

[श्री श्यामनन्दन मिश्रा]

इस बात में बिल्कुल देरी नहीं की जानी चाहिये, नहीं तो हर दिन इस सदन का समय कुछ न कुछ वहाँ की घटनाओं के बारे में लग ही जायेगा और इससे सदन का समय का नुकसान होगा। अगर आप जल्दी से इसके लिए समय निश्चित कर देंगे तो उसमें हमारी सारी भावना और हमारे सारे विचार आ जायेंगे और फिर इस बात के बारे में कुछ न कुछ कहने की कोशिश नहीं करेंगे। इसलिए मेरी गुजारिश है कि आप इस चीज के लिए जल्द से जल्द वक्त निश्चित कर दें।

**THE BUDGET (GENERAL) 1970-71 —
GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.**

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to take this opportunity to express myself on the situation in science and technology in the country. In the political situation of the country today when parties have split and the main preoccupation of every Ministry and party leadership has become a problem of survival, science and technology appears to have taken a back seat. In fact, the uncertainty and the fights in the political field have penetrated into the scientific bodies also. Perhaps the two recent events of importance worth noting relate, one, to the first part of the Sarkar Committee's Report dealing with irregularities and complaints about appointments of non-scientists in the CSIR, and the other is the announcement in the newspapers that the Government proposes to hand over the National Laboratories to the so-called user Ministries. So far as the Sarkar Committee's Report is concerned, I can say that after a labour of two years and an expenditure of a few lakhs of rupees, it appears to have produced precious little. The Report is self-contradictory in certain parts and the conclusions do not appear to be based on the facts as scrutinised by the Committee itself. In my earlier speeches, I had told the House that when I had insisted the setting up of this Committee, I wanted it to go into the deplorable situation in the CSIR and not spend all its time in looking into a few cases of alleged irregular appointments here and there. That was not my intention. The situation in the CSIR has remained what it

was. In fact, it has worsened. The way the Sarkar Committee report was leaked out and distorted versions, based on partisan consideration, released shows that this report has not escaped from the factional fight in the C.S.I.R. Since I myself have spoken on this subject a number of times, I am glad to note that no charge of *mala fide* or improper appointment has been proved against the e.v. Director General.

The Committee also appears to have held that whatever the impressions created in regard to the large number of appointments in the regional Research Laboratory, Hyderabad, there was nothing improper in this. The Committee has also come to the conclusion that the allegations of appointment of non-scientists were really a case of confusion in regard to designations and there was no substance in regard to the charges that large-scale appointments of non-scientists have taken place in senior positions in the C.S.I.R. Since these were the main allegations and they have been cleared, I strongly feel that this chapter should not be considered as closed. I would only say that care should be taken that no unsubstantiated allegations are made against scientists and scientific institutions; otherwise untold damage would be done to the morale of the scientists and the organisation.

I would also like to raise here one point on which the Sarkar Committee has given a clear verdict that this House was not given correct information in regard to the qualifications of Mr. Suri. I had tried to place facts straight even at that time. But the hon'ble Minister did not care to correct his earlier version. This young scientist, with great dynamism was maligned and hounded out of the C.S.I.R. by the intrigues of the Central office. That was my exact charge. The Sarkar Committee has admitted that a wrong impression was given to Parliament and that the Minister concerned should have corrected this impression. It is a matter of privilege of the House, and if the Minister does not take steps to rectify his mistake even at this time, I will be constrained to bring a motion of privilege against the Education Minister for misleading the House and giving wrong facts about a promising scientist like Mr. Suri. I would like the Minister of Education to investigate as to how wrong information was supplied about Mr. Suri by the C.S.I.R. Secretariat.

The Committee has also completely cleared some other Directors about irregularity in their appointment. I understand that the cases of confirmation of some of the scientists, about which I have been speaking earlier in this House also, and the Directors have been kept pending on the plea that the Sarkar Committee was going into this question of their appointment. Now that the Sarkar Committee verdict has come before us, immediate steps should be taken by the Prime Minister to confirm these scientists, so that the uncertainty in regard to their tenure is ended.

There are several other things. In some cases contracts have not been renewed. In some cases they have been served notice. In some cases the resignations are pending on which no decision has been taken for months together and the scientists are being treated like daily wage people getting their salary from month to month. This is a most unsatisfactory situation as far as the scientists and the technologists are concerned.

I would also like to point out that even in regard to holding up confirmation and contract, the C.S.I.R. office has been playing a double game. Whereas all these confirmations have been held up, that of an Assistant Director in the R.R.L., Hyderabad, was confirmed in opposition to the recommendation of the Director of that Laboratory. Will you not call it a case of double stan-dar? On the one side you do not confirm well-known people who may be serving in the C.S.I.R., you do not renew their contract; on the other side you confirm an Assistant Director against the wishes of the Director. These kinds of things are happening in the laboratories from day to day. I would like the Prime Minister to look into how double standards are being applied in the C.S.I.R. However, I am glad that this phase of the Sarkar Committee's work, going through hundreds and thousands of complaints, true or false, is over.

Sir, rather than appointing an officer, as suggested by the Committee to go into the numerous complaints, I would suggest that institutional machinery should be available within the C.S.I.R. organisation which an aggrieved person or a director could appeal to and expect an impartial treatment of his case.

There is an urgent need for this type of machinery to give a sense of assurance, fairness, security and justice to the scientific community in the C.S.I.R. May I request that the Prime Minister may take urgent steps to set up a subcommittee of the Governing Body consisting of non-C.S.I.R. scientists who could be constituted into a court of appeal to look into any case of injustice that might be raised by a scientist. And Sir, what I have said about this institutional committee applies to all the departments of the Government of India.

The complaints by the junior people are looked into by the highest offices in the department. They have their own prejudices. They have their own methods of working; it is almost impossible today in the entire Government of India to get justice in the case of junior officers because those who control are senior officers. Unless this thing is corrected, I am afraid, no progress would be possible. Whether it is the Railways, whether it is this Ministry or that Ministry, the case is similar; no justice is possible. Unless we create that atmosphere that justice will be available to one and all wherever he is placed, whether in the highest post or the lowest post, whether he is a Secretary or a worker in the lowest rung of the ladder, the sense of frustration which is found all over will not be removed.

While the Sarkar Committee is still to go into the most important item of its terms of reference, the working of the C.S.I.R. and suggest improvements, the Government is already going forward with the suggestion to disintegrate the C.S.I.R. and hand over its laboratories to the different concerned Ministries. I oppose this move with all the emphasis at my command. I cannot understand the logic of this remedy which appears to be worse than the disease. Destroying the integrity of the C.S.I.R. organisation is tantamount to destroying the image of science in the country. I know there is a great need for improvement in the C.S.I.R. working. But this is hardly the way to do it, namely, by disintegrating the whole C.S.I.R. setup which was built up by the late Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru with all enthusiasm. We will be undoing what that great Prime Minister did in his life-time. I have already written to the Prime Minister to give up the idea to disintegrate the C.S.I.R. organisation

[Shri M. P. Bhargava] The question is as to what exactly has to be done to make the C.S.I.R. a purposeful organisation.

I would suggest that if the C.S.I.R. organisation is to be a useful organisation it should not be located in the present Ministry of Education but it should form part of a new Ministry of Science and Technology. This is not a new idea which I am throwing out today. I have been persistently saying that there is a great need for a Ministry of Science and Technology. When the Education Ministry used to be called the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, in the other House there was a lot of talk about science.

But since the time it has become Ministry of Education, talk about science and technology has gone down very much in that House, because there is no occasion to talk about these things. Credit must go to this House which keeps up the talk about science and technology most of the time.

If the country is to progress nobody can differ from me that development of science and technology is a "must". And rather than allow disintegration of the CSIR and undo all the work which has been done, we must create conditions where the CSIR can function much more effectively. Now, I will just give the practice the world over. The world over there is a trend that industrial research and industrial production should be under the same management. Thus, in Japan the Ministry of International Trade and Industry which controls all policies in regard to industrial development, public and private sector industries and foreign collaboration, is also given the responsibility for controlling the industrial research establishments. In France, the Ministry of Scientific Research has recently been abolished and merged into the Ministry of Industrial Development and Scientific Research, thus bringing industrial development and scientific research under a unified control. In Britain about 10 years back, the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research was wound up and the majority of the research establishments were transferred to the Ministry of Technology. In 1969 the British Government reorganised its departments and the Ministry of Technology has now the main responsibility for industry,

both in public and private sectors. Its controlling function now extends to over 60 per cent of the private industry. The Ministry of Technology now has the departmental responsibility for nationalised industries such as gas, coal, electricity and steel, and the industrial sector of the previous Board of Trade which includes chemicals, textiles, paper and pulp, non-ferrous metals and closely allied industries such as electrical power generation and electrical plant industry, gas, chemical and plant manufacture, steel making and steel usage, textile and textile machinery, coal mining and mining machinery, with the sponsorship of the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation. The new Ministry of Technology also includes the U.K. Atomic Energy Authority, ship-building industry, the National Research Development Corporation, the Metrication Board and the industrial estates. The total budget of the Ministry is now £ 1,500 million a year, with the supervisory function of nationalised industry involving an investment of £900 million a year. The total staff of the Ministry number 39,000 persons, of whom 23,000 are in research establishments. The Ministry has the main responsibility of Government relations with industry, as also Government operations in advanced technology, particularly aerospace and nuclear research. The Ministry also shares the responsibility for defence supplies, for development and procurement of aircraft, electronic equipment and development of civil aircraft. With its reorganisation, the Ministry of Technology has almost become the biggest Ministry in Britain working on the principle that industrial research and industrial development should be under the unified control of the Ministry of Technology. By this, I am sure, the House would have got an idea of what I envisage to be the sphere of the new Ministry of Science and Technology which I have advocated. This is absolutely essential and the sooner we take this step, the better it will be in the interest of development of the country as a whole.

In India, the industrial and economic Ministries present a heterogeneous picture. Industrial research cannot be effectively utilised till there is uniformity in industrial and technological policies. I would suggest that the industrial research organisations like the CSTR and the NRDC should be brought into a single

Ministry of Science and Technology with the major public sector industrial corporations. The Ministry of Science and Technology should also have a major responsibility in regard to the future development and growth of the industry in the private sector. If the CSIR researches are to be properly utilised and integrated with industrial development, the method is not to disintegrate the CSIR and distribute its laboratories to various Ministries where creativity will be choked off by the bureaucrats, but to bring it as an autonomous organisation in the reorganised Ministry of Science and Technology which should have with it the DGT, the CSIR and the NRDC, apart from the control of all the major public and private sector industries. I would commend some real hard thinking as to whether the business of the Government itself does not need to be reorganised before they talk of the reorganisation of the CSIR.

Before I closed. I would stress that such changes require the CSIR to be headed by a Director-General who would be a person of great flexibility and perspective. The present management of the CSIR with its Secretary is more interested in administrative control and rigid functioning as per rules and procedures. They have also introduced factional politics and witch-hunting against some of the scientists and directors who have dared to challenge the policies of the Central office. The present headquarters of the CSIR is not functioning in a manner as to encourage and foster creativity in the organisation. I only hope that another two years will not elapse—this is for the members of the Sarkar Committee ; two of them are fortunately here—before the Sarkar Committee gives its recommendations in regard to the CSIR as to how it can be improved. If that happens, probably the CSIR as a useful scientific organisation would have ceased to exist by that time. If the Sarkar Committee is to make any recommendations, it should do so within the next three months, which was the period given to it for the entire work. These recommendations could then be appropriately considered by Parliament and by other scientific and public bodies. In any case, the present situation in the CSIR should not be permitted to continue any longer. The Prime Minister should immediately have a fresh look at

the research management in this organisation and see if something could be done as a short-term measure to improve the situation. The long-term measures could be considered in a slow manner, time permitting. Thank you.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) : उपसभापति जी, भागवत साहब से उनके इस भाषण के संबंध में मुझे इतना ही निवेदन करना है कि भागवत साहब सी० एस० आई० आर० की इक्वायरी कमेटी के सामने अपने ठोस सुझाव भिजवा दें, उन पर विचार होगा ।

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : Just one clarification, Sir. I had offered to appear before the Committee. I have yet to receive an invitation from them.

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त (बिहार) : उपसभापति महोदय, प्रधान मंत्री ने पहले पहल वित्त मंत्री का पद सम्हाला है और एक नये किस्म का बजट पेश किया है जिस में 4 हजार करोड़ रुपया खर्च होने वाला है । इनके बाप ने विदेश विभाग सम्हाला था और हिन्दुस्तान को विदेशों में चौपट कर के रख दिया । अब इन्होंने वित्त विभाग सम्हाला है और यह हिन्दुस्तान की आर्थिक अवस्था को बिल्कुल चौपट कर के छोड़ देंगे । आप सोचिये, इन्होंने बड़े बड़े वायदे किये हैं कि आर्थिक प्रगति जो एक गयी थी उसको वह फिर जलायमान कर देंगी, समाज कल्याण भी करेंगी और सामाजिक उन्नति भी करेंगी, लेकिन जब हम बजट पर दृष्टि डालते हैं तो पता लगता है कि सवा दो सौ करोड़ के कर लगाये गये हैं जिनमें से संवत्ति वालों पर केवल 30 करोड़ का कर लगा है और बाकी सब गरीबों पर जायेगा । चाय, चीनी, पेट्रोल जैसी चीजों पर कर लगाया गया है ।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : इस साल तो 15 करोड़ ही लगे ।

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त : हाँ, इस साल 15 करोड़ ही लगे । जब से जवाहरलाल नेहरू हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री बने तब से यह दुर्भाग्य रहा है और जब से इन्दिरा गांधी प्रधान मंत्री बनीं

[श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त]

तब से तो यह दुर्भाग्य और भी घनघोर काला हो गया है क्योंकि हर साल ढाई सौ करोड़ रुपये के कर बढ़ते हैं और हर साल 500 करोड़ रुपये के नये नोट छपते हैं और चीजों के दाम बढ़ते जाते हैं और गरीब लोग कराहते रहते हैं। यह इस तरह का बजट है ! 14 बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर के उन्होंने झूठमूठ में समाजवादी होने की ख्याति प्राप्त कर ली और कुछ बड़े लोग जिनको यहां पर यंग टर्कस कहते हैं उन्होंने खूब ढाप बजाना शुरू किया कि अब तो हिन्दुस्तान में लाल क्रांति आ रही है, अब तो गरीबों का उद्धार होगा, अब तो गरीबी मिटेगी, अब तो बड़ा भारी जन-कल्याण होगा लेकिन जब इस बजट पर नज़र डालो तो दिखाई पड़ता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के 20 करोड़ वच्चों के लिये सिर्फ 4 करोड़ रुपया रखा है। इसी तरह से हिन्दुस्तान में आवासों की कमी है और उसके लिये भी 10 या 20 करोड़ रुपये रखे हैं और उसका जो बोर्ड बनने वाला है, उसकी जो कम्पनी बनने वाली है हमने सुना है कि उसके प्रधान श्री नवल टाटा बनने वाले हैं। तो यह इस तरह का समाजवाद है। इस तरह की भयंकर चीजें हिन्दुस्तान में हो रही हैं और जनता को खुलेआम धोका दिया जा रहा है। 17 वर्ष तक इनके बाप ने धोका दिया और 4 वर्ष तक यह धोका दे चुकी हैं और अब पांचवें वर्ष में जब वह धोका नहीं चल पा रहा था तब लाल झंडा ऊपर उठाया है।

इधर श्री त्रिगुण सेन कहते हैं कि हमने 1.28 बैरेल का दाम तेल का करवा दिया लेकिन जो भी विदेशी मंगोजीन मेरी तरह पढ़ते हैं वह जानते हैं कि ईरान 1.10 सेंट बैरेल में कूड़ बेचने को तैयार बैठा है। बड़े बड़े क्लेम यहां किये जाते हैं, अब यह लोग कहते हैं कि हम दवाओं का दाम कम करेंगे लेकिन अमेरिका की कांग्रेस में जो रिपोर्ट की गई उस रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि फाइबर और साइनामाइड की जो दवाइयों की कम्पनियां यहां काम करती

हैं वह हिन्दुस्तान में 8 करोड़ रुपयों की दवाओं को 80 करोड़ रुपयों में बेचती हैं, ये दसगुना मुनाफा उठाती हैं। यहां सरकार ने भी एक एंटीवायटिक फैक्ट्री रूस वगैरह की मदद से खड़ी कर रखी है और उसकी पूरी रपट कल आई है कि उसमें करीब 1 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा है। तो यह जनता को भी लूटते हैं और घाटा भी दिखाते हैं, यह किस तरह का पब्लिक सेक्टर है और जो इसका प्राइवेट सेक्टर है वह भी 70 करोड़ रुपया यहां से लिये जा रहा है और श्री त्रिगुण सेन कहते हैं कि 25 परसेंट दाम कम करेंगे जब कि दसगुना दाम वह ले रहे हैं। लूट मची हुई है, गरीब का इलाज नहीं हो सकता वह दवा नहीं खरीद सकता। मेरे मित्र डा० राममनोहर लोहिया ने पिम्परी का उदाहरण देते हुये कहा था कि 6 पैसे का इंजेक्शन 1 रुपये में बेचा जा रहा है। लेकिन यहां पर कोई सुनवाई नहीं होती, सिर्फ ढप बजाया जा रहा है, ढोल बजाया जा रहा है और रात दिन यह कहा जाता है कि गरीबी अब मिटने वाली है। हमने तो देखा कि ज्यों ज्यों बजट की तादाद बढ़ती है त्यों त्यों बेकारों की तादाद भी बढ़ती है, त्यों त्यों भुखमरी भी बढ़ती है, त्यों त्यों पाकेट-मारी भी बढ़ती है, लूट-खसोट बढ़ती है, क्राइम बढ़ते हैं, बेध्यावृत्ति बढ़ती है, गुंडागर्दी बढ़ती है। यह सब कांग्रेस की वजह से है और उसी का नतीजा है कि कलकत्ता में कल जो दृश्य हुआ वह सामने है, कांग्रेसी कीड़े से ही नक्सल-पंथी और माओपंथी कीड़े सांप की तरह से हो कर हिन्दुस्तान की छाती पर दौड़ने लगें हैं और आप लोग यहां बजट, बजट कहते हैं या समाजवादी या सोशल जस्टिस का बजट कहते हैं। अरे भाई जब बजट निकला तब कलकत्ता और बम्बई में हलचल मच गई, वहां के शेयर बाजार में हलचल मच गई और शेयरों के दाम 10 फीसदी बढ़ गये, अगर यह बजट पूंजीपतियों के खिलाफ होता तो कभी शेयरों के दाम नहीं बढ़ते। लियाकत अली खान साहब ने एक बजट बनाया था जब कि पंडित नेहरू की अंतरिम सरकार थी और उससे शेयरों के दाम बारह

महीनों में एक तिहाई हो गये, उसके दाम दो तिहाई निकल गये। तब किसी ने लियाकत अली खाँ साहब को समाजवादी नहीं कहा लेकिन इन्दिरा गांधी की लाल साड़ी के पीछे खुशामदियों की एक बड़ी टोली आज अपने को समाजवादी कहने लगी है जिनका कि सार हाथ भ्रष्टाचार में ओतप्रोत है। क्या श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी समाजवादी हैं, जिनके बेटे ने दो-तीन हजार एकड़ का फार्म मिर्जापुर जिले में सहकारी समिति के नाम से बना रखा है, जहाँ शराब पी जाती है, हरिजन औरतों से बलात्कार किया जाता है और जब वह बलात्कार कराने से इंकार करती है तो उनको गोली से भून दिया जाता है ! क्या मोहनलाल सुब्बाड़िया समाजवादी हैं जिन्होंने अकाल सहायता का आधे से ज्यादा रुपया अपने और अपने साथियों में बांट दिया और जैसलमेर और बाड़मेर के लोग पानी, रोटी और चारे के अभाव में मर गये ! कौन समाजवादी है कौन नहीं है ! सेंट्रल मिनिस्ट्री में जब हम नज़र डाल कर देखते हैं तो क्या जगजीवन राम जी समाजवादी हैं जिन्होंने पहले ही दिन बम्बई कांग्रेस में दो करोड़ रुपया ले कर के वनस्पति का दाम पहले 20 पैसे बढ़ाया था और अब 30 पैसे आज बढ़ा दिया है। कौन समाजवादी है, कौन नहीं है। क्या समाजवाद है, कहां समाजवाद है। कहां सीलिंग है। बड़े-बड़े मिनिस्ट्रों के बड़े बड़े फार्म हैं। अभी मैं इधर घूम कर आया था, महारौली के पास श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का भी एक फार्म है। जो सम्पति दान दे कर के, अपने बाप के मकान को अपने बाप के नाम से ही ट्रस्ट फंड में दान दे कर के अपने कब्जे में रख कर के अपने आप को बड़ा त्यागी घोषित करने वाली हैं, मरने के बाद आंखे दे कर के अपने आप को बड़ा दानवीर घोषित करने वाली ह वह हिन्दुस्तान को चौपट कर के रख देंगी। इस तरह की बातों से हिन्दुस्तान की गरीब जनता को अब गुमराह नहीं किया जा सकता। क्या हो रहा है, क्या नहीं हो रहा है इसको देखिये।

सारा दिन समाजवाद समाजवाद की रट लगाना क्या है। यह समाजवाद है या यह निरंकुशवाद है। एक जगह स्वतंत्र पार्टी से मिल कर के कांग्रेस की सरकार तोड़ी जा रही है और दूसरी जगह किसी पी० एस० पी० या और से मिल कर स्वतंत्र पार्टी की सरकार तोड़ी जा रही है। कल तक स्वतंत्र पार्टी अछूत और प्रतिगामी थी और यह इन्दिरा की हुकूमत बड़ी प्रगतिशील और बड़ी शुद्ध पवित्र समाजवादी थी, गंगा से धोई हुई, बगुला सी सफेद, समाजवादी थी लेकिन आज जगह जगह हिन्दुस्तान में क्या हो रहा है।

श्री उपसभापति : आप जल्दी खत्म कीजिये नहीं तो राजनारायण जी का समय खत्म हो जायगा।

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त : मैं एक दो मिनट और लूंगा, मैं राजनारायण जी का टाइम नहीं लूंगा, राजनारायण जी तो अपना बोलेंगे ही।

तो मैं कह रहा था कि आप सोचें कि हिन्दुस्तान में यह क्या हो रहा है। बिहार में एक सरकार लाद दी गई है और काश्मीर के 30 लेजिस्लेटर्स यहां बैठे हैं और वहां सत्र बन्द कर दिया गया है, इसी तरह से बंसीलाल जी का गंगा नाच हरियाना में हो रहा है और जगह जगह जनतंत्र की हत्या हो रही है और जब बेचारा जेनरल करिअप्पा जरा सा बोल देता है कि थोड़े दिन निलिटरी का शासन हो जाय तो इतना शोर होता है कि जनतंत्र को खत्म कर रहे हैं, तो जनतंत्र को बर्बाद जेनरल करिअप्पा नहीं कर रहे हैं इन्दिरा जी कर रही हैं और उनकी इंडीकेट के ये नये नये महारथी, खाडिलकर साहब जैसे लोग कर रहे हैं जिनको अर्थ मंत्रालय से कोई मतलब नहीं। हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ-नीति कैसे चलेगी, क्या होगा, कब प्रगति आयेगी। न तो सामाजिक न्याय है, न जन-कल्याण है और न आर्थिक-वृद्धि है। अभी एक अमेरिकन प्रोफेसर यहां आये थे...

श्री उपसभापति : अब खत्म कीजिये ।

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त : एक मिनट और ।

... मिस्टर पारकिंसन यहाँ आये थे उन्होंने साफ कहा कि दुनिया में आर्थिक प्रगति करने का दो ही तरीका है, एक तो यह कि रूस की तरह से डंडा ले कर के जनता की छाती पर बैठ जाओ और दूसरा यह कि जापान, जर्मनी की तरह से खुला व्यापार करने दो तब जा कर कहीं कुछ सिद्ध होगा ।

श्री जोशीम आल्वा (नाम-निर्दिष्ट) : उनको किसने बुलाया । बिड़ला साहब ने बुलाया ।

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त : किसी ने भी बुलाया । आपने लोगों को बुलाया है, 450 करोड़ रुपया लिये जा रहे हैं, रूस वालों को आपने बुलाया ।

श्री जोशीम आल्वा : इंडियन चैम्बर आफ कामर्स का आदमी है ।

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त : इंडियन चैम्बर आफ कामर्स का आदमी नहीं । (समय की घंटी)

तो यह जो चीजें हो रहीं हैं, यह जो मिश्रित अर्थ व्यवस्था है उसमें भारत सरकार की यह अर्थव्यवस्था है कि मंत्री जी किसी करोड़पति को बुला कर कहते हैं कि पालिस्टर फाइबर का माइसेंस लेना है तो लो, 50 लाख रुपया गवर्नमेंट से लोन दिलवायेंगे, कूली फंड से रुपया दिलवायेंगे, इससे दिलायेंगे उससे दिलायेंगे । और हमारे भी साल में दो तीन करोड़ रुपये बनेंगे । क्यों नहीं जापान की तरह से करते जहाँ कि 25 हजार टन रोजाना पालिस्टर फाइबर पैदा होता है और जहाँ 10 लाख टन से ऊपर स्टेनलेस स्टील पैदा होता है । हिन्दुस्तान में भी स्टेनलेस स्टील का कारखाना दुर्गापुर में बना पड़ा है और 468 टन का पिछले साल उत्पादन हुआ है लेकिन वह स्टेनलेस स्टील यह सरकार 45 रुपये किलोग्राम बेचती है जब कि जापान में उसका दाम 5 रुपये किलोग्राम है । तो यह सब, इस तरह का मुनाफा पब्लिक सेक्टर चला रहा है । यह सपाजवाद है ? यह इन्दिरावाद है !

SHRI GULAM NABI UNTOO (Jammu and Kashmir) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I will confine my speech on the Budget only to one point, i.e. agriculture. I believe that we should grow and we should do justice, and that should be the approach of the Budget, and that is the path we have chosen. This year's Budget of course is a definite pointer to it. I cannot say that there is a major shift but undoubtedly there is a courageous and determined effort towards it and we have to thank the Finance Minister who on the threshold of the seventies, after two decades, has started fulfilling the hopes of the common man who was unattended to so far.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (.Orissa) : But your Benches were always applauding every Budget. There is nothing new about it.

SHRI GULAM NABI UNTOO : I think a new thinking should emerge from our economy and it should dominate the concept of the Budget. Whichever Budget we present, it should be peasant-oriented or farmer-oriented, knowing fully well that 72 per cent, of our people depends on agriculture, 12 per cent, on industry and 10 per cent, on other sources. Thus, Sir, agriculture is the bone of our economy not because more and more of us depend on it but because it is a vast country of agriculture. Unless our sole attention is directed towards this field, no improvement can be possible, whether on a social level, a cultural level, a political level or an economic level.

Sir, I am happy to note that awareness of priorities has dawned upon the Government this year and the Government has given an outline of some pro-gammes which have been included in the Budget for the year 1970-71. In the Budget it has been captioned as "Growth with social justice". My belief is that growth with social justice should be our eternal guideline. If we want to live with dignity as a nation, we should put this goal before ourselves. But the question is how to grow more. I think the concept of social justice and economic growth requires a new determination and a new thinking. This can only be achieved when we utilise all our resources. Otherwise it will only be a Hon on paper and not in body. What I mean by new thinking is that our concept of property as it exists today must change and it is this thinking that will

help us in adopting an attitude conducive to social justice and economic growth. But this thinking cannot work in a vacuum unless there is some determination and our determination can assume shape when we cut our laws to our size, forgetting that imitation of countries centuries ahead of us will bring us closer to them. It is only when we call a spade a spade that we can move ahead.

Sir, in order to make our Budget farmer-oriented, the agricultural sector must be given the same preference as is given to Defence in this country.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : डिफेन्स से कैसे मतलब है ? क्या आप समझते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट डिफेन्स करना चाहती है कन्ट्री को ?

SHRI GULAM NABI UNTOO : The State should make an endeavour in this direction on a war footing. After all we have successfully defended the country in the two wars. You know it better than myself. Sir, this cannot be achieved unless we revise all our agrarian laws and allow the State to assume more and more powers so that the difficulties that come in the way of consolidation of holding are removed more quickly and efficiently. Here I may quote Dr. Das from his book "Unemployment and Employment". He says that the remedy lies in increasing both agricultural production and the productivity of agriculture. Sir, this cannot be achieved unless the State assumes more powers to save the nation from being hustled into a situation when man in the street will handle the situation when there is no sanction from the State.

Another point which is inseparable and important for the growth of agriculture is the system of education we have. In this respect I would submit that we should change the system of education so that our education is such that there is perfect co-ordination between the tiller and the taught. Unless we *move* in that direction, it is not possible for us to make any improvement in the agricultural sector.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, हमने उनका एक कहना माना है। उन्होंने यह कहा कि देखो, तुम कोरम का सवाल मत उठाना जैसे कल 5

बजे बाद उठाया था। हमने उनसे कहा कि देखिये हम कोरम का सवाल नहीं उठायेंगे, पहले पूरा समय हमको बोलने दो।

SHRI GULAM NABI UNTOO : Sir, if we believe in the green revolution, that revolution will not be possible unless we adopt certain means by making suitable laws and implementing them. Otherwise the apprehension is that instead of green it might assume the red colour. As we have 72 per cent, of the population depending on agriculture, that should be the proportion in the matter of schools, colleges and universities to bring about tiller-teacher co-ordination. Then alone will it be possible to bring science to the man who tills the land. It is a fact that no programmes can work unless there are sufficient resources, and to tap resources I would suggest that our policy with regard to land revenue should be revised.

Though I believe that the Central Government has no say in it, in its advisory capacity the Centre should direct the States that they should evolve a policy with regard to land revenue- on par with and on the same principle as income-tax. In the case of income-tax, people who earn more are asked to pay more to the State. So also in the case of lands, people who own more holding should be charged a higher rate of land revenue. This will curb, on the one hand, the tendency to acquire more land. On the other, it will infuse a sense of responsibility in the landowning man so that he attends to his holding efficiently and with some purpose. My second suggestion with regard to tapping of resources will be that, as far as the banks are concerned, I am of this view that nationalisation of banks should have been done as a whole, not by parts, and unless we have all the banks nationalised, we may have to face money difficulty in future. In this respect, to increase the velocity of mone)', I would suggest that it is necessary that circulation should increase, and for that the State should tell its employees, employees who draw Rs. 700 and more, that they would get their salary from the banks, and direct them to open their accounts with the nationalised banks, This way it will add to the strength of the money in circulation. As to salaries, the Government might also consider whether, instead of paying its employees monthly salary after a month, they

[Shri Gulam Nabi Untoo]

could pay their employees their salary on a weekly basis. With these things I hope that our economy will be strengthened and we can go ahead on the path we have chosen and for which there is a pointer in the present Budget, the path being that we have to grow more and we have to do social justice.

Thank you.

DR. B. N. ANTANI (Gujarat) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to offer my remarks on the Budget for 1970-71 with a serious doubt in my mind to believe the assertion made by the Prime Minister that the Budget is "an attempt to break the spell of stagnation and is a pace-setter for the national economy." It has been asserted that it aims at introduction of the much-needed socialism in the country's economy.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have very carefully studied the reply made by the Prime Minister in the other House to the general debate on the Budget. I am an old man. I am conservative by nature, but I have got an irresistible impression in my mind, after reading the reply made by the Prime Minister that the bolder every day she is becoming in expression, she forgets the saying of Alexander Pope, an English poet, that "we call our fathers fools, so wise we grow our wiser sons will no doubt think us so." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru believed in socialism and it was Bapu who checked him. Otherwise, I do not know where he would have dragged the country even in the lifetime of Bapu. So he was cautious in taking the steps which are proposed now to be taken with steam roller speed in the country irrespective of the capacity of the country to bear the taxation.

Sir, I shall be pardoned if I am a conservative in my belief regarding the success of such efforts to introduce socialism in our national economy. I ask whether our efforts during the last twenty years have proved successful even to a small extent to achieve this ideal. How do we justify the levies on essential commodities like sugar and cigarettes? Is this the socialism that the common man, the *tangawala* and the *rickshawala*, outside the house of the Prime Minister, will have the sugar so

dear? Is this the serious concern for the common man, Mr. Deputy Chairman?

Two or three years ago, the then Finance Minister made a poor man's postcard prohibitive, and this year the progress in the Prime Minister introducing socialism is that in the same branch postal charges are sought to be increased. Will this handicap or help the process or the progress of development in the country is the question that I want to ask.

Sir, the more I study the Budget, the stronger becomes my conviction to agree with a great English scholar who has said "True socialists' societies like true marriages are made only in heaven" True we are pledged to introduce socialism in the country.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) : Speak about this earth. Why speak about the heaven?

DR. B. N. ANTANI: All marriages are also made in heaven except this. During the morning I heard my friend to say, "Is Bengal going to be a colony of the Centre?" If the Centre had the guts, it would have been something else. But are we going to make West Bengal a colony of China and Russia is the question before the nation. So I know you believe in principles with which I can never agree in my life.

I have no hesitation to say that the ways followed are altogether incorrect.

(Interruptions)

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI K. K. SHAH): May I request my friend not to disturb him? He has just come from illness. Please help him.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: I have not had lunch in your house for a long time.

Sir, what Abraham Lincoln observed centuries ago is true even today regarding our national economy. He said, "We cannot build character and courage in a nation by taking away man's initiative and independence. We cannot help man permanently by doing for them what they can do themselves." Today, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I feel there is no socialism. It is statism, deprivation of individual enterprise and individual initiative.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY
(Tamil Nadu): Woman socialism.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: I am too old to say that. We cannot bring prosperity by discouraging thrift. We cannot establish sound security on borrowed money. We should not spend more than we earn. We cannot help the poor by destroying the rich. We cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. Now, if we apply this test to our national economy, what do we find?

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

Mr. Deputy Chairman and Vice-Chairman combined, may I ask...

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY: There can only be one Chair; how can there be two Chairs? The Chair is one and indivisible.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: I ask whether these principles are being followed. We have before us numerous reports of the Public Accounts Committee showing us wastage of crores of money. A recent Report by the Public Accounts Committee says that equipment worth about Rs. 30 crores is rotting somewhere. But these great socialists go to the Rulers who have abandoned all they had and tell them, we want to take away your Rs. 4 crores and our friends, the Young Turks dance to the tune as the courtiers of King Canute did. I therefore say you cannot govern this country, you cannot bring prosperity to this country unless you cut your cloth according to your measure. There is a limit to borrowing. There is a limit to laugh and rejoice and gloat over crocodile tears and showers of praise given by the foreign experts who come here. The Prime Minister should realise that the sands of time are running fast and the courtiers around her are the courtiers of King Canute and I hope she will be wise enough like King Canute who brought his courtiers to book when he saw that it was more sycophancy and nothing more at the cost of the country. I ask, where is attention being given to true priorities? The Prime Minister has been saying here and everywhere that she wants to be of help to the States. It is true that she could be of help to Mr. Karunanidhi in Madras; it is true that she could be of help to Mr. Sukhadia. But what about other States? The State with which the name of Sardar Vallabhbhai

Patel is associated stinks like poison to the Prime Minister and her followers. Not only there are efforts to topple the Gujarat Government; I am not concerned with it. I belong to the Opposition and if the Swatantra Party defeats the Hitendra Desai Government possibly I might be a Minister there and it will be a good riddance from this House. But this is not the way. Look at the way Kutch is treated. Sardar Patel was the only man who saw that Kutch needs encouragement for prosperity. Even at the cost of his reputation with his own colleagues in the Cabinet he helped to build the Port of Kandla but what is the position of Kandla today? Not a crow flies there. Rajasthan used to export iron ore through the Kandla Port. There was a very good industry which sprang up there and we wanted special rates for the wagons to load their products but these rates were denied to us with the result that in Rajasthan that industry is wiped out and there is no loading from Kandla. Sir, I charge the party of the Prime Minister for helping the Shiv Senawallahs in Maharashtra by arranging for special railway rates from Amritsar to Bombay. Why is this done? The country is one; why do you create this sort of feeling amongst the people? What about the Tata Fertiliser plant at Okha? What about the fertiliser plant at Kandla? What about the much-advertised lignite and bauxite industry in Kutch? Why are not efforts being made to go ahead with these? Why is not even a farthing being provided in the Budget for these things? Is this the way to treat us? I am here to request the Prime Minister that as bold as she becomes in expressing, let her be a little cautious; let her do a little introspection. She was good enough to visit Kutch recently in the name of famine but what was being done, I only know. Did she go to the Rann and see the drought condition there? There our cattle wealth is being destroyed; what help is the Centre providing in the Budget for it? I do not want to waste the time of the House by referring to so many other things like this. What is there to tell those who know?

जानने वाले को क्या सुनाना है ।

When there is a deliberate effort to undo us what have I got to say? Look at this socialistic pattern of society and its socialism. They use it like a steam

[Dr. B. N. Antani.]

roller. The only thing that the Prime Minister want* to do is to play to the gallery of her new allie, the Communists. She is out to make this country. ...

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA ME-
NON (Kerala): Which Communists?

DR. B. N. ANTANI: Both are birds of the same feather; there is nothing to choose between the two. This she does in order to get their support. Does she not reveal it here? There is no love lost for Mr. Mishra and me.. I belong to the much maligned Swatantra Party. Wherever the Government has to be toppled the President of the New Congress goes. The President of the New Congress goes to Orissa to topple the Swatantra Government in Orissa and he goes to Ahmedabad to give his support to the Swatantra Party to topple the Hitendra Desai Government. Does „he consider that we are so stupid? We are Ahmedabadi banias, Sir. Babuji must know and the Prime Minister must know that we are not so stupid.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Whom do you refer is Babuji?

DR. B. N. ANTANI : Babu is finished; Babu is forgotten.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: You just now said Babuji; whom are you referring?

DR. B. N. ANTANI: I refer to Mr. Jagjivan Ram for whose sins we get stinking letters asking us to file income tax returns which we had sent way back in 1966. This is a funny thing. I remember one old woman was sitting at the mill to grind flour. Some rat entered the mill and began eating away the flour. That lady could not see the rat but an old buffalo was standing by her side. She took a stick and began to hit the buffalo. So for the sins of Mr. Jagjivan Ram Members of this House are getting stinking letters asking us to file income tax returns of years ago when I was not born even. I ask, Sir, with pain—not with amusement— why have we come to this state of affairs and where are we leading the country to? Therefore I say that this Budget is not a socialistic Budget. We are not such old fossils as not to get adapted to the modern times. Yesterday I heard my friend, Rab Butler—

Lord Butler—speaking in connection with Azad Memorial Lecturers. He said that he will call a country's economy healthy only if the expenditure on education is equal to the expenditure on defence. Now, what is the condition of our education? You heard the debate this morning. Whenever we crave for some help from the Central Ministry of Education the answer is a stereotyped no. My earnest request therefore to the Prime Minister is to ponder well and not to be guided too nastily by her courtiers. We are not enemies of the country. We wish her well. We wish her to be a bold and successful Prime Minister leading us to prosperity, but does that mean that we shall flatter her ? Does that mean that we shall not tell her the truth as to what is good in the interests of the country as we have seen for seventy-eight years ? It she is true to her assertions, if these levies are not removed, no common man worth the name will have any confidence in her assurances. For God's sake make our postal services cheap, if you mean development. Look at our public undertakings. Is there any public undertaking which gives a dividend and which is not run at a loss ? Crores of rupees can be saved. There is no vigilance, there is no supervision and there is no superintendence. There are too many Secretaries and there is too bad corruption in this rotten State of Denmark. I, therefore, earnestly pray that all these things may be looked into and you should see that the poor man gets real relief. Thank you.

SHRI PHOOL SINGH (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, I rise to participate in the debate on the Budget. This is a very solemn occasion. The Budget has numerous points, some good and some bad, It is not fair to pickup the bad points only and start abusing. Nor is it fair to pick up one or two good points and start showering praises. One has to be very economical in one's praises as well as abuses. The Budget has to be looked at not from individual points but as a whole. I agree with my friend who spoke just now that we should not be very lavish in our praise, unnecessarily and out of season, but two thing strike me. I can divide the discussion on the Budget under numerous heads. One is the effort that the Prime Minister has put in. From that angle I have nothing but praise for her. The other

is the direction to which the Budget points. From that angle, too, I am quite satisfied. Things are moving in good shape. There are two or three more points on which we have to concentrate. The Budget is not something in isolation. It is a result of last year's performance and a plan for the future. If I look at the performance, I am dismayed. My friend just now spoke about the public undertakings. We have an investment of Rs. 3,000 crores in the public undertakings and the annual loss is Rs. 35 crores. This is not something of which we should be proud. There are departmental undertakings like the Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs. I am an early riser and when I go out for a walk in the morning at about five in the morning I find the engine driver stopping the train and unloading the goods on the roadside so that others can take them away. That is what happens there. These two undertakings are not running at a profit.

After the last war we imbibed a good deal from the Americans and especially their phrases like break through, crash programme, green revolution. Fine phrases they are. We often use them and when I came here and heard the speeches I was wondering if something new had happened in the countryside after I came here. I am a farmer's son and I can perform each operation by hand, but where is this green revolution? The production last year was the same as the year before last. The production the year before last was the same as before. This year it might not exceed it, but it might be less. In spite of the good rains and in spite of the good crop, the latest forecast is that the target cannot be reached this year. The target of a hundred million tonnes is only a dream. It is not going to be realised. People do not know where the bottleneck is, I may take a small time of the House on this point. Agriculture needs good seed, fertiliser, irrigation, power and a good price for the crops. Only yesterday the Agricultural Prices Commission has announced that the price of wheat next year will vary from Rs. 66 to Rs. 74. The price of wheat will be between Rs. 66 and Rs. 74. Last year it was from Rs. 66 to Rs. 84. You are reducing the price of foodgrains probably in view of the green revolution. This is not a new thing. Every year the commission reduces the prices. The other day there

was a question regarding cotton and my friend was saying that it was a profitable price. I said: 'No'. It is not enough to give a profitable price. There are two considerations in fixing a price. It should be profitable, meaning thereby income should exceed the cost. The farmer should also get a comparative price. People do not know that sugarcane is a crop which has three uses. It is used for making Gur. It is used as a fodder and it is also used as a fuel. Sugarcane pays more when it is used as a fodder and it pays less when used for making Gur. That is the comparative price position. You do not know all this. I was just looking through that notification today in the press, as to what is the basis of the recommendation of the Agricultural Prices Commission. It says that the import of cheap grains from abroad is being reduced in quantity and so the price has to be kept at the same level here. Otherwise the consumer shall have to pay more. The only remedy is to reduce the price here. This is what they mean by announcing the price. They do not even hide their ignorance. They do not even hide their black intentions behind it. It may not be too late. Gandhiji once said that this price fixing agency has an eye on the consumer, and he said that the communist, the capitalist, the socialist, they all quarrel with each other but on one thing they are all unanimous; and what is that thing? That the price of food-grains should be the cheapest. They quarrel for a higher wage which results in lowering the price for the poor cultivator. The fight is among somebody else and the suffering is by somebody else. That is the tragedy of the whole thing. This thing will not improve matters.

The other day they showed us the work that they are doing at Pusa. In former years too I spent a few days there and examined what they did, and I went there the day before yesterday also. This green revolution, really speaking, is wheat revolution. Wheat is the only crop in which the production has increased. In the case of rice the production was good, but the new varieties are not as good as wheat. There are already old varieties of rice, for instance, China 4. China 4 is as good as the Taichung native one, but it has its defect also. It is susceptible to disease, and lot of insecticide is

[Shri Phool Singh]

needed. The result is that there is no improvement in rice. The improvement is only in wheat. In this country, Sir, 30 per cent, of the area is under irrigation. But that irrigation is only irrigation in name. Those who carry on cultivation can say that irrigation means two things :—timeliness of the supply of water and adequacy of the supply of water. Both these conditions can never be fulfilled by canals because you cannot make all the canals run all the time. Some areas get water this week, others get next week, still others get the third week. But by that time the necessity will be over. What about tubewells? I had to do something with the Government in Uttar Pradesh also. I have got a table prepared. In Uttar Pradesh there are 9500 State tubewells, and the number of irrigations is two. The area that has three irrigations is negligible. There are no fields which have four or five irrigations. What about the new varieties? The new varieties need five irrigations. It means that for the new varieties that you have evolved canals are useless, State tubewells are useless. The only remedy is God's raia or private tubewells. Private tubewells we have enough in Uttar Pradesh. Uttar Pradesh has 280,000 private tubewells. But they are not energised. Government did not do anything and they do not propose to do anything even now. Whenever Government think of it, they say irrigation is all running at a loss. You must give more irrigation to the kisan. They do not know how much power is spent on irrigation. In Uttar Pradesh five years back 20 per cent, of power was spent on irrigation and now it is 9 per cent. On an all-India basis 70 per cent, of power goes to industry and 70 per cent to irrigation, and they are punishing these people for those 70 per cent. This is all humbug. Can you improve things like this? My point is that all these new varieties are meant only for those areas which can give you enough water, and water is enough for 8 or 9 per cent, of the area. What about the 90 per cent. ? The whole country is rain-fed. There is no irrigation. What about those people, people from the South? A few years back I studied all these things in detail, and I was surprised that ragi is the only crop which has not suffered any setback. All crops have suffered a setback except ragi. Once I went to Coimbatore. Coimbatore is the home

of sugarcane. I went to the fields. The kisans were not growing sugarcane. They were growing ragi. Why? It does not pay to grow sugarcane. *(Time-bell rings)* Sir, if you ring the bell, I forget all I have to say. I will sit down before the bell goes. Sir, if the country has to be improved, this green revolution should spread to the rain-fed areas. I have said something about wheat and rice. Now there are other varieties, hybrid varieties, maize, bajra, jawar, etc. The varieties are good, the production has increased and people are feeling happy about it. Unless you do things which speak for themselves it is no good singing one's own praise. Sir when we were young, we used to hear from our elders that it was for others to praise. Now that formula is gone. We do not wait for others to praise. We praise ourselves now. So we are in for bad days. This much about seeds.

Now, Sir, about fertilizer. Fertilizer is very essential. The supply of fertilizer in 1967 was 25 per cent, more than the supply in 1968, and in 1968 the supply of fertilizer was 60 per cent of the target, and the plan is to double the supply by 1970. How are you to do it? When we were young...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN): You are still young.

SHRI PHOOL SINGH: I think so. I used to feel young. When there was the German war. यह कहा जाता था—कदम जर्मन का बढ़ता है फतह ब्रिटिश की होती है।

The Germans were marching forward but the British said they were winning, they were defeating the Germans.

तो कदम जर्मन का बढ़ता है, फतह ब्रिटिश की होती है, तारीफ उनकी होती है और नुकसान इनका होता है। This, Sir, will not do.

During this decade the price of fertilizer has gone up by 50 per cent. No-body knows who is suffering. We go on balancing our budget doing this and that, but from where do you get it? We do not know. You are going to kill the goose that gives you the golden egg. I said the other day also

that the only hope for this country is to revolutionise the whole thing and make agriculture the centre of the planning, budget, everything. Unless that is done you cannot improve. Sir, normally industry is also important but the defect in industry is that it requires raw material which agriculture alone can supply and it requires consumers which the agricultural sector alone can supply. So it depends on agriculture. Unless agriculture flourishes, industry does not. So agriculture is the basis. That basis has to be strengthened. How are you going to strengthen that?

Two more things. We pass many Resolutions. Once we said that the foodgrains prices are getting higher, that we must have some agency to eliminate the middle man. I thought that it was a good step. And they set up the Food Corporation. Sir, you will be surprised to know what the result is. The Corporation added one more agency of the middle men. There were agents already. They added one more agent, the certified purchasing agent. And what is the cost? The cost on the turnover is Rs. 10 per quintal. Can you imagine, Sir? When they were partitioning the country I was young; I was the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee and was put in charge of law and order. I used to move about from district to district and that there were no disturbances and that the refugees are rehabilitated. Those refugees would purchase a bag of sugar and sell it at the same price and they would save the bag for themselves. On that small margin those people thrived. And now in UP at least where there are the refugees, the local businessmen have gone on bad days, they are finished because they could not compete well with them. And here we are spending Rs. 10 per quintal on food distribution. Is that a good thing? They go on multiplying the staff, multiplying the buildings; building higher and higher you will reach the heaven proper. The idea is to reach the heaven by building higher because there is no other way left. This is not the way.

There is one more Corporation, the Seed Corporation as in the days of the East India Company. They will purchase seeds from you, say, at Rs. 100 per quintal and sell them at Rs. 200 per quintal. If this country is to survive and if our elders or leaders have

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still time to think of it, they should think of Gandhiji. He said the reverse of the saying of the Bible. In the Bible the saying is—"Thou seest not a beam in your own eyes but seest a straw in the eyes of others". Gandhiji said that you should magnify the straw in your own eyes into a beam so that others' defects are not known, think of your own self. Here the whole time is wasted in fixing the responsibility on that side and they fix the responsibility on this side. I do not know where the responsibility will be fixed. The responsibility has no place to be fixed. We are all going to be finished.

I can tell you, Sir, again that I am a very humble worker and I have no ill-will towards Ministers and others. But it will be unfair of me, I will be unworthy of being myself, if I do not say all these things because the idea is not to condemn them; I will stand up and help them and work with them. But I must tell them where the defect is, they should know it and then alone you can improve things. That is the only way to improve things.

Sir, I have taken a lot of your time. I am very much obliged to you for giving me a patient hearing and I hope that what I have said has not injured anybody's feelings.

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have read the reply of the Prime Minister to the Budget speech in the other House. The whole world revolves around money. Without money there is no salvation. There is a proverb that there is no happiness in this world for a man with no money. Of course, I cannot run my life without money. You cannot run your family without money. So also is the position of a State. A number of my friends said that the present Budget has been a little harsh because of taxation. Of course, I do realise that this Budget is the Prime Minister's virgin Budget.

AN HON. MEMBER: Maiden.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : I really would call it a virgin Budget. Maiden is something else. She has imposed certain levies in her Budget which she should not have levied. In my opinion, ! there is an increase in the prices of kerosene, sugar, tea, postal charges and telephone charges and things like that. I would appeal through you, Mr. Vice-

[Shri G. A. Appan]

Chairman, that the Leader of the House, Mr. Shah, requests the hon. Prime Minister and Finance Minister to do away with or to scrap away, the imposts on kerosene, tea and petrol— not on the petrol used by very rich people or owners of pleasure cars and big cars, but petrol used by small taxis, scooters and traffic vehicles like buses. Unless she does away with these, she cannot be called a person who supports socialism, one who professes the policy of 'working class or the common man, or the poor man.' It will be a mockery.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, so far every political party has been having some slogan or other just like 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai' or 'Nehruji ki jai'. When I hear these, I really wonder. It is mostly the Congress people who utter these slogans. Now, unfortunately the Congress Party is divided into two. But there are other Congress Parties also like the Bangla Congress, the Jana Congress and others. And there has also come a Congress (Opposition) as against the Ruling Congress. Some people are very happy about this split. But I wish they join together very soon in the interests of the country and a Daniel has come to judgment. If only our Anna had been alive now, he would have shouldered the responsibility of patching up the differences in these two sections. And our present Chief Minister also is not unequal to the talk. And anybody who is a peacemaker shall be the true lover of the country. I wish a peacemaker comes sooner than later to make rapproach-ment between these two groups* Till yesterday when the Members of the opposition Congress were here in the ruling group they were supporting the Government. Now that they have gone over to the other side 2+2 cannot be more than 4. I request them to come to terms with their own party people. sooner than later.

SHRI MAN SINGH VARMA (Uttar Pradesh): Only till yesterday your party was opposing the Government. . .

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Anyway.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN): Your five minutes are over.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : In the Tiruchi Conference our party has also laid down certain ideals to be followed in the present context. The slogans are:—

"Anna Vazhiyil Ayaradhu Nadap-pom

Athickamatra Samudhyam Amai-theh Theeruvom

Hindi Thinippai Enrum Ethirthe Theeruvom

Mathiyil Koottatchy Manilatthil Suyatchi

Vanmurai Theerpom—Varumi yai Velvom."

(We will steadfastly follow in the footsteps of Anna. We will establish an exploitation-less society. We will work against the imposition of Hindi. We will work for a coalition Government at the Centre and for autonomy in the States. We will finish off autocracy, and we will drive away poverty)

Our leaders are working upon these ideas. We shall not stop till all these programmes and policies are implemented.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the imposition of Hindi does an irreparable, colossal harm to achieve national integration, and the national solidarity of the whole country. . .

SHRI PREM MANOHAR (Uttar Pradesh) : To Tamil Nadu.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: ... The undue favouritism and support given to the Hindi language, to the people who are speaking Hindi, to the . people who would like to live upon Hindi is really unsatisfac'ory. It is a detrimental element to national life of non-Hindi speaking areas and people.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the amount of money that the States get from Central taxes is very, very low, and unless the States have a better share of the tax collected and unless the States have a greater autonomy this Government cannot be called a democratic Government or a socialist Government.

Further, Mr. Vice-Chairman, everywhere there is imposition, compulsion and favouritism. Mr. Vice-Chairman, let me now come to the difficulties that the Scheduled Castes in this country are facing.. When last time I spoke

I suggested to the Government, the setting up of a cell in every Ministry, in every Department, in the States as well as at the Central level to look after the injustice done to them. I request the Prime Minister to make a statement on the floor of the House that this will be done from this budget year. This demand by my learned friend, Mr. Bhargava, is also a must now on this very line.

Furthermore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, everywhere there is so much of injustice done to us in the matter of employment. In the higher cadres we do not have many people. I request the hon'ble Leader of the House to tell the Prime Minister that Harijans, backward class people and the Scheduled Tribes people should be appointed to Govern-norships, to the various chairmanships of industrial undertakings, to diplomatic posts, ministerial positions of every cadre, and to the Legislative Councils in proportion to their population.

(Time Bell rings.)

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the hon'ble Prime Minister, who professes to be a socialist and a social democrat, who loves and works for the poor people, should announce without any hesitation or false prestige that she will do away with the increased impost on kerosene, sugar, tea, petrol used in the buses, and the increase in the telephone of telegraph charges, postal rates and book-post levy telling heavily upon common man. She should spend at least 80 per cent, of the funds that are received through the nationalised banks and the L.I.C. in improving the lot of the small farmers, village industries, small-scale industries like khadi, handloom, handicrafts. She should reimburse to Tamil Nadu the loss incurred because of the prohibition policy and the extra cost involved in the introduction of education up to P. U. C. over and above the expenditure that is incurred up to the 8th standard. (Time Bell rings.) She should set up standards for better inter-State relationship and for better share of Central taxes. She should also provide sufficient funds for starting major industries like the Salem Steel Plant and for irrigation projects like Pulavaital Lake in the Srivilliputtur Taluka of the Ram-nnd district and for the construction of dams and anicuts and things like that to narrow the developmental imbalances of Tamil Nadu.

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THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN): Thank you.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Others have taken 20 to 30 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN : No, no. Only five minutes.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: AH right. I will also take five minutes.

In respect of jobs also I have seen a number of departments where there are people only from certain regions and States, from certain communities, from certain classes. This is a bad thing. Five or six people in one family begin to get large sums of money, occupying big positions and posts. The poorer people are not able to get jobs according to one's ability, suitability and need. Therefore, from now on there should be rationing of jobs. Jobs should be distributed to all classes of people from every State and linguistic sector according to the population. Most of those at the helm of affairs who appoint people of their own caste, community, region or linguistic affiliations, they should be taken to task sooner than later relentlessly to have a moral check. Unless there is a moral check this is not going to stop from the present level of dragonic heights of favouritism.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN): Thank you.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Mr. Vice-Chairman, what the late Mahatmaji was telling us is not being followed in this country now, namely, that nobody should get more than Rs. 1,000. Unfortunately the Government itself allows Rs. 35,000 per month and more to the managers and managing directors chairmen, etc. of industrial undertakings. The Government should boldly announce on the floor of the House that they would limit the income of every individual in this country to Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 1,500 per month.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am not satisfied with the nationalisation of only these 14 banks. Not only all the banks of different classes and levels should be nationalised, all private property and all business undertakings also should be nationalised sooner than later. Mr. Vice-Chairman, one more thing. No individual should be in charge of more than one undertaking. This will enable even and equitable distribution of positions, income and wealth their time factor and entrepreneurship.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN): That will do.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Anyhow. There is a great and universal complaint that our State-owned undertakings are running into huge losses every year. I would rather suggest that the Government should immediately nominate three or four Members of Parliament from different groups for periodical assessment of productivity, administrative efficiency, who will always be shouting rightly or wrongly. They will see to it that every month the budget, the working, the productivity, and the cost structure and efficiency to avoid deterioration is reviewed. If a manager or a chief of any undertaking is unable to show profit and good result periodically he should be demoted and sent away and avoidable wastage of staff and expenditure should be eliminated. Then, coming to the question of the poor agriculturist

(Time bell rings.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) : No, no; I have given you 10 minutes more. Please sit down.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: One more point about education.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN): One minute more.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: You know, in the directive principles of State policy, the Government had been made responsible to make education compulsory and free within five years. It is now more than 20 years, but compulsory and free education has not been provided to all children of school going age. Crores of poor children in the school going age group in the villages and in the slums are not going to school. I would impress upon this Government that compulsory education should be introduced at least up to the 8th standard from this year and if anybody in the school-going age is found not going to school, the Government is bound to answer for it heavily. Further, education should be made free to everybody at every level. Wherever people are not able to provide education for their children, dormitories should be provided for them.

There are any number of people who would like to take up higher education and Government should make provision to allow freely everybody who is willing to appear for B.A., M.A., B.L., M.L. and other examinations, rather than compel them to attend evening courses, and part-time courses, wasting their precious money and time in unnecessary travel and other things.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

श्री प्रेम मनोहर : आदरणीय उपसभापति महोदय, 1970-71 का बजट 28 फरवरी को आया था, आज 18 तारीख है। इसके बारे में ज्यादा कहने का अवसर नहीं है, यही कहूंगा कि 18 दिनों में किस तरह का मार्केट का रिप्लेशन हुआ है। सारे शेयरों के दाम 10-12 परसेंट तक बढ़े हैं। जो उपभोग की चीजें हैं उनके दाम बढ़े हैं। रेल भाड़े और एक्साइज इयुटी बढ़ने के कारण कई चीजों में इस प्रकार वृद्धि हुई है—नमक 5 परसेंट, चीनी 15 परसेंट, विजली का सामान 5 परसेंट, पेट्रोलियम 11 परसेंट, प्लास्टिक 14 परसेंट। लोहे पर 75 रुपये पर टन का भाव बढ़ाया था गवर्नमेंट ने।

मेरे पूर्ववक्ताओं ने भी इस बात को कहा कि अपने देश में जो इनकम टैक्स की दर है वह सबसे अधिक है। मैं भी इसी पाइन्ट को आपके सामने रखूंगा। हमारे देश में 2 लाख से ऊपर आयवनी के ऊपर 93.5 परसेंट टैक्स है, यू एम ए में 15 लाख से ऊपर 70 परसेंट है, यू के में 27 लाख से ऊपर 91.25 परसेंट है, जापान में 12 लाख के ऊपर 75 परसेंट है, कनाडा में 82 लाख से ऊपर 80 परसेंट है, वेस्ट जर्मनी में केवल 52 परसेंट है। गवर्नमेंट के सामने यह तर्क दिया जाता है—लीडर आफ दि हाउस बैठे हैं, मैं उनसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इसका उत्तर दिलवाएं—सारे संसार में सबसे अधिक टैक्स देने के बाद भी बराबर यह रवैया लगातार चला आ रहा है और हमारी गवर्नमेंट इसी प्रकार टैक्स लगाती चली आ रही है, इसके समाज में क्या दुष्परिणाम होते हैं? हमारा काला धन बराबर बढ़ता जा रहा है, जो करेन्सी है वह ब्लेक में कन्वर्ट होती चली

जा रही है। यह कितना है इसका ठीक अन्दाजा नहीं लगाया जा सकता। लोगों का अन्दाजा है कि यह 1,000 करोड़ से 6,000 करोड़ तक है, लेकिन यह बात विश्वास से कह सकते हैं कि यह खयाल बढ़ रहा है। इसमें क्या लाजिक है सरकार यह स्पष्ट करें। टक्सेशन हमारा इतना हेवी है कि केवल इसी वृत्ति के कारण सब लोगों के मन में चोरी करने की भावना पैदा होती है। जिन लोगों ने सारा आदर्श जीवन व्यतीत किया है उनके मन में भी चोरी करने की इच्छा हुई। यह चोरी नीचे तक परकोलेट करती है, आप इसे मानें या न मानें या इन सच्ची बातों के सामने आंख बंद कर लें।

आज जो आंकड़े हैं उनके अनुसार 23 लाख इनकम टैक्स पेयर हैं लेकिन मैं आपको बता सकता हूँ कि अगर ईमानदारी से समाज में सब व्यवहार करें तो 23 लाख से यही आंकड़े 1 करोड़ हो जाएंगे क्योंकि आज फल बेचने वाले की आमदनी भी 500-600 रुपया है, जो टैला लेकर बेचते हैं उनकी आमदनी बता रहा हूँ। मैं यही जानना चाहता हूँ कि इतने सब तर्क देने के बाद भी गवर्नमेंट डाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन में 2 लाख के ऊपर 93.5 परसेंट टैक्स लगा देती है, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप काला धन बढ़ता है, उसको रोकने के लिए, इस रूप के काले-धन में कन्वर्ट न हो पाने के लिए कौन उपाय सरकार ने किए हैं? अगर हमारे पास कुछ उपाय हों तो बताएं। तब मैं समझूंगा कि जो यह बजट आया है यह सही दिशा में होगा।

बजट में एक आइडम है कि अगर एक ही परिवार में दो व्यक्ति कमाने वाले होंगे तो दोनों की इनकम एड कर देंगे। अभी तक क्या था? बड़े बड़े शहरों में मध्यम श्रेणी के परिवारों में पति भी कमाता है, पत्नी भी कमाती है, और अगर पति की इनकम 400 है और पत्नी की 300 है तो, दोनों को टैक्स नहीं देना पड़ता अब जहाँ तक मैं समझता हूँ दोनों की इनकम जोड़कर 700 हो जायगी और उस पर उनको टैक्स देना पड़ेगा। जो मध्यम श्रेणी का वर्ग है,

जहाँ दोनों के कमाने के बाद मुश्किल से काम चल पाता है उन पर टैक्स देने का जो खतरा उत्पन्न हो जाता है उसके लिए क्या व्यवस्था है। क्या गवर्नमेंट यह चाहती है कि वे टैक्स न देने के लिए अपने को अलग अलग दिखाएं कि हम सेपरेट हैं, सेपरेशन हो गया। इस एक नई चीज को लाकर गवर्नमेंटका कौन सा परफेक्ट सर्वे होगा? पति और पत्नी की इनकम को जोड़कर वे क्या चाहते हैं? असली मन की बात क्या है। अगर उनके मन में यह बात है कि एक फैमिली में दो-तीन आदमी है उनको अलग करने की बात है तो बताएं। अगर दो-तीन आदमियों को जोड़कर अधिक पैसे लेने की बात है तो वह इससे सर्व नहीं हो पाएगी।

इस हेवी टक्सेशन के कारण जो बचत है उसका आंकड़ा भी बता दूँ। यूनायटेड स्टेट्स में 18 परसेंट है, यू.के. में 19 परसेंट है। जर्मनी में 25 परसेंट है, स्विटजरलैंड में 27 परसेंट है और हमारे यहाँ 1965-66 में 8 परसेंट थी लेकिन वह उससे भी कम होकर 1966-67 में 6.6 परसेंट पर आ गई। फ्लॉरिडा-इयर प्लान में इन्वेस्टमेंट हमने 3360 करोड़ किया, थर्ड फाइव-इयर प्लान में 10400 और चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना में 21,350 यानी छः गुना हो गया। पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना से 6 गुना इन्वेस्टमेंट है। बाहर से सहायता मिली। पर केपिटल इनकम 1966-67 में 302 से 1967-68 में 321 हो गई। जो पर केपिटल इनकम बढ़ी है वह अच्छी फसल के कारण बढ़ी है। लेकिन 1951-52 से लेकर 1964-65 तक जो हमारी इंडस्ट्रियल ग्रोथ हुई है वह 138 परसेंट हुई है। इसके मुकाबले में जो एम्प्लायमेंट बढ़ा है वह केवल 35 परसेंट बढ़ा है। इस कारण जितनी जन शक्ति का उपयोग हमें करना चाहिए था उतना हम नहीं कर सके। जो फैक्ट्रीज लगी हैं उन सब में लेबर-सेविंग डिवाइसेज है, इसलिए अनएम्प्लायमेंट बढ़ा। जो पैसा था वह कुछ लोगों के हाथ में आ गया। मोनोपोलिस के नाम से सब लोग ग्रेड वुल की तरह जोर से बोल पड़ते हैं। मोनोपोलीज

[श्री प्रेम मनोहर]

कैसे बनी। जो हमने इस सदन में बैठकर कानून बनाए उनके कारण से मोनोपोलीज बनी। उसकी जिम्मेदारी मोनोपोलिस्ट्स पर नहीं है, उसकी जिम्मेदारी हम लोगों पर है, जो इस सदन में बैठते हैं और जिन्होंने विचार नहीं किया कि इन कानूनों के द्वारा मोनोपोलीज बनेगी या नहीं बनेगी। जैसे आज आप को एक उदाहरण दूँ कि पिछले तीन साल से हमारे यहां कागज की शॉर्टेज चल रही है। तीन साल पहले प्राइसेज कम थी। प्राइसेज बढ़ी और उनका बढ़ना स्वाभाविक था क्योंकि प्रोडक्शन हमारे यहां बहुत कम है और उसका कन्जंप्शन दिन पर दिन बढ़ता जा रहा है। तीन साल से गवर्नमेन्ट को मालूम था कि हमारे कागज का प्रोडक्शन कम है, कन्जंप्शन बढ़ रहा है और इस लिए फैक्टरी लगानी चाहिए। उसके लिए डिस्मिशन ले लिया गया था, लेकिन आज तक फैक्टरी नहीं लगी। जिस दिन डिस्मिशन लिया गया उस के तीन साल बाद फैक्टरी आएगी। आज हमारे फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद साहब कहते हैं कि हम कंट्रोल लगा देंगे। आप मैन्युफैक्चरर पर कंट्रोल लगा सकते हैं, डीलर पर कंट्रोल नहीं लगा सकते, आप डीलर पर कंट्रोल लगा सकते हैं लेकिन कन्ज्यूमर पर कंट्रोल नहीं लगा सकते। अगर किसी चीज की देश में कमी है तो उसके ब्लैक मार्केट को आप का कानून नहीं रोक सकता, केवल उस वस्तु का उत्पादन ही उसके ब्लैक मार्केट को रोक सकता है। आपका डिस्मिशन हो और उस पर ऐक्शन लिया जाय तभी मोनोपोलीज नहीं बढ़ेगी। अन्यथा केवल चिल्लाने से कि मोनोपोलीज खत्म हों, मोनोपोलीज खत्म हों, कुछ नहीं होगा। वे आज तक बढ़ी हैं और जो आप ने कानून बनाए हैं उन से मोनोपोलीज बढ़ी है और आगे भी बढ़ेगी। जब तक कि आप उन के लिए निश्चित कदम नहीं उठाते अपना कानून, अपना रवैया और अपने डिस्मिन्स इस तरह के आप नहीं बनाते उस

समय तक मोनोपोलीज बढ़ेगी। उनको माली देने से काम नहीं चलेगा।

जहां तक बेरोजगारी का सवाल है, 1955-56 में वह 53 लाख थी। 1960-61 में वह 70 लाख हुई, 1965-66 में वह 95 लाख हुई और अब बेरोजगार 1 करोड़ से अधिक हो गये हैं। यह मैं एक कसौटी दे रहा हूँ कि मुल्क में लोगों में बेकारी बढ़ी है। शायद हमें जो दूसरे लोग बैठे हैं प्रतिश्रिया वादी कहें, कुछ सरमायादार कहते हैं, वे हमें कुछ भी कहें, लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कोई भी कसौटी आप रखिये, कुछ भी कसौटी आप मानिये और किसी भी कसौटी पर कस कर आप देखिये, क्या पिछले दिनों में गरीब और अमीर की खाई बढ़ी है या कम हुई है? क्या देश में काला धन कम हुआ है? क्या देश में खुशहाली आई है? क्या आप के बजट से जो पैसा आया है उस पैसे के डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन से लोगों में उन की कॅंपैबिलिटी के अनुसार तरक्की हो रही है? अगर इन कसौटियों में आप का बजट पूरा उतरे तो उस को ठीक मानिये और नहीं तो गलत मानिये। आप को हर चीज इन कसौटियों पर कसना चाहिये। पिछले 20 साल में जो बजट आप ने बनाये हैं उनको इन कसौटियों पर कस कर देखिये तो आप को पता लगेगा कि हमारा काला धन बढ़ा है, हमारी बेरोजगारी बढ़ी है, हमारे यहां गरीब अमीर की खाई बढ़ी है, मध्यम वर्ग की परेशानियां बढ़ी हैं और सब चीजों की कीमतें बढ़ी हैं। जितनी कीमतें बढ़ी हैं उस से कम हम ने मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों को तनख्वाह दी है और अगर हम तनख्वाह बढ़ाते हैं तो उस के कारण भी कीमतें बढ़ जाती हैं। बहुत सी चीजें हैं जिनके कारण इन सब बातों का निर्माण होता है (Time bell rings) मैं एक मिनट और लूंगा। इस सब का निदान केवल हमारी पार्टी ने रखा, जनसंघ ने रखा कि हम अपने समाज में राष्ट्रीय भावना पैदा करें ताकि हर एक को यह महसूस हो कि यह

हमारा देश है और मुझ इसके लिए कुछ करना चाहिए। इसका जीता जागता उदाहरण 1947 का है कि जिस समय पंजाब से लोग आये, हमारे भाई आये तो उन्होंने वहाँ से आने के बाद किसी से भीख नहीं मांगी। लेकिन आज हम भीख मांगते हैं अमरीका से और रूस से। इन दोनों से भीख मांगना खराब है और हम इनका विरोध करते हैं। हमारी पार्टी इस बात का विरोध करती है और चाहती है कि हम न अमरीका से भीख माँगे और न रूस से भीख माँगे। हम एक स्वावलंबन खड़ा करें, हम लोगों में राष्ट्रीय सम्मान जाग्रत करें जिस से हर व्यक्ति को यह महसूस हो कि यह देश हमारा है और इसके लिए हम को कुछ कंटीव्यूट करना चाहिए। यह भावना जाग्रत करें तभी कुछ समस्या हल हो पायेगी वरना जितना हम समस्याओं को हल करने की कोशिश करेंगे उतनी ही हमारी समस्याएँ उलझती जायेंगी। हमने पहले जितनी ही समस्याओं को हल करने की कोशिश की है, हमने देखा है कि वे बढ़ी हैं। मोनापोलीज बढ़ी है, गरीबी बढ़ी है, बेरोजगारी बढ़ी है और अब्यवस्था बढ़ी है और इसका एक ही कारण है। इसलिए हम लोग बाहर से भीख मांगना बंद करें देश में स्वावलंबन का निर्माण करें और अपनी राष्ट्रीय भावना को जाग्रत करें और हर व्यक्ति को यह महसूस करायें कि यह देश हमारा है और मुझे इसके लिए कुछ करना है तभी हमारी समस्याओं का हल हो पायेगा।

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I must congratulate the Prime Minister for presenting a very imaginative and bold Budget. I know that a lot of criticism has been levelled against this Budget and most of this criticism is due either to misunderstanding or being deliberately blind to the merits of the Budget on political grounds. The Budget has been criticised sometimes on the ground that here politics has been mixed up with economics. I think there is nothing wrong if good politics is mixed up with good economics for national welfare. So far as I am concerned, I am persuaded to say that this is a right step, that

the Budget embodies a right step, in the socialistic direction and in the proper political perspective. We know that India is now passing through a very important political era, full of problems which are constitutional, economic and political. Now, a Budget is not a very empty exercise in balancing between expenditure and receipt. It is not a mathematical jugglery. It has a definite political content. And so the criticism that it is a -politically motivated Budget, although uttered in naivete, is true; but that is what we need today. A Budget which has no political perspective can be offered by an auditor or an accountant and it does not need a Prime Minister. It has been stated, as we have heard, that there is nothing new in the Budget. But, Sir, if there had been nothing new in the Budget, all this criticism against the Budget would not have been so insistent and persistent as it has been because you have heard that the criticism against the Budget this year has surpassed the criticism of the previous years, and that shows unmistakably that there is something definitely new in the Budget and that has disturbed and worried the honourable friends opposite to us. It is true that some new taxes have been imposed on the people. But on which sections of the people? That is the pertinent question. It has been stated that the common man has been inconvenienced because of the new taxes imposed on, for example, tea, sugar, kerosene, etc. In a general way you know that a developing economy needs a greater outlay for development. Where from the additional resources required for an increased developmental outlay could be gathered? If we depend too much on foreign assistance, the national burden increases and thereby the political problems also multiply. If we impose taxes, we are accused of a heavier taxation. This dilemma is again created deliberately by the politicians for their political purposes. So, on every step we find that politics is being mixed up with economics. If we make a scrutiny of the additional taxation on tea, kerosene, sugar, etc. we find that the additional taxes that have been imposed on these items are justifiable for the obvious reason that the quality of the tea or the quality of the kerosene on which these additional taxes have been imposed, are not of the ordinary type and are not to be consumed by the ordinary people . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Do you not want the ordinary people to take quality tea?

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : No, because it depends on the quality of the people. Some people even inside the Parliament are fond of classifying themselves as middle class people which they are not . . .

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY: Even in the open market where the common man purchases, it has been raised up to 30 paise. If my friend wants to deny it, I do not know what to say.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA: Sir, some unpleasant political decisions are sometimes to be taken. We cannot go on always playing to the gallery. It may be due to these taxes that there has been an unfavourable reaction in the market, but for that the Government is not to be blamed. About sugar I have to say something. I am not quite happy about the increased taxation on sugar. About tea and kerosene I have some defence for the Prime Minister but, so far as sugar is concerned, my view is different. I think there is room for review and therefore I would request the Finance Minister to review the situation. Here I think the ordinary people, not extraordinary people like Members of Parliament, will be affected.

Sir, it is really gratifying to note that the Prime Minister has made a larger provision for development outlay. We know that in the last one decade the rate of our economic growth has not been encouraging enough. Keeping that in view, we want greater developmental outlay. But at the same time there is some danger. If we invest more resulting in more production, if it takes too long a time, then there is inflation in the market. Inflation and growth cannot go *pari passu*. So to make quick development possible and thereby neutralise the inflationary tendencies we have to take some precautionary measures. Unless these measures are taken, greater developmental outlay, instead of toning up the health of our economy in the right direction, may create some inflationary tendencies.

Now, Sir, in the Bhoothalingam Commission's Report it has been said that not more than Rs. 1,000 crores should be allowed by way of deficit

financing during the whole of the Fourth Five Year Plan period. But within the last three years we have reached almost Rs. 7 to Rs. 8 hundred crores. So, by the time we go beyond the Fourth Plan period, we think the total deficit financing might exceed the figure of Rs. 1,000 crores. That would not be a very welcome feature. So, I would request the Government to think seriously of the measures by which this deficit financing is not of course stopped but is lessened. Now you know that in the last 10 years the real value of the money has been reduced almost by 30 or 40 per cent., to be more precise, by 38 per cent, and the prices have gone up by 60 per cent., to be more precise, perhaps 58 per cent. That is not speaking very well of the health of our economy. So, about the inflationary tendencies we should be careful but for that reason we should not harp too much on the pessimistic tone, because a growing economy cannot totally rule out the possibility of inflationary tendencies. The architects of our Plans should see that the inflationary tendencies do not go beyond control. So I would suggest certain measures which the Government should bear in mind when they tackle the problem of inflation.

Reckless advances and credits by the Reserve Bank should be stopped or this aspect should be carefully reviewed. Secondly, shrinkage of credit is necessary for stabilising the price-line. That is a very unpleasant task but, as I told you, sometimes it is necessary on the part of the Government to take unpleasant decisions in the larger economic interests of the nation. Thirdly, I think there is also room for reviewing import facilities. Fourthly, I think special care should be taken for mobilising resources in the rural areas. You know that there is a proposal that agricultural income-tax should be heavier. Now, there are certain administrative problems about it. So, instead of rushing to increase the agricultural income-tax in a very precipitate manner, we should think of mobilising the rural resources by extending banking facilities to the rural areas and other capital-formation agencies in the rural areas.

Now, I am convinced that agricultural economy is the key sector of our national economy as a whole because India is predominantly an agricultural

nation; most of its people depend upon it. Keeping agriculture in view, the hon. Prime Minister has allocated a sum of Rs. 300 crores for minor irrigation works. This is no doubt good but I think it would have been better if the provision for minor irrigation works would have gone up by at least Rs. 100 crores more. Instead of spending heavily on large irrigation projects which take a long time, we should concentrate more and more on smaller irrigation projects which would yield quick results and thereby in an indirect way we can also check the inflationary tendencies. So, keeping in view the repeated emphasis laid by our Government that agriculture should be reoriented, agricultural production should be radically reviewed. I would plead with the Ministry to allocate at least Rs. 100 crores more for minor irrigation projects.

Sir, it is also gratifying to note that the Government's attention has been drawn to the slum clearance projects but the amount that has been allocated under this head is very poor indeed; it is only Rs. 10 crores. I would request the Finance Minister to think of increasing the allocation under this head at least by 50 per cent. Now, we always face a peculiar sort of problem. As I have already said, we have to develop our economy at a faster rate but at the same time most of us are allergic to increased taxation. Now this problem has to be faced rather boldly. Only those who are capable of being taxed should be taxed. Although I appreciate that (the exemption limit has been raised to Rs. 5000, I think the Government could do something very positive in this respect. The Government has left undisturbed the people after the limit of Rs. 40000 per year. I think there is room for modification of Government decision in this respect. I think this limit could be put at Rs. 20000. In a country where the *per capita* income is less than Rs. 500 per year, if people earning Rs. 20000 per year are left undisturbed by newly increased taxation, I think that is not fair and is not very consistent with our socialistic professions. So I think the limit should be put at Rs. 20000 if not at Rs. 15000.

Now, Sir, being a teacher I am also interested in the problem of education, in the allocations made under the head 'Education'. You know that the Gov-

ernment has committed itself to the implementation of the provisions of the Kothari Commission's Report or the UGC's Report published in the year 1966. Many of the provisions have not yet been implemented. The Review Committee, which has been meeting and has been supplying their review reports to the Government, has, in the last three or four years, persistently pointed out that Government has not honoured its commitments made in the University Grants Commission. The teachers were assured that the triple benefit system, the pension system, the gratuity system and the provident fund system, technically speaking, the triple benefit system, which is available to the Government employees, will also be made available to the teachers. But I do not think, Sir, anything concrete has come out in this respect. What is worse is that even the revised pay scales, revised in the year 1966, have not been effected as yet, in this year 1970. This speaks very ill of the efficiency and ability of the Governments' machinery responsible for implementing Government decisions. It is true, Sir, as you know, that Government's policy about research schemes in higher education, particularly in respect of science, is good. But Government has persistently ignored the problem of research in the fields of social science and humanities, which should not be the case because, if technology and science are encouraged, and social sciences and humanities are weeded out because of a step-motherly attitude taken towards them, then it breeds a sort of frustration in academic circles. So I think Government should review this thing and seriously think over this problem why there should be discrimination in the field of education, particularly at the level of research. While a lot of money is being spent over scientific and technological research, social sciences are getting scanty money, and humanities no money at all. This is an important problem and I think the hon. Minister should think over the issue.

But even more important is the problem of primary education. We committed ourselves quite early, in the fifties, when we framed our Constitution, that we will extend the benefit of free compulsory education to the poor section of the people. Now this is a very laudable provision. But this laudable provision has not been practised lauda-

[Dr. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya]

bly in fact. So again it is a very sad commentary on the performance of Government in respect of education. I am very happy that some of the State Governments have taken appropriate measures in this respect. But most of the Governments have not. Now, most of the time, when we raise some problems regarding education, we are told by the Central Ministry, "It is a State subject. It is not a Central subject. It is not even in the Concurrent List." So they plead their inability. Since these problems are so important and since the Constitution has already been amended several times on different scores, I wonder why on such an important score the Constitution cannot be amended. Now the same thing shall repeal even in the case of agriculture because, whenever the problem of agriculture and land reform comes up before the House, we are repeatedly told that it is a State subject. I make the statement categorically that education and land reform are two basic and most important fields and the problems of these two fields have created a lot of confusion and frustration among the people. And many people feel that Government's commitments could not be put into practice because of the Constitutional bars or difficulties. That being a fact, I think Government should seriously think of bringing these two items at least in the Concurrent List so that Government may take the initiative in this matter and Government may practise its profession. Otherwise Government will simply go on saying that they want to do good thing* in the field of education, in the field of land reform. But then, they will come out with the excuse—I should not say explanation—that they have not been able because the Constitution does not allow them to go straight into the States' sphere. This sort of thing may be true but should not be allowed to remain true for long. By suitably amending the Constitution we should do something positive in this respect. Education and land reform are such basic problems that, in the interests of the nation, the Government may amend the Constitution, and I think the necessary co-operation will be available to the Government from all quarters of the House in tackling these problems.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You should wind up now.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA : Yes, Sir, within a minute I shall. To combat the inflationary tendencies, to which I have referred before, I will request the Government to think of certain measures. The process of capital formation should be expedited and the agencies should be made effective. As I have already said, capital-forming agencies should be allowed to function, or rather, should be encouraged to go to the rural areas for the quickest and the largest possible mobilisation of resources, and the mobilisation should be both in the towns and in the rural areas. Expenditure on non-essential items should be curbed. It is to be noted that in the last ten years expenditure on nonessential items has gone up by five times. And this is a very unhealthy trend, particularly unhealthy in the case of a growing economy, and Government should do something in this respect.

One last thing I wish to say. Our laws of taxation are very cumbersome and confusing. They hamper the efficiency of the tax-collecting machinery and also they encourage the objectionable evasion of tax. Now for the benefit of the tax-collectors and of the people, tax laws should be simplified and the taxable commodities, goods and services, agricultural as well as non-agricultural, should be classified every year, and in that way the tax should be collected. Otherwise, the tax-collecting system remains static, and it becomes rather difficult for the machinery to collect the tax.

With these words I conclude and I thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to speak on this Budget.

कुभारी मनिबेन बल्लभभाई पटेल (गुजरात) : उपसभापति महोदय, यह बजट में कोई नयी चीज तो दीखती नहीं है, परन्तु एक बात चिन्ता की है। इतनी बड़ी रकम 175 करोड़ रुपये की, प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने स्टेट्स के अपने घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था के लिये रखी है अपने हाथ में, इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि जो भी स्टेट को दबाना चाहती है उसको दबा सके। यह बहुत सलत तरीका है। आज तक इस तरह से किसी प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने या मिनिस्टर ने बजट में कोई रकम अपने हाथ में रखी हो, मेरी जानकारी में तो नहीं है।

मैं जानना चाहती हूँ, आप आस्ट्रेरिटी की बात करते हैं, अर्बन इन्कम पर कोई सीलिंग लगाना चाहते हैं, हम तो राजी हैं लगा दो सीलिंग, परन्तु सीलिंग लगाने के पहले मैं यह पूछना चाहूंगी : यह जरूरी है मेम्बर पार्लियामेन्ट हों, या मिनिस्टर्स हों, या सरकारी कर्मचारी हों, सबकी जितनी तनख्वाह बढ़ाना हो बढ़ा-इये, लेकिन आम जनता को क्या फायदा मिलता है। आम जनता को जिस प्रकार से सुविधा मिलती है वह ज्यादा नहीं। आज हमको टेली-फोन मुफ्त है, रेलगाड़ी में मुफ्त में आ-जा सकते हैं, हमको इधर पार्लियामेन्ट मेम्बर के नाते जो चीजें मिलती हैं आम जनता को नहीं मिलती हैं और मिनिस्टर्स को जो मकान मिले रहते हैं, बाजार में उनका किराया क्या है। हम देखते हैं, जैसे ही कोई मिनिस्टर नहीं रहता है तो कैसे उसकी सारी शान शौकत मिट जाती है। मैं चाहती हूँ कि अर्बन इन्कम पर, प्रापर्टी पर कर लगाना हो तो इस चीज का आपको पता चले कि किस तरह से आदमी रह सकता है और कितने पैसे में। मुझे तो इसमें फर्क पड़ने वाला नहीं है। पिछले हफ्ते मुझे एक भाई मिले, वह यह कहते थे उनकी तनख्वाह 4,000 से ऊपर है, पर टैक्स लगने के बाद उनके पास 1,500 से ज्यादा नहीं आयेगा; क्योंकि उसमें कट कटा जाता है और उसके बाद जो रकम हाथ आती है, उसमें उसको गुजारा करना पड़ता है।

इसी तरह से मैं यह भी जानना चाहूंगी कि क्या कभी हमको यह जानने को मिलेगा कि हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर का, मिनिस्टर्स का कहां तक रूस में, स्विट्ज़रलैंड में, अमरीका में, और विदेशों में धन बैंकों में जमा है। अगर है, तो क्या अपने देश पर श्रद्धा और भक्ति से यह रखा गया है। इसके पीछे क्या हेतु है, वह क्यों रखा गया है; और अगर मिनिस्टर्स इस तरह से करें तो और लोग क्यों न करें। मैं चाहती हूँ, उनके पास कहां कहां और कितनी कितनी रकम है? इसकी सूचना वह टेबल पर रखें, जिससे पता भी चले कि रूस में कितना है, स्विट्ज़र-

लैंड में कितना है और कितने दिनों से है और किस तरह से वहां जमा होता है, किस तरह से वहां जमा हुआ है इतना पैसा, ये सब जानकारी हमें देनी चाहिये। आप दावा करते हो कि जनता के लिए सब कुछ कर रहे हो, परन्तु किरासिन, चीनी और चाय पर इंचूटी लगा दी है जो चीज सामान्य आदमी के ऊपर असर करती है। मुझे परसों ही एक बहन मिली थी जो कह रही थी कि सवा रुपया किलो गेहूं मिलता है और शायद ही कोई सब्जी एक रुपया किलो से नीचे मिलेगी। राशन की दुकान पर तो सड़ा हुआ आटा ही मिलता है। हम नौकरी चाकरी करने वाले आदमी तो किसी न किसी तरह से काम चला लें मगर जो साधारण नागरिक हैं, जो बिल्कुल गरीब आदमी हैं, चपरासी हैं उनका किस तरह से काम चल सकता है। जब जनता को राशन में सड़ा आटा मिलेगा तो हमारा काम किस तरह से चल सकता है।

प्राइम मिनिस्टर को बच्चों और महिलाओं के प्रति बहुत प्रेम है और उनकी चिन्ता है और इसलिये उन्होंने दूध से बनी हुई चीजों के दाम बढ़ा दिये हैं। आप यहीं पार्लियामेन्ट हाउस में ही देख लीजिये। पहले जो मक्खन 5 रु० में आता था अब उसका दाम 6 रु० 40 पैसा हो गया है। इसी तरह से अन्य चीजों के, दूध की बनी हुई चीजों के दाम बढ़ गये हैं। प्राइम मिनिस्टर और दूसरे मिनिस्टर्स तो बाजार में चीज खरीदने नहीं जाते हैं और न ही उन्हें भाव का पता चलता है। अगर वे खुद जायें तब उन्हें पता चले कि बजट बाद चीजों के कितने दाम बढ़ गये हैं और आम जनता के लिये जो वे यह कहते हैं कि हमने बहुत कुछ किया है उसके ऊपर इस बजट का क्या असर पड़ रहा है। मेरी यह बात समझ में नहीं आती है कि यह सरकार किस तरह से भावों को बढ़ने से रोक सकेगी।

एक तरफ तो सरकार कहती है कि हमारी जनता का स्वास्थ्य ठीक होना चाहिये और दूसरी ओर वह दूध और डेरी की चीजों के

[कुभारी मनिबेन बल्लभभाई पटेल]

दाम बढ़ा देती है। आज एल्युमिनियम और टिन प्लेट्स के दाम बढ़ने से हर चीज के दाम बढ़ गये हैं, जिन डिब्बों पर दूध और उनकी बनी चीजें आती थीं इन टिन प्लेट्स के दाम बढ़ने की वजह से उनके दाम भी बढ़ गये हैं। इसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि दूध से बनी हुई जितनी चीजें हैं वे सब महंगी हो गई हैं।

चाय देश में कम पी जाये इस कारण ड्यूटी लगाई है। टी बोर्ड जगह जगह चाय पिलाने का प्रचार करता है और ये लोग देहातों और जंगलों में लोगों को चाय बना कर पिलाते हैं और उनकी आदत को बिगाड़ते हैं। ये लोग किस प्रकार से चाय को उबालते हैं, कितनी कड़वी बनाते हैं, जिससे शरीर को नुकसान होता है, इस तरह की चाय की आदत लगाने के लिये शुरू में मूफ्त में लोगों को पिलाते हैं। इस तरह जनता को चाय की आदत लगा कर फिर उसी चाय के ऊपर टैक्स लगा दिया जाता है। सरकार कहती है कि हमने तो हायर चाय के ऊपर टैक्स लगाया है, लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि जब किसी चीज पर टैक्स लगता है, तो उसका असर सब क्वालिटी पर आ जाता है। सरकार की ओर से जो यह कहा जाता है कि हायर किस्म की चाय पर ही दाम बढ़ेंगे और छोटी किस्म पर दाम नहीं बढ़ेंगे, यह गलत बात है। आज बाजार में सब तरह की चायों के दाम बढ़ गये हैं।

अब मैं इन्कम-टैक्स के बारे में कुछ निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि किस तरह से इन्कम-टैक्स के लोग जनता को सताते हैं। हमारे यहां एक मिनिस्टर हैं, जिन्होंने 10 वर्षों तक रिटर्न नहीं भरा और अब तो वे उनकी कांग्रेस के प्रेजीडेंट भी बन गये हैं। मुझे एक आदमी ने परसों कहा कि मैंने अपना रिटर्न कुछ महीनों के बाद भेजा और इस पर मुझे भारी दंड हुआ। उन्होंने कहा कि मैंने अपना रिटर्न समय पर नहीं भेजा और मैंने इन्कम-टैक्स वालों को एक चिट्ठी भेज दी थी कि मैं अपना रिटर्न दो-चार महीने के बाद भेज सकूंगा। उस चिट्ठी की

कापी तथा रसीद मेरे से कहीं खो गई और जो वह चिट्ठी की कापी थी, वह मैं उन को नहीं दिखला सका और इसी की वजह से मुझे 40 हजार रुपया दंड किया गया।

मैं अब अपना अनुभव कहती हूँ। मुझे आज तक इन्कम-टैक्स रिटर्न भरने का मौका ही नहीं मिला। पिछले साल से मुझे पार्लियामेंट के जरिये यह फार्म भरने का धौका मिला था। यहां के आफिसरों ने इन्कम-टैक्स के बारे में पूछा तो मैंने कह दिया कि मेरे पास कुछ होता तो मैं बतलाती और मैंने तब उसके कहने अनुसार भर दिया। जब मैं अहमदाबाद गई तो मैंने उस फार्म को इन्कम टैक्स आफिस में वहां दे दिया और उसकी रसीद ले ली। एक महीने के बाद इन्कम-टैक्स का एक आदमी आता है और कहता है कि आपने इन्कम-टैक्स रिटर्न नहीं भरा है। हमारे रजिस्टर में नाम नहीं है। मैंने कहा कि मैंने तो आपके पास भेज दिया है और अगर आपके रजिस्टर में नाम न हो तो मैं क्या करूं। मेरे पास तो उसकी रसीद है और आप कहते हैं कि मैंने नहीं भरा। उस आदमी ने कहा कि मुझे आफिसर ने भेजा है कि आपका रिटर्न नहीं पहुंचा है। इस कागज पर दस्तखत कर दो। मैंने साफ ना कहा कि मैं दस्तखत नहीं करने वाली हूँ मैंने तो रिटर्न भरा है। मैंने कहा कि मैं क्या करूं तुम उस आफिसर को मेरे पास भेजो, मैं तुम को बतलाने वाली नहीं हूँ, तो मैं जानती हूँ कि इस तरह से लोगों को सताया जाता है और परेशान किया जाता है। इन्कम-टैक्स का स्टाफ जनता को परेशान करता है और सताता रहता है।

अब मैं आपको एक किस्सा सुनाती हूँ। हमारे यहां एक बड़ा पुलिस आफिसर था और उसका मामला यहां आया। यहां की सरकार ने उसके मामले को यूनियन पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन में भेज दिया। गुजरात गवर्नमेंट ने, उसके बारे में सब कुछ यहां की सरकार को लिख दिया था, मगर यहां पर कुछ इफ्लुएंस पड़ा और उसको फिर रिइन्स्टेट कर दिया गया।

एक तरफ तो आप करप्शन निकालना चाहते हैं और दूसरी तरफ आप इस तरह से करप्ट आफिसरों को बढ़ावा देते हैं। अगर कोई आफिसर गलती करता है, तो उसका फैंसला होना चाहिये। लेकिन यहां पर तो यूनियन पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन के पास मामला भेज दिया गया था और दबाव डाल कर उसको फिर से रिइन्स्टेट करने को कहते हैं। इस तरह से एक केस को पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन में इतने महीनों तक, इतने सालों तक वाटर डाउन किया गया, तो मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि यह एक गलत तरीका है।

हमारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर बार-बार कहती हैं कि मैं छोटे मकान में रहती हूँ। अगर वे छोटे मकान में रहती हैं तो अच्छी बात है, लेकिन मैं यह पूछना चाहती हूँ कि उस छोटे मकान में आने के बाद उसके ऊपर कितना रुपया खर्चा किया गया है। हम भी छोटे मकान में रहना थे। यह कहना कि हम तो छोटे मकान में रहते हैं, सारी दुनिया को दिखावा करती हैं मगर यह नहीं देखती हैं कि उस छोटे मकान पर कितना रुपया खर्चा किया गया है। यह बात ठीक नहीं है। जो सही बात है उसे बतलाना चाहिये। मैं तो कहती हूँ कि अगर आप फ्लेट की बात करती हैं तो उसको अमल में लाना चाहिये। लोगों को भुलावा में डालने के लिए बात नहीं कहनी चाहिये कि इसमें तो प्लान करने में समय लगेगा, यह काम तुरन्त नहीं हो सकता है। तो इस तरह से लोगों की ओपीनियन को अपनी तरफ करने से कोई फायदा नहीं है। जो करना हो उसे तुरन्त करना चाहिये।

शराबबंदी के बारे में गांधी शताब्दी में एक शब्द भी नहीं कहा गया है। आज हमारे शराब से कितने आफिसर करप्ट हो चुके हैं और हो रहे हैं। आज हमारे नौजवान लड़कों को रूसी दूतावास और दूसरे दूतावास में बुला कर शराब पिलाई जाती है और शराब पिला कर उनसे सरकार की बातों को निकाला जाता

आपको यह भी मालूम होना चाहिये कि ये दूतावास वाले हमारे नौजवान लड़कों को अपने दूतावास में रखते हैं और उनके द्वारा प्राइमरी बुक्स सस्ती दामों में बेचते हैं। इसका कोई हिसाब न वे रखते हैं और न ही सरकार की ओर से ही रखा जाता है। 40,50 हजार किताबें छापी जाती हैं और कहा जाता है कि 20 या 25 हजार ही किताबें छापी गई हैं। इस तरह से ये किताबें जिनकी कीमत 15 रु० तक होती है वे उसे 2 रु० और आठ आने में बेची जाती हैं। इस तरह से जिन दूतावासों के साथ हमारा रुपये पेमेंट में हिसाब-किताब है, वे इस तरह का लिटरेचर हमारे यहां बांटते हैं जिसका कि कोई हिसाब नहीं रखा जाता है और फिर इस तरह से वह रुपया यहां पर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को दिया जाता है। यह ठीक है कि ये लोग अपने देश की हकीकत हमको देते हैं, मगर इसके साथ ही साथ इस लिटरेचर के द्वारा वे इन्डायरेक्टली अपनी फिलासफी हमारे देश के लोगों के दिमाग में भरते हैं। तो मैं यह जानना चाहती हूँ कि इस तरह की जो बात की जाती है क्या वह ठीक है? आप कहते हो कि हमको ला एंड आर्डर की चिन्ता करनी है। ला एंड आर्डर की चिन्ता क्यों न हो। हम लोग बात करते हैं कि बंगाल में यह सब हो रहा है, उसके ऊपर एक्शन क्यों नहीं लिया जाता। बार-बार मिनिस्टर कहते हैं कि हम देख रहे हैं, वाच कर रहे हैं। क्या वाच करते हो? लोगों की जान जा रही है। घर से जो निकला वह वापस आएगा कि नहीं यह पता नहीं। कभी ऐसा हुआ है कि कलकत्ता तीन दिन तक हवाई जहाज नहीं जा सकता। वहां की स्थिति इतनी खराब है कि रेल तक बन्द कर दी गई। तब भी आप यही कह रहे हैं कि वाच कर रहे हैं निगाह कर रहे हैं। लोग कहते हैं कि यहां आपकी गवर्नमेंट गिर न जाये, इसलिए उनकी गुड बुक्स में रहने के लिए कोई एक्शन आप नहीं लेते हो।

[कुमारी मनिबेन वल्लभभाई पटेल]

जहाँ स्टैबिल गवर्नमेंट है गुजरात में, वहाँ पैसा देकर लोगों को खरीद रहे हो। मैं गलत बात नहीं कर रही हूँ। परसों एक हरिजन महिला एम० एल० ए० ने कहा कि मुझको 40 हजार रुपया आफर किया गया। मैं उस हरिजन महिला को धन्यवाद देती हूँ कि इतना रुपया आफर करने के बाद उसने साफ इन्कार किया। पिछले सेशन में 24-24 घंटे लोगों को रखा और हमारे लोगों को निकालने की कोशिश की। आज भी वही धन्धा चल रहा है। पिछले बाइ-इलेक्शन में आपने लोगों से पैसे नहीं लिए थे? बम्बई कांग्रेस के बारे में मुझे मालूम है कि एक आदमी ने बताया कि उसको बुला कर कहा कि इतना पैसा दो, उसने कहा कि मेरे पास नहीं है, उससे कहा गया कि कहीं से भी लाओ, सफ़ेद पैसा दो या काला पैसा दो, इतना रुपया दो। इतना तंग करके पैसा लिया गया। दूसरी तरफ कहते हो कि हम करप्शन निकालना चाहते हैं। यह कैसे चलेगा? अपने जीवन में करके बताओ तब लोगों पर असर पड़ेगा।

यह जो आप लोगों का 12-12, 6-6 महीने का प्रवास चलता है इसको बन्द करो। क्या यह लोगों से सम्पर्क के लिए है? इतने प्रवास करने से एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन ठप्प हो जाता है। आप कहते हैं सही चलता है, सही नहीं चलता। एक आदमी ने बताया उन्होंने टेलीफोन किया आपके इम्पोर्ट-एक्सपोर्ट के आफिस में लाइसेंस के लिए, उसने कहा कि मैंने कागज़ भेज दिए हैं, उस जगह गया तो मालूम हुआ कि आए नहीं। क्या आपके कागज़ पैदा चलते हैं, जो 6-6 महीने लग जाते हैं? साधारण आदमी जो धन्धा करता है वह कैसे काम करेगा, कहां से पैसा लाएगा? इस तरह से लोगों की आंख में धूल डालने के बजाये सही काम करके बताओ, सारी शक्ति जो लोगों को तोड़ने-फोड़ने में लगा रहे ही वह छोड़ कर सही काम करो।

एक आखिरी बात कहना चाहती हूँ। रेडियो पर क्या सुनते हैं? पहले यह कहते थे कि "इन्दिरा गांधी—कांग्रेस" या "जगजीवन राम—कांग्रेस"। अब तो वे सिर्फ कांग्रेस कहते हैं। ऐसा गलत प्रचार क्यों करते हो? रेडियो इसलिए रखे हुए हो? सरकार के हाथ में रेडियो है, अपना प्रचार करो—मैं तो कहती हूँ कि वह भी सही नहीं है—सही बात जो हो वही कहनी चाहिए। इस तरह से गलत प्रचार करते हैं, जैसे रूस अपनी फ़िलासोफी चलाता है, वैसे चलाते हैं। बंगाल में, आसाम में, पीछे बिहार में ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा कर दी। जिससे लोग खतम हो जायें इसलिए हमने विरोध किया। सही बात हिम्मत से करो मगर अपने को कहोगे कांग्रेस और हमें नहीं, तो लोग यह बात मानेंगे नहीं।

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUK-HERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to speak a few words on the Budget. Much has been said about the characteristics of the Budget. I am not bothered whether it has a socialist goal or whether it is a capitalist plan, but undoubtedly there are certain redeeming features in the Budget for which I must congratulate the Prime Minister. There are, however, certain provisions about which we cannot but feel concerned. Of the redeeming features undoubtedly it may be mentioned here that she has introduced changes in the wealth-tax, there is a levy on urban property and there is an enhancement in the excise duty on almost the whole range of semi-luxury and luxury goods. Similarly, we must take note of the enhanced duty on petrol. Perhaps she has an idea that the enhanced duty on petrol will hit the car-owner only, but the common people who use the public vehicles are mostly hit by this. Similarly, the enhanced duty on kerosene, sugar and tea will affect adversely the middle-class and the lower middle-class people.

Another think is this. The Prime Minister has expressed in her speech that there should be no concern about the deficit in the Budget to the extent of Rs. 225 crores. Perhaps she keeps in view the favourable conditions in respect of foodgrains. I feel concerned because there are certain other factors

which ought to be noted. Firstly, there has been an increase in the price-level by 6.8 per cent over the year 1968-69. Another factor, which has to be considered, is that the inflow of money has risen to the extent of Rs. 326 crores in the first nine months of 1969 as against Rs. 96 crores in the first nine months of 1968. The third factor is that it is expected that additional money will come to the market as there will be investment on the Fourth Five Year Plan projects. If the rate of production does not keep pace with this inflow of money, it is apprehended that there will be a steady increase in the price-level and in the Budget there are no adequate safeguards to check the price-level.

Now, Sir, the Prime Minister, in her Budget Speech, has said :—

"The Central Budget has provided adequately for the Plans of the States not only by increasing Plan assistance and by providing for substantial non-Plan assistance but also by raising additional resources in a manner which would bring considerable gains to the revenues of State Governments."

I think the picture is completely different in respect of certain States and particularly in respect of my State, West Bengal. The total Fourth Five Year Plan outlay, as originally provided, was to the extent of Rs. 320.51 crores. Now, the Planning Commission, in its latest review, has clearly admitted that the Government of West Bengal will not be in a position to contribute anything towards the total Plan outlay. It was expected that of the sum of Rs. 320.51 crores, a sum of Rs. 19.51 crores would come out of the State's own resources, Rs. 80 crores by way of additional taxation and Rs. 10 crores through negotiated loans. A sum of Rs. 80 crores is expected to come out of additional taxation, but there is a peculiar problem. All the money obtained by way of additional taxation will be spent to meet the non-Plan revenue gap. It was suggested by the outgoing Chief Minister of West Bengal to the Finance Commission that the Finance Commission should take on the burden and the entire responsibility of meeting the non-Plan revenue gap of the States concerned, but unfortunately the outgoing Chief Minister...

AN HON. MEMBER: He has already gone.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: Not yet. Still he is in the care taker Government. He recommended that the Finance Commission should take the responsibility of meeting the non-Plan revenue gap of all the States concerned. But unfortunately that has not been so, although the Finance Commission has recommended Rs. 296 crores as the share of the Government of West Bengal of the income-tax and Union excise duties. An additional sum of Rs. 72.62 crores has been allotted to the Government of West Bengal as grant-in-aid, but in this respect also. I think there is discrimination in the allotment of the resources of the Government of India as recommended by the Finance Commission. It appears from the recommendations of the Finance Commission that West Bengal will get 9.11 per cent of the income-tax and 6.84 per cent of the Union excise duties; Maharashtra will get 11.44 per cent of the income-tax and 7.90 per cent of the Union excise duties; Uttar Pradesh will get 16.01 per cent of the income-tax and 18.82 per cent of the Union excise duties. But this is not all. The recommendations of the Finance Commission provide that seven States will come with surpluses of almost Rs. 1271 crores, while the West Bengal Government in spite of their repeated requests are not in a position to get more than Rs. 296 crores. The total outlay in the Fourth Plan does not go beyond the limit of Rs. 321.51 crores. It is to be remembered that the total outlay in the Third Plan was Rs. 304.75 crores. By this time since the end of the Third Plan period there is a considerable growth of population, and the price-level has increased considerably, and if the Fourth Plan outlay is limited only to Rs. 321.51 crores, no development can take place in West Bengal. I am emphasizing this point particularly in this respect because economically and politically West Bengal is almost on the verge of ruination. Almost everyday some of the problems of West Bengal come to the floor of this House, and we cannot ignore the fact that economic and political stagnation has created a lot of problems for which the Government of India should feel concern and the Government of India should come forward with adequate help.

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee]

Two of the major important schemes of the Government of West Bengal cannot be implemented without adequate financial assistance from the Government of India, but the Budget provision for the year concerned has done nothing in this regard. My friend, Dr. Chatterjee, spoke very eloquently on the problems of education, and he dealt with the provisions of the Directive Principle about free and compulsory education to be given to children up to the age of 14. The West Bengal Government came forward with the proposal to give free and compulsory education up to class VIII and asked for financial assistance to the tune of Rs. 8 crores per year, but the Government of India has straightway refused it. Similar is the case of the development of Calcutta metropolitan city. We know that Calcutta faces a lot of problems and on many occasions in this House and outside this House the Government of India have promised to provide financial assistance for the development of Calcutta, but in this Budget also we find nothing for its development plan. So, Sir, these things are to be taken into account, and here I repeat the claim put forward by the Chief Minister of West Bengal that there should be a Standing Finance Commission to review the non-Plan revenue gap of the different States concerned and to arrange in such a way that the additional revenues obtained by additional taxation can be diverted to the plan outlay and the Government of India should take the responsibility of meeting the non-Plan revenue gap.

Another point should be taken into account. For rural development Rs. 25 crores have been allotted and 40 selected districts have been taken up where experiment on dry farming will be conducted. But in these 40 districts there is not a single district of West Bengal. Particularly one district could have been included in this experiment, and that is Purulia which is persistently a victim of drought and almost each year there is no cultivation for want of rain and for want of irrigation facilities. I would have been glad if that district had been taken on the list.

Therefore, Sir, through you I must request the hon. Ministers to review the problems of West Bengal with sympathy and I hope they will come

forward with adequate financial assistance to the Government of West Bengal.

Thank you.

PROF. SHANTI KOTHARI (Rajas-than):
Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise in support of the budgetary proposals presented to the House. Any Budget indicates the political mind of the party in power. It is an index of the scale the society has ascended or descended in respect of its targets and its goals. In most of the budget speeches, and rightly so, my friends have dealt with the statistics in detail—undoubtedly an essential exercise. However sociological understanding of our power-structure particularly in relation to the vicious role of the Big Money is urgent. It is not on the front of pious pronouncements that we have failed, it is not on the front of our good intentions that we have failed, we have failed and failed miserably as far as our procedures are concerned, and thus proved our weakness and vulnerability in face of abuse of 'money power' by the pressure groups in this country and which have been vitiating our intentions and defeating our goals.

The result is decline of faith in our *bonafide*, emergence of a sick-polity. Mr. Deputy Chairman, I recall how late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in 1963 in a letter to the Chief Ministers and his Cabinet colleagues warned of this danger.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I intend to put forth a few instances to show how this happens. Let us take the parliamentary institutions themselves, how these parliamentary institutions get corroded and the authenticity of the institution like our Parliament eroded to an alarming extent by this sort of abuse of power by Big Money, the corrupt administrator and a weak and corrupt politician in power or outside it. You are aware of the case of an hon'ble Member of this House, Mr. Sheelbhadra Yajee. He had to go to the court for justice when defeated in the Rajya Sabha elections by Mr. R. P. Jain, an employee of the Sahu Jains. Ultimately, Mr. Yajee did win the case and Mr. Jain was declared disqualified on grounds of bribery and corruption. The votes of few elected Representatives, M. L.As. who elect us were commercialised. In recent elections this industrial House is even

more active. It was the first case of its kind in the world. Recently, I have come across one or two things which are very painful and they are these. I am not blaming only the administrators. We talk too much of corruption amongst the administrators. I think sometimes we, the politicians in power, hide our own faults. After all, who provides leadership in the society? The politician in power. The administrator, simply and conveniently, follows the behaviour-pattern of the politician. If one evening the politicians go to such houses of corrupt businessmen for dinner and for parties and perhaps other needs, the following day the administrators follow the suit and thus influence and power are obliged to be exercised in favour of the host-industrialist. This has cost us as a nation rather heavily. What moral impact will it have on the administration and people? This has happened, this is happening. The Uutt Committee is an eye opener. I told last year, and also recently, the Government, with all the good intention that we have, you should not associate yourself with those proven corrupt industrialist and their agents and brokers under varying pretexts found everywhere, and now in our Parliamentary life. Our present Prime Minister warned us, on the 23rd November last year at the AICC of 'image of association' at important level. Take the newspapers, the most powerful media in democracy, who controls and directs them and with whose money? I came across an item that in the court here in Delhi there were some serious remarks, some strictures, passed in the case of Dalmia-Jain.. What a pity! Except the Statesman of March 3, this year no paper reported these very serious remarks passed on that very big house and none took note of them in the Parliament. The day before yesterday, in the Times of India, I saw the same Mr. Shanti Prasad Jain's picture along with the Prime Minister and Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed on the front page! What impact does it leave on the Judges, on people and on the ad-ministra lion? Who boosts whom?

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Not Mahatma Gandhi?

PROF. SHANTI KOTHARI: He is not here. What an image will it create of such association? Will it inspire us? Will it inspire the administra-

tors? In fact, by this they are initiated into the art of corruption silently or otherwise by our indiscreet conduct.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: It is done in a most systematic manner.

PROF. SHANTI KOTHARI: That is very right. Therefore I lay the entire blame at the door of those who have all power because they make policies, and are expected to provide leadership, and it is they who by their conduct either elevate or undermine the nation and its public life as a whole. When we are not able to free ourselves from our undersirable and unbecoming Code of Conduct how can we expect integrity in the administration? I think it is trying to fool either (he officer or myself or the society). We are in for rough weather, if such situation continues further. In political recruitment, in terms of quality, in the last five years, it has come down miserably in almost all the parties because of the behaviour of these big tycoons with the blessings of the politicians in power and through the instrumentality of the administrator. Either we change this or we shall be the casualty of the worst forces operating in our country, and not in very distant future. This Industrial House of S. P. Jain— as we have seen in the Birlas—whose name appears in the list of Tax-arrears, opens trusts, they sponsor directly or indirectly the Religious Conferences in which unfortunately I am told the President and other Chief Ministers and Governors were roped in as the patron or as chief guests or so and of which Mr. Shanti Prasad Jain happened to be the moving spirit! Otherwise what has such people—committing economic crimes—to do with any other culture except amassing wealth by all and every heinous means!

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Co-patron.

PROF. SHANTI KOTHARI: Whatever may be. Such people open up multi-access points and fronts whence they can come in contact with the power. That be, and continue to flourish despite economic crimes and concoctions. I hope the Commission of Inquiry which is going to make recommendations on the dangerous underworld of monopolists which includes Sahu Jain will be alert and thorough, let me repeat thorough.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Will they be able to function?

PROF. SHANTI KOTHARI: I am sure they will have to or they will have to face the logicity of history.

In this case they have done a good thing that they have appointed a Commission of Inquiry, I hope that these things are looked into. I am emphasising this thing because it is always easy to be sophisticated in replying in the Parliament...

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: When will they start? From 1972 ?

PROF. SHANTI KOTHARI: Yet I am sure that Parliament will still survive. I hope so.. We must be vigilant of the onslaughts of unscrupulous people on our destiny. I do not know how many Members of Parliament in the other House can put their hands on their hearts and say that their election expenditures were confined to the legal-limit. I do not know. There must be more dependable machinery to discover from where all the money come and at what cost? The role of black money in the elections is felt by us the money which is unaccounted and through which trusts are opened, through which chains of newspapers are bought, through which Parliamentary candidates are sponsored and put up, and through which honest people are defeated the impact of that money is either under-budgeting or over-budgeting and a very major principle of budgeting is that under-budgeting and over-budgeting is very dangerous in framing a realistic budget. No honest man, in time to come, will dare come in Parliamentary and public life if we become complacent to this danger. Fraudulent economic crimes of the big Houses have destroyed and disabled the fundamental economic rights of a common man and paralysed the public life and let me warn the nation through you, Sir, that the struggle I visualise for the honest public men and for people may be grim, one shudders even to visualise. The impending calamity can be averted only and only by thorough diagnosis and urgent surgical performance on the part of the Government, as far as this underworld of monopolists is concerned.

I say that the political mind of the present Government is reflected in the budget which is to an extent dynamic Budget and I would say that there are a few socialist-oriented trends there in. And if P. M. wants to succeed she will have to have a structural overhaul beginning from the top. Mr. Churchill in a letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1941, when he wanted the reuse of the envelopes, asked his Chancellor of the Exchequer to subject his department (Churchill's department) to severest scrutiny, to begin with.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: If I may interrupt you, you were speaking about trusts. I hope we shall be honest to ourselves in scrutinising in how many trusts the New Congress President is interested, and will you also scrutinise that and tell us?

PROF. SHANTI KOTHARI: I am thankful to him, Sir, I am talking of every politician, every administrator and every person.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Mr. Jagjivan Ram.

PROF. SHANTI KOTHARI: Let us be ruthless and just to all who abuse power—irrespective of political, personal or professional officiation. We need overhaul and overhaul of our style of functioning and our pattern of institutional management. This would inspire confidence of masses. Unless we do this, we are in for serious, rather serious crisis.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Individual members there may be. But the Swalantra Party as such is probably one of the most honest parties.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: By your standards.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: And I am an example.

PROF. SHANTI KOTHARI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, exceptions are everywhere.

SHRI CHITRA BASU : Mr. Misra is an exception.

PROF. SHANTI KOTHARI: Look at the 'Defection'—most unprincipled and unparalleled game of Aayaram and Gayaram—indulged in by all parties.. This has brought to say the least, our democracy to shame.

Thus have started auctioneering politics by rewarding the detectors in toppling Governments for which these defectors are paid a heavy price in varying forms. This is a dangerous trend. Unless this game is stopped, I am afraid, all these tall talks of socialism and democracy in the Parliament and outside would recoil on us with vengeance. There is no substitute for leadership unless promises are fulfilled, unless the results can be seen and shown and the effect, to be sure, is felt by the remotest villager. Unless we achieve that, I am afraid, we are in for collective ruin and national catastrophe.

Sir, the 1967 elections have shown that every politician is living in a glass house. There are exceptions again. May I say, Sir, that those who enjoy the maximum privilege and power have the maximum responsibility to discharge and, therefore, they should be prepared to pay the maximum penalty in case of failures. Unless this structural change comes about, I am afraid, our best intentions, as expressed through the Budget, shall remain on the paper, as in the past.

I may submit in passing that the Ministers concerned listen to the speeches with indifference and get away with lame excuses. Sir, I was not really very keen to speak. It is not a question of steaming off. Every Member who speaks and who ventilates the sickness of our political system without fear or favour has a cumulative effect. The effect of what they say is much deeper and should not be ignored. There is one serious thing to which I draw your attention. Let the Finance Ministry ask the Reserve Bank of India to call for the bank account statements, referred to in 1962 or so in foreign exchange cases of S. P. Jain before the Supreme Court, showing a deposit of Rs. 18 lakhs in a German bank. Let them say where all that money was transferred. Similarly, there are so many people who put their money in German and other foreign banks. We have come across instances of Birlas and other big business houses. I would like the Reserve Bank and the Finance Ministry to take a note of this and get hold of the statements of accounts maintained by them in the foreign banks. If the detailed statement of the bank account is called for by the Reserve Bank, beginning from the date Mr. Shanti Prasad Jain was arrested at

Palam airport with a similar statement up to a certain date and ending on the date on which either the account was closed or if it is still in existence, an up-to-date account copy is rendered, it may unfurl yet another mystery. What the Jains have done and are still doing will be blatantly exposed, I am sure.

Let the Commission draw officers of sufficiently high status of proven integrity from the Income Tax Department, Customs and Central Excise, Foreign Exchange Enforcement, Company Law and Chief Controller of Exports and Imports. Let the cases of all these big industrialists be subjected to a thorough probe at the hands of this Commission which must be given a free hand to collect evidence of the misdeeds of industrialists. They will have to collect this from within the country as well as from outside. I would request the Prime Minister to place the reports of this Commission on the floor of this House to enable the scrutiny of this august House.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: The Government does not have that power.

SHRI SHANTI KOTHARI: Why not? Mr. Shanti Prasad Jain has admitted that this account was opened in his name. If so, banking law and practice world over permit him to obtain a copy of his own account. It is because of this that the common man is subjected to more and more taxation, both direct and indirect, in course of time, and is subjected to rising prices.

Regarding our educational institutions, Mr. Mookerjee and Mr. Chatto-padhya, our distinguished colleagues, have referred to uneven education cannot breed even society, much less a socialist one. The whole political structure is on trial. The agency is not superficial; it is deep and organic. Unless that is removed, I am afraid, we are in for an abrupt rupture of our political institutions and rough weather.

Sir, the Government should insist on and he must demand the highest level of standards from those who are in power. Non-Congress parties are in power in many States. The two Congress Parties are in power in many States. They must insist on the highest standard because the common man cannot go to a court of law. I may add here that justice must be made the

[Shri Shanti Kothari]

cheapest. The common man has no means, no mind and no morals left in him to go to the court. It is here that the judicial institutions must come to the aid of the common man without fear or favour. And that is possible only when he is convinced that favouritism shall never play havoc in these great institutions.

Last year I sent a telegram to my Chief Minister, the Chief Minister of Rajasthan, as also to the Prime Minister saying that the implementation of the Bery Commission report should be accorded the sanctity it deserves. I said, having got the report why can we not implement it? We have an answer to give to the society. But I have yet to receive a reply to that telegram. When I went to Jaipur and discussed it with the authorities, I was told that it would be politically unwise to do so. I told them that it might or might not be politically unwise but non-implementation of the report would be digging the graves of the generations to come, of their children and of our children and the children yet to be born. Judicial pronouncements if they are to be thrown like this, we have no future. I am still pursuing this. I may repeat, unless the political institutions, the political parties are above board, unless there is the least expenditure in the elections and the maximum effort at building this country, irrespective of the complexion of parties, we are in for a serious crisis. I would like the example of the privy purse to be followed. When my P.S.P. friend, Shri Banka Behary Das brought the Resolution it was a sight to see all parties supporting it in spite of other differences.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, people might not give importance to the soul of the institutions. But remember one thing. Hitler came to power in 1933 through the Weimar Constitution, in a constitutional way in letter but without the spirit and scrapped it soon after he came to power without effective resistance. Unless the soul and spirit of the Constitution and the Parliamentary institutions are kept both together followed, they will be dry ending into dangerous slips condemning the present as well as future generation.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, this year's Budget, I feel, is surely a depar-

ture from those of the former years. I think it is practicable and realistic also because in the present correlation of forces in our country, nothing better could have been expected from the Finance Minister.

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

And it justifies itself when the extreme Right is unhappy about it and the extreme Left is also unhappy about it. Therefore, I feel it is correct and the Budget is drawn in the right direction.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA ME-
NON : What do you mean by "extreme Left"?

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: I mean you friends.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA ME-
NON : I am not on the extreme Left. I am here.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: I mean politically. Sir, I am also happy that the Deputy Leader of Congress (O), Mr. Gurupadswamy says that it is a continuation of last year's Budget but just a little to the Left. So also Mr. Chengalvaroyan who sees the same continuity, and adds a compliment to our ex-Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai. Sir, while speaking on the President's Address I had asked my friends on this side, especially Mr. Jagjivan Ram, to close the doors for people on the other side. But I now want people like Mr. Gurupadswamy and Mr. Chengalvaroyan to think well. If they think that this Budget and the pro-grammes the Government is pursuing are on the right lines, they should not hesitate to help the Government in working out a workable proposition. Of course, I will not ask Mr. Shah to see that Mr. S. K. Patil and others cluster into this group again and make it a mess. But friends like Mr. Gurupadswamy and Mr. Chengalvaroyan must think again. They should not have two faces, one face for that side and another when political and economic convictions come in. I need not give more advice to them because they know; after all, we are in the chessboard of politics. The way things are happening in India to-day, I believe every man must go through a practical test for what he stands. He will definitely be judged by

the people. We cannot go on saying "I am a socialist, but my conduct and behaviour is something else." People are judging us. And when I mention these two names, I should not leave out my friend, Mr. Parthasarathy. They think, and it is right that people on that side also have begun to think. Thinking alone can make us go ahead.

Sir, I will not repeat what others have already said. Many people have already spoken on the Budget. The Budget is not a new thing. Every year it comes. Some will say that this is *the* Budget and some will say it is rotten. I said with neither of these extremes. I say that this Budget could not have been better in the present conditions of our country, the correlation of our forces and the so-called socialist organisation.

Sir, I will touch a few points. I welcome the lax on urban property and the tax increase on farm wealth. We are spending so much on agriculture and why should we leave out that sector untouched? They should also pay tax and means have to be found so that whatever they get from the so-called green revolution, they are in a position to pay back to the nation from their profits. Sir, in regard to the discretionary grant of Rs. 175 crores to the States, in the hands of the Government of India, I fear—it may not be so—that it may be used for political patronage. It must be viewed only from the point of view of economic context. For example, Sir, my State of Orissa is a poor State; everybody knows it. I do not like to say we are poor, poor, poor, because poverty is not with the people there. Poverty is there because most of the resources in that part of India are poorly exploited.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA ME-
NON : You have got Konark.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: We want new Konarks, new agricultural industries and so on. In this connection, Sir, I would request the Government, especially the Finance Minister, that Orissa should not be deprived of its due share in this amount of Rs. 175 crores which is in her hands—Sir, I agree with many hon. Members on this side that the Government should accept the Bhoothalingam Committee report and raise the income-tax

exemption limit to Rs. 7,500. Let us see how it works out per month. It comes to a monthly salary of Rs. 625. You can understand the position of a Government officer or a middle-class man or a trader who earns Rs. 625 per month in a place like Delhi, with a family. Do you think it is right that we should go on taxing him? It becomes very difficult for a man with a salary of Rs. 625, with little children, in these days of rising prices. Numerous toys are coming into the market. You have *no* control over that. Various types of cosmetics are there. If a young newly married engineer goes to Connaught Place, his first month's salary will be finished with one or two saris, a few bush-shirts and terylene pants.

SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA
(Assam) : How do you know. You have no wife.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: I have no wife now, but I had a wife. You cannot control the market. I was in Russia and East Germany. They do not have so many varieties of clothing. I could not find a good type of hair oil in Moscow. But we are having dozens here. Naturally this is a temptation for ladies and also for children. So a salary of Rs. 625 is practically nothing. It is a different thing in the case of a trader because his standard of living and his place in society are something different. But for an engineer or a junior officer in the secretariat with a salary of Rs. 625, it will be very difficult if you tax his income. I request the Finance Minister to take it to her heart, think clearly and see that the limit of tax exemption is raised to Rs. 7,500.

In regard to the excise duty on tea, coffee and kerosene, I hope it will be withdrawn. Sir, I have not much to say about coffee or tea, but what about kerosene? Our cooking process is so complicated. Without soft wood or charcoal for fuel, we could not get on. Now, when our cooking process is getting reorganised, getting a little more civilised, naturally the housewife switches over to the kerosene stove or something where kerosene is used for cooking. Even in villages it is being used. You promised that you will give electricity to more villages during the Gandhi Centenary year, but you could not do it. I understand your difficulties. But why tax kerosene which is the only hope for the people in the

[Shri Brahmananda Panda]

villages ? It is already selling at a higher rate. Why do you tax more? Mahatma Gandhi objected to the tax on salt, not because he wanted to make it a political weapon, but because salt is necessary, from the cottage to the palace, and nobody can dispense with it. And here in our MPs' quarters we have got enough electricity and I do not mind paying for it. But when I go back to my village I have to depend upon kerosene. If I myself cannot afford to pay it when I go back to my village, how can the villagers pay it? So, I would appeal to the Finance Minister to withdraw the excise duty at least on kerosene. You can think over again and put some more on sugar, coffee or tea or some other item. But kerosene should not be taxed because every common man needs it. (*Interruption*) You have taxed petrol. You have taxed whisky. I do not mind if you have taxed petrol because I do not have a car. Whenever I want, I go by a taxi and that is enough for me. Of course, the taxis are on a strike just now because they want no two meters to agree on the same distance. Anyway, I cannot own a car because if I go to my village in a car I will not be voted to Parliament again. So, if you tax petrol and such other things which do not directly affect the common man, I do not mind, I do not feel unhappy, and I will say the Finance Minister has done it justifiably.

Another welcome step is the minimum pension for industrial employees, pension to all those who come under the Provident Fund. I say this is a very good step.

There is another thing which I have been told and which I have read in the newspapers also, from the Prime Minister's reply to the debate in the other House, that Prof. Madhok called it a political Budget. What else can it be?

(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Panda, you go on with your speech. You have not got much time.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA : We have our political economics. Economics should be political. But some of our friends on the right would like to control politics through economics,

just like the Birlas, the Tatas, the Dal-mias, the Singhanias, the Jains, and so on. But I think we should always make a move, we should always take a step, in that direction to free our economy from the hands of these monopolists who have taken away most of the profits of the millions of Indians and are rolling in luxury. (*Interruption.*) Of course, the corporate sector is not taxed now. It will be going to be taxed. But I think this is a step in the right direction ...

SHRI G. A. APPAN : But for them wherefrom will they get this much amount of tax?

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA: We will get it from somewhere or other. But I do not want that most of our industrial wealth and the means of production should, be in the hands of these monopolists. Even in an affluent country like America you have capitalists but you do not have individual monopolists like the Birlas and the Tatas, The Birlas and the Tatas can combine themselves into a firm or a corporation that is something different. But here is an individual monopoly, individual whim, individual capital which not only corrupts public life, but also corrupts many of our good officers,. So, any move to control their vagaries, their stranglehold on the economy of our country, should be welcomed so that they will not have an upper hand.

Sir, there is always a criticism against the public sector. I am, of course, not very happy with the functioning of our public sector undertakings. But when we want to criticise the functioning of the public sector undertakings we should take into consideration the recession in the industrial sphere, the famines, the floods, all those mishaps, all those calamities, that we had to go through. I always say that I am not pessimistic. But if you simply criticise them without giving any cogent reasons and constructive points, that criticism is of no use and that helps neither the Government nor the Opposition nor the people. If I am allowed to say, I think it is high time that we called a democratic socialist convention; let a truce be declared for five years. There should be no party struggles, no party troubles. Every party leader should be prepared to give up his personal pride, personal prejudices as well as party

prejudices. What is the difference between me and Mr. Rajnarain? We stand for one conviction. We stand for democratic socialism in the country. The only difference is that I want to see that the House is not unruly whereas his only ambition is to see that the House is always unruly. .

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : वह डिफरेंस नहीं है। डिफरेंस यह है कि आप श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का समर्थन करते हो, वे नहीं करते।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN): No, no, please.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : राजनारायण जी नहीं थे, इसलिए कह दिया।

श्री ब्रह्मानन्द पंडा : राजनारायण जी होते तो भी बोलता।

I think this is the only difference. So, practically the differences are very very flimsy. And after all, for politicians like Mr. Rajnarain there is a ground also for despondency. And therefore, if we can come together in a convention, have a time-bound programme, try to break the barriers that keep us apart and call a truce for five years, I think we can do something for the good of this country. When I was in East Germany I found there were still five political parties there. It is not as if the Communist Party is the only dominating factor there. Not that. There are five other parties also. But they all agree on a common programme. They say that socialism for that country is a must. If they have to grow up, if they are to stop Nazism on the other side of the Berlin Wall, they must build up a socialist society where many other parties also function. So also, here in order to keep under control the monopolists, the rightists, all those non-secular forces and elements, which want to weaken our democracy and the growth of socialism in this country, it is high time that we all thought alike and came together and found out a way; otherwise, Budgets will come and go every year; there will be talking to the sky-high and people on the opposite side will not be wanting in their attempt to throw it into the gutter. This way we will not be helping our national growth, our national economy.

Sir, I do not want to take much of your time in repeating things which others have already said. Even while saying this, I have repeated certain things. Practically everyone of us is not an economist. I am concerned only with the political part of it. This Budget is political and I expected that it should have been a little more political. Whether Prof. Madhok or somebody else likes it or not, a Budget will always be political. But what type of politics? It is a politics which stands for secularism. It is a politics which wants that democracy should be strengthened. It is a politics which enables us to march towards a socialist society. We want that our Budget should be of this nature.. And since that is there, I am very happy that the Prime Minister and Finance Minister has given a new direction to our economy, and I believe that our officers in different spheres of work will cooperate with the policy and programme that is here in the Budget so that when we meet here next year we will definitely be in a position to see a little more clearly the horizon of socialism in this country.

Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, while replying to the discussion on the Budget in the lower House yesterday the Prime Minister said at the outset,—

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I may start off by saying that it will always be my endeavour to give justice to all."

Now, let us see how far she is correct. I will give an example of my own State. Due to the failure of rains in 1968 in Gujarat there were about 10,323 villages which were affected by drought. Due to the failure of rains in 1969 there are about 4,800 villages affected by drought for the second year in succession. The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and also the weaker sections are the people who have been suffering the most in these drought-affected areas. The Gujarat Government had done and is doing its best to provide relief measures in these drought-affected areas. They spent about Rs. 35 crores during the current year. But according to the Finance Commission the Gujarat Government is supposed to bear the first

[Shri K. S. Chavda] Rs. 80 lakhs on account of the expenditure on relief measures but the Central Government has given only Rs. 10.5 crores for relief measures to the State of Gujarat up to March 4, 1970. Now, Sir, while replying to an unstarred question in the Lok Sabha on March 9, 1970, the Minister of Food and Agriculture stated that 86.15 lakh people in 10,323 villages of 16 districts in Gujarat were affected in 1969-70 by drought due to the failure of rains in 1968 and the financial assistance given to the State of Gujarat was Rs. 10.5 crores. Further he said that 32.40 lakh people in 7537 villages of 11 districts in Tamil Nadu were affected by drought in the same year and the financial assistance given to the Tamil Nadu Government up to March 4, 1970 was Rs. 13 crores. When 86 lakh people were affected in Gujarat, the assistance given was Rs. 10.5 crores and when 32 lakh people were affected in Tamil Nadu, the assistance given was Rs. 13 crores. It is very strange that this is done. After all this is a human problem and it should be dealt with humanely and not politically. The standard or the yardstick which is applied to the State of Tamil Nadu should be applied to the State of Gujarat while giving Central assistance for relief measures. There should not be any double standards. It is proposed to provide Rs. 175 crores in the present Budget to cover the gap of deficit financing of certain States. Sir, I have no doubt in my mind that this provision will be utilised for political patronage.

Sir, one more example I will give Gujarat is a deficit State in foodgrains. The total deficit this year will be 17.1 lakh tons. Now, Sir, the average monthly supply of coarse grains, which are used by the poor people, by the Central Government to Gujarat was only 3 thousand tons during the period November 1969 to January 1970 as against the average monthly deficit of 68 thousand tons of coarse grains. Therefore, Sir, the Gujarat Government had been compelled to give 2 kilos of coarse grains instead of 9 kilos per capital per month to the consumers in the Adivasi, backward and scarcity-affected areas. Sir, it is not possible for the poor people to replace coarse grains by wheat. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that the Central Government should give adequate quantities

of coarse grains like milo or other coarse grains like jowar, bajra and maize at the same price as that of milo at present. Sir, it is very strange that the Government which speaks of the poor does not give this help for the Adivasis and backward and scarcity-affected areas, especially when the President's Address says that the food situation is satisfactory and they have been able to augment the buffer stocks.

Sir, I fail to understand why zonal restrictions are not removed when the situation is satisfactory. Sir, due to these zonal barriers on the free movement of foodgrains the prices of foodgrains in a deficit State like Gujarat have remained considerably high. Therefore these zonal restrictions must go because they are against national integration and they create a feeling of disintegration among the States.

Now, Sir, the Prime Minister has tried her level best to show that the Budget is for the poor and for the weaker sections. But Sir, the weaker sections are very much worried by the rising prices; prices have been going higher and higher. Sir, the Economic Survey of 1969-70 says on page 39 as follows :—

"From the middle of November, 1969 prices again tended to harden."

Further it says :

"More recently there has been renewed upward pressure and the monthly average of wholesale prices during January 1970 was 6.8 per cent, higher than a year ago."

Sir, after the slogans of 'Quit Poverty' and 'To Bombay on the path of socialism' of the Cong (I), the first step taken by the Government was to increase the price of steel by Rs. 77.5 per ton and the price of vanaspati by 30 paise per kilo. In the present Budget the corporate sector is not touched at all. If this step was taken by the former Finance Minister. Shri Morarjibhai Desai, then hon. Members like Shri Bhupesh Gupta, Shri Chandra Shekhar, and others would have made a hue and cry on the floor of the House and called him a friend of the capitalists and reactionaries.

AN HON. MEMBER; He is.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: It is for the House to judge now. Now the second step, which they have taken, was to increase the fares and freights on the railways. I have little time, that is why I will make only the points. The third step is to increase the additional indirect taxation to the extent of Rs. 165 crores, which will be entirely a burden on the common man. Sir, there will be increase in prices. There is and there will be further rise in the prices of hot drinks because of the additional levy on sugar, *khandsari* and tea. Now generally, Sir, the poor are taking *chapati* and chilly, but now-a-days the price of chilly is Rs. 10 per kilo. So they take *chapati* and tea. Naturally then this will affect the common man, the poor man. In the same way, Sir, there will be an increase in the cost of washing clothes because of the levy on bleaching powder, soda ash and caustic soda, which are used in making soap. Because of this does the Finance Minister intend to keep the poor classes in dirty clothes? Is this a Budget for the poor? Sir, the poor do not use electric lamps. They use only hurricane lamps. But there is the additional duty on kerosene. In the same way, Sir, the poor people do not use utensils of copper or brass or other such metal. They use aluminium utensils. But there is the additional duty on aluminium too. In the case of those who are employed in Government service or those who are employed in the organised industry, these rises in prices will be neutralised by the rise in their dearness allowance. But what about the poor people who are living on the footpaths in metropolitan cities Hire Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and other places? What about those millions, the agricultural labour, whose *per capita* income per annum is below Rs. 150?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN) : Thank you.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: One minute more and then I will stop.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN): All right; one minute only.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: The Prime Minister has said : "It provides for an increase in the Plan outlay by Rs. 400 crores in the coming year." Rs. 398 crores is the exact figure, not Rs. 400 crores. "We believe that this increase along with other fiscal and monetary policies of the Government will stimulate the economy and employment opportunities all round." Looking to the price rise, Sir, this will not be a real increase and there will not be any significant increase in the development and hence there will not be any significant increase in the employment opportunities.

On page 7 of the book "Towards Growth with Social Justice" this is mentioned.

"The State Bank of India and the other commercial banks are taking increasing interest in the provision of credit to the small scale industries. Of this, special mention might be made of the scheme initiated by the State Bank of India for the technician entrepreneurs. Between June and December 1960, the loans sanctioned under this scheme have doubled, to a figure of Rs. 2.31 crores."

Naturally, the credit or the honour for this goes to the former Finance Minister. The House would be in a better position to judge if the figures for the nationalised banks had been given.

Sir, I have no time and I cannot do justice to my points. So I resume my seat.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AK-BAR ALI KHAN): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on Friday.

The House adjourned at six minutes past six of the clock (ill eleven of the clock on Friday, the 20th March, 1970.