

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni.]
ask the concerned Minister to rush aid to Maharashtra Government. Planning Commission should immediately initiate a process by which aid can be given to Maharashtra State to enable them to ward off the famine which is prevailing in the State of Maharashtra. The Maharashtra Government has already announced that famine conditions exist there. It is only the Central Government which is conservative. This is a very important problem because the famine conditions create panic among the people particularly in three parts of Maharashtra State.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I am aware of the famine conditions caused by the drought in Maharashtra. I hope the Government will take due note of the views expressed here by Shri Kulkarni.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND IN THE MINISTRY OF SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT/

संसदीय कार्य विभाग तथा नौबहन और परिवहन मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री

(SHRI OM MEHTA) : I will bring it to the notice of the Government. After all it is a human problem.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till half past two.

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

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

THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 2) BILL 1971

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, Mr. Ganesh.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE/

वित्त मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (SHRI K. R. GANESH) : 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 1971-72, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, this Bill provides for 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, 1971. j for expenditure from April to July 1971. The figures in the Bill represent the gross amounts of withdrawals to be made from the Consolidated Fund of India and do not take into account. The receipts 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 shown in Annexure I in the Explanatory Memorandum, Part II.

Excluding the payments of States' share of Union Excise duties and repayment of Public Debt, which are notionally shown as expenditure "charged" on the Consolidated Fund of India, disbursements to be made from the Fund amount to Rs. 6,698 crores. Of this, Rs. 1,984 crores represent provision for Plan expenditure—comprising Rs. 1,199 crores for outlay under the Central Plan, Rs. 700 crores for Central assistance to the States for their Plan schemes and Rs. 85 crores for the Union Territories' Plan schemes. The Railway Budget, as passed by the Parliament, has separately provided for

Rs. 151 crores for the Railway Plan. Further, the public sector undertakings, including the Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs, will spend Rs. 233 crores out of their own resources. Thus, a total amount of Rs. 2,368 crores will be spent on the Plan in the current year.

Non-plan-gross provisions amount to Rs. 4,714 crores—Rs. 1,329 crores for Defence, Rs. 369 crores for the Posts & Telegraphs and the balance of Rs. 3,016 crores for Civil Expenditure—Rs. 2,130 crores on Revenue Account and Rs. 886 crores on Capital outlay.

Non-Plan Civil Expenditure on Revenue Account provides for Rs. 649 crores for interest charges; Rs. 424 crores for grants to the States and Union Territory Governments, including Rs. 75 crores for crash programme for the rural employment and for the educated unemployed; Rs. 405 crores for developmental expenditure, mostly for continuing schemes and maintenance, and Rs. 50 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.

As the hon. Members are aware, a provision of Rs. 60 crores was earlier made on an *ad hoc* basis for relief of evacuees from East Bengal. This, provision, I might add, has now proved to be inadequate for nearly seven million persons who have already crossed over to our country. We are assessing the requirements on this account in the light of the latest position.

On the Capital side, the non-Plan provisions of Rs. 886 crores comprise Rs. 432 crores for Loans and Advances to States and Union Territories including special non-Plan assistance to States for

meeting inevitable gaps in resources, assistance for natural calamities, short-term loans for purchase of fertilisers, etc., and loans out of small savings collections; Rs. 166 crores are for schemes of Government Trading, wholly off set by recoveries, Rs. 62 crores for making loans and advances to other countries. Rs. 5, 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. 423 crores and repayment of Debt amounting to Rs. 332 crores on account of the market loan that matured this year, and Rs. 216 crores for repayment of foreign loans. The provision for 'Repayment of Debt' also includes an amount of Rs. 10,000 crores to cover the entries in accounts relating to Treasury Bills which are notionally shown in the accounts as repaid and simultaneously reinvested 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 the provisions included in the Bill.

Sir, I move.

The question was proposed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. T. N. Singh.

SHRI T. N. SINGH (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I beg to draw your attention to clause 2 of the Appropriation Bill which states that as large a sum as Rs. seventeen thousand, six hundred and seventy-four crores and eleven thousand rupees be provided towards "defraying the several charges which will come in

[Shri T. N. Singh.] course of payment during the financial year 1971-72 in respect of the services specified in column 2 of the Schedule." And this sum has been voted by the Lok Sabha. Now the Bill is under our consideration.

Sir, the Finance Minister, while making his budget speech, placed four objectives before us on behalf of the Government. He thought that without the achievement of those four objectives, the expenditure budgeted for would not serve its purpose. The first objective was that every attempt had to be made for cost reduction, particularly in the public sector undertakings. His second point was to provide more job opportunities, without which, he thought, social justice was not possible — both in urban and rural areas. The third point that he stressed was that there was an urgent need for ensuring price stability in the country. Prices have been unstable over a long period. And he was worried about it. The fourth point that he suggested—or advocated rather—was that every effort must be made—and the budget, he claims, does provide—for reduction of disparities between, individuals—not only between individuals but also between regions. Regional disparities have also to be removed. These are the four objectives which he set before himself while outlining the budget proposals for 1971-72.

Taking them point by point, let us see how far all the sums that are now voted for in the Appropriation Bill are going to affect the position in regard to these four objectives. Take the public sector first. Rightly the Finance Minister laid great emphasis on the public sector. Now public sector management is nothing but satisfactory. On that point there can hardly be any disagreement. We have in public sector undertakings alone invested about Rs. 3,000 crores leaving aside investments in irrigation, dams and such other projects.

The industrial units are not giving any return to us. I could have understood if from the very beginning we had said that we do not care for returns, we are having public sector enterprise only for the sake of it. But we started by saying that they will have to be as efficient as any private sector undertaking, that they will have to give profits and they will have to run on profits. This was the policy. What they are today ? There is another objective which we had in mind, namely, the public sector will help in establishing a socialist society, that the public sector will have commanding heights of the economy under its control and therefore it will result in ushering in a socialist society. The point is, are all these objectives going to be achieved ?

To-day the public sector managements and administrations have, I am sorry to say, become a happy hunting-ground for luxury-loving higher echelons of our bureaucracy. The manner in which the services are dominating the public sector to-day is something very regrettable. I have had occasion to have first hand experience of administration of public sector units and I do not wish to run down our administration as such. But I do feel that the public sector undertakings are being run as if they are the private properties of the bureaucracy. That is what is very unfortunate. I have been recently to some of the projects like Bhilai. You will excuse me if I cannot help being somewhat old-fashioned. I, as minister, resisted and my predecessors resisted the establishment of any liquor shops in the Bhilai township. If people wanted to drink, they could go 2 or 3 miles away from Bhilai and have it in Drug. We did not want liquor shops inside Bhilai. What has been done in these 3 or 4 years ? In one of the sectors very near the cinema house they have established a liquor shop. There was so much of noisiness there and disharmony for the

people living there that ultimately that shop had to be shifted from that area because it was in one of the inhabited quarters of the people. I deliberately said that we have a luxury-loving bureaucracy to-day because of the very manner in which they live. They live like the Princes. They have cars at their disposal, they only move in high society. They are out of touch with the labourers. The real problem of labour unrest that we face in the public sector is because the management is far away from the general mass of employees. They do not understand their minds, or their problems or difficulties. If a machine goes out of order. I have yet to see some of these highly paid officers going on duty at night. It is only the poor worker who is expected to slave at night. A big officer must be lying cosily at home at night. That is the position. Will the Minister take care to find out whether on any single occasion the present General Manager has visited the factory at night—I mean after 12 mid night, not at 7 p. M. any day in all these 3 or 4 years the Bhilai Steel Plant where the workers are working between 12 and 4 at night ?

I had given orders to the previous General Manager to visit the factory at night and he used to do it, and the labour relations in Bhilai were then much better than anywhere else. That was one General Manager who followed the instructions. Now what I am saying is, the public sector undertakings on whose efficiency and improvement the Finance Minister is banking are not going to improve at all. The Budget proposals give *no* indication of any steps being taken in the right direction for the purpose.

The second point that he made was creation of jobs. I need not try to give figures about the increasing pressure of unemployment. You can well imagine the plight of our educated young men, sons of pea-

sants and farmers, residents of villages, sons of agricultural labourers. They are literally being asked by their parents to get out of the houses and go and find out jobs in the cities. And they do come in large numbers. As a public man I have had occasion to see many of these young men knocking at our doors. Only three days ago or four days ago, an educated young man came. He was desperate; he was educated in science and he was not getting a job. A week or ten days ago about three or four engineers, young engineers, First Division engineers—they were not nincompoops—came to me. They have been searching for jobs for the last three years. This is the position. And what is the intention of the Finance Minister and the Government ? They have provided something like Rs. 75 crores for relieving un-employment among the educated classes, for providing jobs for them in the urban areas, for those who are leaving the villages in search of jobs.

Here I may tell you that when the Third Plan was prepared I was fully conscious of its shortcomings in regard to employment but when it was being signed, I make bold to say. I raised an objection that I would not sign the Plan unless some provision was made for relieving the growing unemployment. There has been a backlog of 7 million, not to speak of those who were already unemployed; that is, 7 millions have been added to the strength of the unemployed during the course of the Second Plan. So I suggested that something should be provided for this purpose. Hastily a provision was agreed to despite the opposition of the financial theorists. [This was of the order of Rs. 150 crores earmarked for relieving unemployment through rural employment programmes etc. Subsequently we asked the Ministry time and again how they were going to utilise this amount. They had discussions on what they will do with this and it took

Shri T. N. Singh.]

them two years to put up proposals. Here we are virtually in the middle of the financial year; rather four months are gone and we have now provided about Rs. 75 crores. I just want to know this. We will certainly support the provision, small, though it may be. Can the Minister candidly and honestly say that he has got any concrete proposals to spend this money? He has not, I dare say. This is how we make provisions.

A provision of Rs. 150 crores was made at the last minute because somebody refused to sign the Plan. No attempt was made to prepare any concrete proposals for the purpose. Similarly about five months will pass from now, I tell you. The States will take a month to make a hurried review and put forward concrete proposals. It will take you one month to communicate to them indicating what their quota is. This is what will happen. Then, by that time all the moneys will lapse. Therefore, in order to show something you will spend indiscriminately and that will cause inflation, price rise, graft, dishonesty and all these things. I can say that as far as I know no proposals have emanated from UP so far. It takes time to make plans and programmes district-wise and tehsil-wise. It is not so easy. In the case of the rural works programme, it takes time. If a road has to be constructed, it will have to be mapped out. How it has to be built, where it has to be built, what is the road to be selected, all these have to be considered. So, it takes time. These *ad hoc* proposals and *ad hoc* measures are not going to take us anywhere. We must have definite and concrete proposals regarding what we are going to do. I can say that the bureaucracy, the administration and the Ministers have no clear idea as to what they intend to do. They have all become politicians. I can understand Ministers being politicians and playing to the gallery. The bureaucracy and

administration have to implement the programmes. They will have to say frankly that these are the proposals. Let them not always say Yes. They say; 'Yes, Sir' and things are never done.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): How are they making Parliament agree to these proposals without details?

SHRI T. N. SINGH : It is assumed that when a Budget proposal is made it has had a detailed scrutiny. I do not know whether anybody in the Lok Sabha put this question. Here we can simply ask the question, but we cannot say that we cannot pass it. It is all *ad hoc* provision according to me.

Now, the third objective which the Minister of Finance stated is the prevention of price-rise. What has been our record so far ? The record has been that in the last decade and a half prices have gone up by 200 to 250 per cent. It has more than doubled in a decade and a half. In the last three or four years prices have been galloping anywhere between 7 per cent and ten per cent per year. This is the position, and why ? The Finance Minister says that there has been deficit financing. I think he will agree with me that as compared to moneys invested, there has not been corresponding production. Our monetary and fiscal policies have probably also led to price increase trends. There are many factors. I think somewhere they have gone wrong, in our planning, in our development programmes. What is the position today. We are in great difficulties. If we curtail our expenditure in order to reduce deficit financing the economy slows down with further bad results. If we do not, then there are large deficits. We have reached the saturation point in direct taxation. It appears from the Finance Minister's very, very

taxation proposals that we have reached the limit of direct taxation almost and that we have to depend hence forward more and more on indirect taxation, such as excise duties and customs duties. Now, all these create pressures on prices. These fiscal policies are bound to lead to higher price trends. And it happens that illegitimate rise in prices occurs with the sanction of the Government. Now you have increased the duty on petrol by 15 per cent or 20 per cent or something like that, if I am not wrong. But what about the rise in taxi fare? it has been 20 paise per rupee sanctioned by the authorities. Now, what is the expenditure which goes towards running a taxi? There is the capital cost, the depreciation, on the capital cost, the interest charge and other things, diesel and other lubricants, spare parts, etc. And to give increased rates exactly in the proportion of the rise is hardly feasible. But this is what has been agreed to. And there are several cases in which the Finance Minister has tried to round off; certain duties have been at Rs. 10.6. I will round it off at 11, not at 10. Who will pay the consumer? We talk of existence of disparity, we talk of poverty. But you have been cruel to the consumers. I do not mind well-to-do consumers. But I do mind the poor people. You have been cruel to the poorer, the lowliest among us. That is what you have been doing. I say that with all the authority and experience that I have.

Then he has talked of reduction of disparities. There has been no other word so misused as socialism or reduction of disparities or creation of an egalitarian society. Sir, I was born in a comparatively poor family. My friends have been mostly poor people. My childhood friend, the late Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri, was a very poor man. I know what poverty is, I know what one feels when one sees before one's eyes the rich people flaunting

their wealth. I know the pain of it, I know the hatred that arises in my mind. I know it, I realise it. But what have 3 P. M. we been doing? Have we not encouraged high living? Gandhiji talked of simplicity not because he was trying to teach us any particular vedantic philosophy. He talked of simplicity because he wanted the leaders to come closer to people, to understand their way of life. But what do we do here in Parliament? How do we live? I have been watching since 1949 what a Member of Parliament does after getting elected to Parliament. The first thing that a Member does and is encouraged to do by the powers that be is that instead of an old fashioned dhoti and kurta, he is told to change over to a bush-shirt and a pant. This is the first thing that happens. In our own place we live in smaller houses, mud houses. Many of us have been elected living in mud houses, and when we come here we want only highly first class, furnished houses, and that too at very cheap rate. This is the way of life we have been taught. We have gone far, far away from the teachings of our great leader, Gandhiji. We have abandoned simplicity. We have abandoned everything that will make us appear as if we are neighbours of poor. That should not happen. Political leaders must be also leaders in fashion, if not that fashion, at least khadi fashion. Therefore, all this talk of removal of disparity, I treat with a certain amount of scepticism. Let us see as to what we have been doing all these years.

There are two very significant decisions which we took soon after independence. In 1948 we passed the Industrial Policy Resolution. In 1951 we began planning in India. These were some of our very important measures which we took to create a socialist State. Not satisfied with the 1948 Resolution, which I admit was incomplete, inappropriate in man*' respects, we

[Shri T. N. Singh.) modified it in 1956 and introduced what was called a licensing system to see that there is prevention of concentration of economic power, that there is egalitarian society built up by the process, that the public sector dominates our economy, and thus leads to an egalitarian socialist society. Take it from me, and history I am sure is going to confirm it, that the public sector that we have in our country is nothing but State capitalism. It is not going to give us real socialism, I daresay, I sometimes feel pained when many of our friends get enthusiastic about our public sector. Not all the nationalisation of commercial banks is going to take us I to socialism. I tell you even this nationalisation of commercial banks will help the capitalists. If I am not mistaken, after five years you will find that, yes, there have been symbolic benefits to the small man, small agriculturists. Somebody from here would have gone and done any opening ceremony on the occasion of loan-giving to agriculturists, etc.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Even that is not being done.

SHRI T. N. SINGH: That may be done. I would recommend on your behalf that the Minister may make up that lacuna.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They are giving loans to Mr. Naik's rich farmers.

SHRI T. N. SINGH: I am coming to that. The nationalisation of these commercial banks, I predict, is going to help the capitalists more than anything else. Once when I was in the Planning Commission as a Member, I was hauled up. The executive, the Ministers were all in favour of the rapid Industrial growth.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Singh, you have been in the Planning Commission. Now it is called Yojana Bhavan. Will you suggest making it a tourist attraction by making it a temple of bankruptcy?

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Please *do* not disturb me. I request you; please do not disturb me. Now, as I was saying, I was hauled up. The representatives of big Business the Chairman and Secretary, of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce were there with the Minister; our Planning Commission Deputy Chairman was there; the Minister of Finance was there; and I was asked to explain why licences. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Now you understand why I wanted Mr. Singh to come here ? These stories we could have never heard here if he had remained in U.P. That is why I was always trying to get him ousted from there.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Please, please, I beg of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta to let me continue for some time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am very glad you are here.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : So, I was asked as to why the licences of Messrs. Birla, Dalmia and a lot of others were not cleared. I said that we had certain limitations because they all want foreign exchange. As soon as the licence is given, foreign exchange has to be allowed. And we had been begging and borrowing all round, right and left. I did not like it. I have been opposing foreign aid. And I pointed out to them; "What about you ? You hold licences for the last eight or ten years." I gave examples. I said: Why do you hold licences for such long periods ? To block-others ?.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who is that?

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Birla, So, why did they hold licences for eight to ten years? It was only to block the others from getting licences. Of course, there are delays in the Government offices. I know how the bureaucracy functions. I am fully aware of that delay. But why don't the Ministers say, "You the big business and

the bureaucracy are in league in delaying licences." Instead of that, the Government is apologetic. They have apologised thrice. They have revised the licensing procedure. Why ? To quicken decisions. That is the approach. Now what will happen with regard to these commercial banks ? You will tell them; 'Do this, do that, but you will also be responsible for the credit worthiness of the borrowers.' Now, who is creditworthy ? A man like me or Mr. Bhupesh Gupta or Mr. Birla ? The answer is obvious.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, on a point of personal explanation. A man like me does not come into the picture. I have never entered the Yojana Bhavan nor have I been a Chief Minister.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I am talking of banks. You have not heard me properly. So this is what has been the position. Now, Shri Bhupesh Gupta has been talk'ng of Yojana Bhavan. I think I should say something about it. Many organisations have got many defects. Even so the Planning Commission has had many failures and shotcominss. But during the last four years, I hope nobody will object, our Prime Minister brought about a lot of reformation in the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission, once upon a time, was supposed to be the brains' trust of the country and it was supposed to guide, direct, the policies of the Government and also look to the implementation of the Plan programmes and give its opinion from time to time. Now what was done? Instead of trying to make the Planning Commission into an effective body, an attempt was made to make it a purely advisory body. This is what was done. Dr. Gadgil is now no more. I told him, you are making a mistake in becoming a purely advisory body, whatever little you could do towards achieving socialism will now be stultified, you will be nowhere...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Here you are becoming a little partisan. You should be learned and informative. You are becoming partisan, because the greatest man, the man who sabotaged the Plan most was Mr. Asoka Mehta. He is the greatest saboteur and you start with him.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I am coming to that. I am talking at present of the changes in the structure of the Planning Commission. I am not talking of personalities who played their part in that. I will come to it later. Sir, I hope you will not mind my taking a little time. I am talking at present of the changes made in the structure of the Planning Commission, and this is what was made.

Now about the latest position. I will not talk of the minor administrative changes that have been going on. What is the latest position ? Now it has become a Ministry, a part of the Government. Its independence has gone. Formerly there used to be a Planning Minister, but nothing like a Planning Ministry. Now there is a Planning Ministry. You will find a provision of Rs. 4 lakhs in the Appropriation accounts. So I say that is a step in the wrong direction. I warn the country and the House that this ministerialisation, if I can use that word, of an august body like the Planning Commission is denigrating it, this should not have been done. They should be allowed to function as people possessing the brains of the country. That is how they should be allowed to function instead of being a part of the Government. Our Planning Commission was conceived of in a democratic set-up. I am sure even today there is every idea, every intention, that the Planning Commission should be continued in a democratic way, in a democratic set-up. I hope it will not be bureaucratised. I fear it is going to be bureaucratised. Therefore, I would I very humbly suggest that this trend should

[Shri T. N. Singh.] be reversed. Then he talked about the other thing. Mr. Subramaniam, the Planning Minister, and Mr. Asoka Mehta, according to me, were responsible for devaluation...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is right, that is correct. I agree with you.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): And Shri Sachin Choudhury.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : He came later on. Let us forget about him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Nobody remembers his name.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal) : Shri T.N. Singh is divulging all the secrets of the Planning Commission of which he was a Member. I wish he divulges the secrets of how they all opposed the Privy Purses Bill and other things.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : That question was not there at that time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : For that you should wait till Shri T.N. Singh goes to that side. How can he divulge it from here ? Have a little patience. You wait till Shri Om Mehta takes him there and then he will divulge. You ask—I forget his name. What is his name ? He was also a Minister. Yes, you ask Shri Manu-bhai Shah.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I request my friend to allow me to proceed. I was speaking about devaluation... (*Interruptions*) I must humbly request my friend Shri Bhupesh Gupta to let me continue. Let me not be disturbed. I am likely to forget the trend of my speech. Therefore, I crave your indulgence.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): No more interruptions.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I was taking of devaluation. Why did it occur ? That appeared in the papers and there is no question of divulging anything. Extracts from the World Bank report of 1964 appeared in the papers. This devaluation was preceded by an inquiry conducted by the World Bank team that visited India. It was an inquiry into our economic affairs by the World Bank team. I forget his name. They reported that unless India devalued something like 50 per cent or more and unless America and World Bank offered something like 800 to 903 crores of rupees of foreign exchange for import of spares, components, etc. things would not move. They also said that America should offer this only when devaluation was done. That was the recommendation. And the World Bank would bless it. This is what exactly happened. We devalued and got the amount. What was the position before that ? You will recall that there was a war with Pakistan in 1965. We then decided, come what may, this country shall be self-reliant, even at heavy sacrifices. This was the decision because we have learnt a lesson. The moment war took place, as usual, America and England became pro-Pakistani and anti-India. They stopped all aids. Everything in the pipeline was even stopped in our case, but not in the case of Pakistan. Then we decided to be self-reliant. I was then in the Government in the time of late Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri. We decided not to deviate from the path of self-reliance and to Hell with foreign aid. That was the attitude.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): When was it ?

SHRI T. N. SINGH : In October-November 1965, I travelled with Shri Shastri and I had discussions and correspondence with him. Nearly six years have gone by and we are now even more in the clutches of foreign aid of these very countries

These are the very countries which deserted us at the time of hostilities with Pakistan.

Now, Sir, what is the story of foreign aid ? In the First Plan period, right from independence, a little more than five years, the debt promised to us was of the order of Rs. 382 crores. We were able to utilise Rs. 202 crores, paid back Rs. 24 crores in debt service and therefore, the net inflow was of the order of Rs. 178 crores, That was in the first Plan period.

Now, Sir, during the Second Plan period, that is, from 1956-57 to 1960-61, there was an offer of Rs. 2,500 crores. As against that, we utilised Rs. 1,430 crores and the debt service charges amounted to Rs. 119 crores and so, the net inflow was Rs. 1,311 crores. In the Third Plan period, it went up to Rs. 2,868 crores, that is, two thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight crores and, then, came the period which is gloriously called the "Plan Holiday period", that is, about three or four years that intervened, when we had the Annual Plans. In these three years of Annua) Plans, we actually were able to utilise, in these years, in these years of non-Plan period, after the war with Pakistan, foreign aid to the tune of Rs. 3,153 crores, as against the previous figure of Rs. 2,868 crores. That is the position.

SHR! BHUPESH GUPTA : It includes PL-480 ?

SHRI T. N. SINGH : No, it does not. This is based on the Planning Commission's figure itself. Then, Sir, about the Fourlh Plan provisions, let me say this: They say that under the Fourlh Plan we are becoming self-reliant and that is their objective. Now, Sir, with Rs. 2,868 crores of the Third Plan period and the amount of Rs. 3,153 crores of the interrugnum, we are going to step it up to Rs. 4,130 crores.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Singh, I think you are quite confusing these things. In the Third Plan—I give from my memory and I am subject to correction—about 28% of our resources came from external sources, whereas in the Second Plan that percentage was higher and you have to relate it to the total Plan outlay and from that angle, compared to the Second and the Third Plans, now, lesser proportion of the total Plan outlay is coming from the external sources and you leave out the PL-480 also.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : No, I do not accept your position. Let us differ on this point.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, no; I am not disputing.

SHRI T. N. SINGH: This is my position. Sir, in the fist two years of the Fourth Plan, that is 1969-70 and 1970-71 respectively, the utilised foreign aid in the first year was Rs. 866 crores and in the second year it was Rs. 769 crores and debt services have been amounting at the same time. It is now Rs. 435 crores and at the end of the year it is going to be Rs. 500 crores.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What is that?

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Debt services. That is the position today. We are becoming indebted, today. We get foreign aid in order to pay back the earlier one. That is the position!

Sir, I was telling you how the policy of self-reliance has been abandoned by the present Government. I accuse the present Government of giving up the policy of self-reliance and the people responsible for this dependence on foreign aid to a large extent, going with a begging bowl, are today taking charge of the Planning Ministry. That is the position, Sir. China did it. They got 'Swaraj' a year later, in 1948. And they were able to become much more advanced than we are today...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALT KHAN) : You have already taken about 50 minutes.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I will just take another 5 minutes...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Make it one hour.

SHRIT. N. SINGH : I am really sorry the House will excuse me. Now, Sir, I want this policy of self-reliance to be followed right now. The Chinese were able to do it. We can also do that. We are more intelligent than the Chinese. And we have got to face them. They are hostile to us. We have got to face the situation.

I am not an expert on foreign policy. But I do feel that there is need to change our foreign policy. I think we should do away with foreign assistance—Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is not here—even assistance from Russia. The record of Russians in Tashkent is no less regrettable. From what little I know, I can say that Lai Bahadur Shastri was pressurized beyond measure, and his colleagues also pressurized him, who went there. This is what I want to tell the House. I will not try to judge Lai Bahadur Shastri after his death. But he was pressurized.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Do you think that he was amenable to pressure ?

SHRI T. N. SINGH : Every one is amenable to pressure. I am, and you are, amenable to pressure. In a democracy you have got to take the consensus in view. Your own colleagues press you day and night. He never claimed that he was an extraordinary person. He was a common man, like other common men. He never claimed credit for any extraordinary merits. I won't say anything more on the subject now. Sir, after having said with all the

emphasis I can command that we should adopt a policy of total self-reliance right now, I would like to make some suggestions also for the consideration of the Government, lest it might be said that I am just criticizing.

As I said in the beginning, our young men, our engineers, technicians, etc., are unemployed, which is really very, very regrettable. Our people in the villages are unemployed. They tighten up their belts and somehow carry on. They become the dependants of a single earning member of the family. That's how they are going on. This will not be tolerated for long. We talk of Nexalites. But I tell you that the youngmen of today are very, very unhappy. They are sitting in a explosive situation. Unless we do something, right now, for the educated and the uneducated unemployed both, I say we shall not be protecting this country from an calamity, a serious calamity. Many people have taught us many things but today in the evening of my life I realise there was nobody wiser than Mahatma Gandhi. He felt the need for providing employment and also the need for simplicity, the rich owning property only in trust and not for flaunting the wealth. So I want the modern version of what Mahatma Gandhi said—a network of small industries in which our youngmen will find employment. What is the difficulty ? Why cannot our educated engineers take to industries ? What is the reason ? The reason is, they have neither the capacity nor the actual psychology for taking risks. They cannot take-risks. So in Mexico they provided an assured market for whatever the small sector produced in such selected areas and in those areas the small sector flourished. I suggest that it was probably a good idea to have a Super Market or Super Bazars, a network. Unfortunately it deteriorated into an American idea. We thought only of Departmental Stores run by big Johnnies.

Here our own experience shows that the handicrafts which were dying, and which today cannot technically exist, the handlooms which cannot technologically compete, are surviving, not only surviving but give employment to many people. Why ? It is because we have the Handloom and the Handicraft Emporia to take care of the products. Once the risk is covered of the engineers you ask him what he can produce. He says : 'I can produce this and you say : 'Go ahead, whatever you produce [will purchase provided it is of the requisite standard'. In the Industrial Estates in Hyderabad and Mysore, wherever there is an assured market, they are prospering. In Bangalore, the HMT have an Industrial Estate of their own and whatever they produce, they purchase. They are prospering. So I say that this *ad hoc* provision of Rs. 75 crores is not going to help in any way except it may be good publicity stunt but it is not going to help.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Party workers will be accommodated.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : That will be tragic. So I suggest your giving them credit facilities. Go them funds, provide them with the market and our young engineering graduates will do it, I am sure our young farmers' sons will do it and our labourers will do it if you provide them with the necessary credit facilities and the market. There should be provision for that purpose. I suggest this last item of Rs. 75 crores should be earmarked for that. I am a born agriculturist. I do not do agriculture these days. I have just been to my house and I thought, let me see the nationalised bank and what they can do for me. I have some 70 bighas of land among 70 members of the family, probably one bigha per head. I thought I shall ask the bank to help. I went there. I am an M.P. So the man was very nice and even gave me coffee. He was very encouraging and nice. I said:

'My nephew who is carrying on here will see you'. I went back again this time and I asked my nephew what happened. He said: 'Nothing'. He said that he talked of so many things. It was all bogged in red tape. Our nationalised banks are worse than what they were before. This is my frank opinion. About the other things that are happening in the offices I do not wish to say. These are some of the suggestions that I wanted to make. I am really grateful to the House to have listened with patience to whatever I have said—good bad or indifferent—and it may have been wise or unwise. I crave your indulgence but what I said sincerely I have tried to say. Thank you.

, SHRI D. P. SINGH (Bihar) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have listened to the speech of the learned Member on the other side and his solicitude for the young men generally. May I remind him that it was during his period as the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh that students were shot in his own town and four of them died on the spot and a number of them within hours were found helpless in the hospital ? Of course various things have been said about how things are going on, how the private enterprises are going to dogs and so on.

Before I take up these questions one by one, may I place before you my views about the working of the Finance Ministry ? I think the greatest evil today is the rise in prices. Even in this morning's papers we came across a news item that there has been a significant rise in the price index number. We have heard from the Finance Minister that the reason for it is the parallel currency that is going round all over the country, chasing everything, defying all planning, defying all economy and baffling the Administration. At the moment with the present budgetary structure and the present taxation structure it is inconceivable how any person can go about with

[Shri D. P. Singh] large amount of surplus funds unless he defrauds the income-tax authorities and cheats them either by suppression or evasion or by whatever means possible. That is the position under the tax structure as it is today. This year of course you must have seen, Sir, it is more stringent. After a lakh of rupees, only Rs. 7,500/- is available as savings in the next lakh of rupees and only Rs. 2,500/- in the next lakh of rupees. Formerly of course one could have been left with larger savings even in the higher slabs, a little larger of course. But now if this be the level of savings of an individual after payment of income-tax how is he able to get all this money at all ? How is all this black money going round ? The black money after all must have come to him at some stage as an income and that income must have positively escaped taxation.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : It is not so simple as that.

SHRI D. P. SINGH : It is simple; the only question here is the integrity of the person. If the man is honest about the payment of his income-tax it is simple and straight-forward; the complication is brought about by lack of integrity and by lack of honesty.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : At all levels.

SHRI D. P. SINGH : I say at all levels and I would emphasize that. If that be the situation then it is obvious that over a number of years he will have gone on evading taxes, saving the money and investing it and trying to introduce it back again by various means, by bribing and corrupting people and thereafter trying to establish an order. And this is posing a problem before the nation and hampering the nation's march to the socialist goal. In the present structure it is simple enough to achieve socialism by merely appointing another thousand Income-tax Officers. The ,

difficulty today is that an average Income-tax Officer is so much overworked, so much saddled with work that he is not able to pursue the return of various persons. What is the procedure involved ? In the case of those who earn up to Rs. 25,000, you do not look into their returns at all except for the fact that at the end of three or four years three or four per cent cases are taken up. If perchance your case comes within that category, then, of course, it is another matter. Otherwise, you are likely to evade taxes altogether. Now, *prima facie* the question arises as to which Rs. 25,000/- is the sum of Rs. 25,000/- which you claim as your income or is it Rs. 25,000/- as defined by the officer as your income ? Suppose you are able to escape taxation merely on the basis that you claim that your income is Rs. 25,000/-. Then, you escape it outright and you have a four per cent chance in four years to get caught. Otherwise, you escape outright. Today in the case of those whose income is Rs. 10,000 or so you accept their statement. You spare the Income-tax Officer from that burden and you ask him to devote his time on the larger slab, people with a larger income. Therefore, they can concentrate more, collect more, check evasion and add to the revenues. Coming to the Income-tax Officer, he has not got the requisite staff. We have seen that when an ITO passes an order for three or four months nothing happens. There is no staff to carry out his order. The orders are not written and conveyed for execution and realisation. Follow-up proceedings are not taken up at all and ultimately things are delayed. The result is you repeatedly complain about the mounting arrears. We are told that the income-tax arrears a couple of years back were Rs. 300 crores. This year it is Rs. 525 crores.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Elections.

SHRI D. P. SINGH : Not elections. May I invite your attention to section 140A of

the Income-tax Act ? Under it every person is obliged to pay advance income-tax. The person is asked to assess his income and on that basis to pay advance tax. The next check is at the end of the year. After six months or at the end of the requisite period a person files his return. He assesses his own income and what is called self-assessment is made. Then, within thirty days he is required to clear off the tax which, according to him, is due. At both stages there is a penal provision. Now, what happens is that no steps are taken until the final assessment is made at the end of three, four or five years, whatever it is. In the meantime nothing happens to chase a person for realising the arrears or dues. The dues will go on mounting. If the provisions as in the Income-tax Act are pursued vigorously there is no reason why there should be any arrears. There should be no arrears at all. There may be a few cases where the dues may be irrecoverable and proceedings may have to be taken. These two things, in my view, could be easily got over by a little effort on the part of the Department. Give them more facilities. Have more Income-tax Officers to make the provisions more effective and see that they are acted upon.

Then, Sir, looking into the Appropriation Bill I find there are three or four items which, in my submission, need to be attended to. Item No. 44 relates to Privy Purses. At the moment we are told that the Constitution (Amendment) Bill is on the anvil. Already in the Lok Sabha the Constitution (Amendment) Bill to amend article 368 has been introduced. Another one to amend article 312 has also been introduced. These are enabling measures and I have very reason to hope that the purpose for which these Bills have been introduced and the sanction of Parliament sought will be achieved. It is to abolish the privileges in every form, wherever they exist. Now, we do hope that the consti-

tutional amendments are going to follow suit. Therefore the provision for privy purses—the entire amount of Rs. 4 crore odd—in my submission, is misplaced. Probably, they could wait for three months or so and ask for the proportionate amount. There is scope for reduction there.

Sir, there is item 14—Customs. That is another item to which special attention has to be paid. From various enquiries from the customs officers, their staff here and there, it appears that not more than 3 per cent cases are detected. And this is the view of the authorities; the impression of people who know the subject here and abroad is that even if 10 per cent cases are detected, then the smuggling would stop outright. There, I here was a case for the intensification of effort. After all, this effort is not something which proves fruitless or useless, and there has always been a proportionate or a corresponding return to the effort. Every third day or alternate day, we hear of catches of Rs. 2 lakhs or Rs. 15 lakhs or Rs. 55 lakhs. And if this is rate of the catch and this is the reward for any intensification of efforts, by providing them with steamers, with launches, with aerial protection, with guns and rifles, you can do much more. The customs officers in their various representations to the department have been demanding these and cars and other facilities to be able to chase the customs evaders or the smugglers. If these various facilities were provided, probably there would be a justification for it and therefore I feel that the result would be more, not less.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You have area taken 15 minutes, How much more will you take ?

SHRI D. P. SINGH : I will not take more than 5 minutes. It will not be six.

Sir, atomic energy is connected with the strength of the nation, the vitality of

[Shri D. P. Singh] the nation as it is called. With every march of the troop on the border, may be the Chinese, may be the Pakistanis or may be anyone else or may be a boat or a submarine passing here and there, the nation is naturally perturbed. And as the learn-

ne said, th
lies in our strength. The Chinese some time ago were able to make themselves felt in the international affairs or be it in their national affairs. Though in one view it may be a serious strain on the economy, in another view it may not be so. possession of arms and armaments may be itself be a deterrent, then you may avoid a lot of wasteful expenditure if you equip this nation with things that will give you strength and that will deter others from taking any hasty or precipitate action. Sir, another item which the Finance Minister needs to be congratulated for is the crash programme, which is intended to help to a certain extent in the employment of the educated; (educated in the villages. Since the problem is so large and so gigantic, if he cannot find resources we cannot grudge the sanction of the amount that he has asked for. But naturally one would have thought that faced with such a stupendous problem the efforts should have been bigger and the demand ought to have been much more to meet the obligations, particularly in the eastern region of this country, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Bombay.

Mention has been made by people of telephone. Now people ask for a telephone but they are denied on the ground that facilities are not available and the usual answer given is that no cables are available. Therefore, if you insist then more cables will have to be imported. Then they say this country cannot afford foreign exchange. And that is the end of the matter. Sir, there is the Government undertaking producing telephones and cables

also, if necessary. There a little more investment could be made. This is a revenue paying department and this was not a wasteful expenditure at all. In that view of the matter this could be taken up.

One mere thing to which I want the attention of the House to be drawn is the rural electrification programme. Since small-scale industries are entirely dependent on electrification, and on the setting up of these industries is dependent to a certain extent the employment of masses of our educated people and even those people (Intcally edui
it would be necessary to suggest that something more is done about it because it is the pivot around which the economy would run. That is all.

श्री निर्जन वर्मा (गङ्गा प्रदेश) : श्रीमान्, हमारे कोष निज में अपने के सामने एकाग्रित करने की आवश्यकता है और उसकी भूमिका में उन्होंने राज्य में कुछ करने गिनाई है। हम समझते हैं कि और क्यों तो अपना प्रब की वार इस बिजली को और अधिक व्यापक करने में देखा और वह इसलिये देखना पड़ेगा कि इस वर्ष ऐसा विदित होता है कि पिछले वर्षों की अपेक्षा हमारे ऊपर कठिनाइयाँ कुछ बढ़ी हैं, कुछ कठिनाइयों का हमने भ्रम लिया है और हम उन कठिनाइयों में उनलने वाले जा रहे हैं। हमारे योग्य मित्त श्री मिश्र ने संकेत में किन्तु बड़े प्रभावशाली ढंग में गवर्नमेंट के सामने उन कठिनाइयों का बिल किया जिसकी समय-समय पर यह शासन समाजवादी शासन में अपने ढाँचे को बदलने के लिये दलों और तर्कों के रूप में दिया करता है तो हम समझते हैं कि इस बिजली को हमें अधिक व्यापक से देखना पड़ेगा क्योंकि हमारा क्या है कि पिछले वर्षों की अपेक्षा इस वर्ष में हमारी कठिनाइयाँ बहुत बढ़ी हैं। अगला के ऊपर बहुत भारी टैक्स लगाए गए हैं, और अभी पिछले दिनों में वित्त मंत्रालय ने एक बहुत ही हास्यपूर्ण बात कही। चाहिए तो यह था कि वित्त मंत्रालय की तरफ से टैक्सेशन गरीब, साधारण आदमी और साधारण परिवार के लोगों पर कम होता, उसकी अपेक्षा उन्होंने कुछ और विदेश यात्राओं पर कर कम करने की घोषणा की। यह धन्यवाद के पात्र है

लेकिन वह यह बताने का भी कष्ट करे कि इस देश में कितने गरीब आदमी चुपट पीते हैं, कितने गरीब आदमी विदेश यात्रा पर जाते हैं। तो उन्होंने जो पुरा करा-रोपण किया उस में गरीबों की एक प्रकार से अवहेलना की है। यहां पर पिछले समय में जो कुछ भी हमारे सामने बजट के ऊपर चर्चाएं हुईं तो कभी-कभी ऐसा विदित होता था कि सरकार ऐसे दलदल में फंस गई है कि हमारे ऊपर बाहर के ऋण का दबाव जनता पर क्यों की भारी मुसीबत, देश में बेरोजगारी बढ़ रही है और हमारी बाहर की राजनीति से जो घरेलू कठिनाइयां आ गई हैं उनमें हम उलझते मातूम पड़ रहे हैं।

श्रीमन्, मैं आपके सामने कुछ आंकड़े, जो हमारे ऊपर बाहर के ऋण के परिणामस्वरूप हैं उनका निवेदन करूंगा। पिछले समय में हमारे ऊपर ऋणों के बारे में हमने शासन से पूछा था कि भारत सरकार ने इसके विषय में हमको बताया था कि विदेशों का कुल ऋण 4090 करोड़ 65 लाख रुपये है। इसके अतिरिक्त यू.एन. एजेंसी, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय मोनेटरी फंड से 101 करोड़ रुपये, वर्ल्ड बैंक से 267.07 करोड़ रुपये, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय विकास संघ से 770.25 करोड़ रुपये और देश में ही लिया गया ऋण 4309 करोड़ रुपये। इस प्रकार से कुल 9545 करोड़ 22 लाख रुपये का हमारे ऊपर ऋण था। ये ऋण श्रीमन्, आस्ट्रेलिया से, फ्रान्स से, इंग्लैंड से, जर्मनी से, जापान से, और अन्य देशों से लिए गए हैं और सम्भवतः संसार के कुछ ही ऐसे देश भाग्यवान बचे हैं जिनसे हमने ऋण न लिया हो—मैं समझता हूं ऐसे बहुत कम देश होंगे। तो सरकार इस बात को बताए कि इन ऋणों में किसी प्रकार की घटो-त्तरी हुई है? मैं समझता हूं इन ऋणों में हमने और बढ़ोत्तरी की है। सरकार ने 1-10-70 को बेल्जियम से 5 करोड़ 80 लाख रुपये ऋण लिया जो इस वर्ष 1 अप्रैल, 1971 को बढ़कर 18 करोड़ 67 लाख रुपये हो गया। कैंनेडा का हमारे ऊपर पिछले वर्ष जो ऋण था वह 121.48 करोड़ रुपये से बढ़कर अब 153.91 करोड़ रुपये हो गया। इसी प्रकार डेनमार्क और फ्रांस का यह ऋण क्रमशः 7.79 करोड़ रुपये और 24.6 करोड़ रुपये से बढ़कर अब 9.19 करोड़ रुपये और 87.14 करोड़ रुपये हो गया है। इटली से यह ऋण पिछले वर्ष

5.58 करोड़ रुपये का था वह अब बढ़कर 103 करोड़ रुपये हो गया। जापान से 281 करोड़ रुपये का ऋण था वह बढ़कर 352 करोड़ रुपये का हो गया। इसी प्रकार संयुक्त राज्य अमरीका का ऋण 2288.26 करोड़ रुपये अब की वर्ष हो गया जब कि पिछले वर्ष वह 2006.14 करोड़ रुपये था। तो इतने करोड़ रुपयों का ऋण हमारे ऊपर हो गया। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि हमारी आर्थिक नीति संतुलित नहीं रही। हमने बराबर संसार के जितने भी देशों से बना हमने उनसे ऋणों का संग्रह किया और ऋणों का संग्रह करने के बाद श्रीमन्, हम अपनी आर्थिक कठिनाइयों की तरफ अगर ध्यान देंगे तो पिछले वर्ष में जो आंकड़े निकाले गए उसमें कितना हमने उन ऋणों के ऊपर मूल व व्याज 4 P.M. दिया वह पता चल जाएगा। पिछले वर्ष हमने जो व्याज दिया दो वर्षों में 1969-70 और 1970-71 में वह विदेशी मुद्रा में मूल में 199 करोड़ और 110 करोड़ रुपया दिया। 1970-71 में 211 करोड़ मूल पर और 136 करोड़ व्याज पर। निर्यात में 63 करोड़ रुपया मूल और 13 करोड़ रुपया व्याज। केन्द्रीय सरकार का जो लेन देन है वह 148 करोड़ रुपया और 109 करोड़ रुपया है और 1970-71 में 174 करोड़ रुपया और 120 करोड़ रुपया है।

इसके अतिरिक्त जो सरकारी व गैर-सरकारी कार-खाने हैं उन पर विदेशी मुद्रा पर चुकाया जाने वाला 360 करोड़ रुपया और माल में चुकाया जाने वाला 5 करोड़ रुपयों का ऋण है तो यह आंकड़े बहुत अधिक पहुंच जाते हैं।

श्रीमन्, इसके अतिरिक्त यहां पर सरकारी कारखाने हैं जिनके बारे में हमारी सरकार बार-बार यह ई देती है कि हम प्राइवेट इन्टरप्राइज की अपेक्षा सरकारी कारखानों की तरफ ध्यान देते हैं। उनका आशय यद्यपि पूरा नहीं हुआ तथापि वे इन कारखानों की शक्ति बढ़ाने में असमर्थ रहे हैं और इन कारखानों के लिए कोई अच्छा प्रबन्ध नहीं कर पाते हैं जिसके कारण इन कारखानों को हानि ही हानि उठानी पड़ रही है। इन हानियों के संबंध में मैं संक्षेप में निवेदन करूंगा। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के प्रारम्भ में 5 कारखानों के निर्माण में 29 करोड़ रुपये की हानि हुई। दूसरी पंच-वर्षीय योजना के प्रारम्भ में 21 कारखानों पर 81 करोड़ रुपये की हानि हुई। तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना

[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

के प्रारम्भ में 48 कारखानों पर 953 करोड़ रुपये की हानि हुई। इसके अतिरिक्त श्रीमन्, 11 कारखानों के ऊपर जो हानि हुई है वह भी आश्चर्यजनक है और सरकार इन कारखानों के ऊपर कोई विशेष रूप से ध्यान नहीं देती है और इसका परिणाम यह होता है कि एक-एक कारखाने पर कितनी हानि उठानी पड़ रही है उसका नमूना यह है।

फॉर्टलाइजर एन्ड कैमीकल्स ट्रावन्कोर 198 लाख रुपया।

श्री महावीर त्यागी : क्या एक साल में ?

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : जी हाँ। 1969-70 के वर्ष में :

	लाख रुपया
नैशनल न्यूज पेपर्स मिल्स	86
हिन्दुस्तान जिक लिमिटेड	115
हैवी इंजीनियरिंग कारपोरेशन	15 से 17
भारतीय औषधि भेषज निगम	9 से 20
एच.एम.डी.	1 से 4
नैशनल इन्वैस्टमेंट	1 से 24
केन्द्रीय मड़क परिवहन निगम	21
प्राग टूल्स	53
हिन्दुस्तान साल्ट लिमिटेड	6
त्रिवेणी टूल्स	62

इस प्रकार श्रीमन्, पिछले वर्षों में इनमें जो घाटा हुआ उसकी अपेक्षा यह घाटे की पूर्ति करना उचित था लेकिन इन घाटों की पूर्ति न होने के कारण यह घाटा पिछले वर्ष की अपेक्षा वर्तमान में बढ़ता ही चला गया है। उदाहरण के लिए एच.एम.डी. एल.०, भोपाल को ही ले लीजिये। एच.एम.डी. एल.०, भोपाल में पिछले वर्ष जितना घाटा हुआ था उसके बारे में आप ख्याल कीजिये कि केवल 130 महीनों में 711 करोड़ रुपये का वहां पर घाटा हुआ है। इस कारखाने की हालत यह है कि इस कारखाने को कोई देखने वाला नहीं है। इस कारखाने के बारे में पिछले समय से ही यह शिकायत रही है कि अगर इस कारखाने में मध्य प्रदेश के लोगों को नियुक्त किया जाय तो किन्हीं अंश पर वहां पर बेरोजगारी दूर हो सकती है और जो एक स्तर है उस स्तर में ऊंचाई आ जायेगी। लेकिन वर्तमान में हमारे एक मंत्री

श्री मोहन कुमारमंगलम जी गए तो मध्य प्रदेश के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने उनके सामने यह बात रखी कि मध्य प्रदेश के व्यक्तियों को ही —जैसा कि श्रीनगर कॉन्फ्रेंस में तय हुआ था—रोजगार से लगा दिया जाय तो यहां पर बेकारी की समस्या बहुत अंश तक दूर हो सकती है। श्री मोहन कुमारमंगलम जी ने उनको बताया कि यह आल इंडिया बेसिस का एक बड़ा कारखाना है और इसमें केवल एक प्रान्त के आदमियों की तरफ हम ध्यान नहीं दे सकते। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि वहां पर कोई खास वर्ग के आदमी आते हैं और बड़े आदमियों के लड़के ही वहां पर नौकरी पाते हैं। पिछले समय में जब श्री फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद साहब इस विभाग के इन्चार्ज थे तो उन्होंने इस बात को स्वीकार किया था कि वहां के डायरेक्टर जनरल ने अपने एक दामाद को, अपने एक लड़के को और व्यक्तियों की अपेक्षा ऊंचा पहुंचाकर कुमियों पर बैठा दिया। तो यह जो धांधली चलती है अगर वहां के ही लोगों को प्रशासन में लगाया जाता तो इस प्रकार की गलतियां न होतीं।

इसी प्रकार बेरोजगारी का एक बड़ा भारी प्रश्न है। देश भर में बेरोजगार मेट्रिक पास 9,09,686 — ये आंकड़े पिछले वर्ष के हैं, इस वर्ष ये दूने नहीं तो डेढ़ गुने जरूर हो गए होंगे — ग्रैंडर-ग्रेजुएट 4,01,326, ग्रेजुएट 1,89,512 और पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट 25,726, इस प्रकार कुल मिला कर 15,26,250 पड़े लिखे ऐसे व्यक्ति बेकार हैं जो टेक्नीकल नहीं हैं। अगर उनमें इंजीनियर्स वगैरह की संख्या भी मिला दी जाय तो यह संख्या लाखों में पहुंच सकती है।

हमारे योग्य मित्र ने अभी एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल के बारे में जो कुछ कहा, उसके साथ ही टैक्सों के बारे में हम थोड़ी सी चर्चा करें। किस देश में कितना टैक्स लगता है और उसकी तुलना में हमारे यहां कितना है, उसकी समीक्षा करना जरूरी है। राष्ट्र की समृद्धि उसकी आय से आंकी जाती है। अमरीकी डालर में प्रति व्यक्ति आय और देशों में और हमारे देश में कितनी है, कनाडा में 2087 डालर, आस्ट्रेलिया में 1820 डालर, अमरीका में 3303 डालर, ब्रिटेन 1560 डालर, स्विटजरलैंड 2171 डालर, डेनमार्क 1947 डालर और उनके मुकाबले में हमारे यहां 73 लाइर प्रति व्यक्ति प्रतिवर्ष आय है। यह हमारा औसत है और उस पर हम पर कर

का बोझ इतना ज्यादा है। हमारे ऊपर विदेशी ऋण और दूसरी संस्थाओं के जो ऋण हैं उनके कारण भारत-वर्ष पर आर्थिक बोझ इतना अधिक पड़ गया है कि मामूली व्यक्ति की कमर टूट गई है और हम नहीं समझते कि यह सरकार इतने करों का बोझ रख कर किस प्रकार अपने दायित्वों को निभा सकती है।

इसी प्रकार हमारी इस सरकार ने समाजवाद की संरचना के विषय में बहुत सी बातें कहीं और बताया कि मनुष्य का जीवनस्तर, साधारण व्यक्ति का जीवन-स्तर बहुत ऊंचा होना चाहिये। मैं बताऊंगा कि पोषण आहार के बारे में संसार में हम कितना पीछे हैं और संसार पोषण आहार के बारे में कितना ज्यादा आगे है। संसार भर में हमारा पोषण आहार बहुत कम है। हमारी दरिद्रता देखिए—अमरीका में 3200 कैलोरी भोजन मिलता है प्रति व्यक्ति को, प्रोटीन 96 ग्राम और दूध 665 ग्राम।

श्री कल्याण राय : जेल में यहां ज्यादा मिलता है, बाहर कम मिलता है।

SHRI NIRANJAN VARMA : You are right.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Do not disturb him.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Even the food that is given to a convict is not available to a citizen outside the jail.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : इसी प्रकार, श्रीमन्, यूगोस्लाविया में प्रति व्यक्ति को 3160 कैलोरी भोजन, 93 ग्राम प्रोटीन और 293 ग्राम दूध मिलता है, इसी तरह से ब्रिटेन में 3220 कैलोरी, टर्की में 3110 कैलोरी, कनाडा में 3180 कैलोरी, आस्ट्रेलिया में 3120 कैलोरी, इजराइल में 2850 कैलोरी और भारत में केवल 1810 कैलोरी मिलता है। तो इस माने में हमारी यह सरकार 24 वर्षों में हमारी जनता के लिये इतना पोषण भी नहीं दे सकी कि जो साधारणतया एक व्यक्ति के लिए अपने को मंटेन करने के वास्ते आवश्यक है। इस प्रकार हमारी सरकार का यह दावा भी निरर्थक है कि उसने पोषण आहार के मामले में जनता को किसी प्रकार की राहत पहुंचाई है।

श्री शोलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : और मुल्कों में कितने बच्चे पैदा होते हैं और हमारे यहां कितने बच्चे पैदा होते हैं ?

डा० (श्रीमती) मंगलादेवी तलवार (राजस्थान) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहती हूं कि माननीय सदस्य जो कैलोरीज बता रहे हैं अमरीका, यूगोस्लाविया और दूसरे मुल्कों में, वे ठंडे मुल्क हैं और ये कैलोरीज जो हैं वे लेबरर्स के लिये हैं, फिजिकल जो काम करते हैं उनके लिये हैं और जो सेडेंटरी लोग हैं उनके लिये ये कैलोरीज बहुत ज्यादा हैं। दूसरी बात यह है कि हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में कैलोरीज की रिकवायरमेंट कम है। 2,500 कैलोरीज की ज्यादा से ज्यादा जरूरत है। इस लिये यह कम्पैरिजन करना ठीक नहीं है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : मैं समझ गया। एक्सपर्ट ऐडवाइस आपने दी है।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : श्रीमन्, हमें यह मालूम है कि हमारी विरोधी वक्ता जो हैं वे एक डाक्टर हैं। लेकिन हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि अपनी सरकार से उन्होंने कोई बात नहीं कही। अगर उन्होंने पूरी जानकारी सरकार के सामने रख दी होती तो सरकार संभवतः उन्हीं के आंकड़ों को देती। मैंने तो तुलनात्मक अध्ययन के रूप में ये बातें बतलाई हैं कि साधारण तौर पर एक जगह पर एक व्यक्ति को कितनी वस्तु मिलती है और हमारे यहां कितनी मिलती है। 24 वर्षों से लगातार आप इस देश में राज्य करते चले आ रहे हैं। आपके प्रतिरिक्त एक दिन के लिये भी भारत का ज्ञान कितनी दूसरी पार्टों के हाथ में नहीं गया। तब क्या आप बता सकते हैं कि आस्ट्रेलिया, आस्ट्रिया, बेल्जियम, कनाडा, स्वीडन, स्वीटजरलैंड, पाकिस्तान, रूस, ब्रिटेन, अमरीका के मुकाबिले में हमारे यहां सुविधाएं, अस्त्रधारों में, डाक्टरों में, मोटरों में, टेलीविजन में और रेडियो में कम क्यों हैं ? हमारे यहां पर सिंचित भूमि में जितनी पैदावार होती है उसकी अपेक्षा पाकिस्तान में ज्यादा होती है। क्या इसके लिये भी हमारी प्रधान मंत्री कोई ब्योरा दे सकेंगी ?

यह सब कहने का मतलब यह है कि हमारे यहां पर सरकार नारे लगाने में बहुत जोरदार है। हर प्रधान मंत्री जो आता है वह पहले से सोच कर आता है कि

[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

उसको एक नया नारा देना है। लेकिन उस नारे के पीछे तथ्य कितना होता है, उस नारे के पीछे काम करने की शक्ति कितनी होती है, उस नारे के पीछे जनता से काम कराने की शक्ति कितनी होती है, इसको किसी प्रधान मंत्री ने कभी देखा नहीं।

इसके अतिरिक्त अब विदेश नीति के बारे में मैं कुछ निवेदन करूँगा। हमारी सरकार की जो विदेश नीति है वह इन 24 वर्षों में केवल आदर्शवाद की नीति रही है। हमेशा इन्होंने यही कहा कि हम शांति और अहिंसा चाहते हैं। 24 वर्षों तक शांति और अहिंसा का जप करने के बाद अंत में आपके हाथ में क्या आया? आप मिडिल ईस्ट में जिन मित्रों को मनाने के लिये बराबर कोशिश करते रहे, अंत में एक बार, दो बार, तीन बार आपने देखा कि उन्होंने कभी आपका साथ नहीं दिया। अगर आपने मित्रता का हाथ ईमानदारी से रियलिस्टिक वे (Realistic way), के अनुसार दूसरे देशों की ओर बढ़ाया होता तो संभवतः वे आज आपके साथ होते? हमारे मित्र इस परिणाम पर पहुँचेंगे कि वे दरिद्र भिखारियों की तरह दूसरे देशों के पास आबोजना करने के लिये गये, एक मिनिस्टर एक देश में गये, कहीं पर हमारे से साहब गये, कहीं पर हमारे प्रमुख हीन अलौ अहमद साहब गये, लेकिन आपके हाथ में क्या आया? कहने का मतलब यह है कि हमारी विदेश नीति का रियलिस्टिक होना चाहिए। विदेश नीति हमारी आदर्श की कभी नहीं रहनी चाहिये। वह रियलिस्टिक वे पर होनी चाहिये, जैसे की तैम वाली होनी चाहिये। जो हमारा मित्र है हम उसके मित्र हैं, जो हमारा शत्रु है हम उसके शत्रु हैं, इस आधार पर हमारी विदेश नीति होनी चाहिये। केवल महात्मा बुद्ध की तरह बैठ कर यह सोचना कि संसार में हमारे सब मित्र हैं और कोई शत्रु नहीं है, उसी का यह परिणाम है कि संसार में आज आप अकेले रह गए हैं, संसार में आज आपके साथ कोई नहीं है।

श्री शीलभद्र बाजो : विषय पाकिस्तान के कौन हमारा शत्रु है? बतलाइये।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : कहने को तो डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : आप 20 मिनट ले चुके हैं, आप की पार्टी के 40 मिनट हैं और दो स्पीकर्स और हैं।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : मुझे मालूम है और मेरी पार्टी के बोलने वाले मेरे साथ हैं। तो मैं यह निवेदन करता हूँ कि हमारे मित्र यात्री जी, मेरे बड़े मित्र हैं लेकिन भावात्मक ज्यादा हैं और इतने भावात्मक हैं कि वह भूल जाते हैं कि वह क्या कह रहे हैं। वह कहना कुछ चाहते हैं और निकलता कुछ है। मैं उनके सामने कहता हूँ कि उनका शत्रु कौन है। आपका शत्रु पहला तो पाकिस्तान है। आपने 20 वर्ष तक उसकी सेवा की, उसके हाथ जोड़े, तलवे चाटे, लेकिन उसके बाद भी वह आपका मित्र नहीं बना। दूसरा है आपका शत्रु चीन और तीसरे जो आपका मित्र था वह भी अब आपकी अंगुठा दिखला कर आज पाकिस्तान की शरण दे रहा है। वह है अमरीका और उसके जितने पिछलग्गू देश हैं वह आपके शत्रु बनते चले जा रहे हैं। हमारे डिफेंस मंत्री ने परसों कहा था हाउस में कि कुछ हमारे साथ हैं। इस हाउस में सब जिम्मेदार ही आये हैं। जो राज्य सभा में चुन कर आते हैं उनके लिए यह कल्पना करना कि वे समझते नहीं हैं या वे जिम्मेदारी से परे हैं, यह गलत बात है। सारे सदस्य जिम्मेदार हैं और सब इस देश के प्रति वफादार हैं। और देश के हित की रक्षा करता चाहते हैं। उनकी इस बात पर कुछ मित्रों ने खड़े हो कर उन से पूछा कि आपके मित्र कौन हैं तो वे बगल झाँक कर कहने लगे कि कुछ हमारे साथ हैं। हम जानते हैं कि आप ज्यादा से ज्यादा रूस के उपर उच्च रूढ़े हैं, या उसके कुछ दोस्त हैं। लेकिन आप समझ रखें कि यू०ए०आर० को रूस ने जिस तरह से, घोखा दिया इजराइल की सड़ाई में, आप भी उसी तरह का घोखा खा सकते हैं। रूस हमारा मित्र है, हम उसके विरोध में कोई बात नहीं कहना चाहते। संसार के और राष्ट्रों के प्रति भी हमारी जिम्मेदारी है। इसके लिए हम कुछ नहीं कहना चाहते लेकिन हमने अवसर आने पर अपने आप को अकेला पाया है। दूसरे के पुत्र से कोई पुत्रवान नहीं होता और दूसरे के धन से कोई धनवान नहीं हो सकता। यह एक पुरानी कहावत है। हमारे यहां हालांकि बहुत देर से कहा गया कि अपने देश में अणु बम बनना चाहिए। सारी पाटियां इसके लिए एकमत थीं। सरकार में कांग्रेस पार्टी के बड़े

बड़े नेता भी इस मत के थे कि अपने देश में किसी न किसी प्रकार से धन बचाने के लिए चल करना चाहिए। हमारे योग्य मित्र श्री सिंह ने एक बार हम को बताया था कि 1958 में सन चीन में था और उसके बाद हम और चीन अलग हो गये। 1958 में चीन जब अकेला रह गया, हम उसके साथ से अलग चला गया तो उस समय जो उसकी हालत थी उसकी अपेक्षा 1969 में हमारी हालत अच्छी थी। अगर 1958 में हम के अलग जाने के बाद भी चीन धन बचा सकता है, हाइड्रोजन बम बना सकता है, तो संसार में हिन्दुस्तान के पास उस समय किस बात की कमी थी कि वह 1969 तक धन बचाने नहीं बना सका, लेकिन हमारे मस्तिष्क में तो युद्ध का नाम आने से ही दुश्चारा घट जाता है, हम अपने ऐसे मित्रों के लिए क्या करें? कोई भी देश जो संघर्ष करने से पराजित है, उस की मृत्यु हो जाती है। देश संघर्ष करके ही आगे बढ़ते हैं, जो संघर्ष करके आगे बढ़ता है उसकी जीत होती है, यह अंतर्राष्ट्रीय कहावत है और हम समझते हैं कि हमारे योग्य मित्र इस बिल के कारण हमारी जेल पर टैक्स का भार थोड़ा ही डाल ले लेकिन जब तक हमारी नीति दुर्बल है तब तक इस राष्ट्र का कल्याण हो नहीं सकता और संसार के दूसरे देश हमारे मित्र बन नहीं सकते। संसार में हम कभी सश प्राप्त कर नहीं सकते और जिस सश की प्राप्ति करने के लिए आप विविध प्रकार के नारे लगाते हैं वह सतत आपके बस्तों में ही बंद रह कर आपको सरकार के साथ ही चला जायगा, यही मेरा निवेदन है।

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Appropriation Bill offers an opportunity to review the work of almost every Ministry, and, therefore, it is rather unfortunate that on the front bench, on the ministerial bench, there is only one Minister to listen to the criticism of all the Ministries. It is like a review of troops by the President where the troops were absent, the officers were absent but the representative of the Army was the Controller General of Military Accounts. Though it is true that the Minister of State would be able to answer all the criticisms but they would be answers received at second-hand

and therefore I think as in other Parliaments and Assemblies, when there is a General Debate on the Ministries, as many Ministers as possible should be present. There are about 50 or 60 Ministers. At least one Minister from each Department could be present at the time of any debate, at such sessions of the Parliament.

Before I proceed to the criticisms or observations on some Ministries—I can take only 2 or 3—may I congratulate the Prime Minister on the new and young blood that she has introduced into the Ministry? There is the Ministry of Finance headed by a very experienced Minister who is so competent that he has an answer to every question but has no solution to the financial problems with which the country is faced. He has an able assistant in the Minister of State who, although new to the Ministry, is able to give a good account of himself, is able to stand up to the machine-gun fire of supplementary questions during the Question Hour. There is also the Deputy Minister who has shown her competence in the recent discussions on these Budgets of the States that had no legislatures of their own but may I beg her to resist the 'fatal finality', feminine fluency to which she is addicted and which finds old people like myself rather difficult to follow her at her speed?

Let me take the Defence Ministry first. It costs us about Rs. 1200 crores and what value do we get from it from this expenditure? We have been told by the Minister of Defence time after time that our Defence Forces are ready to meet any contingency. Does that include a two-front war, a war waged by Pakistan and China at the same time and for how long can that war be continued? Have we got the equipment, especially have we the ammunition that would last at least one year in order to carry on a war to finish? In the recent wars that we had to fight, in the Chinese war our army

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy]

was badly mauled not by any fault of its own but by" the fault of the civilian Ministry. Then in the Pakistan war we were able to knock the Pakistani Army about but we were not able to knock it out and thus we had to go to Tashkent in order to conclude, what I call, only an armistice and not peace. Of course according to the London Times' estimate of our army of its military numerical strength, it is the largest army in the East but how effective can it be as regards the equipment, the modern weaponry? Has it the mobility that will be able to face a modern Army? Is it trained especially for guerilla warfare which seems to be the fashionable kind of warfare in the modern times? Is our Border Force equipped with the special equipment that it required for a Border Force? It has to meet only hit-and-run incursions into our territory. Has it got the mortars and hand-grenades and the small weapons that are required for a Border Force? With regard to our Coastal Defence—coming from a coastal State I am naturally concerned about the coasts—of course we cannot have a large Naval fleet with large vessels with modern equipment but we should have enough vessels to constitute an effective Coastal Defence. Have we the small Defence Craft that are needed? We have three submarines. There must be more than that. We must have one submarine added every year. May I submit that we should not be dependent totally on Russia for the supply of our submarines? Russia is new to naval warfare; it has just come into the field. No doubt it has got a large naval force and it has got great naval ambitions but that fleet has never been tested in a first class naval war. Therefore we do not know about its naval possibilities. Whereas there are tried naval countries like the United States of America, like England, like France, from which we can get our naval equipment. There is one serious defect in our small craft for

coastal defence and that is the lack of motor torpedo boats which every navy has. The German Navy had it in the first world war, a large torpedo fleet has been built up in almost every navy in the world. In fact whole battle has been won with the aid of motor torpedo boats. In answer to a question of mine the Defence Minister replied that there were no torpedo boats but instead of that we had what are called Seaward Defence boats. Even those we have got only two or three. For our long coast line of 3,000 miles there ought to be at least half a dozen of these seaward defence boats. With regard to naval stations we must multiply them as far as possible. We cannot depend upon a single Mazgaon Dockyard to build all our fighting vessels. Morma-goa which is a fine harbour is a possibility; it ought to be developed. It could form a good naval station on the West coast and on the east there are the Andaman Islands in which there is ample scope for the establishment of a first class naval station. We ought to have a naval dockyard in the Andaman Islands and we ought to build it up as a first class naval station because if there is any naval threat from the east it must pass the Andaman Islands. The number of small islands that are there between the Andamans and the Burmese coast should be in our hands or at least we should have some control over those islands.

Then in our Air Force are we fully equipped? Even in regard to numbers we have got only about 45 squadrons. Is that enough? Fortyfive squadrons work out to about 500 aircraft; we should have at least 1000 aircraft in order to meet these possibilities of war on two fronts.

In regard to reserves, an army like ours should have a large reserve force. Have we got that? I do not see any mention of any reserve force in our Defence Ministry Report. We cannot depend upon the

Territorial Army; the Territorial Army is not fitted or trained for first class warfare. It is meant mainly for internal security. A large reserve force is absolutely necessary in a modern army. Even Germany and Japan which are by treaty limited in regard to their defence strength have a large reserve force behind their regular army.

Then I come to the Ministry of External Affairs which costs us about Rs. 32 crores. Are we getting enough value for the money that we spend in this Ministry? The result of our foreign policy is that in times of crisis like the present one we have no friends and in times of peace we have candid friends who tell us the truth about things with which we are concerned. Our foreign policy has allowed India and also Pakistan to be the playthings of the great powers, the United States of America, the USSR and China. It is between these three great Powers that the fate of countries like India and Pakistan is being settled. We speak of non-alignment. While we are non-aligned towards other powers or other States, these States are not non-aligned towards us much less in favour of us. In fact, we have enemies. We have hostile States. As I said, in the midst of a crisis, when we do need friends we have no friends at all to rely upon. India has come within the Russian sphere of influence. "Sphere of influence" has been the historic policy of the Russian State, whether under the Czars or under the Soviets. The Soviets are following the foreign policy of the Czars. The old foreign policy is being pursued more efficiently and more ruthlessly by the Soviets. The establishment of spheres of influence is a historic policy of Russia and we have walked into the spider's web.

What about the work of our Missions abroad? Do they send informative reports about the state of feeling in the countries to which they are accredited and do those reports have any influence on the modifica-

tion of our foreign policy? Or, are those Ambassadors and Ministers abroad sent in order to carry out servilely the foreign policy of the Ministry which it has made up? In other countries it is not so. The representatives of their Missions, the Ambassadors of their Missions modify their foreign policy from time to time. We have heard about Mr. Wilson that, when he was Prime Minister, he was led down the garden path by certain officials, by a certain group in the Commonwealth Department. If they are not able to do anything positive, at least they may do something negative that will not harm the interests of India. The other day we heard of our Ambassador at Washington. When asked about his reaction to Mr. Nixon's visit to China, he said: "Oh, we must not take the Chinese at their face value." Is that the way of reducing international tension, tension between China and India? If our Ministers and Ambassadors abroad cannot do anything positive, they may at least keep their mouths shut. They are not called upon to give their views on all international questions. It is an elementary principle in diplomacy to keep your mouth shut so as not to compromise your country. And with regard to diplomacy the success of diplomatic negotiations depend upon the military strength that a country possesses. We negotiate only from strength, not from weakness. If negotiation is conducted under weakness, under military unpreparedness, it is not negotiation on equal terms. Then, we have to accept the terms of the opposite party. In view of the failure of our Missions abroad—their reports have no value, have no influence upon the Ministry—may I suggest that our diplomatic agents be turned over to some other business? They may become trade agents instead of being diplomatic agents. There are possibilities in trade, whereas there are very few possibilities for the diplomats in diplomacy. Trade can be encouraged and fostered by the work of our Embassies abroad.

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy] I suppose every Mission has got a Commercial Attache. What do these Commercial Attaches do? Do they send informative reports to our Minister of Foreign Trade, reports that will help foreign trade to develop, help trade between India and other countries to develop? To a question that I put to the former Minister of External Affairs, he said: "Oh, yes, there are reports," But when I went to the Library and asked for reports from Commercial attaches. They showed me only a report of the Ministry on those reports. We want to have the reports first hand to see what our Missions abroad have reported upon the commercial possibilities that offer themselves to our country in these foreign countries. Every country does it, every country publishes its commercial attaches' reports, their trade reports. So I think it is time that our diplomatic agents become more useful by helping the development of our trade, our foreign trade, rather than players of the diplomatic game.

Then, Sir, the third Department that I would like to deal with is the Post and Telegraphs Department. That Department has a revenue of Rs. 284 crores and an expenditure of Rs. 265 crores. And I made a discovery from a recent report that even this Department has to pay a dividend to the general revenues. I thought that the Railway Ministry was the only Ministry that has the misfortune of having to pay dividend to the general revenues. I believe that it is under some Convention. But is there any Convention binding the Postal Department to pay a certain amount to the general revenues? The recent amount is Rs. 15 crores. This amount could be used to develop the postal system in our country, which is rather defective. After all these years, we have only 106,000 post offices for a country which covers more than a million square miles and which has a population of more than 500 millions, and out

of these post offices, only 96,000 are rural post offices. We have about five hundred thousand villages and of these about one hundred thousand villages are served by post office, that is one-fifth the number. Then there are about 3,76,000 villages that are served by delivery of mails. These are the villages that have some contact with the outside village. So there is still work for the Postal Department to do. It must as far as possible cover the rest of the four hundred thousand villages. It might develop activity in the Post Offices which have not been developed. One of the possibilities is to serve as a bank in the villages. No doubt there is provision for a savings bank in most villages, in most post offices. But this is only in the branch post offices but not in all rural post offices. And in order to attract the deposits a higher rate of interest than the four to four and a half per cent that is now allowed by the post offices should be there. The State Banks allow an interest of seven to eight per cent for long term deposits and I do not see why the post offices should not offer an interest of live to six per cent for long-term deposits made by the rural depositors.

Then there is another line which has been developed in countries like France, Life Insurance is also done by post offices. Of course, we have a postal insurance system. But we want the life insurance system operated by the L.I.C. taken down to the village level. Mr. Vice-Chairman, in these ways the utility of the Postal Department might be increased.

And there is another suggestion that I should like to make, and that is, whether in great towns or in State capitals or in smaller towns or even in the villages, the post office building should be the building of the Central Government; it should be a sort of building which offers facilities for the work of the Central Government in the State. The Central Government has no

office building except those like the Accountant-General's offices and the post offices in the State Capitals. But in the United States of America the post office building whether in large capitals or in smaller towns or in the villages is the building of the Central Government where all the activities of the Central Government in the State are conducted. That would be a way of implementing the policies and programmes of the Central Government in the States. It must have a building of its own. It must have agencies of its own. It must have officials of its own. It is to use depending upon the State Government and State officials to be the agencies of the Central Government. In the United States of America the Federal Government has its own agencies down to the village level. It is only then that the programmes and policies of the Central Government will be implemented in every part of the State.

The Postal Department, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I need not remind the House, is a very important Department because it is the Department which promotes intellectual communication between the people of the North and the people of the South, the people of the East and the people of the West, the people in the towns and the people in the villages. It is through the Postal Department that communication between the people is developed and improved. And communication is absolutely necessary for integration of the people. As such the Postal Department has a great responsibility and I hope it will rise to its great opportunities.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Shrimati Pratibha Singh.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Sir, I do not want to make a speech. If you do not mind, I just want to give *one* suggestion in a minute. Yesterday in reply to Starred question No. 195 a statement was laid on

the Table of the House with regard to the loans India has incurred. The total amount of loans we have incurred is Rs. 789.33 crores. This is the amount of loan burden that India bears. Sir, article 292 of the Constitution says:

292. "*Borrowing by the Government of India.*—The executive power of the Union extends to borrowing upon the security of the Consolidated Fund of India within such limits, if any, as may from time to time be fixed by Parliament by law and to the giving of guarantees within such limits, if any, as may be fixed."

So the Constitution has actually mentioned in so many words that the limits of loans may be decided by Parliament. It is not compulsory. But then how long will the executive power or the Government be entitled to incur loans? This is a burden on the coming generation. No expenditure, not even a pie, can be incurred without Parliament's sanction. On these loans we have to pay interest. That is something which is not in keeping with the spirit of the Constitution. I would, therefore, request my friend to record for Government's consideration that as required by article 292 the Government may from time to time take the sanction of Parliament to fixing the limit to which they could borrow.

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA SINGH (Bihar) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, while supporting the Appropriation Bill for 1971-72 I would like to understand a few things which have not been properly explained. We have been told that a sum of Rs. 55.48 lakhs and odd has been paid for the Birla House on Tees January Marg. This has obviously been done not because the House is needed for establishing a club or an office. It has been acquired as a National Monument connected as it is with the most tragic murder of the Father of the Nation. There were two courses open

[Shrimati Pratibha Singh] for this: (i) The owners should have gifted the property to the nation, or (ii) the Government should have acquired it soon after the tragedy.

Nothing of the sort happened for a long number of years until the public opinion grew strong on the subject. Obviously the same two courses appeared the possible courses even now. One would naturally like to know why the second course, namely that of acquisition, had to be resorted to. Did the Government not succeed in persuading the famous Big House of Birlas to donate the property to the nation? I am asking this as I feel it is unbelievable that a request of this nature could have been refused by any patriotic person. It is also unbelievable that a price could be demanded by any one in our country for what immediately after such a tragedy belonged to the nation. It is unbelievable, Sir, that any one can trade on the saddest tragedy that could have ever happened in the world. There must, therefore, be some mistake somewhere. Why not place all the facts before the House? In any case, the original lease under which the land was sold for Rs. 23,000 and the agreement for the transfer of the property now and other relevant papers should be placed on the Table of the House for the information of hon. Members.

There is another aspect of this question. If the whole thing could wait for such a long time, how did it assume urgency at this juncture when we are faced with an overwhelming catastrophe in the east by the great influx of refugees and the threat of war in the west. It has often been questioned by the people that while alternatives regarding urban properties are under consideration, why has a stereotyped acquisition of this kind been hastened. The propriety of the action is often questioned and some even go to the length of observing an unusual haste so far as the payment for the

acquisition of this property is concerned. They also wish to know if the Government noted at what price the Birlas sold a similar plot of land in the same neighbourhood to a party only a few years back.

There is also another consideration in this matter. The Government has often acquired private properties including the lands of the very poor for the establishment of colonies of even the high and mighty, besides for public purposes. Has the Government been equally generous to these poor people? Has the Government been so quick in the payment of compensation to the poor peasants? It is well known that men with meagre resources or no resources have been running from court to court and from door to door for years and years to receive those small amounts that have seldom rehabilitated them. These and other such questions naturally haunt the minds of many. One would, therefore, like clear statements about all this. It is hoped that the answers will not try to mystify what needs to be placed clearly before the House.

There are, however, some other subjects connected with Bihar to which also I would like to draw the attention of the Government through you, Sir. The Central Government has sanctioned Rs. 41. crores for the Ganga bridge which connects South Bihar to North Bihar. A sum of Rs. 4^ crores has been sanctioned by the Bihar Government. This makes a total of Rs. 9 crores. The cost estimated for this bridge is about Rs. 23 to Rs. 24 crores. The question raised in Bihar is how the rest of this big cost would be met. For the purposes of trade, transport and defence, this bridge was important and now it is imperative. North Bihar is connected at present with South Bihar through the Mokama bridge. During emergency Ganga bridge can ease the diverse problems connected with the defence of the country. The

journey through Mokama bridge has failed to solve the difficulties of transport between North and South Bihar. Hence it is humbly requested that with some adjustments in the Plan Ganga bridge may be given priority.

Another problem of Bihar is the link roads. North Bihar has a border of nearly 400 miles with Nepal. We have helped Nepal to build Purvi and Pashchimi Raj Marg. Similarly on the Indian side we have built lateral road. On the Nepal side we are connecting Purvi and Pashchimi Raj Marg to Indian Border with link roads, *e.g.* from Dhalkebar in Nepal *via* Janakpur we have connected India at Bhatta check-post in Sitamanhi sub-division. India and other countries are now trying to connect the Purvi and Pashchimi Raj Marg with India through link roads. Now on the Indian side too, we need link roads from the Nepal Border to be connected to the lateral road. This is absolutely necessary in view of the construction of the Kodari road situated in Nepal. The Himalayas no longer serve as the great protective wall. Therefore, these link roads are a necessity and not a luxury at the present context.

At the moment, Sir, there is also another urgent problem facing Bihar connected with damages caused by incessant rains and flood. The wheat and maize crops were destroyed by rain and rice seedlings are being washed away by the floods. With damaged roads it is difficult to reach even relief measures to the farmers. It is requested through you, Sir, that the Central Government in consultation with the Bihar Government may immediately evolve such measures as may help the farmers to get on on an emergency basis, all the possible help to tide over the present difficulties. Arrangements may be made for loans and seedlings to be given to the farmers,

I shall also request the Central Government through you, Sir, to expedite the cons-

truction of Dagmara Barrage on the river Kosi besides the construction of Bhimnagar Barrage in Nepal. The expert committee has recommended the speedy construction of Dagmara Barrage which may help flood control measures too. The constructions of Dagmara Barrage would give us Riparian right, *Dariyayi Hague*, too. The Committee has also recommended that it would be in the national interest to combine the road and railway bridge with Dagmara Barrage.

Now a word about Bangla Desh. This gigantic problem that the civilised world is facing has been tackled by our Government under the guidance of the Prime Minister with courage, forbearance and imagination. All efforts to help the vast number of refugees who have been uprooted for no fault of theirs have the first priority. What has been done and is being done under extreme provocation from Pakistan and a certain pressure internally has, as you know, Sir, evoked worldwide appreciation and praise for our Prime Minister. We must all be prepared for sacrifices needed to create conditions for the return of this suffering humanity to its home and its rehabilitation. To this end, we will not grudge any demand made on us and we assure our fullest support.

Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Shrimati Purabi Mukherjee. She will speak in Bengali.

♦SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY : Hon. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I wholeheartedly support the demands for grants, presented by the hon. Finance Minister.

Sir, we shall have to fulfil the assurances that we gave to our people. It will be a mistake to think that we can fulfil our assurances immediately. Ours is a big country

♦Original speech in Bengali.

[Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay] and we have various problems. In order to solve all the problems we require co-operation from everybody. It is quite natural that we require more time to solve our various problems. We also require more resources for the same purpose. We are trying to increase our resources and there is indication of that effort in this budget. We have increased wealth tax by 8%. We have also increased surcharge on income-tax by 5%. It is hoped that the widening gap between the incomes of the rich and the poor will be narrowed down gradually. In the last year's budget Rupees 152 crores was provided for investment, in this year's budget we have provided for the same purpose Rupees 250 crores. It is hoped that this increased amount of money for investment will create new employment opportunities in the country.

Today, in our country, we have nearly 20 lakhs unemployed young men. This figure includes highly educated and less educated persons. In order to provide jobs to these people our experts- should examine how we can increase our resources through various sources. Last year the total investment was Rs. 152 crores. This year it has been raised to Rs. 250 crores.

Those who say that this budget is not growth-oriented, are wrong. In all our activities we have made efforts to increase our economic resources. At the time of presenting this year's Budget the Finance Minister proposed to impose a ceiling on urban property. He also wanted to bring the rich agriculturists within the purview of agricultural income-tax. He then wanted to increase the expenditure tax and the gift tax. We know that he has made provisions for stopping evasion of taxes. He has also restricted pleasure trips to foreign countries. So, through all these measures, our government is trying to strengthen the foundation of Indian economy.

i We have serious unemployment problem in our country. I shall appeal to the Finance Minister that a Minister should be appointed to look after the unemployed people of our country. His function will be to create more jobs for the unemployed people.

Sir, we still have the problem of drinking water in our country. There are many villages in our country where even a glass of water is not available for drinking. Therefore, more money should be granted to Himachal Pradesh and all the hilly areas and desert areas of our country in order that people living in those places may get more facilities of drinking water. I hope the hon. Minister will do the needful.

A sum of Rs. 30 crores has been allocated in this year's budget for providing drinking water facilities in the villages. I feel that this amount of money is not adequate keeping in view the extent of demands for drinking water in the entire country. 5 p.m.

Twenty years have elapsed since India became independent. So, it is a matter of great regret that we are still unable to solve the problem of drinking water in our country even after twenty years since the attainment of independence.

Sir, we believe in harmony of all religions. But it does not mean that a particular religious community will enjoy more privileges than others. Therefore, all the special privileges for any religious community, sanctioned by our laws at present, should be abolished as early as possible. By doing so, I do not feel, that our secular policy as laid down in the Constitution will be affected. We should have common laws for all the religious communities in our country and in that direction we must make constant efforts.

Sir, we have much to say on Bangla Desh issue. On Saturday we shall get opportunity to speak on that issue. Therefore, I do not want to take much time of the House today.

Sir, I express my heart-felt gratitude to the Chairman, the staff of the Secretariat and to you for making the arrangement for interpretation of Bengali speeches into English as that has enabled me to speak in Bengali today in this House.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to speak on three Demands, the Demand of the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, that is, Demand No. 5, Demand No. 34, that is, the Demand of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Demand of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Sir, I would like to mention here that when the Demands of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting were being discussed in the other House, Shrimati Nandini Satpathy made a reference to the working of the Press in India and the Government of India has made a plan allocation of Rs. 55 crores. Some Members have referred to the recommendations made by the Press Commission that the PTI should be converted into a corporation and there were also speeches contradicting them and telling those Members that they were wrong in their session that the Press Commission had recommended the setting up of a corporation.

Sir, I was a Member of the Press Commission and I can state here that at the time when we conceived the idea of having the PTI, the PTI had no financial resources and we had recommended a loan in order to stabilize the affairs of the PTI and made a recommendation to the share-holders that they should convert it into a corporation. The share-holders of the PTI are the newspapers of India and there is a stipulation in the Articles of Association of the PTI which prevents any newspaper from having more than five votes in the annual general meeting.

Sir, the hon. Minister of State for Information & Broadcasting, Mrs. Satpathy, made certain remarks which are extremely disquieting to me as an old journalist in this country. Sir, I have been a journalist for the last forty years and I have been the Editor of a newspaper for nearly 35 years and I - > the Chairman of the PTI and the Chairman of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference. Sir, I quite realise that there is a new wave in this country, that people want increasing participation by the workers in the 'management of companies. I claim that I am sufficiently up-to-date in order to keep pace with this trend and I am not opposed to workers' participation. But, Sir, when the Government thinks of a statutory corporation, I want to warn the Government, as an old journalist, that a statutory corporation, in the light of the experience that we have gathered from the working of the corporations in this country, is nothing but introducing government control over the newspapers and all the news agencies. Sir, Mr. Yajee wants to know how you would like to exercise public control and that is a very valid question. The suggestion that I would like to make is that since substantial money has been invested in the building of the Press Trust of India in Parliament Street, which is valued at Rs. 1 crore and 8 lakhs at the present time by the architects, and since the PTI has come to occupy a very valuable place in the public life and in the life of journalism in the country, a trust should be created to safeguard the independence of the PTI. I am prepared also to take only editorial workers on the Board of Trustees of the PTI in order to safeguard the independence of the news agency. But beyond that the working of the news agency should not be subjected to control under any corporation because it will give a very bad name to India that we are destroying the foundation of democracy in this country by trying to introduce governmental control. I am also prepared

[Shri A. D. Mani] to have on the Board of Directors of the Press Trust of India a workers' representative.

Take the Life Insurance Corporation, for example. Many questions have been asked about LIC. Is that not governmental interference? The moment you put a news agency under statutory control, some sort of governmental inference will come in and governmental interference will spread.

Sir, I would like to mention another news-agency working in this country—the UNI. It is still a developing service and has developed into a very good service also. You cannot compel a newspaper to subscribe to one service. The Government of India may amend the Constitution a hundred times, but it cannot compel a newspaper to take this or that service. That power nobody under the Constitution can take. I am afraid that the Minister of Information & Broadcasting is regarding this valuable medium of information like some commodity which should be brought under any statutory corporation.

Sir, I feel very strongly in this matter. I want the Government not to say that they have given some sort of a grant to the PTI, of Rs. 55 crores. Out of Rs. 55 crores, a part is loan at the rate of 6% interest—or 7 per cent. The total interest which has been paid is Rs. 37 lakhs. The PTI took it at that time from the Government. Now if anybody takes money from a bank, it is taken as Government loan because all the banks are nationalized. The PTI could have got this Rs. 55 lakhs from any bank in view of the value of the property they have near the Parliament building.

Sir, I hope the Minister for Information & Broadcasting would consider this matter, and not rush in with the idea of a statutory corporation, because she has to carry the

newspapers of the country with her. In regard to this matter she cannot compel any newspaper if it become a public corporation. I want to tell the House here that as a journalist I would not have respect for the PTI the moment it comes under statutory control, if it becomes a Government news agency.

I would now like to mention the second point about the Ministry of Foreign Trade. The other day there was a debate in the other House when the Demands for the Ministry of Foreign Trade were discussed. I think a Motion was moved to consider the question of the import of American films. Sir, I am an unashamed film-goer, and I like to see good films. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Every day?

SHRI A. D. MANI : Not every day, but very often. Some of the American films are good; a lot of them are trash...

AN HON. MEMBER : Name a few.

SHRI A. D. MANI : I can name a large number of them, but there is no time at any disposal. Now, I was surprised when my hon. friend, Mr. L. N. Mishra, said that he has terminated the agreement with the Motion Pictures Export Corporation regarding the import of films because our films have not been shown in America. Now, Sir, putting literature and films on the same basis as shoes and Usha sewing machines is a new idea in foreign trade. It is as fantastic as the Government saying that they would not allow the New York Times to be imported unless the Link and the Patriot are sold in America. You know what the Indian films are; some of them are good; there are some films which have won world appreciation. But we cannot compel people to purchase; we cannot compel the Americans to see certain films just because they are produced in India. They must be properly dubbed.

The argument was put forward in the other House and also outside that 96 cinemas out of 7,000 in this country art-showing English films. One thing will happen. If the American films are stopped, our films will not have any ideas for their plots. Most of our films are based on pirated ideas from American films. You all know very well that even the tunes are pirated. There was a suit filed. . .

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE/fa*'rar?TO'?3q-«T5ft (SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI) : It is just a matter of opinion.

SHRI A. D. MANI : I want you to answer the point when you reply to the debate.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: (Kerala) : We do not have any ideas?

SHRI A. D. MANI : I am seeing films; you are not seeing.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: I am sitting in this House and seeing...

SHRI A. D. MANI : The main question is that we want our films to be exported to America. That is a desirable objective, not on commercial grounds only but largely on cultural grounds. There was a film sent by the Motion Picture Exporters Association to the United States for this purpose. We understand that our embassies were showing many of our pictures free of charge. If you show anything free of charge, you affect the commercial possibilities of our pictures being shown abroad. Now, there is no use in our linking up this matter, saying that we must compel them to purchase certain films and then only we will take certain films from them. America does not have some kind of a society as we have. How can you compel a country to show your films when proper dubbing has not been done? I want this matter to be viewed in the proper perspective. 9 RSS/71—8

I know that a lot of films containing scenes of violence and sex are being shown in the country and, unfortunately, this has also affected the Hindi screen. This is a new generation and you will find that the cinema has affected our country also. I do not like to see any thrillers—a man being shot dead. I shudder when I see somebody being shot dead even on the screen; I do not like to see scenes of violence. But the question is, the Government says that they do not want the Motion Pictures Association to show spy films, and I may mention here that in the case of the murder of the Maharaja of Kishangarh, one of the accused persons has stated in the court that he saw the picture *Samaj ko Badal Dab* and then thought about this murder. We also produce pictures of this kind. We would like to have, in view of the violence that is spreading all over the country, some kind of a control over the production of pictures of violence in the Hindi screen also. This is very necessary because we are creating an atmosphere of adventure and recklessness among the younger generation.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE : Where is the scene of violence in *Samaj ko Badal Dab* ?

SHRI A. D. MANI : That is what he said. My suggestion to the Minister of Foreign Trade is that we must have a worthwhile arrangement entered into with the Motion Pictures Association of America. We would like to see American films also. We do not want to see shoddy films but we do not want the STC to come into the picture. It is as bad as the STC handling the book trade and telling us what books we should read in this country. The Minister says that we should import films through the STC. We do not want Government control. I am prepared to have a non-official committee. I would like to have the Board of Film Censors to be

[Shri A. D. Mani] associated with this but not the STC, to come into the matter and interfering. What I say is all these suggestions are in the direction of the creation of a controlled and undemocratic society which may not be our intention but this will be the result and I feel that I should utter a warning as a person who values freedom and information that these suggestions made by the Minister for Foreign Trade are full of dangerous implications and have got to be very carefully scanned by the Government before they are accepted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय,

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : आप तार्ईद कर रहे हैं ?

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : जी हाँ, तार्ईद कर रहा हूँ, स्वागत कर रहा हूँ, जिसमें

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : तार्ईद भी अच्छा लफज है।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : इसी लिए मैं पूछ रहा था कि तार्ईद कर रहे हैं।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : जी हाँ, तार्ईद कर रहा हूँ।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : तो यह और बताते जाइये कि आज ही आपके मिनिस्टर पकड़े गये हैं फर्स्ट क्लास में बिना टिकट यात्रा करते हुए। एक मिनिस्टर महोदय, कांग्रेस राज में अपने एक साथी रिश्तेदार के साथ फर्स्ट क्लास में पकड़े गये और उन्होंने चार्ज देने से भी इन्कार किया, फिर फाइन दिया और उसके साथ ही एक इलेक्ट्रिकल इंजीनियर भी पकड़ा गया, जो अपने चपरासी के साथ जा रहा था...

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : जो कांग्रेस का वजीर था उसने जल्दी से जल्दी रेल भाड़ा दे दिया, लेकिन जितने जनसंघी और स्वतंत्र पार्टी वाले लोग हैं, यह तो कम्बल ओढ़ कर सब काम कर लेते हैं। यह बराबर उसी तरह से

ALI KHAN) : These are facts.

चलते हैं। हम तो चूँकि सरकार में हैं, इसलिए कुछ जिम्मेदारी से चलते हैं, थोड़े लोग ही बिना टिकट के चलते होंगे, लेकिन आपके यहां तो कोई जवाबदेही ही नहीं है।

अभी इस विधेयक में 1 खरब, 76 अरब, 74 करोड़ और 11 हजार की व्यवस्था की गयी है, खर्च करने के लिए और जब कभी कोई बजट या एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल या फाइनेंस बिल आता है इस सदन में तो मैं बराबर उसमें जो कर वृद्धि होनी है, उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। चूँकि अभी श्री निरंजन वर्मा जी ने एक बड़ी तालिका दिखायी और उन्होंने कहा कि इतना विदेशों से कर्ज लिया, इतना कर लगा, उन सबको वह गिना गये और मैं एक सदस्य हूँ कि जब-जब कर वृद्धि की बात आती है, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ और आगे भी करूँगा।

(THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI)
in the Chair)

यह मैं इसलिए करता हूँ कि अभी श्री टी० एन० सिंह, हमारे बड़े बुजुर्ग नेता भी बतला गये कि सेल्फ रिलायंस देश में होनी चाहिए। तो एक तरफ जब हम कहते हैं कि देश में जितने रिसोर्सेज हैं उनको हम लेंगे, उनका इस्तेमाल करेंगे तो फिर जब कर वृद्धि की बात होती है तो निरंजन वर्मा जी पहले छाती पीटने क्यों लगते हैं या जितने अपोजीशन वाले हैं वे सब छाती पीटने लगते हैं कि कर वृद्धि हो गयी, कर वृद्धि हो गयी। मैं तो यह विश्वास करता हूँ कि विदेशों से कर्ज न लेकर हमारे जो यहां साधन हैं, उन्हीं से काम चलायें।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : मैं छाती नहीं पीटता, मैं आपकी तरफ देखता हूँ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : और साथ ही घड़ियाल के सांसू भी बहाते हैं। तो मैं सीधे-सीधे सरकार को भी कहता हूँ और आपको भी कहता हूँ और उनकी मजहमत करता हूँ और इसके लिए आपको भी कहता हूँ कि हमको कहीं से भी कर्ज नहीं लेना चाहिए। एक पुरानी बात है : 'ऋणं कृत्वा धृतं पोषेत्'।

श्री ब्रह्मानंद पंडा (उड़ीसा) : बाबू जीवेत् सुखम् जीवेत्...

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : लेकिन यह हमारा सिद्धान्त नहीं है, बल्कि चारवाक का यह सिद्धान्त है, इसलिए

मैं अपनी सरकार से कहता हूँ कि देश में जो 75 परिवार पूँजीपतियों के हैं, जो मोनोपोलिस्ट हैं, जिनके हाथ में हिन्दुस्तान की ज्यादा से ज्यादा संपत्ति रखी हुई है और जिसकी तरफ से हमारे निरंजन वर्मा जी का आज शानदार वाक-आउट भी हुआ, उनकी रक्षा करने के लिये कि कांस्टीट्यूशन में अमेंडमेंट नहीं होना चाहिये...

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : आज मेरे ऊपर ही कृपा-वर्षा कर रहे हैं, क्या बात है ? बिल पर बोलिये ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : मैं तो वाइस-चेयरमैन साहब पर भी घाउंगा, लेकिन मैं अभी आपको कहता हूँ कि यदि आप समझते हैं कि देश की तरक्की हो तो फिर जरा समझिये । सब जगह से मांग होती है, वर्मा जी भी जानते हैं, हम भी लेबर आर्गेनाइजेशन में काम करते हैं, वर्मा जी की पार्टी के डेगड़ी जी भी काम करते हैं, सब तरफ से मांग होती है कि नीड-बेस्ड सैलरी चाहिये और सरकार को वह देनी भी चाहिये, अगर सरकार समाजवाद के रास्ते पर जाती है तो उसको देना ही पड़ेगा । तो पैसा कहाँ से आयेगा ! इसीलिये मैं ऋण लेने को नहीं कहता हूँ, न रशिया से लिया जाय, न अमेरिका से लिया जाय, न कनाडा से लिया जाय और न यू० के० से लिया जाय, हम अपनी सरकार को कहते हैं कि ये जो 75 परिवार हैं, ये जो बिड़ला, टाटा की तरह के मोनो-पोलिस्ट्स हैं, जिनके हाथ में हिन्दुस्तान की सम्पत्ति रखी हुई है और जो मारे कल-कारखाने हैं, जितनी की और बेसिक इंडस्ट्रीज हैं, टी-गार्डन्स हैं, रबड़ के बागान हैं, जितने फारेन बैंक्स हैं, जितनी फारेन कंपन्स हैं चाहे वह अमेरिका की हों, यू० के० की हों, किसी की हों और जो अभी शेड्यूल्ड बैंक बाकी रह गये हैं, इन सभी का जल्द से जल्द राष्ट्रीयकरण और समाजीकरण होना चाहिये । तो इतनी पूँजी हमारे पास होगी कि हम लोगों को बाहर से कर्ज नहीं लेना पड़ेगा ।

श्री गनेशी लाल चौधरी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : रोकता कौन है आपको ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : मैं तो सरकार से यही शिकायत कर रहा हूँ । आप तो हमारी हिन्दी की स्पीच भी नहीं रामझ रहे हैं । और जब हम यह करें तो निरंजन वर्मा जी छाती न पीटे, प्रलाप न करें, क्रोकोडाइल टीषर्स न बहायें...

9RSS/71—8

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : याजी जी अगर आप कोई ऐसा काम करें कि आपकी पीठ ठोके तो हम पीठ भी ठोकेंगे ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : सरकार की पीठ टोकिये, वाक-आउट न करिये । मैं जानता हूँ आपकी पार्टी से सम्बन्धित जितने सदस्य हैं, उनका टाटा बिड़ला से कोई सरोकार नहीं है, लेकिन इनकी स्टडी कम है, धीरे-धीरे आप हिन्दुस्तान को समझ जायेंगे कि यहाँ क्या कमी है तो जो चीज हम बोलते हैं, वही चीज आपको भी अवाम के लिये बोलनी पड़ेगी ।

श्री ब्रह्मानंद पंडा : आप साथ ले जाएँ ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : ले जायेंगे, समाजवाद तो 55 करोड़ के लिये करना है । तो मैं सरकार से कह रहा था । अभी कांस्टीट्यूशन अमेंडमेंट बिल आ रहा है, लेकिन मैं यह भी समझता हूँ कि अधूरा आ रहा है । हमने 210 एम० पी० ने, प्राइम मिनिस्टर को एक मेमोरेण्डम दिया और उनको बताया कि सिर्फ धारा 368 और प्रिवी पर्स और आई० सी० एम० आफिसर्स के हटाने से काम चलने वाला नहीं है । हमने 12 मुद्दाव दिये । हमने उनको कहा कि इन 12 धाराओं में अमेंडमेंट होना चाहिये और सबसे पहले अमेंडमेंट करना चाहिये प्रिप्रिम्बल में । पहले कहिये कि हम हैं क्या ? इसलिये पहले "डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्ट रिपब्लिक" का अमेंडमेंट लाइये और यह जो 26 जनवरी आने वाली है, उस रोज फिर से घोषित किया जाय कि यह जो डेमोक्रेटिक रिपब्लिक भारत था, वह अब डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्ट रिपब्लिक होगा । और हमने कहा कि ये जो 12 हमारे संशोधन हैं, उनको मान करके सभी चीजों का समाजीकरण कर लें । तब आपके पास ऐसी पूँजी हो जायगी कि चाहे बकिंग क्लास के लोग हों, चाहे हमारे केन्द्रीय कर्मचारी हों या प्रान्त के कर्मचारी हों, सबको हम नीड-बेस्ड सैलरी भी दे सकते हैं और जो हमारे निरंजन वर्मा जी की शिकायत है कि हम कनाडा की तरफ जाते हैं, आस्ट्रेलिया की तरफ जाते हैं या स्विट्जरलैंड ऐसे छोटे-छोटे देश से लेते हैं या जर्मनी से लेते हैं, वह शिकायत भी नहीं होगी । और इसीलिये मैं इनको भी कहता हूँ कि समय के मुताबिक उनको भी चलना पड़ेगा, नहीं चलेंगे तो एक विस्फोट होगा और उस विस्फोट में यह सरकार भी जायगी और आप भी जायेंगे । इसलिये अभी से उपाय कीजिये । जब आप पार्लियामेंटरी पद्धति में

[श्री शीलभद्र याजी]

विश्वास करने है कि पार्लियामेन्टरी पद्धति से समाजवाद की रचना होगी, स्थापना होगी, तो जो जनता का समाजवाद के नाम पर शासक पार्टी को मैसिव मैडेंट है, उसके मुताबिक यदि काम नहीं हुआ तो फिर दूसरा होगा। दूसरा लोग चाहते नहीं हैं। हम सब चाहते हैं कि समाजवाद की स्थापना इस देश में बुलेट से नहीं हो, बेलेट से हो। दोनों कम्युनिस्ट पार्टीज चाहें वह सी० पी० एम०, सी० पी० आई० हो या और कोई हो वह कुछ भी कहे लेकिन मिबाय नक्सलपन्थियों को छोड़ कर के सारा हिन्दुस्तान यह मानता है कि पार्लियामेन्टरी पद्धति से समाजवाद की प्राप्ति होगी।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : आपकी पवित्र राय से समाजवाद की परिभाषा क्या है ?

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : मैं समझाऊंगा आपको समाजवाद की परिभाषा। मैं जरा स्टडी क्लाम कराऊंगा इनको। लेकिन अभी एक मिनट में हम उनको समझा देने हैं समाजवाद की एक सिम्पल परिभाषा है। जितने भी मीन्स आफ प्रोडक्शन हैं और मीन्स आफ डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन हैं, उन पर समाज का कंट्रोल होना चाहिए, उसका समुचित वितरण होना चाहिए। उसको समाजवाद कहते हैं।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : सरकार का नहीं ?

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : समाजवाद है, सरकारवाद नहीं कह रहा हूँ। अभी तो श्री टी० एन० सिंह इधर से उधर की तरफ चले गए, अब वह समाजीकरण, राष्ट्रीयकरण को पूंजीवादी समझने लगे हैं। जिनकी तरफ जाकर बैठे, विभाग भी उसी तरह बदल गया है। अब दूसरी-दूसरी बातें मुनाने हैं। उनकी स्पीच सुन कर हमें बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ—बोल क्या रहे थे ? फ्रस्टेशन की स्पीच हो रही थी, एक दम हताशताहित होकर उन्हीं भावनाओं से बोल रहे थे। इतने दिनों प्लानिंग में जब तक वह रहे जितनी गड़बड़ी हुई उनकी वजह से हुई। उनके जैसे आदमी बैठे हुए थे वहाँ। दूसरी बात यह है, जब वह चीफ मिनिस्टर थे तब उन्होंने क्या किया। बात यह है, जब हट जाते हैं गद्दी से तो बुद्धि सुझाने लगती है और अजीब-अजीब बातें करते हैं। ये हमारे बुजुर्ग हैं। लेकिन मैं यह कहता हूँ, समाजवाद का आदर्श समझा जाए। जो समाजवाद के आचार्य

समझे जाते थे, प्रकाण्ड पंडित, "कौंगो" में बैठ गए तो आपको हवा उल्टी लग गई—जनसंघ की हवा लग गई, स्वतंत्र की हवा लग गई, उनको भी समझना चाहिए...

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : बात यह है कि जैसे चीन परिवर्तनवादी रुम को संशोधनवादी कहता है, उसी प्रकार से आप भी परिवर्तनवादी हो गए, फाबंड ब्लाक से यहाँ आ गए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): If you want to yield to him, you will have to reply. Otherwise, you proceed with your speech.

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : आई विल आल्सो रिप्लाई। चूंकि यह सवाल इन्होंने कर दिया, रुम में और चीन में जो सिस्टम, है उसमें इनको और नवल किशोर जी को कोई गुंजायश नहीं है, जो इस लोक में भी न रहे और बाहर रहे। वहाँ परलोक ही भेज देते हैं। वह प्रोव्लिटे-रिएट डिक्टेटरशिप है। हमारे यहाँ डेमोक्रेटिक डिक्टेटरशिप भी नहीं है। न हम रुम को फालो कर रहे हैं, न हम चीन को फालो कर रहे हैं। लेकिन हमारे यहाँ जिस रास्ते से राजनारायण जी चलते हैं—जिस तरह से उन्होंने पार्लियामेन्टरी पद्धति की घञ्जी उड़ाई है इसी सदन में, कभी जाकर सेनेटरी साहब की कुर्सी में बैठ गए और कल वाइस-चेयरमैन की सीट के सामने खड़े हो गए, जहाँ इस समय मणि साहब बैठे हैं और वहीं से खड़े होकर भाषण करने लगते हैं—इस तरह से पार्लियामेन्टरी पद्धति की और मर्यादा की रक्षा नहीं होगी। हम लोग तो जो यहाँ बैठे हैं, जनता की मांगों के मुताबिक चलने की कोशिश करेंगे, चाहे हमें कोई चलने दे या न चलने दे। अभी कांग्रेस शासन में हैं, अगर वह जनता की मांगों के मुताबिक नहीं चलेगी तो सरकार नहीं चल सकती। इसलिए मैं अपनी सरकार को कहता हूँ कि हमारे 210 सदस्यों ने जो तरबीब दिया है संविधान में करने के लिए, उसको मान कर, यह जो अगला साल आ रहा है 1972, उसकी जनवरी में भारत को अवश्य डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्ट रिपब्लिक डिक्लेयर किया जाए, कांस्टिट्यूशन में जितना हमने कहा उतनी तरतीम करके जल्द से जल्द सब चीजों का समाजीकरण करके पूंजी लाएं। पूंजी हमारे घर में है, हमको रजिया या और कहीं जाने की जरूरत नहीं है। एक बात मणि साहब ने कही...

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माधुर (राजस्थान) : किन्हीं कहीं ?

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : मणि साहब ने—वाइस-चेयर-मैन की कैंपेसिटी में उनको नहीं कह रहा हूँ। उन्होंने कहा कि प्रेस की स्वतंत्रता कोई नहीं ले। लेकिन यह सही है और इसको मणि साहब भी महसूस करते हैं कि वहाँ भी प्रेस में मोनोपोलिस्ट्स घुस गए हैं और वे अपना उल्लू सीधा करने के लिए, अपनी पालिसी चलाते हैं। इसलिए जो बड़ी-बड़ी समाचार एजेंसियाँ हैं, चाहे वह यू० एन० आई० हो, पी० टी० आई० हो, कोई भी हो, उनके जो कर्मचारी लोग हैं, श्रमजीवी लोग हैं, बकिंग जर्नलिस्ट्स हैं, उनको मिला कर यदि कारपोरेशन कर दिया जाए—मैं भी नहीं चाहता कि सरकार उसको नेशनलाइज करके अपना कंट्रोल करे—तो सरकार को उसमें मदद देनी चाहिए। तो जो बकिंग जर्नलिस्ट है उनको ज्यादा सुख-सुविधा मिलेगी और इस लिहाज से शतपथी जी और गुजराल भी बोलते कि इस तरह का कारपोरेशन होना चाहिये। इसके साथ ही साथ हम लोगों को भी डिमान्ड करनी चाहिये कि एक कारपोरेशन बनाया जाय। जितने वेटन लोग हैं, जर्नलिस्ट रह चुके हैं, जिनको काम करते हुए इतने वर्ष हो गये हैं, उनको बकिंग जर्नलिस्टों का साथ देना चाहिये। उनको पंजीपतियों का साथ नहीं देना चाहिये, क्योंकि वे भी जानते हैं कि इनका साथ देने से बकिंग जर्नलिस्टों की हालत खराब हो जायेगी। इसलिए मणि साहब को चाहिये कि वे बकिंग जर्नलिस्टों का ज्यादा से ज्यादा साथ दें। जितनी बातें मैंने इस सम्बन्ध में कही हैं अगर वे इन पर चलेंगे तो बकिंग जर्नलिस्टों की हालत बहुत जल्दी सुधर जायेगी।

इसके साथ ही साथ मैं सरकार से भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि उसकी जो आर्थिक नीति है, उसमें चेन्ज होना चाहिये। उसकी जो मिक्सड इकोनोमी है, गंगा जमुना की जो नीति है, उसको जल्द से जल्द ...

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : वही बात आप कह रहे हैं जो हम कहते हैं।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री ए० डी० मणि) : आप खामोश रहे।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : जब हम कांस्टीट्यूशन में अमेंडमेंट लायेंगे तो उस समय आप वाक आउट कर जाना। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार की जो आर्थिक नीति है उसमें परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता है। मिक्सड इकोनोमी की जो नीति है, गंगा जमुना की जो नीति है, उसको छोड़ देना चाहिये। हाँ, जो छोटे-छोटे काटेज इण्डस्ट्री है, जो सहकारी ढंग पर काम करते हैं, जिनको गरीब और मिडिल क्लास के लोग चलाते हैं, उनको प्रोत्साहन दिया जाना चाहिये और यह क्षेत्र इन लोगों के लिए छोड़ दीजिए। आप जो यह चाहते हैं कि यहाँ पर टाटा, बिरला और दूसरे पूँजीपति भी रहें तो यह नहीं चलेगा और न ही बिरला और टाटा मुम्बारी उस पालिसी को कामयाब होने देंगे।

मैं एक बहुत ही आवश्यक बात पर कुछ वहाँ पर निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ जो कि बहुत ही आवश्यक और जो हमारे देश के सामने एक विकट समस्या है। हमारा जो अगला विन्टर का सेशन आने वाला है उसमें कर वृद्धि होगी और उसके लिए आप सब लोगों को अभी से तैयार रहना चाहिये। क्यों कर वृद्धि होगी? एक करोड़ के करीब हमारे बन्धु बंगला देश से यहाँ पर आ गये हैं और उनको खिलाने और ठहराने के लिए इतने रुपये की जरूरत होगी। यह परिस्थिति तब तक बनी रहेगी, जब तक वहाँ पर मुजीबुर्रहमान की सरकार नहीं बनती है?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI) : You can speak on Saturday when the matter comes up.

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : मैं अपनी सरकार को यह राय देना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की नीबत न आने पाये, जिसके द्वारा कर वृद्धि की जाय। इसलिए सरकार को ऐसे कदम उठाने चाहिये जिससे इस समय वहाँ पर जो सरकार बनी हुई है उसको हर तरह की मदद दी जानी चाहिये, क्योंकि वे आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं। वे लोग सिर्फ आजादी के लिए ही नहीं लड़ रहे हैं, बल्कि जम्हूरियत के लिए लड़ रहे हैं, प्रजातंत्र के लिए लड़ रहे हैं और इस तरह ने हिन्दुस्तान को सबक दे रहे हैं ताकि यहाँ पर भी कोई पगला उसी तरह की बात न करे जिस तरह वहाँ पर की जा रही है। इस तरह से ये लोग सारी हिन्दुस्तान को जम्हूरियत और डेमोक्रेसी के लिए

[श्री शीलभद्र पाजो]

लड़ रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं सब लोगों से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ, मैं सरकार से ही नहीं कहता हूँ बल्कि सारी दुनिया के लोगों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे इस तरह की परिस्थिति पैदा करें, जिससे एक करोड़ लोग जो यहाँ पर आ गये हैं, वे अपने घरों को वापस चले जायें और फिर सरकार को किसी तरह की कर वृद्धि न करनी पड़े। मैं सरकार से भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि बंगला देश को मान्यता मिलनी चाहिये ताकि इस तरह की नौबत न आये कि वह कर वृद्धि करे और जो लोग आ गये हैं, वे अपने घरों को चले जायें। इन शब्दों के साथ इस विधेयक की तारीफ करता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A.D. MANI) : Mr. Appan will now speak in Tamil.

*SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Vice-Chairman.. I want to say a few words to you on what I know about the Appropriation Bill. Whatever I say now may not be pleasant to the Members of the Rajya Sabha and of the other House. But I want to speak because I am a very poor man and I am speaking as a poor man. In our country our people are very poor. A man does not earn even Rupees 300 to 400 per year.

I want to tell hon. Members how we should govern the country, how we should not govern the country and how we should adopt measures of economy. Japan, Germany and America progressed very much by having a good economic policy. India also should progress in that manner.

Sometimes I may use a word or two in English also because in English we can speak short to express more which cannot be done in the other languages in certain respects. Sir, power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Nobody will be prepared to pari with power. That is, who ever tastes the loaves and fishes of office,

♦Original speech in Tamil.

he is not prepared to part with the same. Generally, when a man in a village becomes a member of the village Panchayat, then he wants to become an M.L.A., an M.P., then a Minister, Chief Minister and even Prime Minister. Some people do not want to be even Deputy Minister or Minister of State. He wants to become the leader of the whole nation. He does not care to think whether he deserves that job or not. Sir, we are the representatives of the people. We represent the people. We are responsible for safeguarding the country's finances and we should manage them economically. In the case of the family, the head of the family or father or the eldest son manages the household expenses and economises on expenditure. In the same way persons who govern the country should economise on expenditure. Sometimes the head of the family is subjected to criticism and the family members get angry. In the same way we have to criticise the Finance Minister, P.M. etc. It is our duty to criticise whenever necessary. But then some people get angry about it. Just as the head of the family manages the affairs of the family in a responsible manner, in the same way it is the duty of the Ministers also to behave in a responsible manner. Take the case of planning now. The Members of the Planning Commission should state as to how to manage the country's finances and how the country can progress.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, in this country, some people are not realizing their responsibilities. In this connection, I may say that even some Members are having a selfish mentality and personal interests. Now when we are discussing about the country's finances. I do not want to speak on other subjects and waste the time of the House. I want to say a few words on the country's economy and how it can be taken on progressive lines. I want to emphasize that our country's finances should be managed efficiently and on economic lines.

Now, Sir, our country is plagued by casteism, regionalism and also linguism. Everybody says that he belongs to Madras, Bihar, Mysore, West Bengal etc. I regret to say that even Members of Parliament are behaving in a fashion as if they belong to this State or that State. This is regionalism.

According to the Government Notifications both English and Hindi will go together in official business. If any of us wants Hindi version he can take Parliamentary papers and materials in Hindi, if he wants English version, he can take them in English. Members of Parliament who occupy responsible positions should understand this point *i.e.* Hindi and English should be there. A person who has not studied upon upto the 10th standard and does not know English can become a Member of Parliament according to the Present rules. Here there is a bad approach and that is the approach of Hindi fanaticism. Some Members say that only Hindi should be developed. When we want that our economy should be developed some Hindi fanatics say that only Hindi should be developed. If we could have used the money which we spent on Hindi during the past 25 years on our economy we might have by now become richer and more progressive than Japan and America. If at all there is one language which is highly developed in India to be used as a national language then it is only Tamil. For the past 25 years only Hindi has been developed unduly. I do not say that Hindi should not be given importance. But one's mother tongue also is important.

The persons in authority should realise this. In the Constitution 15 languages have been mentioned as national languages. Previously only English has been used. They say that you can speak in Tamil. Because everybody speaks I also speak in Tamil.

Now you can see this book. You say there is paper shortage in the country. Half of it contains the Hindi version and the other half contains the English version which is not necessary. You give the Hindi version to those who want Hindi and give the English version to those who want English. If you do like this you can save paper and printing charges upto 50%. Those who do not know Hindi throw away Hindi version to the paperwala. If anybody wants this material in English only you need not give him the Hindi material also. If anybody wants the Parliamentary Papers in both English and Hindi you charge him for one set at waste paper rate at least. Hon. Members have not spoken about this matter here. I have stated about this not once but twice and thrice here but the authorities have turned a deaf ear to it. These are some of the documents that I have got here. Fifty percent of the space in them is covered by Hindi and the other fifty percent by English. It is a sheer waste of time, printing charges and also paper. I would request the Finance Minister to look into this and speak to the Prime Minister about this matter. Next time they should see to it that the Parliamentary papers in Hindi and English are printed separately so that you effect economy in paper and money. To those Members only who want them in Hindi you can give Hindi copies and to those who want them in English you can give English copies.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A.D. MANI) : Mr. Appan, you have got two minutes, Two minutes more. There is one more speaker.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir. I am cutting the financial allocation of the whole country into half. I seek your protection Sir. I say that fifty per cent of the money is wasted by printing these things in English and Hindi. Members of Parliament are earning Rupees 400

[Shri G. A. Appan] to 500 a year by selling these documents. You may ask me as to what I am doing. I distribute them to the poor. These things are going for the welfare of the poor. I have not bought jewellery for my wife. I have not purchased any lands. I am not concerned about my betterment. You speak of socialism. What is socialism? Everybody seems to float in socialism. In India a man does not earn even Rupees 400 per year. To save time and money I had asked the Railway Minister to see that the trains which go to important places of the country should be speeded up at least upto one hundred kilometres per hour. Officers, MPs and others should be compelled to travel in third class only. If they do not travel in third class then they can travel in first class or by plane by paying the difference from their own pocket.

I would like to congratulate the Prime Minister who has got a two-third majority in Lok Sabha. When she wanted the votes of Members of Parliament she raised the salaries and privileges of Members. I want to request Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the Finance Minister that we, as the servants of the people and the common man, should not get more facilities and privileges than a common man gets who is our master, the electorate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI) : Mr. Appan, there is one more speaker who wants to speak today. About the waste of money on literature you have taken a good deal of time. Now you can go on to some other point and then conclude your speech soon.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Alright Sir, I obey your ruling. I would request the Home Minister to see that the Central Government Gazette and Budget should also be [tinted in Hindi and English separately] so that the paper is not wasted. Here this

book is priced Rupees 23. I do not know how many copies they print. I do not know how many Members of Parliament have really utilised it. It is simply wasting in a colossal way the poor man's funds. I request the Finance Minister to charge every Member of Parliament at least the paper cost for the material you supply. I am not going out of the way. I am speaking here as a poor man, as a citizen of this poor country. Then let me come to the point that I have to refer.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D.

MANI) : You speak in English. It is very good.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I want to say one more thing. I want to speak about my State. The Central Government says that the poor people should be helped. Our Chief-Minister, Shri Karunanidhi, was born in a common family. Only those who are born in a common family know where the shoe pinches. Only those who wear chappals will know as to where the nail is. Only a common man will understand the problems of the common man. I was also born in a poor family. Only those who are born in poor families will understand the problems of the poor man. In Tamil Nadu after the Chief Minister Shri Karunanidhi took over the reins of office, he faithfully followed the teachings of the late Arignar Annadurai and has helped the poor. His main policy is to help the poor. He tours the whole State and conducts personal meetings with the public as Manu did in the past. Casteism should be abolished. He has given all sorts of help and relief for the poor. He has also started a 'Beggars' Relief Fund in our State. For slum improvement also he has started a trust. In this way you must also create a trust for every constructive problem. Then it can be solved. There is no use spending crores of Rupees every year.

As far as inter-State relations are concerned, we should develop harmonious inter-State relations. It is very bad that the State Governments have to get the approval of the Central Government for each one of the schemes to start an industry etc. Every State should be given more powers of autonomy and then only we can develop our country. The Government has stated that they would put up a steel plant at Neiveli, Salem. But so far nothing special has been done but only ordinary work is going on. We also wanted Tuticorin Fertilizer Plant but no sufficient progress has been made so far. Every-where the trains are running but in the Southern Railway the progress is very slow. I have been saying for the last 3 years that in the Southern Railway the broad-gauge line should be introduced everywhere but nothing has been done.

I want to say one more thing on the Cauvery Water dispute. One excuse is given. In this connection the Central Government says that there is no popular government in Mysore now and it can wait. The Centre is like a father. The Mysore and the Tamil Nadu Governments are like his children. When these two children quarrel among themselves the Central Government is apathetic. It is not possible to demolish the construction already made. If the Central Government does not take any action then what is the use of the Central Government? It is useless and it does not matter whether the Central Government is existing or not. We also know it. We can go to court. But everybody will laugh if a person goes to court when the father and the elder brother are alive. That is why I want the Prime Minister, Members of Parliament to say that until a popular Government is installed in Mysore the construction should be stayed. Yesterday, some Member had stated that it was Tamil Nadu which started the dispute. But who started the construction? That is, *Suggestio falsii suppressio verii*;

that is concealing the whole truth of the matter.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI) : Mr. Appan, you are repeating the point that both of them should not quarrel. I want to allow one more speaker.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Yes Sir, I am now finishing it.

AN HON. MEMBER : You can also speak in Tamil.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI) : I belong to Madhya Pradesh. I want to allow one more speaker before winding up.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : I want to say something about Bangla Desh. We have been saying so many things on Bangla Desh. I want to ask as to who are the Members of Parliament who have actually visited Bangla Desh. How many Members have visited it? I want to know whether even ten per cent of the Members have gone there. I wish to state that the Members of Parliament both of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, should go together and visit Bangla Desh in groups to study the actual situation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI) : Mr. Appan, you are going to get a chance to speak on Bangla Desh on Saturday. You conclude your speech now and you have already taken ten minutes extra. You have spoken in Tamil and you got a poor hearing.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Mr. Vice-Chairman I have only two points to say. I will submit to your orders. Sir, I want to point out to you the partiality of the Central Government in matters relating to the Harijans. It has been slated that seventeen per cent representation should be given to the Harijans in all spheres. But as regards the higher posts, not even one or per cent representation has been given to them. I have been saying that there is not a single

[Shri G. A. Appan] Harijan Governor or Chief Secretary or Ambassador. Twenty-three years have passed after independence and I charge the Government with gross dereliction of duty in matters relating to the Harijans. You should appoint a Harijan Commission and invest it with judicial powers. Within a year you will find that seventeen per cent representation is given to the deserving Harijans. I say only deserving Harijans should be taken. More Harijans should be appointed as Governors and Ambassadors. Justice delayed is justice denied.

So far as the Supreme Court and High Courts are concerned cases are multiplying and a large number of cases are pending there. There is no end to this. I want the Central Government to appoint more judges to clear the arrears of cases in the High Courts and the Supreme Court.

All possible help should be given to the poor people. You are doing a lot for big persons. Whatever you do it goes to the big persons and not to the poor family man. Those who hold ten acres or less should be helped first always. You should introduce the unemployment insurance scheme to help the unemployed. You should introduce the insurance scheme like Crop Insurance and Cattle Insurance for the agriculturists. I find so many waste lands in the country and I want all the waste land should be developed. Not even an inch of waste land should go undeveloped. At least two or three crops annually should be produced there. (*Time bell rings*).

With these words, I conclude my speech. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A.D. MANI) : Dr. Talwar.

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I believe in criticism. I think criticism, of Government and also individual, is good, if it is healthy and if it is constructive.

Sir, I was disappointed to hear the series of defects pointed out by some of our hon. Members. There was no note of optimism in their speech. If we only point to the defects of the country and the Government, the people here understand; they have read, they know what they mean. But there are millions of our countrymen, especially young people, who, if they hear only the dark side of our country, the performance of the Government, they would be filled with despair and disappointment.

Sir, although Bangla Desh would be coming after a few days and much has been spoken about it, yet I cannot help bringing to the notice of this august House through you that this is a human problem. Millions of people have been uprooted from their homes and hearths without any possession, without any food, etc.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A.D. MANI) : Dr. Talwar, you can continue your speech tomorrow. The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 29th July, 1971.