

SHRI BHUPESII GUPTA: She says that the C.P.I. may have committed this. I say: 'Why not the Congress (R) or the Congress (O).'

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: They asked whether it was the C.P.I. or the C.P.M.

SHRI BHUPESII GUPTA: I demand . . .

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

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

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

I. THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 4) BILL 1970

II. THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 5) BILL 1970

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are two Appropriation Bills, No. 4 and 5. I think the subject-matter will be the same for discussion. So I think we can take both the Bills together so that individual Members can get more time to speak. That will be better, I think.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA): We can take them up together.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, before these Bills are taken up, I have just heard that the son and daughter of one of our Ministers have been injured . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It has already referred to in this House.

So we will take the two Bills together. There is no objection, I take it.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. R. GANESH): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to provide for the authorisation of appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the amounts spent on certain services during the financial year ended on the 31st day of March, 1969, in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The Bill arises out of the Demands for Excess Grants relating to the year 1968-69 voted by the Lok Sabha on the 8th December, 1970, and the expenditure 'charged' on the Consolidated Fund of India and incurred in excess of the sanctioned Appropriations for the year. The reasons which led to the excesses have been explained in the footnotes below each Demand or Appropriation in the Statement of Demands for Excess Grants which has already been circulated to the hon. Members in the last Session.

As the House is aware, excesses over appropriations are revealed after the Appropriation Accounts are compiled by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, or the Defence Accounts or P&T Accounts authorities, as the case may be. These excesses are, in the first instance, required to be scrutinised by the Public Accounts Committee under Rule 308(4) of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, and it is only after the Committee have looked into the facts of each case and recommended their regularisation that the matter is brought before Parliament. The excesses for 1968-69 were scrutinised by the Public Accounts Committee in their sitting held on the 31st July, 1970. The Committee have, in para 254 of their One Hundred and Twenty-third Report (Fourth Lok Sabha) presented to Parliament on the 13th August, 1970, recommended the regularisation of these excesses. The Demands for which Parliament has been approached for regularisation

[Shri K. R. Ganesh]

relates to Civil, Defence Services and Posts and Telegraphs for 1968-69, and follow the above recommendations of the Public Accounts Committee. I do not therefore propose to take the time of the House to explain these excesses in detail.

Hon. Members may well enquire why these excesses arise and why they cannot be avoided. The payments on Government account are made by a large number of disbursing officers scattered all over the country, and inevitably there is a time-lag of several weeks before the transactions relating to each Grant of Appropriation can be collated and brought to account against the sanctioned Grant or Appropriation.

It does happen sometimes that unforeseen urgent expenditure arises or expenditure in excess of provision is booked partly due to adjustments made by the Accounts Officers after the close of the year. There are also items like pensions where precise estimation is not possible. As a result of such factors, excesses arise and often come to notice when it is too late to go in for additional provision. Such excesses are, however, not significant, as is evident from the fact that out of a total of 141 Grants and Appropriations for the year 1968-69, excesses occurred only under 26 Grants and Appropriations and the total excess of Rs. 3.67 crores constitutes only about 0.02 per cent of the total amount of sanctioned Grant and Appropriations for the year. The actual expenditure in 1968-69 was about Rs. 14918.91 crores against Grants/Appropriations amounting to about Rs. 15878.34 crores. Thus there was a net saving of about Rs. 959.43 crores, even after allowing for the excess of Rs. 3.67 crores in respect of some Grants/Appropriations. As against the excess of Rs. 26.06 crores during 1967-68, the excess during 1968-69 was Rs. 3.67 crores. Nevertheless, I would like to assure the House that every possible effort is made and will be made to avoid such excesses or reduce them to the minimum.

Sir, I move.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You move the other one also.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1970-71, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, this Bill arises out of the Supplementary Demands for Grants of Rs. 26.24 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on the 8th December, 1970 and expenditure of Rs. 19.14 lakhs 'Charged' on the Consolidated Fund of India as detailed in the Supplementary Demand Statement laid before the House on the 25th November, 1970. As full explanations have already been given in that Statement, I would confine myself to a few introductory remarks on some of the important items for which provisions have been sought for in the present batch of the Supplementary Demands.

The amounts included in this batch represent the unavoidable minimum additional requirements which have arisen after the presentation of the Supplementary Demands for Grants in August, 1970. Of the total supplementary estimates of Rs. 26.43 crores, I might mention that Rs. 11 crores are for payment of Interim Relief to the employees of Posts and Telegraphs Department, Rs. 5 crores are for payment of flood advances to the staff of Eastern and South Eastern Railways affected by floods in West Bengal, Rs. 4.54 crores are for providing relief measure for fresh migrants from East Pakistan and Rs. 2.64 crores are mainly for payment of grants to Delhi Municipal Corporation for educational purposes and for payment of additional net proceeds of terminal tax to the local bodies in Delhi.

Two token votes of Rs. 1,000 each have also been sought for giving an additional loan of Rs. 55.73 lakhs to

the Calcutta Dock Labour Board and for meeting the expenditure on acquisition of land, etc. connected with the setting up of three new steel plants at Salem, Hospet and Visakhapatnam. The expenditure on these items during the current year is expected to be met from the savings within the respective Grants.

The net cash outgo arising from these supplementary estimates will, however, be Rs. 25.05 crores only, as Rs. 1.38 crore is expected to be set off on account of receipts, recoveries, etc.

Sir, I move.

The questions were proposed.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): May I know what is the total up-to-date balance in the Consolidated Fund of India today?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He wants to know the balance in the Consolidated Fund of India, as it stands today.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: I do not have this information at the moment. By the time the debate proceeds and I am to reply I will probably be able to collect it.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Will you obtain the figure?

SHRI K. R. GANESH: I will try to obtain it.

SHRI S. D. MISRA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, in the Budget of this year that was before both the Houses of Parliament in April there was a deficit of Rs. 200 crores. Three supplementary and Appropriation Bills had been brought forward. One has already passed for a sum of Rs. 215 crores. The fourth and fifth Bills are before us demanding appropriation or re-appropriation of Rs. 30 crores. The other supplementary demands for grants have already been granted earlier during the last Session for Rs. 215 crores. All these work out to Rs. 245 crores. If you really implement the programmes as in the

original Budget the deficit will be of the order of Rs. 200 crores in the original Budget. In the supplementary demands they have asked for Rs. 245 crores. The total comes to Rs. 445 crores. That is not the real picture. That is not the true picture. I have before me the Civil Audit Report of 1970 for the year 1968-69. That is the latest available. It shows that this Government when it makes the original Budget and when it comes before the House for reappropriations through supplementary grants, does not care and does not do justice. In the year 1968-69 it has been stated that the total original Budget was—I am talking of the voted grants and not the charged appropriation—Rs. 2845 crores. The supplementary grants taken were for Rs. 260 crores. The expenditure was only Rs. 2870. The saving was almost equal to the supplementary grant that was demanded by the Government, viz., Rs. 235 crores. The saving was 7.59 per cent. If you take the total of the charged and voted grants, that year a saving of Rs. 926 crores was there. In that year it represented 6 per cent of the total Budget. The most curious part of it was that this sum of Rs. 926 crores was surrendered late. It should have been surrendered much earlier before the end of March. Because it was surrendered at the end of March, it could not be utilised for other demands. Therefore, the budgeting of this Government is either not proper or it is only a paper exercise. I have said that six per cent is a saving which is very high. Compare this with the previous year. It is stated here on page 27 of the Civil Audit Report of 1970 that the saving of Rs. 927 crores represents six per cent of the total amount of voted grants and charged appropriation against one per cent in the previous year. The saving used to be one per cent in the earlier years. Now, the saving is going to be six per cent or seven per cent. Therefore, this type of budgeting by the Government should be stopped. Without seeing the original Budget, without comparing notes, the Ministers come and just want reappropriation and retain the amount which can be better utilised.

[Shri S. D. Misra.]

Hurriedly I will go through Appendices IX and X given in this book—the Central Government's Audit Report, Civil, 1970. Instances have been cited, dozens and dozens of them, in which the original grant and the supplementary grant are there for some of the items, but the actual expenditure was less than the original grant itself. I can read out two or three instances which you can see. For example, revenue expenditure on the Ministry of External Affairs: original grant Rs. 2005 lakhs; supplementary grant Rs. 153 lakhs; total expenditure Rs. 1873 lakhs; surrendered Rs. 285 lakhs. Therefore, the instances are many I can give one, two three, four, five or six instances. Here they are in the book. But I would not like to waste the time of the House. These are the instances where the supplementary provisions were not needed. As a ritual the Government came here and said, "We want this expenditure", and they have not been able to spend even the original grant. Therefore, we are just tying the money. We do not know what would be the fate, how we will face so many things when we are so much short of money. Therefore, this casual manner of coming for supplementary grants should be stopped. It is now a total of Rs. 245 crores—Rs. 215 crores already granted and Rs. 30 crores to be granted. There should be more exercise on these matters, and they should come with a certain degree of precision.

The economy is dwindling, there is no doubt about it. But while the production is not arising, spending is excessive. Spending is going on by this Government. Excessive spending is going on, something on this, something on that, and so on. Now Rs. 200 crores had been almost spent on interim relief. Not that I am objecting to Central Government employees and those of the public sector corporations and of banks and so on getting that, but it is resulting in non-production. If this is resulting in any production, I can understand. See in the First Plan, in the Second Plan, in the Third Plan. The First Plan began with 58 per cent money

being spent on plans and 42 per cent being spent on non-plans, that is civil expenditure. Coming to the Fourth Plan, the total expenditure on plan projects will be hardly 38 or 39 per cent, and the balance of it which comes to 61 per cent is non-plan expenditure. So, the order is just reversing. Therefore, excessive spending is there. Shri Rajnarain said that the expenditure on Prime Minister's Secretariat Prime Minister's tour, is increasing. He said, and it is still not contradicted, that Rs. 30,000 is being spent on Prime Minister every day. This is the second country in the world, the first is only the U.S.A., this is the second, and the poorest, country in the world spending the highest amount on the Prime Minister for the tour, Rs. 30,000 per day. This figure was given by Shri Rajnarain on the floor of the House but so far not rebutted. So how can there be saving if the Prime Minister and the Ministers are touring the States at the cost of the exchequer to topple Governments? They are toppling Governments. Therefore, the expenditure is there . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Is it for the present Prime Minister or it has been so for all the preceding Prime Ministers?

SHRI S. D. MISRA: All these are habits of the present Prime Minister. The previous Prime Ministers were not busy in toppling Governments, not busy with the indiscipline of the country, the fragmentation of politics that is going on in the country. The previous Prime Ministers had not that noble habit of the present Prime Minister with whom the hon. Member is so much allied. Since the last three years every time this House and the other House gave suggestions to the Prime Minister or the Minister of Finance and said, "Please at least cut by 5 per cent the civil expenditure". I am sorry to say that they have not only not cut it, probably if they give the figure you will come to the conclusion that every year they are increasing it by 3 per cent or 4 per cent or 5 per cent. Even if it is *status quo*, I would be happy. But it is not even *status quo*,

They are wasting the money. Therefore, when the suggestion is coming from the House—last time also during the Supplementary Grant—Minister was physically present in the House. The Minister said, yes, 5 per cent cut will be there, we will try our best. But if you see, there is no 5 per cent cut in the expenditure. There are certain increases. I would like to know from the hon. Deputy Minister what the increase is in Civil Expenditure and what its proportion is to the Plan expenditure. If I am correct, 38 or 39 or 40 per cent or up to that will be of Plan expenditure. 60 per cent will be non-Plan expenditure. I will be very happy if I am wrong. But I would like the Minister to give the correct figure in his reply. This is the way the Government spends. Losses are increasing everywhere. The Government is spending recklessly. During last six months, after the Budget, in this post-Budget era, up till last month, these are the figures available. Twentyseven million man-days have been lost by strikes and gherao. Twentyseven million man-days. Somebody has tried to work it out in terms of value, money. It comes to Rs. 130 crores, a very rough figure. So this is the direct loss from strikes alone. There are many other indirect losses due to other reasons. After March, 1970 up till now we have lost Rs. 130 crores. Therefore, the losses are like this. The public sector is losing, in terms of trading losses, about Rs. 45 crores. And in terms of production they may be about, as some people say, Rs. 1,000 crores. Some say that they are about Rs. 600 crores annually. Even this morning there was a question on the public sector and the private sector. We are not against the public sector. We want the public sector, the private sector and the cooperative sector, but all efficient sectors, not inefficient sectors. I have tried to analyse certain figures circulated by the Ministries and I have come to the conclusion that while on the investment in the public sector it is only 66 per cent utilisation of the various capacities, in the investments in the private sector which is on the dock, it is 90 per cent to 125 per cent utilisation, for which, of course, they are also

being impeached—why they utilised more than 100 per cent. I do not say that it is not an offence, technically 'yes'. But if there is so much waste, if there is so much under-utilisation, if there is so much loss of investments, what is going to happen? Therefore, the expenditure is excessive, the losses have increased through trading. And then take the nationalised banks. After the banks were nationalised, people were expecting better results and performance. We understand that the balance sheets of the nationalised banks are not being published for fear that the dividend given by the banks which ranged from 4 per cent to 20 per cent, they will just not be able to give, even half. Therefore all types of things are happening. We do not know the picture in full. Let the Minister give out what is the dividend which the fourteen nationalised banks are giving. It is our information that they have not been able to compile the accounts for the last 18 months because the losses are there. Only the expending sector is increasing, production and income sectors are not there. Therefore, it is high time that the Government took account of these things.

Besides under-utilisation, roughly about 50 per cent of the total investment is in the public sector and 50 per cent in the private sector. I am talking of the three Plans. What is happening now? An economist has calculated and it appeared in his article. I cannot vouchsafe whether it is right or wrong. Let the Minister say that it is wrong. He says that with 50 per cent investment in the public sector, production there is hardly one-third, about 13 per cent. Even if it is 20 per cent, I do not mind. But it is 13 per cent. Am I right or wrong? Is that economist right or wrong. Therefore, these are the questions which deserve an answer. Now, Mr. Asoka Mehta has been a Minister, has been the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. I am sure you will give respect to him as an economist, if not in politics.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Economist of back-seat driving.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: All right, be pleased with that. I am saying something else. He gave a statement to the Press according to which the ratio of inputs to outputs in the public sector industries, in the Central Government industries, is 6:1; that is, if you invest six rupees in the public sector, the production is only one rupee. In the private sector, that is, the organised sector, not the small-scale sector, the ratio is roughly 2:1; that is, if you invest two rupees, or at the most three rupees, the production is one rupee. But in the organised public sector, if the investment is six, the production is one, if six is the input, the output is one. Therefore, with such an economy, when there is under-utilisation, when there are losses, how can we go on?

Now, unemployment is daily increasing. It was discussed here only last week. To-day the population is increasing at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But unemployment has been calculated to be growing at the rate of 7 per cent. How many more Plans will be alive to see—some of us are old in terms of age, though we are not old physically, being in the fifties—in order that employment grows at least to the extent of the growth of population. Now, 7 per cent is the growth rate of unemployment while the growth rate of population is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. And what is the growth rate of the economy? Hardly two per cent. With two per cent growth rate in the economy and with $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent growth rate in population, how can we tackle the unemployment problem of this magnitude? And what are we doing? We will create five lakh jobs according to the *ad hoc* schemes of Patna. I was expecting that after the Patna session we will see something in my constituency, in my area; Uttar Pradesh is not so forward. I was expecting to see something in Mr. Dharia's area; it is not also a forward area by any standard. But nothing has moved. May be, something is moving in the files of the Finance Ministry, in the Agriculture Ministry or in regard to the Rural Works programme. But nothing has been done. This Government, naively and foolishly, thinks

that by creating *ad hoc* employment for five lakh persons every year, it is going to solve this problem. The other day I said that the growth rate of unemployment is one lakh per week. These five lakh jobs will be enough for five weeks. But what about the other 47 weeks? What about the backlog of 14 million? Therefore, let Mr. Dharia—I consider him a half-intellectual, a near intellectual, if not an intellectual—consider whether giving this slogan of five lakh jobs every year, etc., is going to help.

Now, the prices are rising. Since we discussed it in this House last week, my information is—let the Government contradict it—that the price rise has been nearly one per cent. And during this post-Budget period, which may be a few months, the wholesale prices have risen by $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and the rise in the retail prices has ranged between 12 and 17 per cent. And who is suffering? Not the industrialists, because they flourish when there is shortage in the economy, their trade flourishes. It is the common man, the poor man, who suffers. And this $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent rise in the wholesale prices will be reflected in the common man's budget by a cut of 25 per cent. He spends 75 per cent of the money on food, housing, clothing, and many other things. Therefore, it will be reflected much more on the common man . . .

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: I do not deny that the common man suffers. But unfortunately in this House common sense also suffers. Patna resolution is not to give employment to 5 lakh people. Over and above the Plan target 5 lakh more will be employed during one year and during the five years to come in this country every family will have at least one member earning Rs. 100, and it is in that direction, that the Government is doing its planning. Unfortunately, my friend does not understand that. I can understand sense is common to all. But many times common sense is lacking in many people and Mr. Misra happens to be one of them.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: I do not need that sense of Mr Dharia, whether it is common sense or not. I would not like that sense which is only slogan-mongering, which is only pseudo-radicalism, not radicalism . . .

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: The country knows what happened at Ahmedabad. You have exposed yourself in your slogan-mongering.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: I also know what happened at Bombay, what happened at Allahabad, what happened at Patna and also what happened at Lucknow and what is going to happen hereafter. Both Mr. Dharia and I will live in this country to see what is going to happen. But I know one thing is happening. Communism is being brought in, Marxist socialism is being brought in, in the name of socialism.

Anyway, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I was going to say another point. What about debts on us? In 1951-52 the State Governments had debts upon them of the order of about Rs. 450 crores. There are again official figures. Now in the blessed year of 1970 the total loan against the State Governments is of the order of Rs. 7,000 crores, and they were paying Rs. 10 crores interest in 1951, but now they are supposed to be paying Rs. 600 crores annually as interest. Has not the time come for us in Parliament to demand from this Government that there should be a debt commission appointed, a debt commission to inquire how these Rs. 7,000 crores have been utilised by the State Governments? And now, the Central Government is paying the States for meeting their interest charges. This is nothing new that I am saying. The Central Government is paying the States to repay the interest, not the capital. Therefore, I demand that there should be a debt commission appointed, and it should be independent, not manned by Government officers from this Ministry or that Ministry. It should be an independent commission to find out whether the debt that has been given to the States has been really utilised. And I would again like to voice my demand in

this House that there should be parliamentary sanction for borrowings also. This Government has been going on borrowing and borrowing and wasting the funds, not utilising them for production. I do not mind even the rise in prices. And borrowings can also be there, provided the borrowings and the rise in prices are linked with production. I am very conscious that prices are going up. In this country we do not mind prices going up if there is production. But prices go on rising by 9 per cent or 10 per cent while there is no rise in the production, there is no rise in the growth rate . . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): That is the state of the monopoly capital.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: Scooters, cars, trucks, etc. are all in short supply. Let me tell you another thing. This Government claims, especially the Industries Minister, when he comes here, claims—he has claimed many a time during the Question Hour—that investment is increasing. But what happened? In 1961 the capital issue authorised was Rs. 289 crores. In 1969 the capital issue authorised was only Rs. 131 crores. Let us see what the position is. In the two years of the Fourth Five Year Plan we find that we have not been able to invest anything. In the Plan document you can find that Rs. 3,000 crores are to be utilised from the public sector and Rs. 2,500 crores from the private sector in industries. It comes to Rs. 5,500 crores. Annually it will come to about Rs. 2,000 crores. But how much are you investing? It will be about Rs. 1,200 crores annually. We are investing about Rs. 2,000 crores in the private sector since the last two years against the target of Rs. 4,000 crores. Only 400 crores in the public sector against a target of 500 crores could be invested. What does it mean? We have not been able to invest and we have not been able to save. And the Minister comes here for more money. I need not go into inflation. I will hurriedly pass over it because you have given the bell.

[Shri S. D. Misra]

What about production? There is uneconomic production. If there is any deficiency, they will say about public sector because they want to be radicals. Even a passenger's bus should be in the public sector. Very good. Look at the steel price. Take TISCO of Tata's. Per tonne the cost is Rs. 1,275. In Rourkela it is Rs. 2,280 per tonne and in Durgapur it is Rs. 1,726 per tonne. I think it is high time to find out the culprit. The tax-payers' money is not properly utilised. Even the Hindustan Steel Ltd. came out with a statement that per man hour for the year there should be 100 tonnes on an average. That was the target. What is the actual position? In Durgapur it is 49 tonne per man hour per year. The world average is 125 and Japan is having 400. But in Durgapur it is only 49 and in Bhilai 46. Therefore, instead of investing in these things, let them at least invest in agriculture. What is the position in agriculture? They will not give money for irrigation in Maharashtra, U.P. or Madras and only 22 per cent of the area in this country is irrigated whereas the capacity is 60 per cent. Only 15 per cent of the 5,60,000 villages are electrified. Out of 80 to 90 lakhs wells, only 15 lakhs are energised. How long will you go on duping people with slogans in collusion with the Communist Party and the Muslim League? I will end by saying this: Our present Finance Minister is Yeshwantrao Balwantrao Chavan. Neither 'vash' nor 'bal' is left in him. He cannot face Parliament because investment is less, production is less and agriculture is suffering. Fifty per cent of the agricultural production is the total wealth of the country. Twenty per cent is input in agriculture. He sees all these. He was sent to the Finance Ministry because the Prime Minister wanted to null his legs. That has been done. Neither he nor the Prime Minister has the courage to face up the challenge and therefore they want to have mid-term elections. What a radical approach to problems? I would say, control the inflation. Have economy in expenditure. Have more economic growth and have more production. Take the

U.P. atomic plant. This morning we saw that there is an atomic plant for the country. Since the last three or four years, Punjab, Haryana and U.P. have been requesting the Centre to have an atomic plant in U.P. because the Atomic Energy Department said that one more station is possible. There is shortage of power and for 12 hours in eastern U.P. there is no power and industry and others are suffering. The cultivators are all suffering. There is the Lal Bahadur Shastri inquiry. Yes, do it by all means. Instead of evading issues, do something and do not try to bungle. There is the Maharashtra—Mysore dispute. There is the Bengal flood. Money should be given for all these. But ultimately they will surrender the amount given without using it. Government should know what they are doing. They should go by the advice at least of the Auditor-General, who is no more the Comptroller-General. The Auditor-General is not working as the Comptroller-General in England . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
Please conclude now.

SHRI S. D. MISRA : The Auditor-General is not controlling the disbursement, he is only auditing and this should also be looked into, Sir. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Mohta.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA (Rajasthan) : Sir, the Appropriation Bill is before the Hon. House. The Government wants more and more money for its ever-expanding expenses.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Like the industrialists.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : But if the industries expand, the economy will be very much happier. Unfortunately, the money of the public is taken away by the Government and spent on infructuous projects.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : Industrialists are expanding, the workers are losing and black money is in the lockers.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA: Sir, I would submit that this present attitude of the Government towards the economy of the country as a whole, namely, "Let the economy go to the dogs, but the Government would go on", is not going to help in leading the country to progress. The Government cannot go on disregarding the economy in the way that it has been doing. That the economy is in a very bad shape is there for everyone to see. What are the reasons, Sir?

After all, when the economy is in a bad way, everyone suffers, the consumer suffers, the labourer suffers because there is less employment opportunity, the common people suffer and also the Government exchequer suffers because the Government revenues also suffer when the economy is not progressing at the desired rate. What is happening to the economy is the direct result of the several Government policies which are not calculated towards more production. They are not production-oriented and they are simply the outcome of an obscure ideology which is not taking the country anywhere.

Take the policy of the Government in regard to industrial licensing. In sectors which are considered essential for the life of the economy and the community in sectors where there is an acute shortage and the consumer is suffering because there are no goods to be had, even in those sectors, because of the licensing policies and procedures, production is suffering. The other day, the Prime Minister was pleased to say, at a gathering of industrialists and businessmen, namely, the annual meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce, that she was disappointed with the private sector because the private sector did not come forward adequately in the sectors that were considered essential by the community, namely, the core sectors, the essential sectors. But, she very conveniently forgot that there are restrictions on the private sector even in these core sectors and the essential sectors. I do not understand for a minute.

Sir, what is the necessity for the application of the industrial licensing procedures or the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act where the commodities to be produced are so essential to the life of the community and where they are in such short supply. Why can't the Government, by an executive order, exempt the core industries and the essential industries from the application of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act? The Government is empowered to do so by a provision of the Act itself. The Government can, by an executive order, cut this red-tape so that the projects can go much faster, we can have more production in the country, the economy can progress, the consumer will have some relief and everything can be possible. But, in pursuit of an obscure ideology, the Government would not do it. Sir, since the Government's attention is not on more production of wealth and its policy is not production-oriented at all, it gets bogged down in problems of distribution. By its own policies, first of all, the Government creates scarcity conditions and in commodity after commodity we have seen that mainly because there is less production in the country, shortages occur. Shortages are bound to occur because of the fiscal policies that the Government follows. The money is pumped into the economy. That money chases the goods which remain scarce, because production does not keep pace with the money supply. Sir, even in spite of this the Government thinks that it can mislead the public by announcing some schemes of distribution here and there. What happens is that the consumer goes on suffering, for the simple reason that in spite of the controls as the Government may impose, only a fraction of the production reaches the consumer at the controlled rates; the producer or the middle-man, the corrupt businessman or the corrupt official is the only gainer in conditions of control. It is futile to hope that the consumer will be able to get a substantial portion of his requirements at controlled rates, because we have not been able to prevent the control mechanisms in this country.

[Shri M. K. Mohta]

Sir, the priorities fixed by the Government about the expenditure of public money has been so topsy turvy that the expenditures do not yield the desired results. Take our most important export sectors of cotton and jute. It has been urged on the Government time and again that unless something very substantial is done in the field of cotton development, the country will continue to lose foreign exchange to the extent of Rs. 100 crores or Rs. 125 crores every year by way of cotton imports. Unfortunately, Sir, all such pleas fell on deaf ears, with the results that whereas we merrily go on spending over 100 crores of rupees in schemes for such import of cotton, we cannot find even 5 crores or 10 crores of rupees per year for cotton development programmes.

Same is the case with power development. The Government can go on spending moneys on prestigious projects, but where such an important sector as electric power is concerned, they cannot find adequate money. My friend, Shri Misra, has narrated the sorry spectacle of electric power shortage all over northern India. It is not in one State or two States or three States; it is all over northern India comprising Punjab, Haryana, Delhi and U.P. areas. It is making not only the agriculturists suffer, because it has a direct bearing on irrigation operations, not only the consumer suffers because of shortage of agricultural products, but also the small industries suffer. There the people could least afford such disturbance in their production patterns. And the small industrialists of Punjab and Haryana, who have shown to the whole country the way of industrial progress by their skill, by their enterprise and hardwork, are today suffering the most. I do not understand, Sir, why cannot the Government find money for electric power projects, which are more important than having bakeries or rice mills, State transports and a hundred and one other things that the Government is having today.

Sir, on behalf of the people of Punjab and Haryana and other

adjoining States, it has been urged on the Government that unless it brings into effect the atomic electric power production programme, including a atomic power project in northern India, the needs of the industrialists and agriculturists of this area would not be met. And, therefore, the sooner the Government makes up its mind about an atomic power project along with the necessary thermal power projects in this area, I am afraid the people of this area will continue to suffer. As regards industrial licensing, another matter which has been intriguing me for quite some time is, why should there be a ceiling on the capacity of industrial production in spheres which are considered essential by the Government? If the commodities are considered non-essential, I have nothing to say but although the commodities are considered essential, still, a ceiling is prescribed either by some Government Department or by the Planning Commission and then the Government's stock reply to the industrialist is: 'Sorry, we have reached the ceiling, no more licence.' The result is, whatever licences are given to the industrialists, some of are bound to be non-implemented because everyone cannot implement the licence given to him. Sometimes Government goes wrong in assessing the demand potential with the result that shortages occur. Of course then there are blackmarkets. When there is black market, black money would be generated and all kinds of social ills would come in and the Government's policy is directly responsible for this state of affairs. In this very House we are discussing shortage in tyres and tubes. When a question was asked of the Minister why more licences are not given the reply was: 'Sorry, we have reached the capacity.' What is the sanctity of the Government figure of 8,000,000. Why not 12 millions? When there is demand and that is the essential commodity why should the Government restrict the capacity, and say "This is the capacity we have in mind, no more" The same is the case about fertilisers, about chemicals, about so many other things about man-made fibres. Man-made fibre today is not a

luxury at all. A nylon shirt is available in West Germany for Rs. 10. Even if we are able to manufacture the same shirt in Rs. 20, these will be demanded by the poorer sections of the society but what happens? When people want to produce more nylon, you select a few people who are favoured with licences. Why this favouritism? Why not have more relaxation in licences so that more production will take place? Touching on the labour policy of the Government, I would say that the proper policy for the Government should have been more wages, more amenities, more emoluments to the labour but a strict discipline in all the industries whether in the public or private sector. A people cannot progress in the world except by hard work. Mere words cannot take anyone anywhere in life. This has been amply shown by Japan and West Germany, the two countries which had been flattened during the last war . . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Don't talk about West Germany which had supplied arms to Rhodesia, South Africa and Viet Nam.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA: They were completely flattened and yet by dint of their labour and disciplined working both are among the topmost industrialised countries of the world. Japan is the second highest in GNP in the world, second only to U.S. How has Japan achieved this? It has done so not by words but by hard work. We have become so enamoured of the Eastern Powers and we have become so economically dependent upon them that we import things from them even when they are so good. The case of the East German tractors which had been imported by the Government at such a huge cost has been brought to the notice of the Government. The tractors are lying unused in all parts of the country. In Gujarat, Haryana, Andhra and everywhere they are lying unused. The things would not even start. They are so defective. I do not know what the Government is doing. I suggest that the Government must insist on the supplier to

take back all the tractors that had been supplied to India. There should be no question of repairing them. They should be taken back to their country because this has been a fraud that has been perpetrated on our country.

Shri Misra mentioned the question of inquiring into the death of the late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. I do not understand what is coming in the way of the Government to order such an inquiry immediately, particularly when both Mrs. Shastri and the late Prime Minister's son have said that they were not satisfied with the explanation that has been given on behalf of the Government regarding the death of the late Prime Minister. We understand from press reports that the Government might make a farce of the whole thing by coming to Parliament on the last day of the present Session and issuing a White Paper. I submit, if at all the Government must make an announcement, it must make it immediately so that the Members of this honourable House would get an opportunity to discuss the matter, and not make a farce of it by coming on the last day of the Session. Thank you.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I support the Appropriation Bills that have been brought here. My time is very short and I will confine myself to two or three problems of my State only.

My State is suffering from acute unemployment problem. In our Patna Resolution we have accepted the principle of creating five lakhs of additional employment berths for our unemployed youth on the basis of atleast one employment in one family. I insist that this scheme should be implemented without any delay.

Man-power utilisation schemes are there but for some time past these schemes have not been implemented as vigorously as they should have been. Now I think if we implement these man-power utilisation schemes we will be benefited. Our problems both in the urban areas and the

[Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay] rural areas of unemployed youth can be solved if the nationalised banks are asked to sanction new schemes of loans and help to the unemployed youth, specially the technical people, the engineers.

Sir, you will be surprised to know that for the second Hooghly bridge in Calcutta-Howrah there was no tenderer who came with a tender because of the political situation that is prevailing now in West Bengal. So, if no tender is available, why cannot we divide the work in parts and give it to the unemployed engineers—who have the technical knowledge and have been brilliant students in the engineering colleges? The Government should accept tenders from such youth even if they are on a higher rate and with the help of the money from the nationalised banks they should get these things done early. While I speak of rural unemployment, we cannot solve this problem only through man-power utilisation schemes or any other schemes if we do not have an all-round development programme for the rural areas. Unfortunately in West Bengal under the President's rule we do not find any schemes being implemented to solve the economic distress in West Bengal. I insist and I appeal to the Finance Minister to see that more schemes are formulated for the all-round economic development of my State.

3 P.M.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Har- yana): Not only the schemes formulated but also the required money sanctioned and given.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: There is no scheme even.

So, Sir, when I speak of the rural areas, I should also bring in the problem of the landless labourers. And we insist that the land distribution, the excess land which has not yet been made by the Government in all cases, should be distributed immediately to the landless labourers. The services of the young people in the rural areas should be

utilised in seeing that, after distribution of the land, the persons who will be getting the land, can properly till their land. With the help of the Government, the nationalised banks coming forward with loans and the service co-operatives that would help them. In this connection I would urge upon the Government to set up a land army everywhere. They will be *swayam sevaks*, in the rural areas for solving the problem of agrarian unrest. The ceiling that is prevailing now should immediately be reduced and be brought to the minimum. And what would be the minimum, that has been fixed by the different committees of the Planning Commission. In our State there is no division between irrigated land and non-irrigated land in the ceiling fixed. The present ceiling is 25 acres. That should immediately be reduced to 15 acres, and that is the resolution of the Pradesh Congress Committee. Without going into the question whether it is irrigated land or non-irrigated land, the ceiling should be fixed at 15 acres.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is that resolution? Yesterday some Congress members voted for 20.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: '15 acres' has been suggested in the Congress resolution. Without going into irrigated or non-irrigated land, the whole ceiling should be drastically reduced to 15 acres, and I stand by the decision and the resolution of the Pradesh Congress Committee.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mrs. Purabi Mukhopadhyay, one thing: you have stated that the Congress Party in Bengal has passed that resolution. So you take it up with the Prime Minister.

SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY: I may say it in the House also. I have only five minutes and so I cannot reply your questions now.

Next I come to a memorandum that has been submitted by the President. Pradesh Congress Committee, Shri Bijoy Singh Nahar, to

the Principal Adviser to the Government of West Bengal about the drastic rise in the prices of essential commodities. I will not waste the time of the House by reading the whole memorandum, but only two or three lines will suffice. I now read it:

"During the last few weeks there has been a sudden and considerable increase in the prices of essential commodities, such as dal, mustard oil, meat, etc. This has hard hit the common man.

It is being observed that the State Government has not yet taken any concrete step to check the rising prices and to bring back the normal price level which was prevalent even a fortnight ago.

It is high time that the Government must take positive steps to ensure the supply of these goods at fair prices to the common man. May we not expect that Government should enforce the producers and mill-owners to bring down the prices? Otherwise, Government should take upon themselves to secure these articles from the producers and sell them to the people from the ration shops, samavaikas and such other agencies by which the people may procure their necessities without any hardship. We urge upon the Government *** etc. etc. Otherwise we will have to start campaign against the failure of the Government."

Sir, I would urge upon the Government to take note of the memorandum and when the Minister replies we would like to hear his reaction to the rise in the prices of essential commodities. Even in respect of commodities the prices of which are controlled by Government like Dalda, Vanaspati and other things, the Government has given its consent to their prices being raised. So this problem which affects the common man should immediately be tackled and we would like to hear from the Minister the steps they are taking to control the prices.

About the circular railway we do not know, where we stand. Has it gone under the bridges of Ganga or have the Government started any process in implementation of this circular railway scheme? We would like to know about this. Then what about the second bridge on Hooghly? Has that proposal been vetted by the Planning Commission and has the Finance Ministry given its consent? Then there is the problem of acute unemployment and also the agrarian problem. West Bengal is the State where we have the most progressive legislation on land reforms but what about the other States where we find that even now 232 acres of land can be retained by a landowner? Why is not a uniform policy being followed? Why again has not even a single State come forward with any scheme relating to ceiling on urban property about which the Prime Minister has spoken? What about ceiling on individual incomes? These are the thoughts of the day and I would request the hon. Minister to deal with these points when he replies.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा: (मध्य प्रदेश) श्रीमन् बहस की गम्भीरता को देखते हुए हमारा यह विचार नहीं है कि हम शासन पक्ष का कोई मजाक उड़ायें। हम यह समझते हैं कि इस समय जिन परिस्थितियों में हमारे मित्र श्री गणेश ने यह बिल प्रस्तुत किया है, संभवतः इससे बुरी परिस्थिति और देश में कभी आ नहीं सकती। हमारी स्थिति यह है कि हमारे देश में बिल्कुल वही परिस्थितियाँ हैं जो कि ब्रिटेन में 1688 का रिवोल्यूशन उत्पन्न करने के लिए थी या फ्रांस में जो रिवोल्यूशन हुआ था और जिसके परिणामस्वरूप वहाँ के शासकों की हत्या हुई थी, उसी प्रकार की हमारे यहाँ पर आज आर्थिक कठिनाइयाँ आकर खड़ी हो गयी हैं।

श्री महावीर त्यागी: आपका हत्या करने का इरादा तो नहीं है ?

श्री निरंजन वर्मा: हत्या हम नहीं करेंगे वह तो नक्सलवादियों के लिए है, जिन्होंने चिलों को जलाने और रवीन्द्र भवन को जलाने का

[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

काम लिया हुआ है और जो उसके लिए इकट्ठे हुए हैं। इन 21 वर्षों में हमारी सरकार की खराबी के कारण बंगाल में जो कुछ हो रहा है, उसे दोहराने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। एक महीने के लिए भी किसी दूसरी पार्टी के हाथ में यह सरकार नहीं आयी ताकि यह सरकार कभी कह सके कि हमने तो इतना अच्छा काम करके दिखा दिया था, दूसरी पार्टी ने उसे खराब कर दिया। इन वर्षों में हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति गिरने के जो प्रमुख लक्षण हैं, वे आप सुनिये।

हम अपने देश में तीन चार चीजों का एक्सपोर्ट करने हैं, जिनमें एक तो जूट है, दूसरी चाय है और उसके अनिश्चित कभी-कभी हम थोड़ी बहुत दूसरी चीजों को बाहर भेजते हैं, जैसे शक्कर इत्यादि। जूट के मामले में हमारी हालत यह हो गयी है कि उसमें पाकिस्तान हमारा मुकाबला कर रहा है और अब हमारा जूट बाहर नहीं जा रहा है। इसी तरह चाय के मामले में हमारे मित्र श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र जी ने यहां पर स्वीकार किया है कि चाय दूसरे बाजारों में जब नहीं बिक सकी, तब उसे समुद्र में फेंक देना पड़ा। अब रही यह बात कि हमारे एक्सपोर्ट में कमी हो रही है, लेकिन हमारी सरकार मंत्रियों का एक्सपोर्ट करने में लगी हुई है। आजकल मंत्री बिना इस बात को देखे हुए कि भारत में स्थिति क्या है, सैर करने के लिए बाहर, दूसरे देशों को आनन्द के साथ जा रहे हैं। हमारे यहां की घर की इकानामिक्स की बात यह है कि अभी कुछ दिन पहले हमने एक प्रश्न पूछा था और उस प्रश्न का उत्तर देते हुये हमें अर्थ मंत्री महोदय ने बताया था कि अगर हम देश में कुल 50 करोड़ की आबादी ही मान लें तो एक-एक व्यक्ति के ऊपर इस अभाग्य देश में 112 रुपये का कर्ज है। संसार के शायद ही किसी देश में वहां की जनता के ऊपर इतना कर्ज हो जितना कि हमारे देश में है। हमारे घर की हालत यह है कि हमारे यहां पर प्रान्तीयता उभर रही है और देश भर में उपद्रव हो रहे हैं और यह सरकार कुर्सी को पकड़े रहने

के लिये ही उनको दबा नहीं पाती है। हमारी सरकार जो गठबन्धन करायें बैठी है, उस गठबन्धन के परिणामस्वरूप आज देश में और कठिनाइयाँ होती चली जा रही हैं। अभी कुछ दिन पहले, दो तीन दिन पहले, पूर्वी बंगाल में एक पार्टी जीत गई, तो यहां के बहुत से मित्रों ने केवल इसलिए बधाई दी कि “ए पारे बंगाल वो पारे बंगाल”, उन्होंने कहा कि दोनों बंगाल एक हो जायेंगे, लेकिन एक क्षण को भी वह इस बात को भूल गये कि मुजिबुर रहमान और मसानी चाहे इकट्ठे हो जाय, लेकिन भुट्टो साहब वही हैं जिन्होंने कि 1965 की हिन्दुस्तान से लड़ाई अपने सिर पर थोपी थी और क्या अब यह सम्भव नहीं होगा कि भुट्टो साहब जब यह देखें कि पूर्वी बंगाल और पश्चिमी बंगाल दोनों एक होने की तैयारी कर रहे हैं तो वह मुस्लिमपन का जादू चला करके वहां की मनोवृत्ति को भारत के खिलाफ दूषित करने की प्रेरणा न दें। अपने यहां पर हमारी यह सरकार उस मुस्लिम लीग के साथ गठबन्धन कर रही है, जिस मुस्लिम लीग ने कि देश का बटवारा कराया और तथा कथित कुछ थोड़े से यंग टर्क्स जो कांग्रेस में कभी रहे नहीं, जिन्होंने सत्याग्रह की कभी हवा नहीं खाई और मुस्लिम लीग के हाथों से कभी पिटे नहीं, वह आज मुस्लिम लीग के साथ मित्रता का हाथ फैला कर देश को डुबाने की तैयारी कर रहे हैं और हमारा ऐसा विश्वास है कि अंततोगत्वा एक समय जल्दी ऐसा आने वाला है कि हमारे देश में ये गतिविधियाँ बहुत बढ़ेंगी और इसके फल-स्वरूप देश के विभाजन का दूसरा खतरा फिर आ सकता है, विशेषतः, इसलिये कि हमारी यह सरकार आसाम में ढाई लाख पाकिस्तानी तत्व बैठाये हुये हैं, यह सरकारी आंकड़े हैं और उनको वहां से हटाने के लिये हमारी सरकार ने कुछ नहीं किया। वहां से नक्शे चोरी चले गये और उसके लिये इक्वायरी कराने की सदन में कई बार मांग की जा चुकी है। स्थिति इतनी बिगड़ती जा रही है कि बंगाल में बेरोजगारी इसी तरह बढ़ती रही, तो थोड़े दिनों में भगवान न करे एक दूसरे वीयतनाम की भूमिका वहां

पर हो जायगी। हमारे पास यह खबर भी थी कि वहां पर हमारे नोटों को बना करके के चीन ने फैंका। चीन अगर वहां पर हथियार भी फैंक दे, तो फिर इस बेचारी गरीब लूली लगड़ी सरकार के बम में यह नहीं है कि वहां से जो आन्दोलन फैलेगा, उस आन्दोलन को यह कभी रोक ले। हमारे यहां पर जो भाव बढ़ने चले जा रहे हैं, उसकी तरफ यहां की सरकार ने कभी गौर नहीं किया। हमारे यहां पर सीमेंट के भाव बढ़ गये, शूगर के भाव बढ़ गए, मोने का भाव बढ़ गया, चान्दी का भाव बढ़ गया, ताम्बा बाजार से गायब हो रहा है, खाने-पीने की सारी वस्तुएं मंहगी होती चली जा रही हैं, लेकिन कृषि जो कि इस देश की रीढ़ की हड्डी है, उससे उत्पादित गेहूं सस्ता होता चला जा रहा है और हमारे खाद्य-अनाज सस्ते होने चले जा रहे हैं। जबकि आर्थिक, इकानामिक दुर्दशा यह हो कि किसान जो चीजें उत्पन्न करता है, वह चीजें सस्ती हो जायें और जो चीजें किसान खरीदता है वह चीजें मंहगी होती चली जायें, तो समझ लेना चाहिये कि इस देश की आर्थिक रीढ़ की वह हड्डी टूट गई और हम अब आगे कभी बढ़ नहीं सकते हैं। यहां पर कहा गया कि हम समाजवाद को लाने का यत्न कर रहे हैं। समाजवाद को लाने के लिये सबसे बड़ी कसौटी यह है कि कभी हम यह देख लें कि रूस और अमेरिका में समाजवाद के बारे में जो संतुलन के आंकड़े होते हैं, उनको हमारी सरकार ने कभी देखने का यत्न किया या नहीं। उन्होंने कहा कि हम एक-एक व्यक्ति को, प्रत्येक व्यक्ति के पीछे पतने रेडियो देंगे, उसकी आवश्यकता के लिये एक-एक कार देंगे, रहने को मकान देंगे, रेफ्रिजरेटर देंगे और आवश्यक वस्तुएं देंगे। रूस की सरकार दूसरी तरफ निकालती है कि जितना अमेरिका नहीं दे पाया हम उसमें ज्यादा धन या सहायता जनता को दे रहे हैं। तब अपनी सरकार से हम पूछते हैं, इन तेईस वर्षों में आपने क्या दिया, तो हमारी स्वनामधन्य सरकार ने तेईस वर्षों में बेरोजगारी दी, हमारे लड़के आज रोते फिरते हैं, उनके लिए आज यहां पर कोई नीकरियां नहीं हैं। आपने बाहर की

बहुत सी चीजें तो ली, लेकिन आर्थिक जीवन की उपयोगिता में आपने यह धन क्यों नहीं जोड़ी कि चूक लोगों के लिए यहां पर किसी प्रकार के रोजगार नहीं है, ब्रिटेन की तरह या दूसरे देशों की तरह, आपने बूढ़ों को पेन्शन या बेरोजगार आदमियों को पेन्शन देने की बात नहीं सोची। आप कितना रुपया खर्च करते हैं, आप कितना रुपया व्यर्थ केवल मित्रांतरवाद पर आश्रित होकर खर्च करते हैं, उसका एक नमूना यह है भोपाल का एच० ई० एल०, उस एच० ई० एल० में प्रतिवर्ष करोड़ रुपए का नुकसान होता है, आप आंच मूंद कर उसको देखने चले जा रहे हैं, उसको सुधारने का यत्न नहीं किया। पब्लिक अन्डरटेकिंग्स में दो-तिहाई पब्लिक अन्डरटेकिंग्स ऐसी हैं, जिसमें सरकार का करोड़ों रुपए का नुकसान होता है और यह सरकार अपने-अपने आदमियों को, अपने चमचों को वहां पर बिठलाने में अपने कर्तव्य का श्री गणेश मानती है। इसके सिवाय हमारी सरकार के पास और दूसरी वस्तु नहीं है कि आर्थिक तत्वों को सुधारने में हमारी सरकार कोई काम करे।

हमारे मित्र ने अभी एक बात पर प्रकाश डाला कि हमारी सरकार क्यों घबड़ाती है, अगर लालबहादुर शास्त्री के बारे में वह चाहते हैं कि सरकार पूरा अनुसंधान करके सदन को रिपोर्ट दें, जबकि आज देश आपसे मांग कर रहा है कि दूध के बारे में और उनके शरीर पर चाकू के जो घाव थे, उनके बारे में क्या जांच हुई थी। उसमें 7 डाक्टरों की रिपोर्ट अलग है, 9 डाक्टरों की रिपोर्ट अलग है—यह 7 और 9 का क्या झगड़ा है—यह देश जानना चाहता है, आप इस तथ्य को क्यों छिपाते हैं। उस तथ्य को भी आप छिपा रहे हैं। हमारे देश में इन्व्वायरी कमेटी जो आप बनाते हैं, उनके बारे में होता यह है कि अपने-अपने विशेष-विशेष आदमियों को आप वहां बैठा देते हैं और उसका परिणाम

[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

यह होता है कि जनता को ऐसी इन्क्वायरी कमेटियों पर अविश्वास होता है और जनता की जो आशंकाएं हैं, धारणाएं हैं वह और भी आगे बढ़ती चली जाती हैं।

हमारे यहां बजट से पहले सब चीजें मंहगी होती जा रही हैं। हमारे रेलवे मंत्री ने एक दिन मीटिंग बुलाई—उनका मतलब उसमें स्पष्ट था कि अब रेल में जो गरीब यात्री यात्रा करते हैं, जो हुआ सो हुआ, लेकिन उनका यात्रा कर बढ़ा दिया जाए। उसी प्रकार हमारे डाक नगर विभाग से खबर मिली है कि 40 लाख का घाटा पोस्ट कार्डों में हो रहा है। यह जो छछूंदर की चाल से चल रहे हैं, इसका मतलब यह है कि आप अब पोस्ट कार्ड के दाम भी बढ़ा रहे हैं और इस तरह आने वाले बजट में जो कर बढ़ने वाले हैं, उनसे भय खाकर आप मिड टर्म पोल बनाने की सोच रहे हैं ताकि कर बढ़ाए जाने से आपको आगे वोट कम न मिलें। तो उससे पहले ही मिड-टर्म पोल की खबर उड़ा रहे हैं। एक मंत्री कहता है अभी कुछ नहीं है, प्रेस कहता है नहीं, यह बात सही है। श्रीमान्, इस दिशा में भी हमारा मंत्रालय बेखबर हो रहा है...

श्री कृष्ण कान्त : काफी प्रगति कर रहा है।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : हमारे मित्र बाबू कृष्ण कान्त जी जिस समाजवाद की प्रगति के प्रतीक हैं, उन्होंने क्या कभी देखने का कष्ट नहीं किया कि देश में उनकी वरावरी के कितने नवयुवक आज आत्महत्याएं कर रहे हैं, इसलिए कि उनको किसी प्रकार का कोई काम नहीं मिलता। मैं उन बेरोजगार व्यक्तियों की बात कर रहा हूं, जो टैकनीशियन्स हैं। आपने बाहर के कितने ही टैकनीशियन्स विदेशों से लाकर हमारे यहां रखे हैं और उसका परिणाम यह हुआ है कि हमारे देश के आदमी नौकरी के म्यानों के लिए भटक रहे हैं और बाहर के लोग यहां पर आनन्द उठा रहे हैं।

एक बात मैं श्री गणेश जी से निवेदन कर रहा हूं, हमारे मित्र का नाम गणेश है, कृपा करके

गणेश जी, आप जल्दी जाने वाले हैं, इसलिए अपने वाहनों को मूषकों को, गरीब आदिमियों की जेब काटने में लगा कर नहीं चले जाइए।

श्री ओम् मेहता : हम तो रहने वाले हैं लेकिन मूछें तो उनकी हैं ही नहीं।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : मूषक कहा। मूषक का मतलब होता है चूहा।

SHRI N. K. KRISHNAN (Kerala): Sir, within the short time at my disposal, I should like to raise a few points in relation to the appropriations demanded here today. The first is that the policies of the Central Government and of the Industries Ministry need radical reorientation in regard to the special help for the industrially backward regions of this country. I have in my mind particularly the case of Kerala State which I represent. As you know, the problem of unemployment in Kerala has become extremely acute. A huge body of educated unemployed are there. And the traditional industries, the coir cashew nut and food processing industries, are all in a state of crisis and hundreds of workers are unemployed. In this connection, the Kerala Government has formulated a crash programme to meet this unemployment problem and in relation to this crash programme, they have approached the Ministries concerned here for help. And I am sorry to say that sufficient emphasis has not been given in these policy-making bodies here for helping this programme of the Kerala Government.

Now, Kerala has a strong case for a steel plant, none-the-less strong because they have been outshouted by others so far. Kerala has big deposits of magnetic iron ore at Calicut. By electro-magnetic concentration it is possible to enrich this ore to 60 or 65 per cent. An aerial survey is immediately needed to find out whether such deposits exist in the Palghat and Cannanore Districts. We have nearly 1½ million tonnes of limestone. The use of coke can be reduced by electric smelting. There

is sufficient supply of electricity. There is more than sufficient supply of qualified personnel. In view of the acute scarcity of steel in this country and the urgent need to augment its production—which question has come up before this House quite often in the past—I may submit that the setting up of smaller steel plants with shorter gestation periods alongside giant projects deserves serious consideration, and Kerala is ideal in this respect.

Secondly, a titanium complex project for titanium slag, titanium tetrachloride, dioxide, magnesium metal and titanium metal, has been submitted to the Centre by the Kerala Government. Kerala has a very large deposit of limonite. The Central Government is yet to give permission to this project. Applications for licences for nearly 38 industries are pending here with the Industries Ministry. Licence has been applied for the manufacture of pressure vessels. There is no response from here yet. There are immense possibilities in Kerala for the development of a petro-chemical complex linked up with the Cochin Refinery. Its expansion has been proposed; sufficient supply of naphtha would be forthcoming from this expansion. The Kerala Government has submitted a scheme with full blue-prints. Why can't this naphtha be utilised for the development of a petro-chemical complex in Kerala itself. Still, the Central Government has not given any positive answer to this.

In this connection, I would also raise this point that the Planning Commission, I think, has very badly neglected this whole question of the development of petro-chemical industries in the Fourth Five Year Plan. Considering the immense employment potential of this industry, I do not know why the Planning Commission takes up this attitude. I do not know if there are other considerations working with some members of the Planning Commission or what other pulls of invisible strings are behind this.

Then, Sir, there is full scope and possibility for electronic industries in Kerala, for the manufacture of television sets and telephone sets, etc.,

for polyester fibre industries, etc. Schemes in connection with these have been formulated but are held up here. There is scope for ancillary industries for HMT and the production of small cars. These two are held up here.

An Engineer's Cooperative in Kerala has been doing extremely useful, pioneering work. One of our Members of the Rajya Sabha has been its pioneer. He can be proud of the work that he has done. The scooter which they have produced is a model as far as self-reliance and cheapness both are concerned. They are now taking up boat-building too. Now, I was astonished this morning when questions were asked in this house about scooter and foreign collaboration and the Minister concerned was totally evading the questions. Here is an actual cooperative project. They are doing excellent work. They have produced an indigenous scooter. It is very cheap. They want help from the Central Government. Now, instead of giving that, tall plans about foreign collaboration are being talked about here, by the Minister.

Now, Kerala State alone has 4,000 engineers, 8,000 diploma-holders and 30,000 ITI certificate-holders unemployed. I should have thought that there is no better way of solving the unemployment problem in that State than helping forward this co-operative.

Then, Sir, the State Government has also submitted to the Centre a master plan for developing the deep-sea fishing industry in Kerala. It is a very important plan from the point of view of employment potential, solving the food problem and earning foreign exchange. Last year, the fishing industry in Kerala contributed nearly Rs. 37 crores of foreign exchange. Why can't serious consideration be given to this master plan? Apart from this, there are the traditional industries of coir and cashew which need rehabilitation. As far as the coir industry is concerned, the Kerala Government has already submitted a scheme, a full scheme for rehabilitation, based upon co-operatives, costing Rs. 15 crores. It has

[Shri Narayana Kalliyana Krishnan]

been approved by a study group appointed by the Planning Commission. Yet, it is waiting for approval here from the Centre. There are 5 lakh women workers employed in this industry. Ten lakh people throughout the coastal area of Kerala are depending on the coir trade. So, why can't we have this expedited? Then there is the question of the cashew industry. Here, too, one lakh women workers are employed. To-day nearly 40,000 women workers are unemployed. Here, too, there is a scheme prepared by the Kerala Government based upon co-operatives. That is also hanging fire here. And the cashew industry is a very high foreign-exchange-earning proposition. Therefore, Sir, I think the policies of the Ministries concerned need a radical reorientation in favour of the backward regions, the industrially backward regions, because it is futile to talk of fighting monopoly capital in this country unless you give special emphasis to the development of the backward regions.

Coming to the Ministry of Labour, I am afraid that the Ministry of Labour in the recent period has been moving in an extremely dangerous direction in regard to its industrial relations policy. And if this direction is not reversed, I am sorry to say, serious consequences will follow on the entire industrial front. Now, what is the problem? The essence of the problem of industrial relations is the problem of trade union recognition, which has become a central problem to-day not only as regards workers versus employers but also as regards the relationship between the various unions. Now, there are proposals brought forward by the Ministry of Labour to curb the right to strike further, to impose compulsory adjudication and above all, to impose by law the principle of recognition of a union on the basis of verification. The other day there was a debate in the House on the question of democratisation of the administration in the nationalised banks and Members pointed out the pernicious aspects of this verification system. Now, Sir this verification system has been in vogue in Bombay, in Madhya

Pradesh and in Gujarat. And during the last 15 years, it has proved its total bankruptcy. The unions which had been held as the recognised unions on the basis of verification could not command the confidence of even five per cent of the working class. The whole of Bombay went on strike times without number and there was the recognised union sitting powerless. In Madhya Pradesh, I know that in one of the biggest public sector projects the union which has been recognised on the basis of the verification principle, has not submitted returns to the Registrar for the last three years. The doors of the union's office have been kept locked for the last two years because of internecine feuds in that union. And still it is held out as a model of recognition on the principle of verification. Sir, recently the danger has increased because in July this year, in the Standing Labour Committee serious proposals were brought by the Ministry of Labour to impose this principle of recognition by verification by law. And what did they base their arguments upon? They say that a consensus has been arrived at in the Standing Labour Committee. There has been no consensus, Sir. The All India Trade Union Congress boycotted that particular session. The H.M.S. has come out clearly disowning the minutes of the Standing Labour Committee meeting circulated by the Government saying that there is unanimity and consensus. Then, what is that consensus? The consensus is between the Government, the employers and sections of the INTUC, there are certain sober sections in the INTUC itself who understand that this policy is bankrupt. Now, on the basis of this fake consensus, proposals for legislation are being put forward. And if these proposals are carried out, I am sure, the situation on the industrial front will deteriorate very rapidly.

As the AITUC has put forward a proposal, the only democratic solution to this question is to decide the question of union recognition on the basis of a secret ballot of all the workers. What is the wrong with it? Why are people afraid of it? Let the workers express their opinion

through a free secret ballot. The AITUC has put forward this proposal. Not only that, on this question the AITUC has asked that the Prime Minister should convene a meeting of top leaders of all the central trade union organisations to discuss the whole question of the industrial relations policy of the Government because it has got a vital bearing today on the entire public sector also. You know things are being talked about the virtues of the private sector and about the defects of the public sector. Most of the defects of the public sector are precisely because the fifth column of the private sector is operating in the top management of the private sector projects and they are utilising this industrial relations policy of the Government to scuttle production in the public sector, to vitiate the atmosphere in labour relations in the public sector and scuttle the growth of the economy itself. That is partly one of the reasons for the big stagnation in some of the public sector projects like Durgapur, Ranchi, Bhopal, the HMT in Bangalore. The Standard Motors Factory in Madras has locked out nearly 2,000 workers during the last nine months and the management has been sitting tight because they want to victimise the union and they do not want to take these union workers back; they were prepared to open the works without those workers. The Madras Government submitted proposals to the Central Government, to the Industries Department, for the State taking over the Standard Motors. But nothing was done from here. Therefore, the whole question of the industrial relations policy has become a vital matter today for the public sector as well as the private sector. I know there will be people who will object to the principle of recognition of a union on the basis of a ballot. But a realistic solution has got to be found. And experience has amply proved that trying to impose a trade union on the workers on the basis of the so-called verification by a legal and administrative trick will not do. It will not improve industrial relations. Rather it will worsen the industrial relations. The real solution is to compel the employers to give

up this so-called principle of recognition by verification, and consult all the unions. There was a Steel agreement recently as you know, covering the public sector and private sector projects. And how was that Steel agreement arrived at? All the central trade unions were consulted, all the big unions in the various steel plants were consulted. And together the agreement was made. You have thereby yourself admitted the bankruptcy of your principle, the principle of recognition by verification in this Steel agreement. Therefore, a realistic solution has got to be found. And a realistic solution can be found if the Prime Minister accedes to our request that all the top leaders of the central trade unions should be called and this issue should be discussed with them. The question of industrial relations policy has become extremely urgent in the situation today firstly from the point of view of strengthening and democratising the public sector. I have already mentioned to you cases of so many public sector projects. And if repeatedly there are people in this House who get up and denounce the public sector, one big reason for the inefficiency, for the failures, in the public sector is that ensconced at the top in most of these public sector managements, are people who own no loyalty to the principles of the public sector, who are agents of the private sector. And they are utilising this industrial relations policy, the policy of foisting their own unions on the basis of verification on the workers, the policy of enkindling inter-union rivalry, inter-union feud, and profiting on that. Let the public sector plants go to dogs in the process, this is their policy. Therefore, it is firstly from this point of view, and secondly, from the point of view of production, itself that this issue needs to be viewed. Somebody spoke just now saying that the workers should work hard. Take the private sector. The textile industry is a shining example of the honesty and efficiency of the private sector in this country. It prospered under the British sheltering behind the national movement. It had a protected market. And what did it do? It earned fabulous profits, made blackmoney in

[Shri Narayana Kalliyana Krishnan]
crores and crores. This is one of the biggest sources of the crores of blackmoney wandering around in this country and adding to the price rise and inflation. One of the biggest sources is the textile industry, the ill-gotten profits of the private sector in the textile industry, neglecting the urgent need of rehabilitation and renovation.

The Bombay group of mills, the Indu group of mills—see the fraud they had committed. The official Government of India report had come out some time back and disclosed the fraud. There were cases of fraud in connection with Coimbatore Textile Mills. Court judgements have been given on them. Still there are Coimbatore Textile Mills which go on doing that fraud. Therefore, from the point of view of production itself it is no use talking vaguely of incomes and wages policy or of increased production.

The main thing is that the public sector has to be strengthened and extended and a democratic industrial relations policy has to be built up which will give the worker the union that he chooses and with the cooperation of this union you will get the cooperation of the working class to fight the sabotage which big business and the monopolists have started today in industry after industry out of political motives. Therefore, unless the industrial relations policy of the Labour Ministry is radically changed, I am afraid we are going in for serious trouble on the industrial front. Thank you.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA (Mysore): Mr. Deputy Chairman, year after year this has become a practice for the Finance Minister to come for demand for excess grant. It clearly shows that the governmental spending is such that they cannot hold themselves within the annual budgets which both the Houses of Parliament have been passing.

If you look at the last budget, when we started we started with, as has already been pointed out by some of my friends, nearly Rs. 200 crores of deficit. With the other five demands for grants which have come

in later on we are going to have another deficit of nearly Rs. 245 crores and it is estimated that by the time the next budget comes we will end up with deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 600 crores. Where is this taking the country to? This will definitely increase the inflationary tendency which we have already been experiencing for the last one year since the last budget and this will certainly go up further resulting in enormous price rise and inflation in this country. This will not only hit the industries and other sectors, but also the common man who will find himself in a difficult situation of spiralling prices.

Within the brief time available, I would only like to refer to three points, namely, industrial growth, agro-industries and agriculture. So far as industrial growth is concerned it is a miserable failure in its achievement. It has always been said that we would be in a position to reach a 7 per cent growth and as you know we have found it difficult even to go beyond 3 per cent. Why is it so? This is because of the policies which are being pursued by the government both with regard to the public sector and also with regard to the private sector. If this sort of thing goes on, as has already been referred to here—with unemployment rising to nearly 7½ per cent and industrial growth stagnating at 3 per cent—what can we expect out of that? This will certainly put the economy of this country in a worse state than what it is today. Sir, so much has been spoken about the public sector industries. Certainly, we would like the public sector industries to grow. But unfortunately what we find is that stagnation continues and all of them are working with less than their installed capacity and with all the other difficulties be setting them, we are finding that we have to provide resources for maintaining them from the tax payer and the common man. If sufficient interest is not taken in their working and if it is not seen that these public sector industries come up to their installed capacity, certainly there is no hope of regenerating the industrial growth in this country from the public sector.

So far as the private sector is concerned, Sir, the fiscal policies should be properly reviewed and also incentives should be provided because we have accepted as our industrial policy a mixed economy. We cannot say that we are not going to provide any incentive for the private sector to grow. Unless this is done, unless a proper review of the tax structure is done and implemented in the near future, Sir, even the private sector industries which are in a good shape and which are making good progress in the country will also suffer and in the long run, we will have neither the proper growth of the private sector nor of the public sector.

Then, Sir, coming on to agriculture, so much has been talked about the Fourth Plan expenditure for the agricultural sector and what we are going to do for the agricultural development in this country. Hon. Members have already spoken about the necessity of putting in more and more funds into the agricultural sector and then seeing that the green revolution continues. But the other policies we are adopting in agricultural sector should also be in line with the policies for creating this development. But, Sir, let us see what is happening unfortunately. Now, Mrs. Mukhopadhyay was speaking about the proposed amendment to the ceiling legislation which is in West Bengal and which has been recently considered by the Consultative Committee. Sir, some arbitrary decisions seem to have been taken. There was a ceiling at 25 acres and now it is proposed that there should be only a 15-acre ceiling for irrigated land and 20-acre ceiling for non-irrigated land. But who is to decide it? Can half-a-dozen politicians sit and decide what should be the ceiling? Is it not better that some expert advice is taken? Should there not be a study to find out what an economic unit is? Is it possible to say that an income return on 15-acre ceiling in certain areas could be the same in 15 acres in certain other areas? Can we compare the lands of the Punjab with the lands of Rajasthan or some other place of dry land? Sir, the original land reform proposals which emanated from the

Planning Commission were much more reasonable. What was done at that time was that they thought of a certain standard acre as the ceiling and related it to the different yielding areas in different States for different lands. That to some extent provided a sort of ceiling based on overall return of income more or less comparable and which would be suitable to provide gainful employment and also to see that the rural sector maintains itself in a decent economic position just as the urban sector.

Sir, as I have already spoken on this matter, on another occasion the incentive to agriculture should be such, that the economic holding should be such, that the farmer produces not only for himself, but he is in a position to produce a surplus which could be utilised by the non-agricultural community. Otherwise, what is the purpose? It would not serve any purpose for the development of agriculture in this country. If you cut up the land just to two acre bits and if the farmer's family cannot make both ends meet with that, how can we get more and more agricultural produce which will be consumed by the ever growing non-agricultural community? So, what should be the basis for ceiling? It is an economic unit. Whatever we may talk about putting in more and more money into the agricultural sector, if you build up uneconomic units, it will certainly be a waste. I would also mention here that it would be a question of trying to solve unemployment by creating under-employment. By trying to take this arbitrary decision, without proper study, by trying to solve the problem of unemployment by providing land for everybody who is landless, what we are going to do is, we are going to create, under-employment in rural areas in this country. The necessity for agricultural reforms in this country is to siphon off the surplus population from the rural areas and to shift them to the industrial areas and build up large-scale and small-scale industries and then provide gainful employment for all. Otherwise, whatever we will do, we will only be distributing poverty and not any surplus produced in the country.

[Shri U. K. Lakshmana]

Sir, next I come to the agro-industries, particularly with reference to the plantations Sir, plantations form one of the most important agro-industrial bases in this country and the plantation produce, coffee, tea and rubber are providing a large amount of foreign exchange earnings for this country. And, what is it that the Government has been doing for their development? Sir, recently, at the Conference on Tea, they were discussing how best to get proper prices for the tea producers in the under-developed countries

The fiscal policy should be such that the production should be in a position to increase and then we should be in a position to have competitive prices. Whatever price we decide here cannot be taken as the international market price because there are competing countries all over whose cost of production is low. And in order to see that our cost of production is low, it is for the Government to see that proper development funds are made available and fiscal policies are also properly revised. . .

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala): The biggest production was in India.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA: I know. Now I come to foreign owned plantations. Recently a committee was appointed under the Commissions of Enquiry Act by the Kerala Government with Dr. Burdan as Chairman to consider the question of taking over of foreign owned plantations in Kerala State. I just learnt from the press (*Times of India*, dated 14-12-70) that Burdan Committee have recommended taking over of these plantations in Kerala State and according to them the estimated investment on these plantations is about £ 75 lakhs.

AN HON. MEMBER: In Kerala?

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA: Yes. In Kerala there are nearly 53,000 hectares of such tea plantations with 50 to 60 thousand labour. Who is to provide funds for compensation for that? So far as nationalisation of plantation is con-

cerned should we have a national policy or should we leave it to different States since plantations are covered by Central Acts like Tea Act, Coffee Act and Rubber Act? Whatever it is where are the funds to come from? And if the Central government is to provide funds to the States on such ventures, how are they to be provided and before we set right the other public sector industries are we right in plunging into unknown sectors. If these are converted into public sector units will they be in a position to give us proper returns from production?

(Interruptions)

Sir, in this connection I would like to refer to the study which was made by the Finance Ministry itself some time in the beginning of this year. They have said that nationalisation of plantation is not a panacea. They say, Sir, that to nationalise these plantation industries, even on the basis of book value it will require 100 crores of rupees as compensation, and even if the compensation is made by Government bonds the interest payable on these bonds will be 5.5 crores and an estimated return of income after taxation from these plantations will be 5.83 crores. From that point, Sir, there is no economic advantage or case for nationalising plantations at this juncture and such a measure will be a burden on the exchequer. So, Sir, how can these findings of the Finance Ministry against nationalisation of plantations be reconciled with the recommendations of Dr. Burdan Committee, Sir, this is a matter of great importance and this aspect should be looked into seriously. I hope the Hon. Minister will give thought to this and refer to it in his reply.

Before we consider this question of nationalization we must consider what encouragement for development we have been giving. It is only for the last two or three years that a re-planting subsidy has been provided. It is no good; I would like to point out to my friend, Mr. Balachandra Menon, who is also running the Government of Kerala with the help of Congress (R). Sir there today

the agricultural income-tax for Indian owned plantation is 65 per cent, and for foreign owned 75 per cent. I would like to ask my friends whether, after paying 75 per cent as taxes, will anything be available for putting back into the land or for replanting? If 75 per cent is taken away like this, what about the Central tax, what about the Sales-tax and what about the Land-tax? What is there for the industry to put back for improvement and development? That is the reason why this industry has not been able to do large scale replanting.

When conditions have reached that stage you come and say: 'You have not developed, you have not replanted, we shall nationalise'. If you nationalise it, what you are going to get will be something from which you are going to make continuous loss and you will be making the exchequer pay for that as it has happened in the case of steel. This is a matter which should be looked into deeply. It should be considered on a national level and not on the basis of any individual State taking a decision by itself. I am not against nationalisation in key sector. I have said that nationalisation of the key industries was needed but one should be careful in going to the realms which are unknown and difficult like plantation sector and which have an agro-industrial base. Since we have accepted a democratic development in this country on the basis of mixed economy there is no point in harping on nationalisation every time if something goes wrong somewhere. For everything you blame the private sector. The public sector industries are because of the private sector industries. He referred to the HMT. What has the private sector to do with it? This is trying to find an excuse. We must accept the position as it is and I would ask the trade union friends, what is it they have done for the growth of the public sector? They have committed themselves to socialism and public sector industries. Have they done anything to see that the industrial relations in the public sector industries are kept normal? It is they who create trouble. Then they are bringing it to a position

where the public sector industries end up with losses. They should also take part of the blame for that and it is no use trying to excuse themselves by saying that the private sector or fifth-columnists create these difficulties.

With these words I suggest that the Government looks into these matters rationally and pragmatically and not on the basis of ideology alone and see that enough is done for the development of both the agro-industrial and the agricultural sectors.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Whenever a Finance Bill comes to this House for discussion, it seems that perhaps we are encroaching on the rights of others. So far as the Constitution is concerned, the Finance Bill is the property of the Lower House having the popular leaders. However while having a discussion on this Appropriation Bill we get an opportunity to express our views on those matters on which we have not the right to discuss. I shall confine my observations to some of the points on which money has been claimed in the Bill itself. It has been stated in the Bill on displaced persons Rs. 4,54,48,000 will be spent and that amount is to be spent from the Consolidated Fund and sanction has been sought for it.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, on many occasions, on the floor of this House we have discussed the problem of the displaced persons definitely. By 'displaced persons' I mean the persons who came from East Pakistan and who are still coming from that part of Pakistan to this part of our country. Up to date nearly 42 lakhs of refugees have crossed the border and have come to India. In the first phase, Mr. Deputy Chairman, nearly 33 lakhs of people crossed the border, and it was expected after 1959 that there would be no further exodus from that part. Again, in 1964, due to some unfortunate happenings and incidents in East Pakistan as well as in this part of our country there was a heavy exodus to the extent of 8 lakhs of people. Again, in 1970 there was an exodus, and up to date, as per the information we

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee] have from the Rehabilitation Ministry, 2 lakhs of people have crossed the border. Mr. Deputy Chairman, whenever the matter is brought on the floor of this House various statistical informations are provided by the Rehabilitation Ministry and allied Ministries. But if we go through the progress of the rehabilitation of the East Pakistan refugees, we must come to the conclusion that the Government of India lacks in direction and imagination. In 1959 the Government of India made a policy announcement that persons who will come to this part of the country from East Pakistan will not be rendered any relief, will not be rendered any rehabilitation assistance. Even after that nearly 10 lakhs of people have come, and the Government of India are to take the responsibility for rehabilitating them. I am particularly referring to this because the Government of India fails to visualise that there is the scope for the coming of a large number of people from that part of Pakistan as nearly one crore of people are still living and for any unfortunate political instability in Pakistan these persons are being made the scape-goats, say, for their communalism and for the peculiar political situation therein in general. In this connection I would like to urge upon the Government of India that there is the possibility of a change there; a new wind is blowing in that part of Pakistan and Government should take up this issue politically with the Government of Pakistan and see that there is no further exodus. So far as the rehabilitation problem is concerned. Mr. Deputy Chairman, it has been admitted by Government itself that of those persons who came up to 1963, 50 per cent of them required rehabilitation. And when the Government of West Bengal came forward with a scheme of Rs. 51 crores, and pointed out that nearly 21 lakhs of people required further assistance for their rehabilitation, after a good deal of deliberation, after having a long-drawn process of meetings and consultations, the Government of India agreed to appoint a Review Committee consisting of Members of Parliament and certain other important

persons. The Review Committee has not yet submitted their final report. From time to time they are rendering and submitting their interim reports. I do not know what recommendations this Review Committee will make. So far as the new migrants are concerned, it has been pointed out that the Government of India is asking the various State Governments to rehabilitate these new migrants. Mr. Deputy Chairman, only the other day, while replying to a question by Mr. Chitta Basu, the Rehabilitation Minister admitted that till then the Government of India had not a comprehensive scheme, no master plan, to rehabilitate the displaced persons who are coming from East Pakistan. It has been pointed out that the Madhya Pradesh Government have agreed to give the Chambal ravine for the rehabilitation of East Pakistan refugees. But it will take some time for its reclamation; at least four to five years will be taken for the reclamation of the Chambal ravine. The Maharashtra Government have come forward to rehabilitate some East Pakistan refugees in Chanda. But I understand that the *per capita* land, already given to the migrated people, will be reduced I think at present each family, each agricultural family, is provided with a land of 9 acres. Perhaps it will be reduced to 6 to 7 acres. There is the potentiality to rehabilitate 6,000 families in the Andaman Islands. But it depends on how far you can develop the infrastructure therein. And after developing the infrastructure it will be possible to rehabilitate 6,000 families in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. There is scope for developing the Dandakaranya Project in the Koraput district of Orissa. May I ask the Government of India, taking all these points into consideration, taking all these rehabilitation schemes into consideration, to prepare a master plan for the rehabilitation of the East Pakistan refugees? Very often we discuss about the problems of West Bengal, about the law 4 P.M. and order situation in West Bengal. But have we gone into the depth of the problem in West Bengal? If you look at the history of West Bengal for the last 23 years you

will be compelled to come to the conclusion that much depends on the haphazard and half-hearted policy of the Government and the utter negligence in solving the problem of rehabilitation of refugees who came from that part of East Bengal. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, therefore it is high time that the Government of India prepared a master plan. You will be astonished to learn—it has been admitted by the Government itself in a meeting of the Consultative Committee on Rehabilitation—that only 97 paise per head are spent on relief measures for refugees who come from East Pakistan and who are spending their lives in the camps.

SHRI MAHITOSH PURKAYASTHA (Assam): Only 87 paise.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: I stand corrected. And it is not clear how long the Government of India will take to settle these persons; it may be five years, it may be ten years but the Government of India has not come forward with any comprehensive scheme. Perhaps these persons will have to pass their lives in the camps; perhaps these persons will have to pass their lives in the most sub-human conditions. If some of them are converted into Naxalites, if they lose confidence and faith in the existing structure, in the existing system and revolt against the Establishment, I do not find any reason to condemn them. These are the objective conditions there; these are the socio-economic conditions in West Bengal which are leading to all sorts of problems. Therefore the Government of India should take a view of it and should come forward with a master plan for settling the displaced persons from East Pakistan.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it has been stated in the Bill itself that some amount will be spent on flood control and flood relief measures. That also is a telling problem of West Bengal. Only in 1968 a few thousands of people were washed away in some of the North Bengal district towns and till now the Government of India has not come forward with a master

plan for the North Bengal rivers. The West Bengal Government has sent its schemes, delegations are coming and hundreds of people are coming from the northern parts; most of them are coming from the remote villages to place their demands before the Prime Minister but the Government of India is sitting tight and not doing anything. You will be astonished to know that we do not still know when the Farakka project of which we talk so much and on the success of which the entire Calcutta port depends, is going to be completed. It is not clear to us. The Minister in charge of Irrigation and Power has not come forward and is not in a position to ascertain whether 43,000 cusecs of water will pass through the feeder canal to improve the condition of the Calcutta Port. These are the conditions which have to be taken into account.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, Only the other day we were discussing during the question hour the question of land ceilings. If you go through the report, prepared not by any leftist party, prepared not by any party sitting in the Opposition, but prepared by the Union Home Ministry you will be astonished to know how much agrarian tension and how many land grabbing movements took place in India in 1968. Mr. Deputy Chairman, from the report prepared by the Union Home Ministry we find that agrarian movements took place in Assam 5, Andhra Pradesh 5, Bihar 3, Gujarat 1, Kerala 3, Madhya Pradesh 6, Maharashtra 1, Mysore 1, Manipur 1, Orissa 3, Punjab 2, Rajasthan 2, Tamil Nadu 2, Tripura 1, Uttar Pradesh 5 and West Bengal 326. Four thousand people were arrested in Uttar Pradesh because of the launching of the satyagraha movement and land grabbing. It has been admitted by the Report itself that defective land laws are the root cause of agrarian tension.

It has been admitted in the Report itself that defective land laws are at the root of agrarian tension. Defective land laws, defective ceiling system, failure of the Government to prevent *male fide* transfers are at the root of the peasant revolt in different

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee] parts of the country. In West Bengal there may be 367 agrarian movements. That will spread to the other parts of the country. The signal is already there. It is astonishing to note in the Report of the Union Home Ministry that defective land measures, defective land reform Acts are solely responsible . . .

SHRI S. D. MISRA: The hon. Member is speaking so well and we would surely like to hear him, but it is a very thin House. There is no quorum. We must get the minimum number of Members to hear him.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The quorum bell is being rung. In the meantime, you may continue your speech.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: I would like to point out that these things should be taken into account. The Government of India should be cautious regarding the changes that are coming about. It has been pointed out in the Report that there is a large-scale eviction of share-croppers. A large number of share-croppers in all parts of the country are evicted. On what ground is it done? It is on the ground of personal cultivation. It has been pointed out in the Report itself that various State Governments should come forward and the Government of India should provide the guidelines about land reforms. It has been pointed out that on the plea of personal cultivation they should not be evicted. It has been pointed out that on the plea of personal cultivation the Jotdars and their rights should not be changed. It has been categorically stated in that Report. It has not been prepared by any party sitting on the Opposition Benches, but by the Study Team appointed by the Union Home Ministry that personal cultivation should have a clear definition in the laws. It should include the application of manual labour or year-long residence in the land or effective supervision. These should comprise the definition of personal cultivation. It is high time that the Government of India came forward with radical measures to have progressive land reform measures in

almost all the States. Only the other day, the Planning Commission, in a study conducted by it has found that the ceiling laws vary from State to State. In some States it goes up to 627 acres, while in some other States it goes only up to 60 acres. If the Government of India cannot bring about progressive land reforms even after twenty years of independence, even after four Five Year Plans, I do not know how they can contend the revolting peasant, how they can contend the hungry peasant, when there is thirst for land, when there is hunger for land. These are not merely questions of law and order. These are based on socio-economic conditions. If we do not look into it in the true perspective, if we do not look into the socio-economic conditions, no amount of legislation, no amount of assurance and no amount of resolution will solve the problem. Before I conclude I request the Government of India to give serious thought to this problem. Thank you.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to hon. Members for giving their valuable suggestions on the supplementary demands and excess demands which are before the House. The debate was not confined only to the demands put forward before the House. The discussion covered the entire Indian economy and depending on the political position of the various speakers, they have dealt with the Indian economic situation with its political overtones and in the manner they feel.

I was very much surprised to hear Shri S. D. Misra who painted a picture of our economy and the situation in the country in a manner as if everything is disintegrating in this country. I would only appeal to him and put before him that while undoubtedly we have problems which our economy faces—we have very serious problems of social tension, we have very serious problems with which the country is confronted—but very much of the difficulty that we face today has been created by Shri S. D. Misra and the gentry which belongs to his party whose politics . . .

SHRI S. D. MISRA: I want to understand how I have created the difficulties. The residue is there. The defectors are there. Now let them take the blame. Why are they blaming us? We are not in the Government.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Give us some time. You have been too long there. I was trying to say . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: You have been in the Government.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: I am not there at the moment.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: I was trying to say that the politics of *status quo* which he and his friends follow today and have been following were responsible for many of the difficulties that we face today and many of the hesitations which we had, and he has left us and it is very good for the country that he has left us. I think, Sir, that after their leaving . . .

SHRI MAN SINGH VARMA (Uttar Pradesh): It is also good that you have come in.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: . . . we are making very serious effort to improve the economy and get rid of the policies that our friends have been forcing the party which runs the Government to follow.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: I request the hon. Minister—I am a culprit, I do concede—I want a reply on facts that I have given. I want a reply on facts. If I am wrong, I will be glad to say I am wrong. I said let there be a reply on facts that I have stated before the House. It is no use your accusing me and my accusing you.

श्री नेकीराम (हरियाणा) : जवाब ही तो है। जवाब दे तो रहे हैं। आप बैठिये।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : आप नहीं समझे हैं। दूध पियो। इनको दूध पिलवाइये हरियाणा का। क्या यह समझेंगे, भैंस का दूध पीने हैं। गाय का दूध पियो तो समझेंगे।

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Shri Misra mentioned that there were savings and asked why it was necessary to come forward before the House for supplementary demands when the savings were there. As the House knows, parliamentary approval is necessary whenever there is likely to be an excess expenditure over the grant and expenditure on new services which have not been provided for in the Budget, and even though the expenditure can be met out of savings, at least a token grant becomes necessary. Certain new items of expenditure like the interim relief or the expenditure on new migrants who come week after week to this country or the cyclone relief cannot be foreseen, and that is why it becomes necessary to come before the House and ask for supplementary demands or ask for confirmation of excess expenditure.

Sir, Shri Misra also mentioned about the fantastic figure of Rs. 30,000 per day being spent on the Prime Minister and her Secretariat. I have got some figures here because he said that it has never been contradicted. Budget provision for 1970-71 for the establishment charges of the Prime Minister's Secretariat was Rs. 14,46,000, Prime Minister's pay Rs. 27,000, the Prime Minister's sumptuary allowance Rs. 6,000, travelling allowance Rs. 1,000 because the Prime Minister is entitled to travel by IAF. This works out to roughly Rs. 4,000 per day, and not Rs. 30,000 as was put before the House by Shri Misra and previously by many other Members.

Sir, about the economy of the country we do not agree with some of the speakers, particularly those belonging to the parties which are now known as the parties of the Grand Alliance who put before us a gloomy and disintegrating picture of the economy . . . (Interruptions) I am interested in grand alliance, he is interested in triple alliance.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: You have triple alliance between the Muslim League, the CPI and your party.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about the Jana Sangh?

SHRI OM MEHTA: Yours is neither grand nor alliance.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: Ask the Minister to reply to the points and not talk about politics unnecessarily. Otherwise there will be replies from here also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is referring to a wedlock which is almost in the process of divorce in Gujarat.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: Even now it is strong, it will continue to be stronger.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I can say, they will be visiting the house of sin very soon.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: Don't worry. Your . . .

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa): Let it be decided when the mid-term poll comes. Why waste the time of the House?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Panda, do not interrupt please.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Government is conscious of the fact that there are very serious economic difficulties which are being faced. In an expanding economy, the question of providing resources is a very large and difficult problem. And this House has discussed many a time the question of rising prices, the question of unemployment, the question of losses in the public sector undertakings and also the question of licensing policy and I do not think it is possible for me to go into the entire gamut of the questions. (Interruptions). It is not very inconvenient, of course, and I may answer them, Sir.

श्री नेकीराम : वह तो अकेले बैठे हैं बेचारे ।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र : मैं तो अकेला हूँ लेकिन आगे हूँ, तुम अकेले हो लेकिन सबसे पीछे हो । भैंस का दूध पीते रहोगे तो अकल मोटी होगी ।

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Very recently, only a couple of days back, the Finance Minister dealt with the price situation and placed before the House that the problem of prices has to be seen in an integrated manner, we cannot take one step here or one step there which will bring about stabilisation of prices. It has to be a part of the general economic development, it has to be a part of certain steps that are necessary so that speculation could be stopped, so that credit could go for productive purposes, so that production could increase. And also, certain regulatory measures, wherever they are necessary, are taken.

All these integrated steps alone will stabilise the prices. I may inform the House that even to-day the wholesale price index has shown a general decline. The wholesale price index which was at 183.8 at about the 10th October, 1970, had come down to 180.2 on the 28th November, 1970.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: When was that? Now there is a contradiction between him and his own Minister. The other day, Mr. Y. B. Chavan, while replying to the debate on the price situation, admitted himself that it had gone from 182.1 to 193.1. This was about 15 days back. Now, how is he saying that it has come down?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: So far as I remember, Mr. Chavan said that the prices have come down as compared to last month or the previous month, but that as compared to the same month last year, they have gone up.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: He is comparing 181 of last year to this.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Last month.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: Let him be sure of his facts.

श्री मान सिंह वर्मा : क्या यह सही बात है कि कीमतें कम हुई हैं ? आप ईमानदारी से कहें कि किस चीज के दाम कम हुए हैं ?

श्री के० आर० गणेश : मैं यही कह रहा हूँ ।

श्री मान सिंह वर्मा : आप गलत कह रहे हैं ।

श्री ब्रोम् मेहता : गन्धम के दाम कम हो गये हैं ।

SHRI S. D. MISRA: Your statement is wrong. You are not wrong; the statement given to you by some others is wrong.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: The latest figures available on the price index show that it has fallen down to 180.2.

SHRI MAN SINGH VARMA: It is only a jugglery of figures, nothing else.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: I concede that this downward trend in prices which is being seen may not present a complete and total picture of the situation in the country. As the Finance Minister pointed out, a very serious effort will have to be made to arrest the rise in prices. He also outlined a series of steps that the Government propose to take on this question.

Sir, it has also been pointed out that industrial production is falling and that man-days are being lost as a result of strikes. Our Swatantra Member and even Mr. S. D. Misra, while conceding the need for interim relief and the various emoluments that have been given as a result of wage agreements in various industrial establishments, said that these are unproductive expenditure and blamed the Government for this expenditure. Sir, what is the alternative policy which our friends have got to put before this country, an alternative to the policy that the Government has been following? The Government has been following a policy of planned development of the country, of increasing production, of industrialisation. Now, after 15 years of industrialisation, industrialisation of the kind the representative of the Swatantra Party wants, it was found that the national income was not distributed to large sections of the society, but it went to fatten the 75 monopoly houses. As a result of that, the licensing system and the Monopolies Act came. Now, Sir, we on

this side of the House are also conscious that without increased production and without rapid industrialisation, it is not possible to build the economic base in the country, it is not possible to generate surpluses and it is not possible to provide the basic minimum necessities to the people. But in the development of the kind that was seen during the last 15 years and which some of our friends on that side want, instead of development tensions have grown, monopolies have grown.

And some of the basic, chronic, problems of the Indian society and the Indian economy continue to remain. So, as the Prime Minister said, it is necessary to have growth with social justice, and whenever there is a conflict between growth and social justice, it is the primary responsibility of the State to come in and see that regulatory measures are taken.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: Nobody is denying that.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Then about the public sector enterprises, it is a very usual criticism that is there about their not making profits. We are conscious of the fact that the public sector enterprises are not functioning as efficiently as they should function. But in recent years the survey that has been made has shown that out of 86 or 87 public sector projects, a majority of them have made profits. The profits may not be very large, but they have made profits. And steps are being taken to see that the public sector projects work efficiently, that they work with profitability and to their full capacity. I concede that one of the major problems is that the public sector enterprises are not working to full capacity in some places due to various reasons which have been put before the House. But at least half of the public sector industries are making profits and steps are being taken to see that the management is modernised, that efficiency is generated there, and that better labour-employer relations are brought about in the public sector industries, so that some of the problems that we face could be remedied.

[Shri K. R. Ganesh]

Then, one of the honourable Members asked about the allocations to West Bengal. Sir, as you are aware and as the House is aware, when the Budget was placed before the House, certain allocations were made to West Bengal and they were made on the realisation of the special conditions that exist . . .

SHRI S. D. MISRA: Sir, before the Minister goes to another point—probably he is going to take up another point—I would request him, through you, kindly to enlighten me on my question, and if I am wrong, I will be glad about it. For the ready reference of the Minister I may tell him without repeating the whole thing . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Who can enlighten you? You cannot feel enlightened.

SHRI S. D. MISRA: . . . in the Fourth Five Year Plan Rs. 3,000 crores were to be invested in the public sector and Rs. 2,250 crores in the private sector. So in one year it should be Rs. 1,050 crores. That means for two years it should be Rs. 2,100 crores. As against that, is it not a fact that only Rs. 1,200 crores have been invested both in the private sector and the public sector? Am I right or am I wrong? How far am I right or how far am I wrong? Kindly enlighten me, and if I am wrong, I will be glad about it.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Sir, the honourable Member asked a very detailed query involving many facts. I do not have all the details readily available with me. I will get them and I promise to supply the honourable Member with all the details that he has asked for.

Sir, I was referring to the allocations made to West Bengal. I was saying that certain allocations have been made to West Bengal on the realization of the very special circumstances and the situation that exist in West Bengal. As far as West Bengal is concerned, I can only assure the honourable Member that the Prime Minister herself placed the

proposals before the House and there may not be much difficulty about finding allotments for West Bengal wherever the West Bengal Government is in a position to utilise those allotments. Unfortunately, much of the allotment that has been made could not be utilised because of various conditions existing there, because of the state of the administration there, because of the general social and political conditions there.

Quite a lot of money that has been allotted has not been utilised. I can assure the hon. Member that so far as the economic development of West Bengal is concerned, there may not be much difficulty in finding the necessary resources.

Shri Misra also pointed out about banks and he said that there is difficulty in the working of the banks and even the balance sheets have not been drawn up. As you know, the Banking Companies (Acquisition) Act, 1969 was struck down by the Supreme Court and the new Act replacing it came on 31st March 1970. In this new situation the fourteen former banking companies stood transferred and vested in the new fourteen undertakings and during this period that has passed between the taking over and the new Act audit had to be done. There has been some delay in this because the auditors had raised certain queries. Now the Reserve Bank has directed the banks that by 31st December, 1970 all their final accounts should be ready and it is expected that the reports and accounts of all the banks will be published before that date.

Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee has mentioned the problem of displaced persons. This problem has been discussed many a time and the House and the country are conscious of the fact that these unfortunate brethren of ours who are driven out from East Pakistan have got to be rehabilitated and the government has a programme and scheme for rehabilitation. This scheme has to be implemented with much greater speed. The honourable Member said that 6,000 families could be settled . . .

SHRI S. D. MISRA: With 86 paise can the Minister or his family carry on? They are paid 86 paise per day

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Even a criminal who is in the police custody is offered Rs. 3 a day.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: The hon. Member mentioned about 6,000 families being settled in Andaman and Nicobar islands. He knows that the East Bengal settlers have been settled in those islands and since I come from that area I can assure him that it is one of the few places where settlement has taken place and they have been fully settled. Only difficulty is that there is not that much of land as it is generally understood and very valuable forests have got to be cleared according to some plan. It is not possible to have very quick clearance and it is a small area. I know for certain that the Andaman administration is trying its best to see that areas according to the plans of the Rehabilitation and Agriculture Ministers are cleared when more families could be settled. Sir, the debate has brought out many points and I have tried to reply to some of the concrete points. As I mentioned, larger questions of economy, prices, employment and licensing policy, with their political overtone, have been discussed many times in this House. With these words, I appeal to the House that these demands may be returned.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is,

"That the Bill to provide for the authorisation of appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the amounts spent on certain services during the financial year ended on the 31st day of March, 1969, in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The question was put and The motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Sir, I move:
"That the Bill be returned."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Bill No. 5. The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1970-71, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI K. R. GANESH: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

The question was proposed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I want to bring to the notice of the House a fact—what I know to be a fact—and I think this should receive the attention of the House. Sir, I understand that in Calcutta, the Birlas are trying to sell their air-conditioned building, 'Industry House' in 10, Carmac Street, and negotiations are going on with the Defence Department of the Government of India to sell this building for a sum of Rs. 220 crores, that is, two crores and twenty lakhs of rupees. Now, Sir, in this connection, I would also like to point out to you that the carpet area of the premises is roughly 1,30,000 sq. ft. and the value per sq. ft. of covered area comes to Rs. 170. This sounds ridiculously high, but the Birlas are capable of doing it. In fact, they have recently managed to

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]
sell their old, dilapidated house in Thestro Road, Calcutta to the Government of Nagaland for a sum of Rs. 30.00 lakhs which would not have fetched even half the price if sold at ruling rates. I understand that some high officials are in league with the Birlas in this matter and are trying to negotiate with the Birlas. I would like to know what exactly is the position in this matter, whether the information is true or not. I give notice of this because I think that it would be in public duty to forewarn the Government that no such deal should be gone into with the Birlas and I should like to know the meaning of this deal between the Nagaland Government which is in close touch with the Government of India and the Birlas for selling this Birla house to the Nagaland Government for thirty lakhs of rupees. Now, Sir, these are very serious matters.

Before I sit down, I also like to know from the Government what steps they have taken to remove the flags from what you call the palaces of the princes. I understand they are flying in almost all the princes' palaces. I understand that the Rajmata of Gwalior has refused to give up any of the official privileges she was enjoying. That has happened in other cases also. Therefore, Sir, this fact I would like to bring to the notice of the Government, and this should be gone into.

Sir, before I sit down, I would like to warn the Government about one thing. Tomorrow we are told that the Supreme Court is delivering its judgment on the Administrative Order on the Privy Purses, etc. We do not know what the judgment will be like. If the judgment is in our favour, I have nothing to say. If the judgment is against the Administrative Order, the Government should not just take it lying down. The Government should immediately introduce a Bill in this House and get it passed . . . (Interruptions). I am sure there will be a greater chance of its being passed now. I have calculated, Sir, that the Government can introduce a Bill, without any long notice. They can give two days' notice. Tomorrow

if the judgment goes against us, the day-after-tomorrow the Government can introduce the Bill. If necessary, they can extend the House by a day or two. We should pass the Bill before we disperse. This is the sentiment in many quarters. We have been threatened all the time by certain quarters that this Bill or this Administrative Order abolishing Privy Purses is going to be set aside by the Supreme Court and that something will follow. The only thing that will follow in the event of annulment of this Administrative Order is that the Parliament should re-enact the Constitution (Amendment) Bill. Sir, some difficulties are there, I know, about communications and other things. I think if we give notice, members will be here by next week and I think we can pass it. Surely this should be discussed. We must not allow them to get away under the cover . . . (Interruptions). It is not a financial question: it is a question of national honour, national dignity, national demands. We should make our authority absolutely unassailable, if necessary, by an amendment of the Constitution. I again suggest what has been suggested to you in the morning that the Rules Committee should immediately meet and clear up the position, so that only at the final stage, at the passing stage it will be necessary to have two-third majority.

These are my suggestions, Sir. I think these should be seriously gone into by the Government. I hope Mr. Om Mehta will kindly convey to proper quarters the sentiments of the House on this . . .

(Interruptions)

Sir, my impression is that if this Bill is brought again, many of these gentlemen may not come and vote against it. My impression is this. A good news! The Old Congress is sinking under the weight of its own seat in Gujarat . . .

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

SHRI S. D. MISRA : We are surprised that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta should take the time of the House on such matters when he is the secret principal advisor of this Government. He secretly advises them. What is the use of advising so openly in this House? When he talks of alliances, it looks really ridiculous. He is already aligned with the reactionary forces outside this country. If he aligns with the Muslim League and the Congress(R) whom he criticises openly here, it has no meaning. He should not be so hypocritical. Having said this, I have to mention another point. I have a small but very important matter to mention. Since the last 60 days there is a strike going on by very small people—cooks, bearers, barbers, orderlies, etc.—in the Irwin Hospital here and the reason is, not that they are fighting for more pay, etc. but what they say is, the Second Pay Commission made some recommendations about them and that what the Willingdon Hospital people and the Central Government Hospital people are getting, they should also be paid by the Delhi Administration. The other hospitals are paying the enhanced rates and confirmations, etc. are being done according to the Pay Commission recommendations. Since the last 60 days these people have been on strike but nobody is looking into their grievances. It is not as if some small people have gathered there on strike for mere wages but because so many thousands of people of the same category have got those facilities, why is it that they are not granted the same? I request the Minister to look into this and see that the situation is remedied because they are really not unskilled people who are being denied by the Irwin Hospital authorities but they are semi-skilled people and for semi-skilled people the Pay Commission has recommended something more which is being given in the hospitals of the Central Government here. Therefore I request that this should be looked into and implemented.

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : माननीय डिप्टी चैयरमैन महोदय, इस सदन में गत बार प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने यह आश्वासन दिया था कि

निकट भविष्य में राष्ट्रपति भवन पर और जितनी भी गवर्नरो की इमारतें हैं, उन पर जो हमारा राष्ट्रीय झंडा है, उसका उत्तोलन होगा और वही लगाया जाएगा और प्रेसीडेंट का या गवर्नरो के जो अपने झंडे हैं, वह अब नहीं लगाए जाएंगे । लेकिन मुझे अफसोस है कि उस आश्वासन के बाद से अभी तक वही पुराने झंडे फहरा रहे हैं । इसलिए मेरी गुजारिश है कि सरकार कम से कम 26 जनवरी तक, जो आ रहा है, उस रोज से जो राष्ट्रपति भवन पर और सभी गवर्नरो की जो इमारतें हैं, सब जगहों पर जो हमारा राष्ट्रीय फ्लैग है, उसका उत्तोलन होना चाहिए । हमारे भूपेश गुप्त जी ने प्रिवी पर्स के बारे में कहा, उसका क्या फैसला होगा । फैसला क्या होगा वह तो मालूम है, लेकिन सरकार से हमारी . . .

श्री मान सिंह वर्मा : कैसे मालूम हुआ ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : हम जरा ज्यादा आपसे जानते हैं । आप जनसंघ के बैकवर्ड हैं . . .

श्री मान सिंह वर्मा : इसका मतलब है आप मिले हुए हैं ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : . . . प्रतिक्रियावादी हैं, इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ . . .

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) : अभी तक तो बैकवर्ड आप समझे जाते थे ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : . . . और मेरी गुजारिश है प्रधान मंत्री और कैबिनेट से कि यह एक रोज का सवाल नहीं है, यह बराबर सवाल आएगा, इसलिए राष्ट्रपति को राय दें कि जल्द से जल्द यह जो मौजूदा संविधान है, इसको सस्पेंड करें, समूचे पार्लियामेंटको, इस सदन को, लेजिस्लेटिव असेम्बली को, कौंसिल को तोड़ कर नए सिरे से कंसेप्ट देकर कि प्रापर्टी का फंडामेंटल राइट चला जाएगा, कम्पेन्सेशन क्लाज जाएगा, इस प्रकार एक नए संविधान के लिए नयी कांस्टीट्यूएन्ट असेम्बली बने, यह जल्दी से जल्दी सरकार

[शीलभद्र याजी]

करे, तभी इस देश का कल्याण है और समाजवाद का निर्माण होगा नहीं तो यह ग्रैंड एलायन्स व ले गड़बड़ करेगे।

श्री मान सिंह वर्मा : कम से कम उसमें आप जैसे आदमी तो लिए जाएंगे।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : इन शब्दों के साथ मैं फिर आशा करता हूँ कि यह चीज जल्दी होगी और यह जितने ग्रैंड एलायन्स वाले हैं, उनको मुह की खानी पड़ेगी। जय हिन्द।

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Sir, I want to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the jute strike that is going on for a number of days in Calcutta. It is my information that the jute manufacturers themselves want the strike because that way the price of jute increases and they can bargain with the Government and the people for more. On the other hand, the jute producer loses. That is my information.

I would say that the Prime Minister herself should look into the problem and settle it, and if the jute industry does not in any way co-operate, it is time for the jute industry to be nationalised. No more delay should take place in the matter and the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister should look into it and see that the jute industry either comes to terms or is nationalised. There is no other way. I would request the Government that they should not fall a prey to the jute manufacturers' threats by reducing the excise duty or the export duty. I would like the Government to take immediate action in this connection.

Secondly, I would like to know whether the hon. Deputy Minister knows a fact which has been reported in the papers today—about the remarks of Dr. Gadgil, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, with regard to the Tariff Commission. It is very clear that the Tariff Commission—as I have said earlier in this House—is essentially under monopolistic control. Their reports are sometimes giving them costs which they themselves do not want. It is high time our Tariff Commission is

scrapped. Or, if you want to keep it, put some other people who understand the problem and who can take the country in a particular direction; but all the present staff should be changed. I want the hon. Minister to please look into it and also bring to the notice of the Prime Minister the remarks made by Dr. Gadgil. They are very important and it is a very pressing problem. It is high time when a critical decision should be taken, whether the Tariff Commission should be there or it should be scrapped.

Lastly, in the light of what Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Kulkarni have said about the privy purses, the rules in this House must be changed immediately and a Bill for the abolition of privy purses and privileges must be brought in. This time the sittings of both the Houses of Parliament should be extended and, before we adjourn, the privy purses Bill must become an Act and get the Presidential assent. After the decision of the Supreme Court tomorrow we need not wait any more and no delay should take place. We need not adjourn on the 13th. We can sit for two or three more days. The rules can be suspended. Immediate action is required in this connection.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : उपसभापति महोदय, आपकी ही अनुमति से कुछ विचार इस विषय के संबंध में प्रस्तुत किये गये और मैं समझता हूँ कि जब उनको अनुमति दे दी गई तो फिर इस संबंध में मुझे भी बोलना आवश्यक है।

आर्थिक अवस्था के सम्बन्ध में पहले ही चर्चा हो चुकी है और मुझे उसमें जाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। इस बात की तरफ आग्रहपूर्वक कहा गया है कि देश की आर्थिक अवस्था काफी गिरी हुई है और उसको सम्भालना यह बहुत हिम्मत की बात है। सरकार के सामने आज वास्तव में एक आर्थिक संकट बड़े पैमाने के रूप में खड़ा हुआ है। आज इस आर्थिक संकट का मुकाबला करने के लिए और लोगों के सामने अपनी आर्थिक नीतियों को सही स्थापित करने के लिए सरकार

बहाना ढुंढने लगी है। माननीय सदस्य प्रिवी-पर्स और उसके जजमेंट की बात करने लगे हैं। मुझे श्री कृष्ण कान्त के इस सुझाव में कोई आपत्ति नहीं है कि संविधान के अन्तर्गत सदन के नियमों के अन्तर्गत रूल्स कमेटी मे संशोधन करने की गुंजाइश है, तो सरकार कोई बिल लाये, क्योंकि वह आज सत्ता में है और उसे लाने का अधिकार है। सदन अगर किसी चीज को पास करना चाहती है तो वह पास कर सकती है और अगर फैंकने का फैसला करती है तो वह फैंक सकती है। परन्तु अगर प्राजातन्त्रीय परिवर्तन की परिधि में किसी व्यवस्था को समाप्त करने का बिल है, तो मुझे किसी प्रकार से भी मनभेद नहीं है। लेकिन श्री नीलभद्र याजी एक कदम आगे बढ़ गये। जब इस प्रकार के सदस्य यहां बोलते हैं, तो मैं समझता हूं कि यह सरकार ऐसे व्यक्तियों के माध्यम से उसके मन में छिपे हुए चोर को प्रकट करना चाहते हैं। इस समय संविधान में संशोधन का सवाल नहीं है, इसकी आड़ में प्राजातन्त्रीय व्यवस्थाओं में ही संशोधन करने का सोचा जा रहा है।

सवाल यह है कि जनतन्त्रीय व्यवस्थाओं के आधीन वे अपनी बात इस सदन से मनवा सकते हैं या नहीं मनवा सकते हैं। आज अगर वे अपनी बात मनवा नहीं सकते तो इसी आधार पर संविधान में संशोधन नहीं, संविधान को समाप्त कर जनतन्त्रीय व्यवस्था को बजाय अधिनायकवादी शासन स्थापित करना चाहते हैं। यह बात अगर खुल कर कहें तो सारे देश में उनकी नीयत का पता लगेगा कि अब उन्होंने लगता है कि जनतन्त्रीय तरीकों से वह चलना नहीं चाहते, वे अब अपनी बातों को बलपूर्वक देश के ऊपर लदवाने के लिए अधिनायकवादी मनोवृत्ति का सहारा लेना चाहते हैं। अगर वे कोई भी सुधार इस देश में पार्लियामेंटरी पद्धति से करना चाहते हैं, तो उनको इस बात के लिए तैयार रहना चाहिए कि अगर उनकी बात पार्लियामेंट में फ़ेजेशन आफ ए वोट से भी फेल हो जाए, तो उन्हें इतनी डेमोक्रेटिक मेंबर प्रगट करनी चाहिए कि उस डिफ़ीट को

स्वीकार करें बजाय इसके कि चारों तरफ दुनिया में कहते फिरें कि हमारी दुम अटक गई थी, बाकी हाथी तो हमने निकाल दिया था। यह कहना जनतन्त्रीय परम्परा और मनोवृत्ति के अनुकूल नहीं है। इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि यह संविधान को समाप्त करने की धौंस और धमकियां प्रगतिशीलता के नाम पर नहीं है, यह अधिनायकवाद के नाम पर है। हम इस बात का प्रयत्न करेंगे, इस देश की जनता को अपने साथ ले जाने का प्रयत्न करेंगे कि कोई भी ऐसा कदम जो इस देश में जनतंत्र को समाप्त करने के लिए तरजीह देगा, उसका वह डट कर मुकाबला करें।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do you want to reply to these points?

SHRI K. R. GANESH: These points have been noted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill be returned".

The motion was adopted.

THE APPROPRIATION (RAILWAYS) NO. 4 BILL, 1970

THE APPROPRIATION (RAILWAYS) NO. 5 BILL, 1970

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are the two Appropriation (Railways) Bills, Nos. 4 and 5, and we will take them up simultaneously as we did earlier in respect of those two Appropriation Bills.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA): I move:

"That the Bill to provide for the authorisation of appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the amounts spent on certain services for the purposes of Railways during the financial year ended on the 31st day of March, 1969, in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration".

I also move: