

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]

चाहते हैं कि एडवाइजरी कमेटी को इस बात का हक होना चाहिये कि वह इस बारे में राय दे कि अनाज ठीक ढंग का खरीदा जा रहा है या नहीं। फिर यह एडवाइजरी कमेटी फूड कारपोरेशन आफ इंडिया की तरफ से किस लिए बनाई गई है। रेलवे बैगन्स की जो कमी है उसे तुरन्त दूर करना चाहिए। उपसभापति महोदय, यह होता है कि व्यापारी अनाज लेकर कोटा से अजमेर जाता है, अजमेर में बैगन मिल जाता है, लेकिन कोटा में नहीं मिलता, जहाँ से तुरन्त लदान किया जा सकता है। एक तो बैगन मिलने की व्यवस्था हो और दूसरे फूड कारपोरेशन जो मंडियों में माल आए उसको तुरन्त खरीदने की व्यवस्था करे, अन्यथा अनाज का दाम गिरता जा रहा है और किसान को जितना दाम मिलना चाहिये उतना दाम नहीं मिल रहा है। इस ओर मैं माननीय मंत्री जी का ध्यान आकृष्ट करूँगा।

THE MINISTER OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI IAKHRUDDIN ALI AHMED). The only thing which I would like to point out is that these difficulties have been brought to our notice and we are taking necessary action so far as the movement of food grains from one place to another is concerned. It was explained the other day that there has been some difficulty in movement because of the hold up of the wagons in West Bengal. We are continually having discussion with the Railway Ministry to see if we can improve the movement of these wagons.

So far as procurement of foodgrains by the Food Corporation of India is concerned, I may inform the House that we have already procured about 30 lakh tonnes of wheat. Our target for this crop is 40 lakh tonnes and we still have for procurement the whole months of June and July. It is expected that we shall be procuring much more than the target which we have fixed for this purpose. I also know the difficulties felt by some of the cultivators. We shall look into these difficulties and see to what extent we can help them.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

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

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

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1971-72 (General Discussion)—continued

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal). Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Budget which has been placed before us only fulfils the promise that the Prime Minister made before the annual conference of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in April this year. Immediately after the mid-term elections, Mrs. Gandhi had an occasion to address that annual conference and at that annual conference she made some plain speaking. Naturally, before the industrial magnates, the Prime Minister of India particularly belonging to a party which certainly is capitalist oriented has to make some plain speaking. After all it was not meant for consumption by the public. As far as the public are concerned, naturally the Prime Minister will only talk about socialism. But when she came to the meeting of the industrial magnates, she was frank and she said to these industrial magnates in April this year that the industrial magnates should not regard the Government as their adversary but should regard the Government as their friend. Not merely that the Prime Minister also told them that 80 per cent of the economy of the country was in the hands of private capitalists and the Indian Government had intruded into only 20 per cent of the economy. And the Prime Minister assured the private capitalists that that 80 per cent would not be touched at all. The only thing that she advised them was that as far as the question of distribution was concerned, well, they might have a fresh look at the problem so that the people might be less discontented. That is what the Prime Minister said to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at its annual conference. She assured them that she was not going to trespass on the sacred domain of private capitalism. She also told them that the Government was not their adversary but only their friend.

Sir, as far as the present Budget is concerned, as I have already said, it fulfils the promise that Mrs. Gandhi made to the annual conference of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, whatever drum beating may be done about this Budget being a socialist Budget. Well, even the Finance Minister has had to admit that socialism cannot be brought about through one Budget. But then the question arises whether this Budget which has been placed before us has even a shade of any socialist idea or thought. Sir, we can see from this Budget that the rich have not been taxed at all. In a Budget where the revenue

receipts on account of various taxes amount to about Rs. 3,400 crores, the proportion of direct taxes on the rich is only Rs. 37 crores. As far as estate duty is concerned, it comes to Rs. 7 crores; and wealth-tax comes only to Rs. 30 crores. Who are the main contributors to the present revenue income of the Government of India? Mainly it is the population of India, the common people, who have been indirectly taxed on many items of goods. In a revenue Budget of Rs. 3,100 crores we find that about Rs. 2,000 crores are realised from only excise duties. I am not talking about import duties, mainly customs duties which are a form of indirect taxation. About Rs. 2,000 crores are realised from Union excise duties. And these Union excise duties have, as everybody knows, fallen heavily on indirect consumers of goods. It has been said that the Union excise duties have been imposed upon goods which are not very much used by the public. At least that impression is being created. But if you look through the details of the Budget you will find that soap has been taxed, medium cloth has been taxed, coarse cloth has been taxed, cigarettes have been taxed, readymade garments have been taxed, all these things have been taxed. It has been stated, with some amount of not quite well-placed humour, in the Finance Minister's Budget Speech—the Finance Minister has tried to say—"Well, as far as cosmetics are concerned, we do not know what they contribute to the pace of the economy of India."—lipsticks and all that have been taxed—as if nothing else has been taxed. Very important items of household goods like pressure cooker which is a must in every household now, particularly in those households where women are working members of the family, have also been taxed. You know that as far as the question of typing is concerned, typewriting ribbon is a very necessary thing nowadays, even in the life of the rural folk, for typing out documents, for typing out applications, for typing out anything, and we find that typing ribbons have also been taxed. Now, this is the way under which taxation has fallen. And yet we are being told that mostly taxes have fallen on those goods which are not consumed by the public. It has been stated that there will be some marginal increase in tax as far as cigarettes are concerned. The Finance Minister has tried to give some advice to the smoking public saying that smoking is not good for their health and all that. But it is everybody's knowledge that as far as working people are concerned, they smoke cheap type cigarettes for their recreation and by way of having something to relieve the tension and distress under which they have to live their lives. But as has been stated on the floor of this very House, cheaper varieties of cigarettes also have not shown any marginal increase, but have shown considerable increase in the

Union excise duties. And what about import duties? Import duties have fallen on machinery, on agricultural machinery, poultry machinery, on chemicals, on drugs, on medicines. These import duties falling on drugs, medicines, agricultural machinery, agricultural tractors even which are imported from outside, will naturally increase the prices of agricultural goods and the common man will suffer. But then the socialist Government has never thought of taxing the *nouveau riche* in the rural world, the feudal elements, the neo-farmers who have earned a lot due to the so-called green revolution. As far as their incomes are concerned, their incomes are untouched. Now, Sir, the tax structure of the entire budget actually shows that the government is more interested in squeezing out money from the poor than getting it from the rich.

We have been told about wealth tax and all that. As far as personal wealth tax is concerned, I have already said that this does not come to more than Rs. 30 crores. Such is the great amount of tax which they hope to receive from the wealth tax. Even then an individual can accumulate unlimited wealth. There is no limit to that. But what about the gross talk of gross assets which the non-governmental companies have accumulated between the First Plan and the Fourth Plan? The non government private companies have increased their wealth from 1,400 crores of rupees to 5,000 crores of rupees. This is the wealth of the non-government companies. And they are talking about the wealth of private persons. What about this wealth of the corporate sector and non-governmental companies? As far as this wealth is concerned, that remains untouched. This is the position as far as the budget is concerned.

They have been bragging and boasting that personal income has been put in such a fashion that a person cannot amass much and he cannot have much by way of personal income per year. All this is rubbish and nonsense. I can quote to you the figures given by Nicholas Kaldor as early as 1963 or 1964. Mr. Kaldor at that time said that Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crores by way of income-tax are evaded every year. What about tapping all these resources? How do we get round evasion of income-tax? It comes to Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crores. There is not even a whisper of it in the budget. How to make these persons pay income-tax to the extent of Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crores every year which are being stolen, so to say, from the public budget by these black-marketeers and all that.

The Wanchoo committee report has not been published. The Blitz has quoted from that unpublished report. Something has percolated to them and according to them the report said that there are Rs. 2,000 crores of black money in circulation. Nothing has

[SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE]

been said about that also in the budget. Nothing has been said in the statement of the Finance Minister as to how to get hold of these Rs. 2,000 crores of money which are in circulation.

Coming nearer to the budget, I may say that as far as 1970-71 is concerned, income tax authorities have themselves said that there are arrears of Rs. 731 crores of indirect taxes. The income tax authorities have published a list of the big business houses which have not yet paid these Rs. 731 crores for 1970-71. They have published the names of these houses and the names are common knowledge. They advertise their names. The government is absolutely silent. They have not tried to tap those resources. There is no attempt to realise those arrears from those persons who are not paying, apart from the black money in circulation and evasion of direct taxes.

This is the state of the socialist budget. It is quite natural that the Prime Minister has a secret account with the State Bank of India and by telephone call she can get

(Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. R. GANESH) I object to this.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE By means telephonic talk.

(Interruptions)

What can we expect in a country like this?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Please do not bring in that.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE The Prime Minister has it. It is common knowledge.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) यानी आप उससे सैटिस्फाइड हैं। जो एक्सप्लेनेशन है गवर्नमेंट क आर यू सैटिस्फाइड विद दैट ? क्या मजाक करते हैं।

श्री कल्याण चन्द (उत्तर प्रदेश) आप कभी सैटिस्फाइड नहीं हो सकते हैं।

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE Sir, it is public money.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN We have already discussed this in the House and the hon. Minister also replied to all the points.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE It is in the public knowledge that by telephoning only Rs. 60 lakhs can be got. How can you get this unless there is a secret account? So Sir

it is a question of collaboration and collusion between the Government and the big business, the black money hoarders and there is the collusion and there is the combination.

Sir, in a revenue budget of Rs. 3,400 crores, what is the contribution of direct taxes? Rs. 27 crores. And, what is the contribution of indirect taxes, namely, the excise duties? Rs. 2,000 crores. Sir, it is Rs. 2,000 crores and again if you add the import duties to it that is to say, if you add it to the indirect duties, it will come to two thirds of the revenue budget so that the two thirds of the revenue budget is borne by the common man and a mere pittance of Rs. 27 crores or Rs. 7 crores or Rs. 30 crores is borne by the big business. What is the amount that they get from Gift Tax? A beggarly sum of Rs. 2 crores. From the wonderful Gift Tax they can get only Rs. 2 crores from the rich from the wonderful Wealth Tax they can get only Rs. 30 crores from the rich and from the wonderful Estate Duty well they can only get

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) Your argument is all right. But you are making a statistical error. This Rs. 27 crores is the addition as against the previous Rs. 231 crores.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE But I am talking about the budget. It may be, Sir, that they have been paying 50 per cent of their income. But talking about this budget, what is the proportion of direct taxes to the revenue budget of this year that is, 1971-72 and what is the proportion of the indirect taxes to the revenue budget of this year? That is what I am asking. Sir, they are not realising the Rs. 731 crores of direct tax arrears which are still outstanding from the big business houses up to 1970-71. Sir, this is the nature of the socialist budget.

Sir, it does not end here. Then there is the deficit financing. After squeezing the pockets of the common man after raising the taxes on all kinds of consumer goods, the Finance Minister has blandly said that Rs. 220 crores will still be deficit. Where will this money come from? This money will come from certainly printing notes at the Nasik Printing Press and by printing notes at the Nasik Press if you fill up this Rs. 220 crores, you can easily imagine. Sir, that there will be inflation and there will be further rise in prices. As far as the rise in prices is concerned it is common knowledge that in the last decade the prices of all commodities have increased by 80 per cent and in 1970-71 alone the prices have increased by 5.6 per cent over the preceding year that is to say 1969-70 and it is quite clear that as far as deficit financing is concerned the prices will further increase this year also and this deficit financing of Rs. 220 crores is not the entirety

of it because in the budget they have allocated only Rs 60 crores for the refugees from Bangla Desh. But we are quite sure, Sir, that the stream of refugees is still coming and even the Prime Minister himself at one moment said that in six months the amount that will be spent will come to about Rs 600 crores apart from any aid which we may be getting from the different countries of the world by falling down on bent knees before them. Well, even taking all these things, I can tell you, Sir, that there will be a heavy deficit as far as this year is concerned because of the expenses on the refugees who have come from Bangla Desh and that means further deficit financing, that means a further rise in prices. And, who is to be blamed and who is to be thanked for the refugee influx? Certainly the Indian Government. The Indian Government played with the thing the Indian Government thought, "Let the Bangla Desh liberation take its course" and they will give lip sympathy only and after the Bangla Desh people get their liberation the Indian Government will say "We gave lip sympathy to you and therefore we will expect some consideration from you".

That was the advantage that the Indian Government wanted to reap. We said here on the floor of the House repeatedly. If you really mean to do any help or render any assistance to the Bangla Desh liberation movement, give immediate recognition to the Bangla Desh Government. But then they were looking to the United States Government they were looking to the Soviet Union, they were thinking of China. Why? Has this Government not got backbone of its own? Can't this Government think on its own? Has all its thinking to be done by other Government. While they were thinking in the air conditioned chambers of the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister and the Defence Minister what has happened is that this Bangla Desh problem took an acute turn and streams of refugees have been coming in and already 48 lakhs have come into West Bengal. The whole economy of West Bengal is tumbling down and, for that matter, the whole economy of India is threatened to come down.

Sir, how can we expect this Indian Government to take an independent stand? I was looking at the budget, and I find that as on 31st March 1972 the public debt of India will rise to Rs 15,000 crores—more than Rs 15,000 crores. More than Rs 7,000 crores is the amount of foreign loans. And a lion's share of this Rs 7,000 crores is borne by the United States of America. Sir, out of this Rs 7,000 crores or so of foreign loan, we owe more than Rs 3,000 crores to the U.S.A. Or it is about Rs 4,000 crores. So our entire economy is mortgaged to outsiders. Our entire economy is mortgaged to the capitalist countries. Of course there are some loans from the socialist countries, but

the proportion is very small. Well, look at it Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania... 04 crores, every one has given. But the main loan is from the United States and the other capitalist countries. We have actually mortgaged our country to them. So much so, look at the revenue budget. You will find that Rs 618 crores have to be spent on Debt Servicing. In the Capital budget we find that we are taking about Rs 500 crores or so from the foreigners as foreign assistance. But we find that out of that we have to give by way of repayment of loan—I am just giving the figure—Rs 216 crores. As far as internal borrowings are concerned, the gross borrowings are Rs 500 crores. But we have to repay Rs 332 crores. So, whatever we give to the Government will have to be spent by the Government by way of repayment of loans and Debt servicing.

Sir, this Government is a Government which, to all intents and purposes, is a bankrupt Government. It has no finances and it cannot raise any finance, except from the common man. It cannot touch the rich and it is taking the entire economy into a blind alley.

Sir, look at the private sector. It is common knowledge that as far as the industrial production is concerned, only half of the industrial capacity is being utilized, half of the industrial capacity remains unutilized. Why is that so? Why can't the Government put its foot down and ask these big businessmen to utilize all its capacity? Why can't you do so?

Because it has not the capacity to do so. After all Sir, you know that in a capitalist country, where the monopolists rule the roost, the monopolists will always have—this is the economic law—the monopolists will always have production below the optimum level because, unless they keep production below the optimum level they cannot have optimum profits. Therefore, it is the law of capitalism that production will be less than actually could be got if all the production capacities are utilised the more so in India because, in India, the capitalist are a moribund capitalist class. It is a moribund capitalist class and it has no future and, therefore, this capitalist class which is moribund, which is decadent, which has no future, it has to keep its production below the optimum level. Government is siding with this capitalist class and Government is not also touching it as far as 80 per cent of the economic field is concerned which is entrenched in by the private capitalists. This 80 per cent will not be touched by the Government. So by giving that assurance to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the industrial magnates, the Prime Minister has committed herself to this that if the capitalists and monopolists do not utilise the industrial capacity of the country

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to the full, Government will not do any thing. Sir, we used to hear so much before the mid-term election that monopolies will be curbed, that monopolists will be put in their place. These were the slogans which we used to hear. And again, when Mrs. Gandhi used to tour the country during the mid-term election, she used to say, "Strengthen my hands so that I may give you my blessings, so that I may curb the monopolists." But look at the Presidential speech at the beginning of the Budget Session this year after the mid-term election. No whisper against monopoly this time, because the elections were over now. Therefore, "that was meant to be consumed by the public. Therefore, when the elections are over and when she has got a comfortable majority, how could they say that? When the mid-term elections are over then, naturally, there cannot be any whisper against the monopolists.

SHRI PREM MANOHAR (Uttar Pradesh): They have financed them in their election Contests.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Sir, the monopolists, as the hon. Member says, have also helped Mrs. Gandhi a lot in financing the election machinery, in greasing the election machinery and making it smooth and perfect. So, Sir, this is the situation. Therefore, how can it be called a socialist Budget? Is it a socialist Budget when we find that the private industrial sector is still entrenched in 80 per cent of the economic field? Is it a socialist Budget when we find that the industrial big business houses are cornering the income-tax daily and are hoarding black money and that cannot be brought into the common pool and that cannot be taxed? Is it a socialist Budget? Sir, when we find that 50 per cent of our economy is mortgaged to foreign States and foreign countries, is it socialism? Is there any shred of socialism in this Budget, Sir? After leaving out Rs. 731 crores of direct taxes which are the arrears, they are now proposing more taxes upon the consuming public. And we still are led to believe that this is a socialist Budget.

Sir, as I have been saying, the economy of our country is in a very bad shape. And what with foreign loans and the debt servicing charges and what with our rising unemployment figures, I do not know how actually we can get out of this rut unless this Government, which is governed by the rich, which is governed by the capitalists, is completely thrown out by the toiling people of India. Unless this is done, there is no other way out. Sir, look at the staggering unemployment figures. We began with 3.3 million unemployed at the beginning of the first year of the Plan. And now what is the position? What is the number of unemployed? 12.4 million unemployed at the present day. Sir, as far as the seventies are concerned, it

is known that during the first half of the seventies the figure of unemployment will rise by 50 lakhs every year, and in the second half of the seventies the figure of unemployment will rise by 65 lakhs every year. Therefore, if you calculate it, you will find, Sir, that by 1980 the figure of unemployment will rise to 65 million. And that will be a staggering figure of unemployment. The unemployment figure is rising and we are now being told that this is a socialist Budget.

Finally, Sir, I will say this that the Prime Minister and the Government are trying to shift the burden on to the common people. The other day, Sir, there was the conference of the trade union representatives called by the Prime Minister. And the Prime Minister said to them, she had the check and the arrogance to say that the trade unions must see that the workers produce more.

I have the figure from 1951-52 to 1964-65 and from that figure I find that the workers have produced in the country 2.3 times whereas the workers' wages rose only by 76%. But that 76 per cent is also an illusory figure because if you leave out deficit financing, if you leave out inflation, then the workers' wages rose only by 25 per cent whereas the workers' production—the production which the workers gave to the country—was 2.3 times. This is the production given by the workers and in exchange of that they have been fleeced and they have been starved, and yet the Prime Minister—the socialist Prime Minister of India—says that the workers must produce more. Not time to get the black money from the monopolists; not time to get these Rs. 731 crores of direct taxes which obviously and admittedly they have not paid; not time to see that they do not evade these taxes. Sir, this is the character of the Budget.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I heard with great attention and respect the speeches of the Opposition leader, hon. Mr. Gurupadaswamy, hon. Mr. Bhandari, hon. Mr. Sardesai and last but not the least, hon. Mr. Chatterjee.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Part of the time you were sleeping.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: In addition to what I have to say I have to reply to some points of my friend, Mr. Chatterjee. So, please do not disturb me.

Sir, I have no hesitation to say, after hearing my esteemed friend, Mr. Chatterjee, also that the Finance Minister has made an earnest endeavour in the direction of a socialist society. I do not say and I do not think my friend expects that in a Budget the socialist society will be formed or *garibi hatao* will

come in. If that is his idea then I am sorry for it. We do not claim, we do not say that we have done everything that we have promised.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: You have done nothing.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: But we have taken substantial steps in the right direction which I will show.

The other thing that I would like to say before I come to some of my points is, my friend Mr. Chatterjee referred to the Address of the Prime Minister to the industrialists. Sir, I also have read the speech and I think, so far as I remember, she said that we will follow the policy—the Resolution that the Government and Parliament have passed—regarding this mixed economy, and in view of that does my friend think that the lands of millions of farmers will also be taken? According to communism it may be right. Does my friend think that the property of thousands of small traders—similarly there are many occupations, many professions of a very small nature, very moderate nature; certainly they comprise 80 per cent—should also be taken? If my friend thinks that my Government has declared that all should be nationalised, he is mistaken. That is not the policy of my Government. My Government believes in mixed economy and that important sources of revenue should be under the control of the Government. That is our main theme and having that in mind if she said anything I think she is absolutely in consonance with the declared policy of this Government and my party.

श्री राजनारायण : क्या पालिसी है ?

श्री अकबर अली खान : मिक्सड इकानामी ।
अब जरा रहम कीजिए, आप ।

The other thing my friend said was that the taxation has fallen on the poorer sections. There I would remind him, let us take the complete picture. Without going into details, because I know my time is limited, the Income-tax was 93 per cent before this Budget was introduced. Now it is 97.5 per cent. Similarly, in Wealth Tax there was an exemption to the extent of Rs. 2 lakhs. Now that has been reduced to Rs. 1 lakh and if the income is more, that also will be included. So far as Corporate Taxes are concerned after 15,000, 15% surtax has also been levied. I do not say that this exhausts it and this makes it an absolutely last step in the direction of a socialist society but to say that nothing has been done and this is not a socialist Budget or that this is anti-people Budget, I respectfully submit, is absolutely unfounded. Now he referred to the arrears collected. I would briefly say that in 1966-67 Rs. 62.76 crores were collected, in 1967-68, Rs. 100.52

crores were collected, in 1968-69 Rs. 110.52 crores were collected, in 1969-70, Rs. 129.75 crores were collected and in 1970-71 Rs. 159.61 crores were collected. I do agree that still more is to be collected but the difficulty is that has also been explained before—that in many cases the Government is proceeding against them but they have approached the High Courts and obtained stay orders. So taking all this I do not think any fair-minded person can charge the Government that it has not been doing what it should do to realise the arrears.

So far as evasion is concerned, there is no doubt there is evasion and as promised by the Finance Minister, several steps are being taken. One of them is this. They are bringing 2 or 3 measures to control these. One is, they propose to change the Foreign Regulations Act so that the evasion may be further tightened. Regarding documents, if somebody sells property and undervalues it, they are going to bring in legislation saying that the property will be taken over by the Govt. on that value which is exhibited in the document. They also propose to bring in other measures so that it may be controlled. Mr. Chatterjee and others said that the Finance Minister has left the rural income absolutely scot-free. I think those who have studied the Constitution will realise that so far as rural income is concerned, it is not within the purview of the Centre. Still I am glad that one step has been taken in this direction, that is, tractors have been taxed and the Finance Minister also assured in his speech that he will start a dialogue with the State Finance Ministers to see that the rich peasantry is also brought under the scope of taxation. What else could he do?

Now, Sir, so far as indirect taxes are concerned, it is true that the new levies have affected the poorer sections especially in the case of certain items like maida for instance and to some extent coarse cloth—and I would agree with him—things like pressure cookers . . . etc. They have adversely affected and I do . . .

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Not pressure cookers.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: . . . appeal to the Government and to the Finance Minister to have a rethinking on this matter and to see that the tax on maida and coarse cloth is removed. That is very necessary. Let me tell the Minister of State for Finance that I think the whole Parliament is agreed on this question and he will have to take the matter seriously and he will have to yield. He is working under Parliament and if Parliament with one voice says that these are the articles on which if duty is levied there will be an adverse effect on the common man, then any democratic Government, any democratic Finance Minister will have to bow down to the will of Parliament.

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra)
Sir, it appears to be a sham fight it seems that the Finance Minister has already decided to take it off.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN I think, Mr. Goray, you must be happy. It was because Mr. Ganesh said something. Whether it is because of your support or our urging, let us share it, I do not grudge the credit to you because you are also of the same opinion.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA) We can have a Committee of Inquiry to find this out.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN Now, just a word or two. My friend Mr. Gurupada swamy—I am sorry he is not here—I should say he spoke less on the Budget but more on the performance of the Government. He is entitled to do so, I do not say that when we are discussing the Budget we cannot discuss the performance of the Government but so far as taxation and Government's policy on that is concerned, he said very little. And if he had said that in certain sectors or in certain branches the Government has not done well, I would have welcomed it. Even in his speech he recognised that so far as food articles were concerned they were according to the targets so far as pulses are concerned the position is difficult and so far as cash crops are concerned there also is difficulty. But for a person who has not only been on this side but who has been in the Government to make a wholesale condemnation of the Government and to say that during the two years it has not done anything is unfair and I can only say that I am surprised at it.

Coming to the industrial side also he said it has failed. Sir, in Hindustan Machine tools, Oil India and in a number of such organisations—and I would particularly refer to small scale industries which cover one third of the industrial field—we have not only invested Rs. 1,700 crores but we have given chance for self employment to 17,000 people. When you want to criticise you do it. We welcome it because that is really the essence of democracy, but if you make a wholesale condemnation and say that the performance has been nil I think it may be good for a debating society but I feel it is not the right thing to say in Parliament for Members who are responsible leaders of the Opposition.

श्री राजनारायण : पार्लियामेंट में तो झूठ ही बोलना चाहिये ।

श्री मारनसिंह वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : पूरे बजट में गरीब को क्या मिल रहा है। यह बतला

दीजिये कि गरीब को क्या रिलीफ दिया गया है। गरीब के लिये क्या किया गया है।

श्री ओम् मेहता : कब से आप गरीब के हिमायती बने ।

श्री अकबर अली खान आपका भी जवाब दे दूंगा। I was saying, Sir, that I would refer to two or three points. One is about unemployment. So far as unemployment is concerned I fully share their concern. I think in my own humble way I have been at it for the last two or three years. The situation is serious especially among the technical and the educated. Now the Government has come out with a scheme of Rs. 50 crores for the rural area and Rs. 25 crores for the educated and the technical who are unemployed. I welcome it but I do feel it is a very inadequate amount compared to the magnitude of the problem. I would like the Government to have a rethinking and increase the amount, but the more important thing is this. Now, we have got nine months more.

श्री राजनारायण : कहे के लिये ?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN For this year nine months of this year remain. I enjoy the joke. Now I want to know what are the schemes of the Ministries. What are the schemes of the States? I am afraid that even this amount may not be spent properly. This, I think, should be taken seriously. I suggest that a Committee consisting of the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister and the Labour Minister should be formed at this stage. Similar committees should be formed in each State to see that the schemes are implemented. There are a number of schemes. I know it, but they are not put into action, because somebody is not able to produce security. It is given for a period which is not enough. We want a longer gestation period. There are many other difficulties. These will have to be removed. And then, our educated people, especially those who are technically trained, are a great asset and they should be utilised in the best manner possible.

Now, Sir, similarly for rural areas any number of projects could be taken up. We have in the Constitution declared that within fifteen years there will be free and compulsory primary education. Have we fulfilled the target? If you implement it and have compulsory education, I have no doubt that hundreds of our literate and educated boys will be absorbed.

श्री राजनारायण : पब्लिक स्कूल तो ज्यादा है ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: That is very nominal. It is a good step that in the public schools they have reserved 25 per cent of the seats for the poor people. That is not very important from my point of view, but what I say is that the greatest asset of India is its man-power. There my friend, Mr. Gurupadaswamy was right. In order to make that man-power the greatest asset of India the first thing that is necessary is that they should be educated. I know that here again the question of the States and Centre comes up. In this connection, I would suggest that the States and the Government of India should sit together and come to some decision. I would like the Government of India to help in a good measure and see that free and compulsory primary education is spread as early as possible. *(Time bell rings)* I shall obey, because sometimes I have also to ring the bell. I will finish now.

The other thing that I want to submit to the House is that when Mahatma Gandhi's Birth Centenary was celebrated we made certain pledges to the nation and amongst them two I will mention, viz., drinking water and electrification of the rural areas to the extent of a thousand villages.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Drinking wine.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: In our villages there is a dearth of drinking water. At present our people have to go out for miles and miles in the summer in some of the districts.

श्री राजनारायण : शराब पर टैक्स क्यों नहीं लगा ।

श्री श्रीम मेहता : वह आपके लिए छोड़ दिया ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I am really distressed to see that this drinking water programme has not been fulfilled and I charge the Government for this. The Finance Minister and the Health Minister are responsible because drinking water is under the Health Minister. I would like them to make out a programme and give some amount to each State specifically for the purpose of providing drinking water facilities in every village.

I think that is very important. So far as electrification of a thousand villages is concerned I am glad to say that about nine hundred villages have been electrified. I think other promises will also be fulfilled in the same manner.

So far as the reduction of expenditure is concerned, I remember that sometime back an assurance was given to this House and I would like the Finance Minister to look into it that the expenditure is reduced to the extent of 10 per cent, 10 per cent cut. I would like to know what has happened to that. But my humble suggestion is that the Finance Minister has the best opportunity to utilise at this junction for three reasons: One is the problem of Bangla Desh which is one of the greatest human tragedies and the burden has fallen on this country, the responsibility, to see that till they are returned to their home safely and in secure condition they are looked after by us, it is our moral responsibility, national responsibility, and we have all to shoulder that. The second is the great objective of development of the country, and the third the massive mandate that my leader and my party received from the people. Sir, I belong to the old school and I feel always that the East and specially India have given a message to the West. If we have learnt science and technology from them, we have given the message of love and service to the West. What about Lord Christ? What about Lord Buddha? What about Lord Mohammad? What about Mahatma Gandhi? We have to keep up that spirit. For keeping up that spirit what is the first condition? One is to tax first the pocket of oneself. I would have very much liked if the Finance Minister taking advantage of this strong position had taxed Members of Parliament and Ministers and high officials. Why should we be let off? We only express our sympathies but I do feel that in these circumstances till the Bangla Desh problem is solved I should urge the Finance Minister that so far as the salary is concerned and so far as the daily allowance is concerned a ten per cent cut should be imposed first on all M.P.s., then on the Ministers and then on high officials drawing more than Rs. 2,000. I think this is an occasion when everybody should contribute with the greatest willingness. I am not mentioning this from the point of view of getting money but I want the people to know that we are not here only to get our allowances increased and our salaries increased, we or the Ministers. I feel if you take from the Deputy Minister to the Cabinet Minister, if you go into the question, easily their paraphernalia could be reduced to the extent of 10 to 15 per cent. I would expect my Finance Minister, my bold Finance Minister, my bold leader, to take up this thing no matter whether the Ministers get angry or whether the Members of Parliament get angry; let them be brought under the scheme. Let a cut of 10 per cent be imposed on everybody. That is my submission. I am very serious about it. That gives you moral satisfaction.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I am concluding. I would not like to exclude the Governors, the Vice-President and the President. Nobody should be exempt from this; all should come under this 10 per cent cut . . .

श्री राजनारायण : अकबर अली साहब, जो 250 रुपया बढ़ रहा है डिपुटी चैयरमैन का उसको भी काटोगे ?

श्री कृष्ण कान्त (हरियाणा) : यह वाइस चैयरमैन है, डिपुटी नहीं ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Before I sit down, I would like to say one word. Everybody is thinking in terms of region, in terms of caste. We have to think very seriously about this problem. I wish, Sir, that we thought that we are all of India because if India lives, Andhra lives, Maharashtra lives, everybody lives. If there are difficulties, if there are differences and if we get weakend, no matter what religion or caste or community we belong to, it will be a disaster to the country. And, Sir, so far as the Telengana problem is concerned, I know a bit of the pulse of my people as well as the pulse of my Andhra people. It is just the right occasion when a compromise should be struck. I would appeal to the Government, I would appeal to my leader, the Prime Minister. This is the right occasion to strike a compromise. Otherwise, I feel that the problem will get very much complicated and difficulties will arise.

Sir, I finish my speech with this quotation of Shakespeare—

“There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Whiche, taken at the flood, leads on to
fortune;

Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.”

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं इस बजट को गरीबों की रोटी छीनने वाला और करोड़पतियों के ऐश-इशरत और माल को बढ़ाने वाला बजट कहता हूँ। यदि इस बजट का शुद्ध विश्लेषण किया जाय तो इधर के सालों में इससे ज्यादा प्रतिक्रियावादी, इससे बढ़ कर मारक, इससे बढ़ कर गला घोटू, इससे बढ़ कर टैक्स बढ़ाकर कमरतोड़ बजट नहीं आया है। यह बजट मारक भी है, गला घोटू भी है, कमरतोड़ भी है और प्रतिक्रियावादी

भी है। इस बजट से जहाँ गरीबी बढ़ेगी, मंहगाई बढ़ेगी, बेकारी बढ़ेगी, मुद्रास्फीति बढ़ेगी, विदेश पर निर्भरता बढ़ेगी, वही पर इस बजट से चोर-बाजारी भी बढ़ेगी, काला धन भी बढ़ेगा। इसलिए मैं आपके द्वारा श्री अकबर अली खान साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस बजट को आख मूंद कर रद्दी की टोकरी में फेंकने के लिये उनको हमारा साथ देना चाहिये। इस बजट को जब अकबर अली साहब, जिनको मैं समझता हूँ कुरान भी कुछ पढ़ें होंगे, समाजवाद से जोड़ते हैं तो मुझे बड़ी हैरत होती है। तो मैं कहता हूँ कि ऐ खुदा कहां से इनको पैदा कर दिया कि तुमको भी ये बदनाम कर रहे हैं, पैगम्बर के नाम को भी बदनाम कर रहे हैं। अकबर अली साहब के बाद मुझे बोलने का मौका मिला है, इसलिए मैं इनको याद दिला दूँ कि पैगम्बर ने यहां तक कहा है कि खाने-पीने के बाद अगर साढ़े 7 तोला सोना या साढ़े 52 तोला चांदी बचे तो ढाई रुपया सैकड़ा जकात लगाने की बात हुई है लेकिन ये ऐसे बग चूंचू मुरबवा को बैठे हुए हैं कि टैक्स बढ़ता जा रहा है, गरीबी बढ़ती जा रही है और फिर भी उसी दुम पे बंधे हुए हैं, जब लाबी में होंगे तब कहेंगे कि तुम ठीक कहते हो हम क्या करें, यहां आएं तो फिर उसी गोल मुंदरी में बैठ जाएंगे। तो मैं कहता हूँ कि हे अकबर अली खान साहब खुदा के नाम पर, पैगम्बर के नाम पर आप इन्दिरा रूपीगोल मुंदरी से अलग हो जाओ, काहे इसमें फंसे हो, परेशान हो। श्रीमन्, मैं बहुत ही अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Mr Raj-narain, if you leave this phobia, this Nehru phobia, this Indira Gandhi phobia, you will be a great man, you will do a great service to the country. For God's sake, I pray to you, leave that phobia.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, यह हमारे समय में नहीं रहना चाहिये। मैं बिलकुल सफाई के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे न कोई फोबिया है, न कोई मेनिया है। मैं आपके द्वारा अपने मित्र अकबर अली और दूसरे जो उधर लोग बैठे हुए हैं, उनसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उन्हें नेहरू फैमिली

और इदिग की जो भक्ति है उसे छोड़ दे तो वह देश का बड़ा कल्याण करेंगे। बेमतलब 3 P.M. उनकी भक्ति में डूबे हुए हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस बजट को अगर ठीक तरीके से अध्ययन किया जाय तो इसको प्रगतिशील कैसे कहा जायेगा। इसके समाजवादी होने की तो बात छोड़ो। इस बजट का 67 प्रतिशत यानी दो तिहाई से ऊपर अनुत्पादक मदों पर खर्च होता है। तो फिर इस बजट को हम कैसे कह सकते हैं कि यह जनकल्याण का बजट है। अकबर अली खान साहब, आप इसको ज़रूर ध्यान से देखो कि जब से कांग्रेस सरकार आई, हम आज से नहीं कहते हैं, तब से उसने खपत और फैशन की आधुनिकता बढ़ाई है और उत्पादन की आधुनिकता नहीं बढ़ाई है। प्रोडक्शन का माडरेनाइजेशन नहीं हुआ है, फैशन का माडरेनाइजेशन हुआ है। इसलिये इस बजट की जितनी गहरी निन्दा की जाय, जितना गहरा तिरस्कार किया जाय उतना ही जनकल्याण होगा। एक छोटा सा आकड़ा मैं अकबर अली खान साहब को बताऊंगा कि अनुत्पादक मदों पर कुल खर्चा कितना था। 1950-51 में 291.5 करोड़ रु० था और वही 1970-71 में 2,159 करोड़ रु० हो गया तो कहा 291 करोड़ रु० और कहा 2,159 करोड़ रु०। अकबर अली खान साहब कहेंगे कि यह विकास का युग है। विकास के युग में अनुत्पादक मदों पर खर्चा बढ़ेगा, क्या यही अकबर अली खान साहब की सूझ है। क्या आज कर्ज ले कर के फैशन बढ़ेगा। क्या आज कर्ज ले कर के फौवारा बनेगा। आजकल मैं जहाँ भी बड़े-बड़े शहरों में जाता हूँ वहाँ चौराहों पर फौवारे देखता हूँ। आज लोगों के पीने के लिये पानी नहीं है, लेकिन फौवारों के द्वारा आप देखिये कि कितना पानी बहाया जा रहा है।

श्री एन० पी० चौधरी (मध्य प्रदेश) : आप के पड़ोसियों ने किया है।

श्री राजनारायण थोड़े समय के लिये मैं समझता हूँ कि आप उधर चले गये हैं अतः अतः आप को हमारे यहाँ ही शरण मिलेगी।

श्री एन० पी० चौधरी : इन्तजार किजिये।

श्री राजनारायण इसी के साथ-साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि घाटे के बजट की बात छोड़िये। साधारण तरीके से अगर हम बाजार में जायें तो यह जो बजट बना है इसमें कम से कम 6 फीसदी खर्चा सामान्य आदमी का बढ़ा है। इसी के साथ-साथ मैं इनको थोड़े से आकड़े पेट्रोल के दे देना चाहता हूँ। मैं हैरत में पड़ा हुआ हूँ कि जिस बजट में तनिक भी जनकल्याण की बात मोची गई होगी उसमें क्या 470 फीसदी ज्यादा लागत से पेट्रोल की कीमत बढ़ा दी जायेगी। क्या आज तक दुनिया में कहीं ऐसा हुआ है। जब तक यह सरकार प्राइस फिक्जेशन की नीति नहीं चलायेगी, तब तक इनके लिये समाजवाद और जनकल्याण का नाम लेना गलत है और इसके लिये कहीं की ईंट, कहीं का रोड़ा, भानुमती ने कुनवा जोड़ा वाली बात होगी। चाहे जितनी भी कीमत बढ़ जाय सरकार में उसके ऊपर कोई जुबान नहीं होगी क्योंकि इनने एक तरीका निकाल लिया, माननीय सदस्य सदस्यों को भी खिलाने का। 31 की जगह 51 भत्ता हो गया और अब 51 की जगह कुछ और बढ़ जायेगा। डिप्टी चैयरमैन, राज्य सभा और उपाध्यक्ष लोकसभा के लिए भी 250 रुपये महीना बढ़ाने का एक प्रस्ताव पेश है। तो यह सबको चखाते हैं, सबको खिलाते हैं ताकि महंगाई की आच से सदस्य सदस्य न गरमायें, क्योंकि यदि सदस्य सदस्य गरमायेंगे तो उसकी आच सरकार को भी लगेगी। इस लिए सदस्य सदस्य खूब अच्छी तरह से, आनन्द से रहे जिससे सरकार ठीक तरह से चले। मगर मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि गरीबी के आगन की आग में इन्दिरा सरकार जल कर भस्म हो। वह शक्ति पैदा हो, वह ताकत पैदा हो, वह कुव्वत पैदा हो जिसमें वह अग्नि प्रज्वलित हो जिससे यह मौजूदा प्रतिक्रियावादी सरकार, यह गैर-समाजवादी सरकार, यह अजनतन्त्रीय सरकार जल कर क्षार-क्षार हो जाय। जो उनकी बढ़ोतरी है मैं उसके बारे में कहता हूँ और श्री गणेश जी और श्री यशवन्त राव जी केवल 1964-65 और

[श्री राजनारायण]

1969-70 के आकड़ों को ले ले जो प्रति व्यक्ति उपलब्धि है खाद्य और तेल की वह 3.6 ग्राम है। 1964-65 में और 2.6 ग्राम है 1969-70 में। सूती कपड़ा 15.1 मीटर है 1964-65 में और 13.1 मीटर है 1969-70 में। कहवा 89 ग्राम फी व्यक्ति है 1964-65 में और 59 ग्राम है 1969-70। यह तो उनके उत्पादन की बढ़ोत्तरी की सूत्र है और उसी के साथ साथ थोक मूल्यों के दाम की बढ़ोत्तरी को भी हम देखें और 1961-62 को अगर हम आधार मान लें तो 1970-71 में वे 181.2 हो गये यानी करीब 82 फीसदी बढ़ गये।

1961-62 के आधार पर एक साल का हिसाब लगाओ तो करीब 8 प्वाइंट कुछ रहेगा। इसी तरह से विदेशी कर्जों के बारे में हमने बता दिया कि 1969-70 में 9,444.3 करोड़ का विदेशी कर्जा हो गया था और हमारी आज आय क्या है राष्ट्रीय जिसका आज बड़ा ढिंढोरा पीटा जा रहा है। 1967-68 के जो आकड़े उपलब्ध हैं उस पर अगर 1948-49 को आधार मान कर निकालें तो हमारी आय सालाना 323.3 रुपये है फी आदमी। कृषि की बड़ी दुहाई दी गयी, हरी क्रान्ति हो गयी। तो आप हरी क्रान्ति के आँकड़े भी देख लें। अकबर अली साहब जरा अपनी दृष्टि को खोलें। दृष्टि तो आप समझ लेते हैं नहीं तो मुझे निगाह कहना पड़ेगा। तो 1948-49 और 1968-69 को हम लें रहे हैं। 1948-49 के मूल्यों के आधार पर प्रतिशत विभाजन कृषि, पशु-पालन तथा अन्य आयक कार्य का प्रतिशत रहा है। 1948-49 में 49.1 और 1968-69 में वह रहा है 10.0 तो हरी क्रान्ति कहा गयी? 49.1 से 10.0 रह गया।

और खनन, निर्माण तथा छोटे उद्योग जहाँ 1948-49 में उनका विभाजन प्रतिशत था 17.1 वहाँ 1968-69 में वह रह गया 16.7 तो जो उत्पादन की बढ़ोत्तरी की बड़ी चर्चा है, हरी क्रान्ति की चर्चा चल रही है, तो उसके लिए मैं समझूँ सदस्यों से निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि वे

अनावश्यक हरी क्रान्ति हरी क्रान्तिकी बात कह कर एक हवा न खड़ी करें। राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन का अगर प्रतिशत विभाजन देखा जाय तो कृषि, पशु पालन, मछली पालन आदि उद्योग 1960-61 का था 51.3 और 1969-70 का था 44.1, तो किस नुकतेनजर से इस बजट को प्रगतिवादी मानें। किस नुकतेनजर से इस बजट को समाज कल्याण का मानें।

अब मैं थोड़ा सा आ जाना चाहता हूँ वित्त मंत्री के भाषण के पाचवे पैराग्राफ पर, पाचवी कलम पर।

“नारियों का पुनर्निर्धारण

5 इस सरकार को तीन महीने पहले जनता से जो भारी आदेश मिला था वह आदेश समाजावाद के लिए और अधिक सामाजिक न्याय के साथ-साथ तीव्र आर्थिक विकास के लिये था।”

तो समाजवाद के लिये आदेश मिला था किससे? जनता से। मैं इससे ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहूँगा, किन्तु, श्रीमान्, एक बात कहे बगैर रह भी नहीं सकता। मेरे पास आज दो पर्चे हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ, यदि आप आज्ञा दें तो मैं इसको सदन की टेबिल पर रख दूँ। यह पर्चा है। यह साइटिस्ट है, वैज्ञानिक है, इसने इस पर्चे को दे दिया कि इस तरफ मुहर लगा दो, अखबार वालों को, कुछ विश्वविद्यालयों के प्रोफेसर्स को दे दिया कि यहाँ मुहर लगा दो और जितने घंटे बताओ उसके बाद मुहर यहाँ निकल जायगी। इस पर्चे पर मुहर लगाया इस तरफ और 48 घंटे के बाद यह मुहर दब गई और यह मुहर लग गई। यह रसायनिक पर्चा है। इसको देख कर कोई भी अंदाज लगा सकता है। आप जानते हैं, श्री बलराज मधोक ने पार्लिक स्टेटमेंट किया है। उन्होंने पब्लिक स्टेटमेंट यह किया है कि राय बरेली में प्रधान मंत्री के क्षेत्र में 1 लाख 75 हजार वॉलेट पेंस रसायन से डूबे हुए गये। मैं

यह डंके की चोट पर कहना चाहता हूँ। अगर यह सत्य है तो प्रधान मंत्री जी द्वारा या किसी के द्वारा कोई ऐसी एक् जांच आयोग की रचना क्यों नहीं होती, जो जांच आयेगी...

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Mr. Deputy Chairman, when he is saying all those things, you should scrutinise how he functioned in Rai Bareilly, how much money he spent, what his resources were... (Interruptions). His election agents were threatening the police officers and officials in the Government. In Rai Bareilly daily in the morning he used to ring up officials and threaten them...

(Interruptions)

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन् यह समय हमारे में नहीं जायेगा, इन्होंने जितना कहा वह हमारे में नहीं जायेगा।

श्री उपसभापति : राजनारायण जी, आप अपना भाषण जारी रखिये।

श्री राजनारायण : देखिये, यह पांच मिनट का समय उन्होंने लिया है।

श्री उपसभापति : पांच मिनट कहाँ, आधा मिनट भी नहीं लिया।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं घड़ी देख रहा हूँ।

श्री उपसभापति : मैं भी देख रहा हूँ। आप अपना भाषण जारी रखिये।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि किसी का रंज होने की जरूरत नहीं है। सारे देश के बीच में यह सवाल उठा हुआ है, यह चीज सारे देश की जनता के सम्मुख है। अगर सरकार साफ है तो सरकार क्यों नहीं जांच करवा लेती बिलेट पेपर की। राय बरेली में दो सौ ढाई सौ बिलेट पेपर पड़े हुए हैं वह निकाल लिय जाय और जो साइंटिस्ट है उसको दे दो वह अच्छी तरह से बता देगा कि यह रसायनिक पेपर है या नहीं है। मुहर कहा लगी हुई थी बता देगा।

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: His party leader, Mr. Madhu Limaye, has said there is no truth in this.

श्री राजनारायण : देखिये, यह क्या तमाश हो रहा है। श्रीमन्, देखिये यहां बम्बई के साइंटिस्ट L. J. (D) RSS-6(a)

आये, यहां बिहार के साइंटिस्ट आये और तमाम साइंटिस्टों ने अपना प्रदर्शन किया और प्रदर्शनों से उन्होंने सिद्ध कर दिया कि बिलेट पेपर के साथ इस तरह की गड़बड़ी होती है।

मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या फिलिपीस के मैगासेसे के चुनाव में रसायन पेपर का इस्तेमाल नहीं हुआ था। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इंडोनेशिया में सुकार्णो द्वारा रसायन बिलेट पेपर का प्रयोग नहीं हुआ था। दुनिया के ऐसे मुल्कों में इसका प्रयोग हुआ है। जो हमने सीखा है वह बता रहा हूँ। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ, सफाई के साथ डंके की चोट पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री के निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में रसायन बिलेट पेपर का इस्तेमाल हुआ है।

श्री मोम् मेहता : यह ठीक नहीं है, गलत है।

श्री राजनारायण : देखिये, यह गलत हो या सही हो। मैं कहता हूँ कि यह सवाल उठा हुआ है, मैं आज यह चाहता हूँ कि यह सदन एक जांच आयोग बैठाये। सुप्रीम कोर्ट के 3 जज का एक जांच आयोग बैठा दिया जाए। और कोई निर्वाचन क्षेत्र के बारे में नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ, राय बरेली का ही निर्वाचन क्षेत्र ले लिया जाए, वहां के 1,000 बिलेटों को निकाल लिया जाए और उनकी परीक्षा हो जाए। सरकार डरती क्यों है, काहे डर है। श्रीमन्, बिलेट पेपर की पवित्रता किसी संसदीय और जनतंत्रीय देश के जीवन में एक महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न है, अगर बिलेट पेपर की पवित्रता संदिग्ध हो जाए, अगर बिलेट पेपर से विश्वास हट जाए, तो बिलेट की जगह लोग सामान्यतः बुलेट ले लेते हैं। मैं नहीं चाहता लोग हथियार उठाएं। आज कुर्सी कांग्रेस अपनी हठवादिता पर तुली हुई है—क्यों? जो इसने गत चुनाव में पाप किया, धांधली की, उसको वह छिपाना चाहती है, तो इसका नतीजा होगा कि हमारा जनतंत्रीय जीवन दूषित होगा, हमारी जनतंत्रीय प्रणाली खराब होगी। मैं नहीं चाहता, जनतंत्रीय जीवन दूषित हो, मैं नहीं चाहता जनतंत्रीय प्रणाली खराब हो, इसलिए मैं

(श्री राजनारायण)

देकर कहना चाहता हूँ एक आयोग बैठाया जाए जो राय बरेली निर्वाचन क्षेत्र के मतपत्रों को देखे कि सत्य क्या है ?

श्री उपसभापति बजट के बारे में कहिए।

श्री राजनारायण बजट के बारे में यही सब होता है आप नहीं जानते क्या कि बजट पर क्या स्पीच होती है ?

(Interruption)

श्रीमन्, एक हम जानकारी कराना चाहते हैं। हमारे मित्र अकबर अली खान साहब यहाँ हैं, कम से कम उन पर कभी-कभी मैं यकीन रखता हूँ कि वह इतनी हया नहीं खोए, लेकिन कृष्ण कान्त जैसे ग्ये गबरू हया खो जात हैं। श्री सेन वर्मा का मामला इस बजट भाषण में आ सकता है, उसको मैं यहाँ रखना चाहूँगा। सेन वर्मा के बारे में इसी सदन में ए० पी० चटर्जी साहब ने और लोक सभा में श्री बरुआ ने आरोप लगाया है।

श्री उपसभापति इलेक्शन कमिशनर का नाम यहाँ पर नहीं आना चाहिए।

SHRI OM MEHTA Sir, he is speaking against a person who cannot defend himself in the House

श्री राजनारायण देखिए, हम रेफर कर रहे हैं क्योंकि इस सदन में श्री ए० पी० चटर्जी ने इस सवाल को उठाया है कि श्री सेन वर्मा रिफ्यूजी नहीं हैं, उन्होंने रिफ्यूजी सम्पत्ति रिश्तेदारों की दिखाई, उस पर सी० बी० आई० बैठा, उसकी रपट आई, प्रधान मंत्री के हाथ में रपट आई और उसी के आधार पर उन्होंने सेन वर्मा को रख कर यह जाल बट्टा कराया। तो मैं विनम्रता के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ मामला कहा से कहा जा रहा है—कारण क्या है? है कोई माई का लाल जो इस सवाल का जवाब दे कि 27 ता० तक, जिस दिन कि नामिनेशन पेपर्स दाखिल हो गए, सरकार ने मतपत्रों की गिनती के कानून में परिवर्तन कर दिया, मतपत्रों के वितरण के कानून में परिवर्तन कर दिया। इसका कोई जवाब दे। धर उधर करके, जाल-

बट्टा करके, मंत्री बन जाओ, पार्लियामेन्टरी अफेयर्स के मंत्री बन जाओ, व्हिप बन जाओ इससे देश नहीं बना सकते। कोई देश तिकडम और साजिश की बुनियाद पर नहीं बनता। मुल्क बनता है त्याग से, मुल्क बनता है कष्ट से, मुल्क बनता है बलिदान से। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ, श्री सेन वर्मा को चुनाव आयोग के पद से निश्चित रूप से हटाया जाना चाहिए, क्योंकि उनके ऊपर आरोप है और इस सदन में सिद्ध हो चुका है जब तक सेन वर्मा रहेंगे तब तक सही मानो में निष्पक्ष चुनाव नहीं होंगे।

इसी के साथ-साथ मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ, दर्द लेकर पूछना चाहता हूँ अकबर अली खान साहब, आपकी जवान में वह ताकत नहीं थी—क्यों? पैगम्बर ने कहा है, इनसान नाहक के काम को हाथ पैर से रोक दे, हक और नाहक का ऐलान करे, हक को पसन्द करे नाहक को छोड़ दे। सुन लीजिए अकबर अली साहब, यह पैगम्बर की बात बता रहा हूँ, आपकी वह जवान कहा थी जब 60 लाख रु० बैंक से वाइस कमान्ड पर निकाला जाता है और 5 मिनट में नागरवाला को मज्जा हो जाती है। क्या कोई इस सदन में अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करेगा अगर इन बातों पर बजट के अवसर पर चर्चा न होने दे। मैं पूछता हूँ अगर जनतंत्रीय देश होता, जिसको जनतंत्र के प्रति आस्था होती, तो यहाँ के प्रधान मंत्री और वित्त मंत्री दोनों का त्यागपत्र आज तक हो चुका होता। इसलिए मैं आज इस अवसर पर वित्त मंत्री का त्यागपत्र चाहता हूँ, प्रधान मंत्री का त्यागपत्र चाहता हूँ क्योंकि इस मामले में प्रधान मंत्री का नाम जुड़ा हुआ है।

श्रीमन्, वह मलहोत्रा हमारे साथ जेल में था जब हमको 2 तारीख को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया था। वह हमारे साथ था (Interruptions) अनावश्यक बात यहाँ पर मत बोलो। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री का नाम इसमें आया है। उसने हमसे कहा, राजनारायण जी, हमने प्रधान मंत्री की आवाज पहिचानी,

हम प्रधान मंत्री की आवाज को पहिचानते हैं और प्रधान मंत्री की आवाज को पहिचान कर ही हमने दिया। मैं अकबर प्रली खान साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वह 65 किलोग्राम का वक्सा अकेले नागर-वाला जो लगडा था, कैसे लेकर आया, कैसे टैक्सी में रखेगा, वह टैक्सी कहा गई, उस टैक्सी में कौन कान से लोग थे, उसकी कहीं सफाई और गवाही हुई है। घर विभाग ने मजिस्ट्रेट के ऊपर दबाव डाला कि इसको जल्दी सजा कर दी जाय और पांच मिनट के अन्दर बन्द कमरे में बयान लेकर सजा बोल दी। क्या इस तरह का मुकदमा मजिस्ट्रेट के देखने की बूते की बात है। यह मुकदमा तो सेशन में जाना चाहिये था जहाँ पर जज उस पर फैसला करता। मजिस्ट्रेट को दो साल से ज्यादा सजा देने की ताकत नहीं है। यह तो मामला लाइफ इम्प्रिजनमेंट का है, आजीवन कारावास का है। इस मामले में ऐसा क्यों नहीं हुआ? फिर भी वित्त मंत्री की इतनी हिम्मत है कि वे यहाँ पर बजट पेश करते हैं। सदन इस बात को सब अच्छी तरह से जानता है और प्रधान मंत्री बैठे हुए हैं। इसके बारे में सदन के निर्लज्ज सदस्य एक भी आवाज नहीं उठाते हैं कि तुम इसके बारे में सफाई दो क्योंकि तुम्हारा नाम इस सब में आया है। उमिलेशन, जिसने नागरवाले के मुकदमे के खिलाफ हिम्मत के साथ दावा दाखिल किया है, उसमें राज आयेगा और खुलेगा। अगर इन्साफ के तौर पर यह मामला चलेगा तो सारा मामला सफाई से आ जायेगा।

श्रीमन्, मैं भारत सरकार की विदेश नीति को भी लेना चाहता हूँ। क्या है विदेश नीति? जो गलती 15 अगस्त 1947 को हुई, उससे भयकर गलती स्वाधीन बंगला देश को मान्यता न देकर सरकार ने कर दी है। इस सरकार को आप लोग देशद्रोही क्यों नहीं बोलते हो? इस सरकार को जनद्रोही क्यों नहीं बोलते हो? इस सदन ने और इस सरकार ने बंगला देश के सबंध में जो प्रस्ताव पास किया है उसके कुछ लाइन मैं पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ। "यह सभा लोकतन्त्रात्मक जीवन पद्धति के लिए पूर्वी बंगाल की जनता द्वारा किये

जा रहे संघर्ष के प्रति अपनी गहरी सहानुभूति और एकात्मता व्यक्त करती है। एकात्मक तादात्म्य यानी हम भारतीय और स्वाधीन बंगला देश के लोगों की आत्मा एक है। यानी उन पर होने वाले अत्याचार, उन पर होने वाले संहार भारतीयों पर होने वाले संहार माने जायेंगे।" फिर भी इतना कहने के बाद भी भारत सरकार बंगला देश की सरकार को मान्यता देने से गुरेज कर रही है, नखरा करती है, इधर उधर नौटंकी करती है और कहती है कि सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह जब आयेगे तब देखेंगे। सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह क्या करेंगे? हम जानते हैं सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह की इज्जत क्या है। पहिले तुम मान्यता दो और उसके बाद दूसरे मुल्क वाले स्वतन्त्र मान्यता देंगे। तुम किस मुंह से दूसरे मुल्क वालों से कहते हो कि बंगला देश को मान्यता दो? तुम पहिले मान्यता क्यों नहीं देते हो जबकि तुम चतुर्दिक बंगला देश से घिरे हुए हो। अगर तुम मान्यता देते हो तो दूसरे लोग भी मान्यता देंगे।

श्रीमन्, अगर मैं इस प्रस्ताव को आगे पढ़ना हूँ तो मेरा समय चला जायेगा। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार की उद्योग नीति क्या है। क्या कोई उद्योग नीति है? अभी-अभी हमारे मित्र ने बतलाया कि एक इंडियन कापर कारपोरेशन है, यह एक इंगलिश फर्म है। एक बड़े मोनोपोलिस्ट है। श्री कोठारी साहब, उन्होंने इस फर्म को खरीद लिया है। जो हिन्दुस्तान कापर माइन्स, सिंह-भूमि बिहार में है, सरकार की है, वह 12 मील की दूरी पर है। ये अपना कापर इंडियन कापर कारपोरेशन में मेल्ट करने के लिए और क्रश करने के लिए भेजते हैं। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इसे क्यों नहीं ले लेती है। वह क्यों निजी हाथों में, एकाधिकार के हाथों में जाने देती है। क्या इम इन्दिरा की सरकार को समाजवादी सरकार कह सकते हो, जनतन्त्री सरकार यह हो सकती है। मैंने पहले ही कह दिया है कि यह सरकार मोनोपोलिस्टिक सरकार है, एक तृतीय सरकार है सपोर्टेड बाई प्लूटो क्रेसी।

[श्री राजनारायण]

इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार की कोई उद्योग नीति नहीं है।

आप लोगों ने पढ़ा होगा "मिनी स्टील प्लान्ट" बनाये जायेंगे। इसमें "मिनी" शब्द जोड़ दिया गया है। यह क्यों? क्या इस तरह से यह उद्योग प्राइवेट लोगों के हाथों में दिया जायेगा? जो सरकार सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में उद्योग धन्धे करने की बात करती है, वही सरकार "मिनी" शब्द का प्रयोग करती है और इस तरह से जो नये स्टील प्लान्ट खोले जायेंगे उन्हें प्राइवेट हाथों में देने की बात करती है।

अभी अकबर अली साहब बड़े जोर से कह रहे थे मिक्सड इकानामी। लेकिन मिक्सड इकानामी मिश्रित अर्थव्यवस्था समाजवादी व्यवस्था तो नहीं हुई, इस बात को तो कबूल करो। इसलिए अकबर अली साहब की मैं तारीफ करूँगा कि उन्होंने कहा कि मिश्रित अर्थव्यवस्था है। इस सरकार के बेटवा सजय ने कारपोरेशन के चुनाव में कहा है कि कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि हमारी अम्मा ने गरीबी मिटाने का वचन दिया, क्या गरीबी जादू की छड़ी से मिट जायगी, नहीं मिटेगी गरीबी। अकबर अली साहब से ज्यादा समझदार सजय हैं, तभी तो वह छोटी कार का लाइसेंस पाता है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ इस सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों से कि तुम्हारी बोली क्यों बन्द है, तुम दुनिया भर के नजारें लेते हो, तुम रूस, इंग्लैंड, जर्मनी के नजारें लेते हो किसी डिक्टेटर ने अपनी डिक्टेटरशिप में अपने बेटे और बेटी को बढ़ाया है, ऐसा कोई जनतंत्र जिसके प्रधान मंत्री ने अपने बेटे और बेटी को बढ़ाया हो। यह तो चर्चिल की सरकार से भी गई-गुजरी सरकार है।

श्री उपसभापति : आपके 25 मिनट हो गए, 5 मिनट मैंने ज्यादा दे दिए हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : एक-दो मिनट में मैं समाप्त करता हूँ।

श्री उपसभापति ठीक है, आप दो मिनट में समाप्त करिए।

श्री राजनारायण : आप बीच में न बोलिए, मैं समाप्त कर दूँगा, हम ज्यादा समय नहीं ले रहे हैं हम आपसे वचनबद्ध नहीं हैं, इनसे वचनबद्ध हैं। ता उद्योग नीति इस सरकार की दकियानूसी है, एकाधिपत्य को बढ़ाने वाली है।

कृषि नीति सरकार की है ही नहीं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ आज भी करीब 25 करोड़ एकड़ जमीन हमारे मुल्क में असिंचित है, उसकी सिंचाई के लिए इस बजट में कहीं गुज़ाईश है?

इसी के साथ-साथ मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि शिक्षा नीति सरकार की क्या है। सरकार की शिक्षा नीति दकियानूसी है, वह अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद के तरीके पर चल रही है, उसकी गोद में पल रही है, वरना आज पब्लिक स्कूल के लिए सरकार पैसा दे और जनसाधारण स्कूल के लिए सरकार के पास पैसा न हो। शर्म आनी चाहिए, लानत आनी चाहिए इस सरकार पर जो आज भी दो प्रकार की शिक्षा दे रही है, एक गरीबों के बच्चों के लिए और एक मन्त्रियों और बड़े-बड़े अफसरों के बच्चों के लिए जहाँ अंग्रेजी ठाठबाट, अंग्रेजी फैशन, अंग्रेजी भाषा का बोल बाला है। तो कैसे काम चलेगा हमारे देश में? वही अंग्रेजी वाले, जो गले में लगोट लगाते हैं वही बड़ी-बड़ी नौकरी में जाएँगे, बड़े-बड़े उद्योग धन्धों में जाएँगे, बड़े-बड़े सचिवालय में जायेंगे और हमारे गरीबों के बच्चे जो कमर में लगोट बांधते हैं उनको कोई पूछने वाला नहीं होगा। आज यह स्थिति है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि समान शिक्षा की नीति क्यों नहीं है?

हरिजन और पिछड़े वर्ग के उत्थान के लिए दावा करने वाले कहा है, अकबर अली साहब? आज हरिजनों की दुर्दशा हो रही है, तुम्हारे उत्तर प्रदेश में हो रही है, तुम्हारे आन्ध्र प्रदेश में हो रही है।

श्री कल्याण चर. ठाकुर लोग तग कर रहे हैं।

श्री राजनारायण ठीक कह रहा है। मैं इसको भला समझता हूँ लेकिन इन्दिरा के साथ जाकर बिगड़ गया है। हमारा हरिजन भाई है, नहीं

तो मैं समझता कोई गद्दूस आ गया है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि गद्दूस मत बनो। गद्दूस को शब्दों का योग है गद्दा और मनहूस। तो हरिजनों के लिए इस बजट में कितना प्रावधान है, हरिजनों के लिए क्या व्यवस्था है? आज भी हरिजन-बहनों, हरिजन माताओं के साथ किस तरीके से दुर्व्यवहार हो रहा है; किस तरह से उनकी बेइज्जती की जा रही है, किस तरह से उनको नंगा किया जा रहा है। अभी 4 दिन हुए अखबार में आपने पढ़ा होगा—मुझे मालूम नहीं कि आप पढ़ते हैं या नहीं—दो लड़कियां खेल कर रही थी, उनमें झगड़ा हुआ, फिर हरिजन की बड़ी लड़की आ गई, ठाकुर की भी बड़ी लड़की आ गई, उन दोनों में मारपीट हो गई, फिर ठाकुर लोग हरिजन बस्ती में आए, बड़ी लड़की को पकड़ कर ले गए, उसको नंगा कर दिया, फिर उसको बहुत पीटा, उसकी मां को भी पीटा, उसको भी नंगा किया। यह इलाहाबाद की बात है, तुम्हारे इलाहाबाद की बात है, जहां से तुम्हारी रानी प्रधान मंत्री आती है। तुमको शर्म नहीं आती है? जब मैं इस सवाल को उठाता हूँ तो हल्ला मचाया जाता है और अपने को हरिजनो का ठेकेदार कहते हो? जब मैं पुलिस कप्तान को फोन करता हूँ, कलेक्टर को फोन करता हूँ तो कोई फोन नहीं उठाता। हमको शर्म आनी चाहिए। बुद्ध धर्म को हिन्दू धर्म खा गया। अगर हरिजनो में ताकत है तो केवल एक ही और वह है वोट की ताकत। तुम्हारे अन्दर यह वोट की ताकत न हो तो तुमको कोई पूछेगा नहीं। आज तुम्हारी दुर्गति गांधी युग से भी बदतर है। उस वोट की ताकत को दबाने के लिए रसायन का सहारा लिया गया है लेकिन जब रसायन के छल को खोलू तो जनता में यह विश्वास पैदा करो कि इस तरह से आगे चुनाव में गड़बड़ी नहीं होने देगे। श्रीमन्, मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह सरकार एक दम नीति तय करे जैसा कि सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का कहना है कि इसान की जिन्दगी की जरूरत की जो चीजें हैं उन पर जितनी लागत आती है उससे डेढ़ से ज्यादा दामो पर बेन बिके। जो 8 आने गज कपड़ा बने वह कपड़ा 12 आने गज के ऊपर नहीं जाय। इसी तरह जिस मिट्टी के तेल की बोतल की लागत 6 पैसे आये वह 9 पैसे बोतल से ज्यादा

पर न बिके, यही संसोपा की बात नीति है। इसी के साथ-साथ कृषिजन्य पदार्थ, उद्योगजन्य पदार्थ में जब एक संतुलन होगा तभी सही मानो में समाजवाद स्थापित होगा। ऐग्रीकल्चर को अगर उद्योगधन्धों के विकास के लिये काम में लाया जाय रूस की तरह तो वह साम्राज्यवाद की नीति होगी, समाजवाद की नीति नहीं होगी।

मैं यह सफाई के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जो आज हरिजन हैं, आदिवासी हैं, पिछड़े वर्ग के लोग हैं, औरतें हैं, वे कुल आबादी का 95 फीसदी हैं और जब तक उनको कम से कम 60 फीसदी जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में जगह नहीं मिलती है तब तक हमारे देश का कल्याण नहीं होगा। आज हमसे चाहे जो कहा जाय, लेकिन हम अपनी संसोपा की नीति को छोड़ने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। संसोपा की नीति है कि आमदनी और खर्च की एक सीमा बांध दी जाय। संसोपा कहता है कि कानून बना दो कि डेढ़ सौ रुपये महीने से ज्यादा कोई खर्च न कर पाये और न कोई आमदनी कर पाये। इससे एक हजार करोड़ रुपया साल का बचेगा और उस रुपये से नये-नये उद्योग धन्धे खुलेंगे, बेकारी की समस्या हल होगी, सड़के चौड़ी होंगी जिस से देहातो तक लोग पहुंच सकेंगे और देहात समुन्नत होंगे। मगर यह सरकार कोई काम नहीं करती।

वोटर की उम्र के सम्बन्ध में हमारा यह कहना है कि उसको 21 से घटाकर 18 साल कर दिया जाना चाहिए। इसके साथ-साथ सिचाई सेना, अन्न सेना और शिक्षा सेना का निर्माण होना चाहिये। इससे लाखों बेकारों को काम मिलेगा। जब तक सरकार ऐसा नहीं करती है तब तक इस सरकार को प्रगतिशील सरकार कहना शुनुरमूर्ख की तरह बालू में सिर डाल कर नाचना है।

श्रीमन् मेरा एक निवेदन है कि सरकार ने जो पेट्रोल पर टैक्स बढ़ाया है जरा उसकी नजाकत को वह समझ ले। आज देहातो तक में ट्रके जाती हैं, देहातो तक में गाड़िया जाती हैं। रेल को घाटा हो रहा था। इस लिये सरकार ने पेट्रोल के दाम बढ़ा

[श्री राजनारायण]

दिये। उसने पेट्रोल के दाम इस लिये बढ़ा दिये कि रेल का घाटा पूरा किया जाय। और यह भी गरीबों पर जायेगा। गरीबों पर इस का भार जायेगा क्योंकि इधर ज्यादातर लोग पेट्रोल के जरिये अपने माल को ले जाते थे। ट्रकें दूर तक गावों में चली जाती थीं। इस लिये इस पेट्रोल की बढ़ोतरी का असर दूर तक पड़ेगा इस बात को यह समझ ले। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि जनतंत्र चले। मैं समाजवादी हूँ, मैं जनतंत्रीय हूँ, मैं राष्ट्रीय हूँ, मैं गैर-सम्प्रदायवादी हूँ और हमारी पार्टी है और मैं उसका सदस्य हूँ और इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर यह सरकार समाजवाद का नाम भी लेने का हक रखती है तो जिस शासन में आर्थिक विषमता बढ़ी है, घटी नहीं, बल्कि बढ़ती ही रही है उस सरकार को समाजवादी कहना, उस के समाजवादी तरीकों में जाना अपने साथ विश्वासघात करना है, अपनी अकल को गिरवी रखना है इन्दिरा सरकार की गोद में। श्रीमन्, मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा। मैं सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों से करवद्ध प्रार्थी हूँ कि वह हिम्मत के साथ, साहस के साथ अपने जज्बात का इजहार करें और उस श्लोक को याद करें कि जिस के अनुसार सलाह दी गई है कि पहले तो विधान निर्मात्री परिषद् में जाने के लिए किसी को लालायित नहीं होना चाहिए और लालायित हो जाय तो डर से, भय से सत्य बात कहने से हिचकना नहीं चाहिए और जो सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य सत्य बात कहने से डरते हैं, हिचकते हैं, भविष्य के लोभ और लालच को ले कर वे किलाविषी होते हैं, पापी होते हैं। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सदन के सदस्य पापी न बनें। पापी न बनने की केवल एक कसौटी है कि हमारे साथ आओ। सिवाय इस समय संसोपा के मार्ग को छोड़कर इस मुल्क में किसी के पास कोई मार्ग है ही नहीं जो समाजवादी हो। इसलिये संसोपा के रास्ते पर आओ तभी जा कर अपना निर्माण कर पाओगे। वरना देश जहन्नुम को जा रहा है, रसातल को जा रहा है। इस लिए इन्दिरा गांधी की सरकार को समूल नष्ट करने के लिए संपूर्ण

संकल्प शक्ति, संपूर्ण युक्ति और संपूर्ण साधनों का इस्तेमाल कर, केन्द्रीय सरकार को ढहा कर परिवर्तन की नयी राष्ट्रीय दिशा को चलो। यही है संसोपा, यही है संसोपा की नीति, यही है जन-कल्याण, यही है समाजवाद, यही है जनतंत्र। इस के विपरीत जो है, पाप है, ढंकोसला है, ढोंग है, पूजीवाद है और साम्यवाद है।

***SHRI MAHITOSH PURAKAYASTHA (Assam) : Hon'ble Mr. Deputy Chairman, today I shall speak in my mother tongue. In short, it may be said that this Budget is really disappointing. At the last Lok Sabha Election, hopes were generated in the minds of the people that this Budget might bring radical changes in our country, but this Budget is not going to bring any changes for the benefit of the people. We pledged at the time of election that we shall establish a socialist society in our country but there is no indication of that in this Budget. The economic policy that we have adopted is mixed economy and it is a policy based on compromise in economic matters. Through this policy of mixed economy socialism cannot come. If we really want a socialist society in our country, our economy should be socialistic. Unless socialism is fully established in our country, the sufferings of our people will not be overcome.

I remember, Sir, that during the last mid-term election I gave speeches in many meetings. In one of the meetings I spoke to the tea garden labourers. I said to them that before independence their daily wage was five annas and now that has been raised to Rs. 2.25 np. After the speech was over, one woman labourer came to me and agreed to what I said. She said that previously they were getting five annas as daily wage and now that has been raised to Rs. 2.25 np. and that means that their daily wage has increased eight times. But now, Sir, the prices of goods has also increased ten-fold. Before independence we were living in the tea garden areas and all the members of our family were working in the tea gardens. Today I find one member of a family works in a tea garden and other members depend upon his income and as a result of that the standard of living of our people has gone down very much after independence.

Sir, the farmers and industrial workers of our country do not understand the concepts of socialism, communism and capitalism. They only understand what work is going to benefit them most. So whatever was said by that woman labourer contained much truth. It is an established fact that the purchasing power of money has gone

***Original speech in Bengali.

down to a considerable extent. The employment potentialities in our country have also decreased. Therefore, if the prices of commodities are not reduced and if we do not provide employment to our people, the condition of our people will not improve. What do we find in this Budget? The Budget was presented on the 28th May but in the meantime the prices of commodities have already increased. According to official estimate, in 1970-71, the prices of commodities rose upto $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, but now it has increased five times more. We do not know how far it will go up. A criticism was made against this Budget that it has spared the poor people whereas rich people have been heavily taxed. But the burden of indirect taxation is more than that of direct taxation in the Budget and indirect taxation means more burden upon the common people. Who will bear the burden of duties that have been imposed upon maida and textiles? That burden will have to be borne by the common people of the country. There cannot be any development in the country if transport facilities are not provided to the people. But today because of the enhanced duty on petrol the transport will now be costlier to the people. Now not only the petrol will cost more but also the prices of various motor parts have increased.

Sir, we Bengalees do not know how to prepare chapatis out of *atta* but we certainly know how to prepare *loocho* out of maida. For lower middle class and middle class families this *loocho* is a favourite food. But now Bengalees will have to give up that favourite food because of the duty on maida. Therefore, I would say that if our taxation policy and economic policy are not changed, socialism cannot come in our country. For the establishment of a socialist society in our country we have to radically change the economic structure of our country and that structure must be founded upon socialism. So long for all the failures of the Congress Party we had been blaming the Morariji group but twenty months have elapsed since that group left the Congress Party. Where does socialism stand today in the country after the departure of that group from the Congress Party? Also, what about the present law and order situation in the country? Nothing has been done so far either to establish socialism in the country or to protect the lives of our people.

Sir, I belong to Cachar district of Assam which is on the border of East Bengal and that place is now full of refugees. For the refugees from Bangla Desh Rs 60 crores have been allotted in the Budget and with that money food and shelter will be provided to them. After independence thousands of refugees came to our country. They

came in batches in 1947, 1950, 1964 and 1967. The refugees who came to Assam in 1967, nothing has been done so far for their rehabilitation. But within the last two months more than two lakhs refugees have come to our Cachar district. In Meghalaya also more than two lakh refugees have come. In our neighbouring area Tripura more than nine lakh refugees have come. We know that the Government of India has not taken the responsibility for rehabilitating these refugees but the Government of India has certainly taken the responsibility for their food and shelter. But the money that has been allotted in the Budget for their maintenance is not adequate in view of price rise these days. With that money essential commodities for the refugees cannot be purchased. Though the refugees are not starving yet they are in a semi starvation condition. The Government of Assam was spending Rs 2 daily per refugee but now the Central Government has directed the Assam Government to spend Rs 110 np instead of Rs 2.

Today the outbreak of cholera among the refugees has taken an epidemic form. The total population of the town where I live is sixty thousand but there forty lakh refugees have reached. Consequently the sanitary arrangement and arrangement for drinking water there have been severely disrupted. For five years I was the Chairman of the Municipality of my town and I am well aware of its capacity. From Silchar we got the news that the sanitary condition there is far from satisfactory and consequently diarrhoea and dysentery have broken out in every refugee camp there. Over and above this, there is epidemic of cholera. So when the Government has taken the responsibility for the maintenance of these refugees, they should be given full meal and then safety of health should be ensured. In Assam a new sub State Meghalaya has come into being and more than two lakh refugees have gone there. The Government of Meghalaya has not provided any official to look after the refugees. Besides, the shelter that has been provided to them is no shelter in the real sense of the term. Now the monsoon has set in. Refugee camps have been set up in places like Balat and Shalla and if it rains there continuously for two three days all the refugee camps are likely to be washed away in rain water. The Government has neither set up any permanent camps for the refugees there nor has any intention to do so. Considering the geographical position of Meghalaya, we do not want that refugees should stay there even for a short time. We want that they should be taken out of Meghalaya. You know, Sir, that the maintenance of law and order is the primary responsibility of Assam Government since Meghalaya is a sub state. For the

[Shri Mahitosh Purakavastha] maintenance of law and order, the Meghalaya Government has created an Auxiliary Force. In that auxiliary Force all sorts of bad characters have been recruited. This Auxiliary Force has been entrusted with the work of protecting the refugee camps but now those protectors themselves are out to harm the refugees (*Time bell rings.*) Sir, this is my maiden speech in Bengali; so allow me a few minutes more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are other Members from your party.

SHRI MAHITOSH PURAKAYASTHA: So I want that the maintenance of law and order should not be in the hands of this Auxiliary Force; the responsibility for it should rather be borne by the C.R.P. and the Assam Police so that the refugees may live honourably.

Sir, when we talk of this refugee problem, we remember Bangla Desh. It was on the 31st March we in the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha passed unanimously a Resolution pledging our whole-hearted support to the cause of Bangla Desh. That Resolution created hopes not only in the people of India but also in the people of Bangla Desh to the effect that the logical consequence of that Resolution will be that we shall give recognition to the Bangla Desh Government. After the end of the last session I went to my district. It is on the border of Bangla Desh. I came in contact with the members of the Mukti Foj and the Awami League members. They told me that when the Government of India had fully supported their cause, why that support was not being shown in concrete terms by giving them recognition. Therefore, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, if the Government of India really wants to help the people of Bangla Desh, it must give immediate recognition to the Bangla Desh Government. In the liberation struggle in Bangla Desh lakhs of people have already sacrificed their lives and now the soil of Bangla Desh is drenched with the blood of freedom fighters. They rose against the brutality of Yahya Khan. If the Government wants that bloodshed should stop there and that the people of Bangla Desh get human rights, the first step of the Government should be to recognise the Bangla Desh Government immediately. So, I conclude my speech appealing again to the Government for the recognition of Bangla Desh Government without further delay.

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like very much to speak in Tamil, but like all these people here I am speaking in English. That is the only difficulty. Or else I would like to teach a lesson to most of the Hindi

fanatics by speaking in Tamil, but whatever it is I do not think there is an interpreter . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: There is an interpreter.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Not at this moment.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we are now in the midst of a discussion of the Budget. It is not a family budget. It is not a local board budget nor a State Budget. It is the national Budget. It is reported in the press that Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao spoke on the Budget as an economist. Some other person here has spoken as an idealist. I would like to say that these two persons might have viewed things only from one particular angle. The Budget of a great nation like India has to take into consideration a very wide sphere. The Budget of India affects not only the economy of India, but it has also some effect or other throughout the world. That being the importance of the national Budget, we cannot take things in such a light-hearted manner. I am not a great economist, nor am I too narrow an idealist. I am a practical man. I have seen life from six annas a day. That I have told you. I have come from the ranks. If I am here like this, I have come here so that I will be useful to the country and useful to the common man. I speak like a common man whether I enjoy the goodwill of the people or not. Perhaps most of my speech may not be palatable to many.

People say it is a socialist Budget. What is socialism? Socialism is equality for all. How can Members of Parliament, who would like to travel by air, travel in first class, who want more money call themselves socialists, unless they come down and descend to the level of the common man? The present day per capita income in India is not even Rs. 400. It is between Rs. 350 and Rs. 400. How can we say that we want so much of income for our own family? When we want our wives and children to be happier and blessed with glittering jewels and glittering saris, how can we compare ourselves with the common man and speak as: socialists for the common man? It is lip-service. People say that it is a socialist Budget. It is lip-service. It is hypocrisy. It is nothing but sheer hypocrisy. I know that the Government has the intention, but by whom has the Budget been prepared? Was it prepared by a great economist of a very high order or by a Planning Commission Member? Dr. Rao is a great economist, but who has prepared the Budget? Has it been prepared by the officers in charge of the Finance Department or by Mr. Chavan, who is the Finance Minister, or

by Mr Ganesh, who sits here as the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance, or by somebody else.

For the whole thing the Cabinet is responsible. I will say that neither the Cabinet nor the Minister in charge is competent to have this budget done, which is done in such a colossal suicidal way. There is a suicidal budget. I would say, Why are we trying to kill the goose that lays the golden egg? The people who have formulated the budget have depended on the officers or they are misled by a phantom of fallacy. Why? Because by raising funds by coercion, duress, undue levels of harassment and taxation we can have more money. The money that is raised by such methods is not worth that. But what is the value of money? The value of money depends upon the purchasing power; it has not only in the local market but in the international market as well. Nowadays it is not a narrow socialism or a narrow social level in which we are now living. We are living in an era of international communication, international socialism, and not narrow political socialism.

Mr Deputy Chairman, of course one thing is when the budget was being presented, Mr Chavan was able to pilot the budget through his speech in a very dextrous manner no doubt about that. I think I remember to have told that Mr Chavan is a very very successful Home Minister. I am not the only man who has said that (*Interruption*). Now I come to the question. It is *suppressio veri suggestio falsi*. In Tamil there is a proverb.

GFTTIKARAN PULUKU FTIU NAIL THERIYUM

When translated it means a liar or a man who bombastically boasts will come out in his true colour within eight days, within eight days a man can be known in his true colour. How can we go on trumpeting false things? *Suppressio veri suggestio falsi*. Simply because we are able to pilot anything in a dextrous manner it may be able to please some people who are currying the favour of the Hon. Minister or the Prime Minister. But how is it going to help the common man? In your socialism you want to tax even the broad the maida the petrol the coarse cloth which only the common people in the jhuggis and slums wear. Do you wear any coarse cloth? You want all 100 counts or 120 counts or even imported cloth or nylon and things like that and you begin to speak about socialism.

Mr Deputy Chairman, I have been also telling that Members of Parliament are politicians. We do not want politicians. I do not like politicians. I want every politician

to become a statesman. You can ask whether I am a statesman. All right, I am neither a politician nor a statesman. Statesmen should develop from politics. But 'politics' is a degrading term. 'Statesman' is a higher, respectable term. That is what I honestly feel. I do not know how far I am correct. Whatever it is, let us all try to be statesmen or at least honest politicians. Let us not try to increase our salaries. Everybody speaks about economy and efficiency. Where is economy or efficiency? Mr Deputy Chairman, any amount of crores is being spent just on this Hindi fanaticism. Mr Deputy Chairman, I have got so much paper all printed or typed in Hindi. Of what avail all these? If I could get this much, how much would all these eight hundred Members be getting? Could you not save on this? It is penny wise pound foolish. In this way many drops make a mighty ocean.

4 PM

Every pin is wasted in an unfrugal manner. Every paper is wasted. We speak so much about paper scarcity, about financial scarcity. What an amount of paper is being wasted.

SHRI A P CHAITRJEI To propagate Hindi.

SHRI G A APPAN I have no aversion to Hindi. The only thing is that I am against its imposition. Why should undue, favourable treatment should be given to it? If the amount of money that has been spent on Hindi for these twenty years in India could have been spent otherwise, our country could have flourished. We would be lending to other countries. We will be setting a lesson to other countries. Now we are a debtor country. Are you not ashamed still to say that we are a debtor country? How much is it? As my friend, Mr Chatterjee put it, it is a heavy financial commitment of debt. We all know it. Even a pie of debt should make it a shame. But how many crores are being spent? Do you mean to say that people do not have money in this country? But people are not prepared to give that money to the country of their own choice. You see the cleverness of the Japanese and the Germans. Within a short space of time they have come forward; they have developed; they are leading the other countries by dint of their sacrifice by dint of hard work. But Mr Deputy Chairman, please do not mistake me. Some time back I was speaking to a very learned friend of mine an M.A., B.L. and an M.P. I said, "You are in two States, in West Bengal and in Kerala. You say that communism is good. But why not you teach all the other States that the communist way is the best way by producing more and telling others that you are capable of delivering the goods, of teaching a lesson to the Congress

[Shri G. A. Appan]

people?" My friend for whom I have very great respect said, "No. We want to shatter everything." What a great, deplorable negative approach? My friend, Mr. Chatterjee, also. . . I felt very sorry that if such a thing could . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Was it Mr. Chatterjee?

SHRI G. A. APPAN: No, no. He is another friend. But this morning I was really shocked to hear Mr. Chatterjee speaking that Mrs. Indira Gandhi says, produce more. Is it wrong or a sin that she should ask us to produce more? Is it for her own house? That is what we have been saying. Who is a good labour leader? A good labour leader is one who cares more for the labourers' interests and who does not misguide them, who does not live at their cost or at their pleasure but who places himself in their position.

AN HON. MEMBER: Is Mr. Babubhai Chinai your leader?

SHRI G. A. APPAN: If I am a Scheduled Caste, I should live with them. Even today—you will be really surprised—I have no house of my own. Even in the house I live, I have no electricity. I am ashamed to say that I have no bathroom. What to do? The country is like that. . . (Interruptions). I am not, able to build a house, I am not able to get a house. There are other people who are trying to prevent even me at this stage. No electricity no drinking water, no house, not even latrine. I entreat everyone. . .

AN HON. MEMBER: What is the Tamil Nadu Government doing?

SHRI G. A. APPAN: My friend has just reminded me. The late revered Anna was very small, came from an ordinary family. When the Government of India was in peril on account of the Pakistani aggression and also on account of the Chinese aggression, our Anna who was at the helm spoke to us, "Support the Congress." People thought, "Even the DMK is trying to support the Congress." That is the right spirit. People are astonished at the D.M.K. trying to support the Congress. That is the right spirit. We consider the whole country as our own country, one country.

Further, Mr. Deputy Chairman, the people thought that if the D.M.K. came to power they would suppress khadi and all these things. But you will be astonished to know that the production after the D.M.K. came to power has gone up by 3-4 times. Our present Chief Minister comes from a very, very ordinary family. He started the slum development scheme. He started a Beggars' Rehabilitation Fund,

a rare scheme in the country. May I know if any other State has done that? We are working only for the commonest man, the small man. We have to develop the man in the lower rank and bring the man in the highest level a little lower where they can meet at a particular mean. Presently the common man is being exploited by the caste-ridden society.

I then come to tax on petrol. You have taxed petrol. Petrol is the switch to all economic activities. Even the commonest man cannot do without travelling in a bus.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Bus fares are not enhanced.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: People have raised the bus charges. Do you mean to say that in order to save time we have to go in a taxi? The taxi fares are also being raised. Therefore, I say this Budget is suicidal to the common man. Petrol is being used for aviation. It will hit your Airlines Corporation. Therefore, this Budget is a suicidal Budget.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, they say the revised Budget will earn more foreign exchange. How? When there is so much imposition and suppression, will it not hit international travel? Balance of payments is being matched by imports and exports. Imports pay for exports and *vice-versa*. Supposing we are a little more rigorous, do you mean to say others will try to extend their arms to us? Unless you are generous, unless you are fair in your dealings, how can you expect fairness from others? Unless you love others how can you expect love from others?

Mr. Deputy Chairman, in Tamil Nadu the Government there have set up a system where officers have to go to every place to know the grievances of the people and remedy them then and there, wherever possible. Not only that, the great Mckawale has stipulated the duties of a Minister. He says that a Minister should be an all-rounder, not only clever in shaking hands, currying favours and taking salaams from everybody.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have been telling this Govt. ever since I came here in 1968: please do not treat the Scheduled Caste people as people who are not clever. I challenged even on the floor of the House if there is anybody cleverer. I hold 14 degrees and diplomas in 14 faculties. Some time ago, our revered Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was hunting for some clever people to fill up certain posts. And she got some defeated fellows. Why should defeated people be encouraged? Let them go to dogs. Teach them a lesson. If anybody is very clever and honest, do you mean to say that the common man will defeat him and put him to shame

and disgrace? Let it be taken for granted that no defeated man should be taken or given any job in any sector. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, how many corporations, banks and other institutions are there? And how many Scheduled Caste people are there? How many Governors are there? Are you not ashamed to call this a socialist Budget and this country, a socialist country? Sir, there is only one person in the Government—Mr. Jagjivan Ram. He is so selfish. He is sticking on like a leech there. Why should he not resign, because he is the only man in the Cabinet? Naturally, according to the population, there should be four persons in the Cabinet rank and four persons in the rank of Minister of State. Why should he go on continuing there? Is he the only man who is capable? Are there not younger people? Should he not give room for younger people? Should he not do it on principle in the interest of justice? That is what Dr. Ambedkar did. I am really sorry that we do not have an Ambedkar amongst us now to unite us, to fight for us. If that be the case, how can we come up in life? All this talk of socialism and welfare of Scheduled Castes is a false cry, it is lip-service; it is crocodile tears. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Whoever is in charge should go and tell Mrs. Indira Gandhi that unless she appoints three more Scheduled Caste persons in the Cabinet rank and four more in the rank of Minister of State, I will have to undertake a fast unto death before her very house and also take this to the notice of the United Nations. Do you mean to say that we are dumb driven cattle? How long do these people want to deceive us by their lip-service? Even in the category of Lower Division Clerks, we have not got our share; we have not got it even in peons. For three years I have been crying. Still I do not think there is any department in which our quota of 14 per cent is complete. Are you not ashamed to say that you care for the Scheduled Castes? If the Government really means what it says, then let it institute . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have to conclude now. I am going to call the next speaker, Mr. R. T. Parthasarathy.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: Sir, he is yet to speak on the Budget.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Appan, you have already spoken for about 25 minutes.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Anyhow, I have not touched my State yet. I have spoken so far in the interest of the nation. I have not touched my State yet. It is my duty to say something about my own State. Don't you think so, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can do it on some other occasion.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: He has to say something about the Budget also.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Yes, Mr. Deputy Chairman, about the Budget, the levy on petrol, coarse cloth . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already mentioned these things.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: All these levies should be wiped out.

Regarding Budget I should have to say that there has not been any mention about my area. We have submitted two or three river schemes. Mr. A. P. Jain, our revered Member here, visited our place some time ago. The rivers in the western ghats in Kerala are going waste. Anybody who is frugal enough should see that all our resources, not only material resources but even mineral resources and water resources are usefully canalised and capitalised. That is what Mr. Jain also was saying . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is enough, Mr. Appan. Please sit down. Now Mr. Parthasarathy.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: All right, let me not disobey the Chair.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I rise to support the Budget. It is painful to have to speak immediately after the hon. Member from the DMK as it is equally painful for me to speak after the political harangue of Mr. Rajnarain. I am very sorry that an honourable Member of the stature of Mr. Rajnarain should have, on the floor of the House, indulged in such baseless and mean attack on the Prime Minister. I would only express my indignation and say that the speech of the honourable Member, Mr. Rajnarain, and the references that he made to the Prime Minister are nothing but dishonourable.

I would like to commence my speech by saying that I commend the Budget for the acceptance of this House because it is a pointer to and a promoter of the early establishment of a socialistic order of society. It is not so much an idealistic Budget nor is it a theory-bound Budget. But I may say that it is practical in approach and content, very-much Chavan-like in character. The Finance Minister towards the concluding portion of his speech has said that it was a difficult Budget to frame. I agree with him. It is difficult to frame a harsh Budget and it is more difficult to frame a hard-hitting one too. By his multiple and intensive taxation proposals Mr. Chavan has proved himself to be the 'fastest bowler' among all the Finance Ministers since independence. A word

[Shri R. T. Parthasarathy]

or two on certain taxation proposals I will have to say on the floor of the House. I wish to commend to the House a proposal to raise the income-tax limit from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 6,000. It will give a salutary relief to the ever suffering middle class and salaried class for which we have been, on the floor of the House, demanding since 1967 following the recommendations of the Bhoothalingam Committee. I would add one thing to it. Why should not the Finance Minister consider raising the limit to Rs. 7,500 in view of the high cost of living that mounted during the last four years and also with a view to economising the cost of the working of the administrative machinery? I would like to illustrate one point for the consideration of the Finance Minister, namely, for the slab Rs. 4,000—7,500 the cost of collection, that is, the administrative cost, comes to Rs. 21 crores; on the other hand, the yield from this slab Rs. 4,000—7,500 comes to the tune of Rs. 22.5 crores. After all, for the sake of Rs. 1½ crores are we going to waste so much of administrative machinery? And if this relief is given, it will not only enliven the income-tax officers to plug the loopholes by showing more efficiency in the other sectors but it will give adequate relief, the much needed relief, to the ever suffering middle class and the salaried class. I would like the honourable Finance Minister to make a realistic approach in this direction.

For the first time, as we have noted in the taxation proposals, the entire gamut of indirect taxation has been widely spread over the richer class, the middle rich, the middle class and the lower middle class . . .

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: . and the poor.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY: May I call it a Budget of pilgrimage of the Finance Minister, as if he is visiting all the shrines one after another, he is visiting with his tax pistol the holy commodities of the common man one by one?

It is really hard to bear the burden and there can be no two opinions about it because the taxation is manifold, many-sided and even full-blooded. But I would like to place one suggestion before this House. In the larger context of our country, the new development that has taken place, the promises that have been given to the people at the time of election by the various political parties, particularly those representing the common interests, and the promise of a socialistic order of society, the country demands sacrifices not only from one section of the people, but all sections of people including the lower category, if not the impoverished millions. They have got to make some sacrifice and that sacrifice is demanded by the Finance Minister even from the common man.

his own share and his own contribution, to the welfare State and to the common good of all. If that sacrifice is demanded by the budget, I would respectfully submit that we have got to accept this proposal. That sacrifice from the common man for the whole country is certainly a sacrifice worth calling for.

Sir, I am a teetotalter and hence I welcome the raised excise levy on cigarettes. It yields Rs. 31.2 crores of rupees although the Finance Minister would divert Rs. 16.4 crores to the States. But Shri Chavan . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: You are a non-smoker, not a teetotalter.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY: Whatever it is.

Shri Chavan has put a very heavy premium upon himself by this excise levy on cigarettes, being himself a heavy smoker. Would he hereafter smoke less or pay more? On behalf of smokers it is for the Finance Minister to answer.

A lot of criticism has been levelled by both the sections of the House on the new duty that has been proposed on foreign travel. A 20 per cent *ad valorem* duty is levied on tickets purchased in Indian rupees. The Finance Minister has shown some concession to students and scientists. I would echo the opinion expressed by Prof. Nurul Hasan that in the application of exemption to scientists the Finance Minister will have to observe a broad-based term as to who scientists are and not to be too rigid about it. I would appeal to the Finance Minister to consider the inclusion of "the spouse" who lives abroad, in the context of concession to students as well as scientists so that he would enable the husband or wife, as the case may be, who wishes to go and join his or her partner in life. May I appeal to the Finance Minister to extend humane consideration to the husband or wife, as the case may be, and see that they are united and not separated.

There is one more important point that I want to mention. I am a sportsman and I have all my life, for the last 32 years, dedicated myself to play the games as well as to serve in the various sports organisations. Therefore, I feel I have a right to express an opinion on the floor of the House on this subject. The absence of adequate provision for sports and games in the budget is an unpardonable act of omission on the part of the Finance Minister. I know that the government believes that sports should be promoted by various organisations and the government can give only here and there some aid. But, may I ask the hon. Finance Minister and the Government of India to take a leaf from the Soviet Union as to how well they develop sports in their country?

They do it better than in any other country in the world. If only the Finance Minister would agree with me, I would demand that a statutory fund for the development of sports should be set up in the annual budget on the same model as the fund we set up for Defence. Such a statutory fund should be set apart for the development of sports and games in this country. May I say in this regard that nations are built more on the sports fields rather than on battle fields.

Many hon. Members have voiced their opinions on the wealth tax rate. I agree that it is stiff. But it is understandable as the State policy is to reduce disparity in income as well as in wealth in the long run. The removal of exemption for the first one lakh appears to compute the wealth tax.

Yesterday, Mr. Anandan made a forceful plea to the Finance Minister to consider the levelling down of the rate between one and two lakhs, that is, from 10% he should reduce it to 5% and I think that the suggestion is worth considering in the interest not only of savings, but also of investment.

Sir, I will now come to another important point about which I do not think so far any Member has spoken. It is about agricultural wealth that has to be harnessed in this country. Rs. 2,000 crores of additional agricultural income is earned by the agriculturists throughout the length and breadth of the country and what is happening to this Rs. 2,000 crores?

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Parthasarathy, I want to ask you one question. If you are an agriculturist, if you know anything about the agricultural income, can you say how much a farmer gets as income from an acre? Can you calculate and tell me? You have given the big figure of Rs. 200 crores.

AN HON. MEMBER: No, it is 2,000 crores.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No interruptions, please.

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH: Sir, whether it is a big farmer or a small farmer, I want to know from Shri Parthasarathy how much a farmer is getting on an average from an acre? Let him explain.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY: Sir, my time is wasted. The hon. Member, Shri Punnaiah, is pertinent enough in asking the question. But I said that the agricultural income is about Rs. 2,000 crores and correspondingly we should calculate what the tenor of the agricultural wealth is, that is, in the whole country. I do not say that the small farmer should be taxed. All that I say is that the agricultural wealth as it is in the hands of the country should be taken into account

and for levying wealth tax upon the agricultural wealth, a constitutional amendment will have to be brought before the two Houses of Parliament. Why should one sector go scot-free and another sector alone be taxed? That is my logic, Sir.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA (Mysore): Sir, it is a matter for the Supreme Court to decide. . . . (Interruptions) . . . The legislation is already there.

SHRI R. I. PARTHASARATHY: I know, Mr. Gowda, what you will speak. I said, a constitutional amendment is necessary. Myself being a lawyer, I know we cannot do it today and we have got to get a clearance from the Parliament. Otherwise the Supreme Court will strike it down. That is why I said that the Government will have to bring in a constitutional amendment.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, unless we tax the rural rich farmers, unless we mobilise this way, it is impossible to settle the problem of resources. Therefore, Sir, it is a serious matter which must be done at the national level and if necessary, amendments of the Constitution should also be gone through. The suggestion that he has made is a very, very important one.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. No interruptions, please.

SHRI R. I. PARTHASARATHY: Sir the budget has provided for a production-oriented economy. The corporate sector has not received a further heavier dose of taxation. Let us not forget that the due need of the country today is increased production and export promotion. The Fourth Plan, Sir, has envisaged an outlay of Rs. 8,871 crores for the period 1969-1974 for the Central and the Centre sponsored schemes and not even Rs. 1,000 crores has been spent in the first two years. Our growth rate is about 5% or a little more than that. But, if we are to progress during the next three years and if we are to achieve our target of Rs. 8,871 crores by 1974, we have got to enhance and improve our growth rate to at least 8 or 9 or 10 percent. And, Sir, this has been done by countries like Japan, by countries like West Germany, and I feel that our Government will have to take a lesson from these countries and see how industrial and agricultural development has taken place there so that the growth rate can be accelerated to 8 or 9 or 10 per cent.

Sir, a word about deficit financing which cannot escape my notice. The budget has shown a deficit of Rs. 220 crores. That is all the gap that they have worked out. Sir, I congratulate the Finance Ministry officials for camouflaging the real figure. They have given only Rs. 220 crores. But, as an economist, I can very well see that it is to the

[SHRI R. T. Parthasarathy]

tune of Rs 500 to Rs 600 crores. The other day, the former Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, said that it would come to about Rs 1,200 crores.

While I cannot subscribe to that view, with the overdrafts that the Government of India will have to give to the various States, it will certainly touch the figure of Rs 600 crores. And if the gap is going to be Rs 600 crores, the Reserve Bank will have to issue notes to cover the gap. And the result will be inflation. How is the Government going to check inflation? It cannot, except through stringent measures, price control or regulating the price level. If they fail to do that, our general economy will certainly fall flat, on the ground.

The last point that I would like to emphasise on this occasion is the necessity for our country to have a strong Central Government. That is the need of the hour. The budget denotes and asserts the supremacy of the Centre, which alone can ensure a fair deal to the various States. A weak Centre will wreck the national fabric, will wreck the national economy.

The Constitution has ample and adequate provisions for safeguarding the financial interests of the States. May I ask you, Sir, and the Government to give me a few instances during the last four years when almost all the States have exhausted their financial resources covered under the Constitution? None of the State Governments—what ever may be the party affiliations—is willing to levy taxes. Even though they can do it, they are all the time coming with a begging bowl to the Centre, and are complaining that they are not getting the required money from the Centre for the development of their States. They should first exhaust all the avenues under the Constitution. There is no need according to me, for a review or revision of the Constitution on this score. What is needed is a balanced approach to augment a balanced economy, a balanced national economy. That is the need of the hour. Only a strong Central Government can deliver the goods. And I am happy to state that it is a happy augury that the Central Government under the Prime Minister has begun to assert itself, which is a very healthy sign for our national growth. It is up to us, Members of this House as well as others to .

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Please conclude.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY
to protect the exalted and supreme authority of the Central Government so that our national unity and national economy can be promoted and preserved by revitalizing it towards which this budget has made its significant contribution.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA It is a very partisan approach to say 'To preserve the supreme authority of the Central Government for national unity'.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY You Bengali people and we from Madras are subordinate to the Central Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA I do not agree. It is a very partisan, sectarian way of putting it.

(Interruptions)

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY Sir before I conclude, I would like to express my general support to the budget because it is a great and courageous effort to promote a socialist economy through a persistent and consistent way of simplification and rationalisation. To say that it is a rich man's budget is a politically motivated statement. The Government gets a lion's share from the rich. It gets a good share from the middle class as well as other classes. All that I can say today is that it is an equitable budget.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Please conclude now.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY Let us prepare the ground for a socialist society and we should not hesitate to work it out.

Thank you.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Mr Chelgalvaroyan.

SHRI T. CHENGAIVAROYAN (Tamil Nadu) Mr Deputy Chairman Sir, I am greatly beholden to my leader and to you, Sir, for this opportunity to participate in the general discussion on the Budget.

I must say Sir at the outset that the hon. Finance Minister has made a very gallant attempt at budgetary harmony, reconciling conflicting ideas and contradictory positions. I realise Sir that this budget does not have the fastidiousness of economic realism. And I am surprised and disappointed that even there are no traces of economic radicalism. Sir this budget is not a bombastic balloon nor is it a constipated cockroach. I realise Sir that this Budget.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA This is a diarrhoea of indirect taxes.

SHRI T. CHENGAIVAROYAN I realise Sir that this Budget comes on a tidal wave of the mandate of our great people swelling in faith and surging with hope for a new dispensation.

The hon. Finance Minister has himself candidly confessed at the end of his Budget speech that this has been a difficult Budget.

Sir, it is so and rendered all the more difficult by the pompous promises so easily made and the profuse pledges so readily given, and in spite of all this I am sure that the hon Finance Minister has brought to bear upon his tortuous task elevated memorials and sanctified associations of the very many high offices which he has held in his long eventful public life. As Defence Minister he was defensive. As Home Minister he was homely. As Finance Minister he is financial.

Sir, I want to approach this Budget and analyse and assess it not in the spirit of a petty fogging party politician but as a humble student of public finance, as one who has understood the pangs and poignancy of our poor people, as one who is dedicated to socialist advance, as one who is having the same hunger and thirst for the eradication of the poverty of the people. Sir, I will have your pardon, and I am sure the hon Finance Minister will forgive me, if I am not wholly complimentary or totally condemnatory.

Sir, I notice that there are certain headlines in this Budget. The hon Finance Minister has set before himself and the nation broad and basic objectives. It is inspiring in their content and fairly convincing in its faith. But may I point out that at the end of his Budget the hon Finance Minister has let us all down and the nation too? The first principle that has struck me very much, Sir, is that the Finance Minister has declared that there must be a faster economic growth and a greater distribution of social justice. I am satisfied, Sir, that with the present high level of agricultural production and the tempo of Plan effort we may have growth. But the problem is not merely to have growth but to have a rate of growth. There, if we have the example of other developing countries, I think some of them have adopted the technique of a faster economic growth, and some have pursued the philosophy of social justice. But Sir, in our country, for a long time we have accepted the method of parallelism between faster economic growth and greater social justice.

Now if we examine the provisions of this Budget I am sorry to say that we may not have either the faster rate of economic growth or even the greater distribution of social justice. The second principle that has been laid down is that these two objectives have to be achieved and realised in an environment of price stability. I realise, Mr Deputy Chairman, that stability does not mean a stationary level but at the same time the price level should be very stable, only gently rising in some selected areas in order to divert resources and stimulate growth. But when we examine the provisions of this Budget particularly in regard to the very heavy dose of taxation I am sorry Sir that all the fond hope and eager desire for achieving these grand twin objectives become

completely evaporated. The third principle, Sir, that the Budget enunciates is that with regard to the appraisal of the Fourth Plan three main objectives have to be followed. Firstly, there must be, what the Finance Minister calls, as the main question that expenditure under the Plan is maintained on project levels and the determination to avoid shortfalls in that expenditure; secondly, to have wider opportunities for employment and, thirdly, to distribute greater social justice. I respectfully say that these objectives are very grand and very satisfactory but my difficulty is that the present deity at the Planning Commission may not fall in line with all the hopes and trust which the Finance Minister and the nation can ever entertain in regard to the future shape of things of the Plan.

There is the third point to which the Budget makes a very handsome reference and that is with reference to the programme for removal of unemployment in our country, but I must tell you that this is a pie in the sky and we have to go in a massive way for the purpose of eradicating the very menacing magnitude of unemployment in our country.

Then there is the other question which the Finance Minister has thought fit to make as a headline in his Budget, viz the question of the backwardness of certain parts of our country with regard to the planned development must be very quickly taken up. I only appeal to the Finance Minister that in regard to such selection of backward areas he will not be guided either by party or other consideration.

Then, Sir, we have the other important headline of the Budget and the Finance Minister has rightly given his genuine grief and very sore disappointment at the pitiable performance of the public undertakings. Sir, as a life long prisoner of the concept of public undertaking I share the grief, I share the agony of the Finance Minister—and I am sure of the entire House—when we find that the public undertakings have become mostly monumental instead of being instrumental in the economic advance of our country. Sir, I warn if I may that the public undertakings must try to give apart from the budgetary requirements, a redoubtable performance so that the concept of public undertaking will be wider and wider and reach the entire fringe of our economy. If they do not Mr Deputy Chairman, if these public undertakings do not recover, do not come to their own dimension I am sorry Sir that these public undertakings will soon become our public undertakers.

Sir, one other point is with reference to the question of how the Budget has given a handsome provision for one of the worst

[Shri T. Chengalvaroyan]

human tragedies that is enacted. The contribution to the Bangla Desh refugees is something that nearly makes our people feel so sore. We should have, with the best will in our mind, given much more but considering the encircling gloom and difficulty of our nation this is the highest that we can go. But may I take this opportunity, Mr. Deputy Chairman, to appeal to the whispering galleries of the world. If they have tears, let them shed now. And if they do not come to the support of the Government of India in this glorious and very great and difficult mission of trying to go to the succour at this perilous hour of the people of Bangla Desh, we will know who are our friends, we will know where they are.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am equally impressed with the Budget about certain guidelines I have told you, Sir, about the headlines of this Budget. If you examine the guidelines, the first point which the Finance Minister—rightly, in my submission—has considered is that he has to create an environment of price stability. May I, in all respect and humility, point out to him that whatever may be his desire, his direction will not give consummation to his desire? His 'heavy dose of taxation' will completely upset all calculations of making the prices stable. Sir, what for is taxation introduced? We know, Sir, as students of public finance, that taxation is a very delicate instrument, a powerful instrument. It is an instrument for the purpose of stimulating growth, it is an instrument for stabilising prices, it is an instrument to remove the disparity in economic life. But, Sir, I may point out to the hon. Finance Minister, with all respect, that taxation is like a surgeon's knife. It has to go to a certain depth and it has to go to a certain width and if it goes beyond that the operation may be successful but the patient will collapse.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA Taxation in this Budget has become a butcher's knife, you should say that.

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN The words which my friend has used may not be very suitable to me because even a 'knife' I am afraid much more so a butcher's knife and much more so from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

Now Sir, I was saying that this question of creating an environment of price stability will become completely impossible in the context of this heavy taxation. There is the second guideline which the Finance Minister has thought fit and I respectfully agree it is a good guideline, namely, he wants to stimulate and enhance the growth of commercial crops and it has been found necessary that if there has been any lagging behind of our industrial output it is because of the

increasing scarcity of the commercial crop, and I would very respectfully offer my very grateful thanks for this kind reference to the enhancement of the growth of commercial crops in order to give a comfortable cushion for our industry output. There is the next guideline that I see in this Budget and that, with reference to what the Finance Minister calls, pruning the plan expenditure. He wants that the plan expenditure must be controlled even at the project level to avoid shortfall. Here again I am sorry to state that the direction that the Finance Minister has given in his Budget would not be so conducive to realise this very generous objective. For one thing, we have not yet known what is going to be the colour, the character, the context, the content and the compass of the Fourth Plan but assuming that there is going to be something of our desire, of our direction and of our destiny, I am afraid that this guideline may not work very much. Then we have the guideline in this Budget which the Finance Minister has thought fit to see and that is with reference to fix certain developments in backward areas even at the formulation state of the Plan itself. I have gratefully acknowledged the handsome consideration with reference to backward areas but here again I want to warn, if I may, the Finance Minister about the new deity that is now going to preside over the Planning Commission and I only pray God that they can go on together.

The next thing I wish to refer is that there are certain underlines in this Budget. For example, if we see, this Budget has given a wide nylon net of taxation affecting every sector, every shade and every strata of society. I am not afraid of taxation but taxation, rather the pattern of it or the level of it or the dose of it must always be growth oriented but not by considerations of revenue fertility. I am afraid that the taxes that have been designed in this Budget are more for revenue fertility but not for growth or economic advance but nevertheless, may I point out that this question of taxation particularly with regard to certain articles has become very very pressing and I do not know what is in the mind of the Finance Minister to show some concession. I am rather surprised at the Finance Minister's fancy for a levy of duty on soap and oil. I am reminded of a very funny incident that happened in the House of Commons. When the Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer at that time announced a session on excess water consumption for domestic purposes in a spirit of self-abnegation the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House of Commons 'Look at me. I have not taken bath for ten days.' Mr. Churchill rose up and said 'Sir that is why your Government is dirty, sticky and of bad odour.' I hope that this may not be said of this Government but I am sure

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That Labour Leader should have said: 'Mr. Churchill, having taken so much of bath, you have not washed off your sins.'

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN: I was only referring to odour but not to sins. I only plead with the Finance Minister that the only thing the poor people require is some civilised life and soap and oil may not be included in his levy and even now, if he considers the fertility of the Budget, if he considers the buoyancy of the previous revenue receipts, I have no doubt, the Finance Minister could take courage in his hands and say that the levy on these articles and maida would certainly be removed.

Sir, I would only say one thing with reference to the underlines of this Budget, namely, that the Finance Minister has been very clever indeed on this question of taxation. If we examine the direction and the dose of taxation it has been almost a telescoping of three years' tax effort. Now it is very clever on the part of the Finance Minister who is proverbially clever in all these matters. This telescoping of three years' tax efforts is something very unusual in a Budget, a very peculiar type. I am particularly pleased with the severe onslaughts on Wealth Tax in this Budget but to the extent to which it has gone I am sure you all would feel that there should be some refinement in the rigour that has been imposed particularly with regard to the change of value and certain exemptions with regard to that.

A word with reference to the corporate structure in the taxation. There has been some criticism that the corporate sector has not been properly dealt with. I realise that they should have been dealt with but if I examine the fundamental objective of the Government of India and also of our nation and all political parties, we are obsessed with the very important question of solving the problem of unemployment. In this delicate task and in this mammoth work if we can get some assistance, some kind of co-operation, from the corporate sector in regard to increasing the employment potential I think the concession or the forgetfulness of the Finance Minister in regard to taxing them will pay suitable dividends to us.

Another point with regard to the underlines of this Budget is that there has been some levy on the import of machinery with the hope that the indigenous content would be resorted to but I am afraid it will defeat its purpose because no industrial venture will like to go in for this indigenous content if it is to keep pace with the rapid technological advance in different fields from different countries. It will be self-defeating in its own purpose. Therefore Mr. Deputy Chairman, I feel this Budget on the whole has certainly

given us a different outlook and a different direction but if we examine the whole position of this Budget from any point of view I must say, Sir, that it starts well, it runs slow and it stops in the middle. That is unfortunately the dynamics of this Budget but I must certainly say that if we examine the Budget in the whole context one thing is clear that it only gives us a very gloomy picture of our country. Our earnings are dismal and meagre, our savings are full, our investments are poor, our taxation is meaningless, our levy is mischievous, employment is distant and progress is lethargic. And what is there for the glorification of the Budget except the Hon. Finance Minister who must be glorified?

Sir, one word more and I have done.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: And you should have said, our speech is a cry in the wilderness.

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN: Sir, our people are great people. Year after year, Finance Minister after Finance Minister has been imposing burden after burden. Sometimes the Budget is a burden and sometimes it becomes a load. In this case it has become a load. Now I am sure, knowing the stoic endurance of our great people, the people for whom sacrifice has been the banner, for whom suffering has been the badge, for whom endurance has been the tradition, will bear this Budget as well but they will only bear it with the consolation and the faith of the great poet who said:

Though the mills of God grind slowly,
yet they grind exceedingly small

Though with patience we be waiting
yet with exactness grindeth us all.

श्री पंदरीनाथ सीतारामजी पाटील
(महाराष्ट्र) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, 1971-72 का जो बजट संसद् के सामने है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am glad to find an admiring lady in this House.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): That only shows that I am more honest than he is. He has not the courage to congratulate him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I thought that it would be better if the lady admired him before I admired him.

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

श्री पंदरीनाथ सीतारामजी पाटील उपमें
397 करोड़ रुपया का घाटा बताया गया है और
उसकी पूर्ति के लिए 177 करोड़ रुपये के नए कर

(श्री पंडरी ताय सीत रामजी पाटील)

लगाए गए हैं। इस बजट पर मैं अपने कुछ विचार आपके द्वारा सरकार के तय मदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

महोदय, नियोजित, अर्थव्यवस्था में ऐसे वार्षिक बजटों का विशेष महत्व रहना स्वाभाविक है क्योंकि ऐसे बजट में हमेशा का आय-व्यय छोड़कर लम्बी मुदत तक के स्थायी आमदनी और खर्च की व्यवस्था की हुई रहती है। पिछले पांच वर्षों की अपेक्षा इस का बजट अधिक महत्व रखता है। इस बजट में राष्ट्रीय उद्योगों को खड़ा करने के हेतु पूँजी लगाने की गति बढ़ाने का भरसक प्रयत्न किया गया है। देश का आर्थिक विकास तेजी से हो, यह अपने सामने सबसे ज्यादा महत्व का प्रश्न है। इस प्रश्न को हल करने के लिए विशेष प्रयत्न करने का निश्चय इस सरकार ने किया है। इसकी पूर्ति के लिए इस बजट में पिछले वर्ष की अपेक्षा 300 करोड़ रुपया ज्यादा खर्च होने वाला है। इसी हेतु सरकार ने इस वर्ष 177 करोड़ रुपए के नए कर लगाए हैं। यह भन्नाचित पूँजी स्थायी रूप में खेती, बन्दरगाहों, खानों, परिवार-नियोजन और शिक्षा इत्यादि महत्वपूर्ण क्षेत्रों में खर्च होने वाले हैं जिससे देश का उत्पादन बढ़ेगा, आर्थिक विकास सही होगा और गरीबी मिटाने के लिए रास्ता साफ होगा। इन कारणों से इस बजट का सराहना करना अपने सभी सम्माननीय सदस्यों का कर्तव्य है।

हमको समाजवाद की दिशा में अग्रसर होना है और देश की आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक विषमता हटानी है। इस दृष्टि से इस बजट में बड़े ही महत्व के कदम उठाए गए हैं। वार्षिक दो लाख रुपए से ऊपर आमदनी चले जाने के बाद तीसरे लाख में 97,500 रुपया प्रत्यक्ष कर अथवा इनकमटैक्स के द्वारा सरकार को देना पड़ेगा। अतएव 15 लाख से ज्यादा स्थायी आमदनी वालों को प्रतिशत 8 रुपए वार्षिक सम्पत्ति कर देना पड़ेगा। इसका अर्थ यह है कि इस बजट में व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति और उसकी कमाई पर सीलिंग लगाई गई है। इस दृष्टि से यह बजट क्रान्तिकारी स्वरूप का है। इससे समाज के भयंकर विषमता के ढाँचे पर अघात

होगा, आज का उसका विकृत रूप नष्ट होगा। आज करोड़ोपति एक तरफ और करोड़ो शोषित जन-समुदाय दूसरी तरफ, ऐसा भौषण दृश्य भविष्य में नहीं दिखेगा। ऐसा जबर्दस्त धक्का विषमता को अभी तक कोई दूसरा अर्थ मन्त्री नहीं दे सका।

5 P. M

इस प्रस्तुत बजट में बेरोजगारी को एक बहुत बड़े हद तक दूर करने का प्रयास किया गया है। इसमें शक नहीं कि गत तीन पञ्चवर्षीय योजनाओं में इस बेरोजगारी की समस्या का समावेश नहीं था, परन्तु अभी तक के अनुभव के आकड़े हमें यह बतलाते हैं कि कुछ हद तक हमें इस क्षेत्र में सफलता हुई है जो कि सन्तोषजनक नहीं रही। अब ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में रोजगारी बढ़ाने के हेतु 50 करोड़ रुपये का लक्ष्य इस बजट में रखा गया है। उसके साथ साथ शिक्षित बेकारों को नये उद्योग देने के लिए 26 करोड़ रुपये की राशि निहित की गई है ?

कुछ बड़े बड़े कारखाने हमारे देश में हो गए हैं, हो रहे हैं और भविष्य में भी होते रहेंगे। इसमें प्रबल ज्यादा राष्ट्रीयकरण की दृष्टि सरकार ने अपनायी है। यह सन्तोष की बात है।

मैं एक देहाती के नाते कहता हूँ कि हमारे देश की 70 प्रतिशत जनता गांव में रहती है, उनका व्यवसाय खेती का है, उसमें अधिक संख्या छोटे किसानों तथा मजदूरों की है और उन्हें अपने उद्योगों में सहायता देने की दृष्टि में कुछ कदम उठाये गये हैं। वे प्रयत्न पर्याप्त नहीं हैं बल्कि भविष्य में सरकार इस दिशा में अधिक क्रियाशील रहेगी ऐसा प्रतीत होता है। कृषि उद्योग के साथ साथ अपने गांवों में सदियों से छोटे छोटे घरेलू उद्योग चलते आ रहे हैं। उन उद्योगों का अर्थात् कारीगरों की गांव में आज बड़ी दुर्दशा है।

घरेलू उद्योगों का विजली के सहारे यांत्रिककरण होना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। तथापि कारीगरों तथा किसानों को तांत्रिक शिक्षा और आवश्यक माधनों का अभाव होने से वे गरीबी में फंसे हुए हैं। उनके छुटकारे के लिए अर्थात् गांवों का उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए पर्याप्त पूँजी सरकार को लगानी चाहिए।

भविष्य में सरकार इस ओर विशेष ध्यान देनी रहेगी ऐसी मैं आशा रखता हूँ।

अब मैं इस बजट के ऊपर कुछ सम्माननीय सदस्यों द्वारा जो टीका-टिप्पणी हुई है, उस सदर्थ में भी कुछ थोड़ा रूढ़िगा कि यह बजट उन लोगों को नापसंद हो सकता है जो आम आदमी की तुलना में विलासियों का जीवन व्यतीत करते हैं और जिन की आय अत्यंत आदमी की आय से बहुत अधिक है। किन्तु समाज के उस वर्ग द्वारा उस का स्वागत किया जा रहा है जो अब तक शोषण और सामाजिक अन्याय का शिकार रहा है। इस नये कर प्रस्तावों द्वारा इस बात की कोशिश की गयी है कि अर्थ का केन्द्रीकरण कम हो और अमीर-गरीब के बीच आय का जो भारी अंतर है वह घटे। इस बजट की प्रतिक्रिया से बाजार में जिन चीजों की खपत मुट्ठी भर धनी लोगो तथा मध्यम श्रेणी के लोगो द्वारा होती है जैसे पेट्रोल, ऊंची कोटि का कपड़ा, सिगरेट, साबुन, श्रृंगार, आदि चीजों के भाव अवश्य बढ़े हैं लेकिन, यह स्वाभाविक है। यदि हम किसी भी देश या राष्ट्र के बजट का अवलोकन करें तो साफ जाहिर होगा कि बजट की प्रतिक्रिया तो होती ही है। अगर देश का विकास करना है, योजना द्वारा उत्पादन बढ़ाना है तो उस के लिए राष्ट्र को पूजी जुटाना ही होगी और पूजी जुटाने का केवल एक माध्यम ढूँढ पाय करो द्वारा ही हो सकता है।

अतः विकास की गति को तेजी से बढ़ाने वाला विषमता एवं बेरोजगारी कम करने वाला और सामान्य आदमी की जेब को स्पर्श न करने वाला यह बजट हमारे असमान्य वित्त मंत्री ने सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत किया है, इस लिए मैं उन्हें बधाई देता हूँ तथा बजट की सराहना करते हुए अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD (Kerala) Mr Vice Chairman, Sir, let me at the outset point out that it was only three months back that this Government was given a massive support by the people of our country with the hope that the Government would be able to remove poverty from the nation, they thought

that they would be able to eradicate illiteracy and ignorance from the people, that greater social justice would be done by the Government headed by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. But the Budget presented by the Hon Shri Chavan has definitely disappointed and dejected the people of our country. Sir, the Budget gives a very rosy picture and everybody is really very sorry that such a Budget should be presented to Parliament and the nation as a whole, because this Budget would definitely affect the common man, it would affect the belly of the common man. There is no doubt about it. We find that no source of wealth has been increased, there is no provision in the Budget to increase the wealth or the income of the common man. Instead of making provisions for increasing the source of income of the common man, he has been asked to pay more as tax. No proposal is there which would result in giving the largest possible number of people gainful employment. There is no provision about income which would ensure an adequate purchasing power in order to maintain the minimum standard of living, essential article like soap, maida and ready made garments have been taxed. Soap is used by everybody. In Kerala, even the very poor people, they may not take one meal a day, but they do take one bath a day because every keralite gets up in the early morning, goes to the river side or wherever he can find a little water and takes a clean bath. So even the smallest man takes bath in our country. But soap has also been taxed. I would say cleanliness has been taxed. Cleanliness is next to godliness. There is also a tax on bread. There is an increase in petrol cost of 20 paise per litre. It will directly affect the rate of taxis and auto rickshaws, road transport would become costlier. The effect of all these taxes alongside the increase in railway freight will be an increase in the prices of almost all the commodities, and this will add to the inflationary effect of the Budget. As it is well known, revenues are spent in non productive or non developmental expenditure but not in developmental expenditure or in investment in Governmental enterprises or in industrial ventures.

Sixtyseven per cent of the total expenditure of the Government of India goes into non developmental expenditure today. The rise in non productive expenditure has been much steeper in the last decade than in the productive expenditure. It rose from Rs. 291.5 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 451.5 crores in 1960-61. The Budget figure for 1970-71 is Rs. 2,159.9 crores. This expenditure would not fetch any economic return. Many wasteful expenditures like administrative expenditures could have been curtailed but the Government do not think it fit to do so.

[Shri Hamid Ali Schamnad]

In the field of public sector our position is not very encouraging. Many of our public sector undertakings are being run on loss. In many industrial productions there is shortfall. Public sector has become a drain on our economy than for earning some profit. That is the experience today. As far as agricultural production is concerned, the Economic Review tells us that there is increase in agricultural production, but to what extent? Our rural economy is really getting ruined. Though the banks have been nationalised, credit facilities have not been extended to our farmers even today. Our farmers are living in a pitiable condition. It is well said that an Indian agriculturist is born in debt, lives in debt and dies in debt. That is the position of the poor agriculturist in India.

As you all know, agricultural population forms the backbone of the country. But what is the real picture of the agriculturist today? Land reforms have been enacted in some States. In Kerala too land reform has been enforced. Section 72 of the Land Reform Act has been brought into force. Landlordism has been abolished. I am glad to say there is no landlordism in Kerala. There is no question of the landlord going to his tenant for realising rent. The tenant there has become the owner of the land. The only go for the landlord is not to go to his tenant and ask for any rent. His only go is to go to the Land Tribunal, stand in a queue and ask for relief from them. On the other hand, the tenant has become the absolute owner of the land which he cultivates. But that alone is no solution to a deep rooted problem because production cannot be increased by the Land Reform Act alone. Many other things have to be done to increase agricultural production, to boost up agricultural production. Science and technology have to be brought to the rural areas. The farmers should be helped in it. Tenants who have become owners should be helped to use science and technology. He should be given financial aid. But that is not being extended. In the Budget we do not find any provision to help the farmer who has become landlord, the owner of the land in which he toils day and night. What is their position today? The position of the agriculturist is very bad. If he is to produce more, he should be given irrigation facilities which are definitely very bad.

As far as electricity is concerned our farmers in the villages live in darkness. They do not have irrigation facilities, they do not have electricity facilities, they do not have roads in the villages. At the same time you ask them to produce more. There should be proper planning to see how these farmers could be helped.

With regard to ceilings I should like to submit that it is not enough to have only

a maximum ceiling. Today the ceiling law is being enforced, i.e. any person can own land only to this extent—25 acres or 30 acres or whatever it is. There should be a minimum ceiling also, because there should be an economic holding for the farmer. Only if he has an economic holding, he can introduce scientific technology to produce more from his farm. What is an economic holding? It is for the exports, agriculturists and scientists, to find out what minimum holding a farmer should have so that by using modern technology he can produce the maximum possible. So, there should be a minimum ceiling and no farmer should own less than that. This is absolutely necessary to boost up agricultural production in the country. What is the fun of having scattered lands—half an acre in one village and another half an acre in another village, one mile away? It should be a compact area so that tractors could be used, new seeds could be used and mechanised farming could be done. I appeal to the Government to find out what could be an economic holding. For that there should be a national policy. Now each State has its own policy. I appeal to the Government to adopt and implement this policy in a national way.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA: It is a political ceiling. It is not based on any study.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD: Another thing that I would like to submit is with regard to wealth tax. I have nothing to say against wealth tax. Only the rich people have to pay this tax. But so far as exemption is concerned, for the first one lakh of rupees there is no tax. Wealth valuing Rs 1 lakh is exempted. But if the middle class people or marginal people have property worth even Rs 1,02,000, then they have to pay wealth tax for the entire amount of Rs 1,02,000. Is this not a hard case? I am quite sure he will be paying more wealth tax than income tax because if his income is calculated, he may have to pay Rs 500 as income tax but he will be asked to pay as wealth tax more than Rs 1,000. So, Sir, I appeal to the Finance Minister to exempt the first one lakh of rupees up to the first three lakh of rupees. Beyond that you can include this one lakh of rupees also. This is absolutely necessary in the interest of the middle class people. Otherwise, our middle class society will be wiped out.

Then, Sir, I heard many Members speaking about taxing the agriculturist. What is this, Sir? Even to-day the agriculturist is being taxed to the maximum. In Kerala, for instance, an agriculturist who has got one acre of land has to pay land revenue, has to pay plantation tax and has to pay agricultural income tax. If he has got on a agricultural income of Rs 3,600 or more

annually, he has to pay agricultural income tax. Then he has to pay plantation tax, it may be coconut, arecanut, coffee, rubber or whatever may be the plantation that he has. Plantation tax has to be paid for the plantation that he has.

Then he has to pay land revenue. Why should the Centre also step in there and squeeze them? If the Centre does it, then, I am afraid, the States also will say they also want to impose a tax on wealth. Actually in Kerala the former Finance Minister, Mr. Kunju, had an idea of bringing wealth tax. So if the Centre steps in like that, the States also will say our revenue is not enough, so we will have wealth tax. I would, therefore, appeal to the Finance Minister to reconsider some of these taxes and liberalise them.

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated). Mr. Vice Chairman, a great deal has been said about this Budget and I do not wish to cover the entire ground. My own individual feeling is that this Budget is the first step to fulfil the pledges made by the Government to the people of this country. There is no doubt about that. Then there is a stiff dose of taxation in this Budget. Thirdly, I agree that so far as this particular Budget is concerned, it has not given any shock to the economic system. I cannot say that it will make the economy buoyant or it will increase the tempo all round. But it has left the even tenor of development that was in the country as it is. In that sense it has not given any shock to the system and the people as a whole. I think, have taken it as something which is to come in the normal course of events. To me the biggest thing in the whole economic scene is the question of prices. That is the vital question which affects the entire finances of the country and which affects the common man. Now there are three methods available to the Government. One is taxation, the second is loan and the third is inflation or a more respectable term, deficit financing. So far as inflation is concerned in ancient times it was known as debasing the currency. When a Government was engaged in long wars and could not balance its budget it resorted to use its position as a monopolist because the essence of the matter is that under the law as it stands the Government is the monopolist of the legal tender and that position was abused in ancient times when Governments were short of funds. It was the great economist Keynes who, in the 20s—I happened at that time to be one of his students, gave a status to deficit financing. He gave it a name and a status. I think he was the economist who said that this can be a potent instrument for development. And his vision proved right. I do not know where the developing countries would have been today if this method had not been given a respectable place in the financial system of a country. This is a

potent weapon and it should be used because economic activity should not suffer for want of credit. That is the real basis of it. That is to say, credit should be available wherever it is required, a country's development should not suffer because sufficient funds cannot be raised by taxation or by loan. But it must be borne in mind at the same time that it is an instrument which can be abused and abused to such an extent that it can break the entire economic system. I do not say that we have reached that stage. I have in my life been in Germany twice, both after the First World War and after the Second World War and I have known what a galloping inflation can indeed be. Germany is not an underdeveloped country. It was a great country and it quickly becomes great even after economic collapses. After World War I, I took with me £60, stayed in Germany and travelled for two months and everytime I found that I had more money the next day because as each day passed the exchange fell and my currency was in Pounds and it fetched more Marks and the internal prices had not risen, quickly in early stages.

I mean other countries have seen levels of inflation which cannot be imagined in this country. As a young student, I have a vivid impression of what inflation can be. Fortunately, we have not reached that stage and I do not think we will ever reach that stage. But we should always bear in mind the important point that has been made quite often but it should be emphasized. With all the defects and rising prices look at this great development that has taken place in the country. There are visual developments like factories, industries and other economic activities. Much of these developments would not have been possible without deficit financing. It is deficit financing which made many of these developments possible. Of course with deficit financing came the rise in prices. Where the thing partially broke down was when we had to face two wars and the droughts in the middle sixties. The net result was, as I see it, that one Five Year Plan as it were, completely vanished out of the picture and it is that which has upset the balance. It is because of that that you have unemployed engineers today. It is because of that you have all these problems. The problems did not arise because of financial mismanagement. Problems arose because of the two wars in 1965 and because of these droughts. They resulted in the vanishing, as it were, of one whole Plan.

In spite of this we have tided over our difficulties and we hope we will be able to do better. At the same time I feel that we should not live in a world of make belief. Let us face facts as they are. Let us face the fact of rising prices. But what happens every time after a budget speech is a matter of ritual. The Finance Minister makes the

[Shri M. N. Kaul]
 budget speech. After that officials of the Finance Ministry summons the press representatives and say that the effect of the budget proposals on the prices will be marginal. We all know that that ritual continues from year to year. Whatever may be the impact of the budget, as Keynes pointed out, rise in prices, particularly in a free economy—mixed economy is primarily a free economy—is accentuated by the psychology of the people. The psychology today is that since independence, prices have been continuously rising. Over a period they have been rising slowly. In a Plan if they have risen by 4 to 5 per cent, gradually over a period they have been absorbed by the economic system. But due to very abnormal features in the middle sixties prices rose abnormally and production lagged behind and the economic system could not absorb it with the result that the rise in prices has now become rapid. Every budget, whatever the budget contained, is a signal to all those who are engaged in economic activities to raise prices where possible on one ground or another. That is the problem before us and I do not know how it is possible for a Finance Minister effectively to control this in a free economy. Our Finance Minister is not an economic wizard. He has not got authoritarian powers. He functions in a federal system. He has not got the total control over the economy. He cannot issue edicts. Our Constitution does not give him dictatorial powers. As a great statesman said, these big problems are always wrapped in a dilemma.

We cannot do without deficit financing, quite a dose of it and deficit financing has now multiplied because the States also have developed a right, as it were, to leave uncovered deficits, what is called, over drafts. It arose when there were Congress governments all over. It started at that time and some wise people anticipated that it would lead to trouble. Now, the States have established a right, as it were, the same right as the Centre, to leave deficits uncovered and these over drafts from the Reserve Bank are never likely to be repaid. Now the dilemma today is that without deficit financing you cannot go ahead with development plans and you have to control prices. Prices are the basic thing and it should be a daily worry of the Finance Minister, the Reserve Bank and all those engaged in handling the monetary system as to how to control the rising prices which is not entirely due to the budget, but which is due to the psychology which has been generated amongst those participating in the economic system that prices are bound to rise and bound to rise rapidly and therefore we must anticipate them. A general increase in price is what I call anticipatory that is to say, the prices have risen in anticipation of certain expectations of those who are engaged in the economic activity. So what the Government has got to do is to

create confidence that it will be able to control the rise in prices. My own impression is—I have been studying the rise in prices in various other countries—that the rise in prices is not a phenomenon confined to India alone. In a country like Japan, which has a high rate of economic growth, the rise in prices last year was, in respect of consumer goods, 6.3 per cent and so rise in prices is not something which is peculiar to India. But we have to make our whole effort, to concentrate our whole effort, on devising ways and means of controlling this rise in prices. We have some how to break this vicious circle which is psychological, that is to say, which has now got rooted in the psychology of the people that prices will rise and so the anticipatory rise in price takes place. On top of that we are now faced with this exodus from East Bengal which has upset the balance. So the Government has got to think and think hard and this matter should concurrently be in their minds as to how to break this psychology resulting rising prices.

Now Sir, I want to say a word about this money on income that gets into the accounts on accounted money, that is to say it is on those incomes which get into the books of the company which gets into the accounts of the individual. The income which escapes taxation—the Government has appointed a Committee to deal with it—and what we call black money is the income that is pocketed by individuals by companies or whoever it might be and this never gets into the accounts or in the returns submitted to the Income tax Officers. The highest taxation—was 93.5 per cent last year and it is 97.5 per cent this year and people ask often how it is borne by the individual. It is borne by the individuals who are very honest men. In the case of 'unaccounted money' such income escapes taxation, that is 100 per cent income is the income of the individual. Now that is a phenomenon which is familiar. You go to any bank and talk to the Manager for half an hour and he will give you the picture as to how the system is operating. I was talking to one of the Managers of the Nationalised Banks and he says, 'We know it.' I asked, 'How does this work and why people do it?' He said, 'The truth of the matter is that the sense of patriotism amongst individuals is not so high that they would earn big incomes and part with 97.5 per cent.'

I know it from persons belonging to various professions. One of them told me a few years ago, when I was on an inquiry committee that at a certain point he just stops working and he goes abroad and takes a holiday because, he said it is not worth while. Human nature, selfish as it is, has devised ways and means of evading high taxes. We all know that the tax dodger is always ahead of the revenue.

Let me analyse it. How does the black market survive? It survives because amongst the fraternity of those who have combined to rob the State of the revenue, the so called code of honour is high. There are no stamped documents, no litigation, no suits, all disputes are settled by arbitrators and everything is quickly done, and so on. Within that sphere, black sphere, the so-called code of morals is high. I am not theorizing; I have heard it from many people. The Bank Managers of the nationalised institutions say that it is happening. It will be extremely difficult for the Government to penetrate into this field and they have advocated in a number of speeches—and I will go on advocating—that I do not believe in taxing the net wealth of companies, that is to say, to take the gross income and permit deductions. Each deduction gives occasion for some fraud on the revenue. I believe—as some economists have urged—that there should be a low tax on the gross income. I have calculated and I see that a low tax on gross income will bring in larger revenues to the Government than a higher rate of taxation on the net income.

There is another point, and I have done so far as the private enterprise or private sector is concerned, I think we have to examine the financial aspect. What is this private sector today? Where does its money come from? The bulk of the money is provided by the Government, by the financial institutions. About 50 to 60 per cent or more of the resources of the private enterprises come from these sources. About 20 percent comes from those who subscribe to the capital. A very small percentage comes from those people who manage the industry. So it is high time that the Government knows concurrently what is happening. I am a believer in Concurrent Audit. For instance, the other day the Finance Minister was saying, "For under-invoicing and over-invoicing we are appointing a committee". The evil is there. So what I say is that it is the duty of the Government to investigate the matter before the evil has got deep down. I want an audit system which can X-ray the position concurrently. There should be concurrent audit and the Government should know the position concurrently. We must know concurrently what is happening in the private sector so that remedial actions can be taken, not that action be taken when the evil has got deep and becomes difficult to tackle.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Shri Balram Das

श्री बलराम दास (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो यह बजट प्रस्तुत किया है इसके विषय में मैं अपने विचार प्रकट

करना चाहता हूँ। मुझे कहीं कहीं पर ऐसा मालूम हुआ कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय को जिनको समाजवादी दृष्टिकोण रखना चाहिए उसके बजाय न मालूम किस तरीके से उन्होंने प्रावधान किये हैं जिनसे गरीब जनता को बड़ा नुकसान होने वाला है। एक बात में खेती के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ कि खेती के बारे में वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने किस प्रकार से प्रावधान किया क्योंकि हम यह देखते हैं कि हमारी कुल राष्ट्रीय आय 30 हजार करोड़ रुपये की है और इसकी आधी आय यानी 15 हजार करोड़ रुपया हमें किसान देता है जिसके द्वारा सरकार 79 परसेंट फारेन एक्सचेंज कमाती है जितना किसान हमें कमा कर देता है उस हिसाब से हमने उसके लिये बजट में प्रवाइड नहीं किया और उनके विकास पर जितना खर्च होना चाहिये वह खर्च हम करने नहीं जा रहे हैं।

अभी हम यह देखते हैं कि हमारे गांवों में पानी की कमी है, बिजली की कमी है, सड़कों की कमी है जिस की वजह से यदि हम चाहें कि किसान को कुछ धरेलू उद्योग धन्धे दें तो हम नहीं दे पाते हैं। यदि हम किसान की कमियों को पूरा कर दें तो मैं यह आशा करता हूँ कि किसान हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ा सकता है और देश की उन्नति से अपना पूरा हाथ बटा सकता है। जहां तक बिजली के उत्पादन का सवाल है बिजली का ज्यादा से ज्यादा हिस्सा उद्योग-धन्धों में चला जाता है और किसान को सिंचाई के लिए और दूसरे कामों के लिये, रोशनी के लिये, जो बिजली मिलनी चाहिये वह उसे नहीं मिल पाती। जब तक हम किसान को सिंचाई के लिये और दूसरे कामों के लिये बिजली सप्लाई नहीं करेंगे तब तक हमारा किसान उन्नति नहीं कर सकता।

इसके इलावा मैं भूमि-सुधार के कानूनों के बारे में भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री महोदय हमेशा यह कहती रहती है कि भूमि-सुधार जल्दी होना चाहिये लेकिन आज जो हमारे देश की स्थिति है उससे ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि भूमि-सुधार न जाने कब होगा क्योंकि विभिन्न राज्यों के मुख्य-मंत्रियों की बार बार बैठक होती है लेकिन वह जो निर्णय लेते हैं इन निर्णयों का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन नहीं

[श्री बलराम दास]
 हो पाता। भूमि-सुधार के जो कानून हैं उनके बारे में तमाम प्रस्ताव पास किये जाते हैं लेकिन उनका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन नहीं होता और जो कानून हैं वे इतने कड़े और इतने पेचीदा बनाये जाते हैं कि जो गरीब भूमिहीन किसान हैं उनका फायदा नहीं उठा पाते और जो पैसे वाले लोग हैं वह उसका फायदा उठा ले जाते हैं। इसलिये मेरा आपके द्वारा सरकार से यह निवेदन है कि जो हल चलाने वाला हो, जो खेत को जोतने वाला हो, उसे भूमि का मालिक बनाना चाहिये। खून पसीना कोई बहा रहा है और मौज कोई लूट रहा है। आज गांव में कुछ ऐसे भूमिहीन हरिजन और आदिवासी हैं जिनको पेट भर भोजन नहीं मिलता, जिनके पास खेती के लिये क्या कहें मकान बनाने के लिये भी जमीन नहीं है और मकान न होने की वजह से उन्हें पेट भरने लायक मजदूरी नहीं मिलती। उनके अन्दर जो वारगेनिंग कैपेसिटी होनी चाहिये वह कैपेसिटी भी नहीं है और भूमि का मालिक जितनी मजदूरी देता है उस मजदूरी को उसे मजबूरन लेना पड़ता है। यदि वह नहीं लेता तो उसको बेदखल करने की धमकी दी जाती है। मैं आपके समक्ष शेड्यूल्ड काम्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स कमिश्नर के सुझाव रखना चाहता हूं। कमिश्नर ने यह सुझाव सरकार को दिया था कि पहली दूसरी और तीसरी योजना में छः परसेंट हरिजनों के हाउस साइट्स का इंतजाम किया था लेकिन फिर भी हम आज देश में देखते हैं कि 6 लाख ऐसे आदिवासी और हरिजन परिवार हैं जिनके पास अपना मकान भी नहीं है, वह मकान दूसरों की जमीन पर बनाये हुए हैं। कमिश्नर ने यह हिसाब लगाकर बताया था कि यदि हम उन सभी लोगों को हाउस साइट दें तो 50 करोड़ रु० की जरूरत होगी। लेकिन चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना में प्लानिंग कमिशन ने इसके बारे में कोई विचार नहीं किया और न इस 50 करोड़ रु० की रकम के लिए कोई इन्तजाम किया। इसका अर्थ यह होता है कि 23 वर्ष बीत जाने के बाद भी हमारे देश में 6 लाख ऐसे लोग हैं जिनके पास अपने मकान भी नहीं है। यह हमारे लिये बड़ी शर्म की बात है। गांधी शताब्दी

के राष्ट्रीय सम्मेलन में बाबू जयप्रकाश नारायण ने खेदपूर्वक कहा था कि बिहार सरकार ने 1950 में हाउस साइट के लिए कानून पास किया लेकिन 20 साल में भी उसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन नहीं हुआ। जमींदार साहब को जब कभी भी गुस्ता आ जाता है, वह गरीब और हरिजन आदिवासियों को बेदखल करने की धमकी देता है, वह कभी उनके मकान भी गिरा देता है और वह हरिजन या आदिवासी बेघरवा हो जाता है। यह हमारी स्थिति है इस स्थिति के बारे में हमें विचार करना चाहिए और वित्त मंत्री महोदय से मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि वे इस पर विचार करें और 6 लाख हरिजन आदिवासी बेघरवार हैं उनके लिए जरूर, 50 करोड़ नहीं तो जितना भी वे इसमें प्राविजन कर सकते हैं, वह करना चाहिए।

इसके इलावा मैं अपने मध्य प्रदेश के बारे में भी दो शब्द कहना चाहूंगा। हमारा मध्य प्रदेश सबसे बड़ा प्रदेश है, जिसका क्षेत्रफल एक लाख से भी ज्यादा वर्गमील है, जो देश का 15 प्रतिशत भाग है। 4 करोड़ 40 लाख एकड़ इतना खेती का क्षेत्र है, जो 11 प्रतिशत है। सिंचाई का प्रबन्ध पंजाब में, हरियाणा में करीब 50 प्रतिशत है, आन्ध्र प्रदेश में 30 प्रतिशत है, महाराष्ट्र में 15 प्रतिशत है, लेकिन यह मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमारे यहां सिंचाई की व्यवस्था केवल 6 परसेंट है। इसके कारण हमारे यहां गेहूँ और चावल का उत्पादन बहुत थोड़ा है और हमारी धरती प्यासी है। यदि हमारे यहां सिंचाई का इन्तजाम हो जाए तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे यहां की गरीबी काफी हद तक दूर हो सकती है। हम लोग जहां जहां चुनावों के समय गए हम लोगों से किसानों ने यही कहा कि यदि हम लोगों के लिये सिंचाई की व्यवस्था कर दी जाए तो हम लोग पूरे देश के लोगों को गल्ला सप्लाई कर सकते हैं। चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना में शासन ने 1300 करोड़ रु० का सिंचाई का प्रबन्ध किया है लेकिन हमारे प्रदेश को 80 करोड़ रु० दिया है और वह जो 80 करोड़ रु० दिया है उससे हमारी कई योजनाएं पूरी होनी हैं और उससे हम सिंचाई

योजनाओं को इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं कर सकते। पानी की कमी के कारण हमारे यहाँ उत्पादन की दशा बहुत बुरी है, प्रति एकड़ करीब 700 पौंड धान की पैदावार होती है और करीब 650 पौंड गेहूँ की पैदावार होती है जबकि तामिलनाडू में लगभग 1400 पौंड प्रति एकड़ धान होती है और पंजाब और हरियाणा में करीब 1700 पौंड गेहूँ पैदा होता है प्रति एकड़ में। जहाँ तक वर्षा का सवाल है, हमारे यहाँ वर्षा भी बहुत कम होती है। मो-भाग्य से हमारे यहाँ बहुत नदियाँ हैं—इन्द्रावती, चम्बल, महानदी, नर्मदा, ताप्ती, बेतवा, केन, वानगंगा, सोन—और यदि हम इनसे सिंचाई की व्यवस्था कर सकें तो हमारा प्रदेश हराभरा हो सकता है लेकिन केन्द्रीय सरकार को जितनी मदद देनी चाहिए उतनी मदद दे नहीं पाती है।

इसके अलावा मैं अपने विन्ध्य प्रदेश के बारे में बताऊँ। विन्ध्य प्रदेश की इतनी बुरी हालत है कि वहाँ पर करीब 95 परसेंट लोग अग्रिकलचर के ऊपर डिपेंड करते हैं और जिसमें 57 परसेंट अर्न्डम्प्लाईड है।

हमारे यहाँ 1908 से 1958 तक, 20 बार सूखा पड़ा और जो वहाँ वर्षा का माप है वह केवल 17 इंच है। हमारे यहाँ के लिए एक बाण सागर योजना केन्द्रीय सरकार ने बनाई थी, यदि उस योजना को केन्द्रीय सरकार ने मंजूर कर लिया तो उससे 6 लाख एकड़ भूमि पर सिंचाई की व्यवस्था हमारे यहाँ हो सकती है। इसके द्वारा 780 मेघावाट बिजली पैदा होगी। इस योजना में करीब डेढ़ अरब रुपया खर्च आयेगा। केन्द्रीय सरकार से बार बार कहने पर भी उसने इस क्षेत्र के लिए कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की है। इसलिए मैं आप से और वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहूँगा, यह क्षेत्र जो सबसे गरीब क्षेत्र है, उसके ऊपर ध्यान दें जिससे हमारे क्षेत्र की गरीबी जल्द से जल्द दूर हो सके।

इतना कह कर मैं बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ और आप ने मुझे जो समय दिया है, उसके लिये धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

श्री राम सहाय (मध्य प्रदेश) : उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बजट के सबध में काफी विस्तार के साथ कहा जा चुका है और मैं इस सबध में कोई विशेष बात नहीं कहूँगा मुझे इतना ही कहना है कि जब कांग्रेस डिवाइडेड नहीं थी, उस वक्त जो विचार-धारा थी, वही विचारधारा वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण में प्रकट की है। मैं उनके भाषण का वह अण पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ जो इस प्रकार से है “यह दावा करना शायद ही संभव हो कि केवल बजट सबध नीति के जर्गिये और वह भी एक ही बजट के द्वारा, एक नई सामाजिक और आर्थिक व्यवस्था स्थापित की जा सकती है।” उन्हें यह स्वीकार करना पड़ा कि वे वायदे और उस नीति का जिसे चुनाव के पहिले जनता को बताया गया था वे उन्हें पूरा कर सकने में अपने को एक प्रकार से असमर्थ पाते हैं। मेरा जो ख्याल है कि बजट के सबध में जो बातें कही जा रही हैं कर देने के सबध में और कर को वसूल करने के सबध में, उनके लिए किसी को दुख नहीं होता वरन्कि उस रुपये का अच्छी तरह से सरकार सदुपयोग करती। हमने देखा कि चुनाव के सिलसिले में पार्टी के लिए या पार्टी और अपने स्वार्थ के लिए कितना रुपया बरबाद किया गया जिसकी कोई इन्तार्फ नहीं है।

इलैक्शन कमिशन ने भी जो काम उसे नहीं करना चाहिये था वह उसने किया। मैं समझता हूँ कि वह कायदे के अन्दर इस तरह का काम नहीं कर सकता है। जब लोक सभा डिजोल्ड हो गई थी तो नियमों में परिवर्तन करने का उसे कोई भी अधिकार नहीं था। यह अधिकार तो उन्हें पार्लियामेंट की मौजूदगी में ही है। इतना ही नहीं बैलेट के सबध में भी जितनी बातें सामने आई हैं, जितनी आज भारतवर्ष में फैल रही हैं, उन सब बातों से ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि बैलेट पेपर के सबध में इस चुनाव में जितनी गड़बड़ियाँ हुई उतनी कभी नहीं हुई थी।

इसके साथ ही साथ पब्लिक अन्तर टेविगस में जितना नुकसान हो रहा है अगर उसको बचाया

(श्री राम सहाय)

जा मकता है तो बहुत ही अच्छी बात है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर इस देश में समाजवाद को कायम करना है तो प्रधान मंत्री से लेकर, मिनिस्टर इत्यादि तक को अपने ऊपर प्रतिबंध लगाना चाहिये और इस समय जो अनापशनाप खर्च किया जा रहा है उसको किसी तरह से रोका जाय। अगर इस ओर हमने कदम बढ़ाया और खर्च में कटौती की, तो निश्चय ही हम समाजवाद की ओर कदम बढ़ायेंगे, वरना इस तरह से अनापशनाप खर्चा जैसा कि आजकल किया जा रहा है और फिर लोगों के सामने समाजवाद की बात करना, यह बात फिर लोगों की समझ में नहीं आ सकती है।

अभी मेरे एक भाई श्री बलराम जी ने मध्य-प्रदेश का जिक्र किया और बेतवा नदी का भी जिक्र किया। बेतवा वैली स्कीम के नाम से एक स्कीम सैन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट द्वारा कई लाख रुपए खर्च करके तैयार की गई और उसके तेहत एक हलाली बाध का काम भी शुरू किया गया था लेकिन बड़े दुःख की बात यह है कि हलाली कालोनी जहाँ आफिसर्स रहते हैं लाखों रुपये खर्च करके बनाई गई लेकिन हलाली बाध पर एक कुदाली भी चलाई नहीं गई और न ही एक पत्थर ही रखा गया। मेरा सरकार से निवेदन है कि वह इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करे। दूसरा मेरा निवेदन यह है कि हरिजनो के सम्बन्ध में जैसी बातें हम करते हैं वैसा अमल नहीं हो पाता। उसके बारे में मेरी अर्ज यह है कि उसकी तरफ आप खास तवज्जह दें।

आदिवासियों के संबंध में मैंने कई बार निवेदन किया और 8-10 साल कहते कहते हो गए कि अभजगढ़, जहाँ हमने माताओं और बहनों को भगा देखा है, बारबार निवेदन करने पर भी एक मंत्री या एक सेक्रेटरी ने जाने की तकलीफ नहीं की वहाँ जाकर उनकी हालत नहीं देखी कि किस तरह से सुधार हो सकता है।

माईनारिटीज, मुस्लिम भाईयो के संबंध में मुझे यह कहना है कि आप उन्हें बड़े बड़े ओहदों पर बैठा दीजिए लेकिन जब तक उनके बुनियादी कूक व हिफाजत आप नहीं करेंगे तब तक उनके

अन्दर आप विश्वास पैदा नहीं कर सकते। हमने देखा है, जैसा मैंने कई दफे अर्ज किया है और उसके बारे में कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया कि मस्जिदों में नमाज पढ़ने से मना कर दिया गया है, जो मस्जिदें हैं उसको मन्दिर बना लिया गया है, लेकिन किसी के कान पर जू नहीं रेगती, कोई तबज्जह नहीं करता। यह ऐसी बात है जिस पर खास तौर पर ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

ला एंड आर्डर की सिचुएशन भी डिटेरियोरेट हो रही है। वह जितनी खराब हो रही है वह कहने की बात नहीं है। हम देखते हैं कि कलको में रोजमर्रा 10-5 कत्ल होते रहने हैं, लेकिन किसी प्रकार का प्रवध न तो पहले शासन कर सका, न प्रेजिडेंट रूल कर सका, न मौजूदा शासन कर पा रहा है। अभी जो हमारे बंगला देश वासी आ रहे हैं उनकी वजह से और भी समस्या गम्भीर बन गई है।

हमारे यहाँ जो पथभ्रष्टता का प्रचार शुरू हुआ वह जुलाई 69 से शुरू हुआ जब मेरे एक मित्र ने मेरा वोट मागने के लिए पत्र लिखा। मैंने उन्हें स्पष्ट लिखा कि कांग्रेसमैन होकर आपको ऐसा नहीं करना चाहिए। मैंने उन्हें यह भी लिखा कि आप कांग्रेसजन से वोट मांग कर कांग्रेसजन को पथ भ्रष्ट करना चाहते हैं, यह आपके लिए अच्छी बात नहीं है (Interruptions)। यह बात सब के सामने है और इसमें, किसी प्रकार की कोई ऐसी बात नहीं कही जा सकती है जिससे इनकार किया जा सके। मेरी यह अर्ज है कि इस पर काफी गौर करने की आवश्यकता है।

हमने यह देखा है कि टीचर्स के एपाइन्टमेंट विद्यार्थियों के दाखिले में रिश्तों शुरू हो गई है। विद्यार्थियों को मेडीकल में भर्ती होने में कितनी कितनी परेशानी होती है, कितनी दिक्कत होती है और किस तरह से उनको पैसा खर्च करना पड़ता है। इसी तरह से पुलिस सव-इंस्पेक्टर के चुनाव होते हैं। उनमें जिस तरह की कार्यवाहियाँ होती हैं उन पर गवर्नमेंट को खास तौर पर तबज्जह करने की जरूरत है। इसमें इतना

भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ा हुआ है कि देखने में भी शर्म मालूम होती है कि हमारे देश की क्या हालत हो रही है।

तो मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हमको इन सब बातों पर खास तौर पर ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। जब तक अनुशासन और नैतिकता की बातें हम मानेंगे नहीं तब तक हम कितना ही उपाय करें वे सफल नहीं हो सकते और न हमारे में वह शक्ति आ सकती है कि हम स्वयं अनुशासनहीन बनें और दूसरों को उपदेश दें। ऐसा सम्भव नहीं है।

अब यहाँ तक बात होने लगी है कि जूडिशियरी को प्रभावित करने की कोशिश हो रही है। एक जमाना वह था जब जूडिशियरी और एग्जीक्यूटिव को अलग अलग किया था, अब मालूम होता है कि वह जमाना फिर आ रहा है जब जूडिशियरी पर भी एग्जीक्यूटिव हावी होने की कोशिश कर रहा है। यह बात सिद्धांत के बहुत ही विरुद्ध होगी।

जैसा कि मैं अभी अर्ज कर रहा था, इन चुनावों के अन्दर यह प्रत्यक्ष देखने में आया है कि किस तरह से चुनाव में रुपया खर्च किया गया है।

आज चुनावों में जितना धन कानून के अनुसार खर्च करना चाहिये उससे कहीं अधिक खर्च किया गया है। इस प्रकार पथभ्रष्टाचार अगर हम जारी रखेंगे तो उससे हमारे देश को मित्रात्मक नुक्सान के फायदे नहीं हो सकता है।

इस बजट में बच्चों के लिये 4 करोड़ के बजाए 10 करोड़ रु० का प्रावधान किया गया है। 25 करोड़ रु० शिक्षित बेकारों के लिये रखा गया है जब कि पहले रूरल विकास का 50 करोड़ रु० रखा

गया था। मैं इस बारे में वित्त मंत्री महोदय से यही निवेदन करूँगा कि वे मेहरबानी करके इस रुपये को इस प्रकार से खर्च करें कि जिस से दरअसल यह 10 करोड़ रु० बच्चों के ही उपयोग में आ सके और जो 25 करोड़ रु० शिक्षित बेकारों के लिये है वह उन्हीं लोगों के काम में आ सके। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इन रुपये का किसी प्रकार से दुरुपयोग नहीं होगा।

जैसा कि मैंने पहले अर्ज किया था कि समाजवाद के सद्बोध में लोग बहुत लम्बी चौड़ी बातें करते हैं, लेकिन समाजवाद का प्रारम्भ केवल इस तरह से हो सकता है कि हम गांधियन सिद्धांतों को मानें। गांधी जी ने जो हम को सिद्धांत बनाये उनपर जब हम अमल करेंगे तभी हम अपने देश में समाजवाद ला सकते हैं। ऐश व आराम से रह के और जरूरत से ज्यादा फुजुलखर्ची करके हम किसी प्रकार से भी समाजवाद को अपने गरीब देश में नहीं ला सकते इसलिये हम को इस बारे में बहुत कुछ करने की आवश्यकता है।

मेरे समझता हूँ कि मेरा टाइन शायद खत्म हो गया है, इस लिये अब मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow

The House then adjourned at two minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 10th June, 1971