But, at the same time, I would like to say this. If a Member just wants to make a statement of fact, that such and such allegations were there against a particular Chief Minister at one time, that there was a High Court reference or a Supreme Court order, the Chair cannot rule it out. Within the limit, the Member has to remain and proceed with his speech. (Interruptions.)

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: My point was only to show how political corruption can be shielded by the Prime Minister when specific charges are made against a Chief Minister. I would like to bring to your notice the facts of the case.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member has to conclude.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: Mr. Shukla a very reasonable man and I hope that he will accept all the amendments moved by me and my friends. I will just say how political corruption will happen, how the Prime Minister and also the President and also the Home Minister will shield the Chief Ministers regarding corruption-political corruption to manoeuvre and get a constituency to stand for election and subsequent grant of illegal favours to make up for personal obligation. (Interruptions.) In 1962 the present Congress President was defeated. What happen was this. One MLC from Bagalkot was in the Mysore Legislative Council

MR. CHAIRMAN: You neet not go into the details.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: These are facts.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It may be a fact, but this Parliament cannot sit in judgment over such matters at this stage. That is the difficulty.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: He wanted to become the Chief Minister of Mysore State and he get him resign and allowed.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now please conclude your speech.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: Mr. Chairman, Sir, will you kindly bear with me for a minute? I want that the Prime Minister also should be brought within the purview of this Bill. In the year 14-2-1963 the Prime Minister.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: No please. I am sorry you are again going out of the scope of the discussion.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: The Prime Minister and the Chief Minister wanted to favour and also shield corrupt practices. They will have a 'Tulabaram' and immediately when the charge-sheet comes here, they will scuttle the whole charge-sheet. Therefore, I want the Chief Ministers and also the Prime Minister should be brought within the purview of this Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now the House will take up consideration of the Private Members' Business,

15.31 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS'
BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Fifty-Second Report

SHRI P. N. SOLANKI (Kaira): 1 beg to move:

"That this House do agree with the Fifty-second Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 13th August, 1969."

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That this House do agree with the Fifty-second Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bllls and Resolutions presented to the House on the 13th August, 1969."

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION KE: NATIONALISATION OF FOREIGN TRADE, GENERAL INSURANCE, ETC.—(contd.)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I hope the speech of Mrs. Tarkeshwari Sinha is taken as concluded. She is not present in the House at present. There are some amendments to the resolution.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA (Madhubani): I beg to move:

That in the resolution,---

for "socialistic pattern of society which is the declared policy of the Government, necessary steps such as (a) nationalisation of foreign trade, general insurance and steel industry; (b) taking over of all investment in India; (c) fixing of ceiling on urban property; and (d) eradication of black money through demonetisation of the currency be taken by the Government without any further delay".

substitute-

"the goal of socialist society accepted by Parliament the Government should nationalise General Insurance and export-import trade with Nepal and Communist countries within six months and impose ceiling on personal consumption at Rs. 1500/per month and ceiling on urban property at Rs. 10 lakhs and nationalise rest of the exportimport trade with in one year from now.

This House further resolves that the Government should also formulate a phased, time-bond programme for implementing other socialist measures." (1)

SHRI LOBO PRABHU (Udipi): I beg to move:

That in the resolution.-

add at the end-

"provided, there is benefit to the common people, instead of higher prices and taxes, characteristic of current nationalisation." (3)

SHRI B. P. MANDAL (Madhipura): I beg to move:

That in the resolution.-

for socialistic pattern of society which is the declared policy of the Government"

substitute-

"socialism" (4)

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (Bombay South): I beg to move:

That in the resolution,-

for "socialistic pattern of society which is the declared policy of the Gevernment, necessary steps such as (a) nationalisation of foreign trade, general insurance and steel industry; (b) taking over of all foreign investment in India; (c) fixing of ceiling on urban property; and (d) eradication of black money through demonetisation of the Currency be taken by the Government without any further delay"

substitute-

"the goal of socialist society accepted by Parliament the Government should nationalise General Insurance, foreign oil interests in India and export-import trade with Nepal and Communist countries within six months and impose ceiling on personal consumption at Rs. 1500/per month and ceiling on urban property at Rs. 10 lakhs and nationalise rest of the export-import trade within one year from now.

This House further resolves that the Government should also formulate a phased, time-bond programme for implementing other socialist measures." (5)

SHRI YASHPAL SINGH (Dehra Dun): I beg to move:

That in the resolution,-

(i) for "which is the declared policy of the Government, necessary steps"

substitute-

"a Parliamentary Committee be constituted to suggest measures", and

(ii) for "be taken by the Government without any further delay."

substitute-

"etc. with instructions to report by the 2nd October, 1969." (6)

SHRI B. P. MANDAL: I beg to move:

That in the resolution.-

after "currency" insert-

"(e) bringing the disparity of highest and lowest income groups to the ratio of 1:10 nationalising all means of production" (8)

SHRI ABDUL GHANI DAR (Gurgaon): I beg to move:

add at the end-

"and for this purpose, Government may appoint a Committee consisting of foremost economists to thrash out all aspects in the light of our financial resources and report to Government before the next Budget Session." (9)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am sorry the mover of the resolution is absent. She did not even intimate the Chair

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI P. C. SETHI): She has already spoken.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The point is that she did not even conclude the speech.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): When she has not given any intimation to the Chair, we will have to take it that she has concluded her speech.

SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH (Pali): Sir, the Resolution of Shri Patodia was discussed in the House when he was not present.

श्री र**वि राय** (पुरी) : हम बहस को चलायें ।

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I really do not understand under what circumstances we are operating today. Apparently, a great deal of the atmosphere from the Central Hall has poured into the House itself because I cannot conceive of having to speak on a subject in which the prime mover herself is absent. As if that was not bad enough, it goes further as she has not even concluded what she wanted to say. Am I then to take it that I am to speak on a Resolution on which the Mover herself - although she certainly spent a great deal of her splew and perhaps did a great deal of justice to her sex, if not to perhaps to her intellect—has disappeared?

I don't know, where or why or how she has disappeared—leaving behind a time-bomb in the Lok Sabha, hoping that in her absence it will explode in one form or the other.

Unfortunately, Sir, in spite of the charge or gun-powder with which she has loaded her Resolution, events outside have so overtaken this Resolution that I think that it is really redundant to discuss it at all.

The process of Nationalisation which seems to have attracted the lady's fancy is something that I have always contributed to. The Swatantra Party, for great many years, has advocated Nationalisation, for instance, of the Communist Party; and we have always stood behind it firmly. But this reactionary Government has not thought it fit to follow over advice at all. Apparently, to some of our friends, at any rate, nationalisation has to be a one way traffic, a traffic which will put money from other people's pockets into their own. But nationalisation which, as I said, we approve of, should not be stopped at some point or some level, where it is convenient either for the Government or those who are great advocates of it. Banks were nationalised; but, unfortunately, only 14 banks were nationalised. So many banks were left out and who knows, how many of their relatives are involved in these banks. It has been suggested that foreign banks should also be nationalised. But nobody has for a moment suggested that foreign accounts. particularly, the number of accounts of all my colleagues over here should also be nationalised.

I would advocate, Sir, that a thorough inquiry should be made not only about the banks, but also in the personal accounts of my friends over here who have amassed What a shame that a vast fortunes abro. d. good many such friends of mine are not present here, as I see the Treasury Benches But Sir, advocating nationaliare empty. sation of foreign trade, advocating demonetisation of the currency, catching blackmarketeers and all that, must show somehow in the intentions of the Government. I am of the conclusion that there is no such intention on their part whatsoever; nor do I think there is any intention on the part of the lady who has moved the Resolution. because, if the Government were serious about catching people who have evaded taxes, about catching people who have black271

money, about trying to bring to book those people who have made illegitimate profits, a great deal would have been done within the existing framework of society and within the laws with which this Government arms itself from time to time.

But this requires intention, and I charge that there is no intention on the part of this Covernment, or for that matter, on the part of those who have moved this Resolution or inspired it.

Here I am reminded of the story of a little boy who never used to speak. His father and mother were rather worried about him. Finally, one day when he was 7 years old and was having breakfast, he turned round and said 'the cornflakes are cold'. His mother was surprised. She said 'You have not spoken for 7 years. How is it that all of a sudden you have realised that the cornflakes are not so hot?' He said, 'All these years, I had no reason to complain at all'. It is only today that I find that my cornflakes are cold.' This is the condition of nationalised societies where there is a great deal of power in the hands of Government.

There is another story, this one about Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill. After they had had their historic meeting, they were travelling in a car. On the way, there was a cow standing in front of them. So Churchill in typical Btitish style went out of his car and waved his cigar at the cow and said 'Move on'. But the cow stood where it was. Then Roosevelt got out of the car. in spite of his constitutional difficulty, and waved his stick at the cow. But the cow would not listen-I would like to wave my stick at the lady who has moved this Resolution, but she is not to be seen here.

Then it was the turn of Stalin. came out of the car and whispered something into the ear of the cow and the cow scooted. Naturally his two colleagues were surprised at what was happening and asked him, 'What did you say to the cow?' said 'I said to the cow that if she did not move, I would send her to a collective farm'

We all know that Moses gave to this world Ten Commandments. Incidentally. one of them was quite intriguing. It says-'Thou shall not cover thy neighbour's wife'. But the ten commandments with which this lady has been inspired, which are the basis of this Resolution, which have been fabricated or brought to light by the venerable club of this Parliament known as that 'Young Turks', have not taken a clue from this particular Commandment of Moses, left to us some thousands of years ago.

Foreign Trade, General

Insurance etc. (Res.)

Finally, considering what is happening outside and taking into account the seriousness with which this Resolution has been brought before the House, I would like to observe that I find a great deal of similarity between a bikini and Shrimati Gandhi's Government. Nobody what holds it up. But as I reflect on it a little further and as I spend time drinking my coffee out in the Central Hall. I am beginning to understand some of the reasons why this Government is held up -even though what holds up the bikini still remains a puzzlement to me - namely that there are people, both inside and outside this House who have over the last 22 years acquired the facility to say one thing and do another.

We are in the midst of just such a crisis. I think that this debate, if nothing else, reflects that crisis.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI (Bhubaneswar): The nationalisation of major banks in the country has started a process, I hope a process in the right directtion. It has also started a process of conflict between different interests. It is a bold and courageous move and after such a step, it is necessary that whatever other measures that this Resolution has thought of, should come about.

When I was listening to the speech of Shri Mody, I was reminded of some writings about Sygman Rhee I had read in those days.

Mr. Mody and his masters are speaking the same language, the same things written years ago. Rhee of South Korea and Bao Dai of Viet-Nam were speaking the same language. All those persons had been thrown into the dustbin of history, quite sure Mr. Mody and his tribe are only to count the days when they will also meet with the same fate .. (Interruptions.) This is a great measure and the process has started There is so much of conflict in the country. On the one side there is the group which wants monopoly capital and concentration of wealth. There are others who are opposed to these principles. So when some persons tell us that nationalisation is something that is to be taunted at and laughed at ... (Interruptions.) We have to say that it is an act of faith with us. We shall have to take many other follow-up measures. Nationalisation is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end. It strikes at the concentration of economic power. That step having been taken, vast amounts of deposits come in the hands of people. Those deposits should be gainfully employed. We shall have to think of other necessary follow-up measures. The prevailing mood of the country is for radical economic changes in society. Some persons allege that we want to establish a dictatorship in the country... (Interruptions.)

15.47 hrs.

[Shri Gadilingana Gowd in the Chair]

If you read history, you will find what happened in many countries...(Interruptions.) some People in this country were gradually losing faith in the ability and efficacy of democratic Processes and democratic institutions and it is at this time that such a good measure has come. There was a feeling that democratic institutions were not in a position to remove the hardships and inequalities. Young men were thinking of violent means to remove disparities. This step restored confidence in the minds of millions of young men in the democratic institutions. Such a measure will enhance the prestige of the democratic forces in the country. In countries of Southeast Asia, the democratic institutions were once functioning and people had the right to vote. But a handful of persons took advantage of it and became dictators. We see what happened in Korea and Viet-Nam and other countries too. The democratic processes in those countries could not satisfy the hunger of the people for land, for employment. So, they had to give way to dictatorship. Fortunately this action in our country came at the right time to restore the confidence of people in democratic institutions processes. I am quite sure that the proposal of having a ceiling on urban property is a good one, and I am quite sure that this is a good demand. I have been to some other places.

For instance, in Himachal Pradesh, what do you find? This black money of black marketeers...

SHRI PILOO MODY: Catch them and hang them. Nehru promised it.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: They are having thousands of crores of money, and all these thousand crores of rupees are in the hands of the blackmarketeers. We shall have to take note of it. You will also find that the money of the blackmarketeers is now going to be used this way. They are now going in for purchasing new landed property and urban property in the cities. (Interruptions). What do you want to say, Mr. Mody? Please stand up and say.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I said catch them and hang them. It was promised by Nehru, You have had all the power in the world. Why have you not done it?

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: The people will hang them and you. Wait for that time, The time is coming. (Interruption)

SHRI PILOO MODY: I offer myself for hanging, if it pleases him, But I thought he was referring to blackmarketeers.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: I am afraid that in November or December many of these people will committ suicide, because these measures are against their interests, and because they have been exploiting the poor for the last 20 years in the name of freedom and in the name of democracy. The people of India have now realised the truth, and I hope they will achieve victory after victory.

I suggest to the Government that after this one measure that has come, namely, the nationalisation of major commercial banks, it has given courage and strength to the people, and the people will further help this process. Therefore, a ceiling on urban property should come next; the provision of employment to the unemployed people should also follow this. And foreign trade also should next be nationalised. I think these are the processes which should follow one after the other. There is nothing to be afraid of. I am quite sure of this, I would

[Shri Chintamani Panigrahi]

ask the hon. Minister to give out his mind and say that several other things are coming, so that the people of this country will be glad to know that the process has started and thus we can ensure that democracy will survive, that the people will survive, and that the five per cent people who are monopolists, who are concentrating the nation's wealth in their hands, will go, and real democracy and freedom will flourish in this country.

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) : सभा-पति ही. इस प्रस्ताव में यह कहा गया है कि जनरल इन्क्योरेंस ग्रीर स्टील को नेशनलाइज किया जाय. फारेन इन्वेस्टमेंट को नेशनलाइज किया जाय भीर भ्ररबन प्रापर्टी पर सीलिंग तय करनी चाहिए। इसी तरह से करेंसी का डी-मौनेटाइजेशन होनी चाहिए। जो प्रस्तावक का उद्देश्य है जहां तक मैं समभता है वह यह है देश में जो काला धन है वह वापस ग्राना चाहिए भीर राष्ट्रीयकरण करने से सरकार के पास घन ग्रा जायगा. उस घन का उपयोग गरीब जनता के लिए किया जा सकता है। जहांतक कि 'छहेरथ का सवाल है कि देश के अन्दर से कालाधन समाप्य हो श्रीर जो भूखी जनताहै उस को रोटी मिले, मैं समभता है किसी को भी इस से मतभेद नहीं हो सकता। यह हमारा परम कर्लब्य है, चाहे कोई भी सरकार हो, कांग्रेस की सरकार हो या श्रीर किसी की सर-कार हो. हमारा यह धर्म है कि हम भन्ने लोगों को रोटी दें, प्यासों को पानी दें श्रीर जिस के पास छत नहीं है उस को मकान दें। प्रव्यक्ष महोदय. यह बात सही है कि राष्ट्रीयकरमा करने से जो प्रस्तावक का उद्देश्य है वह यह है कि कुछ हाथों में धन नहीं रहना चाहिए, वह बंटना चाहिए। जब्रातक इस उद्देश्य का सवाल है जैसा मैं नेकहा मैं इंससे पूरी तरह से सहमत है। लेकिन मैं एक सबाल पूछना चाहता है मन्त्री महोदय से कि 20 साल से लगालार हक्ष्मत इस सरकार के पास है। शायद ही दुनिया में कोई एक देश हो जिस में लगातार 23 सास्त तक एक ही पार्टी की हुकुमत रही हो बिना किसी बाधा के । 23

साल लगातार हकूमत करने के बाद, तीन पंच-वर्षीय योजना समाप्त होने के बाद 32 हजार करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने के बाद ग्राज कंसेंटेशन ग्राफ वेल्थ क्या बंटी है या कुछ लोगों के हाथ में है ग्रीर इस की जिम्मेदारी किस की है? कौन कंटोल कर रहा है देश की श्राधिक नीति को ? यह समाजवाद का योथा नारा लगाने वाली सर कार जो ऊपर से गरीबों के लिए झांस बहाती है, बडी-बडी बातें करती है, एक हाथ से किसान को छरा मारकर खुन निकालती है भौर उसको समाजवाद की थपिकयां देकर सुलाती है, जब वह सो जाता है तो छुरामार कर उस का खून निकालनी है और दूसरे हाथ से उस खून को सण्मायेदारों को सींप देती है। यह अभी तक १० साल मे सरकार कर रही थी जिस के कारमा के कसेंटेशन धाफ बेल्थ कुछ लोगों के द्राधों में चला गया स्नौर गरीब गरीब होता गया. श्रमीर-ग्रमीर होता गया। जो कमी-शन विठाए सरकार ने इस की रिपोर्ट की यहांचर्चा करने की ग्रावश्यकता नहीं. 75 परिवार ऐसे हैं जिन के पास जितना भी प्राइवेट टेड है, इंडस्टी है, उस का 40 प्रतिजन उन लोगों के पास है। इस से ज्यादा शर्म की बात क्या हो सकती है। श्रीर आरज हमारे ये दोस्त समाजवाद का नारा लगाते हैं। प्रधान मन्त्री महोदया कह रही थीं कल अब बड़े गुस्से में ग्राई थीं कि मैं तो 12 वर्ष की उम्र से समाज-वाद में विश्वास करती है भीर यहाँ समाजवाद काभाषसादेग्हीथीं।जो प्रधान मन्त्री 2 करोड़ के महल में बैठने का इरादा रखती हों ग्रीर जिस देश के ग्रन्दर दस करोड इन्सान ऐसे हों जिन को चार गाने रोज भी ग्रामदनी न मिलती हो, जिस प्रधान मंत्री की देख भाल के लिए लाखों रुपये महीने खर्च होते हैं ग्राज वह समाजवाद का नारा लगाए भीर भाषरा दे ग्रा कर के बाहर कि 20 साल के बाद कोई चीज चलनी तो शुरू हुई है, इसका मनलब है कि 20 साल तक चली नहीं थी। जो इन के पितन जी ने किया, वह कुछ नहीं किया। जो

लाल बहाद्र शास्त्री जी ने किया वह कुछ नहीं किया और जो खुद इन्होंने किया दो ढाई साल में वह कुछ नहीं किया। ग्रब चलनी शुरू हुई है। भीर किया क्या है? केवल 14 बैकों का राष्ट्रीयकरुरा जिस में 40 प्रतिशत डिपाजिट्स हैं। विदेशी बैंकों का नहीं किया। क्यों नहीं किया? मैं चाहता है कि विदेशी बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण हो। क्यों नहीं किया क्यों कि श्राप के पास हिम्मत नहीं है। ग्राप भ्रमेरिका को, रूस को, इंग्नैंड को जापान को नाराज नहीं कर सकते। ग्राप की किस्मत उन के साथ बंधी हई है। ग्रागर वह कल को पैसा देना बन्द कर दें तो ग्राप की पंचवर्षीय योज-नाएं ठप्प हो जायं। ग्राप की सारी ग्रर्थव्यवस्था दूसरों के हाथ में है। यह नाम की स्राजादी है। वास्तव में तो नकेल या तो मास्को में है या न्ययार्कया वाशिंगटन में है। इस के लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है ? क्या यह सरकार जिम्मे-दार नहीं है ? मैं जिम्मेदार हूँ या यह जिम्मेदार हैं ? कोई इसरी पार्टी इस के लिए जिम्मेदार नहीं है।

भ्रध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं उन लोगों से सहमत नहीं हैं जो राष्ट्रीयकरण की बात करें, चूकि राष्ट्रीयकरण है इसलिए ग्रच्छा ही है, इस में गलत हो ही नहीं सकता है। कछ लोग ऐसे हैं कि राष्ट्रीयकरण है इसलिए खराब है, ऐसा समभते हैं। मैं इस में विश्वास नहीं करता। ग्रगर राष्ट्रीयकरण लोगों की भलाई के लिए है मैं उस का समर्थन करू गा भीर भगर भलाई ्रकेलिए नहीं है तो हम उस का समर्थन नहीं इ करेंगे। यह कोई बहुत बड़े सिद्धांत की बात महीं है। हो सकता है कुछ लोगों के लिए सिद्धांत की बात हो। हमारी पार्टी ने बैंकों क ाराष्ट्रीयकरएम काजो विरोध किया वह कोई सिद्धात के आधार पर नहीं किया। हम यह समभते है कि माज जो भवस्था है, जैसी परि-ंश्यित बाज है उसमे अगर बैंको का राष्ट्रीय-करण होगातो सरकार के-एक गृट के हाथ में यह ताकत जामधी भीर उस ताकत का बहुत ा मलत इस्तेमास होया। मेरा भाज भी कहना

है, भ्राज जो कानून है जस. में सरकार कुछ लोगों के साथ पक्षपात न करे। कछ लोगों के साथ जिन से इन्हें पैमा मिलता है मेरा ती कहना यह है कि इन की एक साजिश है। कछ मनी बैंग्स की और सरकार की, सरकार के कछ मंत्रियों की साजिश है। साजिश क्या है कि यह समाजवाद के नाम पर कटोल करते हैं स्पीर कंट्रोल के नाम पर केवल कुछ मनी बग्स को यह सपोर्ट करते हैं जो इन को पैसा देते हैं ग्रीर जो उस पैसे के जरिये से चुनाव लड कर फिर जीत कर भाते हैं, इस तरह से यह चक्र 20 साल से चल रहा है। भीर यह है कि जो मनी बैंग इनको समर्थन देते हैं वह ग्रीर मोटे होते जाते हैं ग्रीर यह भी यहां पर जमे हए हैं। लेकिन ग्रगर ठीक तरह से कानून लागु किया जाए तो झाज देश में ऐसे कानून मौजूद हैं जिनके जिरये से कन्सेन्ट्रेशन भाफ वेल्थको खत्म कियाजा सकता है। मैं उन बैंकिंग कानुनों को यहांपर कोट नहीं करना चाहता, बैंकों से सम्बन्धित यहां पर ऐसे कानून हैं जिनके जरिए से यह सरकार तय कर सकती थी कि एग्रीकल्चर के लिए कितनी क्रेडिट फैसिलिटी होनी चाहिए, स्माल स्केल इन्डस्टीज के लिए कितनी होनी चाहिए ग्रीर इंडस्ट्रीज के लिए कितनी होनी चाहिए। क्या मैं मंी महोदय से पूछ सकता हं कि ग्रापका जो सोशल कन्ट्रोल है, भाप ने उसके अन्तर्गत पिछले दो मालों में बैंकों को कोई भी निर्देश दिया कि 30 प्रतिशत लीन एग्रीकल्चर के लिए जाष्या ? घ्रापने ऐसा नहीं किया। कानून होने के बाद भी ग्रापने ऐसा नहीं किया।

16.00 hrs.

इसी प्रकार से काले धन की बात है। झागालां की तरफ 10 या 15 लाख कपया सरकार का बाकी है। दुनिया के रिचेस्ट झाद्रमियों में उसकी गिनती होती है लेकिन सरकार उनसे यह पैसा बसूल नहीं कर सकता है। इसी तरह में और यहें बड़े कारणान्दार हैं उनके प्रसाभी लाखों करोड़ों इपया अरकार [श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त]

का बाकी है लेकिन उनसे वसूली नहीं हो सकती हैं—क्योंकि वसली होने की जरूरत ही नहीं है, एलेक्शन के दिनों में मंत्रियों के घर थैं लियां पहेंच जाती हैं भीर वह चीज ग्रागे सरक जाती है। इसलिए जब तक यह करप्ट सरकार नहीं हटाई जाती. नेशनलाइजेशन से काम नहीं जलेगा। मैं ग्रापके जरिये से इस देश की जनता को बताना चाहता है कि ग्रगर इस देश से गरीबी को समाप्त करना है, कन्सेन्ट्रेशन ग्राफ वेल्य को समाप्त करना है तो उसके लिए लोगों को एक ही काम करना पड़ेगा कि यह जो सामने बैठी हुई सरकार है इसको समाप्त करना पड़ेगा इसके सिवाय ग्रीर कोई रास्ता ही नहीं है। श्राज हमारे देश में लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं लेकिन किसी भी मिनिमम गारन्टी को देन के लिए तैयार नहीं है। सरकार ने बैंकों काराष्ट्रीयकरसाकिया। मैं उसको स्वीकार कर लेता ग्रगर प्रधान मन्त्री महोदया या सेठी साहब जोकि एक बड़े ग्रच्छे मन्त्री हैं, वे यह गारन्टी देते कि एक साल के भ्रन्दर या ज्यादा से ज्यादा 1971 तक, चुनाव से पहले पहले, लोगों को खाने के लिए रोटी देंगे।

श्री यशवस्त सिंह कुशवाह (भिड): मै गुप्ताजी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे कांग्रेस की चिन्तान करें, राष्ट्रपति चुनाव में कांग्रेस झपने झाप ही खत्म हो रही है।

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त: मैं यह कह रहा था कि मैं राष्ट्रीकरएा का समर्थन करता प्रार प्राप उसके साथ-साथ जनता को यह गारन्टी देने के लिए तैयार हों कि हम हरएक हाथ को काम देगें, प्रगर यह भी देने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं तो यह गारन्टी दी जाये कि कम से कम दोनों समय पेट भरने के लिए प्रनाज मिलेगा, प्रगर यह भी नहीं मिलता तो कम से कम धुद्ध जल की गारन्टी दे दी जाये, धीर प्रगर यह भी नहीं देते तो इस बात की ही गारन्टी दीजिए कि इस गांधी शताब्दी वर्ष में कम से कम जो हरिजन भाई हैं उनके लिए मकान या प्लाट की व्यवस्था की जायेगी। लेकिन यह सन्कार उस पैसा का इस्तेमाल गरीबों के लिए नहीं करेगी, यह तो उस पैसे को घपनी ताकत धौर पोलिटिक्ल पावर को कन्सेन्ट्रेट-करने में लगायेगी।

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एक बात भीर कहना चाहता है कि अगर माप इस देश से व स्युनिज्म की समाप्त करना चाहते हैं तो उसका एक ही रास्ता है कि देश के जो करोडों लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं, दीवार पर जो लिखा हमा है उसको पढना चाहिए, हथा का रुख क्या है उसको देखना चाहिए, जब तक उन भूखे लोगों के पेट में दो समय रोटी नहीं जायेगी तबतक यहां से कम्यूनिजम समाप्त नहीं किया जा सकता। उसके लिए हमें चाहे कुछ भीकरनापडे, कानून से करना पडे या किसी दूसरी तरह से करना पड़े, मेरी पार्टी उस काम के लिए तैयार होगी—चाहे बुछ भी करना पड़े। जब राजी में गन्दगी होगी तो मच्छर जरूर पैदा होंगे। ग्रगर भूलमरी है तो गन्दे मच्छर जरूर पैदा होगे श्रीर उनको ग्राप रोक नहीं सकते हैं। इन मच्छरों को मारने का एक ही तरीका है—घर की सफाई होनी चाहिए, घर में गन्दगी नहीं होनी चाहिए।

श्री स० मो० बनर्जी (कानपुर) :इनको ऐन्टीमलेरियामें भर्तीकर दियाजाये।

श्री कंवरलाल गुप्त: ऐन्टी मलेरिया एक ही हो सकता है कि गन्दगी में पनपने वाले जो मच्छर है बड़े बड़े, जो गरीबों को काटते हैं, गरीबों को काटतर फैलाते हैं भीर विदेशों से सहारा लेते हैं, उनको समाप्त करने का एक ही तरीका है कि झाज प्रतिज्ञा करें, चाहे कानून से या बिना कानून से, कि हरएक झादमी को दो समय खाने के लिए रोटी जरूर मिलेगी। इसके बगैर यह हो नहीं सकता है। हमारे भाइयों को समझ लेना चाहिए कि केवल इंडस्टी वालों के साथ बैठकर बात करने से काम नहीं मिलेगा। 80 प्रतिशत लोग जोक

गावों में रहते है जबतक भाप उनकी बात नहीं करेंगे, हरिजनों की बात नहीं करेंगे, उनके लिए लडेगेनहीं तबतक काम नहीं चलेगा। मेरी पार्टी ने इस बात का तहैया कर लिया है कि सरकार ने जो बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया है इसके बाद प्रब हम सरकार को मजबूर करेंगे कि वह गारन्टी देकि जो तीन हजार रुपया भायेगा वह गरीबों को कम से कम दो समय रोटी देने में लगेगा बरना हम इसके खिलाफ एजिटेशन करेंगे। उस पैसे को प्रधान मन्त्री के हाथों में दे दिया जाये जिससे वे भ्रपनी सत्ता बनाये रखें. ऐसा हम नहीं होने देंगे।... (व्यवधान)...मैं एक मिनट में समाप्त कर रहा है।

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इस समय देश में जिस प्रकार की सरकार चल रही है वह डिक्टेटरशिप की तरफ जा रही है, स्टेट-कैप्टेलिज्म की तरफ जा रही है। मुभे दुल है, जैसा की धाप भी देख रहे हैं कि राष्ट्रपति का जो चुनाव हो रहा है, क्या कभी ध्रपने ऐसाभी सुना है कि किसी पार्टी का प्रधान मंत्री प्रपनी पार्टी के प्रध्यक्ष की प्राज्ञा का उल्लंधन करे भीर मंत्री लोग लिस्टें लेकर घुम रहेहों कि इसपर दस्तवत करो कि हमें माजादी चाहिए जिसको चाहें उसको बोट दें। फिर तो इस बिल के ऊपर भी ब्राजादी चाहिए, हरएक बिल पर वोट की म्राजादी होनी चाहिए । ग्राखिर यह ग्राजादी किस लिए चाहिए ? इसलिए कि प्रधान मन्त्री की कुर्सी बनी रहे। भाज मैं वानं करना चाहता है कि भगर इस प्रकार से एक जगह पर कन्सेन्ट्रेशन हो गया तो प्रधान मन्त्रीकी उधर तो मास्को के साय के नीचे ग्रीर कृष्ण मेनन की एडवाइस के नीचे. इस देश में एक डिक्टेटरशिप पैदा ही जायेगी भौर फिर उस डिक्टेटरशिप को हटाना मुक्तिल होगा। मैं कहना चाहताहै कि इस देश के लोगों को जागना चाहिए। ये कम्यूनिस्ट पहले क्या करते हैं कि किसी एक पकड लेते हैं उसके सहारे धीर साल दो साल के बाद उस सीढी

को गिरा देते हैं। मैं इन्दिरा जी को वार्न करना चाहता हूं कि दो साल के बाद उनकी भी खैर नहीं होगी। कम्युनिस्टों के साथ कनाइवेन्स करके, मास्को के इशारे पर नाचने के लिए बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया गया 19 तारीख को लेकिन 18 तारीख को ही पीस ऐन्ड प्रोग्नेस रेडियो ने एनाउन्स किया कि हिन्दुस्तान में बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण होने वाला है। म्राखिर उनको कैसे पता लगा? यहां मोरारजी देसाई को पता नहीं, किसा दूसरे को पता नहीं फिर मास्को में कैसे पता लग गया? यह एक साजिश है। लोगों को होशियार हो जाना चाहिए।

धन्त में एक बात भीर कहना चाहना हूँ कि धगर लोगों के हित के लिए, लोगों को दो समय रोटी देने के लिए हमें कुछ चीजों का राष्ट्रीयकरएा करना भी पड़े तो वह ठीक है, उसमें हमें कोई एतराज नहीं है लेकिन एक जगह पर सत्ता कन्सेंट्रेट करके, डिक्टेटरिशप पैदा करके डिमोक्रसी को समाप्त किया जाये, उसका हम विरोध करते हैं।

श्री रराधीर सिंह (रोहनक): चेयरसैन साहब, तुक्त को पराई क्या पड़ी, प्रपनी नवेड़ तू । गुप्ता जी को हमारी बड़ी फिक्त होती है, प्रधान मंत्री की बड़ी फिक्त होती है। घरे भाई धपना मकान साफ कर लो, दूसरों की घापको क्या फिक्त है। प्रधान मंत्री के सामने कांग्रेस का घपना प्रोग्राम है—टेन प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम है। वह जनता के प्रोग्राम हैं, उनको वह चलायेंगी। घाप को फिक्त यह पड़ती है कि प्रोग्राम की हम कर लें तो इन की दुकान खत्म हो जायेगी। इनकी घपनी दुकान, हलवा मांडे की फिक्त है। घाप फिकर न करें हम घपना प्रोग्राम करेंगे।

जहां तक इस रिजोल्यूशन का ताल्लुक है, यह एक बड़ी गम्भीर बात है कि देश को भाजाद हुए 20,22 साल हो गये लेकिन गरीब की हालत में कोई सुधार नहीं हुधा है भ्रमीर भीर गरीब की भाभदनी ंश्री **र**णधीर सिंह]

का फर्क वढ़ता जा रहा है । इसको हमें तोड़ना है और उनकी रोटी, कपड़ा, मकान दबादारू, तालिम श्रीर रोजगार के मसले को हल करना है। गांवों में खास तौर पर जो कम-जोर तबका है और शहरों में जो मजदूर, बैक-वर्ड या छोटी ननस्वाह वाले मुल'जिम हैं या छोटे हुकानदार हैं उनकी हालत हो बेहतर बनाना है और गांव में जो गंवगी है, जहां सड़कों नहीं हैं, पीने के पानी का इन्तजाम नहीं है, इन सबका बन्दोबस्त करना है। जहां श्रस्पताल नहीं हैं, हरिजन को रोटी देने का सवाल है इ बहा हमको हर चीज का पूरा इन्तजाम करना होगा। श्रीर इन चीजों के लियं रुपया चाहिय, साधन चाहियें। वे साधन हैं कहां ?

जहां तक किसान का सवाल है बहुत टैक्स है। शायद दुनिया के किसी तबके पर इतनः दैक्सन हो। जितना हरिजन है वह म्रीर टैक्स नहीं दे सकता। यही हालत बैकवर्ड श्रीर ग्रादिवासियों की है। तो देश की 85 90 फीसदी जनता टैक्स नहीं दे सकती है फिर रुपया भ्रायमा कहां से ? रुपया या तो श्रमरीकासेलायाजाय भीरदेश का गुलाम बनादें, जैसाकि ईस्ट इंडिया कम्पनी के जमान में हुन्ना था वह हम नहीं करेंगे। हमें किसी देश का साया नहीं चाहिये फिर सव ल उठता है कि रुपया धाये कहां से । इस बारे में मेरी गुजारिश है कि जहां से रिसोर्सेज पैदा होंगे वे शोर्सेज इस रिजोल्यशन में है। जहां तक किसान की जमीन का सवाल है उस पर तो सीलिंग होगी। इसम फालतू ग्रागर जमीन को रिड्यूस करोगेती इस देश में 40 फीसदी तीन एक इन्जमीन वाले है भीर 60 फीसदी एक एकड़ जमीन वाले हैं, भीर जहां इतनी छोटी-छोटी होस्डिंग भीर इतनी गरीबी है उनके ऊपर तो बाप कुछ कर नहीं सकते। किसान का तो नेशनेलाइजेशन हो ं गगाः उस पर् तो भापने सीलिंग लगा दी।। भव रह गये सोंघी साहब और इनके रिक्ते**दार जन-** संघ वाले, जिन को पकड़ना होगा। शहर की स्नर्कन प्रौपर्टी के ऊपर श्रापको सीलिंग लगानी हो ी।

SHRI M. L. SONDHI (New Delhi): It is a permissible interjection. Let him state his views on nationalisation just for the sake of clarity.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: When your Party Members spoke they heard them patiently. You should also have the same patience.

श्री रुए घीर सिंह: ग्रर्बन प्रौपर्टी पर हमें सीलिंग लगानी पहेंगी। १० एकड जमीन की कीमत हमारे यहां 2,3 लाख रु० ज्यादा जिस के पास शहर में जायदाद है उसकी सरप्लस जायदाद को लेना चाहिये। मेरा हिसाब है कि ग्रगर शहर पर पाबन्दी लगा दें, भीर 2, 3 लाख रु० की जायदाद पर फेमली छोड कर मरकार सरप्लस जायदाद को लेले किसान से जमीन को लिया है, तो काफी रकम सरकार को मिल सकती है ग्रीर उससे सारे हिन्द्स्तान के हरिजनों, बैकवर्ड, ग्रादिवासियों के मकान पवके बन सकते हैं : 30,000 करोड रु० सरकार कहां से लाय मकान बनाने के लिए जब कि हर छै में पांच मकान कच्चे हैं ग्रीर चार मकान द्वाये साल बारिश में गिर जाते हैं। तो उन लोगों को जिन को दो वक्त खाना नहीं मिलना, उन लोगो को भी सरकार को देखना चाहिये। उनका भी पेट भरवा है. उनका कपड़ा मकान देना है, भीर यह धर्बन प्रीपर्टी पर सीलिंग लगाकर सकते हैं।

मुक्ते खुशी है कि सरकार उस तजवीज के ऊपर गौर कर रही है। इसलिये में चाहूँगा कि इस रिजोल्यूशन में जो चीज है उसकी किया जाय।

दूसरी बात फौरन इन्वेस्टमेंट की है। करोड़ों, अन्बों रुपयां हमारे देश में आया हुआ है और उसले करोडों स्पया आमदनी का काम कर बाहर के जाते हैं। यह भी बन्द किया बाना चाहिये । हमारा रुपया मुनाफा कमा कर बाहर देशों में जाये यह उत्तित नहीं है ।

फारेन ट्रेड के मुतालिक मुक्ते यह कहना है कि किसान कमाता है ग्रीर उसकी 40 रुपया मन बेचता है तो मिडिल मैन उस में 30 रुपया कमाता है। हिरयाणा में 100 रु० भाव है तो बंगलौर में 175 रु० भाव है। तो यह जो बीच में ऐक्सप्लायटर्ज हैं उनको खत्म करना चाहिये। इसी तरह से जो तरह से जो विदेशों से ग्राड़न करते हैं उनके मुनाफे का प्राप अन्दाजा लगाश्ये। ग्राय उनके हाथों में जो रुपया जाता है उसको मोबिलाइज किया जाय ग्रीर वह रुपया मजदूर, मेहनतक स्र हिरजन को दिया जाय तो यह एक ग्रच्छी बात होगी। सरकार इस पर ध्यान करे ग्रीर फारेन ट्रंड को हेशन लाइज करे।

जनरल इंद्योरेंस को ग्रभी छोड रखा है। दुसरे इंद्योरेंस को ग्रापने नेशनलाइज कर दिया। जनरल इंड्योरेंस से भी इतनी धामदनी है जितनी दूसरों से है। ग्रगर ग्राप क्रोप इंस्यो-रेंस करेंगे कैटिल इन्ह्योरेंस करेंगे भ्रौर उसके साथ साथ गरीब हरिजन के मकान की इंश्योरेंस होगीतो सरकार को रुपया भी मिलेगा ग्रीर यह गरीब लोगों के लिए ग्रन्छा होगा। जब श्राप कार, रिवज्ञा, फॅबटरियो भीर सोंघी साहब इंस्योरेस करते है के मकानका का भी मवान ६वर्वेलिटी प्राफ होन चाहिए । इसलिये श्रपौचुं निटी होनी चाहिय चाहिये । भगर मौका मिलना इंदयोरेंस को स्राप नेशनलाइज करेंगे तो करोड़ों रुपये साल की भ्रामदनी सरकार को होगी जिस को देश के डेवलपमेंट के लिये खर्च किया सकता है।

साल में दुनिया भर का रूपया ये लोग खा जाते हैं। रा मैटीरियल लेते हैं, 80 फीमदी ब्लैक में बेच देते हैं। टाटा ग्रीर बिङ्ला करोड़ों रु० परमिट के नाम से वैसे ही खा जाते है ग्रीर पूरे:एडमिनिस्ट्रोशन कोंक स्टब्ट बना रखा है। भगर 1,000 रु० का मुनाफा होता है तो 500 रिये परमिष्ट दिलाने वाले सा जाते हैं। मैं ¹⁷ वाहता हूँ कि जहाँ करोड़ों भीर भरवों रुपये का फायदा हो भीर नेशन के डेबल स्मेंट के लिये इस्तेमाल में भा सकता हो भीर जिससे ऐसे लोगों का खात्मा होता हो, ती वह भी किया जाया।

एक चीज के मैं खिलाफ हूँ भीर वह है डीमौनेटाइजेशन वाली बात, क्योंकि उसके बारे में मैं श्रापना मन नहीं बना पाया हूँ मुफ्ते डर है कि इससे कहीं गरीब किसान न मारा जाय । बाशि को बातें इस रिजोल्यूशन में हैं जैसे भवंन प्रीपर्टी पर सीजिंग, फोरन ट्रेड का नेशनेलाइजे-शन, जनरल इंक्योरेंस ग्रौर स्टील इंडस्ट्रो का नेशनेलाइजेशन उसकी मैं हिमायत करता हूँ ग्रीर चाहता हूँ कि सरकार रिजाल्यूशन की. बातों का ध्यान में रखे, भोर वह उसके ध्यान में स्टी

> 'गया दौर सरमायेदारी गया, तमाशा दिखा कर मदारी गया"

इनके दिन खत्म हो गये हैं जनसंघ वालों के। भीर दूसरे लोग भी यहां बैठे हुए हैं। उनः के दिन भी खत्म हो गये। सरमायेदारों के दिन खत्म हो गये। भाई० सी० एस० वालों ने व रोडों रुपयों की जायदादें बना लीं. दिन खत्म हो गये। एक दिन द्वायेगा जब छोटे से छोटे धीर बडे-बडे लोगों की तनस्वाहों में री 🔻 श्रीर 10 का हिलाब होगा । धगर छोटे से छोटे को 200 रु० तो बडे से बडे को 2,000 मिलेगा। यह नहीं होगा कि निजास को तो करोडों रुपये ग्रीर एक चपरासी को 50 भ्रव सरमायेदारी का दौर खत्म हो रहा है। जब कभी इन्कलाब होता है। तो पिंचग होती है भीर पार्टियां मजबूत बनती हैं। भ्रगर भ्रापः धन्दाजा लगायें तो ग्राप देखेंगे कि ष्पागे बढेगा, हमारा कदम आगे बढेगा, गरीब की पुछ होनी। जैसे बैका का नशलाइजे-शन हुन्नावैसे ही हमारे कदम भीर भागे वढ़ेंगे और सही मानों में श्राफताब हुसू होता ।

[श्रीरगाधीरसिंह] गरीवकी पूछ होगी ग्रीर देश प्रास्पेरिटी की तरफ जायगा।

मैं इस रेजोल्यूशन की ताईद करता हूँ और गवर्नमेंट से चाहूँगा कि वह इसकी स्पिरिट को मंजूर करे और अपनी तरफ से कोई रेजो-ल्यूशन लाये ताकि गवर्नमेंट और पार्टी की इज्जत बढ़े और उसका उदय हो।

SHRI K. ANIRUDHAN (Chirayinkil): I am glad to support the Resolution moved by a member of the Congress Party.

Some years ago before independence, the Congress passed a resolution at Karachi favouring nationalisation of banks, foreign trade and all major sectors of production and distribution. But even after 20 years of independence, those at the helm of affairs would not implement it. It was only very recently that Government has came out with a proposal to nationalise 14 major banks.

From Kanyakumari to Kashmir, from Dwaraka to Assam, if you talk to any person, everyone is dissatisfied with the existing system. If you talk to a student, he will be sentimental, at the same time he will be perverted; if you talk to an NGO, he will show his thorough disgust with the existing order of things. Talk to a senior government official and you will be disguested; talk to a medical officer and there will be confusion; talk to a man at the helm, a politician, he is disguested with politics. Things have come to such a pass that the existing system has gone to dogs. So we should enunciate a new policy and radically change the existing system. I think the hon, lady has brought forward the correct Resolution at the correct time.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: But at the correct time, she has gone away.

SHRI K. ANIRUDHAN: May be. But she has brought forward the correct resolution at the correct time.

I come from Kerala, the southernmost State. Some 50-60 years ago, some Europeans came there and the Government was kind enough to provide them thousands of acres of land, all for a song, Now they are minting money, sending out Jakhs and Jakhs in black money. Most of these plantations, specially, rubber, cardamom and tea, are owned by the Britishers, like K. D. Estate, Travancore Tea Estate etc. So also in Assam, most of the plantations are British. Even after 20 years of independence they are allowed to mint crores and get away with them. So the suggestion for nationalisation of these estates is welcome.

mentioned about the prevailing discentent all round. Last year, when the Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University addressed a mieting of students, he said that the position of educated unemployment was worsening. Even engineering and medical graduates are without jobs, In my part of the country, I know that the number of ablebodied educated unemployed, who have passed matriculation, intermediate or BA, exceeds 13 lakhs. They are between the ages 18 and 25. This is the outcome of the existing system which the Congress Government has been carrying on for the past 22 vears

Shri Gupta mentioned about the convenient atmosphere we had with an eminent leader for 14-16 years. In a convenient atmosphere in a democratic country the country continued to be ruled by convenient people. The time has come for some radical changes. If you go to a town or village, you will find a number of persons taking shelter in the slums. In the context of our talk about socialist pattern, it is really a tragedy. We should do something so that they could keep their body in some shelter. More than fifty per cent of our people do not have two square meals a day. Should we not find some methods to improve their situation? Our educated unemployed is increasing every year. The crisis in the Indian economy is deepening. We should find some method so that there can be some radical change in the existing system. We should nationalise not only the major banks but other banks also; in addition we should take over foreign trade and other institutions to free the country from the stranglehold of big foreign business houses. I support the resolution and I hope that the hon. Member who is conspicuous by her absence will not withdraw this resolution at the last moment.

SHRI UMANATH (Pudukkottai): On a point of order about the conduct of

the mover of the resolution which we are discussing. According to the procedures of this House, if a Minister moves a Bill on behalf of the Government, he has got to be present in the House. The hon. Speaker has held on several occasions that the absence of the concerned Minister amounted to contempt of the House. He was sent for ; sometimes the proceedings of the House were stopped for a few minutes and the Minister came rushing in. If the Mover is not there, Members speak only in the air. He has also to take notes of the various points made during the course of the discussion and ultimately reply to them. When the time comes. he or she must also say whether the resolution is withdrawn or not.

In the present case the absence of Mrs. Tarkeshwari Sinha who is the mover amounts to a contempt of the House. She may have been motivated by factional considerations in moving this resolution; she is free to do anything. But she should not treat the House with utter contempt like this. In her absence the whole debate looks like a force.

Surely, it is the property of the House once it had been moved and we can discuss it. But the conduct of the Member is highly reprehensible. I request you to make some observations on this point and send for her even at this stage when we are about to conclude the discussion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I do not think it is contempt of the House. The House is in possession of the resolution. Probably she does not like to press the resolution for a vote.

SHRI UMANATH: She must come and tell the House that she does not press this resolution to a vote. This is unfair.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please listen to me. Her absence, of course, indicates the same.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I have only one submission. You have already given your ruling. I bow to your ruling. But one thing is definite. At the time of pressing the motion, if she does not come, then who should press? That is the main question.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mandal.

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA (Kaliabor): I am the next person to be called.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I know, but he is going away. He wants only two or three minutes. Now, Mr. Mandal—absent.

BEDABRATA BARUA: Mr. Chairman, Sir, on the face of it, this resolution states all that can be expected at least in the immediate future from a Government which swears by socialist forces. far as the socialist intentions are concerned, in the context of the present day India, certain measures have to be carried out. I do not understand the sophistication of some people who rather curiously abound in so many places, who would like to say that they would swear by socialism; they would like the unemployed to be given employment : they would like jobs to be created; they would like the poor to be given more facilities; they would like industrial development; they would like the removal of corruption and all these things. But when it comes to certain concrete measures, these very people who would be walking with their heads in the clouds, would immediately start saying, unite with the conservatives. In Indian conservatism, we are not conservatives but reactionaries, because conservatism in western countries wants to preserve the free competition by which the prices are lowered to the rock bottom. Here, conservatism means preservation of profits which are made by selling goods at two or three times the world prices. So, I do not call them conservatives, but conservatists tend to become radicals, and they club together.

Once a concrete step is proposed, whether it is a subjective opposition or a straight opposition, the opposition is there, and even the intentions are not recognised or admit-This type of opposition leads one to talk of irrelevancies; this style leads one to talk of generalities of State capitalism, as if the nationalisation of banks in a vast country like India, taking over the credit institutions. goes very far. First of all, it would be only investment that will be controlled. would not be the ownership of the industries that will come under this. How can there be State capitalism then? How can it be dictatorship? All types of absurd arguments were given. Ministers are caught up very easily it is said that the representatives of the people, the MP's, and Ministers are paid

[Shri Bedabrata Barua]

much better than the common people. But this cannot be an argument for supporting, if it is so, the vested intereets in the country. For instance, even Vinobha Bhave said that "When I take goat's milk, I know that I am taking away something from the common people." He was conscious of this fact. facts, in society where there is difference of opinion, we do mean certain things. have got officers to control; we have ourselves created the IAS; we have created public enterprises, ambassadors and gover-We know that that pattern has to be maintained, that system, the centralised administration, with vast industrial complexes will be there. The men who control them would not be beggars. There would have to be certain facilities and advantages; and we should relieve them from the drudgeries of ordinary life. They would have to have more leisure and more comforts. Possibly, in this culture that we have, in these matters, today, it would not be fair to make Ministers look very small before the persons whom you would control.

It is no good doing that. But it is not that these things are raised as one friend from the Jana Sangh raised this question. Curiously I found recently the ideology of Lana Sangh very, very interesting. They think, mosquitoes breed somewhere (Interruption.)

भी हुकम चग्द कछत्राय (उज्जैन) : ग्रापकी समक्ष में नहीं भाएगी ।

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA: I would assure Shri Kachwai that it is very difficult to understand the ideology of the Jana Sangh, It is a difference of generations.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय: प्रापका दिमाग खाली है।

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA: It is for the House to decide which head is empty.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI: Is he attacking the working class? Shri Kachwai belongs to the working class.

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA: When I am paid in some coin, I pay back in the

same coin...(Interruption.) A man may belong to the working class. I may belong to the working class or anybody else may belong to the working class. I am not concerned with that: I am concerned with ideas and on which side we stand.

Mosquitoes breed in stagnant waters. When there is dynamism and change, in a flowing river or current there are no mosquitoes. These policies that have been poposed do have a topicality: the only thing is that they cannot just be flaunted about. We must try to find out how exactly one lives up to these policies.

Nationalisation is a policy. There are many people who would say, "I am going to implement nationalisation; I also believe in nationalisation." That does not make him a believer in the welfare of the people. He can believe in the welfare of the people when he has an emotional attachment to the type of aims that nationalisation points at. Therefore, 't is not just a question of saying that these measures have to be taken.

I would disagree with those who would say that everyone of these measures have their pitfalls. When you have one type of economy, it has its dangers and when you have another type of economy that also has its dangers. When you nationalise banks, you will have to face new types of problems. But we will have to face them if a social change is to be brought about. If a social change is not to be brought about because problems will be created, one is nothing but a reactionary, a man who would like to put the clock back. There is absolutely no doubt about it.

As I said, I have found it difficult to understand the ideology of the Jana Sangh. They would ridicule the Ten Commandments. They say one thing and do another. economy is dominated by foreign capital. is is so, the only solution lies in the implementation of exactly these policies. It is no use opposing policies that want to put the country on a sound basis, on a basis of selfsufficiency, which would develop the country and would take foreign trade from the hands of those people who are using it to their own advantage, which would make resources available. Nationalisation of foreign trade, it is estimated, would make hundreds of crores of rupees available. We have to take

every one of these measures, whether it is foreign trade or general insurance. The steel industry is already nationalised more or less. I do not know about foreign investment; that is a matter of policy We certainly would need to take over foreign investments as and when necessary but then the matter has to be examined not only economically but also politically. We must take a very great leap forward and try to take over foreign investments that have been pressurising us, that have particularly been used against our country's interest, to subjugate us to their interest or to exploit our people in a particular way.

So far as ceiling on urban property is concerned, I do hope the Government will consider the matter and put a ceiling on urban property. This is insultingour people and this insult should not continue. Urban property should be so distributed that everyone feels at least that there is not that concentration of urban property which is the bane of our present cultural and social life.

So far as demonetisation is concerned, it is only a means. The point is to bring out black money. I think, the black money will come out. We have got certain controls. It is no use saying that the liberty of thoe people who control our economy is the only type of liberty.

Our people would be free if we get rid of those stagnating influences that retard the development of the country.

16.40 hrs.

RE. ABSENCE OF DEPUTY SPEAKER

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am directed by the Speaker to read out a letter received by him from the Deputy-Speaker of Lok Sabha. It reads:

"Dear Shri Dhillon,

I was rather surprised to find that the question of my absence has been raised on the floor of the House yesterday. You might remember I have already informed you that for some days I would not be able to attend the House as I am under medical treatment and I have been advised to avoid continuous physical and mental strain. I have also men-

tioned that I may have to run to Bombay as my brother is in a hospital undergoing treatment after a severe and sudden heart attack. In case any further enquiries are made, kindly inform the Members accordingly.

With regards,

Yours sincerely, Sd/- R. K. Khadilkar"

SHRI M. L. SONDHI: Please convey to him our concern and our best wishes for his early recovery.

16.41 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE, NATIONALISATION OF FOREIGN TRADE, GENERAL INSURANCE, ETC.—Contd.

भी यश्चाल सिंह (देहराइन): सभापति महोदय, कांग्रेस सरकार हिन्द्स्तान के एक मील क्षेत्र में भी समाजवाद नहीं ला सकी है. जब कि बहुनारा लगाती है समाजवाद का। यह तो एक बोट कैचिंग डियाइस है। पिछले 22 मालों में देश में गरीबी का इतना लाइब नृत्य हमा है कि खुद सरकार स्वीकार करती है कि इस देश के 28 करोड इन्सानों की रोजाना ग्रामदनी सात ग्रामे से ज्यादा नहीं है। फिर भी यह सरकार सम!जवाद लाने **ा दावा** करती है। देश 🖘 वह कौन सा भाग है. जहां समाजवाद भ्रागया है ? भीर तो भीर, इस हाउस में भी समाजवाद नहीं भाषा है। गक गम० पी० की नस्≢बाह 500 **रुपये है.** जब कि वजीरे धाजम की तन्कवाह 5.000 रुपये है। यह सरकार लोगों को बहकाने के जिए समाजबाद का नारा लगाती है।

महातमा गांधी एक भादमं के लिए खड़े थे। वह गीना माता के इस भादशें पर चलते थे: "भुंजते त्वस्रं पापा, ये पचन्त्यात्मकारणत्"। बापू ने जिस राष्ट्र का निर्माण करना चाहा चा, उस का निर्माण नहीं हो रहा है। समाजबाद तो एक बोट मांगने का तरीका बना हुमा है।

धमरीका में जो कृत्ते धाये हैं जो कातिजी