

[Mr. Chairman.]

Is it the pleasure of the House that permission be granted to Shri M. J. Jamal Moideen for remaining absent for all meetings of the House during the current session?

(No hon. Member dissented)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Permission to remain absent is granted.

THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 2) BILL, 1967—continued.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

SHRI M. C. SHAH (Gujarat): Madam Deputy Chairman, in the first place I would like to congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for presenting a balanced Budget to the country without any recourse to deficit financing. Only yesterday he has stated that he is averse to deficit financing and that he is not going to resort to it even in the future. That is very healthy sign, Madam. Only yesterday the Plan for the current year 1967-63 was presented to Parliament. The Plan provides for an expenditure of Rs. 2246 crores and that Plan has a deficit financing of Rs. 14 crores and even then there is a resources gap of Rs. 54 crores. Thus only half the resources needed for the Plan could be raised by the Centre and the States. Even then it has been stated that everything depends upon the trend of the monsoon. If the monsoon is good everything will be all right but if, God forbid, the monsoon fails, even these figures could not be reached. It is therefore clear that in spite of all the developments that we have made within the last two decades, our entire economy depends upon the monsoon. Agriculture is the main source of income for the country and for agriculture good rains contribute greatly to its success.

Madam, the country today is faced with several very important and very delicate problems. We have two hostile neighbours always conspiring to humiliate and to harass our country;

I mean Pakistan and China. Then we have the problems of population explosion, of increasing unemployment, students' unrest, unrest in several sections of the people, agitational approaches etc. as a result of which several human lives have been lost and several public and private properties have been destroyed. We see the Communist Party playing a very subtle game in our country under the guise of democracy. Then there is the shortage of essential commodities; the price spiral is always going up and new problems are added without the old problems being solved such as the Naga hostiles, the Mizos, Kashmir, etc.

Madam, recently we had the general election and the general election has evolved a new pattern of Governments in our country. There are non-Congress Governments in certain States and Congress Governments at the Centre and in some other States. It is therefore very necessary that the relations between the Centre and the States should be re-examined so that both function in an amicable and cooperative manner. Madam, I am of the opinion that where as a result of the elections non-Congress Governments have been formed they must be allowed sufficient time to display their capacity and their ability. They have given several promises of providing a clean administration, of rooting out corruption, etc., etc. and therefore it is not proper for any of the Congressmen to try to topple those Governments. Let us see how they work. If they succeed it is a lesson to us also and if they fail it will be a lesson for them. Therefore these non-Congress Governments should be given proper time so that the people can evaluate them. I am personally of the opinion that in spite of what has happened Congress is the only party which can function as a national party, which can provide for the integrity and unity of the country but in spite of this if it is the pleasure of our people, of our electorate, to choose certain non-Congress parties—and because no party has been elected as a

majority party in these States if several opposition parties combine together and form a Government nothing like that—let them function in their own way and let the people judge how far they have succeeded in implementing the promises they gave to the electorate . . .

Madam, defence is the main problem for our country nowadays. All the three wings of defence, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force must be modernised and the country should bear cheerfully whatever expenditure is necessary to modernise these three wings of our defence. It is also necessary to keep in view other developments. We learn that China has exploded an atom bomb. Pakistan is trying to get the process from China and one should not wonder if Pakistan is persuaded or goaded to explode an atom bomb on our country and therefore our policy of not going in for the atom bomb requires to be reassessed. I personally feel that for the defence of the country, for our own country's independence, it is necessary that we should also go in for manufacturing the atom bomb.

Madam, next to air, water is the prime necessity for our people but I was surprised to find that in the Third Five Year Plan a provision was made for Rs. 27.25 crores for supplying water but unfortunately there was a saving of Rs. 5.25 crores. That shows how inadequately we are functioning even in the matter of supply of this essential necessity of our people. I am told that even now at the end of the Third Plan there are about 55 per cent of the villages which have not yet got adequate good water supply. It is therefore necessary that we should give serious attention to this problem. Even after twenty years of independence people do not have good adequate safe water supply. It is something we should be ashamed of and therefore whatever expenditure is necessary that must be provided in the Fourth Plan so that at least 40 per cent out of the 55 per cent of the vil-

lages could get adequate water supply.

Madam, we have seen that China has occupied about 12,000 sq. miles of our territory since 1962 and Pakistan has been in occupation of one-third of Kashmir since 1947. Even recently Pakistan has taken possession of certain villages in one of the Districts of West Bengal but I am afraid that some feeling of complacency has overtaken our Government and our people. Since the last twenty years that part of Kashmir is in illegal occupation of Pakistan and what have we done for it? Nothing practically. China has grabbed 12,000 sq. miles of our land and we have done nothing. And the strange thing is that Pakistan considers India as its Enemy No. 1 but still we are extending the hand of friendship to Pakistan off and on and Pakistan rejects that hand contemptuously without any grace whatsoever. The last such effort was made at Tashkent. Though it was aggression from Pakistan, the Indian Army was victorious and the Indian Army was in occupation of certain important places in Pakistan but somehow at Tashkent it was decided that we should hand over whatever we had taken as a matter of grace or as a matter of treaty and we did it. But after that what has been the result? How does Pakistan treat India? How does Pakistan behave with us? Therefore I am afraid that this extension of our hand of friendship to Pakistan since 1947 has not resulted in any good atmosphere and therefore this policy requires to be reassessed. Perhaps they feel that India is weak and therefore India is not able to take any action. That feeling must be removed and new policies must be adopted towards Pakistan. We see a new spectacle of Indians being pushed away from all countries where they had settled since generations. From Aden, from Burma, from Ceylon, from Kenya and from other African countries; lakhs and lakhs of Indians have been driven away to India. What is the burden

[Shri M. C. Shah.] on the Indian economy to rehabilitate them? They are Indians. They are welcome to India, but what is our position? How is it that not a single country is afraid of this big country India? Nobody feels that by this treatment of Indians India will be annoyed or India will not like it. Unfortunately for us that image has gone. Nobody cares for us and Indians settled for generations there who were citizens of those countries, have been pushed away. (*Time hell rings.*) What is the time that you have given me?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Fifteen minutes. There are a number of speakers. The House will sit through the lunch hour and the Minister will reply at five o'clock sharp. During that period we will have to accommodate as many Members as possible.

SHRI M. C. SHAH: I will try to be as brief as possible. During our war with Pakistan, though it was an aggression by Pakistan, not a single country came to our help, neither militarily nor even morally. Nobody supported us. Nobody criticised Pakistan. Recently in China, in Peking our diplomats were humiliated and maltreated and it was against all canons of international law and diplomacy and even then it is strange to find that not a single country condemned China for its ill-treatment of our diplomats. Therefore, I have a feeling that the times of Pandit Nehru are out. We had a unique personality in him. He had unique respect in the international world. Those days are gone. Therefore, I would say that in international matters, in world affairs, the leaders of our Government must learn to maintain silence. Instead of offering opinion on all questions in the world, we must try to learn where we should be silent and where we should speak. Of course, where it is in the interests of the nation, our Government and our leaders must speak. What we saw in the recent conflict between

the Arabs and Israel is, though Russia claimed to be the great friend of the Arabs, Russia did not utter a single word in favour of the Arabs during the conflict. After the conflict is over, Russia tries to go to the UAR, tries to cajole Nasser. That is all right. But during the conflict Russia uttered not a single word.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Not even Pakistan.

SHRI M. C. SHAH: My friend, Mr. Dharia, said yesterday that our progress to socialism is slow. He is a young man and naturally he must be anxious to speed up our progress towards socialism. If youngsters do not feel anxious, who else will? But I request him to just see what our tools are to reach that goal. What is our machinery? Yesterday I put a question. It was a Starred Question. Unfortunately it could not be reached, I asked the Government what was the total investment in the public sector undertakings and what were the profits earned or losses incurred by these undertakings. As it could not be reached, no supplementaries were put, but the substance is this. There are 74 such undertakings. Out of them 31 made a net profit of Rs. 17.5 crores. One neither earned profit nor incurred loss and eight incurred losses totalling Rs. 7.9 crores. The 14 promotional and developmental undertakings made a net profit of Rs. 1.3 crores. Seventeen projects were in the construction stage during this year. So, out of 74, 71 projects made a total profit of nearly Rs. 26 crores with an investment of Rs. 2918 crores. Mr. Dharia yesterday said that 25 crores of our people are hardly earning 50 P. per day. It is true. But then what is the remedy? Is it suggested that if we take over everything from those who have, it will result in increasing it from 5 P. to Re. 1? It is not possible. Therefore, the only alternative is to go in for production, more production, and then the question of distribution will come. Unless there I

production what are we going to distribute? Is poverty to be distributed? Therefore, let there be no disincentive to more production and higher production. Government's hands are long enough to take away what is necessary and then distribute it in an equitable manner.

I would submit regarding agriculture that the Reserve Bank, the State Bank and the scheduled banks have not been able to give adequate credit for agricultural purposes and it is, therefore, necessary that we must have a central agricultural bank under a statute of Parliament, wherein the scheduled banks, the State Bank and the Reserve Bank may be partners. It is necessary that these banks must have offices in rural areas and they must provide credit worth Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 crores for agriculture. Unless this is done, it is impossible to revive agriculture to the position that we like it to occupy and for that purpose I would request for this bank. We know the poor farmer is not credit-worthy. He has only his land and the future crop. The crop may come up or may not come up. But I feel that his land must be considered to be sufficiently credit-worthy to advance him loan that is necessary for bringing out good crops. For that, perhaps it may be that for some years to come the banks in the rural areas may not earn. I would, therefore, request that the rate of interest in the urban areas must be higher than the rate charged in the rural areas. Whatever we earn from the urban areas may be made to compensate for the lower earnings in the rural areas. Unless this is done, I am afraid agriculture will not improve. Further, I want that on the Board of Directors of such a bank, businessmen and industrialists should find no place. Only those economists who are familiar with agricultural economy and those financial pundits who have sympathy for agriculture should be on the Board. If this is done, I am sure agriculture will receive necessary credit in a short time.

There is a move to reorient the Planning Commission. Dr. Gadgil has been appointed as the Deputy Chairman. It is a very wise move. I would request that the Planning Commission must be told to do what it is expected to do. It is an expert body giving advice. It is not an executive body. The Planning Commission must prepare its Plan and then the performance of the Plan they may evaluate. Their report will be placed before Parliament. It is for the State Governments and the Central Government to decide how to implement whatever is necessary from what is recommended by the Planning Commission. The Administrative Reforms Commission did not recommend that the Prime Minister or any Minister should be on the Planning Commission, but I feel that it is a wise decision to associate the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister with the Planning Commission. Planned economy is a 'must' for a developing country like ours. Planning is one aspect and its implementation by the executive is another aspect. The Planning Commission, therefore, should not be burdened with any executive functions. That must be left to the Government.

Lastly, modern agriculture is a 'must' for our country. For decades, more and more agricultural production should be our slogan, should be our goal to be achieved and that will lead our country out of this economic morass.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Madam, I would like to make a few observations on the various Demands, and I would first take up the Demand of the Home Ministry. Yesterday there was a calling attention motion on the Naxalbari situation, and there was reference in that motion to the broadcasts made by the Peking Radio. One of the broadcasts, I remember, related to quotations from police reports of the West Bengal Government, that is to say, what the police officials had reported

[Shri A. D. Mani.]

about the Naxalbari situation was put out by the Peking Radio. It is quite clear that the espionage work of the Government of Peking is quite effective and that there is a good deal of leakage of security news to China. If this is the situation, I would like to ask the Home Minister whether he would allow this state of affairs to continue. I think a situation exists today in West Bengal which calls for an official of the Central Intelligence Bureau being posted in West Bengal to co-ordinate the activities of the State Ministry with the Central Government, because if there is an official of the Central Intelligence Bureau in West Bengal, it will be a sort of a check on espionage activities which are now going on in a very strategic part of our country.

I would like to go on to refer to the law and order situation in Kashmir. The public of the country has been greatly agitated over the burning of churches and a good deal of fear has been expressed by the Minorities over the protection of places of worship in the Kashmir State. One of the surprising features of the burning of churches is that hardly any policemen are to be found when a church is attacked. I am told by my hon. friend, Mr. Tariq, that the house of the ex-Chief Minister was attacked and there was no policeman to safeguard the house. There has been a complete break down of law and order in Kashmir which has been instigated by elements which are hostile to the country. I would again repeat the suggestion that I made in respect of the West Bengal situation that an official of the Central Intelligence Bureau should be seconded to the Kashmir Government with their consent so that we may put an end to the espionage activities in the State. Though as a result of the efforts of friends like Mr. Tariq and others in the other House a Commission of Inquiry was appointed, presided over by Mr. Justice Rajagopal Aiyangar, to go into various

transactions which involved corruption and though the Commission has reported, there is a good deal of discontent that the money which has been spent on Kashmir in respect of industrial development has been wasted. I think there is a case for a full-fledged inquiry into the manner in which the money for industrial development has been spent in that State, and I hope that this matter would be taken up by the appropriate Ministry with the Government of Kashmir.

Madam, I would like to go on to the Demand of the Posts and Telegraphs Department. The Posts and Telegraphs Department does not figure in discussions in either House because there is nothing sensational about the Posts and Telegraphs Department excepting when they raise the rates of postcards or telegrams. Madam, I think that the telephone user is being milked dry by the Government in order to maintain the Postal Department. I have got some figures about the P. & T. Department. There are 470,000 employees of the P. & T. Department in the country of which 330,000 are employees of the Postal Department; the rest belong to the Telegraph Department and the Telephone Department. I think the Government should set up a Ministry of Telecommunications immediately and separate the Telegraph and Telephone Department from the Postal Department. In order to enable air letters to be sold at 10 Paise—we are not paying for the calls because we are Members of Parliament and we get free telephone connection—an ordinary telephone user has to spend 20 Paise for each call. It is the telephone user who is subsidising the cheap postcards and the cheap air-letters, and I feel that the telephone user being a very useful member of the community should not be fleeced for maintaining the Postal Department. If the Postal Department is to be maintained, let it be maintained at a loss as part of the public amenity which the Government gives to the

people, but the telephone user should not fee asked to pay for increase in the cost of the Postal Department. As I said, with 330,000 employees and higher dearness allowance to those employees, the telephone user in order to help them will have to pay more and more for the telephone calls that he puts. I would like to mention here that Pakistan has also separated the Postal Department from the Telegraphs Department. Three years ago, as my hon. friend, Mr. Kaul, would remember, there were two Directors General; there was a >y General of Posts and there Director General of Telegraphs. This has been combined now. The comination has not been useful to those who use telecommunications in tht country, and I feel that these two Departments should be separate. If necessary, a separate Ministry may be created for Telecommunications. I have already made this suggestion. Japan, in this connection *j* may mention, runs its telecommunications through a Corporation. The result of this experiment has been that there has been an increase in telephones in Japan from half a million to 16 million. In our country there is a waiting jist of 250,000 for telephones and we are not able to meet the demand because the Postal Department takes away much of the revenue which comes from the Telecommunications Department, and I hope Government would give serious attention to this aspect of the mater. If business is to expand in the country, there should be a further expansion of the telephone facilities, and this is not possible as long as the Postal Department is combined with the Telephone Department. Whenever we book a telephone call, please remember we are subsidising the cheap postcards. Tnjs is a form of taxation which cannot be defended.

The hon. Prime Minister is here and I would like to make a suggestion—and this is one of the Demands I wanted to deal with, that of the Department of Parliamentary Affairs

—namely, the question of Members of Parliament who retire after a period of ten years. In England—I hope that this will not be considered a frivolous suggestion—a Member of Parliament wh₀ has put in ten years is given a modest pension. There are a large number of Members of Parliament who are in indigent circumstances. A Member of Parliament who is thrown out of Parliament is not a cinema star who has faded away from the screen. He is not in a position to maintain himself, and after having been in Parliament for ten years he cannot seek any gainful employment either. It is very difficult for such a person to be absorbed. I would suggest to the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs that the question of a pension of Rs. 150 to Members of Parliament, who have put in ten years' service, may be considered, and I feel that this is the barest minimum of assistance to Members of Parliament when they retire after ten years' service. They should get the assistance of the Contributory Health Scheme, because one who has given ten years to Parliament is entitled to some kind of assistance from Parliament and from the State, when he retires from either House.

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated): It will not be a burden on the exchequer.

SHRI A. D. MANI: This matter should also be considered.

I would like to go on to the Demand of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Recently it has been announced that the All India Radio for the programmes of the Bombay Station would be accepting advertisements from the 1st of November. I happened to be the Vice-Chairman of the Small Newspapers Committee which went deeply into the economies of the small newspapers in the country, and I can say, that as a result of the knowledge which I gained when I was the Vice-Chairman of the Committee, that radio

[Shri A. D. Mani.] advertising in the country will kill the small regional newspapers. The newspapers in the metropolitan towns of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras can survive but the upcountry newspapers, the newspapers published in small towns, will be seriously affected by the advertising on the All India Radio. Madam, one of the arguments that has been put forward is if All India Radio does not accept, the advertisements will go to Ceylon. But one of the reasons why Ceylon programmes are popular is that they play film records from Ceylon, and on account of certain crudity in our taste we somehow do not like to make an elaborate display of film music—and film music has contributed largely to enriching the music of the East. If All India Radio improves its programmes, there will be greater number of listeners of the All India Radio programmes all over the country, and even on commercial grounds there is no need whatever for Government to resort to advertising to maintain the All India Radio. In 1965, radio licences yielded Rs. 8 crores and the All India Radio spent Rs. 6 crores. That is, Rs. 2 crores were the contribution made by these licences to the Central Exchequer. It is almost a profiteering on these licence fees. As a matter of fact, there is a case for reducing the licence fees also. Further, the number of licences grew from one million in 1954 to six millions in 1965.

Similarly, the Chanda Committee the Report of which we have not had the pleasure of discussing in this House, said that as a result of the All India Radio accepting Government advertisements, cinema slides may disappear but the newspapers are not likely to be affected. Madam, advertising on the radio and television has led to the disappearance of the New York Herald Tribune in the United States and also to the disappearance of a large number of regional newspapers in Great Bri-

tain.; The Christian Democratic Party of West Germany which considered the matter in great detail recommended that advertising should not be accepted by radio stations in West Germany. The Pilkington Commission in the United Kingdom recommended that more regional broadcasting stations should be set up but that there should be no advertising on the radio. I know that this position was taken by the predecessor of Mr. K. K. Shaw and Mr. Shah, being the diplomat that he is, has asked newspaper men to sit on the Board of Management on advertisement of the All India Radio. I wish that members of the newspaper organisations will not accept his invitation. We do not want to sit on the Board which is going to kill small newspapers and the regional newspapers in this country and I hope that the Prime Minister will look into the matter. She also has had some experience of the newspaper industry and she has been in charge of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. And I would appeal to her to see to it that this question is deferred for consideration till a full study has been made of the effect of the advertising on the All India Radio on the regional newspapers in the country.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY (Mysore): That has been examined.

SHRI A. D. MANI: It has been examined *ex parte*. My hon. friend, Mr. Gumpada Swamy was a member of the Chanda Committee. But no newspaper representative was examined specifically on this question. If he had been examined, he would have told the Committee that these advertisements on the All India Radio are not going to improve the quality of the programmes, but would be going to kill the newspapers in our country.. This is the opinion of West Germany; this is the opinion of the United States. They feel that this is a very strong

competitor and I hope that this proposal will be given up by the Government and I hope also—and I am making one appeal to my newspaper-friends—that they will not sit on this Committee. This is one way of the Committee getting ourselves committed to the scheme of advertisements on the All India Radio.

Madam, I would like to go on to the Ministry of Civil Aviation and the reported move of the Ministry to raise the air fares by 15 per cent, on the IAC routes. I know that the IAC has suffered a loss of Rs. 4.6 crores and that there has been a 50 per cent, rise in the air fares since the time when the airlines were nationalised. This is the result of nationalisation—we have sent up the air fares by 50 per cent. Madam, the Indian Airlines Corporation, unlike Air India, is very much an old-fashioned institution. We still depend on the Dakotas and we have still pathetically to depend on the Viscounts. And we have now gone in for the Avro-748. It is perhaps not very well known that each Avro costs Rs. 82'53 lakhs and that the cost of operation is Rs. 2,800 per hour. It is very uneconomical to use the Avro Jets. Because somebody started with the Avro experiment some years ago, the baby has been handed over to the Indian Airlines Corporation. And Air Marshall Lall who has been connected with the IAC has been pressing for the retention of the Viscounts. The Viscounts have been taken off the routes in Europe. But still we want to retain the Viscounts on our routes. I hope that substantial money would be placed at the disposal of the Ministry of Civil Aviation to enable them to buy modern jet aircraft for inland routes. Unless the Indian Airlines Corporation employees a modern fleet, it will not be possible for it to bring down the passenger fares.

Madam, I would like to go on to one other matter, about this question of the privy purse of the Princes. This matter is coming up for discussion later in this House. I would like to mention here that I had made the suggestion

many years ago, when I first entered Parliament about seven years ago, that we should not take away the privy purses of the Princes but we should, make the holder of the privy purse the holder of an office of profit. The objection is not so much to the privy purse as to the fact that a prince who has got a privy purse is taking a very active part in public affairs and is able to utilise his privy purse in order to improve his electoral chances.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR (Madhya Pradesh): You are wrong.

SHRI A. D. MANI: This question of principle has been discovered now. We want to have a privilegeless society. But the main reason has been that the Princes have emerged as an active political force in the country.

DR. B. N. ANTANI (Gujarat): Why not?

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am coming to it, I am developing my argument. They should have the right to take part in politics. But not only is a privy purse given to them. There are a large number of other privileges which are allowed to them, grasslands, meadows, 17,000 acres for one Prince, etc. All these are not subject to any taxation. It gives him an unfair advantage over the poor chap . . .

DR. B. N. ANTANI: You signed the agreement.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Otherwise, he would not have agreed to partition. You were so anxious for partition; you were anxious to make everybody sign this agreement.

I would like the Government to follow the United Kingdom's example where an Earl who wants to enter Parliament as Sir Alec-Home did, give up his position. The Earldom passed on to his successor. Similarly, if a Maharajah wants to enter politics, let him give up his position so that it may pass on to the successor. The

{Shri A. D. Mani.]

Privy purse is reduced according to the agreement which has been signed *and* after some time all these privy purses will go. It will be a tragedy if we break off the faith of the Princes. I am not very much an admirer of the Princes. But having put it in the Constitution, it is not fair for us to take away these privileges because the "Western collaborators who have invested money in our country would say that all your assurances are worth nothing and that they are just scraps of paper which should be thrown into the waste paper basket.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: What about your honour?

SHRI A. D. MANI: It is a question of honour, it is a question of Mahatma Gandhi's honour also because he has been the founder and father of this country. We should ask ourselves—this was done in history, in course of time we would have to look after ourselves—whether he would have done this which has been suggested to us that we should take away these privileges which have become a part of our Constitution and which we are bound to honour as long as the Constitution lasts.

SHRI G. R. PATIL (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the Appropriation Bill. I would like to make certain observations regarding certain demands. The first in the Schedule is the Demand of the Ministry of Commerce. As far as the affairs of the Commerce Ministry are concerned, particularly so far as the export trade is concerned, it was expected by the country that after devaluation there would be a boost to the export trade. But unfortunately the exports have fallen. In regard to indigenous and traditional commodities like tea, jute, cotton and others, the time has come when we shall have to make an enquiry about the fall in export, particularly tea and jute. I was in England last year when I did make enquiries with the Tea Board there and I found that the Ceylon Tea Board was competing with

us. Not only that. The tea from Ceylon was getting more market in the United Kingdom than the Indian tea which was hitherto topping the list. It is argued that because of a shortfall in the production of tea the export of tea had fallen. But I was told that because of the inferior quality of tea that is being exported to the United Kingdom the Indian tea was not much in demand there.

The export of other traditional commodities, particularly jute, too has fallen. Strenuous efforts should have been made to see that the export trade is boosted up; otherwise whatever foreign exchange by way of export we are earning we are spending it over import of foodgrains.

Madam, it will be seen that during the last three years we have imported foodgrains to the tune of Rs. 1,200 crores. I may point out here that even during the year 1964-65, when agricultural production was the highest in the country since planning began—it was 89 million tonnes—even in that particular year our country has imported foodgrains to the tune of 6.7 million tonnes worth Rs. 266 crores. During 1966-67 we have imported 10.4 million tonnes worth Rs. 377 crores. During this year also, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation has stated that foodgrains at least worth Rs. 525 crores shall have to be imported.

Besides this, it will be seen that we have to spend a lot of our earnings of foreign exchange for payment of shipment and freight charges in foreign exchange which during the last three years from 1963-64 to 1966-67 has come to Rs. 229 crores. It is a shame, Madam, that for the last 18 years the country has had to face insufficiency in foodgrains. Many target dates were fixed for attaining this self-sufficiency but unfortunately we could not achieve it. Always it is argued and reply is given in this House that because of drought conditions or famine conditions in the

country we could not fulfil the target laid down. Now for the attainment of self-sufficiency the target date fixed is 1970-71 in which year it is estimated that the country will be in a position to produce 120 million tonnes of food-grains. This year also a target of 100 million tonnes has been fixed. But as you know, Madam, it all depends on good and better rains. So if we do not get better and proper rainfall our entire economy fails. I, therefore, feel that all depends upon monsoon. If the monsoon does not come to our rescue, I am afraid the entire economy of this country will be more and more in a serious condition. So I would like to urge upon the hon. Minister to see to it that steps are taken to step up agricultural production by way of intensive cultivation methods or by way of high-yielding variety programme which requires no doubt better seed, fertiliser, insecticides, pesticides etc. Besides that, it does require one more thing, and that is the study of the various regions of this country. Even Dr. Swaminathan has mentioned this particular thing. He says:—

"Apparently, what has gone wrong is that in a hurry to achieve a major breakthrough in grain yields through the use of high-yielding seeds, the Government has not undertaken a comprehensive scientific study of climatic and soil conditions, the biological and environmental implications or the supply potential of various inputs before widespread distribution of the new seeds."

Therefore, a survey has to be, first of all, carried out and then it should be decided which seed is suitable for which soil and only the crop which is suitable should be raised in a particular soil.

There is another important thing as far as the new variety programme is concerned, namely the traditional character of agriculture has to *go*. It has to be reformed and transformed. Not only the plough but the person behind

the plough also has to be transformed. Therefore, the Agriculture Extension Service has to be strengthened.

Madam, as far as the Agriculture Extension Service is concerned, I may say that conceptually we have one of the finest extension net-works but functionally it is not as efficient as it ought to be. This is also the opinion of Dr. Swaminathan, Director, Indian Agricultural Research Institute. Extension workers in the villages, according to me, have little to extend by way of knowledge or improvements. There is urgent need to increase their technical competence.

I am sorry to say, Madam, that those officers who are well-versed, very competent, efficient in this particular technique of high-yielding variety, they are kept in office for administrative work while those who are little experienced are kept with the farmers. Therefore, the farmer cannot get his advice as far as the introduction of the new variety programme is concerned. Whenever they approach an Agricultural Assistant for any problem, the latter is not in a position to give them proper guidance. Therefore, in order to get more and more out of this intensified programme it will be much better if experienced and senior-most officials are kept in charge with the farmers. Then alone we can achieve some better results as far as this programme is concerned.

Then, Madam, not only the use of fertilisers and seeds but use of insecticides and pesticides is one of the important factors. Similarly, price is also one of the most important factors. Unless the agriculturist is assured a better price the programme will not eldsatisfactory result.

Price is a factor which will determine whether this crop should be taken or not. We have not fixed the agricultural prices. Even today what is being done? An Agricultural Prices Commission has been set up under the Food and Agriculture Ministry

[Shri G. R. Patil.]

which fixed up the prices of agricultural commodities from time to time. But it does so in respect of rice, paddy, jowar, wheat and sugar. But they have not gone on to other agricultural commodities. Here also the prices offered are not incentive prices. The price should be such that the farmer should be attracted to take to the cultivation of a particular crop. Now he does not know whether he will get a good price for his commodity in the market. So the present set-up of the Agricultural Prices Commission should be revised. Instead of having only experts in the Agricultural Prices Commission you should associate with it some progressive cultivators also; they should also be the members of the Agricultural Prices Commission. They should also be allowed to take part. Only then this entire programme of agricultural production can be stepped up.

Madam, my humble submission to the hon. Minister is that as far as the fixation of price of sugar is concerned, disparity has been shown from State to State. I need not repeat here that the sugar prices fixed for the Maharashtra State are the lowest in the country. I do not know the reason behind this when every one knows that one-fourth of the sugar production of this country comes from Maharashtra. It is a well-known fact that the co-operative sugar factories which are turning the face of Maharashtra State, particularly the rural area, they are being pushed back by not giving them a better price. I may say only one thing. I do not know why other States have been given more and more price while the sugar-producing Maharashtra is totally ignored. Is the sugar produced in Maharashtra less sweet compared to other States? Let us know if it is bitter.

Then some of the Commission's recommendations have not been implemented and even if they have been implemented they have been implemented only half-heartedly. When the

1 P.M.

Sen Commission itself has recommended that the fixation of sugarcane price should be based on a sugar percentage of 9 per cent. The Government has fixed the price at 9.4 per cent. And there is increase for every additional 0.1 per cent. This is a great injustice. Maharashtra, as you know, is better suited for sugar factories and sugarcane. In other States, as for example in U.P., there may be some districts or some parts where better sugarcane can be grown; but the yield in U.P. and Bihar and in some other States is only 14 tons per acre while the yield in Maharashtra is 40 to 45 tons per acre. Even one acre of land in Maharashtra can give more sugarcane than four acres of land in U.P. and Bihar. So compared to these things, it will be seen that an injustice has been done. Therefore, I will urge upon the Minister to see that this disparity is removed. If at all the co-operative sugar factories cannot be given a better price, I would urge upon the Minister to see that there is decontrol of sugar. When other manufacturers come forward to the Government with some proposals, the Government accepts them. For example, if the cement manufacturers come forward with a proposal for an increase in the prices of cement, Government accepts that. If some textile industrialists come forward with a plea for increasing the cloth prices, the Government accepts that. But why is Government not accepting a rise in sugarcane prices, particularly for the co-operative sugar factories consisting of only the producers? Only the agriculturists are members of the co-operative sugar factories. So no middle man or rich man is going to be benefited. Only the small farmers are going to be benefited. So, because of this injustice, the co-operative sugar factories in Maharashtra have come into trouble as far as the next year's crushing programme is concerned. So I humbly submit that the prices should be revised and in case this disparity cannot be removed, there may be decontrol.

As far as the fixation of the price of cotton is concerned, when the Agricultural Prices Commission is associated with fixing of prices of agricultural commodities, how does the Textile Commissioner come in and fix the prices of cotton? This is something strange, if the prices of agricultural commodities are to be fixed by the Agricultural Prices Commission, then why is the Agricultural Prices Commission not fixing the prices of cotton also? Let the Textile Commissioner be associated with the Food and Agricultural Ministry. At least the Agricultural Prices Commission should be allowed to fix the prices in consultation with the representatives of the growers. I know there are textile mills which are complaining that because of the rise in cotton prices, they are not getting sufficient quantity of cotton or raw materials and, therefore, they are forced to close down. Whenever the question of better prices for the agriculturist comes up, these industrialists can always close down their factories, but the agriculturist cannot close his industry. If at all he decides not to go to the land and till it, what will happen? They are not united and, therefore, they are being exploited. Therefore, I would urge upon the Minister to see that the prices are fixed in such a way that a minimum is assured to the cotton growers. If that is done, I am quite confident that the country's need of cotton can be fully met by our growers themselves.

Another point that I would like to mention is with regard to these minor irrigation projects. Much has been said about it here also. In the Fourth Five-Year Plan certain minor irrigation works have been sanctioned. I do agree that minor irrigation works will give quick results and thereby we can increase the agricultural production. But the major irrigation works should not be overlooked. Yesterday, Mr. Dharia pointed out—very well—that the irrigation potential of Maharashtra is much more but the actual utilisation is only 8 to 9 per cent. But

some other States are having more and more irrigation projects. As far as the Nagarjunasagar dam is concerned, an assurance was given in the Lok Sabha on March 12, 1963, by the then Minister of Irrigation and Power that the second stage of the Nagarjunasagar Project will not be taken up until the question of diversion of Godavari water into Krishna was settled. Now we find that the second stage work is also being undertaken.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): May I clarify the position? The stages are on the basis of financial allocation. But so far as the irrigation part is concerned, we are still in the first stage. I assure my friend that we will not take a drop more than that what we are entitled to. So Maharashtra need not have any anxiety about it.

SHRI G. R. PATIL: What my friend says is true, but the anxiety and fear in the minds of the people of Maharashtra is there) that if once the second stage of the Nagarjunasagar Project is undertaken, Maharashtra will not be getting the irrigation potential which it is having. Therefore, I urge that this question must be cleared first. If it cannot be settled, under the Constitution a tribunal can be appointed and the matter can be decided. Both Maharashtra and Mysore are vehemently not in favour of the construction of the second stage of the Nagarjunasagar dam. Another point I would like to mention is about the two major irrigation projects for Maharashtra, particularly the Kukadi project which is being demanded by Maharashtra since the Second Five-Year Plan. Madam, it may be seen that this entire area was surveyed by a British Engineer in 1905. This area is a famine-stricken area. Famine is certain there every year. Therefore, it was urged by Maharashtra that this project should be given top priority. By spending some 32 crores of rupees, we can irrigate with this project 1 84 000 acres of land and the famine-stricken taluks in the Nagar District

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Parner, Karjat, Karmale and Shri-gonde—will become the ganaries of Maharashtra. Therefore, I urge that this project should be given the topmost priority as far as the major irrigation projects are concerned. Another project is Dudha Ganga project. That project also is being demanded by the Maharashtra Government and the Maharashtra people since the Second Five-Year Plan. By spending Rs. 16.25 crores on this, 1,65,980 acres of land can be irrigated. This project also is very important. If the Kukadi project is undertaken, I am sure that the famine-stricken areas of Nagar District and Poona District will be benefited. The Dudha Ganga project, if it is undertaken, will supply irrigation potential to more than 2 lakh acres of land and thereby benefit the people of those particular areas. Thank you.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: Madam, a few days back we had a discussion about Madhya Pradesh and nobody from our Party from that State could participate in that discussion. I do not blame anybody but I must express my resentment and also disappointment that we could not take part in that debate. Therefore you will kindly excuse me if I make a brief reference about the state of affairs in Madhya Pradesh at present in this Appropriation Bill although it is not very much relevant.

Many things were said by Members opposite from the Congress Benches about certain things and allegations were made on the floor of this House that M.L.As who have defected from the ruling party have been interned, have been locked up, have been beaten or they were provided with drinks and that they have been forced. I want to repudiate all these charges. The fact is, on account of their frustration or disappointment or because of the high-handedness of the Chief Minister of the State, they were disillusioned and therefore they crossed the floor.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I understand they are still under

custody. They have not reached Bhopal.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: all wrong. They have reached Bhopal and you will see the result tomorrow.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: But they are not able to reach anybody.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: All the 153 M.L.As. of the State were here for 3 days, they met all the dignitaries of the State, they met the President, the Prime Minister and even some of the Central Ministers also met them and tried to persuade them but because the Central Ministers were not successful in their efforts, allegations are being made again that they have been coerced and kept in detention. This is all false. The same allegations were made on the floor of the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha and the Leader of our Party totally repudiated this and said that the Chief Minister is very well versed in cooking up stories—these words were used there—and so the whole story was cooked up and there was not an iota of truth. So there is not an iota of truth in the allegation at present.

The second thing said was that the Opposition is afraid of elections. Nobody is afraid of the elections and I am sure if elections take place, whatever remains of the Congress in Madhya Pradesh will be no more there. The Congress will be completely wiped out.

AN HON. MEMBER: Question.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: You may question but you will see. Before the fourth elections also you were questioning but you have seen the results and you will see the results now also. The proof of the pudding is in the eating and not in questioning. But my submission is whether the elections are really necessary at this moment. The State has suffered two successive droughts and the whole economy of the entire country—and also of that particular State—is in doldrums. It is estimated that about Rs. 5 crores will be required if the elections are to take place again. "What.

are the mid-term elections? It is only four months since the elections took place in this country. Had 2 or 3 years elapsed after the elections, the mid-term elections would have been justified. So I think there is no necessity for having a fresh election. Fresh elections can take place when certain contingencies arise. Does it mean every time a few Congress leaders cross from one side to the other, that elections should be resorted to? I do not think it is a correct approach. If that is to be so, why do you not press that election should take place in Bengal because 5 M.L.As. from the United Front have gone to the Congress? Why do you not have elections in Rajasthan? There are so many defectors who are joining still in the Congress ranks and even recently in Parliament one of the M.Ps. belonging to the Opposition Party has been admitted to the Congress Party. Why do you not press for elections for the entire country in such circumstances?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): You press and we shall support.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: Why should I press for an unreasonable thing? If you have guts you hold the elections and you will see the results. You will not come even in this number. Therefore this double-standard is not at all appreciated. You should have one standard and you should apply it everywhere. After 1962 elections, in 1963, the Congress Party did not get a majority in Madhya Pradesh and in order to stabilise the position the Chief Minister tried to smuggle some of our M.L.As. and form a Ministry. At that time nobody, not even the smallest Member asked for . . .

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar): You say that we smuggled at that time and you smuggle this time.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: We do not smuggle. I am coming to the principle. Even if a few cross the floor, that does not make the condition for elections. When the parliamentary procedure is exhausted, when

absolutely there is no possibility of running the Government, then in that condition only, elections should take place, not every now and then, when a few people may cross the floor. That is what I want to submit.

I do not agree with the contention of the Minister that the position of the Governor is entirely constitutional. He has a dual personality. In some cases the Governor has to abide by the advice of the Chief Minister or of the Government but in certain matters he has to watch to see whether Constitution is being worked properly. He has to take the oath under the Constitution that he will uphold the Constitution and wherever there is a breakdown of the Constitution, he has to uphold it. Wherever there is a break in the parliamentary practice or convention, he has to uphold and rectify it. I can quote a number of instances where in this very State the previous Governors refused to abide by the advice of the Government. To quote an instance, the Government passed a certain land Act some time in 1963 and there was a lot of agitation and the Opposition Parties staged demonstrations and courted arrest. So the Governor refused to sign that legislation and he sent that matter to the Central Government. So cases are not wanting where the Governor had not been a rubber-stamp only of the State Government. He has also an obligation under the Constitution to see whether really the Constitution is being worked out properly under the provisions of that particular enactment.

What is the latest position in Madhya Pradesh? The Chief Minister has been given a blank chit, The Central Government has abdicated its responsibilities. In fact the Central Government should have advised the Chief Minister that he should face the legislature and if he loses the vote of confidence . . .

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI I. K. C. PANT): How is it constitutional for the Central Government to advise?

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: Under article 356 it is the Centre's responsibility to see that the provisions of the Constitution are followed in the various States.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): The same party is controlling both in the 'Centre' and in the State.

SHRI K. C. PANT: That is stretching the point.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: The Cabinet also has agreed more or less—these are Press reports—with the views of the State Chief Minister. I am not interested in your party affairs but it was reported that the Central Cabinet is also very much in favour of the stand of the Chief Minister. The normal parliamentary practice would have been to ask the Chief Minister to face the legislature and if he wins all right but if he loses, the Governor ought to find alternate remedies and if, in that case there is no possibility, then he should have..

SHRI K. C. PANT: Should the Central Government also advise the non-Congress Chief Ministers and would it be binding on them?

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: If there is a breakdown they should. Where are we heading to? Do we want to make this country one unitary Government or a loose federation of various States? I will come to this point later. The Constitution provides that there should be a strong Centre and the Centre must exercise its authority in an effective way.

So at present the chit has been given to the Chief Minister. Now supposing tomorrow this happens, the Budget has not been passed in the Assembly and supposing tomorrow the Chief Minister loses the confidence of the Assembly, what is the remedy? The remedy may be that the Chief Minister may advise the Governor to dissolve the

Assembly, and if the Assembly is dissolved, then President's Rule will prevail there. The Budget will not have been passed by the Assembly there. The Budget will be passed in Parliament, a Vote on Account, or some such thing. And then elections may or may not take place. If such a contingency arises, whether fresh elections are to take place or are not take place in Madhya Pradesh, the present Government must not be allowed to remain in power, and if it remains in power, then I am afraid that there may not be fresh elections, that blood may flow on the streets of the State, that there may be mutual bickerings and mutual fights, and I do not know what stage will come. Therefore it is the duty of the Central Government to watch these proceedings. It is no use my saying who wields more power and influence in the Assembly now, whether the present Chief Minister and his party, or some others and their parties. It is not that the Central Government cannot do anything to put it to test. Such a weak-kneed attitude is not required or should not be followed by the Central Government. In this contingency, therefore, I want to sound a note of warning. If at all elections have to take place—I hope there will not be any need for fresh elections if the combined opposition's strength in the Assembly is put to test—there should be President's Rule. Of course I do not want to comment on it; it will be almost bureaucratic rule. But if the present Ministry remains in power till the elections are over, then the elections will not be fair and free and again the history will be repeated, the history of Bastar incidents. Even at present, in Madhya Pradesh, almost everywhere, in almost every major town, there were Bastar-like incidents going on. So, if the Central Government is really interested in the Constitution being worked well, they should force the Chief Minister to resign and then hold free and fair elections.

Now a mention was made about the privy purses. We are discussing it

next week, but now I would *like* to say a few words about that also. Now, Sir, our party has been demanding the abolition of privy purses and special privileges. We had been demanding it all along, but whenever we had been suggesting it or suggesting other things in our policy and other policies, we were ridiculed. But now, after twenty years, the Government woke up from its slumber, and they now want to abolish the privy purses. We are not against the abolition of the privy purses or special privileges. But I want to ask the Government this. What were you doing all these twenty years even though the demand was being made? Who glorified them. When the Princes were ruling, even then there were *Praja mandals*. The Princes had formed their own parties. We contested their parties and they were completely routed in elections. It was the case till power was transferred. At that time, the Princes' nominee, however high in society, he used to lose his deposit. But when power came to be transferred to Indian hands, almost all the Princes came to the Congress fold. The Congress adopted them and for the last ten years the Congress utilised their money, their influence, their resources, everything. When the elections came to be held we were the only party to fight against this feudalism, against this princely class, and we did so in all the elections. In the last election also we fought against these former Rulers. Of Course we suffered badly, but we did not regret it. For the last ten years the Congress Party utilised them, and now the Princes realised their strength. They thought that if they could be exploited by the Congress, if they have so much influence, if their resources could be utilised in that way and could attract public opinion and secure their votes, why not they themselves join other parties? (*Time bell rings.*)

Madam, I got twenty-five minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have fifteen minutes as put down here.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: But I thought I had twenty-five minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. You may have twenty minutes, five minutes more. There are lots of speakers still.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: So, they thought that they could fight on their own or they could join other parties. Now because they are becoming inconvenient to the ruling party, so this slogan or this new thought of abolishing their privy purses and their special rights has arisen. And that has brought about a hue and cry among the former native Princes. I am not against the abolition; they should do it. But to think of it only now does not show the *bona fides* of the ruling party. As at present, there are many rulers in the Congress Party and there are many rulers in the opposition parties, and what I am saying is that by merely abolishing their privy purses or their special rights nothing is gained for some time to come at least because they have all joined hands now and are in an entrenched position. Wherever they were fighting the elections, the weaker among them, on their own, they or their nominees, as contestants in the elections, have forfeited the security deposits and given way either to Congress Party candidates, or to candidates of opposition parties. So they have consolidated their strength. They have got so much strength in their own areas that for some time to come, by merely abolishing their privy purses or their special rights the problem would not be solved. The problem will be solved only if an integrated movement is launched against them. Then and then only the problem will be solved. The sin was committed by the ruling party during the last ten years and it will take years to wipe out that sin. Then probably a new clean slate will be there where this princely influence will not work, and I am afraid that for some time to come this is going to continue, and along with the Congress Party the other democratic parties also will have to suffer for some time to come. I am very sorry that the Congress rule of twenty years has brought about this state of affairs.

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This is the condition after twenty years of their rule.

Now, Madam, I would like to speak about another problem. Only yesterday the Report of the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education was given to us. It is a very good report. I think it is an ideal report or it cannot be implemented, and it is too premature also in certain respects to think of its implementation. I would only mention one thing. There is a Minute of Dissent given by one hon. Member and I entirely agree with it. The Report suggests the two-language formula, the mother tongue, and Hindi or English. This is the formula, but the Minute of Dissent given on page 32 is very rewarding and I wish the Government take note of it. It is paragraph 3 on page 32, and it reads:

"In our anxiety to formulate a language formula, we should not forget that the official language question is not settled as yet."

As for myself, I am in favour of the three-language formula, but so long as the issue of official language has not been settled, either the Commission or the Parliament or the Government should not decide anything regarding education, regarding the language policy. The Minute of Dissent further reads:

"The language policy on education should not be utilized as a backdoor method to implement or to introduce the official language which is under question. While there can be no two opinions that there should be unity among the diverse groups in India, it should be clear that unity is not to be confused with uniformity, and link language is a question to be decided by the people and shaped by time in the process of evolution."

That means it is no use making haste and saying that English or Hindi or both would continue. As far as I am concerned, let things proceed calmly. Let the languages develop. There should not be any insistence, or fanat-

icism, as it is called, on any question. Let all the languages be developed. Let Hindi be with English. There should not be any insistence at the present moment that education should be imparted through the mother tongue or Hindi or English or any other language. So this Report is premature, and the sooner Government decides something in this regard, the better it would be, and till the Government decides about the language policy, this Report should be kept in abeyance.

About education there are many matters to be said about girls' education and the neighbourhood schools, but since I have no time, I will not place my views on these although these matters require reconsideration. All the same I should say that there is neglect in the matter of girls' education. You visit some of the girls' schools in any State. You will be surprised to see that in one class there are about 75 to 80 students. There are not enough teachers, not enough furniture, not even enough sitting accommodation, and thereby their education is very much neglected. In the matter of education this Report recommends that there should be this thing and that thing—which requires crores and crores of rupees—whereas in the Budget provisions there is hardly anything left. So this will be just another report on education. There have been so many reports and this will be one more report which will adorn the book shelves of the Education Ministry, and I doubt very much if this will be implemented.

Now mention was made about telephones and the posts and telegraphs system. I would mention a few points about it because there have been many complaints about the working of the telephone system. References have already been made to this matter. It is said that arrears of telephone payments total to about Rs. 6 crores. I do not know the break-up of this figure and whether Departments of the Government alone owe this much amount or whether

ordinary subscribers owe this much amount. There is now a new method adopted by the Telephone Department by which they disconnect without giving much notice. Previously they used to give registered notices. But now the procedure is that they just inform you on the telephone. It does not matter whether you are there or not, whether your family members or your servants are there or not. They just inform you on the telephone and the next day the connection is disconnected. By the adoption of this new method the honest subscriber is put to a lot of trouble and loss. I have referred to this matter on many occasions and I have also written to the Ministry. Yet nothing is being done. The whole system of collection of the telephone arrears requires reconsideration and this new method should not be there and this arbitrary method mentioned in the present high-handed order of the Telephone Department should not be continued. When the connection is removed for getting a re-connection you have to pay something like Rs. 20 or Rs. 40. Therefore, this matter should be looked into and something should be done to remove this defect. *(Time bell rings)* I will wind up just now, Msdam,

About general inefficiency I have to say that I am sorry that when previously we were criticising the State Administration and saying that in their offices the files do not move and that letters are not replied to, this is the state of things in the Central Government also now-a-days. I have got a case in hand as an illustration. A certain person applied for licence to start a medium-scale industry. For about 3 years the file was pending with the Industries Ministry and after three years he got the reply that it had been transferred to the Ministry of Petroleum. Then this Ministry of Petroleum for one and a half years has been sitting over the matter. This is the state of affairs. You try to meet the officers, but the officers are not available. They are

often on tours. They are on tour for weeks together. And when they come back they say they have so much of work pending before them that they have not time to meet you. They are so busy. In this way you are not able to meet anybody and you don't get a reply. If this is the way that files are disposed of, I don't know how the work will go on.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must wind up now. You have taken more than the allotted time. There are many more to speak and if one speaks for longer time it means the others will get less. If one speaker spoke for longer time it is not an example to emulate.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR: I will finish just now. With regard to the Administrative Reforms Commission it has been pointed out that this Commission has been doing its work and that it has submitted an interim report and so on. But there is a fear in the mind of the public that the Government may not after all accept the recommendations of this Commission, that all this labour would be a loss. We have seen what has been happening to the recommendation on the Planning Commission. Whether you agree with the recommendations or not is a different matter. The A.R.C. submitted an interim report and the Government has changed the suggestions and they want to adopt their own way. I would like to ask why such a commission is at all appointed if its recommendations are not to be accepted and followed. There is also a general feeling that the Government or rather the Prime Minister was reluctant about the appointment of this Commission. I do not know whether the recommendation of this Commission would be accepted by the Government or not and if accepted, whether they would be followed by the Government or not. I am afraid they will take a long time to accept the recommendations of this Commission. I do hope, therefore, that the Administrative Reforms Commission will finish its work soon and that its

[Shri R. S. Khandekar.]
recommendations [when sent to the Government will be considered in right earnest by the Government.

SHRI p. C. MITRA: Madam Deputy Chairman, this is an Appropriation Bill to provide a certain sum from the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the expenditures of the Central Government, excluding the Railways, for the financial year 1967-68. Though it shows that the total sum asked for is over Rs. 14,000 crores, in reality the expenditure is estimated to be not more than Rs. 4,584 crores including about Rs. 510 crores for repayments of interest on public debts and other obligations.

Since the mid-term appraisal of the Third Five Year Plan, it has been accepted by all, including the Government, that top priority should be given to Agriculture, Irrigation and Power, in order to make the country self-sufficient in foodgrains and other agricultural commodities within a short period of time. But a study of the Bill as well as the Budget proposals that were placed before us in May last, shows that the Government do not give that much of importance to Agriculture and Irrigation that the situation demands. Out of the total estimated expenditure of over Rs. 4,000 crores during the year, provision of about Rs. 107 crores only has been made for the Ministry of Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation. The sum includes the capital outlay of Rs. 32 crores or so under this head. A paltry sum of Rs. 53 crores has been provided for Irrigation and Power. So many schemes of different States for irrigation that have the potentiality of irrigating millions of acres of land have either not been taken up for execution or those works had to be slowed down for paucity of funds. The Union Government functions in a peculiar manner. They are, I am afraid, prisoners of outmoded administrative rules and conventions. While the Food and Agriculture Minister certainly with the concurrence of the Fin-

ance Minister has publicly announced in this House that money will not stand in the way when it comes to saving the people of drought-affected Bihar and actually they have made very generous aid and loans to the State Government for that,—they are not so generous in helping the State to permanently stop the recurrence of famine conditions in the State by the full utilisation of the water resources of the State by means of hundreds of major, medium and minor irrigation works. This has been the state of affairs in other States also. I would like to draw the attention of this august House to the contrast that is evident so glaringly in the figures given in this small Bill. While an aggregate provision of Rs. 160 crores has been made for Agriculture, Irrigation, Power, Community Development and Cooperation, a colossal sum of Rs. 715 crores has been provided for the purchase of foodgrains and fertilizers. I am not against the purchase of foodgrains and fertilizers, whether under PL 480 or for cash payment, in order to meet our deficit. But I fail to understand why our Government does not appreciate the proposition that our marginal deficit in food can be wiped out for the present at least, if even fifty per cent of our cultivable land gets irrigation facilities. A solution of our food problem will not only usher in economic stability but it will also enable us to follow an independent foreign policy.

This brings me to the question of foreign policy. In our foreign policy it is apparent that while we sometimes cause a wound we never strike. This is due to our dependence for our food on the United States of America, the Soviet Union and other countries. In determining* our attitude on each issue, we always look at two great Powers and we are seldom guided by our enlightened national self-interest, consistent with our basic policy of non-alignment. In my view, we have been compelled to take recourse to this position primarily due to our dependence on food imports. Of course,

there are many other reasons for our playing second fiddle to these great Powers. But the primary cause is our food deficiency. I wish that our country had the courage to follow a dynamic non-alignment policy like the U.A.R. which did not hesitate to break off diplomatic relations with certain Western Powers the moment they had reasons to believe that those Powers were actively sympathising with the cause of its enemy. Recently it has appeared that American weapons have been coming through West Germany to Pakistan and the other day America also declared that they are giving spares to Pakistan to rebuild their damaged planes and tanks. Have we the courage to take any steps against these Powers except sending Protest Notes? I feel that our adherence to the policy of not using our atomic potentiality for the manufacture of the atom bomb is not based on idealistic grounds but due to an apprehension that both the United States of America and the Soviet Union will stop aid the moment we take the decision to manufacture atomic weapons. Madam Deputy Chairman, it is wrong to say that atomic weapons have no defensive potentiality. The reality is just the contrary. The United States of America and the Soviet Union have accepted the co-existence theory in spite of so many causes of difference and that is due to the fact that both these countries possess atomic deterrents. And they know that if one tries to annihilate the other, the other one also will be annihilated. The day we will be in possession of the atom bomb and a perfect delivery system the threats from the two neighbouring countries will disappear and then only we will be able to give our full attention to the economic development of the country. It should be noted that no atomic Power has been attacked by any country or by a combination of countries and that itself proves its defence potentiality.

Now I come to the vexed problem of land and labour. We have tried for a

long time to reform the land system by means of legislation and through Government machinery and it has been proved that it is not possible to be done due to many causes. One of the causes is that the vested interests are very strong and besides the present law and the courts always cause delay in the implementation of any proposal. Madam, in 1948 the Bihar Government, the Congress Government, passed a law for the restoration of land to certain aboriginals who are called Tana Bhagats there and who had been dispossessed of their land during the 1930 no-rent campaign and agitation. Till 1965 litigations have been going on and many of the aboriginals who were so dispossessed of their lands could not be given possession due to these litigations. Naturally they were discontented and other parties took advantage of this situation with the result that even during the Congress regime the people who suffered for the independence of the country had to be imprisoned and sent to jail for their agitation in connection with their lands. You should remember that these people of Ranchi, Singhbhum and Santhal Parganas are causing trouble in Naxalbari. They went there as agricultural labour. There they were not given land; they were only asked to work on land. Not even full share of the crop was given to them and the result of it was that there was discontent and the Left Communists—the so-called adventurists as they are called by the Left Communists—have exploited them and taken up their cause and these unsophisticated people have become the victims of their machinations. The problem really is they have been working on the land but without any land for themselves and they have been suffering for a long time. Naturally we have to find out some ways and means by which these landless people can get land without delay. In this connection I would like to quote from a letter which was received this morning. It says that a seminar is being organised by the Gandhi Peace Foundation, Gauhati

[Shri P. C. Mitra.] Smarak Nidhi, the Delhi Sarvodaya Manual and others. It says here:

It is indeed unfortunate that in spite of 20 years of freedom, the land problem continues to remain as one of the major problems facing the country. We have failed to find any effective measures to redistribute the land to ensure higher standard of living to the peasants and increase agricultural production. The land reforms measures adopted by the various State Governments have also not brought any desired results either for its faulty and halfhearted implementation or due to of social conscience.

have so far witnessed that the only recognised method to solve the land problem by peaceful means is through the State machinery but, all the efforts by such machinery have been abortive because of the manipulation of vested interests and indifference on the part of the Government. In recent years the country has also witnessed another non-violent and voluntary effort under Vinobaji to bring about land reform by creating social consciousness among the people where people voluntarily agree to socialisation of their land. To leave this a safe untackled would be dangerous to the interests and unpatriotic groups. I always try to take advantage of such a situation to organise violence and lawlessness to achieve political ends as did happen in Nagana and is happening in Jharkhand and other parts of the country. To avoid any such situations it is therefore imperative that immediate and positive steps should be taken to solve the land problems non-violently."

These people are not agitators; they are peace-loving people and they also feel, that the present Government machinery cannot solve the problem and we have to take some other way. I feel that if necessary the Constitu-

tion should be amended and here I have got a suggestion to make.

Instead of the Supreme Court having the final say in the matter, the State legislatures should be given the powers just like the House of Lords and the Privy Council, to finally decide cases arising out of land distribution matters. A Government comes into power after promising that they would do this or that in their manifesto to the people. But if these cases go on dragging for years together in the courts, for ten years or fifteen years, since a Government remains only for five years, they cannot naturally fulfil all their promises. Therefore the State legislatures should be given special powers in regard to this matter and their decision should be final and no court will have any right to interfere in these matters. And any law made by the Government regarding land reforms should come before the legislature for review and their decision should be final. We have roused social consciousness of the people; we have asked the people not to believe that Providence has made them poor, that they have every right to live decently. But then if we cannot provide for them a decent living, naturally other parties with their agitational methods step in and lead them astray. It is no wonder that the people come under their influence. So if we want to stop these things the only way is to give power to the respective State legislatures to decide cases in connection with land reforms. I know what is the difficulty for the Left Communist Party in solving land problems in West Bengal though they are in the Government. They could not do anything revolutionary because there is a coalition of 14 parties. Besides they also know that any person can go to the court and can get an injunction. So they knew that they would not be able to distribute the land immediately. Therefore the extremists among them took the line: first give the possession to the landless people and then ask the other party to go to the court. This is the way they have moved.

I would like to say something about labour also. The labour situation also is not properly dealt with. Even in the public sector, in H.E.C., in N.C.D.C., I find there are a lot of troubles and the authorities there are trying to take advantage of the differences among the Unions. The legitimate demands of the workers are not met. It is unfortunately true that a number of Unions have been formed in public sector institutions as well as in private sector institutions but if the demand of the labour is genuine you have to deal with it. You should not say that the other Union does not accept that proposition and so you would not accept it. This is not the way to deal with these matters. In the N.C.D.C. for over a month a strike has been going on and some of them are on a hunger-strike but the authorities do not care at all. If the labourers are forced to return to their jobs because of hunger, then do you think that they will be contented labour? Do you think you will be able to get proper service, good service from them?

(Time bell rings.)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up. You have taken more than fifteen minutes and I think the Congress Party should make it as ten minutes for each Member.

SHRI P. C. MITRA: In the same way, in Telco Jamshedpur management have introduced a new wage scale and that also they tied to impose on everybody saying that ultimately they will have to spend more than what they were spending. But the workers are not ready as they are getting less than what they were getting before. We had gone to the Labour Minister. He said that we have no right. Under the law we have no such right to enforce anything about wages, salaries, etc. Only after the Engineering Workers' Wage Commission gives its report they will try to persuade them. This is not the way. If there is any defect in law, we 926 RSD—7.

must rectify it and make the management agree to a reasonable proposition which the Government wants to be implemented.

With these words, I thank you and I support the Appropriation Bill.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) :

उपसभापति महोदया, एप्रोप्रियेशन बिल पर हम लोग विचार कर रहे हैं। कल ही वित्त मंत्री ने लोक सभा में अपने बक्तव्य में कहा और इस बात को दोहराया कि हम घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था इस देश में समाप्त करेंगे। यह अजीब सामंजस्य है कि कल ही जो द्वितीय वर्ष के लिये योजना प्रकाशित की गई उसमें 54 करोड़ रुपये का गैप है। आज हम डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग से बचना चाहें यह बात समझ में आ सकती है लेकिन उसके साथ उठने वाली चीजें अगर मेल खाती हुई न हों तो केवल ये बोल्ट घोंघणों हमारे देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को मुधार नहीं पायेंगी। इस बजट में भी 15 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा है। गजेन्द्र गडकर कमीशन की रिपोर्ट केन्द्र ने कम से कम स्वीकार करना तय किया है और उसका मतलब साफ है कि करीब साठ करोड़ रुपये प्रतिवर्ष केन्द्रीय सरकार को अधिक लगेगा। जब केन्द्र में गजेन्द्र गडकर कमीशन की रिपोर्ट को स्वीकार किया जाय तो यह स्वाभाविक बात है कि प्रांतों में भी उसका परिणाम हो और इसके लिये वहां मांग उठ रही है केन्द्र से सहायता लेने की।

श्री के० सी० पन्त : केन्द्र ने अभी तक कोई निर्णय घोषित नहीं किया है।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : खुशी की बात है अगर फिर आप इसको समले में डालना चाहते हैं तो यहां के जो साधारण रकबा का पता चला है उससे लोगों का यह अनुमान बना। प्रांतों से इस बढ़ते हुए खर्च में सहयोग करने की मांग उठ सकती

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह मंडारी]

है। यह बात सही है कि केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल और वित्त मंत्री इस मामले में अपनी जिम्मेदारी से हटने की बात कह रहे हैं लेकिन ये सारी चीजें ऐसी हैं जिनके कारण केन्द्र और राज्यों में वित्तीय सम्बन्धों के प्रश्न खड़े हुये हैं। आज भिन्न भिन्न क्षेत्रों में यह विवाद बन रहे हैं और हम उनको टालने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। अगर अभी से हमने उसके लिये योग्य पद नहीं उठाये, अच्छी परम्परायें निर्माण नहीं कीं तो कुछ ही दिन के बाद एक समस्या के रूप में खड़ी होगी। अतः डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग न करने की भावना अच्छी है लेकिन इसके पक्षण ठीक दिखाई नहीं दे रहे हैं।

सारे देश के औद्योगिक ढांचे में एक स्थिरता का निर्माण हो रहा है। पिछले कुछ दिनों में मूल्य बहुत मात्रा में बढ़े हैं। इन सारी चीजों के कारण ही यह रिसेशन आया है जिसका सारे क्षेत्रों में मुकाबला करने के लिये सब लोग चिन्तित हैं। जब पिछले दिनों अपने देश पर पाकिस्तान का आक्रमण हुआ था और हम मजबूर कर दिये गये थे विदेशी सहायता को प्राप्त करने के लिये उस समय इम्पोर्ट सब्सिडीयूशन के आधार पर अपने ही साधनों को बढ़ा कर अपने यहां के औद्योगीकरण को आगे ले जाने की एक हवा पैदा हुई थी, लेकिन युद्ध बन्द होने के बाद एकदम से नान प्रॉजेक्ट एंड के चक्कर में हमने डिबेल्यूशन तक का निर्णय लिया। हम समझते थे कि उसका नतीजा यह होगा कि हमारा विदेशी व्यापार बढ़ेगा लेकिन उस क्षेत्र में हमें उदासीनता हाथ लगी है और उसका परिणाम यह हुआ है कि आज साधनों के अभाव में हर एक क्षेत्र में कटौती, छंटनी और फिजिकल टारजेट्स को भी कम करने की बातें चली हैं। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि साधन के अनुकूल ही फिजिकल टारजेट्स का विचार किया जाना चाहिये लेकिन हम आज फिजि-

कल टारजेट्स और साधन, इन दोनों के बीच किसी डोगमेटिक एप्रोच के आधार पर ही बढ़ना चाहते हैं। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि फिजिकल टारजेट्स कम करना ही रिसेशन का एक बहुत बड़ा कारण बन गया है। आज मशीनें बेकार पड़ी हैं, छंटनी हो रही है, लोगों के पास मुद्रा का बहुत अभाव है। कल ही समाचार पत्रों में देखा कि दो हजार रेलवे के बैगन इसलिये खाली नहीं हो रहे हैं कि उनको खाली करने वाले लोग आवश्यक धन नहीं जुटा पाये उनकी डिलीवरी लेने के लिये। आखिर ये संकेत हैं जो इस गम्भीर आर्थिक परिस्थिति की तरफ हमें बरबस खींचते हैं। कल श्री मोहन धारिया जी कांग्रेस ने जो 11 प्वाइंट का—ता नहीं कितने प्वाइंट का — बड़ा प्रोग्रेसिव रिज्योल्यूशन स्वीकार किया है उसके बारे में सरकार को टेस्ट पर रखना चाहते थे कि सरकार किस हद तक इसका पालन करेगी। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि बड़ी बड़ी ऊंची घोषणायें उसमें की हुई हैं और दूसरी तरफ हम अपनी योजनाओं के लिये समाधान ढूंढने के लिये जो टेक्नोलोजी इम्पोर्ट कर रहे हैं, जो केपिटल आ जायेगी, जो टेक्नोलोजी हम ले रहे हैं, इन दोनों के बीच हमारी आर्थिक अवस्था झूल रही है। एक तरफ धन-प्रधान टेक्नोलोजी के चक्कर में और दूसरी तरफ हमारे ही द्वारा उठाये गये कुछ विकास धारणाओं के चक्कर में। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारी इस आर्थिक व्यवस्था को इन राहू और केतुओं से जितना शीघ्र छुटकारा दिलाया जा सके उतना अच्छा होगा। फिजिकल टारजेट्स कम नहीं किये जा सकते, देश की आवश्यकता है, आशदी की मांग है, कन्ज्यूमर गुड्स के सप्लाई करने की एक जिम्मेदारी है जिसमें फिजिकल टारजेट्स कम करने की रिस्क लेंगे तो अपने देश के लिए खतरनाक परिस्थिति पैदा करेंगे

2 P. M.

आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि इन फिजिकल टारजेट्स को प्राप्त करने के लिए हम किस

प्रकार से साधन प्राप्त करें। आज अपने देश में सरकार की नीतियों के कारण कैपिटल शार्प होने का एक बहुत बड़ा उदाहरण उपस्थित हो रहा है, पूँजी आना नहीं चाहती, पूँजी लग नहीं रही है। मेरा निवेदन है कि अगर हम वास्तव में आज इस आर्थिक रिसेशन की परिस्थिति से निकल कर फिजिकल टार्गेट में एक उत्पादजनक वातावरण बना कर बढ़ना चाहते हैं तो हमें अपनी नीतियों को, बजटरी पालिसीज को, टैक्सेशन की पालिसीज को भी इस आधार पर बनाना पड़ेगा जिसमें से कैपिटल इनवेस्टमेंट के लिये ज्यादा से ज्यादा पूँजी प्राप्त हो, उसकी शार्पनेस कम हो और हम अपने फिजिकल टार्गेट्स ठीक प्रकार से पूरे कर सकें। लेकिन उसके साथ साथ यह भी आवश्यक है कि जन-साधारण में यह विश्वास पैदा करने के लिये सरकार के जो काम विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में चल रहे हैं वे लोगों के मन में विश्वास पैदा करने के योग्य हों।

एक माननीय सदस्य ने अभी पिछले दिनों आसाम के लाठीटिला क्षेत्र में पाकिस्तान का कब्जा है उसका वर्णन किया और पश्चिमी बंगाल के करीमपुर क्षेत्र में कुछ एकड़ जमीन पर जो पाकिस्तान ने कब्जा कर लिया उसका वर्णन किया। इस सरकार के ऊपर लोगों का अब यह आरोप है कि सरकार ने अपनी तरफ से लोगों को नहीं बताया, यह ढूँढ़-ढाँढ़ कर खबरें लाई गईं, तब सरकार को मजबूर किया गया इन सूचनाओं को देने के लिये। सरकार ने 1963 ई० और 1964 ई० की घटनाओं को 1967 तक छिपा कर रखा, लोगों को नहीं बताया। राजस्थान में भी इसी प्रकार के उदाहरण हैं। शाहगढ़ की चौकी के पास हमारी जो सर्वे पार्टी गई उस पर आक्रमण किया गया, उसको लौटा दिया गया। वह क्या पाकिस्तानी टेरिटरी में चले गये थे जिसके कारण पाकिस्तान ने उसको लौटा दिया, वापस हटा दिया? आज यह एक बहुत बड़ा प्रश्न है। शाहगढ़ के आगे आप किसी को जाने नहीं देते। मैं जानना चाहूँगा, कैटेगोरिकली,

जब कभी भी इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार अपनी स्थिति को स्पष्ट करे। लोगों को संदेह है कि कहीं फिर किसी आगे के दिन आप यहां आकर यह कहने के लिये मजबूर न हों कि इस सीमा के सम्बन्ध में भी कुछ ऐसी चीजें थीं कि जहां पर पाकिस्तान का कब्जा था, हमको पता नहीं था।

ईस्ट पाकिस्तान के बार्डर पर हमारे बार्डर पोस्ट्स तोड़ कर पाकिस्तान ने लोगों को बसाया और यहां भी बिल्कुल हिन्दुस्तान और राजस्थान की सीमा पर जो पाकिस्तान की बार्डर लगती है वहां बार्डर पोस्ट्स तक झोपड़ियां बनी हुई हैं और आज उनके कारण सब प्रकार की हरकतें वहां पर होती हैं।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair]

ये सारी चीजें अपने आप नहीं हो रही हैं। मैं उदाहरण के तौर पर कहता हूँ, मैं जानता हूँ कि आप उस मामले में शायद अपनी सीधी जिम्मेदारी से बचना चाहेंगे, लेकिन पिछले दिनों में राजस्थान में एक पुस्तक पेन की गई उसमें एक नक्शा छपा है, सरकार की तरफ से प्रकाशित पुस्तक है, किसी ऐसे-नोरे इंडिविजुअल के द्वारा नहीं और उसमें जानबूझ कर वह हिस्सा वहां नहीं दिखाया गया है, जिसके बारे में मैं कम्प्लेंट कर रहा हूँ, पाकिस्तान राजस्थान की सीमा पर लगने वाला, और जो नक्सलबारी के इधर का हिस्सा है वह। नक्सलबारी का उदाहरण यहां पिछले दिनों में आया है। क्या स्टेटजी चल रही है, इन सारी चीजों को अगर इस कंटेक्स्ट में देखें तो राजस्थान की सरकारी किताबों में छपा हुआ वह नक्शा किसी न किसी एक गहरे षड्यंत्र का परिचायक है। केवल कोई प्रादेशिक सरकार उस किताब को जब्त कर ले, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि देश की सुरक्षा के प्रश्न पर इतना करना मात्र इस चीज को समाप्त नहीं करेगा। मैं चाहूँगा कि केन्द्रीय सरकार इसमें अपनी जिम्मेदारी इस्तेमाल करे और

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

देश के अन्दर जो सिनिस्टर मूवमेंट चलते रहते हैं, अपनी सीमाओं के कांट-छांट करने के, अपने देश के दुश्मनों को फायदा पहुंचाने के, इन सारी चीजों के साथ यह जुड़ा हुआ है। इन सारी चीजों की बिल्कुल गम्भीरता के साथ जांच होनी चाहिये और जितनी शीघ्र इन तत्त्वों को हम काबू में कर सकें उतना ही यह अधिक उचित होगा।

इसके साथ साथ यह भी आवश्यक है कि नक्सलवादी के सम्बन्ध में केन्द्रीय सरकार अपनी जिम्मेदारी को टालने की कोशिश न करे, यह कि वहां केवल एग्ज़ेरियन प्राब्लम सामने आया। मैं एग्ज़ेरियन प्राब्लम से इंकार नहीं करता। लेकिन जो घटनायें घटी हैं वे केवल ला एंड आर्डर सिचुएशन के अन्तर्गत नहीं आतीं। मैं यहां पर एक उदाहरण देना चाहूंगा। हमारी ही पार्टी के कुछ कार्यकर्ताओं को, जो नक्सलवादी क्षेत्र के पास मुर्शिदाबाद में रहते हैं, उनको जो लिखा वह चिट्ठी हमें मिली है। क्योंकि वह ला एंड आर्डर सिचुएशन से सम्बन्ध रखती थी इसलिये बंगाल की मिनिस्ट्री को वह सबमिट की गई है लेकिन मैं चाहूंगा कि हम लोग भी इस बात का ध्यान रखें। मेरे पास उस चिट्ठी का फोटोस्टेट भी है, मैं उसको यहां रखना नहीं चाहता, बंगाली में चिट्ठी है, लेकिन वह यह है :

डीयर फ्रैंड, आप लोग वाणी सयत करें हम जो करते हैं वही एकमात्र रास्ता है। चीन ही हम लोगों का मुक्तिदाता है, चीन का रास्ता हमारा रास्ता है, हम लोगों के लिये ज्यादा दिमाग न लगावें, जीवन संकटापन्न होगा। माओ त्से तुंग जिन्दाबाद। और नीचे है लाल तौज।

यह चिट्ठी लिखी गई है जनसंघ के जो डिस्ट्रिक्ट सेक्रेटरी हैं मुर्शिदाबाद के जिले के, जो कि बंगाल में हैं, श्री अजित मैत्रेय को और

मुर्शिदाबाद-जिले के जो जनसंघ के संगठन मंत्री हैं श्री श्यामपद नन्दी उनको। ये चीजें इस बात का संकेत हैं कि एक बहुत गम्भीर पड़यंत्र उस इलाके में चल रहा है। यह नक्सलवादी का इलाका नेपाल से मिलता है और पिछले दिनों अखबारों में भी खबरें आई कि नक्सलवादी के आन्दोलन से सम्बन्धित दो व्यक्ति नेपाल में गिरफ्तार किये गये। यह इलाका वही इलाका है जहां पिछले दिनों में चीन के लोगों ने नेपाल के पूर्व-दक्षिणी भाग में मिनरल सर्वे किया और इस बात का अंदेश है कि वहां पर शस्त्रों के भंडार उन्होंने छिपा कर रखा है। कल भी गृह मंत्री ने इम्पोर्ट आफ फायर आर्म्स की बात कही, लेकिन केन्द्रीय सरकार नेपाल और भारत के साथ लगने वाली इस सीमा को बन्द क्यों नहीं कर पाई जहां से यह इम्पोर्ट होती है और यहां पर गड़बड़ पैदा करने वाले लोग वहां जा कर गिरफ्तार हुये। आज इन सारी चीजों पर जो केन्द्र की जिम्मेदारी है उस जिम्मेदारी से केन्द्र को आगाह रहना चाहिये। अभी तक केन्द्र इस जिम्मेदारी को पूरी नहीं कर सका। क्या कारण है, कौन सी कमियां हैं। और अगर नहीं कर सकी तो यह गृह मंत्रालय पर एक बहुत बड़ा आक्षेप है।

खाद्य अवस्था भी इस समय तक हमारे लिये खतरनाक है। इस खाद्य समस्या को हल करने के लिये हम सब लोग केवल इन्द्र देवता के ऊपर निर्भर न करें। आज आर्थिक अवस्था में भी रिसेशन का सवाल आया तो लोग कहते हैं कि अगली बरसात ठीक हो गई तो सब ठीक हो जायगा। अब इन-पार्टिस हम विचार करते हैं अपनी आर्थिक समस्याओं को तो छोटी सी भी गड़बड़ पैदा हो तो सरकार कह देगी, इतने दिनों तक हम और कारण बताते थे कि अब क्योंकि फिर से वर्षा ठीक नहीं हो सकी इसी कारण से सारी आर्थिक समस्याएँ पैदा हो गई, मैं समझता हूं कि वह उचित नहीं होगा। हम इन सारी चीजों पर एक नये ढंग से एक नये आक्षेप

से विचार करेंगे तो ज्यादा उचित होगा, लेकिन फिर भी खाद्य की समस्या का समाधान करना आवश्यक है। मैं राजस्थान की दृष्टि से अपने पुराने ही तर्क को फिर से एक बार केवल दोहराना मात्र पर्याप्त समझूंगा कि केन्द्रीय सरकार उस राजस्थान नहर को अपने जिम्मे लने का जल्दी से जल्दी निर्णय करेगी तो खाद्य समस्या में भी एक बहुत बड़ा योगदान हो सकेगा। वहां पर खाद्य मंत्रालय के इस काम में एक और बात उनके ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूँ। यह बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि पहली वर्षा इस बार काफी अच्छी हुई। लेकिन पहली वर्षा अच्छी हुई और कुछ हिस्सों में दूसरी वर्षा भी हुई, मैं राजस्थान की एक खास बात आपके सामने लाना चाहता हूँ, पहले वर्षा हो गई, लोगों ने बीज बो दिया लेकिन जो सीमावर्ती पश्चिमी जिले हैं जो रेतीले जिले कहलाते हैं, वर्षा के तुरन्त बाद पांच छः दिनों तक बहुत जोर की हवाएं वहां चलीं और उनका परिणाम यह हुआ कि जो बीज जमीन में डाला गया था उस पर छः छः इंच तक परा जम गई रेत की और वह बीज बेकार हो गया। अब वहां दूसरी वर्षा हुई है। खाद्य मंत्रालय से मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि जो किसान पहले भी बीज बड़ी मुश्किल से इकट्ठा करके डाल सके थे, उनको इस संकट के समय दूसरा बीज दिया जाय ताकि जिन जगहों पर इस समय वर्षा हुई है उसका पूरा लाभ उठाकर वहां पर फिर जो बचा हुआ समय है उसमें अपनी खेती पैदा कर सकें।

टैक्स रिलीफ अभी थोड़ा समय पूर्व थोड़ी मात्रा में वहां घोषित किये गये लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ, यह तो केवल उस भूखे आदमी को एक दूर पक्षी रोटी दिखाने के समान है। इस टैक्स रिलीफ से कोई लाभ नहीं हुआ है, इससे कच्चा मर गुड्स पर कोई रिलीफ नहीं है। जूने पर जो 5 रुपये तक की रिलीफ हुई है पता नहीं। कितनों को उससे लाभ होगा। कुछ आंकड़े दिये गये हैं। मैं जानता हूँ...

श्री के० सी० पन्त : 70 फी सदी से ज्यादा है।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : हां, वह 70 फी सदी से ज्यादा उस हालत में है जब मशीनों के द्वारा जूते तैयार होते हैं। वह कितने परसेन्ट लोगों को रिलीफ देगा इसका सवाल है उससे कोई सब्सटेन्शियल लाभ नहीं होता, मैं मानता हूँ आपने रिलीफ दिया है...

श्री के० सी० पन्त : उनी पर लगा है, दूसरों पर नहीं लगा है।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : वह ठीक है, परन्तु जितनी भी छूट दी है उनसे जनसाधारण के हित में कोई विशेष लाभ हुआ हो यह नहीं कहा जा सकता। उर्वरक पर, फर्टिलाइजर पर, आपने सब्सिडी बंद करने की बात कही थी, उसको फिर से जारी करने की जरूरत है, आप उसको करिये। टेलीग्राफ और टेलीफोन्स पर जो रेट्स बढ़ा दिये गये हैं, डीजल आइल पर जो टैक्स बढ़े हैं उसका परिणाम भी कामन मैन पर पड़ता है।

अल्यूमीनियम के मामले में कुछ रिलीफ आपने शायद दिया है लेकिन वही एक धातु है जिसमें हम आत्मनिर्भरता का दावा कर सकते हैं, विदेशी मुद्रा के अभाव में अपनी बहुत सी आवश्यकताएं इसमें से हम पूरी कर सकते हैं। आज अल्यूमीनियम की इन्डस्ट्री को और ज्यादा रिलीफ देने की आवश्यकता है।

पिछले दिनों हमारे यहां 40 अरब रुपये के नोटों का प्रचलन था। अब डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग हम कर रहे हैं, 90 करोड़ रुपये के और एडीशनल नोट छापने का हमने फैसला किया। यह कहा गया कि नोट का साइज छोटा कर दिया और साइज छोटा करने से कुछ लाख रुपये की हम बचत कर लेंगे। यह कुछ लाख रुपये की जो बचत है वह अच्छी है लेकिन मैं यह चाहूंगा कि आखिर में यह

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

पैनीवाइज वाली बात न हो जाये। देश भर में अनेक जगहों पर बुरी तरह धन का दुरुपयोग हो रहा है, उसको रोकिये। मैं कागज की वचत का ए. उदाहरण देता हूँ राजस्थान का। राजस्थान में पहले किताबें छपती थीं। किताब और कापी में हम फर्क समझते हैं। (प्रदर्शन करत हुए) यह किताब है या कापी है? अब आजकल टेक्स्ट बुक्स छपने लगी हैं कापी साइज में, पर किताब से दुगुनी। कागज की बात की बात आप कर रहे हैं, इसलिये मैंने उदाहरण दिया और जहाँ कागजों की संख्या में 5) परसेन्ट वचत होनी चाहिये। रिडक्शन होना चाहिये, वह हाईली 5 से 10 परसेन्ट है। तो जहाँ आप कागज के मामले में इतना लोडब्ले क्लेम करते हैं कि लाखों रुपया वचत कर लिया नोट की साइज में कमी करके, तो उसी की तरह का मैंने एक कम्पेयरेंसल उदाहरण आपके सामने दिया है कि जिसमें कागज भी ज्यादा लगा है और अपटु 20 परसेन्ट प्राइसेज भी बढ़ाई गई हैं किताबों की, जिसका कामन कन्ज्यूमर पर असर पड़ा है। इन दोनों चीजों को साथ साथ लेकर आप चलेगे तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

श्री के० सी० पन्त : पेज घट गए।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि आर्डिनरिली डबल द साइज लगने के कारण 50 परसेंट पेज होने चाहियें बट इन्डिज हाईली 10 परसेंट एण्ड दि प्राइसेज हैव्ह गौन बाई 10 टु 20 परसेंट। अब यह दोनों तरह का नुकसान कागज भी ज्यादा लगे और हमको नुकसान भी उठाना पड़े, इसका आप विचार करिये।

आर्ट सिल्क के बारे में आपने वचन दिया था कि जो ड्यूटी आप लगा रहे हैं उसका बोझा बीबर पर नहीं लगेगा। आज दो महीने का समय हो गया, वही बीबर

आज एजिटेड कर रहे हैं, सरकार से मांग कर रहे हैं कि आपने जो वचन दिया था कि जो ड्यूटी आपने बढ़ाई है उसका बीजन उनके ऊपर नहीं पड़ेगा और आप उनको आर्ट सिल्क दिलाने की व्यवस्था करेंगे, अभी तक वह हुआ नहीं है। मैं आपसे निवेदन करूंगा कि आप या तो ड्यूटी फिर पूरी विदड्डा करिये या फिर आप उन आर्ट सिल्क बीवर्स को रीजनेबल प्राइस पर धागा मिले इस बात का इंतजाम करिये नहीं तो आप जो यह कई बार टेक्स लगाने की बात करते हैं कि इसका असर कन्ज्यूमर पर नहीं पड़ेगा, साधारण मजदूर पर, आर्टिजन पर नहीं पड़ेगा, यह जो वायदा आप करते हैं वह अभी तक उस क्षेत्र में पूरा नहीं हुआ। मेहरबानी करके उसको पूरा करने का प्रयत्न कीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : आपके करीब करीब 25 मिनट हुए हैं।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : बस कुछ बातें स्वर्णकारों के बारे में कहती हैं। माना कि आप इमरजेंसी समाप्ति पर नये कानून लगायेंगे लेकिन इमरजेंसी तो द्रौपदी के चीर की तरह बढ़ता जा रही है। उसी की वजह से अगर आप स्वर्णकारों को भूखों मारना चाहते हैं, उनको रिलीफ देने से वंचित करना चाहते हैं तो मुझे माफ करिये...

श्री के० सी० पन्त : द्रौपदी का चीर बढ़ता तो अच्छा था।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : लेकिन यहां पर यह चलत है। वहां पर यह अच्छा था। अगर उस प्रकार का सकट एक और बढ़े तो हम आपकी मदद करने को तैयार हैं, इसमें हम कभी भी अपनी वादा खिलाफी नहीं करेंगे। लेकिन आप इस तरह से दुरुपयोग करें और ऐसे सब सबालों को उस इमरजेंसी के साथ जोड़कर उनकी वास्तविक कठिनाइयों को हल करने के लिये और उनको जो वचन दिये गये थे प्रधान मंत्री के द्वारा उनके भी यह

कह कर कि इमरजेन्सी के बाद देखेंगे, जो इमरजेन्सी आप अनिश्चित काल तक स्थगित नहीं करेंगे, यह बिल्कुल बेजा बात है। आप उनके सवाल को दोबारा ठीक प्रकार से हाथ में लीजिए।

आपका वह सुझाव कि आपने ब्रोकरेज कमीशन और प्रोफेशनल रेग्यूलेशन का डिडक्शन करना मान लिया इसके लिये मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने जो एक अभ्यावहारिक, झंझट पैदा करने वाली चीज भी बिना लाभ की वह समाप्त कर दी। मैं चाहता हूँ अब इन्टरेस्ट वाले मामले में भी उसको लागू कर दीजिए। इन्टरेस्ट वाले मामले में भी लागू करिये क्योंकि उससे भी आपको कोई विशेष लाभ या उपयोग नहीं हो रहा है और झंझट बढ़ी है जो बाकी के ब्रोकरेज कमीशन और प्रोफेशनल रेग्यूलेशन के क्षेत्र में था। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि अप्रोप्रिएशन बिल पर निर्णय लेते हुए, उसकी धाराओं पर विचार करते समय, जो मुद्दे मैंने उठाए हैं, उन पर प्रकाश डाला जाय।

SHRI BAHARUL ISLAM (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to give support to the Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1967.

Sir, the country is faced with several big problems and the most important of them is the kindred problem of food and population. It is a matter of grave concern and anxiety for all of us that even after twenty years of independence we have not been able to be self-sufficient in food production.

We are bringing food from America and other countries. One of the major causes of insufficient production of food is the non-implementation of the Land Reforms Acts, particularly Ceiling on Land Holdings Act passed by the States. These Acts must be implemented without any further delay. It should be seen that the land actually goes to the tiller; other wise

the tiller will have no mind to produce enough food.

Two other important factors that retard the production of food are flood and drought. Flood is a perennial problem in Assam. Year after year the floods devastate the whole state. It destroys a number of cattle and human lives and food crops. They damage from 1/5 to 1/2 of the entire crops produced in the State. If floods could be controlled, Assam would not only be self-sufficient but it could feed itself as also the entire population of Calcutta for the whole year.

The Government of Assam with its meagre resources cannot tackle this gigantic problem. Therefore, assistance from the Centre is absolutely essential. We were told about a year ago by the Minister of Irrigation and Power that three dredgers had been ordered for dredging the Brahmaputra and the other rivers of Assam. But up to now we do not know what has happened to that proposal. This year also, as in the last year and year before last, there were big floods in the State and a lot of crops, in addition to cattle and property were washed away.

Then, Sir, this food problem cannot be solved unless and until we also solve the problem of population. The population is increasing at an alarming rate. The country with its primitive methods of food production cannot bear this population. Not to speak of any standard of living, this population cannot be fed for bare subsistence with the food the country produces. For the solution of this kindred problem of population and food, growth of population must be checked. For this purpose the Government is spending lot of money on birth control. So far so good. But the process should be intensified. I will give a few suggestions in this regard.

The Government should prescribe the number of maximum children, say-two or three. Yesterday it was said by the Ministry of Health and

[Shri Baharul Islam.]

Family Planning that the Maharashtra Government have sent a proposal that the maximum number of children should be fixed at 3. So let it be fixed at two or three. Then, both the parents or one of them must be sterilised so that there can be no more children later on. If necessary, for this purpose a legislation will have to be passed. Unless and until compulsory sterilisation is adopted, people will not go in voluntarily for this.

Sir, the Government of India, as I have already stated, is spending a lot of money in this behalf. But the propaganda about family planning is being carried on mostly in the cities and towns amongst the educated classes through the medium of the cinema and other things. This propaganda is more necessary amongst the uneducated, illiterate people. Educated people, sophisticated people are voluntarily accepting family planning because they understand the meaning of standard of living. They know what kind of education will have to be given to their children and so on. Therefore, it is more essential that this family planning Campaign is carried on amongst the slum dwellers, the villagers and the illiterate classes.

Then there is the question of marriageable age of boys and girls. Even now we have seen that young girls of 13-14 years among the backward or illiterate classes throughout the country and even in Delhi are being married to young boys of 17-18 years. I believe there are laws prohibiting child marriage. But these laws are not seriously implemented. Therefore, this child marriage should be stopped immediately.

My second suggestion is that the marriage laws must be suitably amended and seriously implemented. Then legislation should be made that in future parents will be supposed to have not more than three children. And if they have more than three children, the children exceeding three un-

der the law will be illegitimate and they will not be entitled to any property or civil rights.

Then there is the problem of high prices. Everyone knows that prices are high in India but highest in Assam. In this connection the Minister of Food and Agriculture of the Government of India was kind enough to help the Government of Assam to open one co-operative Department Store at Gauhati. But the State needs a few more such stores. Unless and until more such stores are opened in the State the poor people will ever remain in the clutches of greedy traders and unscrupulous black-marketeers. Therefore, I request the ministry of Food and Agriculture to open a few more such co-operative department stores in the State particularly in Shillong, Dibrugarh and Tin-sukia.

There are a few other more important problems that relate to the eastern region of India, for example, the Naga problem, the Mizo problem and the problem of hills and plains of Assam. The causes of the troubles are basically the same. They are political as well as economic. As you know, Sir, these hill areas of the eastern region are very, very backward; they are under-developed. Assam is undeveloped and under-developed. But these hill areas of Assam are more backward and undeveloped than the plain areas. Naturally they suspect each other. The hill people think that the plains people are exploiting them and the plains people think that the hill people are grumbling without any cause and so on. There are certain sections of the people who are saying that the hill people are being exploited by the plains people. They are educationally and economically backward because of the negligence of the Assam Government.

Sir, the actual reason is that after the creation of Nagaland more and more money is being spent in Nagaland than in any other hill district of

Assam. The money spent there is five or six times more per head than in any hill district of Assam. In support of my contention I beg to quote a few lines from the report of the Commission on the Hill Areas of Assam for 19G5-66. The Commission says: —

"Our enquiry has ranged over a wide field and the following is a summary of the conclusions we have reached and the main recommendations we have made in accordance with the terms of reference given to us: —

1. Dissatisfaction with the economic progress of the hill districts is at the root of the unsatisfactory general relationship between the two regions—the hills and the plains—of Assam.

2. A comparison of the revenue and expenditure of the two regions shows that—

(a) The relative contribution of the hill districts to the State revenues is much less in proportion to their population; and further it has gone down over a period of 12 years since 1951-52.

(b) The *per capita* contribution of the hill districts to the State revenues is much less than that of the plains while the *per capita* contribution of the plains has more than doubled during the past 12 years, that of the Hills has remained more or less the same.

(c) The share of the hill areas in revenue expenditure has always been more than their share of population. It is also much in excess of their relative contribution to the State revenues.

(d) The *per capita* expenditure in the hill districts, which is 5 to 6 times as large as it was in 1951-52, is much more than in the plains.

(e) The capital expenditure in the hills has been relatively small

but since 1956-57 it has been stepped up.

(f) While the allocations of the Plan outlay for the hill districts have not been unfair *vis-a-vis* their population, as a percentage of the total outlay these have gone down slightly during the Third Plan period.

(g) The hill districts have recorded a higher rate of increase than the plains in respect of the State and *per capita* incomes.

3. There is no evidence of any deliberate neglect of the hill areas in the matter of development; nor has there been any diversion of funds allocated to the hill areas for the benefit of the plains.

4. In respect of certain pressing needs of the hill areas, such as means of communications, the progress has been unsatisfactory.

5. (This is most important). The financial assistance by the Central Government has generally been on a more generous scale to Nagaland, NEFA, Manipur and Tripura than to the hill areas of Assam. This has contributed to the dissatisfaction in the latter areae.

6. While there has been no failure on the part of the State Government to take cognizance of the difficulties of the hill districts the needs of these districts are greater than those of the plains areas. The exceptional difficulties of these districts justify exceptional treatment,

7. The basic problem of the hill areas is that of economic development, for which the two regions of Assam—the hill areas and the plains—are inter-dependent. The links of the hills with the plains constitute a factor of importance to both of them and there is great need of preserving these links".

This Commission, after taking full evidence, has come to the conclusion that the basic cause of this discon-

[Shri Baharul Islam.]

tent is the underdevelopment of these hill areas. And this report has also recommended that immediately Government should take such steps as would develop these underdeveloped areas. Now as you know the Home Minister and the Government of Assam are having some sort of a committee to examine as to how to formulate some sort of an administrative arrangement between the people of the hills and the plains so that they may live amicably and for this purpose, again a sub-committee has been constituted with Shri Asoka Mehta as the Chairman, and the sub-committee, according to press reports, is sitting on the 28th, 29th and 30th of this month. I wish all success to the Committee and we hope that an amicable solution will be found by this committee. This sub-committee will ultimately come to a political solution. What is more necessary is the development of these hill areas. Let the sub-committee come to some political decision. Meanwhile, let the Government of India, through the Government of Assam, immediately go to the help of these hill areas in developing them. Here three things are very essential: 1. The unity of this region must be maintained; 2. These areas must be developed; and 3. These hill people, who are educationally and economically more backward than the people of the plains, must have a sense of fulfilment. These three things must be contained in any solution whatsoever.

In one of my earlier speeches in this House, I had said that there are, not only in Assam but in other States also, many backward areas. These areas should be declared by the Government of India as "Underdeveloped Areas." For example, under the Constitution, we have declared certain communities—Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other communities—as "Backward Communities" and for them, the Government of India and the State Governments are paying special attention. Similarly, I suggest that these areas should be declared

as "Underdeveloped Areas" and special care should be taken by the Government of India for their immediate and quick development.

Another question to which I would like to refer is the educational policy of the Government of India. The Government of India, after thorough examination some years ago came to the conclusion of having the three-language formula and up till now, I think the accepted policy of the Government is the three-language formula. But some time ago, our present Minister of Education, Dr. Sen, made a declaration that he is not in favour of the three-language formula and that he is in favour of the two-language formula. Also there are reports in the press of some saying that the medium of instruction in the universities should be English or Hindi, and some others saying that it should be the regional languages. I have my own views with regard to this matter as to what should be the medium of instruction in the universities, what should be the medium of examination in the universities and what should be the medium of examination in the Public Service Commissions and also whether there should be the two-language formula or the three-language formula. But my submission before the House is that before we do anything, we must examine the point very thoroughly with the help of experts and other persons and then we accept a certain policy, we must stick to it.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. K. KUMARAN) in the Chair]

If suddenly a certain announcement inconsistent with the accepted policy is made by some persons in authority, it creates confusion in the minds of the teachers, the students and the parents. The teachers, students and parents do not know where they stand, whether they are going to have two-language formula or three-language formula tomorrow. We do not know whether our children will have to take their university examinations after

four or five years in the regional language or in English or in Hindi. Therefore, my submission is that this matter must be settled, not in haste but let it be solved slowly; let it evolve in course of time. But once we take a decision, we must stick to it. If necessary, let it be changed by the next generation if it thinks it is necessary and proper.

Sir, the last thing I want to say is regarding the exemption limit of income-tax. At present, the exemption limit is Rs. 4,000 only. The prices are rising very high. At present as the prices are so very high that this limit of Rs. 4,000 is inadequate. Therefore, I appeal to the Minister of Finance to raise the exemption limit from Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 6,000.

Thank you.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the first point that I would like to make is that in the matter of financial allocations, the Centre is adopting discriminatory attitude towards the State of West Bengal. Even on the basis of the population figures, which is one of the factors for determining the quantum of money that is allocated by the Finance Commission, a sum of Rs. 10 crores more is due to West Bengal, which is deliberately being denied to this State. And of the remaining Rs. 177 crores, only something like Rs. 1 crore has been allocated to West Bengal on the basis of the different needs, etc. of the various States. It passes my comprehension and there is no logic or sense except that the Centre is determined upon a policy of running down West Bengal. So this question was raised also by the State Government and no satisfactory answer has so far been forthcoming from the Centre. As regards the Government of India asking for the repayment of the debts, when the States have no monetary resources, financial resources, they do not ask that the debt payment should be wiped out but some of them have

asked for rescheduling and my State has also done so. Even that has met with a bland refusal. So I can only conclude that in this matter and let me tell you that the people of Bengal also think—that the Centre is deliberately trying to run down the State of Bengal and it has a step-motherly attitude towards the people of Bengal. A psychology over the last few years has been built up gradually in this way and it is being strengthened by the action that you are taking. It is not a healthy phenomenon and I think it my duty to draw the attention of this House and that of the Centre to this.

Secondly, I should like to say something about Sheikh Abdullah. I think almost 200 M. Ps. have signed a petition urging upon the Government to release Sheikh Abdullah from detention and the Prime Minister has written that it is not possible to release him just now. Why? Nobody knows the reason. A person is kept under detention for 11 years. They cannot substantiate any charges whatsoever and still he is being kept in detention and I take this opportunity to voice the feeling that is being raised all over India about this question that the question of the release of Sheikh Abdullah brooks no delay any longer. It must be treated as urgent and he should be released and all the Kashmir detenus should be released forthwith. Everybody knows that the elections in Kashmir are fake elections and there is no democratic thing there. Once I went to Kashmir and I knew that all the candidates were kidnapped and when some ultimately stood, the military went there and beat down the villagers and terrorised them so that nobody dared to go and vote if they thought any candidate could win against the Congress. Do you think it is a democracy or a military raj? I would like to take this opportunity to tell you that a solution for the Kashmir question was worked out between the late Prime Minister Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah. At that meeting Sheikh Abdullah,

[Shri Niren Ghosh.] Mirza Afzal Beg and Pandit Nehru were present. As my information goes—I think it should be placed before the country and the country should come to know of it—the formula was like this that a fresh election should take place over entire Kashmir including Azad Kashmir, a free and fair election, reorganising that the previous elections were neither free nor fair. So a fresh election, not a plebiscite, to the State Assembly should take place including in the so-called Azad Kashmir. Then the Kashmir Assembly would finally determine the future of Kashmir. So far it was agreed and Sheikh Abdullah was asked to secure the approval of the President of Pakistan. He went there and somehow or other they also approved of this idea. So when the Kashmir question was near solution, when it was on the anvil, unfortunately Pandit Nehru died and some say, under very suspicious circumstances, I do not know but whatever it is, the next Cabinet brushed aside this question, so that this entire thing is hanging fire still. I take this opportunity to place this before the House.

The third thing I would tell is this. So much noise is being made about law and order by the Treasury Benches, by the Jana Sangh and some other Opposition parties but what is the real position? That must be frankly told and at least the position of the people should be placed before the Parliament and the country. There the vested interests, both the employers and the landlords, have unleashed a reign of anarchy and terror as well as violence against the people. Unfortunately a section of the bureaucracy, a big section I must say, is in tune in glove with these vested interests. They do not even obey the decisions of the Cabinet. They go their own way and you cannot touch them. Such is the position because they will say: 'We are doing whatever we think that in the normal course of the fulfilment of our duties.' This bureaucracy has been inherited from

the British and they have always a built-in psychology of anti-people, not only in our State but all over India and the majority of them are thoroughly corrupt, inefficient and anti-people and through these bureaucratic people no progressive reform whatsoever can be implemented. They are there only to sabotage them. If India is to go ahead, if any progressive reform is to be implemented worth the name, then this bureaucracy must be overhauled. People completely faithful to the people, persons completely faithful to the people's interests and ready to serve the people and not the vested interests, such people must be there in the administration—in the , bureaucracy, I do not mean the Cabinet; otherwise, everything would come to naught. That is what they are doing. They are murdering the peasants, they are murdering the workers. In the entire colliery belt, they have their private goonda army, armed with lethal weapons and nobody except the Companies' Union can enter those areas and if anybody dares, if the workers break away and form a Militant trade union in the colliery belt, then the B. J. group lend their services to the Jalan group. The Managing Director, together with the employers' armed gang of 500 workers criminally assaulted the workers in their dwellings because they dared to form a real union. They wanted to stamp out that union. Their factories are closed. Some 15 or 20 factories have been closed and that is creating conditions of uncertainty in the lives of thousands of people and this is what I call, economic sabotage and nothing can be done. So much about law and order. When they talk about law and order, they mean law and order in order to suppress the people and protect those anti-people's interests. That is what law and order in the mouths of the Treasury Bench people and some of the friends here also have come to. So if there is any subversion, any non-peaceful condition, for this the land-holding interests, the bureaucracy, a section of the police officials and the employers are wholly

responsible and uncertain conditions for the kisans, the peasantry and the middle-classes are being created. That is what any honest, progressive democrat would call that they are conditions created which are subversive of law and order and subversive of peaceful conditions and in this blessed regime, there is no law to reach out them and to punish them. I know the Labour Minister cannot even implement because the pressure would be too much on them. It was demanded that the employers closing the factories or retrenching should be put under arrest under the P. D. Act and there was an immediate protest from the All-India Employers' Organisation. I know he will not be able to do anything about it. We can be arrested but the colliery owners, the employers are not arrested under the P. D. Act for such economic sabotage. Those things do not happen in India. So that is the real state of affairs and I think it should be placed before you.

Another question which I would like to place is how our Government is very particular about Human Rights. Now, and then we see Mr. Chagla coming out and taking up cudgels in defence of human rights in Tibet and elsewhere. But I would like to ask a question. What is happening in the United States of America? Is not mass genocide of Negroes taking place? Is not apartheid being practised against the Negroes? Are they not denied, to the extent possible, civil rights and human rights? It is going on for one century at least. Everybody knows it, lynching of the Negroes, and they cannot even walk without fear. But this Government never thinks of raising this question in the U.N. Why? Fear. Fear that the dollar Shahanshah would be angry. You cannot irritate your master. You cannot incur his displeasure. So this is what their morality has come to. (*Interruptions.*) So, if there are any honest democrats, they should raise it, and the Congress, in order to prove its morality, they

should raise it in parliament. I would wait for the day when they will have the courage to do it.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Is China doing it?

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SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I would like to say another thing about Sikkim. Some time back the Maharaja of Sikkim publicly expressed or made a statement to the effect that he desired revision of the Treaty relations with India, and the American Maharani of Sikkim, she even wrote an article laying claim to Darjeeling district, saying that it belongs to Sikkim, and there are persistent reports that American agencies are at work. Now these questions are not being raised for the benefit of the Sikkimese people. They want to have a puppet State, a so-called independent Sikkim State under the benign rule or influence of the Yankee overlords. So that is the danger they are creating there. I think the Government knows it. I have been definitely told to this effect, told about the activities of the American agencies there in order to create disturbances and do many other things in this part of the world. I am sure the Government has its own information. Confidentially I have been advised to that effect. But this Government never thinks it proper to bring it to light or place it before parliament. So I think it my duty to draw the attention of parliament and the country to this aspect also. We must wake up. Such serious things are happening there on behalf of the Americans in order to detach portions of the country and stir up unrest there, and to have an American sphere of influence in the eastern region of the country.

SHRI ABID ALI (Maharashtra): Are they the same people that are disturbing the peace in Naxalbari?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: For that they have their intelligence agencies all over India at their disposal. They can And out.

[Shri Niren Ghosh.]

As regards the Assam hill areas I ! would only like to say that the demand of the Assam hill people for a separate State within the Indian Union is just and I support it. If Nagaland can be a separate State within the Indian Union, the Assam hill areas should be separated from Assam and reconstituted into a State of the hill people there; and the sooner it is done, the better for the unity of India.

Then I would like to say this about another thing, that which is India. It is federal in name, unitary in character. Its so-called autonomy is a hoax. So, these, so many, State Governments are so many glorified municipal corporations. They have neither the resources nor the powers to do anything. Every power, everything is centralised in Delhi. Now the real masters of India are the big monopolists collaborating with the foreign monopolists at the same time. They have their relations with them and the feudal vested interests, and their servants, their political servants, are mainly concentrated in the Congress. Of course they have their share in the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh also. And the bureaucracy that started under British aegis and has been continuing for two hundred years now, is thoroughly anti-people. It is the so-called steel frame of the British, and they are the real rulers although they are supposed to serve these Congress masters. And now, these bureaucrats, after retiring, are getting so many appointments to the boards of directors. They are blossoming forth into capitalists also, and this is an ominous and sinister phenomenon in Indian life. So this is disrupting the unity of India. You are carrying on like this with this process because the big monopolists who support you think that for their exploitation in India there must be no let or hindrance. As to the thing which is India, it has been given a unitary character in practice. It has been deliberately done and fostered.

But unfortunately, the political servants, in going to implement them, what they are doing is that they are disrupting the national integration of India, are creating national disunity, and if this policy is pursued in this fashion and if all the considerations, proper and due considerations, for the rights and privileges of the different States are overridden in a roughshod manner, it will mean that you are doing it deliberately to break up the unity of India. So God forbid. There is time yet to rethink over the matter and to reconsider the entire question of Centre-State relations. On this occasion I would not like to say more On this.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Wil^l you not criticise the Peking Radio for its broadcasts? I think you will do it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: There is another thing which concerns my State. The other day the Minister for Steel and Mines told parliament that expansion of the Durgapur steel plant had been postponed I should say it is a severe blow to West Bengal; it is a severe blow and the entire people are taking it up, this declaration, in an extremely unfavourable light.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN; It is on economic grounds.

SHRI ABID ALI: The economy is not on economic grounds.

SHRI ABID ALI: The economy is not regional, it is national

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What regional? What national? If this is your economy, then God save your economy.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I am glad you are uttering the word 'God'.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: The expansion of the steel plant, thought of and started, has now stopped. Mr. Abid

Ali has his God in Washington. So he need not worry. In the expansion of this steel plant, to curtail it or to stop it or to postpone it is a severe blow and the people of West Bengal won't take it lightly, let me tell you 3 P.M.

And another thing that I have to say is about these taxes. You see in our country the indirect taxes have gone up by five or six times From Rs. 500 crores they have come to as much as Rs. 3,000 crores and direct taxes form really only a fraction. Yet as much Rs. 500 crores are the tax arrears due to the Government. Under such a condition, what right has this Government to impose new taxes? It has no right whatsoever. And all these taxes are directly on the poor people, thus contributing to increasing the price level. So all these taxes should be opposed. They should be cancelled and they should be withdrawn by the Government. This is a thoroughly antiquated measure in order to further exploit the poor masses, whereas the tax dodgers are having a free hunting ground. You know Rs. 500 crores are in the arrears That is what we are told. Hundreds of crores have been written off. Tax evasion has been taking place to the extent of some Rs. 3,000 or Rs 4,000 crores. Let us not speak of all that now. This is the Congress brand of Socialist Capitalism in India. So I say there should be no more taxation on the people. We should oppose it tooth and nail. There is this talk of wage freeze. There is this proposal. Let me tell you that it amazes me and the entire Opposition and even others are united against this proposal. The entire trade union movement is united against it and they will oppose it and fight it tooth and nail. We should all fight any attempt in this direction. They have not even implemented the Gajendragadkar Commission's Report. They have denied the employees of the Central Government what is their due They want to give them something not in cash but in some national savings certificates or some such thing.

This is an affront to the working classes of India and a direct contribution to the privileged classes. In order to placate or hoodwink the people they talk of a price freeze. Well, they have been talking of holding the price line ever since 1952. What have we seen? When they talk of holding the price line the prices steadily rise. When they talk of riches being taken away from the hands of the rich people and equitably distributed among the people, then you definitely find that the rich people becoming richer and richer. So when they talk of a wage freeze then it is a sinister sign. It shows a definite outlook to open up an all-out attempt against the working classes with regard to their conditions of service, with regard to their employment potentials, with regard to their living conditions and so on. This is supposed to be done in order to solve their so-called economic crisis. They had their devaluation and the prices have risen higher and higher and profits also have gone up. Even the British journal, the *Financial Times* of London has said that India is a very happy country where profits can be made easily, where high profits can be had. You are trying to increase their profit.; and increasing your exploitation of the people in order to solve this crisis. You are planning to throw the entire burden on the poorer sections of our people. See all these attempts at automation, retrenchment, reduction of employment potentials, wage freeze, closure of factories, lay-offs and so on. They form an all-out attack against the working classes and surely the working classes cannot take it lying aown. They will give a reply to it and they will fight it. Whether they win or lose they have got to fight and they will fight to the best of their capacity, with iron determination. They have to defeat this monstrous attempt this monstrous offensive on the part of the Government of India, against their living standards, their employment potentials, in order just to safeguard some privileged sections and some

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monopolist capitalists. (*Time bell rings*). How much time have I taken?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. K. KUMARAN): You have taken 25 minutes.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Then I will finish here. Thank you.

SHRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, at the very outset I have to make a request to you. As you may know, I had ^a heart attack some time back and so I am not able to speak rapidly. Nor can I speak loudly. So you will kindly give me a little more time, say one or two minutes more.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: You may speak sitting.

SHRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI: Can I sit and speak?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. K. KUMARAN): Yes, you may do so.

SHRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI: Thank you. At the very outset, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I wish to support the motion before the House and in doing so I wish to say a few words. Recently I have seen in the papers that the hon. Finance Minister has abolished the tax on footwear and also the tax on aluminium utensils. I am glad he has done it. You know aluminium vessels are used only by the poor people of our country. The very poor use only mud pots, but those who have some little money buy aluminium utensils. So I am indeed glad that the hon. Minister has abolished the tax on aluminium. I want the hon. Minister to extend his sympathies further and abolish the 'tax on coffee and tea also. You know, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that as soon we get up in the morning the very first thing that we think of is not God or prayer or any such thing but coffee.

That is the first thing that comes to our mind.

SHRI K. C. PANT: You should discourage it.

SHRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI: You cannot) discourage it. It has become our beverage. It is impossible to discourage it. Somehow we are weltering in coffee. In Madras, Mr. Vice-Chairman, after the introduction of prohibition the people who gave up alcoholic drinks have taken to coffee. If you go to Madras in every village however poor it may be, it may have only a few thatched houses, still there will be a coffee shop, a coffee house. Coffee is so very prevalent in Madras. I have been to Madras now and I found that in spite of what the hon. Minister has been saying, the price of coffee has risen. Even in the railway stalls the prices have risen of both coffee and tea. So I want the hon. Minister to extend his sympathy to coffee and to abolish the tax on coffee and also the tax on tea.

The second thing that I want to place before the House is this. The Congress has been in power for the last twenty years. I wish to know what they have done to do away with the caste system and untouchability. I know that so long as Gandhiji was alive he was doing something to eradicate the evil of untouchability. But as you know, Gandhiji was against untouchability but he was for the caste system, namely, for the Varnashrama Dharma. But you know that untouchability is the outcome of this caste system. If you want to do away with untouchability, you must tap at the root of it, you must cut the root of it, namely, this caste system. The greatest trouble in our country is due to this caste system. When you travel in a train the very first question that you are asked by the person near you is, to which caste you belong. He does not ask you anything else. This is not the case in any other country. Somehow we have got this weakness. So it is the duty

of the Government to do away with the caste system and this untouchability. First let us do away with the caste system. Then untouchability will go away of its own accord

What are we doing in that direction? I know that in India large amounts are allotted for social work. I do not know what social work is being done. I only know that the money is given to some ladies' associations. Once in a year these ladies hold a meeting to which they ask some big person, some Governor or Chief Minister, to come and preside. This person praises the ladies and the ladies praise the president. This reminds me of the words of Carlyle "Tickle me, Toby, I shall tickle thee." The story, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is that Bishopric of Abbotsbury fell vacant. The king called for applications. Two persons applied for it. Before they went before the king for interview, one said to the other, "I will praise you before the king, you praise me. He will select one of us." So when the social workers praise the presiding officer and he, in his turn, praises the social workers, I am reminded of the words of Carlyle, his words, "Tickle me, Toby, I will tickle thee".

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY
(Andhra Pradesh): I agree.

SHRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM
PILLAI: I am glad you agree. The story is of two bishops whom the king had invited for giving a high position to one of them. So each bishop tells the other, "You praise me before the king and I will praise you also. So the king will select one of us" In Carlyle's own words, they said: "Tickle me Toby, I will tickle thee." In the same way the Governor will praise the ladies and the ladies will praise the Governor for their respective works. This is the only social work that I have seen. I do not know what else they do. Instead of having the present system, I would tell the hon. Minister that the money should be distributed directly to the poor people, to the Harijans and so

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on. Their scholarships should be increased both in number and in quantum. The amount of the scholarship was fixed some 20 years back and still that amount is given. So my request to the Minister is not only that the number should be increased but that the amount also should be increased.

The second thing I wish to tell you is about the land system, in our country, as you know, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the tillers of the land are all Harijans and the owners of the land are all caste Hindus. So there is always quarrel between the Caste Hindus and the Harijans. There is no use telling that there is trouble in Naxalbari. We must see that it does not spread to other places. If you want to do that, you must tackle this agricultural land problem. It is a very important thing. When Rajaji was the Minister in Madras he did one thing He brought in a Bill to apportion the produce in Tanjore between the landowners and the tillers of the soil. What was that Bill called? I have forgotten the name of the Bill now. Similarly, I want the Minister here to bring a Bill to apportion the produce of the land between the landless tillers and the landlords. He should also bring another Bill to fix the wages for the agricultural worker. For instance, he should bring a Bill called the Agricultural Labourers (Wages) Bill-Otherwise we will have these Naxal-barries throughout the country.

SHRI ABID ALI: It is not on the Chinese borders and the Chinese traitors here cannot do it.

SHRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM
PILLAI: I have not gone there; I know nothing of the place.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN. (SHRI P. K. KUMARAN): He was not talking about China; he was talking about the land problem.

SHRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM
PILLAI: Then I wish to tell you one

[Shri J. Sivashanmugam Pillai.]

or two words about Indians who are living outside India. For instance, in Ceylon there are a large number of Indians but 99 per cent of them belong to the Harijan community. They are all Tamil Harijans. These people migrated to Ceylon during the time of the Dutch rule. Some 300 years ago the Dutch people were ruling Ceylon and at that time these people were introduced there in Ceylon to work in coffee plantations. Then these people went and settled there. I was in Ceylon some time back and I found that many of them do not know what India is. They are the tenth or the fifteenth generation of the Indians who went first there. During the time of the East India Company the Governor of Madras was also the Governor of Ceylon and he encouraged these people to settle there. As I said, 99 per cent of the people living in Ceylon are Tamil Harijans but I do not know why the Government should appoint a Caste Hindu as Ambassador in Ceylon. In 1942 when I was in Ceylon there was a gentleman by name Mr. Aney there as Commissioner, a very orthodox man and these Harijans used to be terribly afraid to go near him even. I want the Government therefore to appoint a Harijan as Ambassador in Ceylon. It is the case not only in Ceylon but in Burma also 50 per cent of the Indians are Harijans. In Malaya and other places also about 75 per cent of the Indians are Harijans. I want the Government to appoint only Harijans as Ambassadors in these places so that they can have real sympathy with the people there. So far as South Africa is concerned, I am glad that the Harijans who have gone there have merged with the native population. I also lost many of my relatives who went there. I am not receiving any communication from them. They have married there and settled there and they say they have nothing to do with India. So to reiterate what I have said, while appointing Ambassadors in Ceylon, Malaya and Burma the Government

should have in mind that they should appoint only Harijans as Ambassadors so that they can have real sympathy with those people.

Regarding the language problem, I have to say one or two words, Mr. Vice-Chairman, you know they want to introduce Hindi. One defect that we see in Hindi is in Tamil language we have got a letter 'zha' as we find *pazham*, *vazhaipazham*, etc. But that letter is not there in Hindi. That is a letter peculiar to the Tamil language; we do not find that letter in any other language throughout the world. These North Indians when they want to pronounce *pazham*, say, *palam*. They say *valaipalam*. When I hear then say that I feel as if hot iron is poured into my ears. So I want the Minister to reform that language and introduce this letter 'zha' in Hindi. In Tamil it can be written easily. If you put a hook below the letter 'ma' it will become 'zha'.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: Because they are incapable of learning any of our languages they are forcing Hindi on us.

SHRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI: She is perfectly right. I entirely agree with the hon. Lady Member.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: On us, the non-Hindi-speaking people.

SHRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI: So before that language becomes the *lingua franca* of the country I want the Minister to improve that language. They must introduce the letter 'zha' in that language. Then it will be some improvement and we may not feel any objection or anything of that sort. And they will learn how to pronounce correctly • the word *pazham*; they will not say *palam* as they do now.

That is all I wanted to say. I am thankful to you for giving me one or two minutes more. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. t KUMARAN): Mr. Chandrasekharan.

SHRI ABID ALI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, while congratulating . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. EC. KUMARAN): Are you Mr. Chandrasekharan?

SHRI ABID ALI: I thought you failed me. I am sorry, Sir.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir the country is going rather a bad way, in the wrong way, I suppose because both in matters relating to administration and in matters relating to planning for the future and again in matters relating to the proper functioning of the democratic traditions here at the Centre and In the States the happenings in the last few months have not been encouraging. We have been hearing of discrimination in administration; we have been hearing of large scale regional imbalances in planning. We are hearing today that the traditions for the good functioning of democracy are being given the go-by the ruling party itself at the Centre. So far as the teeming millions of the country are concerned after independence twenty years have passed but Still we have not been able to meet basic requirements of the common man.

Let us take, sir, the first and foremost problem, that of food. It is a tragedy that although in the years after independence we have been able to show some improvement in matters relating to agricultural production in the years since 1964-65 the country has been lagging behind in the matter of agricultural production. In 1965-66 the total agricultural production in the country was less by about 13 million tonnes than in 1964-65. In 1966-67 it was estimated by Government that we require about 70 million tonnes and taking into consideration the produce in the country it was further estimated that we may need

about 14 to 15 million tonnes of imports of foodgrains but the basic requirements have been now estimated to be 10 million tonnes. In a country which requires about 80 million tonnes or round about that we have got to import about 10 to 15 million tonnes of foodgrains. And that, Sir, shows that all that we have done in the field of agricultural production is grossly inadequate. We find ourselves in the most humiliating position of having to import a seventh of the country's requirements from foreign countries using our foreign exchange and receiving quite a lot as gift also. If we are lagging behind in food production, if there have been inadequacies and insufficiencies in providing the machinery for the distribution of the produced food and the imported food, I would condemn the Government. What they have done is absolutely insulting to the whole country. When the country suffers from want of food, when the country has got to import food, I believe a step in the right direction was taken by Parliament in enacting the Food Corporation of India Act and incorporating in it the most welcome provisions. But what has happened since the enactment of that legislation? The Food Corporation of India Act, if I may say so, has not been implemented at all in so far as its crucial provisions are concerned. We find that the Act entrusts the Corporation with the primary duty of undertaking purchase, storage, movement, distribution and sale of foodgrains and other foodstuffs. It has been stated that it should promote all such things which it thinks fit for the production of foodgrains and other foodstuffs. It should give assistance in setting up rice mills and flour mills and other undertakings for the processing of foodgrains and other foodstuffs. In a report on the activities of this Corporation since its inception up to date, it has indicated what it has done to a very limited or small extent in the matter of purchasing and selling foodgrains. So far as its activities in relation to the production of food-

[Shri K. Chandrasekharan.] grains and the setting up of rice mills are concerned, the report states that these are all matters under the active consideration of the Corporation. The Corporation has become another Government, which replies to interpellations, when interpellations are put, that the matter is under consideration. In regard to two or three important matters for which the Food Corporation of India was set up, the Government have failed, the Food Corporation has failed. I would tell Government that the import of foodgrains to the extent of ten million tonnes, which we are having, can today be reduced by fifty, sixty or even seventy per cent, if the available foodgrains in this country are properly distributed. Why is it that State trading in food-grains is not being resorted to? Why is it that the Food Corporation is not taking over the entire purchase and sale of foodgrains throughout the country? The hon. Food Minister often states on the floor of this House that the States are free to take to State trading in foodgrains, The States are free to take over the rice mills, etc. But when a Central enactment provides for all those through the machinery of the Food Corporation of India, I would ask, in return, as to why the Food Corporation is not being enabled to implement the provisions of this most healthy Act, if I may say so, in fully? Unless we are able to see that the entire rice, wheat and other foodgrains produced in the country are procured, if I may say so, on a monopoly basis by the Food Corporation and then sold by the Food Corporation, stored by the Food Corporation and managed by them, the problem is not going to be solved. It is rather idle to state that population has got to be controlled. I am not against family planning. Family planning may be done, but it is foolish to believe that you will be able to do family planning and control the growth of population as much as not to affect the further "production and distribution

of wheat and rice in this country. This is one aspect of the matter which I would request the Government to look into. We have got to see that the entire trading in food-grains is taken over by the Food Corporation, that the rice mills and the other mills so far as foodgrains are concerned are entirely taken over by the Food Corporation, in which case only can be prevented the great maldistribution that exists today in the matter of foodgrains and, blackmarketing and racketeering in foodgrains that exist in this country today. The growing rise in the price of foodgrains essentially and fundamentally affects the prices of other consumer goods and necessities. I submit that it should be the foremost task of the Government to prevent this.

Then, Sir, in passing I may also briefly refer to one aspect of food production. We have always seen a tendency on the part of the Government to put up hotels in the public sector and fertilisers in the private sector. Whatever be the effect of that tendency how do the fertiliser factories in the public sector, under the Fertiliser Corporation of India, work and how do the Central Government treat "fertilisers in relation to the ordinary agriculturist? Till about four months back the sale of fertilisers was subsidised. Now, that subsidy has been withdrawn and the immediate effect is a fairly large increase in the price of fertilisers. On account of that the ordinary agriculturist is not to purchase fertilisers. I would, therefore, in all humility request the Government to reconsider the position in regard to the subsidised sale of fertilisers and chemical manures in this country so that agricultural production can thereby be enhanced.

Now, Sir, I would refer to one or two aspects of administrative delay. The greatest difficulty, in so far as administration is concerned—whether it be at the State level or at the central

level—is the inordinate delay, the inexplicable delay. I am only going to say one or two things so far as Kerala State is concerned, but the position will not be any different so far as the other States are also concerned, in relation to the Central Government, I believe—and I hope you, Sir, will agree with me—that the twin immediate necessities of Kerala State are, one, the commissioning of the Idikki hydro-electric multi-purpose Idikki hydro-electric multi-purpose construction work on the second shipbuilding yard at Cochin. But what has happened in so far as these two are concerned? As regards the Cochin shipbuilding yard, practically nothing has been done. The entire land has been acquired and the buildings have been acquired. The necessary facilities have been provided by the State Government as required by the Central Government, but nothing has been done during the last two years, which is the interval between the formal inauguration of the project by the then hon. Minister in charge and the beginning of the construction of the second shipbuilding yard at Cochin. Then, Sir, with regard to Idikki, it is a project costing about Rs. 621 crores. During the last six months the Idikki project estimate has been revised from Rs. 49 crores to Rs. 621 crores and it is pending clearance with the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission is still considering it after Dr. K. L. Rao had visited the place, seen the papers, and said that the revised estimate was necessary. He agreed with the Kerala State Electricity Board saying that all their proposals were correct. But the revised estimate has not been sanctioned. Then again the work is being undertaken on the basis of an offer of a loan of \$ 105 million dollars, on very easy terms from Canada. But the loan agreement has not been finalised and signed by the Government of India, and tenders could not be invited and the real work could not be begun. Sir, the fact that clearance of the Planning Commission for the revised estimate has not been

given, the fact that the Central Government has not sanctioned the loan agreement with Canada, has delayed this project. The project is necessary for the growth of industries in Kerala and the sustenance of the present industries in Kerala. Sir, I would say that by about 1970 this project was project is not likely to be commissioned by 1971 or 1972 which means that this small ill-industrialised State of Kerala, which has not even got the necessary industries even now, would not be able to provide the power necessary for the existing industries from 1970 onwards. In these matters of administrative delay it is rather humiliating that the Ministers are not able to do anything. I would therefore plead with the Government to do the needful in these matters.

I would end my speech by only adding a word of support to the chorus that has been made so far as the second work in connection with the Nagarjunasagar project is concerned. I believe that the Nagarjunasagar project is a project essentially for the nation. It is a project with which the country is concerned. It should not be delayed on account of any factor, and I believe that if there are fears, honest fears on the part of Maharashtra and Mysore, it is up to the Central Water and Power commission to take up this matter and see that these fears are allayed and at the same time the project is pushed

Thank you, Sir.

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI M. C. CHAGLA): Mr. Vice-Chairman, permit me a short investigation to deal with a point that was raised by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta yesterday and also by Mr. Chandra Shekhar and Mr. Dharia. The point that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta made was that the Deputy High Commissioner of the U.K. had called on a Minister of the West Bengal Government to present an *aide memoire* in connection with the Calcutta Tramways Company and that it was not proper

[Shri M. C. Chagla.]

for the Deputy High Commissioner to have dealt with the West Bengal Government. The proper procedure was for the High Commissioner to have met an officer of the Central Government and to have made a representation to the Central Government. His contention was that the only channel of communication permissible according to diplomatic conventions was the High Commissioner and the Central Government and not the High Commissioner and the State Government. I submit, Sir, that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is right in the view taken by him. But he also suggested—and I am reading from page 297 of the record—that the Central Government should have taken note of it, thereby suggesting that the Central Government had not taken note of it. The Central Government has taken note of it, and what we have done is that the Cabinet Secretary has drawn the attention of the U.K. High Commissioner that it was not proper for the High Commissioner to submit an *aide memoire* to the State Government and the proper thing for him to have done was for the High Commissioner to have approached the Central Government here. The Joint Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs has also made representation! to the Counsellor of the U.K. High Commission on the same lines. I hope that the House is satisfied that adequate action has been taken on the incident to which Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has referred.

PANDIT S. S. N. THANKHA (Uttar Pradesh): I would like to know what action the High Commissioner has taken in the matter. Has he expressed his regret to the Central Government or has he made some other representation? What is the outcome of the protest which has been lodged?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: The High Commissioner has expressed his regret and he has taken due note of the position "as explained by us to him. We made it quite clear that diplo-

matically it was not correct for the High Commissioner or Deputy High Commissioner to approach the State Government.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: The Central Government has drawn the attention of the High Commissioner to that effect, but what is his reply to it? Has he expressed regret?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. K. KUMARAN): That is what he stated.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ (Jammu and Kashmir): The action of the Deputy High Commissioner of the United Kingdom is against the Vienna Convention. According to the Vienna Convention no foreign diplomat who represents a country has a right to interfere in the internal affairs of that country. This act is interference in our internal affairs. I would like to know whether the Government of India has drawn the attention of the United Kingdom Government or sent for the High Commissioner of the U.K. and lodged a strong protest and warned them not to behave improperly in future. They have done so many times and this is not the first instance.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I do not know of any other instance. Our attention was drawn to this particular matter in the course of the debate. As I said, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta raised the point and I am here to clarify that point, and I have made it clear, I cannot make it clearer than this. The U.K. High Commissioner has been informed that it was not proper for a Deputy High Commissioner to have approached the State Government. That is not the channel of diplomatic communication between an Ambassador or High Commissioner and the Government of India. It cannot be more than that.

SHRI ABID ALI: One word with regard to this matter. Have the Government been good enough to draw

the attention of the West Bengal Government also that it was not proper for the Minister to allow the Deputy High Commissioner to approach him?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I do not blame the West Bengal Government. If somebody wants to go and see the Minister, he has to see him. I am sure that the Minister concerned did not act improperly. If somebody wants to see you, you cannot turn him out.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Making representation to the State Government in regard to some vital fact that the U.K. Government may have is not interference with the processes of Government in this country. To that extent I think the High Commissioner has not been guilty of any breach of diplomatic etiquette. The real fault is that the channel of communication was not the High Commissioner and the External Affairs Ministry but the Deputy High Commissioner or whoever he may be and the West Bengal Government.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I quite agree with my hon. friend. There "was no attempt, I want to make it clear, on the part of the U.K. High Commissioner to interfere with the internal affairs of our country. The matter on which objection can be taken, and has been taken, is, as my friend Mr. Sapru says, the channel of communication. It is a procedural matter but it is a serious matter. Therefore, we have drawn the attention of the U.K. High Commissioner.

SHRI M. C. SHAH: The point is whether the High Commissioner has replied and whether he has expressed any regret.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. K. KUMARAN): He has said that.

SHRI M. C. SHAH: Has he expressed regret?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. K. KUMARAN): Yes, yes. Now the Bill. Mr. Abid Ali.

SHRI ABID ALI: Sir, I congratulate, the hon. Finance Minister and his colleague for presenting a practical Budget and a good Budget. I say, a practical and good Budget because the present circumstances of the country, economic and others, are such that they could not do better. Of course, the attempt has to be made, has to be continued, to improve the economic, and other unfortunate conditions prevailing at present. In this connection, I may submit that it is very necessary to check the price-line. But the Government may experience certain difficulties. In the mean time, it is very necessary to give wheat at least and also rice wherever necessary, these two commodities, at a reasonable price. Indian masses, Indian workers, Indian landless labour are all patriots, they are patriotic people, and they have been tolerating the present burden under very very unfortunate circumstances. The price of one kilo of wheat here has come to the level of half a day's wage of the workers. In foreign countries, in costly towns, the price of a kilo of wheat is equivalent to less than 10 minutes' wage. Go to any place, Geneva or London or Tokyo, to any costlier places, and a person can get there wheat for nine or ten minutes' wage. But here people have to give more than half a day's wage to get a kilo of wheat. But still they are tolerating this. Government should realise that all these years attempts have been made to provide electricity, railway lines have been doubled so many big projects are there. But what will the people do only with electricity? The world has existed without electricity for thousands and thousands of years—I do not know, even for millions of years. But people cannot exist without food even for a day. Therefore, utilise all your resources or your calibre and ensure food supply, ensure their bare necessities for a reasonable amount. For that, much will have to be done. Economy will have to be effected in several ways.

[Shri Abid Ali]

If you go to any shop in Delhi or Calcutta or Bombay, even in the Super Markets managed by the Government, you get *masala* and *dal* in plastic bags. How much are we spending in foreign exchange for importing materials to give plastic bags to those shops? And that is one of the instances where money is being wasted. A few days ago I went to Ghaziabad in connection with the registration of a sale deed. I was happy to find that the Government have been able to save some foreign exchange because the notes have been printed smaller. But for a small sale deed, 22 stamp papers had to be purchased because stamp paper of the equivalent amount for the registration of that document was not available. And the petition writers there told me that some few months back there was a registration of a document for which 172 stamp papers had to be sold. One stamp could do the job. If there is not one stamp paper of a higher value, say, four or five or six stamp papers can be used. But more than 100 stamp papers had to be used. How much of foreign exchange is wasted? The country has ultimately to pay for importing foreign paper for the purpose of the stamp paper. So I hope that the hon. Minister will be able to draw the attention of the State Governments and make them supply stamp papers of the required value. Sometimes we can use two or three papers, but not such a large number of stamp papers for the registration of one document.

I was just mentioning how we waste not only Indian money but also foreign exchange, which is valuable. Our *kumhars* are having their potteries at so many places. But they are getting unemployed. We should encourage them. We should ourselves use things made by them and should not depend only on glasses and other potteries. We have to revive and encourage the village economy. We have to make the villages

more prosperous by helping the village people. But we do not care. The Communists, and half a dozen of their agents are inside the Congress Party and their pressures are there so much that we are working at wrong things taking up big projects and trying to get more and more popular. With that sort of purpose . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Whom do you consider to be the Communist agents in the Congress Party? Who are they?

SHRI ABID ALI: Maybe, in your party also there are many. I was just mentioning about my own party. I do not want to mention others. There are the Socialists, the PSP, the SSP, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party. They all come here and discuss about Naxalbari. They are the people who are responsible for that; because of their help they are existing in West Bengal, Bihar and UP. Communists also are Ministers there. If you want them to behave, do not support them. Because the Congress is not wanted, you support them. Some of them are Chinese agents and you are responsible for their prosperity there.

Then there is the population problem. We have been able to do something; we are now doing something with seriousness. But all these years we were sleeping. At least now it should be taken up as the first priority. How many people, how many countries, are we producing every year? Somebody in Europe asked me, "What is your population growth?" That was a country of 10 or 9½ millions. I said "We are producing one country of yours every year". What is this that we are doing in this country?

Then I would speak about the economy in the usage of forms. Go to the Willingdon Hospital and to other offices. If you want to send a chit inside for an officer, the peon will tear away the form which is given for the purpose of writing

prescriptions or for writing some other notes. I asked why not use blank paper? ^TT, 3% cfl ffl^T nET faSRiT \$, 5TI5f^T 8ft 3figt I I For putting medicines, printed forms are being used. In no sphere are we caring for any sort of economy.

Ministers secretaries of the Ministries go to foreign countries. And they engage a suite in the hotels. That means, more than Rs. 400 a day. A car means 200 francs, Rs. 350 a day. A gentleman representing the Government of India has to spend Rs. 750 a day, besides food and other expenses; only for his car and for his suite in the hotel, he is spending Rs. 750 a day. I had also been going to foreign countries when I was in the Government. I had never stayed in a suite; I had never stayed in any big place. I did not take a car. And still I was an honoured gentleman representing such a big Government of India. Nobody looked down upon me for that. I have been requesting my friends not to waste foreign exchange like this. But who cares for that.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Luckily, it is not always the case.

SHRI ABID ALI: Of course. I am glad, I should acknowledge it. He came to Geneva some time back and took a small place. He did not take a car. I know it. But there are exceptions here and there. But when I asked one gentleman, "Why are you taking a suite?", he said, "People come to meet me". Who comes to meet you? Who cares for you? Have you entitled yourself that people should come and meet you?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: In your entire speech you have now told the truth.

SHRI ABID ALI: I will tell only truth. But the difficulty with my

hon. friend is that he does not want to hear truth. He does not want to be honest many a time. Let him understand that. He knows that I tell nothing but truth. But he has not the capacity to appreciate it.

Sir, I have written to the Government requesting them not to waste money like this. Even if somebody comes to consult, there are rooms available in hotels. Engage a room for one or two hours and pay for it. Somebody comes to you once in a week and you go on paying Rs. 375 per day for that purpose.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: There may be some people coming to you whom you cannot take them to the lounge.

SHRI ABID ALI: You do not go there to meet such people. However you can meet them in a single room. Do not worry about that. Coming to taxation, of course, it is going up. But so far as the employees are concerned, you do not give them their due. They should be given what is due to them. They should be treated well. They should be treated nicely. They should be paid according to the capacity of the Government. Beyond that capacity it cannot pay. The difficulty comes when you engage 2,50,000 when you require only 2 lakhs of them, and then this amount has to be distributed among these 2,50,000. This overtime business has become a racket. It must stop. It has become a fashion with some of these government employees to be found only in canteens or with their feet on the typewriter. And if you question them, they simply say that their salary is just for coming to office and going back. Not that all of them are dishonest. A large number of them are honest, decent, good workers. But there are others who are spoiling the atmosphere. They sit on the chair with their feet on the typewriter. Their salary is just for coming and going and they say

[Shri Abid Ali]

that they will do work when they get overtime.

The amount paid to the Ministers' personal staff by way of overtime is staggering. It is a racket and it must stop. The more you go on paying this sort of overtime the less there will be the turnover during office hours.

Then, Sir, if I write my name as just "Abid Ali" I will never get a response from the Ministries. Time bell rings) Sir, you have been so kind to others. I have never before spoken when you were in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. K. KUMARAN): You can take two minutes more.

""SHRI ABID ALI: Yes, two minutes of 300 seconds each. So I was submitting that no reply is received if I just write down my name as "Abid Ali". But when you write "Abid Ali, M.P." there may be some response. What is this? Why can there be not even an acknowledgment when other citizens write? Why only these 5,000 M.Ps. and M. L. As. should get acknowledgment to their letters? Every citizen is entitled to be properly treated by the Government, by the officers, by the officials. Their letters and their things should be properly attended to.

I was saying something about our Embassies. Unfortunately, our propaganda machinery has completely failed there. The people going there are utterly incompetent, useless for the job. Some of them are idlers. Only a very few of them are good, competent, doing the job to some extent. Sir, I roam about so much in the world and as an Indian I feel ashamed when we are so much misunderstood today outside India. And when we put questions, the hon. Minister says this is all right and that is all right. In Geneva I found

that our Embassy officials have removed their names from the telephone directory. During office hours we can contact them and not outside office hours or on holidays as no names appear in the telephone directory. It has to be ascertained why their residence numbers are not given. When they get telephones at the cost of the Government, it is not only for exchange between their friends for dinners and other engagements, but also for the use of the Indians and other public.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. K. KUMARAN): Probably they may not be available on holidays.

SHRI ABID ALI: They do not want to be available. In their libraries you will find newspapers three to four weeks old, Times of India, Amrita Baza, Patrika or the Hindustan Times. Similarly, magazines are three to four months old on their tables. In this way can you do propaganda in favour of India? People go to the library and find these old newspapers and magazines.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: They come back only after their children have read them.

SHRI ABID ALI: You might have enjoyed these things there. You are a better experienced man, I appreciate.

Then these officers who are there for long periods, they cease to be Indians, Emotionally they do not belong to India. For no purpose they are Indians. After every three or four years of assignment every one of them should be posted in India. Of course, there will be some difficulty in finding for them jobs in other Ministries.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. K. KUMARAN): You must wind up.

SHRI ABID ALI: Five minutes more and I have done. You are so kind to me. So I was saying that they should be brought to India.

They should remain in every respect Indians.

Then the inspection which is done in our foreign Embassies is very much defective. The personnel engaged in this inspection work is also not of the standard that is needed. It should be improved. Why can we not remove our people from China where there is very little to be done? Of course, if the Government of India does not want to close the Indian Embassy in China, let them keep the minimum number of people there.

About Naxalbari. I would request the Government that they should be very much serious. This is a thing which will always be remembered in the history of our country. They should not be hesitant to take stringent action.

With regard to labour matter, there should be quick disposal of industrial matters, conciliation matters. I know there are cases pending in industrial courts, cases which have not been disposed of for four years. I know of some cases with which I am connected as a trade union worker. What is this? In this way how can we expect the labour to be more inclined towards industrial settlement machinery if their cases remain pending for our or five years?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. K. KUMARAN): You have finished Dr. Antani.

SHRI ABID ALI: All right, Sir, if you are in a hurry I have finished.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in offering my observations on the Appropriation Bill I keep in mind the principles laid down, by Abraham Lincoln in regulating the economy of the country, namely, the U.S.A.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARCAVA) in the Chair.] He said that you cannot bring pros-

perity by discouraging thrift. We cannot establish sound security by borrowed money and we should not spend more than what we earn. I feel, Sir, our Appropriation Bills all these years do not disclose that any consideration has been given to these principles. Perhaps Lincoln was too primitive and we are too far advanced. That is not so. Even economists of the modern age in all countries have substantially agreed that you can never build up sound economy of the country by borrowed money and without thrift. This, I am afraid, is because India has followed a path during all these 20 years of visionaries and idealists who desire India to be either U.S.A. or Russia, irrespective of her ancient culture and capacity, with the utmost rapidity, and not that of realists who base their financial policies on the capacity of their country to absorb the materialism of other countries easily and without damage. The result is that we have been putting our cart before the horse and the cart is about to be toppled down altogether. The test I desire to apply to the Appropriation Bill is: Do we get the worth of every penny or paisa that we spend? The answer, it will be agreed, is very disappointing. You may take the instance of any Ministry. I, for instance, will take, in the brief time that I have at my disposal, the results of the Food and Agriculture Ministry. What are the results of the Food and Agriculture Ministry on which we spend so much? Have we reduced the shortage of food or are we resorting to imports under P.L. 480? And even under that scheme, what is the wastage? What are the results of the Agriculture Ministry's activities? I put during the week a question to the Ministry about the wastage on the wharf of Kandla, about 2,500 tons of wheat lying uncovered and unsheltered during monsoon. And the answer that I have received is a blatant "No, Sir, the question does not arise". Therefore, nothing has been done. Perhaps I was blind.

[Dr. B. N. Antani.] Perhaps I was too prejudiced. I have seen the damage with my own eyes and yet the Ministry callously gives this sort of reply. Even leaving that incident apart, my complaint about the Food Ministry is that their scientific researches, their machineries and their experiments under the Community Development Project National Extension, etc., are without due results. For instance, a Master of Agriculture came to teach the peasants in Kutch on how to grow good bajri. We have been growing *bajri* ever since Kutch came into existence. Now he said "By planting this plant in your fields, you will have three times or four times the normal production." I saw the plant and asked that expert what that plant was. It turned out to be a stalk of *jhowar* and not *bajri*. This, Sir, is a fact and my experience.

Leaving that also apart, look at our Education Ministry's performance. It is all only theories and experiments with damage to the country and the education that we are having.

Look at Irrigation. There are tanks and big irrigation dams have been built. I have noticed in my part of the country that major dams have been built and are there for six years but canals are not built. Therefore, that water is wasted. And we are talking of creating a paradise of Russia and paradise of all other countries. With all this appropriation of the money of the tax-payers, what are the results? We are clamouring for the Narmada Project in Gujarat but Gujarat is isolated, disregarded and neglected ever since the demise of the late lamented Sardar Vallabh-bhai Pate¹. That has been my complaint and that is going to be my complaint unless I am convinced to the contrary. Look at the roads. Only the other day, the Deputy Minister in charge of Roads ...

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: The Deputy Prime Minister is from Gujarat . . .

DR. B. N. ANTANI: Thank you. I will go on with my theme; I do not want the bell to ring; that is my principle. The Deputy Minister in charge of roads said only the day before yesterday that top priority to border roads in Rajasthan will have to be re-considered. But he has omitted Kutch. Now with the greatest difficulty and after the aggression by Pakistan, the eyes of the Government were opened to the importance of building these roads. Now they say that because they have not got enough finances these roads cannot be completed. Is it the way that this Ministry should function? Look at our Narmada Project. Why has it not been finalised and implemented yet? My friend, Mr. Dharia was very anxious to see that the Gwalior Maharaja's property was undervalued. He wants to have the lion's share for Maharashtra in everything. Mr. Mishra.—I hope from tomorrow I shall not have to mention his name—says "Narmada hamari hai". We in Gujarat say, "Narmada Hamari se," with the result that Narmada is not being finalised. Does the Government consider what has to be done with the result that Narmada is not projects?

Another point is about vigilance on the Appropriation. We have the Public Accounts Committee; we have the Estimates Committee. They are producing reports. But "kaun sunta hai?". What attention is being given to these reports? Why have we these Committees then? Is it a mockery? Are we cheating ourselves and cheating the country by setting up these Committees? Are they subordinate bodies? Are they supposed to explain their reports? For your information, I will read out only two small paragraphs from the 69th Report of the Public Accounts Committee. They say:

"The Committee find from the notes furnished by the Ministries, etc., that preparation of defective Budget and Revised Estimates, delay in adjustment of debits,

[Dr. B. N. Antani]

finances? We have multiplied the collectors. I remember a story. A father wanted to have an eligible boy for his daughter and he sent the priest to find out a boy of 18 years, efficient, proficient, educated, smart and handsome. The priest went and brought two eligible boys of 9 years and said 'Here is the boy'. That is the result of the Panchayati Raj. There is the Collector-cum-B.D.O. B.D.O-cum-C.D.O. and C.D.O-cum Z.D.O. with the result the expenditure is accumulating. The development, according to the report of the Estimates Committee, is nil and for one daughter we have got two bridegrooms of 9 years old. I pray, why do you, in the name of the sacred principles, in the name of the excellent devices, spoil the money of the tax-payer, the poor crushed taxpayer and create wastage instead of improving? These things can happen only where party is above our country. I can only think of the happening of such a callous nature only...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): When there is no bell.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: Thank you I will therefore conclude. I know your fingers are turning to the bell and so I am finishing this. I remember a story. People only think of themselves, their own people and their own groups and not of the country. I remember an Indian Prince who was dying having no heir and he called his Chief Minister and said: When I die tomorrow morning, as I have no heir, you go out and the first man entering the gate is to be put on the throne and the *gaddi*, not as a Deputy Minister but as one with full Cabinet rank.' One Fakir Baba with tongs and *kamandal* entered the city and he was put on the throne—there was a reshuffle overnight—and he called his Minister to put some tobacco in his *hookah*. The Minister said that it was not his function. A nearby barber came and put the tobacco. At once he said -You are a

fine man, you are efficient and you are appointed as my Chief Minister'. They went on merrily with *hookah* for 5 or 6 years and the neighbouring State—we are not unfortunately taking the simile too far—thought it was the opportunity to attack. The armies came. He kept on thinking of idealism: 'Oh, President Johnson, Kosygin, Tashkent formula, etc' The armies entered. What did the Baba do? He took up the tongs and said:

इस काल के आये थे और का ले के जायेंगे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): The time ended.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: I am sorry. It pains me to say this but I, at this age, at the fag end of my life, feel that the phenomenon is so painful, so sad for the future of my mother country, India, which we all equally love. God save that country from this wastage. This is my prayer and I therefore appeal to you again to think twice before spending this money of my poor tax-payer which you are wasting in the way that I have just described

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND COMMUNICATIONS (DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH): Yesterday, Shri Bhupesh Gupta made certain remarks which bear no relationship with facts and are thoroughly baseless and unfounded.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta *inter alia* said—I quote;

"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"

I As you know, Sir, I took charge of the office of Minister of Parliamentary Affairs on 13th March, 1967. Shri

failure to maintain liability registers properly and consequent non-provision for adjustment of old liabilities, erroneous adjustments, failure to anticipate receipt of stores more accurately and lack of proper control over expenditure, were the main causes of these excesses" in demands.

The Committee are surprised to know that despite the recommendations made by them and instructions issued by Government from time to time, such failures in budgeting and control over expenditure are continuing. They would, therefore, urge upon the Ministries/Departments to make greater efforts to ensure that the extent procedure is properly followed by all concerned so as to improve the position."

Then I would like to mention another thing. We have, Sir, all these schemes of Community Development and National Extension Service and improvement of streets and drains in rural areas, etc. We have spent millions of rupees on these. And what is the result? The Third Report of the Estimates Committee 1967-68 says: "Regarding the progress made by the States and Union Territories to effect improvement in laying of streets and drains in the villages the Committee have been informed as under: Andhra Pradesh—progress is nil; Assam—progress is nil; Gujarat—progress is nil; Jammu and Kashmir—progress is nil;" and ditto and ditto. This is the report of the Estimates Committee.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal):
Grand total?

DR. B. N. ANTANI: My arithmetic is very weak. So my point is, ask this House to vote for money but give us the results. I am one who will not make grievances as a policy and speak here at this moment. I shall find another occasion for that but I warn the Government that never there was a time for them to reconsider their whole budgetary system and see that

the economy is affected in appropriating the country's money. The hon. Finance Minister has himself accepted the cut of 10 per cent, in expenditure. Why has he not followed this? Is it because the party is above the country? There is no other answer to my mind than this. Such an honest Finance Minister who believes and who has the courage of his conviction in all his dealings, when he says that there must be a 10 per cent, cut in the expenditure, why has he not evolved that formula in this Budget for 1967-68? Take the instance of the expenditure that we have on the External Affairs Ministry's Appropriation Account. We have got so many foreign Missions. We have seen the result just now, only two minutes ago. Look at the hesitating way the hon. Minister for External Affairs has to explain. When the U. K. Minister goes over his head and shoulders, our Minister has not the time even to sit by the side of our President and talk socially to the ladies assembled at the airport. Our Missions are a terrible waste I have seen by my own experience that all the Missions in the recently liberated East African territories, namely, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Kenya are spending crores of rupees. They are giving us no results and no protection to our nationals established there. They are corrupt. I am in a position to prove that. Is the External Affairs Ministry going to institute any enquiry in this matter? The Administrative Reforms Commission has even accepted the principle of 10 per cent, reduction in the High Commission in the U.K. I am sure this would be followed. Unless therefore you consider all these elementary principles, I am not here this afternoon to talk of the grandiose departments, or of Naxalbari or other things. They are happening in this country and our eyes are to be open to the real things.

Before I conclude, I will say a word about Panchayats. What a beautiful formula they have evolved—the Village Panchayat and all—but what are the results achieved by way of

Kailash Chandra applied for two months' earned leave on 'medical grounds' with effect from 17th March, 1967, which was sanctioned by me on the same day, i.e., 17th March, 1967. On expiry of his two months' leave, Shri Kailash Chandra applied for two further extensions of leave which were also granted D3' me. He has, since then, taken charge of his new appointment as Commissioner of Social Welfare and *ex-officio* Joint Secretary in the Department of Social Welfare

As you know, the Presidential Elections took place on 6th May, 1967 while Shri Kailash Chandra was on continuous leave from 17th March, 1967 to 6th June, 1967 and another officer was officiating as Secretary of the Department during this period. Shri Kailash Chandra could not have, therefore, been asked by me to perform any duty at all while he was on leave on 'medical grounds'. The allegation that Shri Kailash Chandra was asked by me to issue a whip in connection with Presidential Election has no factual basis at all. As is well known, all the whips are issued, as and when necessary, by the concerned party offices and not by Government Departments.

Thank you.

श्री शीलभद्र याज्जी : माननीय वाइस चैयरमैन महोदय, मैं इस एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल नं० 2 का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Misappropriation Bill.

श्री शीलभद्र याज्जी : आप यह कह सकते हैं, आपको आजादी है क्योंकि आपका जितना काम होता है ऐसे ही होता है। मेरे साथी कहते हैं कि वे समाजवाद में विश्वास करते हैं लेकिन चीन के बहकावे में आकर दूसरी-दूसरी बात करते हैं, लेकिन समाजवाद तो चाहते हैं इसलिए मैं उन्हीं को कुछ उपदेश देने के

लिए इस एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल पर बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

अभी हमारी स्वतंत्र पार्टी के जो सदस्य बोले—वे तो समाजवाद के कट्टर दुश्मन हैं—उन्होंने कहा कि हमारा बुढ़ापा आ गया, जाने का वक्त हो गया, देश की ऐसी परिस्थिति है, कुछ सुधार चाहिए, लेकिन जब तक स्वतंत्र पार्टी के दिमाग का इलाज नहीं होगा, वे समाजवादी नहीं बनेंगे, चाहे बुढ़ापे में मरें या 200 बरस में मरें उससे देश का कुछ होने वाला नहीं है। जो अपने को समाजवादी कहते हैं उन्हीं पर मैं सर्वप्रथम आता हूँ। जब हम सरकार को अरबों रुपया देते हैं तो उसका समर्थन करते हुए भी हमारा यह कर्त्तव्य हो जाता है कि यह पूछें कि उसका सदुपयोग होता है या नहीं, हमारी पुलिस के लोग, इन्टेलीजेन्स डिपार्टमेंट के लोग, मिलिटरी के लोग काम करते हैं या नहीं और सरकार को यह बताएं कि जो उसके काम में त्रुटियाँ हैं उनको सुधारने की कोशिश करें।

माननीय वाइस चैयरमैन साहब, जब से आजादी आई है देश के इतिहास में जैसी विषम परिस्थिति अभी हो गई है वैसी कभी नहीं थी। हमारे लीडरों को पता नहीं है कि उनके पैरों के नीचे से जमीन कब निकल जायगी, ऐसी परिस्थिति में वे बैठे हुए हैं। किसी देश में आप जाइए ऐसी परिस्थिति नहीं मिलेगी। अंग्रेजों के वक्त में भी हम जब आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ते थे, जो अहिंसात्मक थी, तब भी उन्होंने क्रिमिनल ला एमेण्डमेंट एक्ट के मुताबिक कांग्रेस को इल्लिगल करार दे दिया था 17(1) और 17(2) के मुताबिक, लेकिन आज नागा लैंड में हमारी सेना बैठी हुई है फिर भी वहाँ होस्टाइल नागाओं की आर्मी की परेड होती है और हमारी आर्मी चुपचाप देखती है। ब्रिज टूटते हैं, सेना के लोग बैठे रहते हैं, कुछ नहीं कर सकते हैं, दिल्ली से उनको

[श्री शीलभद्र याजी]

सन्देशा गया है कि प्यार करो, मुहब्बत करो, उसी से काम चलेगा। इतना ही नहीं जो इस्लीगल सरकार वहां उन की बैठी हुई है जो लोगों का मर्डर करती है, मारती है, लूटती है उसके रिप्रेजेंटेटिव प्राइम मिनिस्टर से बात करते हैं ऐंज ए प्राइम मिनिस्टर आफ नागालैंड। आपने इतिहास में यह कहीं सुना है, संसार में ऐसे कोई काम होता है? मिजो कर रहे हैं। कूकी कर रहे हैं। हमारे नीरेन घोष कहते हैं कि इसमें उनका हाथ नहीं है, लेकिन मैं कहता हूं कि कहीं हो, चाहे नक्सलवाड़ी में हो या देश में किसी हिस्से में हो जो माओपन्थी अपने को कहते हैं उनके खिलाफ हमारी सरकार क्या कर रही है? कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय में मीटिंग होती है, पी० एस० पी० के लोगों को पीटा जाता है, माओ जिन्दाबाद चलता है, उनकी पंटे निकलती है और हमारी चरखे और तकली की सरकार सबको बर्दाश्त करती है। ठीक है, लेफ्ट सी० पी० आई० के लोग कहते हैं कि हमारा इससे सरोकार नहीं है। उनको भगवान सुबुद्धि दे, वे ऐसे ही कहते रहें, लेकिन करें कुछ और बोलें कुछ, ऐसा न करें। इसलिए आज यह जरूरी हो जाता है कि जब हम रुपया सरकार को देते हैं तो चेतावनी भी दें कि स्थिति क्या है। चाहे होस्टाइल नागा हो जायें, मिजो हो जायें, ककी हो जायें, आज होल ईस्टर्न जोन ज्वालामुखी पर बैठा हुआ है और हमारी सरकार वहां कुछ भी नहीं कर रही है। परिस्थिति बहुत गम्भीर है। चाइना के इशारे पर, पाकिस्तान के इशारे पर आज आसाम में क्या क्या हो रहा है। हम पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरों से पूछते नहीं और चव्हाण साहब की घोषणा होती है कि आसाम टुकड़े-टुकड़े होगा, हिल स्टेट बनेगी। कितनी हिल स्टेट बनेंगी? मिजो की बनेगी, खासी-जयन्तिया की बनेंगी, मिर्किर की बनेगी? हमारे बिहार में 40

लाख शेड्यूलड ट्राइबल लोग हैं, वहां 4 हिल स्टेट बनेंगी। मिदनापुर और उड़ीसा में भी बनेंगी, तीन करोड़ शेड्यूलड ट्राइबल लोग हैं। भारत में आज हमारी सरकार थोड़ा सा डंडा उठाए। अगर एक डाइरेक्ट एक्शन हो जाता है तो पुलिस काम करती नहीं। बोमडीला का फाल हो जाय, चाइना चपत लगा कर चला जाय सब आराम से काम चलता है। इस तरह की जो परिस्थिति है उस पर आज सोचने-विचारने की जरूरत है। हमारी सरकार की यह जो ढिलाई हो रही, उसका कारण हमारा यह संस्कार है जो बुद्ध भगवान ने अहिंसा का उपदेश दिया। फिर यहां महावीर जैन हुए, गांधी जी भी यहीं पैदा हुए। खून हमारा ठंडा हो गया है। जो आता है, लगाता है, चला जाता है। अब उसको गरम करने की आवश्यकता है। देश की आजादी को लाने में बड़ी कुर्बानी करनी पड़ी है और इसलिए उसे बनाए रखने के लिए पूरा प्रयास करना होगा। आज जो करो सबकी इजाजत है, इससे हमारे देश की आजादी ठहर नहीं सकती है। सब लोग सिर उठाते हैं मास्टर तारासिंह एक पगला आदमी है वह बोलता है कि हम पाकिस्तान से बात करेंगे। हिन्दुस्तान का वही हाल है जैसा कि पहले अश्वमेध यज्ञ होता था, जहां तक घोड़ा जाता था साम्राज्य बन जाता था, चक्रवर्ती राजा हो जाता था। इस तरह की परिस्थिति है।

विरोधी लोग कहते हैं कि राज्यों का और सेन्टर का सम्बन्ध क्या होना चाहिए। सम्बन्ध अच्छा होना चाहिए, लेकिन हमारी सरकार की जो ढुलमुल नीति है, जो बीकनीड पालिसी है उसका परित्याग करना पड़ेगा हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी को बचाने के लिए अभी क्या यह जरूरी था कि मनीपुर सरकार के बगैर पूछे रेवरेंड माइकेल स्काट के इशारे पर मनीपुर के तीन सबडिवीजनों में सीजफायर कर दिया और सीजफायर के

बाद होस्टाइल नागाओं ने दूसरी जगह से आकर तीनों सबडिवीजनों पर कब्जा कर लिया । उसके खिलाफ सरकार कुछ करती नहीं । लोग पूछते हैं तो कहती है कि सब शान्ति है, चागला साहब कहते हैं वहाँ सब कुछ शान्ति है । हमारे सिपाही मारे जा रहे हैं, सोल्सर्ज मारे जा रहे हैं । नागालैंड में कहीं जाइए तो ठहर नहीं सकते, उनकी पेरैलल गवर्नमेंट चलती है, पेरैलल कोर्ट चलते हैं और हमारे एक्स्प्टनेल अफेयर्स मिनिस्टर का यह व्यान होता है । नागालैंड अपने देश का हिस्सा है लेकिन उसके इन्चार्ज चागला साहब हैं, चव्हाण साहब नहीं । किसी देश में ऐसा होता है ? प्रधान मंत्री नेहरू जो ने एक दफा जो कर दिया वह गलती अभी तक चली आ रही है । अगर सचमुच समाजवादो राज की स्थापना करना चाहते हैं तो सबसे पहली जरूरी चीज यह हो जाती है कि जो एन्टो-सोशल एलमेंट हैं, द्रोही लोग हैं, जो-जो जहाँ-जहाँ हैं और चीन और पाकिस्तान के इशारे पर काम कर रहे हैं, चाहे होस्टाइल मित्र हों, चाहे माओपन्थी हों, चाहे होस्टाइल नागा हों, या कूकी हों, उनकी संस्था को इल्लेगल घोषित करना चाहिए, उनकी सरकार को वखास्त करना चाहिए । उनकी सरकार के नुमाइन्दे यहाँ पर आकर बातचीत करते हैं यह हमारी बोकनोड पालिसी का नतीजा है । क्या यह सरकार चलाने का तरीका है । इसलिए मजबूती के साथ अगर आप शासन नहीं सम्भालेंगे तो फिर द्रविड़ मुन्नेत्र कड़गम का नारा फिर शुरू होगा, मास्टर जो का भी शुरू होगा । देश में अगर एक हिल स्टेट बनती है तो और जगह 4-4 हिल स्टेट बनने जा रही हैं । असल ज़रूरत है जल्दी से जल्दी समाजवाद की स्थापना करने की । आज तो स्वतंत्र पार्टी के लोग नारा मारते हैं—उनकी जो खोज हो रही है—उसका असर हम कांग्रेसियों पर पड़ जाता है, कुछ कल शान्ता बहिन जी ने इशारा किया है । हमारी नैदेशिक नीति है नान-एलाइनमेंट की वह

ठीक है । लेकिन जो आर्थिक नीति है उस पर मिश्रित नीति का असर पड़ना नहीं चाहिए, हम तो समझते हैं कि असर नहीं है, हमने तो प्लानिंग और समाजवाद को छोड़ा नहीं लेकिन जैसा कि मैं बराबर कहता हूँ कि समाजवाद की स्थापना कच्छन गति से हो रही है, इस सरकार को 20 वर्ष हो गये और हमारी आर्थिक नीति ज्यों की त्यों गंगा-जमुना की चल रही है, मिक्सड एकानामी की चल रही है, टाटाजी रहेंगे, बिड़ला जी रहेंगे, वह भी रहेंगे, शान्ति-प्रसाद जैन भी रहेंगे, तो यह चलने वाली नहीं है । जनता ने आपका बहुत विश्वास किया, 1952 में थम्पिंग मेजरिटी में चुन कर भेजा, 1957 में भेजा, 1962 में भेजा । नेहरू जी को कौन पता था कि समाजवाद की स्थापना नहीं की । आपने वह नहीं किया । और नहीं करते करते हालत बदतर हो रही है, समाजवाद तो इस देश में नहीं होगा और ये जो चार छुटभया पार्टी के लोग बैठे हैं यह समझते हैं कि हो जायगा, गाय माता की चलेगी, स्वतंत्र पार्टी का चलेगा । गाय के नाम पर इसी दिल्ली में आठ लाख आदमी आये, तो यह राइट रिप्लेशन होगा । हमारे नोरेन घोष जी और भूपेश गुप्ता जी और ये जो पी० एस० पी० और एस० एस० पी० के जो लोग हैं अपने को समाजवादो कहते हैं । क्या सचमुच में सही समाजवादो हैं । हिटलर और मुसोलिनी के लैंड में जो वहाँ की लेफ्ट पार्टी ने गलतों को वही गलती हो रही है । यह क्या चू-बूँ का मुरब्बा है, बंगाल में या और जगह, 14 या 18 पार्टीज हैं, जितनी आयडियालाजाज ह उनको एक पिटारे में बद करके रख दिया, रोटी और मछली खाने के लिये, गद्दी लेने के लिये, सब लोगों ने सब का परित्याग कर दिया है, नतीजा क्या होगा, नतीजा वही होगा जो कि वहाँ हुआ है । इसलिये हम कहते हैं, आपको सचेत करते हैं कि हमारी सरकार की, कांग्रेस की, मदद कीजिये, कम

[श्री शीलभद्र याजी]

से कम कांग्रेस मजबूत रहती है तो देश एक रहता है, जरा कांग्रेस कमजोर हुई कि समाजवाद तो आयेगा नहीं, वह आप ला नहीं सकते, आप दो तीन यहाँ बैठकर नहीं ला सकते, उसको तो कांग्रेस लायेगी और ला सकती है, लेकिन देश की युनिटी, देश की एकता भंग हो जायेगी। इसलिये हर एक देशभक्त का यह फर्ज है...

श्री रमेशचन्द्र शंकरराव खांडेकर :
कांग्रेस को ज्वाइन करे।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : ज्वाइन न करिये, बाहर रहिये, हम कांग्रेस में हैं और कांग्रेस के जो लीडर हैं, उनके भक्त नहीं हैं, जो कांग्रेस का सही उसूल है, सिद्धांत है, उसके मुताबिक काम करेंगे, आपको कहता हूँ, विरोधियों को कहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस कमजोर होती है तो देश कमजोर होता है। और सरकार का भी फर्ज है कि जल्दी से जल्दी इसकी व्यवस्था करे, जिसका 20 वर्ष पहले पार्लियामेंट में एलान किया, कांग्रेस में एलान किया कि हम समाजवादी व्यवस्था करेंगे लेकिन 20 वर्ष हो गये और हमने नहीं किया तो तीन चार वर्ष के अन्दर क, हम बराबर कहते हैं कि कम से कम 31 दिसम्बर 1970 तक आप घोषणा कर दें कि इतने समय में जितने बड़े बड़े कल-कारखाने हैं और बेसिक इंडस्ट्रीज हैं उनका राष्ट्रीयकरण करेंगे। अब, उसके चलाने वाले आई० सी० एस० हैं, आप चिनाई जी को, टाटा जी को, बिड़ला जी को, डालमिया जी को चलाने वाला करें जैसे कि जारशाही के नाश के बाद लेनिन ने किया, उनको मैनेजर बना कर रखा, उनको खूब दे दो और उनको अच्छी तरह से रखो, ये जो आई० ए० एस०, आई० सी० एस०, आई० पी० एस० के लोग हैं वह क्या बिजनेस चलायेंगे, इनसे नहीं चलेगा।

(Time bell rings.)

एक मिनट और दे दें। एक मिनट में आप से इसलिये भांगता हूँ कि मुझे यह कहना कि जब हेल्थ मिनिसट्री कहती है कि हमारी एवरेज उम्र 50 हो गई तो इधर रिटायरमेंट एज को कम किया जा रहा है। हमारे पंडित नेहरू जी ने भी कहा था कि The Pay Commission's recommendations should be treated as an award और उस पर रिटायरमेंट एज 58 हुई, फिर कमी 55 और कमी 58 का चलता है लेकिन अब तो 50 को चलाने की बात हो रही है। एक तरफ तो जो पोलिटिकल लोग हैं, सियासतवां हैं वह सवा सो वर्ष तक रहते हैं, भ्रमभान घाट तक कब्रिस्तान तक ले जाने तक फिट हूँ और जो लोग सेना में काम करने वाले हैं या सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं वह 55 वर्ष के बाद भी फिट नहीं हैं जब कि हमारी एवरेज एज 50 हो गई है और इधर तो उसको और घटाने की बात शुरू हो गई है। तो मैं चेतावनी देता हूँ कि रिट्रेचमेंट नहीं होना चाहिये, रिटायरमेंट एज में कमी नहीं होनी चाहिये, जैसा कि पंडित जी ने कहा था कि यह एक एवार्ड है और 58 रहनी चाहिये। इसके साथ साथ जो गजेन्द्र गडकर कर्मशान की सिफारिश है उसको जल्दी लागू करना चाहिये। वेज फ्रीज वगैरह की बात किये वगैर आप गल्ला दे नहीं सकते, प्राइस फ्रीज कर नहीं सकते, तो जो सिफारिश है उसको मंजूर करना चाहिये। प्रान्तीय सरकारें नहीं करती हैं तो उनको फेल होने दीजिये लेकिन केन्द्रीय सरकार का यह फर्ज है कि जिस तरह से गजेन्द्र गडकर कर्मशान की रिपोर्ट है उसके मुताबिक अपने कर्मचारियों को महंगाई भत्ता दें। उसके मुताबिक महंगाई भत्ते में वृद्धि होनी चाहिये। जय हिन्द।

प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धान्तालंकार (नाम-निर्देशित) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय समाजवाद का नारा इधर से भी उठता है और उधर से भी उठता है लेकिन मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि न आप समाजवाद को ला सकते हैं

और न आप ला सकते हैं। कारण क्या है कारण इसका यह है कि...

श्री के० एम० चावडा (गुजरात) :
कौन लायेगा फिर ?

प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धान्तार्थकार : समाजवाद नारों से नहीं आया करता, समाजवाद एक जीवन की समस्या है, जिन लोगों के जीवन के अन्दर समाजवाद नहीं है वह समाजवाद का नारा लगाते रहेंगे। समाजवाद का नारा लगाते हुये आज 20 वर्ष हो गये, तो समाजवाद न आप ला सकेंगे और न आप ला सकेंगे। जैसा कि एक सज्जन कह रहे हैं, आपस में जूतमपैजार हो रही है लेकिन समाजवाद नहीं आ रहा है। समाजवाद तब आयेगा जब कि हमारे दिमाग के अन्दर समाजवाद का विचार घर कर जायेगा और दिमाग के अन्दर वह कैसे घर कर सकता है जब तक कि आप अपने बच्चों को समाजवाद की विचारधारा के अन्दर नहीं पालते, जब तक शुरू से ही उनके अन्दर समाजवाद के विचार नहीं आते तब तक वह समाजवाद को बड़े होकर जीवन में नहीं ला सकते। एक शिक्षाविज्ञ ने कहा है कि सात वर्ष तक बच्चों को मेरे पास रखो उसके बाद उस बच्चे को मेरे से ले लो और जीवन भर अपने पास रखो लेकिन वह बच्चा मेरा ही रहेगा। तो बच्चों के जीवन में उनके मस्तिष्क के ऊपर प्रारम्भ में विचार डाल दिये जाते हैं वे विचार अन्त तक बने रहते हैं। ये हमारे समाजवाद के नारे लगाने वाले तो स्वयं कैपिटलिस्ट हैं, स्वयं तो धन-धान्य से पूर्ण हैं और समाजवाद का नारा लगाते हैं। जीवन के अन्दर परिवर्तन दो तरह से आया करता है, या तो इवोल्यूशन से विकास से, या क्रान्ति से, दो ही मार्ग हैं जिससे कि जीवन बदलता है व्यक्ति का और समाज का अगर विकास के मार्ग से चलना है तो विकास तो जीवन के प्रारम्भ से होगा। आप बच्चों को समाजवादी ढंग से पालिये, और बच्चों को समाजवादी ढंग से पालने

का तरीका एक है, उसके सिवाय दूसरा नहीं है, और वह शिक्षा का है।

विकास का जो क्षेत्र है उसके अन्दर बच्चों को लाइये, सात वर्ष तक आश्रम के अन्दर रखिये और वहां पर समाजवादी जीवन में उनको रखिये, फिर चाहे वह बच्चा अमीर का हो चाहे गरीब का हो, जब वे बच्चे आश्रमों से निकलेंगे तो वह समाजवादी विचार ही सब जगह पेश करेंगे। कृष्ण और सुदामा एक आश्रम के अन्दर पले थे इसलिये दोनों की विचारधारा एक थी लेकिन आज हमारे बच्चे स्कूलों में जाते हैं, अमीरों के जाते हैं और गरीबों के जाते हैं, अमीरी और गरीबी के अन्दर जब वह बच्चे पलते हैं तब समाज के अन्दर चाहे समाजवाद का नारा लगाते रहें लेकिन वह अपने जीवन के अन्दर समाजवाद नहीं ला सकते। और क्योंकि इस प्रकार से आपसी जीवन में समाजवाद को विकास के जरिये नहीं लाये इसका परिणाम है जैसा कि मैंने कहा कि अगर विकास नहीं होगा तो क्रान्ति होगी, इवोल्यूशन नहीं होगा तो रेवोल्यूशन होगा, और यही कारण है कि आज आप देख रहे हैं कि अपने समाज के अन्दर ऐसे लोग आ रहे हैं जो कि क्रान्ति का नारा लगाते हैं। हम क्रान्ति से समाजवाद को लाना नहीं चाहते हम चाहते हैं कि समाज के अन्दर विकास से समाजवाद आवे। तो विकास के द्वारा समाजवाद को लाने का एक ही तरीका है कि आप शिक्षा के ऊपर अपना सारा ध्यान केन्द्रित कीजिये। आज आपने शिक्षा आयोग बनाया, लेकिन शिक्षा आयोग भी क्या कर रहा है। शिक्षा आयोग ने बहुत-सी बातें कहीं। शिक्षा आयोग ने कहा कि विश्वविद्यालयों के अन्दर हमें अपनी शिक्षा अपनी मातृभाषा के माध्यम से लेनी होगी, शिक्षा आयोग ने यह भी कहा कि जितने भी सामाजिक मूल्य हैं उनको आध्यात्मिक बनाना होगा, स्प्रिचुअल वैल्यूज लाने होंगे। लेकिन केवल कागज पर लिख देने से कि हम आध्यात्मिक मूल्यों को लाना चाहते

[प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धान्तालंकार]

है, वह आध्यात्मिक मूल्य नहीं आ सकते। आपको सारी शिक्षा को आमूल-चूल बदलना होगा और जो प्राचीन भारत का आदर्श था गुरुकुल शिक्षा प्रणाली, आश्रम शिक्षा प्रणाली, उस प्रणाली के अंदर जब तक आप बच्चों को नहीं ढालते तब तक आपका समाज बदल नहीं सकता। मैं आपके सामने यह कहना चाहूंगा कि आप अगर कुछ भी परिवर्तन लाना चाहते हैं तो उसका एक ही उपाय है और वह उपाय यह है कि आप शिक्षा को आमूल-चूल बदलिये। जिस तरह से आप अपने प्राथमिक शिक्षा विद्यालय बना रहे हैं उस प्रकार के प्राथमिक शिक्षा विद्यालय बनाने से जीवन के अंदर परिवर्तन नहीं आ सकता है। प्रत्येक जिले के अंदर एक आश्रम होना चाहिये जिस आश्रम के अंदर गुरु और शिष्य इकट्ठे रहें, ठीक जैसे संदीपन गुरु के आश्रम में सुदामा और कृष्ण रहते थे और जब इस प्रकार से गुरु और शिष्य रहेंगे तब जाकर बच्चों के दिमाग में जो विचार परिवर्तन होगा वह क्रांतिकारी विचारों को लेकर समाज के अंदर आयेंगे तब उनको समाजवाद लाने से कोई रोक नहीं सकता। आपको बीस वर्ष हो गये चिल्लाते चिल्लाते : समाजवाद लाओ, समाजवाद लाओ। जिनके पास बड़ी बड़ी मिलें हैं, बड़ी बड़ी बैंकों में रुपया है, वे भी समाजवाद का नारा लगाते हैं और जिनके पास कुछ नहीं है वह भी समाजवाद का नारा लगाते हैं। चोरी न करने का उपदेश देना आसान है लेकिन जिसके पास कुछ चुराने को नहीं है वह चोरी क्या करेगा। यह कहना कि सच बोली, बड़ा आसान है जो झूठ नहीं बोल सकता वह सच क्या बोलेगा। यह कहना कि आप अहिंसा करो, जो हिंसा कर ही नहीं सकता वह अहिंसा क्या करेगा। पहले अपने अंदर शक्ति होनी चाहिये समाजवाद की धारा को अपने अंदर उत्पन्न करने की और वह शक्ति जब तक उत्पन्न नहीं होती तब

तक हम समाजवादी समाज को बदल नहीं सकते।

दूसरी बात, शिक्षा के अंदर जब हम ध्यान केन्द्रित करेंगे, तो शिक्षा के अंदर सब से पहली बात है आचरण का शुद्ध करना। आज हमारे अंदर चरित्र कहां है? अभी आपने देखा मध्य प्रदेश के अंदर 36 व्यक्ति जो कांग्रेस के नाम से चुने गये थे वे कांग्रेस छोड़ने को तैयार हैं।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : वे तो छोड़ चुके।

प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धान्तालंकार : यह जो स्थिति आज अपने देश के अंदर उत्पन्न हो गई है कि हम दल पार करते हैं इसका कारण सिर्फ यह है कि हमारे अंदर वह चरित्र नहीं रहा। होना तो यह चाहिये कि जो व्यक्ति जिस टिकट से चुना गया है, अगर वह उस दल को छोड़ना चाहता है, तो इसके बजाय कि वह दूसरे दल के अंदर शामिल हो, उसे विधान सभा से त्यागपत्र देना चाहिये और जनता के पास जाकर फिर अपील करनी चाहिये कि मैं इस प्रोग्राम से आना चाहता हूं। हमारा चरित्र इतना गिर गया है कि हम छोटे छोटे पदों के लिये तरसते हैं। कल एक बहिन कह रही थी कि प्राइम-मिनिस्टर जिसको चाहती है वह कर देती है वह कर देती है। तो क्या सिर्फ उन पदों के लिये ही प्राइम मिनिस्टर के पास जाना जरूरी है? अपने दल के अंदर जो व्यक्ति जहां पर है उस दल के साथ उसको ईमानदारी के साथ रहना चाहिये और अगर उस दल को वह छोड़ना चाहता है तो बजाय इसके कि उस दल को छोड़े उसे पहले अपनी विधान सभा से या पार्लियामेंट से त्याग-पत्र देना चाहिये। अभी हरियाणा के अंदर एक सज्जन थे हरद्वारी लाल। हरद्वारी लाल ने अपने चरित्र का परिचय दिया। हरद्वारी लाल कांग्रेस के टिकट से चुने गये थे, उन्होंने

दल पार किया लेकिन दल पार करने के बाद उन्होंने त्यागपत्र दे दिया। त्यागपत्र देने के बाद, फिर जाकर उन्होंने इलेक्शन लड़ा, उसके बाद चुन कर आए। तो ये 36 लोग जो अपने दल को छोड़ना चाहते हैं उनका यह नैतिक कर्तव्य है कि वे विधान सभा से त्याग-पत्र दें और त्याग पत्र देने के बाद फिर दोबारा इलेक्शन लड़ें।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : यह दोनों तरफ लागू होना चाहिये।

प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धान्तालंकार : मैं केवल कांग्रेस के लिये नहीं कहता। मैं तो जो भी व्यक्ति दल को पार करना चाहता है, ईमानदारी जिसके अंदर है उसकी बात कहता हूँ क्योंकि हमारे अंदर चरित्र बल नहीं है इसलिये हम सिर्फ दल पार कर देना चाहते हैं। ईमानदारी इस बात के अंदर है, चरित्रबल इस बात के अंदर है, चाहे कोई कांग्रेस का हो चाहे गैर कांग्रेस का हो जो व्यक्ति दल को पार करना चाहता है उसके लिये जरूरी होना चाहिये कि पहले त्याग-पत्र दे फिर जाकर इलेक्शन लड़ें, उसके बाद जनता उसको चुनती है तो फिर उसको आना चाहिये। अभी श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण ने कहा आप सब जगह घेराव करते हैं, घेराव उन लोगों का होना चाहिये जो दल पार करना चाहते हैं, उनको कहना चाहिये कि तुमको खाने नहीं देंगे, पीने नहीं देंगे, निकलने देंगे जब तक विधान सभा से त्याग पत्र देकर फिर दोबारा इलेक्शन नहीं लड़ोगे तो यह सब से बड़ी सोचने की बात है कि हमारा चरित्र बल क्या हो रहा है।

फिर मैं शिक्षा की तरफ आता हूँ। यह सब इसलिये है कि जो हमारा शिक्षा का कार्यक्रम है वह ठीक नहीं है और जो शिक्षा मंत्रालय है वह भी आज न जाने किस दिशा की तरफ जा रहा है। हमें कुछ मालूम ही नहीं पड़ता। आप मद्रास में जाकर देखिये, मद्रास के अंदर

और ही तरह की शिक्षा हो रही है, यू० पी० के अंदर अभी मेरठ में एक विश्वविद्यालय बना है, वहाँ छः महीने के अंदर इम्तिहान लगा, आगरा यूनिवर्सिटी के अंदर दो साल का इम्तिहान लगा। कहीं पर अपनी मातृ-भाषा में शिक्षा दी जायेगी, कहीं अंग्रेजी में शिक्षा दी जायेगी। तो हमारी सारी की सारी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था अव्यवस्थित है। हमें इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि शिक्षा जो कि हमारे सारे विचार का केन्द्र होना चाहिये, उस शिक्षा का हम महत्व समझें और उस क्षेत्र के अंदर हम एक ऐसी व्यवस्था उत्पन्न करें जिससे कि शिक्षा के द्वारा कोई एक विचार अपने देश के सामने रखा जा सके।

लार्ड मैकाले जिसने अंग्रेजी शिक्षा का प्रसार किया एक बड़ा समझदार व्यक्ति था। पहले तो हमने कहा कि त्रिभाषा, श्री लैंग्वेज फारमूला होना चाहिये। अब नये मिनिस्टर आए तो उन्होंने कहा दू लैंग्वेज फारमूला होना चाहिये। मैकाले था जिसने कहा वन लैंग्वेज फारमूला होना चाहिये और उसने सारे देश के अंदर अंग्रेजी फैला दी; उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि आज हम सब लोग यह समझते हैं कि अंग्रेजी के बिना हमारा गुजारा नहीं है जिनके बारे में मैं समझता हूँ कि वे मैकाले के मानस पुत्र हैं क्योंकि मैकाले तो चला गया लेकिन मैकाले अपने मानस पुत्रों को यहाँ छोड़ गया। हम सब लोग यह समझते हैं कि मैकाले ने भारतवर्ष को एक कर दिया अंग्रेजी के द्वारा। आज तो ऐसे शिक्षा मंत्री की आवश्यकता है जो कहे दो भाषा नहीं, तीन भाषा नहीं, सिर्फ एक भाषा भारतवर्ष की रहेगी और वह भाषा कौन हो, उस बात पर मैं नहीं जाता। लेकिन अगर आप सारे भारतवर्ष को एक बनाना चाहते हैं तो तीन भाषाओं से वही हो सकता है, दो भाषाओं से नहीं हो सकता है, एक ही भाषा से हो सकता है। अभी एक सज्जन कहते थे यह प्रैक्टिकल नहीं है, व्यावहारिक नहीं है। आज से

[प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धान्तलंकार]

डेढ़ सौ साल पहले जब मैकाले यहां आया था तब तो यह प्रैक्टिकल था, उस समय यह व्यावहारिक था, और आज डेढ़ सौ साल के बाद जब हम स्वतंत्र हो गये तो व्यावहारिक नहीं रहा। तो व्यावहारिक जब यह आज नहीं रहा ...

श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र : मैं थोड़ा सा एक प्रश्न पूछूंगा क्योंकि आप अंग्रेजी के बारे में बोलते हैं। मैं तो न प्रो-हिन्दी हूँ न प्रो-अंग्रेजी हूँ।

श्री महेश्वर नाथ कौल (नाम-निर्देशित) तो आप नो-लैंग्वेज हैं।

श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र : तो मैं एक प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ ...

श्री मुल्क गोविन्द रेड्डी : अंग्रेजी में पूछिये।

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I would like to have a clarification from him because he is now speaking in favour of Hindi and to those who are against Hindi he owes an explanation.

SHRI. M. N. KAUL: He is speaking in favour of one language.

(Interruptions)

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Kindly do not interrupt. I want to put a question to him. If Hindi becomes the language of all India, the Hindi-speaking areas do not have to subject themselves to all the disadvantages and difficulties that the non-Hindi-speaking areas will be put to. The people in the Hindi-speaking areas start talking that language from their very childhood but the others have to learn their own mother-tongue. They talk at home in their own mother-tongue and they have to additionally learn another language. This is what we find Thertlor* the difficulty for

them is that they have to learn at least two languages for their livelihood while those who belong to the Hindi-speaking areas can manage with the very same language which they start learning from their very childhood. Therefore the people who belong to the non-Hindi areas want the same disadvantage for both the Hindi-speaking areas and the non-Hindi-speaking areas. That is the only reason.

PROF. SATYAVRATA SIDDHANT-ALANKAR: I have understood your point. My contention is that when Lord Macaulay came India existed as it is today and India had as many languages at that time as it has today. Now, if Lord Macaulay could impose one language on the country and that language has come to such a pass that today all of us can speak in that language ...

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Nobody had any advantage. They started from scratch.

PROF. SATYAVRATA SIDDHANT-ALANKAR: I simply say that in our Education Ministry first we had the three-language formula. Then came the two-language formula. Why cannot we come to the one-language formula? The difficulty, as you have pointed out, is we have got so many languages. I say that during the time of Lord Macaulay also the same situation existed.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: No, not at all.

PROF. SATYAVRATA SIDDHANT-ALANKAR: I have not pointed out any particular language.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has made it clear that English was not a language when Lord Macaulay introduced English here. There is very little time, please wind up.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: It was an imposition.

پرو۔ سत्यناتھ سیدھانتا لنگار : میرے کہنے کا मतलब यह है कि मैं अंग्रेजी के विषय में कुछ नहीं कह रहा हूँ और न मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि अंग्रेजी होनी चाहिये, मराठी होनी चाहिये, तेलगू होनी चाहिये या तामिल होनी चाहिये। मैं तो एक सिद्धान्त की बात कह रहा हूँ कि क्या हमारे लिए एक लैंग्वेज व्यावहारिक नहीं है ? मैकाले के समय में जब एक लैंग्वेज व्यावहारिक थी तो आज वह कैसे अव्यावहारिक हो सकती है जबकि हम बहुत आगे बढ़ गये हैं। आज जब हम देश को एक करना चाहते हैं तो क्या यह हमारे लिए उचित नहीं होगा कि जिस तरह से मैकाले ने एक लैंग्वेज सारे देश में फैलाई उसी तरह से क्या हम आज एक लैंग्वेज सारे देश में लागू नहीं कर सकते हैं ? (Interruptions) हम देश की एकता का नारा लगाते हैं, कभी तीन लैंग्वेज फारमूला की बात करते हैं, कभी दो लैंग्वेज फारमूला की बात करते हैं, लेकिन हमारे देश की एकता के लिए एक लैंग्वेज बहुत ही आवश्यक है।

श्री شیخ خان (مسور) : تہی چیرمین صاحبہ - اس اپروپریشن بل کی میں تائید کرتا ہوں۔ یوں تو منظوری ہر سال دی جاتی ہے اور اس سال بھی ہم دے رہے ہیں مگر جو بنیادی بات ہے یا جو عام طور پر ہمارے چہرے روکر ہیں جب وہ اپنے علاقوں میں دیکھتے ہیں کہ ان منظور یوں کا کیا حشر ہوتا ہے ان کا کس طرح سے استعمال ہوتا ہے ان کی طرف کس طرح سے لاپرواہی ہوتی جاتی ہے تو میں میسٹر صاحب سے عرض کروں گا کہ جو بھی ہم منظور کرتے ہیں اس

خرچ کو کرنے کے لئے کہ وہ ٹھیک طرح سے ہو رہا ہے یا نہیں اس پر نگرانی رکھنے کے لئے اگر وہ کوئی خاص انتظام کر سکیں گے تو پھر اس سے اہم اور اچھا کام کوئی نہیں ہوگا جو ہم کر سکیں گے۔

میں آپ کے سامنے ایک مثال رکھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ زراعت کی ترقی کے لئے ہم نے بہت سے قدم اٹھائے ہیں۔ ہم نے کسانوں کے فائدے کے لئے ایک ٹریکٹر کی قیمت مقرر کر دی ہے۔ مگر آج حقیقت یہ ہے کہ مقررہ قیمت پر کسی کو ٹریکٹر نہیں ملتا ہے۔ ان باتوں کی طرف کوئی نگرانی نہیں کرتا۔ تو کس طرح سے ہمارے زراعت کی ترقی ہو گی۔ یہ ہم سب لوگوں کے لئے سوچنے کی اور عمل کرنے کی بات ہے جہاں ہم باولہوں کی کھدائی کے لئے سب سیدی دیتے ہیں وہاں میں ذاتی طور سے جانتا ہوں اور تقریباً ہر ممبر صاحب جانتے ہوئے کہ باولہوں کے لئے جو تقاوی اور سبسیدی دی جاتی ہے اس کا استعمال کس حد تک صحیح ہوتا ہے میں آپ سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جن باولہوں کے لئے پانچ سو روپے سبسیدی دی جاتی ہے یہاں پر وہ باولہاں موجود ہی نہیں ہوتی ہیں۔ اس بات کو کوئی پوچھنے والا اور نگرانی کرنے والا نہیں ہے۔ یہ جو

[شری شوہرخان]

ہمارے بلاک آفیسر ہیں ان کے بارے میں کئی دفعہ یہاں کہا گیا تھا کہ ان ہی - قی - اوز - کو درخواست کر دیا جائیگا لہٰذا آج تک اس پر عمل نہیں ہو سکا - حقیقت یہ ہے کہ اگر کوئی اچھی خدمت ہو سکتی ہے اس دیش کی تو ان بلاک آفیسروں کو ختم کر دینا چاہئے اور ہی - قی - اوز - کو نکال دینا چاہئے ہمارے گاؤں میں جو گرام سیوک اور گرام سیوکاٹھن ہیں وہ سوائے دیہی کی آبادی بڑھانے کے اور کوئی کام نہیں کرتیں - اگر ہم پور ان کو موقع دیتے ہیں تو ہمیں سوچنا پڑیگا کہ جو ہم منظوری کر رہے ہیں ان کا صحیح استعمال ہوگا ہو یا نہیں - دیہاتوں کے بارے میں جب ہم یہ کہتے ہیں کہ ہمیں ان لوگوں کو بھیج صحیح وقت پر تقسیم کرنا چاہئے تاکہ ہم زراعت کے معاملہ میں ان کی مدد کر سکیں - تو میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ میں خود ایک کاشتکار ہوں اور جہاں تک بھیج تقسیم کرنے کا سوال ہے وہ لوگوں کو ٹھیک وقت پر نہیں ملتا ہے - کہاں اور تقیم کی جب ضرورت ہوتی ہے جب اس کے بارے میں مطالبہ کیا جاتا ہے تو وہ وقت پر نہیں ملتا ہے - تو میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمارے گاؤں میں جو کام کرنے والے سرکاری آفیسران ہیں

یا دوسرے لوگ ہیں کم سے کم گرام سیوک یا گرام سیوکاٹھن ہیں وہ اگر اسی طرح کی رپورٹ تیار کریں کہ ہر دیہات میں کاشتکار کو کس طرح کی ضرورت ہے اور کب اس کو دینا چاہئے اور وہ چیز اس کو پہنچا ہو جائے تو ہم اپنی زراعت میں ایک انقلاب لا سکتے ہیں - جس چیز کے ذریعہ زراعت میں ہم ترقی کر سکتے ہیں اس کی طرف کوئی توجہ نہیں دیتا ہے -

شہدولت گاسٹ کے ایک ممبر صاحب نے کہا تھا کہ جنگلی بھی منظوری دی جاتی ہے وہ اوروں کے استعمال کے لئے لی جاتی ہے - یہ بات صحیح ہے اور میں خود اس چیز کو جانتا ہوں اور مجھ کو عملی طور پر اس کا تجربہ ہے - شہدولت گاسٹ کے لوگوں کے لئے جو گرائنڈس ہم لوگ دیتے ہیں بھلوں کو خریدنے کے لئے ، گاڑیوں کو خریدنے کے لئے ، کھر بنانے کے لئے ، وہ سارے کا سارا مسر ہو رہا ہے - آپس میں ہی وہ روپیہ ایک دوسرے کے نام سے حاصل کر لیا جاتا ہے اور اس میں کسی کو بیس روپیہ ، تیس روپیہ یا دس روپیہ کا حصہ ملتا ہے اور اس چیز میں ہی - قی - اوز - کا بھی ہاتھ ہوتا ہے - اس طرح سے صحیح معنوں میں جو روپیہ نچلے طبقہ کو ملنا چاہئے تھا وہ ان تک نہیں

پہونچتا ہے اور درمیان میں ہی لوگ اس کو کہا جاتے ہیں اس طرح سے بے راہ روی عام طور پر چلتی جاتی ہے اور وہاں پر کوئی نگرانی کرنے والا نہیں ہے۔ تو یہ ہمارا فرض ہے کہ جب ہم ان کے لئے کچھ روپیہ منظور کرتے ہیں تو پھر ہمیں آنکھ سے دیکھ کر ہوتے دیکھنا نہیں چاہیے۔ یہ ایک طرح سے لاپرواہی، بدخدمتی ہی کہی جائے گی۔ تو ایسے بہت سارے کام ہیں اور بہت سارے فولڈس ہیں جہاں پر ہمیں ہوشیاری کے ساتھ نگرانی کرنے کی ضرورت ہے تو میں اتنا ہی عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ منظوری کا دینا تو آسان ہے منظوری کا لینا بھی آسان ہے مگر اس کی نگرانی کرنے کے لئے ہمیں کوئی خاص انتظام کروانا ہوگا تاکہ دیہات کے لوگوں کے لئے جو ہم منظوری دیتے ہیں وہ اس کا صحیح طور پر فائدہ اٹھا سکیں لیکن آج ہم دیہات میں یہ رنگ دیکھتے ہیں کہ جو روپیہ ہم ان کے فائدہ کے لئے دیتے ہیں اس کے اوپر کوئی چھک کرنے والا نہیں ہے اگر ہم اس روپیہ کو ان کی خدمت میں صحیح طور پر استعمال کر سکیں تو ہم صحیح معنی میں ان کی خدمت کر سکیں گے اور ملک کو آگے بڑھا سکیں گے۔

ان چند باتوں کے ساتھ میں اپنے اس مطالبہ کو پھر دہراتا ہوں کہ

ہی۔ قی۔ اور۔ کو نکال دینا چاہیے کہوں کہ جہاں ہم بہت دنوں سے ان کو نکالنے کی بات کہتے آ رہے ہیں ایک دفعہ اس پر عمل بھی کرنا چاہیے۔ اگر ہم اس طرح سے کریں گے تو ہم زراعت میں اور مختلف کاموں میں ترقی کر سکیں گے۔

ان چند الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اس بل کی تائید کرتا ہوں اور اپنی تقریر ختم کرتا ہوں۔

†[श्री शेरखा (मैसूर) : डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहिबा, इस एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल की मैं ताइद करता हूँ। यों तो मंजूरी हर साल दी जाती है और इस साल भी हम दे रहे हैं। मगर जो बुनियादी बात है या जो आम-तौर पर हमारे जैसे वक़्त हैं जब वह अपने इलाकों में देखते हैं कि इन मंजूरीयों का क्या हुआ होता है, उनका किस तरह से इस्तेमाल होता है, उनकी तरफ़ किस तरह से लापरवाही बरती जाती है तो मैं मिनिस्टर साहब से अर्ज करूंगा कि जो भी हम मंज़ूर करते हैं उस खर्च को करने के लिए कि वह ठीक तरह से हो रहा है या नहीं इस पर निगरानी रखने के लिए अगर वह कोई खास इन्तेजाम कर सकेंगे तो फिर इससे अहम और अच्छा काम कोई नहीं होगा जो हम कर सकेंगे।

मैं आपके सामने एक मिसाल रखना चाहता हूँ कि जरायत की तरक्की के लिए हमने बहुत से कदम उठाए हैं। हम ने किसानों के फायदे के लिए एक ट्रेक्टर की कीमत मुकर्रर कर दी है। मगर आज हकीकत यह है कि मुकर्रर कीमत पर किसी को ट्रेक्टर नहीं मिलता है। इन बातों की तरफ़ कोई निगरानी नहीं करता तो किस तरह से हमारे जरायत की तरक्की होगी

[श्री भेरखा]

यह हम सब लोगों के लिए सोचने की और अमल करने की बात है। जहाँ हम बावलियों की खुदाई के लिए सबसिडी देते हैं वहाँ जाती तौर पर जानता हूँ और तकरीबन हर मेम्बर साहब जानते होंगे कि बावलियों के लिए जो तकावी और सबसिडी दी जाती है उसका इस्तेमाल किस हद तक सही होता है। मैं आपसे अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जिन बावलियों के लिये पांच सौ रुपये सबसिडी दी जाती है वहाँ पर वह बावलियाँ मौजूद ही नहीं होती हैं। इस बात को कोई पूछने वाला और निगरानी करने वाला नहीं है। यह जो हमारे ब्लाक आफिसर हैं उनके बारे में कितनी दफा यहाँ कहा गया था कि उन बी० डी० ओज को बरखास्त कर दिया जाएगा लेकिन आज तक इस पर अमल नहीं हो सका। हकीकत यह है कि अगर कोई अच्छी खिदमत हो सकती है इस देश की तो इन ब्लाक आफिसरों को खत्म कर देना चाहिए और बी० डी० ओज को निकाल देना चाहिए। हमारे गांव में जो ग्राम सेवक और ग्राम सेविकाएँ हैं वह सिवाए देश की आवादी बढ़ाने के और कोई काम नहीं करतीं। अगर हम फिर उनको मौका देते हैं तो हमें सोचना पड़ेगा कि जो हम मंजूरी कर रहे हैं उनका सही इस्तेमाल होगा भी या नहीं। देहातों के बारे में जब हम यह कहते हैं कि हमें उन लोगों को बीज सही वक्त पर तकसीम करना चाहिए ताकि हम जरायत के मामले में उनकी मदद कर सकें, तो मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि मैं खुद एक काश्तकार हूँ और जहाँ तक बीज तकसीम करने का सवाल है वह लोगों को ठीक वक्त पर नहीं मिलता है। खाद और तखम की जब जरूरत होती है जब उसके बारे में मुताल्ला किया जाता है तो वह वक्त पर नहीं मिलता है। तो मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे गांव में जो काम करने वाले सरकारी आफिसर हैं या दूसरे लोग हैं कम से कम ग्राम सेवक या सेविकाएँ हैं वे अगर इस तरह की

रिपोर्ट तैयार करें कि हर देहात में काश्तकार को किस तरह की जरूरत है और कब उसको दिया जाना चाहिए और वह चीज उसको मुहय्या हो जाए तो हम अपनी जरायत में एक इनकलाब ला सकते हैं। जिस चीज के जरिए जरायत में हम तरक्की कर सकते हैं उसकी तरफ कोई तवज्जो नहीं देता है।

शेड्यूल कास्ट के एक मेम्बर साहब ने कहा था कि जितनी भी मंजूरी दी जाती है वह औरों के इस्तेमाल के लिए ले ली जाती है। यह बात सही है और मैं खुद इस चीज को जानता हूँ और मुझे अमली तौर पर इसका तजुर्बा है। शेड्यूल कास्ट के लोगों के लिए जो ग्रांट्स हम लोग देते हैं, बैलों को खरीदने के लिये, गायों को खरीदने के लिए, घर बनाने के लिए वह सारा का सारा भिसयूज होता है। आपस में वह रुपया एक दूसरे के नाम से हासिल कर लिया जाता है और इसमें किसी को बीस रुपये, तीस रुपये या दस रुपये का हिस्सा मिलता है और इस चीज में बी० डी० ओ० का भी हाथ होता है। इस तरह से सही मायनों में जो रुपया निचले तबके को पहुँचना चाहिए था वह उन तक नहीं पहुँचता है और दरमियान में ही लोग उसको खा जाते हैं। इस तरह से बेराह रबी आम तौर पर चलती जाती है और वहाँ पर कोई निगरानी करने वाला नहीं है। तो यह हमारा फर्ज है कि जब हम उनके लिये कुछ रुपया मंजूर करते हैं तो फिर हमें आँख मीच कर बैठे रहना नहीं चाहिए। यह एक तरह से नापरवाही बढ़-खिदमती ही बही जाएगी। तो ऐसे बहुत सारे काम हैं और बहुत सारे फील्ड्स हैं जहाँ पर हमें हाशियारी के साथ निगरानी करने की जरूरत है तो मैं इतना ही अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि मंजूरी का देना तो आसान है, मंजूरी का लेना भी आसान है मगर उसकी निगरानी करने के लिए हमें कोई खास इन्तेजाम करवाना होगा ताकि देहात के लोगों के लिए

जो हम मंजूरी देते हैं वह उसका सही तीर पर फायदा उठा सके। लेकिन आज हम देहात में यह रंग देखते हैं कि जो रुपये हम उनके फायदे के लिए देते हैं उसके अगर कोई बैंक कराने वाला नहीं है। अगर हम उस रुपये का उनकी खिदमत में सही तीर पर इस्तेमाल कर सकें, तो हम सही मायनों में उनकी खिदमत कर सकेंगे और मुल्क को आगे बढ़ा सकेंगे।

इन चन्द बातों के साथ मैं अपने इस मुतालवा को फिर दुहराता हूँ कि बी० डी० ओ० को निकाल देना चाहिए क्योंकि जहाँ हम बहुत दिनों से उनको निकालने की बात कहते आ रहे हैं एक दफा उस पर अमल भी करना चाहिये। अगर हम इस तरह से करेंगे तो हम जरायत में और मुख्तलिफ कामों में तरक्की कर सकेंगे।

इन चन्द बातों के साथ मैं इस बिल की ताइद करता हूँ और अपनी तकरीर खत्म करता हूँ।]

SHRI V. V. RAMASWAMY (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman I am grateful to you for having given me this opportunity to make a few observations. Hon. Members, on either side, have spoken elaborately on the Appropriation Bill and I would like to confine myself to two points pertaining to my State of Tamil Nad. Just before referring to them, let me refer to the remarks made by Prof. Satya-vrata Siddhantalankar about the language. He was referring to Lord Macaulay as having introduced the English language here. I have read in history that Macalay introduced English as a conqueror. Without troubling himself to learn and understand the people of the land, he wanted to make the people of this country learn English, and serve him. Does Prof. Siddhantalankar wish to place himself in such a position as Lord Macaulay? Does he want the

non-Hindi people to learn Hindi and serve them? That I leave to the non-Hindi-Speaking people to judge.

(Interruption)

Now, with reference to the two important points regarding my State, one is the question of upgrading the East Coast Road from Madras to Kanyakumari to National Highway standards—as that one from Bombay to Kanyakumari on the West Coast—was mooted in the beginning of the Third Plan. This included the construction of missing links in the route. Some rough proposals for this scheme costing Rs. 9.25 lakhs were forwarded by the Madras Government under their letter No. 21146/A/63/8 dated the 28-10-63 to the Government of India, with details of the scheme. They were requested to sanction it as a National Highway scheme from the Central Road Funds.

5 P.M.

Again a comprehensive note on the scheme was prepared showing the benefit accruing from the scheme, with the cost-benefit ratio, and was addressed to the Government of India by the Madras Government in their letter dated 1-8-64 pressing for sanction under the crash programme of Food Production. Again particulars were called for to assess the Arm cost of the scheme and its ultimate commitment. Ultimately pressing for intervening bridges and culverts and black tops, the total cost was arrived at Rs. 14 crores. But the Government of India did not admit the scheme in the Third Plan. But the Madras Government in their letter dated 18-6-65 again pressed for sanction of the scheme, as the East Coast Road is a proposed National Highway in the All India Road Development Plan. The Government of India have been sleeping over it all these days. Shri C. M. Poonacha, Minister of State in the Ministry of Transport, Aviation and Shipping, visited Madras State in October 1966 and a note on the East

[Shri V. V. Ramaswamy.]

Coast Road was given to him, in which the rough cost for forming the missing links as Rs. 32 lakhs was furnished as desired by him. A copy of this note was also forwarded to Shri Sinha, Director General of Road Development, and the Government of India in their letter dated 9-12-66 approved the scheme for the estimate of Rs. 32 lakhs, and also in their letter dated 2-1-67 sanctioned as a special case the cost of Rs. 25 lakhs to construct a bridge across the creek near Kovalam under the Central Road Fund allocation. Now the scheme has been slowed down. Why? However, the main scheme costing Rs. 14 crores on the central route development still remains to be sanctioned. In order to press the necessity and urgency of the scheme I put a question No. 23 on 24-7-67 and it was included in the list of questions, but unfortunately it was not reached. In the written reply furnished to me I find: "(a): No, Sir. (b) and (c): Do not arise." The Minister of Transport may be justified in giving such short replies. Since the reply was not given on the floor, I could not put any supplementaries. But I request the sincere and well-meaning Minister to be considerate and helpful by going into the full details of the scheme and accord early approval and sanction for the scheme.

Again with regard to the Mail Sorting Service, I am told that in Madras State there are at present three Railway Mail Service Divisions, namely, Madras Sorting, 'M' Division with headquarters at Madras and 'T' Division with headquarters at Tiruchi. I understand that the work at Tiruchi Division is very heavy, and so the formation of another separate Division at Madurai is necessary and justifiable. The matter has been brought to the notice of the hon. Minister of Communications. I request his early consideration and sanction.

Again Madurai is the second biggest city in my State and the Railway

Junction is a large one. But the R.M.S. building is not spacious enough and needs expansion. When Shri S. K. Patil was Railway Minister, he approved of the proposal to expand the building. Yet it is more than two years and nothing has been done. I hope the Government will issue instructions and expedite the construction work. Further I am glad to know that an R.M.S. Sorting Office has been sanctioned to be opened in my home town, Virudhunagar. But it has not yet come up. I personally request the Minister to expedite the opening of the Sorting Office at Virudhunagar, and also to sanction an office at Nagercoil also which is a heavy area.

Before concluding I want to make a submission to the Government through you, Madam Deputy Chairman. Our Secretariat is efficient and needs nothing, but I feel that in the Printing Department a separate Parliamentary Wing must be opened so that the proceedings of every day may be printed and circulated to the Members the next day as is being done in the Parliament in London.

Thank you.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Madam Deputy Chairman, I have listened with great care and respect to the various speeches that have been made during the last three days in the course of the debate on the Appropriation Bill. Madam, of necessity the speeches were wide-ranging and they covered not only broad policy matters but also the functioning of so many Departments and so many Ministries. Three of my colleagues, the Ministers of External Affairs, of Education and of Parliamentary Affairs have intervened in the debate and have dealt with some of the points that have been raised. Next week this House will be dealing with the Finance Bill and once again it will have an opportunity of examining the policies of the Government and in particular the provisions included in the present Budget. IBS

fact some of the speeches and many of the points made by speakers like my hon. friend, Shri Bhandari, could well have been made in the course of the Finance Bill debate. I can at this stage only assure all the hon. Members who have spoken that the Government will take due note of what they have said and will give it all the consideration that it deserves.

Before I deal with any of the points that have been made, I should like to thank my hon. friend, Shri Krishan Kant, for a very graceful personal reference to me, and I should like to assure Prof. Ruthnaswamy that while convention requires that I read out the opening speech, I have taken his admonition to heart and I have decided to refer to my notes as little as possible.

Madam, there have been a number of critical speeches, and quite understandably so, and I can assure you that this Government welcomes constructive criticism. It has not claimed infallibility and it is very proper that constructive criticism from whichever quarter it comes should be welcomed and we should try to take advantage of that criticism. However, I think even in criticising certain things have got to be borne in mind. Some hon. Members in their eagerness and enthusiasm to criticise the Congress Party and this Government more or less wrote off the last twenty years after we became free. They said that nothing had been done in the last twenty years. They said that planning was bad. They said, "you have discarded planning; your foreign policy is bad; the country has not moved forward". One hon. Member went to the extent of saying that you are persisting with the legacy which the British have left behind. Madam, I cannot imagine a worse slur on the Indian people because what has been done in the last twenty years is not something that a handful of Government servants or Ministers have done

It is something which has had the active participation of the entire nation. Nations are not built by Ministers and bureaucrats. Nations are built by the people, and it is the proud privilege of this country after it became free to have adopted democracy, to have given people the political power that they should have and to have started certain new schemes which involved people in that process of development and construction, process or schemes like the Community Development Scheme, Panchayati Raj and so on. It was for the first time after India became free that the Government, consciously and deliberately, extended the facilities to enable people to participate in the process of development to the remotest village through these schemes. And let us not forget that these schemes were not evolved by the Congress Party alone; they were evolved as a result of a consensus in the country. Let us today not decry all that has been achieved in the last 20 years by the labour and the effort of the Indian people as a whole; let us not forget the whole drama of an ancient country emerging into the sunlight of freedom after centuries of bondage, and let us not forget the hopes and aspirations with which it has striven. Despite the difficulties, despite the heart-breaks, despite the enormous set-backs that they have suffered on account of the wars, droughts and the like, the people as a whole have kept up their good cheer, have kept up their optimism and they are looking ahead with faith. Let not this House, let not this Parliament, which should encourage people to greater effort, which should hold before them the ray of hope which every free people are entitled to, let it not be guilty of creating an air of pessimism in this country, and an air in which the people lose pride in their own achievements. I am sure that the hon. friends opposite did not intend any of these things. But if they condemn wholesale all that has been done in the last 20 years, I am afraid that this is the only conclusion that comes out.

[Shri V. V. Ramaswamy.]

What has happened during the last 20 years? Let us be clear about the basic fundamentals. After all, we adopted in this country certain new things. We adopted democracy with all the implications of individual liberty, of the liberty of association, of forming political parties, of changing governments at will by ballot and at the same time we adopted socialism as our goal, and implicit in the adoption of socialism as our goal was the whole concept of planning. We adopted a procedure in which we took it upon ourselves to regulate the growth of the economy in such a way that not only would the people be involved in it, as I said earlier, but that the results, of that planning would flow to all sections of the society. Now, this whole concept of planning was known and has been known for decades in the socialist countries. The Soviet Union did so much to popularise this concept. But it had not been known in democratic countries which associated with it certain forms of government which they did not appreciate. For the first time in the history of the development of political institutions, India combined the two concepts of democracy and planning. And it is no small achievement that in the last 20 years, both these basic concepts have taken root in our soil and have grown in substance. And today they are producing results. Nobody can say that democracy has not produced results and nobody can say that planning is a dead concept or that it has, again, not produced the results expected of it. Economic growth may not be enough. But nobody in this country today dares to say that there will be a completely free economy, that the resources of the country should be utilised by whoever feels like utilising them in whatever manner he likes. The basic concepts of democracy and planning are accepted and they have become parts of our national life. This itself is no small achievement because it was something new, as I said, in the

history of the evolution of political institutions.

And then, if you look around towards the other countries in Asia and Africa which became free in the course of the last 20 years, what do you find? You find, that there is hardly any other country which has had this record of political stability; there is hardly any other country which has managed to preserve the institution of democracy as well as India has, and today one can well say that India is the bastion of democracy in this part of the world, and so long as this democracy survives in India, it is a ray of hope for the rest of the world which believes in this system.

Therefore, it is not self-praise, it is praise of a country and the people of that country and of what they have achieved. That is what I want you to understand. When you criticise these things, you criticise something which is far deeper and far wider than the Congress Party. You can have your little satisfaction but do not have it at the cost of the country. That is all I say.

Then, an attack was made on our entire foreign policy, an attack which extended, again, right through the last 20 years to the basic concept behind that foreign policy. And yet nobody has really had the courage to suggest an alternative. What have been the basic tenets of our foreign policy? World peace, non-alignment, peaceful co-existence and a policy to make friends with all the countries in the world who will respond.

Now, leaving other things aside, world peace, surely in this nuclear age, is something that all countries should be interested in because world peace in this age of nuclear bombs and in this age of rapid communications is sine qua non of their development. Then, take the case of non-alignment. Sometimes people make fun of it. I cannot understand how

anybody can seriously suggest that a great country like India with its great past and its great potentialities for the future should align itself irrevocably with anyone country or anyone set of countries. It has its own place in the world; it has its own identity and it has, I hope, something to give to the world. To imagine that such a great country should just become somebody's mouthpiece or should become attached to some country in a master-slave relationship or at least in a relationship of absolute dependence is something that, I think, the people of India can never accept. And therefore we find that even friends who attack parts of the implementation of this policy—they may attack one particular action on the part of the Government—seldom do they have the courage to say, give up non-alignment and become aligned with such and such a power. Therefore, let us not mix up some part of the implementation of a policy with the basic policy itself. Let us give due weight, let us give the policy its due. Let us criticise only that area which deserves criticism.

Then, quite a lot of satisfaction was derived by some friends opposite from the fact that they have emerged stronger than they had expected—I suppose—as a result of the last general elections. Well, they are certainly welcome to that satisfaction and I think it is a sign of the strength of our democratic system that this has happened in our country in a peaceful way. After all, this is the whole idea behind having a ballot. The ballot becomes an avenue of the expression of the people's desire for a change of the government. That is what is all about. And if that has happened without blood-shed, without conflict, well, that is the greatest compliment that one can pay to the manner in which the people of this country—and here I would say also, to some extent the Congress Party—have evolved and have preserved the best in the traditions of democracy. This has happened.

The only question they have to ask themselves is whether after they have come into these coalition governments in various States people there today have not begun to feel that perhaps the Congress was better than this alternative that has come. This is the question that we have to ask ourselves.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:
Do not go to that extent.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I would not have dared to say this but listening to the speeches, Madam, I heard Mr. Gaure Murahari say that he is completely dissatisfied with the non-Congress governments. My hon. friends were here.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY:
He does not want the Congress to come back to power.

SHRI K. C. PANT: But the people want the Congress to come back.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS
(Orissa): We want much more than what we have been able to do.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am sure you want more and more of power. But the point is that the people want the Congress back into power. They are beginning to think in that direction.

AN HON. MEMBER: You are living in a fool's paradise.

SHRI V. V. RAMASWAMY: Exactly not in Madras.

SHRI K. C. PANT: When my hon. friend says "Not in Madras", obviously there are other States where he thinks this is a fact.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Whatever may happen, the Congress is on the way out.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Well, it is for them to search their hearts. I do not have to say anything. The Communist Party in Uttar Pradesh is attack-

[Shri K. C. Pant.]

ing the Ministry. The Right Communists are attacking the Left Communists in Bengal. The P. S. P. and the S. S. P. are attacking the Left Communists.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Not the whole Government, some sections of the Government.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: We may have our differences. But we will not allow you to come back. We will bring you down. The Government there is far better than the Congress Government.

SHRI K. C. PANT: You are sitting together for the sake of power. It is something which I can fully understand. The people are seeing how you want to stick to power. The whole country is watching that. Do not think that we are not watching it. We see the Communists, and the Jana Sangh sitting together, the P.S.P., the S.S.P. and the Swatantra Party sitting together. If you are happy on this I congratulate you. But it is something which the people have to watch.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: The Congress Party itself is a conglomeration of the Swatantra, the Jana Sangh, the S.S.P. and the P.S.P.

SHRI K. C. PANT: At least we have the courage of sitting together, and we do not fight each other in the elections. We go to the people with * mandate. We do not hide behind this cloak.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: You did not listen to the speech of Miss Shanta Vasist yesterday.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am proud to say we have freedom in the party of criticising the Government. But we do not go to the people with different sets of programmes and then form a government.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Everywhere Governments have been formed

on the basis of a minimum programme. When you say that say that also.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: What is common between the Muslim League and the Left Communists?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What was common between the Muslim League and the Congress, my dear Mr. Akbar Ali Khan?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I think we should not be unfair to Mr. Niren Ghosh. We should only ask him if Naxalbari is part of their minimum programme.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: He will remain mum on that.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I think I need say no more to shake the confidence of the friends opposite. I leave them in their state of satisfaction of having ousted the Congress from some States. I think they deserve that satisfaction after years of wilderness. It is a satisfaction that is due to them.

Madam, in judging the achievements of the last twenty years let me give you a few facts and figures. I will not take much time of the House, just a few of them. To give you an indication of how far we have moved ahead since 1947, the national income, taking the three Plans as a whole, it has risen by 64 per cent. Take the rate of growth. The Indian economy had been growing at the rate of about 1 per cent, prior, for decades, to independence. After independence it has been expanding at over thrice that rate.

Then as regards the rate of growth of agriculture, the growth which was half per cent, for years has, between 1950-51 and 1964-65, been about 8 per cent, per annum. That is the average rate of growth. The index of industrial production has gone up from 74 in 1951 to 192 in 1966, an

increase of 159 per cent. About rural electrification, the number by the end of 1966-67 will go up to 63,000 which accounts for nearly a third of the rural population. Life expectancy, as compared to 32 before Planning, is today 50 years. I do not want to give you any more figures.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: May I know, Madam, whether it is a fact that India today stands at the lowest rung of the ladder in growth rates of the countries of the South-East Asia and the Far East?

SHRI K. C. PANT: I would answer that question if Mr. Niren Ghosh could assure me that he would be prepared to adopt the system which has the highest rate. Would you be prepared to adopt the system which has the highest rate of growth?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: That is no argument.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Madam, I do not want to create an impression that all has been going well, that we have had no difficulty. Certainly we have struck very bad patches. By "we" I mean the country. And the present patch is drought.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What profundity that, the economic crisis is due to drought?

SHRI K. C. PANT: There has been severe drought in the country as a result of which these various consequences have flown. The present economic situation is the direct result of what has happened during the last two years.

Now certain measures have been announced by the Deputy Prime Minister to meet this economic situation. I do not want to go into all the details. But one or two suggestions were made in the course of the speeches which I would like to refer to. Several hon. Members spoke about recession. Shri Banka Behary Das spoke about it and Shri Bhupesh

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Gupta spoke about it as also others. Shri Kumaran referred to the fact that inflation was existing side by side with recession and he said that this was contradictory. That is quite true although it is explainable. One can understand that because there are certain reasons which I will come to later. But I would like to ask Shri Kumaran as to what is his suggestion. What would he like to say? How does he expect to see this contradiction removed? This he did not spell out. I would be glad to know this from him. We at least are taking certain steps which I will explain later.

One idea he threw out was that the investment outlays in the public sector should be increased. Now, it is quite true that whenever there is recession one of the standard remedies for such a situation is to go on increasing government spending. But there are also other remedies. And it is here that Mr. Kumaran could not come along with us full. Another remedy is that the various sections of the population should hold back their demand for larger incomes. He knows that this is also a very standard remedy to hold the prices. But there the political courage left him and he preferred criticising the thing.

Now there was a reference to wage freeze. Madam, and several hon. Members speculated about it. That is the only word I can use. I am not sure whether this speculation is not doing more harm than good. If the Government comes to any decision in a matter like this, naturally it will come before Parliament. But until it does so, any speculation of this kind is not very helpful. And it tends to create unnecessary fears. What we have to see is that in our desire not to create a situation like this, we should not reject our suggestions and, I think, wait for any final decision that the Government might take. In the meantime, I think we should have an open mind.

Now, Shri Niranjan Singh referred to the need to avoid deficit financing and to break the vicious spiral of

[Shri K. C. Pant.]

wages and prices. I am glad to say that I agree with him entirely. Now, returning to Mr. Kumaran's point, I should like to point out that there has been no real cut-back in the Plan outlay. If you compare the figures, you will see that the Plan outlay this year is more or less of the same order as [I was last year.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh): But the rupee value has been reduced.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Yes, to some extent, there is a marginal reduction. But the reason for that is not that one does not recognise the need for greater investment and faster rate of growth. One has to take account of the fact that in the conditions existing to-day, the need to curb prices perhaps gets a higher priority than the need to step up investment immediately. This is the broad approach and the broad thinking which has come in the way of increasing investment as rapidly as we would like to. And one must understand that as a result of the drought in the last two years and as a result of the sharp fall in agricultural production, which all of you are aware of, there has been a sharp decline in the purchasing power. And this has led to a fall in demand in various sectors. In this kind of situation, to pump in more money even though the gestation period may be relatively short, will accentuate the present problem, and to that extent, the problem which is already acute, will be accentuated very much further in the short run. That has to be kept in mind.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Fall in demand and rise in prices.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Madam, I do not know how better to explain this. I thought I had explained it but he gets up and says the same thing again. Then I should like to mention some of the measures which have already been announced by Government to help in this present difficulty

without adding to our problems. One is that the placing of orders for public sector requirements next year will be expedited; for the Railways, for instance, wagons and so on. If orders are placed this year and they know that the orders are going to come to them, they can start producing more this year itself and they can build up a certain amount of stocks, and so they can use the idle capacity. Then there is the programme of modernisation of the cotton textile industry. This would not only effect a much-needed change in our textile industry which badly needs modernisation, but it will also give orders to the textile machinery manufacturers. Then, another measure is arrangements for augmenting facilities for exports, to increase exports in capital equipment. We should try to take advantage of this situation in which demand in the country has fallen and in which there is idle capacity. We should utilise the idle capacity to the maximum and export whatever we can. This, in fact, is a God-sent opportunity and I think we must do everything to take advantage of this to step up our exports.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: Who will buy? There is nobody to buy.

SHRI K. C. PANT: There are lots of people to buy, provided we keep to quality and price. We have got to help even in that. I do not think the quality of our goods, the quality of our engineering goods compares badly with the best in the world. Similarly even with regard to domestic sale of capital equipment, we want to help to the maximum extent we can, by making arrangements for finances, and so on. So this is a short-term situation and these are some of the short-term remedies that we are thinking of and which I thought the House would be interested in knowing. And although some friends have referred to this somewhat sarcastically, the fact of the matter is that if there is a good crop, then it will create a situation in which once again one can initiate the process of industrial revival.

with for greater vigour than we can at the moment. And along with this there is the question of prices which also is linked, as all of us know, directly to the situation in the agricultural front. It is, as I said earlier, a moot point whether we should stimulate demand by greater public sector investment unless we have a breakthrough in agriculture first. But I can assure the House that should the breakthrough in agriculture come, they will not find the Government wanting in then proceeding with the developmental measures at a much greater speed.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: The breakthrough is not dependent upon rains.

SHRI K. C. PANT: There is hardly any country in the world which is completely independent of the beneficence of rainfall in agricultural production. Even the United States of America year before last suffered a very sharp fall in production. As you know, the Soviet Union also suffered a drought which necessitated import of a large quantity of foodgrains from Australia, United States, etc. In China there has been a continuous import of foodgrains over a number of years.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: They are as backward as we are in agriculture.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Well, I would not mind being as backward as the United States and the Soviet Union.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: I was referring to China.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I have referred to all the three.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: I made another short-term suggestion, *i.e.*, confiscation of incomes above Rs. 1 lakh for the next five years and utilising that fund for building the nation.

SHRI K. C. PANT: This question of confiscation of incomes over Rs. 1 lakh . . .

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: Call it tax.

SHRI K. C. PANT: ... is something which is very easy for you to say and very easy to be done in countries which you admire. But there are certain limitations under which we function. The rule of law is an inconvenient limitation in our society and when we observe the rules of law, it becomes difficult . . .

SHRI M. N. KAUL: Is it not a fact that even under the present system, 92 per cent of the income above Rs. 1 lakh is taken away as tax?

SHRI K. C. PANT: My friend will be glad to know, as Mr. Kaul has pointed out, that Rs. 92,000 are taken away as tax; and if we take away the remaining Rs. 8,000 also, the chances of anybody wanting to earn more will be nil. Whether it will be a proper thing to do in the present conditions and whether it will lead to growth in production which is needed to usher in a better life for our people is a point that we have to consider.

Then I refer now to the situation in the L.I.C. to which references were made. The introduction of electronic computers is only a further step in the process of mechanisation which was started by the erstwhile insurance companies long before nationalisation. The decision to install computers was taken by the L.I.C. when it felt that, because of its size, the punched card machines, hitherto in use, were totally inadequate for the job. When the Ministry's approval was sought, it was given as the move was intended to improve the service to the policyholders.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: No, the assessment is wrong. I can give facts and figures to prove it.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I cannot understand his saying that there is anything wrong in this. I am reading the factual statement.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: No, the assessment made by the L.I.C. management is wrong. It does not conform to facts. You are quoting from the management's version, that is a fact. But it is also a fact that the management's "version does not conform to facts.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Let me try to get to the bottom of my hon. friend's mind. Is it that he considers that the managements of public undertakings are anti-national? Are they also classified in his dictionary as profiteers, capitalists and monopolists? Why should he run down the management of public sector undertakings? I am a supporter of public sector undertakings; and if he is a supporter of public sector undertakings, I cannot understand his running down the management in this manner. After all, who is managing these public sector undertakings? It is the Government servants or others appointed by the Government. You want this Government and bureaucracy to nationalise, to do this, that and the other, and yet when they are trying to perform their functions, you criticise the same management. How can you expect the management to do better? How can you expect us to nationalise more? It is you who are sapping their enthusiasm. I cannot understand this kind of attitude from one who considers himself a friend of the public sector.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: You will never understand.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Categorical assurances have been given both by the L.I.C. and by Government that there will be no retrenchment whatsoever, nor transfers, nor loss of remuneration. As regards loss of employment potential, the L.I.C. has worked out the impact of the computerisation on employment. I want Mr. Niren Ghosh to hear this very carefully. As a result of switch-over, 383 jobs are expected to disappear in three years but the very process of computerisa-

tion will create 225 new jobs. The net reduction in the number of jobs is therefore expected to be only 158, i.e., about 50 a year. This reduction in the number of jobs is insignificant as compared to the 1500 or so new jobs created in the L.I.C. every year.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: This statement is untrue from A to Z.

SHRI K. C. PANT: It depends on what he thinks as reality. You are living in a dream world where absolute reality looks unreal. Actually on account of improved efficiency brought about by computerisation business is bound to increase with the result that even the marginal loss of employment potential will be wiped out.

I would in fact take this opportunity of urging the enlightened trade unions not to oppose the move which is essential for the efficient service to the policy holders but to co-operate with the movement. Even Mr. Kumaran in the course of his speech, I noticed, after he had criticised computerisation and almost gone too far, retraced his steps and said: "I am not against modernisation, I am not against scientific development, I am not against computers as such, but let us have computers of a lower level". That is what he ultimately ended up by saying. It is quite right. I can understand this but surely the people to judge are the managements of these public undertakings. We in Parliament, who plead for the expansion of public undertakings and who always say that the Government should not interfere too much in the functioning of these public undertakings should see that we do really give some kind of autonomy to them, that when they consider something to be in the interest of the efficiency and better business we should give them certain free hand in these matters. I think it is necessary to evolve a certain code in these matters so that we do not hamstring their hands although we do not intend it. That is not the

intention but it should not be the effect also.

In this connection I would say that the important point in this computer business is that some friends are worried not so much about the present retrenchment about which we have given an assurance and the Government backs the assurance of the L.I.C. in this matter that there will be no retrenchment or no transfer on account of computerisation.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: That was the real worry.

SHRI K. C. PANT: We are not going to retrench, I assure you.

(Shri Niren Ghosh got up)

Now Mr. Ghosh, some patience is needed.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: The people who are entrenched are the People who are never recruited-

SHRI K. C. PANT: You are talking of potential employment. If you take your argument to its logical conclusion . . .

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: The man who is not hired not the man who is fired, in the American language.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Is it your contention that we should go back to the hand manufacture of everything?

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: No.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I have understood your point. Is it your contention that in the future we should not use machines which displace people, that we should not have greater efficiency? This is the logical conclusion.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Would you enlighten us on one point? The computer installed in the Bombay office has a capacity to tackle one mil-

lion policies and the computer can be worked only on 3 shifts, otherwise, it does not give effective results. So it will handle 30 lakhs of policies and another computer at Calcutta would handle more than that because it is an improved version and the overall policy number is 1,10,00,000. What does it mean? Either you work that and if you work that, 30,000 employees become jobless or you do not want that. It is a waste of foreign exchange. You have not the industrial base to produce it here and you are depending on foreign countries for that.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I will not allow Mr. Ghosh the luxury of another speech, Madam, but the point is that I have given all the figures of people who will be rendered surplus and I have told him, I have assured him that there will be no retrenchment. I do not know why he is circulating this wrong figure of 30,000. I have given him the official figures. I have given all the figures I have got and I am giving them with all sense of responsibility. What is the point in repeating figures which have no basis and creating a scare? It is not a very helpful attitude. The Bombay computer's capacity, is only 20 lakhs and it is not what he said.

Then I come to the question of management of public undertakings to which some reference was made by many friends. Here our whole approach is, ultimately the public sector undertakings themselves should provide the top management, they should provide the type of persons and skills which are required for top management posts but in the interim period, we are taking people from wherever we can get them—the most suitable persons. We are taking them from inside the Government by forming panels of the most suitable persons and we are taking them from outside. We have recently advertised and a lot of applications have come in and we are selecting from these and we shall include them.

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in the panel, So this is how we propose to develop the managerial talent in public undertakings.

Another subject which was touched upon by various Members including Mr. Khandekar was the reorganisation of the Planning Commission. As the House knows, the Administrative Reforms Commission submitted its report on this subject and this was considered by the Government and later on it was discussed with the Chief Ministers and as a result of these discussions, the final picture has emerged and with your permission I should like to avail of this opportunity on behalf of the Government to lay on the Table a statement which indicates the Government's decision on the A.R.C.'s recommendations.

I am sorry that my friend Mr. Gupta is not here. Yesterday he said a few things which rather surprised me. Firstly speaking of the Bengal Governor, he said the people of West Bengal are agitating against him. I do not know why he should make statements of this kind because after all there is a certain procedure for the selection and appointment of the Governors and a part of that and the convention that has evolved over it is, the Central Government consults the Chief Minister of the State before appointing a Governor. This was done in this case also. I cannot understand a leader of a party which is a constituent unit of that Government more or less disowning the action of the Chief Minister in agreeing to the appointment of a certain Governor.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: On a point of clarification.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am not yielding. They have had their say.

The other point he raised was, he said in a flourish of rhetoric: 'Who is the Finance Minister to withhold assistance and it is the Finance Minister duty to give more and he cannot withhold assistance to the State.' Of

course the thrust of his speech was that the Finance Minister should give more money to the State. I cannot understand this extremity of logic that the person who is supposed to give and who has the right to give does not have the right to withhold. So this is Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's logic with a vengeance and I am sorry that he is not here; otherwise, I would have dwelt with a little more on this question of assistance from the Centre to the states. Then my hon. friend, Mr. A. P. Sinha, and my hon. friend, Mr. Sundaram, and others—Mr. Dharto also—they referred to the credit squeeze, the need to provide credit for agriculture and Industry. Some of them definitely did it. Now so far as agriculture is concerned, I have dealt with it at some length earlier in the course of another debate; I shall not go into details but, Madam, I would only like to say that special arrangements have been made so far as the requirements of credit for the high-yielding variety programme is concerned. And also it is proposed to set up agricultural credit corporations in a number of States to supplement the co-operative structure—it is also being strengthened. Now these are two important developments that have taken place recently. And Mr. Path referred to the need for an incentive price to the farmer. I agree with him and I am glad to say that at the moment the Agricultural Prices Commission keeps this factor in view while fixing prices.

So far as the question of credit squeeze in its application to industry is concerned, there is some confusion. During the busy season it is customary for the Reserve Bank to apply such a squeeze and it did so, because it wants credit to go in certain directions. This time the Reserve Bank directive is that 80 per cent of the advances should be given to industry or to the export trade. But this only lasts so long as the busy season lasts, and now that the busy season has ended, this restriction or this directive

is no longer operative. So at present there is no express or implicit policy which prevents commercial banks from granting any advances or loans to industry in a legitimate manner, and I hope that my friends will be assured by this assurance.

I was very happy, Madam, at the speech which my hon. friend, Mr. Krishan Kant made, and if the House will pardon me for this partiality, it was because he dealt with, almost exclusively, with a subject which does not receive the attention it deserves, namely, science and technology, and I must say that I agree with most of the remarks which he made, and I think that the suggestions he made regarding foreign collaboration, regarding the need to develop our scientific and technological institutions and so on, they deserve the most careful consideration. And my hon. friend, Mr. Bhargava, also referred to the need to develop science and technology. I would only very briefly refer to the fact that, over the years, the expenditure or the allocation for science and technology has been increasing. In 1963-64 the total actual expenditure on scientific research and technical education was Rs. 21.5 crores, and it has gone up in the 1967-68 Budget Estimates to Rs. 43.81 crores. Then there is the atomic energy research, scientific departments, etc. There again the expenditure has gone up. But in spite of this I personally am of the view that we have to do more and that without strengthening the base of our research it is very difficult for us to keep pace with the rapid growth in technology and science that is taking place all over the world today.

Now I have taken a lot of time, Madam, and therefore, I do not intend to go into any further details. But Mr. Niranjan Varma and Mr. Ruthnaswamy referred to defence, and I would only say that, keeping in view the situation on our borders, we shall not take any risk in this matter, and that defence will receive the priority it deserves, and even if we have to

cut essential expenditure in other directions, so far as defence is concerned, we shall not be found wanting in allocating funds for defence.

Now there is one small matter. Professor Ruthnaswamy referred to discrimination in the matter of recruitment and I consider it my duty to inform the House that recruitment to officer's grade in the services is made on the basis of the written competitive examinations held by the U.P.S.C. followed by assessment, and/or interview with the Service Selection Boards, and the system provides for equal opportunities for candidates from all parts of the country, because it would create a very wrong and very bad impression in any part of the country if it was felt that in recruitment to such a vital wing of the Government service, there was any kind of discrimination whatsoever on regional or any other "basis."

Now without going into all the details of what is being done to develop our defence potential, to modernise our army, our air force and our navy, to expand them and to reduce the teeth to tail ratio, that is, to increase the striking power with more or less the same strength—I would not like to go into the details because I do not have the time—I would like to assure the House that in all these directions the Government is actively applying its mind and taking whatever steps are necessary. The 1965 conflict, with Pakistan demonstrated, if any thing, that the Indian army was well prepared and was in good shape. Even after that the lessons of the 1965 conflict have not been lost on us and we have taken steps to see that we learn from those lessons and that, whatever mistakes were noticed in the course of that engagement, they are removed.

Now very briefly I shall refer to some of the steps we are taking to reduce expenditure. Mr. Bhargava referred to this and Dr. Antani referred to this and he referred to the 10 per cent reduction in expenditure ad-

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vocated by the Deputy Prime Minister. Now the fact of the matter is: (1) A 3 per cent cut in Revenue expenditure during 1966-67 which was mainly on administrative expenses; (2) A 3 per cent cut in the sanctioned strength as on November, 1966, by not filling vacant posts; (3) Control of expenditure on furniture, staff cars, etc. and further possible steps are being examined.

There is only one other point. It seems Mr. Bhargava raised the question of creation and upgradation of posts. Here, although the ban on creation of posts, which was in force till March, 1966, has been lifted to facilitate implementation of the scheme of delegation of powers to Ministries, the Ministry of Finance exercises strict control through budgetary allocations after strict pre-budget scrutiny of actual needs. Ministries cannot create posts under their powers in the absence of budget provisions or unless they are able to locate specific savings. There is also at present a ban on the upward revision of salary structures at any level.

I merely read this out in order to assure the House that we are not allowing further increases in staff, or upgradation of salaries and wages to run away with us. We are keeping a strict eye on it.

My friend, Mr. Mohan Dharia, referred to the fact that black money was being generated as a result of under-valuation of property, and I thank him for bringing this point up, and I think it is a point which deserves very careful notice, and I can assure him that we are independently considering this and other aspects of this problem of black money, and we shall certainly keep his suggestion also in mind. In fact, we have already worked on that suggestion to some extent, but we are working on other alternatives, as well.

6 P.M.

Madam, Prof. Ruthnaswamy referred to Latin American countries and

said that we need not appoint so many Ambassadors etc. there. I do not want to say much on this; except that we have the warmest feelings towards the countries of Latin America and we are very anxious to develop close ties with them. They are a growing force in the world and there are very sound reasons for having these Embassies here and for strengthening our ties with them and we welcome this.

Shri Niren Ghosh who is so fond of quoting wrong figures has again quoted wrong figures in respect of the assistance, given to West Bengal. He said that out of a sum of Rs. 177 crores only one crore was allotted to West Bengal. Am I correct?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: No. I said that the thing is divided into two parts, and on the basis of population some allotment is made. On that account Rs. 10 crores more have been demanded by West Bengal. You have given something like Rs. 30 crores and out of the amount which has been distributed among the different States—something like Rs. 177 crores remain. Out of that West Bengal has been allotted something like Rs. 2 crores.

SHRI K. C. PANT: You have doubled the figure, Sir. I am glad because it shows the flexibility of my hon. friend's mind so far as figures are concerned.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: This is what I said. If you did not listen properly you can see the tape recording or anything you like.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Out of Rs. 55 crores allocated to the States as additional allocations a sum of Rs. 3 crores was allotted to West Bengal. Taking that the total figure is Rs. 34 crores as against Rs. 31.3 crores last year. Anyway, I admire the elasticity of my hon. friend's mind in these matters. I wish a certain modicum of accuracy also enters into his calculations.

My hon. friend Shri Bhandari referred to wrong maps appearing in a text book in Rajasthan. Madam, let me submit at once that the Central Government has absolutely no responsibility in this matter. It is a "fact that a certain text book was revised. In the original text, book the maps were all right. But in the revised edition certain mips were not printed properly. About half the number of copies had been distributed and the other half is yet to come. In the second half the maps will be corrected. As for the first half, they will not be used. This is the position that we have got from the Rajasthan Government. I can assure him that I am as concerned as he is that any wrong map should have been published about our boundaries.

Madam, Shri Chandrasekharan—if he will not mind my saying it—gave us a pleasant surprise by making a very consistently constructive speech, coming as it did from the SSP benches. I shall certainly convey the points that he made and the desires that he has expressed, that the Idikki project and the Nagarjunasagar project should be developed with greater alacrity, to the concerned authorities.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Which is the concerned authority?

The Finance Ministry is the concerned authority.

SHRI K. C. PANT: In this case the Irrigation and Power Ministry is primarily concerned.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: The money has to be given by the Finance Ministry.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN: It is not the Irrigation and Power Ministry but the Finance Ministry that has caused the delay.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Ultimately, of course, so far as the spending of the money is concerned, the Finance Ministry does come into the picture. But

in this matter there is also the question of relative priorities which are adopted by the administrative Ministry and we are guided in this by the administrative Ministry while not disowning my responsibility. I would like to share it.

Madam, I was very refreshed to hear Shri Baharul Islam take up the cause of family planning with such vigour and such zeal. I wish more hon. Members would give us that kind of a backing that he has done for the programmes that we are having for getting on the top of the problem which is threatening to explode in our face. My hon. friend Shri Abid Ali also referred to this matter and I am thankful to him also.

Madam, I had a couple of points more, but I do not think I should tax the patience of the House any longer. It has been very patient with me and it has heard me for a fairly long time. Once again I assure hon. Members that any suggestions that they have made in the course of this debate will receive our careful attention, I thank you and the House once again.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is.

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1967-68, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we shall take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

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

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

SHRI K. C. PANT: Madam, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE DEUPTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 a.m. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at six minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock «m Firday the 28th July, 1967.

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