

Re: Inquiry into death of
Shri Deen Dayal Upadhyaya

संसद्-कार्य तथा संचार मन्त्री (डा० राम सुभग सिंह) : मैं इस बात की इत्तिला गृह मंत्री जी को दे दूंगा लेकिन जांच की रिपोर्ट जब आएगी तभी यह सम्भव हो सकता है। अगर उनको कोई इत्तिला आई होगी तो वह जरूर दे दूँगे।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: If it is worth reporting, he may do it.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH: When the report is submitted, we can do it. It is not submitted every moment.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: I was asking about the progress of the inquiry, not the report.

डा० राम सुभग सिंह : लेकिन पता नहीं प्रति दिन की प्रोग्रेस उनके यहां आती है या नहीं। जहां तक कोम्प्राइजेशन का सवाल है, यू० पी० गवर्नमेंट की रिक्वेस्ट पर यह हुआ है।

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti): The UP Government are responsible for the case. They should give a report.

श्री शशि भूषण बाजपेयी (खारगोन) : यू० पी० गवर्नमेंट से भी पूछा जा सकता है।

श्री शिव नारायण : मिनिस्टर साहब कम से कम यू० पी० गवर्नमेंट को टेलीफोन करवा दें। यू० पी० गवर्नमेंट इसके लिए रेस्पॉसिबिल है।

डा० राम सुभग सिंह : कोई गवर्नमेंट बन गई होगी तभी तो हो सकता है।

14.05 hrs.

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

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA: I was saying that the profession of what is called industrialist, entrepreneur or merchant is to make profit. You have to recognise the hard fact. Some of us may say that they are very greedy, but when I look at the labour unions, their demands and methods, I cannot say they are free from these vices either. These two sectors industry and labour, they are holding the consumer to ransom. The type of socialism that we have implemented has created a seller's market. Seller's market means that labour can dictate its own terms, the industrialist can dictate his own price, and the rest of us have to pay the prices through our noses. It is a well known fact that the prices of most of the goods manufactured and sold in India are much higher, and many of them are inferior in quality. The famous example is the Ambassador car. The Government of India had to appoint a committee for the purpose.

Therefore, I want all patriotic members of this House to concentrate on this problem, how to rectify this evil tendency of holding the 50 crores of people to ransom by a few industrialists and by a few more labour unions. A balance has to be struck. It is, after all, the consumer who has to be served. This socialism that we have practised the exaggerated notion we have of our rights, and the temptation of getting votes from one section or the other has made one or the other of us to go on egging these two sectors to levels which are not healthy for the nation. This seller's market must be converted into a buyer's market. It is only then there will be satisfaction in the country, and equitable distribution of wealth in the country. The present trend of creating and pursuing a seller's market, whether it is the public sector or the

private sector, must be seriously taken notice of by every Member of Parliament, and we must all pool our brain power to restore economic balance.

I have got only one appeal to make and then I will deal in five minutes with the Administrative Reforms Commission to which the President has made a reference in his Address. The question is not who should begin this collaboration and cooperation on national issues. Some of my friends in the opposition parties are great patriots. In the Government there are equally great patriots. It is patriotism that has to be the propelling force, and not the office we occupy or the office that we are likely to occupy if a set of people go out of their seats. Objective approach must be adopted for its own sake, whether the other man does it or not. I hope the opposition parties will adopt this high level objective approach, and see that in times to come an atmosphere is created in this country in which Government command respect, Parliament commands respect, and there is peace and plenty in this country.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur): We will try it in spite of your Government.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA: Thank you very much. Then please advise people in Madras who go the extreme way not to do so, and I will be one with you. I hope we will collaborate in the matter of pacifying the students in Tamil Nad.

The President has made very kind reference to the Administrative Reforms Commission. He has given the reasons also. I must acknowledge that the first Chairman, Shri Morarji Desai, took great pains in giving shape to the working of this Commission. He organised it, and gave it a great momentum. We appointed 20 study terms, out of which five have not yet given their reports, 15 of them have. We appointed thirteen working groups and ten are yet to report.

The working groups have been appointed for such areas that the Commission need not wait for their recommendations to give its report on the administrative machinery at the Centre and in the States. The Commission is approaching the problem now in a comprehensive manner in the light of the recommendations that have been made by various study teams. I must acknowledge and put it on record that some of the ablest persons in India with a wide administrative background and rich experience have been involved in this work. I do not want to read out their names; most of you know of them. Some of them command respect of all parties and throughout the country. The Commission has profited much by their suggestions and advice. We have already given four reports. As you know the report on the Planning Commission had already been implemented—I mean its advisory role and its constitution.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam). You did not want the Prime Minister to be the Chairman but she had been made the Chairman.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA: It is a minor matter.

SHRI RANGA: If it is a minor matter, your commission is also a minor commission.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA: We have made recommendations to the State Governments to constitute planning boards at the State level where practically there was no planning. Only a departmental secretary adds up the list of demands and calls them a plan. Planning is much deeper and more serious and comprehensive affair than preparing a list of projects and items of work. There are non-Congress Governments in some of the States. They require state level boards in order to implement their own political ideology. Therefore, I am advised that it would be in the interest of the State Governments themselves to constitute State planning boards.

[Shri Hanumanthaiya.]

These planning boards will do effective work and make their plans which the Central Planning Commission will ultimately integrate into a national plan.

We have made a significant report on public undertakings. Many recommendations have been made. I wish Parliament discusses this report. It is not enough that reforms are suggested by a few individuals and implemented by some other individuals. Any reform to be worth the name should command wide acceptance among the people. Members of Parliament in particular should know and feel that these reforms are necessary. Such of those reforms as do not find favour with them should be straightway rejected. We are doing an intellectual exercise. There is no question of my personal prestige involved if some recommendations are rejected. It is an intellectual approach and I want Parliament to take interest. Many of our reports deserve to be discussed by Parliament. We discuss annual budget for days and days together. But do you know that the public undertakings in the Government of India alone are 72 in number and the investment made on them is more than Rs. 2,500 crores and it may be another thousand crores of rupees in the next one or two years? This is of such a dimension! But the Parliament has hardly devoted even a day for the discussion of such a vast field. We have made a recommendation that Parliament should annually set apart at least a week exclusively to discuss the working of public undertakings. It is only then that you will be able effectively to exercise parliamentary control over this vast expenditure. I may tell you, one of the reasons for this inflation, for imbalance in our economic advancement, may be this public sector. Its production and income do not come up to what is called the expenditure and investment. We have to balance them.

I am one of those who have faith in public undertakings. I do not want the private sector to do all these things. But, at the same time, I have to point out that the Government of India and this Parliament have accepted the idea of mixed economy. Both the private and the public sector have to co-exist. Therefore, it is no use some of us, all the time, decrying the private sector as if they are traitors to this country, and there is no use some others all the time finding fault with the public sector, saying that these are mismanaged and these are a drain on the resources of the country. These two extreme positions have to be avoided. Parliament has advisedly been pursuing the middle path of the private sector and the public sector co-existing. The pattern of our administrative structure not only in the private sector and the public sector but in the Planning Commission and the general administration should be such that the private sector finds an honourable place of co-operation. All the sectors involved must be made to work enthusiastically for the progress of this country.

The Lokpal Bill is being introduced in pursuance of the recommendations of the Commission. I am very happy that my friend Shri Deo has taken advance interest in it and I am grateful to him.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi): But the President's recommendation is being withheld; has he got anything to say on that?

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA: The latest report we have made is on budgeting, accounting and audit. This is a very important document. Many people do not bother about this side of the administration. Most of them are interested in political matters or, at the most in economic matters. Here, we have proposed a new financial year which is in consonance with our age-old traditions, which coincides

with the working season in this country and which in turn is determined by the pattern of the monsoons. In the official circles, for the last 20 years, there has been an eternal discussion whether the year should be changed or not. Discussion in the secluded corners of offices did not bring about a decision, nor is it possible for such a decision to be taken in that spirit, and in that place. It is Parliament that has to discuss this question and come to a decision.

We have also recommended the institution of Audit Boards in public sectors. We want performance budgeting. There are very many new and modern ideas which we have incorporated in our recommendations. I wish that all these reports are discussed at least for one or two hours so that Parliament may correctly be informed of our recommendations, so that the country through Parliament may know what exactly are the implications of these recommendations. I want to give one warning. Many a time, the recommendations are processed by the Secretaries, who are mostly ICS people. We ourselves examine the Secretaries, take their advice and make the report. If the recommendations are to be processed again by them, the labour that we put in to that extent is superfluous.

Look at these public undertakings. We have recommended that as in England, France and Italy, Corporations should be formed. But all these Economic Secretaries have joined in a conference and voted in their own favour, saying that the corporations need not come into existence. They are afraid that so much power and patronage will go out of their hands. I have to state these things in this hard manner, because no reform can be implemented with soft words. Here is a question on which I want the verdict of Parliament and not of Economic Secretaries. All of us think subjectively, how far it affects our pay, prospects, prestige and patronage. But Parliament is not made that

way. Public Undertakings report, especially, ought to be discussed by Parliament before it is implemented by Government. If that is not done and if the advice of the Secretaries alone is accepted I may straightway say that the vested interests have had their innings. I am not speaking as a Congressman. We have reached a stage when we should forget on some issues at least that we are Congressman or we belong to PSP, Jan Sangh or DMK. We have to raise ourselves above parties especially in the matter of administrative reforms and think on higher level.

SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH (Pali):
What about the size of the Cabinets?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH:
(Nandyal): Perhaps he is envious!

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA: We appointed a study team under the chairmanship of Mr. Barve and they gave an interim report. But Mr. Barve died. May his soul rest in peace! In that vacancy, I appointed Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, as Chairman of that study team. He gave the report last week. The Commission is going to make recommendations about the size of the ministries not only at the Centre but also in the States.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM
(Visakhapatnam): What about the size of the ministers?

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA: That has to be determined by the Food Minister! (Interruptions).

It is not that India did not know the pattern of good Government, whether it is the ministries or Secretariat. For some time standards have been set at nought for personal or group reasons not merely by the Congress party but by other parties also. I would have been the first man to congratulate the non-Congress ministries if they had run their governments on the best lines which are known to us. We studied these things

[Shri Hanumanthaiya.]

even in our college days. But when I see that 39 ministers were sworn in in Bihar and more are coming, I feel like resigning from the chairmanship of the commission. What is the reform we could introduce in such a State? Political demoralisation has gone to such an extent in some of the States that every defector has a place in the ministry of one variety or the other. This is the moral and political degradation to which the administration has been reduced. Parliament, as I said, has to make up its mind to act unitedly. That unity alone can lift this administration out of the mishaps, out of the mire and rut into which it has fallen.

Sir, I thank you very much for having given me this latitude. I hope, you as well as other thinkers in the country, will in your own way help this effort of national unity, national thinking and national solution of big problems facing this country.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO (Dhenkanal): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, after fifteen years of planning the President in his Address states that as a result of drought there has been a decline in agricultural production which has adversely affected industrial output, slackening of demand for capital and producer goods, rise in unemployment of skilled manpower as a result of slowing down of industrial expansion, persistent upward movement of costs and prices adversely affecting the competitiveness of our exports, the expansion of which remains a national objective of the highest priority, and adverse balance of trade and the substantial burden of debt servicing, combined with unavoidable imports of foodgrains and raw materials for export production which continued to make our foreign exchange position difficult over the year resulting in a decline in the foreign exchange reserves.

The very fact that agriculture is the basic industry of our country

which provides food to our people, raw materials for our industry and full employment has been hammered on deaf ears for the last nine years by spokesmen from my party. At last now better sense has prevailed and Government has realised it.

In the President's Address he says that there has been a decrease in the rise of wholesale prices and it is now only 5.7 per cent corresponding to 16 per cent in 1966. In spite of the production having increased by 20 million tonnes in the matter of food-grains there is still an increase of 5.7 per cent in the wholesale prices. The reasons are not far to seek. The producers and consumers did not receive the benefit of this increase in production and it was frittered away by zones and unnecessary controls. It should be remembered that one good harvest like one swallow does not make a summer of content.

It is a matter of great admiration that our agronomists, scientists and plant experts have made a technological break-through in agriculture by producing high-yielding seeds. Unfortunately they are so inadequately supplied and they are blackmarketed by certain agencies that they lose their very purpose.

Another thing which should not be lost sight of is the lessons which we have learnt from the unprecedented drought. India is still dependent mainly on rainfall for its agriculture as it did centuries ago. What the technological break-through in agriculture needs is the required inputs for development of agriculture. They are: plentiful irrigation facilities and flood control measures. They should be given top priority and quickly implemented. In 1948-49 there was only 18.9 million hectares of land under irrigation. In 1965-66 there were only 31.7 million hectares under irrigation. That means that in 20 years only 13 million hectares have been brought under irrigation, which is grossly inadequate.

The importance of minor and medium irrigation in India cannot be over-stressed for in a developing nation in the tropics where the rainfall is seasonal and is concentrated in the compass of a few weeks a little delay means drought and a little over-dose means flood, as exhibited in parts of UP, Rajasthan and Orissa, where 7 districts out of 13 districts were ravaged. The other inputs like credit, fertilizer, electric power and increasing incentives to farmers for getting the best price for their produce and a guaranteed minimum floor price will go a long way in improving agricultural production.

Here I must point out that there is inequitable distribution of irrigation and flood control measures. Coming to irrigation, it is 44 per cent in Punjab—3.8 million hectares out of 8.5 million hectares—whereas in Madhya Pradesh it is only 3 per cent; .9 million hectares out of 25.7 million hectares. In Orissa it is 11 per cent; 1.14 million hectares out of 9.44 million hectares. If there had been equitable distribution and development, those areas which are under chronic drought conditions would have had sufficient water and they would have had tided over their difficulties. Orissa is the worst sufferer because during the last three years it has been affected by drought and this year 9 districts out of 13 districts have damage to crops and loss in yield.

It is a matter of deep regret that such national calamities of magnitude and severity as the cyclone of Orissa, when 1 million people were affected, the cyclone in Madras and the earthquake in Koyna did not find a place in the President's Address, although they were matters of deep concern to the people of India.

Now the Government seems to be very apprehensive and concerned about the violent agitations, divisive and separatist forces, law and order situation in the strategic border areas created by unpatriotic elements which are weakening the democratic

institutions and systems. The reason is not far to seek. It is a reaction to the political, economic and social instability which has been the legacy of 20 years of uninterrupted Congress misrule. In spite of their having an overwhelming majority, when they could amend the Constitution as they liked and had the political stability, they could not give the country economic stability which it so dearly wanted. The Congress Government started pursuing after dogmas and so-called socialistic pattern of society, where the only beneficiaries were a new class of commissars, bureaucrats and technicians who exploit the peasants and workers and live on the fruits of their labour through their control over the State machinery. A new class of State capitalists more ruthless and exploitative than private capitalists came into the scene. As a result, the people out of disgust, frustration and disillusionment voted the Congress out of power in 9 out of 17 States in India. The Congress not abiding by the verdict of the people, are now trying to sneak into the Ministries through the backdoor by using the institution of Governors to topple the non-Congress Ministers and by installing minority governments. What the Congress Government did not do in 20 years when they had political stability, they expect the non-Congress governments in States to achieve in 11 months.

Moreover the highly qualified technical people are facing unemployment. Instead of providing them with employment facilities, Government are shirking their responsibility and are sermonising them on the dignity of labour. If the Government cannot give them adequate facilities here, they should not be debarred from seeking rehabilitation or employment outside the country which will also bring us foreign exchange.

Our Government has taken pride that we are hosts to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which is deliberating on

[Shri K. P. Singh Deo.]

bridging the economic gap between the developed and the developing nations and the President has claimed in his speech that the disparities between the rich and the poor nations constitute the foremost cause of instability and tension in the world; but, yet, so little has been done in trying to remove the disparities and the imbalances in development within the States in our country.

I would cite the case of an underdeveloped and economically backward State like Orissa which has one of the lowest per capita incomes in the country and where there are enough potentials for developing industry, irrigation, power, communications and port facilities which directly and indirectly builds up the rural economy from which 80 per cent of our people come and which will do a lot in developing the economy of the country. Investing in productive sectors like the Talcher industry complex, a major resources development project envisaging the usage of high grade non-coking coal, which could be a pioneering industry to the country, for producing urea fertilisers, would give rise to employment to engineers, would remove some of the disparities and would also give inputs for agriculture thereby reducing our dependence on foreign aid.

While the President declared the Government's intention to promote efficient handling of our international trade and the development of merchant shipping and port facilities, no mention has been made regarding developing.....

SHRI RANGA: Sir, is Shri Gujral also a speaker? There must be some discipline in the House. It must be the same for everybody. What is the big idea of these ministers standing here like lamp-posts while other people are on their feet according to your orders? When he is drawing the attention of ministers, he comes non-

chalantly as if it is of no consequence at all. We must show respect to each other.

श्री शशि भूषण बाबुपेयी (खारगोन) : यह क्या बात है कि माननीय सदस्य हर बात शिक्षा देने खड़े हो जाते हैं। यह कोई तरीका है? किसानों के ये अपने आपको लीडर कहते हैं लेकिन महलों में खेती करते हैं।

SHRI RANGA: What is it that you are objecting to? Is it wrong for me to say that he is wrong in standing up when the other speaker is speaking?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI I. K. GUJRAL): Sir, I have great respect for Professor Ranga. As you know and he also knows, I am one of those who have great respect for parliamentary procedure. But if he catches me at that particular moment when I am standing up to move out, I do not know what I should do.

SHRI RANGA: What is he saying? Is he apologising to you or not?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: When you drew my attention, immediately he sat down. Sometimes it so happens that in the gangway people go on talking standing. This is not good. I would request all Members that they should avoid it.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: It should not be done by Treasury Benches.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is the concern of all Members.

SHRI S. XAVIER: Now that it has been pointed out, they must express regret.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO: No mention has been made regarding developing and construction of a general cargo berth for Paradeep Port, which is the deepest sea port in India and which is now exporting iron ore and chromite to Japan. It has recently been taken over by the Government of India without paying a single paisa compensation to the Government of Orissa which had spent Rs. 15.8 crores in developing it.

No mention has been made of the development of minor ports which play a significant role in the country's port activities by relieving congestion from the major ports and providing cheap transportation for distribution of goods handled from major ports to the hinterland and also for defence purposes. In this context, I would say that it is of the utmost urgency that the minor ports of Chandbali between the major ports of Haldia and Paradeep and that of Gopalpur between Paradeep and Vishakhapatnam should be constructed and developed without delay.

It is only by appreciating the difficulties of different States and sympathetic understanding of their problems irrespective of their party affiliations that there can be mutual cooperation between the State and Central Governments which is necessary for our national unity and harmony.

While joining with the sentiments of the President in wishing the boundary disputes between Maharashtra and Mysore and between Mysore and Kerala to be satisfactorily solved, it is regrettable that the boundary disputes between Orissa and Bihar for the track of land which is known as Saraikela, Kharswan and Singhbhum which has been hanging fire for the last twenty years, which has been creating bad blood between the people has not been mentioned. So, I respectfully, urge upon the Government to appoint a Boundary Commis-

sion and to see that the State Government which for the last twenty years has been repressing the people there by trying to suppress the Oriya schools, institutions, dance, and drama, is stopped and that the problem solved satisfactorily.

It is heartening to note that the Government have gone ahead with the expansion and the modernisation of the Navy which will be called upon to perform its now task according to the geo-political and geo-physical situation which will arise when the British and the American fleets will be pulling out of Singapore and the Pacific Ocean. As the largest democracy and as the leader of the Afro-Asian nations of which we are proud to call ourselves, we should make a move towards trying to have a joint defence security of the South East Asia with India, Japan, New Zealand, Australia and the friendly countries in between.

The Government are making serious efforts to promote self-sufficiency in defence production but they should not lose sight of the fact that in an era where nuclear deterrence is one of the strategies of defence, where conventional weapons are no match, this joint defence security of South-East Asia is all the more important and it is the only step which can save us from nuclear blackmail of Chinese communistic imperialism.

Lastly, the President, in his Address, says:

"A year ago, the prospects looked bleak and there were dark forebodings about the future, the clouds are now beginning to lift."

These words can only be a consolation to the Members adorning the Congress Benches and no one else in the country.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I

[Shri R. D. Bhandare.]

have heard the speeches of the Members of the Opposition very patiently and very carefully. I do not know whether they are prepared to accept the fact that because of the two wars and the two droughts unheard of, the economy of the country suffered a heavy blow and the fact that in spite of that, our country is recovering. I do not know whether my friends are aware of the fact that in the foreign countries, the propaganda was carried on consistently and persistently both in the press and on the television that a number of persons in India were dying of starvation and hunger. The propaganda was virulent and the impression was created in the minds of the common people in the foreign countries that India was a land of starvation and hunger. There was a time when they used to say whenever they happened to meet delegates from India at the UNO, that India was a land of plenty, where honey and milk flow in plenty. But now India is a country where famine, starvation and deaths are taking place. This type of propaganda furnished the fair name of India. But then whatever may be the propaganda that might have been carried on in foreign countries, the fact remains that people in India have braved these difficult times; the Governments both at the Centre and in the States have stood up to their duty and foreign aid was also given at the critical time, more especially food aid by the United States of America. Therefore, one must be justifiably proud of our country, thanks to the people, Government and foreign aid. Now we are heading towards self-sufficiency. My friends may be cynical and say that we may again suffer from drought and famines, but I have no doubt in my mind that, since all sorts of measures are taken and the Rain God is also merciful, we are bound to be heading towards self-sufficiency and self-reliance.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, sir, I would

like to point out that, under the name of self-sufficiency, the nation of social justice should not be forgotten at all. I am saying that the notion of social justice should not be forgotten. The other day, my hon. friends on this Bench said that Rs. 1200 crores should be distributed to the farmers. I agree there, but then we know that India is a land of villages and agriculture is the main means of living of the Indian people. Therefore, the question that I would like to raise is how this means of living is distributed among the people. I will give you the figures. These figures are obtainable after the Land Ceiling Acts have been passed by the various States. The means of living is distributed like this: 19.8 million landholders hold only 9 million hectares and 2.1 million landholders hold 38.6 million hectares. This is the unequal distribution of the means of living of the Indian people. When we talk of taking all sorts of measures such as supply of fertilisers, providing facilities for irrigation, providing high-yielding varieties of seeds, how are we to give justice to those who are landless and the agricultural labourers? Even today fallow and cultivable wasteland is lying idle. To what extent is cultivable and wasteland is lying idle? In 1951, 12 crores of acres of fallow and cultivable waste and was lying idle. Today 9½ crores of acres of fallow and cultivable wasteland is lying idle. When there are thousands and millions of landless persons and agricultural labourers, how is it that the Government is not prepared to distribute this land to the landless to bring the fallow and cultivable wasteland under plough? Sir, since I have made mention of the agricultural labourers, let us know what is the magnitude of the problem. Has the Government paid any attention to understand the dimension and the magnitude of the problem of the agricultural labourers? Sir, you are aware of it. You are aware of the fact that in 1951 the First Inquiry

Committee was appointed on the subject of agricultural labourers. The Second Committee was appointed in 1956-57 and the report was submitted. What is now the position? What now are the conditions of the agricultural labourers? Nobody knows. 10 years have passed, but nobody bothers to look into the conditions of the agricultural labourers. The Government had not bothered to know as to what is the annual income of the agricultural labourers. Has it gone down or has it gone up? The Government has not bothered to make inquiries as to what is the indebtedness of the agricultural labourers. During these ten years, what has happened? Has it increased or decreased? Nobody knows. What are the conditions of living of the agricultural labourers?

AN HON. MEMBER: Do you know, Sir?

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: I do not know whether my hon. friend knows it. I work in the Agricultural labour field. He does not know. He may be knowing that I am simply an advocate or a Member of Parliament. I do not know whether he belongs to the Communist party or S.S.P., or any other party. Let me tell you, Sir, of the fact that I worked with all these people. I know their mind. I know what is their psychology so far as the agricultural labour is concerned. When the Land Ceiling Act was passed I was instrumental in putting forth the proposition that 'the smaller the unit, the more is the labour input and more is the production,' and therefore the land ceiling should be brought down to such an extent to enable surplus land, to be distributed among the landless. I told this across the table to all these parties in opposition. Fortunately you are my witness. I am not telling something which is untrue. I know how their psychology works, what is their attitude to the problem. They therefore, need not me these questions. The agricultural

labours in 1951 were mentioned to be 11 crores. What is their number now? Nobody knows. As I said Sir, what is the reason? We must find out the reason. The only thing which I would like to suggest is this. There is a callous disregard or apathy on the part of the Government towards the problem of the agricultural labourers. What then is the remedy? The remedy is threefold. The first remedy which I would like to suggest is this. Redistribute the surplus land, after bringing down the land ceiling to the extent of 30 crores. I would like to suggest this and I do not want to dilate more on this point. The second remedy I wish to suggest is distribute fallow cultivable waste land to the landless and agricultural labourers.

What happened to the Minimum Wages Act? We have talked of social justice to be given to these people. But the Minimum Wages Act is not implemented. Nobody bothers to implement the Minimum wages Act. Therefore, if at all there is doubt, or, as my hon. friend has asked whether I know the problem of the agricultural labourers. Well, it is the duty and function of the Members of the Parliament to know and in order to know, let there be a fresh Inquiry Committee to go into the conditions of the agricultural labourers.

I would like to make a reference to page 8 of the President's speech to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. But I do not know whether the Government is serious in improving the social and economic conditions of these people.

I am not the first to raise such a question. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes constitute one-fifth of the sub-merged humanity of this country. The founding fathers, and the Father of the Nation had therefore to pay so much attention and importance to their welfare that they had not only envisaged but enshrined

[Shri R. D. Bhandare]

in the Constitution of India 'a Special Chapter',—the Chapter XVI. They incorporated in the Constitution articles 15, 16, 17 and 46 in order that the condition of these people could be improved and ameliorated and they could be uplifted and brought on par with the others. Not only did they incorporate these principles and special provisions in these articles, but the founding fathers—I think everybody has forgotten this aspect—had created Constitutional Authorities to look after the interests of these people. Article 338 says that there shall be a special officer, namely, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This is followed by article 340 which says that there shall be a Commission for the Backward Classes to look after the interests of the backward classes, and as see to what extent they have developed. What has happened to these constitutional authorities?

There is also a third constitutional authority under the Constitution, namely, the Election Commissioner. What is the position of the Election Commissioner and what is the position of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes? The position of these, the latter, constitutional authorities has been so much devalued as to pale into insignificance. The poor Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is always bemoaning that no information has been given to him by the Government Departments. I do not know whether the State Governments or even the departments of the Central Government have understood the constitutional status and position of the Commissioner. A special responsibility was put on the President. He has to appoint the Commissioner. The Commissioner has to make a report to the President. The President then causes that report to be laid before the House, meaning

thereby that the Government must implement the recommendations made by the Commissioner for S.C.&S.T. I have gone through the debates when this provision leading with the S.C.&S.T. was incorporated in the Constitution. The founding fathers, more especially Dr. Ambedkar, would ever have agreed to such a devaluation of the position of this Constitutional authority. They were under the impression that here was a Constitutional authority envisaged in the Constitution to look after the interests of this section of our people and the Governments, both at the Centre and in the States, would be afraid of the powers and position the Commissioner wielded and therefore they would implement the suggestions made by him. That was the idea, the intention, the basis and the genesis of these constitutional authorities. But I am really sorry to say that these officers have simply become clerks, despatch clerks. They prepare the report on the material supplied by different departments and, hand it over to the President. The Report is brought here. What do we find? 'No information.' 'Not available', 'not available', 'not available'; seven times this is repeated on every page of the report. This is the position.

What about the backward Classes? The Commissioner was appointed twice and his report was submitted. It is now lying in the dust-bin. Nobody bothers.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur):
Is the Commissioner available?

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: I need not pay attention to that interruption.

15 hrs.

I am talking of the Report of the Commissioner which is lying in the

dust-bin. What is the result? The result is that the dream of the Father of the Nation, the dream of the founding fathers, has vanished, evaporated, evaporated into thin air and the fate of the S.C. & S.T. remains the same as before. Nobody bothers, Governments both in States and at the Centre, have no qualm of conscience. Only the other day, our Social Welfare Minister said that the State Governments are not prepared to listen to us. Why is it that they are not prepared? You have got power under the Constitution, they must respect the authority created under the Constitution, they must also implement the principles enunciated in the Constitution, enshrined in the Constitution. Even the Minister at the Centre says that he is helpless. What is the remedy? The remedy is to restore the position of the Scheduled Castes Commissioner, reappoint, if necessary, the Commissioner for Backward classes. But if these things cannot be done—I am quite aware of the difficulties, because since the position of the Commissioner is devalued, it is very difficult to restore it—let there be a separate Minister, a powerful, independent Minister at the Centre in charge of the social welfare of these people. Why is it I am suggesting it? I am suggesting it because the Minister now has to look after so many portfolios. Therefore, I would like to have a separate ministry to look after the interests of these down trodden people.

The Minister should belong to these classes, because it is a question of psychology. I have been studying the psychology of the Members belonging to the scheduled castes. Whenever a proposal is made here, they always look at it with suspicion, doubt. These people must therefore develop a sense of participation and sense of justice. Once a Minister drawn from their own classes is installed, they are bound to think that justice is done to them. At least, justice would appear to have done to them. It

is because of this psychology that I am suggesting this.

The question of facilities to Buddhists has been hanging fire for a long time. I am glad that hon. Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao is here. He knows that I submitted a document dealing with the facilities to the New Converts to Buddhism in 1964. I used to come to this place, to the Government, to the Planning Commission, right from 1964, praying, requesting, placing before them facts and figures dealing with the lot of these people, their poverty, their misery. No attention has so far been paid. Ultimately I thought that the conditions in the country were changing so fast and that danger to democracy itself arose, I decided to join the Congress, not only for the purpose of getting these facilities to the Buddhists, but a party which would at least adhere to the constitutional provisions. I came here. But nothing has been done so far as the Buddhists are concerned.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You will have to conclude now.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: I therefore urge,—I hope it is not too late,—upon the Government to look into the problems and extend the facilities to the Buddhists.

Lastly, much has been said about floor-crossing. Everybody is out to condemn it. I do not know whether, in fact, they have gone deep into the genesis and the basis factors which should be the ruling passion of Indian life. I will not condemn floor-crossing provided it is for the purpose of polarisation of politics. Everybody must encourage it if there is polarisation of politics. If there is crossing for the purpose of getting power, for opportunism, then it must be condemned at all costs and by all. I should, therefore, request the Congress Party in

power not to encourage those who are hankering after ministership. They should never get ministerships. I certainly welcome two persons in India, Mr. D. P. Mishra and Mr. C. B. Gupta. When they are dethroned from power, they did not try to get some individuals who are after ministership in order to form the ministry. That should be the approach of others including the Opposition parties.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Mr. C. B. Gupta is doing it.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Bast.): It is nonsense. I have 200 members in the U.P. party and none of them are going to this side or that side. He should not say this.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: The Opposition parties formed governments in nine out of sixteen States. But the different parties with their conflicting ideologies and programmes and policies, how long can they carry on? They are crumbling like castles build of sand.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He must conclude now! he has taken much more time than is due to him.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: Lastly, I should say a word on foreign policy. I have seen the world. We should recast our foreign policy based on two principal factors—interest of the country and strength of the country. These are the principles on which other countries base their foreign policy. One last line. In the United Nations we spoke of Israel and said: let not the fruits of aggression be allowed to be enjoyed by the aggressors. What happened to China?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have taken twentyfive minutes. You must conclude.

SHRI D. R. BHANDARE: May I complete this sentence? Why is that we allow some area still in possession of China... (Interruptions.) Should we not change our attitude towards Tibet? Should we not recognise Tibet and give support to Dalai Lama so that Tibet can be freed and can stand on its own and also get its seat in the United Nations?

Lastly, I must thank you for allowing me this latitude.

SHRI ANBAZHAGAN (Tiruchengode): At the outset, I wish to submit that the DMK abstained from the joint session addressed by the revered President, not because of any disrespect for the person or office but because of the Union Government's acts of commission and omission in responding to the demands of the people from different parts of the country.

Sir, the Union Government have failed in carrying out their responsibilities to the public, as we very well know that the directive principles enshrined in the Constitution are not at all cared for. I would like to refer to Mr. Bhandare's speech which we have just now heard, in which he said that the backward classes, the depressed classes and all of them are even now in the same old condition as they were in pre-Independent India. As such, the DMK party considered, in order to register its protest and its regret, to abstain from the joint session. Some Members asked whether, such a thing would have happened, that is, the walk-out of Prof. H. N. Mukerjee and some others, and in our case, the staying back, if the nominee suggested by the Opposition parties was elected to the high office, and whether the Opposition would have done like this. Such a question was put by the

hon. Members of the ruling party. I would like to say that our position would have been the same, whoever may be the person who is elected to that high office. Even now, I wish to thank the revered President for his address, not on this occasion but for his address given at the inauguration of the World Tamil Conference at Madras.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA: Did you not thank him then?

SHRI ANBAZHAGAN: Our Chief Minister, on behalf of our Government, has expressed his thanks there. We feel we are very much indebted to such an address by our revered President who has more or less characterized, Tamil language and culture deserve special commendation. Most of the Members of Parliament belonging to the northern part of this country should at least once go through that lecture.

SHRI D. C. SHARMA: I have read it.

SHRI ANBAZHAGAN: We, the DMK, are one with the President when he condemns the hooliganism and unlawful activity of any section whomsoever might have been behind these unlawful acts. We agree that violent agitations in the streets weaken the democratic system and undermine the foundations of national unity. Reasoned debate and persuasion are the only ways of democratic functioning, as is stated by the President. But when any amount of reasoning fails to convince the good sense of those who are in power and persuasion is construed as a sign of weakness, the people feel that they have no other alternative except to start agitation and demonstrate their protest on a large scale.

On many occasions, only agitation has brought success and the Government has yielded only after we have seen such large-scale agitation. The psychology of the Government is not

to yield to reasoning either on arguments or on persuasion but to bow down before violence. This is the main reason for the people for taking the law in their own hands. We as a political party are trained in such an ideology that we rely only upon democratic means and peaceful methods, to achieve our objectives. We condemn all sorts of violent acts in unequivocal terms. The hon. Members were especially agitated very much when they referred to the incidents that happened in the southern part of the country, some students agitating against the imposition of Hindi and when they were putting into fire Chapter XVII of the Constitution and all that. I would like to assure the House that the Madras State Government and our Chief Minister, Mr. C. N. Annadurai, though in principle we are also anti-Hindi and are against the imposition of Hindi, have taken all necessary steps in order to maintain law and order, and those who are culprits or those who have committed such crimes are now booked by the police of the State. Therefore, I feel that Parliament Members need not be agitated over such issues. The Madras Government will look into it, as any other Government will do which has regard for law and order will do.

It is natural for the affected people, who are very much perturbed and agitated in their minds to think on lines of agitation. Whether you approve of the different ways and means of agitation followed by the people in different parts of the country, when there is room for agitation, it should be understood that those who are concerned with it should look clearly into the matter with full concern in order to solve the issues. On such issues as the official language problem, the whole responsibility for the agitation in the southern part of the country squarely lies with the Union Government and on no one else. I wish the Home Minister is present here. I want to say that the whole responsibility for any type of

[Shri Anbazhagan.]

agitation in any part of the country on the language issue, especially on the official language policy adopted by the Government, lies completely on this Government.

The President in his Address has said that the over-riding objective of our Government's policy is to strengthen the unity of the country and to promote the integration of the people. I wish it is true, but in fact, it is not. Whatever the President might have meant, that object is not carried out by his Government. The object is simply to impose Hindi in the name of unity. They consider that by imposing Hindi, they are going to achieve the integration of the people. But the actual conditions are quite opposite. Because of the imposition of Hindi, the people feel that they are differentially treated because of their languages. You cannot root out the languages of the people on any account. Their languages have existed for thousands of years and they are going to stay with them. The imposition of Hindi may be acceptable to some people, but not to many. As such, whether the over-riding objective of serving the cause of integration and unity of the country is going to be achieved by the present policy of the Government has to be reviewed. Whether that over-riding objective will be served by the Official Language Amendment Bill and the connected resolution is very much doubted. On the other hand, the administration of the country is now divided into two compartments the English section and the Hindi section. It has paved the way to differentiate between Hindi India and English India. I wish, we bestow some more attention on this problem. The non-Hindi people and the non-Hindi States are to be administered through English at the central level while the Hindi-speaking States and their people will be administered in their own language, i.e., Hindi. The advantage accrues to the Hindi people while disadvantage is the result

for the non-Hindi people. Not only that. English is accepted as the common language for Tamilians, Andhras, Kannadigas, Keralites, Bengalis and Assamese and their languages have no room in the central administration, while for the Hindi people and their allies, Hindi is provided and they are not amenable to accept the same English, which is the common language for all the other people I have just mentioned.

What is the reason? It is all due to the fault committed by the members of the Constituent Assembly who had conceded to the demand of the Hindi fanatics in those days that Hindi should be the official language of the Union. They were not able to think and consider the implications of such approval at a later stage. In the present day context, if the same Constituent Assembly, with the same members, were to meet once again, if that is at all possible—it is left to God—and if they would withdraw any part of the Constitution they have framed or rescind any clause, it will be the chapter connected with the official language of the Union. I would like to refer to late Dr. Subbarayans note of dissent to the report of the Official Languages Commission. There he said:

"The advisability or feasibility of having more than one language, for example, three as in the case of Switzerland, two as in the case of Belgium and Canada, as official languages for a vast country, (more or less a sub-continent) like India, was not taken up at that time when it was considered in the Constituent Assembly."

Only because of the importance of the Hindi-speaking people of the Constituent Assembly Hindi was given such a status which is not approved by the non-Hindi people at present and that is well established by the continued agitation.

Very often our friends refer to Gandhiji for acceptance of Hindi as the official language of the Union. It is well known to those who have gone through the history of the Congress that his desire was that Hindustani should be adopted both in Devnagiri and Urdu scripts as the national language. He never meant the present-day Hindi which is sponsored by those who are in office today. There was Hindi-Urdu controversy in those days and he wanted to solve the issue by adopting Hindustani which was a neutral language for both Hindus and Muslims. It is understood that Gandhiji was not keen in making it as the official language of the country. His intention was to facilitate the people of different parts of the country to move from one place to another and to find some unifying language for them. This is especially true when it concerns the northern part of the country.

I find the Tamilians have been opposing Hindi from the very day of its introduction in the south, as early as 1937, not to mention the dire events that have taken place following its imposition. In his monumental book on Mahatma Gandhi Mr. Pyarelal has quoted that Gandhiji referring to Rajaji, as—

'Rajaji might agree to Hindi becoming the national language (as national anthem or as we are having the national flag, as a symbolical language), but that he would never acquiesce in the proposition of only Hindi being given a status of an official language of the Union at any time.'

By referring to Rajaji's sentiments in those days Gandhiji has explicitly told—by Rajaji he means so many others in the south—that the south will never yield to have Hindi as its sole official language of the country. It might have recognised it as a national language for concourse among the people, to enable people to move from one part of the country to another. But to make it the official

language is certainly a crime. The crime was committed in 1950 and that crime has to be changed at least now. This traditional opposition to Hindi grows more and more in vehemence, power and force in the face of ever-increasing fanaticism on the part of Hindi zealots who want to ram the unwanted Hindi down the throats of unwilling people, irrespective of consequences. That is why agitations are not dying out and the people here, especially in the north, are thinking only in the old fashion without looking into the modern development especially in the psychology of the people.

What is actually the position of the Hindi people due to Hindi occupying the status of official language? I would like to quote Professor Myron Weiner who in a paper circulated in a seminar in Rajasthan University states:

"...there is considerable fear, that Hindi-speaking area views itself as the Prussia of India with the intention of culturally and politically dominating the regions." This means, Sir, that the centre of gravity of politics and also the cultural predominance are held by the Hindi block. The pull exercised by Uttar Pradesh, which is the Centre of the Hindi region, is more than self-explanatory from the fact that all the successive three Prime Ministers who are elected are from that region. Of the three Prime Ministers who are at the helm of affairs of this vast country, though we may also have some other reasons for electing them to that position, they all belong to Uttar Pradesh. It is natural for that part of the country to wield such influence over the other parts of the country, not because that part is more educated, not because of the intelligentsia of the country are coming from that area but because Hindi has become the official language of the country according to the Constitution and the feeling is there for

[Shri Ambazhagan.]

these people as if they are the ruling class.

I would like to add that Delhi is the capital. It is situated in the northern part of the country. The Central Government is not in the central place. I am not very much bothered merely because of the distance from my part of the country; but because the capital of the Central Government is situated in the northern part of the country, naturally the pull for the north is more. The pull is all the more because a north Indian dialect is the only accepted official language of the Union.

These are more than sufficient to make the Hindi people feel as aristocrats and rulers of the country and others as second class citizens who have only to yield to the desires of the Hindi block. It is really impossible for them to understand the difficulties and handicaps of the non-Hindi brethren. This is neither conducive nor desirable to the democratic growth of our nation.

In view of the inequality and unequal rights as citizens of this vast country to be enjoyed by Hindi and non-Hindi people, in the long run there will be more and more of resentment generated among the non-Hindi people and unity will become impracticable by the will of the people. To safeguard the political unity which is achieved by the present democratic system, we have to consider the language question in a broader perspective, taking each language people as an entity in itself. The Tamilians or the Telugus should not be merely counted by their heads to the total population of the country. Every linguistic region, every people speaking a particular language should be considered as an entity and equality should be maintained between the different entities on the basis of their languages. The basic consideration should be the equality of convenience of the linguistic units. No one section

should be allowed to have the advantage in the choice of its own language as the official language at the cost of others. This condition will be satisfied either by adopting English, as it was before the adoption of Hindi as the official language, or by adopting all national languages recognised by the Constitution and recognised by the respective States as the official languages of the States for the administration of the Union.

If it is argued if all languages are adopted as official languages that it will become unwieldy, for the benefit of equality for all and to facilitate real democratic administration to the people through the different and varied languages, Centres unwieldy powers should be curtailed in favour of the States. Then the official language problem also will be minimised as the Centre will not have many things to deal with the people directly, except powers necessary for the integration and defence of the country. Till such a constitutional arrangement is arrived at, the only possibility is to continue English alone as the official language.

There can be no reasonable objection for the continuance of English. Here I would like to quote, not from any anti-Hindi people, but from a veteran Congress leader who was very strong in his support for Hindi. I refer to the address at the All India Convocation of Youth Congress in 1962 by our late lamented Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, who has said this much about English:

"English is more or less a common language of all States; and communication between States and the Centre and States is in English, and if English were to be dropped, India would be divided into water-tight compartments and the country would be disintegrated, and the question of language should be considered in a wider context the context of National Integration."

Whether such a consideration was given at the time the Official Languages (Amendment) Bill was brought forward here by our Home Minister, Shri Chavan, or our Prime Minister is to be questioned. That consideration was not there. That is why they maintain such a policy as this that the ultimate official language ought to be the Hindi language alone. Because of that attitude we were not able to solve the problem even at the time when we had an opportunity to reconsider the whole issue. To the extent English is replaced by Hindi in the Central administration—the extent may not be full, even to that small extent they have paved the way for differentiation which would ultimately end in disintegration.

The process of integration is yet to be completed. After achieving independence our country is not fully integrated. Merely a Constitution will not be enough to integrate a country. The people should find themselves as brothers, as belonging to the same community. They should feel that they are all one nation. That stage has not yet been reached. It is only the feeling of the people as one, belonging to each other on the basis of equality and fraternity, that counts for integration.

On the eve of independence one of our greatest statesmen, Rajaji, has said this which should be deeply given thought to by our people who are in power. Rajaji said:

“Our political experiment is really like melting iron and metals, and pouring them into a crucible and making an alloy (integration), an alloy which can stand wear and tear.

It is not like the chinaware that other people have turned out in their countries. Their democracies were easy to make, like plastics. But we are dealing with metals.”

Here he has referred to metals not because India is a homogenous unit, but because it consists of different

languages and cultures. It is a polyglot society. To make real integration of such people is more or less like melting iron and other metals and pouring them into a crucible.

This is a different task which requires more intelligence and deep consideration from all sections of the society. As such is the natural condition, as varied elements of language and culture are to be integrated, no one regional language can be imposed on others or their languages discriminated in their use at the Union level. Because of these conditions, because the different languages of this country are not given a treatment on par with Hindi, specially after the Languages (Amendment) Bill and the connecting Resolution passed here which has created so much of fear in the minds of the younger generation in our part of the country, agitations are started. The deep feeling of the people has been the cause for the Madras State Legislature to pass a Resolution on this issue. The Resolution has already been sent to our Prime Minister and other Cabinet Ministers concerned with this. But, anyhow, I would like to register the Resolution here so that this House may understand the problem in all its aspects.

This is the Resolution passed in the Madras State Legislature, more or less unanimously. The Congress is the main Opposition party in that House. They have not registered anything against the Resolution; they were abstaining on that occasion. They have not voted for or against. Also, some other parties abstained. Some other parties like the Swatantra Party, the Muslim League, the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam, have supported the Resolution passed in the House. This is the Resolution which gets the full and complete approval of the people of Tamilnad. I quote:

“That the serious situation created in the State as the result of passing of the Official Languages (Amendment) Act, 1967, and

[Shri Anbazhagan.]

the connected Resolution by the Parliament of India, be taken into consideration."

And on such consideration, this House resolves:

"Whereas the adoption of one of the regional languages alone as the Official Language of India in a land of different languages, culture and civilisation, will, it is felt, disrupt the unity and integrity of India and result in the domination by a region of one language over the regions of other languages:"

This consideration, this view, cannot be repudiated at any forum. It further says:

"Tamil and other National Languages should be adopted as the Official languages of the Union and the Constitution should be amended accordingly. Till such time as this is achieved, English alone, should continue as the Official Language. This House urges that the relevant Chapter of the Constitution on Official Language shall be suitably amended."

This Resolution has come from a fully elected Legislature which has got the sanction of the people of that part of the country:

"Whereas this House is of opinion that the Official Languages (Amendment) Act, 1967, passed by the Parliament does not serve to achieve the above object, but will lead to the division of India and cause among those connected with the Administration of Government two divisions with mutual hatred, confusion and frustration, this House resolves to strive continuously to realise the above objective of the right of every National Language.

In-as-much as the Resolution on the language policy passed along with the Official Language (Amendment) Act, 1967, causes injustice, disadvantage and additional burden to the people in the non-Hindi Regions and, in accordance with the unanimous opinion expressed by several political parties that the said Resolution should not be enforced, this House urges that the Union Government shall forthwith suspend the operation of the said Resolution and devise ways and means to see that the people in the non-Hindi regions are not subject to any disadvantage or additional burden."

This is a thing for consideration of those who are in the Cabinet. But nothing has come out from the President about the consideration of this issue. Here, the President, in his Address, has said:

"It is Government's earnest hope that all controversies about language will now be ended. Whatever practical problems arise in the implementation of our language policy and programmes should be approached in a spirit of understanding and mutual accommodation."

By the term 'mutual accommodation' it is meant mutual accommodation for Hindi; by 'spirit of understanding' is simply meant accommodation for Hindi by all other people.

Actually, the request made by the Madras Legislative Assembly in its Resolution is to devise ways and means to see that the people in the non-Hindi regions are not subjected to any disadvantage or additional burden to fulfill their desire. The Resolution, as passed by Parliament, should be withdrawn at once, at the earliest opportunity, if the students should stop their agitation. I do not approve their methods; I am willing to join with you all in Condemning

their action. But, at the same time, I would like to say that unless the Resolution is withdrawn by the Central Government, by the Union Ministers concerned, unless and until the policy is openly declared, the students will not feel that their right is protected.

The Resolution passed by the Madras Legislative Assembly further says:

"This House resolves to request the Union Government to convene a high level conference of leaders of all political parties to re-examine the language problem and devise a method to remove the hardship caused by the Language Resolution passed along with the Official Languages (Amendment) Act, 1967."

I read this portion only for the purpose of saying that this portion of the Resolution was suggested by the Congress members in the Madras Legislative Assembly and it is also incorporated in the Resolution.

I do not want to go through the Resolution further, but I would like to say that, because of the conditions created by the Resolution, the Madras Assembly has decided to drop the three-language formula. The three-language formula was implemented earlier, but not in full. The third language, Hindi, was only an optional subject and even as an optional subject it was not compulsory from the point of view of examination; it was, more or less, a mockery; it was a burden which the students resisted very much. The students were not willing to learn that language, but simply to satisfy the people at the Centre the Madras Congress Government, which was in power earlier, implemented the three-language formula, but practically it was not so. Now our Government has decided this; the present State Legislature has passed a Resolution to drop Hindi from the curriculum of students. I do not think that there is any injus-

tice here. On this occasion, I would like to refer to the speech of a senior Member of this House, Seth Govind Das, made the other day when he spoke on this issue. I read it from the proceedings of this House, from the English translation, because I do not know Hindi and nobody can expect me to learn Hindi. He said:

"The incidents that had taken place in Madras and other places were not there because of the language question alone...."

Seth Govind Das wants to suggest that it is more political and it is not because of language. But now the students who are agitating, who are not adhering to the wishes of our Chief Minister or the Congress leader, are not bound either to the Congress or to the DMK. It is only because of the language issue that they are agitating. Seth Govind Das wants to say that this is something which is not connected to the language issue. This is not correct.

Then he said:

"In the past, the DMK Party, which is now in power, had been burning the national flag...."

Seth Govind Das may not be able to differentiate between the DMK and the DK. The DK created an agitation burning the national flag and it was supporting the Congress Ministry at that time. They did it and not the DMK....

SHRI SAMBASIVAM (Nagapattinam): Which Party are they supporting now?

SHRI ANBAZHAGAN: Now it is immaterial. When they burnt the national flag, they were supporting the Congress and the Congress Chief Minister was in his kind support. I would like to say that the DMK has never attempted such a thing. We attempted to burn Part XVII of the Constitution to agitate against the imposition of Hindi. It is well known

[Shri Anbazhagan]

So all that our Leader was imprisoned was sent to jail, for six months for that. On account of the anti-Hindi agitation, most of us here have gone to jail; we were sent to prison in the days of the Congress Ministry. Therefore, I would like to say that this thing does not in any way reflect on the DMK there.

Seth Govind Das also said:

"Even now it had defied the Constitution . . ."

How? He says:

"So long as Hindi was the official language declared so by the Constitution, opposition of that language as such was an opposition of the Constitution itself . . ."

Seth Govind Das, a senior Member, who had the privilege of being a member of the Constituent Assembly, reads between the lines for his own convenience. There is no provision in the Constitution to say that the people should study Hindi. Especially, 'education' is a subject which is completely in the hands of the State Administration. If the Centre thinks in a different line to take over the subject from the State to the Centre, no State will be willing to yield; even the Congress States will not be willing to concede that right to the Central Government.

If they are not able to understand the Resolution passed by the Madras Assembly, I would like the Congress Ministers concerned to go through the Resolution passed by the Andhra Pradesh Assembly; that Assembly has given an ultimatum to them. Our Assembly has declared what it wants. The Chief Minister of Kerala, Mr. Nambudiripad, has definitely stated that the Hindi chauvinists are to be blamed for all the things that happen at present. I wish to add that there are so many things that the Hindi people are doing; especially those

who are in the administration are imposing Hindi. The A.I.R. is used solely for this; the A.I.R. has begun to give commentaries in Hindi only whenever some dignitaries visit this country. When the Prime Minister of USSR and the President of Yugoslavia arrived here, the whole running commentary was in Hindi. Then it is clear that the A.I.R. is intended only for the Hindi people and not for the non-Hindi people. What is the motive of all this? Here the Ministers come in their cars and the number plates of their cars are in Hindi. I wish to condemn this. The number plates are in Hindi. Do you think that we are able to understand the number inscribed there? The Hindi-Devnagari numerals are not at all accepted by our constitution. Those who want to uphold the constitution, are burning the constitution at the citadel itself. If we want we can also write the Tamil numerals in our State which nobody else can understand. We have not done that. These Devnagari numerals are not acceptable according to the constitution.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN: What are you saying?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Sheo Narain, please keep quiet.

SHRI ANBAZHAGAN: Hindi chauvinists including Mr. Sheo Narain, cannot dominate over us. We are prepared to take any risk in our lives by opposing the imposition of Hindi—not for the sake of English, but for the sake of democracy and the integrity of this country. Thank you.

THE MINISTER OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM): Sir, it is very heartening that the House is agreed on one thing that the unity and integrity of the country has to be maintained. Ours is a big country, with different States, different languages, different culture

groups, but all the same, the way of thinking, the way of life, and the thought-structure of the people in the country has been such that in spite of all these diversities we have continue as a nation. The unity, especially the cultural unity of the country has been maintained through the ages. The recent trends are no doubt depressing and distressing. Various fissiporous tendencies have reared their ugly head which no doubt causes danger to the integrity and unity of the country. So, it is for all the political parties in the country to consider very seriously how we can discourage these tendencies in order to strengthen the unity and integrity of the country. Ours is a democratic country. The people themselves decided in the Constituent Assembly to give themselves a constitution based on democratic procedures. As my friend the leader of the D.M.K. party said just now, there may be occasions when certain parts of the country or certain groups somewhere feel very strongly about certain matters. It may be possible to solve them by means of discussion and persuasion. It is also possible that it may not have been solved to their satisfaction. It is possible, and it is permissible also in a democracy to have agitation. But certainly nobody will condone it if the agitation takes a form which will endanger the very basis of our democracy. I am glad that such activities have been condemned on all sides. In recent times it has caused anxiety and concern to us that agitations have taken place either in the name of language, or in the name of communal disturbances or in the name of protecting the interests, economic or otherwise of a particular State from the so-called incursion of people of other States.

We have different States. But their boundaries have never prevented interflow of people from all the States.

India in that matter has continued to be a composite whole. In spite of the different language groups and

different States, trade and commerce have been carried on.

All these problems are not party questions. They are national questions and they should cause concern and distress to all people who want progress and development of the country irrespective of party affiliations or political ideologies, because even when we differ in our political or economic approach, there is one basic fundamental unity, that all of us want to maintain the unity and integrity of the country, all of us want to develop the country so that we can liquidate poverty and ensure to our people a fuller and happier life.

SHRI VISWANATHA MENON (Ernakulam): Cancel the Resolution (*Interruptions*).

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: I will not say that the Government in all matters is infallible. I will not claim that.

AN. HON. MEMBER: Nobody said so.

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: Nobody can claim that he is infallible. I do not claim it. We might have committed mistakes. It may be that certain things should have been discussed together in order to arrive at a national consensus. As I said, there are questions of national importance which should not be regarded and dealt with as party questions. On that matter, I have no hesitation in saying that for the proper functioning of democracy, it should be necessary that leaders of all political parties should sit together and evolve a national consensus.

Take the language question itself. I will not go into details. But I would like to make it clear that I always held the view that there should be no feeling in any part of the country that any language is being imposed on any other linguistic group. I will not claim that Hindi, which was decided to be the

[Shri Jagjiwan Ram.]

official language, is the most developed language of all Indian languages. I do not know Tamil, but I certainly have tried to go through Tamil literature and I have no hesitation in saying that Tamil literature is very rich and highly developed, especially the Sangam literature. It has never been the claim that Hindi was accepted as the official language for the purposes of the work of the Central Government or communication with State Governments because it was the most developed of all Indian languages but because it has wider usage and appeal.

15.55 hrs.

[SHRI G. S. DHILLON in the Chair].

Even while doing that, it should be the intention to develop all the Indian languages.

As I have said, I do not want to go into these details at present. Even on that point I feel that when a controversy has arisen, we should try to evolve a national consensus. The leader of the DMK party has quoted the resolution in the Madras Assembly. A few days back I read about the decision of the Andhra Cabinet on the language question. These two decisions are not the same or similar. Whereas the Madras Assembly and DMK say that Hindi should be given no quarter, the Andhra Cabinet feel that the three language formula is the only solution to the language problem.

SHRI ANBAZHAGAN: Because the Minister referred to the position of Hindi in Madras State, I would like to explain that in Madras State Hindi is given the position of an elective subject, not a third language.

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: I am glad. I am not trying to enter into the controversy. It is a very delicate thing, and it touches the people of the country, and therefore it has to

be resolved in a way which will be accept to the different parts of the country, and therefore it will have to be done like that. I was saying that the Andhra Cabinet only a few days ago has decided that the three language formula is the only answer to the language question.

I intervene only to say a few things about the food problem in the country, but if I refer to other matters, it is only with a view to emphasize that the economic development of any country requires stability in the country, political stability and social stability. If there is no stability and if there are disorders, agitations leading to violence and destruction, the very basis on which the economy of the country can be built is shaken. Food and agriculture still continues to be a very important sector of our economy, and when agricultural production is affected, the whole economy of the country gets affected. We have seen and realised that the last two consecutive years of severe drought has severely and seriously effected the economy of the country. If there are disturbances and dislocations, disorders, again agricultural production will be affected, and that will retard revitalisation of the economy as a whole.

16 hrs.

Fortunately this year we have a very good outlook for agricultural production. As the House is aware, our expectation is a record production of 95 million tonnes. The weather has been favourably, but I will be failing in my duty to the millions of farmers in this country, if I attribute this 95 million tonnes of production only to favourable weather conditions. The Indian farmer has contributed in a very large measure to this record production. The readiness and enthusiasm with which the Indian farmer has accepted the new strategy of agriculture is a surprise not only to us but even to the most advanced

countries of the world. I know it for certain that even in America it took them quite a few years to persuade the American farmer to accept chemical fertilisers, but here with enthusiasm the Indian farmer is pressing the Government to provide all inputs for agriculture, which is a very encouraging feature. Therefore, I should like to emphasise again and again that the Indian farmer has contributed in a very large measure to this record production. The consumption of chemical and nitrogenous fertilisers rose from five lakh in 1966-67 to thirteen lakh tons in 1967-68 and the demand for minor irrigation is growing. I do not want the country to be a helpless victim of weather conditions. This record food production this year should not encourage in us a sense of complacency. We must continue our efforts which were initiated last year when there was a drought. We must increase our irrigation potential, minor irrigation, tube wells, lift irrigation and so on. Above all, minor irrigation is important. Though we have record production, I want to take steps so that the minor irrigation works that had already been started continue with added vigour and intensity. The House is aware that the country is facing a very difficult economic situation. All the same I am trying to make more resources available to minor irrigation—about Rs. 112 crores. Over and above that, an effort has been made to make provision for non-plan expenditure through several institutions like the land development bank, and agricultural finance corporation. I have also succeeded in persuading the commercial banks to enter the field of agriculture and it is indeed gratifying that the commercial banks have decided to set apart nearly Rs. 7 crores for agricultural purposes such as refinancing debentures of land mortgage banks and electricity boards. Apart from this, the commercial banks are advancing to the cultivators. The Madras Government wanted to embark on a large scale minor irrigation programme but could not find the money

in the Central or State budget. Twenty crores were needed and arrangements have been made by and large to cover this gap by institutional finances. I am saying all this to lay great stress on minor irrigation works. Of course the importance of major irrigation schemes cannot be minimised. But minor irrigation schemes give quicker results. Several Members remarked that our progress in the field of irrigation has not been as satisfactory as it should have been. I concede that. There is shortage of funds with the electricity boards which affects rural electrification programmes. There also steps are being taken to see that the debentures of the Electricity Boards for making necessary finances available to them for rural electrification are subscribed by the commercial banks.

When there is record production, the question of prices generally arises. There has been sizeable increase not only in the foodgrains production but in the production of commercial crops as well. Cotton will be nearly 60 lakh bales; in jute, we will have nearly 75 lakh bales; and we will have nearly 60 lakh tonnes of groundnut. All these are sizeable increases over the last year's production, and naturally, concern is being expressed that the prices may fall.

AN HON. MEMBER: They have already fallen.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: There is a heavy fall in the prices of cotton and seeds.

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: Therefore, care has to be taken to see that prices are not permitted to fall below a certain level. Some friends say that cotton prices have fallen. Yes; they have fallen from the fantastic level to which they had arisen.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Rohtak): Wheat prices in Haryana have also fallen.

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: But even after they have fallen, they (cotton prices) are 15 per cent above the ceiling level that was fixed for cotton last year. After the fall, the price is still 20 to 25 per cent more than the floor price fixed for cotton. In jute, the position was rather difficult because no satisfactory machinery was available for the purchase of jute from the growers but action has been taken to see that the State Trading Corporation enters the field, and it has entered in order to stabilise the prices of jute and to ensure that the minimum price fixed for jute is made available to the growers. In groundnut also, there has been a record crop, and there has been some fall in the prices, but, as I have said, it has been my effort to see that prices of agricultural commodities are not permitted to fall below a certain level. Therefore, we have permitted export of handpicked groundnut and we are considering also the export of some groundnut oil so that the prices may be maintained at reasonable remunerative level to the growers.

About foodgrains, generally this question is raised: I have said in the House on previous occasions also that in view of the scarcity conditions that we faced during the last two years, the procurement prices of foodgrains have been fixed at a very remunerative level, but even this year, it has been declared and steps have been taken, where necessary, to see that the prices of foodgrains do not fall below the procurement level which, for all practical purposes becomes the support price.

Then the question is raised as to why, in face of the record production, the zonal restrictions are not removed. The zonal restrictions or the various controls and regulations on the movement of foodgrains have been put to serve particular purposes, and when it is found that they are redundant for serving those purposes, there will be no hesitation in relaxing those controls and regulations. The

House may be aware that I have taken certain small measures in this direction of relaxation. In Delhi, though rationing continues, I have relaxed it to the extent that the Delhi citizens may bring from the rural area of Delhi wheat and rice for their consumption and that has produced very good results. I did the same thing last month in respect of Kanpur, and the report from there also is that the offtake from the fairprice shops has gone down because the free market availability there has increased. The complete removal of the zonal restrictions will be considered only at a time when the Government has built up some stock with itself. I do not want to become a helpless spectator of the manipulations of the foodgrain trade. I cannot do that unless I have a sizeable stock with me. When the rabi crop comes, we will have a meeting of the Chief Ministers of various States concerned and that will be the time to consider where relaxations or modifications can be made in the administration of the food economy of the country.

Even when restrictions on the movement of foodgrains from one State to another are liberalised to some extent, procurement by Government will have to continue, so that we can maintain a sizeable stock with ourselves to take care of deficit and scarcity pockets, and when we find prices going beyond control. This is all the more necessary because foodgrain happens to be the basic commodity which influences the prices practically of all consumer goods and manufactured goods. Therefore, all precautions have to be taken on the food front. The Food Corporation of India which was established recently, which had not to do much work during the past years when there was not much to purchase in this country, was called upon to take up this operation of procurement on a very large scale this year. Though it had to make arrangements within a very short period, the Food Corporation is doing

a good job. Wherever the State Governments have asked them to perform certain operations, they have done those operations.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI (Bhubaneswar): What is the procurement by them by now?

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: The procurement in the country by now has been 2 million tons of which 1.3 by Food Corporation and rest by States, which is a very satisfactory thing.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Jainagar): What is the State-wise procurement?

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: I can give it, but not just now. But it is very poor in Bihar. It is the failure of such governments which believe in mixed government of parties with contradictory ideologies and programmes . . .

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : आप भी तो खिचड़ी पार्टी हैं ।

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: They sink and crack because of their own contradictory policies and programmes, with no effort of toppling on our part.

श्री मधु लिमये : आप तो किसी भी नीति पर मुत्तफिक राय नहीं हैं ।

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: It does not depend upon the object itself, but upon the lens through which that object is seen. I was saying that political instability in various States is affecting the procurement. With greater production, if procurement is not properly done, the States which lag behind in procurement will be the first victims of that.

There is a tendency in some States to charge higher prices for the quantities which they export and to make it available to their own consumers in the State at a lower price. It will be my endeavour to discourage such

tendencies and I have no doubt the House will support me in that.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash): What about the sugar policy?

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: That has not been raised in the debate. That can be considered during the budget discussion.

एक माननीय सदस्य : ऊंचे दामों पर ब्लैक-मार्केट में बिक रही है ।

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: Some people cannot see white market, they only see blackmarket.

श्री मधु लिमये : चलो भाई, पांच रुपये और आठ रुपये किलो भी सफेद मानो ।

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: Some people can only see the dirt in the drain, I cannot help it.

श्री मधु लिमये : आठ रुपये किलो को आप सफेद मार्केट मानना चाहते हैं ।

श्री जगजीवन राम : आठ रुपये किलो कहां दाम है, हम जानना चाहेंगे ?

श्री मधु लिमये : दिवाली और पूजा के अवसर पर बम्बई और कलकता में हो गई थी ।

श्री जगजीवन राम : दिवाली के वक्त नई पालिसी नहीं आई थी ।

Shri Limaye said that the price was Rs. 8. Which is the place in India where after the new policy on sugar has been sold at Rs. 8?

श्री मधु लिमये : नई पालिसी नहीं आई थी, लेकिन फिर भी दाम इतना ज्यादा था । पांच रुपये को भी कम ही समझेंगे ?

श्री जगजीवन राम : ज्यादा था, इसलिये कि उस वक्त ब्लैक मार्केट था । आठ रुपये और पांच रुपये एक नहीं होत है, इसमें फर्क होता है ।

श्री लखनलाल कपूर (किशनगंज) :
पांच रुपया आपकी दृष्टि से ठीक है ?

श्री जगज्ज.वन राम : पांच रुपया कम है
या ज्यादा है, यह तो पालिसी को समझने की
शकल पर डिपेण्ड करता है ।

With the good crop that is coming up, there is a tendency on the part of some States to demand more and more foodgrains from the Centre. I would like to say that the crop has been satisfactory in every State except in a few pockets here and there. During this period the State Governments should try to meet their requirements by and large from their own resources so that we can save something for the lean period.

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्ता (दिल्ली सदर) :
केरल को चावल क्यों नहीं देते हैं, वे लोग
चिल्लाते हैं ।

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: I am coming to that. Two questions have been raised especially by hon. friends from Kerala. There is no doubt that we had a difficult situation last year. This specific figure of 75,000 tons I do not regard it as sacrosanct. We failed to supply 75,000 tons every month because of the difficult rice situation. This year also I do not think even with our best efforts it will be possible for us to supply 75,000 tons every month. But we will try to supply as much as we can from internal sources and from imports.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA:
Approximately how much?

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: Not less than 40,000 tons.

SHRI A. SREEDHARAN (Badagara): Will you keep that promise at least? You promised 75,000 tons and you did not keep that promise. Will you keep this promise of 40,000 tons?

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: That we will keep.

SHRI E. K. NAYANAR (Palghat): The hon. Minister, when he visited Kerala, spoke to the people there and said that it will be reduced to 50,000 tons. Now the Minister says that there is a bumper crop on an all-India scale and the Food Corporation is going to purchase. Then why reduce the allotment to Kerala? The Law Minister, who is sitting over there, toured the State of Kerala and spoke to the people. He in his speeches said that the Centre has not assured the people of Kerala anything, no assurance has been given by the Centre that so much food will be given. We want to know the actual position.

THE MINISTER OF LAW (SHRI GOVINDA MENON): I am being misquoted.

SHRI P. GOPALAN (Tellicherry): It is not misquoting... (Interruptions).

SHRI E. K. NAYANAR: When the Law Minister goes to Kerala he says one thing and there he says another thing. The press quoted him as saying that the Central Government is not giving rice.

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: I can say something about food. The Law Minister will give them sound legal advice.

SHRI E. K. NAYANAR: Then he should not give any assurances to the people of Kerala.

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: Of course, there is a good crop. But one should not forget that I will have to supply to all the deficit areas. Kerala is not the only deficit area, so far as rice is concerned. We have to take care of West Bengal, Kerala, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Goa, to some extent Delhi and Jammu and Kashmir. We have to supply to all the areas. So, the quantum of supply will depend upon the availability from the internal sources and imports. We shall make

a determined effort to supply as much rice to Kerala as we can. But, as I have said, it will not be 75,000 tons a month. So far as the subsidy is concerned, the House will recall that we have withdrawn the subsidy from coarse grains of rice. That was not done only for Kerala; it was done to all deficit areas.

SHRI E. K. NAYANAR: One more explanation.

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: If they do not want to listen to me, I have practically finished.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH: They are politically hungry; not for food.

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: There is no question of any discrimination, so far as Kerala is concerned.

SHRI E. K. NAYANAR: Central Government gets rice from Andhra at the rate of Rs. 80 per quintal and sells it to Kerala at the rate of Rs. 96 per quintal, making a profit of Rs. 16 per quintal which is nothing but blackmarketing. Can we expect any reduction in the price or subsidy in the supplies to Kerala?

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: There is no question of any subsidy to Kerala. Kerala is already being treated as a favoured child by the Central Government, so far as supply of rice and subsidy are concerned. The rice which is being purchased from Andhra is being offered to Kerala at a price which is lower than the price that Kerala offers to its own peasants.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: If Kerala is your favourite child, why don't you adopt it

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: So far as imported rice is concerned, the price of imported rice is much higher than that of indigenous rice. Yet, Kerala is being supplied the imported rice at the price of the indigenous rice. In that way, the Central Government is

heavily subsidising the supply of rice to Kerala.

SHRI E. K. NAYANAR: That is not at all the correct position.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would request the hon. Member not to get up every time and interrupt without getting the permission of the chair.

SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM: I want to assure our friends from Kerala that in the matter of food—of course, they will never be convinced, because one can convince only a person who is not already convinced—we are doing everything that we possibly can. We are getting price from Andhra and Madras Government and we are going and begging all these governments to make rice available to Kerala. And these people say that if Kerala wants rice from our cultivators whom we are paying a price lower than Kerala is paying to its own cultivators, how can we convince our cultivators? These are the problems which Kerala people do not appreciate. They should appreciate all these things. But, as I have said in the past, I will again assure that there will be no shortage of foodgrains; there may be shortage of rice.

Sir, I have done.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU (Darjeeling): I would like to have one information from the hon. Minister. So much information he has already given. Why does he not give the information I seek?

16.26 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*].

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: At this juncture he has tried to explain the point that had been raised in this debate. The Budget debate and the food debate will be coming and then Members can raise their points.

[SHRI MANGALATHUMADAM]

(Mavelikara): Mr. Deputy-Speaker,

[Shri Mangalathumadam.]

Sir, in examining the President's Address may I invite the attention of the House to the situation prevalent all over the country? The general discontent and subsequent lawlessness is the order of the day. There is no security to the life and property of the common man. There is no security even in MPs flats in New Delhi. Recently, we read in the newspapers what had happened in New Delhi on the New Year eve. The New Year eve recorded the worst type of hooliganism which ever happened in the history of the Capital. It is shame that this had happened under the nose of the mighty Home Minister, who failed to do anything in spite of all the power he commands and the paraphernalia of wireless vans and police force at his beck and call. I would say that this is a gross dereliction of duty on the part of the Home Minister.

Our late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, had set up a welcome precedent in Indian democratic system. When he failed to execute his responsibilities, instead of putting the blame on the officers' shoulders and stick to the chair, he resigned and quit the Government. Will the Home Minister follow the convention established by Shri Shastri and gracefully quit in the light of his failure to curb lawlessness in the country?

In Bombay a neo-fascist group is growing in the name of Siva Sena. Many in the Government as well as in the Opposition condemned this movement very eloquently. But the Government did nothing so far to save people and their property from the onslaught of this fascist group. Similarly, the so-called Lachit Sena in Assam and several other parallel organisations are spreading the philosophy of hatred and promoting fissiparous tendencies. They are, in the strict sense, anti-social movements. Troubles in the Mizo Hills and Nagaland are also continuing. Though the

Government failed to curb lawlessness it had succeeded very remarkably in intriguing to topple several non-Congress ministries in India.

Food is a lever used by the Central Government to put the non-Congress State Governments in ransom, particularly in the deficit States. In West Bengal, they used this lever successfully. In Kerala, it is still in operation. Kerala continues to be a food deficit State because the State is concentrating on producing cash crops which earn substantial portion of foreign exchange to the nation. Therefore, the Government must note that in asking for food Kerala is not pleading for the grace of the Central Government but putting forth its rightful claim which, if refused, will have dire consequences. Recently, some newspapers carried the news that the Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi asked a delegation that met her in Trivandrum, what Kerala would do if the Centre stopped, food quota to the State. I hope that Mrs. Gandhi has the wisdom to see the hidden danger if she dares to execute what she reportedly said. Article 21 of the Constitution provides for a right to life to every citizen. Does the Prime Minister think that the people of Kerala have the right not to live but to die out of starvation?

The President's Address expresses some hopes about this year's bumper crops. They may give some temporary solace to the empty stomachs seeing death face to face in unknown villages. But soon they will find that they are badly disappointed. Even if a little increase is there in the food production, who will guarantee its fair distribution? Several bottlenecks are there between production and distribution. I may say that the interferences of private agencies, profiteers and speculators between production and distribution are solely due to the inefficiency of the Government. To crown all this, there is a deliberate step motherly attitude the

Centre is adopting towards States like Kerala, imports under PL 480 and the like are not a remedy for the food problem. They are really poison in sugar coating which we should refuse forthwith.

This House must understand that this Government keeps 90 per cent of the people of Kerala starving or semi-starving. This cruel game is going on. When people cry from Kerala for food, the Centre pretends deaf. But how long can these cribes be ignored? Queen Mary Antoinette never knew the commoner's way of life. Our Prime Minister is pre-occupied with many a problem except those that concern the common people.

In spite of the national planning, regional imbalances are a continuing affair. Some States are totally neglected in industrialisation. We should not forget the comparative advantage and the job opportunities that industrialisation provides. States from which influential Cabinet Ministers come get the lion share of all the industrial development. The President's Address expresses concern over the unemployment of the educated youths. Sir, I hope that the House is aware that Kerala, the State from which I come, has 55 per cent of literacy, the highest in India. This is the State where educated unemployment is maximum. If a national outlook is there and if the Government wants to solve the problem in a national perspective, the neglect of Kerala in industrial development should be put to an end. I strongly suggest that the problem of educated unemployment in that State can be solved only through the industrialisation of that State. I do remember Dr. K. L. Rao's suggestion in the Kerala Economic Conference in New Delhi a year ago that problems should be solved as much as possible at the State level itself. I understand the logic of his argument. But I would like to know what he and his Government are going to do with the problems confront-

ing Kerala especially on food and educated unemployment.

The prices of essential commodities are exorbitantly high. The Government is apparently helping capitalists and blackmarketeers through various measures. In the capital, sugar was decontrolled some time back. As a result, the price rose up from Rs. 1.80 in the ration shops to Rs. 4.50 in the open market. The decontrol provides opportunity to the capitalists and hoarders to create artificial scarcity and control the market. I don't know for whose benefit this decontrol of sugar was made if not for the benefit of the Minister concerned and the capitalists and blackmarketeers? May I ask the Government to stop helping the capitalists to loot the people in daylight.

The President's speech contains some remarks on the Kerala-Mysore border question. I may say that, in opening up the border questions between various States, the Government has opened the Pandora's box. If the Government is keen to open up the question on the northern border of Kerala, I would request the Government to reconsider its southern and north-eastern borders also. The whole Cape Comorin District and the Gudalur Taluk in Nilgiri District in Madras, historically, geographically and culturally, belong to Kerala. These portions belonged to former Travancore State and Malabar District were cut off from Kerala as a result of the States Reorganisation in 1956. With the separation of this district, Kerala lost the fertile Nanjanad, one of her two most important granaries. And that was the beginning of the food scarcity in that State. The food problem of Kerala can be solved very easily and effectively in the State level itself if these portions are restored to Kerala. I submit that the Government should appoint a Commission to go through the problem.

Sir, this country today is at the crossroads of a seriously grave situa-

[Shri Mangalathumadam.]

tion. Our enemies across the frontiers once again are gathering their might and resources to challenge our sovereignty. Forces of narrow regionalism and communalism are out to disrupt the unity and solidarity of India and I am convinced, Sir, that this Government is singularly unsuited to shoulder the responsibilities which confront them. The only ray of hope before this country is the growing awareness and awakening of the great Indian people as was amply demonstrated during the last General Elections. Let this Government see the writing on the wall before it is too late; otherwise, their doom is only a question of time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Amrit Nahata.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Barmer): Let Mr. Bedabrata Barua speak.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Nobody from Rajasthan has spoken.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA: He has been waiting for the past two days. Let him speak now, Sir. I will speak tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: All right. Mr. Bedabrata Barua.

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA (Kaliabor): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the discussion on the President's Address is taking place against the backdrop of the unfortunate happenings in Assam, and as a citizen of India, I do feel concerned about what has happened there and elsewhere. The tendency to violence and also the tendency to convert violent words into violent action, may involve all of us, the whole country, in a holocaust. Assam, after all, is a thin end of the wedge and geographically speaking, Assam has an isolated existence, which requires the special attention of the country. Not only violence to private property, but, I should say, violence which involves public pro-

perty is equally reprehensible, and violence to human lives is even more reprehensible. In that way, I think, the whole discussion should centre around the happenings not only in Assam but also in Meerut and Ranchi and also the violent events concerning the language that have taken place in the last few months.

What is really important is the whole concept of law and orderly progress, to which we have sworn ourselves at the time we adopted our Constitution, because the concept of law and orderly progress involves justice and also social change. Because of the regional imbalance in our country soon a situation would develop within a decade when it would be very difficult to see some backward areas and some advanced areas belonging or appearing to belong to the same State. This type of regional imbalance, which is a most disorderly type of progress and is against the fundamentals of the Constitution and the Directive Principles of the Constitution, should be corrected. In that context, I believe that Assam's situation has to be solved by the understanding assistance from this House and also by understanding and friendship between the various people living in Assam. I am very sorry to say that Mr. Swell, an Hon. Member of this House who spoke only two days ago discussed about it and I would have liked him to be more helpful in regard to this problem. It is not merely a question of finding fault with the Government of Assam but it is a question of finding out and acting according to the history and geography which has placed the people of Assam in one unit. And it is this unity of this geographical unit that has to be looked into and in that context I am constrained to say that whatever the political differences that we have, it is not a fact that the hill people of Assam have been treated in a bad way by the Government. I want to draw your attention to the only authoritative document of the recent times

where this matter of discrimination to the hills was gone into very thoroughly in the report of the Pataskar Commission. It gave certain conclusions. It concluded that the hill areas have not been treated in a discriminatory manner; the conclusion of the report was that they have been treated much better than the people of the plains. The report said:

"The relative contribution of the hill districts to the State's revenue is much less in proportion to the population and it has gone down further over a period of 12 years since 1951-52.

The per-capita contribution of the hill districts to the State's 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 constant."

This is the conclusion of the Pataskar Commission. Then it said:

"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 the relative contribution to the State's revenues. The per capita expenditure in the hill districts has increased 5 to 6 times from 1951-52 and is much more than in the plains.

The allocations of the Plan outlay for the hill districts have not been unfair vis-a-vis their population. But as a percentage of the total outlay these have gone down slightly during the Third Plan period.

The hill districts have recorded a higher rate of increase than the plains in respect of the total and per capita incomes."

This is the crux of the question. NEFA is separated from Assam; Nagaland speaks the same language which we call Nagamese. NEFA and Nagaland are culturally Assamese.

The cultural affinity had been there for hundreds of years. Their rulers and the rulers in Assam did intermarry and it is a geographical, cultural and social entity. In spite of that they were separated; they have now been given more assistance than those hill areas which are living within the geographical limits of the present Assam State. This is certainly a sort of discrimination which we feel most unfair and that is the reason why the hills people generally feel that separation from Assam would entitle them to more financial assistance than they are getting now.

In Assam itself, Sir, we have no industrial development in spite of oil and tea. A Member from Kerala suggested that they are getting Rs. 200 crores of foreign exchange. No other State can assert that they have equal contribution as Assam in respect of foreign exchange. What foreign exchange is earned goes to the development of India. Practically the whole of the crude oil supply in India comes from Assam. There are rivers of oil below our feet in the Brahmaputra Valley. That is the position. But what price do we get for it? Our royalty dispute still remains unsettled. To make matters worse, the House will be surprised to know that in Assam oil is the costliest commodity, apart from every other commodity. In such circumstances, how can Assam be industrialised?

Furnace oil is vital to industry. I shall give some figures. A Bombay firm wanted to start a hardboard manufacturing plant in Assam. It started and is now closing down. Why? Because while the raw materials are cheap in Assam, furnace oil is very costly. Furnace oil which is sold in Bombay at Rs. 180 per tonne is sold in Assam as the highest rate of Rs. 256 per tonne.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA:
Why?

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA: I can explain why. But it will take a long time which I do not have. Whereas we in Assam have to buy our things at the highest price, we have to sell our products at the lowest price. When we sell jute, our cultivator gets only Rs. 28 when the ruling Calcutta price is Rs. 40. We produce 20 per cent of India's jute. When we want to start a jute mill in order to use up that jute, what is the position? We have been fighting for it for so many years. We got the machinery and other things. But somehow nobody is convinced of the need for a jute mill, and the IFC is holding up the loan. Because somebody in the Jute Commissioner's office in Calcutta says that it will not be a profitable proposition. This is how we are treated. To make matters more unfortunate, recently, a month ago, there was a meeting of the Jute Mills Association. There they lectured against all fundamental tenets of our policy saying that merely on regional considerations there should not even be a very small jute mill in Assam with 150 looms. How will our people react to this kind of treatment? How can we develop our undeveloped regions in this way? I am speaking for all undeveloped regions of the country. In this matter, lip sympathy will not do. But the matter has to be gone into thoroughly and the question has to be settled on considerations of equity and justice.

In the Soviet Union, they have a uniform price for commodities throughout the country. Could we not have some such system here?

One of the major difficulties in Assam is the inadequacy of transportation. We have only one metre gauge line. Because of this, transportation costs are high. Barring raw materials, everything else is costly.

In the Cachar district, pine apples sell at the rate of Rs. 20 per 100. When I asked Birla's manager here: 'Why don't you start a factory using

this commodity?' he said, 'Everything else is so costly'.

It is in this context, that the isolationist mind has worked in the Assam Valley. This is very dangerous for India because this isolationist mind can easily turn into dangerous channels. Unless the political and economic aspects of this problem are appreciated, we will not be able to find a solution. It has been our feeling that Central policy has in substance become a policy of disintegration of the State of Assam.

How was Nagaland separated from Assam? An officer in Shillong gave a report that the Nagas do not like the Assamese; so they want to have a separate State. Immediately this was avidly seized upon by some officers here to prepare a case for the separation of Nagaland from Assam. I know the actual situation. I live 10 miles from the border of Nagaland. This is not the situation there. In 1953, delegate after delegate from NNC said in open meetings in Assam, 'We have nothing against the Assamese people. On the other hand, we have been historically together. Let us join together and fight'. This is what they were saying. But the type of report that was received from there is what I have already referred to. A case was cooked up for the separation of Nagaland from Assam and a separate State of Nagaland was brought into being.

Now there is a demand for a Hill State being created. There also I would like to discuss the matter with the Hill leaders. But there are so many leaders. In the Khasi and Garo Hills, the Hill Leaders have the majority, but in North Cachar as well as in the Mikhir Hills, the MLAs and other leaders belong to the Congress Party. They do not want to form part of a Hill State. In these circumstances, what is the solution? How is it going to help? It will have a reaction on the people of Assam. They would feel that the Centre is going to divide our people. If it is the position that the hill people have political aspirations

and they have to be recognised, it should not be recognised only in regard to the nine lakhs of hill people in Assam, but in regard to the 298 lakhs of hill people in India. There should be a satisfactory solution to the political aspirations of all the hill people throughout India.

Why is it being done only in the case of Assam? Because it has been considered a menace. It is a very dangerous idea to suggest to anybody that you become a menace, and you will gain your point. You go on cutting off an injured limb. This is what is happening in Assam. Then, in various areas also people would feel the pang of disintegration. Assam does not want to be disintegrated.

If you go through the telephone directory of any big city, Calcutta or Bombay, is there any man from Assam who is appointed in any of these industries in India? I asked the Chairman of the Indian Oil Corporation and the Planning Minister whether there is any Assamese in the Indian Oil Corporation in the establishments in Delhi. I got the reply that among the thousands there is none. Unless some Assamese are taken in how are we to get out of our isolation? Help us to get out of our isolation. The only type of men we meet here are the businessmen. We have not been stabilised in business. We want to be stabilised. Our people must be helped to get out of their isolation.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna):
By quarelling with everybody.

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA: I do not speak against the other people. Because I am the only man in the whole debate from Assam, I very much condemn, I have condemned, and I join with the House and members in condemning all those violent acts, but Assam requires not only condemnation, but also sympathy, because without sympathy the people's mind would feel more isolated. This isolation is a counsel of despair.

I may again refer to the history of Assam. Assam's history was a unified history. The whole of Assam including Nagaland was ruled by Rulers of Mangaloid origin from Thailand, but we have an equation among ourselves. That equation may sometimes threaten to break because of umpires trying to solve the problems just as a bad surgeon enlarges the wound, but we have an equation among ourselves, and whether it is the hills or the plains, we are all people of tribal origin. It is a place where unless complete understanding is evolved, a mere attempt to solve it piecemeal by only trying to win over the political extremists as they have done in Nagaland and they are again trying to do in other areas, is not the right solution. Even Dr. Verrier Elwyn had once to say in 1953, in a letter, "What business has the Government of India to send a Baptist Mission to Nagaland?" because the Baptist Mission is a Christian R.S.S. and it teaches isolation from the people. The letter has been published two months ago.

So, I think a lot of thinking on the fundamentals of policy towards Assam is necessary, and unless that is done, only frustration will be imposed upon the people of Assam. They should be assisted to feel the remorse that should be felt by those who have inflicted injury upon their own citizens, because the citizenship of India is the most valuable thing that every Assamese cherishes and wants to have.

SHRI P. GOPALAN (Tellicherry):
At the brief time at my disposal, I shall deal with a few points raised in the President's Address. I need not say that the President's speech is a declaration of the policies of the Government. He says that the Central Government wants to maintain harmonious relations with the State Governments irrespective of their party affiliations. I want to question the sincerity of this expression because past experience during the last eleven months and even recent happening do

[Shri P. Gopalan]

not prove that the Central Government stands for harmonious relations with the State Governments, irrespective of party affiliations. I can cite the examples where the Central Government has always toppled the non-Congress Governments after the last general elections. The Congress Party took a decision at Hyderabad recently to topple the existing non-Congress Governments in the States. Speaking at Ernakulam the Congress President Mr. Nijalingappa said that there were only two alternatives before the people of Kerala: you should organise yourself and go against the Government or the Central Government would act according to the constitutional provisions. The correspondent of a leading Daily, *Mathru Bhumi* of Kerala, asked him: which of these two alternatives would you choose? His reply was: please wait for a little time; then you shall see what is going to happen. I think the Congressmen would not deny this statement by their President. I do not want to narrate how they toppled the various State Governments in Bengal, Bihar, Haryana and Punjab. They have now turned against Kerala. I think our Law Minister Mr. Panampally Govinda Menon had been specially deputed for toppling the non-Congress State Government of Kerala and recently he addressed several meetings in Kerala. He was deputed because he is very good at the art of toppling Governments—not only non-Congress Governments, but also Congress Governments.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: He belongs to Kerala.

SHRI P. GOPALAN: He belongs to Kerala; that is what I said. He is popularly known as the Ivor Jennings of Kerala not because of his expert knowledge of constitutional law but because he tried once to prove the validity of a minority Government existing in Kerala with voluminous quotations from the writings of Ivor

Jennings. Mr. Govinda Menon said that the Kerala Government had violated a contract entered into with the People of Kerala for giving them six ounces of rice as it has given them only three ounces of rice every day. At the same time he said that there was no agreement entered into by the State Government with the Central Government to give rice to Kerala. At the same time he accused the State Government of Kerala of violating its promise. He said that the ration cards distributed to the people were promissory notes and the State Government of Kerala had to abide by its promise. He asked the people to revolt against that Government as it had failed to honour that promise. Now, the Congressmen in Kerala have started thinking in terms of the liberation struggle. I had the misfortune to lead a liberation struggle that was staged in Kerala in 1959. Now, the Congressmen are talking very much about the non-violence and the Constitution and all that. But in 1959 what did they do in Kerala? That is known to everybody. The late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, came there and asked the Chief Minister, Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad, to resign. On what grounds did he ask him to resign?

17 HRS.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please finish in two minutes.

SHRI P. GOPALAN: He said that the Kerala Government had to resign, because there was a mass upsurge in Kerala. Now, the other day, when Mr. Chavan was speaking, he said that things in a democratic society are not to be decided on the streets but they have to be decided in the Assembly and in Parliament. But in 1959, when the communist government was in power in Kerala, our late Prime Minister came there and asked EMS to

resign, saying that there was a mass upsurge.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He has a very limited time; I told him that I could give him five to seven minutes. Now, please conclude.

SHRI P. GOPALAN: I will conclude in three or four minutes. Mr. EMS said that "My government has got a majority in the Assembly" and asked him, "Why should I resign?" Then Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru advised him to resign on the ground that there was a mass upsurge, and the question of majority had to be decided in the Assembly and not in the streets. When the issue of West Bengal arose, people have been saying here that democracy has to be decided not in the streets but in the Assembly and Parliament. But in 1959, in Kerala they decided it in the streets, and democracy was butchered in the open streets of Kerala.

Then, the present Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who was then the President of the All-India Congress came to Kerala and she played the role of Lady Macbeth; she toppled the government of Kerala in her capacity as the President of the AICC, and apart from toppling the government of Kerala, there is now an unprecedented record of toppling so many State Governments. Recently, the Prime Minister visited Kerala and when some representatives of the United Front had an interview with her and wanted her to give more rice to Kerala, she said, "If we do not give you even the present quota of rice, what will you do?" That was the question put before the people of Kerala by our Prime Minister. The question is very simple and the answer is also very simple. What will the people of Kerala do? The people of Kerala will have to starve, no doubt. But now, the Congress Government has decided to make the issue of food a political issue. They have taken up the issue like that and they want the chain of slavery to be put to the people of Kerala. (Inter-

ruption) For the only crime of having elected a non-Congress government in that State, the people there are asked to forsake their political consciousness and the Central Government says to them, "If you want rice, topple the government in power." That is the entire message that is given by the Central Government to the people of Kerala and the State of Kerala. I have no doubt that the people of Kerala will say unanimously that "we are not prepared to throw away our political consciousness to the jackals howling in the side-lanes." So, Sir, I would like to say very clearly that this Central Government does not wish harmonious relations with the State Government and despite the declaration of the President, that is the policy of the Central Government and if they are going to pursue the same policy, it will have direct repercussion in other parts of the country.

17.05 hrs.

DISCUSSION ON INCIDENT AT LUCKEESERAI RAILWAY STATION

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, लक्खीसराय स्टेशन पर अभी अभी 14 फरवरी की रात को जो दुर्घटना हुई और 24 अक्टूबर, 1966 में भी इसी प्रकार की जो दुर्घटना हुई थी। ये दोनों दुर्घटनायें रेल शासन और रेल मंत्रियों की लापरवाही, अयोग्यता और अमानुषिकता का भयानक स्मारक हैं। ये दुर्घटनायें न तो आकस्मिक थीं और न ही अनपेक्षित थीं, क्योंकि जिस हालत में 1966 में दुर्घटना हुई थी, ठीक उसी हालत में और उसी किस्म की यह दुर्घटना हुई है। मंत्री महोदय ने जो नई रपट हम लोगों के सामने रखी है, उस में 1966 की दुर्घटना का जं: वर्णन किया गया है, वही वर्णन इस नई दुर्घटना के सम्बन्ध में मंत्री महोदय के वक्तव्य में दिया गया है।