

**EMINENT PARLIAMENTARIANS
MONOGRAPH SERIES**

DR. RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

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Preface

The Indian Parliamentary Group proposes to observe the birth anniversaries of eminent Parliamentarians to recall and remember their contributions to our national and parliamentary life and in that connection it is proposed to bring out a new Series to be known as the "Eminent Parliamentarians Monograph Series".

A function is to be held on 23 March, 1990 in memory of the late Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the eminent socialist leader and parliamentarian of distinction. This Monograph is being brought out, in Hindi as well as English, as a part of the celebrations on this occasion.

The Monograph consists of three parts. Part One contains a brief profile of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, giving a few glimpses of his eventful life. Part Two contains three articles—first by Shri B. Satyanarayan Reddy, Governor of Uttar Pradesh and a close associate of Dr. Lohia, second by Shri Surendranath Dwivedy, former member of Parliament and a colleague of Dr. Lohia and the third by Shri Jagdish Prasad Chaturvedi, well-known journalist who had observed Dr. Lohia from close quarters while covering Parliament. We are grateful to them for their valuable contributions. Other contemporaries and associates of Dr. Lohia have also been requested to contribute their reminiscences of Dr. Lohia and when these are received it may be possible to publish an enlarged version of this Monograph in a book form.

Part Three contains excerpts from some select speeches of Dr. Lohia in Lok Sabha. The speeches were delivered by him, in Hindi, while participating in debates on a variety of issues and problems facing the country, during his tenure as a Member of Parliament. While rendering these speeches into English every attempt has been made to retain the cut and

thrust of his unique style to the extent possible. It is proposed to include other speeches of Dr. Lohia in the revised edition proposed to be brought out later.

On the occasion of his birth anniversary, we pay our respectful tributes to the memory of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and hope that this Monograph would be read with interest and found useful.

New Delhi,
16 March, 1990

SUBHASH C. KASHYAP
Secretary-General, Lok Sabha
and
Secretary-General,
Indian Parliamentary Group

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P A R T O N E
HIS LIFE



Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia: A Profile

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia; the eminent socialist leader was born on 23 March, 1910 at Akbarpur in Faizabad district of Uttar Pradesh. His father, Shri Hiralal Lohia, was a businessman. Originally, his ancestors lived at Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh. The family acquired 'the surname 'Lohia' for doing business in 'Loha' (hardware) for generations. Lohiaji lost his mother at an early age of two and half years and was, therefore, brought up by his grandmother and aunt.

As a child, Lohiaji found in his family an atmosphere which was free from caste and communal prejudices. The spirit of strong nationalism was gifted to him by his father who was an active Congressman and a devotee of Gandhiji. Since his childhood, Lohiaji was full of sympathies for the needy and as such he always helped the poor and the down-trodden.

His Education .

He had his early education at Tandon Pathshala and Visheshwar Nath High School in Akbarpur. He always topped in his class and remained a favourite of his teachers. After his father had shifted from Akbarpur to Bombay, he continued his studies at a Marwari School in Bombay and passed the Matriculation examination in first division in 1925. His Intermediate education took place at the Banaras Hindu University. In 1926, he attended the session of Indian National Congress at Gauhati when he was just 16 years old. In 1927, he passed the Intermediate examination and went to Calcutta for further studies. Here an incident in his life is worth mentioning. There were two Government Colleges in Calcutta at that time with good reputation. Besides these, there was also a private

College, the Vidyasagar College, whose teachers possessed a nationalistic outlook. When the question of taking admission came up, Lohiaji, as a true nationalist, preferred the Vidyasagar College for higher education rather than either of the Government Colleges. In 1929, he passed his B.A. examination and three years later, in 1932, he obtained the Ph.D. degree in Economics from Berlin University with 'Salt and Civil Disobedience' as the subject of his thesis. It was in Berlin that he studied the works of Marx and Hegel. He left Berlin with definite leanings towards socialism. Lohiaji was also deeply influenced by Gandhiji's ideals, values and methods.

The period when Dr. Lohia was at the Banaras Hindu University was the most important phase of his life. Since his childhood, Lohiaji was an excellent orator. At the University, as a sharp intellectual, he developed a style of his own, a logical one, of delivering speeches and thus attracted the attention of all those who listened to him. The University, known as Kashi Vishvavidyalaya, was famous during those days for producing brilliant youth who could bring honour to the country and sacrifice their all for her sake. Lohiaji was one of them.

As a Freedom Fighter

Dr. Lohia joined the freedom movement at an early age. His interest in politics gained further momentum due to the atmosphere he had found in his home. His father took him to the Ahmedabad Session of the Congress in 1918. He, himself, organised a student strike in 1920 on the death of Lokmanya Tilak when he was just ten years old. A great freedom fighter, Lohiaji actively participated in the Non-cooperation Movement launched by Gandhiji. In 1928, he had presided over a meeting in Calcutta to boycott the Simon Commission. Lohiaji came into contact with Pandit Nehru in a youth session at Calcutta and a close relationship developed between the two.

In 1933, after Dr. Lohia's return from Berlin, a historic development took place in the Congress Party, when the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) was formed within the Indian National Congress. Dr. Lohia was instrumental in its formation

and was considered as one of its pillars. The party, declaring socialism as its objective, stated that Marxism alone could guide the anti-imperialist forces to their destiny and emphasised on democratising the organisational structure of the Congress.

Young Lohiaji was made the Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Congress Party in 1936, an office which he held with distinction till August 1938. As Foreign Secretary of the Congress, Lohiaji was instrumental in laying the foundations of the foreign policy of India. He maintained close contacts with the freedom movements then going on in other parts of the world and developed close relations with progressive organisations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. As Secretary, he had written an article "The Foreign Policies of the Indian National Congress and the British Labour Party" which was described as a "Work of outstanding merit" by Pandit Nehru.

Lohiaji was aware of the problems faced by the overseas Indians and he told the Indian people about their pitiable conditions. He had also drawn the attention of the world towards the suppression of civil liberties in India and other countries. He was arrested for making anti-Government speeches, on 24 May, 1939, his first imprisonment, but was released the next day on bail. He was of the view that the country would not get freedom automatically. He created an awareness among the people by writing articles and pamphlets.

During the Second World War, he supported the view that India should not extend any support to the Britishers and advocated complete non-cooperation. He said that the supply of men and money to the then Government should be refused. When All India Congress Committee passed a resolution in 1939 supporting the United Kingdom in the war effort, Lohiaji opposed it and wrote an article "Down with Armaments". He was arrested for making anti-war speeches in 1940. Mahatma Gandhi did not like it and reacted very strongly. Deploring the action, Gandhiji said that imprisonment of patriots like Ram Manohar Lohia and Jayaprakash would not be tolerated and he would not be a silent witness to this increasing encroachment on popular freedom. The individual civil disobedience campaign

launched by Gandhiji in 1940 was designed to assert the people's right to democratic freedom.

Dr. Lohia played a significant role in the 'Quit India Movement' of 1942. He directed the Movement while remaining underground and could not be detected for nearly two years. He also established an underground radio station. He utilised the time by writing booklets, pamphlets and articles full of inspiration like "How to establish an Independent Government?", "I am Free", "Prepare for the Revolution", and "Brave Fighters March Forward". The Journal "Do or Die" was also published by him during this period. Another scholarly article "Economics after Marx" was also written by him while he was underground. He, however, was arrested on 20 May, 1944 and kept in prison till 11 April, 1946. Later he worked for the freedom of Goan and Nepalese people also. Dr Lohia was arrested as many as 25 times for participation in freedom movements of India, Goa and Nepal and Civil Disobedience Movements in free India and in America.

As a Socialist

In 1947, the Congress Socialist Party was transformed into Socialist Party by removing the word Congress from its name at a Conference held at Kanpur though it continued to be a part of the Congress. In 1948, the Socialist Party of which Dr. Lohia was a founder, dissociated itself from the Congress. In 1952, the Praja Socialist Party was formed and Dr. Lohia was elected its General Secretary in 1953. In 1955, the socialists met at Hyderabad and a new Socialist Party of India was formed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Lohia.

A great socialist, Dr. Lohia believed in the ideology of democratic socialism and always stood for power to the elected representatives of the people through parliamentary means but supported the non-violent direct action against any and every social, economic and political injustice. His creative mind had a great fascination for new ideas and he spurned the *doctrinaire* approach to social, political, economic and ideological problems. A relentless fighter against every form of injustice, he

fervently pleaded for social equality and preferential opportunity for the socially oppressed sections of society to enable them to overcome their centuries-old sufferings.

While Dr. Lohia laid great stress on resistance to evil, he knew the importance of constructive activity. He was of the view that politics was inseparable from power. He supported the idea that the state power should be controlled, guided and tamed by people's power. To achieve it, he propounded the formula of combining jail, spade and vote for achieving a social revolution in the country. He asked the youth to devote "one hour's free and voluntary labour" for national reconstruction.

His main contribution to the Indian polity was the incorporation of the Gandhian ideas in the socialist thought. A firm believer in decentralised economy, Lohiaji stressed the need of setting up of cottage industries and the small machines with minimum capital investments where maximum manpower may be used.

Lohiaji was well aware of the fact that people of the country live in villages. He, therefore, became the symbol of the aspirations of the poor peasants, the landless people and agricultural labourers. He initiated Kisan marches and struggles right from 1947. He was one of those great leaders who not only advocated the need for a fundamental re-ordering of our social relations but also provided an ideological basis for this revolutionary transformation. He always stood for the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial revolution. The American Government arrested him in 1964 for participation in the Negro equal right movements.

As an untiring champion of social equality, he deplored the caste system and the hierarchical order based on birth and considered it as the single most important factor for decline of the nation and its repeated subjection to external aggression and foreign rule. He also launched a "destroy caste" movement. He declared that in a traditionally unequal society, equality could not be established by merely providing equal opportunities to all. He said that the backward classes, women,

Harijans, adivasis and the retarded among the minorities had to be given special opportunities to bring them upto the level of the advanced.

Dr. Lohia possessed a universal outlook. He subscribed to the concept of the citizenship of the mind, citizenship of ideals without the restrictiveness of nationality or race. A widely travelled man, Dr. Lohia dreamt of an international order where one could travel around the world without passports or visas. He was for the establishment of a World Parliament and a World Government to which the sovereign national states would voluntarily transfer a part of their sovereignty. He was also elected India's representative to the Conference for World Government in 1949.

Lohiaji had his own ideas about revolution. He justified revolution in any of the following conditions: (i) A revolt to establish complete equality between men and women; (ii) A revolt against the economic, political and social inequalities based on the colour of skin; (iii) A revolt against the traditional concept of caste based on birth and in favour of special opportunities for the backward; (iv) A revolt for overthrow of foreign rule, for freedom and for the establishment of a democratic government; (v) A revolt against the inequalities in accumulation of capital, for economic equality and planned increase in production; (vi) A revolt against interference in the private life of citizens and in favour of a democratic system of Government; and (vii) A revolt against conventional and nuclear weapons and for recognition of *satyagraha* as a legitimate weapon.

As Leader of Masses

Lohiaji's greatness was his simplicity and intense love for his fellow countrymen. He had shown equal concern for pain and pleasure. In him, there was an ideal combination of piety, love, modesty, anger and suffering. He was a relentless revolutionary and an exponent of dynamic political and economic thoughts. He was a leader of the masses and always talked in their language. He was a stormy petrel not only in the Lok Sabha

where he fulminated on the floor of the House against the policies of the then Government but also in the larger and more extensive field of national life for over thirty years.

As a true nationalist, he disapproved the way in which the young men and women of the country were copying the western way of life. He was fully devoted to the Indian civilization. He wanted that Hindi should flourish as our national language along with other Indian languages and English must go from India. He described fondness for English as a 'sinful life'.

Like Gandhiji, Lohiaji had also shown his disobedience to oppressive and cruel laws and rules. For him the very existence of such laws and rules was unbearable. Dr. Lohia personally was against the partition of India. He was whole heartedly devoted to the Hindu-Muslim unity and after India achieved freedom and was partitioned he worked tirelessly and fearlessly to maintain the unity and communal harmony in various parts of the country.

As a Writer

Lohiaji was a prolific writer. His ideas were original and always created awareness among the masses. During the freedom movement he showed the way of freedom to the people through his writings and left an ever-lasting imprint of his thoughts on their minds. Among his publications a few were: 'Mystery of Sir Stafford Cripps', 'Aspects of Socialist Policy', 'Wheel of History', 'Will power and other Writings', 'Guilty men of India's Partition', 'Marx, Gandhi and socialism', 'India, China and Northern Frontiers', 'The Caste System', 'Fragments of a World Mind', 'Language', 'Notes and Comments', 'Interval during Politics', 'Foreign Policy', *Krishna, Valmiki aur Vashishta*, *Kranti ke Liye Sangathan*, 'The Indian Agriculture', 'Socialism', 'Hinduism', 'India and Pakistan', *Hindu Aur Muslim*, *Samajvadi Ekta*, *Nirasha ke Kartavya*, *Kranti Karan*, *Sarkai*, *Math Aur Kujat Gandhivadi*, He was also the Chairman of the Editorial Board of 'Mankind' and 'Jan'.

As an Exponent of new Theories

As an original thinker, he formulated the theories of: Twin origins of Capitalism and Imperialism; Small Unit Machine; Equal irrelevance; The Third Camp; Immediacy; Oscillation between Class and Caste; Efficiency, total or maximum; Physical and Cultural approximation of mankind; Permanent Civil Disobedience; Co-existence with Approximation; Autonomous relationship of general and economic aims or spirit and matter; Inverse relationship of Internal Rebellion and External Invasion; Preferential opportunity for Backward Groups in place of equal opportunities and Seven Revolutions.

As a Parliamentarian

Dr. Lohia was elected to the Third Lok Sabha in 1963 in a bye-election from Farrukhabad constituency in Uttar Pradesh. He took oath as a member on 13 August, 1963. On the first day when Lohiaji was in Lok Sabha, it appeared that a new life had come to the House. Every body in the House stood up and welcomed him when he entered the Chamber. He was also given a civic reception at the Ramlila Ground in Delhi on his maiden entry in the Lok Sabha. He was again elected in March, 1967 to the Fourth Lok Sabha from Kannauj constituency in Uttar Pradesh.

A dedicated Parliamentarian, Lohiaji took keen interest in the business of the House. He used to come fully prepared for parliamentary debates and discussions. His speeches in Lok Sabha gave new turns and twists to the Indian polity and provided real food for thought. Whether it was the policy of Non-alignment or the issue of corruption in the country, he always took the Government of the day to task. He pointed out the weaknesses of the Government policies through his speeches in the House. Whether it was the Prime Minister or any other Minister he spared none. Whenever he found any irregularity or any injustice being done, he was ever vigilant to raise the issue.

His arguments in what has come to be known as the 'Three annas versus fifteen annas' debate were an eye-opener for the

people of the country. Lohiaji asserted that the then Government's view that average income of a person in the country was fifteen annas was misleading and false. He proved by facts and figures that average income of a person at that time was just three and a half annas or four annas per day. Getting inspiration from him 'Janwani Day' was observed under his leadership in Delhi on 13 March, 1964.

It was indeed very sad that Lohiaji had a very short span of life. An original thinker, a unique leader, an eminent Parliamentarian and a rebel, Dr. Lohia passed away at New Delhi on 12 October, 1967 at an early age of 57. The news of his death spread like wild fire. The whole country was in mourning.

Glowing tributes were paid to Lohiaji in both the Houses of Parliament. His death was described as a great loss to the country and greater loss to the Parliament. He was described as a valiant fighter, a great thinker and a dynamic personality in the true sense of the terms.

Describing his death as premature, the then Speaker, Lok Sabha, Dr. N. Sanjiva Reddy said that his death had removed from the Indian political scene and the House one of its outstanding leaders. The then Prime Minister, late Shrimati Indira Gandhi, describing Lohiaji as a leading Parliamentarian, said that his untimely death had removed a vigorous mind and a dynamic character from the country. His whole life, according to her, was a "struggle for causes he held dear, for the down-trodden and the under-privileged".

Though he had never been a member of the Rajya Sabha, touching tributes were paid to him in that House also. The then Chairman of Rajya Sabha, the late Shri V.V. Giri, described him as the founder of the socialist movement in the country and said that as a member of Lok Sabha, Shri Lohia 'established for himself an abiding reputation as a powerful speaker and an outstanding parliamentarian'. He added that though Dr. Lohia often "vigorously attacked Government's policies, his intentions and sincerity were never in doubt; he always had the welfare of the people in mind."

Dr. Lohia was unmarried. He left behind no family, and no property but only his great ideas.

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P A R T T W O
ARTICLES

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and Socialism

— B. Satyanarayan Reddy*

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia is a leading name among the great personalities of India's freedom struggle and socialist movement. He was the champion of the cause of the downtrodden, the oppressed and the exploited and was known as the well-wisher of the farmers, labourers and women. In fact, Dr. Lohia had made social service and ushering in of socialism as the sole aim of his life, for achieving which he relentlessly struggled throughout his life. Whether it was inequality, at the national or international level, poverty, unemployment or injustice, he carried on his fight against these with indomitable courage and self confidence and worked ceaselessly for giving a new direction to the nation and injected new zeal and consciousness among his fellow countrymen. Once he stepped out with self-determination to work for the absolute welfare of the suffering humanity, he never looked back. He knew no compromise. No offer of any office or temptation of any kind could dissuade him from pursuing his sole aim of 'socialism'.

Born on 23 March, 1910 at Akbarpur (Faizabad) in Uttar Pradesh, he received his early education in Bombay and Calcutta. Thereafter he went to Germany, where he obtained Ph.D. degree in Economics and entered the amphitheatre of politics with complete dedication and devoted the rest of his life to it. However, he had earlier participated in the Congress session at the young age of 16. Becoming deeply engrossed in politics after his return from Germany, Dr. Lohia in the first

* Shri Reddy is the Governor of Uttar Pradesh.

instance, provided guidance in the formulation of foreign policy of the country, which instantly left an indelible mark of his wisdom on the minds of the people. He fearlessly took active part in the freedom struggle and was imprisoned a number of times after 1938. Not only that, even after India attained freedom, he was arrested on several occasions for continuing his struggle for social upliftment. Undeterred, he steadfastly worked for achieving the goal of socialism.

Although Dr. Lohia is generally remembered by the people as a politician, yet his socialistic thinking is clearly reflected in all his activities and work. In fact, he was the kind of a great social thinker who not only was committed to the immediate welfare, but also had a strong desire in his heart for building India into an 'ideal nation' in future. He worked with Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru for a considerably long time with whole-hearted dedication and commitment for furthering the national interest, although he had already acquired a distinct identity in the society by virtue of his socialistic thinking. This was the reason why, later on when some differences developed among certain national leaders on the issue of socialism, he left the Congress Party along with some eminent socialists like Shri Jai Prakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev, Shri Ashok Mehta, Shrimati Aruna Asaf Ali and Shri Achyut Patwardhan and formed the Socialist Party. Outlining the aims and objects of this party, Dr. Lohia used to say that the Socialist Party could not remain content with merely bringing about some improvements in the society. Rather, it had to bring radical changes in the entire social structure and it could be possible only when along with the will power, a sense of discretion was also displayed to subject one's action to the discipline of rules and propriety. He held the view that it was impossible for the Socialist Party to make progress, otherwise.

In fact, Dr. Lohia conceived the idea of 'Samyukta Socialist Party', which was to be formed in a democratic manner, with the sole objective of ushering in socialism in the country at all costs but without taking recourse to any kind of violence or bloodshed. Thus it would be seen that it was Dr. Lohia who

with his singularly unique thoughts, gave a new revolutionary social dimension to the socialist movement and left no stone unturned in making it both powerful and popular. He was a person endowed with foresight and a creative mind. When the idea of abolishing the class distinction through class-war was mooted, he immediately spelt out in no uncertain terms that unless a struggle was also launched to end the caste system along with the class-war, their revolution shall remain incomplete. Dr. Lohia often emphasised the need to further develop the Marxist theory of class-war and the concept of establishment of a classless society to provide full opportunity to the backward people to make progress.

Dr. Lohia was truly a staunch supporter of equality. He believed that casteism and class-conflict were mainly responsible for the decline of India. Keeping this in mind he had started a movement for the abolition of caste system. In this context, he held the view that in a society encumbered with traditionally based distinctions, equality could be brought about merely by providing equal opportunities to all. He emphasised that people belonging to backward classes, women, Harijans, Adivasis and the neglected minorities could achieve the level of the advanced, only when special opportunities were given to them.

Although Dr. Lohia was a critic of modern civilization, he had all praise for the movement to bring about equality. The economic disparity and social injustice prevalent in India society aroused in him a keen desire to bring about radical change in the social structure of his country. Hence, he propounded seven revolutions. He firmly believed that these seven revolutions had the potential to change not only India but the entire world once they were materialized. These following seven socialistic revolutions are well known all over the world: "(1) A revolt to establish equality between men and women; (2) A revolt against the political, economic and spiritual inequalities based on the colour of the skin, (3) A revolt against inequalities between backward and advanced groups or castes on the basis of traditional concept, and in favour of special opportunities for the backward; (4) A revolt for the over-throw of foreign rule and in favour of

forming a world government based on democratic principles; (5) A revolt against the accumulation of capital and in favour of economic equality and planned production; (6) A revolt against unlawful interference in private life of citizens and in favour of the democratic system; and (7) A revolt against weapons and in favour of *satyagraha*. Dr. Lohia termed these seven revolutions as a precursor for a healthy environment in the 20th century. He considered cruelty, poverty and unemployment as evils of this century and always stressed the need to make collective efforts for their eradication.

In fact, according to Dr. Lohia, socialism and democracy were in no way distinct. He was of the view that they were complementary to each other. He thought that socialism would remain socialism, irrespective of the name we give to it, democratic, revolutionary or scientific or some other name or an amalgam of all these. In Europe, in an attempt to highlight the miserable conditions, the name was changed from social democracy to democratic socialism. This exercise was nothing but a fight aimed at heralding socialism. Indian socialism also imitated them and used various adjectives. Socialism could not be distinguished from other systems by merely prefixing adjectives. Programmes and actions alone could be a testimony to it. It would be better if instead of getting involved in grammatical controversy, socialism was called by its very name only. Its sole objective should be to guarantee freedom of expression.

Dr. Lohia considered equality, democracy, non-violence, decentralisation and principles based on socialism as the five cardinal objectives of socialistic system. These were of paramount importance not only for India but also for the entire world. What is socialism? Dr. Lohia tried to explain it in a very interesting manner. While defining socialism, he said in Lok Sabha on 16 March, 1965 that "one step down the ladder of socialism is equality, a step further down is economic equality, social equality, equality in governance and religious equality. Still further a step down is economic equality. Then only comes complete equality and egalitarianism."

Dr. Lohia was a great patriot but he never allowed himself to

be swayed by narrow considerations and parochial feelings. He was a man of vision and sagacity with a universal approach. He was of the firm belief that neither capitalism nor communism could help guarantee human freedom and world unity because both these systems were not tailored for achieving this goal.

Dr. Lohia was deadly opposed to the use of feudal language in public affairs and administration. He was also against the feudal attire and palatial buildings. According to him, 'all these things had in fact no right to exist keeping in view the miserable condition and poverty of the common man. Dr. Lohia also used to say that we could not usher in a new era for the common man of this country as long as we continued to use a language alien to our country. It was Dr. Lohia from whom we drew inspiration to introduce the use of south Indian languages like Tamil and Telugu, in the Lok Sabha. Besides, under the leadership of Dr. Lohia, non-Hindi speaking people like me emphasized the need of using Hindi and other Indian languages inside and outside the Lok Sabha.

Dr. Lohia ceaselessly struggled for achieving social equality with a firm belief that although he might die, yet humanity would survive and ultimately only socialism would emerge victorious.

The untimely demise of this great thinker and philosopher, who was still struggling for the establishment of socialism, can be termed only as an irreparable loss to the country, society and the political world. For the people of this country, he left behind him a concept and ideology on social order, for which he will always be remembered and revered by the future generations of this country and his name will be written in golden letters in the history of socialism and continue to glow.

It was on account of proper attention not being paid by the Government to take care of his health and treatment that Dr. Lohia breathed his last on 12 October, 1967. He was born penniless and at the time of his death he left behind no property. He was absolutely free from all worldly attachments such as wealth or family ties. In fact the entire humanity was his family and he was a true believer of the adage "Vasudhava

Kutumbkam" (the entire world is one family).

Another fact about Dr. Lohia which needs to be mentioned is that he was cremated at the electric crematorium in Delhi where a number of unclaimed dead bodies of the poor were cremated daily. This fact itself shows his love and affection for the poor.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia — The Great Socialist

—Surenranath Dwivedy*

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was a comrade and leader. We worked together in the socialist movement for more than 3 decades. His untimely death at a very crucial stage of the socialist movement was a great loss to the nation as a whole.

He was the only person who rose to great heights from among our generation. His name would always be remembered amongst the galaxy of valiant freedom-fighters and national leaders in this country. He was imprisoned many times more during Congress regime than under the British rule. He was a great fighter who would not tolerate injustice, no matter wherever it existed and would resist it by all means, if necessary alone. He was not prepared to take rest until and unless the last vestiges of British Imperialism and feudal system got eliminated from the soil of India. His vision of free India was from Kailash Mansarovar to Cap Camorine and therefore he raised his powerful voice against Portugese Imperialism and was the first Indian to be jailed in Goa; as well as against so called Innerline bar in North-East regions and was imprisoned in Manipur also. His was a revolutionary mind and after Mahatma Gandhi, he became a symbol of resistant movement in free India.

He joined the socialist movement right from the moment he landed in India after getting Doctorate from the Berlin Univer-

*. Shri Dwivedy is a former member of Parliament.

sity. He saw with his own eyes the horror of Nazi movement in Germany and became a great hater of violence and Nazism.

He worked and struggled hard to give Indian socialism a new concept and philosophy. He was the first among the socialist leaders to revolt against the policy of United Front with Communists, then followed by the Congress Socialist Party. In that sense, he was not a traditional socialist and was against Marxism and Communist totalitarianism. He wanted the Indian socialist movement to be freed from Marxian thought and action. He was a believer in Gandhian principle of non-violence and played a great part in bringing up a synthesis between Gandhian and Marxian concepts. His most effective contribution was to give a new meaning and method of action to make the Socialist Party the most effective weapon against the capitalist system. He used to say that Communism and capitalism are two sides of the same coin which believes in centralisation and suppression of human freedom and rights. Marxians like Acharya Narendra Deva and Jayaprakash Narayan ultimately had to part company with the communists.

Then the entire socialist movement was influenced by the thought and action of these three leaders. The socialists developed a positive, objective outlook, absolutely separated themselves from communist totalitarianism and democratic socialism became its ideology, aim and objective. It is a matter of great pride for the Indian socialists that not only the Communist empire both in Soviet Russia and Eastern Europe is collapsing but democratic socialism is gradually being replaced in its place. We are vindicated in a great way. At this hour, if J.P., Lohia and Acharyaji were alive, they would have been honoured by the entire country and I am sure if younger amongst them, Lohia had survived the whole Indian polity would have taken a new revolutionary turn.

It is largely on account of the assertive attitude and pioneering role that Lohia played that the Indian socialists developed their international policy. He was advocating third world in foreign affairs and in tune with that policy, International socialist policy was oriented. We were neither with the Socialist Interna-

tional nor with the Communist International. But independent of these two organisations, an independent Asian socialist front was sought to be created. Lohia visited almost all South Asian Countries, established contact with sister socialist Parties and as a result the Asian Socialist Conference was held at Rangoon in 1953. Jayaprakash Narayan had inaugurated this Conference. This was not an anti-Communist Conference, but first ever Congregation of Asian Socialists who largely subscribed to the democratic socialist ideology. The Asian Socialist Bureau functioned for a few years, but gradually with the weakening of the socialist Parties in Asian countries as well as in India, this effort had a natural death. I want to drive the point that Lohia had the farsight to give the socialist movement a positive international and internal image. I am sure all those who are interested in developing democratic socialist ideology would very greatly be benefited from the literature produced by the socialist movement.

Lohia, no doubt, was a genius, original thinker and a great socialist fighter. But where he failed miserably is in the matter of maintaining unity in the socialist movement. I don't agree that there were fundamental and basic differences amongst the socialist brothers. But personal bickerings, intolerance and impatience were factors responsible for the division amongst socialist ranks. It is a great tragedy that even a semblance of socialist organisation does not exist today. The entire socialist structure was shattered to pieces and now remained a part of the historical record.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia as a Revolutionary

—Jagdish Prasad Chaturvedi*

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was a great politician who heralded a new era in India. It is a fact that the magnitude of the greatness of this politician was not easily recognised either in India or abroad. But it is also true that we are now appreciating the results of the far-reaching impact that Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia made on independent India's politics. The decisive role of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia in India's freedom struggle is often forgotten, reason being that at that time there were senior leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Acharya Narendra Dev, Dr. Rajendra Prasad in whose comparison, Dr. Lohia was considered of to be a lesser stature. Abiding by his principles and in order to give honour to others, Dr. Lohia avoided holding high offices. The result was that persons who owed their positions to him earned high fame. I do not say that Dr. Lohia made greater contribution in comparison to the persons I have mentioned above, but while they were leaders of the past, Dr. Lohia was a leader of the India of tomorrow. Had he been alive today, he would have been reckoned among the most honoured and powerful persons. It was Dr. Lohia who conceived the structure of the country which we see today.

It was Dr. Lohia's misfortune that he conceived of the future much ahead of him. Besides, many of his fellow politicians whom he trusted, betrayed him and joined those who wielded

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power, while Dr. Lohia stuck to his principles. I had the opportunity of having a heart to heart talk with Dr. Lohia on the day or a day before he was admitted to the Willingdon Hospital for getting his prostate gland operated upon. It was evening time and very few persons were sitting in the Central Hall and we two were sitting close to each other and had been talking for quite sometime. When I recollect about that conversation now, I feel as if he had been talking from the innermost recesses of his heart in the last days of his life and that I was the only person who had been listening to his deepest thoughts. While he was talking, he said to me, "Chaturvedi, life has offered no pleasure." I replied: " No, it is not like that. You are a leader of the lakhs. People can do anything on a mere inkling from you". To this, he said: "Nobody listens to me". Upon this, I told him that when he spoke people listened to him spell-bound; pin drop silence prevails during his meetings; whatever he writes, people read it with great respect and hold it in a testamentary esteem. Still, he told me that he could not project an image. I lightly told him: "Dr. Sahib, you hardly had time to project your image, you have been devoting your time on tarnishing the image of others." But now, I realise that Dr. Lohia's complaint was true and it was against whole of the Indian society. His countrymen did not recognise his importance during his life time. There were two reasons for this: first, he was so candid that he did not hesitate in highlighting the smallest mistake of the greatest man in a forceful manner. Secondly, he neither proclaimed about his achievements himself nor did he let others do so.

I first heard of the name of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was elected President of the Indian National Congress in 1936. Acharya Kripalani was made General Secretary, but four educated youth were made Department Secretaries in the All India Congress Committee office. These were, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Dr. K.M. Ashraf, Dr. Zainal Abedin Ahmed (Z.A. Ahmed) and the fourth one probably was a European — Leonard Shiff. Dr. Lohia had returned from Germany after obtaining his doctorate and he was an expert in

economic affairs. Congress had already become a socialist party at that time. Dr. Lohia had sympathy with it while the other three were considered to be followers of Communist ideology. Persons like Acharya Narendra Dev, Shri Jai Prakash Narayan and Shri Achyut Patwardhan had since joined the Congress Working Committee. Mahatma Gandhi was not convinced of the ideology of the Congress Socialists, although he praised their qualities — specially that of Acharya Narendra Dev and Shri Jai Prakash Narayan. When the 'Do or Die movement' of 1942 started and big leaders of the country including Mahatma Gandhi were arrested, it was Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and his followers who at that time avoiding the police action, conducted the 'August Revolution' — which should be its correct name. He was one of those leaders who could not be arrested then. Thereafter, he had been conducting a sort of a violent revolution, against the British in Maharashtra, at Bombay and elsewhere, in Bihar, in Bengal, in Calcutta and elsewhere and in Uttar Pradesh. Shri Jai Prakash Narayan was in the Hazaribagh Jail and it was then that he escaped from the Hazaribagh Jail alongwith some of his other associates. Government knew that this news would spread in the country like wild fire and, therefore, the Associated Press published that day a small list of those persons who had escaped from the Hazaribagh Jail and the names of Shri Jai Prakash Narayan and five others were in the list. Newspapers could not assess the importance of that news and little coverage was given to this news in *The Statesman* Delhi edition and in the *National Call*. But the editor of *Vishwamitra* daily, published from Delhi, Shri Satyadev Vidyalkar realised the importance of this news and published it under the caption "Jai Prakash Jail Se Bhag Nikle (Jai Prakash escaped from Jail)". Jai Prakash Narayan reached Banaras from Hazaribagh and then it was decided to form an 'Azad Dasta' with him in Nepal. There were two leaders of that 'Azad Dasta' — Shri Jai Prakash Narayan and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. A radio station was established in Nepal adjoining Bihar. Dr. Lohia brought along his transmitter and became the Director of Radio Publicity Department. His statements inflamed the Hindi regions. The British regime

became restless. The concept of this movement, of the future revolution, which was in the mind of Dr. Lohia was described in his article "kranti kee Taiyaree Karo (Prepare for the Revolution)" thus: "Groups of five educated and dedicated persons each should be formed to come forward and lead the people to success as the revolution starts.

These groups may be able to perform the task which the volunteers would be unable to fulfil even after making great sacrifices. Whether it is about wresting arms from the armed personnel in guard of the British Government Centres or from the armed personnel posted for firing on the processions, or cutting off roads, or dismantling the railway tracks or jamming rail traffic, or mass attacking the Police Stations, Jails, Courts and the Secretariat, these groups comprising the specially trained personnel can do wonders. Wherever such a group will be in action the British rule could be put an end to in no time soon after the revolution starts and this would encourage the revolutionary spirit in other areas also reducing the British rule to naught."

Shri Jai Prakash Narayan and Dr. Lohia had their working offices in the "Goats' Island" located in the basin of the river Kosi. Hardly two months had elapsed since their stay there when the British administration got tip of the fact that revolutionaries were being recruited in the Nepal region and radio broadcasts were blamed from there. Dr. Lohia firmly believed that even if a hundred strong persons could be mustered from every district, the revolution could become a success. While recruitment was on and publicity in progress, the Nepalese police cordoned them. Yet, Jai Prakash Narayan and Dr. Lohia escaped from the police cordon during night and reached Calcutta. From Calcutta, a letter was sent to Shri Subhash Chandra Bose. But later both of them were arrested and kept in Lahore Fort separately. They were subjected to inhuman persecution and were thereafter transferred to Agra Jail. Dr. Lohia sent a letter to the then Chairman of the Labour Party and British economist, Harold Laski, informing him of the atrocities being perpetrated throughout the country. In 1945,

after detaining them for 16 months, Shri Jai Prakash Narayan and Dr. Lohia were sent to Agra Jail and when a delegation of the British MPs visited India, it also went to the Agra Jail and met these two Socialist leaders. Later, when the Cabinet Mission came to India to discuss grant of freedom to India, these two leaders were let off from Agra jail on 11th April, 1946.

On his release from the jail, Mahatma Gandhi had dissociated himself and the Congress from the violent activities connected with the 'August Revolution'. At that time, the whole of the revolution owed its continuance to Dr. Lohia and his compatriots and it is known too well that the British decided to leave India following the deadly blow to it by the said revolution. But, not many would give credit to Dr. Lohia for that success.

That was not the first freedom struggle of Dr. Lohia. It was he who had started movement for the freedom of Goa, which was declared illegal by the then Chief Minister of the Bombay State, Shri Morarji Desai, and still the Government of India was compelled to take police action for the liberation of Goa. How many persons are aware of Dr. Lohia's strategy in helping install the coalition Governments in several States in 1967 and of the reasons for Dr. Lohia's accepting Chaudhri Charan Singh as Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

It was Dr. Lohia's conviction—we may not agree with him—that popular rule would come to the country only when the people, who had all along been devoid of power and prosperity, would hold the reins of power. This, of course, is the basic principle of socialism, but Dr. Lohia held the view that even if the high caste persons who had all along been enjoying social, economic and political superiority, started calling themselves socialists or communists, the economically backward persons would never get power. He was also of the view that the caste system was so deep-rooted in India that it would be hard to get rid of it even in a socialist set-up. Hence, he thought that the backward classes should be collectively trained in the tenets of socialism. As a sequel to it, leaders like Karpoori Thakur came up in Bihar who encouraged persons like Chaudhri Charan

Singh, Rao Birender Singh, etc., the representatives of the Jats, the Yadavas, the Kewats, the Malees and so on, and its results are now before us to-day.

Though Dr. Lohia was a socialist, he did not consider himself to be a marxist. He therefore, had a separate concept of the class conflict. But it does not mean that Dr. Lohia was unaware of international ideologies. He had stayed in Germany for four years and had studied Economics, History and Philosophy in the Berlin University. The subject for his Ph. D. thesis was 'Salt and Satyagraha', In his thesis, he had explained the economic, historical and political impact of imposition of tax on salt in India. While in Berlin he had been the Secretary of the Hindustan Association of the Central Europe for a long time. He had written an article in *The Hindu*, published from Madras, on the 'Emergence of Hitlerism in Germany'. Later on when he joined the office of Indian National Congress, he got ample opportunity to study the economic theories in the international perspective. Dr. Lohia himself belonged to a Vaishya family of Faizabad and had deep knowledge of national and international economic systems. He was a bachelor and therefore, most of his time was spent in 'Swaraj Bhavan' at Allahabad. The room where he stayed in Swaraj Bhawan for a long time is even now referred to by the old guides of Swaraj Bhavan as Dr. Lohia's room.

When Dr. Lohia became a member of Congress Socialist Group, Shri Jai Prakash Narayan was appointed as its General Secretary. Acharya Narendra Dev was the eldest leader and had equal command on both socialism and Buddhist philosophy. Both these leaders had very good personal relations with Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru. Mahatma Gandhi used to call Shri Jai Prakash Narayan as his son-in-law because his wife Prabhawati was a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, although at that time, Shri Jai Prakash Narayan did not agree with Mahatma Gandhi's ideology and severely criticised his Khadi and Charkha programmes. In 1936, Shri Jai Prakash Narayan made a mention of Marxism in the goal set for Congress socialism. Even after independence, he thought that the socialists have in

the form of Jawahar Lal Nehru, inducted a socialist member in the Congress Party and he had no intention of forming a party against Congress with a view to form its Government. But in 1952, Socialist Party contested the election and Praja Socialist Party came into existence in 1952 in alliance with the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party. Dr. Lohia was in favour of this because he was of the opinion that it would avoid division of votes against Congress and an alternative to Congress would emerge. But the Praja Socialist Party did not prove as successful as communists, despite good poll results in its favour. It was realised that had the Praja Socialist Party contested election from a lesser number of constituencies the results would have been more favourable for it. Even then in 1953, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru invited Shri Jai Prakash Narayan to join the Central Cabinet. But Shri Jai Prakash Narayan declined the offer and wrote a letter to him making it clear that if an effort was made for national reconstruction in the direction of socialism only then this offer would carry some weight; joining the Cabinet merely for getting a few seats either in Centre or in the States did not attract him and as such he did not attach much importance to joining the Cabinet. In March 1953, I had met Shri Jai Prakash Narayan at Brij Krishan Chandiwala's residence where he was staying after he had come back having declined the offer made by Pandit Nehru. I asked Jai Prakash Babu: Why did you not accept the offer; after Nehru you would have been the most influential person'. He replied: 'What could I have done alone? Unless Pandit Nehru agrees to induct my other colleagues, I will not be able to do much'. While talking to him it became clear that Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru was not prepared to take Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia in the Cabinet and Shri Jai Prakash Narayan was not ready to join the Cabinet without Dr. Lohia. He was right in his decision because till then if the Praja Socialist Party or its socialist element considered anybody as their leader, it was only Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. He was a good organiser, gave due respect to his party workers and shared their joys and sorrows. Politically he was very far-sighted and critically sharp-eyed. He had dexterity over expression of thought. Dr. Lohia did not have that much faith in Pandit

Jawahar Lal Nehru as Shri Jai Prakashji had and as was apprehended by Dr. Lohia, Pandit Nehru did not accept the fourteen-point programme of Shri Jai Prakash Narayan whereby economic reforms such as distribution of land, nationalisation of banks, insurance companies, coal and other mineral industries, promotion of state trade and reduction in the salaries of high Govt. officials, were sought to be made. Pandit Nehru opposed neither of it in principle, but he did not think it appropriate to commit for bringing a resolution in this regard in the next four years. Dr. Lohia was already not in favour of negotiations, because he felt that if they negotiate with Government, people will not consider the Praja Socialist Party as a party with a different ideology.

How candidly Dr. Lohia expressed his views could be seen from his article which appeared in 'Janta Patra' in May 1953. He wrote: "There are two ways by which Shri Jai Prakash Narayan can become Pandit Nehru's successor. One is by compassionate goodwill of Shri Nehru and by reaching a compromise, which would definitely be opposed with full fervour by people like me, because in such a situation Shri Jai Prakash Narayan will prove worse than Pandit Nehru. The alternate way is that he, be provided with an opportunity to become the leader of the crores of people, who will either be casting vote for the socialism or will be participating in the great Civil Disobedience Movement. I feel in this manner the people will heartily extend their support in installing Jai Prakash Narayan as their Prime Minister and Shri Jai Prakash Narayan will definitely prove to be a better Prime Minister."

When some differences cropped up between Shri Jai Prakash Narayan and Dr. Lohia, Shri Jai Prakash Narayan and few of his associates resigned from the party, Dr. Lohia requested them to take back their resignations saying: "What more could I say in regard to relations between me and Jai Prakash that we both faced bullets together when we were freed from Nepal Jail by Azad Dasta in 1944. It was a different thing that we both escaped unhurt. Except to add that I have no brother of my

own, I would not like to elaborate further on my relations with Jai Prakash. What difference does it make that we had differences in the past and may have in future too.”

Shri Jai Prakash Narayan gave due regard and weightage to Dr. Lohia's ideology. The principles of socialism evolved by Dr. Lohia ultimately became the fundamental tenets for socialists. The Congress Government accepted all those proposals sooner or later, although land reform work remained incomplete and the salaries and perks of Government officials kept on increasing instead of decreasing. These were the factors which made socialism a difficult task to achieve and India, despite incorporating socialism in the Constitution, marched further towards capitalism.

I came in contact with Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia after he was elected to Lok Sabha. But I was amazed at the intimacy shown by him towards me in our very first meeting. I was finding myself at a loss to understand the reason behind such an honour bestowed upon me by an unknown person. Later on I learnt that Dr. Lohia was impressed upon by the investigatory report which I got published in the newspapers regarding firing by the police on a meeting of socialists at Rewa before 1950. Based on a small publication of Economic Research Institute I got an information published in the 'Aaj' indicating the low level of wages in Tehri Garhwal and Deoria Districts. When it caught the eyes of Dr. Lohia, he raised in the Lok Sabha the matter of daily wages at the rate of two annas a day being paid in the country and made life difficult for Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda, the then Minister of Planning. This event became a landmark in the history of Parliament. Similarly, Shri Lohia wrote a review for my book 'Cheen mein Vistarwad ke do hazar varsh' in *Jan Patrika* and endorsed my views. That was the time when I realised that Dr. Lohia had a very sharp eye and had great regard for the smallest of mankind, which he expressed too. This was the reason that with the untimely demise of Dr. Lohia, the nation had lost a socialist luminary.

P A R T THREE

HIS IDEAS

**(Excerpts from some select Speeches of
Dr. Lohia in Lok Sabha)**

Distribution of National Income*

The conclusion drawn from the discussion held so far is that I believe, the daily earnings of 27 crore Indians is 3 *annas* according to me, the Hon. Prime Minister think it is 15 *annas*, whereas the Planning Minister says it is 7¹/₂ *annas*. Now it is between the Hon. Prime Minister and the Planning Minister to decide who is right.

My argument is not that daily earnings of the common man particularly of 27 crore Indians is 3 *annas* or 3¹/₂ *annas* or 2¹/₂ *annas*. But the point is that the Government has turned a blind eye to the poverty in the country and unless there is a will to eradicate poverty tangible formula cannot be worked out. I have to say one thing about the figures that have been placed here by the Planning Minister. They were meant for the Taxation Enquiry Committee. The Finance Ministry desired to know the income and expenditure of people so that substantial amount could be recovered by imposing higher taxes. Therefore, the figures of this committee were even otherwise doubtful because they were meant for a different purpose.

.....They wanted to substantiate that Indians spend more, therefore, higher taxes should be imposed. This is quite clear. It is there in the report which is published by the National Survey. The Taxation Enquiry Committee has recommended it so that the Finance Ministry could carry on its job effectively.....

Secondly, instead of taking prices prevalent in 1948-49 as base, generally current prices are taken into account. I fail to understand who are these statisticians who furnish these

* Lok Sabha Debates, 6 September, 1963.

figures. When 50 lakh people died in the Bengal famine, they proved that only 5 lakhs had died. Therefore, the Ministers should remain cautious and give them some guidelines. I would not take their figures as it is but I shall use my own sense of judgement as far as possible. According to the figures of the Planning Minister, rural expenditure comes to about Rs. 8700 crores whereas income from agriculture which includes income from livestock also comes to about Rs. 6600 crores. This is clear from the figures placed before us by the Planning Minister. I should have kept the income from livestock and agriculture separate but even without doing so there is a variation of Rs. 2000 crores. In a way the variation is of about Rs. 3000 to 3500 crores if we take the two heads separately. The Government may say that there is variation between the income and expenditure because donations, charity and debts are also included in the expenditure. In this connection, I would like to say that one cannot be under debt for ever. Debts can be for a limited period for 2, 4, 5 or 10 years. After all the figure of income and expenditure should be the same. There may be slight variation between the two.

A major mistake that is committed in the figures of consumer index is that the price difference is added. For example the data pertaining to fuel and electricity which have been published so far relate to 13 series but the Planning Minister has referred to the 17th series. We cannot verify it. On the basis of the data of the 13 series. I would like to tell that expenditure on fuel and electricity by the lowest income group has been computed as 20 p. and other expenditure as 91 p. Similarly for another group cash expenditure is 28 p. whereas other expenditure is Re. 1 and 2 paise. For sugar cash expenditure is 15 p. whereas other expenditure is 19 p. In this way the total expenditure is inflated but if it is inflated from Rs. 6600 crores to Rs. 8700 crores, it will not be proper.

I would tell you another way of calculation. In 1960-61 the daily earnings of 32 crore agricultural labour was 45 paise and in 1961-62 the daily earnings of 35 crore agricultural labour came down to 43 paise. Now how I calculated, this is a long

story. I would like to make it clear that the official figures are the basis of my calculation. Ordinarily, it is believed that 10 per cent of the upper strata swallow 50 per cent of their earning. As a result there of, actual daily earning of agricultural labourer in 1960-61 was 25 paise and in 1961-62 it was 23 paise. This is evident from the official figures. Suppose we add the income from livestock even then the earnings will not be more than 27 paise i.e. $4\frac{1}{2}$ annas. But we should not add this income because the people about whom we are discussing, cannot afford to keep the cattle to augment their income. Therefore, the official figures prove that over 27 crore people in this country survive on 4 annas a day. This is based on figures of national income published by the Government.

In this connection, I would like to share a piece of information which I have collected. I cannot say whether it is correct or incorrect. Any way, I would like to submit that the Government has fudged the national income by 20 per cent from the very beginning. One reason might be that they wanted to show that India is rich. Second can be that they wanted to facilitate taxation and everyone knows that the figures are fudged.

Now I would like to submit one thing more and that is about per capita income in poor States. The figures that the Planning Minister had placed were based on the second census of the country. Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh are the six poorest States. Their total rural population is 20 crores, though in fact it is 23 crores. I know about Uttar Pradesh. The Government has published those figures. At one time, the per capita income in rural areas was Rs. 182. We can go by the same argument that the top 10 per cent swallow 50 per cent of the income or I can adopt another method, which I generally use *viz.* that top 20 per cent consume 60 per cent of the income whereas remaining 80 per cent of the populace is left with 40 per cent. I have got these figures from the official sources. It is another thing that these figures are official whereas the calculation is my personal. I would like to advise the Government not to take the figures provided by experts as such, there should be some guidelines

otherwise consequences can be bad. The per capita income of Uttar Pradesh would come down to Rs. 101 from Rs. 182 if we do not count the top 10 per cent who swallow 50 per cent of the income. Similarly, it would be reduced to Rs. 91 if we include those 20 per cent who swallow 60 per cent of the income. This means that the daily earnings per head remain under 4 *annas*. This is evident from the figures provided by the Government itself that 27 crore people in this country survive on a daily earning of less than 4 *annas*. Then there is another figure of Rs. 193 per head. If it may be a little more, even then it would be about 4 *annas* or $3\frac{1}{2}$ *annas* or $3\frac{1}{4}$ *annas*. There will not be much difference. This is about Uttar Pradesh.... which is so poor. The plight of the people of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan is also the same. Crores of people, say 20 crore rural people — out of which leave apart 2 crores at the rate of 10 per cent or 4 crores at the rate of 20 per cent — or 18 crore or 16 crore people are surviving on a daily earning of 4 *annas* or $3\frac{1}{2}$ *annas* according to official figures.

...The Hon. Prime Minister had stated on 22 August, 1960 that national income had increased by 42% and per capita income by 20%. However, he was surprised to find as to where that increase evaporated. In a way the Government had already accepted that it was not aware as to where that increase had gone. Thereafter, a committee on the Distribution of National Income was constituted. Now my question is as to where that Committee disappeared? I would go into the details of this matter a little later but before that I would like to draw your attention to another point. In India, 34 per cent of the families own less than one acre of land and 14 per cent of the land is owned by only one per cent of families. From this figure certain dangerous results can be observed. Previously I had submitted that 27 crores of Indians earn only 3 *annas* for their livelihood. Now I would submit that 10 to 15 crores of our people subsist on only 2 *annas*. I have received several letters condemning me for my statement about our people earning only 3 *annas* for their living. If these figures are analysed differently we will find

that there are about 7 crores agricultural labourers in our country. We can deduct half or one crore out of this because they may be slightly better off.

As regards the small farmers, their number is at least 14 to 15 crores who own less than two and a half acres of land. The number of artisans is about 2 to 3 crore. Then in urban areas also the plight of 20 to 25 per cent people is pitiable who find it difficult to make both ends meet.

In fact they live in such horrible condition which is surprising as to how they are surviving. They live on pavements and Jhuggi-Jhonpri clusters and somehow manage to survive by picking grains from garbage dumps. As regards those who have migrated from rural areas and have some means of income, they try to spend minimum on themselves as they have to support their families living in the rural areas. Then there are *adivasis*, widows and I may be allowed to say so, the carefree monks. The total number of all these categories of people is 27 to 30 crore.

Apart from referring to the aforementioned figures, I would like to present a first hand account of the situation which the Hon. Prime Minister, the hon. Minister of Planning and the Government should keep in view. In Benaras I have seen cows eating corpses. In Orissa, where little fish is available in the rivers, I have seen hundreds of people spreading their fishing nets to catch fish. At Salem in Tamil Nadu, I have seen lakhs of artisans earning only 10, 12 or 14 *annas* per day. If calculations are made about the average income of these people, the average is bound to work out to less than 3 *annas* per day. Similarly, if we look into the income of the other weaker sections, we will find that they also earn the same amount per day...

These are Government figures. The statisticians also compete with each other in presenting a brighter picture. One such organisation is based in Delhi and is called the National Council of Economic Research. It has given the names of 29 districts where the per capita income is less than Rs. 100. I am

mentioning here the names of some of these districts—in Darbhanga it is Rs. 96, in Saran and Chapra it is Rs. 96; in Deoria it is Rs. 98; in Tehri Garhwal it is Rs. 84. If the method of calculation which I had previously submitted is applied here that is to deduct 50 per cent income for the 10 per cent upper strata and 60 per cent of the amount for next 20 per cent people, the daily income of the remaining lower sections in these districts comes to less than 3 annas. I have referred to only 4 districts. There are similarly 40 districts where the income is Rs. 110, Rs. 120 and Rs. 125...

If we refer to the thirteenth series it will become evident as to how our living standard is going down. In 1952 the per capita expenditure of 30 per cent of the population was Rs. 10 and 25 paise and in 1957-58 it was reduced to Rs. 10 and 14 paise. The figures which I have quoted are Government figures. The Hon. Prime Minister should go through the publication of his own Government in order to know about the declining standards of living. Similarly, the expenditure of 30 per cent families was reduced from Rs. 15 and 70 paise to Rs. 14 and 50 paise. The expenditure of only 2 per cent families has increased from Rs. 45 to Rs. 48. This is how the standard of living of the people is constantly declining.

Previously per capita income used to increase by Rs. 7 per year. This holds good no longer. It now increases by 2 Naya paise every year and if this is the pace of our progress, we shall be vulnerable to outside threat. In this connection I would particularly like to refer to China and Ghana and not the U.S.S.R and U.S.A. In Ghana, the per capita income is increasing by Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 and in China it is increasing by Rs. 50 to Rs. 60. Why have we not been able to make similar progress? Because the pattern of consumption underwent change and modernisation but without corresponding modernisation in our production process, we started aping the Western countries in our consumption patterns but it did not reflect in our production system. The standard of living of our leaders, businessmen and bureaucrats went up day by day so that they came at par with their counterparts in Europe and U.S.A but the

standard of living of the common man remained where it was.

Two or three lakh persons grow rich every year. It is the only effect of the Five Year Plans and a major portion of the increased national income is siphoned off for that purpose. In my opinion there are 50 lakh rich people at the moment and 3 lakh people are becoming rich every year. During the last 12 to 15 years 3 lakh people have been becoming rich. The British Government functioned with the support of 3 lakh people and the present Government is run by 50 lakh people.

If we examine the figures of the income of the people and the income-tax which they are paying, we will find that 6,52,000 persons are paying taxes and they are paying Rs. 200 crores as income tax having an income of Rs. 120 crore. But it is common knowledge that their actual income is double of this amount of Rs. 120 crore. Moreover a very huge expenditure is being incurred on the facilities being provided to Ministers etc. In this way the total expenditure comes to about Rs. 250 crore. This amount is taken away by only one per cent of the population as is evident from the Government statistics. The figures which I have collected from my own sources are, however, even more.

I think that we can easily save Rs. 100 to Rs. 120 crores according to one way and Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 crores according to the other by rationalising the expenditure. The Government can function more effectively, the income tax burden can be reduced and there can be better development of agriculture and industries. But only the person, whose heart bleeds for the common man can do it.

This Government has turned into a Government of directionless experts and whatever recommendations the experts make, the Government blindly follows them. The Ministers have little knowledge about agriculture, industries, national income etc. The hon. Ministers should apply their own mind instead of blindly following the recommendations of the experts. They should think over the recommendations and then give directions because the statisticians and the economists are like poisonous

snakes who dance to the tune of the snake charmers. But if you are incapable of playing the flute the results are bound to be disastrous.

I would like to claim that if the distribution of national income is rationalised, it can be increased by Rs. 20 every year and this can be done by any ordinary individual but only when everyone gets a share in the increase in the national income.

Motions Regarding Committee on Public Undertakings*

From the debate on the Committee continuing for the last one hour, we might have realised that in the Lok Sabha debates we discuss the form more rather than substance. The country will be benefited more if we discuss the substance adequately.

Yesterday I heard with rapt attention the speech of Shri Daji with a view to know the attitude of the communists and their supporters. Although he appreciated the public enterprises, he tried to prove by his arguments that sooner the public sector is wound up better it would be. When I tried to know how could it be possible, I suddenly recollected the speech made by Shri Kanoongo. The instances quoted by Shri Kanoongo during his speech were from U.K. and the House of Commons. When the subject of discussion was public sector, he should have kept in mind more about instances from U.S.S.R. and such other things. But we have developed a habit of mixing up the public sector and private sector as a result of which we are not able to come to any concrete conclusion. It was quite possible that if the developments in U.S.S.R. were discussed more here we would have come to know more and more about that country. I know that atrocities are committed in U.S.S.R. and I do not like them at all, but if the public enterprises in U.S.S.R. were run in the way they are being run in India, then it is difficult to say what would have happened to the Ministers and the persons managing the public undertakings. While dwelling on the good or bad deeds of the Prime Minister I will try to state what would

* Lok Sabha Debates, 19 and 20 November, 1963.

have been his fate had he been in U.S.S.R. At the moment I will simply like to tell that, as usual, our public sector and private sector have influenced each other to a great extent. Throughout the world the private sector is considered better in the matter of management, but it is worse as far as greed is concerned. So far as public sector enterprises are concerned, mismanagement is rampant there, but at the same time they are more dutiful. This difference is prevalent throughout the world, but we Indians believe in adjustment. For this reason the management in private enterprises and industries run by capitalists is also deteriorating, in addition to loot and profiteering indulged in by them. Similarly, on the one hand the public sector enterprises are going from bad to worse in the matter of management and on the other hand they are developing the habit of looting the people like private sector enterprises run by capitalists. Such a trend is quite manifest in our country and until and unless we understand the basic fact that public undertakings can run efficiently only when they have public interest in mind and we change our attitude towards life, these industries are not going to benefit us in any way.

I am of the opinion that public sector and the private sector should not be mixed up. Public sector undertakings should be run in a way different than the way in which the private industries are run. If the public undertakings are to be run in the same way then where is the need for them. I have gathered from this debate that one and the same yardstick is applied for judging the performance of the public sector and the private sector. For judging the performance of public sector yardsticks too should be separate. I will place before you some of the yardsticks that should be applied in the case of public sector.

The public sector undertakings can be more helpful in the expansion of industrialisation as compared to the private sector enterprises run by capitalists. Our growth rate is very low. We are unable to mobilise required resources. There is very little scope for earning profit in public sector undertakings—at least it is not there to that extent to which it is seen in case of private enterprises run by capitalists. As such, whatever little profits the

public sector undertakings are earning, they should be utilised for setting up more and more industries. Therefore, the first yardstick for judging the performance of public sector undertakings should be the extent to which they prove helpful in the industrialisation of the country.

I want to make it clear that by saying so here I do not mean growth of business like that of LIC. LIC has expanded its business. I have nothing to do with that. What I want to say is that LIC should be able to provide that much help to the public undertakings whereby the rate of industrialisation of the country can be accelerated. This is the first yardstick.

Secondly, the public sector undertakings should be able to promote socialism in the country. There should be equitable distribution of wealth. There is a wide gap between the workers and the management as well as the consumers and the manufacturers because of the loot by industries run by capitalists. Such a gap should not exist in the public sector. In public sector the methods of distribution should promote equality.

Thirdly, there is no doubt that relationship between the management and the workers should be cordial in the industries run by capitalists also, but this relationship in the public sector should be more democratic and the entire democratic set up in the country should also extend full help to public sector.

Fourthly, it should be seen how far the public sector undertakings serve the furtherance of Public interest. Public interest covers the points like prices of commodities, the availability or non-availability of a facility to the people or the difficulty faced by them in getting it, etc.

Fifthly, these undertakings should be well managed. Competent persons should be appointed there who do not violate law and pay attention towards expansion of trade and industrialisation, instead of looking after their own well-being and satisfying their greed.

There should not be any disparity in the pay of employees. As I said, there should be equitable distribution. Swamiji has made a very good point. I would therefore like to put my second

point first and cite some examples. I will request Shri Kanoongo to go into them and apprise Lok Sabha of the facts.

Now take Rourkela Steel Plant. I cannot say that it is working smoothly. After long calculations I have come to the conclusion that one thousand officers there get about Rs. 20 lakhs as pay and perquisites while 30 thousand workers get only Rs. 30 lakhs. It is a big disparity. Once I had asked a question as to whether such a big disparity is prevailing in Tatanagar? I can say that disparity of this magnitude can not be there in Tatanagar. This is not the case with Rourkela only, but this position is found in other steel plants also. You should pay more attention to the ratio in which disparity is there and not to the figures. The ratio is this that one thousand officers get Rs. 20 lakhs while 30 thousand workers get Rs. 30 lakhs per month.

I would also like to say something about the accommodation facilities provided by LIC to its officers and staff. There are about 2,000 officers in LIC. The amount being spent on providing accommodation to them is beyond our comprehension and there is no proper scrutiny or verification thereof. On the other hand 35,000 staff members get only Rs. 15 per month as house rent whereas 7,000 field workers and 2½ lakh agents do not get any relief on this account. There are four categories of people serving LIC among which 2.50 lakhs are agents, 7,000 others, and about 2.75 lakhs persons are there...

...I have quoted this example just to show the glaring disparities that exist in the public undertakings. We pinpoint such disparities found in the enterprises run by Birlas and Tatas, but when we find the same in public sector undertakings and enterprises we are very much pained.

...Mismanagement which was the legacy of public enterprises has crept in private enterprises and exploitation which was the legacy of private enterprises has crept in public enterprises with the result that I do not find any difference in the concept of Nehru and that of Birlas about industries. There is no difference between the public and private enterprises except that the

former appear to be public and popular. Its results have, however, been very dangerous. I was drawing your attention towards the measures which can bring about improvement in the management of Public Undertakings.

I had made one suggestion about equality and quoted some instances in this regard. It is my submission that the magnitude of disparity and not the figures should be taken into account. To elaborate my point I will like to bring to your notice the perquisites of officers. The perquisites of an officer drawing Rs. 2,500 per month cost the state exchequer Rs. 10,000 p.m. on an average. I am not taking into account the high ups on whom the State has to spend lakhs of rupees per month. I have quoted only an average figure. Therefore, when we talk of disparity, we in India, should not talk of disparity in salary alone. The high ups enjoy the facilities which cost the exchequer 4 to 6 times more than their salary and because of these perquisites rules and regulations are also violated to some extent. Here I will not divulge the name of any person. I will simply tell how the rules are violated. A high Government official looking after public undertakings was posted in Delhi. He maintained a bangalow in Bombay for his family on Government expenses. Similarly, there is another high official who very often makes private calls from Bombay to Delhi and also performs air journey to Delhi and back almost every week.

Similarly, I would like to draw your attention to the breach of agreement between Romania and India. Kerosene unit of the oil refinery in Guwahati is lying almost idle since long. It works only for 50 to 80 days in a year. These days it is lying completely closed. I have come to know that in violation of terms of Indo-Romania agreement, rusted machines have been installed in the refinery. I do not know any thing about the favour which the officers got for this. But if they got any, it would have been very dangerous. Law is being violated very frequently. I can give many more examples, but at the moment I would only like to say that this practice of violating the laws by the officers and also of protecting each other is prevalent throughout the world in public undertakings. Even U.S.S.R. had to face this evil. It is

difficult to put a stop to such practices because Government wants to extend the same facilities to its officers which are available to their counterparts in private sector. This has been repeatedly said by the Prime Minister that if Tatas and Birlas etc. provide the luxuries of life to their officers, Government of India would also like to provide the same to its officers also. It is this bad practice which is giving rise to ostentatious and extravagant expenditure and there is no attempt at bringing about equality. Prime Minister himself sets the example in this regard. Whenever he or any other Minister inaugurates a public enterprise, lot of expenditure is incurred. Once he said that he will no longer inaugurate any plant and instead a labourer will be invited to inaugurate a plant. Once a woman labourer inaugurated a plant in his presence. But this hypocrisy was never repeated again. He always goes for inauguration and lot of money is spent thereon.

Although Hirakund and Rourkela cover an area of about 50 to 60 miles only, yet three airports have been provided there. Why? Just to add to the luxuries available to the Prime Minister and other Ministers. Now, they are no longer in use. These airports are neither being used for lifting freight nor for passenger traffic. This goes to suggest that the extravagance on luxuries has increased enormously.

Shri Daji is an ardent supporter of public enterprises yet the arguments advanced by him in this regard run counter to his theory. It seems he has not given ample thought as to what the position is in U.S.S.R. Large scale atrocities and excesses were perpetrated in U.S.S.R. I do not favour such things, but at the same time I am opposed to any liking for luxuries in India. Had this thing, which is being done here for the last 15 years, been done in U.S.S.R., no one knows how many bureaucrats and Ministers responsible therefor would have been made to face the wall and shot dead...

...Committee on Public Undertakings should have some knowledge about the manner in which the public enterprises should be run.

As I have stated earlier, had this extravagance been indulged

in U.S.S.R., Ministers and bureaucrats responsible therefor would have been shot dead. But no exception should be taken to my statement in any quarter. Though I don't like such things and consider it an atrocity, yet I have no hesitation in saying that this extravagance in India has reached a level where public enterprises are bound to incur heavy losses if they are not run on socialistic lines. This is the first point I want to emphasise.

So far as the question of labour-management relationship in a democracy is concerned, I would like to point out that labour is not so much discontented in private enterprises, as it is in the public enterprises.

I would like to cite a wonderful example about our democracy. Tatanagar, a company city which belongs to capitalists, has its own ways, but Chittranjan has surpassed even this, where even entry to the city is by permit. This type of democracy we are having. I can cite hundreds of such examples.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, if these things are not included in terms of reference of the committees while constituting them, we the members of Lok Sabha would be rendered helpless.

As regards the question of commercial viability, public enterprises have many shortcomings which can be enumerated in one sentence...

I shall give my arguments in support of constituting a new Committee. I will be concluding soon. Hon'ble Minister should himself try to learn from me the factors responsible for worsening the condition of public enterprises.

The steel being sold in India today should be made available at cheaper rates as there is abundance of iron ore and coal deposits in India. We export our iron ore to Japan which is about 4-6 thousand miles away from our country and then Japan sells steel in our country at cheaper rates as compared to the steel produced indigenously by us. Our steel prices are very high. I feel that the private sector enterprises like it that the prices remain at a higher level due to the manner of functioning

of our public sector undertakings so that the private sector could reap more profit.

All sorts of such things are happening in public enterprises. Had this happened in private enterprises, they would have gone bankrupt but public sector enterprises do not face such eventualities because of their being run by the State. Therefore, my suggestion to the hon'ble Minister is that he should be vigilant about cost accounting in the public sector undertakings. Proper cost accounting would reveal as to where rules are being violated and by whom. It would be better if Government remain vigilant about the guilty. It is seen that whenever the guilty is caught, another person is passed on as a guilty person in order to provide an escape goat to the actual guilty. The new Minister will come to know all about it. Sometimes it may happen that the responsibility is pinned down on the Finance Minister and later on passed on to Patil Saheb and then Mr. Kamath is held responsible for that and in this manner the person actually responsible for the guilt manages to go scot free. So, in these circumstances, it is better that our Government concentrates on the removal of the guilt itself instead of trying to catch the guilty.

Before I conclude, I would say that all these Ministers who are in the Government at present will become ardent supporters of the private enterprise as soon as they are dropped from the cabinet but a person like me would always remain a supporter of the public sector enterprises.

Report on Midterm Appraisal of Third Five Year Plan*

This plan has been formulated by pseudo-intellectuals who lack national feeling and direction and it is implemented by people who believe in leading a luxurious life.

They are pseudo-intellectuals and the proof of this is that this document which consists of 175 pages could be easily confined to 40-50 pages if the unnecessary and irrelevant matter was not given place in it and it is because possibly you have not yet achieved perfection even in imitating the Britishers...

It contains a chapter on economic background which runs into ten pages and could be easily reduced to one and a half page. It contains illogical, irrational formulae, jugglery of words and unnecessary details. It is directionless and lacks objectivity and as such is unable to find any solutions as if lost in the winding alleys of a labyrinth. They do not have national feeling because they are drawn to the systems of USSR and America and think little of the indigenous systems. They are more concerned about them. Besides, they want to build the edifice of consumption on the pattern of America and USSR on the archaic foundation of production of our country. So far as the question of corruption is concerned, if the hon. Minister has the patience for hearing, I would like to point that the residence of the Head of our Government has been furnished with carpets and *durries* worth rupees two lakh which have been drawn from the National Exchequer. It also affects the Plan because that amount could have been invested in some factory. It is not

* Lok Sabha Debates, 9 December, 1963.

known as to how many lakhs of rupees are thus spent. In this way Rs. 200 crore or even Rs. 20,000 crore are wasted...

I was talking about consumption. The edifice of consumption is raised on the alien pattern of USSR and USA although the foundation of production continues to be Indian. There can be no forceful and stronger argument, than this against this Plan.

A reference was made to the objective approach of the report. I would like to say that if you go through the figures of irrigation, you will find the figures for the first and second year but for the third year only projections have been given. Consequently, the area under major and medium irrigation is hardly 12 lakh acres during first and second year and the target fixed for the third year is 25 lakh acres. As a result the percentage comes to 35 and in my view if we take into account only the work accomplished the percentage works out to only 27. Similarly the figures for minor irrigation will also come down. I am of the view that the report has not been prepared honestly.

I am going to give one more example to substantiate my point. The basic statistics regarding machines and implements have not been given and only their value has been given. It has been mentioned that sugar mills worth so many rupees and machines and implements worth so many rupees have been installed but there is no mention about their capacity. Before elucidating this point further, I would like to mention some general points to which the ruling party also should not have any objection. One of the points relates to shifting of responsibility for lapses. I am of the opinion that the persons who formulate, prepare and write the plan put the blame on the persons who implement it and all the officials of the Government have developed a habit of defending their acts of omission and commission and no one tries to find the proper solution. Consequently, if you go through their files you will find in the margin written like "I am not at fault, someone else was responsible." We have seen this thing in this House also. When *gur* issue was raised in the House Brahma Perkash said that he was in no way responsible and it was due to the fault of the

Ministry of Railways and they accepted illegal gratification from the people. Ministry of Railways could say that they were not to be blamed and what could they do when the Prime Minister was ushering in an era of fashion and luxury. Thus, the tendency of evading responsibility for lapses is picking up. First of all, I would recommend that do not disown the mistake, take remedial measures, fix responsibility and punish the guilty, if necessary, though it is of secondary importance.

In the same way I want to say about targets. In this regard the first thing is expenditure, the second is articles and the third is the human being. With regard to expenditure, I have to mention that allocation is made for the expenditure, under different heads and at the end of the year in March or April all the departments hasten to fully spend the amount which results in extravagance. So the target of expenditure should not be high instead the target for things should be high and highest target should be for the human beings to be benefited, the aspect which has been forgotten by this Government. In India human beings have become very weak, they cannot work hard, they cannot work with spade, they cannot dig the land, what to talk of using a rifle. I have seen that only one out of 20 men can lift a rifle, others are not even capable of doing that much. However, I am not concerned more with rifles. The same thing applies to spade also. Thus Indian people are becoming weaker. So, you should come forward with a plan which can make them strong enough to work hard.

Now, I come to the main thrust of the Plan. If the main thrusts are to be given in the plan, what these should be? For example take agriculture. It has a long history. It is true that efforts should be made to improve it. In this respect instead of all the aspects, one aspect of it should be given attention and we should see that it is achieved. With regard to agriculture, it has been mentioned that measures for soil conservation will be taken to save the land from erosion by river waters and the submerged land will be reclaimed. As far as the question of all round improvement is concerned, you may do that but along with decide a definite direction, fix a positive goal that the

entire submerged land in the country would be made cultivable, whether it is three crore acres or four crore acres. Determined efforts should be made to accomplish this thrust.

Now, I take up education. For education, there is a provision for radical change. O.K. you keep this target but in this plan out of many aspects of education select one aspect and make sure that you achieve complete literacy through out the country and everybody will become literate. Thus, achieve the goal of literacy.

In the same way, we can give priority to health. Make overall improvement but give priority to one aspect that we will provide drinking water taps in each and every village and city throughout the country.

Thus, I have emphasised that while doing overall improvements in any field, give priority to and concentrate on one of the aspects and try to achieve that.

In this plan expenditure is more than the income. I find this thing in almost all the departments. At present I take up industry and mines only. In 1960-61 an indication was given that rupees 450 crore would be spent on construction works in that year but that increased to rupees 690 crore, which works out to about $1\frac{3}{4}$ times. Thus in the whole plan it would increase from 1800 crore to 2300 crore. So, in industry and mines alone the expenditure increased by Rs. 500 crore. Why there was an increase? Let me explain how it increased? An Oil Refinery was to be set up in Barauni. The land acquired for this purpose was so low lying that rain water collected there and crores of rupees were spent to fill that land.

Let us take the case of Trombay. A fertilizer factory was to be set up there keeping in view that the gas from the Oil Refinery would be easily available there but here the cost of land paid was very high. Gas could be supplied through pipes upto the factory if it was located at a site where land was available at low cost. But this fact was not taken into consideration because the money belonged to Government and the Government money is spent carelessly and extravagantly.

Now, I would like to come to income. In this plan a profit of rupees 450 crore has been projected from the public sector industries. I tried to estimate total amount that has been invested in public sector industries. There were some public sector industries even before this Government came to power. So I wanted to arrive at the quantum of investment made in these industries so that I could know the amount of investment on which such profits may be earned. But I could not do that. I do not know whether this report contains that information. If at all it contains, it is not an easy task to locate that, it will be like groping in the dark. But the profit has been indicated as rupees 450 crore. I think it can be easily raised to rupees 1000 crore. The expenditure can be reduced by rupees 400 to 500 crore and then the profits can be increased by rupees 400-500 crore. In this way a resource mobilisation worth Rs. 1000 crore is possible in this plan, through higher profits and savings in the industries and mines sector.

So far as the question of whole plan is concerned, which involves an outlay of 10,000 crore, I cannot say exactly but my estimate is that about Rs. 3000 to 4000 crore would go as wasteful expenditure and as extravagance. Wasteful expenditure is the one which I mentioned in referrence to Barauni Oil Refinery and extravagance is to live in luxury and with pomp and show and imitate European way of life.

Now, if you see the total annual expenditure of the Government on this Plan it is 10,000 crore. The expenditure for 5 years is 25,000 crore. I think out of rupees 25,000 crore, rupees 10,000 crore will be wasteful and extravagant expenditure. Therefore, I want that we should have a wider outlook and we should not concentrate on petty matters. It will serve no purpose even if we effect some economy in insignificant areas. We should concentrate on areas where significant savings can be achieved.

I do not want to say anything to others present here but I certainly want them convey it to their leader, who often does not sit here. He brags that the average age of Indians has gone

upto 40 or 42 years. I want to tell that such statistics are always wrong because there has been some change in the infant mortality rate and as a consequence the average age has increased but this is not that the age of the people has increased like that of Malaviyaji.

In the same way, mention is made here about bicycles or radios. With regard to planning, we should have three criteria before us. Firstly, we should look to the progress made by us as compared to our past performance, secondly, what progress we have made as compared to our neighbours and the other countries of the world and thirdly, what are our aspirations.

I want to say that any literate person—I do not mean an educated person from university, I mean to say that in comparison to those people who make a mention about bicycle or radio, will admit that India has made some progress as compared to her past but we have made a little progress as compared to our neighbours and other countries of the world. If we look to our aspirations, we have not made any progress during these 15 years. Instead we have been left behind China which has made a good progress as compared to her position 15 years ago. Leave China, that is a big country, even a small country like Ghana has made significant progress. We have certainly made some progress but as compared to other countries we are far behind. That is why I say that we will have to broaden our perspective.

I wanted to place the very wider perspective before the House when I said that there are 27 crore people in this country who are living on 3 annas per day. This is such a figure about which there is no scope left for any further discussion. The other day Nandaji spoke vehemently and today also we have heard him speaking with that very degree of vehemence. One mistake he committed was that he counted the earning of the non-agricultural occupations twice. According to him the difference was of rupees 1500 crore. So, such a mistake was committed by him at that time, but I do not want to go into that at present I said that in this country 27 crores people are living on 3 annas per day. In saying so my intention was to place the

true picture of the Government before you and the people of India. But my intention was not just this. My intention was to show you the problem as well as its solution. What is the problem? The malady is this that as many as 27 crore people of the country have to remain content with an average income of three annas a day only and there are yet another 16 crore people whose average per capita income is rupee one only. As compared to this, there are 50 lakhs people in the country whose average per capita spending is as high as Rs. 33/- a day. When our society is suffering from this kind of malady, it is obvious that we have to find out some remedy for it. I am not saying that the people spending rupees thirty three a day be brought down to the level of those who are spending three annas a day. However, if they are brought down to the level of Rs. 15 or 16, an amount of Rs. 2500 crore or Rs. 1500 crore as per the statistics pertaining to the Government Taxes can be easily saved. Thus in a full plan period, total saving may be estimated to be Rs. 7500 crore or Rs. 10,000 crore which would contribute to the smooth sailing of the Five Year Plan.

On an earlier occasion also, I had referred to this malady and its possible cure before the House and now once again I reiterate it here. Unless some corrective measures are taken, this problem will not be solved. In India, we have adopted the structural pattern of development obtaining in affluent countries such as U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and other European countries. Unless we change this pattern of development alien to our soil, we cannot achieve the aims and objectives laid down under our plans. Merely saying these words will serve no purpose that this is a Governmental plan and public enterprises and the private enterprises owned by our millionaire capitalists are totally distinct, as both the public and the private enterprises are being run on the same lines. Their aims and objectives as well as their style of functioning are the same. So are the pay and allowances of their executives and the standard of living enjoyed by their managers. Hence it is no logic in drawing a line of distinction between the two in this respect. However we should distinguish between the two and that basic distinction

can be made only when we come to realise it that we have to bring the people spending Rs. 33 a day down to the level of Rs. 15 or 16 a day. I do not like to add anything more in this regard as any further comments will put them on tenter hooks. However, I would like to make yet another point about the stages to be crossed by the poor in this country. There are a number of stages of poverty and affluence to be crossed by the poor as well the rich in this country. The number of such stages runs not in one or two but in lakhs. If not in lakhs, it must be running certainly in thousands. Had it been two or three stages to be crossed, the problem would have been solved by now. Because of this multiplicity of echelons in our society, it is very difficult to restructure it. The basic drawbacks witnessed in our economy are reflected in our plans also. By the term 'basic drawback' I mean that our system of farming and agriculture production still dates back to the medieval period and our farmers work with the kinds of implements which were in use 1500 years ago. Of course, tractors have come at few places but more or less the same age-old agricultural implements are still used by our farmers. The looms on which our weavers work are the same which were used 2000 or 1000 years ago. There is no change in it. It is true that some mills have also been set up but these could not bring any basic changes in our infrastructure of production which continued to be archaic in nature, whereas our pattern of consumption has undergone a sea-change i.e. from modern to ultra modern. Can our archaic system of production meet the requirements of this ultra modern pattern of consumption which we have copied from western countries. From this plan which has been launched recently, it is proved beyond doubt that such a situation can hardly last for long...

The Government and its bureaucrats are supposed to serve the people. But what I have to submit is that in order to provide comforts to 5000 top officials of the Government, there are as many as 1,00,000 persons to serve them. The total number of Government servants is estimated to be one crore. Thus a big army of servants has been placed at the disposal of these high

ups at the cost of huge government expenditure so that they could lead a life of luxury and pomp and show. This increases burden on the public exchequer. Our plan makers have been of the opinion that with the economic development of the country, all things would be automatically set right. This is the most erroneous line of thinking. Infact, it has resulted in our failure to solve any of the problems facing the country during the last 15 years.

Yet another peculiar 'Kainchi' (scissors) was applied to each and every problem I call it the 'Kainchi' of the Congress Party. A brazen example of this sort of double-dealing can be seen in granting privy purses to the erstwhile Rajas and the Maharajas of the princely states. On the one hand, the Congress party vehemently denounces granting of privy purses to them, while on the other, they express their inability to abolish the same by saying that they are bound by the commitment they had made to them. That is the example of this quality of the Congress party which denounces the privy purses in one breath and reiterates its commitment in the other. May I ask these people who had made this commitment, to quit? Yield your place to others who must have guts to abolish the privy purses. There is no rationale in their arguments. This kainchi of the Congress party has been applied to almost all the problems, be it the problem of language or the problem relating to wealth.

Similarly, I would like you to know about the service conditions of the people belonging to All India Services and other government services with reference to which you ought to know that there are people in the rural areas who are working as 'chaukidar' on a meagre monthly salary of Rs 5/- only. Now I would not like to dwell on the point of highest amount of salaries being given by the Government as it will again prick them.

Now I come to yet another point with regard to Mathone Dam project which is a Government venture. In this project, the number of employees continuously increased because of two reasons. Firstly, there was a competition between the Bengali and the Bihari as to who surpasses the other in matter of giving

more and more employment to the natives of their respective states. Secondly, this was followed by yet another similar competition between the 'Kayasthas' and the 'Brahmins' to accommodate more and more persons of their respective castes. I am reminded of an incident which occurred with me. Before Shri Morarji Desai was dropped from the Union Cabinet under the Kamaraj plan, he once told me that I unnecessarily raised much hue and cry. He added that as a matter of fact no one could stop capable persons from entering into Government services. I would like to submit in all humbleness that had he been the Prime Minister of India, persons belonging to his sub-caste known as 'Anamil Brahmins' only would have been considered as the most capable persons in India. It is the tragedy of our country that whosoever happens to occupy a seat of power here, he makes the persons belonging to his own caste or creed capable of holding the various positions.

Similarly, I would like to point out towards a major drawback of pomp and show displayed under the plan. I would like to cite a brazen example of this kind of pomp and show. Recently, Allahabad railway station was renovated at a cost of rupees one crore, otherwise it would have continued to render useful service to the people for another 50 years. But it was reconstructed in the name of its beautification. In place of it, if a bridge at the cost of rupees 4 to 5 crore had been constructed across the river Ganges or the Ramganga at the point from where military supplies are transported to north Pithoragarh for the jawans who are braving the challenge of China in those poor and backward areas, it would have reduced the travelling time from present 10 hours to 3 hours.

Further, if you want to judge the worth of this plan, you need only to go through the part of the plan, relating to Delhi. The preparation of plan for Delhi alone cost Rs. 7 lakh to the exchequer. If that is the state of affairs in case of Delhi, rest of it I leave to your imagination. Similarly, if you would like to know about yet another feature of this plan, you simply need to go to Ahmedabad. In Ahmedabad 10-15 thousand bungalows

have been constructed for our brown 'Sahebs'. In fact, this plan has been made not for the benefit of general public. It is aimed at somehow gradually increasing the number of a handful of affluent persons in the country now numbering about 50 lakh. Every year, as many as 2 to 3 lakh new sahebs are created in India. It blocks our way to socialism in India because as and when India is posed for socialistic revolution, these sahebs accustomed to live in cosy bungalows will take up cudgels against the very concept of revolution.

I was listening to Tiwariji. He said a remarkable thing that Bihar had been discriminated against. But he put it wrongly as a result of which a good and genuine case was spoiled. In fact, what is happening? Of course, discrimination is there but it is against the poor. To substantiate my point, I would like to cite the example of Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar where average annual income is Rs. 200/- only as against the average income of Rs. 400/- of the people of some of the areas of this country such as Bombay and Calcutta which had inherited the residue of the foreign trade interests from the Britishers.

Moreover, a big man manages to beautify the place he comes from. For example, a Minister invariably manages to develop his area at the cost of other areas.

...There is an area of two lakh and forty thousand acres under co-operative farming. During the days of elections, a loud propaganda of co-operative farming was made. But in fact, against the figure of 30 crore acres of cultivable land, there is hardly an area of 2 lakh 40 thousand acres under actual co-operative farming. By that I mean that they make false promises at the time of elections. There is a wide gap between the practice and profession of the Government.

As regards corruption, least said the better. An amount of Rs. 52 crore was spent on khadi and village Industries under the plan. With that investment, production of cloth increased from 6.4 crore yards to 7.7 crore yards. This increase in cloth production is insignificant as compared to the total production of

cloth which runs into hundreds of crore of yards, So what is the purpose of this plan? This plan has been made at the behest of the Prime Minister with some ulterior motives. Perhaps one of the motives may be to shut the mouth of truth knowing people by luring them with other temptations. In India, a large chunk of people belonging to different castes and creeds who could not be inducted into the Cabinet or who are not willing to be a Minister are kept occupied otherwise with government assignments. They include people belonging to various walks of life such as saints, servants, preachers and academicians. It has deformed and debased our entire plan. In order to correct the situation, only way left is that an organisation is evolved to bring about a change in our agricultural and industrial set up. I do not expect it from the Government which has neither any such organisation nor any will power to set up an organisation which may bring about a change in working of our farms and factories. But I regret to say that we are also not making an organisation of the kind which could get rid this country of this outworn system. The problem before the country is this that the Government itself is not evolving an organisation which could rectify the faulty system in our farms and factories. Even the people of this country have not been able to evolve such an organisation which could throw this Government out of power. This could be attributed to the fact that we have become narrow minded. Everyone thinks in terms of one's own interest or in terms of the interest of one's own area or the community to which he belongs. I am telling you sincerely, Since I came to Delhi, I am feeling like a fish out of water and I start thinking as to why I have come to this wretched place, A number of people come to me to tell their woes daily, They belong to All India radio, Posts and Telegraphs, farm labourers and so on. They have their own tales of woes to tell. Despite all these things, a concerted effort is not being made to improve the lot of the people. A national effort is lacking. The biggest reason of it could be attributed to this plan through which the Government has shattered the confidence of the people of this country. The people are found saying that there is no guarantee of it that in case the present government which consists of

inefficient lot of leaders is replaced by the people of other parties, they will also not turn into an inefficient lot. I do not see any logic in this argument. If the Government of other parties also fails to meet the aspirations of the people, it can also be replaced by the people in the same way as we throw our garbage of the house into dustbins daily. But we have not been able to evolve any such organisations. While commenting on this plan, I can say that this shows our inability. In our economic life, now-a-days, we see a trend of expansionism which could be easily comprehended if we witness the scene in a third class railway compartment where some robust passengers can be seen occupying more and more space while the rest of the passengers are compelled to squeeze themselves into a corner. But I would like to submit that unless and until these weak people come forward to assert themselves to check this trend in the country, our plans cannot be successful.

Preventive Detention (Continuance) Bill

During these fifteen years of independence I could not get an opportunity to see closely the Congress leaders and Ministers. Now, I have been watching them for the last three-four months. I have seen functioning of specially two Home Ministers and I am feeling a bit perturbed. One, who wields sceptre should be humble and soft spoken. I do not know whether Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri has been tender at heart or not but he has been soft spoken. Shri Nanda is both hard hearted and harsh in speech. We have to express our resentment because the sceptre is used on us and it is natural for us to cry but those who wield sceptre should be kind. They wield sceptre. I cannot say who is good and who is bad. I think Nandaji is better because the revolt takes place soon when both heart and speech are hard and harsh respectively. But instead of entering into this discussion, I would say that the Home Minister should be very careful and he should always endeavour to be compassionate and soft spoken. Therefore, with regard to Preventive Detention Act I would like to say that the Government should keep its police, its sceptre and its Home Minister under some restraint. This Preventive Detention Act is somewhat perturbing me particularly keeping in view the happenings which I witnessed here during the last 3 months. Normally I believe in non-violence. I would like to tell you that in 1942, I used to be in a fix when I had to resort to derailment of trains. I used to be in two minds as to which train should be derailed—goods train or the train carrying soldiers. I was against derailment of trains carrying soldiers, but I regret to tell you that

* Lok Sabha Debates 18 December, 1963

the present happenings have a bearing on my non-violent mind, may be for a few moments.

The Preventive Detention Act, brought here by the Government time and again has actually become a section of the Indian Penal Code, though the same has not been declared as such. It relates to Article 21 and 22 of the Constitution. But the Home Minister has uttered such things in his speech, had I been in power I would have prosecuted him and sent him to prison on the charge of violation of the Constitution. However, this question does not arise because I would have not proposed the Preventive Detention Act. But I would have prosecuted him because he stated that if all the Articles of the Constitution pertaining to the rights of the citizens are looked into, it would appear that one Article contradicts the other. If the Constitution is interpreted in this manner, it will lose its existence. The Articles pertaining to the rights of the citizens do not contradict each other instead these are complementary to each other. Articles 21 and 22 are not related to any other Article. Other Articles cannot modify the provisions of Articles 21 and 22. Article 22 itself modifies it to some extent...

...He was referring to section 19 which is related to the security of the country and its relations with foreign countries. That is not at all related to preventive detention. The Preventive Detention Act is a totally different thing. We have every right to live freely and to be produced before a magistrate within 24 hours of detention. So we should look into the condition laid down under this section only.

He further added that ours is an infant democracy. In order to protect it from outside danger and to create condition for its proper growth, we have to safeguard it in a similar way as we safeguard a growing plant by laying a fence around it. But the steps proposed by the Government, instead of providing protection to our infant democracy, prove an 'Amar bel' which destroys the plant on which it creeps up. If they are actually interested to protect the plant of democracy, people should be

* Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda.

given full freedom as the plant requires manure and sunlight for its growth and only then our democracy will be strengthened. With the introduction of this Preventive Detention Bill, our plant of democracy appears to be withered away and is facing the danger of total extinction.

...An argument has been put forward here by quoting from the history of England and Europe that the people there got civil rights after a perpetual struggle for three hundred years. If you refer to the history of England and Europe, you cannot deny the fact that a number of kings, queens, ministers and prime ministers were sentenced to death in England and only then they achieved civil rights. If you repeat the history of England in India, it will lead to disastrous results. We are to create our own history. We have got this independence with the help of 'Satyagrah' and Civil Disobedience movements. Shri Nanda should keep in mind this thing also that the country, which comes into existence after the struggle based on Satyagrah and Civil Disobedience should have different types of rules and laws and such rules and laws cannot be compared with those prevalent in USA and England.

There has been a gradual curtailment in the civil rights of the citizens and gradual erosion of rule of law in India. As the flood water causes soil erosion unabatedly, these laws are also causing erosion of the civil rights enjoyed by the people of India. Apart from Preventive Detention Act there are Defence of India Rules which deprive the citizens of all the rights whatsoever. When this sort of a trend of curtailment in civil rights of the people and erosion of rule of law is allowed to go on unchecked, the people particularly the officers of the Government, become inefficient in exercising their powers. They become mentally as well as administratively inefficient. They do not prepare any case because they are not afraid of anything. They are not afraid of their involvement or losing case in court. The element of fear keeps the officers alert but in the absence of any fear they feel that they can arrest anybody or detain any person because they have not to prove any case in the Court of Law. There have been instances when the persons in power

have misused the provisions of this law to settle personal score. I have been a victim of it. When the Collector lost the case in the court against me, he got me arrested under the Preventive Detention Act. Though I was put under that detention only for a short period as I was later convicted and a number of other incidents also took place.

As far as ineffectiveness of the law is concerned, I would like to tell the hon. Minister of Home Affairs that a tendency has developed in our country to take recourse to violence and killings to settle not only political score but even personal score. There is a lot of violence in our society at present even to settle personal score...

...For the moment you only need to know that big people have also begun to take recourse to murder to meet their personal ambitions.

In one case, two students were murdered simply because of falling in love with girls, of course belonging to different castes which was not at all a bad thing, but the fathers of the girls did not like it who happened to be their teachers also. When the rule of laws is eroded to this extent, the people, particularly the big people, develop a feeling that they can do whatever they like...

There has been continuous erosion in the rule of law. The situation of anarchy is created not only by the people but by the Government also. At present, an anarchic situation created by the Government is prevailing to the extent that the existing laws are not enforced impartially and this is nothing but corruption. This Preventive Detention Act, is eroding the rule of law.

As regards the Preventive Detention Act, I have already said that with the enforcement of this law, our implementation machinery has become ineffective. Though normally we have a right to challenge our arrest but when we are detained under the provisions of the aforesaid Act, we no more enjoy that right and for that matter even the Collectors, Commissioners and other high officers tend to become inactive. Similarly, the Minister of Home Affairs and even the Prime Minister becomes

inactive. All these things lead to a situation where there is no rule of law. Hence the Government should repeal the Preventive Detention Act as it will enable all the people and the Government itself to work more efficiently like a musical instrument which plays well when its loose strings are tightened to the required level. At present the Government resembles a mandolin with its loose strings and continuance of the Preventive Detention Act is helping them to sag further. It can play the desired notes only when its loose strings are tightened to serve the purpose. With that I mean that the Government can work more efficiently if this Detention Act is rendered null and void. That is an idea I have given to the Government to think over it very seriously.

I would like to mention about the lawlessness created by the State in particular because a lot has been said about the lawlessness prevailing among the general public, about goondas, communists and the people practising non-violence. I am not a supporter of communists, I do not like communism although I have started thinking in a different way from what I used to think ten or fifteen years back. There was a time when I and Shri Masani used to lend ear to each other and it is now that I have started agreeing a bit with him but it would be welcome if he also responds with equal keenness. I would like to tell him that he may not like communist ideology but he should not hate the persons who are communists. It would not be proper to suggest that Preventive Detention Act is necessary just to arrest communists. You may keep your gates closed for communism but do not go in for the detention of communists. It makes a great difference.

Here I would like to appreciate Shri Trivedi, though in view of the way the communists are going, I should say that in a way they are harping their tune with the Government. Yesterday, I was stunned to observe that Smt. Renu Chakravarti, instead of extending her support for more rights for the members, was raising her point of order to seek the curtailment of their rights. Had I been allowed to make my submission here, it would have resulted in securing more rights for them. It is surprising that

while teaching in the classroom she used to quote the example of England where the members of the Parliament asserted to win more rights for them but here she does not want to have more rights for the members.

...That is why I want to mention it quite emphatically that indiscipline has permeated deep into the Government and its administration. Rules and regulations are least cared for by them. They do not observe them. Consequently a tendency has plagued the entire country that some how or the other they should endeavour to maintain stability. But what is this stability? To understand it, you shall have to trace your history of the last 1000 to 1500 years. In fact, India has become too stable rather stagnant and it has made her rather half dead. The word 'half dead' I have used cursorily but in fact she has become completely dead. During the last 1000 or 1500 years our country could not revolt against her internal tyrants even for once. And even if she put up some resistance or stood against it, it was against the foreign invasion or the foreign rulers. But as regards internal atrocities and injustice, she never resisted. So do not make it too stable—to make it stagnant. In this context, I would like to say that some stability of the masses is a good thing but our masses have become a dead mass. Hence they should be made vibrant. They should be made active and dynamic. For that matter, even if they want to make a deviation, let them do so because it will infuse some vigour in them. Now the question arises as to what sort of deviation or commotion should it be? Should it be violent or non-violent? To this question, I am clear in my mind to say that it will be better if that commotion is non-violent because a violent upheaval worsens the situation. Therefore, I would like to submit to the hon. Home Minister that he should not feel agitated, instead, he should be humble in his submissions...

It would be better if he takes care of certain matters. It would be better if he takes care of not only the words which he speaks but also of his mind. Anyway, that is a different thing. What I was saying just now was that he should not feel panicky about lawlessness. If lawlessness prevails among the masses

or in the Government, he should not feel nervous. Suppose, that due to some resentment, the people resort to stone throwing, firing or hooliganism, the Government is free to use force. But the Government should give a different treatment to persons like me who violate the law and resort to Satyagrah in order to transform the society and to make the country strong because I am of the view that if we continue our fight against the tyrants within the country, we would be able to face the external aggression too.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to make one thing clear because a misunderstanding about me has gained ground that I am a totally frustrated man. I have said a number of times in the House that this Government is very cruel and we are so worthless that we are not able to remove it. It speaks of my confidence that inspite of all these odds, I am pursuing my struggle to change this Government. I am not only hopeful but confident that this Government will be removed. When the Preventive Detention Act which is an infringement of Article 22 is being brought on the Indian Penal Code time and again, I am sure, the people of India will rise in revolt because resurrection of this country is not possible without it. The only question that is to be decided is whether this goal is to be achieved through violent means or through non-violence. Do not shadow our minds too much as it may lead to bad consequences...

... I told you that force is used against us. Since it is you who use the force, that is why I told you to remain calm. We have the right to cry and to express our resentment. Keep your cool even when you use force. However, while doing so, you must ensure that whatever is being done is according to the law. Since Preventive Detention is not according to the law, this Act should be repealed. If you do it, your conduct, your thinking and your actions will undergo transformation because you will have a dividing line before you which will remind you of your jurisdiction beyond which you cannot go. The name of Maryada Purushottam is uttered by you everyday: Articles 21 and 22 have their Maryada (sanctity). The citizens of India are not only to live freely but they should be assured of their safety

all the time. When India attained independence, I thought that at least henceforth I would not be arrested the way the Britishers arrested me time and again. But the same feeling is no more there. Two-three days back, Shri George Fernandes, who was detained under Preventive Detention Act, was released. I wanted to congratulate the Home Minister for this, but I would not like to comment upon the way he has been released. 25-30 thousand people reached the station to receive him. Such a rousing reception is given only to a patriot. There is yet another similar case of Kafil Ahmed Kaifi of Darbhanga who is under detention in jail. Why is he being kept under detention? He was put in jail because the Government pays Rs. 110 for earth work to a company of which an hon. Member of this House is the Chairman, he is making all out efforts to gain re-entry. The labourers are paid hardly Rs. 40-50 for that earth work. The Preventive Detention Act is being used for this purpose. I would request you to consider it seriously and repeal the Preventive Detention Act.

CORRUPTION*

...Misconduct and corruption are just synonyms and while discussing this issue we should examine that if corruption exists at the apex level, would it be worthwhile to conduct the cleansing operation at lower level. I would request the hon. Members to exercise utmost restraint while discussing the corruption at the apex level. They should not direct their resentment against me but against the situation today in which India is rotting. I shall try to exercise restraint but other hon. Members should also exercise restraint and deliberate on the issue dispassionately. They should not mind my words, but should think about eradicating the evil...

...So I had mentioned that corruption was at apex level. There is no rule of law in India, as the administration is functioning arbitrarily. Either the rules are not appropriate or they are not enforced properly. The result is that one finds favouritism in every action of the Government. It is a secondary question whether one gains monetarily or not as a result of this favouritism. Favouritism, functioning arbitrarily, bribery and contravention of rules should be considered corruption.

What else is corruption? It is not only dishonesty but lack of realisation also. I find this thing in Parliament as well that people take corruption as dishonesty only. I want to say that it is not only dishonesty but lack of realisation also. If we do not comprehend the situation in India and the World as a whole and do not try to know the circumstances which cause corruption and why corruption exists and do not identify the

* Lok Sabha Debates 21 December, 1963

areas of corruption, we shall not be able to eradicate it. I still find that Government has not understood the problem because in order to eradicate corruption, the Government is proposed to create an institution of Central Vigilance Commission. What is meant by it? It means that Central Vigilance Commission would identify the areas of corruption and curb the same. This may be a remedy. This is a way of awarding punishment for the crime that has already been committed. The Government has not so far thought of any way out to prevent corruption.

One approach is to prevent corruption and the other is to remedy the situation. First of all I would like to say that the approach of the Central Vigilance Commission would not be that of prevention of the evil but that of only remedying the situation. This would prove to be a failure and I may tell you the main reason of its failure i.e. whenever some influential individual would come into its dragnet, he will go scot free and only ordinary persons will be awarded punishment. Therefore, it would prove to be a failure even as a remedy and so far as the question of prevention is concerned, the hon'ble Minister of Home Affairs has not applied his mind towards it.

Here I may tell you one thing more that now-a-days so many fool proof methods have been evolved in India even that of punishment by proxy. When people used to court arrest on the issue of prohibition, the people engaged in distilling illicit liquor used to send some of their own men to set themselves arrested just to please the police and the hon. Minister and at the same time they continued their illegal trade. If necessary, such elements would get some persons arrested by proxy and make the Central Vigilance Commission quite ineffective.

Besides, I would like to draw your attention towards that statement made by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs, in which he stated that saints and leaders of social organisations could help in solving this problem by creating public opinion and eradicate the evil of corruption. After all what is meant by morality? Should it be confined to only saints? At present politics and economic life has become so much complicated that it cannot be left to saints that they should give sermons

and convince the people to become honest and truthful and everything would be alright.

I can say that an hon'ble Minister who talks of truthfulness and honesty more and speaks against casteism tries to provide maximum benefit to the people of his own caste. I would like to make it quite clear that more a Minister of India speaks against casteism, more he practises it in his practical life.

Therefore, it is the question of realisation and I may give you another instance in this regard. I myself had agreed to the proposal in the past—but at that time I had not comprehended the idea fully—that neither any Minister nor any official should be paid more than Rs. 500/-. But no limit was imposed on the income of an advocate, doctor, businessman and Jagirdar. How a Code of Conduct can be framed for the Ministers and bureaucrats while corruption is rampant all around. This Code of Conduct will not be able to withstand the force of greed and avarice inherent in corruption and will be swept away by its force. So, it proves that this matter should be viewed in proper perspective.

Besides, I would like to draw your attention towards the fact that people have started saying that corruption has become a part and parcel of our life. I make a humble submission—I was just going to use the words “to my old congress colleagues” but my mind does not permit me to say those words although my heart sometimes commits the slip—that they should ponder over what they utter before the people during their election campaign in villages. They explain to the people that they are contented because they have earned a lot for themselves and now their bellies are full and if they cast their votes in favour of those whose bellies are empty and who are very hungry, they have their own axe to grind and they will indulge in amassing wealth and doing everything for themselves. The villagers feel convinced and think that if they cast their votes against Congress Party, the new Government would eat into the resources of the country afresh. Therefore, there is no other alternative left with the people but to allow these very corrupt elements to remain in the Government. This is not a matter to

be laughed at. It is a matter of shame. I feel perturbed to learn that people throughout the country are being taught the lesson of corruption through elections.

Besides, economists of India have propounded a theory that when a nation with a backward economy makes progress there is inadequate production due to obsolete methods of production and in such a situation corruption is bound to take place. I think I have made the things clear but there is a majority of people in India who possess a little knowledge of English, so they call it a developing economy. They are of the view that in a developing economy corruption is bound to take place. I assert that it is a false theory. If a weak and backward economy is to be improved and strengthened, there should be no place for corruption and I am placing an example before you to make it clear. Though it should have been a Gandhian example yet I am giving a Russian one.

USSR never bothered about the quality of the items of consumption made in their country for 40 to 50 years. The razor they manufactured would give a very rough and painful shave. The foreign visitors used to tell after their return from USSR that the consumer items were of inferior quality in USSR. But they were laying the foundation of their production and were not wasting their money on consumer items. Similarly, had we laid more emphasis on production instead of consumption in our country, the corruption would not have increased to such an extent.

I would like to draw your attention towards the relation between the Government and the trade. The extent to which it has become polluted, corrupt and dishonest in India, it had never happened in the history of the world. The relation between the trade and Government has not been so strained in America, Britain, Germany etc. as it has been in India. I am going to give an example instead of a theory. National Motors is a company of Punjab. That company is run by a Minister's son. He gets licence, quota etc. from the Government. He is minting money. Whenever a question is raised in this regard, it is said that why do you quote such example and has the Chief Minister

should be issued such and such licence. You should produce documentary evidence to prove that he has done so and give other facts. I want to make a special mention in this regard. We should only see whether a son, a daughter or a relative and in my opinion a relative upto two generations has taken any advantage of the high position of his relative. Today, in India, the criterion should be to check whether anybody has taken any advantage of the official position in the Government of his guardians to further his trade or business interests.

There is another criterion which I want to place before you. It is very often said whether Ministers do not have sons? Its first reply is whether others do not have sons; whether only Ministers have sons, who would always reap the benefit in all respects. But in the present situation, in today's economy, there is one sphere of competition and there is another sphere of permit, quota, licence etc. We should learn to distinguish between the two. They talk about independent countries like Germany, Britain etc. which allow open and free competition in which Government does not interfere. Mostly this is the situation there. If here in India, the sons, daughters and the relatives of Ministers are more intelligent, let them face free competition and if they succeed, let them prosper. In a trade in which some quota or permit or licence is required to be given by the Minister, there the relatives upto two generations of the Ministers should not come forward. So long you do not follow this policy, the relation between the Government and the trade will remain strained.

Now, I come to the employment aspect. Some way out should be found out so that anybody occupying a high office in the Government should not be able to offer high posts to his relatives. You will ask for a proof in this regard also. The proof is that the graph of the business and trade prosperity of a son, who failed to secure a job in the normal course earlier, shows an upward trend synchronising with the enhancement of the Ministerial status of his father. This is such a big proof that it cannot be countered. In this respect also some positive rules

should be framed.....

I submit that I am a representative of the last capital of ancient India *i.e.* Kannauj and in this capacity I was about to utter a few literary epithets about this new capital but I am hesitant to utter those words because I do not know whether those words would be followed in their right perspective or not. Delhi has been capital of the country for the last 700-800 years. It has its own charm and beauty but that of an unchaste woman. There is no doubt about it because it could never repel the foreign invaders. The capital has a history of 700-800 years. I want to give her a message. I have just come from Kannauj. There was a Nallah there and water used to flow through it carrying with it the dirt. During rains or floods people did not face any difficulty. The Nallah is about 600-700 years old. With the passage of time, it got silted. It is filled up with soil. Time has harmed it. Another harm done is that 50-60 persons have illegally occupied that land and have started cultivation and have grown some vegetables there. Therefore, I will make a submission that in a way it is a malady of 1000-1500 years and on the other hand, it is a malady of fifteen years. I want to speak more about the malady of 1000-1500 years because the malady of 15 years is a passing phase. The Ministers, Prime Ministers, Chief Ministers come and go in millions. Sometime I am unable to control myself. I do not get sufficient time otherwise I would have explained in detail the malady and the treatment of the malady of 1500 years which has infiltrated into the malady of 15 years also. Indian people are not one unit, they consist of one thousand or ten thousand units. There is no harmony among the different castes. They are harming each other, they have different thinking, different ideologies. Their vested interest, justice, thinking, discretion have attained different meanings. When they think of their self-interest they forget the distinction between profession, practice, justice and injustice, honesty and dishonesty. These ten thousand units are plundering the country and it is happening for the last 1500 years. As long as a distinction is not made between them, corruption cannot be eliminated because everybody will think

that if anybody has done any good to his caste, community and sons, what is wrong in it. It has been carried forward from our scriptures, I would not mention them, that if someone attains a high place, he should help and benefit his people. Till today, it is happening.

Aspersions are cast on me but you know that I have not spoken about the Prime Minister and I make the least comments about him. Aspersions are cast on me but I raise the issues based on facts. With due regard, I humbly submit that till this day, I never raised any personal issues about the Prime Minister. I always raised those issues which concerned the Government. Now if during his tenure as Prime Minister, the people of his family, community have got promotions, it is not a personal issue, it becomes a public issue. In its defence it is said that it is happening because they possess ability for it. Had you been the Prime Minister at the moment who would have possessed the maximum ability? If the Finance Minister becomes Prime Minister, as sometime we hear, if it happens, you will see that most able persons will be found among Tamil, Ayangar and there is no doubt about it. This is the criterion of ability followed in our country. When a person occupying a high post attains a higher position, all the persons belonging to his family, his community become so able, so qualified that others cannot compete with them. We have to change this trend and tendency. As long as we do not eliminate the discrimination among the four thousand or ten thousand different units, we will not be able to banish corruption.

On the one hand there is a question of poverty of 43 crore people and on the other hand about 50 lakh people continuously think of raising their standard of living in an effort to bring it at par with that of the people of U.S.A. and Europe. What is the aim of life of an average Indian today— to buy a luxury chair, to buy elegant furniture. They feel that since they have seen an attractive sofa in some one's house, why should they also not possess the same. When such thoughts come and gain roots in the minds and hearts of ministers and their wives, how can moral values thrive. On the one side there is hunger of

43 crore people, which is so intense and overpowering that they cannot distinguish between honesty and dishonesty. I want to say that 43½ crore people can be dishonest for two paise and four paise but 50 lakh people are dishonest in the eyes of lakhs and crores of people. On the one hand there are people who spend 100 times, 500 times more than their salary and on the other hand the persons entrusted with the administration spend at least 4 times of their salaries. Thus, it has become imperative that we should get rid of the maladies that we have acquired during the last 15 years...

...This is incumbent on our part to find out remedies of these maladies. The glaring inequality prevailing in the society and the ever increasing desire of the people for raising their standard of living often induce them to resort to corrupt practices. I would like to submit that special attention is required to be paid, particularly by the members of this House towards these inconsistencies. The era of Mahatama Gandhi was the era of simple living and dedication to duty, but the present era of the Hon. Prime Minister is an era of fashion and luxury. In order to safeguard the interests of a handful of 5 million people, you ignore the general condition of the masses. I find people here blindly following the life style of the people of U.S.A. and European countries. To them, I can say that the people there could be in a position to enjoy the present standard of living after putting in constant hard labour during the last 300 years for increasing the production of farms and factories, whereas here we are yearning for the life style of the western countries without increasing our production. In such circumstances, corruption is bound to afflict the society. That is why I would like to put these two points before you.

Similarly, this Government has concealed the truth in a 'Hiranya Patra' (golden pot). I am using the word 'Hiranya Patra' which dates back to two to two and half thousand years ago. You will find the Government is spending a lot of money in order to partially or fully shut the mouth of the people who could not be a Minister or are not inclined to be a Minister. Such people can be found in all walks of life, no matter whether they

are a servant or a saint or a social reformer or for that matter an academician or a teacher. As per an estimate of mine, out of a total annual plan outlay and Government expenditure of Rs. 5000 crore, as much as an amount of Rs. 2000 crore is spent by this Government for suppressing the truth through sealing the pot with a golden cover. Had this device not been practised to shut their mouths, my view point would have received wider and quicker response as more and more people would have discussed it and deliberated upon it. But such discussion and deliberations are strangled because they do not feel the pinch.

...It is essential on our part to speak the truth, without which we cannot even think of attaining good conduct. However, in the present day politics, it is gradually becoming a rare phenomenon. Suppose, if I have been ensnared in something and my speaking of truth is likely to entail me in nailing out my mistake, in such circumstances, I would prefer to tell a lie to suppress the mistake. But one often gets entrapped in the web of one's own lies. Suppose, I am scheduled to reach Washington on Monday at 10 a.m. and I could not reach there for one reason or the other. Then, at once, I will take recourse to some excuses such as I was interested to go there but I could not go because of lack of means. But generally, the person who takes recourse to lies is entrapped in the web of his own lies. For example, if I say that I could reach London in the morning and I could have reached Washington also at the same time, my lies is immediately nailed as there is a difference of at least 5 hours in the timing of London and Washington....

...I would like to tell you about the Hon. Prime Minister. This is not a case of mis understanding. In stead of becoming angry at me, he should pay heed to my points. He should fully consider the expenditure on three items which include expenditure on grants, allowances and funds. As regards grants sanctioned by the various ministers, I would like to submit this much only that if the hon. Minister of Home Affairs once takes trouble to see the things in the Prime Minister's house, he will be able to know what can be acquired with the help of these grants. The things

which are acquired by other Ministers and the Chief Ministers through other means are acquired by the Prime Minister under the normal rules. There is a fund called as Prime Minister's Relief Fund. An amount of Rupees one and a half crore has been spent from this fund during the last 10 to 15 years. There are no prescribed rules and regulations for drawing the amount from this fund and it is the discretion of the Prime Minister which reigns supreme in the matter. This reply has been given by him in this very House. Anyone can improve his governmental status with the help of such funds. I would like to humbly submit that had I at my disposal even 100th part of this fund, I would have also wielded more political clout and a large number of people could be seen hanging around me also. It is a means to increase one's political power...

.....I would like to tell you one thing which has been badly pinching me to the core of my heart. The matter would have been discussed in the House. You please see as to how rules are to be applied. A grave danger is looming large over the country. Is it a good parliamentary tradition to discuss the same thing again and again? Tension is building up on all fronts but tension at one front only has been discussed in the current session of the House again and again. The Government has an agency through which it feeds the newspapers the news suiting its convenience, diverting the attention of the people by giving news of killings, dacoities, and firings etc. Of course, the Government of Pakistan is notorious for its stance but the Government of India also does not think all these things and creates such conditions which are not in a good taste.

Next, I would like to submit that though I don't crave for power I am of the opinion if a central vigilance commission is constituted, it must be vested with the power to arrest "anyone" after giving two warnings for repeating similar acts of corruption. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am laying stress on the word 'anyone' which includes everybody, he may be a Chief Minister or a Prime Minister or anybody else. It should also be empowered to remove the wide economic disparity which is eating into the edifice of our country. I would also like to add that instead of

paying attention to consumption, attention is required to be paid to increase the production. If this is done, I can say with certainty that not only I but even hon. Shri Mahavir Tyagi can eradicate corruption from this country within two years. But I am sure that Shri Nanda will never be successful in eradicating corruption from the country.

I would also like to add that under the present Five Year Plan the average income of about 27 crore people is merely three annas per day and that of 16.5 crore people is only one rupee per day with which they have to make both ends meet. But I can plan the economy in such a way that the daily average income of these 27 crores could be raised to eight annas a day from three annas and that of 16.5 crore to Rs. 1.5 or Rs. 1.75 within a span of seven years.

Uplift of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*

This Government only intricates the issues instead of solving them and numerous problems like that of drought, right to property, language issue and casteism are assuming alarming proportions rather than being solved. The caste—Hindus, particularly in the rural areas, are enraged due to advancement of Harijans and the people belonging to other backward classes. Out of a total population of 7-8 crores of the Harijans, the economic condition of not more than 70—80 thousand harijans has improved. Their number may be a little more. But it is not more than one per thousand in any case. Even then, they have become an eye-sore to almost all caste—Hindus. In such circumstances, let it be understood very clearly that the country cannot make progress. It is mostly attributed to our faulty system of governance. The present Government is responsible for it. If we follow this faulty system, we will be also responsible for it. Whatever is done by the Government today, it is done for the benefit of the rich who could muster votes for them. They never intend to do good to the people or the country, they intend to bring influential people into their fold who could get them votes. Now these 70—80 thousand harijans have become the centre of attraction for the rest of the harijans and are playing the role of vote catcher for the Government...

Under the Five Year Plans, the amount of grants meant for Harijans and the backward classes are separately ear-marked,

*. Lok Sabha Debates, 12 March, 1965.

but no appraisal is ever made as to how many people belonging to backward classes were actually benefitted from these plans. Evaluation of Five Year Plans is made in other terms. A number of reports are received by me but I have never seen any report which could elaborate on the specific number of beneficiaries belonging to Harijans and Adivasis whose standard was raised with the money spent under the Plans.

The Fourth Five Year Plan is being formulated. Over two thousand crore would be spent during this plan period. Probably Rs. 70, 80 crores may be allocated exclusively for the Harijans which is of course a meagre amount. In fact these monstrous Five Year Plans make the rich further richer and the downtrodden do not get any relief.

Under these circumstances I would like to appeal to the entire society to have a broader outlook. Our population is 48 crores and there are 7-8 crore Harijans in it. In all there are 43 crore backward people. I consider all the women as backward, irrespective of the caste to which they belong. There are 43 crore backward men and women in the country. Again there are poor people among upper castes. Their number is about four and a half crore so there are only 50 lakh people who are rich in the real sense of the term and mostly belong to upper castes. Unless we try to understand the flaw in the present social set up that four and a half crore poor people belonging to upper castes always align themselves with the people of their own caste and are guided by them, no improvement can be expected. Unless these four and a half crore people cut off their link with the rich belonging to their castes and align themselves with the 43 crore backward people, nothing much would be achieved. When 43 crore backward people and four and a half crore poor among the high castes join hands then they would emerge as a powerful force which would blast the palatial castles of the fifty lakh rich and reduce them to ashes. It is only then that the edifice of modern India could be built over it. There is no other alternative.

.....In fact India appears to be disunited, I think that at the top of the long list of sins and misdeeds that this Government

has committed is the sin of splitting the approach of the people. Non-sectarian and perspective outlook is nowhere in evidence. The people do not believe that the entire country can make progress and prosper by collective efforts. Everybody is busy in trying to maximising his share in the national wealth.

In the absence of broader outlook, Harijans and backward classes will never get their rightful share. Everybody will prosper only when the Harijans prosper. There is a feeling among the people who employ Harijans and persons belonging the backward classes that if their wages are raised to Rs. 50—60 their own share of income will diminish. Unless they stop thinking in these terms and start believing that the country can make progress only if the Harijans, potters, domestic servants and sweepers prosper the problem can never be solved.

At times, I feel that the wages of a sweeper should be the same—Mr. Speaker, Sir—I wanted to say—as that of the Prime Minister but I dare not say that because it will not be proper keeping in view the requirements of the office of the Prime Minister. Let their wages be equal to the salary of a Minister, say that of Shri Krishnamachari. Even if a sweeper is paid Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 as monthly salary, I think it would have a great impact and I dare say that these high caste people would prefer to sweep and clean lavatories. Only then will the country make progress.

CRITICISM OF INDIAN HISTORY*

Today, we are discussing the contents of the book on human history brought out by the International Commission constituted by the UNESCO, an organ of the United Nations. This is the first book on the history of man which deals with ancient oriental history and the origin of civilisation. Though it has been published by the International Commission on History, but the responsibility for it lies equally on the United Nations, UNESCO and the Government of India in as much as the name of even Dr. Radhakrishnan figures among the people who entered into correspondence with this International Commission on History. This is about the responsibility.

Now this is perhaps for the first time that we are discussing in the Lok Sabha some classical work and, therefore, it would not be inappropriate if Government and the hon. Minister pay attention to the fundamentals of the book and work for some sort of reorientation. I do not want them to reply to insignificant and frivolous points.

We know the serious consequences of the errors committed in writing history and of misinterpretation and distortions of history. After all, what is history? It tells us about our past; it is the perception of our past whether complete, incomplete, wrong or right. Our future and present is built by this perception of the past. If the past is understood in a wrong manner, our future and present will also be built wrongly. I would like to give an example. Our temples were destroyed during medieval period.

* Lok Sabha Debates, 26 April, 1966

But if their history is recorded now and simply it is written that the temples were destroyed by Muslim conquerors, then it would be only a half-truth, a partial historic truth, only an initiative. But if it is also recorded that our ancestors were so incompetent and incapable that they could not halt foreign aggression, then it would be to some extent, a complete history, a history that evinces an agony, which compels us not to allow such things happen in future and makes us realise that the Muslims living with us—after-all, they were once Hindus—had no hand in that invasion and that we should not avenge that on them. We should try to assess the history dispassionately and not with anger.

Now the errors committed in this book may appear to be frivolous, but by giving examples I shall try to show how the Indian history has been distorted by both Indian and foreign writers. Whatever creative work is done here is considered by them to be essentially imitation of China, Egypt etc. The result is that Mr. Leynord Wooli, the writer of the history book for the U.N., tends to think that the architectural work of the northern gate of the great Stupa of Sanchi is an imitation of wooden architecture of China. Now, Mr. Speaker, the interesting part of it is that the error was pointed out not by any member of this Commission on Indian History who are supposed to point out such a thing, nor even by Dr. Radhakrishnan or any person of his calibre, but by a Russian, Professor Diaknoff and Mr. Ilyin.

Then Leynord Wooli writes a small note saying that as far as impact of China is concerned Prof. Ilyin has, no doubt, pointed out this error, but I had such an impression, although there is no proof of it and I thought it fit to reflect that impression in the book. This is the history written by him. The Stupa was erected at Sanchi and inspiration was stated to have been got from China; Prof. Ilyin of Russia points out the error in the history book brought out by U.N. Above all, Prof. Wooli thinks it fit to record the impression in the book without any valid proof..... Dr. Singh, you say that he was a cynic, but I say all the historians, whether Indian or foreign suffer from cynicism. The result is that today every Indian child thinks that every good

work done in India has its origin in other countries. This is not all. They have gone further. A book has been referred to in this work and you will be amused and surprised to know the title of the book. Its title is "5000 years of Pakistan."

....All the western writers want to show that Pakistan is as old as the civilisation of Harappa and Mohanjodaro. They want to strengthen the roots of Pakistan by identifying these civilisations with her, whether they term it as art, or history or anything else. In the same fashion we can say that the history of England is two million years old and that of India 300 crores of years old, because it is the history of this planet. But it can have dangerous consequences.

This book makes a mention about one thing more which has not attracted the attention of the people having communal bias. In one way it is good. It is about the Rigveda. I do not want to enter into controversy as to how old Rigveda is, but I am not prepared to accept this contention that prior to 1100 or 1200 B. C. i.e., about 3100 years ago, poetry did not exist in India. This book makes a mention of existence of poetry in Egypt and in China. But I accept this contention as far as music is concerned. This book deals with a combination of subjects, but absolutely rules out the existence of the poetry in India 3100 years ago as no evidence is available to prove it. So far as Rigveda is concerned, the writer says that Aryans came to India in 1500 B.C. To classify the people as Aryans, Non-Aryans, Dravida, Mangol is to a great extent all gossip. Chagla Saheb should not start replying to my points before fully understanding them. I would not blame him. This is the practice. According to this writer, the Aryans came to India about 3500 years back and it took 500 or 700 years in the composition of the poetry. So according to him, the refined poetry of Rigveda is 2700 or 2800 years old.

...You may kindly tell Mr. Chagla that in this book with which he was associated and with the writing of which Dr. Radhakrishnan was connected, the poetry of Rigveda does not find any place, because the author of the book does not consider it to be so old. He considers it to be new and he has put forward

many arguments in support of his contention. I would like to refer to only one thing. The poetry is old and there are separate evidences to prove it. I had asked Shri Govardhan Rai Sharma who is a teacher and has been engaged in the excavation work of Kaushambi, to write an article in this regard after deep study. He has sent his article to me. It is in many parts and some of them are very technical. I would read out one sentence from his article. There is a device called radio carbon of analysing old things. This device can determine the age of antiques. He has said that the method of Radio Carbon has been found after the publication of the report on Kaushambi. On examination of various items of pottery found during excavation of Kaushambi, it could be said with certainty that these items of pottery belong to the period from 2035 B.C. to 640 B.C. The foreign scholars have ignored the results of excavation work done in Kaushambi or other places. The historians of even our own country do not attach much importance to these results. If you like, I would send this note to you and it may be laid on the Table of the House. The Government of India may like to discuss the matter with the United Nations in the light of this note.

Now the main problem is that historians always hold the view that whatever good had happened in India was the contribution of alien stock. The indigenous inhabitants of this country were not competent to discover new things. This book also says that the large fortification in Harappa.....

I will conclude, if you give me three or four minutes more. Instead of translating it into Hindi, I read out English Text. The writer says:

“The elaborate fortification of the citadels would hardly have been necessary to protect the cities against raiding parties from the mountains of Baluchistan; more probably they were intended to overawe the countryside, the assumption being that the ruler and citizens were of an alien stock which had reduced their indigenous inhabitants to the status of serfs.”

This is what the Historians write. I need not go in detail. In

this context, I would like to praise the Historians of USSR, though they have not given fair account of the Czar of their own country. I salute them. After all, they have given better account of ancient history of India than that was given by Britishers and other Western Historians. Prof. I.M. Diakonoff and Prof. G.F. Ilyin have written:—

“Prof. I.M. Diakonoff and Prof. G.F. Ilyin note that no conclusive proof exists that the ruling class was of foreign origin. The citadels may have been similar to the baronial castles of Germany in the Middle Ages.”

Now Sir Leynord Woolei writes that there are two reasons which prove that this fort was built by foreigners and the inhabitants of the fort were alien. No doubt, the new civilisation was brought to this country, but the remnants of old civilisation were also available. I would like to submit that if research is conducted in the same manner in Germany, USSR and England, one may find ruins of various wars fought among them and the remains of different civilisations. New civilisation is the result of inter-action and intuition. But historians are not prepared to agree that intuition of indigenous inhabitants can develop new civilisation in this country. I would like to say that such Historians have totally destroyed the real History of India, because even the renowned Historians of our country harbour the concept that any sort of renaissance that takes place in our country, is the outcome of physical interaction of alien stock, may it be Afghans, Moghuls or Britishers. The result is that a tendency has developed among the speakers to say that our's is a unique country and it can absorb and compromise with all the civilisations. We believe that there is unity in diversity in our country and this very poisonous line of thinking in our history has affected the minds of the present day Indian politician to the extent that he thinks himself to be progressive and says, let the foreign invader come and win our country. It makes no difference to us, because gradually our rich, most powerful and immortal culture will win him, absorb him. This line of thinking in the history should be done away with altogether. The approach is of two types. One is of a slave and the other is that of the

master. For the last one thousand years, our approach has been that of the slave and not of the master.

In this connection I would not blame only the foreigners. All the historians absorb the same poison. Today, there are two schools of thought of history in India. One is of Dr. Tara Chand and the other is that of Dr. Majoomdar and both of them toe the same line of thinking i.e., the unity in diversity line. Forgetting what is real India, we concentrate on diversities in India.

So far as the advent of new civilization is concerned, we have renaissance again and again. Sometimes Raja Ram Mohan Rai and sometimes Man Singh and Abul Fazal brought renaissance and before that Ghazni and Ghauri were responsible for it. But this renaissance could never face the next foreign invader. So, I would request the Government to consider seriously this aspect of the history. We are having half-an-hour discussion on it, but the discussion on this subject should continue for two to three days because it concerns Mizos, Nagas, Kashmiris etc.

Today, the same poison of history is behind all the conflicts of Mizos, Nagas, Kashmiris or adivasis. They play one culture against the other and categorise the people into Aryans; Non-aryans, Mangols, Dravids. They say that the particular community was original inhabitants. There is no proof of it. This edifice has been built only on the basis of a small issue like language. We have seen the results of all this. U.N.O., the world body, has brought out this particular book of history. I would request Mr. Chagla not to try to reply to me.

I do not want any reply. I want that he should do something about History and Mathematics, because these two subjects will make or mar India's future. History is the knowledge of past and if we do not know our history in the right perspective and if we do not teach our children properly, this country can never become prosperous and happy. Mathematics is the base of science which has taken the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. to the Moon. In our universities History & Mathematics are in the state of decay. Some efforts should be made to improve the situation.

REORGANISATION OF PUNJAB STATE*

I have received some information yesterday as well as today which I want to share with this august House and which will enrage the people of this country. This House has many a time discussed Telugu province, Marathi province and Gujarati province but the territory of India out of which these provinces are carved has not been discussed. It is true that some Indian territory here and there has gone under the occupation of Pakistan and China but the time has come when this House should very carefully take stock of whole territory of India. In this context, Mr. Speaker, I would like to read out from the Year Book of 1950 of the UNO. At Page 1010 it says—

'The total area of India is 31,62,454 sq. k.m.' But on page 579 of the Year Book of 1964 of the same Organisation, it is stated that 'the total area of India is 30,46,232 sq. kilometers.' Both these books have been brought out by the same international organisation of which India is a member. Now if we compare the two figures we find that 1,22,222 sq. k.m. territory is missing.

I am sorry to hear the hon. Member say that it has no relevance with the Motion. He may say this, but Punjab State has been formed out of this very territory of India.

...I would request the hon. Members to ponder over this fact dispassionately. Who supplies these figures to the U.N.? They are furnished by the Government of India. India is a member of the U.N. Is it not the duty of the member country to point out

*Lok Sabha Debates, 14 May, 1966

this blunder? Should it not take up the matter with the U.N.? Where has this 1,22,000 sq. k.m. territory gone? Why has it been reduced? If this is under the occupation of Pakistan or China then it should not have been reduced.

This is about the book brought out by the U.N. I would like to draw your attention to another blunder which has been committed in the Year Book published by the Survey of India. The Year Book of 1953 says that the total area of India is 12,69,640 sq. miles while the Year book of 1964 of the same department puts this figure as 12,61,597 sq. miles. 8,042 sq. miles territory is missing. Where has this territory gone?

In a country, where masses are strong and powerful, if such a thing happens, no Government can remain in power for a minute. When this august House discusses the formation of Punjab State, etc. it should take note of what this Government is doing with the country.

As far as formation of States is concerned, during the last 14-15 years several States like Punjab, Maharashtra, Gujarat have been formed on the basis of and for the promotion of Indian languages. But I can say with certainty that none of the provincial languages have progressed as compared to the use of English. Marathi was the language of Aurangabad, but today English has taken the place of Marathi. Same is the position in other provinces.

Besides, I would also like to focus attention on one more grand failure of the Government. If these States were to be formed, then these should have been formed in one go. Maharashtra, Gujarat, Vidarbha etc. States should have been formed in 1948-49 itself. But in 1948-49 these States were not formed and the matter was shelved. For the last 15 years this issue has been agitating the minds of the Indian people and I charge this Government with having deliberately kept this issue in cold storage so that the minds of the people remain preoccupied with it.

Then there is another issue. We, in the Opposition, often pay more attention to improper questions than to the proper

questions. These improper questions are raised either by Government itself or under certain circumstances by some other persons. The Opposition should raise good questions but often improper questions are raised with the result that the very purpose of asking questions is defeated. The Opposition need not reply to every question but pay more attention to issues like eliminating English language and bringing about necessary improvements in the fields of agriculture and industry. The result is that when the Opposition asks for the formation of Maharashtra State, Government refuses to do so with the result that a fight ensues. This goes on for 4 to 6 years resulting in a good deal of hardships to the people. Then one day Government forms the Maharashtra State and the people become happy. This makes no difference to the Congress Government. So, whatever has been done, has been done. The Opposition in future should not waste time on improper questions and pay due attention to proper questions.

....This matter should not rest here. We should decide about the areas of India before this Session ends. We should get a categorical reply as to where, 1,22,222 sq. kms of our territory has gone.

I had been advising the Opposition to ask proper questions and not reply to irrelevant questions, raised by Government and others. Whether atom bomb is manufactured or not and whether a State has been formed or not—we need not reply to such questions. I had visited a place. Durg was on its way. There a demand was made for the formation of Vidarbha State and then for Gondwana State. Demands were also made for the formation of Jharkhand State and Haryana State. If the Opposition engages itself in such demands, then 4 to 5 years more will be wasted in this way and we will come back to square one. Therefore, the Opposition should follow an appropriate policy in this regard. They should pay particular attention to the questions raised. Only proper questions should be asked and improper ones avoided. If improper questions are asked, they need not be replied. Then we should try to get a categorical reply from this Government about the area of our

country. There is some deep rooted mystery about it due to which these people have forfeited their right to remain in power. We are afraid, we may not have to take certain drastic steps in the matter of UN and also in the matter of Survey of India.

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Motion Regarding Appointment of Committee for Restriction of Monthly Expenditure of an Individual*

“That this House resolves that the Government should appoint a committee to work out the proposals for restricting individual monthly expenditure to Rs. 1,500 in order that Rs. 1,000 crores may annually be made available for investment in developmental work.”

The earlier discussion related to the point whether the income was 3 annas or 15 annas. Today I am raising the point of fixing a ceiling of Rs. 1500 on individual monthly expenditure. This restriction is a solution to that problem. While making this point I would like to make it clear that had I been asked to speak on this point 6 months or a year ago, I would have proposed a limit of Rs. 1000. I say this with certainty that if my suggestion is implemented the ceiling would rise to Rs. 2000 instead of Rs. 1500 due to inflation after one month because within one month, it would require Rs. 125 instead of Rs. 100 for purchasing the same quantity as the purchasing power of money goes on declining due to rise in prices.

First of all I would like to raise a question. On several occasions hon. Members pose this question as to how it could be done. Their point is very appealing. I would like to go into the genesis. How will it be possible? We impose different kinds of taxes. We levy income tax of Rs. 92,000 on an income of Rs. 1 lakh. Even then our purpose has not been served. Then

* This motion was moved by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia in Lok Sabha on 4.8.1967. Excerpts of the views expressed by Dr. Lohia during the course of the discussion are given here.

we imposed wealth tax. Even that did not have the desired effect. Then we imposed expenditure tax. That also did not yield results. In this connection I would like to make a point just for example. We should strike the source. But what is the source? Find a way out so that the expenditure made by people on luxury could be checked. For example, let me cite the case of possession of vehicles. Presently, there are 4 lakh private cars in the country. If we fix Rs. 500 as average expenditure on a private vehicle - of course - there are cars on which the monthly expenditure comes to Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 and there are others on which the monthly expenditure touches the point of Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000. Hence, let us take the average of Rs. 500 per car and in that case about Rs. 200 crores could be saved. Let us accept for a while that after all we have to move from one place to other and the distance could be covered by buses, taxis or other means of transport owned by public institutions. Even then, a sum to the extent of Rs. 200 crores could be saved by prohibiting the plying of private cars and we can reach the source by this method.

In fact, it is not that I raised this issue only for establishing justice in the society. The most important thing is that there is scarcity, there are shortages of various articles due to various factors such as famine or other calamities, poverty, etc. Until and unless we establish an order in the society to ensure that these shortages are equally shared by all, how can we ask the people to make sacrifices for the development of the country. If the people who are at the helm of affairs of the country, who are the law makers and who run the Government lead a luxurious life, they would have no moral strength to exhort the people to make sacrifices for nation building...

Our society is dependent on the Government and the Government is dependent on bureaucracy. In other words the people are subservient to the Government and the Government is subservient to its bureaucracy. To certain extent what I am saying is true...

There are about 1 crore Government servants, a large number of whom do not do any productive work. It is quite

evident that Parkinson's Law is not in force in our country in the same form as it existed in some other countries. In our country vacancies are created just to accommodate one's own kith and kin. These vacancies have no utility at all. According to my estimates, there are 30 to 40 lakh such employees who have no utility. Even then they have been employed in Government service. It is difficult to assess the wasteful expenditure on this account. Even if the number of employees engaged in unproductive work is not 30 to 40 lakhs, and we accept this figure to be 20 lakhs, we can save Rs. 300 crores under this Head.

Until and unless this Government is prepared to share all the difficulties and prove before the general public that it is also suffering the hardships like the common man, it cannot do anything. I do not plead for dismissing these employees from service. The only thing I ask is that instead of putting them on desk work, they should be put on some productive work so that they could contribute their might in country's prosperity. This Government can do this thing for which I have initiated this debate. What is happening today? If this Government continues to function in this manner, our country will become a land of idle people. Today, each and every category of workers demands dearness allowance. Mr. Banarjee is strongly supporting the demand. May I ask him as to why he is not taking proper steps. Why do the higher authorities lead a luxurious life? Had I been a trade union leader, I would not have talked of dearness allowance. Instead, I would have made a plea to cut the expenditure being incurred by big people so that prices of commodities could come down and our society ran smoothly.

If we are able to cut the expenditure being made by big people like the Birlas and senior Government officials, we can build our society.

I have given you the figures. Please do not lay stress on figures. Though I gave the figure at Rs. 1000 crore very hesitantly, yet my estimate was Rs. 1500 crores. Two hon. Ministers have quoted the figure as Rs. 25 crores here - one is Shri Mehta and the other is Shri Morarji Desai. There was a time when Shri Mehta was in his hey-days. I do not know if Shri

Desai ever had his hey-days. He has not made any significant proclamation, whereas Shri Mehta has made many proclamations worth mentioning and I quote:—

“In India 0.14 per cent takes five per cent of the national income.”

It means that seven lakh individuals or in other words 1.5 lakh rich families take away Rs. 1000 crore of the national income. I may agree with these figures. But the fact is that disparities have further widened since 1953 when he wrote this book. Now the figure will be much higher than 1000 crore. Even if you take it Rs. 1000 crore and implement my suggestion of limiting the expenditure to Rs. 1500 for these 1.5 lakh families, the expenditure would come to Rs. 250 crore and there would be a savings of Rs. 750 crore from this.

This is an instance of the past when Shri Mehta was in his youthful hey-days. Now he has come to Rs. 25 crore. I am not aware of Mr. Morarji Desai whether he was ever in his hey-days. He must have been but I have no such instance before me to quote. So I cannot say anything about him.

...Now, I would not like to go into the entire gamout of distribution of national income. But one thing I can assure you that if you go by my suggestions, we can save upto Rs. 57 crore even according to the figures of the Chamber of Commerce. But if you go by the figures available with the Income Tax Commissioner, you will draw a blank, because, these figures serve no purpose. There are many such persons who do not pay income tax. They evade tax. If we take the income of such persons into account the figure will go up by 3 times of Rs. 57 crore. Even if you double it, it comes to Rs. 114 crore. If you add the income to accrue from agriculture etc. to this figure, we can save Rs. 300 crore. If I work out the figures under each head of account, I can prove that we can save much higher amount.

Once a discussion was going on. Shri Nanda is sitting here. He had accepted one thing. I would not like to say any thing about his leader at that time. He had conceded 7 1/2 annas.

Roughly, we may make it 8 annas. I had said that it should be 3 annas. Now I raise this amount to 4 annas. Even if you go as per the figures given by Shri Nanda... there can be a saving of Rs. 6000 crores and according to me it should be Rs. 9000 crores...

...It is possible that the saving of Rs. 6000 crores stated by me may not be wholly from the big people only and a part of it may be from the middle class. But the estimates of Rs. 1000 crores given by me cannot be wrong.

Once Nobel Laureate, Shri Pouling came here. He said that the economic condition is deteriorating in India. There was a lot of hue and cry on this matter. There were lot of arguments and counter arguments. People were not able to give a convincing reply. If we go by the figure given by the National Consumption Survey of the Government, there has been fall in the rate of consumption of oil and sugar, gur, khandsari etc. in respect of 20 per cent people belonging to the lower sections of society. The Government has itself accepted it.

It may be that while reacting to my views some people may argue that nobody will get inspiration from my views and it may result in less work because less wages means less work and thus it will not be in the interest of national economy. I would like to cite the instance of Rajaji for such people. When Rajaji used to live in a palatial mansion covering an area of 1200 acres, he used to do less work as compared to the work he is doing at present though living in a much smaller house spread over an area of less than 1/4 acre.

I wish him to live long to work upto 100 years. It proves that money or the amount of wages has no relation with output.

I would like you to understand the relation between the bureaucrats and the capitalists. As compared to the number of capitalists in this country, the number of bureaucrats is on the higher side. Suppose there are thirty lakh bureaucrats, total number of capitalists will come to twenty lakh or if both of them are just twenty lakh, their respective proportion will be twelve lakh bureaucrats and eight lakh capitalists. We should not

repeat the mistake that we had committed in the Karachi resolution by laying down a ceiling in respect of the salaries of Government officials and Ministers as an idealistic measure leaving all sorts of temptations around them and thus placing them on the high pedestal of ideals whereas the capitalists had been given full liberty to accumulate more and more wealth. It was a paradox. This was something impossible. The Government officials and Ministers can be honest and idealistic only when there is an overall curb on all sections of the society.

Now there is a question. Many people say why do you stress cutting down consumption and expenditure. Why don't you talk of nationalisation. I would like to tell these people that my proposal is much more than this. It is funny if some people feel it that Bank nationalisation will give an inspiration and incentive to work which they do not have. They are wrong. If they think that nationalisation can give them inspiration to work, we can consider it. I have heard that generally man is anxious about the future of his children and is emotionally attached. In this connection I would suggest that we can open a Saving account in their names to save a certain amount of money for a period of twenty years. For that matter, I say a period of just twenty years only because after those 20 years when your country becomes self reliant you can spend your money the way you like it. The money thus saved can be given to them or their progeny. But as I have suggested, you contrive to manage your expenses in that way for a period of just 20 years.

Often people ask about my plight. I tell them that we are a privileged class. Though my salary is only Rs. 500 per month but if I take into account all the facilities that I avail—like the accommodation that I have—it is in no way less than Rs. 2500 per month. I have cited my own case but let me submit about the Ministers as well. They also get about Rs. 7000 per month but that comes to about Rs. one lakh per annum. Moreover one envies their life style. Once I had said that they had planned to spend a sum of Rs. 40 lakh only on the replacement of lifts in Rashtrapati Bhawan and Rs. 5 to 6 lakh had already been spent on that account. It is well known that though a sum of

only Rs. 10 to 30 lakh is shown to be spent on the President of India and the Prime Minister but I have proved that at least Rs. one crore is spent on each of them annually. Is such a lavish life style justified in this country? Is it the way we want to increase our agricultural production by just imitating the ways of Europe and America. In case we are able to increase our agricultural production in the first twenty years, I won't have any objection to imitating their life style.

I myself want to live in comfort. Once I had a Russian friend. Probably he was an agent of Russian Intelligence. He used to visit me twice a day. Those were the days before Tashkent accord was made. Now he is nowhere to be seen. He asked me as to why I hadn't installed an air conditioner in my house? He asked me as to how I could manage to work without it for the welfare of the workers? I told him that first of all I would like to make my country self-reliant in terms of agriculture like Russia and then I would like to think of the air conditioner.

I would like to clarify that nowhere in the resolution I have said that people should renounce their old traditions. That is done by religious people. They are prompted either by some inspiration or by their own saintly nature. But those in politics work on inspiration and according to the constitution of the country. We are here not to exhibit our saintly nature but to undertake the work of legislation for the welfare of crores of people. We are here not to project the nobility and saintly nature of some of us just to win appreciation of people for it.

Therefore, I would like to tell you about the management of water resources. According to my rough calculations, a sum of Rs. 4000 crore to 10000 crore is required for the provision of irrigation facilities in the entire country. I think that taking up this work at such a large scale will not be possible unless we seek the participation of people as volunteers but that too is also possible only when we project ourselves before the people as a model to prove that we have also started sharing with them the scarcities in this country.

Some people may ask me as to why I did not say anything

about the private sector and the public sector. But I have said the fundamental thing. However I would like to say it in all seriousness that if the people running this country, whether they are in the private sector or the public sector, are unwise enough to say that they prefer to export their production to Indonesia, Burma or to some other country and import rice and wheat from those countries—such words may be uttered not only by the people working in the public sector but also by those who are working in the private sector—we will be committing the same mistake which we have been doing for the last twenty years in this country. What I mean to say is that we have built up a number of factories to produce several unnecessary things like nylon, rayon, terylene etc. but we could not make a stride in respect of the provision of irrigation facilities.

Those who say that consumers should be left to decide on their own and free trade should be allowed, should see the results of it we are facing today? Those who say that more public sector units should be set up, I would like to inform them that now there is no difference as such between Rourkela Steel Plant and Jamshedpur Steel Plant. The bureaucracy exploits the workers and labour and same thing is happening in Jamshedpur as in Rourkela. I would not hesitate to say that they have been absorbing the people of their own caste and families in these places.

In fact this is a matter relating to property and assets. Love of wealth and institutionalisation of wealth cannot go together. No individual society or country has come forward with a solution to both these problems. Marx had found a solution to the institutionalisation of wealth. Our *Upanishads* had tried to find a way out for excessive attachment with wealth; similarly we should also try to find out a solution to these problems, particularly, the longing to lead a luxurious life. Thus the point I am trying to plead is that we should keep a check on the desire for luxurious items and the provision of such items.

A short while ago I gave the example of vehicles. As another instance I would like to take schools. There are about 5 to 10

lakh children in the country who study in the best schools and pay a fee of Rs. 20 to Rs. 100 every month—only fee i.e. bus fee school fee etc which is exclusive of expenses on their food and clothes. If this item of expenditure is checked and such schools are opened in the country where the children of all the sections of the society, be it the child of the President of India or that of a sweeper, may study together, we can save at least Rs 60 to Rs 100 crore.

In the end I would like to appeal to all the hon. Members that while speaking on this subject they should bear in mind all that I have said. I was speaking about desire for acquisition of wealth, institutionalisation of wealth and provision of luxury items. I was trying to find a way out for my country. I don't think people have ever bothered to think in this direction. The hon. Members should seriously think over it and contribute to the building up of their nation.

I am happy that the hon. Minister has said that we can save upto Rs. 50 crore, though three weeks back he was saying that it cannot be more than Rs. 25 crore. Today he said it can be between Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 crore. If he goes at by this speed he will agree with me in the next six months.

When you are cornered, you should not become restless. At the moment you have been a little snipped. Today you have come to Rs. 50 crore and perhaps on Monday when we meet again it would be Rs. 300 crore. However I am saying that it can be Rs. 1000 to Rs. 1500 crores. I have given the figures. I do not want to waste more time.

I just want to say one thing to Shri Ramamoorthy and Shri Sharma. I have deliberately asked to restrict individual expenditure because many bureaucrats and Ministers get a salary of Rs. 3000 to Rs. 4000 but their perks range between Rs. 10,000 to Rs. one lakh. It should be very clear that when I talk of expenditure I mean both salaries and perks. Here in India we enjoy lot of facilities and in this respect, this country tops the countries of the world. I have already told you about my perks. I know that one does not like to part with the facilities available to

him. If a law to this effect is passed we shall be forced to forgo them. Therefore it should be clear that when I talk of expenditure, I mean salaries and perks both. Some Members suggested that there should be a ceiling on income. I would like to make it clear that the ceiling of expenditure of Rs. 1500 is for the family as a whole and not for any single individual. This will not be meant for filling their coffers. I had already stated that it is a different matter if Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 is given per month to every individual for the upbringing of his children. It clearly means that this resolution leaves no scope for indirect accumulation of wealth by an individual.

My communist friends should not misunderstand me. I want to make it clear that I am not in favour of such a type of nationalisation wherein the officers get a salary of Rs. two to three thousand alongwith the perks ranging upto Rs. 50,000. Even at present the factories which have been nationalised are also running like private factories that is why I used the word 'expenditure'.

Shri Somani has expressed his views today. You are aware that I exercise much self-restraint. Mink Coat, diamonds etc. have been subjects of discussion. I would like to make one point clear. There has always been a nexus between the big business and bureaucracy since centuries. That is why they will feel sore over such a matter. It will cause much displeasure to them.

There has been a reference to inspiration. I do not lose my temper normally. But I would like to give my reply to it. Shri Morarji Desai said that there are only one lakhs people in the top income bracket. As per my estimate of 1500 there are 20 lakhs of affluent people in the country. I would like to submit dispassionately today that if these 20 lakh people die and people do not draw inspiration from them, it will benefit the country. We have no need of such people in the country. The inspiration which they are talking about is not required. If these 20 lakh people derive their inspiration merely for amassing wealth and by indulging in wasteful expenditure, they cannot be allowed to exist and sooner such people cease to exist in this

world the better it will be for the society. After all their number is only 20 lakh. Their number is not more than this figure and therefore I would like that the interests of the rest of 49 crore and 80 lakh of population should also be given due consideration. The aspirations of the 49 crore and 80 lakh are not considered. It is essential to consider the aspirations of those earning Rs. 500, Rs. 400, Rs. 200, 8 annas, 4 annas or 2 annas. Therefore, whenever there is a discussion on diamonds etc. in this connection, I do not want to reveal anyone's name, but the members of the Swatantra party visited my house and gave me an interesting information that there is a stock of Rs. 8 thousand crore worth of silver and about Rs. 4 thousand crore worth of gold and as regard's diamond's. I would like to inform you that we have a stock of Rs. 15 thousand crore in the shape of diamonds and other precious items. Just pay attention in that direction. There is stockpiling of such items which have no utility. I would like that some law should be enacted and a machinery created so that the gold, silver and diamonds worth Rs. 15 thousand....

Now certain matters can create misunderstanding. As Dr. Sushila Nayyar has stated and which has been repeated by others that I wanted 20 lakh Government employees to be dismissed from service. I had not said anything like this. I had stated that they should be removed from desk work and utilised for productive work such as in agriculture or in industry...

It has been said that my Government should set an example. The first point is that there is no such Government which may be termed as my Government. This Government is not my Government. My Government will be there when Shri Morarji Desai joins my party or my party is able to form the Government. A Government which has the participation of my party cannot be formed in any other way. Is Shri Morarji Desai suggesting a third method? Still I would like to submit that I have been telling all these Ministers on whom I can exert some influence that policemen escort them and provide them a security cover and salute them. Do you want to become the "langoor"? I have reiterated the same in my speeches and I

feel happy to say that some hon. Ministers have refused to accept police escort. I have also been able to influence some hon. Ministers to give up the facility of Government vehicles to some extent and some other such facilities....

One of the major evil is that two sets of accounts are maintained. Shri Morarji Desai thinks that only Rs. 8 thousand are left out of an income of Rs. 1 lakh. In other words, after paying the required taxes on an income exceeding Rs. 1 lakh, they are left with only Rs. 8 thousand. However, some people tell me and I am not going to reveal the names of those who are present here, that his saving is only on paper and actually Rs. 50 thousand are left. The mistake is being committed here in qualifying the estimates because one account is kept for perusal of the Government authorities and the Finance Ministry and the other account is kept secret resulting in evasion of Rs. 50 thousand. Both these accounts should be taken into account. The figures on paper have no meaning.

Apart from that I would like to submit that the Members of the Swatantra Party as well as the Communist Party taunt me time and again by pointing out as to how am I able to bring the Members of the Swatantra Party as well as the Communist Party together inspite of the kind of outlook which I have. Why should I not make efforts to bring them together? When the Congress Party also shrinks and becomes equal to the size of my party, I will like to take the members of the Congress Party also with me. I do not want to woo such a big party which is like a monster. It will devour us all. If the size of our parties were the same, the situation would have been different. I have no personal grudge against the Congress. This makes me feel resentful but I feel so only for one or two days. My resentment does not last longer than this. As regards bringing such opposite camps together, you must have already comprehended that I can get their support on two different grounds. The Swatantra Party will support my stand in regard to the curbing of wasteful expenditure by the bureaucracy and I can get the support of the Communists in regard to checking the amassing of wealth by the capitalists and their lavish spending.

Then why should not I make efforts to get the support of both of them. After all a final settlement will definitely be reached. If we lose some people during the course of our mission, it does not matter much. But if we are able to persist with our united efforts, we will achieve our target in the end and a new India will emerge.