equal to the income from excise duty on tobacco. In the U.K. the expenditure on research and development in 1966 was £ 1,000 m per year and the excise duty from tobacco was £ 61,020 m. In India the excise duty from tobacco during 1965-66 was Rs. 99 crores and during 1966-67 it was Rs. 107 crores. The total research and development expenditure is difficult to estimate, but it is of the order of Rs. 100 crores. It is important that some serious effort is made to obtain a reliable estimate of the total research and development effort in India including what is spent on defence and agriculture. The published Budget figures hardly give any information on that point.

In the rapid development of science and technology in the country foreign aid and collaboration has been of considerable importance. This is likely to become even more important in the years to come. It is important that if foreign aid is to be used effectively and wisely, there has to be some co-ordination council to co-ordinate broadly the several foreign aid programmes in the field of science,

[Shri Krishan Kant.]

education and research. The council should be of an advisory nature but of sufficiently high level, so that its recommendations would carry weight and confidence. First, it can work informally and then formal shape can be given. In the case of foreign assistance it must be remembered that only that country deserves foreign assistance, which can do without foreign assistance. The targets and priorities must be defined by ourselves and not by others.

With each successive Plan, India's dependence on external economic aid has steadily increased, but of more importance our dependence on scientific aid from abroad, in terms of both men and money, has also increased. The full impact of this aid on the vitality and inter-dependence of Indian science has yet to be assessed. An assessment should be made throwing more light on the following points:—

- (i) Was all the aid received really necessary, i.e., did it play a really indispensable role?
- (ii) How was it utilised? and
- (iii) What impact did it make on creating a better scientific climate?

This assessment is rather important at the present time in view of the observation that many leading Western scientists have made of the relative vigour and potential for self-sustaining growth of Indian and Chinese science. The claim that the very isolation of Chinese science has contributed to its strength is that it has forced Chinese scientists to innovate and develop both new processes and

new products. To quote Mendelssohn:—

"It may well be a part of Indian failure to develop science rapidly, that her industry had too much of a helping hand from outside. By relying on ready-made importation of such of her new manufacturing capacity, she has gained a little time, but lost the incentive for creating her own technology."

It would be fruitful here to look into the foreign collaboration agreements to import the developed technology and know-how. Beginning from the Second Plan there has been a substantial increase in the number of foreign collaboration agreements entered into by Indian industry. Between 1957 and 1965, it is estimated that the number of foreign collaborations entered into by Indian industry was as many as 2358. A substantial number of these foreign collaboration arrangements are in the field of electrical machinery, other items of machinery and chemicals and pharmaceuticals. As an instrument for rapid industrial development and technological improvement, there is need to keep open the door for advanced technology to enter the country. Exchange of technical know-how even among developed countries is a common phenomenon. A part of the rapid industrial development attained by Japan in recent years is attributed to the readiness with which she bought up technical know-how from other countries. Basically there is, therefore, no objection to buying technology from abroad. Very often this might be cheaper and quicker than the development of domestic technology which might require years of research. What is, however, objectionable is the complete dependence for technology on foreign collaboration. This dependence has manifested itself in two directions. Firstly the same technology has been bought up by several entrepreneurs in the same industry, paying each time a

substantial amount. There has been no attempt to disseminate technology once bought to other industrial enterprises in India. Secondly, having once bought a technology, there has been no attempt to adapt it to India conditions or to improve on it. The result has been that, while technological improvements have been continuously taking place abroad, the Indian units continue to base their production on the old technology that was bought years ago. If some of them had the foresight to keep abreast of the developments in technology, this was more often than not achieved by entering into fresh collaborations for the newer technology. There has been no attempt to develop and improve the technology within the country itself. Several instances could be mentioned where there has been a repetitive purchase of the same technology from abroad. These could be found in the field of machine tools, medicinal products, plastics, nylon, caustic soda, fertilisers and several other industries. This repetitive purchase of technology has meant a considerable avoidable drain on foreign exchange. In Japan technology is bought only once and subsequent units are developed thereafter by disseminating this technology to the other units. Lack of research on borrowed technology to improve it and to keep abreast of latest developments has meant that subsequent payments had to be made by the same units to purchase the improved technology. There are several instances of this character and more particularly in the field of pharmaceutical products and fertilisers. The fertiliser controversy is well known. While it may not always be possible to set up the expensive research facilities required in some of the sophisticated processes, there are several areas in which common pooling of resources within the industry should enable research establishments being set up to improve on borrowed technology and to keep abreast of latest developments. If a scrutiny is made of our numerous collaboration agree-

ments, it will be found that we are in a large number of cases paying for obsolete technology for which no payment need be made at all. Because we have adopted outdated techniques of production and our products are invariably costlier than our competitors abroad. Having once bought a technology we have to adapt it to Indian conditions and also improve on it by our own research and developmental efforts.

Rapid technological improvements are going on abroad. Developed nations are much ahead of us and they have huge resources to spend on industrial development. If we are to overtake them in this one-way traffic in technology, we must organise parallel research in modern techniques. Japan has shown the way how it is possible to carry on research and development at a comparatively cheaper cost. For this purpose, the CSIR and industries must join hands in a co-operative effort. I learn that Dr. Atmaram is trying to do this. I have no doubt that once this is done we shall also be able to boast, as Japan does, that once a technology is purchased, we do not go on purchasing fresh technology again and again. I realise that in a poor country like ours, it may not always be possible to build up adequate research facilities. At the same time, there is large scope for common pooling of resources within the industry and this should enable us to set up active, vigorous research and development establishments. I am definitely of the view that we must make drastic changes in our policy in this regard. Firstly, we should, as far as possible, avoid repetitive agreements with different parties for the same end-product and similar know-how. Secondly, the technical know-how period should not be automatically extended as heretofore. The entrepreneurs should be told in the very beginning that the period of the agreement is meant to be observed and not to be violated with applications for further extension. This will

- [Shri Krishan Kant.]

compel them to develop indigenous research facilities. Moreover, since there will be no repetitive agreements, research and developmental work can be carried on by pooling the resources of various units manufacturing the same product. Thirdly, it is high time that a definite programme of action was chalked out for research and development. A generalised and diffused programme like the one carried on under the aegis of the CSIR will not help us. What is immediately needed is energetic pursuit of developmental work in certain well-known fields like machine tools, chemicals, drugs and pharmaceuticals, fertilisers, electrical appliances and heavy machinery industries. If all concerned in each individual field join together in a co-operative effort, I am sure the financial burden will not be prohibitive. There is adequate technological talent in the country. Today many of our technicians are languishing for lack of scope and encouragement. I would rather put up with many setbacks in our industrial development than permit large-scale technological unemployment. There are already too many technicians going about without jobs. It is high time a well thought-out programme of action for research and development for various important industries was chalked out and implemented.

श्री गोड़े मुराहिर (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
मैंडम डिप्टी चैयरमैन महोदया, एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल जब हमारे सामने सरकार की ओर से आता है तो यह सोचना पड़ता है कि इस सरकार को यह रकम देने से पहले इसका क्या गिर्काई रहा है और आज किस ढंग से हमारे देश में आर्थिक और सामाजिक स्थिति चलाई जा रही है।

आज सुबह "टाइम्स आफ इंडिया" में मैंने एक छोटा सा आइटम पढ़ा जिसमें कहा गया है कि —

"India's *per capita* income in 1966-67 was 5.5 per cent lower compared to the level two years ago.

According to the latest official estimates, national income in 1966-67 was roughly of the order of Rs. 22,950 crores, against Rs. 20,190 crores in 1965-66, at current prices.

Of the 13.7 per cent increase 10.5 per cent is attributed to the rise in the price level, the remaining 3.2 per cent being the "real" annual increase.

Since in 1965-66 national income in real terms had declined by about 3.7 per cent compared to the previous year, the increase of 3.2 per cent in 1966-67 was still about 0.6 per cent lower than the 1964-65 level.

On the other hand, compared to 1964-65, the country's population in 1966-67 is estimated to be higher by 4.9 per cent, therefore, *per capita* income in 1966-67 was lower than the 1964-65 level by 5.5 per cent."

तो सरकार की जो कुछ भी नीति रही है अर्थ-व्यवस्था में और जिस ढंग से हमारे देश में प्लान चलाया गया है उसके फलस्वरूप 1967 में हम यह देख रहे हैं कि जो असल में हमारी पर-केपिटा इनकम है वह घटती जा रही है। एक तरफ जो आंकड़े दिए गए हैं उनके बारे में भी मुझे सफाई नहीं है क्योंकि ये सरकारी आंकड़े हैं। सरकारी आंकड़ों में हमेशा कुछ बचत सरकार रखती है और जो भी स्टैटिस्टिक्स बनाई जाती है वह सरकार के पक्ष में बनाई जाती है और उसके बावजूद भी अगर सरकार यही कहे कि 1964-65 के लेवल से 5.5 पर-केपिटा इनकम कम हो गई तो इससे दर्दनाक स्थिति आपकी नहीं हो सकती। यहां यह कहा गया है कि जब ये आंकड़े बनाए जाते हैं तो आजकल के हायर प्राइस लेवल को मद्देनजर रखते

हुए बनाये जाने हैं। इसका मतलब यह है कि जो इनफ्लेशनरी प्राइसेज हैं उनके आधार पर ही पर-केपिटा इनकम जो घटी है उसको केलक्युलेट किया गया है। असल में अगर हम लोग देखेंगे तो एक तरफ पर-केपिटा इनकम घटती जा रही है और दूसरी तरफ जो प्राइसेज हैं वे बढ़ती जा रही हैं, एक तरफ हमारी इनकम गधे की चाल से चले और दूसरी ओर जो दाम हैं वे घोड़े की चाल से बढ़ें तो फिर हिन्दुस्तान की आज की परिस्थिति आप समझ सकते हैं।

कभी कभी मजदूरों की ओर से यह मांग होती है कि उनकी तन्स्वाह बढ़ाई जाय, लेकिन जब-जब उनकी तन्स्वाह बढ़ाई जाती है, साथ साथ दामों में भी वढ़ोतरी होती है। जितनी जितनी तन्स्वाह बढ़ती है उससे ज्यादा वृद्धि दामों में होती है। आज की परिस्थिति हिन्दुस्तान में यह है कि जो फिक्स्ड इनकम वाले लोग हैं उनकी जो परिस्थिति है वह बहुत ही दर्दनाक है क्योंकि उनकी रियल परचेसिंग पावर जो है वह सालों साल घटती जा रही है। इस चीज के लिए कोई इलाज सरकार के पास है ऐसा मैं नहीं समझता क्योंकि जो भी उनकी पालिसी चल रही है अगर वही पालिसी चली तो ऐसा मालूम होता है कि आप स्टेट्स को यहां रखना चाहते हैं, अंग्रेजों के चले जाने के बाद जैसी स्थिति थी उसी को किसी तरह कायम रखने की व्यवस्था सरकार कर रही है। उसमें कोई तबदीली करने का या हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थव्यवस्था को दूसरा मोड़ देकर हिन्दुस्तान की जनता का कुछ फायदा हो इस दृष्टि से कोई प्लान बनाएं ऐसा नहीं है। सरकार की इन बीस सालों में सिर्फ यही नीति रही है कि जो भी व्यवस्था उनके हाथ में आई उसको किसी तरह से कायम रखें। मेरा तो साफ यह कहना है कि अगर इसी ढंग से हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ-व्यवस्था चली, जिसके चलते एक तरफ तो रिसेशन की बात मुनने में आती है और

साथ साथ पैसे की जो कामत है वह भी गिरती जा रही है, तो मुझको ऐसा लगता है कि 4-5 साल के अन्दर इस सारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था में बड़ा भारी क्राइसिस होने वाला है और उसको यह सरकार सम्भाल नहीं पाएगी। अगर इसको सम्भालना है तो बुनियादी नीति बदलनी होगी अगर नहीं बदलते हैं तो यह सम्भाल नहीं सकती है। या तो हमारे देश में पूरी समाजवादी व्यवस्था हो या फिर अमरीका जैसी फ्री एन्टरप्राइज। दोनों में से कोई एक चीज इसका उत्तर हो सकती है लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान जैसे देश में फ्री एन्टर-प्राइज का कोई मतलब नहीं रहता। इसलिए जब तक सरकार कोई ऐसा रवैया नहीं अपनाती है जिससे कि यहां पर पूरे तौर से समाजवादी व्यवस्था का पालन हो तब तक यह स्थिति सुधरने वाली नहीं है, यह मेरा कहना है और मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार इसके बारे में कुछ करे। वैसे तो कांग्रेसी सरकार से कुछ अपेक्षा करना भी गुनाह होगा क्योंकि वह इसके बारे में कभी सोचेगी नहीं। उनको तो सिर्फ नारा देना है समाजवाद का और लोगों के वोट लेने हैं और उसके बावजूब जब सत्ता में बैठ जाएंगे तो जो व्यवस्था है उसी को चलाना है और उसमें से जो माल अपनी पाकेट में आ सके उसको पाकेट में डालना है। यही रवैया रहा है कांग्रेस का।

कुछ और भी चीजों के बारे में सरकार को सोचना चाहिये, जैसे कि डिमोनेटाइजेशन क्योंकि बहुत काला पैसा हिन्दुस्तान में है। उसको अगर खत्म करना है तो डिमोनेटाइजेशन करने के सिवा कोई दूसरा रास्ता नहीं रह गया है।

अब मैं हिन्दुस्तान में जो आज परिस्थिति है, जो राजनैतिक परिस्थिति है उसके बारे में भी कुछ कहना चाहूंगा। कई राज्यों में गैर कांग्रेसी सरकारें बनी हैं और उनके फलस्वरूप वहां पर कुछ न कुछ सुधार करने की व्यवस्था हुई है, मैं यह नहीं कह सकता

[श्री गोड़े मुराहरि]

कि पूरे तौर से कोई भी गैर कांग्रेसी सरकार अपने उद्देश्य को सफल बना सकी है क्योंकि अभी पांच-छः महीने के अन्दर जो कुछ भी गैर कांग्रेसी सरकारों ने किया है कई राज्यों में उससे पूरा संतोष तो किसी को नहीं मिल सकता और जो परिस्थिति आज है उसमें निहित है कि पूरा सैटिसफैक्शन किसी को मिल भी नहीं पायेगा, क्योंकि एक तो कोएलिशन गवर्नमेंट्स हैं, कई तरह को उसमें विचार-धारायें हैं और जब सांशलिस्ट या उस तरह के और समाजवादी विचार रखने वाले कुछ चीज चाहते हैं तो कुछ ऐसे तत्व भी हैं उन सरकारों में जो उसमें थोड़ा सा हिचकिचाते हैं और इस लिये जो भी होगा वह तो मैं कहूंगा कि अधूरा ही हो सकता है, लेकिन फिर भी कई राज्यों में गैर कांग्रेसी सरकारों ने कई ऐसे क्रांतिकारी कदम उठाये हैं जैसे कि लैंड टैक्स को खत्म करना और बिहार जैसे राज्य में जो अकाल पीड़ित था उसमें कई ऐसे कार्य उन्होंने किये जिससे वहां पर लोगों को कुछ राहत मिली। तो एक तरफ जब इस तरह की चीज चलती है तब दूसरी तरफ सेंटर में कांग्रेस का राज चलता है और यह कहना कि स्टेट्स में जो गैर कांग्रेसी सरकारें हैं वे अपने काम को पूरा नहीं कर रही हैं या उनका रिकार्ड अच्छा नहीं है तो उसका एक कारण यह भी है कि पैसा तो अधिक से अधिक सेंटर में जाता है और स्टेट्स का जो हिस्सा है वह बहुत ही कम है, इसलिए सारी पूंजी अपने पास रखो और फिर किसी आदमी को कहो कि सारा काम कर लो, कैसे हो, पूंजी तुम्हारे पास तो काम कौन करे।

वित्त मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री के० सी० पन्त) : फाइनेंस कमिशन निर्धारित करता है इसको।

श्री गोड़े मुराहरि : ठीक है, जो भी करे, फाइनेंस कमिशन करे, जो भी करे, लेकिन आज की व्यवस्था तो ऐसी हो है कि सारी

पूंजी तो हमारे पास है और राज्यों का कुछ हिस्सा दे कर कहते हैं कि सारा कुछ करो। जब तक कि सेंटर और राज्य दोनों में गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकार नहीं होगी तब तक पूरा उनका जो प्रोग्राम है वह सफल हो सकेगा ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता।

साथ साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि सेंटर और स्टेट्स का जो रिश्ता है उसमें अभी कुछ बदलाव होना चाहिये क्योंकि जिस ढंग से मध्य प्रदेश में कांग्रेस पार्टी के एक मुख्य मंत्री के जरिये वहां की असेम्बली का प्रारोगेशन हुआ और उनको एडवाइज पर गवर्नर ने वहां की असेम्बली को एडजर्न किया उससे हमको डर लगता है कि कांग्रेस शायद अब जनतंत्र में विश्वास खो बैठी है और अपने राज को कायम रखने के लिये, अपनी सत्ता को कायम रखने के लिये कोई भी हथकंडा अपना सकती है और जो जनतांत्रिक ढंग से असेम्बली या पार्लियामेंट इलेक्ट हुई है उसको भंग करने में भी नहीं हिचकेगी, क्योंकि श्री डी० पी० मिश्रा ऐसे मुख्य मंत्री असेम्बली को भंग कराते हैं, वक्त लेते हैं, लोगों को खरोदने की कोशिश करते हैं। और फिर उसके बाद असेम्बली बुलाते हैं, तो फिर जनतंत्र के क्या माने रह जायेंगे। जिन वक्त बजट की डिमांड पर वोट होना था उस वक्त अगर वहां को सरकार गिर जाती और उसके बाद वहां को असेम्बली को डिजाल्व किया जाता और श्री डी० पी० मिश्रा साहब रिइलेक्शन चाहते या कुछ भी करते तो उसमें कुछ माने होते लेकिन किसी चीज के ऊपर वोट न होने देना और असेम्बली को भंग करना, यह तो मैं समझता हूं कि जनतंत्र का गला घोटना होगा और इस ढंग के रवैये को समर्थन अगर सेंटर में कुछ कांग्रेसी नेता लोग भी देते हैं तो फिर खतरा आ जाता है कि सेंटर में जो पार्लियामेंट है उसके साथ कैसा बर्ताव होगा, इसके बारे में भी हमको आशंका होती है। इस लिये मैं तो चेतावनी देना चाहूंगा कि अगर इस ढंग की चीज हुई तो फिर हिन्दुस्तान में अराजकता फैलेगी,

फिर जनतंत्र में किसी का विश्वास नहीं रह जायगा और इस लिये कांग्रेस को बहुत सोच समझ कर ऐसा कदम उठाना चाहिये। खैर यह कदम तो उठायेँगे और मध्य प्रदेश में मिड-टर्म-इलेक्शन करायेंगे और जहाँ भी इस तरह का प्रश्न अगर हुआ तो वहाँ पर भी रिइलेक्शन को मांगेंगे। मिड-टर्म-इलेक्शन होगा, लोगों का पैसा बर्बाद होगा, लेकिन मुझे विश्वास है कि अगर कहीं पर भी मिड-टर्म-इलेक्शन हुआ तो कांग्रेस आज जो है वह भी साफ हो जायगी और यह हिन्दुस्तान के लिये एक अच्छा हो है।

श्री के० सी० पन्त : आप स्वागत करते हैं।

श्री गोड़े मुराहरि : जी हाँ मिड-टर्म-इलेक्शन से तो हमें खुशी है। हम मिड-टर्म-इलेक्शन के नहीं प्रोरोगेशन के खिलाफ हैं मिड-टर्म-इलेक्शन करायेंगे और हमारा बहुमत उभरेगा। मिश्रा जी का तो पत्ता कट गया। वह तो कुछ भी करेंगे जब मिश्रा जी का पत्ता कट गया तो वह ऐसा चाहेंगे कि कांग्रेस का भी साफ हो जाय। इसमें तो हमारे लिये अच्छा ही है, हमारा बहुमत बढ़ेगा।

तो कांग्रेस का जो रवैया है इसके बारे में सोचते हुये मुझको एक और डर लगता है कि जहाँ पर भी कांग्रेस के मंत्री या कुछ उनके ऊपर करप्शन के चार्ज हैं वहाँ पर इस बहुत जबरदस्त कोशिश में है कि किसी तरह कांग्रेस को वापस लाया जाय। मैं जानता हूँ बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश में कुछ कांग्रेसी मंत्रियों के खिलाफ बड़े गम्भीर आरोप हैं करप्शन के आरोप भी हैं और खास कर के बिहार में और एक ऐसा चक्कर वहाँ पर इन लोगों ने चलाया कि चाहे जितना भी पैसा खर्च हो एम० एल० ए० लोगों को खरीदो और उनको जबरदस्ती घसीट कर ले जाओ।

श्री प्रतुल चन्द्र मिश्र (बिहार) : चार महीने में कोई चार्ज उन पर दे सके।

श्री गोड़े मुराहरि : चार्ज आ रहे हैं और इसी लिये तो घबड़ा रहे हैं। जब बिहार असेम्बली में सरकार ने घोषणा की कि करप्शन के खिलाफ कोई कमिशन बैठेगा तो तब से यह झगड़ा चलाया जा रहा है कि महेश प्रसाद सिंह या कौन कौन वहाँ एम० एल० एज० को खरीदने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं कभी कभी तो 50 हजार रुपये से ज्यादा दिया जा रहा है एम० एल० एज० को खरीदने का। तो यह सब चीज तो सब को मालूम है। लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी कोई एम० एल० ए० खरीदा जा सकेगा इसमें मुझे शक है जो 10, 5 या एक दो होंगे जो कि खरीदे जायेंगे लेकिन जो जनमत है, जो जनता का एक बहुमत है उसके कारण भी एम० एल० ए० इस तरह खरीदा जायें और वह जा कर कांग्रेस का समर्थन करे यह मैं मुमकिन नहीं समझता क्योंकि फिर जनता उसका बदला ले लेगी और जो कुछ भी करना है वह जनता खद कर लेगी।

अब जहाँ तक हिन्दुस्तान की कम्पनियों की बात है उसके बारे में भी मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। जो फारेन कालोबोरेशन की इजाजत हिन्दुस्तान में है उसके बारे में भी हम लोगों को बहुत गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिये। क्योंकि एक तरफ तो हम यह कहते हैं कि हमको फारेन एक्सचेंज की कमी है, हमारा बैलेंस ऑफ ट्रेड ठीक नहीं है और दूसरी तरफ उसी समय साथ साथ हम यह इजाजत दें कि हिन्दुस्तान के कुछ लोग किसी विदेशी कम्पनी के साथ मिलें, कोई ऐसा कालोबोरेशन एग्रीमेंट करें जिसके फलस्वरूप हमारे फारेन एक्सचेंज का काफी हिस्सा विदेश में चला जायें। यह किस हद तक हिन्दुस्तान के हित में है यह मैं नहीं समझ सकता। बड़ी बड़ी कम्पनियाँ जो बेसिक इंडस्ट्रीज में लगी हुई हैं, जो मशीनरी बनाने में लगी हुई हैं उसमें इस तरह की चीज का इस्तेमाल होता है तो उसके बारे में तो दो राय हो सकती हैं लेकिन कंज्यूमर गुड्स की इंडस्ट्रीज में जो इस तरह के कालो-बोरेशन एग्रीमेंट्स हैं उसके लिये सरकार की

[श्री गोड़े मुराहरि]

अगर से अगर हम लोग इजाजत देते हैं तो वह हिन्दुस्तान का जो फारेन एक्सचेंज है उस पर डाका डालने, डाका मारने की इजाजत के सिवाय और उसका कोई अर्थ नहीं होता है। इस लिये मैं चाहूंगा कि वित्त मंत्रालय इसके बारे में जरा गम्भीरता से सोचे।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your party has 30 minutes. You may take as much as you like. But you have nearly taken 20 minutes.

श्री गोड़े मुराहरि : अभी पांच मिनट और लूंगा। बाद में देखेंगे। तो इसलिये मैं विदेश मंत्रालय से चाहूंगा कि इसके बारे में सोचे और हिन्दुस्तान की जो ट्रेड वगैरह की बात है उसमें एक तरफ हम स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन के जरिये सरकारी ट्रेड चलाना चाहते हैं दूसरी तरफ प्राइवेट ट्रेड चलाते हैं। यह ठीक है कि एक हद तक दोनों साथ साथ चलें लेकिन अगर स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन खुद प्राफिट मोटिव्ह लेकर चले और इस तरह का प्राफिट मोटिव्ह लेकर चले जैसे कि कोई प्राइवेट कंपनी हो और साथ साथ इस ढंग का व्यापार करे जो कि हिन्दुस्तान के हित में न हो लेकिन जैसा कोई प्राइवेट इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट करता हो, खाली सिर्फ प्राफिट मोटिव्ह रख कर के उसको व्यापार करना होगा तो फिर हमारी समझ में नहीं आता कि स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन इस काम को क्यों करे और इसमें क्या अर्थ है क्योंकि या तो सरकार की तरफ से जो ट्रेड होता है उसमें एक संतुलन होना चाहिये और उसके जरिये जो कुछ भी व्यापार होता है उसमें प्राफिट मोटिव्ह का कुछ संतुलन करना चाहिये ताकि हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को और यहां की जो इन्डस्ट्री है उसको कुछ फायदा पहुंचे, यह नहीं हो कि स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन भी एक प्राइवेट इन्डस्ट्री जैसे अपना प्राफिट मोटिव्ह लगाकर काम करती है वैसा करे। साथ साथ जो करप्शन स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन के जरिये

होता है उसके बारे में भी हमको सोचना चाहिये क्योंकि हमारा यह सीधा आरोप है कि स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन के कुछ अफिशियल कुछ कंसिडरेशन के लिये ऐसा व्यापार करते हैं जिससे करप्शन और भ्रष्टाचार वहां पर बढ़ता जा रहा है और इस चीज को जब तक हम काबू में नहीं लायेंगे तब तक स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन का कोई मतलब नहीं रह जाता।

आखिर में मैं तो यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जब तक हिन्दुस्तान में, जहां तक खर्चा करने का मामला है, उस पर रोक नहीं लगाई गई चाहे वह कोई इंडिविजुअल की बात हो या सरकार की हो, तब तक हिन्दुस्तान की स्थिति सुधरेगी नहीं। जहां तक प्रोडक्शन के कंट्रोल का सवाल है, कन्स्यूमर गुड्स इन्डस्ट्री या और कोई इन्डस्ट्री हो जो हिन्दुस्तान के व्यापार के हित में है, हिन्दुस्तान के हित में है उन्हीं चीजों का प्रोडक्शन हिन्दुस्तान में होने देना चाहिये। एक तरफ यह कंट्रोल होना चाहिये और दूसरी तरफ यह भी साथ साथ होना चाहिये कि जो हमारे लोग खर्च करते हैं, बड़े बड़े व्यापारी लोग खर्चा करते हैं या इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट लोग खर्चा करते हैं या मंत्री लोग करते हैं, उस पर भी रोक होनी चाहिये और एक सीलिंग होनी चाहिये उनके एक्सपेंडीचर के ऊपर। जब तक यह चीज नहीं होती तब तक हिन्दुस्तान का पैसा बर्बाद होने के सिवाय और कोई दूसरी चीज नहीं हो सकती और हिन्दुस्तान के जो बैकवर्ड क्लासेज और हरिजन लोग हैं उनके बारे में भी मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि बीस साल के बाद भी उनकी आज की स्थिति है उसमें कोई सुधार नहीं है। एक तरफ यह कहा जाता है कि हमने हरिजनों के लिये बहुत रिजर्वेशन किया है और बहुत कुछ उनको सुविधा दी है लेकिन साथ साथ अगर स्टेटिस्टिक्स देखेंगे तो रिजर्वेशन तो कागज पर है लेकिन वे लोग जब वहां पर कोई नौकरी के लिये या और किसी चीज के लिये जाते हैं तो उनसे यह कहा जाता है कि तुम इसके लायक नहीं हो। तो रिजर्वेशन कागज में बहुत

अच्छे ढंग से कर रखा है परन्तु 'इन इक्वेक्ट' जो उसका परिणाम होता है उसमें मालूम होता है कि उसमें बैकवर्ड क्लासेज, हरिजन लोगों का कोई स्थान नहीं है तो इसका भी कोई न कोई हल हम नहीं निकालते हैं तो हिन्दुस्तान में एक ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा होगी जिसमें हमेशा के लिये ये हरिजन कास्ट वाले पिछड़े रहेंगे और आगे चल कर कोई एक क्रांतिकारी रुख भी वह ले सकती है। इसलिये हम लोगों को इसके बारे में सचेत हो जाना चाहिये।

अंत में मैं आल इंडिया इन्स्टीट्यूट आफ मेडिकल साइंसेज के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहूंगा क्योंकि वहां की जो व्यवस्था है वह बिल्कुल गलत रही है चाहे वह किसी की भी वजह से रही हो। हो सकता है जब हेल्थ मिनिस्टर दूसरे रहे हों उनकी वजह से वहां पर कुछ गड़-बड़ी पैदा हुई हो या और किसी वजह से। लेकिन पिछले कुछ सालों से वहां की व्यवस्था बिल्कुल गड़बड़ रही है। वहां प्रमोशन भी ऐसे किये गये हैं कि जिनमें लायकी या नैचुरल का कोई ख्याल नहीं रखा गया है। कुछ लोग तो जो बाहर से आ गये हैं वे गलत ढंग से ले आए गए हैं और वहां पर जो गर्विनिंग बाडी भी बनाई गई है उसमें कुछ ऐसे आफिशियलडम को भर दिया गया है कि जिसमें वहां के स्टाफ का कोई प्रतिनिधित्व नहीं होता। तो यह आल इंडिया इन्स्टीट्यूट आफ मेडिकल साइंसेज का गठन ठीक नहीं है, इसके बारे में सरकार को सोचना चाहिये।

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT (Delhi): Madam Deputy Chairman, first of all, I would like to convey to the Chairman through you, Madam, that many a time some of us do not get the opportunity to speak. Though our names are given again and again, somehow it is so managed that some of us do not get the opportunity to speak.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Who manages?

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: Whoever may be managing.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): It must be Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: You please keep quiet, Mr. Misra. You will have enough to hear from me about you. So take it easy. It is all coming.

Madam, this Appropriation Bill has come. In the meantime many serious developments have taken place in our country about which, I think, a large number of people should be deeply concerned. I am one of those who are very much concerned about it.

Madam, I would like to point out that the Government seems to be changing its policy in very many fundamental matters. We have been following a certain ideology, a certain policy about industry, about heavy industry, about the public sector, about the co-operative sector and so on and so forth. That was the policy and programme of the Congress organization carried out by the Congress Government. But I am sorry to say, Madam, that in internal matters concerning the country itself, our policies are deviating from what was laid down during Jawaharlal Nehru's time. It does not make much difference that his daughter is the Prime Minister now. Now we Congressmen do not mind if the policies are to be changed from what we have learnt them to be but then a formal and proper decision shall be taken to change these. I shall give you a few instances.

Madam, planning was one of our main planks. We had gone from village to village propagating planning, explaining to the people what planning is and how our resources are supposed to be used for the betterment and welfare of the people. Three plans have gone by and now there is a two-year Plan holiday. Still people do not know about Plan. There is nothing even on the paper to show what our

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht.]

Plans are supposed to be. Cabinet formation takes place within a few hours. But it takes months and years for the Planning Commission to be constituted.

Madam, I know as every other Member knows that in the country there is a very strong pressure group which is always against planning, which is anxious to see that there is no plan, that there should be only private enterprise and a *laissez faire*. Without saying it in so many words we have obliged them, obliged people like Mr. Lokanath Misra. I think my party has deviated in this respect from planning. That is number one.

So, also regarding controls. Large numbers of our Members realise that in this economic condition of our country, when we are complaining about rising prices and hardship to people, controls have been done away with. Prices of various commodities have risen. When prices of commodities like coal, sugar, steel or cement rise, naturally all other prices will also rise. On the one hand, we profess that we want to check prices and towards that end will do everything in our power. But on the other hand, we do everything else which will give a fillip to the rising prices. Therefore, it seems to me that we say one thing but we do something quite different because of so many pressure groups who want these controls to go so that the private enterprise can flourish as our friend, Mr. Misra, wants and his party wants. My party, unfortunately, is more anxious to follow the policy of the Swatantra Party and such other allied parties rather than follow the policy of the Congress as it should be. I am sorry that we should deviate from our policies. Our Plan has been given a go by. When it will come nobody knows. What will come nobody knows. How it will be implemented we do not know. (Interruption) I know it will come and I hope it will be implemented. (interruption by Shri I. K. Gujral)

Please do not worry. I hope it will be implemented. We are concerned about it because we have believed in planning, the Government has believed in planning and our leaders have been saying that we want planning, but under various pressures, we have just put it in the cold storage.

Another point, I want to mention is about industries. On the one hand we are talking about self-sufficiency in the country—that we are not going to depend on anybody, we are going to make the country self-sufficient, etc., etc. But even for biscuits and such other things, we want foreign collaboration, which means we must be able to have foreign exchange, which means that the foreign exchange balance must continue to be unfavourable for us. Every time foreign exchange is not available, or the foreign countries or those powers and collaborators do not want to help us, our industries must really have to face closure. In that case, our labourers must create noise and get upset and there should be economic distress and unemployment. And we shall be faced ultimately with what? Greater law and order problem, apart from economic distress and industrial disturbances of this kind. I think Government is following a very short-sighted policy and it is a very wrong policy also that we are wasting our time and money in rayons and biscuits, in this and that, in a country where we are not able to provide drinking water in various parts of India. A glaring example is Bihar; a glaring example is parts of Uttar Pradesh. But we are thinking of biscuits with vitamins and so on. People do not even have adequate food. We are not able to give them drinking water. We are talking about all sorts of things. I think our Ministers are far away from reality, if I may say so. They are not in touch with the people. They do not know what is happening. They think this is a cinema house that you are sitting in and you see a nice picture—good, bad or indifferent—comedy or tragedy; but the moment

you leave the House, you feel the thing is over. So also when they hear such things, they have no idea about how things are and what it means to the people at large in the country. Only they get shock after shock and they get immune even to the shocks. I feel, Madam, that with this deviation from the Congress policy and ideology we are working very much in line with the Swatantra Party and various other parties in India. The only saving feature I can see and in which I shall defend the Government with all my might is the Government's West Asian policy. I am very glad that in spite of heavy criticism, the Government followed the policy as laid down for the last 20 years of non-alignment and supporting those countries to whom we have given full support before. I fully stand by that and I appreciate that our Government did not deviate in that particular respect. But in various other respects they have deviated and I do not feel happy about it at all.

So also I would like to say that the Government is now very much in the hands of a few people who are very close to the Prime Minister. They have her ears and also they have a blank cheque from her. The doors of her house are only open to them and not to others. When she was elected the Leader, she said—I do not know who had prepared her speech—that no member should feel isolated; but no steps have been taken by her to see that the members are not feeling isolated, that they are all party to the Government, that they have support and co-operation and participation in the Government itself. This has not been done . . . The trouble is . . .

(*interruption*) I know what the trouble is. I can tell you what the trouble is. These people have a blank cheque from her. They function in an aggressive and high-handed manner. Some of her Ministers, who are very close to her, also put their pressure on various Ministries and departments—whether it is Housing Ministry or any other Ministry—and because of the fear of these people

who are so close to the P.M., those Ministers also, who are not really directly under other Ministers, submit to them and listen to them and try to please the associates so that the Prime Minister also may remain pleased. This sort of functioning is not good for the party. It is not good for the Government either because the Government is based and works on the consensus of opinion of the Party that the Government has the backing of the party. They cannot work in isolation, nor can two or three or four people can really run the show. This sort of extremely partisan manner of working the Government through a few people who can be counted on finger-tips is not very healthy. We have a democratic working. Democracy does not work by handpicked people or by your personal friends. It works on the basis of the Party that is elected, the policy that it formulates and the consensus of opinion that the Party has. Therefore, we do not feel very happy that people should go about throwing their weight about. I would like an enquiry to be conducted as to how many of these people have been given various committees, of the Parliament or otherwise, and have distributed patronage only to their own friends and their own people. They have rotated patronage only among a very small coterie which is also around that coterie or in the periphery of that coterie. Are you not distributing every single thing that is in the power of the Government only to one section of people who happen to be their friends, who are near the Prime Minister and doing no more than that? May I also point out as to how much other benefits, etc., have been given by these people who are near the Prime Minister only to certain people who happen to be their friends? . . . (*interruption*) Please do not take my time. I would like to mention another point. I think it is for the Prime Minister to see how far she would like participation of the entire Party (*Interruption*) regarding Centre-State relations She is very popular with the Opposition Par-

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht.]

ties and she is the hope of the Opposition Parties. But her own Party is ignored. Mr. Misra is most pleased with the Prime Minister. The D.M.K. are pleased with the Prime Minister. Our P.S.P. Members are pleased with her. Why do they complain about Centre-State relations? Centre-State relations are very good. There is nothing wrong about it. The Opposition Parties are getting along very nicely with the Prime Minister. If anybody is grumbling, it is the Congress Party. What do these people have to grumble about? Therefore, Madam, I feel that this needs a lot to be improved upon. A lot has to be improved and changed. Therefore . . . (interruption) I do not need your advice; I will not take it.

Madam, this Government wants to appropriate money. A tremendous amount of wastage is done. Thousands and thousands of rupees are wasted on revolving towers all sorts of expensive buildings and luxury buildings, all sorts of murals to patronise certain particular friends and all sorts of statues to be made in front of some bank or some building which is connected with the Finance Ministry, if I remember correctly. I do not see why Rs. 80,000 or Rs. 1 lakh should be wasted on things like these when the same amount can be spent more usefully. This revolving tower is not a rush job. The rush job is providing drinking water taps in Bihar and in other areas. They do not feel so deeply about this. They go round touring the country which gives a lot of publicity and presents a very good image. The country wants to function only on the basis of this publicity. This projection of the image has become the newest obsession of our country and our leaders. We want to project the image like the radiation of the sun's rays. But I think that it should be backed with concrete work. They say that we want to cater to the foreign tourists. The foreign tourists are always glad to see any development work in the rural areas, any

development work in the country and the major development programmes in our country. I have met a large number of tourists; many of them are my friends because I had been a student in their country long ago. Whenever they see our village programmes, a new well, a new street pavement or better drainage or a school building or a panchayat ghar or a storage godown, they are deeply pleased about them. As far as luxuries are concerned, they have more than enough luxuries in their own countries. They are not hungry for luxuries. They are not hungry for these ordinary hotels. They have the best of hotels in their country. They do not come here for that. They would like to see the work done in our country. If our people were not starving, if they were not short of drinking water, the foreign tourist will go back much more satisfied and pleased and delighted with our work. He is not fascinated by your tower. You can waste your money. You can oblige the contractors and you can have the contractors help you in the elections. But it is not going to help you country, if I may say so.

Then, Madam, many a time I have been wondering what happened in the last elections. I have a very strong suspicion that money from outside this country—whether it came from the West or from Russia, wherever it might have come from—came here and played its part to defeat a large number of Congress leaders. I want the Government to find out as to from where all the money came and where it all went, how many Ministers collected how much money and how they spent it, how it was used and whether some of it was used to defeat Congress people and Congress leaders. I think this is a very serious matter if foreign money is to play a part in our elections and affect our elections and we are bound to protest against it and take exception to it. But I think money has come and it has gone a long way to defeat a large number of Congress Governments and Congress leaders and we take it very seriously. It is

the responsibility of the Government to find out how much money came and from where it came and how it was spent. It is very serious. Various explanations are given that this happened or that happened. The Government cannot allow foreign money to come and play into our politics. Some day if this money can be used to defeat my adversaries or defeat one political party of certain leaders who are inconvenient to me, tomorrow, the same money can also come and can be used against me also, not only against my adversaries alone. Therefore I think the Government have a responsibility that they should find out how this has been done. They should also find out and appoint a Committee about it to enquire into what happened, how much money was collected. For one thing, Ministers should never collect money. If they collect money, it is a wrong system. Political parties have a right to collect money but Ministers have no right to collect money but if they collect money, people will doubt that they have got all the money because they are Ministers; otherwise why do they not get the money. Secondly we doubt as to how that money has been used. It has been used to finance against Congress people. Therefore I wish that money should go only to political parties for election purposes. It should not go to Ministers or other office-bearers or those who have patronages to distribute. If money is going to come like this, then when we are no more in office, probably we will become paupers and all this money will go to Mr. Lokanath Misra and I would not like that state of affairs that when they become Ministers they should get it. I think this is a serious thing. A convention should be established that money should not be collected like this. We also feel that this sort of thing in the elections has very serious repercussions and we would not like these trends to continue in this country and they should be checked.

Foreign collaborations should be cut down to the very minimum because if your industries are to depend on them,

there are various things which come along with the money and money becomes your God for all practical purposes. It has strings, visible or invisible. It has the worst effect of brainwashing people so that when this foreign money comes a large number of people become defenders and votaries of some other thinking also. I may point out that sometimes Pandit Nehru was criticised. You could go to very many groups of people and they would criticise Pandit Nehru and one or two would defend Pandit Nehru but now you go to groups of people—by and large educated people—and you criticise one particular country which is a very powerful country and half a dozen will get up to defend that country. There cannot be a single group in the urban areas where somebody will not get up and defend that foreign country but in all these groups people may not get up to defend Mr. Nehru but they would stand up and defend that foreign country because either they have had education in that country or they have had collaboration with that country or that country is able to influence your administrators or they are able to collaborate with your industrialists or they are able to oblige your bureaucracy by giving them all sorts of exchanges or tours, etc. Whatever it may be, the brainwashing has been done very beautifully in this country about which you can do nothing. Even if to-day they want to reject our Prime Minister, half a dozen people will crop up overnight and they will condemn her because the brainwashing has been done on such a vast scale, on such a large scale that even if you start social education programmes or primary education programmes or compulsory education programmes, the de-washing process can not be done by this Government because this process has gone far and wide even among the uneducated people, among the students, among the newspapers, among the industry, among your bureaucrats, among the youth and among the leaders and everybody. Therefore our country stands in very many dangers.

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht.]

I thank you and I want the Government to correct all these things, if they can.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chitta Basu.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Madam, we are discussing the Appropriation Bill under the lengthening shadow of our everdeepening crisis, a crisis not of an ordinary nature which is usual with many nations but the crisis that we are faced with today is of an extraordinary nature and has serious repercussions on our economy and the nation's life as well. It is apparent that this crisis has been revealed not only by the stagnation in production and recession in trade but it has become all the more alarming because it arise out of some basic, fiscal and economic policies of the Government. It is not a transient phenomenon. It is the precursor of our ruination and reversal of the basic policies for which we have stood.

[**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN** (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) in the Chair]

This crisis is born out of the fundamental weakness in the basic, fiscal and economic policies of the Government. Therefore we are to find out what are those fundamental reasons out of which this crisis is going to envelope our entire economy and the country as a whole. The crisis is the outcome of our unusual dependence on the foreign powers in the economic field. This is the first reason. Secondly this crisis arises out of our continued reliance on the capitalist path of development which the Government has chosen to-day. Thirdly, this crisis has arisen out of the determined efforts on the part of the ruling party to pass on the burden of the crisis on the common masses whose back is already crippled by so many hardships. I shall try to analyse this to show that this crisis cannot be

avoided unless we have a radical outlook to follow and reformulate our policies, as our friend Miss Vasisht said. As I am a confirmed Socialist by conviction, many Members opposite might have inhibition against me when I analyse these facts, but I am going to quote a certain authority in the country, in whom I believe the Government has got every confidence. I would like to quote the opinion of the Chairman of the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation. In the course of his address to the annual general meeting of the shareholders, after characterising the crisis which is overcoming the nation, he said:

"During the last three years the economy has shown visible and persistent signs of faltering and this is a matter which should cause concern to all of us. The stagnation can no longer be taken as aberration of a secular trend, nor can it be attributed solely to the extraneous events like the border troubles and stoppage of foreign aid, though this might have been the initiating or contributing factor. Gradually the stagnation has become pervasive affecting all sectors of economy (including for instance transport and trade sector) and it has persisted too long to be ignored as transient phenomenon. Overproduction rather than shortage has become more persistent and pervasive phenomenon in the economy".

AN HON MEMBER: You are quoting from a capitalist paper?

SHRI CHITTA BASU: If a capitalist economist says that, you know what is the position. You must have the intelligence to understand that. The stagnation in production has set in and you know that the production programme of the Hindustan Machine Tools has been slashed down. Even the machine manufacturing in the textile industry has also been upset because there is no demand for the use of those machines in the various units of the textile industry. What is the

reason? The reason is, when our planners set the target for machine-making industries, they did not create proper conditions so that there can be a corresponding expansion of the industries which will instal those machines manufactured by the machine-making units. Here lies the crux of the problem. So long, in season and out of season, it has been the practice of the Congress planners to say that in increased production lies the way out. But here we see that there is over-production and the economy is not even able to absorb the little bit of increase that has been effected. Why? The reason is this: There has been a basic malady in the economy, for which there cannot be rapid industrialisation. Unless the agrarian system, which still allows of feudal elements in it, is changed to fit in with the growing pace of industrialisation, you cannot unleash the latent forces and unless you bring about radical changes in the agrarian system you cannot raise the purchasing power of the vast bulk of our population, who are peasants, and unless their purchasing capacity is increased, there cannot be rapid industrialisation.

Sir, during all these years they have been saying that they are developing socialism through planning. No, it is not a fact. They have not been developing socialism under planning. What they have developed and what they still aspire to develop is capitalism in the private sector and capitalism in the public sector too. I do not want to explain it for want of time. Therefore, this is the basic malady of the planning itself.

Now let us see how the Congress Government wants to overcome this crisis. As I have outlined earlier, it is certainly not in the socialist way; it is in the capitalist way, that is, at the cost of the people, throwing the entire burden of the crisis on the common man's back. Then, they have no other remedies than offering more concessions to the capitalists, no other

remedies than offering more concessions to the private sector of the industry, no other remedies than lifting the controls on goods, where they exist, in order to allow the private capitalists to raise prices and thereby raise their profits. All this the Congress Government does in the name of providing them with incentives to fight the depression. In 1963, Sir, you know, the Government decontrolled certain varieties of steel, which were followed by other varieties, and again, in 1966, the Government decontrolled cement, not only its price but its distribution also. An important feature of the economic relaxation has been the freeing of a large number of industries from the provisions of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act. Now we know that coal is going to be decontrolled, even coking coal is going to be decontrolled, thereby providing the industry the incentive to raise the price of coal, thereby providing scope to the capitalists to raise their profits. Now I know that to offer this kind of concessions more and more to the capitalists has been the usual weapon at the hands of the capitalists to avoid the depression. But if this process continues, the crisis cannot be overcome; we cannot get rid of the crisis, and it is well known to all of us in this House that, in their bid to woo the foreign capitalists, more and more concessions are being given now. In the name of devaluation we have mortgaged the economic interests of our country and we have not hesitated to work at the dictates of the World Bank and the Bell Mission, and you know, Sir, this that our former imperialist masters and other foreign capitalist countries want that our plans should be so scuttled that their purposes are served in this country. It is well known that during the first year of the Fourth Plan Rs. 2,000 crores were allocated. In the second year of the Fourth Plan, so far as we know, only Rs. 1700 crores have been allocated—it has been decreased—of course under the garb of adjusting our plan to the available resources. This

[Shri Chitta Basu.]

is only to accommodate the foreign capitalists and their interests in this country, so that they may have enough scope to continue their plunder and loot in this country and so that our plans should not be developed in such a way whereby we may attain self-sufficiency in the near future. It is again to please the American creditors and the Indian monopolists that high priority has been given to industries connected with export, and low priority given to the basic products which may lead our country to attain self-sufficiency.

Sir, you know that our exports have not increased although there have been so many measures for export promotion. I can cite examples; I can even quote the opinion of our Finance Minister. He says:

"Demand conditions in some of our major markets abroad have also been slack. These and other developments in world markets have tended to depress the value of our traditional exports, for example, tea, jute manufacturers and cotton fabrics."

Sir, you know we have got our traditional markets for our exports from which we cannot break away. And now, even after devaluation, we get less foreign exchange through our exports, and we have to pay more when we import. On these unequal terms we are continuing our export and import trade. And that being the case, never has there been an occasion when our exports and imports have been completely and perfectly balanced, and it is my considered opinion that we cannot attain that perfect balance of our export and import trade if it is left entirely in the hands of the private capitalists, and if our export trade continues absolutely with the traditional markets and if we do not choose to break away from the traditional markets and expand and diversify our export trade with other

socialist countries of Europe, Africa and Latin America, we can never attain the balance of trade between exports and imports. And in this export trade there is one sordid tale, Sir. You know the example of the export of sugar, where we had to incur a loss of Rs. 20 crores in 1966 to earn a foreign exchange of only Rs. 17.5 crores, and the expected loss of the year 1967 is Rs. 16 crores for a foreign exchange earning of Rs. 14 crores only. This is just an example to show how we have promoted our export trade.

Again the basic malady comes from our basic weakness, out of the utter dependence of our country on foreign countries, and this dependence on foreign countries is on a rapid increase. The percentage of India's foreign debt to her total debt has increased in the way I am going to quote. In 1950-51 it was 1.28 per cent. In 1960-61 it was 12.16 per cent; in 1965-66 it was 24.06 per cent; in 1966-67 it was 33.57 per cent, and in 1967-68 it is expected to become 36 per cent. Now these figures will show how, right from the year 1950-51, to the year 1967-68 the percentage of our foreign debt to total debt has increased. It has increased by leaps and bounds. Again if you look at the figures of our foreign debts you will find that in 1950-51 they stood at Rs. 32 crores. But in the year 1967-68 the figure is Rs. 5,413 crores. See these figures which are enormous and which can destroy our economy itself. There is also the question of servicing these foreign debts. In the first year of the Third Plan we were required to spend Rs. 52.4 crores for the purpose of servicing our foreign debt. Now it has shot up to Rs. 147 crores. In the last year of the Third Plan it has increased enormously. Therefore, our liabilities under our foreign debt are increasing day by day. Even the Draft Outline of the Fourth Five Year Plan has envisaged that the charge for servicing our foreign debt would be about Rs. 1,300 crores which comes to more than Rs. 200 crores a year. Now, when

our export trade is only Rs. 800 crores, how is it possible for us to meet these charges even for servicing our foreign debt?

Sir, you know that our Finance Minister is only interested in begging for foreign capital. They are now trying to re-schedule the payment of our foreign debt. We have no clear plans for paying our foreign debt. Why should the Government be afraid of declaring a moratorium on the payment of our foreign debts to other countries? There is no question of any re-scheduling of the payment of the foreign debts. I know that the Bell Mission or the World Bank is not going to re-schedule it to our advantage.

In the end, Sir, I want to suggest some measures to come out of the basic crisis we are faced with today. In order to come out of this crisis we should take over immediately the banking business in the country. We should also nationalise the export-import business and expand and diversify our trade with other socialist and newly liberated countries of the world. There should be demonetisation in order to eradicate the evil of unaccounted money. We should further expand the public sector even in consumer industries and we should recast the entire Plan in order to expedite the pace of the advent of a socialist economy in our country.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the country has been passing through a very critical economic crisis and I would like to express my views as to how we can overcome the present difficulties. I am aware that this country has had to face two aggressions, also that the country has had to face two severe droughts. There are various difficulties that are being faced by the country and there are several reasons for the present economic crisis. No single person can be blamed for it. However, when we think in terms of politics it is the party in power which

has ultimately to think of this crisis and to find ways and means of overcoming the crisis. I feel that the evolutionary way and the speed with which we have been going are not at all enough to overcome the present crisis. The problems are like the Himalayas and further Himalayan problems are being added to this country every day with the increase of nearly 50,000 people every day. Out of these 50,000 some 14,000 or 15,000 pass away. Even then this country is getting every day an addition of 35,000 people to its population. We have to rehabilitate these 35,000 people in future and for that at the present economic investment rate every individual will require an average of Rs. 10,000 for getting services in days to come. So in this light if we look at the problem, I feel that dynamic and revolutionary and drastic measures are absolutely necessary. My party and the Government have been telling everyday that we believe in socialism in this country, that we shall shape this country in a socialist way. Please allow me to say that there is much difference between what we say and how we act. This difference between precept and practice will not lead the country towards the socialist goal that we want to reach. This reminds me of a story, Sir. When I look at the behaviour of the Government towards the capitalists and towards the masses at large who believe in socialism, I am reminded of that story. A king had two queens. He was trying to satisfy them both. One was with him and he had closed her eyes and so she thought he was in love with her. The other queen was at a distance and he was playing with eyes at her and smiling and so she thought he was in love with her. I do not think this game of hide and seek is any good.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: An amorous description of the economic situation.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: I do not think, Sir, that this present practice

[Shri M. M. Dharia.]

of the Government of giving tender treatment to the capitalists who have created big monopolies and giving harassing treatment to the common man will bring in socialism. A dynamic change is absolutely necessary. I am happy that the All India Congress Committee at its meeting in Delhi passed an economic resolution consisting of ten points. The Government is on trial and the Government will be judged by what they do with regard to these ten points which were agreed upon. I will not repeat those points because there is not much time. It is the trial of the Government and it has to be seen whether these ten points of economic programme are being honestly implemented and that too in tune with the time. If that is done then I have no doubt that we can regain confidence even in those States where it has been lost. If we do not do that then I am worried that the confidence of even the remaining people in the Government may be lost. If that happens I shall not blame the people at large, because it is ultimately the Government, the party in power, which has to create that confidence among the people. That confidence cannot be created by slogans or by mere words. It can be created by determination and by determined action.

It is in this context that I feel that if we want to improve the economy and to overcome the present economic crisis, we should no longer neglect agriculture as we have done in the past. There are the figures and we are aware that out of Rs. 20,000 crores of our national income, as much as Rs. 10,200 crores are derived from the agriculturists. But what is our credit policy towards these poor agriculturists? We give them hardly Rs. 350 crores every year and in this country we have at least 35 crore acres of land. So per acre we give them a credit of only Rs 10 and then we want these farmers, these agriculturists to go in for modern equipments and implements of agriculture, to take to

modern methods and produce more and more. How can they do that? When we make a demand to nationalise banks we are criticised from some quarters. Why is this demand made? Out of a sum of Rs. 3,000 crores which is with the banks, nearly Rs. 1,000 crores are invested in Government or semi-Government bodies. Then there is a sum of Rs. 2,000 crores with these commercial banks. Out of this Rs. 2,000 crores as much as Rs. 1,600 crores are invested by a few families which are holding the balance in the economy of the country. There are these few 25—30 families which are having investments to the tune of 80 per cent of the money with these commercial banks. It is in this context that I feel that the hon. Finance Minister should try to have social control. I do not know what are his ideas of social control so far. I feel that a major bulk should go to agriculture and to industries which are in need of capital. This amount will decrease the power of the monopolists who have been growing in their monopolistic strength. Sir, the hon. Minister for Industries said in this 4 p.m. House during the last session that a measure will be brought forward to curb these monopolies. So far I have not received a copy of the Bill. I feel—and it is my demand today—that the hon. Minister for Industries should come forward with a measure to curb these monopolies as he has assured this House because otherwise it is not possible to tide over the present economic crisis and give a good turn to the economy of the country.

So far as agriculture is concerned there is the problem of water. I have no time to go into details but I am really constrained to say, when I look at the notices and the letters being exchanged between the various States, that the ultimate responsibility lies with the Central Government. These feelings of bitterness that we sense among the various States are because of the hesitant policy of the Central Government. Had the Central Gov-

ernment taken proper care, had the Minister of Irrigation and Power taken proper care, to see that these disputes regarding the waters of the Krishna and the Godavari are properly resolved in time this sense of bitterness between the States would not have been there.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): If you will pardon me, may I ask why could not the Chief Ministers of the concerned States sit together and decide? What does it matter if a thousand acres go to the Maharashtra peasants and not to the Andhra peasants or to the Mysore peasants and not to the Maharashtra peasants? I think the responsibility lies firstly and primarily with the three Chief Ministers concerned. They should sit together and try to settle the matter. There is no party question here.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to bring to the notice of my hon. colleague that the three Chief Ministers have sat together not only once but several times but they have failed to reach any agreement because they are interested parties.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: There is something seriously wrong.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: In Mysore the irrigation is not even ten per cent; in Maharashtra it is not even nine per cent while in Andhra it is forty per cent. We feel that when these Godavari and Krishna are passing through Maharashtra and Mysore a proper share of their waters should be given to us. Anyway I am not entering into those details; my only submission is that it is the duty of the Central Government to see that these disputes are solved amicably by the Chief Ministers and if they are not solved amicably then they should settle them through an arbitrator. Why is it not being done? All this bitterness is being created because no principles are being applied. I have watched carefully the linguistic problems

and their struggles and I know it very well that even on those occasions had the Central Government taken up a stand based on certain principles the sense of bitterness that arose among the various States would not have arisen. It is the primary duty of the Central Government and it is high time that the Central Government acts accordingly. Particularly in the context of the present changed political map in the country when there are Ministries of several political parties in the States, where there is quarrel, where there is dispute between two States, there should be some machinery for resolving such disputes on some principles. That is my demand today. Of course that is not the point here; I just mentioned it because yesterday a reference was made to it in the House. So this is my humble submission to the hon. Minister concerned.

I would now come to the various economic policies. There is the question of prices. The prices are gone up like anything. I have got figures and figures but I will not take the time of the House. In order to check these prices there is a move by the Finance Minister to freeze both wages and also the prices. I would like to submit here today that the wages of the poor employees are not living wages. They have been struggling all these years for a living wage. In this country of ours there are nearly 25 crores of people who are not getting even fifty paise per day and what right have we to freeze that wage and their earnings? It is the duty of the Government to see that the rising prices are brought down and it is in this context that some severe measures have to be taken. There were slogans by our late Prime Minister that if there is any blackmarketeer in the country he will be hanged. I have so far not seen anybody being hanged.

(Interruptions).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We see some of them in the Treasury Benches.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: My request is that the hon. Finance Minister should come forward with drastic measures against such blackmarketeers in the country. If a particular article is not available he should put up a board saying that that article is exhausted but what right has he to take more price and if he does so, why should he not be properly convicted? Let us have convictions for five, seven or ten years. At the same time if anybody is found guilty of such offences the whole of his property should be confiscated. Why should we not come forward with such measures? I have no doubt that it is possible to control prices without freezing the wages. I would like to make it very clear. When the poor employees are not getting a living wage today, if their wages are frozen, it will not be proper; it will be very unfair and it will be causing more injustice to those who are already facing injustice. So it should not be done.

As far as the monetary policy is concerned, I have no doubt that planned economy is the need of the day and it is in this context that we shall have to resolve today that we shall adhere to perfect planning. Unfortunately for the last two years we have not been in a position to have our Fourth Five Year Plan. Why? Should we not think about it? We have to think about it very seriously. I feel today that along with perfect planning nationalisation of banking is absolutely necessary. The export and import trade shall have to be nationalised. State trading export of foodgrains has to be resorted to in all the States. Then there is the question of black money. Much has been said about it. Why should we not come forward with drastic solutions? I would request the hon. Finance Minister to look into the large number of property deals which have taken place during the last fifteen years. The prices of these properties are recorded with the Registrars with whom the deeds are registered. At that price the Government should take over such properties where they find that they are shady deals. I can give

one instance from Bombay. It belongs to the Maharaja of Gwalior. There is that property. According to my information, that property has been sold and registered at Rs. 80 lakhs. But the price when the deed was registered was more than Rs. 2 crores. Why should not the Government investigate into this matter? It is possible. If the investigation is not possible even according to our present constitutional provisions we can take over that property at Rs. 80 lakhs and the Government can sell it in auction. And it will be possible for the Government to get Rs. 2 crores or more. Why should it not be done? Let these people who deal in black money suffer. Why is not such action being taken? Such action will fetch at least 1500 to 2000 crores. I would like also to urge that the Estate Duty should be made exorbitant. Why should the property go to all the heirs and successors? The successor can have the housing facility which the parents and others were having and after that if there are some dependants care would be taken by the Government and all the property, all the shares, all the cash, everything will go to the Government. Why should we not come forward with such a measure? We want socialism but we are not prepared to take any drastic action. With all our mild measures what we have done is, we have given more and more protection to these big industrialists and monopolists and the poor masses are the sufferers. The entire approach shall have to be changed.

(Time bell rings)

DR. B. N. ANTANI (Gujarat): You should have said this in 1948.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: As the bell has been rung, I will only touch upon two more points.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Rarely a Congressman speaks so refreshingly as he is doing.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: So far as the policy of controls is concerned, they have worked in favour of these industrialists and as soon as they go against

them we take care to lift those controls. In the case of agriculture what do we find? Take for instance cotton. The price of cotton is fixed by the Textile Commissioner but so far as the textile products are concerned only 40 per cent of the textile products are controlled and the rest is free where the millowner gets all possible advantages while the poor cotton grower cannot get the price that he should get. I am here today to urge that the present ceiling price should be the support price and there should be no control on cotton.

My last submission is regarding power loom. The other day reliefs have been granted by the Finance Minister. Myself and the hon. Mr. Kulkarni were associated with that Study Group. I would like to say that either the report sent by the officers and which was then discussed is wrong or if the report is proper then the decisions of the Government are wrong. But today I would not like to go any further into it because I have written a detailed letter to the hon. Finance Minister and also to the hon. Prime Minister. Let me discuss this matter with them and till those discussions are over I would restrain myself from making further remarks.

In the end I would appeal to the hon. Finance Minister that he should come forward with rigorous steps, with dynamic measures—today the country needs dynamic measures, revolutionary measures—because the masses, the poor people, the middle class people are all waiting for them. And if the Government does not take those steps in time I would like to warn the Government here that the Government shall not be able to solve our problems and they cannot get over the economic crisis that we have been facing today. Thank you very much.

SHRI KESAVAN (THAZHAVA)
(Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, as usual the Appropriation Bill is introduced, and it may be passed in the usual course. The Finance Minister and the various Ministries will appro-

priate the amount allotted, but what will be the result at the end of the financial year? The experience of the previous years is very alarming. It has not given us any consolation. We know what happened in previous years. Several crores of rupees have been spent in the shape of Plans and other things, but it is an accepted fact that Birlas and Tatas have grown richer and richer and the poor people of India have become poorer and poorer. This is not what Mahatmaji wanted when he led the people to end British rule. He led the people for attaining freedom from the British rule. It was not only for Birlas and Tatas but also for the people at large. But what happened after gaining independence? The reactionaries of the country and the capitalists of the country conspired together and he was shot down and that too in the House of Birlas. That is very significant. After that ungrateful shot we know that the perpetrators of that crime have achieved their end and they are achieving their ends still. Every year the tax is being increased and the common man is burdened more and more. Even a beggar has to pay tax for his tea, for his coffee and if he wants to purchase clothes, he has to pay tax. For everything he has to pay tax. On an average a beggar in the street has to pay Rs. 60/- per year to the Centre as tax. He has to pay more than that to the States and then he has to pay to the Panchayat or municipality from where he comes. This is the position. So, he is taxed more and more. For common people life has become impossible. What is policy of the Congress? Everywhere leaders of the Congress were making declarations from the housetops that they want to build up a socialistic pattern of society. They have accepted as their goal democratic socialism, but what we see is that the capitalists of the country are now controlling the money market. In fact, they are controlling many leaders of the country also and poor people are starving. In fact, they are dying inch by inch of starvation. I am coming from Kerala. We speak of national unity, but

[Shri Kesavan (Thazhava)]

national unity can be built only by parity at least in regard to the supply of foodgrains. There are surplus States in India and we import foodgrains. Everybody knows that and it is accepted by the Centre that Kerala is a deficit area. The Centre promised to supply 75,000 tonnes of rice per month to the Kerala State for distribution of 6 oz. of rice as ration per head per day. Even there they failed. In fact, now the whole of Kerala people are starving.

SHRI P. C. MITRA: All Kerala people except the hon. Member.

SHRI KESAVAN (THAZHAVA): When I go there I take very little rice and actually I am starving. Here also my condition is the same. I do not get rice. Fortunately or unfortunately the staple food of a Malayali is rice. We are accustomed to it and we want rice. It is an accepted fact that Kerala is a deficit area. There is no doubt about it. Even from early times it was so and we used to get rice imported from Burma. We used to get rice from Andhra and Madras. The Central Government have no national policy in regard to the food problem and they have utterly failed. They fear to adopt a national policy so far as food is concerned and that is why this difficulty. Before independence we had enough rice and I could purchase one quintal of rice for Rs. 7/- at that time. After independence, what is our experience? During the First Plan period we could get 12 oz. per day. During the Second Plan period we got only 9 oz. per day. During the Third Plan period sometimes we got 6 oz. and sometimes 4 oz. per day. Now, we are in the Fourth Plan period. We may get 3 oz. per day and that too at the end of the week. That is the experience. That is the progress made by plans. This is what has been achieved by the Food and Agriculture Ministry. This is not what was expected. Just before the first general elections the then Food Minister, Mr. Kidwai, came to

our place and he made an election speech in which he said that at the end of the First Five Year Plan we would achieve self-sufficiency in food. What happened? Is it my fault? I was not starving before independence. Perhaps you were not quite okay then. I am one who fought for independence. I also went several times to jail and I have suffered. That is why I say like this. When I gave my support, it was not to starve my people. The un-greateful shot was not only a shot against the prosperity of India. It was a shot against the starving millions of India. It was a shot against the peace and prosperity of India. It was a shot against the national unity of India. What are you doing now? Are you achieving national unity now? No. Disintegration is your policy. Now, you have discarded several States, including my State. What have you given to us? During the First Plan only a sum of Rs. 58 lakhs was given to us for a DDT factory. You had promised us so many things. Just before the 1962 elections, Mr. Raj Bahadur, who was a Minister, came to Cochin and laid the foundation stone of a ship-building yard. It is even now under contemplation. Of course, then there was something behind that act. It was an election speech, and Mr. A. M. Thomas the congress candidate got through. What happened this time? Mr. A. M. Thomas stood and he was thoroughly defeated. That is what happened. What I say is this. As far as the food policy is concerned, I have already submitted that the Central Government has utterly failed. I understand that lakhs and lakhs of acres of fertile, cultivable land are lying waste. You must give them to agriculturists and they will cultivate them. If water supply is necessary, certainly you must do it. But you have failed in everything; the Government have failed in everything. The other day the hon. Member, Mr. Akbar Ali Khan, made this request to the Finance Minister: "You please give us Rs. 12 crores as loan; we will complete the Nagarjunasagar project and we will supply the whole of India with rice." If that is true, and I feel

it is true, why this amount of Rs. 12 crores . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: The Government of India also agreed that if we complete it, we will be in a position to supply rice to the whole of India.

SHRI KESAVAN (THAZHAVA): First of all it has to be completed. For that purpose money is required. All this money is stored here and spent for Ashoka Hotel and revolving tower when people are starving. We do not want Ashoka Hotels in our country. We want rice. Unfortunately, we happen to be cultured people and educated people and the density of our population is very high, and there is not an inch of land uncultivated so far as Kerala is concerned. That is the position there. So I request his Government to help the Kerala Government. Please do not discriminate against it; do not take a step motherly attitude towards Kerala. We also fought for our independence. The Diwan at that time was Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer. His military and his police fired at so many persons and so many persons died, and several houses were burnt. Although he had done all these things, he has done so many good things to that State, the Travancore State. He has established so many factories in the public sector. He was not a socialist. He was an enemy of the socialists. Still several factories in the public sector were established in the Travancore State. He took up the Pallivasal scheme and completed it. Such a scheme cannot be dreamt of at present. Because of that scheme we get light now, and several factories came into existence in the private sector also. Medical college, engineering college, aerodrome, FACT at Alwaye, all these things were established by him. He has done so many things. At the time when he declared independence for Travancore he was sent away from Travancore with a small reward. He wanted an independent Travancore State as Diwan of Travancore, not in his individual capacity. But the peo-

ple of Kerala wanted to become a part of India, and so he was sent away. All those persons who supported him for this independent Travancore movement are the present leaders of the Congress. My friend there on the Congress Bench can go and make enquiries about that. In fact we wanted national unity, we wanted to become the citizens of India, because India is a great country and with a great population and with great resources certainly it may become one of the greatest countries, powerful countries, in the world. With that idea we joined. Nobody fought against us and captured us. We have come with our own will and we wish to continue.

We are ready to pay the price for imported rice. Lakhs of acres of land are lying fallow. Make them cultivable and give those lands to the agriculturists so that they may cultivate them and produce more foodgrains.

I have to say so many things with regard to other things: The Ministry has failed with regard to education. There is no national education policy. It is highly necessary. So far as Kerala is concerned, education has become an industry. There are a number of schools and colleges in the private sector owned by managers. Even for admission in primary schools they take bribes. For appointment of teachers in schools they take Rs. 3000 or Rs. 4000. For admission in colleges they take bribe. For appointment in colleges they take Rs. 5000 or Rs. 10,000. They need not pay income-tax also. So, this is one of the most profitable businesses. Why can not you nationalise all these schools? The Central Government must certainly accept the policy of nationalising all private schools and colleges. Every year their number is increasing. Why cannot the Centre, as my hon. friend, Mr. Dharia, said, nationalise the banks? Why cannot the Centre nationalise the estates owned by foreigners? Why cannot the Centre nationalise the oilfields of the foreigners? We know that during the last session we heard much about the

[Shri Kesavan (Thazhava)]

Hazari Report and Birlas. Why cannot the Centre nationalise the heavy industries at least of Birlas and Tatas and others, and relieve the people of India from the heavy taxes?

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION (DR. TRIGUNA SEN): While discussing the Appropriation Bill several Members made certain references to the working of the Ministry of Education. I want to make certain observations.

First, I am very happy that the Members take so much interest in the cause of education and I am grateful to them for the valuable suggestions they have made. We will try our best to implement them. While discussing, Mr. Bhargava made a reference to the name of the Ministry. He said: "I am sorry to remark that since the words 'Scientific Research' were taken away from the name of the Ministry science has been suffering by default". It is true that the present name of my Ministry is "Ministry of Education", and the words "Scientific Research" are not included in it. But I can assure the hon. Member and the House that it does not mean that my Ministry does not attach sufficient importance to science. In fact our policy is to make science the very basis of our education in the country. I have always welcomed discussion of matters relating to science in the House and attached the greatest possible importance to the suggestions made by hon. Members for the improvement of teaching of science and technology in our schools and colleges.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Who dropped those words?

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: You know it. I am here only for about four months. But I do not agree that a mere change in the name is going to make any real difference.

Mr. Bhargava referred regarding the working of C.S.I.R. I am fully aware of the criticism that has been

made from time to time regarding the working of the Council. I have seen also the resolution that was moved by Dr. Katju last year on the floor of the House demanding that a Committee should be appointed to probe into the working of it, and he made also certain allegations against the C.S.I.R. I agree that the allegations made by Dr. Katju were serious matters and everything possible should be done urgently to make the Council and its National Laboratories function on proper lines. But I should appeal to Mr. Bhargava, Dr. Katju and others not to press for a Committee to enquire into the lapses that happened during the last few years because such enquiry will not take us any further. It will do us no good. I can assure the Members that what has been mentioned by Dr. Katju will not happen any more at least so long as I am here. I will see to it. I want to look forward and see how matters can be improved. I have been taking a personal interest in the working of the Council and I am giving very serious thought to its working. I am sorry that during the last four months, I was busy in drafting a national policy and I could not give much time to the working of the CSIR. But if my study of the situation requires the setting up of a special Committee to look into this, I promise that I shall certainly see that the Committee is duly appointed and its recommendations submitted to the Government.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: We leave it to you.

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: Give me some time. I assure you that the lapses that have been mentioned by Dr. Katju will not recur. I assure the House once again that I am giving my best attention to the whole question and whatever needs to be done will be done as expeditiously as possible. This requires the cooperation of Members like Dr. Katju and Mr. Bhargava who are interested, and I will discuss with them from time to time and find out the solution.

Sir, he mentioned about the Indian School of International Studies. I wish, in the first instance, to correct the erroneous impression that this particular school does not permit Hindi as the medium of dissertation for Ph.D. Degree. Subject to the availability of competent supervisors and examiners, Hindi or any other language is acceptable to the school authorities. But in the present case the difficulty has arisen essentially from the fact that for all practical purposes, English has been the sole medium of instruction in most of the examinations in the universities and in institutions of higher education. Part of the difficulty lies in the fact that so far there has been no clear policy of the Government in the matter. As the House is aware, I am vigorously trying to evolve a policy on the medium of instruction and examination at the university stage and once it is formulated, I think it would be possible for us to take up the matter with all the universities and the deans of the universities in the country. Of course, the matter has to be taken up with them because in the ultimate analysis, a university is fully responsible and autonomous for its academic standards.

Sir, Mr. Niranjan Singh referred to the results of the Board of Secondary Education of Madhya Pradesh and said that those who failed in English were declared unsuccessful by the Board but were later declared successful by the Education Minister of the State. It is a State subject. I can only mildly enquire into those things. But I believe the Centre should not interfere in the working of a State.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: No, no, Sir. On such questions, the Centre should interfere. Otherwise, there is no purpose in having an Education Ministry here. If somebody fails and a Minister gets him passed, that is very very objectionable.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR (Madhya Pradesh): The Minister of that State is implementing so many schemes. Why cannot he do it?

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: I do not know the constitutional position. But surely I will take up this matter with the Minister of Education of Madhya Pradesh.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): With the new Minister.

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: Some one will be there.

Mr. Kumaran drew attention to the admission requirements of the Patrice Lumumba University, Moscow. I studied the whole thing last night. It is true that the eligibility and qualification to that University is a pass in higher secondary. But the Ministry took the view that we should send only boys who have passed the B.Sc. examination.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: For the first class B.Sc. people, their papers are not being sent to the Joint Board and they are being detained somewhere. I will divulge it some day. Yes, I tell you. From Calcutta, I know of cases. First class B.Sc. students made their applications. Their papers have not gone to the Board even for examination. Somewhere they have got stuck up. Why, I do not know.

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: If there are individual cases . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No individual cases, there are a number of cases.

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: I can only look into the cases . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I would ask the Education Minister. Will he kindly tell us or make a statement in the House as to how many applications were received from those who have passed their B.Sc. or higher degree with first class and whether all of them have been forwarded to the Committee of the Soviet representatives and the Indian representatives who make the selection and if some

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

people have not been selected, the reason for the same.

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: The figures are not with me. If the hon. Member wants them, surely I will supply the information that he asks for. But I want, Sir, to mention that we should have a policy whether we should send our boys abroad for under-graduate studies or not. I have myself said once . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I was in Moscow in 1960 when the Patrice Lumumba University was opened and Comrade Dange was present there also. We were also invited. Mr. Khrushchev opened it. There the statement was made that they were opening that University with a view to helping the students of the poorer classes in the underdeveloped countries, who were not in a position to go to the United States of America, West Germany, England and other places, that they would bear all the expenses. I have been to that University twice or thrice at the invitation of the authorities when I was in Moscow. I met Indians there. Now, I find here that the Indian Government does not even fully utilise the quota. Even earlier they were not utilising. Ceylon has the quota. Even Pakistan has it. But Indian Government is not doing it. Now perhaps they are sending more students. All kinds of discriminations have started in making the selection. Well, I do not know. My fear is this that the Government go into extraneous considerations. Well, tell us if some people are connected with the leftist or opposition movement and if they are not allowed to go, so that the Soviet Union should know this kind of thing. Well, Mr. Vice-Chairman, he should know that a person who is connected with the left Communists cannot go to America even if he has money. Poorer people have no money, they cannot even have the means to study. They get offers of scholarships, everything free. Now,

you are not utilising it for the purpose for which the Soviet people have spent a lot of money to set up a whole university for the underdeveloped countries. Witch-hunt is going on in this matter even in the Ministry of Education, whoever is in charge. But we shall return to the subject some day in a proper way.

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: It is better, when he returns to the subject, that I deal with it. I will collect all information about it. But I maintain, personally if it is left to me, I will discourage any student to go abroad for under-graduate studies. I agree that we should send our boys for specialised education so that on their return . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It does not mean any . . .

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: Personally . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Personally you will not do it. Here it does not mean any foreign exchange. When Mr. Nehru took it up it was not at all a question of specialised study. There foreign exchange is involved. Here you do not spend anything, even a paisa. They provide the ticket, you go there and they get you the return ticket. They look after the students. Not a single pie . . .

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: I have not said specifically about this Patrice Lumumba University; I said in general terms whether it is at the Patrice Lumumba University or any other place. . .

Shrimati Ammanna Raja referred to the neglect of women's education. She asked for free distribution of books and clothings particularly for the poorer girls. It is a good suggestion. If resources permit, surely we will do that. But I can assure Shrimati Ammanna Raja that I am trying from this year, if possible, to at least establish book banks in the schools so that students, girls and boys, of poorer

classes can go there and read books of their own before we are able to supply them free books. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI M. C. SHAH (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, may I ask for some clarification from the Education Minister? I would like to know whether the Education Ministry is able to absorb scientists and technologists who are highly specialised. I know that so many of them have not been absorbed yet.

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: I do not have figures today. But if he asks a question I can collect them and supply them to him. Or if he writes to me I can write to him.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: May I know, Sir, through you, when he is supplying a report of the Committee of 30 Members of Parliament on the Education Commission.

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: It has been supplied.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: The Minister mentioned the point which I made. He said that he does not agree that for post-graduate studies the students should go abroad. What about this particular University which I mentioned?

SHRI A. D. MANI: He is prepared to consider when the matter is put before him.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: He did not say that. This University wants only Higher Secondary qualification for admission. Why not we also send our students with that qualification? That is my point because B. Sc. people going there waste three years before they start picking up something new. That was the point which I raised.

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: He raised that question yesterday and I looked into the matter. I find that the decision of my predecessors was that only those boys who have passed their B. Sc. should be selected.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Ever. they are not sent.

SHRI K. SUNDARAM (Madras): Sir, I rise to oppose this Bill, the Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1967 . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I think you should sometime accommodate people because sometimes we have to go. When we say "Accommodate us" it is not done. I do not mind. But some of us will be leaving. We have got some other meetings and so on. We come here and make this request. I have no objection to anybody being accommodated. But we rarely make such a request. We do not want this accommodation for the sake of pleasure. But sometimes we have other meetings called by the Government. And we ask you to do it. It is not done. We find that for Ministers everything is done.

SHRI K. SUNDARAM: Sir, I rise to oppose this Bill. The amounts mentioned here are supposed to be spent during the year 1967-68. But, unfortunately, these amounts are not spent throughout the year. For the major part of the year the amount is not spent. The unspent amount is spent towards the end of the year. This causes a great deal of confusion. It causes an artificial demand for goods and thereby the prices are also artificially pushed up towards the end of March. This is preceded by the Budget in February. Before the Budget there is a lull and then there is uncertainty. But after the Budget there is confusion. This kind of artificially created financial and economic conditions interrupt the normal flow of manufacture and production and distribution of goods. The damage caused by these things is not even assessed. Only in today's *Economic Times* it is said that the industrial production has fallen by 7 per cent. during the last four months and in the last month it has dropped by 5.3 per cent., that is, for the month of April. If we take May and June into account, I am quite sure the drop in produc-

[Shri K. Sundaram.]

tion must be more than 10 per cent. I illustrate this only to show how fast the industrial production is deteriorating. No doubt we are in the midst of a galloping recession.

During this time the industries in the private sector are working under a tremendous pressure due to the high rate of wages, unlimited layoffs, high rate of interest combined with credit curbs.

Sir, getting raw material in time at the site for the manufacture and production of goods is the problem today. In spite of the gheraos, strikes and go-slows they do produce. And, finally, if they do not get the raw materials in time they suffer. Even today raw materials are governed by quotas, permits and licences. There are pre-payments, movement restrictions, guarantees for all these raw materials in one form or another. Though there are plenty of raw materials today, getting them to the place of requirement in time is the problem. Take, for instance, the pig iron, coke, coal, ingots, jute, cotton, steel, limestone, gypsum, chemicals, basic metals. All these raw materials are facing the same problem today. The industries are being blackmailed by everybody who has to do anything with the supply of such raw materials. Since the industries have to get their raw materials in time they are in a hurry. When they do not get it in time they suffer. Under these circumstances they are being exploited. This gives room for much corruption. I can give one instance of cotton.

Mr. Dharia mentioned that the price of cotton is always kept low. But unfortunately everybody concerned with cotton down below up to the grower—the merchants, the Cotton Mills Federation, the Cotton Development Council, the cotton Advisory Board—had recommended last year for complete decontrol of this commodity. Yet the Government refused to hear. Even in the current year all these bodies for a second time have unanimously re-

commended the decontrol of this commodity, both price control as well as distribution. Still the Government is no giving any reply; they are considering. They have not given it their mind. When that is the case, credit curbs and high rate of interest prevent the industry from stocking sufficient raw materials or finished goods in their premises. The industries which are not able to work under this pressure naturally will fall sick. And no wonder we have got a number of industries that are falling sick month after month. These pressures push up the price every month. From the price index you can see that month after month the prices are increasing. While this is the case with the private sector, look at the public sector. What are they doing? They are taking it very easy. We have seen from the reports of the Govind Menon Committee how a large inventory is maintained by these public sector undertakings. Some of them are only working at 50 per cent. efficiency. Unlimited credit has been extended to these industries. And very recently we have seen the unimaginable losses in steel industries. And yet we are asked to vote for these expenses and losses by this particular Bill. Then I would like to know from the Minister the position about the Tuticorin deep sea harbour project. During the past five years, I was informed, a sum of Rs. 5 crores has been spent already. Out of which fund has this money been spent? If a part of that project has already been constructed, what was the estimated amount? Was there a sanction for the construction of that deep sea harbour? If that is the case, why should there be any doubt now whether the project will be coming or not. There has been no clear answer. The Finance Minister said that such a project has never been taken up by the Cabinet or considered by the Cabinet. But the former Finance Ministers had been allotting money on an *ad hoc* basis. Where does it come from? Is it not necessary that they should get the

sanction of this House for such adjustments or payments?

Sir, year after year, new taxes are being levied on new commodities and all the proceeds are added on to the Consolidated Fund. I wonder if the Finance Department takes any trouble to find out the results of such taxation. I do not think even their research section does it. For example, in 1957, there was a large excise levy on dhoties and it was followed by a special Bill passed by Parliament fixing quotas for the manufacture of dhoties by each mill. Now after ten years, what has happened? Those mills which are holding their quotas are producing just one-third of their quota. The Finance Minister has lost all that revenue. What has happened to that? How is the demand met today? What are the steps the Finance Minister has taken or the Textile Commissioner has taken to see that full production is restored? Nothing has been done. But that supply has been maintained by the powerlooms which have sprung up in the meantime. And for the crime of having produced cheaper cloth, that cloth is being taxed at the same rate as that of the mills. This is the reward that the powerlooms are getting. Now this kind of hide-and-seek game should go. Wherever any industry makes profit, immediately it is pounced on and taxed and the money is taken away. How are we going to develop our country, I wonder. Ten years ago when they produced dhoties, it was taxed. That was stopped. Somebody else produced dhoties. Now that is being taxed. Now that will also stop. Somebody else will again produce it. Like that, the hide-and-seek game is going on continuously.

It has been the policy of the Government to encourage the growth of decentralised sector in the textile industry. Has there been a change in this policy to withdraw the concession? I do not think it was ever announced on the floor of this House that they have changed that policy.

Now during the last Plan period, the spinning capacity of this country has been doubled but without an adequate expansion of the weaving capacity. With such a large spinning capacity and very limited weaving capacity, it is no wonder that a number of textile mills become sick and naturally they remain closed for months together. An important fact to be carefully considered region-wise now is the effect of this recent taxation or rather the increased taxation on powerlooms, on the sized beams which are working on powerlooms. The installation of powerlooms in Maharashtra and the predominantly spinning industry of the Madras State will be affected adversely whereas the composite mills in Gujarat will stand to benefit a great deal. Now I wonder if the Finance Ministry had got all the relevant facts before they levied the tax on sized beams. The hon. friend just now said that there had been a Committee which went into this matter and they had submitted a report and on the strength of that report, the Finance Minister was pleased to reduce the tax by Rupee one per kilogram, I would say that the Finance Minister has grossly overestimated the capacity of that particular industry to bear these taxes. The Finance Ministry, sitting here in Delhi, is not expected to know everything about every industry in the country. Without knowing it, how are they going to levy new taxes, I wonder. Naturally they commit such mistakes and then try to adjust them.

Now, coming to synthetic fibres, I have to mention one point. In the Budget Speech, the Finance Minister said and hoped that the new levy will not be passed on to the consumer. In the case of staple fibre, the manufacturer has passed on these new levies to the consumer. This has been brought to the attention of the Finance Minister, but since it is not a law but only his statement, he cannot do anything. It is a fact that it is still being continued. Now all these new taxes go into this fund. What happened to the profits of the S.T.C.?

[Shri K. Sundaram.]

They had been importing quite a number of things; they had been selling and making huge profits as per the statement of the hon. friend there. Where does it go? Does it go into the Consolidated Fund at all? Then there are exports. The S.T.C. has been exporting cloth at a much cheaper rate. They are losing anything from 12 to 20 per cent in the local market. Do they pay for those losses out of the profits they make? They have also contracted for the export of art silk goods. The Art Silk Association has refused to sell any cloth to S.T.C. They have gone on strike. Now where will they find money to make up this loss? If they go on taxing like this, the prices are bound to go up. Knowing this fully well, the Finance Minister has pushed up the prices. He then comes forward with the proposal that there must be a price freeze. Naturally, if there is a price freeze, there must be a wage freeze also, at least for a temporary period of 2 years. If the price and the wages are frozen naturally and automatically the profits will also be frozen. If the profits are not frozen, if there are any more profits, I am prepared to vote for an interim Budget as well as Supplementary grants as the Minister wants.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): There are a large number of Members who would like to take part in this debate and as some would like to be adjusted to-day, if the House has no objection we could agree to sit till 6 P.M.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Till 5.30.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: We may meet tomorrow and then continue this discussion on this Appropriation on Saturday also. That would accommodate probably almost the entire list. We could sit for an additional day and I hope the Finance Minister will have no objection if we sit on Satur-

day. If that is agreed to, that would be more convenient. If in the first week itself we start sitting an extra hour, it looks ridiculous.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: This morning we could not transact any business before lunch hour because we had to take up two Calling Attention Notices and so much so we have lost the time that was allotted for discussing this Bill. On Friday we do not want to forego the non-official business. So it is a good suggestion made by Mr. Lokanath Misra that we can sit on Saturday so that many Members wanting to participate can be accommodated.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Every morning we find we are not able to commence our business of the day till one after the disposal of the Calling Attention Motions. I suggest, in order to accommodate the speakers, if the Members have no objection, we sit through the lunch hour and we sit an extra day. We carry on till 5.30 and then the Minister can wind up the debate at 4 on Saturday afternoon so that we have ample time for accommodating all the Members.

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated): I suggest that we may sit to-day till six. The other points we may consider tomorrow when we have a full House and we can have ample time . . . (Interruptions)

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I support Mr. Kaul's suggestion.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh): We are running on a very tight schedule. What I would suggest is, if the House agrees to sit on Saturday, we might interchange the non-official business and this business and we might continue this Bill on Friday and take the non-official business on Saturday.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): The non-official business fixed for Friday, if the schedule is accepted, can be taken up on Saturday.

SHRI K. C. PANT: My difficulty is that there is a dead-line for this Appropriation Bill and personally we have planned on completing the debate tomorrow so that we could refer the Bill for the President's Assent. It must be got by a certain date. I have just heard the suggestions and I would certainly examine whether we could extend the debate till Friday. I will find that out but I would think that extending it to Saturday would be perhaps cutting it too thin. If we have to extend it to Friday I hope the suggestion of Mr. Bhargava would be considered and I, on my part, would be in a position to indicate tomorrow morning definitely whether we can extend it till Friday. We shall certainly do so unless this dead-line prevents us.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If on Friday you are going to discuss this, on Saturday the non-official thing will come. Maybe we should come on Saturday and some of us may not like to speak to-day in that case.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): One of the suggestions before us is that we should sit on Saturday and get one more day for this debate and the non-official business can be passed on to Saturday but I think Saturday sitting is a very extraordinary thing and so many Ministers and Members also have their programmes set and as far as possible we should have our programmes prearranged in a way that they will not have to be changed at the last moment. If the House agrees I would suggest that we sit till 6 to-day and see how the business proceeds tomorrow and if even then the feeling persists that more time is needed, we could have the change as suggested which means on Friday we can have this discussion and the non-official business can go on to Saturday but for to-day I do not think we should take the decision right now and in this manner. So I suggest that we proceed till six and reconsider the whole thing tomorrow Mr. Gupta.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Then I can reply on Friday so that tomorrow the whole time could be devoted for the discussion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Our non-official day is not going to be given up on Saturday.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, first of all, in discussing this Appropriation Bill we must have a look at the Government which we have after the four general elections in the country because it is important what kind of Government we have specifically after the elections, how it is functioning and discharging its responsibilities even in regard to very routine matters. It will be agreed on all hands that we are passing through an uncertain political situation and also we are facing clearly a recession economically although Mr Morarji Desai would try to underplay the situation by calling it slump and not recession. I shall presently discuss that aspect of the matter but before I deal with the economic propositions, I would touch on some salient features of our political and administrative problems. Now it is clear that we have the Congress Government with a reduced majority but what should be noted here is that unlike in the past, the present Central Congress Government has become both a constitutional and a political anachronism. It has become a constitutional anachronism for the simple reason that as many as 8 States, maybe it will be the 9th day after tomorrow, are governed by parties other than the party which is in power at the Centre and these States, under the non-Congress Governments, as you know, even today accounts for 30 crores of population out of 50 crores according to the latest population figures. Naturally it is a very serious development because here is a Government in the Centre which is rejected under the Constitution even in constitutional terms at least in 8 States in our country. Therefore I say that on the face of it it is a constitutional anachronism. It is also a political

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]
anachronism because I say the mandate of the elections has clearly demonstrated that the policies pursued by the Governments that came as a result of the 3 previous elections have caused very great resentment in the country, so much so, that even the English papers have been noting that it was a resentment vote. These policies have been rejected politically and otherwise by the overwhelming majority of our people and yet what we find is, for partisan, political and for purely class reasons—when I say class reasons, I have in mind the capitalist class whose interest the Government has—and purely for these reasons they are not only continuing the old policies, discredited policies but they are modified, step by step, in a reactionary direction. Only today certain fertilizer concessions and other things had been discussed, I am told, in the Congress Parliamentary Party Executive, and strong resentment had been expressed against the Government—fresh surrender to the American and other Western agencies.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: How do you know?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If that happens even in the Congress Parliamentary Party, you can well imagine how the people must be feeling when the Government behaves in this disgraceful manner. Now therefore, I do not expect either political stability or economic recovery so long as the Congress Party is in power. Political stability can never come for the simple reason that an overwhelming majority of the people do no more accept the Congress rule and have rejected it at the State level.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: By crossing the floor, you mean.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, try to understand my point. I say it again; I emphasise the fact that at least in eight States the State Governments are such as would not like the

Congress Party to be in power. Previously, a majority of the electorate did not like the Congress Government to be in power and all this was a hint of the Congress Government's fall, and today, not only the majority of the electorate, but eight State Governments of the country, may be nine the day after tomorrow, would be happy if the Congress Government is ousted from power. This is the new element in the entire situation. Therefore, you rule here on the basis of no mandate from the people and on the basis of hardly any mandate from the majority of the States in our country, even if I include a State like Nagaland, Jammu and Kashmir, etc. Therefore I say it is a political anachronism. Now I know that problems cannot be solved under this Government. As I said before, more and more hints come to the forefront, in our political life today:

(1) A vacuum is being created on a national scale in the country's political life; (2) The need for a national alternative to the Congress; and (3) The supreme necessity for the replacement of the one-party Congress rule at the Centre by a democratic coalition Government. I say this thing because one-party rule at the Centre is out of date. Life has rejected it. Those days are over. That phase is over. And now, the sooner we get to that state—that historically determined state has come—the sooner we get to a non-Congress democratic coalition Government, the better for the country. Otherwise, the process is going to be extremely painful. Economic problems will not have been solved at all but, on the contrary, would aggravate. The political situation will become more and more fluid and acquire greater elements of uncertainty and instability.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Question.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore, I would like to make this point very clearly that Indian parliamentary democracy has passed the phase where, at the Centre, we are recon-

ciled to a one-party Government, and a new phase has opened where the order of the day is a non-Congress coalition Government, and naturally we stand for a democratic coalition Government at the Centre.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Where there is a majority, even then there should be coalition.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That you will not understand. And that Government, naturally, will take the place of the Congress. The Congress Government has got to be replaced. A rejected party cannot be thought of as a partner in the coalition Government at all. Therefore, the Congress Party's place as a Government has to be taken by a democratic coalition constituted by other parties. Unless that is done, there is no solution.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Who will replace the Congress?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now coming to the leadership, let us see what it is. Have we got really a Government? I wonder sometimes. We have got a thing called a Council of Ministers. We have got a Prime Minister. Now we have got an added decoration, a Deputy Prime Minister also. But that does not make a Government if it does not make leadership. Leadership and Government at the Ministerial level are something which we must judge by proper attributes, whether they possess the functional competence, the qualities of leadership, and the calibre to style themselves and call themselves a Government of a country like India. On all these counts the present Government is a colossal failure.

Take the case of the leader of the Government. She provides no leadership whatsoever. Neither she provides it, nor others extend to her the leadership. Both ways it is negative. Well, you see this thing; I need not say this thing.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: On a point of order, Sir. Can we discuss

personalities like that? How can he discuss the Prime Minister and her leadership and all that?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: She is the Prime Minister today.

(Interruptions).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We are not concerned with the Congress Party.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: This is not right, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. You are not establishing a good precedent.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now Prime Minister, we are concerned with. Mr. Akbar Ali Khan will always say such things. Of course I respect him very much. Therefore, it is nothing of the kind, number one.

Now people are calling it all names—I do not go into them. Ministers have become the chieftains in their departments. Now Ministers are not just integrated elements in a collective team because of the lack of leadership, collective and individual. These Ministers have become chieftains, and they are running their little empires, shall we say, under the paramountcy of the Council of Ministers or, if you like, under the paramountcy of the Prime Minister—all national things, all fictitious things. Now technically it is all right, but really, in substance, there is nothing which you can call the collective responsibility, the collective team and collective body, the Council of Ministers as envisaged under the Constitution. The result in such an administrative and political confusion is that Secretaries have become now the bosses, the real bosses, which they always were before independence, because this Government suffers from an inferiority complex as far as the I.C.S. people are concerned. When I meet these Congress leaders, I find somehow or other that they suffer from an inferiority complex as far as the I.C.S. people are concerned. Now I do not know why they should. Pandit Nehru was not feeling that way; although he was also a victim of that thing, he did not at least feel it intellectually. But here we find that our Ministers, mostly

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

illiterate for the tasks they have got—they may be literate otherwise, and they are—for the responsibilities they have got, lean on or look to the I.C.S. and other officers to prop them up. And they are taking full advantage of it. I need not name them, but some I.C.S. officers are more powerful than the Ministers, and the Ministers, in order to shine with their assistance in Parliament and elsewhere, have to rely on the I.C.S. people and the senior I.A.S. people. And some of them know how to exploit the weakness of these Ministers. The result is: We have got a kind of I.C.S. leadership given to us under the signboard of "Council of Ministers". We have got some people here, who dress themselves up as Ministers, but actually they are fulfilling the role of doing what the I.C.S. people or the I.A.S. people ask them to do. I do not know how things are going to change. Well, it is for the Congress Party to tidy up their affairs, but it is for Parliament also to take note of the fact that the collective responsibility to parliament, the responsibility of the Council of Ministers, as we understand it, is being negated in this manner by internal erosion, and subverted at the Secretariat level. But the Ministers are becoming, well, even at the policy-making level, secondary creatures, and the powerful officials, some of them, excel them in both the powers, in policy-making and in administration. That does not bid well for our parliamentary system or for our administration.

Then, Mr. Vice-Chairman, side by side there is going on a new power struggle within the ruling party. Among those who form the Council of Ministers, power equations are changing—I need not go into them. Previously it was Deputy Prime Minister *versus* Prime Minister; now we are told it is Home Minister *versus* Prime Minister—the Deputy Prime Minister is out of the run. We are not interested in it, but it is a demoralising thing from the administrative point of view. Every officer knows it, that the power

struggle is taking shape after the Election, with new forms and in a new way, and that, of course, creates confusion, and leads to certain very bad developments in day-to-day administration. Here I will say one thing. We had one Mr. Kailash Chandra as Secretary to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, who for four months was drawing salary without attending to any business at all, because the present Minister of Parliamentary Affairs did not like him. I am told, I understand that he was asked to issue a whip on the Presidential election, to the Congress members and it seems that this gentleman, Mr. Kailash Chandra said that it was a party matter and as Secretary to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs he was not expected to issue such whips. Somehow or the other Dr. Ram Subhag Singh took a dislike for him and clashes developed between him and the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs because the latter, we are told, was asking him to do things which should be done by the Congress Parliamentary Party or its officials and not by Mr. Kailash Chandra who is the Secretary in that Department.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, on a point of order. Can the hon. Member refer to an officer by name?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why not? There is no point of order.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, I want a ruling on my point of order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There is no question of any ruling. There is no point of order.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am requesting for a ruling from the Chair. I have a right to ask for it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know you have. All right. Let us decide that point. I am contesting it. Let us consider it. I shall defer my speech till this is decided. I say this is a frivolous and irresponsible point. You have asked for a ruling. I am contesting it. I say this is a frivolous

and irresponsible point. The Minister of State ought to know his business better. We discussed Mr. H. M. Patel. Was he present in the House? Did we not discuss him by name? Did we not discuss Mr. Bhoothalingam? Was he present in the House? Did we not discuss Dr. Teja of Jayanti Shipping Company? We have discussed these and other officers. We have of course, discussed Ministers. This is the ruling given. There are the past proceedings. This is the ruling given by Dr. Radhakrishnan and if you want to show disrespect to Dr. Radhakrishnan you can alter that ruling. I spoke about M. O. Mathai and as a result of it he went and the Prime Minister came and replied and an enquiry was held and here the Minister of State now tells us there is a point of order.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: You asked for permission to refer personally to M. O. Mathai—I remember it and you can refer to the records—and Dr. Radhakrishnan discouraged you from taking names. I remember that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Well, the past proceedings are there. I did mention M.O. Mathai's name and not only his name, but I gave his bank accounts day by day and his insurance accounts and his insurance policy numbers and so on. And you say I shall not mention names? And then Shri Jawaharlal Nehru went to Dr. Radhakrishnan and had a compromise, if you like it that way. So don't tell me this kind of a thing. Anyway, this is the position now. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not think you will alter the rulings that we have so far got here. Christian Keeler was discussed and these people say that I should not name persons? I am surprised. So I say the leadership now is so ignorant and the present Government consists of people who are utterly nervous, panicky and ignorant and very very touchy and sensitive in a very wrong

way, and here is an exhibition of it. I had the privilege and the honour of functioning in this House when his father Shri Govind Ballabh Pant was the Leader of the House and never did he tell me any such thing. But now the son is here in bad company perhaps. What can be done? I wish Shri Govind Ballabh Pant had lived to teach his son some parliamentary sense before he departed from us, leaving his son to take his place. I would ask the youngman to learn a bit of parliamentary sense.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Sir, is it right to claim seniority on the basis of friendship with the father of the Minister and exercise authority over the son?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have personal affection for him, with all his connections with the Birlas. I have lot of personal affection for him because I liked Shri Govind Ballabh Pant at the personal level. He has been good to me personally. Personally he has never been rude or harsh to me. I am criticising the Government. I remember Sir Stafford Cripps once said in England about a Conservative Member that every time he opened his mouth 10,000 votes were lost. I do not think my friend here will lose votes now; in any case there is hardly any vote to be lost. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am sorry a lot of time has been lost by these interruptions. To come back to my point, what I say is that this struggle for power is demoralising. It brings about a collapse in your administrative ability. Think about it and rectify it even within the existing framework, as far as possible. I do not mention about the Secretariat and other things. You see now there is Dr. Vikram Sarabhai who is now the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Everybody knows and I have heard it from the officials of the Government of India who ought to know, that he is 200 per cent pro-American. He said 200 per cent; not even 100 per cent. Well, this Dr. Vikram Sarabhai

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

is the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Now you see how the American lobby is getting their strength. They are getting more and more influential and your Jhas and Shahs and Singhs and all these people are coming and taking full advantage of the present weakness in leadership and the present confusion and mutual conflicts and so on. This is bad for the country. I am speaking in the larger interests of the country. I am not making a partisan point out of it.

I do not want to say much about the Centre-States relations. That we shall discuss on a non-official resolution. But this Government should realise that the Centre-States relation has got to be re-shaped. Well, they are doing things which have not been done even by the British in their days. Never before in our history has an ICS officer, after retirement been appointed Governor of Bengal or West Bengal. Certain Provinces like Bombay, Madras and West Bengal—then it was Bengal at that time—were left out of the range of retired ICS officers for becoming Governors. Now one ICS retired officer is the Governor of West Bengal and the people of West Bengal are agitating against him. Well, I do not say very much and yet everybody knows his connections.

Then again, see how they behave? Mr. K. K. Roy, the Home Secretary of West Bengal was sent away from his post in West Bengal, rightly or wrongly; I do not want to go into that. But immediately he was pitchforked here as Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs. All I can say is that this kind of thing should not be done. You have given him promotion when the West Bengal Government was thinking that he was not good enough for the particular job which he had held at the State level. How will that Ministry take it,

you can understand. You can understand how the public will take it. And yet we find that the quotas from the various State IAS officers who should be brought to the Centre, are not fulfilled properly and they are getting people whom they like. They are maintaining direct contact with the I.G.P. of West Bengal, I understand. This matter I will discuss later. I do not wish to say very much about it just now.

One political point I want to make. Please give me a little time. A lot of time was lost on other things. There is this report in the papers here. Shri D. P. Mishra after consultations with the Prime Minister and the Home Minister here had gone to Bhopal and he has made a statement yesterday and the impression is that this statement has directly or indirectly the backing of the Central Government. In one statement Mr. Mishra has said that he would not have a care-taker government even if he was invited to do so. He wanted to get rid of this malady of defection and he said that if there is a mid-term election he would teach them a lesson. Mark the words—teach them a lesson. Mid-term elections under the constitution are not envisaged for teaching a lesson to anybody. I can understand other people saying it. But when the Chief Minister says it to the Press that he is thinking of a mid-term election not for the purpose of respecting the Constitution, not for up-holding parliamentary democracy, not for any other reason connected with public administration but for teaching his opponents a lesson then I don't know what to say.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: He means teaching a lesson not to his opponents but to those who ran away.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You may discuss it in the party but the Chief Minister cannot say such a thing. Defections are permissible. If some people have defected it does not mean that such things should be said. Sup-

pose we say in Bengal some four people have run away to the Congress and so we want mid-term elections to teach a lesson to Mr. Atulya Ghosh and company, how would you feel about it? Therefore don't say such things. You may feel very unhappy about it; obviously you will be unhappy about it. But he is the Chief Minister. If say, Mr. Akbar Ali Khan had said it, I would not have taken objection but it is the Chief Minister who says that he would advise the Governor to hold mid-term elections; for what; to teach the Opposition a lesson, to teach the people who have left his party a lesson. That shows the Utter *mala fide* of this man. Even the Constitution is not safe in his hands. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you are in the Chair. I may say something very wrong. You may forgive me. The people may forgive me and they may not read very much into what I said. But if you say something from that position, it becomes a matter of public policy. It becomes a serious matter and it has to be considered by all sections of the people. He said that if he requested the Governor today to dissolve the Assembly on the basis of his having lost the majority, this would be based on mere conjecture howsoever correct but if he advised the Governor to dissolve the House in case he lost after a trial of strength, he would be on solid grounds, as he would then have the names and number of those Congress legislators who had defected at the time of voting. Now this is how he speaks. He wants to have mid-term elections so that he can have, in addition to all the other things he has said, the names of the Congress members who vote against him. That is the spirit of revenge, spirit of intimidation, a spirit wholly repugnant to the constitutional and parliamentary concepts. If a British Prime Minister had spoken in this language there would have been an uproar in the British Press and members belonging to all parties would have demanded that he should not occupy the first place in the Treasury Benches. But

here you see Mr. Mishra speaking like this. Where does he get the courage from? For him constitutional proprieties, etiquettes, rules and standards of public behaviour, conventions and practices of parliamentary democracy are all immaterial. He must take revenge against those who have dared to bring him down. Now the Governor will be advised and you can imagine what kind of *mala fide* advice he would give. What right would he then have after that to say that he has ordered mid-term elections in the interests of the people. He cannot possibly say that. Now, I am going to Bhopal tomorrow morning and I will study the situation on the spot but it is quite clear that I am going to a place where we have a Chief Minister who does not understand the A B C of parliamentary democracy but who believes in the Bastar mentality, the same mentality with which he raided the Bastar Palace and shot down people. It was musketry against some people; now it is musketry against the practice and principles of the Constitution. It is such a man you have got there. This is the creation of the Centre. To have stability they want this kind of intimidation; they want methods of brow-beating; they want methods of revenge, revenge against the Opposition and against those who dare to leave the Congress Party. I am very very glad that they have not said that they will punish the people of India, the sixty per cent of the voters, who did not vote for the Congress.

Now, I come to one or two economic points.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): You have taken a lot of time.

If you seek indulgence you should give indulgence.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I would ask the hon. Minister to consider those

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

points you have asked me to conclude; I will not take much time. As far as the economic side is concerned, I say we are in the midst of a recession. It is not slump; it is recession, a developing recession. Either we face up to this recession and reorganise our economy in order to meet it or we permit ourselves to be completely overwhelmed by the objective laws of recession. This is the reality today. Therefore I would suggest—not for the Government but it is for the nation to consider—that recession demands a complete reorganisation of our planning and economy. Dr. D. R. Gadgil a Member of this House has been appointed Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. As an economist he is good and right-minded. Also good views he has got, we know. But what will he do, having almost buried planning? Whether it is alive, I do not know. I do not know if it is in a state of coma waiting for the last breath. That is why he has been brought in. Mr. Asoka Mehta has proved not the caretaker of the Plan, but undertaker of our planning. After the undertaker has done his job, this person has been brought in order to put a facade. I say it is not a question of personality at all. It is important which people are there but the basic question must be gone into. The planning Commission has again been shorn of its powers. I am not for excessive powers but the main need before us today is that we must overhaul the entire concept of planning as we have understood it under the Congress. We want a Plan but two questions have to be answered first. For whom is the Plan and who shall pay for it? These are the two vital questions to be answered and the answer is that the Plan must be for the down-trodden millions, for the working people, and as for the paying part of it, the monopolists, the feudalists and the richer classes should pay. The Congress Government is so shameless that even after the AICC

has passed a resolution for the abolition of the privy purse they are openly stalling it and negotiating with the Princes in order to have a deal so that they may voluntarily reduce their privy purse and so that the Congress can assuage the public feeling on this question of the abolition of the privy purse. Therefore I say there should be a complete reorganisation of our planning and the money for the Plan must come from the upper classes, from the monopolists, from the former Princes, from the big landlords. It is absurd and astounding for any Minister of the Government to suggest that there should be a wage freeze. There cannot be a wage freeze at all. Wages are already far behind the prices. Prices are always ahead of the wages. On this question Mr. Dharia has already said what is needed. What is needed is control of prices. Prices must be brought down and the difference between the real earnings and the prices must go. That is what is needed. Therefore this is an entirely wrong idea, this talk of Mr. Morarji Desai wanting a wage freeze. Wage freeze will not be tolerated by the people. It is a preposterous and criminal suggestion. It is inconceivable that such a suggestion comes from a Government which claims to be responsible. As I have said, there has to be a reorganisation of our whole economy. Now I will tell you what we have to do; just one or two points. You have to strike against the monopolists. You cannot run with the hare and hunt with the hound. You cannot pander to the Birlas and also save the nation. You have to strike against the Birlas, Tatas, Dalmia Jains and the whole lot of them who with all their resources have a grip over our economy. What is the way to strike against them? The one method of striking is immediate nationalisation of banking. Mr. Asoka Mehta said that 650 accounts take away two-thirds of the total bank advances of the country and these 650 accounts

belong to the Birlas and so on. This money is placed at their disposal and manipulated to boost prices and indulge in speculation thereby enriching a smaller section of the people at the top and the common man is fleeced to the bone.

As it is, agriculture must be thoroughly reorganised. Land to the peasant must not only be a slogan but it must become a reality. If you can just do one thing, if you can just ensure, by putting your heads together, by mobilising your energies, your ingenuity and your resources, land to the tiller, then this great land of ours can flourish. We have 35 million acres of land in the country, but many people do not have land at all. As the second Report of the Agricultural Labour Commission has said, 60 per cent of the tillers have no land at all. If these people get land then the situation will improve very much.

Then foreign trade should be nationalised; it should not be left in private hands. A moratorium on debts should be declared here and now. It is a step internationally permissible. We shall not be doing anything wrong or improper in the eyes of the world community or as a member of the international community. That is very important. Our national debt has risen to Rs. 10,000 crores. We owe to the foreigners Rs. 5,000 crores and the Government owes Rs. 5,000 within the country. I do not know how you are going to handle this. Therefore, in order to meet such a situation we must tap resources from outside. This is important. Take over the oil companies. What is more, you must take a decision to nationalise some profit and revenue yielding concerns under the control of the monopolists which will bring money to the treasury and enable you to pay off a part of the debt and build up your resources. You will be surprised to hear that the Food Corporation had been given, ever since its inception, barely Rs. 26 crores for

buying operations, whereas it was calculated that in order to build up a buffer-stock of six million tons of food-grains—four millions rice and two millions wheat—they would require Rs. 450 crores. This is the calculation of the Food Corporation of India. If you allow for their turnover, then it may be Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 crores. As against that they have got only Rs. 26 crores. For the current year it is Rs. 6 crores. How can you procure food-grains? Food has to be bought. The Food Corporation has to buy it not for a song, but by giving money to the peasant, at incentive prices and remunerative prices. It is being starved and we create a crisis whereby Americans are in a position to dictate to us on the basis of food as to what we should do and should not do. I say State trading is essential. It should be developed. Prices must be held. The price-line cannot be held by the economic rhetorics of Mr. Morarji Desai. Prices must be brought under control and it must mean certain effective measures against the monopolists, certain reorganisation of our economy and certain operations in the market, but instead we are now going headlong, through our decontrol and delicensing, into a situation where free market operations become the order of the day. At a time, after devaluation, when we should take better care of our economy, when we should have grip over it, where it is needed and where it should be done, the Congress Government is unfolding a series of measures leaving the economy in its totality to free market operations. Devaluation itself was dangerous enough. Devaluation followed by free market operations is suicidal for a nation like ours. Therefore, I say these are the measures to be taken as far as the taxes are concerned. Mr. Morarji Desai's prohibition apart, I am glad that these Ministries are abolishing prohibition. Congressmen drink most and they call themselves prohibitionists. I had been to various parties. One day Mr. R. K. Nehru, the former Secretary-General in the

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

External Affairs Ministry, said: "Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you are not drinking, but Congressmen are drinking." There I find them. I do not name them. His idea was that it is the Communists who drink and Congressmen are prohibitionists. The trouble with Congressmen is . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: But you will agree that we must not encourage abolition of prohibition.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The trouble with Congressmen is this. Here they are socialists and then at the door they are Congressmen. Outside they are in the Swatantra Party and then sometimes in the Jan Sangh. You do not know this changeable personality. They are chameleons politically. You do not know. Some are good. I know some of them are colourful, as we say in Bengali "Bohurupee". It depends on what light falls on them and you see them in various colours. This is the position with regard to them.

Before I sit down I strike a note of warning. Here you have to reshape your economy, especially your relations with the States. Otherwise, it will come up more and more and you will be pushed to the forefront. There is need for readjustment of economic relations between the Centre and the States. They were conceived and formulated at a time when you never thought that there might be one type of Government at the Centre and different types of Government in so many States. Therefore, you reconsider it and refashion it. Mr. Morarji Desai says: "I will not give money to the States." Who is he to say so? He is the federal Finance Minister. As the Finance Minister he is not to see to the Government at the Centre only in the strict sense of the term. He is the fiduciary of the finances of the whole nation to which the State Governments also belong. Two-thirds of

the customs and other taxes have come from Calcutta. He is the fiduciary of those taxes. The Finance Minister should not talk as if he is a kind of permanently settled landlord and everything belongs to him. Yes, money control he has got too much. It should be diffused. Now, he should not say: "It is my money and I shall not give." No. This is a wrong idea of federation. You are the Finance Minister in a federal set-up. You must administer your finances from a federal point of view. From the point of view of federal economics that should be done. Mr. Morarji Desai can run into deficit financing. During the last three Plans deficit financing has amounted to over Rs. 1750 crores. Whenever he is short of funds he can do two things. He can resort to printing notes or printed money or he can go to the Americans to get money. But what can the State Governments do? They have not got printing presses to print notes, nor can they directly go to various foreign countries and ask for money. Therefore, it is all the more the responsibility of Mr. Morarji Desai not to dictate, but to understand the problems and difficulties of the various States and try to give them more powers. In fact, the Constitution should be amended to give more revenue-raising powers to the States. So long as this is not done, he should not be given more power.

Finally, one point. I take serious exception. I have given a calling attention notice and I do not know why it does not come up. It is my last point. When the West Bengal Government decided to take over the management of the Calcutta Tramway Company, which is a sterling company, the British Government sent an *aide memoire* to the West Bengal Government over the head of the Central Government. Now, it was not the Tramway Company which made that representation. They were doing it. But the U.K. Government, through its Deputy High Commissioner, went to the West Bengal

Transport Minister to present him an *aide memoire* in which he asked the West Bengal Government not to do certain things. Added to it was the threat that if the U.K. Government's note was not accepted, foreign investment in West Bengal would not come. I do not want to go into that aspect of the matter. It was an interference in the internal affairs of the country. A shameless threat was given by the British Government. Of course, we have stood up to it. The trams are being run by the workers under the management of the United Front Government. What about the Central Government? The Central Government should have taken note of it. If the U.K. Government had any objection in this matter, it should have come to the Centre. They should have made representations to the Centre, submitted their *aide memoire* to the Ministry of External Affairs, instead of going to Writers Buildings in Calcutta and submitting it there over the head of the Central Government. They did not feel even insulted. I ask you one question. Suppose we have some objection. Some company in Calcutta has some objection against somebody in England or against the British Government. Suppose that company asks the West Bengal Government or the High Commissioner for India to go and lodge a protest on behalf of the West Bengal Government. Now, the High Commissioner goes not to the British Colonial Office or the Commonwealth Office, but to the Scottish municipality. How would you like it? Suppose you ask your High Commissioner in London to lodge a protest and the protests directly on behalf of the Government of India, not to the Commonwealth Office, not to the Prime Minister of England, not to the Foreign Office, but, shall we say, in a matter involving the Scottish municipality to the Scottish municipality or to the London County Council. How would it look? I think it is a serious matter. I say this Government should condemn this action. This Government should call

the British High Commissioner in Delhi and ask for an explanation and ask him to communicate to the U.K. Government that they had no business in this manner to interfere in the internal affairs of our country. How we shall manage our trams, how much fare we shall charge from them, it is our business and anyhow the company is there to deal with it. Why the British Government should have come in? Secondly, we should lodge a strong protest and ask the matter to be communicated to Mr. Harold Wilson that the U.K. Government had no business under any diplomatic norm or etiquette or principle or standard to have ignored the Central Government, the only competent authority in such cases, and send an *aide memoire*, however preposterous, over the head of the Government at New Delhi to the State Government. Now I say that Mr. Jyoti Basu would be perfectly justified, Mr. Ajoy Mukerjee would be perfectly justified, in what they would do, to ask the Indian High Commissioner in England to communicate their indignation and resentment to Mr. Harold Wilson. I hope the Indian Government would not come in the way if the West Bengal State Government decides to ask the Indian High Commissioner in London. . .

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has raised a very serious matter, and the Government should make a statement tomorrow on this issue. If the British Government has taken this unusual step, it is derogation of the authority and sovereignty of this country, and we take a very serious view of it. I do not know why the Government should not make a statement.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I think he has made a very good suggestion. Only I shall not be here then.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: I entirely agree with the feeling expressed by my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta here

[Shri M. M. Dharia.]

and my friend, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, and I also feel that the Government should come and make a statement on this issue. It is a very serious matter.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am very grateful to my Congress friends here because it is now a national issue. They are quite right in what they said. The only thing is tomorrow I will not be here. I can leave it in the hands of Mr. Chandra Shekhar and Mr. Dharia. I have no objection. I have full faith in you in this matter. You can deal with it as you like. I have given a calling attention notice.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: But you should not advise the West Bengal Government to direct their communication like that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is what I was telling. The British Government has created a precedent whereby the West Bengal Government would be perfectly justified to ask the Indian High Commissioner to lodge a protest, because the U.K. Government addressed a communication to the West Bengal Government through its diplomatic agent, namely, the High Commissioner; so why the West Bengal Government should not be in a position to give the answer again through the Indian High Commissioner to Mr. Harold Wilson?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: On the contrary we shall request Mr. Bhupesh Gupta to request the West Bengal Government to send whatever correspondence through the Central Government, and also we request the Central Government to take a serious view of the matter. We stand by you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We want to be perfect in this matter. I raise this serious matter because you see the enormity of it, where it can lead to. I am sure if my friends are right-minded, the matter will be dealt

with in this manner, in the proper way.

I have given a calling attention notice, but somehow or other Naxalbari comes in. I do not know why. The national honour is at stake. The whole world knows how the British behaves towards us. It is our internal affair, and what business Mr. Harold Wilson has got to circumvent the normal diplomatic channels and to address such an insulting, interfering communication to a State Government which under our Constitution is not in a position to do anything in this matter as far as the diplomatic level is concerned? Therefore, I hope this matter will be gone into.

Again I thank you. I am very grateful that towards the end I have got the support of two esteemed friends, but I do hope that the Prime Minister would come and make a statement. If they are thick-skinned and do not make such statements, if they take things lying down, there are Congressmen here and there are others here who are sensitive enough to national honour and national dignity, who will certainly, whatever our other differences, join together in vindicating what is fair and just, honourable and dignified in our public life, in our national life.

Again I say that the nation needs a change of Government, replacement of it by a democratic coalition Government, and the sooner we arrive at this situation the better for the country. Otherwise we shall be ruining ourselves. That is the writing on the wall. That is the warning given by the life itself. The quicker we pay heed to the warning that has emerged from the life out of suffering and resentment and indignation of millions of our people, out of a nation-wide revulsion against the Congress rule, the better will be the future of this country whose interests and whose future are extremely unsafe in the unsuitable and misfit hands of the

present Union Government that occur a minute? I made enquiries about Minister may reply tomorrow.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, can I have a minute? I made enquiries about the time-table. You know the "Vote on Account" is up to July 31st. On July 31st the Presidential assent has to be obtained for this Bill. July 31st is Monday. On Sunday and Saturday the Lok Sabha will not meet. On Friday the message must be sent from this House to Lok Sabha. Therefore, if you propose to extend this debate to Friday, I suggest that it should not be extended beyond half of Friday. It should not overflow into the second half of that day. I want your direction.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: The Minister may reply tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): We may forego lunch recess tomorrow by which we may get more time, and the Minister can reply late in the afternoon.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: If necessary, we are prepared to have non-official day on Saturday. Otherwise, Friday we are not prepared to forego as non-official day.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): That is in case we have it on Saturday.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: The Finance Minister may be called for reply at 5 P.M. tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): Tomorrow we are sitting through the lunch hour and Government reply can start at 5.30 and conclude whenever it is convenient to do so.

I do not think there is time for any further speech now. Anyway, Mr. M. C. Shah may begin his speech

SHRI M. C. SHAH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity though it is the fag-end of the day.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): You can continue tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 27th July, 1967.