

श्रीसिकन्दर बख्त

Act of 1971 and as a result amendments are also considered necessary to some sections which are not covered by the Bill. With a view to avoid piecemeal legislation, Government have decided to withdraw the Bill thereafter. We will come forward with a comprehensive amending Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN; The question is:

"That leave be granted to withdraw the Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorised Occupants) Amendment Bill, 1976."

The motion was adopted.

SHRI SIKANDAR BAKHT: Sir, I withdraw the Bill.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA (Karnataka): Sir, I had requested for time for a special mention.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That will be taken up tomorrow.

**THE FINANCE (No. 2) BILL, 1977—
contd.**

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal) : Sir, while it is true that in Part B of the Budget the Government have spared the kind of open pandering to the rich which had marked the previous Budget for 1975-76 with cuts in income tax, wealth tax and excise duties- on a large number of luxury articles, in all other ways, Shri Patel will agree with me, this year's budget is cast in the same mould and has distributed largesse to the rich and the corporate sector whose total effect, in the long run in our opinion, will be disastrous.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair].

What did Mr. Patel say when he introduced the Budget? What were his objectives? I do not know whether it was to get a vote against authoritarianism only. But he said that it was reorientation and reshaping of the economic policies. He said that the objectives were elimination

of poverty and destitution, and acceleration of economic progress and the distribution of its fruits equitably. He also stated that a large part of the increase in consumption arose from the demonstration effect of the high standard of living of some people and so he wanted to reorientate the policies so as to discourage ostentatious living and promote the habit of saving. He also mentioned the rise in the number of the unemployed and he also mentioned the problems of unemployment and underemployment in the rural and other sectors to whose elimination he said he was committed. He also mentioned the rise in prices and, in the end, Sir, he said that the task ahead was to devise an effective strategy for dealing with the problems of inadequate growth, of the crushing poverty and unemployment, of growing regional imbalances and of the rising prices. For tackling these problems, he said, he had brought forward this Budget and this Finance Bill. But, Sir, unfortunately, in our opinion, the result is going to be just the opposite, because his proposals, if they are carried through—they will be carried through and implemented—will only intensify poverty, unemployment and disparities. These proposals will take us in the opposite direction. Sir, he aims to build a nice house. But, ultimately, the tools he has used and the means he uses will lead to the manufacture of a crude coffin for the Poor people? So, his entire policy, his targets and his means are contradictory to each other.

Sir, I will come to these problems one by one. There is massive unemployment. Is he not aware that Mr. Raghunatha Reddy stated here last year that during the emergency, within six months, half a million people were laid off and retrenched and were thrown out of their jobs? Is he not aware that lay-off, retrenchment and closure still continue in the country unrestricted, unhampered and undisturbed? Never before have so many people lost their jobs because

of closure and retrenchment and layoff. These people flout all the laws and they flout the rule of taking the prior permission before closing the factory. Even according to the Chief Minister of West Bengal, last year a few thousands were thrown out of their jobs in the months of May, June and July. Sir, the total strength of the working force has come down to two hundred thousand people. In the case of the textile mills, 32 mills have been closed down and fifty thousand people are unemployed. In the mica industry again, fifty thousand people are unemployed and in the iron ore industry, Sir, thousands of workers are unemployed. These people have added to the existing number of the unemployed people. What is he going to do? He said that elimination of unemployment was one of his objectives. He also said that unemployment and underemployment are faced by a large number of landless workers and small and marginal farmers. Is he not aware that these workers in the jute industry, in the textile industry, in the iron ore industry, the landless people, if all these people are once thrown out of their jobs, they will go back to their villages and this will intensify the problem which is already there in the rural areas? Unless he takes a definite step to prevent this mass-scale unemployment which is being deliberately created in the private sector, how would he stop this underemployment and this unemployment in the rural areas? These people cannot stay in the towns and once they are out of their jobs, they will have to go to their villages and they will still add to the problem of the landless labourers who are already there. Therefore, between what he says and what he does there is a big shadow and there is a big gap. This particular attack on the working class, these lay-offs, this unemployment, this retrenchment, etc., Mr. Patel will agree with me, are happening in the private sector only and they are not happening in the public sector. Can he show me one single

case in the public sector in the coal mines, in the steel industry, in copper, etc.? No. It is happening only in the private sector. These people *in* the private sector are not recruiting more people and the vacancies are not being filled up and more and more people are joining the large unemployed masses. These are the two pictures: One Sir, is that the public sector is absorbing more people and the other is that the private sector is throwing out people. Where is the fiscal policy towards this? Has he indicated any step in the Budget? What about the non-utilisation of the installed capacity in the private sector? Sir, I remember having asked Mr. Pai who is now in the Lok Sabha; "Are you prepared to take some steps against these private sector owners who are not utilising their installed capacity?" He said he was considering it. And he said that he would indicate it. But Mr. Patel is totally silent. I think you will agree with me that never before the installed capacity was so much under-utilised in the private sector, whether in Durgapur or IISCO or anywhere else. In the public sector the installed capacity utilisation was 91 per cent; in some cases it was over 100 per cent. The private sector just did the opposite. And what he does, I will come to that later.

The alternative is to take over the big monopoly houses, large houses which are responsible for the present misery, poverty, disparity, etc. in our country. I am only quoting, Sir,—it is not my speech, it is not our idea—what has been stated on the 19th March 1975 by the President of the Janata Party, Mr. Chandra Shekhar.

"For the past four or five days we have been thinking of nationalising the sugar industry. I plead with my friends : Do not go on professing; if you want to nationalise it, do it today . . .".

This is what Mr. Chandra Shekhar spoke on the Budget in this House on the 19th March, 1975. And what did Mr. Tata say? He said—I quote;

[Shri Kalyan Roy]

"The Government must give up this nationalisation". This fee said in a booklet called 'What A Mixed Economy', published in New Delhi on April 4 1975, issued by the Tata Press.

And whom is Mr. Patel following? Is he following the President of the Janata Party what he wanted? Or is he following the direction of Mr. J. R. D. Tata, who said that the ills arise out of nationalisation? So, Sir, my submission to Mr. Patel is : Forget the idea of giving jobs to unemployed people. I am reminded of a cartoon last month. When an unemployed youth approached the manager of a factory for job, he said; Please come after 10 years. Now, in ten years, the number of ten million people whose names are registered with the Employment Exchanges would perhaps become 100 millions.

Sir, they have found a way out, that is, amalgamation. We have heard of it. But this amalgamation will really be taken advantage of by certain unscrupulous people. Sir, it has been stated by a leading economist, and I am quoting:

"There are unscrupulous groups which will try to take advantage of whatever gaps they discover in the laws of amalgamation and in the administration. In a system where losses are purchased with a view to avoiding legitimate tax burdens, the danger of abuse may be quite serious."

Not only that, in an article in the Times of India dated 7th September, 1976, it was described that sickness which leads to closures is not because the workers go on strike, it is not because of certain other difficulties, but because of deliberate looting of the concerns by the management, inefficient management, by misappropriation and by total negligence to modernise them. And you are handing them over to those people who cannot manage their own factories, their own concerns, and make them

sick. It is the same business. The result, Mr. Deputy Chairman, you can understand. This is about unemployment and takeover.

Now comes the third point about removing disparity. He talks about ostentatious living. Again, I will have to fall on a speech of Mr. Chandra Shekhar, the hon. President of Janata, who stated in his budget speech on 19th March:

"Mr. Subramaniam should muster courage and take hard decisions. I shall not go out of bounds, but will he take into consideration the suggestions made in the Economic Panel Report in 1969 produced under his guidance and help? He was one of the co-authors of the report. Is it possible to tax ostentatious living? I have no time. I will give only one example about the question of building five-star hotels for some big monopolies and others."

So, Sir, there is no practical approach. No attempt has been made to remove disparity. It came in the other House yesterday and we know that in concerns belonging to big monopoly houses and in concerns belonging to the private sector, the top executives today are getting fantastic salaries and perquisites. You will be surprised to know that 18 top executives of Indian Explosives are getting nearly Rs. 20,000 per month each. Rs. 7,000 as salary plus perquisites. Same is the position in Union Carbide, Imperial Chemical Industries, Indian Tobacco Company, Duncan Brothers and other companies belonging to the Birlas, Jains and Mafatlals. The rough calculation, I am told, is that around 2000 to 3000 top executives of India today get nearly 10 crores of rupees per year. Ten crores of rupees per year for 2000 to 3000 officers in the country! Where is the attempt to curb ostentatious living, may I ask Mr. Patel? Mr. Patel may tell me I have increased wealth tax a little, I have increased corporate tax a bit. I can only quote from the Economic and Political magazine. It states that these will absolutely offset, both in principle

and in fact, the Finance Minister's decision to liberalise the tax treatment on unearned income in the form of capital gains :

"These concessions amount to preferential treatment of unearned income as compared to earned income and add up to exactly the opposite of the 'redistributive role' which the finance minister says he wants taxation to play."

It will intensify disparity, I am told. It will intensify poverty. Not only that, a question was asked the day before yesterday and Mr. Patel is aware of it, about these big Directors taking huge loans from the various companies. I will give a few instances. The question was answered by Mr. Shanti Bhushan on the 25th of July, 1977. It was about the applications for loans from the Directors of the private sector. It says ; Grant of loan to a Director for house building—Rs. 100,000 approved; Tata Chemicals—Grants of loan to a Deputy Managing Director for the medical treatment of his son abroad—Rs. 50,000; Tata Exports—Grant of loan to a Director for house building—Rs. 100,000 approved. So, I can give any number of instances belonging to big business who are getting loans from their companies at 5 per cent interest. The company is taking loan from the nationalised sectors at 18 per cent interest. Companies are losing. Workers are denied bonus. Workers are not being paid wages. Provident Fund is being misappropriated. Factories are being shut down and Mr. Patel is sanctioning loans to build houses, to buy apartments, refrigerators and cars and to send sons to foreign countries for treatment. Is it the way to curb ostentatious living? These are all facts. There is not a single Director of a big business who has not taken loan for the last five years for buying apartments or giving loans to relatives who have interests in other concerns. Have you taken any steps to curb this tendency? Not at all.

Now, coming to the question of prices, Sir, enough is enough. The less we said the better it is. Sir, what is the position today? Sir, a Reserve Bank Study of the finances of 385 large public limited companies for 1975-76 found that, "out of the total expenditure, the cost on account of labour increased by one percentage point in 1975-76 to 14.4 per cent from 13.4 per cent in 1974-75. The salaries, wages and bonus cost as percentage of the total expenditure declined from 13.6 per cent in 1974-75 to 13.2 per cent in 1975-76."

Similarly, Sir, the 'Economic Times' carried out a survey on the rapid growth of 20 large business houses. There it is stated and I quote :

"There was a faster growth in the manufacturing costs at 23.5 per cent than in salaries and wages—19.7 per cent—during the three-year period. As percentage of the total value of production, the share of salaries and wages declined from 14.4 per cent in 1972-73 to 13.7 per cent in 1975-76."

Well, Sir, Mr. Patel was not the Finance Minister at that time. I know it. But, Sir, he said in his Budget Speech that he is going to distribute his fruits equitably. He has to recast and reshape the economic policies. Should this not be his first target? Sir, the prices are increasing; the salary share and the wage share is already decreasing. Everything is decreasing except the prices. About the bonus, Sir, even the minimum has not been paid. The productivity has increased. On the other hand, Sir, it is shameful to see how the bonus shares are issued. Whatever restrictions were there on the bonus shares have been totally abolished. Sir, I will give you just a few facts. I am not going into the details. Sir, in reply to a question, the Minister stated that in 1974-75, 172 companies issued bonus shares amounting to Rs. 77.46 crores, and in 1975-76, 178 companies issued bonus shares. Sir, let Mr. Patel lend his cars. Sir, I am posing this question: Let the other Parliament foe over. You see, Sir, how attentive he is. Mr. Ram-

[Shri Kalyan Roy]

kripal Singh, please. We have stopped the debate. How attentive he is because he touches him and talks? Sir, he was a Director of at least 30 multi-national companies which issued bonus shares. I say on the floor of this House that you were a Director of 30 companies which issued bonus shares. I am sorry, Sir, the figure is 40 and not 30. Now, Sir, I repeat for the benefit of Mr. Patel. In 1974-75, 172 companies issued bonus shares amounting to Rs. 77.46 crores. In 1975-76 it went up to 178 and the total quantum of bonus shares amounted to Rs. 75.17 crores. Taking as a whole, it came to Rs. 152.63 crores. In 1977, till today, according to a reply given to my question on 26th July, 208 companies have already issued bonus shares.

The 'Statesmen' wrote on the 16th July, 1977, about the increase in money supply and I quote :

"The increase in total approvals in 1976 was mainly accounted for by the large bonus issues (Rs. 122.62 crores as against Rs. 78 crores in 1975)."

Sir, at least, Rs. 600 crores worth of bonus shares have been issued in the last three years. All restrictions have been withdrawn on the period within which a company can issue bonus shares. Previously, they were not allowed to issue more than two bonus shares in 42 months. There were guidelines. All guidelines have been relaxed. I have written several letters to the Minister saying that he should consider taxing the issue of bonus shares. No reply, silence. Issuing of bonus shares is adding to the money supply. Instead of curbing it, they have taken away the bonus of the workers. Is it not a shameless surrender? I agree that this was started by Mr. Subramaniam. I am not going to attack Mr. Patel on that account. I am not going to attack him because this was done by Mr. Subramaniam and Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, in spite of our protests. I ask him

that he should, at least, be honest to himself. If he did not want to attack the rich, section, Why did he profess these arms, curbs on ostentatious living, reduction in unemployment and increase in the purchasing power of the common man. I think his aims are false or his means are false. Whichever it is, I would ask him now? Sir, I was stating that these bonus shares have been issued in order to boost up the big business in the private sector.

Sir, I would draw the attention of the Minister to another point. The Janata Government is saying that it is faithfully following the aims and ideas of the President of the Janata Party, Mr. Chandra Shekhar. He stated: —

"Nothing is possible unless and until disparities are removed and unless and until concentration of economic power is curbed."

This is what he stated while participating in the General Discussion on the Budget on the 19th March, 1975. Then he stated and I quote :

"The cases which I have tried to study are those of A.C.C., Andrew Yule, Bangur, Bird-Heilgers, Birlas, Goenkas, I.C.I. J. K., Singhanian, Khilachand, Killichka, Mafatlal, Martin-Burn, Sahu-Jain, Sarabhai, Scindia, Surajmal Nagarmal, Shri Ham, Tatas, Thapar and Walchand."

He wanted Mr. Subramaniam to take courage in his both hands and deal properly with these big houses. In the end he stated "You will have to tax certain sections." This is what Mr. Chandra Shekhar, the President of the Janata Party, stated in this House in 1975. Is there any echo of this in the Budget which has been presented before us? If Mr. Chandra Shekhar's echo is not there, then whose echo do we And? We find the echo of Mr. N. A. Palkhivala. Sir, Mr. Palkhivala has printed a book "The Union Budget". Later, Mr. Tata produced another book. "Why A Mixed Economy", and you will find, Sir, that both of

them come from the Tata Press—the two faces of the same coin. Have you not found Mr. Palkhivala defending all the notorious smugglers and tax racketeers or tax-dodgers and economic offenders? And the agent of Mr. Tata, who is the Director of the multinational companies today is really the father of this Budget, not Mr. Patel, and he has been made the Chairman of the Board of Direct Taxes. Even till yesterday you have seen, Sir, that about Rs. 40 crores worth of tax evasion cases are hanging against the accounts of the Birlas, Sahu Jains, Bajorias and Jalans. And who are the defenders? They are Mr. Palkhivala and Mr. Jhunjhunwala. And yet, Mr. Patel, to the utter shame of and of us, has appointed Mr. Palkhivala to the Board of Direct Taxes. In other words, I can presume that after a few years, there will be only the Board and no direct taxation. In is a shameful affair. If they have any sense of shame left, they should remove him from there as he is removing thousands of workers in various companies of which he is the Direc-

Sir, Mr. Patel may reply to me: Well, have I not increased a little bit of wealth tax? Have I not increased a little bit of Corporate tax which Mr. Subramaniam was cutting down? Yes, he has. These are all symbolic because what is important is the collection. And what do I find here, Sir? I will go to the other point later on. In the Ministry of Finance, Government of India, Report 1976-77, the outstanding arrears of income-tax are today to the tune of Rs. 993 crores. Previously, in 1974-75, it was Rs. 935 crores and it shot up to Rs. 993 crores. The net arrears were to the tune of Rs. 537 crores and today it is Rs. 603 crores. This is all besides the cases which have been opened by the special cell in relation to the big business houses whose performance has been displayed in the House yesterday and which came in the papers today, that the concealed income of these people has come down. Besides that, we have failed to collect Rs. 903 crores. I would humbly ask, Sir, what is hap-

pening? How the collection has been stopped? I will bring to his attention, Sir, the reply given to my question dated 19-1-1976 when I asked: How many writ petitions in relation to income, wealth and gift taxes are pending in the Calcutta High Courts? I got the reply from the Minister that there were 294 income-tax cases on the appellate side; 54 wealth-tax cases and 7 gift-tax cases on the appellate side. Thus, 355 cases alone were pending in Calcutta. In the original side, total number of income-tax, wealth tax and gift tax cases was 121. This is only in relation to Calcutta. You can understand what is the situation in Allahabad, in Delhi and in Madras and also in other places. So, Sir, the test lies in your collection.

I have been told, Sir,—I do not know how far it is true—that Mr. Patel has directed the Income-Tax Commissioners to go slow on investigations. Some of the officers were called to Delhi, both of the Enforcement Department and the Income-Tax Department and they have been told to stop raids into the houses of big business houses. They have been asked to forget the arrears in order to show that arrear collections of taxes have declined. They have been told not to raid the houses of big business houses or open up the lockers. This is a shocking news and a shameful news. I would like to know, Mr. Patel, how many business houses and monopoly houses have been raided since March 1977 up to July, 1977 and how many lockers have been opened; how many tax dodgers have been caught and how many have been allowed to go. The country demands an answer. Sir, he has stated...

1 P.M.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I will speak after lunch. Or, I will take some more time. Please allow me.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already taken half-an-hour.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I will not take much time. Mr. Patel has given these concessions. He has said that if the industries want to spread to the backward areas, they will be given concessions. Sir, again may I ask Mr. Patel humbly whose idea is this? Whose idea is this? This is what Mr. J. R. D. Tata Chairman of the Tata Iron and Steel Company stated in his Company meeting. I am quoting:

"... after meeting subsistence needs, undoubtedly seek products and services some of which can only be produced of the right quality and price by modern mechanised means. There is a Practical limit to the ability of village or very small-scale industry to meet these requirements. Industry should therefore not be barred or unduly discouraged from meeting the demand for such goods."

In other words, the big business and monopoly houses want to go into the villages to build big factories so that their total and complete control remains unchallenged. I would bring to your notice one article by a brilliant economist where he has stated;

"The other scheme of rural development allowance provides that expenditure incurred by companies after June 30, 1977, on any programme of rural development would be deducted in computing the taxable profits. Some of the large big business houses have been anxious to get a foothold in rural development in such areas as livestock development, daily farming, seed production etc. behind the facade of so-called voluntary agencies."

This is the whole crux of the situation. After handing over to the big business all the urban areas, they are now trying to hand over all the rural areas to these very people. This is exactly what Mr. Tata wants as he had stated in his Company meeting. Therefore,

this going into the backward areas would only mean going backward, Mr. Patel and this would not be a forward step.

The worst thing possible—I am finishing—is this preference to the private sector and the attack on the public sector. Sir, nobody says today,—not even Mr. Patel and his friends, Palkhivalas and Jhunjhun-walas—that the public sector has failed. Today, the installed capacity is being fully utilised. Yet, what do we find? A scandalous circular has been issued. The Bureau of Public Enterprises under the Finance Ministry has issued an office memorandum dated the 15th June, wherein all Government departments have been directed to treat both the public sector and the private sector units at par and not to give any price preference. No price preference is to be given to the public sector. The purchase preference which public enterprises received until now has also been withdrawn. Is it Mr. Patel's case that they should be treated at par? Have you found even a single public sector undertaking which has misappropriated provident fund? Have you found even a single public sector undertaking which has misappropriated compulsory deposits? Have you found even a single public sector undertaking which was not paid the wages? Not even one. In this House, the labour Minister of the previous Government had stated that Rs. 20 crores of provident fund have not been paid. Who are the people who have misappropriated? The big business houses. Who are the people who have misappropriated the wages of the workers? The big business houses. What is the position in regard to the jute mills? You will be surprised to see the reply which was given by Mr. Mohan Dharia in reply to my question on the 20th July, where he has stated that, the Jute Corporation of India is yet to realise Rs. 22.53 crores for the jute they have supplied to 40 jute mills belonging to the big business houses. Naturally, they undercut the public sector with all the

concealed money, as you have stated yesterday, with all the evasion of income-tax and so on. They are in a position to undercut the public sector because of the non-payment of wages and non-payment of bonus to the workers and misappropriation of provident fund. This is a shameless circular which has been issued in order to sabotage the public sector so that his friend, Mr. Palkhivala, rules and dominates. This is the unfortunate position in which we have landed ourselves. I hope, Sir, the hon. Minister will deal with the points that I have raised.

Finally, Sir, I will again ask Mr. Patel. Have you forgotten or are you deliberately refusing to follow that your Party President, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, stated in this House on the 19th March, 1975? I am quoting Mr. Chandra Shekhar: "If you want to tax the people who are making a huge profit out of agriculture, you should muster courage to impose direct taxes on those who are big farmers." But if you do not want to displease them, you cannot have the courage to tax them. Is there any mention against big farmers here? Is there any word of land reforms? Nothing at all—So, Sir, before, I conclude, I say that all your promises are false, Mr. Patel. You cannot achieve what you have stated because of the means you have adopted. They are all for the big business and monopoly houses. So, Sir, better not talk about all these things, i.e. removal of unemployment, removal of disparity, removal of ostentatious living. You are here to serve their interest. The budget is false. Unfortunately, I do not want to be harsh, but the circumstances, the facts, the statistics force me to use harsh words. I know Mr. Patel is a very gentleman. I have worked with him in the PAC meetings. I do not want to be harsh to him, but outside the Parliament you cannot have the political will to do anything of the sort. That is what I say. That is why, before I finish, I say : Mr. Patel, if you want to survive,

if the Janata Party wants to survive, let them learn lessons from the past, let them give up this love affairs with the big monopoly houses, let them strengthen the public sector and let them shed their advisers like Mr. Palkhiwala.

DR. RAMKRIPAL SINHA (Bihar):
What about your love affair with the Congress?

श्री उपसभापति : सदन की कार्यवाही
2 बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है ।

The House then adjourned for lunch at eight minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at three minutes past two of the clock, Mr. Deputy *Chairman* in the Chair.

श्री सवाई सिंह सिसोदिया : (मध्य प्रदेश)
मान्यवर, यह निर्विवाद है कि सत्तारुढ़ दल की जो प्रशासनिक, आर्थिक और राजनीतिक नीतियाँ होती हैं उन को कैसे मूर्त रूप दिया जाय इस का समावेश बजट में और फाइनेंस बिल में होता है और यही नहीं, बल्कि वर्तमान में जो चुनौतियाँ देश के सामने होती हैं उन का मुकाबला कैसे हो सकता है इस के बारे में भी संकेत बजट और फाइनेंस बिल में होना चाहिए । यदि हम फाइनेंस बिल और बजट पर विचार करें तो आज निराशा प्रकट होता है । मुख्य तौर पर लोक सभा और विधान सभाओं के चुनाव के पहले और चुनाव के दौरान और उन के बाद जनता पार्टी ने जो वायदे किये, जो लुभावने स्वप्न और जो चित्र जनता के सामने रखे उससे आज की स्थिति बिल्कुल विपरीत है । देश के मतदाता के मन में नाराजगी की भावना है । अविश्वास और असंतोष की भावना है । इस से जाहिर होता है कि जनता पार्टी की कथनी और करनी में कोई सामंजस्य नहीं है । इस बात की कोई कोशिश नहीं की जा रही है कि जनता

[श्री सवाई सिंह सिसोदिया]

की जो कठिनाइयाँ हैं, जो परेशानियाँ हैं उनको कैसे दूर किया जाए। आज हम चारों तरफ देखते हैं असंतोष अव्यवस्था, अस्थिरता और अविश्वास की भावना लोगों में जागृत हो रही है। लोग काफी भयभीत हैं और भविष्य अंधकारमय मालूम पड़ता है। मुख्य कारण यह है कि जनता पार्टी के जो चारों घटक हैं उनके कथित विलय की बात एकमात्र धोखा है। जब राज्य करने वाला सत्तारूढ़ दल अपने आप में इस प्रकार से विभाजित हो, उनके झगड़े की चर्चा चौराहों पर होती है, शिमला में माल रोड पर राज्य की एक मंत्री पर हुए हमले की खबरें आ रही हैं, तो सारी जनता पार्टी के लिये यह खतरे की घण्टी है। ऐसी विभाजित पार्टी से हमें क्या आशा हो सकती है। मुख्य मुख्य बातें जो आप चुनौती के रूप में देश के सामने हैं उनके बारे में यदि हम विचार करें तो सबसे पहली प्रश्न बढ़ती हुई मंहगाई का है।

काफी कुछ कहा गया चुनाव के दौरान और जनता पार्टी घोषणापत्र में कि मंहगाई कम की जाएगी। दिन प्रति-दिन की, रोजमर्रा के उपयोग की वस्तुएँ हैं उनका वितरण समुचित ढंग से किया जाएगा। लेकिन हम यह देखते हैं कि बजट में, फाइनेंस बिल में इससे सम्बन्धित किसी योजना का समावेश नहीं है। कोई निश्चित कार्यक्रम देश के सामने नहीं रखा गया है। मंहगाई जब से जनता पार्टी का शासन हुआ है, निरंतर बढ़ती जा रही है। जब जब जनता पार्टी के मंत्रियों की ओर से जमाखोर और काला बाजारियों को चेतावनी दी जाती है कि कीमतें कम की जाएँ, अपील को सुनिये, लेकिन उसका नतीजा उल्टा हो रहा है। मंहगाई और बढ़ती है। मुख्य मुख्य रोजमर्रा के उपयोग की वस्तुएँ हैं, उसमें खाने के तेलों का सम्बन्ध है, करीब 80-90 प्रतिशत उसकी कीमत बढ़ चुकी है। कपड़े की कीमत 10 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा, अनाज की कीमत 16 प्रतिशत बढ़ चुकी है और लोगों के आम उपयोग

की जो वस्तुएँ हैं उनकी कीमतें 10 से 15 प्रतिशत बढ़ गई हैं। ऐसा लगता है कि इस समूची व्यवस्था पर विचार करने के लिए ईमानदारी से सोचने की फुरसत जनता पार्टी को नहीं है। जनता की, आम लोगों की तकलीफों को कैसे रफा किया जाए और जो बायें किये गये थे उनकी पूर्ति के बारे में भी कोई संकल्पदेश के सामने नहीं रखा गया है। मंहगाई की समस्या पर प्रभावकारी ढंग से नियंत्रण नहीं हो सकता है। जब तक कि उत्पादन वृद्धि की योजना पर अमल नहीं किया जाता है। आम जनता की पर्जेंजिंग पावर को बढ़ाया जाये। उसके साथ ही वितरण की जो वर्तमान व्यवस्थाएँ हैं, उसमें सुधार होना जरूरी है। निर्धारित मूल्यों पर जो गरीब लोग हैं उनको समुचित व्यवस्था के द्वारा यह आवश्यकता वस्तुएँ सुलभ करायी जानी चाहिए।

दूसरा मुख्य मुद्दा बेरोजगारी की समाप्ति का है। बेरोजगारी की समाप्ति की बात को काफी बढ़ा चढ़ाकर घोषणा पत्र में कहा गया है। यह कहा जा रहा है कि 10 साल में बेरोजगारी समाप्त कर देंगे। माननीय वित्त मंत्री यह प्रश्न स्वाभाविक रूप से उठता है कि क्या बजट में कोई भी समावेश बेरोजगारी को मिटाने के लिए है? आखिरी दसवें साल में क्या इस समस्या का समाधान हो सकेगा। आखिरकार प्रतिवर्ष इस संबंध में प्रावधान बजट में होना चाहिए जिससे बेरोजगारी धीरे-धीरे नियंत्रण हो सके। इस साल के बजट में बेरोजगारी को मिटाने के लिए कोई भी संकेत, कोई भी प्रावधान किसी प्रकार का नहीं है जो होना जरूरी था। यह भी कहा गया है कि बेरोजगारी भत्ता देंगे, लेकिन उसके बारे में भी कोई प्रावधान नहीं है। यह बात अवश्य है कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार दिन प्रतिदिन अनेकों कमीशन की नियुक्त करने में लगी हुई है; देश की तरुणों की बेरोजगारी मिटाने की चिन्ता नहीं है, लेकिन रोजमर्रा कमीशन

कायम करके जो हाई कोर्ट और सुप्रीम कोर्ट के रिटायर्ड जज हैं उनको जरूर रोजगार दिया जा रहा है। ऐसी स्थिति बन रही है कि हाई कोर्ट और सुप्रीम कोर्ट के रिटायर्ड जजों की उपलब्धि कठिन हो जाए। जो वायदा किया है देश के नवयुवकों को रोजगार देने का, उनके लिए आपने कोई साधन नहीं जुटाये है। लेकिन रिटायर्ड जजों को फिर से सर्विस में रखने का काम अवश्य पूरा किया जा रहा है। अविश्वास का जो वातावरण इस देश में पैदा हो रहा है उससे आम लोगों में काफी घोर असंतोष। इस घोर असंतोष को दूर करने के लिए बेरोजगारी को मिटाने के लिए निश्चित योजना सामने आनी चाहिए। गांधी जी का नाम लेकर बार-बार चर्चा की जाती है कि गांव का विकास करेंगे। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि पहले के शासन में गांव के विकास के लिए समुचित कदम उठाए हैं और काफी अच्छे प्रभावकारी कार्य गरीबों के हित के पूरे हुए हैं। यह घोषणा करने से कि गांव का विकास करेंगे और 5 या 10 करोड़ रुपए इसके लिए ज्यादा रख दिए तो इससे क्या विकास होने वाला है? इतना बड़ा देश है 60 करोड़ की जनता इस मुल्क में रहती है और इसमें भी 50 परसेन्ट जनता गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे है। जो समुदाय साधन सम्पन्न है उनको और अधिक साधन देने से गांव की समस्याएं हल नहीं होने वाली है। इस समस्याओं को दूर करने के लिए कोई निश्चित मुद्दा, कोई इरादा, कोई संकल्प, कोई योजना आज तक जनता पार्टी के सामने नहीं है। वो पार्टी जो खुद विभाजित हो और जिसको इस बात की फुरसत नहीं है कि उन्हें कुछ काम भी करने हैं वह जनता की क्या भलाई कर सकती है। जनता पार्टी की ओर से इस बात की चर्चा रोज अखबारों में, उनके व्यक्तियों में, दोनों सदनों में आती है, के पूर्व का जो

शासन था उसने यह गलती की, उसने यह काम नहीं किया और अगर उसने यह काम नहीं किया तो उसका दोष हमारे ऊपर क्यों लगाते हो, मैं आप्रह पूर्वक कहना चाहता हूं जो शासक हैं, जो जवाबदार हैं वे ऐसा कह कर नहीं बच सकते। यह जो अनेक कमीशन बैठाने की कार्यवाही आप कर रहे हैं, हर पुरानी कार्यवाही के लिए जो कमीशन बैठा रहे हैं यह आम लोगों के लिए एक मनोरंजन का साधन बन गया है। यह भली भांति विदित हो चुका है कि जनता पार्टी का शासक चाहे प्रांत में हो या केन्द्र में वह कमीशन नियुक्ति का कार्य आम जनता का ध्यान मौलिक प्रश्नों की ओर से हटा कर दूसरी ओर उलझाए रखने के लिए कर रहा है। शासन के कोई रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम नहीं है। यह पार्टी तो गड़ेमुढ़े उखाड़ने का काम कर रही है। आजकल जनता पार्टी काल-पात्र की उखाड़ने की चर्चा बड़े जोर से कर रही है। उसको उखाड़ने से जो वर्तमान समस्याएं हैं क्या वह दूर हो जायेंगी? कालपात्र को उखाड़ने की चर्चा से क्या कोई देश हित का महान कार्य हो रहा है। घोषणा पत्र में चुनाव के दौरान जनता के सामने जो वायदे किए गए थे क्या उनकी पूर्ति इस तरह हो सकती है? मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि अगर आज ईमानदार हैं तो इस बात की जरूरत है कि इन समस्याओं के समाधान के लिए आम नींव का पत्थर रखिए। यह जो गड़े पत्थर उखाड़ने का काम आपके शासन ने शुरू किया है उसमें इतने बड़े देश का शासन नहीं चल सकता है।

अभी विधान सभा के जो चुनाव हुए उसके परिणामस्वरूप एक सम्भीर चिन्तन का प्रश्न पैदा हुआ है। देश के सरहदी प्रान्त—चाहे पंजाब हो, या बंगाल, तमिल-नाडू हो, काश्मीर हो, पांडिचेरी हो या

[श्री सवाई सिंह सिसोदिया]

गोवा हो—इन तमाम प्रान्तों में लोगों ने जनता पार्टी का समर्थन नहीं किया है। स्थानीय पार्टियां उभर कर बहुमत में आई हैं। यह इस बात का संकेत है कि हमारे देश में आज राजनैतिक अस्थिरता है। देश की एकता अखंडता, और स्वतन्त्रता के प्रति जो निष्ठा और सुरक्षा की भावना में एक रूपता थी उसमें कमी आई है। हमारे देश की दोनों भुजाओं पर पाकिस्तान और बंगला देश में जिया बैठ गए हैं—सैनिक शासन कायम हो गया है उससे हम को सावधान रहना है।

जो बजट और फाइनेंस बिल हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत किया गया है उसमें हम पाते हैं कि जो बड़े मालदार लोग हैं, सरमाया-दार हैं, जो धनसेठ हैं, उन्हें और ज्यादा लाभ पहुंचाने का प्रावधान किया गया है। जो कोरपोरेट सेक्टर है उस को अलगिनत लाभ दिए जा रहे हैं। इन्वेस्टमेंट अलाउन्स से 231 करोड़ का लाभ व्यापारियों को होने वाला है। गरीबों की मदद के लिए उनको रोजगार देने के लिए, महंगाई को खत्म करने के लिए और दूसरे जो बायदे सत्तारुढ़ दल ने किए हैं उनकी पूर्ति के लिए, उनको मूल रूप देने के लिए कोई ठोस कदम उठाना चाहिए ताकि उन लोगों को विश्वास हो सके कि आप सही दिशा की ओर चल रहे हैं। वास्तव में जनता पार्टी उल्टी दिशा की ओर कदम उठा रही है। जितने भी गलत कदम उठाए गए हैं उनकी चर्चा मेरे से पूर्व बोलने वाले माननीय सदस्यों ने काफी विस्तार से की है। टैक्सेशन पद्धति पर फिर से विचार करने के लिए एक कमेटी बनाई है जिसका चैयरमैन श्री पालखीवाला को नियुक्त किया गया है। श्री पालखीवाला की विचारधारा से हमारे देश का प्रत्येक नागरिक परिचित है। ऐसी स्थिति में उनकी अध्यक्षता में नियुक्त कमेटी क्या करने

जा रही है यह किसी से छिपा नहीं है। ऐसे व्यक्ति की अध्यक्षता में कमेटी का निर्माण करना इस बात को बतलाता है कि सत्तारुढ़ दल किन लोगों की दमन करने की इच्छा रखता है। मैं समझता हूं कि आप लोग मदद करना चाहते हैं इस देश के पूंजीपतियों को और सरमायदारों को और इस देश में पूंजीवाद मनोवृत्ति को बढ़ावा देना चाहते हैं। जनता पार्टी गांधीवाद और समाजवाद की तो काफी चर्चा करती है। लेकिन बजट से और फाइनेंस बिल से इस दिशा में कोई निश्चित कदम उठाया हो, यह दिखाई नहीं देता है। आपने यह संकल्प किया था कि लैंड सीलिंग पर सख्ती से अमल किया जाएगा। यह बात चुनावों के दौरान कही गई थी। सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली को भी मजबूत बनाने की बात कही गई थी। लेकिन इन दोनों कामों के सम्बन्ध में आपने कोई निश्चित कदम उठाया हो, इसकी कोई रूपरेखा अभी तक हमारे सामने नहीं आई है।

आज हमारे देश में चारों तरफ यह स्थिति हो गई है कि जब से केन्द्र में या राज्यों में जनता पार्टी का शासन आया है, गरीब लोगों के ऊपर और भूमिहीन लोगों, हरिजनों तथा आदिवासियों पर अत्याचार बढ़ गये हैं। इन लोगों पर जबर्दस्ती हमला करने और अत्याचारों की घटनाएं प्रति दिन हमारे सामने आ रही हैं। हरिजनों पर अमानुषिक अत्याचारों के सम्बन्ध में इस सदन में काफी चर्चा हो चुकी है। उसके बारे में क्या किया जाय और उसको कैसे रोका जा सकता है, इन सारी बातों पर विचार नहीं होता है। वर्तमान सरकार की स्थिति बड़ी विचित्र हो गई है। चौधरी चरण सिंह जी केवल मात्र कमीशन नियुक्त करने में ही प्रवीण नहीं हैं बल्कि ओमीशनर्स भी वे बहुत कर रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि चौधरी साहब को होम मिनिस्टर के बजाय मिनिस्टर इनचार्ज आफ कमीशन

एण्ड ओमीशन समझा जाना चाहिए। यह सरकार डे एण्ड नाइट कमीशन नियुक्त कर रही है और उसी हिसाब से ओमीशन भी कर रही है। आम जनता के मन में यह भावना पैदा हो गई है कि जनता पार्टी शासन चलाने लायक नहीं है। ला एण्ड आर्डर की व्यवस्था पर से उसका विश्वास हट गया है। कल या परसों अखबारों में हमने पढ़ा कि कलकत्ता के पास 15 किलोमीटर की दूरी पर एक राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंक की कार में से 3 लाख रुपये सशस्त्र डाकुओं ने हमला कर के लूट लिए। इसी प्रकार की घटनाएं दिल्ली, बम्बई आदि देश के अनेक स्थानों में हो रही हैं। हत्या, लूटपाट और अपराध दिन प्रति दिन बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। इस प्रकार की स्थिति होते हुए भी, जैसा मैंने कहा, इन समस्याओं को हल करने की किसी को चिन्ता नहीं है। केवलमात्र बदले की भावना से काम हो रहा है। आखिरकार आप लोग सत्ता में आए हैं, इसलिए आप चाहे केन्द्र में हो, या प्रान्तों में, अपनी जिम्मेदारियों से बच नहीं सकते हैं। हमेशा यह कहना कि हमने इस देश में प्रजातन्त्र की पुनः स्थापना की है, यह गलत है। पिछले दिनों देश में कुछ ऐसी परिस्थितियाँ पैदा हुई कि मुल्क के मतदाताओं ने कांग्रेस को बहुमत नहीं दिया। ऐसी स्थिति में बार-बार प्रजातन्त्र की पुनः स्थापना की बात करना अहंकार मात्र है। आखिरकार इस देश में प्रजातन्त्र की स्थापना किसने की? वास्तव में इस देश में प्रजातन्त्र की स्थापना इस देश की महान जनता ने भारी बलिदान देकर की है। प्रजातन्त्र उसूलों के आधार पर अगर आज एक पार्टी सत्ता में है तो कल दूसरी पार्टी सत्तारूढ़ हो सकती है। आजादी के बाद, सन् 1947 में, हमारे देश में राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी और राष्ट्रायक श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी व अनेक महान नेताओं के मार्ग दर्शन में प्रजातन्त्र की स्थापना हुई

है। इन देश में प्रजातन्त्र की स्थापना अब पुनः नहीं हुई है बल्कि बहुत पहले हो चुकी थी। सरहदी प्रान्तों में पैदा हो रहे खतरे की चर्चा में निबे न कर चुका हूँ। बजट में या फाइनेंस बिल में अनाज के अधिक उत्पादन के बारे में कोई ठोस योजना नहीं है। बिना सिंचाई के साधनों को बढ़ाए हम किसी भी हालत में अनाज का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ा सकते। कृषि अनुसंधान से सम्बन्धित जो हमारे यह संस्थाएँ हैं, जो इस ओर अच्छा काम कर सकती हैं, जैसे कि पूसा, कृषि अनुसंधान संस्थान, लेकिन वहाँ की दुर्दशा भी काफी भयंकर रूप से हमारे सामने आ रही है। हमारे देश के जो विशेषज्ञ हैं, जो वहाँ सर्विस में लगे हुए हैं, उनके मन में निराशा की भावना पैदा हो गई है, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप आत्महत्या भी हो चुकी है। कर्मचारियों की उचित मांग भी बहुत दिनों से विचारणीय है। उन पर सरकार की ओर से शीघ्र विचार होना चाहिए। शासन की ओर से आवश्यक पहल की जानी चाहिए ताकि उनकी मांगों की पूर्ति हो सके। यहाँ के कर्मचारियों व अधिकारियों में जो असंतोष व्याप्त है, उसको दूर किया जाना चाहिए और असंतोष को समाप्त करने की दृष्टि से वहाँ के कर्मचारियों की तमाम कठिनाइयों का निराकरण करना चाहिए। इस दिशा में शासन को उचित समय पर शीघ्र ही आवश्यक कदम उठाने चाहिए। आई० सी० ए० आर० को शासन का विभाग बनाया जाना चाहिए और उसकी असफलताओं की जांच शीघ्र होनी चाहिए।

ऐसे बहुत से मुद्दे हैं, जिनके बारे में केन्द्रीय सरकार को विचार करना चाहिए। लेकिन जनता पार्टी का यह अधूरा शासन जो कि केन्द्र में ही नहीं, बल्कि प्रान्तों में भी है, का ध्यान अभी तक इन समस्याओं

[श्री सवाई सिंह सिसोदिया]

की तरफ नहीं गया है। विभिन्न प्रान्तों में भी जनता पार्टी के विधायक विधान सभाओं में जनता पार्टी राजनीति के खिलाफ हर रोज विचार प्रकट करते हैं, जिसके कारण सारे मुल्क में एक अस्थिरता का वातावरण पैदा हो रहा है। इसलिए मेरा सरकार से आग्रहपूर्वक निवेदन है कि जिस उत्साह के साथ और जिस भारी बहुमत से हमारे देश के मतदाताओं ने केन्द्र में और प्रान्तों में शासन की बागडोर जनता पार्टी को सुपुर्द की है, उनके प्रति अपने उत्तरदायित्व को ठीक तौर से निभाना चाहिए। निश्चित कदम उठा कर जो रोजमर्रा लोगों की परेशानियों में इजाफा हो रहा है उसकी तरफ ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। जनता पार्टी के भिन्न भिन्न घटक आपस के झगड़ों और कुर्सी की लड़ाई को छोड़ करके अपना ध्यान लोगों की तखलीफें दूर करने की ओर लगावें, परन्तु उन्हें अभी इस ओर ध्यान देने की फुरसत नहीं है। जब तक निश्चित क्रांतिकारी आर्थिक योजनाएँ लागू नहीं होंगी, तब तक हमारे देश के करोड़ों लोगों की दशा में सुधार नहीं हो सकता है। आशा है कि इन सारे मुद्दों पर ईमानदारी के साथ विचार किया जाएगा। संकल्प के साथ निश्चित देशहित की निश्चित योजनाएँ सदन में रखी जायेंगी और उनको मूर्तरूप देने के लिए पूरी ताकत से सभी राजनैतिक दलों को विश्वास में कर आगे कदम बढ़ाने पर ही देश को परेशानी से बचाया जा सकता है।

SHRI PIARE LALL KUREEL urf PIARE LALL TALIB (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I thank you very much for giving me a few minutes to make a few observations in this House. I wanted to speak on the General Budget, but unfortunately I did not get time. I take this opportunity to say a few words about the Budget and

then I will deal with other subjects. I will just recite one Urdu couplet.

**‘बड़ा शोर मचाने थे पहलू में दिल का
जो चीरा तो एक कतरण खून निकला’।**

This is the Janata Budget presented by the so-called Janata Party. This Janata Budget is anti-janata Budget. There is nothing new in the Budget. It is not going to help the poorer people. All the financial proposals are for the benefit of the richer classes. They are going to be benefited by these proposals. No concrete suggestion has been given for the uplift of the weaker sections, for whom there is a separate chapter in the Constitution. At least you ought to have said something about the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people who are victims of all sorts of atrocities in this country, as to how you are going to improve their condition. I can put this in a nut-shell: Your Budget is going to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

**निर्माण और आवास तथा पति और
पुनर्वास मंत्री (श्री सिकन्दर बख्त) : यह
भी आप अच्छा ज़ेर बोले।**

SHRI PIARE LALL KUREEL urf PIARE LALL TALIB; It is not going to help the poorer sections. I completely endorse the views expressed by my hon. colleagues on this side the Congress Members. I do not want to repeat all those things. But I have to make one request to those hon. Members who occupy the Treasury Benches. This is the House of Elders, elder statesmen, seasoned politicians. It is not a panchayat house. At least we must expect something rational from the Ministers. They should be reasonable. They should not behave in an irrational manner. They should behave in a very rational and very responsible manner. Some of them are indulging in constant vilification, constant character assassination. Is this the way for the Government to function?....

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Tamil Nadu): When Mrs. Indira Gandhi started vilification of opposition leaders, you had nothing to say. What happened to you at that time?

SHRI PIARE LALL KUREEL urf PIARE LALL TALIB: Always she is sitting on your head as if she is a hydro-headed monsteress. Always you want to behave in this way . . .

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: What were you doing when she turned into a dictator?

SHRI PIARE LALL KUREEL urf PIARE LALL TALIB: You always indulge in vilification. I tell you, you are spoiling your own image. There were such wild allegations, preposterous allegations, that she had a scheme to shoot all the leaders now occupying the Treasury Benches. Can you imagine that she could have had such a scheme? Let the Home Minister prove this allegation and if he does not prove, if he is not able to prove I ask him to resign from the Ministry; I ask him to resign . . .

DR. RAMKRIPAL SINHA: The honourable Member did not ask the ex-Prime Minister to resign when she levelled charges against the Opposition. At that time he did not ask the ex-Prime Minister to resign. Why?

SHRI PIARE LALL KUREEL urf PIARE LALL TALIB: I want to tell the Prime Minister who is a cool-headed man, that this man, that this Charan Singh, the Home Minister, is spoiling the image of the Janata Party by develling such preposterous charges. Why? You have no other work. The prices are rising. The people are suffering. Atrocities are being committed on the Harijans. And yet you have no other work except appointing commissions. You do not do any positive work. The only work you are doing is appointing commissions for finding fault with the Congress leaders. About Shrimati Indira Gandhi your own leader said at the time of Bangla Desh that she was the

incarnation of Durga Mata. Your own leader said it at that time. And now you see her in the shape of a hydra-headed monster. All the time she is sitting on your head. Daily there are charges, Maruti, Maruti, Sanjay Gandhi, Sanjay Gandhi. You have lost the balance of your mind. Why is this so? Do you know that these companies, these public companies, these private companies, are governed under the companies Act? These companies, whether they are public companies or private companies, have to submit balance-sheets, they have to submit profit and loss accounts? If there is any irregularity they are taken to task. Do you know after 1956 this Act was made more stringent? No one can commit even a small irregularity and if there is even a small irregularity on the part of the directors, they are prosecuted by the Registrar of Companies. All the time you are misrepresenting these things to the people. The people are wise enough, I tell you. They understand what is behind it, why you are doing this. You have no solid programme before the people. You cannot do anything for the people. And one thing you must also remember, you came to power not because of any solid work that you have done for the people; you came to power only because of certain of our weaknesses, certain shortcomings, and our inactivity. There might have been certain excesses under the emergency. There might have been, I admit. I myself spoke in this House about certain excesses. We admit it. But you cannot do this sort of character assassination. A great lady, she will be remembered. You may not be here. I may not be here. We may not be here. But she will be remembered as one of the greatest ladies of the century. I was a Member when Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister. I was a Member when Lai Bahadur Shastri was the Prime Minister. I was here when Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister. I am here when your own leader Mr. Morarji Desai is the Prime Minister. And I can say with

[Shri Piare Lal Kureel urf Piare Lal Talib]

full confidence that no other Prime Minister thought of the weaker sections of the people as much as she did. It was Indira Gandhi who initiated radical schemes, radical policies, to improve the lot of the weaker sections of the people, including the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and women. It was she who had the courage to stop the privy-purses; it was she who had the courage to nationalise LIC. She had the courage to nationalise banks. Which other leader had this much courage? During her regime lot of progress was made in the industrial and agricultural fields. Why do you forget all these? Do your work and be sincere to the people. Why this vilification? I may tell you that nobody can convict Sanjay Gandhi. I know it. Nobody can convict Indira Gandhi and other leaders? Why? There is no *prima facie* case against them. If any undue favour had been shown to these people, it is the fault of the officers. If Sanjay Gandhi got land, you prosecute the officers who gave it. If Sanjay Gandhi got anything done by the officers, you prosecute those officers and not Sanjay Gandhi. Do not do anything in retaliation. Do not be revengeful. This is very bad. I tell you, you are fooling the people. I tell you, you can fool some people for all time, all people for some time, but you cannot fool all people for all time. A time will come when people will realise that you are cheating them. You cheated the people at the time of the election by not announcing as to who will be your Prime Minister. You did not tell the people who among you would be the Prime Minister, if returned to power. Some people gave you votes thinking that Shri Vajpayee would become the Prime Minister. Some people gave you votes thinking that Shri Jagjivan Ram would become the Prime Minister. The rich people voted for Morarji Bhai. This is how you cheated the people at the time of the Lok Sabha election. Besides, there was a conspiracy on the part

of vested interests and the bureaucracy. The bureaucrats helped you. The vested interests helped you. The blackmarketeers who were behind 'the bar and those people whose houses were searched and raided and those officers who were removed from their jobs made a common cause and voted against the Congress. There were no doubt some excesses and during the family planning drive some people were made victims. That was due to the fault of petty and small officers. Are you not in favour of family planning? Charan Singh has written a book on this and he is for family planning. You are again cheating the people by calling the Department "Parivar Kalyan" and not family planning. You also want family planning. Now be frank and tell people that you are for family planning and no excesses will be committed. But you are misrepresenting. Why all this nonsense?

I have not come to atrocities. I was just on vilification. Now I am reading just one or two paragraphs from the recent issue of the Illustrated Weekly. This is from the editorial. The heading is: The Press on Indira and Sanjay Gandhi. I quote:

"Every morning when I pick up the newspapers, my eyes refuse to believe what they see in print. The heroes of yesteryear are depicted as arch-villains of today. They were symbols of dynamism, grace and whatever else was good and progressive. The same people have over-month liars, frauds, thugs and murderers (yes, even murderers). And every week when I scan the pages of the two Bombay tabloids I marvel at the feat of acrobatics which they have performed in turning from passionate adulation to even more passionate denunciation. Until recently, one of them specialised in making worship of the Nehru family into a cult and affixing donkey's ears and dunce caps on photographs of Jayaprakash and Morarji. Now J. P. has become the saviour and the saint; Morarji-

bhai has become Godlike enough to deserve a halo. It takes my breath away.

Before the Commissions of Inquiry tell us the truth, the press has let losses a wicked farrago of calumny which has already pronounced Indira Gandhi and her son guilty. Let me illustrate this with a few examples.

Soon after Mrs. Gandhi ceased to be Prime Minister, there was an item of news on the front page of a prestigious daily about a reception at the Senegalese Embassy which was widely reproduced in other papers. It said that Mrs. Gandhi's presence at the reception had gone noticed—how had the mighty fallen. It made a good story except that there was no truth in it. As a matter of fact, the Ambassador, having previous knowledge of Mrs. Gandhi's coming, had received her at the gate and been with her though out her stay and seen her off when she left.

Since Sanjay Gandhi is the main target of the pressmen's barbed shafts, I adduce two instances of what passes for 'investigative, in-depth' journalism. The report dealing with Maruti's sale of road-rollers made a great point that many State-controlled agencies had been steamrolled into buying defective machines and 'officials who opposed the deal came to grief. According to this report, Border Roads bought 100, Haryana State 50. And so on. It went on to say that most of the 100 bought by Border Roads were 'lying idle at Pathankot'. As a matter of fact, neither Border Roads nor Haryana State bought a single road-roller from Maruti.

Even more incredible was a report in the most widely circulated daily paper on how a chemical called polymer supplied by Maruti to the Delhi Water Supply Undertaking had 'caused disease'. Polymer

is a chemical compound which, when mixed with water, takes the impurities to the bottom and is considerably cheaper than alum used for the same purpose. Polymer can in no event cause any disease. When Maruti protested against this tendentious reporting, the correction was printed in an obscure page without a heading. And the figures cited in a subsequent letter were tampered with to tally with the story initially put out by the reporter. I can give many more examples of deliberate distortion of facts.

It is sad that when Commissions of Inquiry have been set up to sift fact from fiction, our press should foul the atmosphere against people who may well be cleared of the charges levelled against them. It was this sort of character assassination by state-controlled media during the Emergency that nauseated most people. Can it be justified now? Is it fair?"

Sir, the other day there was a question here about the foreign bank accounts, Swiss Bank accounts, of Mr. Sanjay Gandhi. That has been proved to be false. Again, somebody passed on a bank draft which has been found to be a forged one. I would request the ruling party and the Government to investigate into this matter and those people who have made this forgery should be punished and punished severely.

I now come to the question of atrocities on the Harijans. I have a large number of such cases with me and this file which I am having with me is full of such cases. I would like to read out the details about two cases on the floor of this House. One is Belchi and the other is an incident in which a tribal man was done to death by being beaten and his wife was raped just in front of the whole village and two other female members were assaulted just in front of the people of the whole village. I

[Shri Piare Lall Kureel urf Piare Lall Talib]

can read out many such reports on the atrocities on the Harijans and others. Yesterday, Sir, there was a great demonstration before the house of the Prime Minister. These are the common instances about which we read daily in the newspapers. There is hardly a day on which we do not read such news items in the newspapers.

Sir, the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribe people form about a quarter of our population and they cannot be ignored and no party can afford to ignore them. Now, they have become educated and there is an awakening amongst them and, therefore, you cannot treat them like animals or as beasts of burden. You cannot do it. They are going to revolt and to start agitations and demonstrations. I would like to request the Government to appoint a parliamentary committee, either a parliamentary committee on a statutory body, to go into all these atrocities and to see how they can put a stop to these atrocities. A commission should immediately be appointed, a statutory commission. These are all serious matters and we should take a serious note of them. Really, Sir, I can move a Calling-Attention Motion or some such Motion before the House. But it does not look nice to raise these issues daily. It does not look nice if a Senior Member like me raises these issues daily in a House like this which is a very august House. So, I would like to say that the sooner they do it, the better for them, because their image is being spoiled. There is no time for me to relate all the cases. But see what your own party man. Shri Ram Dhan has said. You are losing your popularity. If you say that are more popular than the Congress Party, I do not think so. Here is what your own leader had said:

"Mr. Ram Dhan said the Harijan support to the Janata had dropped considerably. The reason was that big landlords claimed that the Janata was their party and they could deal

with the Harijans as they liked and the way they liked was that of oppression. The feeling was growing in their community that injustices against it would increase further.

"Mr. Ram Dhan said in addition to the upper castes the 'so-called Backward classes' were also perpetrating excesses against the community. The Belchi incident in Bihar, he said, was the work of Kurmis. .."

'Kurmis' are among the backward classes.... (Time bell rings)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please be brief.

SHRI PIARE LALL KUREEL URF PIARE LAL TALIB: I will just finish. One word about Sheikh Abdullah. You may try to win him over to your side. The Janata leaders went to him. I had warned you in my speech on the 30th March : Beware of this man. I had spoken enough about Sheikh Abdullah. He has enough money. He has become very rich, richer than Birla and Tata. Every member of his family occupies a high position in the Government. He has been able to defeat both the parties, Janata as well as Congress. How has *he* done it? Try to find it out. Appoint an Enquiry Commission and try to find out how he has been able to do it. With the help of the Governor, with the help of the Chief Secretary, with the helps of many officers, he has been able to do this feat. Through the Youth Federation, he has committed all sorts of atrocities on the people, both on the Janata Party workers and the Congress workers. It is a fact. Many Janata MLAs from Kashmir have come to me and related to me what has been done by them. They were the semi-military people. This youth front has got many trained, military men in their 'vardi', in their uniform. That is why they did not vote... (Time bell rings.) Find it out. Now Kashmir is Sheikh Abdullah and Sheikh Abdullah is Kashmir. He can say anything or do anything he likes. I will request you to appoint a Com-

mission and find out the real facts and take suitable action.

Sir,, thank you very much for the indulgence.

श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसमापति महोदय, मुझे एक निवेदन करना है और वह यह है कि मुल्क के जो बुनियादी सवाल हैं उनकी एक नेशनल पालिसी तैयार की जानी चाहिए। उस नेशनल पालिसी के अन्दर जैसे हरिजनों का सवाल है, गिरिजनों का सवाल है, बीकर सैवधंस का सवाल है, गरीबी का, शिक्षा का या जितने बड़े-बड़े सवाल हैं, कोई एक नेशनल कंसेंशस उनके ऊपर डेवलप की जानी चाहिए। भिन्न-भिन्न पार्टियां हैं, उनकी भिन्न भिन्न विचारधाराएँ हैं, लेकिन कुछ चीजें ऐसी हैं जिन पर हद तक हम एक राय हो सकें। मुल्क का भला इसमें होगा कि इस तरह की कोई नेशनल पालिसी इन सारे मसलों पर तैयार हो जाए। सारी पार्टियों के लोग मिलकर ऐसा कर लेने हैं तो 5 साल, 10 साल, 15 साल या 20 साल, कितने ही सवाल हैं जिनके लिए 40 साल भी लगेंगे। तो ऐसे सवाल किसी एक पार्टी के मन्थे नहीं होने चाहिए। तो मेरी एक हम्बल रिक्वेस्ट है कि जैसे भाषा का सवाल है, ऐसे सवालों को हम डेवलप कर सकें और उनको एक नेशनल प्लेटफार्म पर नेशनल डंग से सारे सवालों को लेकर एक नेशनल डिबेट करें। कोई भी सरकार आये, वह नेशनल पालिसी ज्यों की त्यों चलती रहनी चाहिए।

अभी पिछले हफ्ते यहीं दिल्ली में सारे देश के रचानात्मक कार्यकर्त्तों का सम्मेलन हुआ था। श्रीमन्नारायण जी उसके अध्यक्ष थे। हमारे माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी उद्घाटन करने गये थे और माननीय बाबू जगजीवन राम उसका समापन करने गये थे। देश के कोने कोने से गोसेवा संघ, हरिजन समिति, भूदान समिति, चर्खा संघ वगैरह वगैरह के सारे कार्यकर्त्ता और बड़े लब्धविशेष और बड़े तजुर्वेकार करीब पांच सौ कार्यकर्त्ता थे देश के कोने

कोने से जिन्होंने सारी चीजों के ऊपर विचार किया। क्या विचार उनके अन्दर थे वह मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ। उनके अन्दर विचार यह चल रहा है कि देश की कई समस्याएँ हैं, फलों फलों जैसे जात-पात, जैसे गरीबी, जैसे आज की शिक्षा व्यवस्था, जैसे प्रजातंत्र, जैसे भाषा का प्रश्न, जैसे बढ़ती हुई आबादी वगैरह वगैरह। ये जो बेसिक प्राबलम्स हैं इनको हमें हल करना है और वह गांधी दर्शन के अन्दर हल करना है, यह प्रश्न विचारणीय था। हमारी सरकार के प्रमुख नेताओं ने और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने, हमारे गृह मंत्री महोदय ने, हमारी पार्टी ने पूरे तौर पर इस बात पर ऐलान किया है कि हम देश की समस्याओं का समाधान गांधी दर्शन के अनुरूप करेंगे और बात भी इस समय ऐसी है जिसको आसानी से हटाया नहीं जा सकता।

मान्यवर, दुनिया में दो ही रास्ते आये हैं। या तो अमरीकन, अंग्रेजी या पश्चिमी यूरोप का पूंजीवाद है, या रशिया और चाइना का साम्यवाद। दोनों के रास्ते हैं, दोनों के अपने सिद्धान्त हैं, दोनों की अपनी बातें हैं, अपनी विचार शैली है, कार्यक्रम हैं। अगर उनमें से हमको किसी को ले लेना है तो हमको ज्यादा दिमाग खपाने की जरूरत नहीं है और उसमें से एक को ले लें और उस पर चल पड़ें। अगर हमको यह शौक है, हमको यह सोचना है इस देश के जन कल्याण के नाते और इस देश के नेताओं को कोई ऐसा रास्ता देना है जो इनकी वृत्तियों को जो हमारे सामने हैं, इनको बचाते हुए इस देश में जागृत हो तो यह गम्भीर चिन्तन का सवाल पैदा होता है। क्या हम ऐसा कर सकेंगे और उसको करने का एकमात्र रास्ता बचत है कि क्या हम शक्ति के केन्द्रीयकरण को चाहे वह पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था के अन्तर्गत आता हो, चाहे वह साम्यवादी व्यवस्था के अन्तर्गत आता हो शक्ति के केन्द्रीयकरण को आर्थिक व्यवस्था के केन्द्रीयकरण को, सामाजिक शक्ति के केन्द्रीयकरण को क्या

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हम विकेंद्रित कर सकते हैं। आज के आधुनिक युग से भी हम दूर न जा सकें यह नम्बर एक है और नम्बर दो है कि हमारी राष्ट्रीय एकता को भी कोई क्षति न पहुंचे। क्या कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था हो सकती है? क्या हम राजनीतिक शक्ति को विकेंद्रित कर सकते हैं बगैर राष्ट्र को नुकसान पहुंचाये? क्या साइंस को ठुकराये बिना हम आज की अर्थव्यवस्था के विकेंद्रित कर सकते हैं? क्या सामाजिक व्यवस्था को, जिसने हजारों वर्षों से सारे समाज को जड़ से पकड़ रखा है, विकेंद्रित कर सकते हैं? यह हम कर सकते हैं शांतिमय ढंग से और अहिंसात्मक ढंग से। यह है गांधी जी का असूल। आज उन्हीं असूलों के ऊपर हम को चलना है। आज वे असूल सरकार के सामने, हमारे सामने, सारे देश के सामने स्पष्ट रूप से हैं।

हम ऐसे चौराहे पर खड़े हैं जहाँ से हमें कोई न कोई रास्ता पकड़ना होगा? हम वहाँ खड़े नहीं रह सकते। यह नहीं होगा कि थोड़ी पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था, थोड़ी समाजवादी व्यवस्था और थोड़ी अपनी मनमानी चला कर खिचड़ी पका ली। मेरा कहना है कि यह नहीं चल सकता। कोई राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, शैक्षणिक कार्यक्रम हम को लाना होगा। हम 30 साल से गांधी जी की दुहाई देते चले आ रहे हैं लेकिन क्या हमने उनको हल किया है? मेरा यह निवेदन है कि देश के लिये उसके भविष्य के लिये इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि सारी पार्टियों के लोग, पार्टियों के लोग ही नहीं बल्कि देश के अन्दर जो टैलेंट बिखरे हुए पड़े हैं, जो इकोनोमिस्ट हैं, जो सांइटिस्ट हैं, जो रचनात्मक कार्यकर्ता हैं, शिक्षाविद हैं उनके हाथों में इन सवालों को दिया जाए। मैं जानता हूँ और आप भी जानते हैं सरकार चलाना आसान नहीं। रोज कोई न कोई बखेड़ा कोई न कोई सवाल खड़ा रहता है। हमारे मंत्रिमंडल को जो सरकार चला रही है उसको यह फुरसत नहीं है, कभी हो भी नहीं सकती कि इन बुनियादी असूलों पर ठंडे दिल से गौर करे।

दूसरी चीज यह है कि मंत्रिमंडल में होने के नाते या मंत्री होने के नाते यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि सारी चीजों को जानते हैं। उसके जानकार दूसरे लोग होते हैं। क्या यह नहीं हो सकता कि जो इन चीजों के जानकार हैं जो इनका ठीक हल दे सकते हैं उन लोगों की कमेटीयाँ विभिन्न स्तरों पर बैठा दी जाएं और छः महीने या साल भर में उनसे रिपोर्ट ले ली जाए तब ही सरकार उनके अनुरूप बजट बनाये और उन्हीं के अनुसृत देश को मोड़ भी दे जो प्रोब्लमज हैं, नेशनल प्रॉब्लमज हैं, जिनका किसी पार्टी से संबंध नहीं है, जैसे भाषा का सवाल है या इसी प्रकार के दूसरे सवाल हैं उन सवालों को एक दूसरे को गाली देकर, बुरा-भला कह कर, हल नहीं कर सकते। 30 साल से हल नहीं कर सके और आईदा भी नहीं कर सकते। उतने आउट-लुक से हमें बात सोचनी होगी जितनी उसके लिये जरूरत है। आपके जो कार्यक्रम हैं उनके ऊपर एक-दूसरे के ऊपर भले ही कुछ कहिये लेकिन खुद के लिए भगवान के लिये उन सवालों पर जद्दोजहद नहीं होनी चाहिये जो जिन्दगी और मौत के सवाल देश के लिये बने हुए हैं।

मेरा तो एक विनम्र सुझाव है कि सरकार को दशरथ और बशिष्ठ दोनों का काम अपने हाथ में नहीं लेना चाहिये। चन्द्रगुप्त सम्राट हो सकता है लेकिन उसके लिए चाणक्य की जरूरत है। अफसोस है कि आज्ञादी के बाद हमारे जो दृष्टा थे वे चले गये और राजनैताओं ने बशिष्ठ का काम भी अपने हाथ में ले लिया। जो दोनों काम इन्होंने लिये ये दोनों काम एक साथ नहीं चल सकते हैं।

आप इंडस्ट्री के डिसेंट्रलाइजेशन की बात करते हैं। यह एक कठिन प्रोसेस है। यह आसान काम नहीं है। जो इंडस्ट्रियाँ चल रही हैं आज उन्हें डिसेंट्रलाइज करने की बात करने से घड़ीं

पानी भर जाएगा। यह आसान काम नहीं है। जिनका इसमें इंटरैस्ट है उनसे क्लेश होगा। उन्हें समझाना पड़ेगा। नई व्यवस्था को चलाने के लिये किस तरह की टेक्नोलॉजी चाहिये, कैसी व्यवस्था चाहिये, इन सब बातों को देखना होगा। दूसरे इनका व्यापार चलाना आसान काम नहीं है। आसान किया जा सकता है और वह ऐसे कि जैसे काटन टैक्सटाइल है। सबसे पहले इसको लीजिये और उसके बाद जूट टैक्सटाइल को लीजिये। इसको लेने के बाद ग्लास इंडस्ट्री को लीजिये, साबुन, तेल वगैरह की इंडस्ट्री को लीजिये और सबसे आखिर में आप आइरन इंडस्ट्री को लें। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन सब चीजों की समस्याओं का हल सेन्ट्रलाइजेशन में नहीं है बल्कि डिसेन्ट्रलाइजेशन में है। साइकिल उद्योग को ही आप ले लीजिये। डिसेन्ट्रलाइजेशन ही समस्याओं का समाधान कर सकता है क्योंकि समस्या यह है कि हमारे देश में अधिक से अधिक लोगों को रोजगार दिया जाय। जापान ऐसा कर रहा है तो हम ऐसा क्यों नहीं कर सकते हैं।

आप हरिजनों की समस्या को ही ले लीजिये। हरिजनों की समस्या को हल करने के लिए केवलमात्र सामाजिक व्यवस्था में ही सुधार लाने की जरूरत नहीं है बल्कि उनको आर्थिक रूप से स्वावलम्बी बनाना भी अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। मेरा यह निवेदन है कि हरिजनों के उत्थान के लिए अकेले सामाजिक व्यवस्था में ही सुधार नहीं लाना है बल्कि उन लोगों को आर्थिक रूप से शक्तिशाली बनाने के प्रयत्न किये जाने चाहियें। हमारे देश में वर्तमान सामाजिक व्यवस्था हजारों वर्षों से चल रही है। वर्तमान आर्थिक व्यवस्था भी हमारे देश में वर्षों से चल रही है। ऐसी स्थिति में जब तक आप गरीब लोगों को रोजगार नहीं देंगे तब तक उनका

उत्थान हरगिज नहीं हो सकता है। राष्ट्रीयकरण उसका कोई जवाब नहीं है। आपको उद्योगों का और अन्य साधनों का विकेन्द्रीकरण करना होगा... (Interruptions) राष्ट्रीयकरण इसका समाधान नहीं है। आप रूस और चीन में जाकर देख आइये। वहाँ के राष्ट्रीयकरण की उज्ज्वल तस्वीर को देखकर आपके सामने सारी स्थिति स्पष्ट हो जाएगी।

श्री कल्याण राय : आप चाहते हैं कि वाशिंगटन में जाकर इन चीजों को देखना चाहिये।

श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा : मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि गरीबों का उत्थान उद्योगों का केवल मात्र राष्ट्रीयकरण कर देने में नहीं है, बल्कि इन गरीबों का उत्थान उनके व्यवसायों और इंडस्ट्रीज के विकेन्द्रीकरण में है। आप इस बात पर गम्भीरतापूर्वक सोचिये। आज के युग की यही मांग है। मैं आप को एक मिसाल देता हूँ कुछ दिन पहले यह खबर आई कि न्यूयार्क में 25 घंटे तक बिजली फ़ैल हो गई। इस अवधि के दौरान वहाँ के एक करोड़ आबादी को कितनी मुसीबतों का सामना करना पड़ा, यह किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि लोग इस बात को क्यों भूल जाते हैं कि हाईड्रोजन बम किसी बड़े से बड़े नगर को और बड़े से बड़े औद्योगिक नगर को क्षण मात्र में बरबाद कर सकता है। आज के युग में अगर केन्द्रीयकरण की ओर ध्यान दिया जायगा तो उस के भयंकर परिणाम सारे देश को और सारी दुनिया को भुगतने पड़ेंगे। ऐसी हालत में आज के युग की यह मांग है कि सभी व्यवस्थाओं का विकेन्द्रीकरण किया जाय। हमारे देश में भूमिहीनों की तादाद बहुत बड़ी है। मैं समझता हूँ कि केवल मात्र इंडस्ट्रीयालाइजेशन से उनकी समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं हो सकता है।

[श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि उन-को रोजगार दिया जाय ।

इन बातों के साथ-साथ आज ज़रूरत इस बात की भी है कि हमारे पास एफि-शिएन्सी की कमी न हो, प्रोडक्शन की कमी न हो और उस के साथ साथ हम लोगों को रोजगार दें । राष्ट्रीयकरण इसका हल नहीं है । मैं तो यह कहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार को यह तय करना चाहिये कि वह आने वाले सात सालों में एग्रीकल्चर का प्रोडक्शन दुगुना कर देगी और इंडस्ट्रीज का प्रोडक्शन भी दुगुना कर देगी । यह कोई पार्टीबाजी का सवाल नहीं है । इसके लिये नेशनल काउन्सेल डेवलप करने की आवश्यकता है । पार्टियों को इस झंझट में नहीं पड़ना चाहिये । पार्टियों के अन्दर भी बहुत सारे सवाल हैं । ऐसे मसलों को आप नेशनल लेवल पर हल करने का प्रयास कीजिये । आप को प्रोडक्शन के साथ-साथ इम्प्लोयमेंट का सवाल भी जोड़ना होगा । मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार देश को कोई प्लान देने से पहले यह निर्णय ले कि आने वाले 7 और 10 सालों में वह खेती के बारे में इंडस्ट्री के बारे में, हरिजनों के बारे में और जातिवाद के बारे में मुल्क के सामने कौन सा नक्शा पेश करने वाली है । भाषा के बारे में मैंने 1947 में 3 P.M. सवाल उठाया था । आज भी मेरा कहना है कि हिन्दी वालों को यह कभी नहीं कहना चाहिये कि दक्षिण वाले हिन्दी पढ़ें । लेकिन एक चीज़ निश्चित कर लेनी चाहिये । हर हिन्दी भाषी स्कूल में किसी न किसी प्रदेश की लैंग्वेज की बात कम्पलसरी कर देनी चाहिये, तभी हिन्दी राष्ट्र भाषा बन पायेगी तभी उसका विरोध कम हो जायेगा । यह सवाल ऐसा है, जिसके ऊपर हमें एक नेशनल आउटलुक से विचार करना चाहिये ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : आपने क्या कहा ?

श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा : मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि हिन्दी वालों को प्रादेशिक भाषा का शिक्षण कम्पलसरी कर देना चाहिए । उसका नतीजा यह होगा कि हर हिन्दी वाला प्रादेशिक भाषा सिख जायेगा ।

श्री पी० राममूर्ति : हिन्दी वालों के लिये यदि तमिल भाषा कम्पलसरी करेंगे तो तमिल भाषा भाषी ही उसका इम्तहान लेंगे ?

श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा : मैं यह नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि क्या होगा, कैसे होगा ? यह तो विचार करने की बात है । मैंने तो एक हिन्ट दिया है कि इन सवालों को हल करने के लिये बड़े रास्ते हैं बशर्ते कि हमारे पास यह बिल हो कि हम इनको हल करने जा रहे हैं ।

अन्त में मेरा यही नम्र निवेदन है कि जो कुछ बजट हुआ, हुआ । लेकिन हम यह कोशिश करें कि जितनी जल्दी हो सके और पांच साल की मियाद जनता ने हमें दी है, तो कम से कम पांच साल के अन्दर हमको देश के लिये कुछ करना है । तो अपनी इस सरकार से मेरा यह निवेदन है कि अब तक जो हुआ वह हुआ लेकिन आज से ही आप इन बातों का बंदोबस्त कर लें । (1) नेशनल कान्सेन्सस तमाम बेसिक सवालों के लिये (2) डी-मेन्ट्रलाइजेशन के लिये कमेटियां बननी चाहिए और (3) जाति-पाति की व्यवस्था को खत्म करने के लिये 25 साल का, आपके सामने प्रोग्राम होना चाहिए । मैं किसी जोर-जबर्दस्ती से इस समस्या के हल के पक्ष में नहीं परन्तु इससे जो यह विभीषिका इस मुल्क को खाये जा रही है, वह कम होगी । इम्प्लाइमेंट के सवाल को हम किस तरह से हल कर सकते हैं । इसके लिये 10 साल का एक बृहद् प्लान होना चाहिए और उस प्लान प्रोग्राम में दूरोकेतिक मशीन नहीं होनी चाहिए । इस प्लान को तैयार करने में देश का चुना हुआ टेलेन्ट होना चाहिए । वह साल भर में, 6 महीने में प्लान दे दें । मान्यवर, मैं आपके द्वारा मंत्री महोदय को कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे इन प्लान-प्रोग्राम

को इनकरेज करें, लोगों को बुलायें इसमें कोई बहस-मुबाहशा और पार्टी का सवाल नहीं उठना चाहिए और अगले बजट में इसको लागू करने का प्रयास करें, इसी में देश का कल्याण है ।

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the speech of the Finance Minister and the Finance Bill, as amended, are not really encouraging. His speech is more a platitude about the principles but it lacks in action which is contemplated to bring about socioeconomic revolution in our country, which is an important aspect of our national economy. In para 22 of the speech, it has been stated that if the problem of unemployment is to be solved, solution is not industrialisation. Industries must be taken to and employment must be created in rural areas. What are the principles and what is enunciated in the Budget? Sir, having worked in the agrarian trade movement, anybody who sees the service conditions and the economic conditions of the rural workers and bonded labour, he will find that they are pitiable. The ILO has stated in its report that unless there is investment in human material and unless people are given, what are called, food, shelter, education and medicines, there will be no incentive to work. Unless the agricultural production increases, there will be no increase in industrial production. If this is not done, the problem of rural unemployment will not be solved and we will not be able to give employment to the millions who are unemployed. Therefore, Sir, it is very important to point out that no attempt has been made to provide the basic needs to the rural workers who number 47 million. We are talking about agricultural production and improving the rural economy. But not a single word has been said in the whole Budget speech as to what they are going to do in regard to the rural workers and the rural population who are engaged in

the productive process. Sir, I would like to quote some decisions of the Government which go against this and in regard to which, I find, no provision has been made in the Budget.

During the last so many years, various land reform legislations have been brought forward. But the implementation has been very slow. Even the will for the development of agriculture never percolated to the small farmers and the marginal farmers. Much of the money provided for the development of agriculture and the tribal areas had to be returned back or surrendered because there was no political will to take elective decisions to go against the vested interests, to take over the lands from the big landlords and hand them over to the small and marginal farmers so that they could cultivate the lands, to provide them with the infrastructure for having small-scale agriculture-based industries and to provide them with the finance for increasing agricultural production. What is the picture?

We embarked upon the twenty-point programme. Four or five programmes were mainly in regard to land reform legislations and improving the lot of the rural poor. One was in regard to enhancement of minimum wages. It is a sad commentary that when we are talking so much about rural development, the people in the rural areas, who are the real instruments of production, get only Rs. 3 or Rs. 4. This also not regularly. Why should not the Finance Minister fix a national minimum wage? They have made many statements. Their manifesto also says 'We shall provide for the right to work'. Has not the time come to fix a national minimum wage so that every able-bodied person gets at least Rs. 5 as minimum wage in today's circumstances? But no attempt has been made in this regard.

There is no implementation machinery at all. Not only that. The rural people have to be provided with

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housesites. They have to be provided with houses. They have to be provided with land for agricultural purposes. What is the picture? Unless we see that picture, we shall not be able to understand the implications of this Budget. In this connection I would like to quote the reply which has been given today to Unstarred Question No. 175:

"Whereas the reports received by this Ministry from the States Union Territories up to 1st January, 1976, indicate that the number of landless families who were allotted house-sites was 58.35 lakhs, the reports received from them up to the end of March, 1977, and June, 1977, indicate that the number has gone up to about 71.67 lakhs at the end of March, 1977, and 72.67 lakhs at the end of June, 1977."

So, this is the position. 72.86 lakh landless labourers have been given house-sites. But the answer does not say how many Harijans have been given housesites. Therefore, it is the most disquieting reply; I quote:

"The scheme for provision of house-sites to landless workers in rural areas does not contemplate grant of any financial assistance to the States | Union Territories for construction of houses on the house-sites allotted. The workers are expected to construct houses on the house-sites allotted to them with their own resources or with such assistance as can be provided by the State Governments and voluntary organisations. Some State Governments have, however, been extending assistance both in cash and kind to help the allottees to construct their houses. According to reports received by this Ministry from the States and Union Territories so far, about 7.82 lakh dwellings have been constructed on the house-sites allotted to the landless workers."

I would like to know from the Finance Minister why there is no provision for construction of houses for Harijans and other backward classes

when sites have been allotted to 72 lakh landless workers. Is it not the responsibility of the Government to see that along with these landless workers, the Harijans and backward classes also have their own houses? I do not find any provision having been made in the budget for construction of houses on the house-sites allotted to 72 lakh families. It has been stated in many reports that these small rural workers and landless labourers do not have their own resources or means to construct houses. It is no use giving them house-sites without giving them financial assistance for construction of houses. (*Time Bell rings*).

I have got one or two points to make. As regards rural economy and land reforms, the picture is the same. There is no effective decisionmaking authority. The Janata Government is not clear whether they want to take the benefit of the agricultural production, which should still go up to the lowest. Still the same bottlenecks remain and nothing is being done in this respect. In this connection, it has been stated that more than 860,000 allottees have been given a little above 12,55,000 acres of land. Now, what is the assistance to be given? A Central Sector Scheme was included in the Fifth Five Year Plan for providing short-term and long-term assistance to the allottees of surplus land. The short-term assistance is to be given to each allottee at the rate of Rs. 100 per acre as grant per season for the first two agricultural seasons. This money is to be spent primarily for acquiring the wherewithals of cultivation, although a small proportion of it can also be used for meeting the immediate consumption needs of the allottees. Sir, the Central Sector Scheme provides for giving only Rs. 100 to an allottee. Can we expect that the agricultural production will improve with this small amount of Rs. 100? It is necessary that more investment is provided for in the rural sector. They must give more funds for the Cen-

tral Sector Scheme so that those who are given surplus land for agricultural purposes could stand on their own legs. The same is the position of the bonded labour. The Act has been passed. Now the need is that the bonded labour has to be rehabilitated. They have to be given land, jobs and other things. It seems the Government is not interested in extending the rural policy which was made for this purpose to give them credit. It seems the policy is not going to be extended to the rural sector. They have appointed a Committee to go into the working of the rural banks. What for? If the Government wants to give them money and advances, they must implement the Sivaraman Committee's recommendations. They should also give some maintenance grant to the bonded labour which is not covered by the recommendation of the Sivaraman Committee. I am really sorry to say that although they say that they want the rural industries to develop, yet not a single word has been said in the whole budget on this important aspect, nor is adequate provision made for more finances which can be provided to thousands of workers and which will give them incentive for producing more.

In this connection, I would like the Finance Minister to consider the scheme of Maharashtra State from which I come. There is an Employment Guarantee Scheme regarding giving employment to all able-bodied persons.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: I am finish-ins. Under it, if a man has not been able to be given a job, he will be provided an unemployment allowance and it is under consideration now that at least one rupee per day should be paid whenever he does not get a job. So a beginning has been made for paying unemployment allowance in the Maharashtra State. Such a revolutionary step has been taken. I fail to understand why the Janata Government which is so vocal in

making promises of giving unemployment allowance to the people who are not employed does not extend this scheme of Maharashtra State, which has been operating successfully for a number of years and which has been very much praised by the international agencies, to the whole of India. Therefore, if you see to the policy, although they say in words that they want to give a rural bias which are really meant for the rural people, small farmers, landless labourers' marginal farmers etc., yet it is not at all reflected in all their deeds.

Lastly, I would like to say, Sir, that the Finance Ministry has issued a circular which shows that even for the industrial workers and the Government servants the attitude of this Government is very unfair. The Finance Secretary issued a circular on 13th May, 1977, suggesting a 10 per cent reduction in the existing sanctioned strength and another circular on 27th May, 1977, imposing a complete ban on filling up of vacancies. So instead of having more employment, the policy of the Government is to reduce employment. My submission is that if the Finance Minister is keen to have more production and efficient services, the purpose will not be served by merely issuing circulars regarding reduction in staff. They must foster a climate in which a duty-oriented society can be created and more production and employment can be generated in this country. In all these aspects, the budget is dismal. Even though they talk of workers participation and the trusteeship concept of Mahatma Gandhi, not a single word has been said by the Finance Minister in his speech about these. I, therefore, suggest that the Finance Minister should reconsider the total rural economic policy with a view to providing more finances for the rural poor so that the rural economy gets more boosting up, which is one of their aims—and it is a good aim. The rural economy should be encouraged more so that the people can get jobs. With these words, Sir, I conclude.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA (Karnataka); Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, since I have had an opportunity to speak on the general budget in which I offered my comments on the general budget I shall confine myself only to a few observations on the Finance Bill as such.

Sir, we have heard, particularly from the Congress Party, a general criticism of the budget. People who did not get an opportunity at that time have taken this opportunity to speak on the general budget. Sir, I would only like to add here that the change that the budget has proposed is in regard, to substantial allocation made for agriculture. In view of the Janata Party's manifesto, the accent is on agriculture and generation of more employment and with a view to seeing that more industrial growth takes place, they have made sufficient budgetary allotments for these. I commended this when I spoke on the budget and I do not want to repeat that again.

Sir, so far as the Finance Bill as such is concerned, I congratulate the Finance Minister on certain extra concessions he has provided after the post-budget discussions. Of course, there have been some suggestions here that the Finance Minister has given more consideration to the representations from outside rather than from the Members of this House. In fact, he has taken into consideration several suggestions which were made both in this House and the other House and if is only right that he has had an opportunity to discuss the matter with representatives of various associations, bodies and other people who are aggrieved and who are in a position to focus their particular difficulties. It is really creditable **that** some consideration has been given to them.

Sir, here I would like to mention a few matters. One is there has been a lot of criticism from the Congress Party with regard to capital gains tax. Actually, capital gains tax is not a

new thing. Relief has been provided in the earlier days also. I agree with some of my friends that capital gains are unearned which are being taxed. But the unreality of the situation existing was that for consideration of capital gains the case which was there in 1954 was taken into consideration but taking into consideration the gains in 1977, the high inflationary tendencies and the loss in the value of the rupee, this becomes unrealistic. Sometimes it might so happen that if you take the real value of the rupee into consideration, the gain will be very negligible. So, the Finance Minister has now advanced the period from 1954 to 1964. It is really something which is desirable and I support that. With regard to investment of capital gains, there was a limit of five years. So, in many cases the money was laid up for five years and was not going in for productive purposes. Now they have reduced that time-limit to thirty-six months. What is wrong in that? Also Sir, earlier, after paying the capital gains tax a person could spend his money as he liked but now, in order to get the benefit of tax you can invest the money in shares or bank deposits. And there is a prescription that it should be there for thirty-six months. This is correct and the money will go to national banks as deposits and it will be utilised for developmental purposes. There is nothing wrong in it. I cannot understand why my friends, Mr. Anandam and Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy have given notice of certain amendments knowing fully well these facts and also that their amendments knowing fully well these facts and also that their amendments cannot be accepted here. I cannot see the basis of and rationale behind some of their amendments.

So far as investment allowance is concerned, now it has been provided only for priority industries. Thirty-two industries were listed but after reconsideration of representations their number has been reduced to 29 and investment allowance will be made available only after proper investigation. This will provide for investment on industries in

backward areas and rural areas I do not think there is any thing wrong in it. I support this move.

But there is one point. The Finance Minister has considered various presentations. But I cannot understand why he could not consider so far as the basic exemption of Rs. 10,000 is concerned. When Rs. 10,000 basic exemption is provided, I cannot understand the rationale behind the tax slab starting from Rs. 8,000 when by providing exemption up to Rs. 10,000 the number of assesses and the work of the department is reduced and desirable relief has been provided. I wish he has been provided. I wish he had had taken that into consideration.

So far as wealth tax is concerned, again I find that there has been an increase. Only last year itself the high rate of wealth tax was reduced, but the present Finance Minister considered it to be unrealistic and made it one per cent more. But I cannot see the rationale behind his giving restros-pective effect to it. It has been more or less accepted as a good principle that taxation should be only prospective but in the case of wealth tax it has been made retrospective, making it effective from 1976-77 I wish this had not been done. Earlier also I mentioned that there is one difference in regard to basic exemptions provided between agricultural wealth and general wealth.

Originally, Sir, specifically a limit of Rs. 1,50,000 was provided for as exemption for agriculture but now it has been completely merged. In the case of an agriculturist, he gets a total exemption of Rs. 1,50,000, whereas a non-agriculturist gets exemption up to Rs. 1,00,000, as is normally done, for residential houses and also Rs. 1,50,000 for bank deposits and other things.

I would only request the Finance Minister to look into this and see that when the Committee goes into this matter this is also considered.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: Is it all •put together?

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA: Put together, they get exemption for Rs. 1,50,000 whereas in other cases they get an additional benefit—additional to the normal benefit. What was specifically thought of at that time for agriculture is disappearing now—I do not know whether intentionally or unintentionally; but, by the several amendments to the Finance Act last year and previous year, this is the outcome and this is the way in which assessment has taken place.

Sir, one or two other matters. One is with regard to the simplification of the tax returns and all that. I congratulate the Finance Minister for having appointed a committee to go into this matter. I do not want to go into question of the personnel of the committee, but I congratulate him that he has appointed a committee. Sir, it is all right for large business houses or people with large incomes who can have very competent auditors to look into their regular assessment problems; they would not have so much difficulty. But normally what happens is that this plethora of self-assessments create great difficulties for an ordinary man. For example, you have to pay advance tax, and the advance tax, the rest of the tax has to be paid in three instalments. Then there is the Compulsory Deposit amount which has to be paid before the 15th of March. In the case of agricultural and general income, you have to assess whether your income is going to be more than that of the last year, and if it exceeds by 20 per cent, you will have to increase the advance tax to be paid by the 31st March and then after that you have self-assessment. If there is any deviation or time-lag, you get involved in the penalty proceedings. Then the penalty proceedings will go on. So, simplification should be there. According to me, there is no need to have this advance tax. Now they have given relief for payment of advance tax in the case of non-residents. Why should it not be done in the case of residents also? For one year there might be some dim-

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culty. As soon as a return is filed—now they have the self-assessment tax or the provisional tax—let the self-assessment tax be collected and after that within a short time let them complete the assessment and whatever difference be there may be collected. This harassment of penalty proceedings, time-lag and all that is causing a problem and every time the forms are being simplified, they actually become more complicated. A previous committee went into it. If you look into the forms which you have to fill up—may be for business people, for agricultural people, for business people—you will find all sorts of complications are there. Even for filing of returns, if you have non-business income, it has to be done by the 30th of June; if you have a business income, you have to pay by the 31st of July. There is so much of confusion. I hope the Finance Minister, while going into the terms of reference of the committee, will see to it that simplification comes about so that it becomes easier for the assesseees and the whole procedure is streamlined.

Then, another thing now happening is that the Central Board of Revenue gives a target to the Commissioners, that so much tax should be collected this year, there is financial stringency, difficulty or whatever it is. Then it comes down to the Income-tax Officers. When a target is fixed it is found over-assessments have been made and then the people assesseees are asked to go in appeal. Talking of statistics, earlier at one time in a meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Ministry of Finance it was said that 70 per cent of the appeals the assesseees had won. I am not blaming the Income-tax Offi-When in a circle they say that you collect Rs. 30 lakhs before the end of 31st March, such things are bound to happen. The Income-tax Officer knows that the assessments are more; and if there is anything, he says you go in appeal. So something must be done about this. For that, as I said, you have only two taxes, first, the self-assessment tax, and then, if the

assessment is made within a short time, the balance tax, if any. Then there is so much talk about income-tax arrears which have gone up. If quick assessments are made and any person going in appeal has to pay the money before doing so, the arrears will be less. So that also should be taken into consideration. Anyway, the Finance Minister has gone out, I hope the other Minister will convey this to him.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: Shall I call him?

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA: I do not want him back now because his moving out might be because some urgent matters are beyond his control. I expect him to be back here quickly. So, I would like Mr. Bakht to convey to him.

Another thing is with regard to reduction in the rate of interest the banks pay to the depositors. For over five years they say that it will remain 10 per cent. Where it was 8 per cent earlier on three years' deposits, it has been slashed down to 6 per cent. It is very much concerned with the small depositors who deposit for less than five years. If a person deposits for three years, he gets only 6 per cent whereas it was 8 per cent. I cannot find any rationale behind it. So far as the larger investors in companies are concerned, you will find, Sir, that people can invest in what I mean safer companies just like the banks, the Tatas, the Kirloskar and others and get between 12^{1/2} per cent and 15 per cent interest for one year deposits. Then who is going to put his money in the nationalised banks? And, then, we cannot complain that the deposit mobilisation of the banks has gone down. It is a retrograde policy.

SHRI LAKSHMANA MAHA-PATRO (Orissa): Is it intentional?

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA: I do not know. If it had been the C.P.I., I would have said that it is intentional. I do not know whether it is intentional or unintentional.

On what you call the savings Bank account, the interest has been reduced from 5 per cent to 3 per cent. If you see the argument which the Finance Minister gave last time, he said that the large account holders put their money in SB accounts with cheque facilities. On SB accounts you give 5 per cent interest if you do not take the cheque facilities, and if you give cheque facilities, you give 3 per cent interest. I do not think that it is a very correct decision. If you are considering deposit mobilisation from the small sector or the middle sector to the nationalised banks, there should be higher return on their investments. Otherwise, who is going to put their money in the banks?

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD (Kerala): It would encourage people to invest in companies rather than allow their money to idle in the banks.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA: If you say that these people should also invest in companies, they cannot do so because companies will not accept deposits of less than 1 lakh or 50 thousand rupees. This hurts in the long-run the small depositors. This is a matter we must immediately go into.

I am speaking about the small people. My friend, Shri Chandra Shekhar, President of Janata Party, also spoke about it when the deposit interest was reduced. What will happen now that the interest rates have been enhanced in the case of industries, and for others it has been reduced. They get the money at 12 per cent or 11 per cent and the export-oriented ones at much less, and then the companies can accept deposits at 15 per cent for one year deposits, I cannot understand why the bank interest should be reduced from 8 per cent to 6 per cent, for even three-year deposits. Unfortunately the Finance Minister is not present here. I hope that this will be conveyed to him that some urgent consideration should be given to it, otherwise, deposit mobili-

sation in the rural areas for all the nationalised banks will surely go down. People would rather by force go to the money-lenders where they can get 10 per cent or 15 per cent interest. While trying to get more interest, they might lose the capital also. This matter also should be given utmost consideration, Sir.

Sir, so far as the tax-concessions provided for business companies on opening their businesses in rural areas are concerned, I commend them. It is very desirable aspect because till now only the Government was taking upon itself the burden of development of industries in the rural areas or the backward areas. Certain amount of pressure on the larger business houses will certainly help them and then these tax-concessions will provide that. But, Sir, I am not happy on the definition of rural areas as provided here because many Members from this side and that side have expressed their apprehension that if you say 8 km. or 15 km. as the definition of the rural areas, a person starting an industry 15 km. from Delhi or providing some social amenities in certain areas, can claim it. I hope that they have got a specified authority to go into these things. I would request the Finance Minister to look into it in such a way that the actual location of these industries and its diversification to the backward areas should definitely be in the backward areas. You give whatever additional tax concessions you want to give; I am prepared for that. But there must be some specified authority which should look into it and see that it is not misused.

Then one other matter is with regard to the amalgamation of sick and unproductive units with productive units. Some apprehensions have been expressed here that it is only the business houses which will have amalgamation with sick mills and so they will get all the benefits. My friend, an auditor of experience, Mr. Anandam, himself went on to say why the Government itself should not do it since they are going to give tax concessions by writing off the losses of

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the amalgamated firms to the extent of 65 per cent, and in any case 65 per cent of the tax is written off and it is a loss to the Government. But what has happened is, take the case of textiles and also the tea industry where corporations have been formed and they have been taken along with the public sector undertakings. There has been a further loss. It has been a burden on those companies and we always complain here that these corporations, having taken over the sick mills, have come up with losses, and it is a loss to the exchequer. This loss is made up by payment from the exchequer in toto. If you encourage or put pressure on these industries to absorb these sick industries, then though a certain amount of tax relief goes to them, at least they will be in a position to bring them up and they will improve, and they would not be a drain on the general exchequer to that extent. From this point of view, this is a welcome change. But at the same time, there were certain apprehensions about people misusing this provision through their own family business, that is deliberately trying to make an industry sick and then having it taken over by the others. **But** sufficient safeguards have been provided. They have got three safeguards. It has to be certified; it has to go through a specified authority; and a particular unit has got to be a loss-making unit. So stringent application and implementation of these safeguards, I am sure, will mitigate to a great extent any such malpractice which may come. I do not mean to say that malpractices will not be there. But the Finance Ministry has to be very vigilant about it to see that the result that they expect from this amalgamation will definitely come.

My friend, Mr. Kalyan Roy, was mentioning something about bonus shares and he said that so many companies have given bonus shares and that is affecting labour. I cannot understand the rationale behind it. Only when a company makes profit and the amount goes to the reserves, they give

bonus shares to the shareholders. That need not come in the way of bonus. The difficulty on bonus came last year because of the amendment of the Bonus Act which denied the right of the workers to a minimum bonus of 8.33 per cent and also said that bonus need not be paid when a unit did not make a profit. But I do concede one point which requires the vigilance of the Government. That is, when establishments which have not paid their provident fund, which have diverted their compulsory deposit amounts, etc., want to issue bonus shares the Company law administration—because they are the authority to sanction bonus shares—should see that such units are not allowed to issue bonus shares. But we cannot make a general accusation and say that any company which issues bonus shares is a fraudulent company. You have the Company Law administration. I certainly support Mr. Kalyan Roy's view that there must be a proper implementation and scrutiny by the Company Law administration.

Sir, I have nothing else to add. Since the Finance Minister went away when was mentioning about the bank deposit rates. I hope Mr. Sikandar Bakht will convey it to the Finance Minister. I do not think he has made any notes. I hope he is carrying it in his head.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD: He has a very good memory.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA: Mr. Kalyan Roy was commenting on that earlier. Only if the Finance Minister makes a reference to these points in his reply I will concede that Mr. Bakht has got a very good memory. Thank you.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, the Janata Government began its innings by first going to Gandhi Samadhi and taking an oath and they would like the whole world to believe that their philosophy, their whole policy, is guided by Gan-

dhian teachings and Gandhian methods and Gandhian ways. But I strongly repudiate this assertion because their policies may be anything, they are certainly not Gandhian. Their philosophy is mainly the Swatantra philosophy of which Mr. H. M. Patel, our honourable Minister of Finance, is one of the intellectuals—he used to be—and then the philosophy of the tantra, jantra and mantra. As far as the tantra, jantra and mantra philosophy is concerned, before I go to the Swatantra aspect of the Janata philosophy, I would with your permission, read out a news item from yesterdays 'National Herald' from Lucknow—showing the full faith of the Swatantra leadership and particularly of its two strong men, Shri Rajnarain and Shri Charan Singh in tan-tricks:

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda) in the Chair.

"Gonda, July 25. Purshotham Nath Kapur of Lucknow, said to be the 'tantrik guru' of some political leaders, was nabbed along with a young woman by the Chief Vigilance Inspector (Railways), Mr. P. K. Takru, on July 23, while he was travelling to Darjeeling by the 2.Dn Mail train from Bara Banki in an airconditioned coach on a card pass No. 1152 which was issued in the name of Mr. and Mrs. P. N. Kapur. The pass was found to be forged and his companion bogus. Kapur and the young woman were taken into custody and charge-sheeted for cheating the Railways."

"They were sent to the GRP lookout where search was made of their personal belongings. A bottle of foreign liquor was seized."

Now.. Sir, this is very important.

"Kapur, according to the general diary report of the GRP post, contacted Mr. Rajnarain of Delhi on phone. The Minister immediately instructed the SP (Railways) and

the Head-Constable on duty to release Kapurs on bail."

"The same evening it is reported, Mr. Charan Singh enquired about Kapurs from the Gonda GRP."

"Kapur was produced before the Railway Magistrate with his 'wife' Tara Kapur. They were released on a personal bond of Rs. 2000. Political pulls and pressures in this case have caused flutter in the rank and file of the railways."

This is the tantrik aspect of the Janata Government and in which we have seen Shri Charan Singh and Shri Rajnarain very much involved. But there is ...

श्री सिकन्दर ब्रह्म : बजट में आपने
अच्छा प्वाइंट निकाला ।

श्री प्रेम मनोहर (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
यह लखनऊ वाला वही तांत्रिक है, जो कि
इंदिरा गांधी का तांत्रिक था ।

श्री हर्षदेव मालवीय : श्रीमती इंदिरा
गांधी के साथ था या नहीं था, मैंने तो अखबार
में छपी हुई चीज पढ़कर सुनाई । इसमें
राजनारायण जी और चरण सिंह जी की
चर्चा है ।

Now, Sir, in less than four months the real character of the Janata Party is before us. Their only achievement up to-date is, they do a lot of tom-tomming about civil liberties, restoration of democracy etc. But the great achievements are the commissions of inquiry. That is number one. Any number of commissions of inquiry are appointed. Let them be blessed by those commissions. But the more important thing is that in the very first quarter of this year the price rise is about 3.4 per cent—since they have come into power. And according to Mr. H. M. Patel, our honourable Finance Minister, this increase is because of the increase in monetary supply. In the Budget, the total receipts were shown as Rs. 15,496 crores

[Shri Harsh Deo Malaviya]

and the total expenditure was shown to be Rs. 15,568 crores so that there was a deficit of Rs. 72 crores. After that certain concessions were given and finally the deficit has been increased to Rs. 93.6 crores. The Janata Government is claiming that they have succeeded in bringing down deficit financing considerably. But there are certain facts hidden and I am bringing them to the notice of the House.

The total deficit is not Rs. 93.6 crores. Actually the deficit figure is Rs. 893.6 crores. How? The Budget has provided for borrowing to the tune of Rs. 800 crores from the Reserve Bank of India against foreign exchange reserves. Any borrowing in the present situation is bound to be inflationary. The Reserve Bank foreign exchange is being built up by money sent from abroad by Indians living there. This money is bound to go into circulation. Therefore, the total deficit would be of the order of Rs 893.6 crores and not merely Rs. 93.6 crores as they claim. The Government want to borrow from the Reserve Bank of India against foreign exchange Reserves by issuing special securities. There will be an increase in the money supply. But will the production of goods increase to that extent? If they can arrange that we can expect that they will meet this deficit. But it is not likely that the production will increase to that extent.

Then there is the menacing problem of unemployment. Since many of my friends have spoken on that, I would not touch on this point. What is really needed in the present situations that there should have been a massive increase in the Plan outlay, a vigorous programme for expansion of public sector and a strategy for integrated development of agriculture and, as our other friends have pointed out, small scale industries and large-scale modern industries, and curbing of monopolies and their power to exploit the people both directly and indirectly.

Actually the Budget has provided for an increase of 27 per cent in the Plan outlay. But in real terms this increase is much less than what appears to be at the first sight because of the rising prices and so many other factors. Though according to them the increase is 27 per cent, in actual terms it will be much less and it is difficult for anybody to say what it will be considering the spiralling prices. The actual increase may only be

5 per cent as some economists say _____

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You have to wind up now.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA:
You took nearly 25 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): It is laid down that so many members from your Party want to speak.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA: I will try to be very brief. There is another aspect. This is about the incentives for rural development of which you were just now speaking. Industrialists go out with a view to encourage rural development. The Finance Minister announced certain concessions in order to encourage companies to undertake activities for rural welfare and uplift. If they incur expenditure on such programmes for rural development, then they will get certain tax concessions. You have made a very good point. They will go and build a factory eight miles this side of the city and get all these concessions. Then, Sir, there is another thing. They have been stressing the need for encouraging labour-intensive technology to boost employment opportunities. Well, the Finance Minister has provided for a 35 per cent investment allowance to encourage the use of plant and machinery by using the know-how developed in the Government laboratories, public sector units and the universities. Now, Sir, it is estimated that this would mean a gift of Rs. 213 crores—and somebody says that it is Rs. 220 crores—to the big capitalists. Now, we know how the capitalists can befriend the poli-

ticians. Viewed in this background, the situation becomes rather serious. I say this because, according to a survey conducted by "The Economic Times", there has been a 41 per cent increase in the assets of the top 20 big houses in the country. The Birlas are occupying the top position in the Indian business world with total assets of Rs. 1,065 crores and the Tatas, who have been holding an envious and pre-eminent position in the business world, are now having assets to the tune of Rs. 975 crores. The Birlas have exceeded one thousand crores and the Tatas are having now assets worth Rs. 975 crores. There are 20 large industrial houses in the country whose assets exceed a hundred crores. Now, Sir, this is the position. On an aggregate, the assets of all the 20 large industrial houses have expanded from Rs. 3,516 crores in 1970-73 to Rs. 4,696 crores and their net profits have risen from Rs. 1,431 to Rs. 2,012 crores!

SHRI PREM MANOHAR: Who is responsible for this? You are responsible for this.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA: My fear is that you are taking steps which will further help them. That is my fear.

Now, Sir, on top, of this, they are inviting the foreign investors to invest in our country. They are inviting foreign investments. Sir, there is a statement made by Shri Biju Patnaik. But I will not take the time of the House by reading it out now. I think you would have read it in the newspapers of the 25th July. Another very interesting thing is the Calling-Attention Motion which was tabled by Shrimati Sumitra Kulkarni yesterday, who has gone from our side to their side. Sir, the subject-matter of that Calling-Attention Motion is Very interesting. She wanted to call the attention of the Minister of Industry to the reported variance in the declared Industrial Policy of the Government of India arising out of the alleged acceptance of over eighteen thousands crores of foreign private investments for the setting up of three export-oriented gigantic steel plants in

the country and also allowing a multinational corporation to invest in the manufacture of radio receivers in Punjab.... (could noises heard in House) Sir, the moment I mention the word "multinational", the clouds are making the noise and there is the sound of the thunder...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You can speak about it when that Calling-Attention Motion is taken up. You now wind up, please.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA: Sir, just at the mention of the word "multinationals", the clouds will crack down upon you. That is what I wanted to say. I will now try to conclude.

The same trend no prevails, encouraging the monopoly capital and encouraging the penetration of the monopolists in the villages and encouraging the *kulaks*, completely ignoring the landless labourers. They are taking back the lands from the landless people which were given to them during the last two years Or so. This is the policy which this Government is pursuing. Then, in the field of foreign policy also, they are increasingly following the Swatantra line. You know what the Swatantra line is. You know what Mr. Morarji Desai, our revered Prime Minister, has said about Mr. Carter. Mr. Carter has spoken about armaments and about so many other things. Mr. Morarji Desai says **that** he agrees with Mr. Carter. But Mr. Carter is also building up the Diego Garcia base. Morarjibhai is in general agreement with Mr. Carter—not with the building up of Diego Garcia. But, Sir, so far as their foreign policy is concerned, today there is clearly visible a tilt towards the West. We are gradually finding the real face of "genuine non-alignment". "Genuine alignment" is really meaning more and more alignment with the western block and getting away from the position of non-alignment, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. There is **the** whole history of the non-alignment movement. But I will not take the

[Shri Harsh Deo Malaviya] time of the House to go into that. The third world, developing countries have to be closer to the socialist countries because that helps.

The whole emphasis of the Janata Party is on the change of heart. We are happy to know that our friend— Shri Mohan Dharia, our colleague and our friend I respect him— has been talking of change of heart. I do not know what actually, the theoreticians on that side — I call them five finger theorists—say that God has not made the five fingers equal and there cannot be social equality. I have heard this from the mouth of the hon. Prime Minister himself. Their whole concept is that God has made somebody poor and somebody rich because of the man's deeds or sins in his last life. This is the whole philosophy running this Government. And in such a condition how can they exercise any control over what is happening today.

You are merely a regional party. Assam, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab and Jammu and Kash. mir—nine States—are out of your hands. You are a regional party. You are trying to denigrate Nehru. You talk of Gandhiji but you do not act according to his principles. You do not realise what it is to maintain the unity of this country. Whatever you may say about the Congress, one great thing which the Congress did was to maintain the unity of this country. And, therefore, I would suggest that there is a clear need for you to revise all your policies, revise this Budget, change your policies, otherwise you are doomed and your party is doomed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Murasoli Maran. It is your maiden speech. You can take 15 minutes.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, let

me congratulate the Finance Minister for having given concessions to the extent of Rs. 21.6 crores. Sir, we expected much from the Finance Minister because this Budget happens to be the first non-Congress Budget in the history of India, even though previously Budgets have been prepared by non-Congress Ministers. But as the Finance Minister himself has confessed in his party meeting, "in a way, this Budget did not reflect the Janata Party's thinking. "Perhaps he had many constraints while preparing the Budget. The previous Government had set in motion price inflation at the annual average rate of over 12 per cent. Besides that, there was increase of 17 per cent in money supply during 1976-77. So obviously, the twin objects of the Finance Minister should have been to control inflation and, secondly, to utilise the resources in such a way as to create more employment opportunities. But I fear whether this Budget contains bold strategies to solve these problems.

Sir, let me take the issue of deficit financing. Our hon. Finance Minister says that the overall Budget deficit is about Rs. 93.6 crores. Generally what the Finance Minister tells may not happen at the end of the year. It usually happens with the 4 P.M. Finance Ministry. They give one figure now and later on naturally the figures are changed due to circumstances or due to some accounting methods. As students of economics, we all know that deficit financing takes place if the Government goes to the Reserve Bank to cover budgetary gap and draws cash balances. Secondly, it takes place by borrowings from the Reserve Bank against Treasury Bills. Thirdly, it also takes place if the Government borrows against dated Government securities. The deficit-financing materialises when the bills issued by the Reserve Bank mature either in 93 days as in the case of treasury bills or after several years as in the case of dated Government securities.

But it is said that the budget estimates exclude Reserve Bank borrowings against dated debts. This is something arbitrary and illogical. For example, let me quote Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari. While presenting his Budget in 1965, he said:

"Reserve Bank subscriptions to elated securities represent deficit-financing and that this form of borrowing must be eliminated if we are to make a decisive impact in the economy."

This is what Mr. Krishnamachari said as far back as 1965. I think that this situation still continues. While borrowing from Reserve Bank against treasury bills is considered in the traditional sense as deficit-financing, whereas borrowing against the dated Government securities are not all considered as deficit-financing. Last year, in 1976-77, the deficit-financing through borrowings against treasury bills i.e., under the restricted concepts was to the extent of Rs. 425 crores. But against the dated debts, they borrowed Rs. 740 crores. So, the total deficit-financing came to Rs. 1165 crores officially. Therefore, definitely we cannot believe if the Finance Ministry says that deficit is only Rs. 93.6 crores. It is most misleading to continue this restricted practice. That means you are revealing to the people the partial truth. This sort of thing was first exposed by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari in 1965, I think the hon. Finance Minister will throw some light on this matter

Sir, as usual, big business gets the usual concession. Now it is called 'investment allowance'. Previously, it was 'development rebate' and then 'depreciation allowance'. Last year, I think Mr. Subramaniam initiated fiscal incentives during emergency in some other name and it is continued this year also. I would like to bring this to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister. In 1967, when Mr. Booth-

lingam gave his report regarding simplification of tax structure, he recommended scraping of development rebate as it encourages "more liberal and less careful use of capital resources than otherwise". So, formerly it was development rebate. Now it has got a new name of investment allowance. Investment allowance varies with capital. The higher the capital, the larger the tax benefit. Sir, earlier there was a distinction between priority and non-priority industries in the matter of giving development rebate. I am sorry that it has now been abolished. Now the industries indulging in the manufacture of refrigerators, air-conditioners and even motor-cars are getting this investment allowance. We want growth. There is no doubt about it. But growth should be in the right direction. This kind of investment allowance induces the installation of plant and machinery that simply displaces labour. For example, our friends from West Bengal may know it better. The jute industry there got rid of about one-fifth of its labour force during the last few years. So, I think, the Finance Minister should pay more attention to this point whether this kind of investment allowance should continue for ever.

Again, Sir, preferential tax treatment is given to small-scale industries set up in rural areas. And the rural areas are given a strange definition in the Bill in the sense that they should be about 15 KMs from the local limits of the municipality, and there is a population criterion that population should be less than 10,000. But more than the population, the distance from the municipal limits is much more important. Generally, Sir, a small-scale industry or any industry for that matter is not started right in the midst of a town. Generally in the outskirts only small-scale or bigger industries are started. But in the name of rural development allowance, you are throwing open the gates of preferential tax treatment to all kinds of industries. I think the big brother,

[Shri Murasoli Maran.]

the monopolies, will come in a big way to enjoy these benefits. Moreover, the name 'rural development', I think, is a misnomer. We should call it suburban development. Sir, it is not good. We believe in geographic dispersal of industries. In fact the definition should have been different. The industry should go to the villages. Instead of municipal limits, if you said that the small-scale industries should be set up in panchayats to get this tax concession, I can understand it. Naturally, by using these allowances, they would build up the necessary infrastructure which would help again in the development of rural India. I am sorry, Sir, it has not been done. Again, Sir, regarding the rural development allowance, for the first time, the private sector is given a helping hand. It is the private sector which is now being introduced to this rural development allowance. I do not know how our private sector is going to use this facility. But we all know the history of private sector in India. It has not acted with a social conscience so far. You have given the allowance to the co-operative societies. That is good because they are part and parcel of the rural life. I do not think this kind of allowance will help the rural development. In fact the theory is that the Government should get more money from the private sector and spend it for the rural development. Now we have taken a reverse direction. I think, it will not be good ultimately.

Then, sir, comes the excise duty on bidis. I know that it has been said many a times in this House and the other House but our Finance Minister has rejected the demand to reduce the excise duty. We all know that it was first introduced in 1975 following the recommendations of the Sivaraman Committee. Sir, the Committee recommended a single point excise levy on the final product, that is, bidi, instead of the present excise levy on bidi tobacco. The Committee further re-

commended to increase the excise duty on bidis gradually and to reduce it on 'bidi tobacco so that it may be exempted fully during the next few years. But, Sir, unfortunately, what we are seeing now is something different. Now the two point levy is continued. And the Finance Minister has gone one step further in introducing a steep rise. I know most of the Janata Members had been in detention and they could have seen with their own eyes how the prisoners there in the jails would crave for a smoke of bidi. They would have sacrificed their food for getting a bidi.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE (Maharashtra):
Even a glass of milk.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: They will give everything. For the poorer sections bidi-smoking is not a luxury but it is necessity.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD:
Whatever you may say, they are not going to concede this point. They have made up their mind.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Of course, I understand that smoking should be discouraged. It has a moralistic approach. Sir, it is a big cottage industry and we should not forget that fact. Sir, there is a big anomaly here. The total amount involved in the sale of cigarettes is about Rs. 600 crores, whereas the total amount involved in the sale of bidis is less than Rs. 500 crores. For cigarettes it is Rs. 600 crores and for bidis it is only Rs. 500 crores. But excise duty on cigarettes would yield only Rs. 12 crores, whereas the proposed levy on bidis would yield Rs. 35 crores. Sir, is this not an anomaly? You have exempted the cigarette smoker and you are taxing more the bidi smoker. Sir, as I have said earlier, we should not forget that even though smoking is injurious to health, it is a big cottage industry in India. I am told, Sir, that there are five hundred thousand people fully employed in the bidi industry and 15 to 27 million people work part-time in this industry. Then, Sir, there

are nearly one million people engaged in subsidiary jobs. I am also told that out of them there are about one million people who are Adivasis or Scheduled Castes, who are engaged in this industry. Sir, in Sri Lanka, Burma and Pakistan they have understood the employment potential of this industry and they have undertaken schemes for the development of this industry. For example, in Burma the Government has set up an independent corporation to help the growth of bidi industry. For all these reasons, I would once again request the hon. Finance Minister to be considerate to the bidi industry.

Then, Sir, I come to the newspaper industry. There is one per cent excise duty. The Finance Minister has said in his Budget speech that "the small newspapers have already been exempted from this levy. It is now proposed to extend this exemption to medium newspapers also." But, in fact, it is not going to be so. For example, according to the recent notification of the Ministry it has been said that those newspapers which have a turnover of more than Rs. 35 lakhs per annum or which have a circulation of more than 50,000 copies, should pay this excise duty. I do not know what is meant by medium newspapers, according to the Finance Ministry. Sir, I should thank the Finance Minister for he has abolished the import duty on newsprint because the Janata Government fought for freedom and for the freedom of the press. So, naturally they understand the value of the press freedom. But, I would urge upon the Finance Minister to save the medium newspapers also because now the country is exploited by giant newspaper monopolists. We have seen during the emergency that it was actually the small and medium newspapers which fought for freedom more courageously and boldly than the giant monopoly newspapers, barring one or two exceptions. Therefore, now because of this one per cent levy the medium newspapers are affected. So, I would urge upon the

hon. Finance Minister to revise the definition of medium newspapers, i.e. the limit of turnover in the case of newspapers should be raised from Rs. 35 lakhs to Rs. 75 lakhs, and the limit of circulation which is 50,000 now, and not logical at all, should be raised to one lakh copies. Much depends upon the price factor. So, I would request the hon. Finance Minister to revise these limits if he wants to help medium newspapers. It does not need any amendments; just a notification will do.

Then, Sir, the celebrated move to import watches has been worrying our mind. We could not follow the logic behind it. In one way here the excise duty is levied on home-made watches but again you are allowing import of watches and you have reduced the import duty also. I do not understand the rationale behind this thing.

AN HON. MEMBER: To discourage smuggling:

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): It is to stop smuggling.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: Sir, we have our own public sector organisation for the manufacture of watches. The H.M.T. has given a plan to manufacture 7 million additional watches with Swiss collaboration, which would cost Rs. 60 crores. So, they have applied to the Finance Ministry for allocation of free foreign exchange. It is lying idle there. I would like to know from the hon. Minister what happened to that suggestion. I would say that instead of importing watches, we should grant Rs. 60 crores worth of free foreign exchange. This is my suggestion.

Sir, the other day in the Lok Sabha, the hon. Finance Minister suggested that sales-tax would be replaced by excise duty. I think it is a very dangerous suggestion. But, fortunately, he also suggested that he would consult the Chief Ministers of States. I am sure, Sir, not even a single

[Shri Murasoli Maran] Janata Chief Minister would support this view because sales-tax gives the main support to the revenue of the State. For example, 40 per cent to 50 per cent of the State's revenue comes from sales-tax alone. I can understand that for the sake of uniformity and convenience it is better to replace it by excise duty but it cannot happen because we have to bear this inconvenience to sustain our federal system and unity of the country. If that thing happens, if the Centre takes away the sales-tax also from the State Governments, then I think all the States will attain financial nirwana and they have to come here with begging bowls in their hands.

We all know, in several States, non-Janata Governments have come. For example, the Finance Minister of West Bengal, Dr. Ashok Mitra has said that if the Constitution was not amended to provide for decentralisation of the financial sources, public resentment would grow to flash-point and that if there was an explosion, neither the States nor the Centre might be spared. Sir, this is the speech of Dr. Ashok Mitra, the Finance Minister of West Bengal. When he said this, he did mean decentralisation of more powers to States and down to the Panchayats. It is not a Marxists' idea or a DMK idea; it is also the Janata idea and the Janata philosophy. I read from the manifesto of Janata Party:

"A high degree of centralisation Or the concentration of power is inconsistent with democracy. The Party, therefore, believes in a polity that ensures decentralisation of economic and political power."

Recently, Sir, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has also said:

"The Centre would handle a few subjects like international affairs and defence. With the decentralisation of powers at the Central level,

Gandhi's dream of a gram swa-rajya would come true."

This is how Mr. J. P. Narayan put it.

Now, the Finance Minister has appointed a committee on direct taxes. There are a lot of problems, financial problems, between the Centre and the States. According to the Constitution, income-tax should be shared with the States but they have just amended the Constitution. Income-tax paid by the companies is given a new name as the corporate tax and the States lose their share. Then you will have surcharge on income-tax and it cannot be shared with the States. The tax is the same, but the nomenclature is different and the States do not get a share at all. Many a State had been claiming share in the corporate tax and surcharge also. Now, as a first step in the direction of decentralisation, I request the hon. Finance Minister to refer this point also to the Direct Taxes Inquiry Committee so that those taxes are added to the divisible pool for the benefit of the States. Thank you.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION BY SHRI RAJ NARAIN

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Before I call the next speaker, Mr. Raj Narain wants to give a personal explanation to certain matters which were alleged to have been referred to here by my friend, Mr. Harsh Deo Malaviya. Mr. Raj Narain, there are a large number of speakers. I request you to be very brief.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
श्रीमन् मुझे सख्खेद कहना पड़ रहा है कि
हमारे मित्र श्री हर्षदेव मालवीय जी ने
नैशनल हेराल्ड का एक पोस्टर यहाँ कोट
किया है। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि नैशनल
हेराल्ड ने जो कुछ भी पोस्टर निकाला है,
वह बिल्कुल असत्य है वेस-लेस है। नैशनल
हेराल्ड किसका अखबार है, इसको देश में
और बाहर सब जानते हैं।