

House has got to take a very direct and objective interest in the question of economy, and the House can never assert itself by mere speeches on Appropriation Bills and on other occasions. The House must take a direct interest in consultation with the Government and there is no known method for Parliament to take a direct interest except to invite statements from Ministers and then scrutinise those statements through a Committee, and the Committee should report to the House. If this procedure is adopted, not only will the House exercise control over expenditure and over Government but the discussions will be more concrete and will be well informed.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

##### THE FINANCE BILL, 1969

SECRETARY : Madam, I have to report to the House the following Message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha :—

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Finance Bill, 1969, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 6th May 1969.

The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution of India."

Madam, I lay the Bill on the Table. N

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

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifty-eight minutes past twelve of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) in the Chair.

#### THE APPROPRIATION (No.3) BILL, 1969 contd.

SHRI CHANL/RAMOULI JAGARLAMUD1 (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I take this opportunity to bring to the notice of the Government the sad plight of the tobacco growers in Andhra Pradesh. As you know, Sir, 90 per cent of the tobacco sold and exported to the foreign countries is produced in Andhra Pradesh. It fetches a foreign exchange of Rs. 40 crores; it brings to the Government a revenue of Rs. 170 crores by way of excise duty, Rs. 22 crores by way of additional duties and Rs. 4 crores by way of export duty. Altogether, it comes to about Rs. 200 crores. As far as revenue yielding is concerned, it stands third. The first is petroleum products; the second is jute and textiles and the third is tobacco. It is the third highest revenue to the Government of India. Still, the Government is treating the tobacco growers and the tobacco trade in a step-motherly fashion.

Tobacco is graded into two varieties. One is the high grade and the other is the low grade. When the weather is fair and when the rains are there at the proper time, usually 80 to 90 per cent of the crop can be classified as high grade and 20 to 10 per cent as low grade. Most of the foreign purchasers, especially from the United Kingdom and other European countries, buy high grade tobacco. Previously, when the USSR entered into the tobacco trade, they were purchasing the low grade. But for the last three years, they have also stopped purchasing low grade tobacco. So much so, a problem has now arisen as to how to dispose of this lower grade stuff. For the last three years, the tobacco traders are having with them low grade variety of tobacco worth Rs. 4 crores. You may say that Rs. 4 crores is a small amount as compared to the revenue yield to the Government of India; it may be a flea bite to the Government. But as far as the tobacco grower is concerned, it is a

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precious amount to him. He can hardly afford to lose any amount on this. You may also ask me: When for the last three years the tobacco grower is continuously losing, why should he still continue to grow this crop? As is usual, the farmer hopes for a better next year and he hopes to make good the loss sustained during the previous year. The same thing is happening here also.

Another point is that the question of the surplus tobacco has arisen due to the faulty policy of the Government of India also. Whenever there is a surplus of tobacco, and delegations of traders and growers meet them and representations are made, the Government will then reduce the minimum export prices. So much so, the foreign trader is taking advantage of this policy of the Government of India. So, when he comes at the beginning of the season to purchase this commodity, what does he do? He does not buy all his requirements; at the first instance, he purchases only a certain portion of his requirements thinking that at a later date the Government is bound to reduce the export prices further, and on account of that he can purchase tobacco at a much lower rate and make a large profit. Thus, valuable money is being lost by the growers on account of the faulty policy of the Government being pursued.

Another thing is this. Most of the tobacco manufacturers in India buy high grade tobacco for the manufacture of cigarettes. Government can solve this problem of low grade tobacco if they insist that the manufacturers of cigarettes should purchase at least a certain portion of low grade tobacco for the manufacture of cigarettes. You may complain that if we use low grade tobacco we may not get high quality cigarettes. But that is inevitable. During war time when American Virginia tobacco was not being imported into India, the manufacturers here were making only low grade type of cigarettes. People get used to them, and it is a matter

of habit. People who smoke Char-minar cigarettes which are sold the highest in the whole world, get used to them, and even if we offer them a better type of cigarettes they would refuse. It is only a question of habit. Therefore, even if you do not have high grade cigarettes manufactured in India, it does not matter. But the grower would be benefited by the Government's policy of insisting on the manufacturers of cigarettes that they should buy a certain quantity of low grade tobacco. If things continue in this fashion and if the Government does not come to the aid of the tobacco grower, he is bound to switch on to growing another ready-cash-yielding crop, though it may fetch a much lesser amount, because he cannot continuously stand to lose year after year.

Last time when a delegation of 60 merchants and traders came to Delhi and met the concerned Minister and officers and acquainted them with the sad plight of tobacco trade in Andhra Pradesh, they asked the Government to make the S.T.C. purchase the tobacco and dispose it of. The traders went to the extent of offering to the Government that they would take only half the minimum price fixed by the Government in the first instance and keep the tobacco in their own godowns, rent free, till the Government disposed of the whole stock so that the surplus stock might be cleared and they would be able to have some money to invest in the next year's crop. Even to this favourable offer of the trade the Government did not yield a bit, so much so, instead of two years' surplus, the trade is having three years' surplus stock with it now. After all, the stock lying with the traders and the growers is worth about Rs. 4 crores only. It is a flea bite to the Government. Usually, in other countries when minimum prices are fixed and there are surpluses even after that, the Government takes action. For example, in Brazil when coffee seeds become surplus the Government buys the whole stock and it either burns the surplus or throws it into the sea. The same thing also

happens in Australia when there is a surplus stock of wheat. It is either burnt or is thrown into the sea. Here if the Government can be persuaded to take over the stock of tobacco, it can at its leisure find buyers from foreign countries on a barter system or otherwise, and dispose of the stock. Or it does not matter even if it destroys this surplus. After all, it is going to cost them only Rs. 4 crores whereas the commodity yields a revenue of Rs. 200 odd crores to the Government. If this policy is not pursued, the growing of tobacco in Andhra Pradesh will certainly go down. Government cannot afford to lose the huge income which it is now gaining because of tobacco. Therefore, Government must come to the rescue of tobacco trade and pursue a policy immediately of purchasing the tobacco and helping the ryots.

Another thing which I would like to deal with is regarding the ad valorem duty on fertilisers.

The Government have been talking a lot about the 'Green Revolution'. They say that the farmer has turned the corner and in a few years' time we will be ourselves surplus in food-grains. They say that this is all due to the Government hybrid seeds, fertilisers, etc. and the technology given to the farmer to get higher yields. No doubt the Government has done a lot. But they forget that it is the farmer who has invested a lot of amount on the prices of fertilisers and has put in hard labour to get such bigger yields. The Government, instead of thanking the farmer for reducing the amount of foreign exchange spent on the import of foodgrains is now thinking of levying, by way of punishment, this duty.

This duty is no small matter. It comes to about Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 a bag, or about Rs. 10 per acre. It may not be so in other States but as far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned it is very much fertiliser-minded. People use one to two bags of fertilisers for their crops and get very good results. But on account of the high

cost of labour and other incidence the net profit they make is very little. Though the people who are not accustomed to agriculture and raising of food crops think of a lot of income or yield from agriculture, it is actually not so. Compared to other commodities the money the farmer gets by way of increase in foodgrains is, after all very little. Therefore, if you pursue the policy of fixing the ad valorem duty of 10 per cent, on fertilisers, it is bound to affect the grow-more-food campaign and the farmer would not dare to use fertilisers.

According to recent reports in newspapers there is shortage of fertilisers to the extent of 70 per cent, and there is likely to be more and more shortage. As every one knows, fertilisers are being sold in the black market. By paying the black-market price and the additional ad valorem duty of 10 per cent, the farmer will be put to a lot of hardship, and will not be able to make both ends meet. Therefore, it is imperative on the part of the Finance Minister not to think of levying this ad valorem duty on fertilisers. The Finance Minister thinks that by imposing this ad valorem duty, he gets about Rs. 27 crores of revenue. Sir, though the Finance Minister professes to be an agriculturist he does not know anything about agriculture. He does not know to what trouble the farmer is being put to by his levying this duty. He thinks that it may not affect the farmer. After all it is only Rs. 4 per bag, he says, which is not much according to him. It is not so. It is certainly a great hardship on the part of the farmer to pay for the fertiliser in view of this high cost.

There is another thing. The Finance Minister has now introduced wealth tax on land. I feel that this levy of wealth tax on land is dangerous. Who is going to fix the price of land? If it is to be left to the officials of the Income-Tax Department, they hardly know anything about land. Not only that, the price of land varies from village to village. If there is pressure on land the price will naturally go

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up. If there is no pressure, the prices may not rise so much though the land is actually much better and more fertile than the land in places where there is heavy pressure on it.

Then, Sir, we are already having a lot of trouble with the Income-Tax Department. It looks to me that the higher-ups in the Department fix a certain amount of quota, as is usually done, for the officers to collect, and the officers in their endeavour to please the higher officers will tax the people much more heavily. They do not believe in the accounts produced by the income-tax payer and they are levying very high taxes. If this wealth tax on land also comes to them, they will try to compete with one another. Each Circle will try to compete with the other and they will go on increasing the price of land, the land value.

Sir, I very much doubt whether the Central Government can levy wealth tax on land. Though the other day in the Lok Sabha the Attorney-General said that wealth tax on land could be levied, there is another argument from the other side also that the Central Government has no power to levy wealth tax on land. So this is going to be a disputed point and this may lead to a lot of litigation in courts and it will make people spend a lot of money. Even at this stage I request the Finance Minister to withdraw both the ad valorem duty on fertilisers and wealth tax on land.

DR. (MRS) MANGLADEVI TAL-WAR (Rajasthan) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to speak a few words on the Rajasthan Canal project. The vast potentialities of the Rajasthan Canal are by now widely known throughout the country. This year's devastating famine has further focussed the eyes of the Government and the people on this project and there are no two opinions that the Rajasthan Canal alone can meet the challenge of famine. It is also a fact that when completed this project will make an important contribution to meet the food shortage of the country. This year's, sad experience of famine

has further confirmed that the Rajasthan Canal alone can be a permanent bulwark against the regular inroads of famine which this part of the country has been facing and suffering from times immemorial. The Government of Rajasthan as well as the Government of India have spent hundreds of crores of rupees in fighting against famine, yet the people and the cattle wealth of this part of the country are still at the mercy of this demon of famine and the Rajasthan Canal is the only permanent solution.

With the above background and looking to its vital importance, the Rajasthan Canal should not be considered only a State project; it is very much a national project. The Rajasthan canal is one of the largest irrigation projects in the world. It is a mighty project which seeks in one gigantic effort to transform a vast tract of the great Indian desert into a prosperous, fully developed region humming with agriculture, industry and commerce.

The project envisages the construction of a Canal off-taking at Harike headworks (the confluence of the Sutlej and the Beas). The Canal runs as a feeder for a length of 134 miles, with the first 111 miles lying in the Punjab and Haryana. Irrigation from the canal commences from mile 134. The first project estimate for this canal was approved in the year 1957 for Rs. 66.46 crores. The project envisaged irrigation of a total area of 16.84 lakh acres out of which only 7.02 lakh acres were perennial. This estimate provided for lining of the Rajasthan feeder in the Punjab State territory only to prevent seepage of water and to reduce chances of water-logging there. The part of the feeder in Rajasthan State, the Rajasthan main canal and all off-taking channels were proposed to be unlined.

With the waters becoming due to India as a result of the Treaty and the construction of the Pong Dam on the Beas, the project was revised in the year 1963. According to the 'Revised Project, 1963', the whole of the

Rajasthan Feeder and the whole of the Rajasthan Main Canal were to be lined, while the distribution systems were to be unlined. This Revised Project provides irrigation facilities for a culturable commanded area of 36.86 lakh acres and would provide perennial irrigation facilities to an area of 28.75 lakh acres against an area of 16.84 lakh acres as proposed in the earlier project. The revised cost of the Rajasthan Canal Project according to the 1963 estimates was Rs. 139 crores. An additional sum of Rs. 45 crores was to be borne by this Canal as share of the cost of Madhopur Beas link, Harike Barrage and the Pong Dam.

The project was divided into two stages for administrative convenience. In Stage I, the Rajasthan Feeder, the Rajasthan Main Canal up to Mile 122 with all off-taking channels were proposed to be constructed, and the estimated cost of this Stage was Rs. 75 crores. In Stage II it was proposed to construct the Canal from Mile 122 to 292 with all off-taking channels and the estimated cost of this Stage was Rs. 64 crores. Stage I was proposed to be completed by 1968-69 and Stage II. by 1977-78.

Subsequent to the 1963 project, further improvements have been introduced in the project, and it has now been decided to line all the distribution systems of the Canal and thus increase the irrigated area by utilising the savings of losses of waters effected by this lining. It has also been decided to increase the irrigation intensity from 78 per cent to 110 percent on full development. On account of these important changes, the cost of the project according to the latest 1969 Estimates is likely to be as below:

(Rs. in crores)

|                                                      |     |
|------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Stage I of the Rajasthan Canal, i.e., up to Mile 122 | 92  |
| Stage II of the Canal                                | 85  |
| TOTAL                                                | 177 |

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Thus, as compared to the 1963 Estimates, the cost of the Rajasthan Canal has increased by Rs. 38 crores— increase of Rs. 24 crores is on account of lining of the distribution system and increasing of Rs. 14 crores is mainly on account of rise in the prices and cost of construction. But, Sir, if adequate funds are not provided and consequently completion of the Rajasthan Canal Project takes more than 20 years, the total cost would further increase, and in 20 years' time the increase in cost may go up by 100 per cent.

In addition, the project will be debited with the shares of the revised cost of the Pong Dam and other connected works amounting to Rs. 74 crores calculated on the basis of Rajasthan share at the rate of 53.2 per cent of the cost. The total investment would thus become Rs. 251 crores.

The works of Stage I are at present under construction. The total expenditure up to the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, i.e. 1965-66 was Rs. 42.5 crores, up to the end of 1967-68, Rs. 50.5 crores, and the likely expenditure up to the end of 1968-69 would be Rs. 57 crores. The up-to-date progress of works is as under :

1. Rajasthan Feeder (124 miles) has been completed.
2. Out of a total length of 292 miles of the Rajasthan Main Canal, the first 60 miles are complete. Work is in progress from Mile 60 to 82 on the Canal.
3. Distributaries are complete up to Khodan and works from Anup-garh Shakha to Suratgarh are under construction.

From the figures given earlier, Sir, it will be seen that the latest estimated cost of the Rajasthan Canal (excluding the share of cost of Pong Dam and other connected works in Punjab

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and Haryana) is Rs. 177 crores. The expenditure up to the end of the financial year 1968-69 will be Rs. 57 crores. A further sum of Rs. 120 crores is thus required to complete this mighty project.

Sir, a careful examination and analysis of the progress of work on the Rajasthan Canal Project would show that work on the Rajasthan Canal is considerably behind schedule. The main cause of this slow progress has been inadequate allocation of funds for this project. If the history of the allocation of funds to the Rajasthan Canal Project is traced, it makes out quite a gloomy picture. Although the work on this project was started as far back as 1958, by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, i.e., 1960-61, the work was still in a preliminary stage. During the Third Five-Year Plan, the Working Group of the Planning Commission recommended an allocation of Rs. 38 crores; but in the course of the Third Five-Year Plan considerable reductions were made while making actual allocations and ultimately only Rs. 29 crores was allotted for the project during the Third Plan. The position about allocation of funds for this project during the Fourth Plan is also equally gloomy.

As mentioned earlier, if the work of Rajasthan Canal is carried at the present slow speed, by the time it is completed, its total cost would definitely increase considerably and one can safely assess that the increased cost of the project in 20 to 25 years will be not less than Rs. 250 crores. In that case, and if the rate of allocation of funds remains the same, it may take even 40 years to complete this project.

Even by taking a period of 20 to 25 years for the completion of the Rajasthan Canal, the total burden of investment and interest charges roughly works out as under :—•

|                                                                                                           | (Rs. in crores) |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. If Rajasthan Canal is completed in another 20 to 25 years, its increased cost of construction would be | 250             |
| 2. Interest charges on the above increased cost                                                           | 200             |
| 3. Rajasthan share on the Pong Dam and allied works....                                                   | 74              |
| 4. Interest charges on the Rajasthan share in the Pong Dam                                                | 100             |
| TOTAL                                                                                                     | <u>624</u>      |

It is, therefore, necessary that the economic aspect of the project is examined carefully, and the best foreseeable solution would be that this project is completed as soon as possible so that the cost of the project does not increase further, the burden of interest charges is minimised, and with early completion, the project may start giving benefit much earlier and that may provide resources for early repayment of the loan and the interest charges.

The time-lag between the completion of the Pong Dam and the Rajasthan Canal Project would create serious difficulties in the utilisation of waters also. Unless the Rajasthan Canal is completed, Rajasthan will not be in a position to utilise its full share of waters stored in the Dam, although Rajasthan would have contributed its full share towards the cost. That would be an anomaly later on. The other likely consequence would also be that with the delayed completion of the Canal, part of Rajasthan's share of water stored in the Dam may for the time being be utilised by the States of Punjab and Haryana and would thereby develop additional irrigation at Rajasthan's cost. On completion of the Rajasthan Canal, there would be considerable difficulty in Rajasthan getting back its share of waters.

In this context, it is very relevant to mention that not only the Rajasthan Canal but even the other irrigation projects of Rajasthan State, viz., the Bhakra project and the Gang Canal have also not been getting their due

and full share. Frankly speaking, the interests of Rajasthan State have suffered all these years because the control of the Head-Works on the rivers Ravi, Beas and Sutlej, is with the Punjab Government, which in itself is an interested party. It is felt that several million acre feet of Rajasthan's share of water has not been given to this State during the last several years. The Rajasthan Government has been pressing for the last so many years that the control of the Head-Works should be taken over by the Government of India or by some independent authority. In fact, Sir, in one of the inter-State meetings held in the Ministry of Irrigation and Power in June, 1967, it was decided that the control of the Head-Works at Rupar, Harike and Ferozepore should be transferred to the General Manager, Bhakra Project, pending formation of the Bhakra Management Board, but these Head-Works are still under the control of the Punjab State Government.

It has also to be pointed out that the Rajasthan Canal runs parallel to the Indo-Pak border extending over a length of more than 250 miles. This is an uninhabited belt of India and is a vulnerable area. Even in the last Indo-Pakistan conflict there were stealthy Pakistani intrusions at several places. The area is so vast and the population so sparse that it is difficult to defend the area easily unless it is developed fully. This can be possible only if the Rajasthan Canal is taken to the farthest end possible. The construction of the Rajasthan Canal would thus provide a strong buffer for the country and it is very important to complete it as rapidly as possible.

Besides, the most important consideration to be kept in mind is that the country has to be made self-sufficient in food. The Rajasthan Canal alone can wipe out almost one-third of the country's deficit and therefore, it has to be given top priority.

Just one more point and I will have finished. Delay in the construction

of the Rajasthan Canal will cause heavy loss to the State and the country in agricultural production also. According to rough estimates, on full development the Rajasthan Canal is expected to give an additional annual agricultural production of nearly 30 lakh tons having an estimated value of Rs. 150 crores. If the Pong Dam is completed by June 1972 and the Rajasthan Canal is completed by 1973-74, we should expect to fully develop the Rajasthan Canal area in another 6 or 7 years, i.e. by the end of 1980. But if the construction of the Rajasthan Canal is completed in another 20 to 25 years, full development would be possible only by the first decade of the next century and in such a situation the loss to the country in agricultural production alone would be several thousand crores of rupees.

With these words, Sir, I support the Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1969.

**श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त (विहार):**

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी-अभी मैं यूरोप से आया हूँ और हिन्दुस्तान की अवस्था अपनी आँखों से देख आया हूँ कि कितनी अवहेलना और अपमान हम लोगों का वहाँ होता है क्योंकि हमारे देश की आर्थिक प्रगति बिल्कुल रुक गई है और उसके बढ़ने का कोई उपाय नहीं है। जापान की आर्थिक प्रगति साढ़े 17 फीसदी सालाना के हिसाब से हो रही है और वेस्ट जर्मनी तो दुनिया के अन्यतम मुल्कों में एक हो गया है। हिन्दुस्तान आज बुरी अवस्था में है। उसकी आबादी दो फीसदी बढ़ती है और उसकी आर्थिक प्रगति दो फीसदी भी नहीं होती है। यहाँ बड़ी-बड़ी बातें, ग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन की यानी खेती में तरक्की की बातें कही जाती हैं। लेकिन आज भी हिन्दुस्तान में जो 32 करोड़ एकड़ भूमि में खेती होती है उसमें समुचित सिंचाई तीन चार करोड़ एकड़ से ज्यादा भूमि में नहीं होती है। लोग बादल और आकाश पर अभी तक निर्भर हैं। ग्रीन वर्ष के बाद

[श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त]

भी आज यह हमारे देश की अवस्था है।

यह सरकार जो कर पर कर बढ़ाती जा रही है जो विकास के साधनों के नाम से तरह-तरह के नये-नये कर जो दुनिया में कहीं नहीं हैं उनको लगा रही है और इनकी हालत यह है कि छह हजार करोड़ रुपया इन्होंने प्रांतीय गवर्नमेंटों को कर्जा दे दिया है जिस का न ब्याज मिलने वाला है और न वह कर्ज अदा होने वाला है। अब सेंटर और स्टेट रिलेशंस के नाम पर वेस्ट बंगाल गवर्नमेंट की तरह नये-नये दानव खड़े हो गये हैं। वहां जो अतिरिक्त धनवान रहे हैं, वहां जो कैपिटल है उसका भी हास हो रहा है। वहां रोजाना घेराव होते हैं और रवीन्द्र सरोवर जैसे कांड होते हैं।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** रोजाना होते हैं।

**श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त :** मैं कलकत्ता में रहता हूं, रोजाना कलकत्ता आता जाता रहता हूं और वहां से रोजाना मेरे पास टेलीफोन भी आते रहते हैं। एक टी० एम० शाह गुजराती सज्जन हैं जो कि कोयले के बड़े भारी मचेंट हैं। उनका मकान राधा बजार स्ट्रीट पर है जिस का कल परसों ही घेराव हुआ। उन्होंने 14 आदमी श्री घर्मवीर के जमाने में निकाल दिये थे। वे वहां आये और घेराव कर दिया। उसमें पुलिस ने किया कुछ नहीं किया। उन्होंने होम मिनिस्टर को टेलीफोन किया और कोर्ट को भी टेलीफोन किया, मगर कुछ नहीं हुआ। अंत में जब उनका खाना पानी सब मुश्किल हो गया तो उन्होंने दो लाख रुपया दे कर के उन 14 आदमियों से समझौता किया। ये घटनाएं रोजाना वहां हो रही हैं। मैं भी वामपंथी हूं मगर वाम-मार्गी नहीं हूं। वर्कर्स के नाम

पर आज बहुत सी चीजें वहां हो रही हैं। अभी-अभी ज्योति बसु ने कहा है कि वहां वे रेशनलाइजेशन नहीं होने देंगे, वे वहां एफिशिएंसी नहीं होने देंगे, वे वहां कंप्यूटर नहीं लगने देंगे। हिन्दुस्तान तो बैसे ही पिछड़ा हुआ मुल्क है। यह तो बैलगाड़ी का मुल्क है। पंडित नेहरू इसको साइकिल का मुल्क कहते थे। दुनिया में आज बड़ी-बड़ी चीजें हो रही हैं। दुनिया के एयर पोर्ट आज बैसे ही हो गये हैं जैसे कि हमारा दिल्ली का रेलवे स्टेशन है या हौड़ा का रेलवे स्टेशन है क्योंकि वहां के एयर पोर्ट्स पर इसी तरह से यात्री होते हैं। इसलिये अगर हम पिछड़े रह गये और हमारा एक्सपोर्ट वगैरह कुछ नहीं होगा तो हम दुनिया में एक अलग मठभूमि की तरह पड़े रहेंगे। अभी दुनिया के फारेन मिनिस्ट्री के लोग, दुनिया की पोलिटिकल पार्टियों के लोग हम को एक इण्टरनेशनल स्लम की तरह से सोचते हैं जिस का कोई इलाज नहीं है। मैं वामपंथी होते हुये भी जब इस तरह का अन्याय देखता हूं तो मुझ को मालूम होता है कि हिन्दुस्तान की प्रगति को वाम और दक्षिण पंथी दोनों रोकने में लगे हुये हैं और दोनों अपने अपने स्वार्थी को इतना अतिरंजित किये हुये हैं कि कोई चीज यहां फंक्शन कर ही नहीं सकती।

इस गरीब हिन्दुस्तान में सब से बड़ा सबाल पूजा निर्माण का है और वह हिन्दुस्तान में रुक गया है। जब से मैं एक साल से आया हूं रोजाना मैं इसी पार्लियामेंट में देखता हूं कि कोई शो कर रहा है तो उस पर आक्रमण होता है और यह सरकार निष्क्रिय हो कर बैठी हुई है। यह खुद भी कहीं शो नहीं करती है। मुझे यूरोप में पता लगा कि स्टेट सेक्टर में जिस में 42 अरब रुपया सरकार का लगा हुआ है उसमें एक

ऐसी संस्था भी है जिस का नाम माइन्स ऐंड मिनरल्स कारपोरेशन है। जगह-जगह खानों में मँगनीज और और आयरन और इकट्ठा हो रहा है और माइनर लोग बेकार होते जा रहे हैं क्योंकि वह एक्सपोर्ट नहीं हो पा रहा है। उसके जो चेयरमैन बहल साहब हैं वे यूरोप की हवा खाते हैं, लेकिन उनको यह पता नहीं है कि मिनरल्स और मैटीरियल्स किस को बेंचें। वे छह-छह महीने का दौरा करते हैं और लाखों डालर फारेन एक्सचेंज का अपव्यय करते हैं और यहां छोटे-छोटे बेचारे खोदने वाले बेकार पड़े हुये हैं। यह हिन्दुस्तान की अवस्था है। मैं प्राइवेट सेक्टर का पक्ष नहीं लेता। लेकिन यह जो पब्लिक सेक्टर है यह तो हिन्दुस्तान के गले में एक तोप पड़ गई है और हिन्दुस्तान को मार कर के ही छोड़ेगी। प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहेब रोझाना एक दर्शन की व्याख्या करती हैं। पब्लिक सेक्टर का अगर कोई दर्शन है तो वह उसके नतीजों से साबित होगा। 42 अरब रुपया लगा कर के अगर 42 रुपया भी पैदा न हो तो ऐसे दर्शन से क्या लाभ है। वामपथ के नाम पर, सोशलिज्म के नाम पर, कम्युनिज्म के नाम पर आप लोगों को नष्ट करने पर तुले हुये हैं। आपने हिन्दुस्तान की आर्थिक अवस्था को बिल्कुल अधोपतन में डाल दिया है। आज हिन्दुस्तान सारी दुनिया में बदनाम है और उसका कोई इलाज नहीं है, उसका कोई उपाय नहीं है। आज हिन्दुस्तान को लोगों ने एड देना बन्द कर दिया है क्योंकि वे समझते हैं कि कुएं में पैसा डालना है। आज यह हालत है।

हमारे यहां एक स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन है जो जूतों को रूस वगैरह को एक्सपोर्ट करता है। यहां पर जो जूते बेचते हैं उनसे कारपोरेशन के लोग दो

रुपये इंस्पेक्शन फीस की घूस मांगते हैं और पांच रुपये उनसे और मांगते हैं। यह रोजाना का किस्सा है। स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन स्केयर्स गुड्स इम्पोर्ट करता है और जिन-जिन को ये कोटा देते हैं उनसे ये लोग घूस खाते हैं तब किसी को कोटा अलाट होता है।

यह हिन्दुस्तान के पब्लिक सेक्टर की हालत है। इसको चोरी का सेक्टर कहें तो ठीक होगा। रूमानिया में रूस ने भिलाई के समान ही एक लोहे का कारखाना बना कर दिया था। उस कारखाने में सिर्फ चार-पांच हजार मजदूर काम करते हैं जबकि भिलाई में 25 हजार काम करते हैं। जापान यहां से आइरन ओर ले जाता है, बाहर से कोयला ले जाता है और साढ़े 7 करोड़ टन लोहा बना कर दुनिया में अमरीका और रूस के बाद वह तीसरे दर्जे पर आ गया है और उसने 2 करोड़ टन लोहा हमारे सरकारी कारखानों के दो-तिहाई दाम पर बेच दिया है। उसका एक्सपोर्ट बढ़ रहा है।

यहां पर हम रोजाना स्माल कार, पीपुल्स कार की बातें सुनते हैं, बड़ी बड़ी बातें होती हैं, बड़े-बड़े लोग इस सदन में और लोकसभा के सदन में लम्बी लम्बी तकरीरें करते हैं, लेकिन उनको पता होना चाहिए कि रूस भी आज फ्रिएट और रेनो को बुला रहा है और कार बनाने का काम उनको दे रहा है। अमरीका में 80 लाख कार का प्रोडक्शन है, जापान में 44 लाख कार का प्रोडक्शन है, जापान ने 7 लाख कारों का इस साल एक्सपोर्ट किया है जबकि यहां के हिन्दुस्तान मोटर्स के बारे में जो जनरल मोटर्स के रोस साहब आए थे उन्होंने कहा था कि यह तो काटेज इंडस्ट्री है, हमारे यहां रोजाना 30 हजार कारें बनती हैं जितनी कि यहां साल भर में

[श्री बालकृष्ण गूप्ता]

बनती हैं। हम ऐसा कारखाना नहीं बनाते जहां दो लाख कारों से कम सालाना बनती हों। उन्होंने कहा कि जनरल मोटर्स का कहीं कोई ऐसा कारखाना नहीं जहां सालाना दो लाख से कम कारें बनती हों क्यों कि कम कारें बनेंगी तो ज्यादा खर्च आएगा और पसाएगा नहीं। मैं अभी स्विटजरलैंड गया था। वहां हर साल 4 लाख कारें बिकती हैं लेकिन उन्होंने कोई कारखाना नहीं लगाया। वे दूसरी चीजें बनाते हैं और हर मुल्क की मोटरें सस्ते में खरीदते हैं। यहां की मोटरों का दाम 20-20, 25-25 हजार है और रोजाना विज्ञापन निकलता है कि और दाम बढ़ने चाहिए। योरोप में अच्छी मोटर दस-बारह हजार की उपलब्ध है। मैंने हिन्दुस्तान मोटर्स के लोगों से पूछा कि यह कैसे है तो उन्होंने कहा कि हर मोटरकार के पीछे 6 हजार सरकारी कर है। विकास के नाम से इतना कर लगा कर एक ऐसी नीकरशाही की रचना कर डाली है जो सारे हिन्दुस्तान को ऊपर से नीचे तक, मंत्री से चौकीदार तक लूट में फांसे हुए हैं और हमारे देश को अधोगति में पहुँचा दिया है।

मैं यूगोस्लाविया गया था। वहां टीटो ने हर फार्म को फ्री कर दिया है, हर एन्टरप्राइज को फ्री कर दिया है और फेडरल एम्प्लॉइज की संख्या घटा कर 8 हजार कर दी है। हमारे यहां 80 लाख, 90 लाख या एक करोड़ हैं। एक-एक आफिस में बीस-बीस आदमी बैठे हैं और योरोप में जो एक लड़की काम करती है वह भी नहीं करते। जब तक यह काम की फिलोसोफी बदली नहीं जायगी, जब तक एफीशिएन्सी और रेशनलाइजेशन को नहीं पकड़ा जायगा, जब तक ठीक तरह से काम नहीं किया जायगा, तब तक कोई प्रगति नहीं हो सकती।

हमारे यहां प्राफिट करने वाले को प्राफिटियर कहते हैं। टीटो कहता है कि जो चीज प्राफिट नहीं करती उसको बन्द कर दो या वहां जो आदमी है उनकी वेजेज काट डालो नहीं तो वे अपने आप कट जायेंगी। वह 10 परसेंट ब्याज लेता है, 10 परसेंट डिप्रिसिएशन के लिए लेता है, 20 परसेंट डेवलपमेंट के लिए रखता है और बाद में जो बचता है उसके लिए कहता है बाँट लो। वहां मैनेजर और वर्कर की तनख्वाह में 1 और 6 या 7 का अन्तर है। जो सम्पन्न देश हैं उनमें समानता आई है। जब तक यह देश दरिद्र रहेगा, कुछ ताकतवर लोग, कुछ शक्तिशाली लोग सबको लूटते रहेंगे और अपना स्टैंडर्ड बढ़ाते रहेंगे चाहे सरकार के माध्यम से, चाहे प्राइवेट बिजनेस के माध्यम से और बाकी 90-95 फीसदी लोग एक रुपया, आठ आने में आधा पेट और नंगे रहकर झुग्गी-झोपड़ी में अपना जीवन व्यतीत करते रहेंगे।

जो अमरीका का रोमनी आया था, अरबन हाउसिंग डेवलपमेंट का मिनिस्टर, उसको हमारे यहां से कहा गया कि हमको कई करोड़ हाउसेज की जरूरत है। चाहे वह मातम मनाने आया हो, चाहे वह जाकिर हुसैन को दफनाने के मिलसिले में शिष्टाचार के नाते आया हो, उससे इस तरह की अरदास करते हो स्वतंत्रता आने के 20-25 वर्ष पश्चात जबकि तुम एक पार्टी की सत्ता लिए बैठे रहे हो, तुम लोगों को शर्म नहीं आती? तुमने पब्लिक सेक्टर को बिगाड़ कर सोशललिज्म को भी बदनाम कर डाला। यह हिन्दुस्तान का हाल है, यह हिन्दुस्तान को दशा है। हर फारेनर, जो जरा सा भी अखबार पढ़ता है, जो जरा सा भी इस देश की हालत को जानता है उसने इस देश को राइट आफ कर दिया है। इतनी बड़ी शोबी बंधारने के बाद, फारेन पालिसी

की इतनी बड़ी डींगें हांकने के बाद इस देश की कहीं कोई कद्र नहीं है, कहीं कोई पूछ नहीं है।

मैंने आस्ट्रिया के सोशलिस्टों से बात की, जर्मनी के सोशलिस्टों से बात की, ब्रिटेन के सोशलिस्टों से बात की। उन्होंने कहा कि हम लोग नेशनलाइजेशन को नहीं चाहते क्योंकि हमको दुनिया में कम्पीट करना है, दुनिया में अपनी चीजों की साख बनाए रखनी है, अपनी करेन्सी को मजबूत करना है। जब मैं विद्यार्थी जीवन में था तब भारत की करेन्सी कैरो तक चलती थी। आज यह हालत है कि भारत की करेन्सी का हर जगह अपमान है। उस पर 40-45 परसेंट डिप्रिजिएशन है। आफिशियल रेट 18 रुपया पाउण्ड है लेकिन 25-26 रुपया में पाउण्ड नहीं मिलता। यह हालत है, यह दुर्दशा है। मोरारजी भाई ने अपने कमीनेपन के कारण और कांग्रेस की पालिसी के कारण ऐसे प्रतिबन्ध लगा कर इस देश को ऐसा कर दिया है कि यहां कोई टूरिस्ट भी नहीं आता।

**वित्त मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया):** उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी सदस्य महोदय ने 'कमीनेपन' बर्ड को यूज किया है, क्या वह पार्लियामेंटरी है?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI):** Kindly do not use unparliamentary language.

**SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore):** He did not say 'mean'. He said 'meanness'.

**श्री शीलमद्र याजी:** इनको तमीज नाम की चीज आती नहीं है। (Interruption).

**श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त:** हमको पता है कैसी कमीनी हरकतें यह सरकार कर रही है।

यूगोस्लाविया ने बीसा हटा दिया है, हमारी सरकार न अपना बीसा हटाती है, न उनको हटाने देती है। जगह जगह देशों ने दुनिया में अपना बीसा हटा लिया है। वहां डाई करोड़ टूरिस्ट आते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान में लाख-दो लाख आते हैं। जगह जगह प्रतिबन्ध लगाए हुए हैं, जगह-जगह तलाशी होती है। फिर भी हिन्दुस्तान में जितनी स्मगलिंग हो रही है उतनी दुनिया में कहीं नहीं होती। दुनिया में और जगह जहाजों पर जहाज आते हैं और एक मिनट में क्लियर हो जाते हैं और कस्टम इन्स्पेक्शन होने के बाद लोगों को बाहर कर दिया जाता है। यहां पर जब कोई आता है तो जैसे पुलिस के लोग किसी ग्रामीण चोर को पकड़ कर उसकी तलाशी लेते हैं उस तरह से तलाशी ली जाती है। क्या इस देश को बना डाला है? यूगोस्लाविया, हंगरी, रूमानिया आदि टूरिस्टों को इनवाइट करते हैं। जगरेव में हिल्टन होटल खड़ा हो गया है। उनको न फारेन केपीटल से डर लगता है, न इन्टरनल केपीटल से डर लगता है। यहां कदम कदम पर हर व्यापारी को बदनाम करते हैं, बिजनेसमेन को सन्देह की नजर से देखते हैं। एक-एक लाइसेंस को लेने में एक एक बरस लग जाता है। तब बिड़ला, टाटा जैसे लोग ही लाइसेंस निकलवा पाते हैं। इस देश की क्या उन्नति होगी जहां नीचे से ऊपर तक जगह जगह खाइयां खुदी हुई हैं। और इन खाइयों को पार करने में साधारण नागरिक को बड़ी दिक्कत होती है। एक खाई अभी वेस्ट बंगाल में खुद रही है, जहां चारों ओर लोगों को भार रहे है, कहीं बम गिर रहे हैं, कहीं घिराव हो रहा है,

[श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त]

कहीं ट्रेड यूनियनों को उकसाया जा रहा है (Interruption) हम समाजवादी दल के सदस्य हैं, किसी कम्युनिज्म के साथ नहीं बंधे हैं और न ही हम कम्युनिस्टों के विरोधी हैं।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : आप चू-चू का मुरब्बा है।

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त : हम आपके प्रधान मंत्री की तरह नहीं हैं जो कभी कोसीगिन का आश्रय लेती हैं और कभी ज्योति बसु से हाथ मिलाती हैं और अब कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी से दोस्ती करके हमेशा के लिए प्राइम मिनिस्टर बना रहना चाहती हैं। हम लोग इस देश के हित की रक्षा के लिए खड़े हैं, अपने हितों के लिए नहीं लड़ रहे हैं। (Interruption) हिन्दुस्तान की हालत क्या हो गई है? मिक्स्ट इकानामी के नाम पर न प्राइवेट सेक्टर को बढ़ने देते हैं और न पब्लिक सेक्टर में जो रुपया लगा है उसका ही फायदा हो पाता है।

रांची में जो हैवी इंजीनियरिंग कारखाना बना है उस की पूरी कैपेसिटी कभी भी यूटिलाइज नहीं होने की और उस में जो गड़बड़ मची हुई है, दुर्गापुर में जो गड़बड़ मची हुई है उस के कारण कभी काम नहीं हो पाता। वहां के ब्लास्ट फर्नेस बर्बाद होते जा रहे हैं जब कि देश में कमी है। लोहे के कारखाने यहां लोग बनाने नहीं देते। स्टेनलेस स्टील दस हजार रुपए टन में नेपाल में आता है और उस के बर्तन स्मगल हो कर यहां चार्लस हजार रुपये टन में बिकते हैं कलकत्ता, बंबई और दिल्ली में और हमारे भगत साहब जा कर हस्ताक्षर कर आते हैं कि पहले के नेपाल के कारखानों का बना माल यहां आता जाता रहेगा। इस तरह की चीजें हो रही हैं और हमारे यहां स्टेनलेस स्टील का एक भी

कारखाना नहीं है। पीतल और तांबे के बर्तन अब लोगों को पसंद नहीं हैं, लेकिन इस पर भी उस का कोई कारखाना आज तक नहीं बन सका। तमाम तरह की बातें होती हैं पब्लिक सेक्टर में, लेकिन इस एलाय को बना नहीं पाते और प्राइवेट सेक्टर को आप इसे देते नहीं। यह किस तरह की दुविधा में देश को डाल दिया है। यह देख कर हम को निराशा होती है। जर्मनी में भी बड़े बड़े सोशलिस्ट हैं और गवर्नमेंट में आते हैं। विलायत में भी सोशलिस्ट हैं, उन की सरकार हेराल्ड विल्सन के नेतृत्व में बनी हुई है, स्कैंडिनेविया में भी सोशलिस्ट हैं, स्वीडन और डेनमार्क के सोशलिस्ट मुझ से मिले और उन्होंने कहा कि हम अपने व्यापार में कभी बाधा नहीं डालते। हम लोग कोशिश करते हैं कि हमारे फर्म दुनिया पर छा जायें। आज अमरीका की आयल कंपनियां सारी अरब दुनिया पर छापी हुयी हैं। अल्जीरिया, लीबिया, कुवैत, किसी का काम उन के बिना नहीं चलता। हमारे यहां जिस आयल एंड नेचुरल गैस कमीशन की इतनी गायारें गायी जाती हैं, किसी ने उस को वहां बुलाया, किसी की उन्होंने मदद की। कोई उन को इमोनिया देना चाहता था, उस के लिये शाह ईरान यहां आये, लेकिन आप का मीठापुर प्रोजेक्ट खटाई में पड़ा हुआ है। उस के लिये आप का दिमाग साफ नहीं है और न होने वाला है। जहां घूसखोरों की जमात जगह जगह बैठा दी गयी हो, वहां क्या सफाई होगी, क्या शुद्ध होगा, क्या पवित्र होगा। पब्लिक सेक्टर का रात-दिन गुणगान गायेंगे और उस के अंदर एक दर्शन और एक फिलासफी निकालेंगे यह देख कर हम दंग रह जाते हैं। आर्थिक मामलों में सही फिलासफी वही है जो हमारे देश को संपन्न बनाये, समृद्ध बनाये और देश को शक्तिशाली

बनाये। तुम ने देश को बेवकूफ, बदजाहिल, नंगा, भूखा, भिखारी और बिल्कुल बेकार बना डाला है। आज देश के छात्र बेकारी की अवस्था में घूम रहे हैं और जगह जगह वामपंथी पार्टियों के साथ मिल कर तरह तरह की तबाही करने पर तुले हुए हैं। क्या तुम कर रहे हो! कहां तुम्हारे साइंटिफिक रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूशन्स हैं! कहां तुम्हारा ट्राम्बे है! दुनिया के सामने तुम कहां हो! रिसर्च पर करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करते हो लेकिन उस में से कुछ भी नहीं निकलता। इधर उधर के रिश्तेदार और फेवरिट्स एप्वाइंट कर दिये जाते हैं और वे योरोप के मुल्कों के दौरे पर जाते हैं और योरोप के मुल्कों ने जो 50 वर्ष पहले किया वही बातें वे दोहराते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान के स्कूलों में, कालेजों में जो पढ़ाई होती है वह 50 वर्ष पुरानी है और यहां के मेम्बर भी जो पढ़ कर आते हैं वह 50 वर्ष पुरानी बातें करते रहते हैं। आज कम्युनिज्म भी अपना रूप बदल रहा है। प्राफिटैबिलिटी का क्राइटेरिया हर जगह लाया जा रहा है। एफीशियेन्सी की कील उन के भी दिमाग में घुस गयी है और वे कास्ट कांशस हो रहे हैं कि लागत क्या है और किस चीज का क्या दाम पड़ता है, इस चीज की ओर लोग अग्रेसर हो रहे हैं। लेकिन यहां किसी को कुछ ज्ञान नहीं, किसी को कुछ भान नहीं। इस देश को गरीब और तबाह कर के तुम ने इन 22 वर्षों में ऐसी जगह ढकेल दिया है कि तुम्हारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर को ज्योति बसु के सामने सर नवाना पड़ता है और बंगाल को ऐसे देखा जाता है जैसे वह कोई विदेश हो। तेलवाडी में जो कांड हुआ उस में हिन्दुस्तान के, उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के वर्कर्स के खिलाफ मजदूरों को भड़का कर ज्योति बसु ने भयंकर कांड करवाया है। यह सब हिन्दुस्तान में हो रहा है और जो

शिवा जी के अवतार समझे जाते हैं वह चक्काण साहब चुपचाप बिल्कुल शान्त बैठे हुए हैं। जब कोई छोटी मोटी चीज कहीं होती है तो वह झगड़ा शंभट करने को तैयार रहते हैं। बड़े बड़े कानून यहां ले कर आते हैं। कभी वांडर सेक्योरिटी फोर्स का कानून ले कर आते हैं, कभी सेंद्रल रिजर्व पुलिस का कानून ले कर आते हैं और कभी किसी और का, लेकिन अभी काशीपुर की उन्हीं की कारतूसों की फैक्टरी में, आर्डिनेंस फैक्टरी में जो कांड हुआ उस की इक्वायरी कराने की हिम्मत नहीं करते हैं। यह सब चीजें देश में राजनीतिक अव्यवस्था के कारण हो गयी हैं और कांग्रेस पार्टी में दम नहीं रह गया है कि वह इस देश की गद्दी पर बैठ कर भी इस के सूत्रों को समझाले, इस को रोके और फिर इस को उन्नति के पथ पर ले जावे। मैं जब देखता हूं कि चारों ओर क्या हो रहा है तो मुझे दुख होता है। मैं वाम मार्गी नहीं, वाम पंथी हूं। मैं गरीबों की गरीबी मिटाना चाहता हूं, बेकारों की बेकारी मिटाना चाहता हूं। आप देखें कि बेकारी किन लोगों ने मिटायी है। बेकारी जापान ने मिटायी है, जर्मनी ने मिटायी है। लंदन में हर दूकान के आगे लिखा है: शाप गल्स वान्टेड, सेल्स असिस्टेंट वान्टेड, टाइपिस्ट वान्टेड। वहां लेबर शॉर्टेज है। चार परसेंट अनइम्प्लायमेंट है। जर्मनी में 20 लाख लोग बाहर के काम कर रहे हैं। ये तुर्की के लोग हैं, ग्रीस के लोग हैं, स्पेन के लोग हैं, पुर्तगाल के लोग हैं, युगोस्लाविया के लोग हैं, इटली के लोग हैं और यहां हमारा हिन्दुस्तानी इल्लिगल इमीग्रेंट बन कर जगह जगह चक्कर काट रहा है। न उस को पास पोर्ट मिलता है, न उस को सर्टिफिकेट मिलती है, न उसको कोई सुविधा मिलती है और न सरकार का प्रोटेक्शन मिलता है। आप लोग

(श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त)

अपनी बात ऐसे ही कहते रहेंगे। इसी तरह कह कह कर आप ने इस देश की अधोगति की है, इस को मिट्टी में मिला दिया है और इस के बाद भी आप सेटिस्फाइड हैं, बैठे हुए हैं, संतुष्ट हैं क्योंकि आप को कोई रास्ता दिखायी नहीं देता। आप लोगों को भूलावे में डाल कर कभी ग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन की और कभी कुछ और बातें करते रहते हैं लेकिन आप के लिये अब कोई रास्ता नहीं बचा है। आप समाप्त अवस्था में हैं। दूसरों को रास्ता बताने की आप में सामर्थ्य नहीं है।

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, during the last few months it has become fashionable to talk of the green revolution, and the Government takes a certain amount of pride in what is supposed to be the green revolution. But there has in fact been no green revolution in the country. It is correct that last year, in 1967-68 we had a record production of foodgrains. But the fact remains that the current year's production is not expected to be of that level.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh) : It was expected to be five to six million tonnes more.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : It is now not expected to be equal to that of the last year, and an additional fact is that PL 480 foodgrains continue to be imported into this country. Only recently the Government has entered into another PL 480 Agreement to continue imports for a number of years. So it is obvious that the Government itself is not confident of the success of what is called the green revolution. It continues to import, it continues to regulate the flow of foodgrains between different parts of the country. Agriculture in India remains a low-yielding and uncertain vocation. There is so much talk of the high-yielding varieties of seeds, but the fact is that the high-yielding varieties of seeds can be used only in fields which are amply supplied with fertilisers and water.

3 P.M.

Only a minority of our agriculturists are able to take advantage of high-yielding variety of seeds and only less than 20 per cent of land is irrigated. Eighty per cent of our cultivable land is still rain-fed. How can we talk of a green revolution or how can we talk of achievements in the field of agriculture as long as 80 per cent of our cultivable land depends on uncertain rains? Neither chemical fertilisers nor high-yielding varieties of seeds are available to those who cultivate the 80 per cent of rain-fed land. What has happened is only this that the better-off peasants, agriculturists who have well-irrigated land and their own resources to put in fertilisers and other inputs have benefited from the introduction of chemical fertilisers and high-yielding varieties of seeds. What is called the green revolution is in fact an unfinished revolution and the need is to evolve new strains which will be suitable for the rest of our cultivable land. The need is to arrange for more irrigation; the need is to make credit and inputs available to the poorer sections of the peasantry. That is not being done. The agricultural strategy evolved during the last few years has escaped more than 80 per cent of our agriculturists and 80 per cent of our land. Therefore I support the demand made in the country that there should be an Agricultural Commission to look into the whole agricultural strategy and evolve an agricultural policy which will benefit the poorer sections of the cultivator as the present strategy has helped only the richer sections of the cultivators.

In this connection, Sir, I cannot but take note of what the Public Accounts Committee has recently suggested. The Public Accounts Committee appears to be dominated by profit motive. They have recommended the winding up of the famous Surat-garh State Farm because according to the Public Accounts Committee it is not profitable. I am sure the Government will not accept this recommendation of the Public Accounts Committee. We must remember that 'the Suratgaxh Farm was developed

on waste land, land which was not found cultivable by any cultivator. No private cultivator, no individual agriculturist would have developed that land. While the Suratgarh farm may not have yielded profits, it has resulted in a vast stretch of barren land being made cultivable and good varieties of seeds and other foodgrains are produced there. I am sure the Government will not accept this irrational recommendation of the public Accounts Committee that the State Farm Should be wound up.

There is, however, a welcome proposal for the Government to set up a State Farms Corporation for running the present State Farms and others that may be set up. These State Farms should be utilised to produce good quality seeds and of course new strains suitable for dry land should also be evolved. We must remember that a major role in our agriculture and our green revolution will have to be played by the small farmer and unless we evolve methods to help the small farmer the so-called green revolution will remain an unfinished revolution which has touched only the fringe of our agriculture.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Has the revolution begun at all ?

SHRI ARJUN AROHA: Well, it has begun slightly. Improvements have begun. Some people call it a revolution. You don't like the word 'revolution' I know.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : It is red revolution all over. There is nothing green about it.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : Mr. Dahyabhai Patel sees everything red.

I think the Food Zones should be scrapped and the whole country should be made one big food zone. But while the Food Zones should be scrapped the middle men who get most of the profits of the trade in foodgrains should also be eliminated. The Food Corporation of India should procure much more than what it does and the

State Governments should be persuaded to develop their own agencies for procurement because the benefits of the growth in agriculture, growth in yield, are not going to the farmer. They are being cornered by the middle men. Unless the State Governments and the FCI take procurement in their hands this will continue.

Coming from agriculture to industry, Sir, I find every day one comes across instances of the industrial policy resolution being violated either by the Government or by the agencies set up by the Government. To give one example, the National Shipping Board has recently appointed an Expert Committee for examination of the proposal for a shipyard in the private sector in Gujarat. This is a proposal that Mr. Somani of CACO fame submitted. The National Shipping Board appointed by the Government in violation of the industrial policy resolution set up an experts committee to examine this proposal. I am not at all against a shipyard being established in Gujarat. I personally feel a lot has to be done to strengthen our mercantile shipping.

The Visakhapatnam shipyard must be expanded. Work on the Cochin shipyard must be expedited and, if necessary, a third shipyard must be set up in Gujarat, but why deviate from the accepted policy? The Industrial Policy Resolution reserves shipbuilding for the public sector. How, a Government-appointed Chairman, a Government-appointed Board could examine the proposal submitted by a private sector industrialist, who has earned an unenviable reputation in the case of the Cement Allocation and Co-ordination Organisation. The scandal was exposed in this House in 1967 by Mr. Harish Chandra Mathur, whom we all miss. Such an industrialist is being preferred and his proposals are being examined. I again say that shipbuilding, according to the Industrial Policy Resolution, is reserved for the public sector and it should remain in the public sector.

The Minister of Industrial Development last month announced in the other House his intention to remove all controls over the price and distribution of cement from next year. I feel that this is also unjustified. When cement was partially decontrolled, its price went up by Rs. 8 per tonne. The industry threatens and it has announced that when decontrol comes, prices will go up by much more than Rs. 8 per tonne. Where are we leading our economy to? As compared to August, 1939, the pre-war month, the cost of living is already in the neighbourhood of 825. In my city of Kanpur, for example, the working-class cost of living index is 826 for last month, as compared to 100 in August 1939. And yet whosoever comes with a proposal to increase prices finds willing response in the Government. In the case of cement the industrialists came forward with the proposal that they want to increase the price. The Government did not tell them to stick to the present prices which have been there only for about two years. They say that next year they will decontrol. They have told the industry, we will wash our hands off and you can increase the price.

Similar appears to be the case with the automobile industry. The automobile industry in this country has become famous for supplying the people with an ever-deteriorating quality of cars at ever-increasing prices. There also the Government has not put its foot down firmly, but is examining the proposal. Of course, the Chairman has promised a discussion on this issue and I will not take more time on this just now, but I feel that the policy of progressive decontrol, which the Government seems to follow, is a misdirected and misguided one. It will only lead to an increase in the cost of living and increase in the price of everything. Prices must be stabilised, if they cannot be brought down and by sanctioning a price increase or by allowing the industry to increase prices, prices will neither be stabilised nor will they be brought down.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIAM : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I wish to confine my remarks, during this discussion, to the problem of unemployment. The spectre of unemployment is haunting every youth in the country. It is not only the young people who come freshly into the labour market, who are threatened by this, but also people who are already employed in different occupations. The factory worker, the office employee in banks, railways, in Government and commercial establishments, everyone is threatened. Engineers, doctors and technicians are also threatened by unemployment. Even though it is said that our education is not going ahead in a big way, a number of trained teachers are affected. In fact, every section of our people today is threatened by this scourge and every household in the country today is affected by it. Every village, every nook and corner of the country is affected by the gloomy prospects looming before them. Let us look, at a few facts.

According to the original draft outline of the Fourth Five Year Plan, unemployment at the end of the Second Five Year Plan stood at 7 million. It was estimated that when the Third Plan was completed, the unemployment would have risen to about ten million. However, the Directorate General of Employment and Training has now estimated that the figure of unemployment would have been over 13 million and under-employment would affect over a hundred million people at the end of 1968. According to the Planning Commission, the figure of under-employment will reach the stupendous figure of 20.8 million at the end of the current Fourth Five Year Plan. The Directorate General of Employment is more candid. They have estimated that by the year 1978 the number of fully unemployed will reach the frightening figure of 40 million and the under-employed will be over a hundred million. This is the frightening picture that we get. Now, let us have a look at the people who are

supposed to be employed. The problem of urban unemployment and under-employment is more acute than what is suggested in these figures. According to the NSS in 1963-64 the number of employed people working less than 42 hours a week was considerable and exceeded 25 per cent in Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Kerala, Orissa, Assam, Manipur and Tripura. In fact, as much as 24 per cent in Manipur and 20 per cent in Orissa and the Southern States worked for only 28 hours a week. Of these nearly ten per cent in Manipur, 7 per cent in Madras and 5 per cent in Kerala has worked for less than 14 hours a week. They may be regarded as actually unemployed, though they are categorised as employed. The same is the case with rural employment too. The number of employed people working for 42 hours or less per week is over 30 per cent in all States, except Punjab, Rajasthan and U.P. In fact as many as 24 per cent in Kerala and 12 to 18 per cent in other States, excepting possibly U.P. and Assam, work for only 28 hours or less a week. In Kerala about 11 per cent of the so-called employed rural population get work for less than 14 hours a week, and hence these also can be regarded as unemployed.

While this is the general picture of this awful tragedy, let us have a look at the specific areas of malignancy. Literacy in our country is quite limited. Only about 25 per cent of our population are supposed to be literate. It is therefore possible to think that at least educated people will have avenues of employment, that a few of them who can read and write, who can teach or do such jobs, will have a premium for their work. But what is the position? The position is that actually the number of educated unemployed has been rising year by year. According to the statistics supplied by the Ministry of Labour and Employment in their report, the educated unemployed on the live register of Employment Exchanges rose from 1.63 lakhs in 1953 to 13.09 lakhs at the end of December

1968. Of these 8.10 lakhs were matriculates; 3.24 lakhs were under-graduates and 1.75 lakhs were graduates and post-graduates. We often hear of the technological revolution taking place in the country, that the need for engineers, technicians and all these people is there, that we are on the threshold of the take-off period. It is therefore possible to think that at least qualified engineers, technicians, highly qualified technologists, etc., will not be unemployed. But what are the facts? In fact if our country was developing properly and if our economy was properly planned, these people should have fetched blackmarket prices; but today there is a slump in employment even for qualified engineers. What are the figures? There are 83,000 engineers, that is both diploma-holders and graduates, roaming about India without any ostensible means of livelihood, and the number of diploma-holding technicians and trained craftsmen who are wasting their time reading "What the Stars Foretell" are legion. We are a patriotic people. We gave the country the slogan "jai jawan jai kisan". We praised the jawans who went into service, sacrificed their lives, limbs, etc., for the defence of the country. What is happening to the ex-servicemen? What is happening to the young people who have put in four or five years of service in the Army to defend the country and who have come back for civil employment? Most of them are in the prime of their youth. They deserve better treatment. But how do we treat these young people? The report of the Ministry of Labour says that the number of ex-servicemen on the live register has increased from 44,875 in December 1967 to 47,737 at the end of December 1968. It obviously means that all the ballyhoo which we made about these jawans has not got any sincerity about it, and the only thing is that these poor people have not been defending our way of life but only the way of death.

Again, take the case of women. The number of women applicants on

[Shri K. P. Subramania Menon] the live register rose from 3.06 lakhs in December 1967 to 3.58 lakhs in December 1968, an increase of 52,000. Then again in 1951 women constituted 11 per cent of the total workers in factories. This was reduced to 10 per cent in 1965. The aggregate number of women employed fell from 14 million to 12 million in the rural sector from 1950-51 to 1956-57. Among the educated women too unemployment is higher in relation to men. While 7.9 per cent of the educated male population is unemployed, the share of women in this sphere is 25.3 per cent. This is the gist of the situation regarding unemployment. It would be clear that this problem has assumed stupendous proportions and it brooks no delay in settling this problem. Unless we take this problem seriously and face it squarely, the country is going to be faced with serious consequences. Why is it that things are happening like this? Why is it that despite three Five Year Plans, despite investment in industry and agriculture and all these things, unemployment has been increasing like this? First of all let us be clear that whatever development has taken place in this country has been attempted on a particular method, and that we call the capitalist method of development. That is precisely why we have been failing in every aspect of development. Whatever may be the benefits of this capitalist method of development, as is said by Mr. Bal-krishna Gupta or the Swatantra friends, the fact remains that it requires large army of unemployed reserve. This is one of the fundamental axioms of capitalist development. Even in developed capitalist countries you will find that there are huge unemployment problems. Not only in India but in all the capitalist countries unemployment is a constant problem, and it comes out of the fundamental nature of capitalism itself. For example, in 1967 the U.S.A. had 3 million unemployed. That is in spite of the fact that about 4 million people are in the Services and another 10 million are employed in defence-oriented industries. But for the big boom caused

by the Vietnam war, the U.S.A. would have been faced with a huge unemployment problem. Similarly take Canada. Canada has an unemployed population of 3.15 lakhs; Britain 5.99 lakhs; France 1.96 lakhs; West Germany 4.51 lakhs; Japan 4.84 lakhs. So unemployment is a characteristic of the capitalist economy. Whatever may be its rate of growth, whatever may be its level of development, etc., this is bound to be there. In our country since the rate of growth is slow, this is bound to be accentuated and it will create serious consequences.

Another aspect of the problem is that despite all the development that has taken place, there has not been any qualitative change in the production or in the employment data. For example, answering a question in the Lok Sabha on 11th August, 1966, Shri Asoka Mehta, the then Planning Minister admitted that there was no material change between 1951 and 1961 in the proportion of population dependent on agriculture. One of the sine qua non of development is the shifting of a large amount of population dependent on agriculture for livelihood to industry and other sectors. And in our country, despite these three Five Year Plans, hardly any shift in the population from dependence on agriculture to other branches of production has taken place. Secondly, the recession in the country caused by our dependence on foreign aid and internal capitalism has also resulted in a huge number of casualties. For example, retrenchment in 1967-68 in the engineering industry was of the order of 1,20,000, textiles 83,000, jute 50,000, rubber factories 75,000 and coal mines 30,000. This is another factor which has contributed to the increase in unemployment. The third factor which has contributed to this dismal situation is the policy of the Government of India of encouraging what is called automation. As you know, Sir, automation, carried out in the conditions of widespread unemployment and availability of large human resources, is actually injurious to the health of the country, to the health

of the economy. It can only help individual enterprises to earn more profits, but the country as a whole becomes a loser in this. Therefore, the policy of automation, in the context of the very large number of unemployed people, creates a serious social crisis in the country, and it will only lead to the control and concentration of wealth in a few hands in the country. This is what is happening.

In 1954, the so-called rationalisation without tears was introduced in the textile industry, and textile production went up. When rationalisation was introduced, it was said that the prices would come down. But what happened? The prices did not come down. Then it was said that the exports would go up. What happened? The exports did not go up. But the prices went up and the exports came down. Rationalisation went on; they squandered our scarce foreign exchange in importing automatic looms and all those things, and only the big capitalist, the big mills, could profit out of it. The country lost; the people lost employment. Everyone lost except a few capitalists.

Take the question of the foreign oil companies. The foreign oil companies had about 16,000 workers just two years back. In fact, their turnover has gone up by three times during the last ten years. But their staff has more or less remained at about 13,000 to 16,000. What happened? Last year the companies started what is called automation. With just 300 people sitting in their central offices in Bombay, these foreign oil companies can control the entire operations of supply, movement and demand and everything from Bombay through electronic computers, and 10,000 to 12,000 middle class employees are thrown out of employment, and further avenues of employment for fresh people who come out of the universities, etc. are barred. Same is the case with the LIC also. The LIC is going on with automation. Huge computers which can do one million calculations in one hour are being set up. It is said that there will

be no immediate unemployment. But the fact is that the new entrants to the labour market would be barred from employment. That means that unemployment in the country as a whole will increase and the chances of middle class and educated employment will be to that extent less. We have to spend foreign exchange also in importing these things.

The Railways are also going in for automation. Thousands of accounts employees, headquarters' employees, will be retrenched. Even the Posts and Telegraphs Department is going in for automation. What will be the result of all this? The result will be that the individual enterprises may have a better show but the country as a whole will be faced with a serious socio-economic problem, a problem which will shake the foundations of the society. What is happening today is, you are creating a coterie of people who have no stake in the society, who have no stake in the values which you propound because they have to wander over the streets and roads of the country without any ostensible means of livelihood, always depending on somebody else; you are creating a nation of beggars. If this situation continues, I do not know what will be the consequences. Mr. Chavan was saying that he is proposing legal measures to suppress Naxalites. You can try to suppress Naxalites or anybody else. But what will you do with....

SHRI M. PURAKAYASTHA (Assam) :  
He said, legal measures.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MEN-  
ON :.....one hundred million people who have no stake in the society, who despise the society because you do not give them anything, you do not give them even a morsel of food, you cannot give them even an hour's work. What will you do with these one hundred million people. This is the question that I ask.

Therefore, I say, if we are to face this problem, if we are serious about the future of this country, if we have got any patriotism left in us, then we must

[Shri K. P. Subramania Menon] race this problem squarely. We should not be carried away by narrow partisan interests, we should not be carried away by individual or class interests, but we should be only guided by broader national interests and the only way to cross this hurdle is to shift our policies from the present capitalist path of development and change to the socialist path of development. Thank you.

SHRI P. CHETIA (Assam) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to speak on a subject on which or about which, I think no hon. Member of this august House has spoken as yet either during the course of the Budget discussion or in the context of the present Appropriation Bill. The subject is the tea industry in general and the Assam tea industry in particular because it happens to be the sheet anchor of Assam's economy on which depends very considerably the well-being of the people of the State. It is known to all that the tea industry in the country is one of the main sources of our foreign exchange earnings, and Assam tea at least contributes 60 per cent of the total foreign exchange earnings, if not more. Having regard to this fact, the Central Government should have been more judicious in adopting tax measures on tea so that such measures do not affect adversely, directly or indirectly, the tea industry in general and the Assam tea industry in particular. The Finance Minister should have carefully assessed beforehand the peculiar problems and the difficulties faced by the tea industry generally and the Assam tea industry specially. It is hardly necessary for me to state here that the tea industry in our country is laying golden eggs, as one of the principal foreign exchange earners, which is very important in the context of our developing state of economy, and especially in the context of our Fourth Five Year Plan.

I would also like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to his decision to levy an excise duty on fertilisers at the rate of 10 per cent *ad Valorem*. This duty on fertiliser

will not only hit very hard the able and enterprising section of the agriculturists in the country in general who are now engaged in the task of increasing food production and other agricultural products—a factor which is very vital in our entire present economy—but this duty on fertilisers will very adversely affect the tea industry as a whole and the Assam tea industry in particular.

Sir, I am mentioning the case of Assam not in consideration of any parochial or regional feelings but on the basis of cold facts and logic as an impartial observer, facts which are undisputed. As I have already said, the tea industry of Assam is the main stay. It produces the largest quantity of tea compared to the three other principal tea-growing States in India, that is, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. In respect of area under tea cultivation in Assam, it is 174, 134 hectares, as against 86,393 hectare! in West Bengal, 33,943 hectares in Tamil Nadu and 29,241 hectares in Kerala. I have quoted these figures only to show that in respect of tea, both in volume of production and area under cultivation, Assam occupies a very dominant position in the tea industry of the country as a whole. Naturally, on account of this reason, the taxation measures adopted by the Central Government on tea industry fell heavily on the tea industry of Assam on account of its occupying this dominant position compared to West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

Apart from this bigness in the size of the tea industry in Assam the industry has suffered from certain disadvantages such as its location in hinterland and consequent transport difficulties besides the incidence of high taxation. It may be mentioned here that until 1957 the incidence of Central taxation, specially excise duty on tea, was uniform throughout the country without regard to any question of quantum of production per acre. But unfortunately because of the introduction of zonal system on the basis of production of tea per acre, when introduced in 1958 and further enhanced on 1st October 1968 of course after withdrawal of 20 percent

special excise, the main burden fell on Assam and partially on West Bengal also. The enhanced imposition is like this:—

|                         | Paise per<br>k.g. |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Zone I (a) green teas . | 10                |
| (b) other teas .        | 25                |
| Zone II... .            | 25                |
| Zone III ...            | 50                |
| Zone IV ...             | 55                |
| Zone V .                | 65                |

It is not so much on Tamil Nadu or Kerala where areas under tea estates are much less and consequently the size of the estates very small. In Assam and West Bengal, the majority of tea estates are above 400 hectares and minority below 400 hectares while in Tamil Nadu and Kerala majority of tea estates are below 100 hectares while minority of them are above 100 hectares, but not above 200 hectares. This is the effect of the Central excise duties levied on the basis of zonal system based on production of tea per acre. But it should be borne in mind that in a particular zone, say, Zone IV and V, in Assam all the tea estates do not produce tea on the same level of production on account of various factors such as soil condition, long neglect of tea estates by their management, etc.

There are some tea estates in these two zones whose yield per acres is just half of the average of these zones. This resulted in undue hardships and financial losses to the units of these tea estates. On account of these reasons some of the managements of these uneconomic tea estates of these zones wanted to close down their estates thus threatening huge labour employment until the State Government had to intervene in such closure of tea estates. On account of these factors the zonal system introduced for levy of excise duties on the basis of production per acre calls for thorough examination and revision in respect of weaker units. 13—7RSS'69

Then, again, there is the high incidence of labour wages in Assam compared to other three principal tea-growing estates—West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Kerala—as imposed by the Central Government on the basis of the recommendations of the Central Wage Board for Tea Plantation. The wages in Assam are on the high side. For Zone V in Assam, the industry is required to pay Rs. 2.25 paise per man per day, Rs. 2.07 paise per woman per day and Rs. 1.07 paise for a child. That is in respect of tea estates having 150 acres of plantation or above. But in West Bengal tea estates having plantation of 500 acres or more are required to pay in the same zone Rs. 2.13 paise per man. Re. 1.95 per woman per day and Re. 1.01 per child per day. In Tamil Nadu and Kerala for a tea estate of such zone having a plantation of 100 acres or more the wage for a man is Rs. 2.25, for woman Re. 1.80 and Re. 1.13 for a child per day. This is the position not only in respect of day labourers but in respect of clerical and other staffs the incidence of wages in Assam- is much higher.

Then, again, the tea industry, in Assam is to bear a very heavy burden in respect of agricultural income-tax which is levied on the basis of a slab system of profits, and it is much higher than in West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

Again, there is the incidence of indirect taxes such as octroi imposed by the West Bengal Government on Assam tea. Further, this burden has been greatly increased on account of transport difficulties created on account of stoppage of river route by the Brahmaputra via Pakistan since the last Indo-Pakistan conflict and the inability on the part of the railway system in Assam to carry tea to the Calcutta market in the requisite short time. Consequently Assam tea is to travel about 1,000 miles from Assam to Calcutta by road transport at a very high charge whereas tea in West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Kerala is not required to bear such high transport charge as tea in these States is practically on the high seas. All these factors combined together contribute to the higher cost

[Shri P. Chetia]

of production of tea per k.g. in Assam than in other States.

I admit the Finance Minister has given some relief in the shape of reduction of excise duties on tea. But what he has given by his right hand has been taken away by the left hand in the form of duties on fertilisers, an ingredient which the tea industry in the country in general and Assam tea industry in particular are to use in huge quantity for higher and better production of tea.

I understand that the Government of Assam and the tea industry of Assam have urged the Central Government not to impose this excise duty on fertilisers on the grounds stated above and I do not know what is the reaction of the Central Government in this regard.

It is reported that the P.C. Baruah Committee appointed by the Central Government some time past to examine the entire economic position of tea industry and its various difficulties, has already submitted its report suggesting the abolition of excise duties on tea not only in the broad interest of our national economy as one of the largest sources of our foreign exchange earnings but also to enable the industry to compete in the world tea market. I believe it is under the examination of the Central Government and I hope the Government will take a very sympathetic view in this regard as far as practicable.

Lastly, it is my apprehension that Indian tea in general and Assam tea in particular cannot compete in the world tea market unless Government adopts some ameliorative measures in the shape of reduction in duties and specially duties on fertilisers. This has become all the more important in view of the recent trend in the export position of our tea to foreign countries and specially to the U.K. although production of tea in the year under review exceeds far the record of all previous years. Our position of export of tea is further complicated on account of the devaluation of the Pound sterling by the U.K. Government. Taking all these factors into account I would request the Gov-

vernment to reconsider their decision to impose this levy on fertilisers both in the interest of the common agriculturist as well as in the interest of the weaker sections of tea industry. With these few words, I support the Appropriation Bill No. 3.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala)  
: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the attempt of the Finance Minister to have plastic surgery is not going to help because an operation is necessary of the body. There is no use trying to have such small plastic surgery and operation in such matters. That will not help us.

Sir, there is saying that while Rome was burning Nero was fiddling. It is almost like that. What has been done during all these years? In spite of recession we find that we are not able to have any of the prices going down.

Even the recession was made use of by the monopolists for their own ends. They saw to it that the burden was passed on to the people, to the workers. The way they met recession was by lock-outs. Now when the recession is not there, their attempt is to have the strikes banned, and the Government is the first person to have started that. And there is a method in this madness. We were really wondering what was happening. The method is, when there is recession, have lock-outs; and when recession is not there, have the strikes banned. And why? So that the monopolists can have all the benefits, so that those fortunate few who have been able to corner all the profits that arise out of the toil of the workers, can have them safe in their pockets. It is really unfortunate that during the last session we passed the most hated legislations: one was the Essential Services Maintenance Act; the second was the Banking Laws (Amendment) Act, the third was the Railways (Amendment) Act; and the fourth was the Industrial Security Force Act. Is this how you are going to face the people here? And if the recession is removed, all the benefits will go to the monopolists. I want the Government to know, to understand the mood of the people'

Thirty thousand people marched here in Delhi. What was their demand? They demanded that the monopolies must be curbed. They demanded that they should have a national minimum wage. They demanded the scrapping of these Acts. These will have to be done. Whom are you going to benefit and why they should be benefited—this is what I should like to know. Now, however much the Swatantra Party and others might ask for and however much they might clamour, the advance of the country cannot be on capitalist lines. It will never be. Even if Mrs. Gandhi might go on saying that the middle path will have to be chosen, she will have to realise this. Otherwise she will be supporting those who want to rebuild the country on the basis of capitalist development. That can never take place. Even in capitalist countries they are finding it difficult. And capitalist development will certainly bring about contradictions that are there. You cannot escape them. Will you choose now—that is the question. You dare not do it. And if you do not do it, people will have to take measures which will bring about this change. Lenin warned us years back that when conditions are ripe for a social change, if those who want to bring about a social change are not there or if they are not prepared to do it, the rot will continue and continue for decades. This is what is happening in the country. Is there any sector where there is no rot? Now, we say so much about the small industries and the medium industries being saved. We want to help them. We have asked them, all these small industries, to form themselves into co-operatives. And now when they want pig iron for instance, they will not get it. You were telling us the other day that what our steel mills and factories are producing, they are not able to consume here. But here is a letter which has been sent to me : "Order for pig iron—25 tonnes of high manganese"—this is a small factory—"placed with advance amount of Rs. 3,000 on 25-7-1968 by State Bank draft. Issued Sale Order on 4-11-1968. One wagon load of coke ordered on 3-1-1969. Reminding letter on 28-11-1968. Reminded again on 12-1-1969.

Reminded again on 30-1-1969. Letter of 27-1-1969 of Hindustan Steel stating that the furnace is undergoing repair." This is it. That is, you place orders almost a year back and you will not get it. Then who on earth will start small industries? You are not interested in them. You want to help only the big monopolists. And there are people who go about and shout and say that the State sector must be given up. But the State sector is there helping them. They wanted it and the State sector is so organised that all sorts of help is given only to the monopolist people. They themselves are not in a position to have such big industries. And once they get it, they see to it that the prices are fixed in such a way that it helps them. The poor fellows, the small factory people, will not get what they require. The small engineering firms will not get what they want. That is the position.

Now, take the case of the agrarian sector. You say that 80 per cent of our people live in the villages and it is mainly the agrarian sector that gives employment to these people. Actually there is no employment. It is a question of a land monopoly coming up. It is rich peasant economy that is flourishing and the green revolution is based on the rich peasants. It is not going to last long, because I can tell you very definitely that when the prices come down, the rich peasant will give up his attempt. It is a market economy, and when they find that the money that they invest in this sector is not going to give enough return, the laws of economy will work and they will withdraw the money from there and our economy will be where it was before. Therefore, the only way out is a definite, straight planning which will be based on a socialist approach, which you dare not do. What is the use of saying that this country will go forward? It cannot go forward under the present system. I would request all those who are honestly for changing the present system, to come forward boldly and say that they stand for the State sector, they stand for the public sector, that they stand for a socialist economy,

[Shri Balachandra Menon]

that gradually they will reduce the influence of the private sector. This has to be done. There is no way out. And as Mr. Arjun Arora has pointed out already, it is time to think not of zonal restrictions—there is no need to have such food zones—but of having State trading in foodgrains, to take up the question of banks and nationalise them, to take up export and import trading, and to take up seriously the nationalisation of certain other sectors which are absolutely necessary for our production to go up and for our economy to get away from the present crawling position. Are we ready to do that? Otherwise, 1972 is near enough and 1972 is going to decide. When you know that fully well, even at this stage, why are you frightened? Why don't you come out boldly and say that we stand for such and such policies, instead of confusing the people? Here is the time. Let us boldly do it. If you do it, then that would be the greatest service to Mahatma Gandhi because he was never for these big industrialists, he was never for this sort of rich peasant economy. He wanted a self-sufficient economy. He wanted the industries to be swadeshi in character. He pleaded for it. Are we ready for it? We depend more on foreign countries. We are more English than the Englishman himself

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (An-dhra Pradesh) : This is mixed economy.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : In a mixed economy, all the major sectors of production should be with the State. That is what Gandhiji wanted. You dare not do it. Now, see what is being done in the agrarian sector. All the changes which you are bringing here will help only the rich peasant and will throw out the poor peasant, will throw out the Harijan for whom you say you are working. He will not get his job. He will not get even his holding. This is the position. Have you got any regard for him? In that case you should decide that there should be no minimum wage less than Rs. 5 for the agricultural worker. Let us start by making him feel that he can get a

decent wage. And once he gets it, he will know how to answer Shankara-charya. The answer should not be by mere speeches. Are you ready for that? You dare not. You may say that you believe in the abolition of untouchability. But in every village there is still untouchability. It is because this country is still caste-conscious. We have not yet marched forward. It is still the cast, it is still the community, it is not the society or the class, it is not the society as a whole, that asserts itself. We have yet to get out of the community and become a society. We have to move forward from caste to class. It is time to ask : With whom do you stand? Do you want to stand by the caste-oppressor who today comes in the shape of a rich peasant, who was an ex-zamindar, who was an ex-landlord? Do you want to stand by him, or do you want to stand by the poor man during this centenary year of Mahatma Gandhi? Do at least this simple thing that we assert and stand by the agricultural worker, that we stand by the poor, ordinary worker, that we are against the monopolists, that we are against the Birlas in whose garden poor Mahatma Gandhi had to lay down his life. At least now you should say, "We are for Gandhi".

(Interruptions)

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated) : On the last occasion, Sir, I spoke about self-dependence in science, food and defence. I will take science and defence in the first place now. We are spending enormous sums of money on our defence budget. In 1964-65 our defence expenditure was Rs. 805 80 crores and our Gross National Product at current prices then was Rs. 21,196 crores and of this the defence expenditure was 3.80 per cent. Now in this budget of 1969-70 we have jumped to Rs. 1,110 crores and our Gross National Product is Rs. 32,035 crores and the defence expenditure is 3.46 per cent. The percentage has gone down a little bit. I want to ask a question. Unfortunately not a single Member from amongst the three Defence Ministers is here. The defence part of the budget

is a very important part. It is vulnerable as well as essential. There is not one Minister, Junior or Senior of the Defence Ministry here though my friend, the honourable Minister of State for Finance, is here. There should be somebody from the Defence Forces when defence matters are being discussed in this House. I would ask, Sir, whether this money is being properly spent or not. This Parliament has every time generously and unfailingly granted whatever the Defence Ministry has asked for. I want to ask whether this huge allocation has been spent properly or not, whether this money has been well-spent. I have my doubts, Sir. Here is the Estimates Committee's report, its 71st report. It says that for five long years tractors have not been repaired.

Then, in regard to airfields. They lost several lakhs of rupees because they were neither controlled nor was there any kind of coordination between the engineers, contractors and the Defence Ministry. Sir, you read here: "Defective work in an airfield"

"As part of works for developing an air base two contracts for extension and strengthening of taxi tracks (Rs. 45.85 lakhs) and runways (Rs. 106.10 lakhs) were concluded by a Chief Engineer in December 1962 and January 1963 respectively. The works were completed in May 1963 and in January 1964 the airfield was taken over by the Air Force for use. In May 1964 the Air Force reported various defects in the airfield such as—

- (i) water-logging of runway;
- (ii) cracks/unevenness in the concrete slabs in runway and taxi tracks and potholes;
- (iii) rough edges in joints, etc."

I am concerned about money. And now they want another lump of money to complete the contract.

Then, Sir, in regard to stores: For four to five years tractors have not been repaired. Now, this is a scandalous state of affairs. On pages 23 and

29 respectively, tractors and airfields have been discussed—in this Audit Report on the Defence Services presented to the Parliament. We are now concerned with every farthing that is allotted to the Defence Forces so that this money may be spent for the poor man in India about whom my friends on the opposite side have spoken.

Then, our postal rate is put up. The Finance Ministry has not done enough human justice when they put up the postal rates. A servant, a worker, who is getting less than a hundred rupees cannot afford to send a postcard or a letter at 20 paise, and if there is a little extra weight another 15 paise, in all 35 paise. If he has to write three letters to three relatives, he has to spend one rupee. And the telegram cost has also gone up year by year. We demand that the Defence Ministry should spend every farthing in a very judicious manner as if every farthing is most precious indeed. Every item of expenditure that the Defence Ministry authorises is a kind of sacred expenditure. Then, we will just pass on to the next item. But this is only one of the innumerable items.

When the Central Bureau of Investigation presented its report about two years ago—I recall, I then called the attention of the Defence Minister to it—it was revealed that the highest number of prosecutions were in the Defence Services. I had drawn the attention of the Defence Minister on another occasion and I said—on the platform of the All-India Congress Committee—that to our knowledge there were one thousand officers and others who were of doubtful character in regard to integrity and they should be removed.

Then, Sir, along with the first M.Ps' delegation I had been to the NEFA in 1966 where our young jawans had been fighting on the border against the Chinese. There they lie unknown unsung. I do not know if there is a record of their nearest relations. I do not know how much stipend is given to them. If that was the state of affairs of our jawans who were fighting against the Chinese on the borders at Towang

[Shri Joachim Alva]

etc., we are now entitled to know whether Defence expenditure is well accounted for.

Then, I come to the science part of it, about the research in the defence section. The Atomic Energy Department is an open book. I must pay a tribute to the great Dr. Bhabha, one of our greatest men. The other day when the Prime Minister was present in Bombay, Mr. J.R.D. Tata hailed Dr. Bhabha as the greatest non-political Indian citizen that we had produced. The Department of Atomic Energy is an open book. That is another vulnerable department. But what about the Defence Ministry's Research and Development Department? I do not know how big it is—the defence and research section in the Defence Ministry. Remember, the defence and research section of the Defence Ministry of Britain saved Britain from destruction at the hands of the Germans who flew unmanned bombers. I have been in Hamburg and seen there the submarine yard, the German Submarine Yard, from where they flew out the Submarines into the Atlantic Ocean to destroy the Allied ships. The 'German submarines wrought havoc on the Allied shipping during the First World War and the Second World War. But are we taking care of our country, especially in the research field? We have young and brilliant scientists here in India and abroad. I met a brilliant young Indian scientist in Australia. I asked him, "What are you doing here?" He was then less than 35. He is in the Delhi University now. He said, "I am D.Sc. from Cambridge. I am one of the very few scientists who know about rockets". I took up the matter with the highest authorities. But nothing came out of it. He is a mere lecturer or Assistant Professor. These are the type of men that we do not pick up and utilise for our own Scientific advancement.

Now, I shall tell you another thing. I will not mention the name. This is about the Scientific Adviser to the Defence Ministry. He was the head of the Institute of Science in Bangalore.

And on the day he left the Bangalore Institute, he packed off and closed a research section costing about Rs. 10,000 and said, "I am the only one handling this. I am the only one doing research in this section. So I wind it up when I am going out". These are the type of men who get promoted and are assigned big responsibilities

{Interruption}

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Is there no other person who could be given that work?

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : I want to know, Sir : how many scientists are working in the Defence Ministry ? There is no secret about them. The Atomic Energy Department is an open book. What are we doing? The U.S.A. is spending 3 to 4 hundred crores for destroying humanity. Through its chemical and biological warfare, it has destroyed the foliage of Vietnam. It has destroyed so much of food there, the most inhuman thing that could be done. I pay my greatest tribute to the Vietnamese people. The people of Vietnam are the bravest people on earth the bravest people in the history of the world. "Why do you say like that?", you may ask me. And the reason is very simple. The amount of bombing that the Vietnamese people have suffered and faced is something unimaginable. I do not know where I would have run away under that bombing. Even the M.Ps. would have fled. The bombing in Vietnam upto September 1968 was of 2,825,824 tonnes of bombs by the Americans. The total bombing of the World War II in Europe between 1941 and 1945 was of 1,463,423 tonnes. Where is one million and where is two million and in World War II on Japan alone it was of 606,400 tonnes. I am prepared to lay this on the Table. These are great people. They were a few millions and they have stood up. I am happy to state that when the Vietnam people wanted me to visit their country, I was not able to go because I went to China first and became physically tired. They said that I was the first man in the Indian

Parliament in 1951-52 who had condemned the napalm bombing by the French on Vietnam. We have been silent. They say that American money simply corrodes our soul and we are not able to protest. The bombs will fall on our head one day when the rich people and the monopolists will want to divide our country and perhaps there will be trouble in our country. The Americans dare not enact Vietnam by themselves because their youngmen are tired of the war, yet they may put up other people to fight among ourselves and thereby there will be a real danger for us. I must say that traitors are not wanting in our own country. There are some brilliant men amongst us. There is no dearth of brilliance but what we want are honest, patriotic and devoted men in our country to stand by the country against foreign domination. The Russians have given up supporting us cent per cent and are arming Pakistan. The Americans are unreliable. The British have cut us into two parts. China is at our doors. Who then are our friends? When people say that we are friendless, we do not want unreliable friends. We want friends to stand by us and we shall stand by our friends as long as we are self-reliant in science, food and defence. This is an abominable state of affairs. Various non-lethal debilitating gases have been used by the United States in Vietnam. Chemicals have been used to strip Vietnam's thick forests of their foliage depriving the Communists of ground cover. Military sources have conceded deaths. I was present in the USA when I was an Indian delegate to the UN in 1967, when the U.S.A. youngsters were fighting and protesting and they did not allow even President Johnson to go out of the main door of the New York Cathedral for the funeral of Cardinal Spellmann, which I attended as a Representative of India. I must pay a tribute to the youngmen of America from the Universities. The older men have had the reins of power; until the young men come, in their own time, to have power, we shall have a very bad world indeed. I want to ask the Research and Development Section of the Ministry as to what they are doing.

We do not want them to manufacture tremendous weapons of war but we want them to have antidotes against all these gases. We do not want to know their secrets but I want to know whether they make experiments to save ourselves on a crucial day, to help humanity. We are not helping the Africans. They are not any more looking up to us. We have not respected even Pandit Nehru's dictum. What did Pandit Nehru say when he spoke in Lagos on 26th September 1962? He said :

"India sympathised with and morally supported all nationalist movements in Africa irrespective of the fact whether armed or peaceful."

Now India, under Pandit Nehru, never questioned whether an enslaved people took to arms, took to violence or non-violence but we supported them because they were down and out. Now we are not doing it. What is the Research and Development Wing doing? It has the armaments section, engineering, electronics, aeronautics, research laboratories, general stores, medical sciences and what not. Here is again a report and there is another very interesting item. This is the 71st Estimates Committee report which says on page 38 that they had only 19 symposia in 5 long years in such a Ministry. They say : "Of course we join other Scientific groups also". That is not the point. I want to know why should they not. I was the only M.P. at the World Aviation Conference held there and I was proud of the fact that Indian military surgeons and physicians were discussing about altitudes and how the heart beats at 10,000 to 20,000 feet. They were giving their opinions. They were held in high esteem. I was proud and I felt : 'Here are our Indian physicians from the Army, the Indian Physicians and Surgeons who could speak so authoritatively'. Because we are grappling with the problem of the heart at 20,000 feet, a problem which does not arise in other countries, a problem which we had to face immediately after the Chinese war. I feel the R.&D. Sections

[Shri Joachim Alva]

efficiency is the most vulnerable point. Parliament has no time. I am not a scientist, I am not an engineer, I am not an economist but I use a little commonsense and I feel in these matters we have to put our finger and find it out. I want the whole Department to be organised and put on a proper base and at no time the Defence Minister has taken us into his confidence either in the Defence Committee of which I have been the oldest Member or at any-time as to what is happening there, while in the Atomic Energy Committee under Pandit Nehru and also Lai Bahadur Shastri when he was the Prime Minister, and now under Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Dr. Bhabha and Dr. Sarabhai had given us whatever information we wanted. We should not permit anyone under the cloud of secrecy to deny the vital information in the sense where our country can be endangered.

I am coming to the point of the Indian Ocean. The Indian Ocean is a vast ocean and it is vast indeed. Reference has been made to Maldive Islands. The islands around us should be our friends. Unfortunately we are very fond of money. Our traders are very greedy. Wherever they go—I saw it in Thailand—on the evening of the 30th of a month in Bangkok the Indian babus from Bihar stand at the door of the Indian Embassy wanting their money like pathans in Bombay, from the employees at 100 per cent, interest. We have got a bad character indeed. Wherever we go we are despised. We are despised in Africa and in S.E. Asia. We only think of money. We do not think of increasing the welfare of the peoples there. The Maldive Islands are so near us and now the British have come there. Here is a bulletin of the British Defence Ministry which has come only yesterday to me. It says :

"Participating in the Maldive Islands survey include..."

They have given a whole list of officers—

"Squadron Leader E. J. Jackson, son of Mrs. M. Jackson of 61, Keld

Ave., Uckfield, Sussex, whose wife lives at

I pay tribute to the British who give the home addresses and the requisite addresses, etc. unlike the Americans who neither give us the address perhaps for fear of the Black nor any other information. To the British I must pay a tribute and there is a whole list of addresses of officers who have gone to the Maldive Islands and their residential U.K. addresses. Why I am drawing attention to this is, the British are to-day catching hold of these islands and arranging things there to see that their interests are strengthened. What about our interests ? The Indian Ocean is a mighty ocean. We Shall make no pact with anybody but we shall assert such a kind of superiority, essentially moral and less physical throughout the length and breadth of the Indian Ocean so that all others in the entire area may feel that they are our friends. We promise no umbrella, we hold no umbrella, we refuse to go under anybody's umbrella, nuclear or otherwise. India, down the ages, in the days of the ancient Hindu Empire, went down to the whole of S.E. Asia where we traded on right principles. To-day we are in a new age because we are despised of this earth. We are friendless in Africa as we have not helped the cause of Africans. The Portuguese are in Africa for 500 years. I took up this matter in the Foreign Affairs Committee. The Portuguese are in Guinea since 1446, in Goa of course from 1505 until the Africans came and told Nehru : 'Out with the Portuguese ; otherwise we cannot drive out anybody' and thanks to Nehru and the drive of my friend Mr. Menon, whom my friends denigrate always, drove out the Portuguese from us until we were safe. That is one bottleneck cleared up. The Portuguese have been in Angola since 1482.

Can you dream of 1482, long before any hegemony was founded in India? It is at that time we kicked them off. We only sent to beleaguered Africans some pharmaceuticals. We must now rouse the people in those Portuguese colonies in Africa to rise in revolt against

the Portuguese whomsoever we might offend in the process. In Mozambique the Portuguese have been there since 1498. And today South Africa is trying to draw the line above Angola and they are making all kinds of love with the recently freed African States adjacent and nearby. Now how does this magazine "South African Digest" continue to come to the important people in India? We have closed the door on South Africa long ago. Yet how does this magazine come from Pretoria to our land? How is it allowed by the postal authorities to come here? I want to know. This is a very important part of the world-Africa. We have no right arm on this side of Africa and we have no left arm on this side of Asia! We have cut off both our arms ourselves and are helpless and friendless. This is how we are exerting our moral influence there.

(Time bell rings)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGAR1) : Kindly wind up.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : I will take a little time. Sir.

Now, Sir, coming to the Plan I must pay a tribute—this Plan had been postponed and put off for three years. We expected tremendous things from Dr. Gadgil. But nothing happened all these few years and the Plan did not come up. But I must pay a tribute to the Kerala Government under Shri Namboodripad. They called together 36 economists from all over the country and held a Seminar in October, 1968, and the names in this book are illustrious names, professors and economists from all over the country. They may be Right, they may be Left, I am not concerned, but they are brilliant men, some of them Professors of the Delhi University. They have brought out a Plan wherein they have formulated their ideas and presented them. Whether we like it or not, unless we adopt some of the measures adumbrated in the Kerala Plan, our Plan, the present one, will not work. We shall not be able to deliver the goods and we shall not be

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able to reach our goals and socialism will be a far off cry indeed. And what is one of the measures that they have suggested? "Stop all forms of foreign economic aid, especially the imports under PL 480". I shall give you some figures. Sixty per cent of the foreign aid is by America and out of that the major aid is from their PL 480. And how does this come? It comes in the form of their surplus foodgrains, which they would otherwise have to burn up or dump in America; but then we have got to take them all. It is funny that in the past one or two of our Central Ministers branded themselves with the Americans. Unless we cut off this foreign food coming to us, unless we try and become self-sufficient in food, unless we put to use in agriculture the tractors lying idle in the Defence Ministry, this dependence on foreign and in the shape of PL 480 foodgrains imported from America will continue. Also we do not want these monopolists coming out as landlords in our land; they are buying chunks of territory, buying thousands and thousands of acres of land. It is a new breed, a most dangerous breed invading the country side posing as landlords not really interested in more agricultural production but just smuggling themselves on the land to avoid taxes. We must put a stop to the monopolists trying to become agriculturists and landlords. If we allow them, how can we deliver the goods to the landless and downtrodden. Sir.

Then they have declared in that Seminar 'Alternative to Fourth Plan Policies' : "Declare a moratorium on exports of profits and repatriation of foreign private capital". The foreign pharmaceutical firms are exporting so much money, and it is time that we stopped all foreign pharmaceutical companies operating in our land because our chemists and engineers and scientists are producing goods, are producing medicines for our countryside.

Then, Sir, they have suggested, "Withdraw from the International Patents convention" and "Stop the

[Shri Joachim Alva] Payment of privy purses". There is no question of any more discussion with the princes in the matter of their privy purses. It is time we stopped them altogether. They are veritably suckers. There is no question of yes or no. Some of the Maharajahs have been the suckers of the poor and it is time we stopped our parleys with them. The other measures suggested by that Seminar are, "Imposition of a ceiling on profits of all big industrial and commercial undertakings owned by Indian businessmen", "Exempt basic necessities from taxation", "All big enterprises owned or controlled by any of the 75 monopoly houses listed by the Monopolies Inquiry Commission should be immediately nationalised", "Monopoly procurement of the entire surplus from the big landlords", "De-mocratisation of the entire management of the public sector undertakings—many of the top men in the public sector are men without any human value. I know them. I tried to talk to them on the telephone when out of Parliament. Often-times they are not available; they are so busy that they will not like to respond to the call themselves unless the person who makes the call is a Member of Parliament or a more important person. I would give you an example. Thirteen European firms, foreign firms, were once blacklisted by me because of the reasons advanced in Parliament, in the Lok Sabha, in the early fifties and demanded that the Government deal with them firmly. I then rang up Mr. Wenzel, the Managing Director of Firestone to know the reason for stopping their advertisements to my paper, the 'Forum'. I could not get him then. Thereafter he rang me back and he could get me only the third time he rang me up. But I cannot expect that kind of courtesy from any of the Indian industrialists, the courtesy of an American gentleman trying to phone me back three times. Such a courtesy our top men in the public sector could emulate; they are also officers; they are not angles. So Sir, unless they in the public sector cherish human values it is no use keeping them there and expecting of them much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) : Kindly wind up now.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : Now, Sir, I come to the question of computer raised by my friend—we have the computers purchased from America. Let us look at the American prosperity. Singly taken, America is the first economic power. And America is the third largest economic power in Western Europe. It is industrially at the top in the area consisting of countries like France, Italy, Germany and all those Benelux countries, those five or six physically small tiny countries. Let us see how America has built up its prosperity. As I remember to have heard it in an American broadcast, they had thirty to forty thousand computers in the U.S.A., and each computer is an indicator of American prosperity. And how many have we got? We have got ten purchased from Honeywell in America. This is state of our prosperity and disparity. Seven of them have been installed each in Reserve Bank of India, Atomic Energy Commission, Hindustan Aeronautics, Defence Research and Development Establishments, Indian Statistical Institute, Oil and Natural Gas Commission, Joint Cipher Bureau, and one more since in the LIC against which my friend complained. I realise that many will go out of employment wherever a computer is installed, but it is our moral and political duty to find employment for them, to those who are displaced by the computers. If computers have to be installed, bring them, instal them but make them work in the best public interest and at the same time also see that the men who are displaced thereby are also provided with alternative jobs; they have to be provided. It should not be that if it is my son or daughter I will try and find a good job for him or her; and if it is others' sons and daughters they can take care of themselves. Now these are very very important things. I want to make one or two more points.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) : Kindly wind up.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Yes, Sir. I am coming to the Air Force now; Defence is a subject I have taken special interest in all my life herein Parliament, and please allow me to speak now on the Air Force. Now I must say one thing here. We have got a new breed of writers in India. They all came out as great Generals. I find a new breed of writers of late who have been emerging from the Defence Services, from those who have retired from the Defence Services. I have read General Kaul's book from A to Z. I know something about the law of defamation. When he and his book were discussed in this House—I was not a Member then—I sat through those four hours watching the debate as a Visitor in the Galleries, the debate that was initiated then, I think by my energetic friend, Mr. Bhargava, and I saw that every Member from almost every party demanded the prosecution of General Kaul. Now, according to my opinion—I have read every line and marked portions in that book by General Kaul—General Kaul should have been prosecuted for the military secrets he had given out in that book. It may be in self-defence that he had written such a book, but he should not have written that book where he has given out military secrets. Then; is another book written by the then Cabinet Secretary, Mr. S. S. Khera, after his retirement. I bought that book but I lost it while I was half way through; I have not lost much because it is not such a well-written book. Then there was the book written by Brigadier Dalvi; it is a readable book. Dalvi's book is named 'Himalayan Blunder'. He was captured by the Chinese in 1965. Dalvi's book is not like the book by General Kaul. Both of them, however, have blamed the then Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, for the failure of the Army in combating the enemy then. Yet there are some Members here who attack Mr. Krishna Menon all the time leaving General Kaul and others scot-free. They forget, Sir, that a man like General Wavell was praised to the skies by one of the greatest Generals—Rommel. Many British Generals have been fired off but nobody has fallen

on them to eat them up, as my friends have fallen on Mr. Krishna Menon. Good Generals have been thrown out in Britain and in France. When the War came, they were not considered up to the mark and they were thrown out, and because of that others did not fall on their necks and try to eat them up. They have all been written at least after their retirement. But what about the great General, General Chaudhuri, a former Commander-in-Chief? How did he write articles to the "Statesman" when he was still in the Defence Ministry? Nobody seemed to know any thing about it, although Members of Parliament are shadowed by the CID and their telephones tapped. But nobody noticed that when General Chaudhuri was in the Defence Headquarters, he was writing articles on Defence matters in the "Statesman". I am proud to say, Sir, that when I wrote an article on Defence and mentioned about it to the European editor of the "Statesman", my friend Mr. Charlton, he asked me three times, "When are you sending that article to be published in our paper?" I kept quiet and did not want in the end to send it to their British owned paper. When I was in Moscow, the "New Times" hinted about special correspondence, to write for them. But I made clear, "I cannot take on that job." Here we want to know how these people write to papers which are owned by the British and yet get along with the high posts they hold under Government. Either we lay down a rule properly that no one from the highest to the lowest shall do so, or allow them a blanket right to do so as they please.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARAJA) : Kindly wind up immediately.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Yes, Sir. Coming to speak on the Air Force now, I must pay a tribute of praise to Air Marshal Ranjan Dutt, who would have eventually been the chief of the Air Force, a dynamic man, the man who negotiated with Mr. Kossygin, when he was not the Minister of Russia—which he is now—to let his country

[Shri Joachim Alva]

MIG Planes, and also with the UAR— one who would have been eventually the Chief of the Air Force after Air Marshal P. C. Lai. Then he went out of the Air Force in disgust. The seniority thing plays ducks and drakes with the careers of some people. Things are not done entirely on merit. But we are happy that in the new appointments of the two Chiefs, both of the Army and of the Air Force, the appointments have been very good indeed, and others have lost in the race, because merit plus seniority alone counted and the two factors of merit and seniority have been rewarded. I would pay a tribute of praise to General Harbaksh Singh who had been a valiant General. Now the MIG Planes were negotiated for but we should not ignore Lightning F-6. But in its place I have pleaded for Lightning F-6 in the Defence Committee and I am pleading for it in this House now. The maximum power of MIG-21PF is 13,200 lbs. while the maximum power of Lightning F-6 is 32,700 lbs. MIG-21 has got one engine while Lightning F-6 has got two engines. The maximum speed of both is almost equal; it is about 1500 miles per hour. The range is also same for both, 800 miles. But the time to climb— and that is the thing that will decide our fate—40,000 feet is 4.5 minutes in the case of MIG-21 while it is 2.5 minutes in the case of Lightning F-6. And that means everything. The maximum loaded weight is 20,500 lbs. for MIG-21 while it is 50,000 lbs. in the case of Lightning F-6; it is almost double. So far as armament is concerned each can carry two air-to-air missiles. What I want to say here is, when are we going to have planes of this type? Whatever we produce today becomes useless in no time. We must look to the eighties, the nineties, to the end of the century and we have to plan ahead in order to make our country safe and strong so that all our citizens can live in peace within our borders. We have got an army. It is quite a strong, flexible and dynamic army. We have also an Air Force, but we must provide them with enough planes dynamic and power-ridden.

And similarly for our Navy we must provide them with enough fast moving ships and submarines. Otherwise, we cannot be safe in the Indian Ocean.

Last one or two points and I sit down. Now with regard to hotels, how is it that we have permitted foreign hotel-owners to come here? We have got first class men here who can run our hotels. Why do we want foreign collaboration even for this? Such foreign collaborations must stop. We are able to put up heavy engineering, heavy machinery complex. We are able to build huge machines. Here is a man, Mr. Gurdial Handa who has circulated this pamphlet to the various Members of Parliament. He is able to produce rotary machines. He can produce 6 to 12 machines a year each of which can save 10 to 15 lakhs of foreign exchange but the HMT will not have anything to do with it. Here I want to mention that the first Managing Director of HMT—he is a Christian; I forget his name just now. He was praised by everybody even by me; but after he got out of HMT he managed some collaboration and put up his own show. How does he do that? I say it is very very improper. I say it is against all rules and against all decency. In the case of this rotary machines I say that the HMT should see to it that this is not neglected. We require rotary machines and we should see that we make use of this capacity which is there.

Sir, I had to say many more things but before I sit down with your permission I would still say that the Plan put forward by the Kerala Government as a result of the seminar of 36 economists is well-conceived and worth considering. It is a challenge to us and it has got guts while our plan is weak. Our Plan is meant to satisfy our jnono-polists.

Lastly one word about our labour policy. The labour policy of the Government of India has at no time really helped labour. It has always been helpful to the monopolists only. The Government of India have no influence, moral or physical, on the

labour force; neither has the Congress. I remember when there was a postal strike in Bombay I worked as a postman for three days though there was not even one M.P. or an M.L.A. from Bombay city who had come forward. Unless we have love for labour, mix with them and move with them, we cannot build up good relations with them and we cannot put our country right.

Thank you.

SHRI Y. ADINARAYANA RED-DY (Andhra Pradesh) : Sir, while supporting this Bill I would like to bring to the notice of the Minister a few points which I consider very important for the agriculturists. Today we are thinking of the green revolution. Just now an hon. Member said that it is on the way while another asked where it was. Actually thanks to our research scholars high-yielding varieties have been developed and we have introduced scientific methods in agriculture. The agriculturists are definitely using those methods and it is at such a juncture when the agriculturists are taking to scientific methods in order to produce more for the sake of the country that the Government has chosen to tax the necessities of the agriculturists, particularly fertiliser. In addition to that the Government has also chosen to levy wealth tax on land which is also going to hit them hard. We are told by the Finance Minister that this tax will touch only those people who are investing their black money or hidden money in agriculture with a view to converting it into white money. If that is the only object and if that is going to serve only that purpose nobody can have any objection. But I am doubtful about it. This tax is surely going to hit the agriculturist and is going to put him at the mercy of the bureaucratic machinery which today I am constrained to say has developed a technique and expertise in harassing him and fleecing him. That is the condition of the peasant; that is the condition of the farmer today. The farmer will be hit hard by this tax and I really do not understand the logic

of the Finance Minister in imposing this tax on the farmer especially when we want him to increase the production of foodgrains which can be done only by the farmer. We have to further develop scientific techniques in our agriculture especially when we are producing one extra Australian continent every day. That is the rate of the growth of our population; we are adding one Australian continent every day and we have got to feed that population. That is a factor which we cannot forget and when we remember that factor we will see that there is greater and greater necessity to develop scientific agriculture further so that we can produce more and develop our economy in a better way.

Apart from that, the tax on fertiliser also will hit the farmer. What he needs now is cheaper fertiliser, cheaper electricity and ample supply of water for irrigational purposes. And it does not serve any purpose to tax fertiliser which is very essential for production of foodgrains. Without fertiliser these high-yielding varieties will not prove to be a success that is a fact which is known to all. When that is the case we see no logic at all in taxing the fertiliser especially when we are asking the farmer to produce more and more for the sake of the nation. We call the farmer the backbone of the nation; we eulogise him by calling him the anna data but what are we doing to help him? Are we helping him by imposing this fertiliser tax and this wealth tax? We are only harassing him in his work of production, not of human beings, but of food for the country; we are putting more obstacles in his way and taking away the incentive from him to produce more.

If, as is mentioned, this tax is intended only for those big industrialists or the rich people who try to invest their black money in agriculture and make use of it as white money, then why not introduce another measure which can touch only such people? Can't we make an inventory of such people in the country? Can't

[Shri Y. Adinarayana Reddy]

we find out who are the people who have taken to agriculture, such people from industrial houses, in the last ten years? We can do it.

We can do it certainly if we make an effort. In that way you can earn more money for the Government than by taxing the farmer who is really producing food for the country. Then, Sir, there is another point which I would like to touch, it comes under the States, viz., prohibition. Prohibition is one of the Directive Principles of the Constitution. We have tried prohibition for the last so many years, from 1937 when the Ministry was formed in Madras. Even before independence we introduced prohibition. From that time onwards we have been trying to work it successfully, but what is the result? The result today is that in every village it has become a cottage industry. The result today is that under the very nose of the police, in front of police stations, this illicit arrack is being produced in every State. There is no denying this fact. These are facts which nobody can deny. When that is the case, what is the use of hanging on to our fanatical ideas? They have got to be changed, if necessary, in the interests of the country. In the interests of the nation we have got to give up some of these things and this is one thing which I feel very strongly about. I know it, Sir, as the District Congress Committee President of Cuddapah in Andhra Pradesh. I started a volunteer corps to unearth illicit distillation in that district. From my own experience I may tell you that for some time it went on well. People in the surrounding areas took it very well, but when people began earning more from illicit distillation, naturally those who began to earn set rowdies against the volunteers. There is no use trying to have prohibition when the Government is unable to stop illicit distillation of arrack and other liquors. I do not see any purpose in continuing with this prohibition. I think there are some States which have abolished the prohibition law as such or have

tried to modify it or relaxed the restrictions, but why not the Government of India give a direction to all the States and see that every State earns more money by auctioning these liquor shops?

I think it is Mr. Kaul who was saying in the morning that expansion of the administrative machinery is going on at a very fast rate and it is not helpful to the nation. I entirely agree with him. What was the strength of the administrative machinery five years back, let alone twenty years back, and what is the strength today? If statistics are taken—I hope the Government will easily find those statistics—it will be found and it is a sad feature that every Collector's office, every Taluk office and the State Secretariats and the Central Secretariat have increased their staff in thousands. The Government may argue that this will solve the unemployment problem to a certain extent but that is not the point. We are having a top-heavy administrative machinery, spending more money on administration than on developmental works. That is what is happening in every State today. This has got to be checked by the Government and a very serious view has got to be taken of it.

Then Sir, coming to my own State, there are one or two points which I would like to place before the Government. There is said to be sugar shortage in the country and we need more sugar factories. Government is thinking of establishing more sugar factories in the country. When that is the case, wherever there is the potential to develop a sugar factory, the Government can easily permit the local people, whoever comes forward, either on a co-operative basis or on a private basis—but preferably on a co-operative basis—to start a factory. I am told that there are some restrictions which are hindering the establishment of sugar factories. The Government can easily permit a factory to be established, if there is the real potential for it. If statistics are taken correctly by the local officials or by

the local Government, there need not be any difficulty in establishing more sugar factories to cut down the sugar shortage.

Then Sir, I would like to mention a few points about my own area, the area from which I come. Rayalaseema is a drought-ridden and famine-ridden place. It is my duty to represent about the conditions there. It is known all over India that it is a chronically famine stricken area. It is one of the worst-hit areas. Especially in 1952 when famine reigned supreme in that area, an individual who was able to feed ten or twenty people every day, who could give food to a number of people in his village was forced to go to the gruel centre. He was forced to sell all his gold to businessmen, including the Talis of ladies. That was the condition in 1952. I do not say that that condition will arise again, but the position there is that every two years or three years famine is recurring. Till now the Government has been saying that measures will be taken to eradicate famine permanently, but the measures have been very meagre. Especially the water problem is still to be tackled. For this recently some heavy rigs have been sent to our area. After seeing their working what I say is that if they are supplied to every Samiti, at least one rig to every block, I am sure underground water can be brought out and the drinking water difficulty can be solved. The water potential can be exploited and the drinking water scarcity can be easily eradicated. The question of funds should not come in the way of the Government. This area has been having constant famine for the last twenty or thirty years. Every two years famine has been recurring and even in between one pocket or other has been troubled by drought. Even today the drinking water problem is there. From the place I come, at least three or four districts are like that. Therefore, I suggest that the Government should immediately tackle the problem of supplying rigs, not only ask the State Government to finance it, but, if necessary, the Centre should

make special arrangements to finance the amount needed to purchase rigs from foreign countries. They should supply the rigs to that area. I have personally seen how the rigs work. They can deepen to the extent of 300 to 400 feet and bring out the subsoil water and that is the only way of solving the drinking water problem. I earnestly and strongly urge upon the Government to look into the matter very seriously. Thank you.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT (Delhi) :  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Budget and the Appropriation Bill as usual have many of the features which have been there in such measures for the last so many years. So also many of the things that the Members and I would say today would be what we have often been repeating in the past. I think unfortunately the Budget was not terribly encouraging and also the appropriation of the funds so far approved by the Lok Sabha. I hope that their utilisation would be very proper and very careful because in the implementation of the various policies and programmes we have found many things very disappointing, and we have always hoped that sometime or other greater attention would be paid to the implementation of the programmes for which the monies have been sanctioned or approved.

The fundamental problems in the country are not being tackled by the Government as they should be. But we are spending so much money and energy on frills and we feel that we have only to show a few good towns and some attractive items around and that will take care of what the foreigners will see in India. But what the Indian people will see in India is one thing about which we are rather negligent and careless, with the result that sometimes other people may appreciate what we are doing, but our own people continue to feel more and more disappointed sometimes and frustrated with our own functioning. We should pay more attention to what our own people feel, how the people in our villages or in factories or the lower income

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht] group or the lowest income group feel about the functioning and the working of the Government programmes rather than what we can show to outsiders. Of course what we show to the outsiders also leaves much to be desired. So, as we started solving the rising prices problem, we put up a huge Super Bazar, which was neither here nor there, and the result also which we saw in the elections later on was of the same characteristic that instead of going a long way to solve the common people's problem we give them a few palliatives and we think that this will take care of the major disease that faces the country and then the results are very poor. Similarly, with our performance of this kind when we want to tackle major problems like price rise and such other things, we give them small things like the Super Bazar or so, and the people's reaction is there accordingly.

I would say a few words about the funds and how the Government wants to use them and so on. They have taxed the agricultural income. I have no objection to the taxing either of urban income or the rural income as far as the principle goes, also fertilizers etc. As far as the agricultural part is concerned, most of the new prosperity in the agricultural side is almost among that section of the people who are extremely well off anyhow and those people who have converted their black money into white money through agriculture. They are the ones who have already made money. The Finance Ministry and the Income-tax Department should tackle the income-tax problem at that source of industry from where they have made so much money including black money. But to cover a large number of agriculturists who probably have not converted the black money into white money or whose income is only from ordinary agriculture, to include in this coverage a large number of good agriculturists also along with those who might have converted their black money into white money, this is like catching a thief and taking along with him a large number of innocent

people. But our principle of justice and equity is that we do not punish innocent persons just to be able to catch a wrong person. So far as this particular principle is concerned, if the Government is keen to mop up income like this, they should not let their income and the money coming in be mixed up with the industrial sector or the business community or the industrialists. But they are not catching the main thief. They are going to catch somebody else and thereby console themselves that they are really tackling the problem. That is unfortunately not the way to tackle the problem either I do not mind your taxing the agricultural income, but the main problem is, from where has this black money come. It should have been tackled there and then, at that particular source. You could not chase the thief there. Actually where the main 'burglary' takes place you are ignoring that.

I have also come to know that in the Income-tax Department also they say, "All right, you clear your arrears of income-tax for the last three years; what happened before the last three years we need not bother about; those things are considered closed." I think all those cases which are pending with the Income-tax Department prior to the last three years should not be considered as closed because thereby you lose all income-tax accruing. It shows so much of leakage of income-tax in this way, so much of the department being in league with the business people etc. on the one hand, and so much loss of money and revenue to the Government. I think all these things shall have to be tackled at the first source rather than going to something else and ultimately landing up on the agricultural sector.

Secondly, the incentives given in agriculture have hardly started operating there, whether it is fertilizer or improved seed or mechanisation or other things. These benefits have hardly started showing any sort of result. They are showing results only where the landlords are very big landlords or where the farms are

very big farms, where those very landlords have some other source of income also either from business or something else. Therefore, the ordinary farmers are not benefiting very much from that. Consequently, to put them all in the same bracket does not help the genuine farmers, and the Department their efficiency being what it is, will not be able to make the distinction as to who is a genuine farmer and who is a person who has converted his black money into white money and has done also very careful propaganda that "these are my income from agriculture", though most of those who are really agriculturists know that not much money comes out of agriculture. My family have been agricultural people for generations, and we know that not much comes out of agriculture. But these business people are more interested in spreading the propaganda, which they have successfully spread also, 'that agriculture gives a tremendous amount of income, whereas it does not. Thereby they are really covering their prosperity from industry by showing it as their prosperity from agriculture, which is not a fact.

This is a little bit about the agricultural part of it to show how it has been ignored.

Then I think some other proposals are not very encouraging. For example, when we had the devaluation in this country some years back, two or three years back, the Finance Minister, the Prime Minister and others said that the exports would expand by nearly 300 per cent. All through the Finance Minister at that time and so also the Prime Minister said that the expansion of the exports would be 300 per cent. I do not think anybody would have believed that it could be 300 per cent, because even after three years the Finance Minister unfortunately has to say this: "Export earnings amount only to two-thirds of our current import requirements". This is the position today in the year 1968-69, or maybe I should say 1969-70. So our export earnings have been not much. They are only two-thirds of

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our import requirements, which means we are still and we shall continue to be for some time to come at the losing end of the game. So, this is the blunder that we had made about devaluation. Even to-day we can change it because even after devaluation our exports have not gone up. They are not likely to go up in the near future, even in the next three or four years, to the extent of 300 per cent, that means three times of what it is today. In that case we should revise it. This is not going to pay us at all. We should change this as quickly as it can be done.

Also about our taxation and money coming from the posts and telegraphs, this is a very wrong way of mopping up money because it hits a large number of people and hits them rather hard. It is not a very equitable way of getting money for the Government, and I think it is a very sloppy way of functioning. So also the duty on sugar is increased, but on confectionery it is decreased. Is confectionery an article of necessity or is sugar necessary? Or is sugar a luxury article and confectionery a necessity? This is a sort of very sloppy arrangement. I do not think it should have been so done. Also by this increase in the income-tax specially of the salaried income groups, the salaried classes have been hit very hard, and I think the Government has been very very harsh in this respect because the middle classes and the salaried income groups are finding it very hard to make both ends meet and we are taking them to a point where things are very difficult for them. They being citizens of this country, I think we should see to it that no section of society is pushed to a point where they find life very hard and difficult.

5 P.M.

I would like to say a few words about the khadi and village industries here. Having been a regular wearer of khadi for 20 or 25 years, I find that now the quality of khadi has gone down. And during the last six months, the prices have gone up by 30 or 40 per cent. I just cannot understand on

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht] what principle, according to which yardstick, they have increased the prices of khadi within the last one year or so. On many items the prices have gone up by 25 or 30 or 40 per cent, items like khadi silk as well as khadi cotton. And I think that it should be properly examined as to how these prices are worked out and why the stocks are piling up all the time and why they cannot be utilised. The Government should utilise khadi more in their departments to help the marginal income people who live by the production of khadi and all help should be given by the Government for purchasing the stocks and using them. The question of the very efficient management of khadi and village industries as well as of keeping up its best quality should be looked into, which I think is very necessary.

I would like now to point out about Government publications. Government publications are, by and large, of a very poor quality, for example, the Kurukshetra and the Social Welfare and so on and so forth. The magazine, Social Welfare, contains neither technical matter nor material for the layman. It deals with social work neither in a specialised manner so as to give an authentic and proper view of things nor in any other manner. It is a mixture of superstitions and technical know-how, and it is a very poor publication to be put out by the Government. And there are also various other publications which are brought out in a large quantity. But that money is very much wasted because they are not sensibly and usefully produced and nobody bothers to read them because good material does not come there. Either their quality should be improved or many of these publications which are not very useful should be discontinued because not many good things are published except some news. If we want the villager to benefit or the gram sevak to benefit or any other community project staff to benefit, I think some of the information necessary can be given out over the radio so that dehathi and other developmental

programmes can be had and the ordinary people can benefit through the radio more than these publications which nobody bothers to read.

About radio also, quite a few people in Delhi as well as in Haryana and the village people even nearabout, in the Meerut area, have been complaining that the time given for agricultural programmes is very limited. It should be increased for the sake of the village people so that more and more programmes can be put on for their benefit. Now that programme is for only 40 or 50 minutes whereas so much of time is wasted on other things. That time should be better utilised for the benefit of these village people.

As our friend there just now said, the intelligence part—I agree—is extremely poor. When the family planning programme was going on in the Haryana area, the news of the firing there came out first over the BBC and then it came out in the Indian Papers and on the radio. They know more about what is happening in our villages and in our areas than we happen to know. Unless we have a very good intelligence programme here as well as in the border areas especially, I think we cannot get in touch with the latest developments in the country and the happenings here nor can we take care of any developments whether of a law and order nature or of any other kind. I think that this intelligence has been very much neglected by the Government though Members have repeated about it times without number, and something serious should be done about it because this is a matter of the security of the country as well as other kinds of security about outside also.

As far as the Defence personnel are concerned, nearly two-thirds of their lives have to be spent on the borders now under the existing circumstances. I think Government should take up on a very large scale housing programmes for them and especially their families should be taken care of very well by the Government either through the Soldiers' and Sailors' Boards or

through other Departments. Or the Collector should be made responsible for their welfare. Or one particular gazetted officer, preferably of Class I, should be posted in each district who should look after all the needs and problems of the families of these Defence Force people who are in the forward areas. This is a very necessary thing. Otherwise, we will find after some time that our fighting forces are becoming a little frustrated because their families are going through so many hardships, and then it will be too late to rectify this problem. I have said about it earlier also. I think the Government should now think about it very seriously. It is a very urgent problem.

I would like to say one or two words about tourism. Our Minister for Tourism is a very fine person and is one who has got very high values in life and very good ideas about so many things. Therefore, I would like him particularly to....

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : And very active.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT : I hope that he will become more active after hearing what I say, that much as I appreciate his values and his appreciation of Indian culture and so on, I think that some of the calendars put out by Air India till year are a disgrace. It was absolutely a disgraceful thing. Though it is a small matter, only small things become big. There are such ridiculous pictures in the Air India calendars, with beautiful temples but with very silly women there with silly clothes on them. Every picture is like that, so much so either you want to tear them off or put them away. Such cheap propaganda should never be put out on the publications which are produced by the Government of India, whether they are calendars or pictures or posters.

I would also say a word about the air hostesses, especially of Air India which is very popular abroad and which has always received a lot of praise from everybody. In a poor

country like India, it can be a little more sober, it can be a little more modest also. And the air hostesses can look a little more simple and sober and modest also. They need not look like someone out of the heaven because I do not think that we are going to attract foreign tourist traffic by only showing off very pretty women. There is something more in India than that. This is a very poor way, it is very bad commercialism, if you are going to have very attractive air hostesses and thereby get some traffic in tourism, etc. I think I have seen British Airlines, Canadian Airlines, German Airlines and so many other airlines including the American Airlines also where the air hostesses are more modestly and simply dressed. They are also not necessarily very great beauties but they are very presentable, nice, simple and sober also. And I think we need not take to this cheap exhibition of only good looking women or their lovely sarees or of these calendars or anything of such sort. Therefore, I say that these things should be looked into rather than making things very cheap.

Also in our tourist programmes we should include more of developmental programmes going on in our country which the foreigners appreciate much more than even your ancient buildings and so on. When they see some of the village development programmes, they feel extremely happy. They are not necessarily concerned with your cultural shows and such other things but are more concerned with what is really happening in the country in regard to its development, and that aspect should also be taken care of by the Tourist Department as to how far the country has made progress, whether it is in digging wells or in panchayats or in community centres or such like things which they would want to see themselves and feel happy.

One word more also and that is that the Programmes of the Government should be very vigorously implemented and the fundamental problems should be taken care of.

[Kumari Shanta Vasisht]

The price rise does not show any relationship to taxation as it takes place every year as decided by the Finance Minister. The prices go up by 50 or 60 or 80 per cent sometimes for most of the articles whereas the price rise actually may be so many paise or so many rupees per quintal, etc. However low the rates of taxation levied may be, the price rise is very disproportionate to the taxation.

Lastly, I would like to say about our so-called non-alignment. I do not know whether we are any more non-aligned or we want to be non-aligned any more. Israel has been attacking some of the Arab countries. Every now and then there is a border clash, and so much misery is caused to these very small countries. And we have become so much used to such injustice that we take it for granted that that will happen. So, nobody even raises his voice about it. I think we should feel concerned about it. We should always point this out. But this is not done. Whether it is Israel or somebody else or the Arab countries, if one country takes it into its head or chooses to attack another country, the people's consciousness should be roused about it. The people should feel about it and they should show their anger in this respect. We should not think that this is his problem or her problem or somebody else's problem because it is nobody else's problem. Therefore, for us to be absolutely quiet about this matter is not very good, not very healthy for our foreign policy. We should show our concern in such matter. That is all I had to say.

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, the difficulty that is now facing the country, I am strongly of the opinion, is due to the adoption of mixed economy. Mixed economy, the hon'ble friend there said, is the innovation of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi, if he were to be alive, would not have allowed luxury and poverty to go side by side for years to come. Mahatma Gandhi would not have thought that poor people, for want of a morsel of food,

would suffer for twenty odd long years whereas by the side of him luxurious man wastes and wastes. That would not have been the concept of the Gandhian philosophy. Gandhiji never thought that poor people after the dawn of independence would remain poorer and poorer and rich grow richer and richer after spending over Rs. 20,000 crores by way of three Five Year Plans.

Here, Sir, I may quote that this mixed economy has not been experienced or practised anywhere in other countries in the world. I do not know how and why our great leaders who sacrificed themselves for the freedom of this country have thought it best to introduce in this country an experiment like this. After twenty years, now the consensus of opinion pervading the country is that through this mixed economy the country will not survive at all. Our leaders and those who are at the helm of affairs in this country and in the government are not in touch with the day to day feelings of the people. They depend upon intelligence reports. Actually the Britisher in those days depended on intelligence reports. But he too was blind to what was happening in the country. Now we have a democratic system. The world over governments are changing and changing for the rapid improvement in the condition of poor people.

Sir, there is a feeling amongst the industrialists in this country as also in the government that the workers do not produce more. How can a worker produce more when he does not have nutritious food ? You always compare things with advanced countries and expect the workers in this country to produce that much of goods. How can we expect our people to produce more when you are not able to feed them well? Now you cannot treat the worker as he was treated during the British days when he was a slave, when he was a beast, afraid of losing his living and, therefore, he did his best to produce. Now the times have changed. Worker elects the representatives to sit in the Government on his behalf. You cannot

compare free independent India with that of the British days. Therefore, a change of atmosphere has taken place and so also a change of view must take place amongst our industrialists and capitalists and also amongst those who are at the helm of affairs. You cannot expect a worker in a free country to slave himself while there are people by his side living luxuriously.

There are instances of wasteful expenditure. Yesterday the hon'ble Minister stated that there were Rs. 84 crores as arrears of income-tax and there are crores and crores of rupees being misused by our capitalists. No Government machinery comes forward to solve this problem. How can you expect a worker or a poor man in this country to rise up to the occasion ?

Yesterday in the Lok Sabha the Finance Minister said that it is a poor country and the poor also must be taxed for the development of the country. How can a poor man be taxed ? Is it not a fact that you are taxing even the dearness allowance being granted to compensate the rate of increase in the food prices ? Is it proper for a government which has adopted the democratic way of governance to tax dearness allowance ? Can a compensation to equalise the rising prices of essential commodities be taxed ? You are taxing the income of a wage-earner. Will it be a proper course of action ? That is the reason why without your knowledge, without the knowledge of the leaders, without the knowledge of the governing political party people tilt the power. What has happened in West Bengal can happen everywhere unless the ruling party and the Government open their eyes and see how things are shaping.

Recently you have allowed the merger of dearness allowance. After adding the dearness allowance you are recovering the house rent also at the enhanced rate. Although the rules are 1\ per cent for the class IV staff and 10 per cent for the class III staff

or the assessed rent, whichever is less, you are deducting more. In the Third Five Year Plan you have built 100,000 houses and you are pooling the capital cost of the old houses and the new houses and you have increased the assessed rent. Therefore, the class IV man who was paying Rs. 9 a month is now paying Rs. 18 as rent because of the merger of dearness allowance. Though this point has been brought to the notice of the Minister and the Government both by Members of Parliament the Minister did not yield. It is not fair. The Finance Minister may be a patriotic gentleman; yet he must be amenable to public opinion. The public opinion is concentrating itself, piling up against the Government. When such force and pressures are brought upon the Government, immediately a decision must be taken that the merger of dearness allowance will be applicable only for retirement benefit and nothing else. That solves the position. You can satisfy 25 lakhs of Central Government employees. And it is they who will come to the rescue of the Government in times of need. If you do not hear that your being adamant will not pay you. It is not proper for a government to be adamant.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Resources ?

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN : For raising resources there are ways and means: If your workers are not contented how can you run the Government? Therefore, contentment is golden. Contentment is very necessary.

SHRI CHANDRA SEKHAR  
(Uttar Pradesh) : They will tax the poor man, not the big ones.

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN : I may mention here that you have created an uncertainty in the minds of the Central Government employees by lowering the superannuation age from 58 to 50. You say that in the public interest a man can be retired at 50. All right do as you please, but grant him pension. You must change the

[Shri T.V. Anandan] old pension rules. The pension rules created by the Britisher are unsuited for the democratic system of the country which won freedom in 1947. Therefore, you must change the pensionary rules by saying that at least 50 per cent, of the last pay drawn will be his pension. And then it would be immaterial if you retire a government servant at 50, 55 or 58. Guarantee him a retirement pension which would be 50 per cent, of the last pay drawn. But guarantee him retirement pension at 50 per cent of the last pay drawn. Why should you calculate 36 months' average pay for pensionary benefits? That was created by the British in their own interest. But here is free India, the people electing their representatives to sit here in Parliament and in the legislatures to govern the country. Why do you still go by those old rules? Why can't you amend them? Why not the last pay drawn or the six months' average or one year's average be taken into consideration for this purpose? Why are you taking 36 months' average pay? All these things will have to be revised. Apply your mind and satisfy the working classes. Without the working classes no country can progress. The Finance Minister may say that there are people in the country who do not have even 80 paise a day. But here the worker has to work for the up-liftment, development and progress of the country and unless the workers are fed properly and they take part in development, unemployment cannot be solved. Therefore, those who are now as workers should be treated separately. So, I say that whatever be the age of retirement, do it as you please to provide employment for the younger generation, but guarantee the pensionary benefits not on the basis of 36 months' average pay, but on the basis of six months' average pay, or the last pay drawn. There are countries—advanced countries—where the lowest paid man is being given the highest pension. But here in this country it is not so. Why can't we adopt that here? Lakhs and lakhs of people are on the lowest pay. Grant

them at least during the period of retirement a higher rate of pension than those who are drawing a higher rate of pay to-day in the country.

Coming now, Sir, to the freedom of the country, Gandhiji said that freedom is for the poor people. But the poor people have not even been provided with drinking water. You are sanctioning crores and crores of rupees for the development of rural areas. But is drinking water provided to all the people? No. Have all the villages been electrified? Not at all. There was a decision taken that by the Gandhi Centenary Year at least 100,000 villages will be electrified. But only 49,000 villages out of the 6 lakhs of villages have been electrified. Electrification is very necessary for the success of the green revolution. Without electricity, how can you energise the pumping sets for irrigation purposes? You have not yet channelised all the usable water in the country. Only 26 per cent of water is being used for irrigation. The rest goes and flows into the sea. There are even leaders who do not want these waters of the rivers to be divided among the States. The waters may run and flow waste into the sea, but they do not want the neighbouring State to utilise it. Therefore, electrification is very necessary for the villages for energising the pumping sets for the success of the green revolution. That should be borne in mind.

And what about rural housing? Have we made the people in the rural area feel that the country has got independence? In urban areas people may know that it is under an independent India that they all work. But the people of the rural areas—80 per cent live in the rural area—do not know whether the country is free or it is still under serfdom. Therefore, rural housing should be given top priority. If rural areas are given top priority, then the unemployment problem also will be solved. Intensive agriculture will not be a success unless the rural population awakens and comes to the rescue of the Government. Therefore, when

the Finance Minister replies, he must first of all and fundamentally bear in mind that the Central Government employees are not at all satisfied with the merger of the D.A. He must now revise the policy and apply the merger of D.A. only for retirement benefits and for nothing else. Thus he can avoid the cut in the take-home pay which is the grouse of the people. A cut of Rs. 80 and even Rs. 120 has been made in their pay because of the rules formulated under the merger of dearness allowance. While replying, the Finance Minister will please bear in mind the most important and fundamental points pressed in both the Houses by all the Members. Unless the co-operation of the working classes is there, I think no Government anywhere in the world

can survive. We are now seeing how an ideology which was created by 15 crores of people has now spread over 105 crores of people in the world. Let us, who follow Gandhiji's philosophy and ideology, open our eyes and see and remodel the ways of Government and redress the grievances of people, for the success of the mixed economy and democratic socialism in this country. Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI D. THENGARI) : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twenty-five minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 8th May, 1969.