

13.02 hrs.

**PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE**

**FORTY-THIRD REPORT**

**Shri Morarka (Jhunjhunu):** I beg to present the Forty-third Report of the Public Accounts Committee on Appropriation Accounts (P.&T.), 1963-64 and Audit Report (P.&T.), 1965.

13.02½ hrs.

**MOTION ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.**

**Mr. Speaker:** Further consideration of the motion of thanks on the President's Address, together with amendments moved thereon. Shri Omkar Singh to continue his speech.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hosangabad):** Sir, before the debate is resumed, I wish to point out one thing. Yesterday, you are aware, when the debate was in progress, the Treasury Benches were vacant, and not a single Minister was present, not a single Cabinet Minister was present.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have told them.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** I would suggest a remedy. If not even a single Cabinet Minister is present on the treasury Benches, I suggest that the time taken to summon Cabinet Ministers to the Treasury Benches should be debited to the Congress party's account. Otherwise, parliamentary democracy cannot function.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I have already said that I have brought this matter to their notice.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** But they are incorrigible.

**श्री श्रीकार सिंह (बदायूँ) :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, कल मैं खाद्य समस्या के बारे में

निवेदन कर रहा था। उसी सिलसिले में मुझे यह भी निवेदन करना है, अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपके द्वारा कि सरकार ने जोन परिपाटी जो चलाई है उससे मुझे बड़ा ताज्जुब होता है। इस देश के एक हिस्से के लोग भूखे मरें और दूसरे प्रान्तों के मुख्य मन्त्री लोग यह निर्णय करें कि हम अपने प्रान्त से गल्ला दूसरे प्रान्त को नहीं दे सकते। कितने दुख की बात है कि इस हमारी भूखमरी पर भ्रमरीका हमारे लिये त्याग कर सकता है लेकिन हमारे प्रान्तों के मुख्य मन्त्री लोग त्याग नहीं कर सकते। यह कितने शर्म की बात है। भूखमरी के लिये खाद्य संकट के लिये जोन की जो परिपाटी है, यह बहुत हानिकारक रही है। इस को तुरन्त दूर कर देना चाहिये। एक कोने के लोग भूखे रहें और दूसरे कोने में गल्ला जमा रहे, यह किसी भी तरह उचित नहीं है और इससे ऐसी सूखत पैदा हो गई है कि जिससे गल्ले का उत्पादन भी नहीं बढ़ रहा है।

आज सरकार के विभागों में एक दूसरे से सहयोग की भावना घटती आ रही है और उसके कारण कार्यक्षमता बराबर गिरती आ रही है और अगर ऐसी सूखत चली रही तो आगे काम किस तरीके से चलेगा। एक विभाग दूसरे विभाग को सहयोग न दे, उल्टे झड़गा डालता रहे, तो कार्यक्षमता बराबर गिरती चली जायेगी। आज 18 साल से बराबर ऐसी सूखत देखने में आ रही है और इस का मुख्य कारण जो है, वह सरकार की गलत नीति है। जब सेंटर से बात करने में मुख्य मंत्री लोग इस बात पर अपना निर्णय करते हैं कि हम सेंटर की किसी बात को न मानें और अपने प्रान्त का गल्ला दूसरे प्रान्त को न दें तो इसी तरह से सरकार के विभागों के कर्मचारियों में इस प्रकार की भावना बढ़ती चली जा रही है और एक दूसरे से सहयोग न मिलने

### [श्री श्रींकार सिंह]

के कारण काम में रुकावट बढ़ती जा रही है।

साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी परिवार नियोजन योजना जो सरकार चला रही है, इस में काफी धन खर्च होता है। परन्तु जितना धन खर्च होता है, उसका उतना लाभ नहीं मिल पाता है। इसके लिये हमारी पुरानी परिपाटी बहुत उत्तम थी। हम अपने लोगों को नैतिक उत्थान और धार्मिक शिक्षा की बातें बतलाते थे, जिसके अनुसार हम अपने जीवन में चार आश्रम मानते थे। पहला ब्रह्मचर्य, दूसरा गृहस्थ आश्रम, तीसरा वानप्रस्थ और चौथा सन्यास, उस से हमारे देश में काफी सुविधाएँ होती थीं। परन्तु आज जिस तरीके से हम विदेशों की बातों पर बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं और उनके नैतिक उत्थान की दबावें चले जा रहे हैं और तमाम बच्चों में यूरोप की नकल करना चाहते हैं, यूरोप की नकल से हमारे देश का भला होने वाला नहीं है। हम को अपने देश की परिपाटी को फिर से याद करना पड़ेगा, और हम को इस किस्म की शिक्षा प्रनियंत्रण करनी पड़ेगी, लोगों के अंदर जागृति पैदा करनी पड़ेगी, ताकि लोग अपना यह कर्त्तव्य समझें, यह न समझें कि यह सरकार का कर्त्तव्य है, बल्कि सारे देश के हर नागरिक या यह कर्त्तव्य ही कि वह धर्म का पालन करे और अपने आश्रम के हिसाब से उसको चले। इस परिवार योजना से तो व्यभिचार को बड़ा उत्साह और प्रोत्साहन मिलता है, इसलिये यह हमारे देश के लिये बहुत हानिकारक है।

कल मैंने, अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह निवेदन भी किया था कि चीन जब एटम-बम बना रहा है तो आज भारत में भी एटम बम बनाने की आवश्यकता है

और इसके लिये सरकार को जल्द से जल्द इस तरफ अपना कदम उठाना चाहिये। क्या लाभ होगा कि जब हम खाली बातें बनाते रहेंगे, खाली झगड़ते रहेंगे और चीन अपना एटम बम बना कर हम पर दारुता करना शुरू कर देगा। जैसा कि पिछले दिनों चीन ने हम पर आक्रमण किया था और उस वकत हमारी तैयारी न होने के कारण जो हमारी दशा हुई, हमारे देश को जो क्षति पहुँची और आज चीन ने जिस हिस्से को भारत से ले लिया है, उस को हम वापस नहीं ले पाये हैं और न सरकार ही इस बारे में विश्वास के साथ कोई बात बतला सकती है कि हम उसको लेना चाहते हैं या नहीं लेंगे, तथा कब और कैसे लेंगे। इसलिये मैं फिर आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि एटम-बम बनाना प्रति जरूरी हो गया है।

साथ ही साथ कार्तकारों के लिये सुविधाएँ पानी की विशेष रूप से देनी चाहियें और सरकार को इस तरफ अपना कदम उठाना चाहिये और खेत-खेत पानी को पहुँचायें। अगर पानी पहुँच जायगा तो अवश्य अनाज का उत्पादन बढ़ जायेगा। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता 8 परसेंट गल्ले की कमी बताई जाती है कभी कभी बतलाया जाता है कि 12 परसेंट है। कभी-कभी अखबारों से ऐसा मालूम होता है कि हम हर तीसरी रोटी विदेश की खाते हैं। पता नहीं कौन सी बात ठीक है। सरकार मंके-मौजे पर अपनी इच्छानुसार अपनी तरफ से जो चाहती है आंकड़े दे देती है तथा स्थिति को सही समझना बड़ा मुश्किल हो जाता है। मेरा क्याल है कि गल्ले की इतनी कमी नहीं है, जितनी की सरकार के विचार में है। सरकार लोगों को वहकावे में डालना चाहती है। गल्ले की कमी थोड़ी है और वह इस देश की भूमि

से पूरी हो सकती है। इस लिये मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार माइन्दा के लिये इन चीजों से बचे और देश के अंदर गुल्लक पैदा कर के अपने परों पर खड़ी हो। मध्यममहोदय अन्त में मैं धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

**Shri Shiv Charan Gupta (Delhi Sadar):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the year under review is the last year of the Third Five Year Plan and within the next few weeks the country will enter the Fourth Five Year Plan. There is shortfall in the targets of almost all the factors. There have been tremendous stresses and strains on the economy, administration and the people, on account of the Chinese aggression in 1962 and the Pakistani aggressions last year. Our jawans fought with courage and valour; the people faced the situation with a united will and solidarity, and the Government gave a bold, farsighted lead to the country under the august leadership of the late-lamented Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri on the strong edifice built by the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Tashkent Declaration is in keeping with our foreign policy and our honour and dignity. Shri Shastri showed to the world that if India could fight valiantly for its national honour and integrity, it could equally rise to the occasion to bring peace to 600 million people of India and Pakistan.

Now we are in the midst of serious challenges. There is the foreign exchange crisis, fall in agricultural production, low industrial production, rise in prices, the problem to check growth of monopolies, and how we should strengthen our defence and streamline our intelligence service.

Besides these problems, there is the great problem of Plan imple-

mentation. I regret to say that unless government pays adequate attention to this part of the plan, the results would be none the better, when we review progress, at the end of the Fourth Plan. There has been discussion about this and while the plans have been formulated, this problem has always been before the Government, but unfortunately nothing has been done in a substantial manner; and, we remain where we are.

At the time of the Third Plan, it was said that in the present functioning of the administration, consultation with other authority is not always confined to broader matters; instead, it is too frequent and too concerned with details and, therefore, impedes effective action. Further it is said that for the creation of any programme or project, the primary need is to fix specific responsibility on the agency concerned and, within it, on particular individuals. Within defined limits, each individual should be given full responsibility and with it, the necessary measure of support and trust. If he fails in the discharge of his responsibility, he should be replaced. But, so long as he holds the office with which he is entrusted, he should accept all its obligations, and, equally he should be placed in a position effectively to discharge them. Government might have taken action against those officers who have been charged with corruption. But I fail to find any instance where an officer has been punished for not discharging his responsibilities properly.

In this connection, this is what our Vice-President, Dr. Zakir Husain said in 1963:

"The present administration has inherited some of that exclusive forbidding touch-me-not-ness, some of that stand-offish sense of superiority, some of that lack of sympathetic understanding which

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was associated with the administrator of the past. It also inherited, perhaps, some of that lack of initiative only natural in a circumstance where points of initiative were mostly occupied by foreigner. It also inherited some of those narrow loyalties of community and caste and language and region which could flourish and grow under foreign rule, for allegiance to those narrower loyalties did not place any higher and larger loyalties in the jeopardy. These and similar habits and attitudes cling to the administrators as remnants of a past they can never do too much to shake off."

There cannot be a better appraisal of the situation than what has been done by so eminent a person as Dr. Zakir Hussain, who is our Vice-President. It is very essential that this problem is given attention to. Otherwise, I am afraid this morass of administration will upset all the efforts of the government in raising the standard of this country and bringing planned progress to the people.

**Shri D. C. Sharma** (Gurdaspur): What about the Delhi Administration?

**Shri Shiv Charan Gupta:** It is none the better.

It is good that the Administrative Reforms Commission has been appointed and no less a person than Morarjibhai is its Chairman. May I ask whether government will not do anything till the report of that commission is out? There are other matters which can be attended to without any difficulty—the fictitious and chaotic routine procedures of administration.

For instance, there was an instruction that no paper should remain on a file for more than 24 hours. I am sure if this one instruction is fol-

lowed, a lot of inefficiency and corruption will disappear. But for that, the heads of administration are required to be very vigilant and active. Similarly the job as to how to deal with the public is also important. Similarly, the supervisory staff generally sit in their offices and do not move in the field. That is how our various problems are aggravated rather than solved.

Coming to the foreign-exchange crisis, no doubt a committee has been appointed for import substitution. I would suggest that immediate steps should be taken to encourage import substitution, if we want that industries in this country should go on. At present, there is a great crisis and most of the industries are nearing closure. Unless some immediate steps are taken, there will be difficulty.

I would also request government to consider whether it is desirable to import items like stainless steel and raw cotton and artificial silk yarn which are required for manufacturing luxury items. If in the face of the present crisis, it is proposed to import such items at the cost of other items needed for the development of the country, we can easily imagine the results.

Coming to the question of agricultural production, there has been undue and harsh criticism of the Food and Agriculture Minister. Whatever steps are taken by the government for 1966-67, it is a patent fact that our agriculture still depends upon nature. The dual responsibility of the Central Government and the State Governments does not allow the Central Government to do much in this regard. It is regrettable that some years ago at the Nagpur Congress session it was decided that set-vid cooperatives should be encouraged and developed. But unfortunately they could not be developed to the extent desired, with the

result that the poor peasant is still suffering and it is ultimately affecting our agricultural production. It is a well-known fact that even a country like Russia suffered from food shortage. In spite of their mechanised means of cultivation, they could not produce adequate food and they had to depend upon imports from USA. Similar is the position in other countries also. But we are not to be guided by that. We have to take steps to see that production in our country increases.

I agree that what has happened in Bengal should not have happened. Instead of the remedies resorted to by the West Bengal Government like repression, they should have resorted to persuasion. They should not have used bullets, instead of giving rice to the poor people there.

I have a report from the Food Ministry—Review of the Food Situation. In page four of this report it is said:

"It is intended under the scheme to provide a nutritive diet to children, nursing and expectant mothers, the aged and the infirm."

I am sure the Food Minister would not be unaware of the difficulties of landless labourers in the villages. They have no foodgrains there. They are not producing foodgrains themselves. They have to depend upon the open market for meeting their requirements. When the Food Minister said that a scheme is sought to be evolved to provide a nutritive diet to children, nursing and expectant mothers, the aged and the infirm, some positive scheme should have been evolved to provide food for the landless labourers. Last year, I happened to go to a village in Uttar Pradesh and I saw that people were living on sweet potatoes. The tolerance of our people has become proverbial. This thing cannot go on for a long time. Therefore, it is essential that these land-

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less labourers, these small agriculturists, who do not produce enough foodgrains for themselves, are also taken care of and some scheme should be evolved by the Government to provide food for them as otherwise there will be difficulties.

Sir, the problem of rise in price is there. The late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, and now our present Prime Minister, Shri Indira Gandhi, have emphasised more than once that essential commodities should be provided at fair price to vulnerable sections of the society—that is, the landless labourers, the poor people, the lower and lower middle-class people, government servants etc. I am afraid nothing substantial has been done in the last 15 or 18 months in that connection and the condition of these people continues to be bad if not worse.

Now, bonus has been declared by the Government. It is essential, it is important to check and to assess whether the bonus scheme given to government servants and others is sufficient to offset the strain of the rise in prices on their meagre wages.

I now come to the Fourth Five Year Plan. I would submit that the hotch-potch policy, loose thinking and inefficient implementation will not take us any further. Sir, if you see the condition of the landless labourers and you see the condition of the 42 per cent cultivators who are holding less than one acre and in the aggregate only 1.2 per cent of the operated land in this country, the conditions are very bad there. If we want that the conditions of the rural areas should improve it is very essential that village industries should be created in the rural areas. I should say, from the present record it is hardly possible to conclude that the steps so far taken will create any impact on the economic life of the rural population. It is necessary to define the scope of village small-scale and large industries so that un-

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due competition may be avoided and it is clearly known what industries are to be established in different sections.

If we wish to establish a self-reliant and self-contained village community it is necessary to ensure a balanced relationship between the organised private sector of non-agricultural industries and the villages, between mechanized and labour intensive industries and between the town oriented industrial economy in general and the village oriented decentralized economy. Whatever we may talk of improving the lot of the poor people, it is not going to improve unless some definite steps are taken by the Government in that direction.

We have been thinking and we have been aiming at a mixed economy. There was no harm in that. Perhaps in the last 15 or 17 years it was essential for our country to take everybody with us in the mass upsurge for developing our country and for having a resurgent India. But today we have to make appraisal of the whole situation, of what has happened in this country in the last 16 or 17 years. When we make that appraisal we have to come to this conclusion that unless there is rural industrialisation, unless the Government takes proper steps to increase and give necessary safeguards to rural industries and rural economy, it will not be possible to achieve the desired results. What the Congress President said at the Jaipur Congress Session is important. This is what he said:

"It is eleven years since we clearly and unequivocally accepted socialism as our goal. We have to accelerate our efforts at achieving our declared objectives. Our development during this period has no doubt been significant. But it has not succeeded in lessening, let alone removing, the disparity between the rich and

the poor. On one side we see an affluent class indulging in conspicuous spending. On the other side, we see masses of people living in misery and squalor. We see production getting more and more oriented to luxury items instead of to the necessities of the common man."

He suggested certain measures also. He suggested a number of consumer industries, with a view to influencing the price level, to be established by the Government. He suggested that no second licence for an industrial undertaking should be given to the same party or group unless the first licence has been implemented. He also suggested that with a view to increasing the tempo of production licensing may be dispensed with in respect of industries which do not require any foreign exchange either for capital goods or for raw materials. He said that this will encourage entrepreneurs to design and fabricate capital goods and utilise local materials for manufacture. The objective of improving indigenous technology and achieving import substitution will receive a great impetus by such liberalisation of the policy of licensing.

I have to submit in this connection only one thing. The hon. Law Minister, Shri Pathak, the other day, during the Question Hour, said that the Government will take time to decide even about the interim measures on the report of the Monopoly Commission. It is most painful. This question of the Monopoly Commission, this question of concentration of wealth has been going on for the last several years in this country. This august House has been agitating about it. This country has been showing concern about it. I thought that by this time the Government should have decided, though not on the long-term measures, at least on the short-term measures. It is regrettable that the Government has not taken any decision even about interim measures.

13-29 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

I have to say only one word about the national emergency. Hon. Members from the Opposition said that the emergency should be lifted. Perhaps, there is not so much need for the emergency at present. But, Sir, when hon. Members from the Opposition were saying something about riots in Bengal, something about repressive measures by the police there. I want to know from them one thing. What has happened in the Bengal Assembly? Is that the way how we should function our democracy in this country? It would have been better if, while condemning the Government for their repressive measures, the Opposition had come forward to condemn those who created riotous scenes in the Bengal Assembly and did not allow the Finance Minister of Bengal to read his Budget Speech.

Sir, the new Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi has taken over the reins of the country only recently. She is an accredited leader. She knows her responsibility. She is not new to us. I hope with our heritage, with the legacy which we have borrowed from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Shastriji, she will follow the same lead and take this country from strides to strides and the country will progress under her august leadership.

With these words I support the motion of Thanks.

श्री २० सि० महाराज (बंजगीर) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कई विषयों पर प्रकाश डाला है। उन्होंने राष्ट्र की समस्याओं का भी उल्लेख किया है और उन्हें मुलभाने के लिये उन्होंने मुन्दर मुन्नाव भी दिये हैं। उन्होंने अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्थिति पर भी प्रकाश डाला है। राष्ट्रपति जी के लिये, जो कि विश्व में एक महान दार्शनिक माने जाते हैं, यह योग्य था

कि उन्होंने विश्व शान्ति की स्थापना की और हमारा ध्यान आकर्षित किया है। उन्होंने कहा है कि शान्ति हमारे अपने विकास, प्रगति और हमारी सारी जनता के कल्याण के लिए आवश्यक है। उन्होंने शान्ति की स्थापना के लिए ऐसे सुझाव दिये हैं जिन पर विचार करना होगा और अपनाना होगा।

हमें गुटबन्दी और घापसी वैमनस्य के ऊपर उठना है। धर्म या जाति-पाति के झगड़ों से बचना है। शान्ति और सुख घापसी झगड़ों में निहित नहीं। इसके लिए मैं आपको एक कोटेशन भवतार मेहेर बाबा का देता हूँ। भवतार मेहेर बाबा कहते हैं कि यदि हमें शान्ति की इच्छा है तो हमें घापसी झगड़े बन्द कर देने चाहिए और एक दूसरे के साथ और सारी दुनिया के साथ प्रेम से रहना चाहिए।

श्री राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि यदि सम्पन्न अथवा अशुशाल राष्ट्रों के साधन विनाशकारी हथियारों में न लगाये जाये और इन्हें मानवता की सेवा में लगाया जाये, तो पिछड़े हुए देशों में सभ्यता का विकास होगा, दीनता और अज्ञान का नाश होगा, निराशा और मृत्यु के स्थान पर आशा और सुखमय जीवन होगा। राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण का पराम्नाक 5 मैं आपके सामने रखता हूँ :

"Our Government will continue to work for peace in the world. Peace is essential for our own development and progress and for the well-being of all peoples. To this end, we shall strive to strengthen international co-operation, based on the principles of peaceful co-existence, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, non-alignment which implies freedom to judge issues on their merits and, above all, the abandonment of the use of force to settle disputes."

[श्री प्र० सि० सहगल]

राष्ट्रपति जी के इस पैराग्राफ को पढ़ने के बाद मैंने बहुत मनन किया और विचार किया और विचार करने के बाद मेरे डायल में यह आया कि हमारे दार्शनिक राष्ट्रपति श्री ने पीसफुल को-एग्जिसटेंस पर जोर दिया है तथा उसके लिए हमारे भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री स्वर्गीय पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने भी जोर दिया था। मगर इसमें जितनी कामयाबी हमें होनी चाहिए थी उतनी नहीं हुई है, ऐसा मेरा डायल है और अब हमें यह देखना है कि इसके कौन से कारण हैं। कारण हमें यह मालूम होता है कि lack of spiritual element in the process of execution प्रस्ताव को कार्य रूप में करने में प्राध्यात्मिक तत्वों के अभाव का अनुभव हो रहा है। इसलिए इस प्रस्ताव को और भी सबल बनाने के निमित्त मैं जोर देकर कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक सच्चे प्राध्यात्मिक कार्यकर्ताओं का एक संगठन ब बनाया जावे तब तक शान्तिपूर्ण सह-जीवन का स्वप्न अधूरा ही रह जायगा . . .

एक माननीय सदस्य : लेकिन प्राध्यात्मिक गुरु तो नहीं हैं इस देश में . . .

श्री प्र० सि० सहगल : प्राध्यात्मिक गुरु हैं, जरा खोजिये। प्राध्यात्मिक गुरु खोजने की कोशिश कीजिये। और यदि इस स्वप्न को साकार करना है तो प्राज्ञ के युगावतार के शब्दों में मैं इस तरह कहना चाहता हूँ, यह सी० बी० पुर्डम की किताब है गाइड टू सैन एंड सैन टू गाइड, इसके पेज 261 और 263 की तरफ मैं ध्यानका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ :

"Spiritual workers have to redeem the world from the throes of imagined duality by bringing home to people the Truth of the unity of all life."

इसके अलावा उन्होंने धारण और कह है :

"You have to win people to the life of truth, they cannot be coerced into spirituality. It is not enough that you should have friendliness and goodwill in your hearts; to succeed in your work, you have to bring home to others the conviction that you are helping them to redeem themselves from bondage and suffering and to realize the highest to which they are heirs. There is no other way to help them to spiritual freedom and enlightenment."

सभापति जी, अन्त में यह बुनियादी तत्व की बात है, शान्तिपूर्ण सह-जीवन का आधार है। इस आधार को तेजी के साथ बनाना है तो तो मर्यादा पुरुषोत्तम राम, या गीता के भगवान श्रीकृष्ण, और गुरु नानक के महान प्रादर्शों पर राजनीति को मोड़ना है और प्राधुनिक भारत के महान योगेश्वर मेहर बाबा की उन्मयुक्त वाणी को यदि हम अपने अपने ध्यान में रखें तो यह निश्चय है कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय का स्वप्न साकार होगा और उसके द्वारा इस देश से एक शांति की नई किरण सारे विश्व में प्रसारित की जा सकेगी।

धारण मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सत्य और अहिंसा के पुजारी गांधी जी ने जिस इनर वायस की दुःख दी थी वही आवाज जो एक नये रूप में मेहर बाबा के 'मीन' की वाणी के द्वारा प्राप्त हो रही है तो इसे सुनने से हम क्यों इनकार करते हैं, इस पर प्राण गम्भीरता के साथ विचार करें।

अन्त में मैं कहूँगा कि गुरु गोविन्द सिंह जी महाराज का 300 सालाना जन्म दिवस तारीख 18-1-67 को पड़ेगा। इसे नेशनल फेस्टिवल के तौर पर मनाया जाना चाहिए। गुरु गोविन्द सिंह जी गरीबी के रक्षक और उनके अधिकारों को मान्यता देने वाले थे।



ऐसे घादशवादी का जन्म दिवस जैसा कि हमने बौद्ध की जयन्ती मनाई थी उसी तरह इसे नेशनल फेस्टिवल के रूप में मनाया जावे। इस पर गवर्नमेंट को अपने विचार रख कर के जनता के सामने इसे लाना चाहिए। इन शब्दों के साथ जो राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण है उसका मैं स्वगत करता हूँ।

**Shri Daji (Indore):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the President's Address, as a reflection of Government's policy, I am constrained to observe, is most uninspiring and insipid. It reflects a lamentable poverty of thinking on the part of the Treasury Benches and paralysis of action following therefrom.

If we survey the national scene, what are the most important subjects or phenomena that we find today? I venture to submit that the present situation is fraught with a growing economic crisis and a deepening political myopia and I will try to deal with these two points briefly during the time I have at my disposal.

Is the President's Address reflecting the Government's thinking? Does it show any awareness of these two important dangers that today work on the political horizon of our country. I venture to submit that it seeks to close its eye just as . . .

**Shri Kashi Ram Gupta (Alwar):** Sir, on a point of order. There is no quorum in the House.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The bell is being rung. . . Now there is quorum. The quorum should be maintained. It is just the beginning of the day.

**Shri Daji:** Sir, if we survey the economic scene, I will only recall the statement of no less a person than the President of the Congress. He has recently said that the economic crisis is a greater danger than any danger to our borders. What is that economic crisis? I submit, the biggest crisis

today is, on the one hand, 60 million people condemned to famine conditions and, on the other, 60 handful of families controlling the total wealth of the country. There has been a revolt even by the Monopolies Commission and a report of the Mahlanobis Committee. And what does the Government seek to do about it? The Mahlanobis Committee was appointed on the eve of the Third Five Year Plan, when we were discussing the third Five Year Plan and it was supposed to guide us during the Third Five Year Plan. The Mahlanobis Committee sat for years and years and when it submitted its report, the Government appointed another committee. Now that committee has submitted its report and the Government has appointed a third secretariat-level committee. We were promised by the Finance Minister that when the secretariat-level committee submits its report there will be a high-power committee. Then there will be legislation before Parliament and there will be a Joint Select Committee by which time Parliament's life will be over and a new Parliament will come into being. In any case, it definitely shows that the Government has no intention of bringing about a re-orientation of its economic policies in its Budgets because by that time certainly the labours of the secretariat-level committee and the high-power committee are not likely to be completed.

As long as we do not solve this problem, the crores of rupees that we are spending on planning, if they are going to fatten and batten the Tatas and Birlas, we are not going to solve any economic problem that faces the country.

**Shri Shinkre (Marmagao):** What is your remedy?

**Shri Daji:** The Planning Commission has surveyed the Third Five Year Plan and having surveyed the Third Five Year Plan in a recent study it has found that there are serious

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shortfalls in the various sectors. There are shortfalls in steel because the Americans did not give us Bokaro in time; there are shortfalls in fertilisers because the private sector did not carry out its commitments; there are shortfalls in cement because the private sector blackmailed you; there are shortfalls in soda ash because the private sector wants to charge too high a price—all this has been given in a report of the Planning Commission. And what do we propose to do about it? The President's Address chooses to keep mum. It is the case of a housewife who closes her eyes when the cat is lapping up the milk thinking that by closing her eyes she does not see the cat lapping up the milk and, therefore, the milk is not being lapped up. That will not solve the problem.

Let us take the case of fertilisers—a most shameful surrender to foreign and Indian monopoly interests, complete sell-out of the national interest by Shri Subramaniam on his visit to the USA in the case of the fertiliser deal. We give a blank cheque. As the Congress President himself said, it has given a *carte blanche* to private interests to charge looting prices for fertilisers.

What happened in the case of cement? The private sector blackmailed you saying, "Till you give us a price rise, we will not give you a cement factory". They held back the cement factory during the Third Five Year Plan and ultimately forced you to give a price rise in cement. Only now they are promising new cement factories in the Fourth Plan.

That is not all. Has the Government learnt these lessons? No, Sir, Now even the agricultural sector is being handed over to the private sector and we have the spectacle, the shameful spectacle, of a big seed farm being given to the Birlas in Punjab against which voices have been raised not only from the Opposition but even from the Congress side.

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalapuruzha): They are going to have one more in Rajasthan.

Shri Daji: And they are going to have one more in Rajasthan. Shri Asoka Mehta, the newly appointed Minister spoke some hurting words at Saugor University, not for bank nationalisation but only for increased credit controls; but when questioned in Parliament, like a coy maiden, he retracted even from this and said that it was only idealism being spoken to students. A minister of Cabinet rank talking about some more control on banks and industry has to retrace his steps because the big business press mounted an offensive even on this halting statement. In the face of this big business offensive we expected the President's Address to chart out very boldly and courageously the only path that can lift India out of the economic morass, the path of increased socialism. Our evils flow not because we have too much of socialism but because we have too little of socialism. The remedy of the evils lies not in decreasing the dose of socialism but in increasing the dose of socialism. The public sector may be inefficiently managed sometimes; but that does not do away with the fact that the private sector is more mismanaged. The only reason why we often hear about the public sector mismanagement is because we discuss it in Parliament. How many mills are being closed on account of mismanagement? What happened to the Indu Group of mills in Bombay? The Government rectified the remedy, handed the mills back to the same owners and after four years the same crisis has repeated itself. The Government, through the words of Shri Manubhai Shah in the House, pleaded helplessness. The Government is being reduced to the task of a cycle repair shop. The cycle is punctured by the industrialists, the Government repairs it under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, hands

it back to the industrialists for puncturing it again and bringing it back to the Government after puncturing it. Is this the way out of the morass? With all my respect to the late Prime Minister, who had great victories on the battle front and on the peace front, I say that on the economic front the accepted national policies have slowly but surely been eroded and dangerously eroded. Unless the trend is reversed, I dare say, we are not on the crossroads but we are on the brink of ruin and a dark future. And the President's Address does not give any hope of a new policy or a new look to the old policies!

Then, there are famine conditions and what have we done about them? The Government says that six crores are facing a famine and we are still guided by the old British Famine Code. In my State, Madhya Pradesh from where I come, with this high cost of living a famine relief worker is given 90 paise a day and that also after he is forced to purchase a *bidli* bundle of 20 paise manufactured by an *advasi* society; the net amount he is given is 70 paise. Is 70 paise the relief that you give? Is it sufficient? For 60 million people suffering under famine, you have handed over to them a sum which is not equal to 30 paise a month. That is the relief given on an average.... (*Interruption*) and having done this duty we are asking the children of schools in Italy and Holland to collect lunch coupons for the starving Indians. Church bells are ringing as never before in the century to collect lunch coupons for starving Indians. It is a matter of degradation and shame. Is it not sufficient for this Minister of famine, failure and futilities to debase himself? But he wants the entire nation to become a nation of beggars collecting lunch coupons from children of Italy and Holland. If we go to Connaught Place to Hotel Gaylord, Volga or Laguna, do we see any signs of famine in this country? Have we all contributed to famine relief in the

country that we should urge school-children of Italy and Holland to contribute lunch coupons? Have we any vestige of shame left? Have we any vestige of national prestige left? Are we to be degraded to this extent?

This is the question and faced with this question the Government wants to screen its own abject failures by painting a dismal picture and issuing appeals to U Thant, Shri Sen of the FAO.....

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** And the Pope.

**Shri Daji:** ...and the Pope to bring relief to India. This really is beggary. That will not solve your food problem. What will solve the food problem? The only thing which can solve the food problem is the land reforms. The land reforms have been sabotaged by the Chief Ministers.

Let me now come to a very important problem of political scene. What is our political scene? Our political scene, I submit, is corroded, above all, by what Mr. Setalvad has called, a constitutional dictatorship which is ringing in India ever since 1962. Sir, I will, through you, remind the Government Benches that when Emergency was required, we, the Opposition, stood as one man and voted for the proclamation of Emergency. That was the moral basis on which alone Emergency should be continued in our country. We did not fail in our duty. As Laski once pointed out, the ultimate sanction of law in a democratic society is not the stamp of the legislature but the acceptance of it by the public opinion. Today, the public opinion has repeatedly, from all sections of the public opinion, decried the continuance of Emergency. Not only Mr. Setalvad, not only Mr. Gajendragodkar, not only Mr. Ashok Sen but everyone, including so many Congress Members in this House itself, have said that Emergency should be revoked. If Parliament is not to be rendered into an essay in futility the voice of Parliament has to be

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heard and Emergency revoked immediately. It is not the right of the Government to continue to have the D.I.R. powers. Instead, what is done? Mr. Nanda abdicates his powers and calls a meeting of the Chief Ministers asking them, "Should we end Emergency?" and the Chief Ministers say, "No". What has the *Statesman* to say about it? It says:

"To expect the Chief Ministers and the Union Home Minister voluntarily to give up the arbitrary, unquestioned and unquestionable authority they wield under the Emergency would be like expecting a conclave of cardinals to make a collective declaration of atheism or a convention of tycoons to renounce the profit motive."

If there is to be procurement, who is to be asked? The Chief Ministers are to be asked. If they say, no procurement is possible, there is no procurement. The Chief Ministers are asked, "Should the Emergency be lifted?" and they say, "No" and nothing is done.

Then, the I.G.Ps are collected. Mr. Nanda says, "Use D.I.R. only against goondas and friends of our enemies." The Secretary of the District Congress Committee was arrested in Calcutta. I want to know, is he a goonda or a friend of the enemy? Under which category does he fall? Once you give this instrument to the Police, the first thing is not the use or the abuse of it, but the police mentality that you are breeding for the continuance of the D.I.R. The incident of the Banaras Hindu University and the incident in Bengal are not an isolated phenomenon. The policemen become emboldened when you give them arbitrary powers. Mr. Sen, the Chief Minister of Bengal, is refusing to give a judicial inquiry. He is confessing that the shooting was irregular. I do not expect this non-violent Congress Government, the non-violent police, to

avoid any force. But let us accept this course that if there is shooting, if there is any death, a judicial inquiry should automatically be held. There should be a minimum guarantee given to the citizens of the country. The Chief Minister denies this and he pleads to the charge that the shooting was irregular unnecessary and unjustified. I say nothing more on the subject.

Mr. Subramaniam, a very able man, came to the House and said, "What can I do? I wanted to send rice to Kerala. But the Chief Ministers of Madras and Andhra unilaterally discontinued the supply of rice to Kerala." I am quoting his own words. This is happening during the Emergency when the Centre has powers to give directions to the States. Who is ruling the country? It is better that this Cabinet of Mrs. Indira Gandhi resigns and the Chief Ministers constitute a Council to rule India. The Chief Minister of Madras can say, "No, I will not send rice to Kerala" and the Chief Minister of Andhra can similarly say so and Mr. Subramaniam can say, "What can I do if unilaterally they discontinue the supply of rice to Kerala". And hence the people of Kerala are starved. This is what is happening. The Chief Ministers say, no land reforms and nothing is done in that direction; they say, no procurement and so there is no procurement.

Sir, today has come, what I call in cricket parlance, a sixer from the Chief Minister of Bihar. Some charges have been submitted against him, by his colleagues to the President, of corruption, and the President wanted a report. To that, the Chief Minister of Bihar has said, "Who is the President to ask a report from me?". It has appeared in all the papers. Will some gentlemen tell this warlord from Bihar and bring him to his senses? Will the Defence Minister come to our aid, to the aid

of the Cabinet, to the aid of the President, and tell the Bihar Chief Minister, "If you do not submit to the authority of the President, there are powers enough with the people of India, with the sovereign Parliament, to make you submit to the will of the President, will of the Constitution and the will of Parliament". Why is this? The Chief Ministers think they can come and gather in a conclave at Delhi and hob-nob in the election of the Prime Minister and having elected the Prime Minister, they become the Mughals, the new stalwarts, that rule the country. This is a new danger on the political horizon. There is a great danger of the warlordism of the Chief Ministers, the warlordism of a few handful of political persons in the majority Party, against whose wishes, it seems, neither the Cabinet nor the Ministers can take any effective action. This, I submit, is the end of democracy. I say, this is the beginning of an end of democracy. Unless you stop it here and now, the whole scheme of our Constitution will be torpedoed and will be endangered.

Much has been spoken of the fertiliser deal. If there was any democracy in the Congress Party, the voice voiced at Jaipur should have been enough to sabotage it. After all, Mr. Kamaraj has opposed it. I do not want to go into the again; I only want to point out one dangerous thing. What has Mr. John P. Lewis, the Chief Aid Administrator in India done? He has written a letter to the Government—I will not read the whole letter though I have got the full letter but I will only read a few lines:

"We are ready to proceed immediately with the 'negotiation' of the loan and in this connection would like to put several questions about which we would like to be assured during the process of negotiation."

Then, further it says:

"While we want to take this occasion to inform ourselves rather carefully about the agricultural expansion programme the Government is undertaking, we have no desire at all to make this question-ask-ng-answering process public. We do not propose that any of the points raised below be directly incorporated or reflected in the loan agreement. I request only that you give me a side letter dealing with the indicated subjects."

Here is a U.S. diplomat trying to suggest that a secret agreement be entered into and here is another officer of the Government of India by the name, Mr. Boothalingam, in his reply saying that this is accepted, that this need not be put in the agreement and that he was giving all the assurances. And the assurances are that the fertiliser factories will be given to the Birlas, namely, Delhi Cloth Mills project, Kotah, Jalan project, Kotah, Birla project, Goa, Andhra Sugars project, Kothagudam, I.C.I. project, Kanpur and some other company at Madras. All these assurances are given. He says, they need not be published in the negotiations and let the side agreements be passed. I submit, this U.S. diplomat who is teaching our Government to enter into secret agreements is teaching this Government to flout the sovereignty of Parliament, the sovereignty of the people of India as enshrined in our Constitution. In the name of sovereignty of Parliament, I call upon this Government to ask the U.S. Government to immediately recall this gentleman, John Lewis....

**Shri Shinkre:** What about Mr. Boothalingam?

**Shri Daji:** I am coming to him also. He should not be allowed to abuse our hospitality by these secret deals. A democratic country does not believe in secret deals. Whatever deals there are, let the deals be presented before

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the House and before the public scrutiny. Why should Government be shy of public scrutiny? Why should Government accept this humiliating U.S. suggestion of entering into secret agreements? I would like to know who authorised Mr. Boothalingam to do so. Either Mr. Boothalingam or the person who authorised him must be shown the boot, the democratic boot, because this country shall not be ruled in the way in which the U.S. Government rules its democratic country by secret agreements, secret pacts and secret conclaves....

श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद (नालंदा) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, ये बहुत गम्भीर आरोप लगाये गये हैं। चूँकि ये कागजात पब्लिक डोकुमेंट नहीं हैं, इसलिए इन को टेबल पर रखने की इजाजत दे दीजिये।

Shri Daji: I have no objection.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Not necessary.

Shri Daji: Then, there is another thing. We were told in this House that the Chief Minister of U.P. has chosen to keep Rs. 3 crores of Defence Fund for use in U.P. What is happening in this country? I would like to know it. After hearing this, similarly, the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh will also like to keep something for himself. For what purpose is this Defence Fund collected? The Prime Minister denied the charge of the Defence Fund being collected forcibly. I will within 10 days—I have not got the documents just now with me—show you a notice issued by the Madhya Pradesh Government Electricity Board saying, "You deposit so much amount in the Defence Fund. Otherwise, your electricity connection will be discontinued from such and such a date." I will produce it to her. If there is any vestige of honesty in this Government, the Madhya Pradesh Government must be castigated for the issue of such a notice. It is in

writing. When our people rose so gloriously for the defence of the country, why do you require such force, legal or illegal, direct or indirect, to be used in the raising of the Defence Fund? And having raised that, the Chief Minister keeps a portion of it. All these will have to go. Then they say, 'voluntary'.

Then I come to the question of political pressure exerted for the aid given by U.S. We never object to receiving aid without strings attached, from any country.

14 hrs.

Shri Shinkre: Which one is giving?

Shri Daji: No one is giving. Let us all live or die on our own feet rather than accepting humiliating conditions for aid from this country or that country. The whole nation rose to the clarion call of the Father of the Nation to build a Swadeshi movement and not to pledge our independent country to this or that country.

Mr. Humphry came and went away. The Prime Minister says that we have had goody-goody talks. The U.S.I.S. issued a Press note saying that the Prime Minister of India agreed to this and to that. And what do we find? Even the so-called satellite of the United States of America, Mr. Bhutto had the courage to contradict that no such talks were held, but our Government is keeping quiet on such a humiliating note issued by the U.S.I.S. I would like to know, why. Even the NATO ally of the U.S.A., President De Gaulle, has had the courage to openly say that the resumption of bombing is bad and peaceful negotiations are hindered thereby, but our Government is behaving in a most queer fashion.

Even what Mr. Shastri had said, this Government is not ready to retaliate and openly and firmly take a stand which will enhance the prestige

of the country in the council of the world. All these are various pressures in which our foreign policy, our home policy, our accepted national policies are being eroded. It is only the national policies that are carried forward to the logical end of socialism that can take the country out of the morass in which it has been getting. If you falter, if you fail, there is no third way by which this country can be taken out of the difficult crisis which we are facing today.

Another point and I will have almost done. We have heard so much of talk about corruption and Mr. Nanda's self-imposed limit is almost coming to an end. (*Interruptions*)

**Some hon. Members:** It is over.

**Shri Daji:** When Mr. Nanda made the statement about corruption, I said, "Mr. Nanda is rushing in where angels fear to tread". Our words have proved too true. We have talked and talked of corruption till corruption has become the biggest national problem. Of course, Mr. Nanda has done this: he has put corruption on the map not only of India but of the world, but when it came to the question of taking determined action against corruption, he developed cold feet because he cannot do it, because the warlords who are interested are holding back, the warlords would pull him down. They even tried to pull him down recently in the new Cabinet making. I am not concerned with Mr. Nanda, X or Y or Z. So far as corruption as a national phenomenon is concerned, what have you done? What has the President to say about it? The President is a great philosopher, he is a religious man; he has written so many books, but on this mundane thing of corruption, he is silent. Can you solve corruption by keeping silent on it? We have again and again discussed it here; we have proposed many things—not this petty Vigilance Commission which has no powers, which has no courage to discharge its functions . . .

**Shri Warier (Trichur):** They do not have even stationery with them.

**Shri Daji:** We have asked for certain concrete steps and guarantees against corruption, against political corruption. Even the recommendation of the Santhanam Committee on political corruption remains unimplemented; about licensing also, it remains unimplemented. If this is going to be the fate of the nation under the new stewardship and as the President was pleased to call, under the youthful generation of freedom fighters, if this is the scheme of things of the youthful generation of freedom fighters, God save us; we have had enough of the old generation; very soon we will have enough of the new generation. As I was saying, we are hanging perilously on the brink of an ever-thickening crisis of a veritable political and economic precipice. It is yet time; let us all unite—all honest men, all persons who believe in freedom, who believe in democracy, who believe in socialism, who believe in doing our duty to the teeming millions of the people, whose name we pledged during elections and will pledge again in the forthcoming elections and from whom we will take our votes; let us not betray their confidence; let us pledge in them and pledge in the sovereign Parliament; otherwise, the democratic institutions themselves will come into disrepute. (*Interruptions*).

**An hon. Member:** They are being brought into disrepute.

**Shri Daji:** The scenes that we have seen in some States have since multiplied.

In the end, I would say that the people's anger is gathering momentum. If the Government thinks that it can hold back the people's justified holy anger by its D.I.R., the Government is living in a fools' paradise. There will be more Keralas, more Bengals, more Maharashtra and Samyuktha Samitis in the days to come and any attempt to hold back the rising tide of people's anger will be as futile as the attempt of old King Canute to stay the waters of the

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ocean. The people of the country will sweep away the D.I.R., the Emergency and also the puppet powers who want to cling to their powers, to the use of Emergency and D.I.R., and build a new India, a democratic India, a free India, a proud India, and not a degraded begging India, a socialist India and together we shall march forward to the glorious destiny that awaits this great country.

Shri R. Barua (Jorhat): I rise to support the motion on the Address given by the President. The President's Address reviews the activities of the Government and also spells out how the Government proposes to deal with the problems facing the country. In this connection, we should take note of the developments that are taking place in the Far East outside India. We cannot be oblivious to the fact of Chinese build-up on the northern borders. It has also to be considered that China, of late, has emerged as a nuclear power. Therefore, all these considerations are likely to influence our thinking both internally and externally.

In this context, the question of lifting the Emergency has come up. Let us consider this question of Emergency in a cool moment. Till the Tashkent Declaration was signed, nobody talked about lifting of the Emergency. It must be remembered that Emergency was promulgated at a time when the Chinese made a massive attack on India. Since then, the Chinese attitude towards India has not in any way improved towards finding out a peaceful solution. On the contrary it has worsened; only the other day, on the 16th February, the Defence Minister made a statement; he has indicated that the Chinese military build-up on the northern borders, instead of weakening, has largely increased. In India there is a considerable section of the people who have, somehow or other, sympathy for the Chinese and for the Chinese hegemony spreading towards the Far East. That be-

ing the position, should we press the Government to lift the Emergency at this moment? I, for one, would have liked the Emergency to go and normal conditions to be restored so that we could live in a peaceful atmosphere, but the climate today is not such as to press the Government to withdraw the Emergency provisions. But at the same time I would urge the Government not to extend the rigours of Defence of India rules to matters which normal laws can very well take care of. It is very unfortunate that a large number of people are kept under detention under the provisions of the D.I.R. Of course, if these people are concerned with the security of the country, they should be under detention so long as the Emergency exists, but then the Government should make proper scrutiny of cases so that persons who are not concerned with the security of the country are released as quickly as possible. The question of lifting the Emergency should not, of course, be looked at from sentimental grounds.

It is unfortunate that, for the last three years, the Emergency has continued and we have not been able to find out a settlement similar to Tashkent Declaration so far as Chinese are concerned. We look forward to the day when it will be possible for India to find an honourable solution in a peaceful way with regard to China too because China happens to be our neighbour. But all the same it is not the time when we should talk so loudly about lifting of Emergency.

Then, I come to the Tashkent Declaration. During the last eighteen years, Pakistan and India had passed through a period in which we had only bitterness, irritation, and conflict, and at times we lost sight of the human values too. For the first time, the Tashkent Declaration has taken us to a position in which we can breathe something like a free air, and we can look forward to the day when we shall be able to resolve all our disputes with Pakistan in a peaceful



manner. In that sense it is a magnificent piece of document which these 600 million people both in Pakistan and India, I believe, will honour. This is not just a document to resolve our political differences but it also opens up new avenues and new vistas so that we can talk about our economic relationship also, for, after all, India and Pakistan are both economically so backward. Unless we forge some united policy in the field of economy it will not be possible to go ahead. Therefore, along with our discussions about the political matters, our Government should also think of ways and means by which our economic relationship can be adjusted.

It is unfortunate that the trade between India and Pakistan which was much larger in the beginning had declined recently. This decline of the trade between India and Pakistan indicates that we were indulging in mutual competition, in things which could have been procured by one country from the other; and if we had done so, we could have diverted our resources to developing something else. But we did not do so. On the contrary, we wanted to be self-sufficient at least in a spirit of competition; that is why the economy of both countries has suffered. It has also led to the foreign exchange crisis to a large extent. For instance, we could have obtained jute in a large measure from Pakistan and we could have developed our other industries here, but instead because of our conflict we had to try also for jute production, whereas instead of producing jute, we could have diverted our resources to production of food crops. I hope that after the Tashkent Declaration, all these things would be looked into in the proper perspective.

Coming to food and agriculture, I should say that the malady is so basic that the burning of buses and the shooting of people is not going to take us nearer solution in any way. Recently we have come across agitations in Kerala and West Bengal, but the entire emphasis is on the distri-

butive aspect of food. Some people ask why they should get only so many grammes of rice whereas the people in Andhra Pradesh were getting much more. Therefore, the whole attention seems to be on the distributive aspect of food. As I have said, the problem is so basic that it cannot be tackled in this way. After all, we have to look to the land availability also. India's per capita land availability is only 1.84 acres, whereas in USA it is 12.8 acres, and in the USSR it is 26.5 acres. Dr. D. E. Baker in *World Food Survey* estimates that 1.8 acres are necessary for producing adequate diet at a minimum cost with less of cereals and more of milk, fish, poultry etc. In that context, how is it possible to increase food production by merely talking of putting in more fertilisers, creating more irrigation potential but ignoring the overall thing, namely the production of subsidiary foods? During the last eighteen years, no attempt worth the name has been made to diversify food production and get subsidiary foods produced like fish, milk, poultry etc.

Another aspect is that nearly 70 per cent of our agricultural workers live on a submarginal scale. Even if the production of cereals is improved on account of the advanced input, they will have no marketable surplus to take to the market, and, therefore, they cannot buy the necessities of life and they would still be in the same state of squalor and poverty. It matters very little for these agricultural workers whether the price of wheat is Rs. 10 or Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 or Rs. 40, because they have nothing to sell in the market. We are completely ignoring that aspect of the question. Unless something is done to improve the lot of these people, it will be impossible to get rid of the trouble. If the marginal level cultivators are given opportunities to produce eggs, fish, milk and the like, they will have sufficient margin to take to the market with which they can buy the other necessities of life. Government's reports have so far repeatedly said that the agricultural

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workers, during the last few years, have not been able to take advantage of the economic development of the country. The *per capita* income in 1950-51 in India was Rs. 248, while in 1964, it was Rs. 318. The report of the Mahalanobis Committee rightly indicates that in spite of the increase in the *per capita* income in the country, these agricultural workers have not been able to take advantage of the development that has taken place and the advantage that has accrued to the country so far. That being the state of affairs, I would urge the Government to take a perspective view of the things and not merely to stress on increasing cereal production. Of course, the production of cereals is no doubt necessary. But we cannot ignore this vast section of the agricultural workers. Today, we are seeing agitations in the urban areas, launched by people most of whom are not producers. If you take a proper view of things, you will find that it is the case of the large section of agriculturists who have got no lobby to plead their case and who have no organisations like trade unions, which deserves greater notice. I am sure the time will come when these people also will rise, and if that happens it will become very difficult to face the situation. Therefore, while the agricultural policy for the country is going to be spelt out, all these aspects should be taken into consideration and seriously considered, from the point of view of whether we can depend merely on producing rice and wheat or we should also supplement it by developing subsidiary foods like milk, fish, eggs etc.

Then, the question of changing the food habits of the people is constantly coming up before the House and outside. How can we change the food habits of people unless we can assure them of a proper supply? With what are we going to change the food habits? That is also an aspect which has to be seriously taken note of.

Coming to the public sector, I would like to draw the attention of Government to the development of managerial and entrepreneurial efficiency. Committed as we are to the reordering of the institutional structure to bring about a new social order, we are bound to devote our energies for the promotion of public sector undertakings; at the same time, it is also necessary to improve the managerial and entrepreneurial efficiency of this sector. During the last few years it has been noticed very much that the efficiency of this sector has not improved as much as it should have. It is not enough merely to have the public sector undertakings, but we should also create a psychological climate in which the workers could feel a sense of participation in the management and administration of these undertakings. If that is not done, the very purpose of the socialist approach will become meaningless. I hope the trade unions and their leaders will take an active part to impart this sense of participation to the workers. Otherwise, all our talk of a socialistic order will be meaningless.

Coming nearer home, I would draw the attention of the Government to the geographical situation of that area. With the Chinese poised on the northern border thus constituting a threat to the country, we are passing through a serious crisis. Recently, papers have reported the activities of some people in disrupting railway and other lines of communications. All these things have led to some sort of stagnation in the economic growth of this area. The State Government is not capable of financing the necessary road projects nor has it the means to man the security forces. Therefore, the Central Government should take a realistic line and see to it that the communication needs of this area are met and adequate security forces are provided in that area. Because of all this disturbance and dislocation, capital is shy in this area with the result that

industrial growth is practically nil there. It cannot be expected that the private sector will play its proper role in that remotest corner of the country and try to develop it. Therefore, the Centre, for that matter, the public sector, should step in where the private sector has failed. Hence I would urge the planners to see that the industrial growth of that area is taken care of by the Centre through an extension of public sector activities there.

Coming to planning, the Planning Commission should take a pragmatic approach. Apart from the question of the magnitude of a particular project, more important is the substance and content thereof. There has been, for instance, a complex for petro-chemical complexes. These are very capital intensive projects requiring a large amount of foreign exchange content. If because of symbolic modernism we go in for these petro-chemical complexes, it will mean cutting down of the necessary foreign exchange required by other vital industries. I am making this point only to stress that the question of priority should be very seriously taken up; otherwise, we may land ourselves in some sort of disaster. I therefore plead with the Planning Commission that they must look to the content and substance of the plans and projects rather than go by size and sentimental considerations motivated by some sort of modern symbolism.

With these words, I support the Motion.

**Shri Gokulananda Mohanty** (Balsore): It has been the custom in this House to propose annually a vote of thanks to the President for his annual Address. It is practically an occasion in which the ruling party is placed under scrutiny. It is an occasion for self-examination for the party.

Before coming to this House, my party placed a manifesto before the

electorate. Have we fulfilled the promise we made? If so, how far and to what extent? What we intend to do in the coming year has been given in the President's Address. Of our achievements in the past year, I will speak now. I will take the last achievement first.

On Tashkent, the House has heard many learned discourses. I intend to give a commonsense view of it. I picked up this talk outside Parliament House. There was an irregular group talking. They had returned after hearing our Tashkent discussion in Parliament. It is briefly this: What could Shastriji do? What could Ayub Khan do? They are toys in the hands of the public opinion of India and Pakistan. Indian public opinion cannot part with Kashmir and Pakistan public opinion would not leave Kashmir alone. If either Shastriji or Ayub Khan did anything which might compromise public opinion in either of their respective countries, then their Government would have toppled down. Neither the Indian Parliament nor the Pakistan Parliament would allow it. Public opinion in both countries has been roused to a high pitch of bitter hatred and antagonism. Hence the estrangement of feelings between both sides must be removed first. Use of force in settlement of disputes must first be abjured. Economic and other relations of cooperation between both countries must be promoted.

Take for instance, the India-China conflict. When China made a treacherous massive attack, if Pakistan instead of going the way of China, had stood by us in our hour of distress and danger, the Kashmir problem would have been much nearer solution. This door for mutual confidence and co-operation this Tashkent declaration will open.

On the issue of Kashmir, the only and best course open for both India and Pakistan is indicated in the Tashkent Declaration, this is a commonsense view which I commend to the House.

[Shri Gokulananda Mohanty]

The nation faced formidable difficulties during last year. The India-Pakistan conflict, the Chinese ultimatum, the unprecedented failure of monsoon, suspension of aid in military hardware by America and England, as also reduction of the quantum of food despatch in our hour of on-rushing distress and danger—each one of these troubles is enough to break the backbone of a newly independent but thoroughly emasculated nation struggling for existence. Our party, of course, with the cooperation of the opposition, steered clear of the danger. But the nation is still not out of the woods. Unfortunately, the Opposition has changed its tactics, has turned election-minded and has been making insoluble the problems which are crying for solution. The Food Minister could muster courage enough to fight an unprecedented failure of monsoon. I expected that friends in the Opposition would, instead of speaking in disparagement of him, congratulate him on his brave piloting against formidable odds. Mr. Subramaniam is made of hard fibre, and is struggling to win a losing game. Let us hope that he will rather break than bend before the impending danger of famine.

Last year's days of darkness, however, have shown some in their true colours. Some weak Chief Ministers have managed to forget their promise to the electorate, want a reversal of the policy of prohibition. I wish, in this Address, Government had given an indication of their unflinching endeavour in furtherance of this policy of prohibition.

During these hard times when famine is threatening, the Chinese are shaking the manes, there is heavy damage to our economy under strain of Indo-Pakistani conflict, Government has been compelled to curtail some important projects. I know, in Orissa, some important irrigation projects like the Monibhadra project, the Anandpur Barrage project, the Salaudi Dam project, will starve and progress will be halted because of curtailment

of expenditure. I am strongly of opinion that no project which directly or indirectly assists agriculture or food production should remain in abeyance because we have got to be independent in food supply as soon as possible.

One of the greatest drawbacks in advancement of agriculture and food production has been the delay in land reform which has not shown much headway. The Address could very well have given a direction, an impetus to our land reforms. Government cannot be congratulated on their progress in these reformatory legislations.

The Address has given an indication of large strides taken in the field of health and education. There is no doubt that progress made in these fields exceeds optimistic estimates. One cannot but give unstinted praise to the concerned ministries for their achievements.

The Mover of the Motion has given a twist to the Presidential Address by making some unhappy remarks about nuclear power. All but China have abjured or are about to abjure nuclear power for military purposes. Let us perish in this distinguished company rather than cower before Chinese storm.

Our old and tested policy of non-alignment is daily gaining ground. The Chinese with all their power, pelf and vast numbers are going down in world opinion. If for any consideration we are forced to align ourselves, we shall have to toe the line of the biggest brother. We will have no option, no freedom. This policy of non-alignment is the policy of truth, which is India's motto. It is imbedded in our culture. This policy of non-alignment gives strength, courage and freedom to the smallest of nations. If we give up this policy, all others will. But Mr. Dandekar says that during our hour of distress, we were friendless and alone. Is it 'true'. If it were true, China would not have eaten the humble pie soon after giving the ultimatum.

Mr. Dandekar says that in the Address China has been dismissed in three sentences, that they were masterpieces of understatement. And in the same breath he says the Address has no mention of the unjustifiable continuance of the Emergency proclamation. He gives importance to China standing at the door and to discontinuance of the Emergency proclamation at the same time.

Finally I would like to say one word about the programme of character assassination vigorously pursued afresh by a certain section of the House. In most ungentlemanly language, certain Members have spoken of others in this august Assembly. We expect much more of this filthy fish-market discourse as the General Election will be advancing nearer. But I assure these friends, denunciation of others will not improve their poor representation in the House to come.

With these words I support the motion proposed by a distinguished member of our House.

**Shri Muhammad Ismail (Manjeri):** In Kerala there is no legislative assembly and there is President's rule in that State. The last Assembly that was elected at the beginning of last year was dissolved without even summoning the members who were elected to that Assembly. It is reported that the elections to the Assembly are going to be postponed further and President's rule continued. In this predicament, the people of Kerala have lost an important means of voicing forth their views through their representatives. The only representation they had under the circumstances was in Parliament in both the Houses, in the Lok Sabha and in the Rajya Sabha. And even this representation, meagre representation of the people of Kerala provided for in the Constitution is going to be reduced in volume by the first week of April when the Kerala Members elected to the Rajya Sabha will have to vacate their seats. It is a great pity that the privileges of

this problem State are being reduced in this manner step by step.

The Government, the administration which is in charge of Kerala, ought to have thought about this in time to remedy the situation as much as it was in their power to do. By a simple amendment of the Constitution, the members who are now sitting in the Rajya Sabha can be made to continue there until their successors are elected. For this purpose only an amendment has to be brought to the Constitution, a simple amendment to the effect that the Members of the Rajya Sabha shall continue to sit, to hold office until their successors are elected, and this will apply to all the States. This is a very simple amendment to which no State and no party will object. Yet, the present administration of Kerala did not think about this simple amendment which will continue at least a part of the privilege of the people of Kerala. They, as usual, have been tardy in thinking of the interests of the people. I earnestly request the Government to bring in such an amendment to the Constitution before the Members who were elected to the Rajya Sabha six years ago vacate their office in the first week of April. This will be only a matter of justice due to the Kerala people. The second point I want to urge is about the reservation that is now provided in Kerala for backward communities in the matter of admission to educational institutions. Certain quotas were provided for backward communities as also certain quotas in the government appointments to various cadres. It is now reported that the present administration under the President's rule is going to interfere with this provision. While the magnitude of the population of the backward communities would require an increase in the seats reserved for them in the educational institutions, it is being sought to be reduced. There again it is sought to bring in economic considerations in the matter of such reservation in educational institutions. This ignores one important

[Shri Muhammad Ismail]

fact that this reservation is mainly for the admission of students belonging to the backward communities to the educational institutions. It is not very much the fee concessions and other such facilities that are relevant in this connection, though they matter to a large extent. I think the government will not interfere in this matter and allow the *status quo* to continue. It is also stated that government is contemplating to explore and exclude appointment from the ambit of reservation most of all gazetted appointments which are very important in the matter of giving status. If that is done the very object of having this reservation for the benefit of the backward communities will be defeated. These provisions of reservations were introduced not by any arbitrary authority in the State; they were made and accepted by successive popular governments reflecting the will of the people after mature deliberation. There is no justification for effecting any change now, particularly when Kerala has no representative legislature and it is under President's rule. The minimum request that I would make in this connection is that this question be postponed till after the elected assembly comes into being in that State. That is not too much to ask for. I am sure the authorities that be will give sympathetic consideration to this matter.

The third point is the hopelessly inadequate industrial development that Kerala State has received in the matter of industries and such other amenities as the railways and communications. In this connection, I would only point out to one small matter which would show how Kerala has been neglected by the present administration: the proposal to construct a small line measuring not more than 35 miles connecting Nilambur-Shoranur line with the main line on the west coast, thus connecting Melattur and Ferok stations. An assurance was given that this line will be taken up in the Second Plan; more than 12 years ago this assurance was given;

and then this demand had been there for another decade earlier than that. We hoped that it would be taken at least in the second Plan. Now we are in 1966. Nothing is said about the construction of this line. Taking line for line, no other sector, measuring only this much, can stand comparison with this line except a few sections round about Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, be it comparison in the matter of traffic or revenue. This line will open up a country which is very rich in resources such as timber, arecanut, coconut, coffee, tea and so many other articles. It will also connect Kallai the second largest timber yard, not in our country alone but in the whole world, with the source of timber and it will also increase the revenue of the other lines, Nilambur-Shoranur line and other sections. At present, passengers who could cover a distance between two points in ten miles by this line have to go 30-40 miles by various lines or by bus. It will avoid all this; increase passenger traffic earnings and good revenue also. So, this line should be taken up as early as possible. It may be said that the local government has not been so anxious as we are about this line; they have put it much below other lines in the matter of priority. But the government of India know that it is an important railway line and that is why they assured that it would be constructed; they gave that assurance as long ago as 1950-51 when the local government differed from them in the matter of the importance of this railway. It is up to the Centre to see that the region was not so neglected and ignored by the local government. I think now even the local government will not have much against this line being given the first priority in the matter of constructing the railway line there.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shri Muhammad Ismail:** The fourth point is with regard to the problem State of Kerala, with reference to the

doldrums in which it finds itself in the matter of food. The food crisis that has overtaken the State has not come upon it suddenly. The Consultative Committee on Kerala legislation and other parties concerned have been warning the Government in time that such a situation is overtaking the State, but no due attention was paid to it. Finally, the people had to suffer from hunger and starvation and they had to cry for adequate food. When their cry was not needed by the present administrators of Kerala State, the people wanted to impress upon the Government sufficiently, and for that purpose, they took up the Kerala bandh. In that bandh, all the parties in the State including the Congress were participating, and it was done in a beautiful, peaceful manner, so that the Government could no more ignore the needs and necessities of the Kerala States.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up. Shrimati Yashoda Reddy.

**Shri Muhammad Ismail:** So soon? Now, Sir, but for the interference and the provocative activities of the police, the bandh would have gone on peacefully until the end. But the police would not allow, the authorities would not allow it to succeed in that way and make history in the country so far as demonstrations were concerned. What the people now want is more food. The stand of the Kerala people with regard to food is that they are entitled to as much food as is available to anyone else in the country. That is their demand and that is their stand. That is their case. Kerala can produce more food provided she makes use of the land which is now being utilised for raising more valuable crops. And the Kerala State shares these cash crops with the other parts of the country, and it helps the country substantially to earn foreign exchange. All these

benefits that accrue due to the cash crops which Kerala is producing are not confined to Kerala; the benefits go to the whole country.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Shri Muhammad Ismail:** Therefore, the State's production of paddy is limited and in that matter, the other parts of the country which share in the fruits of her labours, must share their paddy with her. So, it is the duty of the Government to see that the people of the Kerala State are provided with adequate food.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The time for his group was 7 minutes, but the hon. Member has taken 17 minutes. Shrimati Yashoda Reddy. (*Interruption*) I have called Shrimati Yashoda Reddy. The hon. Member will please resume his seat.

**Shrimati Yashoda Reddy** (Kurnool): **Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir,** Before I comment on the economic situation in the country, with which I want to deal today, I should like to say one word; that is, yesterday, I had been listening to the speeches of the hon. Members of the Opposition when they spoke about the policy of the Government. I have no objection whatsoever if they criticise many things, and in many of those criticisms I myself will join. A member like Shri Kamath, who is supposed to be the leader of a very big party and for whom we have got great respect, respect for his intelligence and understanding, and another hon. Member, Shri Narasimha Reddy, who unfortunately represents my native constituency also,—these hon. Members—talked of personalities and referred to persons in position on personal basis. It does not add to the dignity of Parliament as such and certainly not to the Members. Certainly, let them criticise any policy or any party, and we are one

[Shrimati Yashoda Reddy]

with them if the criticism is for the common good. I only want to say that I am rather surprised that a person like Shri Kamath should have brought in such personal things. If hon. Members are interested to know what was said, they could look into the proceedings and find out what they have said.

Before I turn to the economic policy, I might say that I do agree with the Opposition Members on one or two things. First, let me refer to the Kerala food situation. Whatever might have been the other considerations, political and otherwise, I must say with a sad heart that the Government has not fared well as far as the Kerala State is concerned. Certainly, it is the concern of the Government to give them food, whatever political policies they accept or follow, and certainly one should not have less food than another. Coming from a surplus State, I do feel guilty that I eat a little more than my brethren do in Kerala. Whatever the policies, the Government should ensure an equal distribution of food and supply enough food to the Kerala people.

Secondly, I must say I am rather ashamed that our ex-Governor, Shri Jain, had left the State of Kerala at a stage when people were being shot and when the people were crying for food and more food. Whatever might have been the situation, he should have stood there as a soldier and faced the people and their problems. Certainly, I feel ashamed that a person who belonged to my party, when he should have looked after the affairs of the State, left the State and came out. If a soldier on the borders had left his post and come out, I do not think we would have excused him. Similarly, it was unfortunate that Shri Jain left the place at that time. (Interruption). There are sincere Members who feel that one who leaves his duty at such a time, whether he is on the home

front or any other front, whether he is a Governor or a Member of Parliament or a Minister, cannot be excused. I hope the Government will take note of this matter soon. I am sure what I say will be conveyed to the Government who have a joint responsibility. I do express our anger as much as the Opposition does, on such matter. (Interruption).

Now, I turn to the economic problems of the country. I would like to say that we have had three Plans. The third Plan is almost coming to an end and the fourth Plan will be starting soon. I am not here to suggest or comment on everything, but I would like the Government to take an honest review of the things which have happened in these 15 years. We have introduced planning for raising the standard of living of our people and giving them better opportunities for a richer and better life.

In these five-year plans, from an initial investment of Rs. 260 crores, we have come nearly to Rs. 21,250 crores. And what is that we have achieved? Certainly we have achieved something. For instance, the national income is a good measure of the economic growth and it has gone up by 68.7 per cent: from Rs. 8,850 crores to Rs. 14,930 crores. A significant part of this increase has taken place in the industrial sector whose production has risen from 73 per cent to 174.8 per cent if we take the base year as 1956. In regard to the basic and heavy industries, our production has been very good. Apart from our concern in the basic or heavy industrial aspect, let us see what has been the planning.

In all the past 15 years, what have we done for the common man of India, the ordinary citizen of India—his food, clothing, his employment and his housing. These are the things which have an ultimate impact on the people. After all, I do not believe in talking about any ideology: whether one talks about the



strictly leftist ideology like the communists or the strictly rightist ideology of the Swatantra, any government in a developing country, when it wants to develop the country, has to face innumerable problems, and therefore, the first and foremost policy of the Government is to cater to the basic necessities of the people, and that is, food, clothing, housing and medical care. After the basic things have been attended to, and after the basic needs have been fulfilled, then the Government could come to think whether it can follow this ideology exclusively or that ideology exclusively.

15 hrs.

Now, I would like to place some figures before the House. I would first refer to *per capita* income. Many members have said that the *per capita* income has gone up. I agree, but the *per capita* income, which is regarded as an index of economic well-being has registered only a very moderate rise. It has gone up only by Rs. 66·9 from Rs. 247·5 in 1950-51 to Rs. 314·4 in 1964-65. A UN Survey relating to the developing countries of the ECAFE region has shown that during all these years, India has had one of the lowest *per capita* income increase. But what is even more distressing is that the increase in income has not been shared equally by all the sections of the community. As has been very correctly pointed out by many members, the income of the top five or six of the households has increased. It is not as if you are distributing the riches everywhere. The increase has been concentrated on the top five per cent of the households and poverty has been distributed over the teeming millions of India.

We have had any number of committees. Mr. Daji also referred to a number of committees including the Mahalanobis Committee. Whenever a problem is posed, we talk about ideologies or of appointing committees. I

am reminded of the saying that committees are nothing but an association of people who individually can do nothing, who collectively decide that nothing can be done. This is the way committees function.

The agricultural farm labourers who constitute about 17 per cent of the total working population are the weakest and most degraded section of the population. They are socially and economically very weak. The two Agricultural Labour Enquiries of 1950-51 and 1956-57 show that even in the first initial five years of the period when there was a slight rise in *per capita* income, the income of agricultural labour fell. As the Mahalanobis Committee on distribution of income and levels of living reported in 1964, "agricultural labourers as a group do not seem to have shared in the increase of incomes". A recent survey by the National Council of Applied Economic Research also shows that the lowest 10 million of the rural population have an average daily income of 27 paise or an annual income of Rs. 99 only. This is the condition of agricultural labourers.

What about fixed income groups? Government employees are nobody's concern, because they do not have labour unions recklessly shouting their grievances nor can they come and declare their grievances like politicians. They are tied down and the condition of the government servants is most miserable.

There has been so much talk about diet survey. As compared to the rich countries, we are not getting even one-third or one-fourth of the number of calories which they get in their food. Compared to the most under-developed countries, we are not getting more than three-fourths of what they get. So, we are not only under-nourished, but malnourished. Of course, we do not have starvation deaths. Of course, I am not saying this as a criticism of the government that government has not done anything. But these are basic facts which

[Shrimati Yashoda Reddy]

the Planning Minister must take into consideration. Any amount of platitudes and policies are not going to be substitutes for food and bread. When we go to the villages and face the people, they ask, "Why is it that 20 years back, we were able to get food, clothing and education so cheaply?" I do not have the time to go into the figures about clothing and unemployment.

Policies like socialism or communism are only platitudes to please the intellectuals. We are not here to follow any particular social or political philosophy. Our only policy should be what is the most practical thing. One communist member said that Shastri deviated from the socialistic system. My assessment of Shastriji was that he was a man down to the earth, a realistic man, who knew the feelings of the people and he did not mind brushing aside platitudes and philosophies sometimes.

Coming to unemployment, everybody knows that not only there is unemployment and under-employment, but the backlog is increasing. The backlog of unemployment which stood at 4.1 million at the beginning of the first plan rose to 5.3 million in 1955-56 and to 8 million in 1960-61. It is estimated that the backlog of unemployment at the end of the third plan would be of the order of at least 12 million. These are the things which should be taken into consideration by the Planning Minister and the present Cabinet while preparing the fourth plan.

Sometimes I have a very sad feeling that all our efforts and public statements have not had the heart and thinking for the people behind them. Sometimes I feel it is a result of unrealistic and unpractical thinking. Even when there was correct thinking, the implementation was not efficient and honest. Of course, here and there we have taken some correct decisions; I do not deny that.

Apart from the main things like food, clothing and shelter and medical facilities which government has to give, top priority will have to be given to slashing the expenditure of the government at the Centre and in the States. There is so much of unnecessary expenditure which do not give us any results. I am glad the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Mr. Bhat-tacharya has said that apart from the money given by the Centre, the States overdraw and spend too much. It is not for me to say where they can impose immediate expenditure cuts, but government must apply the axe with a heavy hand on the mushroom-like growth of administrative machinery, including, if I may say so, the ministerial ranks with all the paraphernalia.

I am glad the Administrative Reforms Commission has come into being. It took three months for them even to start working. I hope they will cut down all the red-tapism which is upsetting the easy working of the administration.

Most of our plans have failed because of our not being able to control our population. Whether it is food production, employment or medical facilities, I sincerely believe that drastic steps should be taken for population control. But I do not agree with Mr. Chagla's suggestion, which is well-known to the House and to the people.

Sir, another thing is, Government should think less of ideologies and more of practical things. As has been said by Barbara Ward, as far as Planning by itself is concerned nothing is wrong with the Government. As far as planning is concerned, I think it is one of the best planning that we have got. But in its implementation there is red-tapism and delays. The inclination of the people both at the helm of affairs and those who are to interpret it is not there.

In India, today man is a hungry man. No ideologies will help him. No politics are going to satisfy him unless you give him food. I feel you cannot control a hungry crowd just by having the DIR unless that sense of emergency is there. We do not have that sense of emergency and DIR seems to be rather out of place in most of the places and sometimes it is not used for the correct purpose. Sir, this is my honest opinion.

Thank you.

श्री शिवभूति स्वामी (कोम्पल) :  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण को मैंने शुरू से आखिर तक पढ़ा है। मुझे ताज्जुब है कि इस में उन्होंने प्रजा प्रभुत्व को मजबूत करने के लिए कुछ भी नहीं कहा है। एक वाक्य में उन्होंने यह कहा है :

"Unfortunately, our relations with the People's Republic of China still continue to be strained. The country has to be vigilant and strong."

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि श्रीर अधिक भ्रमर इस एमरजेंसी को सरकार कायम रखना चाहती है तो साफ तरीके से यह बतलाया जाना चाहिये कि कब तक आप इसको कायम रखना चाहते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक आप एमरजेंसी को कायम रखते हैं तब तक के लिए तो एक राष्ट्रीय सरकार का होना बहुत जरूरी है। जब तक आप इस तरह की नैशनल गवर्नमेंट नहीं बनाते हैं तब तक एमरजेंसी को कायम रखना या आइंदा इसको बढ़ाना जरूरी नहीं है। इसकी कोई जरूरत नहीं है।

राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में मैं एक लफ्ज भी इस तरह का नहीं पाता हूँ कि तमाम दलों को मिल कर के जो मुश्किलात दरपेश हैं, उनका सामना करना चाहिये। शाह के बारे में मुश्किलात दरपेश हैं, मुरझा के बारे में मुश्किलात मुल्क के सामने हैं।

इन तब आ दूसरी जो राष्ट्रीय समस्यायें हैं इन सब का सभी दलों को मिलजुल कर श्रीर दिल से हल करने के बारे में कोई बात नहीं कही गई है। सभी को मिलजुल कर इन समस्याओं के हल की खोज निकालने के बारे में कोई बात नहीं कही गई है। हम में से हर एक आदमी अपने उत्तरदायित्व को समझता है और वह जिम्मेदार आदमी है, अपने आप को उत्तरदायी मतदाताओं के प्रति और राष्ट्र के प्रति समझता है। दल के लिए ही वह काम नहीं करता है बल्कि देश के लिए भी करता है। हमारी सब की अन्ता के प्रति, मतदाताओं के प्रति कुछ न कुछ जिम्मेवारी तो है। कहने को तो कहा जाता है कि यह जो बेमोन्नेसी है, यह आपकी पीपल, बाई दी पीपल, फार बी पीपल है लेकिन वास्तव में यह आपकी पार्टी, बाई दी पार्टी एंड फार दी पार्टी बन गई है। इसको बदल कर हम जब तक मतदाताओं की परिपक्व कायम नहीं करते हैं और हर क्षेत्र के जा मतदाता हैं उनको जिम्मेवार नहीं बनाते हैं तब तक इतने बड़े प्रजा प्रभुत्व को चलाना हमारे लिए मुश्किल ही बना रहेगा।

इस प्रजा प्रभुत्व में जो पैसा टैक्सों के जरिये से आता है वह किसी दल विशेष के लोगों द्वारा नहीं दिया जाता है बल्कि समस्त मतदाता जा हैं, सभी पार्टियों के जो लोग हैं, मारे मुल्क के लोग जो हैं वे इस में सम्मिलित हैं, वे टैक्स देते हैं और तब सरकार का काम चलता है। बहुत बड़ी बड़ी और गहन समस्यायें मुल्क के सामने दरपेश हैं। खाद्यान्न का उत्पादन कम हो रहा है, खाद्यान्न की मुल्क में कमी है। कहने को तो हम कहते हैं कि यह एक बैनफेयर स्टेट है। भ्रमर वास्तव में आप समझते हैं कि यह बैनफेयर स्टेट है तो आपके लिए यह जरूरी हो जाता है कि बैनफेयर प्रोग्राम के लिए हर बजट में कम से कम पचास परसेंट से ऊपर नामिनती एक परसेंट अधिक खर्चा आप रखें। नदी आप इसको बैनफेयर स्टेट कहने के हकदार

## [श्री विश्वमूर्ति स्वामी]

हो सकते हैं। आप इसको सोशलिस्टिक स्टेट भी कहते हैं। सोशलिस्टिक स्टेट भी यह उसी वक्त हो सकती है जब आप सोशलिस्टिक प्रोग्रामों के लिए, जनता की भलाई के कामों के लिए 51 परसेंट रुपया बजट में रिजर्व रखें। वरना यह सोशलिस्टिक स्टेट कहलाने के लायक नहीं हो सकती है और न ही बैलफेयर स्टेट कहलाने के लायक हो सकती है। अगर रीयल तरीके से आप इसको सोशलिस्टिक या बैलफेयर स्टेट बनाना चाहते हैं तो आपके लिए यह जरूरी हो जाता है कि आप अपनी आमदनी का कम से कम 51 परसेंट रुपया बैलफेयर के कामों के लिये रखें।

हमारा सेंट्रल बजट भी अब पेश करने का वक्त आ गया है। सेंट्रल बजट इन ब्रीफ यह किताब हम को दी गई थी। इसमें मैं पाता हूँ कि 1959-60 में रेवेन्यू एक्सपेंडीचर 1029.9 करोड़ था और 1965-66 में 2246.6 करोड़ था। इसके साथ ही सफा 6 पर और भी घांकेड़े दिये गये हैं। वहाँ पर यह लिखा है :

"Central Budget-1965-66—Revenue and Expenditure-Nation. Building-Economic and Social Services."

यहाँ रेवेन्यू और एक्सपेंडीचर सब कुछ बतलाने का वक्त नहीं है। इतना ही कहना मैं काफी सम्मत्ता हूँ कि नेशन बिल्डिंग, इकोनॉमिक एंड सोशल सर्विसिस के लिए 414 करोड़ रुपये रखे गये हैं जब कि 2476 करोड़ रुपये हमारे पास हैं। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि सिर्फ 19 परसेंट हम तमाम नेशनल बिल्डिंग एक्टिविटीज, सोशल सर्विसिस वगैरह में खर्च करते हैं। अब आप यह भी देखें कि इस में क्या क्या शामिल होता है। केवल बातें करने से ही देश स्वावलम्बी नहीं बन सकता है, केवल भाषण

दे देने से नहीं बन सकता है, उत्पादन बढ़ा कर, खाद्यान्न की समस्या को हल करके ही आप देश को स्वावलम्बी बना सकते हैं। इतना भर कह देने से किसान को कि वह अधिक पैदा करे, वह अधिक पैदा करके आपको नहीं दे सकता है। यह काम जबानी जमा खर्च से नहीं हो सकता है। जो पैसा आप मुल्क में वसूल करते हैं उसका 51 परसेंट जब तक आप नेशन बिल्डिंग के कार्यों के लिये, सोशल सर्विसिस के लिए, इकोनॉमिक सर्विसिस के लिए अलग नहीं रखेंगे तब तक आप बैलफेयर स्टेट का मखौल ही उड़ावेंगे। सब काम जबानी जबानी ही चलेगा तो कुछ नहीं होगा। प्रधान मंत्री हमेशा से कहते रहे हैं, हर प्रधान मंत्री यह कहता आया है, हर मंत्री यह कहता आया है, प्लानिंग कमिशन यह सोचता आया है कि हम ने ज्यादा प्रोडक्शन करके दिखाए हैं। लेकिन आप यह देखें कि बजट में आप ने इस काम के लिए क्या कुछ अधिक रकम मुकर्रर की है या कम की है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा है कि ग्रेटर एटेंशन शुड बी गिवन फार दी प्रोडक्शन प्रोग्राम्स। लेकिन प्रोडक्शन प्रोग्राम कहां हैं और कितना आप उन पर खर्च करते हैं? सेंट्रल बजट का 19 परसेंट तो हम ने इस काम के लिए रखा था। दो साल पहले 22 परसेंट रखा। पिछले साल 21 परसेंट रखा। और यह जो साल गुजर रहा है इस में 19 परसेंट ही रखा। शायद जो आने वाला साल है उस में हम 18 या 15 परसेंट ही रखें। नेशन बिल्डिंग एक्टिविटीज में क्या क्या शामिल है? इस में चलाने वाला डिपार्टमेंट भी शामिल होत है, जो लोग काम करते हैं, वे भी शामिल होते हैं। नेशन बिल्डिंग इकोनॉमिक एंड सोशल सर्विसिस क्या क्या हैं, यह मैं आप को बतलाता हूँ :

"This head accommodates expenditure (including grants-in-aid) on the various nation building, economic and social, services."

such as, forests, scientific departments, education, medical, public health, agriculture, rural development, animal husbandry, co-operation, industries, broadcasting, labour and employment, community development projects and national extension service including local development works, multi-purpose river schemes, electricity, ports and pilotage, mercantile marine, light-houses and lightships, aviation, road and water transport schemes, overseas communications service, grants to social welfare organisations, welfare of backward classes, assistance for scarcity affected areas and for natural calamities, rehabilitation of displaced persons welfare of scheduled tribes and development of scheduled areas, economic rehabilitation of Tribal Areas in Assam, and industrial housing".

Then it says:

"The trend of expenditure on nation-building—economic and social services—since 1959-60 as shown in Table and Chart No. 8....."

वहाँ पर यह दिया गया है ।

हमारा प्रजातंत्र 1950 में शुरू हुआ । उससे पहले जो ब्रिटिश ढांचा हमारे सामने था वही ढांचा हमने अपना लिया । उसको हम ने बदला नहीं । अब राष्ट्रवादियों के सामने, पार्लियामेंट के सामने, कैबिनेट के सामने, नई चुनी गई प्राइम मिनिस्टर के सामने और सोशलिस्टिक स्टेट जो बनाना चाहते हैं, उनके सामने यह सवाल है कि क्या वे 51 परसेंट प्रोडक्टिव कामों के लिए खर्च करने के लिए तैयार हैं ? यह मैं कम से कम बता रहा हूँ । मिनिमम रिक्वायरमेंट्स जो हैं उनको तो बैलफेयर स्टेट को पूरा करना चाहिये । अगर आप और पैसा इन कामों के लिए चाहते हैं तो आप टैक्सेशन बढ़ायें ।

लेकिन यह उत्पादन के लिए होना चाहिए, खेतीबाड़ी के लिए होना चाहिये । लेकिन 51 परसेंट तो आप हर हालत में रखें । इससे कम रखना मखौल करना है । तीन परसेंट रखना मखौल है । यह कहना कि हम ने यह प्रोग्राम किया है, वह प्रोग्राम किया है, फोटो प्रखबारों में निकलवा देना इसका कि हाईब्रिड ज्वार तकसीम किया जा रहा है, फर्टिलाइजर तकसीम किया जा रहा है, इससे काम नहीं चलेगा । कहने मात्र से काम नहीं बनेगा ।

इसके अलावा एक और बात बतलाऊँ । यहाँ पर हमारे खाद्य मंत्री ने खास तौर पर कहा कि वह जोनल सिस्टम को सपोर्ट करते हैं और उन्होंने अपनी पूरी ताकत से उसे सपोर्ट करने की कोशिश की । मुझे यह पता नहीं चलता है कि वह अपनी पार्टी के लिये भी जिम्मेदार हैं या नहीं । जयपुर कांग्रेस में सक्जैक्ट्स कमिटी में दो बार वोटिंग ली गई फिर भी उस ने जोनल सिस्टम को खरम करने के पक्ष में मत दिया । लेकिन उसकी बात को भी खाद्य मंत्री जी ने नहीं सुना । न वह पार्टी की सुनते हैं और न पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरों की बात सुनते हैं । आखिर वह जिम्मेदार किस के लिये हैं ? क्या वह हाउस को सिर्फ एक डिबेटिंग हाउस या टाकिंग हाउस बनाना चाहते हैं । अगर वह उस को रिप्रेजेंटेटिव हाउस मानते हैं तो उन को दिल लगा कर काम करना पड़ेगा । अगर इस तरह से नहीं करेंगे तो केरल और बंगाल का मसला हर क्षेत्र में बढ़ेगा । हर स्टेट की तरफ से आप के पास रिप्रेजेंटेशनस भी चुके हैं । खास तौर से मैसूर स्टेट के मुख्य मंत्री ने आप को लिखा है आप उस स्टेट को इतना नेगलेक्ट करते रहे हैं कि उन का कोई कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर भी यहाँ पर नहीं है । खैर, यहाँ पर यह सवाल नहीं है कि हम यहाँ पर हैं या नहीं, लेकिन उस राज्य के लोगों के साथ न्याय तो होना चाहिये । वहाँ पर आज न्याय नहीं हो

[श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी]

रहा है। यहाँ पर तो कह दिया जाता है कि इरिगेशन प्रोजेक्ट को शुरू किया जायेगा लेकिन उस पर भ्रमल नहीं होता है। राष्ट्रपति जी कहते हैं कि :

"Irrigation projects are being speeded up. It is expected that through major and medium irrigation projects, water for an additional 3 million acres will become available during the coming financial year."

यहाँ पर इरिगेशन मिनिस्टर श्री फ़ख़रीन अहमद बैठे हुए हैं। मैं उन के कानों तक अपनी भ्रवाज पहुँचाना चाहता हूँ। मैं हर साल इस हाउस में बोलता रहा हूँ लेकिन आज तक वह फुज़ूल गया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि श्री फ़ख़रीन साहब कान खोल कर सुन लें कि चौथी प्लेन में आप जिन इरिगेशन प्रोजेक्ट्स को ले रहे हैं उन से पहले ही मुल्क के सामने जो इरिगेशन की प्रॉब्लेम है उस के कारण जैसे केरल बंद हुआ बंगाल बंद हुआ वैसे ही दूसरी स्टेट्स में होने जा रहा है। इस लिये एक दम चीफ़ जस्टिस की सलाह पर एक ट्राइब्यूनल अप्वाइंट करना चाहिये सन 1956 के वाटर डिस्प्यूट्स ऐक्ट की तहत और उस के फंसले के मुताबिक पानी देने का इंतजाम किया जाये। वह ट्राइब्यूनल जितना कहे उतना पानी महाराष्ट्र को मिलना चाहिये और मैसूर को मिलना चाहिये। हम को आप ने एक टी० एम० सी० एफ० पानी नहीं दिया लेकिन आप आंध्र के नागार्जुन सागर को और सबसेलम प्रोजेक्ट को या दूसरी प्रोजेक्ट्स को पानी कहां से देते हैं? है कहां पानी आप के पास हमारे लिये? आप 20,000 टी० एम० सी० एफ० पानी तकसीम करते हैं। लेकिन हमारे लिये पानी आप के पास नहीं है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि किसी

भी प्रोजेक्ट से पानी आता हो, लेकिन उस की ठीक तरह से तकसीम होनी चाहिये।

हमारे महाराष्ट्र और मैसूर के कुछ हिस्से आज भी कहत एरिया के अंदर आते हैं। उन को कहत का प्वाइंट कहा गया है, गुलाटी कमिशन की रिपोर्ट की जवान में। वहां क्या आज तक आप ने पानी की तकसीम की? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप डा० के० ए० राव की बात न सुनिये क्योंकि वह तो इंटरेस्टेड आदमी हैं। उन से जरा दूर रह कर इस मामले को हल किया जाये।

**Shrimati Lakshmi Kanthamma (Khammam):** False allegations are not to be made.

श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी : ऐलिंगेन्स नहीं, यह हकीकत है। वह चाहते तो पांच साल के अंदर यह मसला हल हो सकता था। वह वाटर कमिशन के मेम्बर भी रह चुके हैं यहाँ पर मिनिस्टर आफ स्टेट भी रह चुके हैं। अब एक दूसरी स्टेट के कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर आये हैं। अगर यहाँ पर इंडेपेन्डेंट फैसला किया जाये, दिल खोल कर और इंसाफ से तस्फिया किया जाये तो हमें कोई ऐतराज नहीं है। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि सारा येश एक है इस लिये सब के लिये पानी होना चाहिये। लेकिन यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि एक स्टेट को पानी मिले और दूसरी स्टेट को न मिले।

इसी तरह से और बड़ी बड़ी समस्यार्यें हैं। यहाँ पर आप बड़े बड़े कारखाने कायम कर रहे हैं। पांचवे स्टील प्लान्ट की बात है। उस के बारे में तो मैं डिमान्ड्स के बक्त बोलूंगा, लेकिन इस बक्त इतना जरूर कहना चाहूँगा आप को देखना

चाहिये कि कहां पर आज 75 फी सदी आयरन कंटेन्ट है और कहां पर यह स्टील प्लान्ट हो सकता है। आप सिर्फ अपने देश के नहीं दुनिया भर के एक्सपर्ट्स को बिठलाइये और उन से राय लीजिये तो आप को पता चलेगा कि अगर कहीं स्टील प्लान्ट सबसेसफुल हो सकता है तो बेराली हास्पट में हो सकता है। यह तो पांचवें या छठवें स्टील प्लान्ट की बात है, वहां पर तो पहला स्टील प्लान्ट होना चाहिये था। वहां पर नेचुरल रिचनेस इन आयरन और है और वहां पर स्टील प्लान्ट होने का फायदा सारे राष्ट्र के लिये होगा। इसलिये इस को जल्दी से जल्दी हाथ में लेना चाहिये।

इस के बाद मैं खास तौर पर कुछ अपने क्षेत्र के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। तुंगभद्रा प्रोजेक्ट को आप ने लिया है। मेरे पास वहां से कल ही तार आया है और मैंने उस के ऊपर ध्यान आकर्षण प्रस्ताव भी दिया था। लेकिन उस को डिस्मालाउ कर दिया गया। आज आप को देखना चाहिये कि वहां पर क्या हो रहा है। आप नये नये प्रोजेक्ट्स की बात करते हैं लेकिन जहां मेरे क्षेत्र में प्रकेले तुंगभद्रा प्रोजेक्ट के अंदर फिजिकल तरीके से साढ़े पांच लाख एकड़ की सिंचाई होनी चाहिये थी वहां सिर्फ षेढ़ लाख एकड़ की सिंचाई हो रही है। वहां पर सारे पानी का एक्सप्लायटेशन नहीं हो रहा है। वहां पर जो मेन कैनल और डिस्ट्रिब्यूटरी कैनल्स हैं उन में सोइंग के जमाने में पानी रहता है, लेकिन दस साल से हर साल इमर्जेंसी की तहत उस को तोड़ दिया जाता है। रात में कट्रेक्टर्स जा कर उस को तोड़ देते हैं। इस वास्ते तोड़ देते हैं कि इमर्जेंसी में बिना टेन्डर के सारा काम हो जाता है और उनको उसमें पैसा खाने का मौका मिल जाता है। यह कितने शर्म की बात है? अब भी टूटी हुई है। पन्द्रह दिन हो गये

हैं लेकिन खेतों को पानी नहीं मिल रहा है।

Tender plants of paddy on one lakh acres of land are drying up.

इस मसले को आप को जल्द से जल्द हल करना चाहिये। वहां के जो लोकल सिंचाई इंजिनियर्स बगैरह हैं वह लाखों रुपये इस के उपर बरबाद करते हैं। चूंकि वहां सारी गड़बड़ी हो रही है इस लिये सेंटर को इस के ऊपर हाथ डाल कर ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को ठीक करना चाहिये। आज हालत यह पशुंच गई है कि उस में पांच फिट पानी नहीं पहुंचता है कि वह टुट जाती है क्योंकि बहुत कमजोर कर दी गई है जब कि आंध्र में सात फिट पानी बहता है। मेरी आप से इतनी डिमान्ड है कि इस के लिये आप जल्द से जल्द इंकवायरी कीजिए और जल्द से जल्द इंतजाम को ठीक कीजिये। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया गया तो एक लाख एकड़ पैड़ी, जो कि समर क्राप है, वह खराब हो जायेगी और यह देश के लिये घातक होगा।

इस के बाद मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर तुंगभद्रा कैनल केमिन एरिया में है। उस से इरिगेशन करने के लिये प्रोग्राम बनाया गया था। आज से नहीं बल्की पहले से ही उस के बारे में सोचा जा रहा है। तकरीबन 1890 ए० डी० में उस का सर्वे हुआ था। मेरे पास यह एक वेल्सारी डिस्ट्रिक्ट का गजट है जिसमें साफ तरीके से लिखा हुआ है। उस जमाने में सर्वे करके इसे फाइनल किया गया था। लेकिन अब अगर तुंगभद्रा की बात नहीं मुन रहे हैं और वह अगर तुंगभद्रा का नाम इस प्रोजेक्ट में नहीं आता है जो इस कहत की मौजूदा परिस्थिति को दूर करने के लिये खास तारीके से सोचा गया है। इसको जल्दी से जल्दी आपको करना चाहिए।

इसके बाद मैं प्रोक्योरमेंट के सिलसिले में खास तौर से आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता

## [श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी]

हूँ कि जब तक वह जोनल सिस्टम खत्म नहीं करते तब तक समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती अगर यह जोनल सिस्टम आप खत्म नहीं करते तो इस जोनल रेस्ट्रिक्शन के खिलाफ जो ला को ब्रेक करके मूवमेंट हमें शुरू करना है, उसे हम देशभक्ति समझते हैं। यह आपने आर्टिफिशियल मुल्क का बटवारा कर रखा है, जिला बन्दी ताल्लुका बन्दी और यहाँ तक कि एक गांव से दूसरे गांव में भी हरकत बन्द हो गई है। वहीं पर बाजू में गंगावती एरिया में 70-80 पैसे किलो चावल मिलता है जबकि उसी की बगल में दूसरी जगह जो कि 20-22 मील दूर भी नहीं है डेढ़ रुपये और सवा रुपये किलो चावल मिलता है। प्रोक्योरमेंट जो आप कर रहे हैं उसमें क्या दाम आप बसूल कर रहे हैं? किसान को तो आप 52 रुपये क्विंटल चावल का दाम देते हैं, 52 पैसे किलो उससे लेते हैं लेकिन आप उसे 78 पैसे किलो बेचते हैं और ज्वार 65-66 पैसे किलो बेचते हैं। यानी 28 रुपया पर क्विंटल मुनाफा चावल में कमाते हैं। इससे ज्यादा मुनाफा और क्या हो सकता है? कैपिटलिस्ट्स को तो आप तंग करते हैं क्या वह इससे ज्यादा मुनाफा लेते हैं? दो चार पैसा किलो ज्यादा लीजिए। लेकिन आप तो 28 रुपये क्विंटल मुनाफा चावल में ले रहे हैं और 26 रुपये क्विंटल मुनाफा ज्वार में ले रहे हैं। आप समझ लीजिए कि जब 26 रुपया और 28 रुपया मुनाफा आप एक एक बीसे के ऊपर, या 100 किलो के ऊपर चार्ज करेंगे तो उससे कन्ज्यूमर्स को कितनी घाफत होगी? इसका जरा ह्याल कीजिए। टोटल प्रोक्योरमेंट को ध्यान में रखते हुए इसको देखा जाय तो खरीद और बेचने में किसी तरह से एक या दो रुपये से ज्यादा अन्तर नहीं होना चाहिए। इतना आपको फर्क रखना चाहिए। आप ही प्रोक्योरमेंट कर तो 52 पैसे में लेते हैं तो 55 या 60 पैसे ज्यादा से ज्यादा लें। यह नहीं कि 26 रुपया और 28 रुपया मुनाफा लें। इतना ज्यादा बसूली करना बिल्कुल बेइन्साफी

की बात है। इतना कहते हुए मैं फिर आप से कहता हूँ कि इस मुल्क की फूड समस्या या बजट जो भी हो, राष्ट्रीय सरकार होने से, सरकार और तमाम दल वाले मिल कर जब तक इसको हल करने के ऊपर नहीं जुटेंगे तब तक यह समस्या हल नहीं होगी।

श्री अश्रमणि लाल चौधरी : मोहतरिम सदर साहब, मैं आपका बहुत मशकूर हूँ जो आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया। साथ ही इसके मोहतरिम सदर साहब, हमारे देश में और उन गरीबों के बीच, उन यतीमों और मशकीनों के बीच जो हालात पैदा हुए, स्वर्गीय श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री के निधन से, वह मैं समझता हूँ कि मुल्क के उन गरीबों का बाजू और पैर बेकार हो गया, दिमाग उनके बहुत दिनों तक खराब रहे। उनकी हालात को मैंने देखा। ठीक है, मुल्क में बड़े लोग होते हैं, पैसे वाले होते हैं। लेकिन वह गरीबों की तरफ तवज्जह देने की कोशिश नहीं करते। इसलिए संसार में उनके पीछे कोई नहीं जाया करता है। राजघाट और जवाहर लाल जी के शांतिवन में आज भी ढाई मन फल बढ़ता है। किसी ने अगर व्यक्तिगत रूप से रुपया कमाया तो मुमकिन है कि पितृ-पक्ष में उनका बेटा पिंड दान कर देगा और पंडित से कहेगा जल्दी कराओ जल्दी कराओ। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान के बड़े से बड़े रहनुमाओं, मैं कहता हूँ कि उन्होंने वह हासिल किया कि जिससे कि शांति वन और राजघाट में आज उनकी मरी हुई समाधि पर धरबों और खरबों की तादाद में हिन्दुस्तान के गरीब और यतीम जाकर श्रद्धा से नत मस्तक होते हैं और फूल चढ़ाते हैं और दूसरे मुल्क के लोग भी वहाँ जाकर श्रद्धा से झुकते हैं। अपना व्यक्तिगत जीवन बनाना चाहते हो तो व्यापार करो, बिजनेस करो, लाखों मन सोना जमा कर लो, लेकिन उससे मुल्क का कुछ नहीं होता, उससे मुल्क की गरीबी नहीं मिटती है।



इसलिए सब के साथ काम करो। जरूरत थी, इसी मुल्क में दधीचि पैदा हुए, जरूरत थी मुल्क को उस वक्त तो अपना मांस और चमड़ा गायों से चटवा दिया, यहां तक कि हड्डियों का दान कर दिया। तो मुल्क के बड़े भ्रादमियों गरीबों से प्यार करना सीखो, उन मासूम बच्चों से प्यार करना सीखो। और भी सुनो दिल खोल कर सुनो, ऐ हिन्दुस्तान के हाई क्लास पालिटिशियंस, तुम मुल्क के अन्दर किसी भी भ्रादमी को पैदा नहीं करना चाहते हो, माफ करो रामसेवक जी, तुम मुल्क के भ्रादमियों को दबा कर रखना चाहते हो जो मुल्क को सही रास्ते पर चला सकते हैं। अपनी लीडरशिप और प्रपंच के आधार पर उसे दबा कर रखना चाहते हो। किसी पार्टी के अन्दर यह जुरंत और ताकत नहीं है कि तुम उसे खुल कर भौका दो। उसे दबाना चाहते हो। माफ करना मेरे दोस्तों, मैं खूब अच्छी तरह से इस सियासत को समझ गया हूँ। आप क्या चाहते हो, इसको भी अच्छी तरह समझता हूँ। आपके एलेक्शन मैनिफैस्टो होते हैं, मैंने देखा है। माफ करना उस जमाने में मैं भी एलेक्शन लड़ रहा था। एक एलेक्शन "मनिफैस्टो मझे मिला मैं बहुत ज्यादा घबड़ाया कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर इतनी ज्यादा गायें कहां से आ गईं? खैर, उसकी दलील तो मैं मैं इस समय नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन यह बात जरूर याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ और स्वर्गीय लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी के कदमों में हिन्दुस्तान के उन यतीमों की तरफ से मैं श्रद्धांजलि पेश करता हूँ और साथ ही ही इसके जो हमारी नयी प्रधान मन्त्री इन्दिरा जी आयी हैं उनको भी मैं मुबारकबाद देता हूँ। वह बड़े बाप की बेटा हैं, मुल्क के उन गरीबों के अन्दर खुशी की लहर दौड़ गई। आप मुझे माफ करोगे मैं बहुत गरीब वर्ग से आता हूँ, मुझे कोई सहारा नहीं है, यह तमाम पार्टी वालों के तीर और बन्दूक हम पर चलते रहते हैं, लेकिन कांग्रेस संगठन के बल पर मैं जीत कर आता हूँ, इसको अशोक मेहता

साहब भी जानते हैं, हमारे यहां से कन्डीडेट हो चुके हैं, तो मैं इस तरफ ध्यान जरूर दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जैसे वाले हजार कांशिश करने के बावजूद भी अपने इरादों में कामयाब नहीं हो सके और मैं कांग्रेस की ईमानदारी और संगठन के बल पर अभी तक जिन्दा हूँ और शायद उम्मीद करता हूँ कि जिन्दा रहूंगा जब तक कांग्रेस जिन्दा रहेगी, उस समय तक मैं भी जिन्दा रहूंगा। तो एक तरफ और मैं आप की जरूर तवज्जह दिला देना चाहता हूँ। खुलकर आओ। अगर फिरकापरस्ती और जातिवाद के आधार पर संगठन करना चाहते हो तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान का वही हाल होगा कि जो दूसरे मुल्क वालों ने आप की कमबोरियों का फायदा उठाया, थोड़ी सी गायों को प्रागे खड़ा कर दिया और आपका मुल्क गुलाम हो गया।

ताशकन्द का जिक्र आया। कहा गया कि मुसलमानों ने अपने जंग-ए-बाजूस इस्लाम फैलाया। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ।

मोहम्मद मुस्तफा सललहवाली ए वसल्लम अलाहित सलातो वसल्लाम ... (व्यवधान), सुनो यह तबारीख की बातें हैं। 80 लड़ाइयां हुईं जिसमें अन्दाजा कीजिये 10017 भ्रादमी जंग मैदान में मरे। लेकिन किसी लड़ाई में वह पैगम्बर जाते थे, किसी में नहीं जाते थे। वह अमन और आमान के लिए हमेशा खुदा से प्रार्थना करते थे जिसको कि आप ईश्वर से प्रार्थना करना कहते हैं। वह कहते थे कि अगर किसी दुश्मन ने आपको इस कल्पे पर मारा तो वह भी कल्पा उसे हाजिर कर दो जिसमें खुदा उसको लाफीक

[श्री चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी]

श्रीर तीफीक के माने कि वह सही रास्ते पर आ जाये। इसके मानी यह नहीं है कि हम किसी खास जाति या इस्लाप को नीचे न जाते हैं या कोई मेरे सनातन धर्म को नीचे ले जाय। यह तो इन्सानियत का सीदा है। अगर हम किसी के बाप को बाप कहेंगे तो बेशक वह भी मेरे बाप को बाप कहेगा श्रीर भदब से कहेगा। लेकिन अगर मैं किसी के धर्म या मजहब के खिलाफ बोलता हूं तो वह भी हमारे धर्म या मजहब के खिलाफ बोलेगा। तो लोगों ने कहा कि यह जंग जो हुआ श्रीर शास्त्री जी ने ताशकन्द में बिना सोचे समझे किसी के दबाव में आकर साइन कर दिया, इससे मुल्क के कुछ श्रीर भन्जाम हो सकते है। लेकिन डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, मेरी जहां तक लियाकत है श्रीर वह ताशकन्द समझौता हिन्दी में भी श्रीर इंग्लिश में भी दोनों में दिया गया है, मैं जो मामलात को समझा हूं वह यह है कि ताशकन्द के मामले में जनरल अयूब का न कोई दबाव या श्रीर न रशिया के प्रधान मंत्री का कोई दबाव था। फिर वहां आपके चौहान साहब भी थे श्रीर सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह भी थे श्रीर श्रीर भी अपने लोग उनके साथ थे। इससे बेटर ऐग्रीमेंट या समझौते की कोई बात हिन्दुस्तान के सामने नहीं हो सकती थी। नहीं तो आप कह दो कि लड़ाई करना अच्छा है। मगर ज्यों ही खतरे ही घंटी बजती थी, उसी साथ एबेन्यू मैं हरे राम हरे राम होने लगता था। हरे राम हरे राम करने से बम्बार्डमेंट थोड़े ही बन्द हो जायेगा। वह तो जहां होना है, वहीं होगा। तुम भी उसके लिए तैयार रहो। मर्द तो वह

है जो मुल्क को हर लड़ाई से बचा ले जैसे जवाहर लाल जी ने बचाया, जैसे शात्री जी ने बचाया। जरूरत थी उस वक कि हम लड़ाई का सामना करें, उनके खतरे का सामना करें श्रीर जब बात ऐसी आयी कि हम दोस्ताना हाथ बढ़ायें तो बड़े भदब के साथ दोस्ताना हाथ हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री ने बढ़ाया श्रीर अयूब से कहा कि तुम भी खतरे में हो श्रीर हम भी खतरे में हैं। आप भन्दाजा करो यादव साहब, बड़े पढ़े लिखे भादमी हो, अगर लड़ाई हो तो इस मुल्क ने जो उन्नति की है, उससे आप पांच सौ वर्ष पीछे चले जाओगे। आपकी तमाम इंडस्ट्रीज का क्या हाल होगा? नवजवानों का क्या हाल होगा श्रीर देवियों का क्या हाल होगा? (ग्यवघान) ... श्रीर मेरा क्या हाल होगा? मैं तो 1930 से लड़ता चला आ रहा हूं गांधी जी श्रीर जवाहर लाल जी के इशारे पर। अगर जरूरत होगी तो वहां भी जाऊंगा। मुझे आप को लैफ्ट राइट श्रीर कुछ मार्च आदि सिखलाने की जरूरत नहीं होगी या आम्स पकड़ाना मुझे आप को नहीं सिखलाना पड़ेगा। मैंने काका कालेलकर पंडित मदनमोहन मालवीय के नेतृत्व में काफी काम किया है श्रीर आप के श्रीराम वाजपेयी जोकि उस समय के स्काउट कमिश्नर थे उन के नीचे मैं एक वालियंटर था। मैं सारा क्वायद वगैरह जानता हूं। आप को तो शायद यह पता भी नहीं होगा कि अटेंशन मे 45 डिग्री का कोण हो जाता है।

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** माननीय सदस्य का समय समाप्त हो रहा है ।

**श्री चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी :** बस मैं एक मिनट में अपनी बात समाप्त कर दूंगा । देश में आज खाद्यान्न का सवाल पेश है । इसके हल करने के लिए मेरा एक सुझाव है । जो कि मैं देना चाहता हूँ । हिन्दुस्तान के प्रन्दर बहुत से समुद्र हैं, बहुत सी नदियां और झीलें प्रादि हैं जहां पर मछुए और मल्लाह प्रादि मछली पकड़ने का काम करते हैं । उन से इसके लिए कर वसूल किया जाता है । मुझे बिहार में, यू० पी० में, केरल में या जहां प्ररेबियन सी है, वहां भी मुझे जाने का मौका मिला है और मैंने मछुओं और मल्लाहों को मछली पकड़ते देखा है । अगर आप इसे फ्री कर दें कि आप चाहें जितनी मछली मारिये उस पर कोई कर नहीं होगा तो मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत से इलाकों में जैसे कि बंगाल में मछली या मूँड़ी खा कर जिन्दगी बसर करते हैं, उन के खाद्यान्न का सवाल हल हो सकता है ।

नन्दा साहब से मैंने कंसलटेटिव कमेटी में प्रनुरोध किया था कि वह एक ऐसी इंडस्ट्री कायम करें जहांकि फिश की डस्ट तैयार की जाया करे और अगर ऐसा किया जाय तो देश में खाद्यान्न की समस्या को हल करने में काफी मदद मिलेगी । जिस तरह से अंडे की डस्ट बना कर डि बों में बन्द करी हुई हर एक दुकान पर मिल जाती है और जब भी चाहे प्रादमी उस अंडे की डस्ट से प्रामलेट बना कर खा सकता है उसी तरह मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप बड़े पैमाने पर एक फिश सम्बन्धी इंडस्ट्री तैयार करे जहां कि फिश की डस्ट तैयार की जाय करे । ऐसा होने से आप देखेंगे कि बंगाल, उड़ीसा प्रादि जगहों पर जहां कि लोगों का मुख्य भोजन मछली है उनकी इससे खूब सम्पत्ता काफी हद तक हल हो सकती है । इससे वहां के लोगों को बहुत संतोष प्राणिल होगा । अगर वहां आप यह

मछली मारना फ्री कर देभे और इस पर कोई भी कर नहीं लेभे ।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** कितनी मछलियां होगी ?

**श्री चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी :** अब जाकर प्ररेबियन सी में गिन लीजिये कि वहां पर कितनी मछलियां हैं । (इंटरप्राशन)

माननीय सदस्य क्यों बेकार में मुझे इंटरफ़ीयर कर रहे हैं ? मैं तो प्रनुशासन में हूँ लेकिन आप किसी प्रनुशासन में नहीं मालूम होते हैं, आप के ऊपर कोई लगाम नहीं है । मेहरबानी करके मुझे अपनी बात पूरी कर लेने दीजिये ।

मुझे हिन्दुस्तान के बहुत से इलाकों में घूमने का मौका मिला है और यह बात साफ है । (इंटरप्राजन्स)

क्यों बेकार में इंटरफ़ीयर कर रहे हो ? मुझे हिन्दुस्तान की बहुत सी जगहों पर घूमने का इत्तिफाक हुआ है और मैंने देखा कि काफी बंजर और पड़ती जमीन बेकार पड़ी हुई है । मैंने देखा है कि यू० पी० और बिहार में बहुत सी ऐसी बंजर जमीन बकार पड़ी है, भले ही वह रेलवे के पास हो चाहे बिहार या उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकारों के पास हो, या गवर्नमेंट ऑफ इंडिया के पास हो, मेरा सुझाव है कि ऐसी बंजर और बेकार जमीन को खेतीहीन किसान मजदूरों को खेती के लिए दे दिया जाये ताकि वह उसे तोड़ कर खेतीबाड़ी कर सकें और जहां इस तरह से आप उनकी रोजी का इतजाय करेंगे वहां खाद्यान्न की समस्या को भी बहुत हद तक इस तरह से हल करने में कामयाब हो सकेंगे । ऐसी जमीन अगर किसी भेदभाव के दी जाय । चाहे वह ब्राह्मण हो, राजपूत हो, हरिजन हो या किसी भी वर्ग या जाति का हो जिसके पास भी खेती करने का साधन नहीं है आप उन को वह जमीन बांट

[श्री चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी]

दीजिये। लेकिन जमीन ऐसे लोगों को दी जाये जिनके कि पास पहले से न हो। अब मैं पार्लियामेंट का मੈम्बर हूँ तो ऐसा न किया जाये मेरे भतीजे के नाम 50 बीघे जमीन करवा दी जाये। इस मामले में इस तरह का भाई भतीजावाद कतई नहीं चलना चाहिए। जो दरअसल उसके योग्य हो उन्हीं डिजरविंग लोगों को यह जमीने देश की उपज बढ़ाने के लिए दी जायें। इस तरह से खाद्यान्न की समस्या बहुत कुछ हल हो सकती है।

एजुकेशन के लिए मेरा निवेदन यह है कि नाइट स्कूल जगह जगह खास कर गांवों में खोले जायें जहाँ कि 40 वर्ष तक की उम्र के लोगों को तालीम दी जाये। ऐसा करना मुल्क के लिए बहुत ही मुफीद साबित होगा। हमारा नारा भी यह है कि हम अपने देश में से जिहालत को खत्म कर देंगे, अविद्या का नाश करेंगे तो उसका एक ही तरीका है कि आप नाइट स्कूल खोलिये। हर प्रान्त में स्थान-स्थान पर आप ऐसे नाइट स्कूल चलाने का इंतजाम करें जिसमें कि कम्पलसरी तौर पर दिन में जो मजदूर और दूसरे श्रमिक काम करते हैं उनको रात में मैट्रिक तक की शिक्षा मुफ्त दी जाये। अगर आप ऐसा करेंगे तो मुल्क की जिहालत खत्म हो सकती है। इस में आप महिलाओं को भी शामिल करें। जो दिन में महिलाएं मजदूरी आदि काम करती हैं उनके लिए भी रात में अलग से नाइट स्कूल चलाने का बंदोबस्त करें।

इन लफ्जों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो मबारकबाद का प्रस्ताव है उसकी तहेदिल से ताइद करता हूँ और आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि मुझे जो इतना समय बोलने का दिया।

**The Minister of Planning (Shri Asoka Mehta):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I shall confine my observations this afternoon only to the economic situation in the country. I have carefully gone through the various amendments that have been moved and I have tried to follow the various comments and observations that have been offered by Members on both sides of the House.

I understand and fully appreciate the concern that is felt by Members on either side of the House at the grave economic situation through which we are passing now. That we should feel concerned about it is natural. But it is necessary for us to understand to what extent our current difficulties are because of certain special circumstances, to what extent they are inherent in the situation, that is, they are of a structural character, and to what extent they are due to any mistakes that may have been committed.

I believe, when a country finds itself in a difficult economic situation together with a whole complex of other difficulties around its frontiers, it is but natural that all sections of the Parliament as well as outside would try and at least seek a community of understanding so that a community of effort becomes possible. There is no denying the fact that in the current year we are passing through very severe difficulties. In this year, the agricultural production is exceptionally low. You, Sir, and the hon. Members are well aware of the acute scarcity that prevails in the country because of a failure of monsoon which has not been equalled in this century.

15.50 hrs.

[SHRI SHAM LAL SARAF in the Chair]

The result is that, as far as our production this year is concerned, there will be a considerable amount of shortfall. While exact figures are not

available—exact figures cannot be attempted now—very broadly speaking, very roughly speaking, subject to future revisions I would say that this year our total production in the country is likely to be lower than that of last year and our agricultural production, by itself, is likely to be lower by something like Rs. 800 crores compared to the production in 1964-65.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani (Amroha):** You do not know the prices. How can you say 'Rs. 800 crores'?

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** May I respectfully submit that Acharya Kripalani knows better than myself that any statement can be made either in terms of physical quantities or in terms of equivalent rupees. After all, all assessments of national income from the days of Dadabhai Naoroji, have been made not in physical terms only but in terms of equivalent rupees.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** If the prices are fluctuating, how can you talk in terms of money?

**Mr. Chairman:** Should we hear him first fully?

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapura):** Let us get the clarification. These interruptions sometimes help.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** It is well known—and I believe the Minister of Food & Agriculture has often pointed out—that the production this year is likely to be something like 12.5 million tonnes less, as far as foodgrains are concerned. Likewise, in cotton, in jute and in a number of other commodities except sugarcane, the production this year is going to be smaller than that of last year. As I was pointing out, it is very difficult to give precise figures. That is why I have made it very clear that these are rough figures; we cannot give precise figures; precise figures emerge only after the year is over and all data are available. This is so in any kind of

assessment. In order to have dimensional figures and not precise figures, in order to have a picture of the kind of problem that we are facing today, I attempted a rough guess based upon the best calculations that I can make at this stage.

Likewise, as far as industrial production is concerned, there also there will be special difficulties. These difficulties arise from the fact that the maintenance imports in the recent months have been considerably adversely affected by a sudden and sharp decline in the foreign exchange that is available with us. You are aware of the reasons why this sudden decline has taken place. When the hostilities broke out between Pakistan and India, certain countries that had pledged economic assistance to us froze that assistance. While part of that assistance has now been released, there is still a certain portion which remains frozen. The release that has come has come rather late. In the meantime, the supplies in the pipelines as well as the supply of imported industrial raw materials with our industrial units have got depleted. Again, because the agricultural production this year is not as good as before and is such less than what we had expected in terms of investments made and the potential created in the country, those industries which are based upon agricultural raw materials are also in difficulty. Those industries which are based upon imported industrial raw materials, particularly, the engineering industries and chemical industries, are also experiencing serious difficulties. They are likely to experience these difficulties for some time to come.

**An hon. Member:** Is it due to over-production?

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** With the result of all these, the overall national income this year is going to be affected. But we have also to realise that

[Shri Asoka Mehta]

when a situation like this emerges—this has been gone into more fully in the economic survey which has been circulated this morning—we have two alternatives: one is that we try to reduce our programmes of outlays and investments. We must remember that, in the last four or five years we have had to face a number of difficulties which we had not anticipated. The first difficulty which we had not anticipated earlier was that we would become a victim of aggression on two occasions and the consequence of this has been, on which this august House has put its seal of approval, (*Interruptions*) an increased defence expenditure. This increased defence expenditure could perhaps have been balanced by reduced expenditure on developmental plans. Every effort is being made to contain the non-developmental expenditure. Year after year, when the budget is discussed, the non-developmental expenditure is carefully gone into. In the Planning Commission, it is our endeavour to look into the non-developmental expenditure of the States also and I can say with a certain amount of knowledge and with a certain amount of confidence that every attempt is being made by the States also to see that the non-developmental expenditure is kept in check. We must continue to see that non-developmental expenditure does not go up and this takes us into a variety of other problems into which I do not want to go just now. But between defence expenditure and developmental expenditure, it was decided immediately after the Chinese aggression that we should try to carry both the burdens. The reason was that, if we did not develop our economy, we would not have the capacity to defend ourselves; secondly, if we did not develop our economy, we would never be able ultimately to sort out our economic problems. To solve our economic problems over a span of time, it is obvious that we must continue to diversify, to deepen, to improve and to enlarge the whole st-

structure of our economy. This has resulted in requiring a considerable amount of outlays and investment.

Outlays and investments in defence and outlays and investments in development have got to be balanced by corresponding savings in the economy. The Savings in the economy have not always come up. This is the core of the whole problem that every developing country has to face—a stagnant economy, an underdeveloped country, a poor country, has got into the poverty trap; its incomes are low; savings are low; and investments are low. We have to break out of this vicious circle. In order to break out of this vicious circle, it is not possible to say that incomes should first go up. Incomes go up as a result of investments. Investments become possible only to the extent of savings are generated. So one has constantly to make an attempt to see that where the saving and investment ratio is pitifully small like 5 per cent or 6 percent of the national income, it is raised to a much higher figure; while the national income is increasing not only absolutely but relatively, the investments and savings in the economy have to be increased. Many friends in the House and outside talk about the results achieved in other countries, maybe, Germany or Japan. But it needs to be realised what high saving and investment ratios these countries had attempted and achieved. We are moving in that direction and are trying to move in that direction.

16 hrs.

Constantly, the question comes up: Are we matching our investments with savings? Everyone in the House and outside is most anxious that we should spend more and more on development. Everybody desires that there should be more of irrigation projects, there should be more of factories, there should be more of roads,

and there should be more of commun-  
cations, and I think that it is but  
legitimate that every part of the  
country should desire that the  
potential for growth that exists every-  
where is fully tapped and quickly  
realised. But in order to tap and  
realise this, one has to make invest-  
ments. And those investments have to  
be balanced by savings.

What has been happening is this.  
Neither public savings nor private  
savings have really come up to the  
level of the investments and outlays  
that we are making. That is the  
reason why everybody, whether it is  
the industrialist or the agriculturist  
or the State Governments or the Cen-  
tral Government, constantly finds that  
there is a gap between the investments  
that they have to make and the sav-  
ings that they are able to mobilise.  
And this results in constant claims  
and constant demands upon the ban-  
king system in the country, but the  
banking system can provide credit  
only to the extent that credit is again  
based upon savings. If it is not  
based upon savings then it results  
in creation of credit which is un-  
linked or unrelated to savings in the  
community. The problem is how  
precisely and how quickly we raise  
our savings and investments. We are  
most anxious to raise our investments.  
But how do we keep on balancing  
them? This is one of the problems,  
one of the internal problems, that we  
are facing.

**Mr. Chairman:** What has been the  
relation between the savings and the  
investments in the past?

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** Savings in the  
past? The question that might be  
asked is, and what probably you, Sir,  
have in mind is this. To what extent  
are the investments that we are mak-  
ing yielding the results that we want?  
For, in the past also, we have been  
trying to invest a little more than  
what we have been able to secure by  
matching it with savings. Therefore,  
you are quite right when you say that  
we have to be very careful to see to

what extent our investments are yield-  
ing the results that we desire. That  
is an aspect, a very important one,  
which we have to go into.

But I would like very briefly to  
point out two key questions which  
are interrelated. One is this internal  
problem that arises and the other is  
the external problem. Externally,  
the problem is that in a developing  
country like ours, there is constantly  
the need of imports, and, therefore,  
the balance of payment difficulties  
come up. Why has the country got  
the constant need of imports? It  
has got it because a traditional eco-  
nomy, a stagnant economy, has not  
the resources, the capacity and the  
wherewithals to throw up the kind of  
equipment that is needed for the pur-  
poses of development. For instance,  
everyone here desires that there  
should be greater and greater provi-  
sion of electricity for agriculture, for  
industry, for the rural areas and for  
the urban areas.

During the last fifteen years, we  
have tried to augment the supply of  
power from 2½ million k.w. to a little  
over 10 million k.w. In augmenting  
this, constantly the question comes  
up: Where do you get the equipment,  
and how do you get the equipment?  
This equipment has to be imported  
because this country did not produce  
any equipment. When you decide to  
import anything, it creates a balance  
of payments problem. Now, we are  
not satisfied with what we have done  
as far as the generation of power is  
concerned. Every part of India is pla-  
mouring for more power. I am only  
taking it as an illustration. If we  
have to increase our power supply in  
a meaningful manner in the next  
five years, then you can well imagine  
the demand for all kinds of equipment,  
like generators, turbines and other  
things that would be needed. We  
have, therefore, got to get  
up in the country the capacity to  
manufacture these things. If we do  
not set up the capacity to manufacture

[Shri Asoka Mehta]

these things in the country, we shall find that at a certain point it is just impossible for us to carry forward our electrification programme. When we decide to set up this manufacturing capacity, what is happening is that on the one side we are investing a lot on generating power and supplying power, but on the other side, simultaneously we have also to find resources of invest in developing this electrical industry. It is possible that some of our industries may not have developed fast enough or we may deliberately not have developed them fast enough. For instance, look at some of our consumer goods industries; look at the food manufacturing industry or the manufacture of textiles or the manufacture of leather and fur goods; the increase there is considerably below the average increase for industries as a whole during the past few years. But there are also other industries where there is increase; if you look at the industry for manufacture of machinery, for instance, the manufacture of electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances etc. if we take 1956 as 100, we find that its production today is almost threefold. There are many areas where if this is not done we may not be able to supply power; for, we are all agreed that unless power is made available, neither agriculture nor industries will be able to move forward. If power is the one agent of modernisation and transformation, then it is necessary that our capacity to provide power has to be built up in the country. In building it up, I can understand your saying that we have invested so much in such and such a factory, for instance, the Heavy Electricals Factory at a place A or at a place B, but we have to see how well it is working. It is the responsibility of the Government, and ultimately it is the responsibility of the House to see that if it is not working properly, it is made to work properly. Any amount of criticism on this point is completely meaningless. But if it is said that we cannot and we should not go in for build-

ing up of electrical equipment but still we should be responsible for providing more and more power in the country, and that we should have no balance of payments problem, then I very respectfully submit that that is a completely inconsistent attitude. I am not suggesting that anyone in this House has taken that attitude. But it is necessary to understand this inter-relationship.

Then, again, the difficulty is this. The structure of Indian economy has to be altered and has to be changed. In altering the structure of economy, we have constantly the need of having more and more of imports. These imports either have to be paid for by exports, or there will be a gap between imports and exports which somehow has to be made up. Here, again, as far as exports are concerned, while our record is not completely unsatisfactory, I do not think we have done as much or as well as we should have. Of course, you can blame the Government; anybody can blame the Government and the Government should be willing to take the rap at any time. But I think there is another reason and it is this, that in our country, you and I and all of us who hold positions of responsibility in the Parliament or outside, have not always recognised the implications and the logic of giving priority to exports, because the capacity of a person to buy depends upon the earnings that he has. The desire of every hon. Member that the earnings of every person in India should go up to a tremendous amount, the emphasis that is being placed on the need to provide employment opportunities and adequate earnings to the mass of our people all arise from the fact that everyone needs the capacity and a man's capacity to go and buy what he wants depends upon the income that he has. Now, a nation's capacity to go and buy from the world market, and to do any kind of shopping in the world, depends upon the resources that it has. And these resources come out of the exports. Therefore, the nation's capacity to buy



from other countries has to be constantly increased, whether it is for the purpose of buying for defence or buying for development or buying for maintaining the economy that we have built up and getting the maximum out of the capacities that we have created. For instance, we need non-ferrous metals. Everywhere, the cry is that the small industries are struggling today because we are unable to provide the non-ferrous metals that they need. Or we hear that the chemical plants are not working properly or we are not having enough drugs today though we have the capacity, because the basic drugs are not being imported. All these import difficulties arise because we are not doing enough to push up our exports. In agriculture, partly because of the failure in agricultural production but partly also because we are unwilling to agree to priority of exports over internal consumption, we have not been able to step up our exports; as a matter of fact, in the case of some of these agricultural exports the volume has gone down recently.

Likewise, there may be manufactured goods. When you export something, the local supply of it available for local consumption is bound to get reduced. You cannot export without having a reduction in supplies locally. We are in a position where we are caught in a vicious circle. We have a great deal of industrial capacity which we have built up. If we can fully utilise that capacity here and now, we would have a lot more of production in the country and a lot more of employment in the country and a great deal of budgetary receipts would flow into the exchequer.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Why don't you do it?

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** In order to do that, one has to see that the necessary quantum of critical imports are available; whether it is non-ferrous metals, whether it is basic chemicals, whether it is certain key components, whether it is certain spares, whatever is needed

has to be imported. To do that, do we have to give priority to export or not?

I would like this august House constantly to be the custodian of our exports, to see, to watch and warn Government and ask why exports are not picking up. Because this is not something which is very popular, to give priority to exports over internal consumption is going to create a considerable amount of difficulty. I am sure everyone in the House is interested in seeing that the economy moves forward, that we are able to generate more and more so that this vicious circle is broken by giving priority to exports. If that is to be done, while I fully admit that the primary responsibility resides on the Government, when an economy has to be set right, I am sure no section of the House would permit the entire responsibility to be shouldered by Government alone. It becomes a national responsibility.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** National Government. A party Government cannot be a national Government.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** The second important point to remember is the greatest need for drawing upon external assistance. As an agriculturist has to go to a bank, as an industrialist has to go to a bank, when we talk of external assistance, what we are doing is to ask for loans. We are receiving loans from foreign countries at governmental level, at the International Bank level or at similar levels. This is in order to meet our immediate requirements. These loans we shall pay up later on. Every industrialist, every agriculturist, every businessman engaged in productive work has to depend upon this kind of credit facilities. Now because we require international currency—not just internal currency—from either international banking houses or from foreign governments, this should not be considered begging at all. This is not begging. When an industrialist goes to a bank and asks for money, he is not begging; he is seeking accommodation; he is seeking loans on the

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basis of which his production is going to increase.

I would like anyone to look carefully and see how we are using the external assistance we are getting. I suggest that overwhelmingly the external assistance we are getting we are using for the purpose of energising our production.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** Not at all.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** This is a matter of fact. I am always willing to invite Acharya Kripalani and place all records before him, and if at the end of that objective study, he comes to the conclusion that this is not so, I shall gladly accept his verdict. I believe a senior and distinguished Member....

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** You got those facts when you went into the Government.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** Anyone is welcome to look up my earlier speeches and analyse them. He will see that I have not deviated an iota from the basic analysis I have offered. As far as I am concerned, I have never abandoned my objectivity. I value my objectivity. I value my objectivity and analytical powers as something more important than partisan politics.

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** What relevance has this lecture to the discussion in the House?

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** As far as external assistance is concerned, we are most anxious to be self-reliant. The whole purpose of our economic development and the strategy we follow is to be self-reliant. That is why we are developing in this country a variety of industries, we are diversifying the whole structure of our economy, we are altering completely the structure of our economy. But our ability to achieve self-reliance over a certain period depends upon two things. First, the amount of savings and investment

the country is willing to make. How much consumption you are willing to forgo, consumption not necessarily of the poor, consumption of any section of society? That is the reason why I have always, not today, but for the last twenty years, consistently talked about restraining consumption in this country. If I have been an exponent of the philosophy of austerity in this country, it is because of the conviction that we can never be self-reliant unless we give priority to savings and investment over current consumption . . .

**Shri Kishen Pattnayak** (Sambalpur): Reduce expenditure.

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** But that is not enough. Side by side with savings and investment, there will always be this gap of foreign exchange; the more quickly you fill it up, the lesser is the period of your dependence.

Very often it is argued: why should we be demanding and taking more external assistance? We are becoming dependant. That is not so. If you take a span of time, if today we were to say that we would not take loans or external assistance, we shall be dependent for 20 or 30 years to come. But if we say we take the optimum assistance we need, we can reduce the span of dependence to 7-8 years. Given the goodwill and cooperation of every member of this House, given the understanding and response of the people, it would be possible for us to become self-reliant within a period of 8 years or so.

If that is to be done, let us not be snipping at external assistance. You cannot develop industry, you cannot develop the economy fast if you go on snipping at credit facilities. Every single loan we are taking we are servicing and are going to pay back. We give priority to servicing of loans. India has never—never—dishonoured even in thought the obligations she has incurred. But if those obligations are to be fulfilled, it is necessary that we

put ourselves in a position where our capacity to meet our import requirements from internal production is great, and our ability to export is great.

Let me move one step further. It is not only enough that we produce more and more, but we have got to produce things cheaply. There comes the necessity for large size economic units. I am just now not talking of small scale industries. But there are many things—it may be aluminium, it may be steel, there are a number of basic things entering into production—which have to be produced in large units because modern technology is such that unless you use large units, you will not be able to have economies of scale.

If we have large units, two consequences follow. First, there has to be an effective and expending public sector. Without that, large units will inevitably be controlled by a limited number of people, with consequences that follow. The reason why in our overall strategy we are constantly emphasising the public sector and its expansion in key areas—critical areas—is that without that, it will not be possible for us to achieve self-reliance wherein ultimately the social structure is also suitably modified.

If the public sector is to grow, the second consequence of it is that to that extent savings have to be mobilised by the state. The reason why over and over again Government has to come forward and say that we need so much more money out of the resources generated in the country is that only by physically getting hold of those resources can we be sure (a) of investing them in the right places and (b) of seeing that that investment remains under the control of Government.

**Shri Daji:** But you have thrown open fertiliser and cement to the private sector. Is that how you are going about it?

**Shri Asoka Mehta:** I hope I shall be in this House at least for one year. I shall always be at your disposal to

answer any questions raised and shall place before you the broad framework within which we hope to secure our objectives. We can carry on a dialogue to our mutual satisfaction.

The second point I want to point out is that we have accepted a mixed economy. There are various reasons for it into which I will not go. In a mixed economy, there will be individual units which will also have to be bigger and bigger, because if you do not allow them to become bigger and bigger, you will not have the economies of scale. If certain individual units have to become bigger and bigger, there are two reasons. Firstly a great part of the resources needed for the development of industrial private sector comes from retained profits, they come from ploughed back profits. The whole structure has to be so conceived that from the incomes that are generated in the organised private sector a greater part is retained for purposes of reinvestment. This itself enlarges the size of existing industries or existing establishments. Secondly, it is in our interest if we are to stop up our exports, if we are to have the economies of scale, if we are to move towards self-reliance, if so are to use new technology, if we are to use new skills, that there should be fairly large units or larger and larger units may be permitted in selected areas. Therefore, it becomes necessary to think in terms of appropriate social controls, whether such controls are operated through the credit system, state marketing etc. These are various devices used for purposes of controlling those elements in the private sector which for technological or economic reasons have to become larger and larger.

I have only sketched before you for your approval the broad framework, the key strategy which we are trying to operate. There are a number of points on which criticisms can be offered, there are many points in which refinements can be made, but it would be of importance to all of us concerned to get from this august House some

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kind of guidance on the basic strategy itself, because if the strategy is not recognised, is not accepted, then we would be arguing, as it were, from two different universes. I think this strategy has nothing to do with this party or that party. The strategy arises out of the basic objective facts of the country, and if we recognise the objective facts and we are all clear about the goals that we have in mind and analyse the current situation, about which there cannot be great difference, and the objectives, about which there is a great amount of agreement, I have no doubt that we shall find a community of outlook and an identity of views in the broad strategy that we have adopted.

**Shrimati Gayatri Devi (Jaipur):** This motion has been before the House for the last four or five days and many speeches have been made from all sections of the House. Serious criticisms have been made not only by the Opposition Members, but by senior Members of the Congress Party because of the continuance of the emergency and the DIR which, according to Shri A. K. Sen, who till recently was the defender of the emergency, amounts to the abrogation of the fundamental rights and the civil liberties of the people. Shri H. C. Mathur went as far as to say that if the Home Minister was not in a position to run the country's administration without the DIR he should quit office. While we are all concerned with the security of our country and its welfare, we should not forget that we are a democracy pledged to individual freedom and fundamental rights, and any encroachment upon these would tantamount to constitutional dictatorship. The only thing which the emergency has done is to give a second lease of life to the ruling clique and so we should not blame the Government if they have fallen in love with it.

While we are all concerned about the grave food situation in the country, I must say that this is really nothing new. We have been facing this crisis

for some time past, and we had witnessed a tremendous amount of talk as to how to increase our food production. Yet there has been no sense of urgency on the part of the Government. The Swatantra Party has always that controls and zonal restrictions on the movement of foodgrains are the root cause of corruption, artificial shortage and bad distribution. Many Members of the Congress Party feel the same way as ourselves about the zonal restrictions, and some of them expressed themselves quite vehemently at the recent Congress session at Jaipur, but when the question came to a division, the Congress High Command did not have the courage to face it. They made some excuse and tricked their own members by announcing that the zonal question would be examined soon. A day or so later in Delhi the announcement came that the Chief Ministers were opposed to the removal of zonal restrictions till November. They want the zonal restrictions to remain because, as everybody knows, certain vested interests are making a huge amount of money at the cost of producers and consumers through licences for sale and distribution of foodgrains. An hon. Member speaking in the House quite rightly said in his speech a few minutes ago that the biggest profiteer in all this was the Government itself.

Recently I got a telegram from the President of the Rajasthan Foodgrains Dealers Federation, Kota, in which the harms of zonal restrictions have been clearly enunciated. He says that cultivators and merchants suffer heavily as a result of zonal restrictions, and adds:

"35,000 bags of old foodgrains lying with merchants only in Kota district deteriorating as no demand. Same position in the other restricted districts. On the other hand foodgrains required badly in deficit and famine-hit districts of Rajasthan. As variation in prices in deficit and surplus areas foodgrains arrival in Mandis affecting and cultivators losing."

In conclusion, he has demanded removal of all inter-district restrictions to save foodgrains from deteriorating and allowing the same to be used by people in deficit areas.

This is the way we are behaving in our own country in a crisis, and the picture we have presented of ourselves abroad is really too shocking for words. Here is a cutting from the *Statesman* of 20th February which says that USA, Argentina, Austria, Canada, Denmark, France, Greece, Iran, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, New Zealand, Sweden, Britain, West Germany and Yugoslavia are all collecting money and foodgrains for us. I know the story of some school children in Scotland who asked their teachers for permission to come late to school half an hour or so so that they could grow food for the starving children of India. The churches in Holland of all denominations have been opened for three hours a day so that people could give money for the starving population of India. In the same way in Italy, in a few days, over Rs. 4½ crores have been collected for the starving population of India.

What is happening in our own country? I think it is absolutely shameful to think of what is happening in our own country. People are profiteering, blackmarketing is going on, and nobody is taking this crisis very seriously. I think it is a terrible reflection on our character, and the blame for this can only be laid at the doors of those who are in charge of our Government, because it is they who are the biggest profiteers.

While it is true that we have had an unprecedented drought this year, it is also true that in 19 years of our country's independence this Government has been in power, and in three successive Five Year Plans they had ample time to provide for such natural calamities. Silos could have been built at rail heads, irrigation projects could have been speeded up, tractors and other machinery that have been im-

ported and are now lying useless could have been put to proper use.

There is no point in criticising what has happened in the past, but we must think of the future. In this I would urge the Government to try and make India self-dependent as far as agriculture is concerned. Mere slogans of "miss a meal a week" will not solve the problem. We have to be realist and not fadist. It needs immediate attention and reorientation of our policies. We can increase our production if the irrigation projects are speeded up, improved quality of seeds is provided to the farmers and enough quantity of fertilisers is made available to the cultivators and all sorts of restrictions are lifted. Farmers have to be given incentive in the form of credit, marketing facilities, assurance about the remunerative prices for their produce. Land levy should immediately be done away with. The President in his Address has said that increased irrigation facilities will be provided during the current year. But how can one possibly believe it, as we see the same paragraph in the President's Address for several years past, but nothing is moving in this direction. The whole time, we continue to face power shortage. Is it possible to believe that considerable emphasis will be laid on rural electrification. Most of the big cities, in fact the capital of India itself has to go for several hours a day without any power. Recently I had to go to the hospital in Jaipur for an x-ray and the doctor there was wondering whether there was a power failure. I asked whether this was a common thing; he said, yes, it happened very often. I asked; what about the operating theatre and he replied: we have to just cross our fingers and pray for the patient while we wait for the power to come on again. This is really shocking and government should look into this.

We see that nothing happens in our country. There seems to be such a lot of inefficiency. Things are promised us; they never come off. For instance,

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we see in the papers about the direct dialling system between Delhi and Jaipur; there is going to be a new dialling system. I can tell you it is absolutely frustrating. The automatic dialling system never functions; while you try to operate it, it will not work. It shows the inefficiency in our country and how we are not concerned about things; we do not even seem to be ashamed of it.

But on the other hand one can see that when the ruling party wants something to be done, it can produce things and it can get things done. For instance, recently in Jaipur within a few days the whole of Nehru Nagar was constructed by the PWD. Roads were widened; gardens came up in empty space and all that sort of thing. When the party in power wants something, it can always be done. If it has only used its energy for the country, instead of for themselves, I feel sure that they can make a tremendous amount of progress in the productivity of the country.

16.32 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Shri Asoka Mehta just now spoke about reducing expenditure on non-productive matters. Everybody knows how top heavy this administration is. If only some of the officials and some of the other people could be removed from office, they can reduce expenditure in that way; it would mean a tremendous amount of national savings. At the same time there is another thing that is holding back progress in our country and that is corruption. Everybody realises that corruption is the biggest impediment in our country's progress. Yet we do nothing to eradicate it. There are those who openly indulge in looting the people and the public exchequer. All of them happen to be influential members of the ruling party. We have heard charges of corruption against

several Chief Ministers and cabinet Ministers but except in the case of one all of them had been allowed to go without investigation. Memoranda containing charges of corruption were submitted to the President of the Union against the former Chief Ministers of Orissa, Bihar Mysore and the former Finance Minister and to the late Prime Minister against the Rajasthan Chief Minister. Some of them had been allowed to resign after accumulating huge wealth and that is all.

Recently we had a memorandum against the Chief Minister of Rajasthan. It was put up to the present Prime Minister, if I am allowed to read it, I shall do so. Would you allow me to place it on the Table of the House.

**Mr. Speaker:** How can it be done?

**Shrimati Gayatri Devi:** Recently we have witnessed a sort of jugglery in the case of Shri Mohanlal Sukhadia. A memorandum is pending with the government against Mr. Sukhadia. When some Opposition M.Ps. and M.L.As. met the Home Minister, he assured them that the investigation was progressing.

Then, when he went to Jaipur, somehow or other, the climate changes, and the Home Minister said that all the allegations were baseless. We wonder how Shri Nanda could arrive at that conclusion overnight. And to do proper justice to this country, we feel that a proper investigation should be made against not only Shri Sukhadia but all the other Chief Ministers and Ministers.

**An hon. Member:** Bihar.

**Shrimati Gayatri Devi:** Then, they should also be given the right of vindicating themselves; if the allegations are found to be baseless we shall

accept that, but they should be given the chance of proving themselves innocent too. (*Interruption*).

**An hon. Member:** Uttar Pradesh.

**Mr. Speaker:** If women came into power all the men would be tried!

**Shrimati Gayatri Devi:** Anyhow, the Government should necessarily try to end this corruption which is really eating into the vitals of the economy of our country. I feel that until such time as corruption is eradicated from this country, talking about socialism is a luxury which we can ill afford, because, if the public sector is going to handle everything in the corrupt manner in which it is doing it now, there will be no penny left in the country, and we shall not be able to get any business done.

With these words, I thank you.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I cannot emulate the eloquence of the two last Congress's speakers, but it is a fact that the country is unhappy; it is depressed; it sees no hope for the future.

**An hon. Member:** Why?

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** Under these circumstances, we thought that the President's Address would bring some ray of hope. But we find that the Address is as drab and dry as ever. The people of India are not concerned with how many V.I.Ps. came here and how many were the banquets given and how many V.I.Ps. went out from here to distant countries and got a warm welcome. The country is oppressed by the economic situation and that after 18 years of planning.

Take, for instance, food. We are told, whenever it is inconvenient to the Food Minister that the statistics are not perfect, but, when he himself gives the statistics he says that they are reasonable and are to be relied

upon and he proceeds on those statistics. We have become the greatest beggars in the world. Why? There is nothing unusual about it. If one knows one's country, begging is not considered derogatory.

**An hon. Member:** By the Government.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** Our Rishis and Munis never spun or wove; they never sowed or reaped, but everyone of them was more glorious than any emperor on the throne. So this begging is in our blood; we should not be surprised at it. In India nobody is ashamed of begging. (*Interruption*). This food policy of ours has divided the country into sections. The Congress people are never tired of reminding us of the unity of the country and its integration, in spite of the disintegration that exists in the Congress itself and in its Cabinets. Yet, they are never tired of reminding us that the country needs integration. Food is one thing in which the greatest disintegration has been brought about. Not only the zones are there, but also States in the zones. Not only the States, but the districts are separated from each other. The recent riots in Calcutta were due to the fact that people said, "we are not allowed to purchase our food even from adjacent districts". If this is the way we divide the country, it does not lie in our mouth to talk of the integration of the country. In other countries, in sovereign States, they try to have economic union. We are saying that Pakistan and India can profitably unite into an economic unit. But where there was an economic unit, we have divided the country and created zones and districts. I think nothing can be more absurd than this division of our country into zones, States, and districts.

We have been carrying on planning for 18 years and we are hearing the very same thing that our country is undeveloped and that some

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take-off stage will come. When will it come? It has not come in 18 years. We thought we had somebody in the Planning Commission, a very great expert from the PSP, an economic wizard. He became the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. He began his career very well by denouncing his predecessors. Up to that time he was saying, when he was in the PSP, that the execution of the plans was defective. But when he became the Deputy Chairman, he discovered that the very conception of planning was defective. The plans were defectively executed, but much more harmful, they were badly framed. Now he stands up and says, we must be more economical and we must consume less. To whom is he talking? Is he talking to the people of India who do not get sufficient food to eat about austerity? Gandhiji preached austerity, but he was himself austere in his life. Here, though the British Government disappeared, all the old paraphernalia remain—the Viceregal Lodge became the Rashtrapati Bhavan. The name was changed, but everything else remained the same. Expenditure is incurred on it as if it is a city apart. It has an executive engineer, an electric engineer and all sorts of paraphernalia that existed in the old time, though a few rooms might have been given to some offices. The Governors remain. What earthly use are they? They are only useful in opening cinema houses, sweetmeat shops and girls schools. They perform no useful purpose, but some of them perform useless functions, as the Governor of Kerala—whatever his name be—did. He left the State and came here. Whether he did canvass for the P. M. or not, he proclaimed he did; only nobody knows what he did; after the election was over, he suddenly said he had resigned.

As if he had any influence upon the Congress people

An hon. Member: That he has

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** Not even in his own constituency.

Then, there are useless second chambers. They serve no purpose in the States. For a Federal Government we can have a second chamber at the Centre but where is the place for a second chamber in the States? They eat into our very vitals . . .

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** They are going to have one in Madhya Pradesh.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** Then, there is proliferation of administrative jobs and ministerial jobs. My hon. friend here, sitting to my right, Shri Kamath, said yesterday that there are 53 ministers of all varieties in the Government of India, and he said that there are 52 cards in a pack of cards and one joker. He does not know that nowadays there are two jokers in every pack of cards. So there is one vacancy yet.

Then, there is bribery and corruption. Our saintly Home Minister had said that in two years' time he will have a home cleaning. Two years, I do not know whether that has passed or not . . .

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:** It has passed on 30th November, 1965.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** He says it has passed, but I do not keep these calculations. The Home Minister said that he would do house cleaning in two years. After those two years have passed, recently there was a reshuffling in the Cabinet and he insisted upon being in the very same position as No. 2 as he was before, instead of resigning because corruption and bribery are there as much as ever . . .

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** And more.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** More, if you say, I have no objection.



Then, in the economic field one always gives the argument that my hon. friend, Shri Asoka Mehta gave today.

In the political field, after so many years, after the Second World War, we have this D.I.R. In what country? We have this D.I.R. in a country in which there was already a Preventive Detention Act which was as bad as any Act passed in any democracy during the war. Then we have a Penal Code which was made in the 19th Century. It is very comprehensive. It gives very harsh punishments. It is an uncivilised penal Code. Even this Penal Code is not sufficient for our Government. Even the Preventive Detention Act is not sufficient for this Government. They must have the D.I.R. where no court, even the highest court cannot interfere with the fiat of the executive. The executive is the judiciary, the executive is the police, the executive is everything here.

Sir, there was a friend of mine who was arrested in Bombay. Even though he was a Musalman, Mr. Noorani—I thought he was a Sindhi Hindu . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Just like Kripalani.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** He had long ago written a pamphlet about Kashmir in which he has said that the Government will do well to listen to Shri Jaiprakash and people like him. He was arrested. I wrote to the Home Minister of ours. I told him that this man is certified to be an honourable man, a patriotic man by no less a person than Shri G. L. Mehta, who was in the Planning Committee and, if he wanted more evidence, he can refer the matter to Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan, because so far as I new, this man could not be unpartriotic. Do you know what reply I got from the Chief Minister? Here is the post-card which says:

"I am directed to acknowledge your letter dated . . ."

There is no mention as to what is done about it. That is a post-card a printed post-card . . .

**Shri Sinhasan Singh (Gorakhpur):** Economy measure.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** . . . sent to a Member of Parliament and to an old Congressman. This is the Home Minister's reply and after that one month has passed, perhaps more than a month.

**Shri Bishwanath Roy (Deoria):** He may be a new Congressman.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani:** I have no information.

After dealing with the home policy, let us look at the foreign policy. The foreign policy of India has always consisted of slogans—non-alignment, universal peace, co-existence, Panch Sheel and now, on the top of it, there is the Tashkent spirit. The whole country has been intoxicated with the Tashkent spirit. Fortunately, in the President's Address it is said that it is not so much the letter of the document but the spirit of the document that counts which means the letter of the document is defective. Sir, as a great Judge you know that in political and legal documents it is not the spirit, it is not the intention of the parties that sign the document, but it is the words that are used in the document that matter because those who have signed the document may be dead but their document regulates affairs for future generations. It is the lawyers and the politicians of the future generations that will interpret the document and they will not know what the intentions of the three great dignitaries who were responsible for this document were.

Today we are told by the brave Defence Minister, Shri Chavan, that this variety of people, Mujahids and

[Shri J. B. Kripalani]

Razakars will be in Kashmir in as great numbers as before. Perhaps he did not know the meaning of Mujahids, nor did he know the meaning of Razakars. My hon. friend, Dr. Lohia, explained to him what these people meant. They are there. Even the Chief Minister of Kashmir admitted that there are 5,000 infiltrators. What has the Government done about these infiltrators?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya** (Bangalore City): We shall deal with them.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani**: Have they been driven out? Has even one been driven out? You dare not touch a Muslim in Kashmir. He may be somebody's cousin, sala or brother in law. So, you dare not drive him out. You will not do it. If you do it, there will be another revolt in Kashmir and you may not be able with the army that you have consented to diminish to meet the situation. It will be impossible for you to deal with the situation. Please do not regulate your foreign policy, I tell the Government, merely by slogans. Slogans help nobody. Be realistic. See how the world is moving.

And you believe that foreign policy can be unilateral. No foreign policy is unilateral; foreign policy is bilateral. Now, about the Tashkent spirit you see that it does pervade among us; but does it pervade among the Pakistanis? They have times out of number repudiated not only the spirit but even the letter of this document. You say, we will go it alone. There was a time when our late lamented Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, swore by Panch Sheel, and when we pointed out to him that Panch Sheel had been violated by China, he said, "Let China do anything she likes, we stand here like the boy on the burning deck; whatever happens we stand by Panch Sheel". We know now where Panch Sheel lies. In a few month's time you will know where the spirit

of Tashkent lies. It will soon evaporate and we will be where we were; there will be no change.

So whether in home policy or in foreign policy our country is going down and down. Shri Asoka Mehta talked of power. We have no power but he has got power now. Why does he not increase power? Why does he say that the take-off stage has not come yet? He tells us that we are a backward country, that our country is stagnant, that we must export more and more. We have been exporting sugar at one-fifth the price that we pay here. There have been licences given for exports, I believe, of Rs. 6 crores. Those who got the licence were to import goods worth Rs. 12 crores otherwise there was to be a fine. They have not exported even Rs. 5 crores worth of commodities and the penalty clause is not being enforced at all.

And what do they import? I have heard and I stand to correction that what they import is artificial fibre for making cloth. These are the imports we are getting.

So far as the State Trading Corporation is concerned, I say, it is the greatest blackmarketeer in India. This Government is the greatest blackmarketeer and profiteer in India. Sometime 300 per cent profit has been kept upon things. My hon. friend here said that on a quintal of wheat or rice the profit that they make is Rs. 28. This is how our economy is being run. Is it any wonder that the economy is stagnant after 15 years of planning? Is it any wonder that the take-off stage does not come? Is it any wonder that we are suffering from want of power? There is Japan and Germany. In Japan they have no oil, no steel, no coal and yet its economy is prospering. Why? It is not prospering because there are big factories; it is prospering because every home is a factory. This is what

Gandhiji wanted, namely, that every home should be a factory. Today every big machine has standardised parts. These parts can be made by people at home if they are supplied with power, not the power that they get in Government but power that is generated from coal and from water.

**Shri Jashvant Mehta (Bhavnagar):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, during the last four days, on both sides of the House, many Members have spoken on the important issues, on economic situation, on Emergency and on food situation, before the country. These are the three important problems on which various Members have spoken and have expressed their views.

**Mr. Speaker:** He may continue his speech tomorrow.

17 hrs.

**CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTERS OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE—contd.**

**(ii) LOCK-OUT IN DELHI CLOTH MILLS AND LATHI-CHARGE ON WORKERS BY POLICE**

**श्री दुष्मन्त चन्द कच्छवाय :** (देवास) :

मैं प्रबिलम्बनीय लोक महत्त्व के निम्नलिखित विषय की धीरे धीरे रोजगार मंत्री का ध्यान दिलाता हूँ और प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह इस बारे में एक वक्तव्य दें :—

“दिल्ली क्लॉथ मिल में तालाबंदी और पुलिस द्वारा कर्मचारियों पर लाठी चार्ज।”

प्रथम 4 बजे भी प्रभुगीस और लाठी-चार्ज का उपयोग किया गया है।

**The Minister of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation (Shri Jagjivan Ram):** Sir, in accordance with an agreement dated 13-12-1965 between the management of Delhi Cloth Mills and the Kapra Mill Mazdoor Ekta Union and Textile Mazdoor Sangh, the calculation of the rate of bonus payable for the year 1964-65 was to be made on the basis of the formula laid down in the Payment of Bonus Act.

It was further agreed that the actual disbursement of bonus will commence 15 days after the Annual General Meeting of the Company. Negotiations were carried on between the parties but differences arose over the allocation of share capital and reserves in calculating the available surplus. These differences could not be resolved and in the meantime the management had to declare a bonus before the 28th February, 1966, that is, within eight months of the closing of the accounting year. The management, therefore, put up a notice announcing a bonus of 6 per cent of the wages. Distribution of the bonus accordingly commenced on the 23rd February.

The unions protested against this rate as inadequate and the Works Committee was convened at 2-30 P.M. on the 23rd to discuss the question. The Works Committee recommended that the payment of bonus be suspended. It is reported that the management agreed to this but there was some delay in making the announcement. Meanwhile, workers gathered in front of the General Manager's office and outside the workers' gate.

The workers inside the factory premises became restive and broke open the iron gate of the mills which is always kept closed. Workers who were demonstrating outside the mill premises thereupon entered the mill and are said to have become violent.

**श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) :** गलत ।

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** They are also said to have manhandled the policemen on duty and some damage to mill property is also reported to have been caused. Police enforcements were rushed to the scene and there was a cane-charge.....

**श्री बड़े :** (आग्राम) : यह भी गलत है ।

**श्री बागड़ी :** लाठी चार्ज या कैन-चार्ज कैसा है ?