

Delhi, for the year 1963-64, together with the Auditors' Report on the Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India thereon. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-3895/65.]

#### NOTIFICATIONS UNDER THE CUSTOMS ACT, 1962

SHRI RAMESHWAR SAHU: Sir, I also beg to lay on the Table :

A copy each of the following Notifications of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue), under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962 :—

- (i) Notification G.S.R. No. 223, dated the 13th February, 1965.
- (ii) Notification G.S.R. No. 224, dated the 13th February, 1965.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-3909/65 for (i) and (ii).]

#### NOTIFICATIONS UNDER THE CUSTOMS ACT, 1962 AND THE CENTRAL EXCISES AND SALT ACT, 1944

SHRI RAMESHWAR SAHU: Sir, I also beg to lay on the Table:

A copy each of the following Notifications of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue), under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962 and section 38 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944:—

- (i) Notification G.S.R. No. 225, dated the 13th February, 1965.
- (ii) Notification G.S.R. No. 226, dated the 13th February, 1965.
- (iii) Notification G.S.R. No. 248, dated the 20th February, 1965.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-3910/65 for (i) to (iii).]

#### MINISTRY OF FINANCE (DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE) NOTIFICATION

SHRI RAMESHWAR SAHU: Sir, I also beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Re-

venue) Notification G.S.R. No. 252, dated the 20th February, 1965, publishing a corrigendum to Government Notification No. 170-Customs, dated the 14th December, 1964. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-3909/65.]

#### THIRTY-SECOND REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE, 1964-65

SHRI S. C. DEB (Assam): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Thirty-second Report of the Public Accounts Committee (1964-65) on Appropriation Accounts (Railways) 1962-63 and Audit Report (Railways), 1964.

#### MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—continued

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Vero.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): Before you call the hon. Member, I would like to rise on a point of order. Yesterday, during the whole day, when this House was discussing this matter, no Minister of Cabinet rank was present in this House. I think that Cabinet Ministers—they are in a large number—should show a little more courtesy to this House and when we are discussing this, at least a couple of Cabinet Ministers should be present in the House.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh): There is another aspect. Who is going to reply to the debate and if it is the Prime Minister or the Home Minister, he should be here to listen to what we have to say?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): I think that it is also another example of authoritarian tendencies. They should be there. A very legitimate point he has raised namely, who will reply?

MR CHAIRMAN I do not think the needs your support for that

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA He does The only thing is that it is only another exhibition of authoritarian tendencies in the Government, in the Congress Party, in the ruling Party, in the Cabinet

MR CHAIRMAN I do not agree with that view, although I am quite sure in my mind that it would be very useful if senior Ministers are present in the House when important things are being discussed and I hope your sentiments would be carried to them

SHRI M VERO (Nagaland) Mr Chairman, Sir, I associate myself with the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address The speech was, no doubt, lucid and all comprehensive It is really heartening to note that he reiterated the assurance of the late Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, on the language issue In response to this, I think, we should agree, in principle, that Hindi will be the official language of the Indian Union At the same time, we should keep in mind that the process of implementation may be a very slow one, until the non Hindi States, including Nagaland, decide to accept Hindi of their own volition Since the time at my disposal is very limited, I would like to concentrate on only the Nagaland problem Having fully realised the difficult situation prevailing in the land, the State Government of Nagaland recommended to the Central Government to allow the Peace Mission to function in Nagaland

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

The intention of the State Government is very clear on this issue as the Chief Minister of Nagaland has categorically stated that he will not stand in the way of the restoration of permanent peace in Nagaland Accordingly, all possible help has been given to the Peace Mission, and I think during this period of cease fire, a climate of normalcy has been created among the society On the credit side, we can mention about the kind of confidence created among the people which has been

created in the society after a period of ten long years of shooting and tears in the land The fear which was responsible for dissension and mistrust among the Naga people themselves is very much less now But on the issue of political problem there is very little chance of compromise between the Government of India and the underground people To strike out a balance, the Peace Mission has made some proposals as the basis of talks between the two parties Accordingly, the underground people have responded along with their comments on this issue and it is for the Government of India to decide whether such a proposition should be accepted or not

Now, we have reached a very critical stage as far as peace talks are concerned If hostilities are resumed, they will not stop until they exhaust themselves, and there will be untold suffering and misery in Nagaland The Nagas are well aware of all these consequences and therefore, it appears the villagers are crying for peace

In view of this fact may I appeal to the hon Members of Parliament to remember one vital point that even if the peace talks unfortunately fail, let us not be responsible for the cause of the failure but let the responsibility be with the other party because the matter is very delicate and I am afraid the common people may become disloyal to the party which is responsible for the failure In case no acceptable formula is found out, the talks are likely to break down Unfortunately if this thing happens I can easily foresee the following consequences

Madam, firstly, the security forces which are stationed in Nagaland are very much hurt during this peace talk for some reasons or the other and thus they may try to have their own way in dealing with the situation Even if we allow the State Government to function the security forces may not show the fullest co operation in dealing with the rebels The reason is well known and therefore I refrain from elucidating it

Secondly, the rebels on the other hand may deploy outside forces to help them It will be a major armed conflict if it starts

all over again. It will be, indeed, a very sorrowful affair which the people of Nagaland will be compelled to bear. But who are these people living in between these two forces? They are our own countrymen, innocent villagers, our brothers and sisters, and therefore we have to protect them under any circumstances.

Thirdly, Madam, the trouble will not confine itself to Nagaland as there are other sensitive areas like Mizo Hills which are nearer to an unfriendly country like Pakistan. Taking full advantage of the Nagaland political conflict, the Mizos may also follow the same way in trying to get their demand. The Government of India should, therefore, tackle this problem before it is too late.

As we are aware that Nagaland is a part and parcel of the Indian Union, it cannot be our intention and I think the Government of India has never intended to let the Nagas suffer, and we cannot allow the situation to go worse. To secure the confidence of the civil population in Nagaland in case of armed conflict, a better relationship between the armed forces and the civil administration be developed, otherwise it will not be possible to tackle the situation. In Nagaland anti-national elements can be curbed through Nagaland Special Security Regulations.

It is also well known by the average people of the country that the troubled land of Nagas is surrounded by her neighbouring regions like Manipur, Mizo Hills, North Cachar Hills, North Burma which is called Chindwin Valley, etc. Therefore, adequate precautions should be taken in these regions, particularly in the Indo-Burma border, so that we may be able to cope with the situation all round.

In conclusion, Madam, I should therefore make an appeal to the Naga people that violence would only harm their interest. Whatever is to be done in regard to their political status or aspirations, it should be done through constitutional means. If the people have to engage only in conflicts and violence, there will be no future for them. It is also high time for the Nagas in parti-

cular and their well-wishers of this country in general to rise to the occasion and help the restoration of permanent peace and normalcy in that area, so that the common people would be able to enjoy the benefits of the various developmental plans undertaken by the State Government of Nagaland. Thank you.

SHRI SAWAI MAN SINGH (Rajasthan): Madam Deputy Chairman, the President has given us a very vivid and broad picture of the situation in and around our country as also the potential dangers which threaten us.

It is heartening to note that satisfactory progress has been maintained by our Armed Forces, particularly the newly raised Mountain Divisions, to defend our northern borders. I understand that they are now equipped with modern weapons and are well trained, and we will now be able more adequately to defend our northern borders than we were able to do before.

But our problem of defence does not end merely with the defence of our northern borders. We also have an equally potential threat from our neighbours on our eastern and western borders, and for this, we must modernise our conventional divisions and also the armoured divisions, so that they may match equally the modern weapons, the fire power and the mobility of the armoured divisions of Pakistan. In this context, it is generally well known that our armoured division is almost an ancient and obsolete fleet, and I am sure that the Government is aware of these vital shortcomings. If I may say so, it is better to be aware of our shortcomings instead of waiting for events to prove them later. It is gratifying to note the progress that has been claimed by our Defence Production Agencies, but it cannot be said that it is as rapid as it could have been. Time and speed are the essence of the problem and therefore there is definitely room for improvement in defence production and I hope this will soon be brought to its full working capacity so that our armed forces become self-sufficient in modern weapons and armaments. It must also be remembered that, if India ever goes to war, the decisive

[Shri Sawai Man Singh.]

battles will be fought in the plains—and not in the mountains—in which our conventional divisions and the armoured divisions will play the greatest role.

With the developments taking place in Indonesia and the Far East, the necessity for a strong Navy is obvious. We have a very large and vulnerable coast to defend, and it would be a Herculean task for our Navy to do so with the present resources. Therefore, it is imperative that its strength is increased and the Navy modernised in the interest of our national defence. I hope that this matter is receiving the consideration of the Government at the highest level.

China still continues to pose a grave threat to the security of our nation and with the explosion of an atom bomb by her, the threat has become still greater. Apart from the military aspect, the Government must consider the impact that China will have politically and economically on the Asian and African countries. Purely from the military point of view, India is in no imminent danger of a nuclear attack by China, but since China has been able to develop, and has the means of delivering, the atom bomb, the threat will become real. Therefore, the Government must consider the issue whether India cannot go in for the production of the atom bomb from national and international points of view, and it must not decide the issue merely on rigid and ideological grounds.

We often hear and read irresponsible statements made by responsible people in the ruling party to do away with agreements, privileges and treaties. I wonder if it is realised what serious repercussions this loose talk can have on our foreign policy. India today has signed agreements with many neighbouring countries and other countries of the world, and these agreements are of vital importance to us today particularly when we have international border disputes with China and other neighbouring countries. One of the arguments that we have often used is that while the borders may not be well defined, they have been under our control and administration by various treaties, agreements, usage and conventions. Kashmir is a part of our

country by agreement with the Maharaja. I would urge upon the ruling party to consider the far-reaching consequences which the abrogation of such treaties and agreements will have on the problems that our country faces today.

No legislation has been more damaging to the country and the people than the 17th Amendment Bill and the Gold Control Order. In both these legislations, politics have prevailed over principles, and I hope that the Government will consider giving security to the peasant and relief to the goldsmiths. (*Interruptions*) I am glad. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am very grateful that the hon. Member is a rich peasant.

SHRI SAWAI MAN SINGH: I am glad that the Government has at last realised the dangers that can arise from the Communist Party and has taken adequate steps. But still there are many of them, who have done and are doing incalculable harm, roaming about our country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am prepared, Madam, to go to jail after the Privy Purse is abolished.

SHRI SAWAI MAN SINGH: I hope that their activities will soon be curbed so that the progress and security of the country are not in any way hampered.

I will now conclude by inviting the attention of the House to the difficult problems and the evils which threaten our existence. They are many and formidable. There is only one remedy which will enable us to face them. There is only one defence against everything, and that lies in unity. Nothing can defeat the 440 millions of us, Indians, if we stand united. In unity lies the strength and life of our nation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, after this rather interesting speech from the one-time Prince—now called by the grace of the Congress Party, a rich peasant and farmer—I would like to deal with the subject.

Madam, we are discussing the President's Address. The President's Address is a disingenuous, dull, disappointing document worthy of a party which now wants to live on a political patrimony . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: May I just intervene to say that the House will rise at 1-30 and not at 1-00 p.m.?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: . . without, however, knowing how to manage its affairs.

Madam Deputy Chairman, during the lifetime of Pandit Nehru, the question used to be asked: "After Nehru, who?" Many of us thought that the real question should be: "After Nehru, what?" Anyhow, the answer to the question, namely, "After Nehru, who?" was found last year although the runner-up in the contest for the Prime Ministership has given up neither hope nor consulting astrologers. But the answer to the other rather significant question, namely "After Nehru, what?" is yet to be found.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I hope, not the Communists.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Things are, however, moving in an ominous direction and if the present drift is not halted, the answer would be a ruinous one of which our children and children's children will have been ashamed. We know that it is not the same Government that was once led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Hope was roused among the supporters of the Congress Party last June because of the manner in which this problem of succession was settled by the Congress leadership, but then it did not take very long for these hopes to give way to despondency and despair. In this connection, I should like to invite your attention to the editorial in "The Amrita Bazar Patrika", a well-known Congress supporter in Calcutta, of February 28, 1965.

It says:—

"One must confess that during the last few months hope has been yielding, step by step, to mounting despair. This is

due more to the failure of the leadership than to any sudden aggravation of the crisis facing the country. The leadership seems to be hesitant, unwilling or unable to make decisions, and anxious to play a waiting game in the hope that something will turn up at the last moment. This is not how a great country should be led in moments of crisis. Firmness in thought and action is an essential quality for political success."

Similar opinions have been expressed in various other leading papers in the country over the past few months. What, Madam Deputy Chairman, worries us is the present decline in the leadership of the Government. I am advisedly not using the term "decline in the leadership of the Congress Party" because it is their party affairs. But the Congress Government is something different from the Party in the context of our public affairs, the administration and the future of our people. We see there a decline. It is not merely the decline that causes us worry, it is the conditions and factors that are contributing to the decline that should be particularly noted.

As for the decline of the Government leadership, everyone sees it, feels it. Even the foreign press has not failed to note it, and we can also, if we are so minded, analyse it.

Madam Deputy Chairman, last year, this Government, with Pandit Nehru no longer on the scene, bungled the food situation in a miserable manner and they produced an unprecedented thing, namely a worse crisis in a situation where food production had gone up by at least 1 million tons and rice production by 4 million tons. It was undoubtedly a feat of performance on their part.

It gave a miserable account of itself over the Kerala Ministerial crisis when the leaders in the High Command wanted to keep a tottering Ministry led by Mr. Sankar, which ended ultimately in a hara-kiri within the ruling Party in Kerala itself, resulting in a large defection of prominent Congressmen. They are now calling themselves Kerala Congress.

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It fumbled and fumbled over the Orissa Ministerial issue when Mr. Biju Patnaik and Mr. Atulya Ghosh fretted and fumed. This is another aspect of this matter.

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh): On a point of order, Madam.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, I do not want any interruptions.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: I am on a point of order. The matter under discussion is the President's Address and all the things contained in it may be discussed. The hon. Member may criticise everything that the Congress Government has done rightly or wrongly. But what they have done in their leadership in their Party is not a thing to be discussed here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is not inside it.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Who has done all this?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: These are his introductory remarks.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Sankar Ministry you can criticise. But so far as the internal matters of the Congress Party are concerned, they are not under review. Hence it is not proper to bring such matters here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I need not learn Parliamentary procedures and conventions from you.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Another point, Madam. The Chair gave a ruling that there must be at least one Cabinet Minister present in the House while we discuss the President's Address. This House has the privilege of having 4 members in the Cabinet and we expect that at least one of them should be present here.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Till a little while ago one Cabinet Minister was there. I would again bring it to bear on the Government that some senior Cabinet-rank Minister should be here. Mr. Hathi is there.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He is not in the Cabinet.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Anyway, I have drawn the attention of the Treasury Benches that some Cabinet-rank Minister should be here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not enchanted by them nor disenchanted when they are not there. But the Parliamentary etiquette demands . . .

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): I do not think hon. Members should object when I am here.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: We welcome you. But that does not absolve your senior colleagues.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You would be more comprehensible and perhaps shine in your majesty if Mr. Nanda is also here.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I was mentioning this thing about Orissa. Recently the Central Government has failed again very miserably over the language issue, as a result of which not only there has been a heavy loss of life and property but the unity of the country has suffered a severe and avoidable blow. Yet this Government continues in the position of authority and power, thanks to the brute majority it has at its command.

Madam Deputy Chairman, in the old days, Pandit Nehru held the fort with his great personal authority and prestige. In order to keep this regime going he disbursed lavishly from the fund of that

popularity. Many little ones strutted about the stage in heroes' garbs, sometimes presenting tragic, sometimes a comic spectacle. Nevertheless, they carried on. But as they grew under the 'banyan tree', we are told that some grew with ambitions of all kinds. Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, these ambitions are having the better of the judgment and loyalty to the country and even, if I may say so, to their Party. In the past few months, the centre of gravity of the leadership of the Central Government has shifted from the Prime Minister's Office to the conclaves of ambitious, intriguing, factious leaders of the Congress Party whose lust for power grows with every failure and discomfiture of Prime Minister Shastri.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: How is it relevant?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let us not forget that such a situation is fraught with grave dangers. I am certainly entitled to show where the power of authority is being held. Previously it was the *Prime Minister's Office and the House*, today it is the syndicate or some such alignments or confabulations. That is very, very important.

Madam, Shastriji said yesterday in the other House that he is a strong man. Personally he is perhaps a strong man, I do not deny it. But here it is not a question of your being strong or mentally firm. The question is one of having the political and mass support behind you even within your own Party on the basis of which you can stand up to the challenges of the forces of reaction and other brandishments coming from such retrograde quarters. Madam Deputy Chairman, I have noted Prime Minister Mr. Shastri's remarks. And I hope he will agree with me that in dealing with such matters we have to assess not the individual, personal, mental courage or mental position only with which he functions but we have to see whether he has the right type of support. Pressures and pulls are—at work. And it requires not merely a strong man to counter the evil pressures it requires

something more than a personally strong man. Pandit Nehru could do it not only with his personal, mental strength but with the popular support he could always turn to the people and could take it for granted that the people were behind him. Is there anyone on the Treasury Benches whose popularity and support is even one-millionth of the position in this respect the late Prime Minister enjoyed in the country? Therefore, this aspect of the matter has to be borne in mind. I 1 P.M. hope Shastriji would not live in a paradise that intelligent and wise men would normally avoid. You understand the kind of paradise I have in mind. Decline in the leadership has made the Congress Government, the Central Government, the ministerial hierarchy, indiscipline, mutually acrimonious, and thrown everyone of them in a drive for position and authority. The result is the collective responsibility of the Council of Ministers is at a heavy discount. This is what I would like to say. When such a thing happens, parliamentary democracy is put in jeopardy.

The Ministers are to function on behalf of the Parliament, as a collective body, and their responsibility is a collective responsibility, with the Prime Minister playing the pivotal role and in the circumstances which I have described just now, you can imagine what will happen to the administration of the country, apart from setting a very bad, negative example before the State Governments.

No wonder, in Punjab, in Madhya Pradesh, and in other places we see troubles again in the running of the affairs of the Cabinet and the Government or the Legislature Party have started. Another thing happens in such a situation and it is happening in our country. When the Ministry and the Council of Ministers lose their bearing and the leadership is warning bureaucrats grow in power and authority and it is a fact that to-day the officials are more powerful than at the time of the late Prime Minister Nehru. They think that no Minister is big enough to reckon with. They bank on the fact that the Ministers are fighting with each

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other, making contradictory statements and that some Ministers do not have even time to look after their portfolios well or sit in the offices. In such a situation, the prodigious growth of powers in the hands of the bureaucracy inevitably takes place and that is indeed taking place to-day. These are problems that concern not one single Party but I think concern parliamentary democracy, more especially in its formative years. We are not past that stage.

One example I can give you. As you know, recently the Central Government took the initiative in getting one thousand members of the Communist Party, Marxists—we call them rival Communist Party—also of our Party and other Parties, arrested. Among them are included Members of Parliament including three Members of this House and also about the whole group in the other House. The decision was taken, not in the Cabinet. There was no discussion in the Cabinet. There was no prior reference about this step in the Cabinet at all. In fact, the Cabinet Members or at any rate many of them read the news in the newspapers in the same way as many of us did.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Are you sure?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How do you know that?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know, I speak from knowledge. Let them deny it.

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT (SHRI D. SANJIVAYYA): Unless he knows what was discussed, how can he say?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It appeared in the newspapers that in a Cabinet meeting at least two Cabinet Ministers raised objection to the manner in which this step was taken. The matter came up at the Durgapur Session of the Congress where Cabinet Ministers were discussing among themselves, and among others,

the same question was raised. These are well-known facts. Therefore, I say here how it is functioning.

Over the language question, look at this again. Before the Madras developments took place on the 26th, there was no discussion in the Cabinet. You go into the records on the subject and we know after the discussion sometimes a resume is given by way of unofficial or non-official press briefing. Nothing of the kind was there. In fact the Ministers were not even in Delhi. Mr. Nanda was in Kerala and from Kerala he came here, made his speech in Hindi to convince the Tamil people about Hindi . . .

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Shame, shame.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then he went to Calcutta to hold his zonal conference and then came back here. By that time other Ministers had gone out of Delhi. Therefore, physically it was not possible for what we know to be the Cabinet to meet here, to get the matter discussed. It is no use hon. Members getting up and telling that the Cabinet met and asking questions—I know.

Do we not know that Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, a Member of the Cabinet, in this crucial period was touring Andhra Pradesh, making speeches on the language question rather than sitting beside his leader, Shri Shastri, to take counsel with each other? Do we not know that Mr. Asoke Sen and other Cabinet Ministers were in West Bengal? Nobody knows where Mr. Satyanarayan Sinha was. This is the position. Therefore why tell us all these things? We have vigilant eyes, we watch your movements, we do not have a police force or intelligence service for it. We watch and we can show that you did not meet. Only after the crisis had overtaken them, only when Madras was in flames, did they realise the need for mutual consultations. Is it not a fact that even there, when the first Cabinet meeting took place on this subject to discuss elaborately, two resignations fol-



lowed one from Mr. Subramaniam and another from Mr. Alagesan and is it not a fact that some Members of the Cabinet wanted the resignation to be accepted immediately by the President whereas some wise man in the State gave the advice that they should not precipitate the matter by taking such a step? Therefore the scandalous performance of the Cabinet, the body of men miscalled the Cabinet or the Council of Ministers has to be taken into account to-day, when we are discussing the affairs of the State. I leave it at that.

Recently also I can give you many other examples but here hon. Members should not think that political stability of a Government depends on the majority that they command. If it were so, there would have been no instability in Orissa. There would have been no instability in Punjab. There would have been no instability in Uttar Pradesh. There would have been no trouble as far as the Government is concerned in Madhya Pradesh or there would have been no difficulty in Gujarat. Instability may arise even internally, from within the Party itself. I think the time has come for the Members of the ruling party to take into account this aspect of the matter and not take political stability for granted by looking at the majorities. I frankly state here that in the new situation, with Nehru and his personality no more on the scene, political stability will depend on proper combination of forces within the ruling party and above all, proper or right type of policy that the Government possesses. To-day you cannot expect the people to say 'yes' to you. You will have to go on merits before the people, convince them by your right approach, right policy, that you deserve their support. Yesterday with Nehru on the scene, it was possible, because of his great popularity, by years of patriotic service, he could even pass off a wrong policy. To-day if you go with a wrong policy, you will be beaten—beaten not necessarily by people outside but by people within your own Party. Is it not a fact that in the recent days, we have had this spectacle of some people within the ruling party taking advantage of the Hindi question, trying to elbow some

people out of authority and power or at least to prepare the ground for it? These are matters that should be borne in mind when you discuss the affairs of the State.

I do maintain in this House in all seriousness that the country has entered a phase of instability. The writing on the wall should be seen. If we have to meet this situation of growing instability in the affairs of our State and even instability in the Government itself, we will have to know where to strike, which to support, what to oppose. This is very very important. There cannot be running with the hare and hunting with the hound any more. Those days are gone. Therefore may I say in this connection that the Congress people more especially should take note of this fact because political battles have to be fought. Once you launch the country into a state of chaos, indecision, instability of the kind that was experienced in other countries, what comes instead is not those who have the slightest belief in democracy but purboiled authoritarian forces. And the authority and tendencies are growing within the Congress Party itself, Madam Deputy Chairman. This is the political aspect of the matter which today, when you discuss the President's Address, you should bear in mind. Let us, I repeat, not take things for granted.

Now let me come to the question of Emergency. I have given my amendments. Why do they need this Emergency? I cannot understand. Clearly, it is needed for the security of the Congress Party. I do not know if there is any territory in Jantar Mantar Road that should be protected, but I do know it is the vested interest which must be maintained. Come what may, suspend the rule of law, deny the constitutional rights to the citizens, rights sacredly enshrined and solemnly pledged to the nation, and the Emergency is continuing year after year when every other step taken in the name of Emergency has been given up. when you have the spectacle of waste and squandermania at Durgapur, when stations are built and then demolished, built in order to enable the members of the Congress Party to be good enough to go there.

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to land at the venue and attend the Congress Session there, and as far as the Durgapur Session is concerned, Madam Deputy Chairman, from the newspaper report we find that more pickpockets went there from Calcutta than delegates. Because the pickpockets thought that it was a flourishing trade that was offered there, and it was known from the statements of the Congress leaders that their pockets had been picked and that some had lost Rs. 700. That is how they inspired the journey of the pickpockets to the Durgapur session. Madam Deputy Chairman, therefore I say this is the sort of Emergency we are in and, well, Durgapur did not show any sign of Emergency. One crore of rupees, according to the 'Statesman' was spent there, and out of it the Central and State Governments paid to the organisers for the land that they took to set up their exhibitions, no less than forty-five to fifty lakhs of rupees. This is the position in the face of the Emergency.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): I seek only one information. The hon. Member seems to be an authority on pickpockets. He must be in intimate touch with them, it seems.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: As far as your own pockets are concerned, if I pick it, Lady Chatterley's Lover will come. Therefore I leave you. Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, imagine, it is one crore of rupees. In saying this, the 'Statesman' was contradicted by the West Bengal Pradesh Congress leader, Shri Atulya Ghosh. Then the 'Statesman' came out with an editorial, saying that they stood by the statement that one crore of rupees had been spent. Much of the money had gone from the Congress Central and State Governments, who set up their exhibition, but there were not many people to see it. I would come to the story later on, on some other occasion. I shall just give you another example. Go to the marriage parties thrown by the Ministers, and you see electricity wasted, light and everything, all you find, as if a carnival is going on. Where is the Emergency? Yet, in order to detain people, suppress the

trade union organisation, for arming the bureaucracy with powers, they need the Emergency today, powers to terrorise the people, intimidate the people, bully and browbeat the people and keep the sword of Damocles, that of Emergency, hanging over the heads of the Opposition, so that nobody can dare go beyond the limits prescribed by the ruling party or the Treasury Benches. This is why the Emergency is continuing, Madam, Deputy Chairman. I do not know of any instances where, in peace-time, under conditions such as these, an Emergency has been continued and has been in force for so long a time. Did our Constitution-makers and the Constitution envisage it for such a situation in which we live today? Or was it for an extremely difficult and threatening situation? Well, let the Government explain its position. We know it is the security of the ruling party, which is more to be looked after, if necessary, by the use of Presidential powers.

Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, they had been arresting the Communists and others for a long time—and, well, this is nothing new for this Government—and Shri Gulzarilal Nanda has set up today such a world record in arresting, in a matter of days, one thousand Communists. I would like to know . . .

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Left Communists.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Whatever you call it. Left communists or others, including Members of Parliament. I should like to know, can you cite a single example of parliamentary democracy where the emergency powers under the Defence of India Rules, or corresponding legislations or measures—they don't exist—have been used in this manner to whisk away into prison one thousand men, including a whole number of Members of Parliament and of State Legislatures? Can I find it in England? No. In France? No. In Italy? No. In the United States of America where anti-communism has been made into Statecraft? No. In none of those countries, in none of the NATO countries which have

parliamentary democracy can you get such an example. Yet we are supposed to be Asia's greatest democracy, and the greatness has been displayed in a great manner by the improper and illegal use of the Defence of India Rules which, after the Emergency, I have no doubt, would be declared illegal as far as preventive detention is concerned.

Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, may I ask the Home Minister why he did so? For Mr. Nanda I had some regard. Perhaps he tried to convince the doubting elements about him, in the Congress Party that, after all, he is not pro-communist and is as much anti-communist as anybody else. Why gamble with the future of the country and at their cost? Why gamble with the political rights and liberties in this manner? I would ask Mr. Nanda. Mr. Nanda may say very many things, and, as you know, I was in Kerala when he was there. Mr. Nanda talks now in an authoritarian way. At a Press Conference there, when he was asked whether he would release the detained candidates in the Kerala elections, he said, "I am allowing them to stand so that the people of Kerala will have a chance to disown them." It is first person, singular, "I am allowing them". Is this the language in which a person, allegedly democrat, should speak? Or is it the language which you hear in Pakistan coming from Ayub Khan? And I find Mr. Nanda is speaking in the accents not of a man who has acclimatised himself to parliamentary democracy, but as a man who has imbibed in some ways the habits and accents of those who did not believe in parliamentary democracy. It is pointless for him or the Government to tell us in this House that we live in a parliamentary democracy when the Fundamental Rights are under suspension, when preventive detention is resorted to in the name of the security of the country and so many people are arrested, when a whole opposition group is taken away with impunity and kept in prison without being given even a chance to come here and reply to the scurrillous and insulting charges that are made from the Treasury Benches. I should like to know what sort of an Emergency this is. Madam Deputy Chairman, no wonder that Sir Bertrand Russell, that great world figure, was associated with the pro-

tests that were organised against these arrests in England by the Indians. No wonder that 'Unita', an Italian paper, and other papers also, the 'London Times'—I have not got the quotations here—wrote strongly against it, and if they get the newspapers and go through them, they will find that every single country which believes in democracy, even in the elementary principles of democracy, they all have opposed this kind of thing, arrests. Well, the criticism coming from the 'London Times' should make them wake up. But the Rip Van Winkles of the Government are not only sleeping but they are also drunk with power and they shall never wake up unless rude shocks come. The rule of law has been thrown to the winds. Today you strike us, put us in prison or a section of us in prison, and tomorrow you shall see that the same will recoil on you. In Pakistan it all began with their attacks against the Communist Party, against the Congressmen there, on the allegation that they were pro-Indian. Just in the same way you are accusing some people here as pro-China and putting them in prison. What happened after that in Pakistan and what happened to those who attacked them in Pakistan? Then came others, and ultimately, those very people, people like Suhrawardy, who put people in jail, themselves had to go to jail. Likewise . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): All of us Congressmen have been to jail.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not know about 'all of us' but, Mr. Arjun Arora, if you do not desert your cause and become a renegade from a high ideal, I am not sure whether you will be always out. But I hope political renegacy is the only way out you have against the advancing forces of reaction and authoritarianism. I hope Shri Arjun Arora will not be a coward but will stand up to the challenge that is coming even from his own party, in the name of democracy in the country. Therefore, I raise my voice of protest against this and demand the release of all those prisoners and detenus.

Now, I come to the so-called Statement. I cannot think of a more shameful, more

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

abominable, more perverted, more misconceived, more malicious and more nauseating document than the one which they had laid on the Table of the House. Here is that Statement. But what happened to their White Paper? The Statement is given in this House. If it is outside and if it is published there first, they would have been liable for defamatory action, for libel action and it would be open to some of us to go and sue them in a court of law. That is why this Government did not publish it outside instead of bringing it here and making it a privileged document. They did not put it out as a White Paper, because they thought that the White Paper would not be a privileged document but would make them liable to criminal and civil action under the law of defamation. Madam Deputy Chairman, I have the information that in the preparation of these things they consulted the American intelligence officer who is here.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You had invited two American intelligence officers. You admitted it. My information is—and I add to your information—that you had consulted them.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA (Bihar) : Madam, I would like to ask one question. The hon. Member is giving us a lot of information. We would like to have some more information from him. What does his party think about these pro-Peking Communists? Have they denounced them? That we would like to know.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We have got our ideological and political differences. But then we do not put people in prison for that.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA : We would like to hear about it in detail. He has been talking about these things.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Some day in a quiet corner, sitting together I will tell him.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA : Why not discuss it now in public? Let us have publicity.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Therefore, I say these documents have no value. I will only here invite the attention of the hon. Members to what the 'Amrit Bazaar Patrika', a Congress party paper, has to say.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA : We would like to know what Mr. Dange has to say about it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am coming. The 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' says:

"The Government has failed to justify why the Left Communists had to be put under arrest now and why they had been left free so long."

That is what they say, criticising the entire Statement that had been made.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA : What has the Right Communist Party to say?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : There may be ideological struggle, but they will be fought as political battles, in debates and so on, not by putting people into jail as you do. You are supposed to be a democracy and we are not supposed to be democratic. How are you interested in the affairs of the Communist Party?

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA : If you are interested in the Congress Party, we are also interested in your Party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If I am interested in the Congress Party, he is also interested in the Communist Party. Look at the way they are interested in the party. They put people in jail. I am interested in

the Congress Party and so I am giving them some friendly advice.

**SHRI D. SANJIVAYYA :** Our interest is for the security of the State.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** I would say to Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, you better protect your security.

**SHRI D. SANJIVAYYA :** I am not Sanjiva Reddy.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** I am sorry, I mean Mr. Sanjivayya. You may protect your interest against Mr. Sanjiva Reddy.

**SHRI D. SANJIVAYYA :** I can deal with that quite well.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** I am sure you will be dealing with that. But you don't seem to have very much succeeded, for good or evil. I wish you good luck. But have good policies. Madam Deputy Chairman, I have spoken enough.

**SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA :** We would like to know whether this is what they thought when they attacked those friends, Shri Ramamurti and others like that.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** You see this is what Communism teaches us. I am demanding their release and his release so that he is brought here and a discussion and debate will take place outside and people will judge which party, which policy or which position is right.

**SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA :** You know in what utter contempt he holds you.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** Mr. Ramamurti is a fellow fighter for democracy and therefore, I stand for him as much as for

anybody. I stand by Prof. Mukut Bihari Lal, though the Professor would not like to stand for me. But as far as Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha is concerned, he has deserted all of us.

Now, let me come to the economy of the country. The economy is in a bad shape.

**SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA :** I will never be a member of the Communist Party.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** Our economy is in a bad shape. The crisis is revealed in the stagnation in our agriculture. Today we are nowhere near the target which we should reach by the end of the Five Year Plan. As far as agriculture and food production is concerned, we shall be below the target at least to the extent of 15 million tons. Our serious foreign exchange situation is another expression of this crisis. As for our foreign exchange position today, well, it is said that during the Second Plan from Rs. 785 crores of foreign exchange resources it came to Rs. 186 crores and today—not today but on the 19th of February—it had dwindled to just Rs. 74.04 crores. Today we do not have even the foreign exchange enough to cover what is called the currency reserve which needs Rs. 200 crores. Moreover, the crisis in our economy is revealed also by the rise in prices that occurred last year, even though we did not have any deficit financing to the extent we had in the previous year. Surprisingly enough, the economy is so bad that when you have less or deficit financing you have reached an all-time peak in the prices of foodgrains and certain other commodities. And we have also this economic crisis expressed in the unemployment in the country which is growing and it will now be of the order of nine million people, according to the official figures. In fact, it will be much higher. If you take the under-employment into account, the problem is a staggering and devastating one for all to reckon with.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** Mr. Gupta, you have taken nearly 45 minutes and your

Party has just 55 minutes. Others also may want some time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I will finish in another few minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Even so, you should give some time for others.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am just finishing. The debate will be extended by another day, you will see. Anyway I am finishing, Madam. There have been so much interruptions, Madam. So many interruptions have taken place. Kindly deduct the time for all those interruptions. Madam, I was saying, these are the features of the crisis and that after fourteen years of planning. No wonder the Prime Minister in his letter to the Chief Ministers of States has said that it looks as though we are developing a political crisis. Madam Deputy Chairman, if an economic crisis occurs in agriculture, there is bound to be a political crisis. You cannot escape it. You can avert it for a time. Officially you can stifle it and you cap perhaps circumscribe its operation, but you cannot escape it altogether.

Let me here give some aspect of the economy, especially one aspect, particularly the foreign private investment in the so-called collaboration agreements and joint enterprises. On 30th June, 1948, the foreign non-banking private business investment in the country was Rs. 256 crores. In 1960 it was of the order of Rs. 690 crores. And now this is the latest official figure. We have got the provisional figures and according to them this foreign private business investment comes to Rs. 800 crores.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Gupta, you will still have about ten minutes. You may continue after lunch. The House now stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at half-past one of the clock.

The House Reassembled after Lunch at half-past two of the clock. THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.

#### STATEMENT RE OFFER OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT TO MAKE A GIFT OF WHEAT

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI D. R. CHAVAN) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement regarding the offer of the Canadian Government to make a gift of wheat. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-3900/65].

#### MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—continued

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I was speaking on the foreign private investment and I pointed out to the House from the official figures that between 1948 and 1960, investments had gone up from Rs. 256 crores to Rs. 690 crores and if you take the investments in the subsequent period, the figure would come to about Rs. 800 crores. Now, where are these investments going? In this period, investment in plantations rose from Rs. 55 crores to Rs. 95 crores, mining from Rs. 11 crores to Rs. 14 crores.—I am giving round figures only—in petroleum it rose from Rs. 22 crores to Rs. 122 crores, in manufacturing processes from Rs. 70 crores to Rs. 251 crores—of the manufacturing processes, on metal and metal products, it rose from Rs. 7 crores to Rs. 93.8 crores—in chemical and allied products from Rs. 8 crores to Rs. 38 crores and in services from Rs. 99 crores to Rs. 135 crores. These I am quoting from the official figures.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Mr. Vice-Chairman, may I once again point out the empty Treasury Benches despite the Chairman's remarks this morning? This is the respect they show to the Chairman's ruling

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I would like to say that the sense of the House would