

**STATEMENT BY MINISTER CLARIFYING HIS EARLIER STATEMENT RE THE LATE DR. V. H. SHAH**

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI FAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED): Mr. Deputy Chairman Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement clarifying my earlier statement made in the Rajya Sabha on May 10, 1972, in reply to points raised by Members in connection with the case of the late Dr. V. H. Shah.

**MOTION FOR ELECTION TO THE CENTRAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR THE NATIONAL CADET CORPS:**

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I beg to move :

"That in pursuance of clause (i) of sub-section (1) of section 12 of the National Cadet Corps Act, 1948 (31 of 1948), this House do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Chairman may direct, one member from among the members of the House to be a member of the Central Advisory Committee for the National Cadet Corps."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The programme of election to the Central Advisory Committee for the National Cadet Corps will be published in the Parliamentary Bulletin.

**THE INDIAN TELEGRAPH (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1972**

THE MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA : Sir, introduce the Bill.

**THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 3) BILL, 1972**

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the consolidated fund of India for the services of the financial year 1972-73, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

This Bill provides for the withdrawal from the Consolidated Fund of India of the amounts required to meet the expenditure charged on the Fund and the grants voted by the Lok Sabha. The figures in the Bill are based on the provisions shown in the Demands for Grants and are inclusive of the sums voted 'on account' and provided for in the Appropriation (Vote on Account) Act, 1972 for expenditure during April-May, 1972.

The figures in the Bill represent gross amounts of withdrawal to be made from the Consolidated Fund of India and do not take into account the receipts or adjustments or adjustments in reduction of expenditure. The net amounts are shown in the Budget statement. A reconciliation of the gross and net figures has been given in Annexure-III in the Explanatory Memorandum.

Excluding Union payments, States' Share of Union Excise Duties and Repayment of Public Debt, which are notionally shown as expenditure 'charged' on the Consolidated Fund, the gross disbursements to be made from the Fund amount to Rs. 7755 crores. Of this, Rs. 2410 crores represent provision for Plan expenditure, including Rs. 1787 crores for outlay on the Central and Centrally-sponsored Plan. In addition to the above provision made in the Central Budget, the internal resources of public enterprises available for the Plan are estimated to be Rs. 275 crores. Other resources for the Central Plan including borrowings from financial institutions and contributions by the Reserve Bank, etc. are estimated at Rs. 245 crores. The provision for Plan outlay of the States and Union

Territories is Rs. 1666 crores, which includes Rs. 720 crores of Central assistance for State Plans. Thus, taking the Centre, the States and Union Territories together, the total provision for the Plan for the current year works out to Rs. 973 crores. This reflects a substantial increase of as much as Rs. 710 crores or 22 per cent over the last year's provision.

The non-Plan gross provisions amount to Rs. 5345 crores- Rs. 1507 crores for Defence, Rs. 356 crores for Posts and Telegraphs and the balance of Rs. 3482 crores for Civil Expenditure.

The non-Plan Civil Expenditure on Revenue Account provides Rs. 730 crores for interest charges; Rs. 303 crores for grant to State and Union Territory Governments including fixed statutory grants to States of Rs. 148 crores, Rs. 387 crores for developmental expenditure mostly for continuing schemes and maintenance and Rs. 59 crores for export promotion. Other provisions are spread over a large number of heads representing administrative and tax collection charges, Currency and Mint expenditure, food and other subsidies and other miscellaneous expenditure

The Budget includes Rs. 118 crores (Rs. 38 crores for grants and Rs. 80 crores as loan) for assistance to Bangla Desh.

On the Capital side, the non-Plan provisions comprise Rs. 566 crores for Loans and Advances to States and Union Territories including special non-Plan assistance to States for meeting gaps in resources assistance for natural calamities, short-term loans for purchase of fertilisers, etc. and loans out of small savings collections; Rs. 184 crores, for loans to others; Rs. 204 crores for schemes of Government trading, which are, in fact, more than off set by recoveries; Rs. 50 crores for Border Roads and the rest being spread over a number of heads.

As stated earlier, the Bill also provides for withdrawals of sums required for payment of States' share of Union Excise Duties amounting to Rs. 537 crores and repayment of debt amounting to Rs. 300 crores on account of the market loans that mature this year and Rs. 252 crores for

repayment of foreign loans. The provision for 'Repayment of Debt' also includes an amount of Rs. 12,003 crores to cover the entries in accounts relating to Treasury Bills which are notionally shown in the accounts as repaid and simultaneously re-invested unless they are discharged within a period of 91 days.

Other details of the disbursements have been given in the Budget documents circulated to the hon. Members. The House had an opportunity of a general discussion on the Budget. I do not, therefore, propose to take the time of the House in explaining further in detail the provisions included in the Bill.

Sir, I move.

The question was proposed.

SHRI B. K. KAUL (Rajasthan) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am constrained to make some observations in respect of this Appropriation Bill. I was expecting the hon. Finance Minister to be present here to hear my observations because my observations would be of a very technical nature.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Part of the Finance Ministry is here.

SHRI B. K. KAUL : It is true that after the Demands are passed, the Government comes before Parliament for sanction of the amounts so that the amounts could be withdrawn from the Consolidated Fund of India. This is the statutory provision as given in the Constitution in article 114(1). But I have to recall that when the question of withdrawal of money from the Consolidated Fund arose in the case of the Contingency fund, it was raised from Rs. 30 crores to Rs. 100 crores and an amount of Rs. 70 crores was withdrawn from the Consolidated Fund of India without any reference to Parliament. I do not understand how that amount could be withdrawn, when the statutory provision was there. That is the point which I want to raise before this august House. The President could legislate and through an Ordinance, he could increase the amount from Rs. 30 crores to Rs. 100 crores. That is true. But he has got no power, he has got no authority, to operate upon the Consoli-

[Shri B. K. Kaul.]

dated Fund of India. There is no power which is given by the Constitution excepting Parliament.

So how could he withdraw that Rs. 70 crores from the Consolidated fund of India? That is an enigma to me. Is it not both impolitic and unconstitutional on the part of the Government to have done or it was done that? I do not understand whether it was done through an error. But they should have come before the House to accept this omission or to explain the position as to how they could do that. Still I consider that it was a great act of sabotaging of the Constitution or the Government. It is nothing short of it. I would rather keep my self-restraint unless I hear the Finance Minister to explain this conduct. How could this money be withdrawn? Which power could authorise the Government or the President to operate upon the Consolidated Fund of India without having it passed by Parliament? This is the point which I wanted to put before the House. This is all I have to say.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH (Gujarat) : Sir, I rise to welcome the Appropriation Bill and give it my full support. I want to place some facts before the honourable House because when such an Appropriation Bill has come before the House, certain elements of the Bill require to be analysed. This is the first time in the history of planning in this country that within one year the total Central and State Plan outlay has been raised by the Finance Minister in a bold manner to Rs. 3973 crores from Rs. 3200 crores of the last year. The rise of Rs. 773 crores for public investment into useful activities of production and growth is something which is unique in this Appropriation Bill. May I, Sir, remind the honourable Members that the overall investment in the First Plan was Rs. 3500 crores in the first five years of the First Plan and the Second Plan consisted of about Rs. 5200 crores of which only Rs. 4000 crores fructified? Now, when there was a crying need in this country to banish poverty and to give a stimulus, a motivation, to all-round growth in economy in every sector. I must draw the attention of the honourable Members of the House to the large number of items to which the Finance Minister has generously allocated—

ed a massive amount of Rs. 3973 crores? There is a substantial rise of 22 per cent. It comes to almost 25 per cent really if you take away some of the shortfalls in one year. This has created an overall strategy of growth and an atmosphere and an environment in the whole country in every sector that we are really poised for growth. If growth does not take place commensurate with the investment, I may place certain elements before the House so that the Finance Minister may kindly give his attention, so that the Central Government may give its attention, to it to see that we reap the fruits of this investment. The question comes whether the disparities in income and wealth have been tried to be levelled or not because one of the massive programmes of garibi hatao or fighting poverty programme is that its positive side to growth for which increased investments in the public sector have been provided for in this Appropriation Bill. The other side is where accumulation takes place in unwanted quarters or in a few hands and that accumulation has to be levelled. I would draw the attention of the honourable Members to the first Budget and the last one. For the first time wealth-tax was stepped up to 8 per cent over and above Rs. 15 lakhs. And in four or five years if the experiment does not help reduce the disparities as we want, then a five-year capital levy may be called for so that massive capital formation or concentration of wealth which is taking place and which no law or no taxation, in my humble view, can really decimate or bring to level, can be done by operational, periodical, capital levy. But the very first act of wealth-tax being raised to 8 per cent after the massive endorsement of the mid-term poll was a concrete proof of the earnestness of this Government to move in the direction of removing concentration of wealth. In this Budget Rs. 185 crores have been stated to be raised of which the corporate sector again has been hit to the extent of 16 per cent! I wish perhaps a little more levy had been raised on the corporate sector. Even there after the withdrawal of the development rebate, it has become an obnoxious and a major instrument in the hands of industry and business to accumulate profits in a hidden manner which really took away Rs. 85 crores last year. And there the further incentive—whatever is the provision for high per cent for priority industries—

has been withdrawn by the Finance Minister.

This is a very welcome step in raising the other indirect taxes even though some of the consumer items have been hit. But I think it inescapable, barring the concession given by the Finance Minister on kerosene. Even kerosene is being misused in various ways not by the common man but by those who take advantage of the lower duty to have a duty to have a better fuel value by the method of admixture. Barring that, the indirect taxes have been good. This Appropriation Bill it therefore to be welcomed.

Our massive support of the Party is reflected in the mandate which we received in the State Assembly elections. This represents the growing urge of the people to move forward. In this connection there are some aspects which need to be looked into by the Finance Minister and the Central Government.

One is the public sector investment. Just now the Deputy Minister was pleased to say that about Rs. 285 crores are supposed to flow as resource from public sector undertakings. A massive investment of over Rs. 5,000 crores will take the public sector to the commanding heights of the Indian economy. But in my view at least a minimum of 10 per cent return from all public sector undertakings which have gone into production must be assured. For this purpose, I would suggest that there should be a Watch Dog Committee of Ministers of the Government of India. We should not merely rely on the mid-term appraisal of the Plan. There should be a monthly review of the performance of each and every public sector undertaking to find out which public sector undertaking is not performing well in terms of production, quality, economy, savings and profit. Only thought public sector investment socialism will become real and for that public sector investment should yield fruit. If the public sector investment does not yield fruit which is what the society demands, then in my view there is something wrong and those mistakes should be rectified. I would, therefore, urge the Finance Minister to see that there is individual accounting of every public sector unit irrespective of what the management thereof has

done and under which Ministry it functions. It must be in the hands of a Watch Dog Committee, not merely the Economic Committee of the Cabinet which is too big a body and it cannot go into individual performance of public sector units. The kingpin of the success of our economy and planning is the public sector first and public sector last. Public sector investment will go up to Rs. 5,000 crores from Rs. 3,973 crores next year and in the Fifth Plan the total investment will be about Rs. 50,00 crores instead of Rs. 25,000 crores of the Fourth Plan. If we do not economics in public sector undertakings, with such a massive investment we will be in trouble. The earnestness of the Finance Minister is evident and I am sure the situation will improve. But it should be further strengthened by some sort of administrative set up under which there should monthly performance audit of all public sector undertakings and erring units should be brought to book.

The second point I want to bring to the notice of this lion. House is the question of employment. When we say that the massive investment is going to produce results, we have to see whether the national wealth is being distributed equitably. Distribution of national wealth should be done in such a way that the weakest and lowest section should get the benefit of investment. Uptill now we have had Rs. 180 crores in different sectors, including Central and state sectors. But the employment opportunities are not rising. There are 5.4 million people in the labour market every year due to increase in population and as a result of more people coming within the age group seeking gainful employment. Because of these factors, the backlog is increasing rather than decreasing. Whatever may be the figures, I am not going into them. it is like attempting to count the number of pigeons in the country and saying that there are 10 millions or 20 millions. Some people say the figure of the unemployed is something like 14 millions; some people say there are 21 millions and some say there are 10 million But this is the basic fact that what comes to the labour market from working class and those who come to the age group seeking gainful employment is much larger than the number of jobs provided by the investment as worked out in the Plan.

Sir, as the House knows, the investment in the Fourth Plan is Rs. 4,980 crores and, therefore, the number of new jobs created in the overall picture is less by at least a million or a million and a half than what the new working force requires. Therefore, Sir, I would urge that a Central Ministry for Employment should be created to co-ordinate the activities of the entire employment sector throughout the country with a National Employment Board which should see that everybody gets employment and that the money is spent properly. What is the use if a boy or girl, coming from a school or college, or an uneducated man from the rural area, aged 17 or 18, cannot get a job in this country, in this large country of ours, when he thinks that he belongs to this country and when he or she considers this country to be his or her motherland? Sir, you might also have noticed. Recently, for thirty posts advertised by a public sector undertaking, there were 31,000 applications. Is it the type of country that we are living in or, is it the type of employment opportunity that we are going to create in the country where one post attracts nearly hundreds or a thousand applications? Therefore, Sir, the basic fact is that this House should be the watch-dog and there should be a Central Ministry of Employment which must see that there is a National Employment Board and there are State Employment Boards in the corresponding sector to coordinate the efforts, to co-ordinate the efforts in the rural areas. There is rural irrigation, there is rural bunding, there is field bunding, there are rural industries and there are various other things in the rural areas such as road building, house construction and the House is fully aware of the different types of activities which could give employment to the young men in the country and they can give jobs at three or four rupees a day depending on the rural area and the nature of the job. Sir, this is not something which is beyond the competence of the Government. As a matter of fact, the Central schemes have succeeded and in my opinion, they have succeeded in the rural employment sphere and there has been a success. But, Sir, the question is to integrate and mobilise the entire energy of this country and the administrative efficiency should be improved so that you are able to produce a number of jobs which should be more by one million than the present working population so

that over a period of ten or fifteen years, the scourge of unemployment, which is a criminal folly, which is a criminal waste of human energy, does not exist and is completely removed.

Sir, you will agree that lack of purchasing power is directly related to unemployment. So, if you attack unemployment, you are attacking, in my view, the major problem, the problem of poverty and poverty is the lot of the unemployed people. Therefore, I would like to tell them on. Finance Minister and the two colleagues who are sitting there that it is the primary duty of the Central Government and the Finance Ministry to see that not a rupee provided in any employment scheme remains unutilised at the end of the year and, if necessary, more money must be given later on so that the money allocated is fully spent. This can be done either by the Central Ministry of Employment and the National Employment Board that I suggested or some statutory authority at the Centre having complete control and authority to co-ordinate the efforts. There are about 1,200 different schemes running in the different parts of the country and yet, there is not a single authority who can tell you that this is the performance or achievement in the past three months or six months.

Then, Sir, there is another point which I would like to raise in the House and it is on the question of irrigation. I am more interested in the inter-State business. But, Sir, it has been my study that agriculture has so far been neglected. All the same, it is true that in the Fourth Plan it has been given the place of a prima donna. The magnum opus of the Fourth Plan, so to say, is agriculture and yet, what do we find? There is a chapter in the Plan which says that the Irrigation potential will be completely utilised in about twenty years. The document placed before us shows that at the end of the Eighth Plan we shall complete all the irrigation potential and, to my mind, this is delaying too much and the investments proposed should be really expedited. I can tell you, Sir, that Rs. 948 crores has been provided for in the Fourth Plan for irrigation. My suggestion is that the honourable Finance Minister must have an "Open Budget Policy", as it is called in some of the Western countries and wherever there is

an irrigation project which is likely to be completed earlier and requires some more investment, do not hold it up or hold up or hold up the progress of the work only because there the investment is more or larger than the original estimate. This is my suggestion. My feeling is that we can telescope the schemes under the different Plans and over a period of the next ten years we can utilise the entire irrigation potential in the country. We have got 158 million hectares of land of which 82 million hectares are irrigated and, according to a survey of the Central Water and Power Commission, out of these 82 million hectares, we have covered only 36 million hectares and 44.9 million hectares are still uncovered and 11 million hectares irrigated with the ground water and 38 million hectares with surface water. The total land, the 82 million hectares of land, is a national wealth.

Sir, there is no investment with the shortest gestation period other than irrigation. Investment in irrigation means that one rupee of investment today would yield in one and a half years, one and a half rupees extra. \* That is the experience of agricultural friends who are interested in it. I myself held charge of agriculture in my State when I was a Minister there. I could see that nothing pays you better dividends and returns than an investment in irrigation—minor irrigation, medium irrigation, and major irrigation. I am not an iconoclast who believes in minor irrigation. Without major irrigation, there is no irrigation. There should be an integrated approach in this matter. The major, the medium and the minor irrigation should move together. I would earnestly request my friend, Mr. Ganesh, to see to it. As a matter of fact, the primary stimulant should be here that NagaJinasagar, Rajasthan Canal, Gomtar, Brahmaputra, Karbada, Ravi, Japti can be finished earlier. They should be allowed to be finished earlier.

I may say with all the humility at my command and with all the experience I have gained that money invested in irrigation is not going to cause any inflation because of the smallest gestation period.

The fourth point that I would like to urge is about the time taken on taking decisions. It is our experience that it

generally takes two years for getting an import licence and two and a half years for an industrial licence. In a poor country, money is money and investment is investment. But the time is a greater investment than anything else. A decision must be taken promptly. I don't plead that you may say 'yes' to everything, because no administration can do that. I don't plead that you may say 'no' to everything. A negative mind always says 'no', and a Government office first tends to say 'no', then under pressure it says 'yes'. Of course, you need not say 'yes' in every case. But if you take a decision in time, then you will have multiplied with the smallest investment—multiplied in such a big way that the smallest investment would produce the largest amount of service and goods and the largest amount of various types of benefits that are very necessary.

Lastly, Sir, I come to the nationalized banks. Gunnar Myrdal was at pains to say that in poor countries the rate of capital formation is poor. He also talks of investment. It is true that direct capital investment is rather difficult in a poor country. But credit is a tool of growth. The nationalised banks have collected a massive deposit of Rs. 8,900 crores, which is likely to go up to Rs. 10,000 crores next year. Sir, a very large proportion of it should go to small industries, to the small farmers and craftsmen. Policies have been enunciated in the Consultative Committee. I asked this question and the hon. Finance Minister was pleased to say that he is doing his best. I would suggest that a more dynamic approach should be made to see that credit is mobilised—from the public sector and the private sector—for smallscale sector in agriculture, industry and for other types of jobs, so that a million of people can employ and use this.

Lastly, Sir, I extend my support to the Appropriation Bill, because I consider it to be a historic one. I believe that a very right step has been taken by the Finance Minister to provide for a large amount of investment. I would like to urge upon him that the price stability must be kept in view. An investment, if it not properly looked after, is a non-productive investment and is inflationary. A productive investment is generally non-inflationary, and a

[Shri Manubhai Shah]

real investment is anti-inflationary. Therefore, the Finance Minister should keep a watch that erosion of income to the poor people does not take place, that while what you give with the right hand you do not take away with the left hand. Robbing Peter to pay Paul is not the thing we want. Stability of prices must be maintained, particularly of 30 essential consumer goods which into the budget of the common man and the poor man. That has to be maintained by some special devices for which I need not take the time of the House to explain. We have debated this on many occasions. It can be debated again. But it is necessary to maintain the price stability and particularly the price stability without hurting the producer in the agricultural sector. Merely cutting down the prices of foodgrains you are not going to have price stability. You can do this by buffer stock operations, releasing buffer stock when there is a higher price, and buying over the foodgrains and crops from the farmers when the prices are falling so that the farmer who is the real kingpin of the entire national economy is preserved, and at the same time the consumer is not affected.

With these words and observations I give full support to the Appropriation Bill which will help remove poverty; Garibi Hatao has also been attempted in it and further steps are taken both for garibi hatao and amiri hntao.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The first speaker after lunch will be Shri Jagdish Prasad Mathur, The House stands adjourned till 2.00 p. m.

The House adjourned for lunch at one of of the clock.

The House reassembled, after lunch, at two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (राजस्थान) :  
उपसभापति महोदय, इस वर्ष का विनियोग विधेयक भी जिस रूप में प्रस्तुत हुआ है। और गत वर्ष भी विनियोग विधेयक और बजट जिन परिस्थितियों में उपस्थित हुआ था, तब सरकार की ओर से एक ही तर्क दिया

गया था कि हमको जनता की ओर से प्रचंड बहुमत मिला है, एक मासिंह मैन्डेट मिला है, जिसके आधार के ऊपर जनता द्वारा दिए गए निर्देशनों का पालन करने की दृष्टि से हम यह बजट लाये हैं और इस विनियोग विधेयक द्वारा जिस राशि को खर्च करने का अधिकार हम सरकार को देने वाले हैं, उसमें उपसभापति महोदय, मेरी प्रथम आपत्ति तो यह है कि जिस मासिंह मैन्डेट की सरकार चर्चा करती है वह मासिंह मैन्डेट सरकार को नहीं है। लोक सभा के मध्यावधि चुनाव भी और विधान सभा के चुनाव भी जिस रूप में हुए हैं उसमें एक ओर सरकार थी और एक तरफ जनता थी और सरकारी माधनों का खूब कर प्रयोग किया गया। जिस विभाग के लिए आज हम इस विनियोग विधेयक से कुछ राशि स्वीकृत करने जा रहे हैं उसमें सरकार का प्रचार विभाग है, वह आल इंडिया रेडियो हो, टेलिविजन हो, फिल्म डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन हो, यह तमाम इस प्रकार का विभाग है जिसका उपयोग सरकारी विभाग के नाते से न कर के कांग्रेस पार्टी के विभाग के नाते से उपयोग किया गया है। आज कांग्रेस के एक विभाग के लिए हम विनियोग विधेयक द्वारा किसी राशि का प्रावधान करें या न करें, यह एक विचारणीय विषय है। उपसभापति महोदय आज सारे देश में एक चर्चा का विषय है कि जिसे आल इंडिया रेडियो कहते हैं यह आल इन्दिरा रेडियो है। इस सम्बन्ध में अगर सरकार ने विचार नहीं किया...

श्री ए० जी० कुलकर्णी : (महाराष्ट्र) अरे आपका भी रेडियो जनसंघ निकालने वाला है।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : सरकार ने अगर जनतंत्र का इसी प्रकार उपयोग किया...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: It will be Vajpayee Radio.

SHRI B. T. KEMPARIJ (Mysore): Mathur Radio.

**जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर :** तो इस देश में प्रजातंत्र को बचाने के लिए हमको भी कुछ कदम उठाने पड़ेंगे। इस नाते से मैं मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करूंगा कि जब वे अपने आपको प्रजातंत्र का हामी कहते हैं तो इस संस्था के लिए राशि विनियोजित करने से पहले वे इस पर विचार करें कि जो सुझाव थे इसको ऑटोनामेस बोर्ड बनाने के लिए उस दृष्टि से अब तक सरकार ने कोई कदम नहीं उठाया। विभिन्न राजनीतिक दलों की बारबार इसके सम्बन्ध में आपत्ति आती है। हिन्दुस्तान का कोई भी विरोधी दल ऐसा नहीं है, सी. पी. आई की तो मैं कह नहीं सकता क्योंकि वह और सत्तारूढ़ दल एक हैं, लेकिन बाकी सारे दलों ने इस पर गम्भीर आपत्ति की है और इस नाते से इसके लिए विनियोजित राशि पर हमको गम्भीर आपत्ति है।

दूसरी संस्था वह है जिसने चुनाव करवाए। चुनाव कराने वाले इलेक्शन कमीशन ने कांग्रेस पार्टी के कार्यालय के रूप में काम किया है।

**श्री कल्याण चन्द (उत्तर प्रदेश):** वोट जनता ने दिया।

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर:**—दोनों हाउसेज की एक जोइन्ट सेलेक्ट कमेटी बनी थी और उसने भी इस सम्बन्ध में विचार किया, उसने सुझाव भी दिए, जिस प्रक्रिया के आधार के ऊपर भारत की सर्वोच्च संस्था संसद का निर्माण होता है उस प्रक्रिया में जब दोष है तो उसके आधार पर किया गया कोई भी काम तब तक निष्पक्ष नहीं होगा जब तक हम उस प्रक्रिया को ही नहीं सुधारते। दोनों हाउस की जोइन्ट सेलेक्ट कमेटी ने सुझाव दिया कि लिस्ट सिस्टम को इंट्रोड्यूस करने के लिए एक एक्सपर्ट कमेटी बनाई जाय और देश के अन्दर देखा जाय कि किस प्रकार से निष्पक्ष चुनाव हो सकते हैं। तो इस इलेक्शन कमीशन पर होने वाले खर्च के सम्बन्ध में हमको गम्भीर आपत्ति है। जब तक सरकार इस व्यवस्था को जो दोषपूर्ण व्यवस्था है, जो ठीक ढंग से चुनाव का संचालन

नहीं कर सकती, चुनाव के पहले से ही चाहे काउंटिंग का काम हो, वैलेट पेपर पर सील लगाने का काम हो, हस्ताक्षर का काम हो, हर मामले में सत्तारूढ़ दल से इन्स्ट्रक्शन्स लेकर मनमाने ढंग से काम करती है...

**श्री कल्याणचन्द्र:** बिहार के इलेक्शन के बारे में क्या कहते हो ?

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर:** मैं नहीं कहता इलेक्शन कमीशन की रिपोर्ट पढ़कर देखो, कांग्रेस को 50 परसेंट से ज्यादा वोट नहीं मिले, कांग्रेस बहुमत से जीत प्राप्त नहीं कर सकी, जो तरीका है, सिस्टम है उसके कारण आप सत्ता में बैठे हैं, आपको वोटों का कम प्रतिशत मिला है, अल्पमत मिलने के बाद भी आप सत्ता में बैठे हैं। इसी लिए हमने कहा कि जनता के मतों की झलक संसद में होनी चाहिए। इस विधेयक में उस के लिए जो कुछ है उसला सही उपयोग नहीं किया गया। इलेक्शन कमीशन ने कांग्रेस के कार्यालय के रूप में काम किया। उसमें परिवर्तन करना आवश्यक है। इस विधेयक के द्वारा जो राशि इसके लिए रखी जा रही है उसका कोई उपयोग नहीं।

चुनावों के पहले जो सत्तारूढ़ दल की ओर से 'गरीबी हटाओ' का नारा दिया गया था उसके बाद गरीबी कितनी हटी, कितनी नहीं हटी लेकिन जो गरीबी का कन्सेप्शन था वह हट गया है, वह बदल गया है। चुनावों के पहले सब जगह गरीबी की बात करते रहे क्योंकि गरीबी हट नहीं सकती...

**श्री कल्याण चन्द :** काम हो रहा है।

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर:** आपकी समझ की बात नहीं है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, गरीबी का कन्सेप्शन बदल गया है। प्रधान मंत्री जी के लिए दुनिया में ऐसा कोई देश नहीं जिसमें गरीबी न हो, वे कहती हैं कि लोगों का गरीबी का दृष्टिकोण बदल गया है, साइकिल वाला, मोटरकार वाले को देखता है, मोटरकार वाला



एरोप्लेन वाले को देखता है, झोपड़ी वाला महल वाले की ओर देखता है। लोग उनकी सभाओं में ज्यादा संख्या में आते हैं, रंगबिरंगे कपड़े पहन कर आते हैं इसे वे लोगों की खुश-हाली का नमूना बताती है, लेकिन मैं बता दूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में गरीबी की क्या स्थिति है। इंडियन स्कूल आफ पोलिटिकल इकोनोमी ने एक स्टडी की है उस स्टडी का एक पोर्शन मैं आपके सामने कोट करता हूँ :

"During the past decade, the per capita private consumer expenditure increased by

अब इस सम्बन्ध में माननीय मंत्री महोदय का कन्सेप्शन तो बदल गया है, लेकिन गरीबी नहीं बदली, गरीबी की हालत में कोई बदल आया हो ऐसी बात नहीं। दुनियाँ को धोका देने के लिए आज गरीबी का कन्सेप्शन बदलने की बात कह कर चुनावों में जो बात कही थी उसे बदलने की बात की जा रही है। इस तरह से बदलने मात्र से, कन्सेप्शन बदल कर दुनियाँ के सामने रखने मात्र से यह काम चलेगा नहीं।

उपसभापति महोदय, हम इस विधेयक के द्वारा जो राशि खर्च करने जा रहे हैं और उस विशेष तौर से जो बात बार बार कही जाती है और रोजगार की हालत जिस प्रकार की है कुलकर्णी जी मानेंगे कि रोजगार के सही आंकड़े सरकार ने पिछली बार देने की हिम्मत नहीं की कि कितने अनएम्प्लायड देश के अन्दर हैं। आखिर सरकार ने उनके आंकड़े देने की हिम्मत

less than half a per cent per annum. Moreover, the small gains have not been equitably distributed among all sections of the population. The conditions of the bottom 70 per cent rural poor has remained more or less stagnant. The condition of the bottom 20 per cent urban poor has definitely deteriorated and for another 20 per cent of the urban population, it has remained more or less stagnant. Thus, while the character of rural poverty has remained the same the character of urban poverty has deepened."

क्यों नहीं की। इसका मतलब यह है कि आप के सारे प्रयत्नों के बावजूद आज देश में बेरोजगारी बढ़ती जा रही है। इस नाते से जो रोजगार मंत्रालय है उन्होंने कहा था कि हमने एक एक्सपर्ट कमेटी बैठाई है। उन्होंने अपनी इंडीम रिपोर्ट फरवरी में प्रस्तुत कर दी। अभी वह रिपोर्ट सदन के सामने नहीं आई है। हमारे एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज के अन्दर बढ़ती हुई जो बेकारों की संख्या है वह स्वयं इस बात का प्रमाण है कि हमारे देश में बेरोजगारी बढ़ती जा रही है। लोगों के अन्दर जो गरीबी थी उसमें अभी तक किसी प्रकार का कोई अन्तर नहीं आया है और गरीबी दूर नहीं हुई है। इसके साथ ही बेरोजगारी रोकने में हमारी सरकार सर्वथा असफल रही है।

आज सरकार सेल्फरिलायस की बात करती है। जनसंघ ने भी सेल्फरिलायस की बात की और हमने भी वैकल्पिक रूप से एक स्वदेशी प्लान सरकार के सामने प्रस्तुत किया जिससे 10 पर-सेंट ग्रोथ बढ़ सकती थी। लेकिन आज जनसंघ आर्थिक दृष्टि से भी यदि कोई बात कहे तब भी हमारे कुलकर्णी जी कहेंगे कि जनसंघ सांप्रदायिक है। इससे काम नहीं चलेगा। आज जो हमारे देश में अनएम्प्लायड लोगों की हालत है जब तक उसपर हम गंभीरता से विचार नहीं करेंगे तब तक हमारे देश में कोई विशेष सुधार होने वाला नहीं है।

हमारी योजना का जो दृष्टिकोण है वह यह है कि 1980-81 तक हम बिल्कुल आत्मनिर्भर हो जायेंगे। इसका अर्थ यह है कि उस समय तक हम विदेशी पूँजी लेंगे और आने वाले आठ सालों तक हम विदेशी पूँजी पर निर्भर रहेंगे। इसके साथ साथ अभी जो 1980-81 तक आत्मनिर्भरता की बात कही जाती है, 1980, 81 में जब यह प्रश्न उठेगा तब पता नहीं सरकार क्या कहेगी, अभी यह कहना संभव नहीं है। और उस समय कह सकते हैं कि परिस्थितियाँ बदल गयीं, देश के हालात नहीं सुधरे और इस

कारण से हमको पुनः विदेशों की ओर देखना पड़ेगा। इस नाते में एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि हमारी पूँजी का जो निवेशन कर रहे हैं, हमारी पूँजी का जो नियोजन कर रहे हैं उसमें हम देखें कि आज हमारी सरकार के ऊपर विशेष रूप से साम्यवादी दलों की ओर से एक प्रभाव पड़ रहा है और उसके नाते हम केवल राष्ट्रीयकरण की बात कह रहे हैं और आज तो मुझे लगता है कि इस सारी स्थिति को बचाने के लिए एक नया नारा दिया गया है जिस को सारे देश में चर्चा का विषय बना दिया गया है। कोई बहुत बड़ा प्राबल्य नहीं था लैंड का, लेकिन नारा दिया गया है कि लैंड की अखन और रूरल सीलिंग होनी चाहिए और इस बारे में एक बहुत बड़ी चर्चा देश में प्रारम्भ की गयी। ऐसा लगता है मानो देश की सारी गरीबी और अनइंफ्लायमेंट का अगर कोई इलाज सरकार ने ढूँढ कर निकाला है तो वह लैंड सीलिंग ही है। अगर लैंड सीलिंग लोअर हो जायगी तो सारी बीमारियों का इलाज हो जायगा। इसमें कितनी जमीन सरकार को मिलेगी इसका कोई हिसाब नहीं है और अलग अलग प्रान्तों के जो आँकड़े आये हैं, मैं अपने प्रान्त राजस्थान की बात कह सकता हूँ हमारे जो मंत्री ये इस विभाग के उन्होंने कहा राजस्थान में कि इसका कोई असर होने वाला नहीं है। लैंड जो भी वह पहले ही डिस्ट्रिब्यूट हो चुकी है। आप ने 18 एकड़ की जो बात कही है उसमें एक ईंच जमीन भी राजस्थान में आपको मिलने को नहीं है। अभी जो कांग्रेस का अधिवेशन हुआ था, कांग्रेस के मुख्य मंत्रियों का, उसमें उनके महामंत्री ने कहा कि हम आगामी 15 अगस्त, 1973 तक गाँवों में जो मकान विहीन लोग हैं उनको मकान देंगे। हम कहते हैं कि आप कम से कम एक बायदा तो करे कि आगामी 15 अगस्त तक सरकार की जो परती भूमि है वह आपके हाथ में है, उसके लिए कोई जमींदार या कोई किसान आड़े आने वाला नहीं है, उसके लिए भी क्या आप यह लक्ष्य निर्धारित नहीं कर सकते कि हम आगामी

15 अगस्त तक या किसी 15 अगस्त तक युद्ध-स्तर पर काम करके सरकार की परती भूमि का आवंटन कर देंगे। लेकिन उपाध्यक्ष महोदय ऐसा लगता है कि केवल राजनीतिक नारेबाजी के आधार पर यह किया गया है और इसका कोई अर्थ नहीं है, इससे कोई जमीन मिलने वाली नहीं है। अगर इसका यह आधार हो कि प्रोडशन ज्यादा बढ़े तो ठीक है, हम सीलिंग के विरोधी नहीं हैं। भारतीय जनसंघ तो अपने प्रारम्भिक काल से ही, जब जनसंघ का निर्माण हुआ था, जमीन के मामले में सीलिंग का कभी विरोधी नहीं रहा। जमीन में उपजाऊपन हो, उसमें ज्यादा उपज हो, इस नाते हमने सदा ही सीलिंग का समर्थन किया है और कांग्रेस में ऐसे लोग हैं कि जो इस का विरोध करते हैं। हमने तो अपने राजस्थान में 6 लोगों को 1952 में इसलिए निकाल दिया था कि हमारी जो लैंड पालिसी थी, जो हमारी जमींदारी एवालिशन की पालिसी थी, जिसका हमने समर्थन किया था, उसमें वह हमारे नाथ नहीं आये और उन्होंने उसमें हम को वोट देने से इन्कार किया। इस लिए हमने उन लोगों को अपनी पार्टी से निकाल दिया। तो हम सीलिंग के विरोधी नहीं हैं, लेकिन आप की नारेबाजी के साथ हमने कहा कि आप इन्कम की सीलिंग करो। दो हजार तक की इन्कम या 1,20 या 1,10 का रेश्यो बाँधो और की जो स्वमपेडिचर की सीमा है उस लोगों पर आप रोक लगाओ। यह हमने स्पष्ट रूप से कहा है और उस पर कार्य करने की दृष्टि से आपने कौनसा कदम उठाया। आप कोई कदम उठाने को तैयार नहीं हैं। सीलिंग के सम्बन्ध में गाँव के आदमी के लिए हमने उसकी इन्कम का आधार बनाने को कहा, 1500 रुपये महीने की इन्कम के लिए उसको आधार बनाकर जितनी जमीन आवश्यक हो उसके आधार पर सीलिंग की जाय ताकि पता लग सके कि एक गाँव के आदमी को आप कितना बाँधना चाहते हैं, और उसको कितना खपना चाहते हैं। इस बारे में आपको कोई निर्णय करना होगा क्योंकि इस आधार पर हम ने इस से 18 एकड़

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]

तक की सीलिंग मानी है। अब सरकारी साधनों से सिंचित भूमि, गैर सरकारी साधनों से सिंचित भूमि, इस मुख्य मंत्री की यह राय, उस मुख्य मंत्री की यह राय, और उसको एक विवाद का विषय बनाकर सारे देश में एक अनिश्चितता का वातावरण पैदा करना, यह सब जो सरकार ने किया यह मैं समझता हूँ कि उचित नहीं है, क्योंकि ग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन की बात कहने मात्र से ही पूरी नहीं हो सकती है। ग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन हुआ है कुछ इलाकों में सारे देश के अन्दर ग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन नहीं हुआ है। सब स्थानों पर किसानों को समान सुविधायें भी नहीं मिलीं और आप ने तो किसानों के ऊपर भी इस बजट में, इस साल के दौरान कुछ टैक्स लगाये हैं। खाद पर, मिट्टी के तेल पर टैक्स लगाया है और यह सब किसानों के काम में आने वाली चीजें हैं। उन पर भी टैक्सेशन हुआ है। किसान को अधिक अन्न उपजाने की दृष्टि से कोई प्रेरणा आपने दी है इस विधेयक के द्वारा और अपने बजट के द्वारा ऐसा कुछ लगता नहीं।

मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय देश की सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से काफी चर्चा कल हो चुकी है, लेकिन एक बात विशेष तौर से मैं कहना चाहूँगा और वह यह है कि जहाँ पर हम शिखर वार्ता के लिए जाने वाले हैं, हमारे विदेश मंत्री महोदय ने सदन में कहा कि हम वहाँ किस बात पर चर्चा करना चाहते हैं इस बात को देश के इंटरेस में हम बताना नहीं चाहते लेकिन एक बहुत बड़ा प्राबल्य है जो देश का नहीं है और इस नाते सरकार के विचार में वह आया भी नहीं है। एक लाख शरणार्थी उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर बैठे हैं और वह इसलिए नहीं आये कि यहाँ वे अपनी मर्जी से आये हैं। हमारी सेनाओं ने पाकिस्तान पर आक्रमण किया और उस आक्रमण के समय जो सिंध का इलाका या छाछरो और नगारपारकर उस इलाके से एक लाख के लगभग लोग अभी तक हिन्दुस्तान में आये और उनके आने का कारण स्वयं सरकार

को पता है। उन आये हुए लोगों में से लगभग 60 लोगों को हमारी मिलिटरी ने सर्टिफिकेट दिया है कि उन लोगों की वजह से हम ने सिंध के इलाके पर विजय प्राप्त की है। जो शरणार्थी बंगला देश से आये थे उनकी सहायता के लिए सारे सदन ने और देश ने पूरा सहयोग दिया, सिंध से जो लोग आये हैं, जिन्होंने वहाँ हमारी फौजों को बढ़ने में सहयोग दिया, मदद दी, जिन के कारण छाछरो पर हमारा तिरंगा फहराया और वहाँ राजस्थान के मुख्यमंत्री ने जाकर घोषणा की कि अब आप मुक्त हो गये हैं, आप आजादी की साँस ले रहे हैं, आज सरकार क्या उन के बारे में विचार करेगी। वे अब हिन्दुस्तान में आ गये हैं, यहाँ रह रहे हैं। उन लोगों को अगर हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं रोका गया और अगर उनको पाकिस्तान में धकेला गया तो वह उनको मौत के मुँह में धकेला जाना होगा। जिन लोगों को हिन्दुस्तान की मिलिटरी ने यह सर्टिफिकेट दिया है कि इन लोगों की बदौलत हम लोगों ने इस इलाके में कब्जा किया उनको आप पाकिस्तान में धकेल देंगे तो सिवाय मौत के और कुछ उन्हें मिलने वाला नहीं है। तो इस बारे में आपको निर्णय करना है। समिट कांफ्रेंस होगी और सरकार कुछ निर्णय करेगी लेकिन तात्कालिक दृष्टिसे इस विनियोग विधेयक के अन्दर इसके लिये कोई प्रावधान नहीं दिखाई देता है कि जो एक लाख लोग आये हैं उनके लिये क्या व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं। आजकल बड़ी गर्मी है, दिल्ली के अन्दर टेम्परेचर बहुत ज्यादा हो गया है, दिल्ली के अन्दर बहुत गर्मी पड़ रही है लेकिन राजस्थान के रेगिस्तानी इलाके में, बाडमेर जिले के अन्दर और खास तौर से जो कच्छ का इलाका है उसके अन्दर जो शरणार्थी बैठे हुये हैं उनके लिए सिर छिपाने की भी कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है, कोई तम्बू नहीं है और उन लोगों को पीने का पानी भी नहीं मिलता है और लाखों लोगों की हालत बहुत ही खराब हो रही है और, उपसभापति महोदय, आपसे मैं निवेदन करूँगा कि उन एक लाख लोगों में से 40 परसेंट लोग हरिजन हैं, पिछड़ी जातियों के

लाग हैं, जो कि वहां चल कर आये हैं। तो इन लोगों के लिये व्यवस्था करने की दृष्टि से मैं सरकार से, वित्त मंत्री महोदय से, कहूँगा कि इनकी व्यवस्था करना आपकी जिम्मेदारी है और सरकार ने अपने विनियोग विधेयक में इनके लिये कोई प्रावधान नहीं किया है। मैं चाहूँगा कि इस सम्बन्ध में पूरा पूरा प्रावधान करे और जो भी शरणार्थी हैं उनकी पूरी देखभाल करे, गर्मी का मौसम है, वहां हैजा फैल सकता है लेकिन वहां मेडिकल सहायता का कोई इंतजाम नहीं है। इन शरणार्थियों में मेडिकल इंजीनियरिंग कालेजों के स्टूडेंट्स भी हैं उनकी पढ़ाई के लिये आज कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। सरकार उनके लिए स्कूल खोलने को तैयार नहीं है, हिन्दुस्तान के मेडिकल कालेज और इंजीनियरिंग कालेज के अन्दर उन्हें दाखिला देने की कोई व्यवस्था सरकार ने नहीं की है। इस नाते से वे लोग हताश हैं और निराश हैं और वह समझते हैं कि कहीं हमें पाकिस्तान में न धकेल दिया जाय। तो हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार क्या निर्णय करने वाली है। आप व्यवस्था के नाते से, अपनी नीति के नाते से, कोई घोषणा कर सकते हैं तो इतनी घोषणा मैं जरूर कराना चाहूँगा कि सरकार कम से कम उनके लिये तात्कालिक व्यवस्था अवश्य करेगी कि वह परेशान न हों। इस नाते से आप जरूर कोई व्यवस्था इस अंतरिम काल के लिये करें, जिस प्रकार से बंगला देश से आये हुए शरणार्थियों के लिये की गई थी उसी प्रकार से उनके लिए व्यवस्था की जाय।

**श्री उपसभापति :** और कितना समय लेंगे।

**श्री जनश्री प्रसाद माथुर :** दो मिनट में समाप्त करूँगा।

उपसभापति महोदय, एक और बहुत बड़ा खतरा अपने देश के अन्दर है और विशेष तौर से कांग्रेस और सी. पी. आई. का जो गठबन्धन हुआ है उससे आया है। यह खतरा देश के अन्दर है और विशेष तौर से प्रधान मंत्री को, जिस

प्रकार से उनकी पर्सनाल्टी को, डेवलप किया गया है वह भी हमारे सामने है। कुछ बंगला देश के युद्ध के कारण से भी हुआ है लेकिन आज जिस रूप से हमारे देश के सामने एक दो शक्तियों का मिलाजुला गठबन्धन है, वह एक बड़ा खतरा है। सी. पी. आई. अपने हिन्दुस्तान की पार्टी नहीं, एक अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय संगठन के अंग के नाते से आज सी. पी. आई. काम कर रही है और लगता है, उपसभापति महोदय, कि आज हर बात के लिए, हर स्थिति के लिए हमारी हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार रूस की ओर देखती जा रही है। रूस के ब्रेजनेव साहब ने कहा कि एशियन सिक्योरिटी पैक्ट होना चाहिये और हिन्दुस्तान ने उस सम्बन्ध में, हमारे विदेश मंत्री ने उस सम्बन्ध में, तुर्गन्त घोषणा कर दी, उसका स्वागत करने के लिए घोषणा कर दी लेकिन आज दक्षिण पूर्वी एशिया के देशों में, उनके मन में, हमारी रूस के साथ जो ट्रीटी है उसके प्रति भी शंका है, वह समझते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान रूस के रास्ते पर जा रहा है, हिन्दुस्तान रूस के दबाव में है, रूस अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नीति में हिन्दुस्तान को एक मुहरे के रूप में प्रयोग करना चाहता है। यह आशंका है। युद्ध के दिनों में हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार चीन और अमेरिका के दबाव में बिल्कुल नहीं आई, उसके लिए हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार धन्यवाद की पात्र है। अमेरिका और चीन का दबाव जिस प्रकार से अपने ऊपर नहीं हुआ, अमेरिका और चीन के दबाव को जिस प्रकार से आपने झेला उसी प्रकार से रूस के दबाव में आपको नहीं आना चाहिए, रूस जो बात कहता है उसमें नहीं आना चाहिए और विशेष तौर से सी. पी. आई. और कांग्रेस का जो संगठन हुआ, जो गठबन्धन हुआ, उसके कारण खतरा सामने आता है एक प्रकार से जो देश के अन्दर सीलिंग की बात की जाती है तो सी. पी. आई. ने इसके बारे में छोटे छोटे टुकड़े करने की बात की है। वह इस तरह की बात करते हैं। मुझे लगता है कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की नीति है कि चूंकि छोटे किसान आज ट्रैक्टर नहीं रख सकते तो फिर उनको कोआप-

[ श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर ]

रेटिव फार्मिंग में लायेंगे और उसके बाद क्लेक्टिव फार्मिंग में लायेंगे और फिर सारा सरकार का हस्तक्षेप हो जायगा, सारा कुछ सरकार के नीचे चला जायगा, यह सी. पी. आर्डी की आइडियालाजी है जिसको रूप के दबाव के आधार पर, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नीति के नाते से, वह करना चाहते हैं।

सीलोन के बारे में अभी कल ही इस सदन में चर्चा हुई और कहा गया कि जो विदेशी शक्तियों के जहाज हिन्दुस्तान का जो ओशन है, इण्डियन सी है उसको अपना अड्डा बना रही हैं। हमने अमरीका का विरोध किया, बहुत अच्छी बात है, लेकिन सीलोन ने एक प्रस्ताव रखा यू. एन. ओ. के अन्दर कि इसको बिलकुल हैक पीस का इलाका बनाया जाए, हिन्दुस्तान को उसका समर्थन और सहयोग जरूरी है लेकिन इस नाते से कोई ऐसा काम, कोई ऐसा प्रयत्न, हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार की ओर से नहीं हुआ और इससे हमको लगता है कि हिन्दुस्तान ने कुछ जो प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त की थी, युद्ध के बाद उस प्रतिष्ठा का उपयोग आज रूस अपने लाभ के लिए लेना चाहता है। मैं हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार से निवेदन करूंगा कि हमारा विदेश मंत्रालय रूस का विभाग बन कर नहीं रह जाए, विदेश विभाग के ऊपर के विनियोग विधेयक के द्वारा जिस राशि को खर्च करना चाहते हैं उसके लिए मैं विदेश विभाग से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे एक स्वतंत्र नीति अपनाएं, उसी से हिन्दुस्तान का सम्मान बढ़ेगा। पिछले युद्ध के दिनों अमरीका का जो हमारे ऊपर दबाव पड़ा और उसने जो हमको शिकंजे में कसना चाहते उसके बारे में आपने जो नीति अपनाई, मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूँ, उसका हम स्वागत करते हैं, लेकिन हमारी सबके साथ नीति ऐसी होनी चाहिए कि विश्व को लगे कि वास्तव में हम नान-एलाइन्ड हैं, हम स्वतंत्र और सार्वभौम सम्पन्न देश हैं, तभी इस विनियोग बिल द्वारा इस विभाग के ऊपर खर्च की गई राशि का सही उपयोग समझा जायगा।

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Sir while supporting the Appropriation Bill which has been placed before this House, I am very happy, and as my colleague, Mr. Manubhai Shah, has stated, this is the first time to make from this Appropriation Bill a massive investment piped into the public sector, particularly to create more employment and remove disparities. Before going into the other aspects of the Bill, I wish to say that Mr. Mathur has given a political assessment based on the ideology of his party: Sir, you see the contradiction. Once he said that his party was for all lands. But in the latter part of his speech he come down and said that the CPI and the Congress are working and wanting small farmers also and that it is not desirable. So the contradiction is quite evident. Sir, I desire to place before him that the ideology of the Jan-Sangh of having land ceiling based on an income of Rs. 1500 is wrong. Various experts and particularly agricultural economists, have studied this and their learned observation is given in the study.....

"The income from a given area of land depends on the crops grown, the level of agricultural efficiency and the amount of investment which is made. A given area of land may yield different incomes to different individuals depending on his skill, capacity and resources. As improved agricultural practices are adopted and agriculture become more efficient and diversified, income per unit of land should increase steadily. Thus, it is difficult to correlate a family holding to a given level of money income adjusted to a supposed level of prices."

Mr. Mathur may not be an agricultural man

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: From what have you quoted?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: This is the observation of an agricultural economist.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: Is it yours?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: This is a paper given at a seminar very recently held on land ceiling.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): Is it an anonymous paper ?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: It is a note on some policy issues in land reform.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: By whom ?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Some economist, I do not know. But he is not Dr. Kurian. That much I know.

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH (Andhra Pradesh): He is Dr. Kunju.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: What I want to drive home to him is, your assumption that this type of land distribution will solve the problem is wrong. You are a politician not an agriculturist. As an agriculturist I know. A land given to me will not grow the same kind of crop or yield or generate the same amount of income as somebody else's. And also the prices are very intractable. That is why I placed this before you; it is none of my subject. I wanted to go to the other subject. This is for your guidance, brief and education, if you are so interested. And therefore, I read this out for you. Particularly on the Appropriation Bill, I am sorry I will have to take a little time. While these investments are being made in this Appropriation Bill, I was interested to know how they will remove the disparities in income and how employment will be generated through these investments now made in the economy, either in industry or in irrigation or in other types of agricultural projects. Sir, basically there is another fallacy here. We are told that the rate of savings and profitability of the private sector are decreasing. I am surprised that even the Economic Survey published by the Government has stated:

"While the bulk of the proposed outlays were to be financed by loans from the term-lending institutions, Indian as well as foreign, to an extent past accumulations held in reserves were also to be drawn upon. But private corporate savings from within have contributed only marginally to this."

I am going to attack this type of thinking in the Government and in the

public that the interested industrialists through their mouthpieces, whether it is the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry or any other organisation, have been putting out, that the taxation is crushing, that profitability is decreasing and that there is no money available for further investment, and that is why the economy is going down and there is no employment. I am really surprised that the Economic Survey also contributes to this type of thinking. I want to ask the Minister what type of organisation the Finance Ministry is having, because the Reserve Bank in its latest study, I am told, has covered about 290 non-financial non-government public limited companies which account for 72 per cent of the total paid up capital of the larger sample of 1,501 companies, and what are the results published by the Reserve Bank ? You will be surprised to know them.

"The profitability ratios emergent from the data are under study for 6 years from 1965-66 to 1970-71.

The tax provision as percentage of profits before tax has declined from 47.6 per cent to 42.8 per cent in 1970-71. This confirms that the nominal tax rate and the effective tax rate.

Whatever we may say, there is difference between nominal tax rate and effective tax rate. have naturally been widening, due to concessions and incentives.

The tax provision of these 290 companies increase during the six-year period by 32 per cent, i.e. from Rs. 120 crores to Rs. 158 crores while the profits after tax increased by 60 per cent.

"Over the same period, retained profits rose by over 85 per cent.

Despite the corporate sector's operation under such conditions of satisfactory profitability, the rate of growth of net fixed assets nosedived from 9.7 per cent in 1966-67 to 2.6 per cent in 1970-71. Thus the story that the drop in investment by the private corporate sector is due to profit squeeze is not convincing."

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

I want to highlight this point that though they have been making out a case that profitability has gone down, here is an observation by the Reserve Bank of India which has proved to the hilt that the tax provision has been reduced and profitability has increased. In this connection, I do not want to dwell here on how monopolies have grown. We have seen that various studies have been made and it has been found that the monopolies have grown during the last 8 to 10 years. The assets of the companies belonging to the 75 houses have grown by about 54 per cent. Out of that, the companies belonging to Birlas, Shriram and Mafatlal has increased their assets by 96 per cent. I do not waste my time on this. What I want to highlight is that the monopolies are growing and we want U curb disparities.

And here is a proof, a study made by the Reserve Bank of India, that there is ample money and there is ample scope for squeezing out money from this sector which can contribute to public savings. Here whether you want to bring it down to 75 per cent or whatever it is, it is your choice, but the choice is to collect more money and more money through an honest tax paying effort; otherwise, see what type of black money is created. So I suggest that there is further scope for getting money from this corporate sector, through what other means I do not know; but the figure shown here justify that there is scope for collecting more money. Whether individual taxation should be 75 per cent or corporate taxation should be 75 per cent is none of my suggestion. It all depends upon the given circumstances and the levers, the type of controls, that the Government wants to utilise. It is their choice. Another suggestion is there is a large scope here for loopholes in another department of the Finance Ministry and that is Excise Department. Time and again I have been stating in this House giving examples, particularly the cooperative sugar factory and the cooperative textile mills. I am pleading with the Minister, for heaven's sake remove this self-removal scheme. By the introduction of this self-removal scheme during the period—I do not want to give the name of the Finance Minister who had introduced it this was introduced in order to oblige the private sector and nobody else—

we find that large amounts of goods had been taken out because under the self-removal scheme there is no control whatsoever of the Excise Department and this is what you call bolting the door after the horses have run away. Your people go and audit. On this point of recovery of the sugar or yarn out of a good quantity, it is only notional and unpredictable and you said some Venkatappaiah Committee has been appointed to examine that. For heaven's sake at least do not wait till the next Budget; otherwise, money is being wasted and is increasing the coffers of the black money. Similarly I have already suggested about the hand-bleaching technique. We have found in the textile industry those handbleaching units are exempted from these excise levies and it is said that they have been exempted just to encourage handbleaching, handicrafts, and all those things. I have proved, I have written to the Government through the Finance Minister, that crores of rupees are being misutilised by these people and really the man or the entrepreneur who was really interested in handbleaching would suffer. I would not mind these financiers who are investing money benefiting if you are getting substantial revenue. About black money we had a discussion in the morning. Recently raids were made on the houses of a hundred a crores and actresses, and the Minister also said that the Government is aware of such things. But it is not only the actors and the actresses, it is the whole fabric of the society. Go to a doctor. He will not give you a receipt. Go to a barrister, he will not give you a receipt. In the society it seems that everybody is interested in not giving a receipt when taking money, including political parties . . .

SHRI PREM MANOHAR (Uttar Pradesh)  
: The biggest credit goes to the Congress Party . . .

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Prem Manoharji, who ever gets it . . .

SHRI MAN SINGH VARMA (Uttar Pradesh) : The Lion's share goes to you.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Who gets the lion's share is not the point. It is a different aspect . . .

{Interruption by Dr. K. Mathew Kurian}

... whether Dr. Kurian's party gets it or this party gets it or that party gets it, whatever it is...

SHRI MONORANJAN ROY (West Bengal). Dr. Kariin's party gets money from workers and peasants, not from Tatas and Birlas...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Tatas and Birlas are at least Indians. Your party gets money from abroad. That is more condemnable. I can understand that...

SHRI MGNORANJAN ROY : You get from blood-suckers.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Anyway, I do not want to enter into any controversy on that now. So, Sir, this is in the fabric of the society. I am coming to the point, the Government only casually replies that the Wanchoo Committee's report is there, this and that Wanchoo Committee has failed to give any solution to this black money problem. I have gone through the report and I find that the Wanchoo Committee has not made justice to the problem. This has to be dealt with in a political way and with more drastic measures.

My last point is about unemployment. My colleague Shri Manubhai Shah has rightly brought it to the notice of the Government the staggering problem of unemployment. I do not want to quote figures and give a standard opinion. I say this unemployment problem has to be tackled in various ways. There is one unemployment committee set up by the Rehabilitation and Labour Ministry. They have given an interim report. But this unemployment problem is not merely in the organised sector. I am very sorry to say whether it is the government or political parties, all of them are talking about and doing for only organised sector such as government employees, factory workers, and so on. They are all urban-based and political parties are only creating discontent in the urban areas by fomenting trouble among workers belonging to the organised sector. There is staggering unemployment among agricultural labour in the rural areas. They are not organised and not protected by labour laws or led by labour unions. Their sufferings are much

more than organised sector employees. Some political parties have developed vested interests and their job is only to foment trouble among organised sector labour. In Maharashtra they paid Rs. 10 crores to Government employees. Where does it come from? It is not through taxation. They deduct money from minor irrigation, co-operatives and industrial infrastructure to pay to organised sector. Don't you think that there is 100 times more unemployment in the rural areas than in the organised sector? In the rural areas people walk or loiter on the streets without work and 40 per cent of the masses in the country are below the subsistence level. Irrigation works, road construction, etc. are only some solutions. They do not provide complete solution to the problem. Complete solution is to inject purchasing power among these 40 per cent of the rural masses. Otherwise employment will not be created. These rural masses work unprotected. They have no labour unions which are interested only in fomenting troubles in urban areas. Unless purchasing power is injected, this unemployment problem will not be solved and no industrial or economic development can take place.

There is considerable erosion of the rupee value due to rise in prices. Government and the Planning Commission have stated that they will start selling essential commodities and other food articles direct to the consumers. In this country a new style is developing that government and political parties speak through newspapers. They go on issuing statements through newspapers that there will be a time-bound programme, this, that and the other. This kind of lip sympathy alone will not do. That will not solve the problem. It is only implementation that will solve the problem.

DR. K. MATHKUR KURIAN : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to oppose the Appropriation Bill and the policies embodied in the Bill. The Appropriation Bill, 1972 is yet another attempt to appropriate the resources for perpetuation of the capitalist development which the ruling party has established during the last 25 years. Despite all the tall talk of socialism and talk of Caribi Hatao, the government led by Mrs. Gandhi has in fact been perpetuating and I helping the monopolists and landlords.



[Dr. K. Mathew Kurian]

This Appropriation Bill is a magnificent attempt at self-delusion. I say this with great respect to my friend Shri A. G. Kulkarni. He referred to the massive investment in the public sector as embodied in the Bill. This is one of the greatest myths that has been propagated by the ruling Party the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister. What is this massive investment in the recent budget ? In the last three years of the Fourth Plan, meagre investments were made and if in the fourth year larger investments are made, it is mainly to nullify the lack of investment in the last three years.

And, Sir, even if you calculate the additional investment for the fourth year, you will find that the fifth years of the Fourth Plan require more than 25% of the total Fourth Plan investment in one year. This is the kind of magnificent hoaxes that are being played by the honourable Members in the ruling party.

Sir, another interesting myth perpetuated by the honourable Member, Mr. Kulkarni, who is, of course, supported by the ruling party itself, is the myth that the workers in the organised sector are to be blamed for lack of investment for creating employment or for removing unemployment amongst the industrial labour, agricultural labour and so on. As a matter of fact, it is the duty of the toiling masses, the workers in the organised sector, the unemployed people and the agricultural labour to fight against their identified enemies, whether it is the Government of India or whether it is the monopolists or whether it is the landlords.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Why don't you give some figures on the money being paid to the organised sector during the last three years as against the unorganised sector ? Why do you support the organised sector always ?

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Mr. Kulkarni, I would like to request you to be patient in examining the data on the investments which the Congress Government has made during the last twenty-five years or so. Then, why is it that unemployment is still rising ? It is precisely because of the wrong and rotten, policies

economic policies, which the Congress Government has pursued so far and which Shri Kulkarni has tolerated for the last several years sitting in the Rajya Sabha. I would like him to think about the basic problems and the basic economic policies rather than look at the pattern of investment alone. I do realise that we are working with meagre resources. The Central Government and the State Governments put together have practically very little resources - precisely because, as Mr. Kulkarni has pointed out, they are not prepared to tap the rich. Sir, the monopolists have grown as Mr. Kulkarni has correctly pointed out. Why is it that his party and his Government have failed to control the monopolists ? Why is it that they have not done this ? Instead of doing that, they want to criticise the organised sector of labour which fights against the monopolists, the Birlas and the Tatas. Again, it is because they protect the Birlas and the Tatas.

Sir, I would also like to bury another myth which the ruling party has been perpetuating. It is about the collection of money by the parties. It is common knowledge that the ruling party gets money from big places and we do not envy them. The CPM gets money from the workers and the peasants and we say that with pride. We say with pride that we do not collect money from the rich people. Therefore, when he talks about collection of money, he should also make a distinction : money from whom ? That is the crucial question. Sir, I would like to give some interesting and important points about another hoax.

Sir, the other hoax played by the ruling party is the slogan of self-reliance. I have examined very carefully the data presented by the Government in the various documents including the Explanatory Memorandum to the recent Budget. If you look at the total external debt, the non-PL 4 loans have increased from Rs. 540 crores in the 1971-72 Budget. Rs. 564.2 crores in the Revised Budget and Rs. 614.78 crores in the Budget for 1972-73. So, Sir, in other words, non-PL 4 debt has increased. Is it true that PL 4 loans have decreased over the last few years. Why ? It is precisely because of the fact that the United States which had surplus wheat and other agricultural products is not today in that

enviable position of having surplus. Therefore, at a time when the US Government in its own national interest is refusing to give aid, the Indian Government take credit for reduction in foreign aid ! Now, if you look into the question of repayment, repayment of non-PL 480 debt has increased from Rs. 191.67 crores in the 1971-72 Revised Budget to Rs. 245.47 crores in the 1972-73 Budget. If you take the PL-480 repayment, it has increased from Rs. 5.33 crores to Rs. 6.5 crores. In other words, repayment of loans is increasing. It is true that net aid has decreased in the recent past. The only explanation is that the repayment component is increasing faster. In other words, gross aid is increasing; and the ruling party cannot deny this. But they look at the net aid and take credit for repayment and also take credit for self-reliance ! In fact, if you look into the recent events. Particularly after the last General Elections, it will be seen that the Government of India entered into a shady deal with Sir Norman Kipling and his industrial mission from Britain, agreeing to majority participation of the British investors even in sectors where it was not allowed before. The great, ex-Defence Secretary of the USA, Mr. McNamara was given a red carpet reception by the same people sitting on the Treasury Benches. Why is it that while they were talking of self-reliance, they gave a red carpet reception to Mr. McNamara ? Sir, why is this eagerness, this enthusiasm, in welcoming him while the government talk a lot from houstops about self-reliance ?

Now, if you look into the total external aid of India as on 31st March, 1972, it stood at Rs. 6954 crores. It will increase to Rs. 7328 crores as on 31st March, 1973. How can they talk of self-reliance in the face of such staggering facts ? If you examine the American aid to India, it will be seen that it increased from Rs. 1972 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 3792 crores in the revised estimates of 1971-72.

I think I have tried to demonstrate that the ruling party's talk of self-reliance is absolutely a hoax played on the poor people of India who, unfortunately, have been fed with wrong statistics.

Similarly, Sir, they say that the recent

budget will not affect prices. But an interesting study made by the "Economic Times" of Bombay, dated the 29th March, 1972, clearly says that the expected total percentage rise in 1972-73 over 1971-72 will be 6.3. Out of that the expected additional percentage rise due to proposed levies will be at least 2.5 percent. They have demonstrated that out of the new increase in prices expected for the coming year, a substantial part will be accounted for by the additional taxes in the recent budget. And now they come before the House with this Appropriation Bill. How can they justify with their conscience in fact that prices will not be affected. The Central Government is adding further pressures on the price situation by heavy dose of deficit financing which transfers value from the working people to the owners of property, the big capitalists and monopolists. Deficit financing of the Central and State Governments is expected to increase by about Rs. 175 to Rs. 185 crores during the coming year, pushing up the total for the first 4 years of the Plan period to Rs. 1131 crores. What is the Government doing ? What is Mr. Kulkarni doing in the face of these staggering facts ? I will give you a few lines from a Congress paper "National Herald" from Lucknow, dated 20th December, 1971. I quote:

"... the police has given VIP treatment to alleged black-marketers arrested in Safipur tehsil under the DIR. On enquiry it was found that the arrested persons were not only provided with bedding, cot and food in the police station but they were brought to the district headquarter in a taxi without being handcuffed—quite in contrast to the treatment meted out to many others arrested for minor offences."

Instead of taking effective steps to stop the price rise, and taking effective steps against blackmarketeers and speculators, the Congress governments both at the Centre and the States are protecting them.

To check prices, I give some concrete proposals:

- (1) Production of goods of mass consumption at reduced or reasonable prices.

[Dr. K. Mathew Kurian]

(2) Anti-social activities of speculators, profiteers and black marketeers should be put down with an iron hand.

(3) Bring out all the unaccounted money which is playing havoc with the economy, by demonetising the currency, particularly of higher denominations.

(4) Reduce excessive duties and tax on commodities.

(5) Stop excessive deficit financing which transfers value from the working people to the owners of capital.

(6) Reduce non-development expenditure which is now rising very fast.

Instead of adopting these concrete measures which our party has been demanding, the Government has been protecting blackmarketeers.

I would also like to bring to your attention another interesting fact. They are not blacklisting corrupt people, people who enter into shady deals. What is happening in the case of coffee for instance? I understand that the offices of a company called Hill Tiller and Company with headquarters in Mangalore were raided by the Government. Raids were conducted in Bangalore and Mangalore and also in Yercaud in Salem district. But the people involved have been elevated as members of the Coffee Board. Instead of taking action against them Government thought it fit to make them members of the Coffee Board. Not only that. They are being given fabulous amounts of foreign exchange to go abroad; they accompany the Ministers in their tours abroad. This is the way in which the Government is dealing in such matters.

I would also like to bring to your notice that suicides on the lines of Dr. Vinod Shah are going to come in a big procession unless the Government completely changes its present policy; the grotesque picture of a large number of Shahs is in the offing. I give three concrete examples.

If you read the copy of the letter dated the 22nd April, 1972, there is a shocking picture of what is happening in the Indian Council of Medical Research. I quote:— I

"Of the 10 senior posts in the Council, six are occupied by persons ranging from 61 to 70 years."

All superannuated. Dr. P. N. Wahi who is the Director-General of the Council is directly responsible for the prevention of young people coming up.

Dr. Wahi has such a background that he is not only superannuated but he has also managed, contrary to the advice of the Health Ministry, to get a salary which is contrary to the rules. He gets the highest salary contrary to the rules. He draws a salary of Rs. 3,000 with an additional Rs. 1,000 as house rent allowance. These are the facts.

Similarly. Dr. M. L. Ahuja who is the Honorary Editor of the Journal of the Council is 70 years old. He is paid Rs.750 while a competent Assistant Editor who has been a first class first throughout from the Presidency College of Madras, who was a gold medallist, has been thrown out one fine morning without assigning any reasons. This is what is happening. Should we have more and more Vinod-Shahs in this country? Is this the policy of the Government?

Similarly, this particular report says—and I quote :

"Many eye-brows were raised on the appointment of Dr. Usha Luthra, presently one of the Deputy Directors-General."

She is the only lady and the only person in the senior post who is young. And according to stories published in Agra papers, she had a very undesirable relationship with Dr. Wahi who is the Director-General. She has been promoted but all competent scientists have no hope; they are being dismissed every other day.

Similarly, take the Indian Institute of Foreign Trade. There is a Deputy Director-General, Mr. Vithal Babu and the Secretary is Mr. Tandon who was a Section Officer only some years ago. He is elevated to the position of Secretary drawing salary equal to professors while people with Ph.Ds working there are yet to become Professors. This is the way in which people of influence are jetting into senior positions. Mr. Vithal Babu was once an Assistant, a clerical assistant working in the AICC office in

Delhi. He has no qualifications, no proper degrees, no expertise in export management. I want an explanation why competent people are not promoted. Professors and Associate Professors are denied promotion. 3 P.M. Completely controlled by the Government of India, they are stalling the initiative of competent people.

Similarly, the Government of India is now following a policy of repression of genuine representatives of Government employees. Sir, in the Accountant General's office in Trivandrum, the General Secretary of the Association was sacked one fine morning under an order of the President. Sir, it is quite interesting. I agree there is a constitutional provision. Sub-clause (2) of article 311 enables the President to dismiss a person without an enquiry. After 25 years, after all the talk of socialism, I would like to know whether in the Accountant General's office, General Secretary of the Association should be dismissed under article 311. They talk of changing the Constitution, ushering in socialism and here is an authentic representative of the working class being thrown out for no reason, not even an enquiry and nobody knows why he has been dismissed. I have some evidence to show. Mr. Thiruvikraman Pillai, General Secretary of the Association, was the person who collected Rs. 12,000 for the Defence Fund and donated blood for the wounded jawans. He has now been dismissed in the name of security. Can we believe this? As the General Secretary of the Association and in his own capacity, he collected Rs. 12,000 for the Defence Fund, he donated his own blood and now he is being thrown out in the name of security. It is also on record that it was precisely this gentleman who organised a massive defence rally in Trivandrum which was attended by a large number of Government employees. Such is the attitude of the ruling party. Does Mr. Kulkarni think of the ruling party. Does Mr. Kulkarni think of this instead of talking about bogeys? I would like Mr. Kulkarni to help the Government of India in solving at least one problem like this.

Similarly, I would like to bring to the attention of the Government one or two more issues and then I will stop. Sir, in

the Education Department of the Government of India there was a decision to set up Central Schools. It is of course a laudable objective. Recently, certain schools—I am referring to the Union Territory of Delhi in particular of which I have a reference—run by private managements, which originally used to coach people for the Senior Cambridge are now getting affiliated to the Central Schools, but the pay-scales that they are paying are very low as before. There is no security of service and these institutions are collecting exorbitant fees and not providing the required facilities to the students. I give an example of Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan in Delhi. It was a Senior Cambridge school two years ago. Then it was changed as Central Higher Secondary School. The Central Board of Higher Secondary Education has accorded recognition to it. But the tragic fact is that the post-graduate teachers are not being given the scales of the Central Board despite recognition. The middle and primary teachers are being paid ridiculously-low pay-scales. Any teacher can be removed from service with one month's notice without any procedure of charge-sheeting or any procedure of defence. This is what is happening in the sector of education.

I would like to quote another interesting case. Mr. Kulkarni talked about Parties collecting money. I bring to your notice, Sir, a photostat copy of a letter appearing in a paper published in Trichur. I just read this. This is a letter written on the letter-pad of the Government by the Personal Assistant of the Home Minister of Kerala, Mr. Karunakaran, who belongs to the Congress Party. It is a letter written to V. P. John of Trichur. I read

"As per instructions of the Minister please pay the sum of Rs. 15,000 to Shri M. V. Abubakker, President, District Congress Committee, Trichur.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,  
Personal Assistant."

This is a photostat copy of a letter by the Personal Assistant of the Home Minister Mr. Karunakaran who is a Congress Minister.

[Dr. K. Mathew Kurian]

ter and Mr. Kulkarni talks about CPM collecting money. We do collect money, we collect money from ordinary workers, from the toiling people, but not the kind of shady deals which Congress Ministers enter into. I have referred to three major hoaxes played by the ruling party. One great hoax is that investments are being made in the new Budget for sustained economic growth. The other hoax is about self-reliance. I have tried to prove with the statistics produced by the Government itself that it is a hoax. The other hoax is that the workers in the organised sector are to be blamed for lack of employment opportunities and I have tried to show that this theory that resources are being diverted by the workers in the organised sector is absolutely wrong. It is a hoax; why? Precisely because it is the ruling party which refuses to curb monopolies, which refuses to reduce the stranglehold of foreign monopoly companies on the economy of the country. It is precisely the ruling party which refuses to give ordinary rights to the working people including the Government employees in A.G.'s Office, Posts and Telegraphs Department and so on. I would also like to mention in this connection that large scale victimisation is taking place in the P & T Department and I would like the hon. Members from the other side including Mr. Kulkarni and the other Young Turks and people who claim to be socialists and radicals to do something, at least to raise one finger against the type of victimisation against the leaders of movements in the P & T Department, A.G.'s Office and so on. Will they do it? At least in one concrete case if they can move the Government to reduce the repression I would have been happy. Instead of doing that, Mr. Kulkarni has propagated the view that it is the working people who stand in the way of employment creation.

I would also like in the end to request the hon. Minister of Finance, Shri Ganesh, to look into a very serious matter which is now facing the Kerala Government. The Kerala Chief Minister has publicly stated very recently that due to the curb on overdrafts, due to the inability of the Government of India to provide adequate Central assistance and also assistance to fill up the

revenue gap the Kerala Government is facing a serious financial crisis. There is not enough money even to pay the salary of the staff of the Kerala Government for June, not to speak of July. July and August will be the period when the Kerala Government will go completely bankrupt unless the Central Government comes into the picture. Collections to the State Government will start only in August. And we find that the Central Government desire; to take more and more powers to itself and the Centre-State relations have come to a boiling point. An explosive situation is on the anvil. The Central Government must awaken to the new situation and solve the serious crisis in Centre-State relations instead of sticking to measures like the so-called curb on overdrafts. They should restructure the entire Centre-State relations giving more autonomy to the States keeping to the Central Government items like defence, foreign policy and a few other items which we can discuss and decide, keeping minimum powers to the Centre and transferring maximum powers to the States so that with the powers given to the States and with the additional financial devolution made possible by a proper realignment of the Centre-State relations we succeed in maintaining the unity and integrity of the nation. If the Government of India refuses even at this late hour to do this I warn that Bangla Desh may be repeated.

DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it is difficult to talk in detail about the appropriation of even a single Ministry in the short time allotted. Instead of doing that I would mention a few points about the appropriation to the Ministry of Industrial Development and the Ministry of Education. So far as the Ministry of Industrial Development is concerned one of the objectives we find is to have an institution for standards, ISI. There are also other Committees, for example, a Committee on Research and Development for electrical engineers. I simply wonder why it is only for electrical engineering; what happens to other engineering? Now here in this House is found a section on quality control. Only last week in this House we heard about the quality of the blades manufactured in this country. A blade cannot even shave once. And practically the import of blades is closed in the

country and there is a monopoly set-up for the manufacture of blades. These blades are useless because there is no quality control behind it. Production is not qualitatively controlled.

Now, if we look into the other fields of production, the story is the same. For example, yesterday we heard about something said by the chief of a Japanese trade delegation. He remarked that some of the products exported from this country to Japan, for example bicycles, scooters, etc., are below standard. And if we continue in this manner then, after some time, we may lose the whole of the export market.

If you look at the cars manufactured by the monopoly concerns, this I have to say about the quality of the car. When a child is playing with a ball in the street, if the ball hits the body of the car, a new car, it makes a big dent on the body. Sometimes we wonder whether the body is made of steel plates or tin plates with spray painting done on it. Recently, in month of January, one of my former students, now a colleague, has purchased a brand new Ambassador car at the fabulous price of Rs. 23,000/-. At the end of the very first month both the horns went out of order. When my friend took it to the manufacturer, the manufacturer replaced the horns without investigating the cause for defect in them and simply they replaced the horns. Then, after another fifteen days, the whole of the electric circuit got burnt out, thereby damaging the whole painting of the car. Now the car looks like having two shades or two colours. It is a brand new car, and in these three months or four months, hardly he has used the car for 21 days. This is the quality of production which we are having although we have given the manufacturers all the protection they needed. One of the factors which is responsible for this state of affairs is, that majority of the manufacturing companies do not maintain any quality control department or any research and development, division. Some of the firms may be maintaining, as a token measure. Some department like research and development, or quality control. But if you look into the appropriation or the expenditure in those sections, you will find that hardly it is sufficient ; it is so meagre. Nobody can do any quality control or research and development with that much of sanction or

with that much of budgetary amount in these manufacturing concerns.

Now look at the steel almirahs—I would mention about the Godrej almirah, which is supposed to be the best in the country. Now, about two months ago, a petty thief entered into a house in Jodhpur Park in Calcutta and simply with a crowbar he opened the main door of the almirah and also the door of the locker, all within a few minutes. Now, if this is the condition of the steel almirah produced by one of the biggest and famed manufacturers in this country, then I am afraid—not to talk about exports—our own people are not going to buy such items, and side by side we will have a flourishing smuggled goods market going on in our country.

So, I would like to say that there should be provision in the Ministry of Industrial Development for a department of quality control, and my suggestion regarding this is that three things must be done. Firstly, every manufacturing concerns specially those who are exporting things, must have a quality control section and a research and development section with properly qualified men, and a substantial portion of their income must be allotted for running these two departments. Secondly, any product coming out of such firms now, if it is found to be defective on the road or on use within six months of the use or one year of the use, then heavy penalties must be imposed on those manufacturers for each of the damaged or defective product. Thirdly, the Ministry must have its own quality control section, and this control must not be done by the IAS people ; they should not be put in charge of the quality control section. The section should be headed by a properly qualified engineer with experience of quality control. He may be a production engineer or an industrial engineer or a mechanical engineer with a sufficient amount of quality control experience so that these people may go to the different manufacturing concerns to check the quality of the product, and they must submit a report to the Ministry periodically to check whether the products coming out of such manufacturing concerns are of good quality or not.

Now, coming to the Ministry of Education, we find that we set up higher institutions of learning for technical education.

[Dr. R. K. Chakrabarti]

There are several IITs and some Central universities and institutions which are supposed to be institutions of higher learning. We are spending crores of rupees on these institutions; If you look into the Appropriation Bill you will find that each of these IITs would be getting as Plan allocation for the year 1972-73 an amount to the tune of about Rs. 70 lakhs and non-Plan grant of about Rs. 1,40,00,000, whereas the rest of the institutions which are 65 or more in number are entitled to get only a Plan allocation of Rs. 45 lakhs. If you look at pages 45-47 you will find that the revised Budget estimate for 1971-72 stands at Rs. 45 lakhs and the estimate for 1972-73 also is Rs. 45 lakhs. There is no increase. Here I would like to suggest to the Ministry that they should take stock of what is going on in these IITs and the other higher institutions of learning. Recently I came across a report by one of the highest institutions in our country, a technical institution, where they have reviewed their past performance for five years for one of their departments. That performance does not speak well of them. So, my suggestion is that the Ministry must set up a cell which will go round the different technical institutions or higher institutes of learning. They must have a stock-taking. After reviewing the position and seeing their output, the appropriation must be made. More money must be given to deserving institutions. They may not be in the Central sector. They may be privately run or they may be government-aided. People who are doing good work must be properly rewarded and people who are not doing well must not be given so much money without their going through a periodic check-up.

Now, coming to school education, we have seen that there is a pious wish of making education compulsory up to class eight and for all the children of our country. Once you have accepted that in principle what is the difficulty in taking over the whole school education of the country? Why not bring the whole system under the purview of the Central Government and make all teachers Central Government employees? In that case we will be avoiding the discrimination which is rampant in the field of primary and secondary education so far as

the emoluments of the teachers are concerned. You will be shocked or astonished to hear that a primary school teacher or a secondary school teacher gets as salary only half of what a jute worker or a factory worker gets nowadays in our country. If at all we are going to make education compulsory, we will have to provide the money to give compulsory education up to class eight. If we can do this up to class eight, what is the difficulty in going up to class ten or class eleven? Why not take over all the primary and secondary schools and run them under Government control?

Lastly, talking about the publication of text-books, it is mentioned in the Appropriation Bill under the Ministry of Education. Now, if the text-books are written by Indian authors we find that very few publishers are willing to publish them. Most of the foreign publishing houses, which are publishing text-books in this country, get some sort of grant either from their governments or from some organisation which subsidises them. Therefore, their text-books come out at a much cheaper rate. If an Indian author writes a text-book especially on a technical subject and if a publisher publishes the book, it costs very much and it is very difficult to persuade the colleges or universities to buy it because of the huge difference in price between the price of the book published or written by foreign authors and the price of the book published or written by Indian authors. Also, we hear very much about books to be written in the regional languages. We would like to see the regional language adopted at least in the school stage and, if possible, in university education. Here I am slightly confused and bewildered. What do you mean by the regional language? Suppose in West Bengal we teach children in the regional language, which is Bengali, do you think that a Nepali boy is going to benefit by it? His mother-tongue is not Bengali. If we must teach them then we should not teach them in regional language but in their mother-tongue and it would be proper that we teach them in their mother-tongue. There is some difficulty in writing books in the regional languages or rather, in that case the market becomes very limited and the knowledge which one teacher wants to spread from one part of the country to another part will not be carried. If we produce a book in the

mother-tongue, it may not be understood by the students of other States, I do not know whether there will be a team of workers available who will be able to translate books written in the mother tongue in fifteen or sixteen different languages.

Thank you.

SHRI H. M. TRIVEDI (Gujarat) : Sir, the presentation of the Appropriation Bill is essentially a constitutional and procedural formality and I would not therefore like to take up the time of the House, except to offer a few comments on certain items of interest to me.

It appears that of the total of Rs. 20,800 crores which are supposed to be charged to the Consolidated Fund of India, something like Rs. 15,079 crores are, in fact, charged on the Consolidated Fund of India, and of this amount, about Rs. 12,557 crores are for debt repayment and another Rs. 737 crores are by way of interest on debt and obligations. Now, Sir, purely on a point of detail and clarification, I would be interested to know the breakdown of the figures which have been given, which would indicate why in one particular year, in 1972-73 only, debt repayment and interest on that and obligations should amount to as much as Rs. 13,287 crores.

Now, Sir, there is one other item which is of interest and that is that of the balance of less than about Rs. 1,800 crores which are left as chargeable to the Consolidated Fund of India, a sum of only Rs. 160 crores is shown as grants-in-aid to the States and the Union territories. There is of course, an amount which is shown in the Appropriation Bill itself voted by Parliament of about Rs. 760 crores, which is also given as grants-in-aid. In the face of all these figures, I was a little perplexed when the hon. Minister in the morning mentioned that the grant-in-aid to the States and the Union territories were, in fact, going to be increased by something like 25 per cent in the coming year. I would like to be enlightened by the hon. Minister as to how these figures are reconciled.

I would now come to two of the major items which are of major interest to me. Sir, you will find that in the Appropriation

Bill, the allocation voted by Parliament for shipping is about Rs. 9,10,00,000. No sum has been shown as chargeable to the Consolidated Fund of India. This brings me to the fact that the Shipping Development Fund which is administered by the Ministry of Shipping and Transport was originally created out of an appropriation out of the Consolidated Fund of India. This Fund was supposed to be non-lapsable, revolving and it was mainly created for the purpose of granting rupee loans to the Indian shipping companies for the purpose of the expansion of shipping. Now, I will read out to you a paragraph from the Performance Budget of the Ministry of Shipping and Transport (1972-73), which will bring me to the point that this Fund has been starved lately because the Central Government has been unwilling to make current advance to this Fund. Here is the paragraph which I quote :—

"The Govt. of India have been rendering financial assistance to the Shipping industry in order to achieve a rapid expansion in the tonnage. Assistance is given in the form of loans and is extended to both the public and private sectors. For this purpose, a Shipping Development Fund has been set up under Section 14 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1958; the fund is non-lapsable and is made up of advances by the Government of India and the sum realised as repayments made by the Shipping companies toward\* repayment of the loan and interests."

Now, Sir, I will only read out the figures for the last three years, of the assistance which has been made available by this Fund for the acquisition of tonnage :—

1968-69 Rs. 48.74 crores (for the purchase of 21 ships)

H69-70 Rs. 76.62 crores (for the purchase of 30 ships)

1970-71 Rs. 140.64 crores (for the purchase of only 25 ships)

In other words, between 1969-70 and 1970-71, the purchase price of ships went up so much that, in fact, the Shipping Development Fund Committee advance something



[Shri H. M. Trivedi]

like twice the amount in the previous year for the acquisition of a smaller number of ships. But, Sir, I come to the main point. In 1971-72, I am personally aware that any number of applications by Indian shipping companies for purchase of ships which were approved by the Ministry of Transport, have in fact been rejected for want of funds from the Shipping Development Fund. In 1971-72, up to February 1972, an amount of only Rs. 43 crores against Rs. 143 crores in the previous year, was made available by the Shipping Development Fund. Now, it is true that it is supposed to be a revolving, non-lapsable and self-sustaining fund. But if, in fact, we are anxious to expand our shipping, I submit that the hon. Minister must look at the proposition not in terms of the fact that the Fund was originally created with a certain sum from the Consolidated Fund of India and must now be starved of current finances, but that if expansion is possible, funds should be made available.

The second item to which I would like to come is Foreign Trade. There is an amount shown here under Foreign Trade, about Rs. 126 crores, which is an omnibus figure, which does not refer only to the Market Development Fund. Now we are going to make an effort, we are told, that from an export level of something like Rs. 1,500 crores, we want to increase our exports by another C per cent. Our exports in the international markets have not been competitive because of the cost and it has, therefore, been necessary to subsidise these exports and to grant several kinds of incentives. Now I find from the Budget figures that a sum of only Rs. 11 to Rs. 12 crores is made available for the Market Development Fund in terms of disbursements which the Foreign Trade Ministry can make. Any further advances which may have been charged or may be charged on the Consolidated Fund of India may probably bring the figure to something like Rs. 80 or Rs. 89 crores. When compared to the total export level, this is less than half a per cent. I suggest that if we are going to make this effort on the export front, it is going to be impossible except on the basis of further funds being made available to the Market Development Fund. The Market Development Fund is

something which can be flexibly used. It is something which can, certainly with the concurrence of the Finance Ministry, be used as an instrument not merely for the promotion of a certain group or a certain type of commodities but for promotional efforts on the export front in all directions,

I then come to two or three other points. I welcome the Appropriation Bill as a whole. I wholeheartedly endorse the remarks which were offered by my hon. friend, Mr. Manubhai Shah, this morning. There is only one additional comment that I would like to make and that is in respect of the return which has been available to the Government of India for over Rs. 5,000 crores which have been invested in public sector undertakings. Sir, year after year we are told stories of why it has not been possible to earn more than something like two per cent from the public sector undertakings. It is true that some of these have a long gestation period. It is true that some of these have certain difficulties with regard to foreign exchange, labour and so on. However, I would certainly say that except on the basis of a major structural change in the management of these public undertakings, it is going to be impossible to arrive at a stage where they will yield more than what they are yielding to-day. When I talk of a structural change, I mean that they must cease to be treated as departments of the Government under the control of the bureaucracy. This is the only additional comment that I would like to offer.

On the irrigation front, I wholeheartedly endorse what was said by Mr. Manubhai Shah, that any irrigation scheme which makes rapid progress in any State whatsoever, must not feel cut off for want of funds.

There is only one item on which I beg to differ from my hon. friend, Mr. Manubhai Shah, and that is the withdrawal of the development rebates. Sir, I am not one of those who plead for the restoration of the development rebate as a whole. I think as a general proposition it is quite correct to withdraw this facility which was originally supposed to exist for 10 years but which has already existed for about 15 years. But the withdrawal is, in one sense, completely uniform. It has been withdrawn as a concession from the Finance Act as such. No

distinction has been made in the withdrawal of the development rebate between industries. Now I suggest that as far as the capital-intensive industries are concerned, like steel and shipping, it is going to be impossible to generate internal resources except on the basis of a continuation of the development rebate.

I, therefore, urge upon the honourable Finance Minister to keep an open mind; even if he is unable to accept the suggestion as on today, he will keep his mind open on the restoration of development rebate facility to capital intensive industries, particularly industries like steel and shipping. In shipping I can perhaps illustrate the fact that as against something like Rs. 140 crores which was allocated in the Fourth Five year Plan for the expansion of shipping almost a matching contribution of Rs. 140 crores was in fact raised, practically half of it by the public sector shipping corporation. The Ministry of Transport says that the public sector shipping corporation was able to raise something like Rs. 65 crores from its own internal resources. This was mainly out of development rebates. Another Rs. 65 crores practically were raised by the private sector companies. Something like Rs. 140 crores as against Plan allocation of Rs. 140 crores were in fact raised mainly because of the development rebate facility being available to such capital intensive industries.

The last point that I would like to say is that I welcome the stepping up of public investment which has been planned and which is shown in the Appropriation Bill. I am not one with my friend Dr. Kurian who said that this is a hoax. This is not. Even if it happens to be in the fourth year of the Fourth Plan I would certainly welcome it because the slack in the economy will certainly not be countered unless there is a massive further public investment. But in relation to the coming Fifth Five Year Plan I believe that we must get ready to mobilise resources on a much larger scale and here I come back to what I had occasion to say at the time of my comments on the Mid-Term Appraisal on the Fourth Plan that for the mobilisation of resources for the Fifth Plan we have already probably reached a stage of diminishing returns in terms of direct taxes on individuals and corporations. And I am inclined to think

that except on the basis of agricultural income, mopping up of resources from the agricultural sector, agricultural income and taxation on agricultural wealth, the whole edifice of the Fifth Five Year Plan cannot be raised at least in terms of resources. Thank you.

**श्री रणवीर सिंह (हरियाणा) :** उपसभा-पति महोदय, जैसा मनुभाई शाह जी ने आज सबेरे जिक्र किया था, हमें खुशी है कि देश तरक्की कर रहा है और वित्त मंत्रालय उस के अन्दर सहयोग दे रहा है। मुझे याद है जिस रोज बंगाल के बारे में बहस हो रही थी उस रोज डा० भाई मन्नाजीर जी ने जिक्र किया था कि योजना आयोग की योजनाएं कामयाब नहीं हुई हैं मुझे सोभाग्य था जनसंघ के संस्थापक को सुनने का भी जब पहली पंचसाला योजना बनी थी। उस समय डा० श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी कहा करते थे कि सरकार ने जो पंचसाला योजना के लिए कर्ज लेने का जिक्र किया है, इनको कोई कौड़ी भी देने वाला नहीं है, इन को कर्ज कहाँ से मिलेगा और कौन सा देश कर्ज देगा एक दिन वह भी आया प्लानिंग में कि जब आज कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों को भी फिर है कि कर्ज बढ़ रहा है। विदेशी सरकारों का कर्जा हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर बढ़ रहा है। अगर वह कर्जा बढ़ना है खर्च करने के लिए, अय्याशी के लिए, तो उस कर्ज को रोकना चाहिए और अगर वह कर्जा बढ़ना है देश को बनाने के लिए, तो यह एक अच्छी बात है। गरीब देश तभी उठ सकता है जब उसको कोई सहायता करने वाला मिले। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसके साथ साथ यह भी मैं कहें वगैर नहीं रह सकता कि जिस तरह से हमारे देश के अन्दर अभी तक इकोनामिस्ट सोच रहे हैं, वह सोच भी कोई बहुत सही नहीं रही। आप जानते हैं कि एक समय था दुनिया के अन्दर और इस देश के अन्दर भी कि जब देश करेसी का प्रसार सोने की तोल को मामने रखकर किया जाता है। जिस के पाम जितना सोना होता था उसके मुकाबले में वह उतनी करेसी छपा करता था और उस हिसाब से वह करेसी बढ़ाया करता

[ श्री रणवीर सिंह ]

था। आज वह जमाना बदल गया है। दुनियाँ में कहीं करमी के साथ सोने का कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं रहा। कागज किसी देश की तरक्की के लिए अगर रोड़ा बने तो उस कागज को फेंक देना चाहिए, उस नीति को छोड़ देना चाहिए।

दरअसल में योजना बननी चाहिये वह योजना इस ढंग से बननी चाहिये कि देश के अन्दर कितने हमारे साधन हैं और उन साधनों को जुटा करके हम देश को कहीं तक आगे ले जा सकते हैं। कागज कितना छपा हुआ हमारे पास है वह तो रास्ते में रोड़ा बनता है, वह तो सोच की खराबी है।

प्रातः श्री मनुभाई शाह ने जिक्र किया था और सही कहा था कि जहाँ तक सिचाई का सम्बन्ध है सिचाई के ऊपर जितना भी खर्च किया जा सके वह किया जाय, उसके ऊपर कोई पाबन्दी नहीं होनी चाहिए, यह नहीं होना चाहिए कि इतना रुपया बजट के अन्दर रखा था इससे ज्यादा नहीं मिल सकता। वह इसलिए क्योंकि खेती के सम्बन्ध में ज्यादा रुपया लगाया गया तो देश के अन्दर खेत की पैदावार बढ़ी और भाव गिरे। भाव स्थिर रहें या गिरें उसके लिये जरूरी है कि दरअसल में पैदावार बढ़े। यह सही है कि लोगों को काम देना चाहिये लेकिन सिर्फ तनख्वाह देने के लिए काम देने से देश को नहीं बना सकते, देश तभी तरक्की कर सकता है और उसकी एकानामी तभी स्थिर हो सकती है जब कि हम काम इसलिए दें कि वह पैदावार को बढ़ायें। देश के अन्दर जो खेती है और जो दूसरे छोटे-छोटे कारखाने हैं उनकी बड़ी हालत है। उपसभापति महोदय, अभी जिक्र किया गया कि खेती से आमदनी पैदा होती है, अगली पंचसाली योजना के लिए खेती के ऊपर कर ज्यादा लगायें तो भी खेती से पैदावार बढ़ सकती है। उपसभापति महोदय, हमको याद है कि इस देश के अन्दर जमींदारी अबालिशन किया था और उस वक्त जिनकी जमींदारी छीनी थी उनमें एक हमारे माननीय सदस्य दरभंगा के महाराज थे, मुझे याद है कि वह

सदन के अन्दर रोये थे और उन्होंने यह कहा था कि हमको मुआवजा इतना भी नहीं मिलता जितनी कि एक साल के अन्दर उससे आमदनी होती है और वह भी बाँड्स में मिलता है। अगर देश को आगे बढ़ाना है तो किसी को छूट देकर देश आगे नहीं बढ़ेगा। देश आगे तब तक बढ़ेगा जबकि जितने हमारे कारखाने हैं उन कारखानों को हम तुरन्त सरकारी कारखाना बनायें और जिन भाइयों ने कारखाने लगाये हैं उनको नकदी की शकल में कम्पेन्सेशन देने का विचार छोड़ दें, उनको बाँड दिया जाय जिस तरह कि जमींदारी अबालिशन के लिये बाँड्स दिये गये थे और जो देहात के अन्दर कारखाने लगायें उनको उस बाँड में से उसी वक्त कर्जा दे दिया जाय जब तक कि इस देश के अन्दर रूरल इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन नहीं होगा तब तक यह देश आगे नहीं बढ़ेगा, तब तक इस देश की तरक्की नहीं हो सकती। इस देश के बहुत सारे भाई हैं जो कि यह समझते हैं कि भूमि सुधार के कानून से शायद इस देश की तमाम बीमारियाँ खत्म हो जायगी लेकिन वह बात सही नहीं है। जमीन को कोई बढ़ा नहीं सकता, कोई घटा नहीं सकता, जमीन जितनी है उतनी ही रहेगी, आबादी घटती है और बढ़ती है। यदि हम अपने पुराने जमाने के इतिहास को भी देखें, हिन्दुस्तान के पुराने इतिहास को भी देखें तो उस वक्त भी चालीस फीसदी से ज्यादा आदमी हिन्दुस्तान के देहातों में छोटी-छोटी कारीगरी में काम करके अपनी रोजी कमाते थे और अगर आज हम नये हिन्दुस्तान में वह समझें कि देहात के अन्दर 85 फीसदी या सौ फीसदी भाई जमीन में से आमदनी निकाल करके अपनी गुजर कर सकेंगे तो यह सोच सही नहीं है, यह सोच गलत रास्ते पर ले जाने वाला है। अगर हम सही मापनों में आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं तो हमें कुछ और सोचना है। हम आज तक क्या देखते हैं कि हमारे देश के 25 साल के इतिहास में बहुत सारे कारखाने सरकारी बनाये गए। जो नए बनाये गए उनकी तो दूसरी बात है लेकिन जिन कारखानों को सरकार ने लिया वह क्यों लिया,

वह इसलिए कि जिन कारखानों को कारखाने-दार चला नहीं सकते थे उनको सरकार ने लिया। तो यह कैसे हमारी आर्थिक अवस्था को ठीक कर सकता है और अगर इस तरह से हम लेते रहे तो दो परसेंट ही नहीं शायद दस परसेंट घाटा हमें उठाना पड़ेगा। हमारी तरक्की तभी हो सकती है, पब्लिक सेक्टर से हमें आमदनी तभी हो सकती है, जब कि जितनी स्टील इण्डस्ट्रीज हैं, और बेसिक जितनी कि की और बेसिक (Key & basic) इण्डस्ट्रीज हैं, हैवी इण्डस्ट्रीज हैं, उनसे हम शुरू करें, की (Key) इण्डस्ट्रीज से, बेसिक इण्डस्ट्रीज से हम शुरू करें। इसको और इसको से शुरू करें, क्योंकि जब तक स्टील सरकार के पास नहीं होगा तब तक हमारे देश की आर्थिक नीति सही नहीं हो सकती। वे सब के सब सरकारी कारखाने बने। और वे तजुर्वेकार भाई हैं, देश उन कारखानेदारों का मशकूर है जिन्होंने इस देश के अन्दर कारखाने लगाए और जो कारखाने उन्होंने अच्छे चलाए वे उनसे ले लिए जाएं तो वे देहात में जाकर छोटे-छोटे कारखाने भी कामयाबी से लगायेंगे और देश को आगे बढ़ायेंगे लेकिन कारखाना लग गया तो उनकी सुरक्षा नहीं होगी अगर मंहगाई चले और उनको रिबेट मिलता ही रहे। वह तो होने वाला नहीं है। देश के अन्दर आज भी स्टील के प्रोडक्शन के लिए कोई डेवलपमेंट रिबेट की बात करता है तो मैं समझता हूं वह न जाने कौन से वक्त की बात सोच रहा है। आज तो जमाना बिल्कुल दूसरा है। आज सही बात यह है कि 75 कुटुम्बों का कारखानों से सम्बन्ध है। उनसे क्या देश की गरीबी हट सकती है, वह गरीबी हटाने में कोई इमदाद दे सकते हैं, या उनको सरकारी बना कर हो सकती है? आज तो जमाना है देहात की तरक्की और देहात की आमदनी बढ़ाने का। यह बात सही है कि एक जमाना था जब खेती का पेशा कमाई का घंघा नहीं समझा जाता था, वह टोटे का घंघा समझा जाता था—वह एक तरीका था जिन्दगी को निभाने का। 5 साल के अन्दर एक फसल

अच्छी होती थी, 4 साल तक भुखमरी होती थी तो भी चलता था, टोटे के अन्दर भी खेती करता था। आज तो खेती भी इण्डस्ट्री है। ट्रैक्टर है, उसकी कीमत बढ़ती है, डोजल आईल हैं उसकी कीमत बढ़ती है और दूसरे इक्विपमेन्ट हैं, चाहे वह खाद हो दूसरी चीज हो, हर एक चीज की कीमत बढ़ती है और हम महसूस करते हैं कि खेती से आमदनी लेने के लिए उन्हें बहुत ज्यादा कीमत देनी पड़ती है। आज दुनिया के उन्नतशील देशों के अन्दर कहीं भी खाद के इतने ऊंचे भाव नहीं हैं जितना हिन्दुस्तान के गरीब किसानों को खरीदने के लिए दाम देना पड़ता है और हम तरक्की करते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान का गरीब किसान अपने पेट को पट्टी बांध कर हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की करवा देगा, यह स्वतन्त्र की बात है, यह देश के अन्दर मुमकिन नहीं है।

आज अगर हम देश में तरक्की कर सकते हैं तो जितनी जहाजरानी की, शिपिंग की, कंपनीज हैं, सबको नेशनलाइज करें। यह आमदनी का एक नया जरिया है और इसी तरह से और इण्डस्ट्रीज हैं, उन सबको ले लें तब तो गरीबी हट सकती है, गरीबी हटाने का कोई प्रोग्राम बन सकता है।

उपसभापति महोदय, इसी तरह चीनी के कारखाने वालों की एक कहानी है। मुझे सौभाग्य मिला हिन्दुस्तान की कांस्टिट्यूट असेम्बली में रहने से लेकर लेजेस्लेटिव्ह असेम्बली के अन्दर सदस्य रहने का और उस वक्त से लेकर आज तक का मैं एक इतिहास बता सकता हूं। कारखानेदारों ने जब यह कहा कि चीनी हमारे पास बहुत है, चीनी कोई उठा नहीं सकता, इसको बाहर एक्सपोर्ट करने की इजाजत दी जाए और ज्योंही इजाजत मिली, 2 महीने के अन्दर चीनी लुप्त हो गई, गरीब हिन्दुस्तान के चीनी खाने वाले को चीनी नहीं मिली। यही हालत आज तक की है किसान को मुश्किल होती है क्योंकि आखिर वह उस जमाने का किसान नहीं रहा जो टोटे के लिए खेती

[श्री रणवीर सिंह]

करे। आज वह भाव का हिसाब लगाता है—है बोन में फायदा है, गन्ना बीजने में फायदा है या आइलसीड बीजने में फायदा है और जब देखता है उस चीज में फायदा है तो पिछली फसल को छोड़ देता है लेकिन छोड़ने के लिए कुछ समय चाहिए, कुछ समय के अन्दर फायदा देने वाली फसल बीजना आरम्भ कर देता है। फर्ज कीजिए इस साल गन्ने की कीमत अच्छी रही तो अगले साल गन्ना ज्यादा बीजेगा, अगले साल गन्ने की कीमत गिर जायगी तो उसको नुकसान रहता है, तो वह 2 साल बाद गन्ने की जो देश के अन्दर बिजवाई होगी तो गन्ना कम होगा और चीनी की मंहगाई हो जायगी। यही हाल दूसरी फसल का होगा।

मैं एक बात और कहूंगा कि हमारे हरियाणा और दूसरे प्रदेशों में पिछले साल के अन्दर 500 करोड़ रुपये का ओवरड्राफ्ट रहा है। मुझको मालूम नहीं दूसरे प्रदेशों का कि उनका ओवरड्राफ्ट क्यों रहा... मैं मानता हूँ उन लोगों ने जिस तरह हमने अपने प्रदेश के अन्दर तरक्की करने के लिए, ज्यादा काम बढ़ाने के लिए 30 करोड़ लिया, उसी तरह से लिया। मुझे याद है जब पहले लोक सभा में इस बात के ऊपर बहुत चर्चा हुई थी और धमन्डी लाल बन्सल हमारे साथ सदस्य होते थे, उन्होंने छोटी बचत के बारे में कुछ तथ्य रखे। उन्होंने कहा था कि यह जो इधर से उधर कर्जा लेते हैं, थोड़े दिन के बाद वापिस लेते हैं, निकालते हैं, इससे कैसे बजट के अन्दर फायदा है, लेकिन उस बात के वित्त मंत्री श्री सी०डी० देशमुख ने कहा था कि नहीं, नहीं, यह ठीक है, ब्राकायदा सवाल जवाब में यह बात हुई थी। इसी तरह से हमारे हरियाणा प्रदेश के अन्दर अगर लड़ाई न आती, चुनाव न आते तो 26-27 करोड़ छोटी बचत से रुपया इकट्ठा करते। मैं उसको नेट आमदनी नहीं मानता हूँ क्योंकि उसमें से बहुत सारा वापस लिया जाता है, लेकिन यह एक बात है कि वित्त मंत्रालय की जो हिदायत थी वह नहीं कर पाए, इसलिए

ओवरड्राफ्ट हो गया। ओवरड्राफ्ट हो जाय और वित्त मंत्रालय कहे कि जितना ओवरड्राफ्ट स्टेट के अन्दर हुआ है उसकी सैन्ट्रल एसिस्टेंस से काट दिया जाय तो फिर बंगाल, आन्ध्र और हरियाणा में तो केन्द्रीय सरकार की सहायता मिलने वाली नहीं है। किस चीज के लिए चाहिए? नहरों का जाल बिछाने के लिए, नहरों को पुक्ता करने के लिए। मुझे याद है, हिन्दुस्तान के एक बहुत बड़े इंजीनियर ने एक किताब लिखी है, उसमें लिखा है कि अगर तमाम नहरें पक्की कर दी जायं, वाटर कोर्स पक्के कर दिए जायं तो 33 परसेंट पानी जो जमीन में जव्व हो जाता है वह खेती की पैदावार में लग सकता है।

पंजाब, हरियाणा का इरीगेशन सिस्टम है या कोई भी और प्रदेश है, वहां हम और कोई डैम बनाएं, उसके लिए पानी बढ़ाना चाहें तो पानी बढ़ाने के लिए जो खर्च पड़ेगा उससे कहीं कम खर्चीला यह तरीका है कि जो आज की नहर है उन्हें पुक्ता किया जाय। हरियाणा प्रदेश के अन्दर यही हो रहा है, सड़कें बन रही हैं, तरक्की के काम हो रहे हैं। यहां के वित्त मंत्रालय के नुमाइन्दे गए, और दूसरे विशेषज्ञ गए, उन सबकी राय है कि हरियाणा ने एक नया रास्ता दिखाया है। भाई महावीर कहते थे; उन्होंने दुनिया के दूसरे देशों का नाम लिया, वहां जायं। मैं कहता हूँ कि ताईवान जाने की जरूरत नहीं है, चीन जाने की जरूरत है। दिल्ली से 10 मील परे जाने की जरूरत है। देश कितनी तेजी से तरक्की कर सकता है या कोई प्रदेश कितनी तेजी से तरक्की कर सकता है यह हरियाणा से सबक मिल सकता है, लेकिन वह तरक्की रुक जायगी अगर हमको केन्द्रीय सहायता का पैसा नहीं मिलेगा। पैसा कोई सोना है? वह तो कागज है जो छाप कर देना होता है। उस तरीके से किस तरह से इनफ्लेशन होगा, डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग से कैसे देश को मुमीबत होगी यह समझ में नहीं आता। इकानामिस्ट भी और हम सब भाई तनखादार हैं, हमें डेफिसिट फाइ-

नैसिग से शायद शेर से भी ज्यादा डर लगता है। डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग जितनी पहली व दूसरी पांचसाला योजना में हुई उतनी चौथी में न हो, उससे हम डरते हैं। तो कैसे काम चलेगा। (Time bell rings) दो-तीन मिनट में खत्म कर दूंगा। इसलिए हरियाणा व दूसरे प्रदेशों की उन्नति के लिए केन्द्रीय सहायता मिलनी चाहिए।

**श्री उपसभापति :** अब नहीं।

**श्री रणवीर सिंह :** मैं आज के लिए तैयार नहीं था, फिर भी...

**श्री उपसभापति :** आपने 20 मिनट ले लिए, अब अपनी बात खत्म कीजिए।

**श्री रणवीर सिंह :** 1800 करोड़ रुपए की हमारी पहली पांचसाला योजना बनी और उस वक्त भी हमने डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग की, दूसरी में भी की, आज चौथी में डरने से कैसे काम चलेगा। पैसे हम टैक्स लगा कर वसूल करते हैं, डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग भी एक तरह का टैक्स है।

हमारे देश के अन्दर क्या हालत है। 200 रुपए का तनखादार तमाम कुटुम्ब का काम चलाया करता था। खेती में हर आदमी को काम करना पड़ता है। इसी तरह से जो आदमी तनखादार हैं उनके घर में हर आदमी को काम करना होगा उसका ध्यान रखें तो काम हो सकता है। आज प्रतिमास 1700 रुपए में भी डर दिखाया जाता है आत्म हत्या का। इस देश के अन्दर कितने आदमी हैं जिनको 1700 रुपए माहवार की आमदनी है। इसी तरह से लोग आत्म हत्या करने लगे तो यह सारा देश आत्म हत्या कर लेगा। उस दृष्टि से यह देश कैसे आगे बढ़ेगा। इस देश के लिए दूसरे तरीके से सोचना चाहिए। हम अहिंसा पर विश्वास करने वाले आत्म हत्या करते हैं, वह देश के लिए अच्छी बात नहीं है, लेकिन उसके लिए भी अच्छी बात नहीं है। आत्म हत्या कोई देश का मान नहीं बढ़ाती, देश के मान को गिराती है

और उनकी तारीफ करना देश के मान को गिराता है।

DR. K. NAGAPPA ALVA (Mysore) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, there is an atmosphere of uncertainty and confusion and also a crisis of character in the country today. We want speedy economic progress and, at the same time, social justice but what have we achieved so far ? We cannot be satisfied that we have done our best part in the matter of planning and in the matter of implementation of our programmes because today the slogan is and the attempt of the Government and of the people in the country is Garibi Hatao—the eradication of poverty in this country. The problem of unemployment is becoming explosive. Price rise is there and that is not controlled. Government find it difficult. It is good that we are truthful to ourselves and to this country and say what is going on. It has been admitted, even this morning, by our Finance Minister that there is, what is called, a parallel economy in this country. It is an insult to the intelligence and the great cultural heritage of this country.

Huge amount of money is being spent for luxury and all sorts of things. Where-from and how does this money come to these people ? Are we to suffer for the sins of a few people in this country, because the Government is helpless ? But is the Government really helpless ? Have they made a serious and sincere effort in this direction ? What are the living conditions of the people today ?—leave alone the living standards.

We have been hearing about imbalances, disparities and inequalities. What is the magnitude of inequality, what is the cause of imbalance ? The imbalances have to be made up, the inequalities have to be bridged. Just compare the rich with the poor in their living conditions and the ways or how much they are spending. It has been found from the survey reports—and it is painful to note—that there are certain areas in the country where people are not in a position to spend more than ten rupees per month for their food and other things. I am only making an appeal to the Government. Let there be proper understanding and co-operation between the different Ministers. Let

fDr. K. Nagappa Alva]

lhn! [!ube Pr°per thinkin\$ first' then aciiion a™ then the programmes, the infrastructure n certain cases and also proper implementation machinery or agency every where. Corruption at all levels needs to be curbed and efficiency of administration to be increased.

Here again, I must say that the importance and responsibility of the Finance Ministry must be understood. I am happy that proper persons are handling that portfolio. A powerful man is the Finance Minister an intelligent Minister of State who comes from Kerala, a place known for intelligence and high standard of literacy but where there is increasing density of population and the cultivable and habitable land is too little, and a mother as Deputy Finance Minister, we have to consider seriously the shifting of emphasis and fixing of priorities on different subjects. This has not been oone. I am happy that this time there was the mid-term Plan appraisal. It took note of the shortfalls but I say that you have to see as to what is the magnitude of the short-falls. I Wsnto repeat today what is the magnitude of the shortfalls. Before saying that I must point out that it is the human mele, it is the human resources, it is the skill, strength and calibre of the people that ^ve to be built up in this country. But what is the position? It is the care of the mother, the health of the mother and the Proper upbringing of the children that is needed. It is said that investment on health ' problems gives rich dividends. It is wise to 'earn from our mistakes and also from other advanced countries. How much have we spent for these things after all? There are contributory factors for the promotion of health, building up of health. Health of mind, body and soul must be aimed at in •his country. I notice a glaring shor(fal| jn 'an expenditure on health. The progress ol expenditure has been much behind the schedule of the total outlay on about Rs. crores. Only about 40 per cent of that amount was spent in the first three years of the Fourth Plan. From this, Sir, you can understand how the programmes are being implemented, how they can be implemented and what the fate of targets are. We are not achieving targets in this field.

Sir, because the time is short, I must cut down certain points which I want to

emphasise today and elaborate also. I am appealing to this Ministry to give the importance that is due and the priority that is due for health and allied subjects. The subjects of health, family planning, nutrition, prevention of adulteration, tourism, forest and afforestation and mainerals must b» given due importance and priority. Here I must jay that if tourisom and forestry are properly exploited, they will perhaps form not less than one-fourth of the resources of this country that are needed.

4 P.M.

Then there is, housing, drinking water supply, sanitation very important problems indeed. I must also say some thing about diseases beecause it is necessary once again to emphasize that it is health, education, food and housing which are the roost important things. But there are factors which contribute towards a deterioration of health; there are also factors which cause diseases. Al these thing have ta be looked into. Here I would like to give certain figures. There are 6 million blind in India, five million with eye diseases and defects 2.5 million deaf, 10 million physically and orthopaedi-caily defective people, ten million mentally defective or deficient; five lakhs every year die of tuberculosis, 7 million suffer from tuberculosis, 2.5 million leprosy patients and out of that 25 per cent only undergo treatment. There are five million beggars in India including leprosy patients, blind people and others; there are other varieties of beggars also in our country. Then there are slum dwellers; I do not have all the figures but this morning I read that in Madras there are 7 lakhs of slum dwellers. In Bangalore City out of 16 lakhs of people there are 2^ lakhs slum dwellers. Besides the e there are pavement dwellers. Twenty million people suffer from venereal diseases; five lakhs of people die of cancer every year and not less than 2 million suffer from cancer out of which only 5 to 10 per cent go in for treatment. Then there is the colossal question of malnutrition and undernutrition. More than 50 per cent of the people suffer from malnutrition. Over 20 million in India are unemployed; 15 crores of people are illiterate and 90 per cent of the farmers are indebted. So far as drinking water supply is concerned the present position is in 90,000 villages there is no drink'ng water

supply and in one lakh and ten thousand villages there is no pure or protected drinking water supply and these people suffer from what is called the problems and diseases due to contaminated or impure water. Then there is the question of housing. How many millions of houses we have to build? It is becoming topsy-turvy; I must say that the rural population is being neglected. I say the entire planning must be rural-biased. It is only when rural India becomes self-reliant we will be able to sustain this country and to safeguard the interests of this country in every respect and make democracy and freedom safe. About imbalances the less said the better. As a result of political pressures industries are being started in certain places and so many other things are being done. With all the sincerity at my command and with prayer I appeal to you, let there be no politics in the matter of taking decisions and in the implementation of the programmes or in choosing places for the location of industries. Dispersal of industries is very necessary. Rural industries is a must.

Today there is another thing, which is painful, I must say, it is a new idea. The idea of self-reliance was there, but the latest is uniformity, uniformity in land reforms. If India is rich, it is because of the variety, and if India is strong, it is because of the variety in many things. And India varies in different parts of the country, in the matter of rainfall, in the matter of climate, in the matter of soil and such other things. I am saying about uniformity in land legislation, or land reforms, as they are called. About the ceiling on land, about the ceiling on family holdings and about the small holdings I am saying. Let all these things be seriously considered. By distributing the land to the poor people you won't be able immediately to solve their problems. Giving these lands to the landless labourers is meaningless. Sir, the most important thing that has to be remembered in the implementation of these programmes is about the probable implications. It is for you in the Finance Ministry to use your influence, I must say, with the Central Cabinet and with the Planning Commission. In all these things you must have your say. Having all these facts and figures before you, it is for you to examine and understand. Let there be no fragmentation of holdings. If the

surplus lands are to be given, let them be given to those people who have uneconomic holdings. Deeply, considering all the aspects, let the decision on ceiling and other things be taken. We have to think over and discuss all these things thoroughly. All of a sudden anything and everything cannot be achieved. So, I am saying it is a question of economy and it is India's economy. It is the rural economy that must be the basis and strength for our economy. We have to build up the economy all round.

Then, Sir, about the children, I will only say this much. 210 million children are born every year in this country. The rise in population is 120 million because 90 million people die. What we have to remember is that we have to look after the welfare of 210 million children being added on every year to our already emaciated population. We have to provide them nutrition. We have to give them food and education. We have to reduce the sufferings of the mothers in this country. Motherhood has been respected in this country always and I am happy that our Prime Minister is the most powerful person today after she has got the massive mandate of the people in which the major is of women. I say this because all the women of this country look to the Prime Minister for the alleviation of their sufferings. If she can make up her mind, it is easy for her. Let the All India Radio be used. Let every propaganda media be made use of. Let her make it a point to say a few words in every speech. Where she addresses lakhs of people, let her make an appeal to the people to see to the health and welfare of the mothers and children and appeal to the men also to look to their care and health. Also, the mothers today everywhere want children by choice and they do want children by chance. For that it is very necessary that the question of Family Planning Programme has to be emphasised, and personal interest by the Prime Minister will go a long way to see that this programme is implemented, and the children, the future leaders, will become full citizens of this country. We have a large population today. This is the largest democracy in the world, but for that democracy to become strong care of the children is very necessary. I shall say what exactly is happening in the medical field.

In spite of so many reports and efforts



[Shri K. Nagappa Alva] ,rP havina 1,20,000 doctors or ?o. For roOOpersonfwe'have one doctor. We want ^Tave at least one bed for 1,000 persons but we do not have one bed even for 10,000 if vou take rural India into consideration. n,his connection I make an appeal to you

It if ery necessary that all that all the sys-ms of medicine arc encouraged and bu.lt up with proper staff, proper research and Proper medical education. You must see that all the people who deserve treatment get the care that is necessary.

Now Sir, I Come to tourism, in tourism very mtle has been done. If there's any-hng that has been done and whch we can e "t is perhaps the Starting of five-star hotels and some tourist hotels here and there. They have done pretty little. For comparison I w l say one thing. It is not only a quest.on o earning foreign exchange. I. «s a question of Sins the bridge of understanding with o her countries so that they may know us » ?l e real sense of the term. When they come h re wl do they see? they see the dirty SaceT all sorts of beggars and obstacles There'is no good transport arrangement. Thee are no good hotels. One thng we hav to remember. Tourism is not wtfy to attract the very rich foreign tourists. It L meant for all classes of people Indian and Foreign Home tourism and domestic tourism must be build up because we expect haT aT least one out of hundred of our own Xfe would go on tour to see the country We have got many places of histortcal and cultural importance, beauty spots and so many attractive things. Ind a can be con-s dered to be a miniature world. I had a ehance of eoing to some of the countnes andknowin; about them. India can excel any other country in this respect. Tourism is a 11,000-crore world industry. TM% « fast growing. In five years it will be Rs 18,010 crores. Yugoslavia invested Rs 38 cro es in tourism in the year 1968 and earned Rs. 140 crores in two years .n foreign exchange. One hund.ed tnd fifty thousand visitors came two India , 1964 and 245,000 people in 1969 earning Rs. 33 "ore.\vr\*fa vast country. What is our population I What is our richness? In TM of \*orld tourism India got only one out of every thousand wotld tourists. India can be the world's most attractive tourist

country. Any amount of money can beearne In certain countries more than half of thai.-national income is from tourism. Let there be no complacency at all in these things. And I must say that the Finance Ministry also will have to play a very great and bold role. The Planning Commission and the Finance Ministry must discuss these things threadbare and know things as they are. It is not a question, as people used to say, of jugglery of words and figures. That should rot be there. Let us not get the satisfaction that we have got the vote of the peop'e and that we can get on somehow. Let us see the truth of the matter. Let us go deep into the thing; and see how we will be able to solve the problems of poverty, misery and unemployment and also price rise, and how the economy of the countny can be built up, so that disparity, inequality and imbalance can be set right. It is only these things that are wanted in India, and by these the unity of the people can be built up. It is very necessary.

Before concluding, I may have your permission just to say a few points about, in a way, an injustice committed, to some extent. I must painfully submit about it. Though there may be difficulties, I am sue what is due to Mysore in certain things is not being done with greater attention and speed that are necessary. Sir, the Vijaya-nagar Steel Plant's foundation was laid by the Prime Minister. The other day we felt very much to know that a policy to have tl e full capacity of other steel mills only for the present was announced. So, I onl\ appeal that this work may be started and may be completed. The target for expenditure is Rs. 800 odd crores.

Then, Sir, there is the Kudiraimukh iron o;e which is magnetite iron ore. Any amount of ore is there; perhaps, it is the third largest deposit in the world. That project is also not coming up very well. Also, the Mangalove Harbour is not progressing satisfactorily. What is wanted is a harbour which can allow one lakh tonne capacity steamers to come. The foundation is there for a 45-feet depth harbour that will have to be built. Then there is the fertiliser project. That also will have to be taken up and speeded up.

Finally, irrigation is the most important thing. We are backward in that and there also, clearance has not been given for some of the projects. Financial aid is not being given and so many things come in the way, like the inter-State water disputes, etc. I only appeal to you to see that these projects come up because in the interest of the country also it is very necessary. For the State it is all right but these projects will also contribute to the greatness and richness of our country.

Thank you, Sir.

**श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूडावत (राजस्थान) :** उपसभापति महोदय, आज के इस विज्ञान के युग में जब कि एक मुल्क का दूसरे मुल्क से फासला बहुत नजदीक होता जा रहा है, टूरिज्म एक इंडस्ट्री के रूप में स्थापित किया गया है और वर्ल्ड में उसका इसी तरह से विकास हुआ है। हमारे यहाँ भी हम ने एक इंडस्ट्री के रूप में टूरिज्म को स्वीकार किया। इन पिछले कुछ वर्षों में हमने इस बारे में काफी प्रयास किया और उसका विकास किया और उसको आगे बढ़ाया, इसमें कोई दो रायें नहीं हैं और उसी का यह सबूत है कि जब 1962 में हम को उससे विदेशी मुद्रा की आय 200 मिलियन होती थी, आज 8 साल के बाद उस से दुगुनी 400 मिलियन की आय हम कर रहे हैं। लेकिन प्रश्न हमारे सामने यह है कि क्या हम ने जो विकास किया या जो उपलब्धि की वह हमारी क्षमता को देखते हुए, हमारे मुल्क को देखते हुए यथेष्ट थी? क्या उससे हमें संतुष्ट हो जाना चाहिए? मैं कहती हूँ कि उससे हमें संतुष्ट नहीं होना चाहिए। जब हम दूसरे मुल्कों की ओर नजर डालते हैं। जो हम से बहुत छोटे हैं, तो देखते हैं कि उन्होंने टूरिज्म को कितना बढ़ावा दिया है। वह जो दूसरे मुल्क हैं उन के आंकड़ों से पता लगता है, स्पेन एक छोटा सा मुल्क है लेकिन उसमें प्रति वर्ष 30 मिलियन टूरिस्ट आते हैं।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) in the Chair].

और हमारे भी उतने ही छोटे मुल्क हैं और वहाँ की स्थिति यह है कि वहाँ की आबादी कुल 25 मिलियन है और टूरिस्ट प्रति वर्ष वहाँ पहुँच जाते हैं 32 मिलियन और वहाँ की जो कुल नेशनल इन्कम होती है, उस इन्कम का 46 परसेंट टूरिज्म से मिलता है। जब हम अपने मुल्क पर उन लोगों के मिलान में नजर डालते हैं, तो हम को पता लगता है कि हमारा टारगेट है इस पंचवर्षीय योजना की समाप्ति तक हम 8 लाख टूरिस्टों को यहाँ बुलाने की आशा रखते हैं, आकांक्षा रखते हैं। हम कह नहीं सकते कि हमारी यह आशा और आकांक्षा पूरी होगी या नहीं। 8 लाख का हमारा टारगेट है, यह हमारी आकांक्षा है। आखिर हमें इस नजर से देखना होगा कि इन छोटे-छोटे मुल्कों के पास इतनी भारी संख्या में टूरिस्ट क्यों पहुँच जाते हैं और हमारे पास क्यों नहीं आते जब कि उन मुल्कों के पास उतनी बेराइटी नहीं है जितनी कि हमारे पास है। जितनी हमारे पास दिखाने के लिए चीजें हैं वह उनके पास नहीं हैं। इटली जो इतना छोटा मुल्क है उसमें वेनिस और फ्लोरेंस दिखाने के लिये है। उन को उनसे आया होती है। स्विटजरलैंड का जितनी आय होती है, वह वहाँ के जो हिमाच्छादित पहाड़ हैं, उन के कारण होती है। इसी प्रकार उन मुल्कों के पास कुछ न कुछ ऐसी चीजें हैं जिनसे वे अपनी आय करते हैं। हवाई द्वीप हैं, वहाँ सी-बीच और दूसरी आमोद-प्रमोद की चीजें हैं, जिनसे वह अपनी आय कर लेता है। हमारे पास क्या नहीं है? जो कुछ इन मुल्कों के पास अलग-अलग मिला कर है वह सब अपने हमारे मुल्क में है। हमारे पास इन प्राकृतिक चीजों के अलावा, समुद्र, पहाड़, नदियों के अलावा, सी-बीच के अलावा मानूँगे तो, हमारा खजुराहो है, हमारा कोणार्क है, हमारा चित्तौड़ और रणथंभोर है और इसके अलावा एक नहीं अनेक चीजें हैं जो टूरिस्टों को आकर्षित कर सकती हैं, लेकिन हम इस मामले में आगे नहीं बढ़ सके। इसका

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूड़ावत]

कारण यह है कि होटलों का जितना प्राविजन हमारे मुल्क में होना चाहिए था वह हम नहीं कर पाये। अच्छे हवाई रास्ते होने चाहिए, उनके साधन हम डवलप नहीं कर सके। इसी तरह से हमारा ट्रांसपोर्ट है, उसको भी हम आगे नहीं बढ़ा सके। आज दुनिया भर के टूरिस्टों की जो मांग है, जो कि हमारे मुल्क में आना चाहते हैं, उनकी मांग को हम पूरा नहीं कर सके, उन चीजों को हम प्रोवाइड नहीं कर सके, जिससे कि टूरिस्ट यहां आ सकें। इसके लिए हमें विकास करना है। हमें इस के विभिन्न अंगों पर सोचना है। जब हम इस के विकास की बात सोचते हैं, तो प्रश्न पैदा होता है कि टूरिस्ट क्या चाहते हैं? एक टूरिस्ट क्या देखने के लिए आता है? टूरिस्ट वह कुछ देखना चाहता है जो उसके पास नहीं है। टूरिस्ट वह देखना चाहता है कि जो दूसरे किसी मुल्क का अपनापन है। जब टूरिस्ट यहाँ आता है तो वह यहां का जन-जीवन देखना चाहता है वह भारत की आत्मा का दर्शन करना चाहता है, हमारी संस्कृति का साक्षात्कार करना चाहता है, लेकिन अफसोस है कि हम ने यह चीजें अपने टूरिस्टों के लिए, मैं तो कहूंगी कि नहीं दी। जब टूरिस्ट हमारे यहां आता है तो उसको हमारे होटलों में उस भारतीय आत्मा के दर्शन नहीं हो पाते, जिस संस्कृति की बात वह पुस्तकों में पढ़ता है, उसकी झलक उसको वहां नहीं मिलती। जो हमारे नृत्य हैं, लोक नृत्य हैं, लोक संस्कृति है, उसके बारे में वह बेहद उत्सुक रहता है, लेकिन हम उसको इस बारे में किसी तरह की जानकारी नहीं दे सकते। मैं उदयपुर और जयपुर जैसे शहर से आती हूँ जो कि टूरिस्टों के लिए नंबर दो और तीन के शहर हैं। मैं जानती हूँ कि शाम के वक्त जब टूरिस्ट आ कर होटल में बैठता है तो उनके पास रिक्रियेशन के लिए कोई मसाला नहीं होता, कोई सामग्री नहीं होती। उनको शाम बिताना मुश्किल हो जाता

है। वह चाहते हैं कि हमारे जन-जीवन के बारे में जानें, लेकिन हम उसको वह कुछ दे नहीं पाते। इसलिए मैं यह निवेदन करूंगी कि हम जो इन होटलों पर खर्च करने जा रहे हैं, शायद 8 करोड़ रुपया नये होटलों के बनाने पर ऋण के रूप में हम देने जा रहे हैं, उसके लिए उन पर इस प्रकार की पाबंदी लगाई जाए और इन होटलों को इस तरह से बनाया जाए, क्योंकि होटलों पर करोड़ों रुपये व्यय हो रहे हैं कि उनके अन्दर आने पर टूरिस्ट को वास्तविक भारत के दर्शन हों। वहां उनकी सजाबट भारतीय ढंग की हो, वहां जो उन्हें भोजन दिये जायें वह भारतीय ढंग के हों। आज हमारे होटल विदेशों की नकल कर रहे हैं और वह भी भोंडी तरह की नकल कर रहे हैं। जो हम वहां खाना देते हैं उसमें टूरिस्ट को कोई आनन्द नहीं आता। वह यह देखने के लिये यहां आता है कि हमारे यहाँ का भोजन किस तरह का होता है। हमारे अलग-अलग राज्यों के अलग-अलग भोजन हैं, हमारे अलग-अलग राज्यों की अलग अलग संस्कृति है, अलग-अलग वेशभूषा है, लेकिन उसकी कोई झांकी उनको हमारे इन होटलों में नहीं मिलती। उसको उनका कोई ज्ञान नहीं हो पाता। जब वह उदयपुर में या जयपुर में आता है तो साफा बांधे हुए, बीकानेरी साफा बांधे हुए जो बेटर होते हैं, तो वह उनके लिए आनन्द की चीज होती है, वह यह सब देखना चाहते हैं। इसी तरह से जितने हमारे राज्य हैं, उनकी संस्कृति के अनुरूप वहां के बेटर्स हों, वहां जो महिलायें काम करती हैं वह अपनी परम्परागत पोशाक में रहें। इसी तरह से हमारे यहां भोजनों की कमी नहीं है, एक-एक राज्य में हजारों तरह के व्यंजन बनते हैं, उनको बना कर उसी तरह से परोसा जाए। तो इन सब चीजों के ऊपर विशेष तौर पर ध्यान देना चाहिए कि वहां हम आने यहां की संस्कृति का प्रदर्शन करें। शाम के वक्त लोक नृत्य हों, भ्युजिक हो, कविता हो इस तरह की चीजें हों। यह सब टूरिस्ट के सामने पेश की जायें ताकि वह

यहां की एक स्मृति को लेकर जाए कि हिन्दु-स्तान की संस्कृति कितनी गहरी है, उसमें कितनी विधायें हैं, कितनी विविधता है और कितना आनन्द है। टूरिस्ट्स यह सब चीजों को देखने के लिए यहां आते हैं। आज जब कि किसी विशेष लाइन का कोई व्यक्ति आता है, जैसे कि कोई कवि हो, कोई संगीतज्ञ हो या किसी विशेष लाइन का जानकार हो, तो जब वह आता है तो उसकी बहुत इच्छा होती है कि उसी लाइन के भारतीय विद्वानों से मिले और इसी तरह जो भारतीय लोग हैं, उनकी भी बड़ी इच्छा रहती है कि जिनका नाम हम सुने हुए होते हैं, जिनको मिलने के लिये हम उत्सुक रहते हैं उनसे मिलें, लेकिन जब वह हमारे नगर में आते हैं तो पता ही नहीं चलता कि कौन विभूति आई और चली गई। इस लिए जो व्यक्ति इन बातों से रुचि रखते हों उनकी आपस में मीटिंग हो सके, उनका गेट-टुगेदर करने के लिए कार्यक्रम होटल में बनाया जाना चाहिए।

दूसरी चीज जो मैं आपके ध्यान में लाऊंगी वह यह है कि जो 8 करोड़ रुपये होटलों के ऊपर खर्च किया जा रहा है वह बड़े-बड़े होटलों पर किया जा रहा है। सबसे ज्यादा ध्यान दिया जा रहा है। लक्जरी होटल्स के ऊपर फाइव स्टार होटल के ऊपर और फोर स्टार होटल्स के ऊपर। जो अमीर आदमी है वह उसमें आते हैं और ठहरते हैं। मैं मानती हूं कि इसकी जरूरत है, लेकिन इसके अलावा हमारे मुल्क में उन होटलों की भी जरूरत है जो कि कम्परेटेबिलि सस्ते हों। स्वच्छ हों, साफ हों और जिन होटलों में मध्यम वर्ग के व्यक्ति भी रह सकें, वह उनमें ठहर सकें, वहां आ सकें और देख सकें। कम से कम जो स्टूडेंट्स हैं, यूथ हैं वह आ सकें और अपनी टूरिज्म की इच्छा को पूरी कर सकें। इसलिए हमें इन लक्जरी होटलों के साथ-साथ सस्ते होटलों के लिए भी आयोजन करना चाहिए।

उपसभापति महोदय, इस टूरिज्म के साथ

ही साथ वाइल्ड लाइफ का सवाल जुड़ा हुआ है। कई जगह हम टाइगर्स को दिखाने के लिए आयोजन करते हैं, कई नेशनल पार्क भी कायम किये हैं, सैक्चुररीज भी है लेकिन आज उनकी स्थिति क्या हो रही है। कानून के द्वारा वाइल्ड लाइफ को मारने के ऊपर प्रतिबन्ध लगे हैं, टाइगर नहीं मारा जा सकता, पेंथर नहीं मारा जा सकता है लेकिन असली स्थिति क्या है? ये मारे जाते हैं, इनका प्वायजनिंग होता है, जहर मिला कर के जानवरों की हत्या की जाती है। गिर फारेस्ट का एक्सीडेंट आपको मालूम ही है कि पीने के पानी में किसानों ने चूहे मारे जाने वाली दवा मिला दी और उससे गिर फारेस्ट का शेर मर गया था। इसी तरह की और भी घटनाएं होती हैं। आप जानते हैं कि शेर एक जानवर को मारता है तो एक दफा खाकर के फिर छोड़ कर चला जाता है। अब कई लोग आते हैं और उसमें इस तरह की जहरीली दवा मिला देते हैं, जैसे कि चूहे मारने की दवा मिला देते हैं और उसके खाने पर शेर मर जाता है और फिर उनकी खाल को बेचा जाता है। तो इस तरह से ट्रेड किया जाता है। उपसभापति जी, वाइल्ड लाइफ के सम्बन्ध में बोलते हुये मैं हिरण की तरफ भी आपका ध्यान दिलाऊंगी। राजस्थान में जो काला हिरण है, ब्लैक बक्स का स्पेसिमेन है, वह अब एक रेयर जानवर रह गया है। पहले वहां पंद्रह-पंद्रह, बीस-बीस की टोली में बहुत से ब्लैक बक्स घूमते थे लेकिन आज वह एक दुर्लभ चीज हो गई है। हालांकि सरकार ने उनके मारने के ऊपर रोक लगा दी है और इसके लिए सजा दी जाती है। लेकिन अभी दो साल पहले कस्टम के ऊपर एक चीज की गठरी पकड़ी गई और उसमें हिरण की पूछ निकली, क्योंकि वह बाहर एक्सपोर्ट कर रहे थे और वह भी थोड़ी बहुत नहीं कई किलो में।

कस्टम वालों ने यहां के जू के इनचाज को बुला कर के पूछा। उन्होंने बताया कि यह हिरण की पूछ है और राजस्थान के हिरण की पूछ है। इस प्रकार कई, सैकड़ों की तादात में

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूड़ावत]

हिरन मारे गये लेकिन आज तक किसी ने यह पता नहीं लगाया कि किसने इन हिरणों को मारा, किसने एक्सपोर्ट किया। इस प्रश्न को कम से कम दो बार राजस्थान असेम्बली में मैंने उठाया, लेकिन कुछ नहीं हो पा रहा है। जिस जानवर के मारने के ऊपर प्रतिबन्ध लगा रखा है—शायद 10 साल की सजा है—उस हिरण का मांस घर-घर में औरतें ले जाकर घूमती हैं यह कह कर कि हिरण का मांस ले लो। तो यह स्थिति है कि एक तरफ कानून बनाए जा रहे हैं, लेकिन उसका पालन किस तरह हो रहा है यह मैं सदन के सामने रखना चाहती हूँ। इसके ऊपर टूरिज्म से जुड़ा हुआ है वाइल्ट लाइफ बोर्ड। मैं चाहती हूँ कि वह इन बातों पर सख्ती से अमल करे।

उपन्याय महीदय, इसके साथ ही साथ मैं गाइड्स जो रखे जाते हैं, उनके बारे में कहना चाहूँगी। गाइड्स जो रखे जाते हैं उनको ट्रेनिंग दी जाती है, कोचिंग की जाती है, सब कुछ होता है, लेकिन आखिर गाइड अपनी इस ड्यूटी को कहां तक अदा करता है? जो कुछ उनको रट रटा कर थोड़ा बहुत याद आ जाता है वह लोगों को बता देते हैं—इस साल में फलों चीज बनी थी, इसको बनाने वाला वह था, इस वक्त यह साम्राज्य था—कुछ गिनी गिनाई बातों को रट-रटा कर ये गाइड लोग टुरिस्ट को जवाब दे देते हैं। लेकिन आप जानते हैं बाहर से जो टुरिस्ट आते हैं, उनमें से कुछ जर्नलिस्ट्स भी होते हैं, डिप्लोमेट भी होते हैं, बुद्धिमान भी होते हैं, कई प्रकार के लोग होते हैं। वे जब देखने आते हैं तो पचास तरह के क्वेश्चन करते हैं और उनका माकूल जवाब गाइड नहीं दे पाता है, अंशुष्ट जवाब दे देता है, इधर-उधर कहीं से गड़ देते हैं और उन बातों का इम्प्रेशन बाहर वालों के दिमाग में ऐसा बैठता है कि वे कई तरह की गलत बातें हमारे मुल्क के बारे में लिख देते हैं। ऐसी

एक दो पुस्तकें मैंने पढ़ी, विदेशी जर्नलिस्ट महिलाओं की लिखी हुई और उनमें जो बातें लिखी थीं, उन्हें पढ़ कर हंसी भी आती है और साथ ही गुस्सा भी आता है कि इस तरह की बातें हमारे गाइड लोगों से मालूम करके मनमानी ढंग से, अजीब ढंग से लिख दी जाती है। तो मेरा निवेदन है कि हमारे जो गाइड्स हैं वे चूँकि हमारी संस्कृति के एम्बेसेडर बन जाते हैं, लाखों लोगों से सम्बन्ध होता है जिनको वे कई तरह की बातें बताते हैं, इसलिए जरूरी है कि हमारे गाइड्स को चुना जाय तो बुद्धिमान लोगों में से चुना जाए, उनको ट्रेनिंग दी जाय और जब कोई बाहर का आदमी हमारी आकर हमारी माइथालाजी के ऊपर प्रश्न करे तो वह उसको संतुष्ट कर सके, हमारी हिस्ट्री के बारे में पूछे तो सही तौर से बता सके, और इसी तरह से हमारी सोसाइटी के बारे में या कोई पोलिटिकल प्रश्न करे तो संतोषप्रद उत्तर दे सके। कम से कम इतनी अच्छी ट्रेनिंग हमारे गाइड्स को मिलनी चाहिए। महीदय, असल में अभी जो हमारे गाइड्स हैं, उनका इन्टरेस्ट केवल यह रहता है कि टुरिस्ट को उन दुकानों में शापिंग के लिए ले जाएं, जहां से उनको कमीशन मिलता है। उन स्थानों में नहीं ले जाएगा, जैसा कि मैंने अपने अनुभव से देखा है, जैसे कि हमारे गवर्नमेंट के एम्पोरियम होते हैं, उनमें टुरिस्ट को नहीं ले जाएगा, उन्हीं प्राइवेट पार्टियों के पास ले जाएगा जो गाइड को कमीशन देते हैं। तो इसके बारे में हमें सोचना है और देखना है कि इन गाइडों के द्वारा हम बाहर से आने वालों के सामने अपनी अच्छी इमेज रख सकें।

इसके साथ मैं एक प्रश्न सदन के सामने और रखूँगी—यह टुरिज्म से इतना वास्ता नहीं रखता जितना अपने एक्सटर्नल अफेयर्स के साथ रखता है। अभी मैंने आँकड़े देखे कि 3 लाख के करीब टुरिस्ट बाहर से आते हैं, कई मुल्कों से आते हैं। लेकिन एशिया से जो

हमारा अपना महाद्वीप है, उन 3 लाख में से मुश्किल से 70 हजार आदमी एशिया से हमारे शुल्क में आते हैं। इसका क्या कारण है? जो हमारे पड़ोस के मुल्क हैं उनके और हमारे बीच में आम-व-बरफत ज्यादा से ज्यादा होना चाहिए, हर तरह का सम्बन्ध होना चाहिए, लेकिन हम अपने पड़ोसी खास कर एशिया के मुल्कों के टूरिस्टों को अपने यहाँ एट्रैक्ट नहीं कर पाये हैं। केवल यह टूरिस्टों का ही सवाल नहीं है, हमारे यहाँ से जब भी कोई पैकेज प्रोग्राम बनते हैं बाहर जाने के लिए तो केवल यूरोप और अमरीका के लिए बनते हैं, एशिया और अफ्रीका के मुल्कों के लिए नहीं बनते। हमारे यहाँ से डेलीगेशन जाएंगे तो उन्हीं मुल्कों में जाएंगे। पड़ोस के मुल्कों में नहीं जाएंगे। मुझे अप्सोस है कि आज से 500 साल पहले जब आवागमन के इतने साधन नहीं थे, उस वक़्त हमारे लोगों को, हमारी जनता को ईरान की जनता के बारे में ज्यादा मालूम था, बग़दाद की जनता के बारे में ज्यादा मालूम था, हमारे इंडोनेशिया, जावा, सुमात्रा से ज्यादा सम्बन्ध थे जबकि आज आवागमन के इतने साधन होने के बाद भी इन मुल्कों की जनता के साथ हमारे आपस में किसी तरह के सम्पर्क नहीं है, हमें उनकी बातों के बारे में जानकारी नहीं, वे हमारे बारे में जानते नहीं। मैं टूरिज्म को केवल विदेशी मुद्रा कमाने का साधन ही नहीं मानती, इससे दो मुल्कों के बीच मैत्री बनती है, मैत्री बनने के जो फायदे मिलते हैं, उनसे हमारे डिप्लोमैटिक काम निकलते हैं, राजनीतिक लीडरशिप मिलती है। इन बातों की कीमत बहुत ज्यादा है। इसलिए मेरा नम्र निवेदन है कि हम अपना ध्यान पड़ोसी मुल्कों के बीच अधिक से अधिक मैत्री सम्बन्ध स्थापित करने में लगाएं। हमें इस प्रकार के पैकेज प्रोग्राम बनाने चाहिए, इस तरह के डेलीगेशन भेजने चाहिए जो पड़ोसी मुल्कों में जाएं, हमारी असली स्थिति उन्हें बताएं और इन मुल्कों के साथ हमारे अच्छे सम्बन्ध कायम हों।

इन सब बातों को आपकी सेवा में रखते हुए, आखिरी में मैं यही कहूंगी जैसा कि हमारे मिनिस्टर टूरिज्म ने कहा है। एक नेशनल टूरिज्म बोर्ड कायम करने के लिए मेरा भी यही निवेदन है कि शीघ्र से शीघ्र इस प्रकार का बोर्ड कायम किया जाय, जिसमें सेन्टर, स्टेट्स और प्राइवेट पार्टिज से मिल कर इस तरह से काम करें कि टूरिस्ट लोग ज्यादा से ज्यादा आएँ, विदेशी मुद्रा तो हम कमाएँ ही, लेकिन उसके साथ-साथ हम अपने देश की इमेज दुनिया के मुल्कों में अच्छी तरह से प्रोजेक्ट कर सकें।

**श्री ना० कृ० शंजवलकर (मध्य प्रदेश) :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो समय मेरे लिए निर्धारित है उसके हिसाब से ही मैं अपना निवेदन करूंगा। सर्वप्रथम जो प्रश्न हमारे सामने उपस्थित होता है वह यह है कि क्या गत 25 वर्षों में जो भारत के अन्दर प्रगति हुई है वह सन्तोषप्रद है, क्या आज समाज के प्रत्येक अंग के व्यक्ति को सन्तोष है कि हमारा भविष्य हम उज्ज्वल पाते हैं, मुझे बड़े खेद के साथ यह कहने के लिए बाध्य होना पड़ रहा है कि चाहे काश्तकार हो, चाहे बड़ा भारी इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट हो, चाहे वह एक विद्यार्थी हो, चाहे वह सेना का एक कर्मचारी हो या किसी अन्य संगठन का कर्मचारी आज उसको अपने सामने एक अन्धकार मानजर आता है, उसको लगता है कि मेरा भविष्य उज्ज्वल नहीं है। विचार करें कि कल के जो युवक हैं वे ही हमारे पश्चात् इस राष्ट्र के कर्णधार बनेंगे, उनके मन में आज अपने देश के भविष्य के बारे में क्या कोई ऐसा स्वर्ण स्वप्न है या उनके मन में निराशा ही निराशा है। अगर इसका उत्तर यह है कि उनके मन में निराशा है तो हमको इन तमाम नारों को छोड़ कर और प्रगति की जो लम्बी-लम्बी बातें कहते हैं, उनको एक बार भूल कर एक मिहाव-लोकन करने की आवश्यकता है, विचार करने की आवश्यकता है और इसके कारणों की खोज करने की आवश्यकता है।

[श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर]

अभी अनेक विषयों को लोगों ने चर्चा की किसी ने टूरिज्म पर बहुत जोर दिया, किसी ने हेल्थ के बारे में बताया कि इसके बारे में हम बहुत पीछे हैं, किसी ने और कमियाँ सामने रखीं, लेकिन मैं सबसे पहले अपने आपके लिए एक प्रश्न उपस्थित करता हूँ कि क्या हम वास्तव में गलत दिशा में तो नहीं जा रहे हैं? कोई हमने सही दिशा अपनी निर्धारित की है क्या? 1960 में जो इंडेक्स था उससे आज की कीमतों का इंडेक्स जो है वह 216 के परिमाण में अधिक बढ़ गया है। अभी मेरे ही दल के पूर्व वक्ता श्री जगदीश जी ने बताया कि गरीबी जो है वह बढ़ रही है। गरीबी घटी नहीं है। गरीबी हटाने के लिए आज मुख्य जिन बातों की ओर ध्यान आकर्षित किया गया वे दो तीन बालें हैं। पहला नारा तो यह लगाया गया कि प्रीवी पर्स हम समाप्त करेंगे और इसके कारण देश के अन्दर की विषमता समाप्त हो जायगी। प्रीवीपर्स समाप्त हो गई। हमने उस समय कह दिया था कि इससे गरीबी समाप्त नहीं होगी क्योंकि केवल 40 करोड़ रुपये की बचत से कौन सा बड़ा भारी परिवर्तन आने वाला है। उसके बाद अब दूसरा एक नया प्रयोग हमारे सामने किया जा रहा है और वह है जमीन की सीमाओं के निर्धारण करने का और शहरी सम्पत्ति की सीमाओं के निर्धारण करने का। मैं एक बात स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूँ कि मैं इनमें से किसी का विरोधी नहीं हूँ। लेकिन आज केवल नारे के रूप में यह बात सामने आई है। आज यह बात भी नहीं है कोई दावा कर सकता है कि उसके कारण गरीबी हटेगी। एक और भी नई बात वैसे वास्तव में शुरू है और कल आगे चल कर वह बात आने वाली है कि जितनी ये बड़ी बड़ी मानोपलीज की इण्डस्ट्रीज हैं, इनको समाप्त कर दो। यह एक नारा भी हमारे सामने आ रहा है। मानोपलीज की इण्डस्ट्रीज को खत्म कर देने से क्या गरीबी समाप्त हो जायगी। मैं फिर यहाँ पर यह स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूँ कि मैं मानोपलीज

के पक्ष में नहीं हूँ। कोई एक बड़ी भारी विषमता अपने समाज के अन्दर या अपने देश के अन्दर बनी रहे इसका पक्षपाती तो मैं नहीं हूँ। हमारे दल के कार्यक्रम में यह बात स्पष्ट कर दी गई है कि किसी भी एक व्यक्ति की आमदनी कम से कम जो हो उससे किसी भी एक व्यक्ति की ओर अधिक से अधिक आमदनी हो उसका परिमाण 1 और 20 से अधिक नहीं होना चाहिए, उसके बाद और भी संशोधन करके हमने यह कर दिया है कि वह परिमाण 1 और 15 से अधिक नहीं होना चाहिए। इस प्रकार उसको निर्धारित किया गया है। यह बात बिल्कुल सही है कि विषमता के कारण आज एक बात तो कहनी चाहिए कि लोगों के अन्दर थोड़ी थोड़ी जागृति तो आ गई है और वे स्वयं अपने अधिकार एक मात्रा में समझने लगे हैं। इसके कारण जो विषमता है, वह विषमता उनके सामने ज्यादा स्पष्ट रूप से उनको दिखाई देती है।

और भी एक उदाहरण मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। चाहे वे प्रिविलिजेंज मेम्बर आफ पार्लियामेंट के हों, चाहे राजाओं के हों, आज सर्व साधारण जनता को वे प्रिविलिजेंज पसन्द नहीं हैं और वे उनको दूसरी दृष्टि से देखते हैं। यह जो बात है इसकी तरफ हमारा सबका ध्यान बंटना आवश्यक है। हर व्यक्ति आज स्वतंत्रता की सांस में इस बात को अनुभव करने लगा है कि वह दूसरे किसी व्यक्ति से कम नहीं है और भारत में वह समान अधिकार रखता है। इसलिए जब वह समान अधिकार रखता है तो उसके लिए अवसर भी समान होने चाहिए, यह उसे आज अहसास होने लगा है। यह सब होने के बाद जब वह यह देखता है कि उसको दर दर की ठोकें खानी पड़ती हैं तो वह बहुत ज्यादा निराश हो जाता है। मैंने जैसा कि कहा कि आज अनएम्प्लायमेंट की समस्या है। इसके बारे में चर्चा बहुत हो चुकी है और मैं इसके आँकड़ों में जाना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने इसके बारे में क्या कदम उठाना तय किया है। आप मानोपलीज की इण्डस्ट्रीज को खत्म करना



चाहते हैं और पब्लिक सेक्टर में आप बड़े बड़े कारखाने लगाना चाहते हैं। मुझे इसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। लेकिन मेरा इस सम्बन्ध में एक निवेदन है और आप इस पर विचार कीजिये कि क्या आपकी इस नीति के कारण नये कारखाने लगने बन्द नहीं हो गये या कम नहीं हो गये क्योंकि आज अस्थिरता का निर्माण हो गया और अस्थिरता का निर्माण हो गया यह कहने के बजाय यह भी है कि आप ही स्वयं उनको स्वीकृति नहीं देते। और नये कारखाने नहीं बनते, पब्लिक सेक्टर के अन्दर, आज करोड़ों का घाटा है, तो जो हमारे नये युवक हैं, नये इंजीनियर हैं उनको किस प्रकार जीविका का साधन मिलेगा। आप पिछले दस वर्ष के आंकड़े उठा कर देखें और उसके पहले दस वर्ष के आंकड़े उठा कर देखें तो आपको पता लगेगा कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर में जो तमाम कारखाने खुले, उसमें उनको इम्प्लायमेंट मिला और जो पब्लिक सेक्टर में कारखाने खुले उनमें करोड़ों रुपयों का घाटा है और नये एम्प्लायमेंट की वहां कोई गुंजायश नहीं है। इसके साथ साथ पब्लिक सेक्टर का जो एक नारा है उसके लिए या तो हम में इतनी सामर्थ्य होनी चाहिए कि हम उसका ठीक प्रकार से संचालन कर सकें और उसमें हो रहे घाटे को समाप्त करें और अगर हममें यह सामर्थ्य नहीं है तो आप एक प्रकार से अपनी डिफीट को स्वीकार करें। इस साधारण तथ्य को स्वीकार कर लें कि एक व्यक्ति चाहे वह हिन्दुस्तान का हो या बाहर का हो, उसके लिए उसका स्वार्थ पहले है और उसके अनुसार ही उसको कार्य करने दिया जाय, अर्थात् आप प्राइवेट सेक्टर को कार्य करने दीजिये। इससे कम से कम देश की हानि तो नहीं होगी, लोगों को कम से कम इम्प्लायमेंट तो मिलेगा। मैं मानता हूं कि यह दूसरी बात अच्छी नहीं है और उसके कारण कुछ अधिक लोग करोड़पति बन जायेंगे, लेकिन उससे अनइम्प्लायमेंट तो कुछ कम होगा। लेकिन आज हम इन दोनों में से कोई एक चीज भी नहीं कर पा रहे हैं और इसका कारण स्थिति दिन प्रति

दिन खराब होती जा रही है। मुझे पता है कि जो बड़े बड़े कारखाने चल रहे हैं पब्लिक सेक्टर में हैवी इंजीनियरिंग और स्टील आदि के उनमें अभी तक स्टॉक भी नहीं लिया गया है, स्टॉक का हिसाब किताब भी नहीं मिलाया गया है। अगर वह मिलाया जायेगा तो मैं समझता हूं कि करोड़ों रुपये का उसमें घोटाला मिलेगा। वह भी हमारे सामने नहीं आ पाया है। अभी तो यह कागजी घाटा दिखाया जा रहा है। तो यह विचार करने की बात है। आज हमारे युवकों के सामने कोई आदर्श भी उपस्थित नहीं किया जाता जिसके कारण उसमें त्याग करने की प्रवृत्ति का निर्माण हो। मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि महात्मा गांधी ने कम से कम एक आदर्श तो हमारे सामने रखा और उन्होंने कहा था कि हम अपनी युद्ध स्वदेशी वस्तुओं का उपयोग करेंगे, विदेशी वस्तुओं को जला डालेंगे। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि हमारे अन्दर कितने लोग हैं, माननीय सदस्यों से प्राश्नना करना चाहता हूं कि ये विचार करें कि कितने लोग हैं जिनको आज भी फारेन आर्टिकिल्स के लिए क्रेज है। हम आते हैं और बताते हैं कि यह फारेन घड़ी है, कोई कहता है कि हमारे पास इंपोर्टेड टेली-विजन है, कोई बताता है कि हमारे पास इंपोर्टेड रेडियो है, कोई कहता है कि मेरे पास इम्पोर्टेड कार है, और ऐसा कह कर हम गर्व अनुभव करते हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि यह हमारे लिए लज्जा की बात है कि हम अपने देश में इस प्रकार की वस्तुओं का निर्माण नहीं कर सके और विदेशी वस्तुओं पर गर्व करते हैं। यह अच्छी बात नहीं है। और इसलिए जो लोग हमारे अपनों में से अपने को राष्ट्र का कर्णधार मानते हैं, उनके लिए मैं कहता हूं, क्योंकि साधारण नागरिक के अन्दर ऐसे मनोभाव होना अस्वाभाविक नहीं है, उनको इस बारे में विचार करना चाहिए। आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि इस प्रकार की जो वस्तुएं हैं उनका प्रयोग रुकना चाहिए, ऐसी जो बातें हैं उनके प्रति आप में घोर रोष और क्रोध उत्पन्न होने की आवश्यकता है, लेकिन यह होता नहीं। तो अगर



[श्री ना० कृ० शंजवलकर]

दिल्ली में टेलीविजन लेकर बैठेंगे तो हमारा लड़का गाँवों में जाकर डाक्टर क्यों बनने लगेगा। वह भी चाहेगा कि मेरी पोस्टिंग दिल्ली में हो जाय और हम एयर कंडीशन्ड कमरे में बैठें। फिर काश्तकार खेती क्यों करेगा, क्यों वह देहात में तपने जायेगा। लेकिन आज हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसा कोई एटमास्फियर नहीं है, ऐसा कोई वातावरण नहीं है कि जिसके कारण लोगों में इस प्रकार की भावना का निर्माण हो, जिससे लोगों के अन्दर कुछ करने की भावना आये, कुछ प्रेरणा उत्पन्न हो, ऐसी कोई स्थिति नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह वायस जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में भी फैला हुआ है वह समाप्त हो। मैं इस बारे में अधिक चर्चा नहीं करना चाहता। परसों एक प्रश्न था समाचार पत्रों के बारे में। न्यू ऐज को मांगे हुए कोटे से ज्यादा दिया जाता है और बाकी को 60 परसेंट से कम कोटा दिया जाता है उसका उत्तर नहीं दिया गया जो कोटा उन्होंने मांगा था उससे ज्यादा कोटा एलाट किया गया...

श्री महावीर त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यह आपकी उल्टी खबर है।

श्री ना० कृ० शंजवलकर : लिखित उत्तर आया है, उसके आधार पर मैं कह रहा हूँ। आइटम 28 है, पेज 7 पर, परसों प्रश्न के उत्तर में मैंने कहा था कि मांग की गयी थी 40 की और दिया गया है 40.14 और इसके अलावा एक रेडियंस पेपर भी है...

श्री महावीर त्यागी : किस पार्टी का पेपर है ?

श्री ना० कृ० शंजवलकर : भूपेश जी का पेपर है, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का पेपर है। तो हम चाहते हैं कि बाकी राजनीतिक दल भी हमारे साथ सहयोग करें, इसमें हमारा समर्थन करें और देश के निर्माण में हमारा पूरा पूरा सहयोग करें। तो मैं प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर देश में डेमोक्रेसी को जिन्दा रखना है तो क्या

यह आवश्यक नहीं है कि इन बातों पर अमल किया जाय। मान लीजिए कि चुनाव की बात भी हमने मान ली, इसको छोड़िए, एबीथिंग इज फेयर इन लव एण्ड वार, लेकिन एलेक्शन भी हो गया तो चुनाव समाप्त होने के बाद इस स्तर पर आ जाय और जो एक नीचा, गिरा, हुआ, स्तर है उस स्तर से ऊपर उठ कर एक हमारे में विश्वास सम्पादन करने का प्रयत्न करें लेकिन वह नजर नहीं आता है और जब कोई बात कही जाती है तो विरोध के रूप में गलत भी बात हो उसका समर्थन करने के लिये कही जाती है। (Time bell rings)

हमारी राजस्थान की बहन ने वहाँ बहुत अच्छा भाषण दिया कि टूरिज्म में यह होना चाहिए, वह होना चाहिए, लेकिन उन्होंने यह नहीं कहा कि टूरिज्म की डिमांड के बारे में मैं अपना विरोध प्रकट करती हूँ, वह सब कुछ कहती हैं लेकिन उसको सपोर्ट जरूर करती हैं। तो ऐसी बातें हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि इसके बारे में रिट्रास्पेक्शन करने की जरूरत है और देश का भविष्य तभी उज्ज्वल हो सकता है जब कि जिनके ऊपर कल भार देने वाले हैं उनके अन्दर आकांक्षा पैदा हो और राष्ट्र के भविष्य के बारे में उनके मन में सपना जगायें तभी हम कुछ कर सकते हैं। मैंने पहले ही कहा था कि समय कम है और मैं अपना बहुत बहुत आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे इतना अवसर दिया।

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak on the Appropriation Bill. On this occasion, I would like to confine to problems in the way of achieving self-reliance.

You are aware that foreign ventures in India are innumerable and quite often unknown even to the highest authorities. They are either wholly-owned subsidiaries registered as Indian companies, or as subsidiaries registered in India or Indian companies in which foreigners have more than 10 percent shareholding which even facilitate interference in management and and gui-

dance as well as dependence, or as partnership open or hidden with nationals or as unregistered collaboration or consultants agreements etc. These entail a large amount of remittances from here either directly with the consent and knowledge of the Reserve Bank of India or quite often through different methods and techniques which need to be carefully investigated and try to be checked. Perhaps you may attempt to find out the total remittances by way of dividends, royalties, head office supervision charges, technical fees, share of research and development expenses, alone with remittances made by foreigners as permitted under the rules of the Reserve Bank of India. Such a study may bring out the names and details as heretofore mentioned and certainly will indicate the many more times exodus of previous foreign exchange from our land for such and similar purposes compared to the very feeble contribution made to our GNP. A typical instance of this is the remittance of Colgate Palm-Olive, the issue of which was raised in Parliament recently.

Many foreign companies with very small capital structures and investment but through huge borrowings from our hard-earned savings and the credit institutions remit large amounts, e.g. Binaca Tooth Paste (Ciba), chewing gums and gripe water made by Warner Hindustan or Lozenges and pastiles, Vicks made by Richardson and Hindustan and various other wholly-owned foreign companies operating in India are for consumer products, and quite often, are purchased locally but are distributed under the brand names after little packing or bottling being done. This is contrary to the basic ideas of adding to production in the country. Typical instances are : (1) Wander Ltd. and associate of Sandoz manufacturing 'Ovaltine'; (2) Beecham (India) Pvt. Ltd. making kruschen salts; (3) John Wyeth & Brothers Ltd. getting their products made through Geoffrey Manners and Co., Ltd. and distributing it through them; (4) ICI India Ltd. distributing many local made products; (5) Hindustan Milk Foods Ltd., manufacturers of Horlicks malted milk distributed through EID-Parry, a company registered in the U. K. ; (6) Food Specialities Ltd., a subsidiary of Nestles ; and (7) Nicholas Aspro (India) Ltd.

A number of foreign companies only trade on their brand names and actually do nothing but distribute goods generally made in factories owned by Indians, for example, Singer Sewing Co. of USA distributing Meiritt Machine manufactured in Ludhiana and purchase Computers made by NELCO, a Tata company; ICI India Ltd. distributing Barium Chemical products of an Indian company. This is definitely and distinctly in contravention of section 18 A of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Bill at least so far as the spirit of that is concerned, This is circumvented by these foreign firms buying these goods on a principal to principal basis.

Many Indians having recently taken up citizenship of foreign countries particularly after 1945 set up or buy companies registered in UK or USA or Switzerland and operate such companies. Quite often some of the assets of such companies registered abroad and functioning in India are sold and the proceeds thereof are said to be permitted to be remitted abroad, e.g., Poonamide Tea Co. owned by a hereto-fore born and bred Indian national acquiring British nationality; Brahmaputra Tea Co. registered in the UK. and owned by Mundhra for various manipulations and purchases abroad, Assam Trading Co. registered in the UK and utilised for certain manipulations; EID-Perry Ltd. registered in the UK but operating entirely in India having more than 75 per cent of Indian shareholders.

The irregular foreign exchange transactions are mostly done through foreign nationals who really are Indians and have been born and bred here but have acquired foreign nationalities. In this connection I would like to suggest that a small Committee be appointed to probe into this problem, and I am sure very revealing facts would come to light.

I would also like to say something arising out of the Wanchoo Committee Report so far as this particular subject is concerned. I am not going to touch the Wanchoo Committee Report as such. A good deal of thought and consideration was evoked particularly after the Wanchoo Committee Report of foreign exchange losses. There were various estimates and they were largely attributed to under-invoicing and

[Shri Babubhai M. Chinai]

over invoicing. However there are a number of other features which are stated to be of a very high order and lead to leakages at least to anything up to a thousand crores. This is largely connected with and guessed out because of—

(ft) Wool imports totalling over Rs. 375 crores;

(b) Import of luxury goods totalling Rs. 150 crores;

(c) Foreign travel estimated to be of the order of Rs. 50 crores to Rs. 100 crores;

(d) Transfer of assets estimated at Rs. 100 crores;

(e) Loss through insufficiency of exchange earnings out of tourists estimated at about Rs. 50 crores;

(f) Invisible exports Rs. 50 crores.

Has the Government any data or details of Indian nationals who still retain their Indian nationality and pass-port and are residing abroad for any length of time ? Could any details of their activities, earnings, savings, etc. be available to Government; if not, why not ? Is there any permission for such Indians to maintain foreign accounts not only of their own but of other connected parties including family members resident in India ? And if so, what are the rules and regulations for keeping a check on the same ? Are such Indian nationals resident abroad liable to any taxation on savings and hidden resources or assets in foreign countries and what system is adopted to examine their assets in foreign countries ? What are the checks on assets of such Indian nationals resident abroad who own different type of assets of immense value in India ? Is there any special detection branch or system to examine whether any of the earnings of such assets of Indian nationals resident abroad are sent out by any extraordinary channels ? If not, why not ?

Are there details of Indian nationals born abroad ? Is it not a fact that some

Indians so arrange that their junior members are born abroad ? What are the special checks on Indian nationals who are born abroad and who are entitled to foreign passports and even carry such passports in addition to their Indian passports besides enjoying all the privileges of a normal and natural Indian citizen ? Is there any estimate of or check on assets owned by Indian residents born abroad who normally are residing and claiming Indian domicile and enjoying all the Indian privileges ? Is there any statement of details of such Indian nationals ? What are the special checks on such Indian nationals who have acquired foreign citizenship since Independence and are not only acquiring foreign assets but are openly having foreign accounts etc. ? Is there any special permission required by such Indians who have acquired foreign passports and nationality for acquiring assets in India, maintaining accounts in India, travelling to India and foreign countries, taxation, etc. ?

How many companies registered abroad have large majority assets in India ? How many such foreign registered companies are controlled by Indian residents ? Is it a fact that there are a number of tea companies registered in U.K. most assets of which are in India and are controlled by Indian nationals ? What are the safeguards against abuse of such legal organisations operating in foreign countries ? What precautions are taken for checking the accounts of companies registered in foreign countries but directly or indirectly controlled and owned by Indian nationals ? Mundhra Brahmaputra Tea Co. Ltd. registered in U.K. facilitated many operations; EID Parry registered in U.K., most assets held in India and majority share-holders Indians; Subsidiary Co. Parry Marry Ltd. operating for exports. What check on the same and whether there are any leakages therefrom ? Veeraswamy Restaurant owned by Indian national holding Indian passport who is also operating and controlling directly or indirectly a number of other companies in India ? Any restriction on borrowings by such Companies, and are the majority controlling shareholders Directors ? How many complaints have been registered abroad and owned by Indians without any proper authorisation ? Is it not a fact that investments in such companies are permitted for no valid

reasons ? United Breweries holding shares abroad—How are permissions for such investments in companies granted and what are the criteria for the same ? C. P. Manganese Co. recently acquired by an Indian national with foreign passport; Estates and Agencies Co. Ltd. registered in U.K. ; etc.

Is there any method or system to find out or track any such companies or partnerships established by Indian residents ? Is it not a fact that consignments particularly of jute are sent to small such companies ownership of which is not traceable ? A jute Co. consigned to USA company stated to be owned by an Indian national through bearer shares.

For historical or other reasons, how many of such branch offices exist in foreign lands ? Are there details or data or check each year of the earnings and operations of such branch offices ?

How many Indians are connected with Branch Offices of foreign companies operating in India ? What are the earnings of these branch offices and what system is followed to check whether there is proper reflection of actual earnings and observance of Indian laws ?

Are there separate statements maintained of professionals including lawyers and auditors working on behalf of foreign companies operating in India ? Is it not a fact that these professionals on various occasions go for consultations and suggestions to facilitate circumvention of Indian laws for the benefit of foreign corporations ? Are there any figures of fees or earnings of professionals who have gone on such missions, and are the foreign exchange earnings duly and properly accounted ?

Is it not a fact that many of the foreign shipping lines give special facilities or rebates in foreign countries ? Are there any methods of checking the same ? Is it not a fact also that at least one Indian Skipping Line has entered into a victualling contract outside India ? Are the contracts signed abroad by shipping companies for such a similar purpose subjected to special scrutiny ?

Finally, Sir, what are the special mea-

sures taken to check many suspected methods of leakages of foreign exchange through this source ? What success has been achieved through this source ? What success has been achieved through the existing rules and regulations in this connection and what are the other contemplated measures for the same ?

What are the special privileges they enjoy ? Is it not a fact that consignments on their names or on the names of their Embassies have been utilised or facilitated for many leakages of foreign exchange ? What steps have been taken and what other measures are contemplated to prevent any abuse of Indian laws and rules through this fertile field for exchange leakage.

I shall be grateful if Government would look into all these points which I have raised. It will be beneficial for the country at large and there is every possibility of stopping these leakages.

Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me this time.

SHRI B. T. KEMPARAJ : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Appropriation Bill that has been brought before the House contemplates an expenditure of twenty thousand, eight hundred and forty-nine crores, eighty-two lakhs and twelve thousand rupees towards defraying the several charges mentioned therein. It is a very good sum that has been contemplated for expenditure under several heads for developmental work. One important point that we have to consider is every year the Government has to get these Appropriation Bills passed by both Houses of Parliament. It is essential at the outset to know how this amount is spent, while spending has it been properly spent, has it been spent for the purpose for which it has been meant, has it lapsed, has it been withheld or has it been diverted to other purposes. That has to be checked.

In regard to education it has been said that a new orientation will be given and there will be a change in the procedure to be adopted and that it will be taken up in the rural side. As the hon. Minister was, pleased to say in this House, many of the university students will be diverted and

[Shri B. T. Kemparaj]

they will be required to spend their vacation in imparting education to the rural population. They will be given intensive training in that respect. Here when the students go on vacation from the university and if their attention is diverted like that with any stipend or any other amenity like that given by the Government, then the university students will have little enthusiasm to give their attention to studies. They will be diverting their attention to get some monetary benefit. Therefore, this kind of approach will not improve education. Every person in the country who is learned and intelligent and who knows something about the system of education is thinking in terms of having a rapid orientation of the existing system of education. As suggested by Mahatmaji we must Indianise the system of education. The foreign education which we have got is just like a factory preparing the students or the educated people to go in search of jobs. They can neither settle down in the rural areas nor can they stick to agriculture or any other profession. They always think in terms of going to the cities in search of employment. Therefore, this kind of education which has been imposed on us by a foreign country has to be given a new orientation whereby the students who come out of our universities should find that they are self-sufficient and they do not go in search of jobs. They should be able to earn their livelihood and they should be able to start their life on their own. This is my first suggestion.

As far as Industrial development is concerned, we are saying that impetus must be given to small-scale industries, but how far and how best are we giving encouragement to them? As stated by Mahatmaji, every village must be a self-sufficient unit and it should be self-contained. This is the approach which Mahatmaji suggested to us and economic growth and economic progress in the rural areas must have been achieved by this time. Even now, we are not thinking in those terms. We are thinking of public sector projects to be started, and heavy amounts must be spent for that purpose. That is a good idea. But at the same time, the subsidiary industries, the spare parts industries which will be auxi-

liary industries for the progress and development of those gigantic industrial sectors, they are not started. Wherever we think of starting a new industry, extensive lands there have been acquired and the agriculturists there will be made unemployed. Then, again, there will be a scheme to rehabilitate them, which will never see the light of the day. Therefore, while starting a heavy industry, simultaneously unemployment starts. In that locality immediately—you will find—the slums come up and all the job-seekers will come there and settle. Neither do they get jobs there in those big factories nor do they get any opportunity to earn their livelihood but they will become members of the slums. There, again, the Government will have to think of slum clearance. Therefore, what exactly we are finding today is, we are not taking any matter seriously into consideration and trying to have a consolidated and well-planned scheme just to give a final touch to the living conditions of the people either in the rural side or in the cities. And this kind of wavering views is leading to confusion. And whenever a scheme is thought of, a committee of experts is constituted and that committee takes sufficient time to go into the particular subject-matter, to find the pros and cons, the reasons, and then it gives the report. And the Ministry keeps that report for a considerable period. The report will be taken into consideration but after that no further action will be there on it. This is the practical experience—that we are having.

Therefore, what I am suggesting is, whatever may be the subject-matter, that has to be taken into consideration and a final touch should be given. For instance, there are the slum clearance schemes throughout the country, which have been taken up. But how best those schemes can be implemented that has to be considered. Government say that crores and crores are needed for the removal of the slums. But at the same time, if the Government thinks of chalking out a plan to employ the uneducated, unemployed people in the rural side, then the problem of slums can be solved in the cities. Therefore, my suggestion would be that a rural employment scheme has to be taken up and given special consideration. The attention of the slum-dwellers, the uneducated people,

the class 4 people and such others must be diverted to the village side and they should be given incentive and opportunity to go and work in the rural side.

The problems of irrigation and power are there. We are thinking of having huge dams and projects; at the same time, we also want to solve the drinking water problem. This simultaneous taking up of these two things will not allow the Government to have sufficient amounts to be spent. Either the drinking water well scheme in the rural side must be finished first and then these irrigation works should be taken up, or any of these two should be completed first and then the other can be taken up. But it is necessary that the minimum requirement of drinking water supply in the rural side must be taken up as a special scheme immediately.

Then, regarding small-scale industries, much of the assistance is given to those who are already well off and no proper investigation is made for giving assistance to the beginners in the small-scale industry. Sir, I have got so many instances where people have got so many facilities to get raw materials without starting any industry. They will just hang a board to show to the concerned officers just to get the licence. You may also know of such instances. They get the licence, they get the quota, but we see no small-scale industry there. Therefore, such things must be taken note of seriously and put an end to. If that is done, then I think the genuine cases will have a better chance of getting assistance and they will turn out production satisfactorily.

About social welfare, the Department has been taking several measures for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. But does it really reach the deserving people? In the middle itself, the amount is allowed to lapse and it does not go to the benefit of these poor people. As you are aware, Sir, in many of the cases where these amounts are allocated for construction of dwelling houses or for sinking of wells for drinking water purposes in colonies, the

amounts are not really spent. At the end of the year, that is, 31st March, these amounts will lapse. This is the progress which we have seen so far. In so many cases, schemes have been taken up in the beginning of the year, but the amounts have been allowed to lapse at the end of the year. Therefore, I request the Government to see that the amount is spent at any cost by the concerned authorities.

Then, I come to black money. About this since morning so many suggestions have been made. But to see that black money is not in circulation in the country, the Government should think of a new procedure of issuing the currency. This is the way to see that black money is curbed and the circulation of black money is put an end to. And the circulation of black money should be put an end to. For that the change of currency is the first thing that should be done. New kind of currency notes in the country should be introduced to put an end to the circulation of black money in several business circles and several other circles in the country. Crores and crores of black money is there in circulation among the business circles and other circles in the country. Unless the change which I have suggested above in the issue of currency notes is thought of and brought about, black money will go on increasing and the value of the real money will go on decreasing and life in our country will become more and more miserable, much more miserable than what we are experiencing today. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Is there any other speaker who wants to speak now ?

SOME HON. MEMBERS : No.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twenty one minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 17th May, 1972.