

[Shri S. N. Mishra]

unduly influence the nominations. We are all familiar with the abuse of nominations . . .

SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA (Assam) : The hon. Member should not make these observations based on newspaper reports.

(Interruptions.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : Let them allow us to have our say and let them give their replies later on.

(Interruptions.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : We are all familiar, Mr. Deputy Chairman, with the abuse of nominations to augment party strength and that is what the ruling party had been doing. It had been admitting through the back door the hon. Nominated Members of this House in order to augment its dwindling strength. And that is a very objectionable matter. I may say that even the Presidential Awards this year on the occasion of the Republic day . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That is a different matter and it cannot be brought in here.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : But that is an allied matter. Now, Sir, a remarkable feature of the present House is that the Opposition is in an overwhelming majority. After the biennial elections the balance is going to be further adverse to the ruling party. So my humble request to our esteemed President would be that, if he proposes to consult this minority Government, then he should consult the leaders of the various parties and groups with regard to the nominations. In view of the changed composition of the House the President may be pleased to constitute a committee to advise him with regard to the nominations. These are my two suggestions.

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI K. K. SHAH) : It is extremely painful that the Leader of the Opposition should depend upon a report of the newspapers which says there is a likelihood . . .

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : Not likelihood, a strong possibility.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : If there was a statement that it has been decided in a particular manner, then I can understand it.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh) : No, Sir.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Now I have heard you, and the Leader of the Opposition may now be kind enough to hear me also, I can understand the anxiety of the Leader of the Opposition if there was an assertive statement. If the correspondent of a newspaper draws on his imagination, I am sure the Leader of the Opposition will not allow himself to be swayed by somebody else drawing on his imagination.

The second is still more unjustifiable because the Constitutional provision leaves the nominations to the President, and to make any suggestion as to how the President's discretion should be exercised is not right and proper. I am very sorry that the Leader of the Opposition should have taken this opportunity to raise this question.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P. M.

The House adjourned for lunch at thirty-five minutes past one of the clock.

THE HOUSE RESEMBLED AFTER LUNCH AT HALF PAST TWO OF THE CLOCK, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1970-71—
General Discussion—contd.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the General Budget for the ensuing year and I do so with great pleasure because I find that the framer of the Budget, which has been introduced this year have, when framing it, kept in mind the urgent necessities of the people and have tried to make provision for them to the extent the country's fin could permit and therefore, I think it is wrong to say that the Government failed to give a new look to the country and as such the Budget is a failure. Let me enumerate some of the schemes envisaged in the

are unmistakably a pointer to the Finance Minister's thinking in the right direction to take the country forward and to improve the well being of the people in the years to come.

The most important of these, Sir, is the provision of Rs. 300 crores for improving irrigation facilities in the country. This will increase foodgrains production in the country and also benefit the farmers of those areas. It will also, to some extent reduce the regional imbalances in the country. In the same category will fall the provision in the Budget for the improvement of the dry areas in the country. A third important and far reaching step in the Budget is the provision of Rs. 25 crores for selected rural works programme, particularly in areas which are victims of recurring famines. This provision, though wholly inadequate must still be considered as a step in the right direction and while appreciating this I would also suggest that a similar scheme should have been formulated for those areas of the country in which persistently floods occur so that the devastation which is caused annually in those areas may be removed, or at least lessened. The fourth important measure is the provision for rural drinking water supply schemes, need for which has long been felt but which could not be tackled so far. The introduction of a scheme for small farmers, even though it is to be started on a very modest scale in 45 districts only in the country, goes to show that the Finance Minister is trying to do her little bit in all directions and let me wish her success in all her endeavours.

Coming now to the measures proposed to be taken for the well being of the people, I would first of all refer to the creation of an Urban Development Corporation as a major scheme of improvement. Next I will mention under this head the programme for supply of food for the young children in the tribal blocks and in slum areas. The provision of Rs. 4 crores for this scheme seems to be a drop in the ocean but it undoubtedly goes to show the concern of the Finance Minister for the well being of the poor children of the country. Yet another measure for the well being of the people is the scheme to provide Government contribution to the provident fund of the industrial workers out of which family pension with a minimum of Rs. 40 per month and lumpsum payment on death in service will be made to the workers. Another measure of benefit, though applicable only to a class of people,

namely, the Government employees, is the raising of the minimum pension to Rs. 40 per month. With all these measures in the Budget for improving the well being of the people and raising the level of the country I fail to see how the critics of the Budget can say that the Budget is disappointing.

Let me now examine the measures outlined in the Budget for raising the level of the country's economy. It is a well-known fact that traditional items of export, namely, tea and jute, have for several years past been in a very bad way and even though at an earlier time devaluation of rupee was resorted to and the duty had been reduced, yet it was not possible for these industries to compete in the open market. Therefore the scheme proposed in the Budget, namely, complete abolition of the duty on tea and reduction of excise duty on jute canvas, jute webbings, jute tarpaulin cloth and manufactures thereof from Rs. 500 to Rs. 200 is a proper step that has been adopted now, with this let me hope that the exports of these commodities will improve and they shall be able to stand competition in the world markets.

Now, Sir, with a view to encourage import substitution in the country the duty on imported machinery is being raised from 27½ per cent to 35 per cent *ad valorem*. Similarly the duty on certain plastic material and certain electrical resistance wires has been raised from 60 per cent to 100 per cent *ad valorem*. It is anticipated that with these fiscal measures our economy will improve and in fact I am glad to find that even without these additional benefits our exports in other non-traditional items have shown a very marked improvement and this is a very welcome feature.

Coming to the taxation proposals in the Budget, one is at once struck by the methods adopted by the Finance Minister in bringing about a narrowing of the gap between the very rich and the common man. For example, it is proposed to raise the income-tax rate from 82.5 per cent in the Rs. 2½ lakhs slab to 93.5 per cent in the slab over Rs. 2 lakhs. But fixing these very high rates of income-tax, I am a raid will lead to the greater evil of avoidance of taxes by various methods which are adopted by the wealthy persons. It is also, I am afraid, a measure which is likely to give less incentive to the people to work and put in their best effort. It is well-known that after a certain level of

[Pandit S. S. N. Tankha.]

income is reached and when one finds that further effort does not bring one any further personal benefit and when one finds that the entire additional income would have to go to the coffers of the Government, one loses all interest in further effort and does not work so enthusiastically as he should have. That has been the common experience, Sir, as you may be aware, of various lawyers, doctors and other people who, after a certain stage, think that it is no good practising any further. They either reduce their load of work or do not appear at all which of course, it is not a good thing at all. So long as a man is capable of hard work, he should work, whether it be for his personal benefit or for the benefit of the nation. But that is a human failing and, therefore, I do not think that this measure will be of much benefit.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : This applies after Rs. 2 lakhs.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA : Yes, I know that, but there are so many persons who earn an income of Rs. 2 lakhs or Rs. 2.5 lakhs. Then, Sir, it also leads to a greater avoidance of tax by illegal means. You will remember that Prof. Kaldor the great British economist, when he visited India at the invitation of the Government of India said that the highest tax slab in our country was too high and that it should be brought down to 45 per cent. But, Now, what do we find? We find instead, that it is being raised from 82.5 per cent to 93.5 per cent. Instead of going on the lines suggested by Prof. Kaldor, we are going the other way about. I would therefore, urge upon the Finance Minister to keep a close watch on this measure and see whether our economy will benefit or lose with such a high rate of taxation. The raising of the wealth-tax and gift-tax is, of course, unobjectionable.

Then, Sir, the fixing of an indirect ceiling on the owning of urban land and property is certainly a very good step, but what I am afraid of is that people will avoid that also by passing on their properties fictitiously in the names of their close relatives or trusted friends, with the result that the country may not actually benefit by it either in the form of money which it has to bring in or by the distribution of lands and houses to other people. It is more or less a

measure like putting a ceiling on agricultural land as has been done in various States. They have undertaken the legislation, but the benefit of it has not gone to any one at all, who did not own any land. It is all a made-up affair and lands in excess of the ceiling fixed were just passed on either in the name of co-operatives or in the name of relatives and friends. Therefore, it is difficult to say whether we shall benefit by this measure, but it is certainly a very good measure provided it is strictly implemented and, therefore, it deserves our support.

I, have, however, to disagree with one of the proposals which have been put forward in the Budget, namely, the proposal to aggregate the incomes of the husband, wife and children for the purpose of taxation on the ground as mentioned by the Prime Minister that "those who are united in heaven should not be put asunder by a mere tax-collector". We should not forget that women, now, after the passing of the Hindu Code Bill, enjoy the absolute right to property. Women inherit and enjoy property in their own right. Therefore, it would be unreasonable to include their personal incomes into account with that of their husbands and then tax them on the combined income. In the case of such of those women who do not possess separate properties or of children who do not possess separate income and do not own estates, of course, there can be no objection to their incomes being computed along with the incomes of the husbands or parents.

I have failed to understand the reasoning, or failed to follow the reasoning given by the Finance Ministry for not touching the corporate sector. There certainly was a time when there was a great clamour that the corporate sector was being taxed too heavily and it afforded no opportunity to people to save and invest anything significantly. All the same I do not see why, when the personal tax has been increased so much, the corporate sector should have been left untouched. I think that at least the value of the bonus shares, which are issued by the corporate sector, should be taxed. To bring about greater industrial activity in the country and to enable larger participation of the public in these ventures, the exemption of their income up to a limit of Rs. 3000 per year, whether it is derived from income on shares of companies or from investment in the Unit Trust or Government securities, is a very wise step which has been taken, and I have no doubt that

this concession will give a fillip to the industrial development and formation of new industrial undertakings in the country. It is also a wise step to encourage savings habit among the people since it offers an incentive to put by some money or investment. The decision to offer higher rates of interest on various post office certificates and other postal accounts etc. is also a very good measure for attracting rural savings.

Before I pass on to the proposed indirect taxation scheme in the Budget, I would like to congratulate the Finance Minister on her decision to raise the exemption limit of taxation to Rs. 5000. But at the same time I would submit, Sir, that this has not given any great relief to the people because even at present the tax exemption which an average man gets, who has a wife and two or three children, is at best Rs. 4800—the relief which he gets is on Rs. 4000 for himself, Rs. 500 for his wife and Rs. 300 for each child. Now it is proposed to increase this to Rs. 5000. So the benefit given now will be only to the extent of Rs. 200 only. Even if this be a small step in this direction, it is indeed welcome, but I would urge that this exemption limit of Rs. 5000 should at least be increased to Rs. 6000 if not to Rs. 7500 as had been recommended by Mr. Kaldor, the reason being that in these times of high prices it is not possible for anyone to support himself and his family with anything less than Rs. 500 per month, and therefore this amount of Rs. 6000 should have been exempted, and may even now be exempted if the Finance Minister feels that way.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You have taken 90 minutes. You are cutting the share of other Members.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA : In the sphere of indirect taxation the Finance Minister has been very merciless because under this head she has chosen to tax many items which are really necessary items of daily consumption of the poor in the country, namely, articles like sugar, tea, coffee, kerosene oil. The enhanced duty on these articles of daily consumption of the poor like sugar, tea and kerosene oil will cause great hardship to the poor people. The raising of duty on motor spirit needs also to be avoided as the use of modern means of transport is not a luxury but a necessity, and if

there is any further rise in the transportation costs, it will work a great hardship to the people who are compelled to use it.

Of all the intended revision of rates in the Posts and Telegraphs Department the raising of charges on money order transmission is most objectionable, as it will hit hard the poorer sections of the people who utilise these means for sending money or receiving money.

In the end, Sir, I would like to touch upon my favourite theme of defence upon which I lay stress at the time of the Budget each year. While I recognise and appreciate the measures which have been taken in the past by the Government in improving and strengthening the Army and the Air Force, I cannot but regret that very little has been done so far in the way of modernising our Navy. It is a well-known fact that most of our ships are now outdated and have constantly to be kept under repair to keep them in working order to meet any emergency. Even our bigger ships like the aircraft carrier "Vikrant" and the sister ship cruiser INS "Mysore"—both of which I had the privilege to visit last October and also to sail on one of them, namely the "Vikrant" from Cochin to Goa when it went out on its annual exercise—they are indeed admirable ships for which any country owning them may well be proud, but yet it should not be forgotten that these too are several years old now and may in another ten years' time or so need replacement. Besides, Sir, the fleet, even though it consists of quite a number of ships, still is too small for the defence of our long coastline. In view of this it needs considerable additions including another aircraft carrier for the defence of our eastern fleet stationed at Visakhapatnam. In view of this there should be no cutting down in the funds allocated for defence in the Budget or in the next Five Year Plans. But on the other hand efforts should be made to give the Navy greater funds for improving its ships and its efficiency in this direction. Thank you.

SHRI ABID ALI (Maharashtra) : Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman. It is a big hoax to call this a socialist Budget. I do not mind monied people being taxed still more, but at the same time there should be a system and an machinery to ensure that taxes are properly assessed and realised.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair

[Shri Abid Ali.]

What is the use of increasing taxes and making people to get organised in such a way that larger amount of taxes is evaded? That means those who should pay can evade, and those who are paying should pay more. As I said, it is a big hoax to call it a socialist budget, because, Sir, the prices have already gone up and are going up. In wheat it is about 20 to 30 paise increase; in Vanaspati it is 30 to 35 paise increase. Even the butter sold by the Delhi Milk scheme has been increased by 10 per cent. Of course the Prime Minister may say that butter is not taken by ordinary people . . .

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh) : But butter is needed for political buttering.

SHRI ABID ALI : That has become very cheap. But what about wheat? What about dal? About 35 paise per kg. It has gone up for dal, and so on and so forth for every article which is used by the ordinary people, by the poorer sections of society. Formerly, our Ministers were saying—we will not allow the prices to go up. But you know about the Delhi Milk Scheme. Milk was sold, I think, at about 50 paise or near about 50 paise per litre. Now I remember—it was 31 paise per half litre and 62 paise per litre. Now the price is 116 paise per litre. This is the Delhi Milk Scheme price and still the Scheme is losing. All Government projects lose. Take the Modern Bread. Britannia and other makes are there also. The person who distributes the bread every day, he is earning Rs. 4,000. They distribute only in lorries and the project earns in plenty. But what about Modern Bread? They claim quality; that it is better. Certainly it is not better. And they are losing.

श्री नेकी राम (हरियाणा) : दाल का पेड़ कितना बड़ा होता है ।

श्री आबिद अली : दाल का पेड़ बहुत छोटा होता है ।

श्री नेकी राम : आपको मालूम नहीं 5 फीट का होता है ।

श्री उपसभापति : उनको बोलने दीजिए ।

SHRI ABID ALI : I do not mind. But the hon. Member should kindly tell me.

श्री नेकी राम : दाल का पेड़ आपसे ऊंचा होता है ।

श्री लोकनाथ मित्र (उड़ीसा) : आप हरियाणा का नाम बदनाम कर रहे हैं ।

श्री नेकी राम : आपको पता नहीं दाल का पेड़ कितना बड़ा होता है । बाहर पूछ लीजिएगा ।

SHRI ABID ALI : In every respect the prices are going up, and the workers are suffering. If the Prime Minister or the Government would have been able to ensure that the increase in prices are covered by increase in wages of the workers, then certainly there would have been something like socialism. I hope the Government would be able to take note of the suffering of the people and do something to relieve them of their suffering.

Take the newspapers. In the news paper, on the 1st of March I read 'Socialist Budget', this scheme and that scheme. And they say that the press is independent. In the case of how many newspapers has this Government been able to put its foot down very sternly and ensure that all that they want is published in the way they want it and there are also the All India Radio and the Television. All these are instruments through which they publicise. These are all Government-controlled media telling things which are far from reality:

In Switzerland, in the United Kingdom or in the United States of America which is the costliest place it is nine to 10 minutes' wage to get a kilogram of a good loaf of bread. But in India our workers have to pay half a day's wage. So many times we have been drawing the attention of the Government to this fact that here we are paying half a day's wage for having a kilogram of bread and in those countries it is nine minutes' wage that brings a kilogram of bread. That is the difference, and here we call ourselves a Socialist Government. My submission is, give subsidy for wheat. Have a chain of *tandoors*, not this bakery like the Modern Bakery which is not modern at all. Have two or three *tandoors* in very *gali*. Nasser in Egypt did it. Egypt is certainly not richer than our country. They have been in difficulty. There they

are having this *tandoor* system. In the Middle East, in the Arab countries, everywhere you will find two or three *tandoors* in every *gali* and there people purchase a big bread for 10 paise. Whether it is *kekdi* or *khajoor* or *paneer* or even salad, for 10 paise they have everything, and in 20 paise they are able to feed themselves, just sitting by the side of the road. At least, so far as bread is concerned, Government should try to make it available at a reasonable price to the poorer people. True, our wages have gone up. When I was working in Kanpur in 1913, I was getting about two annas a day. As compared to that, the prices have gone up very much, almost 20 times. But what about the purchasing capacity now? What the workers were getting in 1930 was more than what they are getting now, 200 rupees. That is the difference. The employers, the capitalists shout, at the trade unions—why are you organising yourselves and shouting so much? Your wage was such and such. Now this is so much. But where is that purchasing power? So, the wages of today are much lower than before when compared in terms of the purchasing power, not in terms of rupees. I was working as a typist in 1918 and then was getting Rs. 15 a month. Now it is more than Rs. 250. That is true. But those Rs. 15 were more than Rs. 250 of today. That is the one thing that the Government has to remember that though the wages have gone up, the value of the rupee has gone down and the workers are really very much in difficulty. Particularly those where there is only one earning member in the family and the landless labour is in more difficulty.

Then, there is so much of backlog in unemployment and so many people are coming into the employment market every year. About employment opportunities and jobs so much is being said in the Plan. But why is unemployment going up?

After devaluation, it was Rs. 8 per dollar in the black market while officially it was Rs. 7.50. Now it has become Rs. 13 per dollar after this Budget. Thirteen rupees for a dollar valued at Rs. 7.50. In Ceylon, in Burma and other countries like the Middle East and even Pakistan, 60 Indian rupees fetched 100 Pakistani rupees immediately after independence. Now it is the reverse—for 100 Indian rupees 60 Pakistani rupees are offered. That has become the condition. The other day I was in Zurich, in Switzerland. An Indian gave 100 rupees at the exchange

counter and he got a value of Rs. 47. I told him, what are you doing? He said what can I do? This Government do not give us foreign exchange and so we have to adopt these methods. I had suggested some time back here to the Government that a large number of Indians are earning wages outside India and also a large number of Indian Mission employees are earning outside. Most of them I should say, if not everyone, are selling their foreign exchange in the black market. There relations and friends here are being benefited. Pakistan has allowed a bonus for their citizens who are earning outside. Anybody can send money to Pakistan from the foreign countries and they are given a certain bonus on that. Thereby the black market is reduced. We should also welcome our citizens outside India to send money through banks, to that extent, we can earn foreign exchange. But as against that, we are compelling them to sell in black market and the foreign exchange is being lost by India. There are so many things that we suggest but somehow the Government feel that everything is all right. I request the Prime Minister not to act like Nandaji who travelled *mufiti* to see the conditions of our third class travel... (*Time bell rings.*) with a photographer and all his paraphernalia. I would request the Prime Minister to go to the market and not rely on these reports and find out for herself the difference between the prices before the Budget and the prices obtaining now. What is the use of her Minister of Food and Agriculture coming here and giving a statement about *vanaspati*? Let Mr. Jagjivan Ram go to the market and produce half a kilo of *vanaspati*. Last Saturday I went for having *vanaspati*. It was not available anywhere, not even in the Super Bazaars. Let her find out the correct position and try to make amends and see that things are improved at least a little.

There is a lot of smuggling going on. Go to the Bombay Market and you will find smuggled goods in abundance.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : Smugglers are given permits.

SHRI ABID ALI : Why is that so? It is because the Customs people are also in link with the smugglers. It is true that gold worth Rs. 90 lakhs has been seized. But have you tried to know the correct position? These smugglers have got a big association. They are sharing the losses. Like insurance, the goods are covered. When gold is caught by the

[Shri Abid Ali.]

Customs authorities the loss is shared by this association of smugglers. Then most of this gold which is caught by the Customs authorities is not caught; it is surrendered. They have a plan. The Customs officers also tell them. "Look, sometimes you should be able to oblige us". These are facts. Now some of these big smugglers are arrested because of differences amongst themselves and not because of any bravery on the part of our Customs people. Of course, there are brave Customs officers also. There are good Customs officers and competent Customs officers. But their number is so small as is the case of good and competent people in the Indira Government. Sometimes there is rivalry between them. I sometimes ask these Customs officers to be good, to be honest, to be nice. But when I ask them to do their duty honestly, they retort by saying, "When our Prime Minister does not do her duty honestly, when she is not loyal to her own party, when she deceives the person whom she herself nominates, how can you ask us to do our duty and be honest?" That is how they slap in our face.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You should wind up.

SHRI ABID ALI : About economy, I would like to mention one thing about workers and officers.

(*Interruption by Shri Neki Ram.*)

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : He is interrupting.

SHRI ABID ALI : Do not mind that. He is my friend. He wants me to say all that with clarity, that I should explain things about the Prime Minister a little more elaborately. But I do not have time. I was mentioning about provident fund. Now what will the workers get after thirty years in terms of money? They will get some amount the value of which will be very much less. I have written to the Government and I again request the Government, through this House, to formulate a scheme on the basis of which they should return the purchasing value of the provident fund that the workers would be contributing now, at least something near it, and not one-tenth of what they are contributing now. That is very necessary in the interest of the poorer sections of the workers. The Government should be able to find out some method by which it would be done. If necessary they can take the help of the I.L.O.

and I shall be only too glad to be of some help in getting them experts from there. I hope something would be done in that connection.

Now, about national integration, I was pained to read that a particular gentleman, who has been writing that a Muslim's first loyalty is towards his places of pilgrimage like Mecca and Madina, his second loyalty is towards the Islamic countries of which Pakistan is one, and his third and constitutional loyalty is towards India, has been given some Bhushan, Padma Bhushan or Padmavibhushan, I do not remember what is this national integration? I have told his name to the Home Minister and I hope he would make enquiries. I hope he will be able shortly to announce that this man does not deserve this Bhushan. And if it is possible this award should be withdrawn. This gentleman is very much upset with the All India Radio. May be the people bestowing honour on him in the All India Radio may not be knowing what this gentleman is doing. This is how the Government wants integration and unity to prosper. (*Time bell rings*). I will wind up.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please wind up.

SHRI ABID ALI : Let me mention, Sir, that whatever I have said does not please me. Sir, I am one of those who was a secretary of a Mohalla Committee in 1914, and these 55 years I have been in the national struggle. Those who have been our colleagues, whether they are on this side or that side, they all feel that the country is not going on the right lines, that the Prime Minister is leading the country to ruins. Now a sum of Rs. 50,000 each has been paid to four M.L.A.s to defect. Perhaps for an M.P. to defect the amount will be Rs. one lakh, and anybody coming forward with Rs. three or four crores will be able to purchase the Prime Ministership of India. I ask the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, the grand-daughter of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru and the wife of Smt Feroze Gandhi, if she would ruin the country. I request her as an old colleague—of course, I am 22 years older to her—not to be taken in by this section of the people in her Cabinet. I warn her these elements are not sincere to anybody. Whether she is in power or anybody else is in power, their object is not to strengthen her or the country. They do not think of the country. Today you are the Prime Minister. But their object is

not to strengthen you. They will betray you. Therefore, please do not be in their company. Get rid of them and come in the company of patriots, of those who have love for the nation, who will die for the nation. A large number of them have already died and suffered for the nation. They value the nation, above everything. Do not allow this Prime Ministership of India to be made a purchasable commodity. The value of an M.L.A. and M.P. is going. There is no value left for anything good. That is what the Prime Minister is leading the country to. Go to the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi. Make confessions. You are celebrating Mahatma Gandhi's centenary. You do not believe in what Gandhi said. Go there and make confessions and be determined that you will follow in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi. If you do that history will remember you; it will honour you. But the way you are going you are ruining the country. This is my personal appeal to you. I hope these words will be conveyed to her. I wish she were present here. Anyway, I hope her colleagues would convey my humble request to her from a person who has been in the fight with her for such a long time. We wished to live to see India independent. If she goes on ruining it, I wonder if this 20 or 25 years of chaos will ruin it to what extent? And we will at least not be able to see her revived.

The Minister of Supply and The Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance
[Shri R. K. Khadilkar Rose]

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : इसके बाद तो हमको बुलाने का फैसला हुआ था।

श्री उपसभापति : इनके बाद आपको मिलेगा। एक तो कांग्रेस का होगा।

श्री राजनारायण : अकबर अली साहब से यही फैसला हुआ था कि आबिद अली के बाद मुझे मौका मिलेगा।

SHRI ABID ALI : Sir, it was his turn; he was kind enough to allow me to speak.

श्री उपसभापति : जब अपोजीशन का आदमी बुलाने का मौका आएगा तब पहले आपको मौका मिलेगा।

श्री राजनारायण : यह अपोजीशन और ट्रेजरी बेंच का सवाल नहीं है। हमें इनके बाद बुलाया जाना चाहिये था। चूँकि इनको प्लेन से जाना था इसलिए अकबर अली खान साहब ने कहा कि राजनारायण से पूछ लो जब हमने कह दिया तो उन्होंने कहा कि इनके बाद हमको बुलवाएंगे, लेकिन अगर आप उस बात को नहीं रखना चाहते हैं . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I do not know. He might have said that Mr. Rajnarain will be the next speaker from the Opposition benches. I do not know what has transpired between you.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं आपको बता दूँ कि हमारे साथ ही इस तरह की परिस्थिति पैदा होती है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He is only intervening.

श्री राजनारायण : क्यों? अकबर अली खान साहब ने आदिब अली से कहा कि राजनारायण जी से पूछ लीजिए। तब उन्होंने कहा कि इनके बाद हमको बुलाएंगे, आप उनसे पूछिए।

श्री आबिद अली : मैं तो यह कह ही रहा हूँ।

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir it is not a matter of prestige. Let Mr. Rajnarain speak. If there was any understanding of any sort, what is there if Mr. Khadilkar sits down and speaks after twenty minutes?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : I do not mind. It is for the Chair to decide.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : All right. Mr. Rajnarain, you should win up your speech within 20 minutes.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, देखिए इस समय मैं 24 मिनट पर बोलना शुरू कर रहा हूँ।

मैं इस बजट को शुद्ध परम्परावादी, प्रतिक्रियावादी, गलाघोटू और पूंजीवादी बजट मान रहा हूँ। श्रीमन्, मैंने आज प्रातः अपने सम्मानित राज्य सभा के सचिव द्वारा प्रधान मंत्री जी

[श्री राजनारायण]

पास यह सन्देश भेज दिया था कि जब मैं बोलने लगू तो प्रधान मंत्री साहिवा की उपस्थिति आवश्यक समझता हूँ। मुझे अफसोस है कि प्रधान मंत्री साहिवा यहाँ नहीं हैं और मेरी बात को वे पढ़ने की फुरसत पाएंगी या नहीं, उन तक वह पहुँच पाएंगी या नहीं, यह मैं नहीं जानता। तो जो चार विशेषण हमने दिए हैं उनकी व्याख्या करनी होगी। मैं इसको पूँजीवादी क्यों कहता हूँ। जिस तरह से पूँजीपति टाटा, बिड़ला, सिंहानिया, जैपुरिया श्रमिकों के खून का शोषण करते हैं, अपना मुनाफा कमाते हैं और मुनाफा कमाने के बाद कहीं धर्मशाला बनवा देते हैं या कुछ दान दे देते हैं, उसी तरह से श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी यह कहती हैं कि उनके बजट को हम समाजवादी मानें और प्रगतिशील मानें क्योंकि उनका कहना है कि बच्चों की खुराक के लिए उन्होंने 4 करोड़ रुपये का नया प्रोवीजन किया है। यह उसी पूँजीवादी मनोवृत्ति का प्रतीक है कि गरीबों का, श्रमिकों का, मजदूरों का शोषण करके कुछ दान में दे देना चाहिए। उसी तरह से प्रधान मंत्री साहिवा ने 4 करोड़ रुपए की प्रोवीजन की है, जिसका हिसाब लगाया जाय तो एक बच्चे पर साल भर में 40 पैसे के करीब आता है। के० के० साहब समाजवादी और प्रगतिवादी बजट जिसको कहते हैं वह क्या है? मासूम बच्चों की गरीबी और उनकी दयनीय स्थिति पर क्या यह अट्टाहास नहीं है। ये प्रधान मंत्री अट्टाहास कर रही हैं, मजाक कर रही हैं अपने देश के गरीब बच्चों से कि हमने तुम्हारे लिए 4 करोड़ रुपए इस साल रख दिए। यह क्या तमाशा है? इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री के कर्ण तक हमारी यह आवाज जाय कि इस देश के गरीबों के साथ अट्टाहास करना, मजाक करना छोड़कर सही माने में जो समाजवाद उसको अपनाएँ।

मैं थोड़ी सी स्थिति इस समय यह रखना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में सूखा-क्षेत्र है, काफी ख़ा है। एक एक जिले को ले लिया जाय।

वहाँ पानी पीने के लिए गर्मियों में नहीं मिलता, जाड़े तक में नहीं मिलता। 2 करोड़ रुपए का इसके लिए प्राविजन है और कहा गया है कि इस बजट को हम लोग समाजवादी कहें और प्रगतिशील कहें। समाजवाद उस दिन दफना दिया जायगा, प्रगतिवाद उस दिन कब्र में डाल दिया जायगा जिस दिन ऐसे गला-घोटू बजट को कोई समाजवादी और प्रगतिवादी कहेगा।

श्रीमन्, मैं इस बजट के पूरे ब्योरे में नहीं जाऊंगा क्योंकि मुझे दूसरी बातें कहनी हैं। इस बजट से मुद्रास्फीति बढ़ेगी, इस बजट से महंगाई बढ़ेगी, इस बजट से विदेशी कर्ज का भार बढ़ेगा, इस बजट से जो घाटे की प्रवृत्ति है उसको और बढ़ावा मिलेगा और जो 225 करोड़ की इस समय डेफिसिट फाइनेसिंग है हमारे हिसाब से वह बढ़कर इसके दूने तक चली जायगी।

एक सवाल मैं के० के० शाह साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ—क्योंकि वे प्रधान मंत्री साहिवा का प्रतिनिधित्व कर रहे हैं—कि अपने बजट के 75 प्रतिशत को इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन से पूरा करनेवाली सरकार क्या जनतंत्रीय या समाजवादी कही जायगी। इस बजट का 75 प्रतिशत परोक्ष ढंग से वसूल हो रहा है। समाजवादी सरकार हो, जनतंत्रीय सरकार हो तो उसको डायरेक्ट टैक्सेशन से अपना काम करना होगा, मगर यह सरकार उसी पुरानी लकीर की फकीर बन कर इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन बढ़ा रही है। थोड़े में बता दू कि इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन यह सरकार कहां तक बढ़ा रही है। जितने नए टैक्स लग रहें हैं उनमें डाइरेक्ट केवल 36 करोड़ के करीब हैं और इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स सिगरेट पर 13 करोड़ 50 लाख, पोस्टल रेट्स पर 8 करोड़ 22 लाख, चीनी-खांड-सारी पर 28 करोड़ 50 लाख, पेट्रोलियम-केरोसिन पर 39 करोड़ 56 लाख है। आज मिट्टी के तेल पर टैक्स बढ़ा कर इंदिरा रानी ने हमारे देश के झोपड़ी में रहने वाले गरीबों की झोपड़ी के उजाले को हर लिया है, उनको

अन्धकार में रहने के लिए विवश कर दिया है। तो यह अन्धकार लाने वाली सरकार है।

पंडित श्याम सुंदर नारायण तन्खा : शोपड़ीयों पर नहीं लगाया।

श्री राजनारायण : मेरे मित्र चले जा रहे हैं, कांग्रेस पार्टी ने टिकट नहीं दिया। क्या कहें, तन्खा साहब की मैं इज्जत करता हूँ लेकिन इनकी बुद्धि अभी भी विकृत स्थिति में रह गई है, वैसा न हो कृपा करके। इसी तरह से परिरक्षित खाद्य पदार्थ, डिब्बाबंद फल, जैली, फल का रस, स्कवेंज, आइस्क्रीम पाउडर, बिस्किट, एयरटेड वाटर आदि पर 8 करोड़ 68 लाख, पोलिएस्टर धागे पर 13 करोड़ 78 लाख, एल्यूमिनियम पर 4 करोड़ 70 लाख, एयर कन्डीशनर्स पर 2 करोड़ 24 लाख, टाइप-राइटर, रोकड़ रजिस्टर लिखने वाली मशीन, स्टेनलेसस्टील ब्लेड, लोहे की अलमारी, डिब्बे, कनिस्तर, गैस सिलिंडर इन पर 10 करोड़ 40 लाख इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन है। इस तरह के इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन से बजट को भारी करना क्या यह समाजवादी सरकार का कर्तव्य है, प्रगतिशील सरकार का कर्तव्य है? प्रगतिशील या समाजवादी टैक्सेशन की प्रणाली क्या होगी, इस पर कभी विचार हुआ है? विचार नहीं हुआ है। केवल प्रधानमंत्री की नौतकी चल रही है और उसी नौतकी में हमारे मित्र के० के० शाह भी हैं। उपाध्यक्ष का पद छोड़कर जो ये चले आए हैं इनको क्या कहें? इन पर दया आती है। वहाँ अच्छी जगह पर थे, लेकिन वहाँ से चले आए। इस समय देहात को देखा जाय। देहात में 20 प्रतिशत लोग ऐसे हैं जिन के पास कोई भी भूमि नहीं है। इन 20 प्रतिशत लोगों की तरक्की के लिए इस बजट में क्या व्यवस्था है? उन के काम की क्या व्यवस्था है, क्या उन के लिए जमीन की व्यवस्था है या उन को कोई नया काम देने की व्यवस्था है या बेकारों को काम देने की व्यवस्था है या बेकारी का दाम देने की व्यवस्था है? कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। तो प्रगतिशीलता कहा गयी? आप समझ लें कि 25 हजार करोड़ को इन की चतुर्थ

पंचवर्षीय योजना है। लेकिन अगर 27 रुपया प्रति मास प्रति व्यक्ति के हिसाब से चलें तो सौ करोड़ होता है। एक सौ हजार करोड़ रुपया 27 रुपए प्रति व्यक्ति प्रति मास के हिसाब से आता है, मगर हमारी चतुर्थ योजना कुल 25 हजार करोड़ की है। इस का चौगुना हो तो 27 रुपया प्रति व्यक्ति प्रति मास के हिसाब से पड़ेगा। जो योजना है उस में इस का कुल 12 आना ही तो पड़ा न? प्रति दिन। एक तरफ उनकी सारी आमदनी दस आना, बारह आना प्रति दिन और दूसरी तरफ हमारे मित्र श्री के० के० शाह पर 2000 रुपया रोज, प्राइम मिनिस्टर पर 25 हजार, तीस हजार रुपया रोज, सब खर्चा मिलाकर पड़ता है। यह कहा का समाजवाद है? मुझे हैरत होती है जब हमारे मित्र यहाँ बैठ कर गांधी जी का नाम लिया करते हैं। श्रीमन्, मैं शर्म से अपने मस्तक को गड़ा लेता हूँ। क्या गांधी जी का राष्ट्र यही है? क्या गांधी जी की वाणी यही है? क्या इसीलिए हम ने आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी? अंग्रजी साम्राज्यवाद को ध्वस्त किया? जवानी भरे अरमानों को नष्ट कर के समरांगण में पदार्पण किया इसलिए कि जब अपने देश की सरकार बनेगी तो काले गोरे का कोई फर्क नहीं रह जायगा जहाँ तक नीति और सिद्धांत का सवाल है। गांधी जी ने कहा था कि मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक नाई और एक वकील की मजदूरी बराबर हो। नाई और वकील की मजदूरी बराबर हो। मैं चाहता हूँ कि श्री के० के० शाह या जो भी अपने को गांधी जी का नाम लेने वाला समझते हैं, वह शर्म खायें, नतमस्तक हों, और गांधी जी का नाम लेना बंद करें क्योंकि उन के काम आज गांधी जी की शिक्षा के बिलकुल विपरीत है, उल्टे है।

श्री नेकीराम : आप ज्यादा उन का नाम लेते हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं कुछ चीजें आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। मैं यह भी बता दूँ कि मैं ने क्यों कहा था कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी यहाँ पर विराजमान हों। मैं उन के सामने

[श्री राजनारायण]

कुछ सवाल रखना चाहता हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ कि यहां पर जो कोई भी सरकारी पक्ष की ओर से बोले तो वह उस का जवाब हमें दे कि प्रगतिशीलता और नवीनता और समाजवाद का अर्थ क्या है। क्या कोई भी समाजवादी सरकार, जो सही माने में समता की पक्षपातिनी होगी, वह इस समय कामनवेल्थ में रह सकती है? जिस रूप में कामनवेल्थ का गठन है,

स सरकार को आज भी हिम्मत नहीं होगी कि वह अपने को कामनवेल्थ से हटाने के लिए कोई दृढ़ कदम उठाये। उस सरकार को आज भी हिम्मत नहीं हुई कि विदेशी सहायता से अपने को मुक्ति दिलाने के लिए कदम उठाये। आज देखा जाय तो आप को हैरत होगी यह जान कर कि करीब सवा दो सौ रुपया प्रति व्यक्ति अमरीकी कर्जा हमारे ऊपर लदा हुआ है। यह अमरीकी कर्जे का हिसाब है हमारे ऊपर। इतना जबरदस्त कर्जा भारत पर लाद कर फैशन चलेगा, लिपिस्टिक लगेगी? दिन भर में 24, 24 साड़ियों का बदलाव होगा और बाल फुलाये जायेंगे इस मुल्क के प्रधान मंत्री के द्वारा और मंत्रीयों के द्वारा जिस मुल्क में लोगों के पास चीथड़ा लपेटने के लिए न हो, जिस मुल्क में नंगा, भूखा इंसान पेट और पीठ एक कर के सड़कों पर और कल कारखानों में काम करता हो? मैं जानता चाहता हूँ श्री के० के० शाह साहब से कि तुम्हारे समाजवाद का नमूना क्या है? उस का ठोस आकार क्या है? तुम्हारे समाजवाद में क्या आर्थिक विषमता नहीं बढ़ेगी? तुम्हारे समाजवाद में क्या कंगाली की खाई और नहीं बढ़ेगी? करोड़पतियों के फहाड़ और ऊंचे नहीं होंगे? और इस को तुम समाजवाद कहोगे? तुम्हारी जीभ कट कर गिर जानी चाहिए अगर तुम इस को समाजवाद कहोगे या इस को प्रगतिशीलता का कदम कहोगे।

• श्रीमन्, मैं एक उदाहरण आपके द्वारा पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ। मैं ने एक चिट्ठी लिखी थी 13

मार्च को श्रीमान चेयरमैन साहब को। यह सब समय हमारे आधे घंटे के या 20 मिनट के समय में नहीं आयेगा क्योंकि चेयरमैन साहब ने कहा है कि आप बजट स्पीच में जिस समय बोलियेगा, ये सब कह दीजियेगा। इस लिए यह समय हमारे समय में इन्क्लूड न किया जाय।

श्री उपसभापति : आप 20 मिनट में यह सब कह देना।

श्री राजनारायण : 4 मार्च को प्रातः रोहतक के पास एक व्यक्ति हरबंस नाम का पकड़ा गया। उस के कब्जे से 3 मन सोना बरामद हुआ जिस की कीमत 20 लाख रुपया होती है। यह सोना बिस्कुट की शक्ल में था और उस पर ब्रिटेन और स्विस् की छाप थी। हरबंस लाल के पास से कुछ फारेन एक्सचेंज और कुछ कागज भी मिले। वे कागजात जाहीर करते थे कि उस का संबंध पेशावर और अरब से है जहां कि उस के एजेंट्स काम करते हैं। हरियाणा पुलिस को सोने पर कब्जा करने का कोई अधिकार नहीं था। कस्टम के लोग गये थे लेकिन उन को सोना नहीं दिया गया, उनको वह व्यक्ति नहीं दिया गया। वह पुलिस की कस्टडी में हो गया और उस के ऊपर चोरी का एक मुकदमा बनाया जा रहा है ताकि वह सोना मुख्य मंत्री जी के दरबार में चला जाय। बंसीलाल जी के दरबार में चला जाय। दिल्ली से कस्टम वाले रोहतक पहुँचे। उन्होंने मुजरिम और सोना मांगा, लेकिन चौधरी बंसीलाल, चीफ मिनिस्टर, हरियाणा के दबाव से सोना और मुजरिम को देने से इन्कार कर दिया गया। बाद में रोहतक के मैजिस्ट्रेट की बात मान कर उस को अम्बाला ले जाया गया और उस के खिलाफ चोरी का मुकदमा बना दिया गया। पुलिस को ऐसा करने का कोई अधिकार नहीं था क्योंकि वह स्मगलिंग का सोना था, बाहर से लाया हुआ सोना था और उसे कस्टम के अधिकारियों को देना चाहिए था। हरबंसलाल के खिलाफ दिल्ली में चार, पांच मुकदमे चले हैं। हरबंसलाल छपार का रहने वाला है जो कि उसान से तीन मील दूर है। श्री बंसीलाल का निर्वाचन क्षेत्र है।

उस का गांव लगा हुआ है। घनश्यामदास हरबंस-लाल का रिश्तेदार है और घनश्यामदास श्री बंसीलाल का भामाशाह है। श्री घनश्यामदास को पद्मश्री मिला है और घनश्यामदास के संबंध में लिखा गया है कि वह बड़ा उद्योगपति है जब कि उस के पास कोई उद्योग नहीं है। केवल कलकत्ते में ट्रान्सपोर्ट का उद्योग है। यह स्थिति है। इस तरह का काम करने वाली सरकार समाजवादी सरकार है? वह क्या जनतंत्री सरकार है? यह हम को श्री के० के० शाह साहब जी बतलायें। मैं हैरत में हूं। हमें उत्तर मिला हुआ है प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा की ओर से। हमारे प्रश्न पीछे डाल दिये जाते हैं, बाद में उत्तर चला जाता है कि पूरक सवाल नहीं पूछे। एक पिकचर ग्रेट बिट्रेयल बनी थी करीब 7000 रुपये की कीमत की। 6 लाख रुपया उस का दिया गया और हम को उत्तर क्या मिला है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा उस समय इस विभाग में नहीं थी। वह प्रधान मंत्री हो गयी थीं और पंजाब के कोई रिटायर जज है, इस के लिए उन को रख कर एक ट्राइब्यूनल बनाया गया था उस ने जो फैसला किया उस के मुताबिक कर दिया गया। क्यों? मुझे उत्तर चाहिए इसका। जिस समय प्रधान मंत्री साहिबा उस विभाग की मंत्राणी रही हों, उस समय इस पिकचर ग्रेट बिट्रेयल की कीमत का 7 लाख रुपया क्यों दिया गया? क्यों ट्राइब्यूनल बैठाया गया? पंजाब का एक जज बैठाया गया, इस का कारण क्या था? कहा जाता है कि उस से पहले से ही रुपया ले लिया गया था और उस रुपये को रायबरेली के निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में प्रधान मंत्री जी ने खर्च किया।

SHRI OM MEHTA (Jammu and Kashmir) : I challenge it.

श्री राजनारायण : तुम चैलेंज करो। तुम अपने को चैलेंज कर सकते हो। तुम तो वहां बैठ कर शीशे में अपनी शकल देखो तो उस पर कूदने लगोगे। (Interruptions) मैं सरकार की ओर से इस का उत्तर चाहूंगा। मैं चाहूंगा कि सीधे तरीके से बताया जाय कि ट्राइब्यूनल क्यों बैठाया गया, सीधे तरीके से बताया जाय

कि इस की ज़रूरत क्यों हुई और एक्से जज क्या फैसला करना है, क्यों फैसला करता है? जिस तरीके से अन्य पिकचरो की कीमत आंकी जाती है उस तरीके से इस पिकचर की कीमत क्यों नहीं आंकी गयी? इस तरह की स्थिति क्यों पैदा की गयी यह सरकार बताये। इसी लिए मैं ने कहा था कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा यहां रहें और इस का उत्तर दें।

इस के साथ साथ, श्रीमान्, मैं और चीजों के बारे में तो बाद में कुछ कहना चाहूंगा, लेकिन पहले मैं यहां कहना चाहता हूं कुछ भारत की सुरक्षा और भारत की नीति के बारे में। मैं उदाहरण दे कर पूछ रहा हूं। एक आंध्र प्रदेश की है श्रीमती रोडा मिस्त्री, नामिनेटेड मेम्बर। वह नामिनेटेड है विधान परिषद् में। क्या यह मिनिस्ट्री में नहीं लायी गयी? (Interruptions) नामिनेटेड मेम्बर को सरकार मिनिस्ट्री में ले रही है। क्या तमाशा है।

श्री सी० डी० पांडे (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यहां भी होने वाला है।

श्री राजनारायण : यह तमाशा है? यह जनतंत्र है? यह जनतंत्र नहीं है, यह समाजवाद नहीं है। जनतंत्र शब्द नहीं है, जनतंत्र एक आचरण है, जीवन का सर्वांगीण विकास है, वह जीवन के सब अंगों को छूता है और यहां पर जो बैठ कर अनापशानाप बोल देते हैं, कहते हैं कि यह जनतंत्र है, वह जनतंत्र नहीं है।

मैं ज्यादा दूर नहीं जाना चाहता हूं, आप सुबह की बात लें, आज सुबह क्या हुआ? मान लीजिये हमारा प्रस्ताव था, हमने दे दिया कि भूकम्प से जो मृत-प्रायः लोग हैं, जो नुकसान हुआ है, उनको मुआविजा दिया जाय।

श्री उपसभापति : अब उसका रेफरेंस खत्म हो गया है।

श्री राजनारायण : सुनिये, अब बीच में न बोलिये, आपका कोई प्रसंग नहीं है। मैं टेम्प-रामेंट पर जाना चाहता हूं, मैं मनोवृत्ति पर जाना

[श्री राजनारायण]

चाहता हूँ। यह मनोवृत्ति कोई जनतंत्री मनो-
त्ति है? यह जनतंत्री मनोवृत्ति नहीं है, यह
खाऊ मनोवृत्ति है, तानाशाही मनोवृत्ति है।
नेता सदन कहते हैं कि हमारे दल के सदस्य का
नाम जरूर लिया जाय। बहुत छोटी बात है
मगर इसके नतीजे गहरे हैं, इससे गहरा नतीजा
नकाला जा सकता है। कोई भी जनतंत्र का
हिमायती इस तरह का हठी नहीं हो सकता,
स तरह का जिद्दी नहीं हो सकता कि हमारा
नाम उसमें जोड़ा ही जाय। यह सकुचि है,
परतंत्रता की सकुचि है।

श्रीमन्, अब हम कांस्टीट्यूशन पढ़ रहे हैं।

श्री ओम् मेहता : हिन्दी में पढ़िये।

श्री राजनारायण : इसमें यह है :

"The members to be nominated by the President under sub-clause (a) of clause (1) shall consist of persons having special knowledge or practical experience in respect of such matters as the following, namely :—

Literature, science, art and social service."

श्रीमन्, राज्य सभा के सदस्यों को राष्ट्र-
पति जब मनोनीत करेगा तो उसके अन्दर
विशेष ज्ञान और प्रतिभा होनी चाहिये, किसी
भी विषय में, साहित्य के विषय में, विज्ञान के
विषय में, कला के विषय में या समाज-सेवा
के विषय में। अब, कांग्रेस पार्टी का कोई उम्मीद-
वार हार गया या कहीं कोई गोटी बिठानी है
और अगर राष्ट्रपति ऐसे लोगों को राज्य सभा
का सदस्य मनोनीत करने लगे तो जनतंत्र कहां
रहेगा! संविधान कहां रह जायगा! इसलिये
मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस समय जो लोग मनो-
नीत हो रहे हैं, चाहे विधान परिषदों में या
चाहे राज्य सभा में हो, उसके लिये सख्ती के
साथ संविधान की मान्यताओं को पूरा किया
जाना चाहिये।

श्रीमन्, मैं बहुत ही अदब के साथ कहना
चाहता हूँ कि 1934 ई० से सोशलिस्ट पार्टी
कांग्रेस के अन्दर बनी। 1934 में क्यों बनी!

क्योंकि देश की राजनीति जिस तरह से यह
संवर्तना चाहते थे उस तरह से कांग्रेस नहीं
चल रही थी। उस समय 1930 और 1932
का आन्दोलन समाप्त हो चुका था, उस आन्दो-
लन के कार्यक्रम से देश की जनता अपने को
तादात्म्य नहीं कर रही थी और इसलिये संयुक्त
सोशलिस्ट पार्टी बनी और 1934 ई० का,
जो हमारा कार्यक्रम है उसको पढ़ लिया जाय,
1946 का पढ़ लिया जाय, 1952 का पढ़
लिया जाय, 1957 का पढ़ लिया जाय, 1962
का पढ़ लिया जाय, 1967 का पढ़ लिया जाय
और इसीलिये हम हर पार्टी का कार्यक्रम यहां
लाये हैं। इन कार्यक्रमों को ले कर कांग्रेसी-
राज में इस समय तक हमने करीब 36, 37 या 38
बार जेल काटी है, कांग्रेसी-राज में 19 महीने मे ले
कर 10 महीने तक, 6 महीने तक, 4 महीने तक,
2 महीने तक या 15 दिन तक की जेल काटी
है। श्रीमन्, मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे
सारे कार्यक्रम का एक कार्यक्रम भी पूरा हुआ !
नहीं। फिर भी प्रधान मंत्री साहिबा कहती
हैं कि उनको समाजवादी मानो और अपने को
प्रतिक्रियावादी मानो . . .

श्री उपसभापति : आपका समय समाप्त
हो गया है।

श्री राजनारायण : ...यह अजीब तमाशा
है। मैं आज श्री के० के० शाह साहब के मन्त्रिष्क
को कुरेदना चाहता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि वह
जरा हमारी इन भावनाओं को अपने अन्दर
समाविष्ट करें और देख कि हमारी भावना क्या
है। श्रीमन्, आज भी मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि
क्या भारत के प्रधान मंत्री के अन्दर यह हिम्मत
है कि वह आमदनी और खर्चे की निश्चित सीमा
बांधें! क्या उनमें हिम्मत है कि आमदनी की
कोई सीमा निश्चित करें, आमदनी का कोई
अनुपात निश्चित करें! यह उनकी हिम्मत
है कि दाम की नीति को मानें! ये ऐसे सवाल
हैं जिनके हल होने से गरीबी, बेकारी की जड़ें
बुनियाद से कटती हैं! आज इस देश में जो
जितना चाहे धनसठ हो जाय, जो जितना
चाहे कमा ले, और फिर भी हमको कहा जाता

है कि तुम प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा को कहो कि तुम समाजवादी हो, तुम प्रगतिवादी हो ! मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ श्री के० के० शाह साहब कि क्या हो रहा है आज लखनऊ में, क्या हो रहा है पटना में, क्या हो रहा है बंगाल में ।

श्री ओम् मेहता : आपकी पार्टी बंट रही है ।

श्री राजनारायण : ठीक है, एक बेहया यह कह रहा है कि आपकी पार्टी कट रही है ।

श्री ओम् मेहता : यह क्या आप कह रहे हैं । आप बेहया शब्द का इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं ।

श्री राजनारायण : ठीक है, हमारी पार्टी कट जाय, अगर समाजवाद आ जाय तो हम अपनी सारी पार्टी को खत्म करने को तैयार हैं । अगर कोई ताकत जनतंत्र जो प्रतिष्ठापित कर दे तो हम अपनी सारी पार्टी को खत्म करने को तैयार हैं । लेकिन हमें विश्वास है कि संसोपा एक पार्टी है जो कि समाजवाद और जनतंत्र ला सकती है । यह समाजवाद और जनतंत्र लाने वाली पार्टी है । यह वह पार्टी है जिस पार्टी के लोगों ने अपने को खपाया है, यह वह पार्टी नहीं है कि चन्द छोकरे उसके बैठ कर मौज करें । मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ और भरे हुये दिल से, दर्द भरे दिल से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसको मजाक न समझा जाय, जरा गम्भीरता से इन बातों पर विचार किया जाय । गम्भीरता के साथ इस पर विचार किया जाय जब मैं कहता हूँ तब उसके साथ ही यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज के भारत की प्रधान मंत्री का, इस देश के राजनैतिक इतिहास का कहीं कोई पन्ना खोलेंगा तो इनका नाम काले अक्षरों में लिखा जायगा । आज है क्या ? श्रीमन्, कोई भी समाजवादी, कोई भी जनतंत्री किसी दूसरे दल को तोड़ने के लिये पैसा खर्च करेगा ? कोई भी जनतंत्री पचास पचास हजार रुपया मंत्रियों को दे कर के इस्तीफा दलवायेगा ? किस तरह पर बिहार में, पटना

में, श्री दरोगा राय की सरकार गठित कराई गई ? संसोपा की सरकार बन रही थी मगर यहां से श्री एल० एन० मिश्र साहब गये, श्री भगवत झा आजाद गये, श्रीमती जहानारा साहिबा गई और ये तमाम लोग जा कर के वहां क्या वितंडावाद किया है ।

रक्षा मन्त्रालय में राज्य मन्त्री (रक्षा उत्पादन) (श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र) : मैं तो यहां बैठा हूँ । सारा गलत है और मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर आपके दल के सदस्य इतने कमजोर हैं कि पैसे पर टूट जाय तो आपको अफसोस होना चाहिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : जरा सुनिये, हल्ला मत कीजिये । मैं राइट इज माइट, माइट इज राइट—इन दोनों का संतुलन कर रहा हूँ । शक्ति ही सत्य है या सत्य ही शक्ति है—क्या होगा ? हमारे मित्र कह रहे हैं कि हमारे दल के सदस्य, हमारी पार्टी के सदस्य पैसे पर टूट रहे हैं तो उन सदस्यों को कहो, मगर इन्हें शर्म आनी चाहिये ...

श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र : मैंने यह नहीं कहा कि टूट रहे हैं, मैंने कहा कि अगर टूटते हों ।

श्री राजनारायण : ... उस मंत्री की जीभ कट कर गिरनी चाहिये जो कि पैसे के सहारे किसी दल के सदस्यों को तोड़ना चाहता है । क्या यह जनतंत्र है ? क्या यह शुद्ध आचरण है ? मैं यह सवाल उठा रहा हूँ और इस सवाल का कोई जवाब देने वाला होना चाहिये ।

श्री उपसभापति : अब आपको खत्म करना है ।

श्री राजनारायण : रोकिये नहीं, खत्म कर रहा हूँ । दो मिनट में खत्म करता हूँ ।

श्रीमन्, मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री साहिबा मुगालते में रह रही हैं, वह यह कहती हैं कि बहुत ताकतवर हैं, वह यह दिखाना चाहती हैं कि बहुत ताकतवर हैं, मगर

[श्री राजनारायण]

मैं आज उनको कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री साहिबा—बड़ी ताकतवर नहीं हो, दिन प्रति दिन कमजोर हो रही हो।

श्री ओम् मेहता : गलत है।

श्री राजनारायण : प्रधान मंत्री साहिबा को मन्त्रि-परिषद् की सदस्या श्रीमती जहांनारा जयपाल सिंह हैं, इनको कांग्रेस पार्टी ने टिकट नहीं दिया, यह चुनाव लड़ रही हैं, हिम्मत नहीं है प्रधान मंत्री की कि इनके ऊपर अनु-शासन की कार्यवाही करें। क्यों? श्रीमन्, वह मन्त्रि-मंडल में भी है और चुनाव भी लड़ रही है, कांग्रेस के विरोध में लड़ रही है? यह जनतंत्र को दफना रही हैं, उसकी कब्र पर बैठ गई हैं, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ, श्रीमन्, कि यह कोई मजाक हैं क्या? सारा का सारा ब्राडकास्ट, सारा का सारा रेडियो, आज एक व्यक्ति की प्रतिमा को बढ़ाने में लगा हुआ है। यह कोई समाजवाद है? इससे बढ़ कर के डिक्टेटरशिप क्या होगी? इससे बढ़ कर के जनतंत्र की हत्या और क्या होगी? इससे बढ़ कर के गैर-समाजवादी आचरण और क्या होगा?

श्रीमन्, मैं आज पूछना चाहता हूँ आपसे कि क्या प्रधान मंत्री की ताकत है? हमारे मित्र भूपेश गुप्त ने कहा कि राजनारायण, श्री एस० एन० मिश्र और दूसरे दलों के साथ हम हैं यदि तुम डिटेंशन के एक्ट को फिर चालू करोगी तो चीं बोल गई। चीं बोल गई। कह दिया हमारे मित्र भूपेश गुप्त ने कि तृतीय श्रेणी के किरायों को तुम बढ़ावोगी तो हम विरोध पक्ष के अन्य दलों का साथ दे देंगे तो चीं बोल गई। हिम्मत नहीं हुई। इसलिये वह यह न समझे कि मजबूत है। वह कमजोर से भी कमजोर है। आज उनके अन्दर ताकत नहीं है, उनके अन्दर शक्ति और क्षमता नहीं है कि किसी आदर्श पर वह मर सकें।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : It is only common sense; if we all of us oppose a Bill, it is not passed. It is a misadventure to bring forward any such Bill.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, भारतवर्ष में महात्मा गांधी के नेतृत्व में हमने बराबर इस सिद्धांत को माना है कि सुचि साधन से ही पवित्र उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति होती है। मैं श्री के० के० शाह साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि सुचि साधन कहां है?

श्री उपसभापति : अब आपको खत्म करना है।

श्री राजनारायण : हमको टोकिये नहीं दस मिनट और।

श्री उपसभापति : जी नहीं, आपने ही कहा कि दो मिनट में खत्म कर रहे हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : सुनिये, घबड़ाइये नहीं, 25 मिनट पर मैंने शुरू किया है, अभी 20 मिनट नहीं हुये।

श्री उपसभापति : नहीं, आधा घंटा हो रहा है।

श्री राजनारायण : हो जाने दीजिये। आप बीच में मत बोलिये।

मैं आज ईमानदारी से इस सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों को कहना चाहता हूँ, चूंकि श्री के० के० शाह साहब जनतंत्र की परम्परा पर बातें करते हैं तो उनसे भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया की तवारीख में राजनीति में कहीं ऐसा हुआ, अन्तःकरण की पुकार पर, आत्मा की पुकार पर वोट देने की बात हुई? आत्मा की पुकार पर दलों के अन्दर वोट देने की बात चलेगी तो जनतंत्र और पार्टी सिस्टम मर जायगा।

श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र : आप काहे को अफसोस कर रहे हैं?

श्री राजनारायण : मैं अफसोस कर रहा हूँ क्योंकि हमने इस देश की आजादी के लिये

कुछ किया है, हमने कुछ खपाया है। हमने सारे परिवार को, अपने तमाम लोगों को इसमें जहन्नुम में भेजा है। तुम को क्या पता है, तुम तो मौज की मस्ती की जिदगी बिता रहे हो।

श्रीमन्, मैं अभी बहुत सी चीजों को छोड़ना चाहता हूँ। मैं केवल के० के० शाह को साक्षी बनाना चाहता हूँ, जैसे सवेरे हमने श्री एस० एन० मिश्र को बनाया था। के० के० शाह हमें बता दें, अगर आत्मा की पुकार पर दलों के अन्तर्गत वोट पड़ने लगेंगे, तो क्या दल चलेंगे। क्या यह जनतंत्र है या तानाशाही है? और आत्मा की पुकार कौन करेगा? प्रधान मंत्री समझती हैं कि आत्मा की पुकार पर हम अपने पैसे के बल पर लोगों को खरीद लेंगे, आत्मा की पुकार का नारा लगाकर हम भ्रष्टाचार को फैलायेंगे, आत्मा की पुकार पर सत्ता, पद और धन का लोभ देकर लोगों को खरीदेंगे। आज श्रीमन्, आप देख रहे हैं कि विदेशों का भ्रमण कराके, कोटियों की सब-सिडी देकर, लोगों को पैसा दे दे कर भ्रष्ट किया जा रहा है, पतित बनाया जा रहा है। यह जनतंत्र है क्या? के० के० साहब, क्या यह जनतंत्र है? सारी चीजों को छोड़ दो, आज अगर किसी व्यक्ति, जिसको अब सभी जनतंत्र की और जनतंत्र में पार्टी व्यवस्था की जानकारी हो, वह हमको बता दे कि आत्मा की पुकार हमें कहां ले जा रही है? आत्मा की पुकार का अर्थ क्या है? आत्मा की पुकार डिक्टेटरशिप का नारा है, तानाशाही का नारा है, अधिनायकशाही का नारा है।

श्री उपसभापति : अब आप बैठिये।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, हमारे सामने वह चीजें मौजूद हैं। मैं गांधी जी की कुछ बातों को कहना चाहूंगा। यह पता नहीं है आपको...

श्री उपसभापति : राजनारायणजी, देखिये एक मिनट। आपने कहा था कि हमारी पार्टी के सदस्यों को पहले बोलने दीजिए दस, बारह

मिनट और जो 20 मिनट रहेंगे उसमें मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करूंगा। हमने आपकी पार्टी के सदस्यों को बोलने के लिये पहले बुलाया। अब आपने 20 मिनट की जगह करीब करीब 35 मिनट ले लिये हैं...

श्री राजनारायण : यही एक पुण्य कर्म आपने किया।

श्री उपसभापति : हमने आपको इतना समय दिया तो इसका गलत इस्तेमाल आपको नहीं करना चाहिये, गलत फायदा नहीं उठाना चाहिये। आपको 2 या 3 मिनट में खत्म कर देना चाहिये। 20 मिनट की जगह 35 मिनट ले लिये हैं। अच्छा अब आप 2 मिनट में खत्म कर दीजिए।

श्री राजनारायण : सब लोगों को मालूम हो रहा है आप हमको बहुत टोक रहे हैं। श्रीमन्, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो देश गांधी जी का नाम ले, जिसको राष्ट्रपिता के बराबर सम्मान हो, वहां क्या उस व्यक्ति को पद्मश्री देने की बाद क्या कोई कर सकता है जो कि गांधी जी को कहे सुअर है—मुअर का वच्चा—मुअर का वच्चा कहने वाले को आज पोलिटिक्स ठीक करने के लिये, इन्दिरा गांधी पार्टी को, सेन्ट्रल पार्टी को ठीक करने के लिये राष्ट्रपति से पद्मश्री दिलाया जा रहा है, इससे बढ़कर देश का अपमान और क्या होगा? के० के० शाह, याद करो उन दिनों को, जब अंग्रेजों की गोलियों से हम नहीं डरे, अंग्रेजों की गोलियों से न डरने वाली ताकत हम थे, और आज लोग प्रधान मंत्री के प्रलोभन, पैसे, पद और सत्ता से डर रहे हैं। यह जनतंत्र को दफनाया जा रहा है, जनतंत्र इससे मरेगा।

मैं एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूँ, हमारे मित्र ने हमको यह भेजा। यह देखा जायें : Why does the National Herald import news print through Cochin and Madras? नेशनल हेराल्ड इम्पोर्ट करता है कोचीन और मद्रास के द्वारा, नेशनल हेराल्ड के कागजात। The port returns will show that the imports have been effected through this port for the quantity and the value shown by the importer.

[श्री राजनारायण]

क्यों ऐसा है, यह बम्बई से क्यों नहीं होता यह कांडला से क्यों नहीं होता, यह कलकत्ता से क्यों नहीं होता ? इसलिये कि नेशनल हैराल्ड के कागज का कोटा ब्लैक में मिल रहा है । यह प्रधान मंत्री का वरद हस्त है । यह मैं पूछना चाहता हूं, और यह हमारा चार्ज शीट है, कि जो प्रधान मंत्री नेशनल हैराल्ड पर वरद हस्त रखती हो, वह नेशनल हैराल्ड का कोटा कोचीन और मद्रास से क्यों इम्पोर्ट होता है ?

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI K. K. SHAH) : The Prime Minister has nothing to do now with the *National Herald*.

श्री राजनारायण : वह आयेगी, बतलायेगी बेचारी ।

चूंकि श्रीमन्, आप बार बार हमको टोक रहे हैं, हमारा सारा भाषण रह गया है, हम केवल इतना ही कहना चाहते हैं : प्रधान मंत्री में यदि जनतंत्र और समाजवाद का लेश-मात्र भी अंश बाकी हो तो उन्हें समझदारी से यह काम करना चाहिये कि वह इसको सीखेंगी कि समाजवाद की पार्टी संसोपा की पार्टी जो इस देश में है उसका क्या कार्यक्रम है, उसके क्या उसूल हैं, उसके क्या सिद्धांत हैं । किन कार्यक्रमों की पूर्ति के लिये हमने अपनी जिदगी को खपाया है । मैं राजनीति के दुधमहों से पूछना चाहता हूं, जिनको लंगुवा बांधने का शऊर नहीं, यदि हमको सत्ता में बैठने की चाह होती, या मंत्री पद पर बठने की इच्छा होती, तो क्या मंत्री बनने की भूख पहले ही नहीं पूरी कर सकते थे । हमने यह नहीं किया । हमारा जनतंत्र और समाजवाद का सिद्धांत है, वह जनतंत्र जो समाजवाद का पर्यायवाची है जिसके ऊपर आज इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी परदे पर बैठी हुई हैं, आज वह उसका नाश और सत्यानाश कर रही हैं । इसलिये श्रीमन्, गांधी जी का वह वाक्य हमको सर्वदा याद रखना चाहिये—Learn to sit light, not tight.—गद्दी से

चिपकना मत सीखो, गद्दी को ठुकराना भी सीखो ।

श्री उपसभापति : बस कीजिए । आपको जवाब मिल जायेगा ।

श्री राजनारायण : प्रधान मंत्री साहूबा इसको याद रखें । अगर इसको याद नहीं करेगी तो देश बरबाद हो जायेगा, चौपट हो जायेगा जैसे आज सारे सूबों में देश हो रहा है । यह चाहती है कि जनता के सामने अपना वह चेहरा दिखायें कि जिस राज्य सरकार को चा हैं गिरा दें, जिसको चाहे बना दें । मगर यह स्थिति जनतंत्र को सुखा देगी क्योंकि जिस देश में राज-नैतिक दलों का अनुशासन टूटता है उस देश का भीतरी, आंतरिक अनुशासन भी टूटता है और जब राजनैतिक दलों का और जनतंत्र का अनुशासन टूटता है तो उस देश में विदेशी कब्जा होता है, विदेशी हमला होता है । मैं चाहता हूं यह देश विदेशी कब्जे से मुक्त हो, हमले से मुक्त हो, अपनी सीमाओं पर काबू पाए । इसलिये प्रधान मंत्री की गतिविधियों पर अंकुश लगाओ । के० के० शाह तुम लगा सकते हो, तुम भी लगाओ, मंत्रिमंडल से अलग होकर लगाओ, क्योंकि प्रधान मंत्री ने वह स्थिति पैदा कर दी है जिसमें वह चाहे कोई भी विदेशी ताकत हो, राज्य की सरकारों को अपनी इच्छा से बना सकती है, अपनी इच्छित सरकार बना सकती है, केन्द्र सरकार को अपनी इच्छित सरकार बना सकती है ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That will be enough. You wind up now please.

श्री राजनारायण : पैसे पर खरीद कर कोई पद दे देंगी । तो इससे हमारे देश में विदेशी सत्ता के आने का दरवाजा बहुत जल्दी खुल जाता है । इसलिये जो देशभक्त हों, जो चिंतित हों...

श्री उपसभापति : Nothing will go on record from now on. इसके बाद में कुछ नहीं लिखा जायेगा ।

श्री राजनारायण : मत लिखवाइये । आप सब हमारा कटवा दीजिए । आपकी गद्दी मुबारक हो ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have taken 40 minutes.

श्री राजनारायण : अनावश्यक, बार बार आप खड़े हो जाते हैं ।

श्री उपसभापति : 20 मिनट का समय मांगा था । 20 से 40 मिनट ले रहे हैं । आपने बीने 4 बजे कहा कि 2 मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूँ ।

श्री राजनारायण : क्या पाप हमने कर लिया, कौन चोरी कर ली, कौन कौन **** डाका मार लिया, जैसा कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर कर रही है ।

SHRI OM MEHTA : This is very wrong.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : This is highly objectionable.

श्री राजनारायण : आप अनावश्यक तकलीफ मत उठाएं । मैं अपना भाषण खत्म करने जा रहा हूँ । तो मेरा अंत में यही निवेदन है, हाथ जोड़कर आपसे निवेदन है . . .

SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA (Assam) : All these words should be expunged.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order please. He cannot use unparliamentary words.

SHRI HAYATULLAH ANSARI (Uttar Pradesh) : This word is so dirty that I cannot . . .

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY : You said a little earlier, Sir, that nothing will go on record. So, how can he withdraw a word which is not on record?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That word will be expunged.

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, कौन सा बड़ है ?

श्री उपसभापति : आप भाषण जारी रखिये ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं यह कहने जा रहा था कि बहुत से लोगों को कुछ मुगलता न रहे इसलिये मैं कह देना चाहता हूँ सोशलिस्ट पार्टी क्या करना चाहती है, उसके भविष्य का क्या कार्यक्रम है । 6 अप्रैल को दिल्ली में संसोपा अपना एक प्रदर्शन आयोजन करने जा रही है । श्री मनीराम बागड़ी, जो भूतपूर्व संसद सदस्य है, उन्होंने कई बार सत्यनारायण सिंह जी को लिखा, गुजराल साहब को लिखा, बार बार हम उनको पत्र देते हैं, मगर चूंकि वह प्रधान मंत्री के विरुद्ध प्रदर्शन होने जा रहा है, कहीं रेडियो में उसका ब्राडकास्ट नहीं हुआ । क्यों? यह हमारा सवाल है 6 अप्रैल को जो दिल्ली 4 P. M. में जनवादी दिवस होगा, जिसमें को कौने से जनता आयेगी और अपनी मांग बुलन्द करेगी लेकिन आज जानबूझकर आल इंडिया रेडियो इस खबर को प्रसारित करने से रोकता है । इसमें किस की हिदायत है

श्रीमन्, संसोपा का जी आखरी सोनपुर सम्मेलन हुआ था उसमें कहा गया है कि केन्द्र में मौजूदा सरकार को गिराकर उसकी जगह पार्टियों की सरकार स्थापित करने की कोशिश करेगी जो निम्नलिखित कार्यक्रमों को निश्चित अवधि के अन्दर पूरा करेगी । हम आदरणीय नेता विरोधी दल से कहना चाहते हैं कि भाई 10 प्वाइंट प्रोग्राम क्या है ? यह जो 10 प्वाइंट का जो प्रोग्राम है उसको हमारे विरोधी दल के नेता मानते हैं, ट्रेजरी बैंक के लोग भी मानते हैं । एक इस प्रोग्राम को पूरा करने से गरीबी और बेकारी जो हमारे देश में है उसकी क्या जड़ काटी जा सकती है । एक भी नहीं काटी जा सकती है । इसलिए विरोधी दल के नेता श्री मिश्रा जी अब आगे बढ़ो और इन दस कार्यक्रम की दुहाई मत दो । अगर इस देश में चाहते हों प्रगति लाना, समाजवाद लाना,

[श्री राजनारायण]

जनतंत्र लाना, तो फिर इस 10 प्रोग्राम की दुहाई मत दो।

श्री नेकी राम : श्रीमन्, हमारा एक प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर है।

श्री उप सभापति : बैठिये। कोई प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर नहीं है।

श्री नेकी राम : श्रीमन्, हमारा प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर यह है कि माननीय सदस्य जो कह रहे हैं कि श्री मनीराम बागड़ी जो कहते हैं वह रेडियो में आना चाहिये। मैं अपने साथी से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वे यह कहते हैं कि पंचायत में...

श्री उपसभापति : कोई प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर नहीं है।

श्री नेकी राम : हमारा प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर तो सुन लीजिये। उसने यह कहा कि अगर कोई चमार वोट देगा तो उसकी जमीन छीन ली जायेगी। तो क्या वह यह चाहते हैं कि इस तरह की बात रेडियो में आनी चाहिये।

श्री उपसभापति : अब आप बैठिये।

श्री नेकी राम : उसने यह भी कहा कि कोई हरिजन कुएं से पानी नहीं भर सकता है।

श्री उपसभापति : श्री नेकी राम जी, अब आप बैठ जाइये। देयर इज नो प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, यह हमारे समय में नहीं जोड़ा जाना चाहिये।

श्री उपसभापति : आधा मिनट कुल इसमें हुआ है और आपको सिर्फ दो मिनट और मिलें हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं आपके द्वारा इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि श्री मनीराम बागड़ी जी जो संसद् के सदस्य रह चुके हैं वह, राष्ट्रीय सम्मेलन ने 6 अप्रैल को

दिल्ली में जो जनवादी दिवस मनाने का फैसला किया है उसके संयोजक बनाये गये हैं। वे संसद् के एक माननीय सदस्य रह चुके हैं और उनका राजनीतिक जीवन का इतिहास बहुत ही उज्ज्वल है, सोने की तरह चमकना है और जो अन्धा है वह भी उसे पढ़ सकता है। (Interruptions) इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ट्रेजरी बज्जट वाले और नेता विरोधी दल भी इससे अवगत हो जायें और वे किसी भी मुगालते में न रहें। मैं विशेष कर श्री भूपेश गुप्त से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन्दिरा कांग्रेस और श्री निर्जलिंगप्पा कांग्रेस, कोई भी प्रगतिशील नहीं है। वे लोग जो कांग्रेस पार्टी में अलग होकर संसद् में विरोधी पक्ष में बैठे हैं वे भी कांग्रेस पार्टी की तरह नेता विहीन और भ्रष्ट से मुक्त नहीं हो सके हैं। मैं उनसे उम्मीद करता हूँ कि वे इस चीज से मुक्त हों। अगर ये मुक्त नहीं हुए हैं, तो श्रीमन्, आपके द्वारा प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वे मुक्त हों।

श्री उपसभापति : आपका समय हो गया है।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं इस देश की जनता और तमाम पार्टियों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में एक बाहर का दल है जो इन्दिरा सरकार को बचाते रहा है और इस में सब से अधिक हाथ दक्षिणपंथी कम्युनिस्टों का रहा है जो देश में झूठे नारे देकर नेता विहीन दल को बढ़ावा दे रहा है।

(Interruptions)

श्री एम० पुरकायस्थ : श्री राजनारायण नेता विहीन और भ्रष्ट हैं।

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHTA (Delhi) : This should be expunged.

(Interruptions)

श्री उपसभापति : श्री राजनारायण जी, अब आप बैठ जाइये।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, आप बराबर यह आज्ञा दे रहे हैं। इस चीज को रिकार्ड में रखने दीजिये ताकि कोई भी इतिहास में जानेगा कि राजनारायण को नेता विहीन और भ्रष्ट कहने वाले ये चों चों का मुरंबा और काठ के

के उल्लू क्या कह रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह रिकार्ड में रहे और पढ़ने वाले आगामी भविष्य वाले तथा संसद जाने की ऐसे आदमी भी हैं, ऐसे पतित लोग भी हैं जो प्रधान मंत्री की चाटुकारिता करते हैं और ऐसे आदमी को नेता विहीन कहते हैं।

श्रीमन्, गौतम बुद्ध का भाई देवदत्त था। वह बराबर कहा करता था, अरे यह बुद्ध तो व्यभिचारी है। तो उसका चचेरा भाई देवदत्त, जो दस्यु सम्प्रदाय का है, उसी दस्यु सम्प्रदाय के ये लोग भी हैं और इनसे हमें कोई मतलब नहीं है। इसी दस्यु सम्प्रदाय में हमारे मित्र श्री खाडिलकर भी बन गये हैं।

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have quite attentively listened to hon. Members' speeches including the latest one by Shri Rajnarain on the General Budget that is before the House. At the outset I must confess I was disappointed because keeping in view the clear objective of economic growth with social justice with which the Budget is framed I expected a rather searching analysis and scrutiny from hon. Members as to how the objective is reflected in the proposals and what should have been done to further improve the measures suggested with that aim in view. It should be remembered that bank nationalisation is a major step intended to give a big push to our economy. The impact of this measure would be seen in the stimulus it provides to the economic regeneration and growth. At the present stage of economic development it should be recognised that we have to formulate schemes and proposals within the broad framework balancing the various claims. In my view this rather difficult task has been achieved with commendable success without disturbing the economic equilibrium. This is evident from the general support the Budget has received from all sections of this House. The political posture adopted by some hon. Members, in particular Members of the Congress (Opposition) do not fit in with their professed plans and programmes. It seems they are more perplexed or somewhat puzzled because by and large the current Budget has received general acclaim from almost all quarters. During the last 14 years since I have entered Parliament on no other occasion I have seen the annual Budget received with such optimistic

expectations. Even hon. Members belonging to the Opposition who were previously wanting to belittle whatever is attempted for the first time by describing it as mere window-dressing had to admit even grudgingly that something new is aimed at. This is clear when an hon. Member belonging to the Congress (Opposition) from Tamil Nadu, Shri T. Chengalvarayan, had to note with pleasure—and he had done it twice if I remember correctly in his speech—the new turn the Budget intends to give to the socio-economic life of the masses in the country. I am quoting from his speech. Another hon. Member—I think Mr. Parthasarathy—of the Congress (Opposition) had to taste bitter coffee without sugar, as he stated in the House, as soon as he returned home after hearing the Budget proposals. I feel the hon. Member's wife was more concerned about his physical health and took the earliest opportunity to serve him coffee without sugar so that it might do him good.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY (Tamil Nadu) : I do not think he has caught my point. I am in excellent health. Only for the sake of replying in a particular way the hon. Minister is making that observation. My wife knows that I am absolutely healthy. I am not a diabetic.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated) : You are taking him too seriously. Don't do that; go on.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : Then, Sir, it is a good augury that Dr. Bhai Mahavir did not bring in his pet thesis of Indianisation.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi) : No. It is because it had been discussed six days before that and to our full satisfaction.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : Everything, including the Budget? I presume he recognised the inherent Indianness of the proposals contained in the Budget, whatever be the other criticisms he had to make. It is neither possible nor necessary for me to deal with all the points raised by the hon. Members who participated in the discussion...

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Is that all and is that how you deal with my points?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : ...but I would certainly endeavour to answer some specific issues that have been raised by some hon. Members in their speeches.

[Shri R. K. Khadilkar]

Several hon. Members have referred to the magnitude of deficit financing proposed in the Budget and have expressed concern at the impact this might have on the level of prices. I presume Shri Gurupadswamy and other Members, including Dr. Bhai Mahavir, stressed this point. This concern may or may not be well-intentioned, but need not be shared because if the economy is really to get going, a certain volume of credit creation is necessary in the existing circumstances. If, for example, the real rate of growth over the year is of the order of 6 per cent, that by itself should provide for the expansion of money supply by around Rs. 500 crores to meet the growing needs of the economy. Compared to this figure, the amount mentioned in the Budget estimates is not unduly high. But if it is a question of choosing—and this fact I hope he will bear in mind—between a denial of funds for certain investment projects which might create additional income and employment and of taking a calculated risk, we would prefer to opt for the latter. Besides in the present instance, it would be extremely difficult to prove that there is any risk at all. Adequate care will be taken at all points to ensure that prices do not go out of hand during the year.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : May I know if there is no other means of providing extra currency for the needs of the economy? Is deficit financing the only means? Why do you ignore the banking system, which provides extra currency or extra credit needs as the economy requires? In giving your argument, you are ignoring that. Secondly, when you talk of projects, we had this morning an example of a project which has produced one crore worth of goods and suffered a loss of Rs. 9 crores. That is the qualification or achievement of some of the projects which you are setting up.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : I started by saying that certain calculated risks can be taken if we want to have accelerated growth and more opportunity for employment and that particular care has to be taken to see that prices do not go out of control. The third point I was going to mention is that adequate care will be taken at all points to ensure that prices do not go out of hand during the year. It is with this purpose in view that adequate buffer stocks of foodgrains have been built in the economy. Arrangements have been made for the import of scarce raw materials such as cotton and oilseeds,

and a strict control is being exercised over the advances made by the banking system. You are referring to that. Within this limit, it is done. I may mention . . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : I admire your capacity for being oblivious of what is happening around us. Prices have already started rising.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please listen to him.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : I am taking you very seriously. It is not just by way of counter-argument. Some economists have given thought to inflation and how it could be used like blood transfusion, given drip by drip to invigorate the body, keeping the body under good medical control. He is one of the ablest economists who has propounded this theory, how at a particular stage of development, as I said, taking all care, administrative control, price control and all that, it could be done. This type of care having been taken, in the existing circumstances, the proposed dose is not too high.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Do you mean to claim that such care has been taken? You come to the price of vegetable ghee and then you will know it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No interruptions please.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : It is not really necessary to enter into a debate, as some hon. Members have felt like doing it, whether the Budget is, in the strict technical sense, a socialist one. One hon. Member just now termed it a hoax and what not. I do not want to deal with all the epithets that have been hurled at the Budget.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : But you may try and show how the common man is not affected.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please do not interrupt him.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : I am helping him. He wants to say that this is a socialist Budget.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : No, no. I am not saying it. I am not making that claim at all, but semantics are a dangerous pastime and he knows it well. But

all one could say is seen in its totality, the Budget represents a progressive departure which has to be welcomed in all quarters.

Hon. Member, Shri M. N. Kaul, quoting a well-known British Labour leader, said : The religion of socialism is the language of priorities. In that I presume he appreciated that the Budget reflects priorities with inherent limitations in the given situation. Those of us who have seen the Water Research Station at Khadakvasla, near Poona, would recognise how even a minutest change in the direction at the source affects the entire course of the river flow. I think some hon. Members must have seen the demonstrations there. Likewise they certainly have to appreciate the new direction that is given by the current Budget to our economy, which would also bring about a change in the entire economic process in times to come. It is a Budget for growth and at the same time it is a Budget which emphasises the aspect of price stability, which is very important as you have emphasised it in your speech also. It is a Budget which places emphasis on the need to create additional employment and amenities for the weaker sections of the community. It does not ignore the minimum task of defence either. It is a Budget which has provided considerable tax relief to the poorer sections, while simultaneously attacking concentration of wealth and income at the very top. Even more remarkable, the Budget provides enough of assurance to the private corporate sector that provided it plays according to the rules of the game, Government would extend a large enough fiscal stimulus to ensure its uninterrupted progress.

Some hon. Members, at the other extreme, have attacked the Budget saying it is a pro-capitalist one. Given the list of progressive measures listed earlier and the new impulses which have been generated in the economy through bank nationalisation, this accusation cannot stick. For the first time in several years the Budget makes a categorical statement about how to ameliorate the conditions of the poor and the down-trodden. It contains a fiscal programme for narrowing the relative distance between the affluent and the less fortunate sections of the community. True, nothing tremendous can be achieved through just one year's Budget and within the constraints of limited resources, but it has to be recognised that a beginning has been made. The hon. Member from the opposition, Shri Gurupadaswamy, has said that in recent years the propor-

tion of direct taxation to indirect taxation is diminishing and to that extent the claim of progressiveness in regard to the character of the Budget is hollow. This is however only one part of the story. Fiscal management is a dual responsibility in this country. The Centre as well as the States have to raise revenues. In a country where the *per capita* income is low and the administrative problems for collecting direct taxes from a huge population are immense, it is an economically sounder proposition to concentrate on marginal advances in indirect taxes while at the same time exploring the limits of feasible direct taxation. Besides, the State Governments have the exclusive responsibility of levying direct taxes in the major sector of our economy, namely, agriculture. If they would fulfil their obligations, the proportion between direct and indirect taxes would undergo a change. Moreover, indirect taxes in this year's Budget have been planned in such a careful manner that the burden as a result of their imposition would only be minimal on the common people.

Next, some Members have said that there is overestimation of revenue. How far it is correct let us examine. Next year's gross tax revenues are placed at Rs. 2967 crores at the existing rates of taxation as against Rs. 2732 crores this year, thus showing an increase of Rs. 235 crores. Next Year's increase of Rs. 235 crores undoubtedly seems unduly large in relation to this year's increase but it can be fully explained by means of statistics. The next year's increase of Rs. 235 crores broadly comprises Rs. 153 crores in new excise duties, Rs. 45 crores under income and corporation taxes, Rs. 35 crores under customs duties, the rest being spread over several items like wealth tax, sales tax in Delhi etc. As explained by the Prime Minister in the other House, the increase under customs duties is based on the larger imports expected during next year due to grant of more import licences as well as liberalisation of the import policy. The increase in revenue estimated under income and corporation taxes works out to hardly 6 per cent over the revised estimates for the current year. In the light of past experience we are hopeful that this increase would be easily realised. The increase in Union excise duties is about 10 per cent of the revised estimates of Rs. 1526 crores for the current year. It is worth noting that in some of the earlier years, for example 1968-69, the increase was as high as 12 per cent. This year it is calculated that it will be just

[Shri R. K. Khadilkar]

about 10 per cent. There has thus been no over-estimation of revenue for the next year.

Shri Mohta has expressed the view that since a virtual ceiling is being placed on personal incomes at the level of Rs. 25,000 as a result of the income-tax and wealth tax rates proposed in the Budget, incentives in the private sector would suffer. Quite the contrary has however been the reaction of the share market. Since every effort has been made to encourage corporate savings, there is a boom in the shares of private companies. Shri Mohta is against raising the rates of taxation. He claims that tax revenues would rise automatically even at the existing rates provided the rate of growth of the economy is accelerated. There is circular reasoning involved in this. In order to accelerate the rate of growth of the economy it is necessary to mobilise initially a larger proportion of the national income in the form of savings, for example, through taxes. Our experience over the last five years has proved without a shadow of doubt that on their own the private sector are unable to sustain economic growth and it is necessary to have public investments of a sufficient magnitude in the strategic sectors. In order to push through such public investment it is necessary to raise additional tax revenue.

The hon. Member, Shri K. S. Chavda, from Gujarat complained that there was discrimination against Gujarat State in the matter of Central assistance for famine relief. This criticism is totally baseless. Shri Chavda has pointed out that Gujarat was given only Rs. 10 crores when the number of people affected by drought was 86 lakhs, while Tamil Nadu was given Rs. 30 crores when the number of people affected was only about 32 lakhs. I should point out certain factual inaccuracies in the statement of Mr. Chavda. The amount of Central assistance

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Gujarat) : It was the reply given by the Food Minister on the floor of Lok Sabha. It is not my figure.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : From whatever source you have taken it I am correcting it. The amount of Central assistance so far released to Gujarat towards expenditure on drought relief measures

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : Am I to understand that he is correcting the Food Minister figures?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : I am correcting what was stated by the hon. Member on the floor of the House. Whatever your source, if there is inaccuracy, I am correcting it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He wants to know whether the Food Minister has given wrong information.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : I will have to check it as to whether his quotation is correct.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : Are you correct or the other Minister ?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : So far as I am concerned, while I listened to his speech very attentively, and to the statement he has made, I am certain that what I am stating is the correct position. That much I can say without a shadow of doubt.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : I referred to the Unstarred Question replied by the hon. Food Minister on 9th of March, 1970, in the Lok Sabha.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : I said I will have to check it up. But so far as I am concerned I have checked my figures and they are accurate. I am pointing out certain inaccuracies on the basis of which you have made the statement accusing the Government. The amount of Central assistance so far released to Gujarat for expenditure on drought relief measures during the current financial year is Rs. 12.50 crores.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : Up to what date?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : I am explaining. Have a little patience.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : I am wrongly quoted. I said that Rs. 10.50 crores were paid up to 4th March, 1970.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : I am quoting figures and correcting if there is any doubt ; I want to clarify. In the current financial year the amount is Rs. 12.50 crores, and that released to Tamil Nadu is just Rs. 13 crores. The hon. Member should remember that certain criteria are applied and procedures are

followed in determining the quantum of Central assistance towards natural calamities' relief including famine relief etc.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : Sir, I seek your protection. I have quoted the figures of the Food Minister ...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He is giving information.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : Either the Food Minister is wrong or the hon. Minister is wrong, either of the two.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You can move in the matter further if you want afterwards, but let him finish his own point of view.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : The hon. Member knows very well, I need not repeat all of them here. It is only when the expenditure on relief and rehabilitation measures etc. is likely to exceed the amount taken into account by the Finance Commission that the State Governments concerned approach the Centre for financial assistance. At the request of the State Government, the Central teams of officers are deputed to visit the affected areas for an on-the-spot assessment of the situation and the requirement of funds for various relief measures. The Central teams while making their recommendations take into consideration *inter alia*, the estimated expenditure on the relief programmes proposed by the State Government, the extent of the distress, the population affected and the financial position of the State Government, etc. On the basis of the recommendations made by the Central teams, the Government of India fix the ceilings of expenditure for the financial year for the purpose of Central assistance. Fifty per cent of the expenditure on approved relief measures in excess of the amounts taken into account by the Finance Commission is shared as grant and 25 per cent as loan while the remaining 25 per cent is to be met by the State Government concerned from their own resources. This is the procedure. (*Interruptions*) Let me complete. Have some patience. The ceiling on expenditure on drought relief measures in the State of Gujarat and Tamil Nadu during the current financial year adopted for the purpose of Central assistance is Rs. 18,10,00,000 for Gujarat and Rs. 14,50,00,000 for Tamil Nadu respectively. This is the position—Rs. 18,50,00,000 for Gujarat in this current

year. The Central assistance would be released, subject to these ceilings, on the basis of progress of expenditure on the relief measures reported by the State Governments. There is no truth whatever in the allegation that Gujarat has been discriminated against in the matter of Central assistance for famine relief.

I hope the hon. Member will now be satisfied with the position. That is all I have to say.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA : No, no.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : A Budget, by its very nature, cannot satisfy, to an equal degree, all elements in society. What the exercise does is to distribute, on the one hand, the load of sacrifice equitably and, on the other, the socio-economic goals through a careful allocation of the resources between the various sectors. This objective has been pursued to the maximum feasible extent in this year's Budget. It heralds a return to the era of planning and rapid growth ; it stresses price stability ; at the same time, it marks a new departure in the Indian fiscal tradition by making a bold bid for distributive justice. I thank you.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR Sir, I want to seek one or two small clarifications from the hon. Minister. I raised a point that you have raised the Money Order fee beyond Rs. 200. Did you have time to look into whether it will not lead to any productive result except making the people split the amount that they have to send by MO because there is nothing to stop a person from sending two Money Orders of Rs. 100 or Rs. 125 each and escape the higher levy of M.O. fee.

Secondly, I would like to know. When you mentioned about the extra resources which would be needed for the purpose of the Government projects, have the Government taken into consideration the increase in the resources that the nationalised banks should be able to raise or collect from the economy ? Has this been taken care of ?

Thirdly, has he taken any pains to see whether we have any other means of financing the nutrition programme of the children apart from the doles which we are getting from some foreign countries ? Because that amounts to accepting that we have no resources for feeding even our infants and making them beggars right from the start.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : I have followed the first point regarding the M.O. being split. While intervening, I am not replying to all the points. I am sure the point made by the hon. Member is quite relevant and would be taken note of at the final stage. Regarding bank credit, he must have read the speech and the other documents very carefully at the time of the presentation of the Budget. Certainly, certain credit has been taken because it will give a sort of stimulus and mopping up of savings, at the same time making credit available to the various poorer and backward sections so as to reduce poverty. About the third point...

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : What about the extra resources coming to the public exchequer because of the earnings of the nationalised banks. You have a larger control over the resources of the economy. I want to know whether that has been taken note of at the time of planning.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR : Certainly it has been taken note of. I have just touched on some aspects that were brought to the notice of the House. I have not dealt with all that have been raised.

MISS. M. L. M. NAIDU (Andhra Pradesh) : The Minister has intervened and there is not much on which to say. Anyhow, before I start, I would like to answer two of my predecessors. Firstly, Mr. Rajnarain brought my State into question. Mrs. Rodha Mistery was appointed as a nominated member. I would like to tell the House that she belongs to a very small minority community and has done State-level social work. The Constitution does not disallow nominated members becoming ministers, and she is one of the best working ministers. So I do not think that there should be any criticism against my Government or my Chief Minister about that.

Next is this—it should have come first. Mr. Abid Ali, towards the end of his speech, gloriously asked us to go to Gandhiji's grave and question him. If we go to Gandhiji's grave and question him, I think the reply will be as follows—"I asked you to disband the Congress long ago but you did not do it, but clung to power. But the grand-daughter of the late revered Motilal Nehru, the daughter of the late honourable Jawaharlal Nehru, the wife of Feroz Gandhi, who is really the gift of God to Mathru Bhoomi, has got the courage, being a woman, to do

the right thing. So, go and help her to build up a second line of youth to rule the country and bring about integration". I think Gandhiji would answer like that.

Having said that, let me now come back to the Budget and add my own to the many voices of the Members that had already congratulated the Prime Minister for presenting a Budget that was welcomed by almost all classes of people in our country.

The Budget had been formulated keeping in view the basic requirements of the country and boldly faced the realities and the challenges of the changing times with all the new awakening of the masses. It is a well-known fact that there is a backward section of society which needs special care. True to the promises of the Party at the Bombay Session, several steps have been suggested for the welfare and uplift of the needy masses. At the same time, the Budget proposals tried not to slow down the pace of development in the country. Well, one can realise how difficult it must have been to provide common meeting grounds both for democratic and socialist forces in the country.

Of course, some Members did criticise the Budget and I know for certain that our Prime Minister gladly accepts constructive criticism. The general criticism from all sides is the comparison of the private sector with the public sector. Some say that while the gain of the private sector is anything from 5 to 7 per cent and above, it is 2 per cent in the public sector. Perhaps, true, and certainly there is much room for improvement in the public sector. But yet, I like to draw the attention of the House and of the public at large to the facts that the private sector is mostly engaged in the production of consumer goods which naturally give quicker returns or gains while the public sector is engaged in heavy and basic industries where the investment is heavy and the return period long. More than that, if you go round the country and visit both sectors, you will find that in the public sector much is spent for the workers even before actually the industry starts, like houses, water facilities, medical facilities, schools, etc. etc. This is really keeping in tune with the socialistic pattern whereas in the private sector amenities to the workers are thought of after the gains begin to pour in, of course, barring the guest houses. So perpetual running down of the public sector is not altogether correct. Of course, the Government must see that the public sector works harder and

harder and competes with the private sector.

Some Members even said that the present Budget does not differ from the former Budgets. Now is that not too big a pill for any one to swallow? Unlike the usual Budgets does not this Budget provide special schemes for small farmers, research on dry farming techniques, rural works programmes in areas which usually suffer from famines, droughts and several other kinds of natural calamities? Then, again, does not the Budget provide for supply of drinking water which is the basic need of the villages and for which time and again we entreated in this House and failed to touch the hearts of former Finance Ministers? How about provision for family pension-cum-life insurance scheme for industrial workers, nutritional programme for children and a minimum pension of Rs. 40 for the employees? Is not relief given for the wage-earners with less than Rs. 5,000 income freeing them from income tax and duties on certain consumer goods? I must say if Rs. 7,500 was the limit more earnest workers would have been relieved. Anyway, if one does not look through coloured glasses one must acknowledge that the Prime Minister has stood up to her promise and presented a really refreshing Budget. She has made the masses realise that they are participants in the wealth and progress of their motherland and that they can no longer be exploited by the very rich business classes.

I do not say the Budget is perfect. But how could the Prime Minister achieve perfection overnight when for twenty years progress was denied to nearly 90 per cent. and given to 10 per cent? Why did not the present day critics think, feel and bring to the notice of the ex-Finance Ministers, the condition of lakhs of our beggars, mostly children below 15 years found at all wayside railway stations etc. with no food to eat, no clothes, and no roofs over their heads?

Now some one observes that Rs. 4 crores for 5 crore children is not a provision at all. I fully agree that the problem is big and the amount small. But why not appreciate that a beginning is made in spite of lack of funds? If funds are available she would certainly like to change the lot of the poor overnight. The pension is small but again a beginning is made to prevent the families of the deceased Government employees going from door to door for help.

The agriculture sector, which alone can feed the millions of our countrymen neglected for two decades, gets only Rs. 300 crores in this Budget for irrigation facilities. All must agree that this is an important step. So also the provision for slum clearance although Rs. 10 crores is by far too small.

Regarding tea and kerosene, the thought high quality tea and superior quality kerosene were taxed, unless the administration can prevent a general rise on every kind of tea and kerosene the masses are sure to become sufferers. So if relief can be given on tea and kerosene the masses will be made happy.

Regional imbalance has become a serious problem and unless the Centre decides to solve it as quickly as possible troubles will spread like the forest fire. As for Andhra Pradesh the funds allotted for its development are by far too inadequate. All the troubles of Andhra Pradesh are due to lack of funds and I trust the Centre will try to set it right.

Coming to the question of national integration, unless full security is given to and felt by all, there can be no contentment, happiness or progress. What is the essence of democracy? Is it not the rule of majority and the protection of the rights of the minorities? By minorities I mean regional, linguistic, religious and all other kinds of minorities. So unless the Government takes special care, real national integration cannot be achieved. But the Government alone cannot do this unless there is the full co-operation of the majority community, specially the Opposition groups some of whom express ideas that frighten the minorities. In my humble opinion the root cause of all our troubles started with independence itself when in the name of secularism orders were given to stop teaching all religious teachings in the educational institutions. No religion teaches anything bad and deep religious feelings will not allow anyone to hate his neighbour. My Jana Sangh friends must forgive me for asking one question that always troubles me. Is there any guarantee that their forefathers or the recently lost dear ones are not reborn in Christian or Muslim families, or that they themselves will not be born in those communities in a future birth? I am sure that knowledge is not given to anyone. I have a feeling that our leader was my brother in my last *janma*.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : मुझे यह कहने का अवसर दीजिये श्रीमती जी, कि हिन्दू धर्म के अनुसार पुनर्जन्म केवल हम लोगों में ही होता है।

MISS M. L. M. NAIDU : I could not follow.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : If you want her to understand, please speak in English.

MISS M. L. M. NAIDU : I do not know what he said. I cannot reply.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Continue your speech.

MISS M. L. M. NAIDU : If I could understand I would reply. He speaks in a language which I cannot understand. I will tell you something more.

One very revered Swamiji just last week said that in my last birth I was "Shiv shakti". What that means I do not know. Perhaps my Jana Sangh brothers can enlighten me.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : यह तो आपकी प्रधान मंत्री सहिब आपको अच्छी तरह से समझा सकती हैं क्योंकि वह भी विश्वास रखती हैं।

MISS M. L. M. NAIDU : The Pradhan Mantri does not feel all these differences. I did not dare to ask for explanation. If religion is taught on these lines, can there be hatred left in the country? With folded hands I beg all parties to help in bringing about perfect integration.

No one can deny that our Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi's family feels, preaches and practises socialism. I will tell you why I feel like that. Now the midsummer is on and there will be a rush for air-conditioned chair coaches by everyone. One mid-summer I went to a hill station. The great Nehru's grandson, Rajiv, was travelling with his companions in a thirdclass sleeper coach, not an air-conditioned one but an ordinary coach. What is why if not socialism? When I asked why it was so he said, "No. My companions are going by third class. And I am one of them I must also go third."

Again, there was another occasion. Over the Republic Day invitations people get angry because any number of invitations are not given to them for the V.I.P.

block. This year I saw—next year I may not be here but you will see it—the younger grandson of our late revered Nehruji, seated rubbing shoulders with peons on the topmost galleries. I said, "What are you doing here?" He was angry and said, "You go to your V.I.P. block". This was the answer. Do you think this family lacks socialism in their belief? No. It does not.

SHRI MAN SINGH VARMA (Uttar Pradesh) : Very good example.

MISS M. L. M. NAIDU : That is what I have myself noticed.

(Time bell rings)

We have a labour-loving labour leader for a President, a Prime Minister in whose blood runs nothing but the love of the masses. With them in power if full co-operation from the Opposition parties is forthcoming, then nothing can prevent India from becoming one of the leading nations of the world.

Sir, I will not disobey you. I thank you for the time that is given to me.

SHRI B. V. ABDULLAH KOYA (Kerala) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, while congratulating the Prime Minister for her bold step in presenting a Budget of socialistic conception, I cannot but point out to her that some of her measures have given apprehensions in the mind of the common man, rather than give him satisfaction. The proposed new taxes on commodities like sugar, tea, kerosene, cigarettes, motor spirit, etc., will affect the common man more than anybody else; so also the increase in postal rates items like parcels, registration, M.O. Commission, etc.

The income-tax relief offered to the middle-class people should have been at least up to Rs. 7,000 instead of Rs. 5,000.

Coming to the bad effect of this Budget on the problem or the backward state of Kerala, I cannot but criticise the Budget for the very meagre allotment of Rs. 4 crores to the industrial development of Kerala, considering that Kerala is one of the highly industrially backward States of India. If the main object is to bring the backward areas to the level of the advanced States, our Budget has miserably failed.

The Kerala Government has already submitted a Master Plan on Fisheries to the Government of India a year back, but surprisingly enough nothing has been provided for, even though this Master Plan aims at solving the food scarcity of the State and providing employment for the poor fishermen of the whole coastal area.

I am also perturbed over the lack of imagination in not providing enough funds for the development of the Rural Industries Projects of Kerala where the scheme has been on significant growth as a result of the encouragement given by the Central Government in previous years. In this connection, I would add that the Calicut Rural Project Scheme has been acclaimed as the most successful scheme in the whole of India. Yet we find that nothing has been allotted for the same in this Budget.

Another matter for alarm for the Keralites is the steady slump in their traditional industries like handloom, coir, beedi manufacturing, umbrella sticks manufacturing and cashew industries. Unless the Government of India comes forward with adequate help and encouragement in time, those industries will soon perish in Kerala, without any chances of recovery. I am sorry to remark that in spite of the lip-sympathy shown by the spokesmen of the Government, these industries are allowed to die in Kerala for want of adequate supplies of raw materials at reasonable rates, due to stringent labour laws without considering the ability of the industry to bear such laws and the lack of funds with the industrialists.

Yarn, dyes and chemicals are not available to the handloom industry at reasonable rates. Umbrella manufacturers are finding it difficult to obtain their requirements of methylated spirit. The Government of India does not encourage these industries by asking their Railway, Police and Military departments to purchase their requirements of cloth and coir from these indigenous industries.

Sir, could you believe me if I say that many of these industries, after the attainment of independence in 1947, are showing a backward trend, in spite of the various half-hearted measures adopted by the Government? In my city of Calicut alone, the number of handloom factories which was about 50 in 1947 has gone

down to 12 in 1970. So also Alleppey, which has been the nerve-centre of coir industry, has become a country churchyard or cemetery for coir factories. This is just like the saying in Malayalam that after too many baths, the baby did not survive.

The prices of yarn especially the coarser counts like 20's and 40's have been steadily going up since 1947. To be more specific, the price of 20's has gone up from Rs. 6.70 to Rs. 8.10 per kilogram, and the price of 40's has gone up from Rs. 45 to Rs. 52 per bundle of 10 pounds within a period of six months. The price of Vat dyes of golden orange has gone up from Rs. 350 to Rs. 650 and that of Brown from Rs. 300 to Rs. 600. The imported hydro-sulphate is sold by the S.T.C. at fantastic prices, thereby encouraging the T.C.C. to shoot up their prices at one stretch from Rs. 12.50 to Rs. 17.50 per kilogram. What more do you require to kill an industry which provides jobs to more than 30 lakhs of people?

As for the coir industry, the production charges have gone up very high, making it impossible to sell them in foreign markets. When the Kerala Government submitted a scheme for Rs. 17 crores for the coir industry to the Government of India, they replied with stopping even the meagre help that they had been giving to the Coir Board. Nearly 20 lakhs of people are engaged in this industry. Even though licence fees are not to be considered as a source of revenue in principle, but only as a means to check the malpractices, retting places of raw husks have to pay Rs. 2,000 per acre, in addition to the profession and other taxes. While fixing the floor prices of retted husks, the Government have not cared to fix the prices of raw or green husks, thereby making it impossible for the co-operative units to get the green husks at reasonable rates.

Other matters of importance like the dieselisation of the Malabar Express and Mail trains, the construction of an aerodrome at Calicut, the development of Beypore as an all-weather port by the Central Government, broadgauging of the Ernakulam-Trivandrum railway line and the electrification of the Ernakulam-Shoranur line, are some of the pressing requirements of Kerala which even now are remaining as a dream. The long-awaited ship-building yard at Cochin is provided only with a meagre sum of Rs. 3 crores, which means that the much tom-tomed project will be only a glorified boat-building yard.

[Shri B. V. Abdullah Koya]

Before I conclude, let me also say something of the pitiable position of the Muslims in Government services. In spite of the fact that the Muslims in the State and Central services are very few in number, nothing is done to give them adequate representation. Even though we decry communal riots in the country, nothing is done to give adequate protection to the Muslims and other minorities by appointing them more in the Police and Army. Our Prime Minister could have done better to do away these grievances of the Muslim community in particular and the other minorities in general.

Let me also request the Prime Minister to kindly go through the letter addressed recently to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission by the Kerala Chief Minister. This letter is important as it ventilates the grievances of Kerala, and the indifference adopted by the Planning Commission towards Kerala during all these years.

The agricultural property of the lower income farmers may not be taken for assessment of wealth tax so as to help the development of the rural economy. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI P. CHETIA (Assam) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Budget of 1970-71 can be termed as a unique one in the sense that there has been an honest attempt to strike a balance in the matter of taxation between the richer section of the community and the weaker section of the people and the common masses on the basic principle and the ideal of social justice. But even then, I cannot help but candidly express my profound sense of misgiving that the tax, for instance, on sugar, superior variety of kerosene oil, petrol and a host of other things, will tend to create conditions of increasing the price-line and it is my feeling that imposition of such taxes has already made, to a large extent, an adverse impact on the structure of economy of the common man. Take for instance, the levy of duty on petrol. Apart from affecting the general public along with the richer section, it has also very considerably affected the price-line of the consumer goods including foodstuffs which are being transported or carried by road transport to different parts of the country. As a result of the proposed tax measures on some items of common use, there will be a rise in the cost of

living and on account of this, the very object of striking a balance between the rich and the common people will be nullified, without any positive results. Therefore, I would like to stress the need on the part of the Government for a careful vigilance and a fresh look at such taxes and see as to how far the situation of rising prices and their chain reactions could be controlled for the larger interest of the common people and the economy of the country as a whole. I would like to congratulate the Government for finalising the Fourth Five Year Plan after so much of deliberations, after the absence of a firm approach for a while. I am glad to note that the Planning Commission, the National Development Council and the Government have agreed and stressed the need for boosting up the industrial development of those States which have been considered as backward so as to remove the regional imbalances. The principle evolved and accepted by the Government on this vital aspect of the backward States is very wholesome and praiseworthy because the defective limbs of the body of a State are detrimental to the interests of the nation and the country as a whole. Therefore, I heartily welcome the decision of the Government to help financially those States which are lagging far behind in the sphere of industrial development compared to some industrially advanced States. In this connection, I would like to ventilate some of the essential needs of the State of Assam which I represent and which is industrially backward in spite of having great potentialities for industrial growth. We are grateful to the Prime Minister for her statement made in the last winter session of Parliament to the effect that a second refinery with a petro-chemical complex, a paper and pulp mill, and a cement factory, will be established in Assam in the Fourth Five Year Plan under the public sector.

We Members of Parliament, from Assam earnestly urge upon the Government to implement these projects as early as possible and without loss of time. It may be noted here that these industries are based on local raw materials and the implementation of these projects will create a tremendous economic impact on the State providing great avenues for employment of many thousands of young men. But Sir, I have come to learn that the Ministry of Finance has not sanctioned and has not given the green signal as yet for establishing the cement factory at Bokajan. I appeal

to the Prime Minister to accord immediate sanction so that the factory can go into production by 1972.

Then again, although a Paper Corporation has been established by the Government some time past, we do not know when the work of establishing a 150 ton per day paper and pulp mill will be started in Assam. This matter also needs immediate sanction.

Assam has been treated very shabily in the past. Assam has lagged behind in the sphere of industrial development even after 23 years of our achievement of freedom. Therefore, along with other backward States, the case of Assam deserves a special treatment in the shape of allocation of adequate funds either in the form of loans or in the form of equity grants from the Central Pool.

For industrial growth two vital things are necessary apart from adequate funds. One is electricity and the other is good communication. As for electricity, I am sure that Assam has very considerably gone ahead. But in respect of good communications, Assam is still lagging far behind. We have been pressing for converting the metre gauge line from Barauni to Gauhati, but unfortunately no mention has been made about this in the Railway Budget nor has there been any provision made in it. I appeal to the Prime Minister to look into this important and vital aspect of the matter also, as in the absence of better communications no industrial development can be achieved or possible. With these words I conclude.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : Sir, I wish that the very careful, unaggressive and explanatory intervention of the Minister of State, Mr. Khadilkar, had been listened to by a fuller House than it was when he was speaking. Normally, in answering a debate people like to be aggressive. But he was not aggressive. He explained and even where sharp points of difference came, he said, "I have noted it and I will consider it" and so on. It is a model of parliamentary reply to a debate. I am also happy that I heard Mrs. Naidu speaking...

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : She is Miss Naidu.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : I beg ur pardon. She is Miss Naidu. I ve always thought that the status

of a Mrs. is a little holier than that a Miss. So, I was meaning no harm

I am glad that I heard her reply to my friend, Shri Rajnarain. She replied with great courtesy and replied to him in a manner worthy of a woman of culture. Mr. Rajnarain today was particularly violent in his attacks. Mr. Rajnarain cannot be anything but violent in his political attacks. But I am glad I heard Miss Naidu and it is necessary that what she said should be on record in this House.

Now I come to the Budget. Mr. Khadilkar said that no Budget had been awaited with a greater interest than the present one and that when it actually came, hardly any Budget in our memory was so quickly picked up, torn to peices, analysed and then rolled about and so on. I can only remember the famous Budget of the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in the old days...

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated) :
In 1946.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN :...in 1946 and later on in a feeble way Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's Budget. But this Budget is the one which has created the greatest stir in the mind of India. There is nothing one can say today which will be something new in the debate. Every point was picked up, every attempt made to attack or support and every answer given. But at the end of it all, Sir, we are all back at the starting point. And why? We are not studying this Budget nor are we discussing it from the point of view of finances as such, but political polarisation has become so complete in this country that everyone who looks at the Budget, looks at it only from the point of view of his own political party. I am not quarrelling with that either. All politics becomes related to its own economics. For instance, Communist politics has its Communist economics, Swatantra politics has its Swatantra economics and so on. I do not know whether Mr. Rajnarain has any politics or economics except one, to break the Indira Government. Outside that whether he has any politics or economics, I am willing to go and listen and learn from him.

श्री राजनारायण : समाजवाद और जनतंत्र ।

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : Even there when the Indira Government comes in, you break up everything else including your politics and remember only that you are a sworn crusader for breaking this Government. But I do not quarrel with that either. It is your point of view... (Interruption) No, no. *Samajwad* is in the hands of many other people, not only in yours. Now I come back...

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order please.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : But what happens now is, therefore, after all the debates, after all the discussions, after all the points are raised and answered, we come back to our political starting points.

श्री राजनारायण : हम जानना चाहते हैं कि सम्मानित सदस्य की पालिटिक्स क्या है ? संस्कृत साहित्य में एक कंचुकी आता है । वे संस्कृत साहित्य के कंचुकी न बनें ।

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : I am sorry I have not understood your brilliant Hindi. It is good that I have not; otherwise, I will have to answer that also.

Therefore, we are not dealing here with economics or finances. But we are dealing with, all the time, our politics. All the time our politics is being injected into the picture, I have no quarrel with that either because it is bound to happen in a democracy. It is bound to happen because everybody has some political opinion and an economic theory attached to it. Take the Swatantra Party, for instance. It is at the extreme right. The Marxists are at the extreme left. In between we are all floundering but swimming on and trying to move forward.

But there are a few hardy annals so far as I am concerned. I said this when Shri T. T. Krishnamachari was sitting here; I said this when Shri Sachin Chaudhury was sitting here; I said this twice when Mr. Morarji Desai was sitting here and today luckily the Finance Minister is not sitting here; only the Minister of State for Finance is sitting here and I am saying this to him. Today in this country there are nearly 350 million people who are either illiterate or inadequately literate. This is a tremendous

drag on our democracy and any talk of democracy, any talk of socialism becomes a mockery against the background of 350 million people who are either illiterate totally or inadequately literate. I pleaded with each Finance Minister every time when we discussed the Budget "Please take Rs. 10 crores from anywhere out of these hundreds and thousands of crores and put them every year for 5 years into the programme of adult education in this country." After all what is adult education? It is not merely literacy; it is citizenship training, building up every citizen in order to enable him to function intelligently.

श्री राजनारायण : सब खत्म करके अंतर-लाभ की ट्रेनिंग दीजिए, अंतरात्मा की पुकार को ।

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : When you are the Finance Minister, I will ask for Rs. 100 crores from you for this. But I will have to wait till doomsday for that. Therefore, Sir, will Mr. Khadilkar, on behalf of the Finance Ministry, register this repeated request of mine, that he must take care of adult education in this country? With 350 million illiterates or semi literates in this country he is not going to build up democracy, much less socialism. I do not want to go into this question because I have worked on it for many years and I have many thoughts on the subject.

Now I come to the second point which I have in mind. You are building up great industries; we need great industries. I am no enemy of big industries; I am no enemy of industrialisation. But, when you build up big industries, we must take care of the millions who can never come near your big industries. I once argued this with our revered leader, Pandit Nehru, and he said that Mahatma Gandhi was right when he said that we must take care of the millions who can never come near the big industries. So we have now to think in terms of rural industrialisation. I want to tell you Sir, and through you the Minister of State for Finance that what goes today in the name of rural industrialisation is a mockery of the whole thing. Urban people with money in their hands come into the rural areas, put up plants for production and take away all the profits from there and hardly anything happens to increase the prosperity of the rural areas where the rural industries are supposed to be going

on. I mentioned this particularly to Shri Morarji Desai and he told me in the lobby that he would look into it. I wish he were here to look into it today but that now is a different matter. But, Sir, this question of rural industrialisation is not so small as it looks. It is one thing that stands ultimately between a bloody revolution and orderly progress. Heavy and big industries are being taken care of but in the vast rural areas nothing like a systematic, co-ordinated and sustained rural industrialisation programme is going through. The result will be that millions will become disconsolate, millions will become restless because they have nothing to live on and nothing to prosper on. When they begin to march, the millions from the rural areas, the cities of Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta will crumble like dust under their marching feet. Today revolution does not come any more from the cities; and it comes from the rural areas; it emanates from the under-developed areas. So for pure national safety and security and also for orderly progress please take care of the rural industrialisation programmes in the manner in which it should be done.

Finally, Sir, I come back to the question of education in this country. I am not dealing with it in a technical manner or in relation to any particular sphere. But what is happening in the field of education in India? By spending enormous amounts of money, by making enormous efforts, we are training hundreds of thousands of your young men to be totally unfit for any productive work, to be totally unfit to face the problems of productive labour in the country. Every body wants a white-collar job. I do not quarrel with youngsters wanting white-collar jobs because we are training them only for such jobs. In the field of education revolution is necessary. We have a brilliant Education Minister but his problems are overwhelming. Somebody has to take care, as Gandhi took care, that education is oriented in the direction not only of intellectual development but also in the direction of productive labour. Our engineers, our men, who go into different fields of life, forget what must be done with their own hands. In fact I heard Pandit Nehru once saying "If you look at the German engineers or the American engineers, they will tuck up their sleeves and get under the wheels to do something. But the Indian engineer will stand and order somebody else to do it." I am not saying that all our engineers are like that; we

have brilliant engineers in India, brilliant men in every walk of life but the whole trend of education is to create and sustain the mentality of white-collar jobs, and this is totally anti-democratic and anti-socialist. So, Sir, our educational revolution should be oriented in the manner in which Gandhiji wanted it to be done. You can forget the words 'Basic education' if you are frightened by them. But the basic idea is that our children should grow up from their earliest years to do productive work themselves. That was the one thing for which Gandhiji stood. Will somebody, therefore, bring this back into the education of India? I do not know who will do it but unless these things are attended to, many of the tall promises we make will remain only a dream.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, श्रीमन्, मैं एक बात जानना चाहता हूँ...

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : Shri Rajnarain, with all my respect for you I told you that you have only one thing at the Centre of your brain and nothing else. But I have to think of other things.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं एक स्पष्टीकरण चाहता हूँ रामचंद्रन जी से। गांधी जी का हम लोग नाम लेते हैं, लेकिन जब रूस का प्राइम मिनिस्टर एक मोची हो सकता है, ब्रिटेन के प्राइम मिनिस्टर को लीजिए जो कि फैक्टरियों में काम किये, खानों में काम किये, जब यहां का प्राइम मिनिस्टर केवल बबुआ बन कर आ सकता है, प्राइम मिनिस्टर हो सकता है तो उसे खानों में काम करने की जरूरत क्या, फिगर चलाने की जरूरत क्या। यहां तो हर, चापलूस, हर जनतंत्र का द्रोही मिनिस्टर बन सकता है। श्रीमन्, प्रब्लम यहां है। मैंने प्रब्लम ही बताया है।

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : No interruption please. He can talk after I have finished.

Now, Sir, let me come back to my subject. We are facing very difficult times in this country. There is political instability; there is social instability and there are all kinds of fissiparous tendencies and if you allow these things to simmer and grow, all your Plans will tumble

[Shri G. Ramachandran]

down. Therefore they must be related to the realities of nation-building and I hope somebody will keep this in mind as we go on. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Shri Hayatullah Ansari.

श्री राजनारायण : क्या अब मैं स्पष्टीकरण कर सकता हूँ। आप स्टलिन को देखिये, आप हिटलर को देखिये...

श्री उपसभापति : आप अब बैठिये। पृष्ठिये नहीं।

श्री राजनारायण : भारत में ट्रेनिंग की जरूरत ही क्या है जब कि तमाम इल्लिटरेट चापलूस मंत्री हो सकते हैं, प्रधान मंत्री हो सकते हैं तो जरूरत ही क्या है ?

(Interruptions)

श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी : डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब, दो साल पहले जबकि यहां बजट पेश हुआ था तो मैंने यह कहा था कि यह रफू का काम है जिसको कि कहते हैं डारनिंग, यानी पंच-वर्क है, डिफरेंट किस्म के पंचेज यहां लगाये गये हैं और उनको इस तरह से सिया गया है, इस तरह से मिलाया गया है कि जोड़ मालूम नहीं होता। आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर ने इसका जवाब दिया था लेकिन जो असली बात थी जिसका जवाब देना था उसको इवेड कर गये थे। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि सोशलिज्म और कैपिटलिज्म दोनों एक साथ हो जाय यह नहीं हो सकता। यह नहीं हो सकता कि आम के दरख्त में केले का दरख्त मिला कर उसका जोड़ बिठा दें। तो मोरारजी भाई देसाई का जो वह बजट था वह इसी तरह का था कि केले का जोड़ मिला दिया था आम के दरख्त के साथ और वह जोड़ बैठ नहीं रहा था। यह समझ लीजिये कि आम का छोटे से छोटा दरख्त भी हो, चाहे बड़ा हो या छोटे से छोटा हो या एकदम बीज भी हो तो भी वह आम का ही होता है, केले के दरख्त से उसका कोई ताल्लुक नहीं। इसी तरह से सोशलिस्ट बजट जो आता है वह अपने आप में पूरा सोशलिस्ट होना चाहिये।

अब, सोशलिज्म के दो तीन बहुत बड़े प्रिंसिपल्स हैं। एक तो यह है कि इंडस्ट्री नहीं बढ़ सकती है जब तक कि कैपिटलिज्म है। कैपिटलिज्म में इंडस्ट्री बढ़ेगी तो थोड़ी देर तक लेकिन उसके बाद एकानामिक क्राइसिस आ जायगा, स्लम्प आ जायगा और वह बैठ जायगी। सन् 1929 ई० में जो तमाशा हुआ वह हम देख चुके हैं। बाजार में चीजों की बहुतायत थी, गल्ला तक पड़ा पड़ा खराब हो रहा था, गल्ला भी सस्ता था और चीजें भी सस्ती थीं और बहुत थीं लेकिन लोगों के पास पैसा नहीं था और लोग भूखों मर रहे थे। आप देखिये कि आज एक मिल बनाते हैं जिसमें कि पांच सौ आदमी काम करते हैं तो वह कंजुमर गुड्स तैयार करती है पांच लाख के लिये और इस हिसाब से उसमें लोगों को इम्प्लाय करें तो कितनी मिलें चाहियें, सारे हिन्दुस्तान की 50 करोड़ की आबादी है उसमें से अगर 30 करोड़ एडल्ट्स को भी इम्प्लाय करने चलें तो फिर कितने कारखाने चाहिये और वह एक या दो या तीन खरब लोगों के लिये कंजुमर गुड्स बनाये तो फिर कैसे काम चलेगा। तो एक प्रिंसिपल को मान कर चलना चाहिये कि इस तरह का बजट पेश करें जो कि चाहे छोटे से छोटा आम का दरख्त हो लेकिन दरख्त हो आम का यानी सही मायनों में सोशलिस्ट बजट होना चाहिये।

श्री राजनारायण : सुग्गे की नाक में कदली का खम्बा हो ?

श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी : एक बात मैं और बता दू। एक चीज और कही जाती है कि अमीर अमीर हो गये और इस ज़माने में गरीब और गरीब हो गये। मुमकिन हो कि यह सही हो लेकिन सोशलिस्ट बजट के लिहाज से यह एक बिल्कुल मुहमिल बात है क्योंकि जब गरीब और गरीब हो जाता है तो वह कंजुमर गुड्स नहीं खरीद सकता और जब वह नहीं खरीदेगा तो फिर इंडस्ट्री नहीं तरक्की कर सकती है, अमीर और अमीर नहीं हो सकता है। तो एकानामिकली यह बिल्कुल रांग है।

इस बात का स्लोगन बन सकता है, तकरीरें हो जाती हैं और वोट मिल जाता है लेकिन एकानामिकली और साइंटिफिकली यह बिल्कुल एबसर्ड चीज है ।

एक बात मैं और बता दूँ कि कैपिटलिज्म चल सकती है लेकिन उसी तरह पर चल सकती है जिस तरह कि यूरोप के बाज़र मुल्कों में चल रही है या अमेरिका में चल रही है और वह यह है कि वह एक्सपोर्ट के जरिये से चल रही है लेकिन हमारे यहां तो एक्सपोर्ट में ज्यादा गुंजाइश नहीं रही है, उसकी अब ज्यादा जगह नहीं रही है, इसमें बहुत जबरदस्त कम्पीटीशन है ।

तो फिर हो क्या ? हमें तो वही एकानामी यहां चलानी है जो कि यहां सट कर सके, जो कि यहां खप सके और वह सोशलिस्ट एकानामी ही हो सकती है ।

दूसरी बात यह है कि अगर पब्लिक सेक्टर कमज़ोर होगा तो उसे प्राइवेट सेक्टर खा जायगा । बहुत सख्त कम्पीटीशन है पब्लिक सेक्टर में और प्राइवेट सेक्टर में । इसलिये जो भी बजट बने उसमें यह चीज़ भी सामने रखनी होगी कि पब्लिक सेक्टर बराबर मज़बूत होता चला जाय और वह कमज़ोर न हो ।

इस जगह पर एक बात मैं यह भी याद दिला दूँ कि फरीदाबाद के कांग्रेस के इजलास में जो प्रेसिडेंशियल एड्रेस हुआ था उसमें कहा गया था कि अब वह वक्त आ गया है कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में प्राइवेट सेक्टर को बढ़ावो, तो इसके माने थे कि पब्लिक सेक्टर को कमज़ोर किया जाय और इस किस्म के नज़रिये से जो चीज़ बनेगी वह कभी सोशलिस्ट बजट नहीं होगा ।

एक बात और है और वह यह है कि यह भी बजट में देखना है कि कंसंट्रेशन आफ वेल्थ न हो, कंसंट्रेशन आफ कैपिटल न हो और कंसंट्रेशन आफ पावर न हो ।

अब इसके बाद मैं कहूंगा कि सब से अच्छा मेट जो बजट के ऊपर किया है तो दो आद-

मियों ने किया है, एक तो श्री अशोक मेहता ने लोक सभा में तकरीर करते हुये किया है और दूसरे श्री मीनू मसानी ने किया है । और तीसरा एक पोलिटिकल स्टैंटमेंट देते हुये श्री मोरारजी भाई ने कहा है । श्री अशोक मेहता ने जो तकरीर की उसमें यह बात है कि यह बजट उसी लाइन पर है जिस लाइन पर कि श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने बनाया था और उन्होंने एक एक आइटम को ले ले कर बताया है कि यह जो इस आइटम में बढ़ा कर रखा है वह अगर मोरारजी भाई देसाई होते तो वह भी यही करते । उन्होंने बताया कि यह आइटम लीजिये, वह आइटम लीजिये, जो भी आइटम लीजिये अगर मोरारजी भाई देसाई होते तो वह भी यही करते । तो उनका कहना है कि जिन बातों पर आज कुछ ज्यादा रख रहे हैं वह सब मोरारजी भाई भी करते हों । तो इसकी मतलब यह है कि उसी ट्रेडिशन के ऊपर ही चले हैं और उसमें कोई नई बात नहीं है । इस तरह से मीनू मसानी ने कहा और मोरारजी भाई ने भी कहा है कि यह पोलिटिकल बजट है । कितनी करेक्ट बात कही है, वाकई कितनी करेक्ट बात उन्होंने कही है, वाकई पोलिटिकल बजट है, सोशलिस्ट बजट है और सोशलिस्ट पार्टी पेश कर रही है और उसमें ये चीज़ें रखी गई हैं । तो मैं यह समझता हूँ कि इन तीनों कमेंट्स के बाद कोई और कमेंट करने की बिल्कुल ही जरूरत नहीं है । उन्हीं लाइनों पर है और यह पोलिटिकली मोटिवेटेड है । वाडी वही थी, चीज़ें वही थीं, हाथ पांव भी वही थे, नाक भी वही थी लेकिन जिन्दगी कही नहीं थी, अब उसमें जान आ गई है । तो यह एक टोटल बजट है, शुरू से ले कर आखिर तक आम का पेड़ है और यह जितना भी बढ़ेगा उतना वह आम का ही पेड़ होगा, यह एक बड़ा छोटा पौधा है, बड़ा नहीं है लेकिन इसको बहुत बढ़ना है, बहुत श्रो करना है और यह सोशलिस्ट बजट है । तो मैं तारीफ करूंगा इन तमाम लोगों की, उनकी जो तकरीर लोक सभा में हुई उसको मैंने पढ़ा, मैं उनकी तारीफ करूंगा कि श्री मीनू मसानी ने और श्री मोरारजी

[श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी]

भाई देसाई ने मैदान बिल्कुल साफ कर दिया और अब जो हमारे खयाल के मुखालिफ हैं उन हजरात की तकरीर भी पढ़ूंगा और उनकी तारीफ़ करूंगा। मैं फरव्र करता हूँ कि यह सोशलिस्ट बजट है, सोशलिज्म से मोटिवेटेड हुआ है, यह स्टेडस-को का बजट नहीं है, कैपिटलिस्ट बजट नहीं है।

अब एक बात मैं और कहूंगा और वह यह है कि बजट पर एक किस्म की यह तकरीर बहुत की जाती है कि आपने यह टैक्स क्यों लगाया, यह टैक्स क्यों लगाया, यह क्यों लगाया।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर। मैं एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस सदन के माननीय सदस्य जो कि पहले बजट पर बोले हों और आज उसके बिल्कुल विपरीत कहते हों तो क्या ठीक है कि वह इस तरह बजट स्पीच पर बोलें, इसमें कोई व्यवस्था का प्रश्न आयेगा या नहीं? श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी ने पहले के बजट पर जो कहा था उससे एकदम उल्टा आज जो कह रहे हैं वह क्या ठीक है?

श्री उपसभापति : इसमें कोई व्यवस्था का प्रश्न नहीं है।

श्री राजनारायण : यानी सदन को गुमराह करें, पारसाल जो बोले उसके बिल्कुल उल्टा बोलें।

श्री उपसभापति : जैसे कि राजनारायण जी के विचार और खयालात बिल्कुल हमेशा बदलते रहते हैं वैसे किसी के भी बदल सकते हैं। समें कोई व्यवस्था की बात नहीं है।

श्री राजनारायण : जब मोरारजी देसाई वक्त मंत्री हों तो उनकी गुलामी, चापलसी करें और जब इन्दिरा जी वित्त मंत्री हों तो उनकी चापलूसी करें, यह क्या तरीका है, स तरह से सदन का समय क्यों नष्ट किया जा रहा है।

श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी : आप बैठ जाइये। मैंने कहा था कि यह रफ़ूगीरी का काम है, पैच वर्क है। मैंने जब शुरू किया था तो इसी क्रिटिसिज्म से किया था, उसे तारीफ़ कहा नहीं जा सकता। मैंने अभी कह दिया कि यह नान-सोशलिस्ट बजट नहीं है। आप बैठिये।

तो डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब, मैं कह रहा था कि दो तीन किस्म की बातें बजट के बारे में कहना बहुत आसान है, एक तो यह कि यहां पर यह टैक्स लगाया वहां पर वह टैक्स लगाया। इस चीज़ को आप घंटों कहते जाइये लेकिन कहीं न कहीं तो बड़ें पड़ेगा ही। और दूसरे यह कहना बहुत आसान है कि इस जगह आपने 2 करोड़ का खर्च रखा है यहां 20 करोड़ रुपया क्यों नहीं रखा यानी आपने बच्चों के कल्याण के लिये 10 करोड़ रुपया क्यों रखा है 50 करोड़ रुपया क्यों नहीं रखा। ये बातें कहना बहुत आसान हैं लेकिन जो सही नतीजा है वह हमें निकालना है और सब तरह की चीज़ों को टटोलना है। जहां पर टैक्स लगाया है उसको वहां नहीं लगाते तो फिर पैसा कहां से आता और यह कि यहां 10 करोड़ से 20 करोड़ करो तो फिर यह बात सामने आती है कि इतना पैसा कहां से आये। तो यह सब बातें प्ले-अप करने की हैं, मुल्क को दिखाने के लिये हैं। सवाल यह है कि जो टैक्स लगाया गया है वह नहीं लगाते तो फिर पैसा कहां से लाते। तो यह सब बातें प्ले-अप करने की हैं। हां यह मैं जरूर कहूंगा कि टैक्स लगा कर, बजट बना कर, गवर्नमेंट ने एक बहुत बड़ी, बड़ी सख्त जिम्मेदारी अपने ऊपर ले ली है और वह यह है कि अगर आज चाय मंहगी होती है, आज बीड़ी मंहगी होती है, आज बसों का किराया बढ़ता है तो फिर उसी लिहाज़ से कंज्युमर गुड्स को भी बढ़ाया जाना चाहिये, उसकी इतनी ज्यादाती हो जानी चाहिये कि इसकी कमी पूरी हो जाय। जैसा कि मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा कि ड्राप आफ ड्राप कर के ब्लड भूखे जिस्म में जाना चाहिये, तो मैं यह कहूंगा कि यह जिम्मेदारी सरकार ने बहुत बड़ी ली

है और अगर इसको पूरा नहीं कर सके तो फिर बहुत बड़ा इलजाम उस पर आयेगा ।

श्री राजनारायण : छोड़िये अब, बाकी सब अखबार में दे दीजियेगा ।

श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी : अब मैं थोड़ी सी बात जरा इससे हट कर कहूंगा और वह यह है कि एक नेशनल इंटेग्रेशन कौंसिल बनी है जिसमें कि जनसंघ भी है, मुस्लिम मजलिस भी है । मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि इनसे ीर इंटेग्रेशन से क्या मतलब है । इसको मेरे ख्याल से खत्म कर दिया जाय तो अच्छा है, इस पर पैसा खर्च होता है और इससे बहुत से मामलों में दिक्कत आती है । मुझे मालूम है कि जनसंघ जो है, जो मुस्लिम मजलिस है, ये दोनों मिस्टर जिन्ना के स्टांच फालोअर हैं, इनकी वही टू नेशन थ्योरी है, ये वही लड़ने-भिड़ाने की बातें करते हैं, हां उसका रूप दूसरा है, जमाने के तकाजे से उन्होंने थोड़ी पालिश कर दी है मगर उनका चेहरा-मोहरा वही है, बिल्कुल वही टू नेशन थ्योरी है मिस्टर जिन्ना की, हां दूसरे किस्म के कपड़े, दूसरी तरह के पहने हैं लेकिन चीज वही है । मुझे यहां एक किस्सा याद आता है । किसी ने अनार का शर्बत मंगाया था । अब जब उसके पास शर्बत की बोतलें आईं तो उसने देखा कि यह अनार का शर्बत नहीं था, उसकी जगह गुलाब का शर्बत था । वह बहुत बिगड़ा और उसने बिगड़ कर लिखा कि यह क्या बात है कि तुमने ऐसा भेज दिया, दूसरा शर्बत भेज दिया । इस पर भेजने वाले ने उसको पांच लेबिल अनार के शर्बत के भेज दिये और लिख दिया कि सिर्फ मेहरबानी कर के लेबिल बदल दें, शर्बत तो सभी एक होते हैं, लेबिल बदल दीजिये । तो यही मैं कह रहा हूं कि लेबल जरा बदल दीजिए । मगर चीज वही है, थियरी वही है जो मिस्टर जिन्ना की थी और चूंकि मजमून मैं लिखता रहता हूं, तो मुझे कोई मिहनत नहीं पड़ती ।

श्री मान सिंह वर्मा : लेबल बदल गया सिर्फ । आपकी मेन्टेलिटी वही है ।

श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी : एक चीज मैं एडल्ट एजुकेशन और प्राइमरी एजुकेशन की, बाबत कहना चाहता हूं । मैं दो तीन बार और भी कह चुका हूं । एक बड़ा प्राबलम यही नहीं जो अभी रामचन्द्रन जी कह रहे थे 10 करोड़ ६० खर्च किया जाये एडल्ट एजुकेशन पर । बहुत अच्छी बात है, मगर 10 करोड़ में 10 लाख में ही काम बन सकता है । क्योंकि, आप एडल्ट एजुकेशन के लिये क्लास कायम कीजिए 25 वहां स्टूडेंट आयेंगे, 5 दिन के बाद 25 नहीं सिर्फ 2 रह जायेंगे । प्राइमरी स्कूल में आपका 50 परसेन्ट पैसा बह जाता है । जो पहली किताब है "फर्स्ट बुक" और जो खास कर लिखी गई है बच्चों के लिये उसे मैं नहीं पढ़ सकता हूं, मार पीट कर बच्चों को पढ़ा लेते हैं, इन्टेलिजेन्ट बच्चे पढ़ लेते होंगे । एडल्ट एजुकेशन यह है कि यह भी एक व्हेस्टेड इन्टरैस्ट बन गया है । प्राइमरी किताब मैंने यू० पी० में देखी है कि वहां एक सड़ी गली किताब लेकर आया, एक किताब है मान लीजिए 4 आने की, मगर वह कूड़ा है । करोड़ों ६० हम खर्च कर चुके हैं आज तक लेकिन एक छोटा काम नहीं करते, कम्प्रै-टिव्ह स्टडी कर दें मेथड्स की । हिन्दुस्तान में टीचिंग मेथड्स की कमी नहीं है । आप 100 का क्लास बिठा दीजिए दो दो, तीन तीन और देखिये क्या रिजल्ट है । एक्सपर्ट्स मौजूद हैं । क्लास में देख लेंगे एक लेबल के हैं, एक जगह के हैं या नहीं और मेथड सबसेस-फुल है तो ट्राई कीजिए । मैं 22 साल से इस काम में लगा हुआ हूं और मेरा तर्जुबा है जितना बच्चे को आप पढ़ाते हैं दो साल में वह छः महीने में पढ़ाया जा सकता है । जितना एडल्ट एजुकेशन पर पैसा खर्च किया गया है उतने में हिन्दुस्तान पढ़ गया होता । तो एजुकेशन के एक्सपर्ट्स ने कभी यह जिम्मेदारी नहीं बर्दाश्त की है कि उनका एक टेस्ट ले लेते कि कौन कौन मेथड सही है, कौन गलत है ।

(Time bell rings)

श्री राजनारायण । 2 मिनट और दे दीजिए इनको ।

श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी : एक चीज़ और है, जिसकी बहुत परेशानी मुझी को नहीं बल्कि सब को है। वह है दिल्ली से लखनऊ जाने की। और उसके बाद जिसको जाना हो लखनऊ के आगे फैजाबाद लाइन पर उसके लिये बड़ी दुशवारी है, वैसे ही बनारस जाने में है। पहले तो लखनऊ के लिये 2 ट्रेने जाती हैं लखनऊ एक्सप्रेस और लखनऊ मेल। उसमें 3 डिब्बे होते हैं मामूली, थर्ड क्लास के, और एक और होता है टू टायर थर्ड क्लास का और एक होता है थ्री टायर थर्ड क्लास का और ये सब खचाखच भरी होती हैं, कुलियों को बहुत सा पैसा दिया जाता है तो खिड़कियों से निकाल कर ले जाते हैं तब कोई बैठ सकता है। अगर गाड़ी लेट हो गई तब भी जगह नहीं मिलती इसलिये कि उधर आती है देहरा एक्सप्रेस, वह देहरा एक्सप्रेस है जो बनारस, फैजाबाद या अयोध्या तक जाती है, तो उस समय लोग बड़ी परेशानी में पड़ जाते हैं। तो मैं इसमें सजेशन भी दूंगा जिससे आसानी से काम बन सकता है। 2 जनता एक्सप्रेस चलती हैं, एक बनारस से और एक कलकत्ता से हरिद्वार तक। यह जनता एक्सप्रेस बहुत भरी रहती है मरादाबाद तक लेकिन खाली होते होते मुरादाबाद में आधे पैसेन्जर रह जाते हैं। मुरादाबाद से एक गाड़ी चलती है दिल्ली के लिये, उसमें और डिब्बे लगा दिये जायें और उसके बाद जो आधे डिब्बे जाएं, वह आने वाली जनता में लगा दिये जायें। यह बहुत आसानी के साथ किया जा सकता है। कई बार मैंने इसको पेश किया मगर अफसोस है उसको मंजूर नहीं किया।

अब एक चीज़ और है। वह यह है कि कुछ स्टेट्स को कर्ज़ा दिया जा रहा है अपनी इन्डस्ट्री को इम्प्रूव करने के लिये। तो इसमें मैंने उत्तर प्रदेश का नाम नहीं देखा। उत्तर प्रदेश में सिर्फ 2 इन्डस्ट्रीज़ हैं, एक शुगर एक काटन, और दोनों मर रही हैं। दोनों में "सिक मिल्स" बहुत हैं और हालत यह है कि वह सिक मिल्स कभी इम्प्रूव नहीं हुई, बहुत सारी पुरानी हो चुकी हैं, सड़ चुकी हैं और

लोग पैसा लगाने के लिये उस पर तैयार नहीं है। इससे मजदूरों और किसानों का बुरा हाल है। तो मैं चाहूंगा, अगर मुमकिन हो तो दोनों इन्डस्ट्रीज़ को नेशनलाइज कर लिया जाये, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हो तो नयी इन्डस्ट्रीज़ चलानी चाहिये, क्योंकि इस वक्त उत्तर प्रदेश की हालत यह है कि आबादी बहुत है और रोजगार के रास्ते बंद हैं।

इसके बाद मेरा आखिरी पॉइन्ट यह है कि मेरे सामने एक न्यूज आइटम है, यह है 24 मई 1969 का, कि मिस्टर पी० सी० सेठी ने कहा कि लखनऊ शहर को अपग्रेड किया जायेगा, अभी कर दिया जायेगा नहीं तो जून में किया जायेगा। जून 1969 निकल गया लेकिन अभी तक अपग्रेड नहीं किया गया है। इसका मतलब यह है बहुत से मुलाज़िमों को जो सर्विस में हैं बहुत नुकसान हो रहा है। लखनऊ में ज़िंदगी बहुत दूभर हो रही है, चीज़ें बहुत मंहगी हैं, हर चीज़ मंहगी है, सबारी मंहगी, बाइसिकिल की मरम्मत मंहगी, पैदल चलना तक मंहगा, ऐसी हालत में लखनऊ शहर को अपग्रेड करना बहुत ज़रूरी हो रहा है। वह नहीं किया गया तो लोग बहुत घाटे में रहेंगे। थैंक यू।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I think it is a waste of time and energy to debate as to whether the Budget is a socialist Budget or not. After all, there cannot be a socialist Budget in a capitalist society, and...

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

I think we unnecessarily spend time in debating things which are somewhat unreal and which imply a misconception of the issues before us. We are discussing here a Budget coming from a Government which represents capitalist system. Whatever they may say the present socio-economic reality is one of capitalism and not of socialism. Some of us who are familiar with the science of socialist revolution are well aware that socialism comes only when the working class has captured power and a workers' and peasants' State has been established. Socialism does not come through budgetary

proposals or fiscal measures. In fact, after socialism is established budgetary proposals and fiscal and other economic measures change their complexion from one of serving the exploiting classes to one of serving the exploited, in fact seeking to make the exploited people, workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling people, the masters of the destiny of the nation.

That is not so in the present case and therefore I think we may for the present leave out this debate and consider the Budget as it is on merits within the limitations in which it has come and in line with the social order which exists today. I am not one of those who is under a delusion that revolution can be made in the Budget on the last day of February. That is not so. It is not possible; revolutions are made or social transformations are brought about by making the people rise against the established order of exploitation and plunder with a view to replacing it by a social order in which the working people become the rulers of the land.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, this Budget belongs to the family of Budgets with which we have been familiar here, starting from the one—when I came here—of Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh. Then we had a line of Finance Ministers, Mr. Krishnamachari, Mr. Morarji Desai, again Mr. Krishnamachari, Mr. Sachin Chaudhury, again Mr. Morarji Desai and we have now of course the Prime Minister holding that portfolio. Now let us not get involved in discussions of that sort. This Budget belongs fundamentally to the family of the past Budgets but yet this has certain positive features which are to be welcomed and I think we should not allow ourselves to be prejudiced one way or the other in assessing the worth of this Budget, in what respect it makes certain little changes—not very great but all the same changes—compared to the other Budgets. In the first instance if you look at this Budget, it does not give prodigious concessions to the big money. Fresh concessions I have in mind and this is to be welcomed. In the past Budgets always there had been a series of concessions offered to the big business and the monopolist class, sometimes under their pressure and sometimes because of the person who was holding the finance portfolio. Now that is not here. That does not mean that the concessions already given had been taken away. We would have liked that some

of the concessions given by Mr. Morarji Desai, with the blessings of Mr. Ashoka Mehta, Mr. S. K. Patil and all the rest of them, had been taken away. I should have liked Mr. Ashoka Mehta criticise the Prime Minister on the ground that the Prime Minister, having got the Finance portfolio, has not shown enough courage to take away what, under their dispensation, of Mr. Morarji Desai, Mr. Ashoka Mehta and others, had been given to the monopolists. The need of the hour was to curb the monopolists, to take away some of the unjust and extortionate concessions offered to them on a silver platter in the name of providing incentives to the national economy or promoting development or exports and so on. It is, however, a good thing that no concessions have been given. Small mercies have been shown, but that does not mean that the monopolists are going to be curbed. The Budget should have been a pronouncedly anti-monopolist Budget. The Budget should have attacked the monopolists right and left and it should have struck hard at the very heart of the monopolists. It is not there and that is a point of criticism that we offer on this Budget.

Now, this is no time for hanging on to the outmoded idea or conception about the so-called mixed economy. We are familiar with that mixture. How much of it is milk and how much water, we do not know, but water and milk both seem to be polluted. Water, of course, is the capitalist class and what they get. Milk, of course, is supposed to be the public sector in our economy, but in the milk penetration of big money has taken place, when you see that their representatives are being placed in charge of the public sector undertakings, in addition to the ICS gentlemen who are transplanted, after their retirement or even before, to the public sector.

As far as the capitalist class is concerned, it has got everything it wants. Their basic position is not at all assailed or attacked. That is my criticism of the Budget. Well it was necessary to carry forward the spirit of bank nationalisation by making a very powerful thrust against the monopoly capital in our country. That has not happened in this Budget and that is my complaint. I should like Mr. Morarji Desai, who seems to be very progressive nowadays, to come out and make criticisms on that score. Mr. Asoka Mehta, you leave out. His phrases very few people in the country

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

understand. Sometimes he himself does understand them. Now, my friend here, Mr. Mishra, is well-versed. He knows what he speaks about. At least I can understand him. But in the case of my friend, Mr. Asoka Mehta, if I may call him still a friend in a very philosophical sense that all human beings are friends, I must say that I do not at all understand what he says. Now, their obsession is the Prime Minister and what has happened around her or in the Congress Party. We are not at the moment concerned with it. The point I am making is that no attack real, effective attack has been made. The corporate sector has been left untouched in the matter of direct taxation and income-tax. Why? Only Rs. 36 crores out of Rs. 170 crores come from the corporate sector as direct taxes. It is not enough. Now, the corporate sector should have been attacked, because accumulations are there. Accumulations are there in various forms. We should not be bothered about the form. We have to recognise whether accumulations are there in the form of depreciation fund and various other funds. Now, it is necessary to attack the accumulations and divert them into investment on a priority basis in the public sector and other nation building projects. Unless we go in for tapping the resources that are lying with the monopolists, 75 families and others like them, we would not be in a position to solve the problem of resources in so far as direct taxation is concerned. Therefore, I do not see why they should not have been taxed.

You go through the Budget proposals and you will find that we remain where we are more or less. The capitalists remain where they are and yet the people are being taxed—sugar, kerosene, petroleum products and the cheaper varieties of cigarette. Why should the Char Minar and other cigarettes be taxed? I can understand the very expensive cigarettes, which the monied people smoke, being taxed to some extent, but I do not at all understand why the cheaper varieties of cigarette should be taxed.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : May I draw the attention of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta to two things? One is, so far as sugar is concerned, do you think that in the open market the common man will purchase it, when his quota is available which has not been taxed? This is one point.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI (Rajasthan) : Mr. Shah, he is supporting the Budget. Why are you interrupting?

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Secondly, I want to draw his attention to the fact that even in regard to kerosene, it is the white kerosene which is taxed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : An uncommon man has been good enough to ask a question about the common man.

श्री मान सिंह वर्मा : On a point of order. श्रीमन्, मैं मंत्री जी से एक बात जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उनको मालूम नहीं है कि आपके यहाँ दिल्ली में एक बोतल पर 20 पैसे बढ़ गये हैं। वह व्हाइट आयल नहीं बल्कि साधारण तेल है जो कंज्यूमर इस्तेमाल करता है उस पर 20 पैसा बोतल बढ़ गया है। उन्हें यह बात मालूम हो जानी चाहिये।

श्री के० के० शाह : गवर्नमेंट ने नहीं बढ़ाया है।

श्री मान सिंह वर्मा : बजट की वजह से तो इतने दाम बढ़ गये हैं।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Now, I do not think I need answer that point very much. Everybody knows that if you put taxes, prices tend to go up. Even if you put the tax at the source, the capitalists know how to pass on the burden to the common man. Mr. Shah surely knew it as a consumer, but I do not know how he feels about it today. Now, he can ask his son, if he is a smoker. I hope he is not a smoker. If he is, he will tell him that he is afraid of the tax. He would not like him to deplete his funds by smoking, by spending a little more on smoking. Therefore, this should not have been done. Take the case of excise duties, for example. The Union excise duties in 1968-69 accounted for Rs. 1300 crores. In the Budget year 1970-71, it comes to Rs. 1700 crores. There should be a shift more and more from the Union excise duties, the incidence of which, by and large, falls on the common man, which is regressive in nature in the sense that it keeps on the inflationary pressure, if it does not immediately give rise to a rise in prices. That is the position. In fact, if you have the question of social justice in mind, it should be the other

way round. The people should be given relief as far as the Union excise duties are concerned, in regard to articles of common consumption, while the taxes should be got from the upper classes and by taxing luxury articles more and more. Conspicuous luxury-consumption should be heavily taxed, whereas the articles of common consumption should be relieved from the fetters of taxation, because they hit the living standard of the masses. In our country 82 per cent of the population today are not in a position to spend even one rupee a day. Such being the case, is it not necessary that our budgetary methods pay special attention to the question of articles of common consumption and free as many of them as possible from the burden of taxation? This burden is not only economically ruinous, this burden creates social disequilibrium and creates social tensions and in fact, shakes the confidence of the people in the future of the country. That is an invitation to revolt. Revolt I would like but I would not like the Government to invite revolt in this manner by putting more economic burdens on the common man.

At the same time we see the prices are rising. The Budget unfortunately does not have a clear-cut approach with regard to the question of rising trends in prices which have been seen in recent years. Therefore, it is necessary for the budget-makers to take into account these trends and devise some measures, fiscally and otherwise, with a view to holding the price line, in fact to reducing the present level of prices. That has also not been done. On that score also you fail. Therefore, my main criticism is this.

Budget for whom? And for what? Budget certainly should be something that gives the mass an immediate assurance that it will be a common instrument not only for national development but also for removing social disparities and improving the standards of living, material, economic and cultural standards of the masses. Do you think that by looking at the Budget people are going to have this impression, although they would be happy that urban property tax, wealth tax and certain other taxes have been put or enhanced as far as the wealthy sections of the community are concerned? The attack should be two-pronged, Mr. Vice-Chairman. On the one hand we must attack the monopolist class, and on the other hand we must give relief simultaneously to the working people and the

down-trodden, to the millions of people who are crying for relief and succour under present conditions, and all the more so when unemployment is going up in the country. The latest figures show that the Employment Exchanges have registered 2 million unemployed. The actual unemployment figure today including those that are not registered would be of the order of at least 12 million or so, not less than that. Under-employment is also very colossal in the country. Such being the case, your approach in the budgetary proposals should be one that gives incentive to the common man. Here the capitalist approach still obtains, giving incentive to the capitalist class and the monopolist class. Having given them incentives all these years you have seen how they have brought the economy to the brink of ruin and created almost a permanent crisis in certain spheres of the economy, having indulged in malpractices and corruption on a scale unknown in the history of this country at all. Having taken advantage of the budgetary and other proposals in favour of them like delicensing, decontrol and all the rest of it, the monopolist class have not only accumulated enormous wealth in their hands but have captured the main levers of our economy and concentrated economic power in their hands. It was necessary while making the Budget to keep in view the importance and urgency of striking heavy and staggering blows at the concentration of wealth and economic power. This unfortunately has not been done in this Budget. (Time bell) My friend, Mr. Rajnarain, was very good; I appreciate he must get a little time. But our Constitution says, Mr. Vice-Chairman, there should not be discrimination between citizen, and certainly not between me and my friend, Mr. Rajnarain.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, इन्हें बताइए कि इनकी पार्टी का समय पूरा हो चुका था।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the problem is one of investment. In order to ensure a certain rate of economic growth 5 per cent economic growth today is not adequate even for maintaining the population; taking into account the rising population at the existing level of living; we need at least 6 to 7 per cent rate of economic growth if we want to maintain the people, our growing population at the current level of living. Therefore, let us not have any illusion that this rate of

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

growth is going to bring about much changes in the social conditions and living standards of the masses. For a higher rate of growth and economic activity we need investment, I agree, but investment requires certain domestic savings, and domestic savings are to be brought about in a large measure by budgetary proposals. Here we find that not less than 13 per cent of our national income is to be tapped, but how can we do so unless we know where to get the money from? Unless you take the rich monopolists, big landlords, profiteers and so on, princes and the like you would not be in a position to ensure the necessary domestic savings, to steps up domestic savings. But even that would not be enough.

We need in a developing economy an expanding, profit-yielding, revenue-yielding public sector. Our public sector is in a bad shape, but we must not wait till the gestation period is over to get some revenue from some of our important public sector industries. Why cannot we nationalise some of the existing profit-yielding industries like the oil industry, certain foreign tea plantations and others? Surely if we nationalise them, we at once get in our hands the sources of considerable revenue, and these monies could be utilised for nation-building purposes. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not know if you are aware that today we are allowing the foreign concerns of Britain, America and West Germany to remit from our country nearly Rs. 60 crores to Rs. 65 crores annually. We have reached a situation when the inflow of foreign capital in the private sector is much less than the outflow of profits, dividends, etc. from this country. That is happening at a time when our foreign debts have come to over Rs. 6000 crores, when it is necessary to declare a moratorium on foreign debts and to see that at least that part of it is not remitted. Today even according to the Budget papers we have to pay nearly Rs. 600 crores on interest and other obligations arising out of our foreign debt. Why should we do that? Our foreign receipts will be practically eaten up by these payments. That is why I say this matter should receive much attention by the Government. Even that has not been done.

I come to deficit financing, it is Rs. 225 crores. The problem is not of deficit financing. In a developing economy a

certain measure of deficit financing is permitted and I think even if the deficit financing had been of a higher order, it would not have done any harm, provided the Budget had taken other counter-vailing measures in the correct direction. Deficit financing in the context of a capitalist-oriented and monopolist-oriented Budget is one thing, deficit financing in the background of a Budget which seeks to curb the monopolists, which seeks to attain economic self-reliance, which seeks to promote the ideal of swadeshi, which seeks to remove income disparities, is an entirely different thing. Now that is not understood by the gentlemen who make the budget. Therefore, that is another point, I need not go into all details.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, our main criticism is that there should have been an attempt to bring about certain structural changes in the Budget. It was necessary to make qualitative changes in our approach to the Budget. It was necessary to make certain fundamental orientations in our Budget. The present Budget also shows the urgency of structural changes in our economy. Mr. Vice-Chairman, unless we make certain structural changes in our economy, it would not be possible to produce the kind of Budget which is needed for promoting a rapid, balanced economic development on the one hand and for rendering social justice to the people on the other. But at the same time the Budget should have before it the objective of helping the process of structural changes. Neither is here. It does not make structural changes in our economy. It does not seek to encourage and promote the fundamental structural changes in our economy which are so essential. That is why we have to invest money from the other sectors instead of seeing to it that a agriculture pays for itself, capital accumulations take place in the agricultural sector itself in order that those funds may be reinvested for the agricultural development and modern techniques. Here the question of land reform is of vital importance. Mr. Vice-Chairman, land reform must be carried through. The tillers of the soil must get the land and it is their inherent right today in the changed situation to get the land. Millions of our agricultural...

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI : You can speak tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No, no. you have to finish it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My Jan Sangh friend Mr. Bhandari, wants me to speak tomorrow. He is very fond of me.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI : Tight-rope walking he is doing.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What is tight-rope walking ?

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI : From the Opposition Benches, you are supporting the Budget.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, they are anxious to listen to you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What I am saying, is it tight-rope walking ? I must say then that my friend's mind is very loose at the moment. (*Time bell rings*) Tomorrow. A few minutes, more

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Take five minutes, with the approval of the House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : They must go. They are tired.

All right.

Now, it is not tight-rope walking, what I am saying. What I want to say is this. The trouble with you is that you allow politics to run away with your judgment. That is the position. As far as my Jana Sangh friends are concerned, I do not enter into a quarrel with them. They have their own ideology, their own approach to the economic programmes. They are naturally different from ours. Therefore, I say that structural changes are necessary. Today the concept of a mixed economy has proved bankrupt in the sense that we have understood it. It cannot be a justification for giving concessions to the monopolists or allowing them to retain their concessions and their preponderant position in our economy, while at the same time creating some public sector and offering some of the public sector to the monopolist class to be exploited in order to strengthen their own position.

I would therefore demand a reconsideration of this concept of mixed economy. I do maintain that within the framework of the traditional capitalist economy, mixed or otherwise, you cannot produce a Budget which would be acceptable to the people and which would be satisfactory

to them and would ensure the realisation of the objectives of economic independence, social well-being and other objectives that we have set before us from the point of view of the masses.

One or two words about politics.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI : This is a hybrid Budget.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My friend says 'Hybrid Budget'. My friend is in a hybrid company. As you know, the company he is in is certainly hybrid.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI : I can appreciate your company I do appreciate your company.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He says that he does appreciate my company. When he does not appreciate my company, tell me. He always appreciates me, company or no company.

Now, the political points...

AN HON. MEMBER : Even a bankrupt company.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Bankrupt company is the only company that you know. That is not the point.

Here, Mr. Vice-Chairman, before I conclude, national problems should also be tackled. Economic affairs cannot be separated from the political affairs of the country. Therefore, one or two submissions I would make before I sit down.

In the first place, I think the Government should pay attention to accept the demand of the Himachal Pradesh people for full-fledged Statehood; Himachal Pradesh should be given full-fledged Statehood. Manipur should be given full-fledged Statehood. And the existing boundary questions between the States, whether between Maharashtra and Mysore or between other States, should be settled on the basis of principles of linguistic contiguity, with the village as a unit, and that is how they should be settled. I think that principles should be allowed to take command of the situation rather than what the two Chief Ministers say or attempt to come to an understanding. Secondly, I am making this submission because this matter is before the country today. I think we should stick to the principle and see that things are settled according to the democratic principles. Somebody may be the loser, somebody

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

may be the gainer from the short-term point of view. But the country as a whole and the people of the States concerned will all be ultimately gainers.

Here I would like to bring to your notice another point that the Gurkha people in Darjeeling have been demanding again and again that the Nepali language should be included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. They have signed a memorandum and sent it to the Prime Minister. I think the Nepali language should be included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution just as we have done in the case of Sindhi. As you know, Sindhi was not included originally in the Eighth Schedule. But later on, we came to the conclusion that for national integration it was necessary to do so. In the case of the Nepali language, I would make the same suggestion.

And finally, I hope that whatever we do, we must keep in mind always our political objective that the rightist forces shall not be allowed to take power in the country because that will not be progress, that will be counter revolution, that will be the reversal of all that we have gained over the past years and it would be a death-knell to the hopes and aspirations of the future. Whatever we have to consider in the context of the Budget

discussion, we must keep in mind our fundamental question. Here is the rightist bloc in the country—the combined forces—to take power in order to reverse the country's economic interest in the interest of the monopoly here and the foreign monopolies. I think, whatever we may debate or discuss, we must not allow the rightists to take power. We must block their path and defeat their aim. And there I think that my friend, Mr. Sunder Singh Bhandari will never agree because he is an important element in the rightist conspiracy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : If the House approves....

SHRI RAJNARAIN : No, no. We are not prepared.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow. In the afternoon, the Prime Minister will reply.

The House then adjourned at eight minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 25th March, 1970.