

**THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1968-69 —
General Discussion—contd.**

DR. GOPAL SINGH: I was saying that it is a deficit budget because our public sector undertakings are not giving us the profits that we expected they would yield and this is not merely because of mismanagement on the part of the Managers or on account of any defect in the machinery but more because we have overstaffed them with unwilling workers and whenever we want to get rid of them, it is the leaders of the Opposition who create a hullabaloo and disturbance whenever any action is taken against the unwilling workers or against strikes, gheraos and go-slow movement launched by people who do not want the public sector to yield the benefits that it was expected to. It is a deficit budget because the climate for investment on account of what is happening all around the country is not just there. Whenever we invest outside our own State and when you have made some money, then immediately the people of the same State being instigated by various political parties, come down heavily upon you and you are divested not only of the property you have built up but also your life is threatened as it happened in Gauhati in Assam, or in Bengal or in Madras or in Bombay. Who is to blame if people are not coming forward to invest more money in any private undertakings and for going out to other States where it is more possible to get better yield. For instance, there is a good deal of commotion in the minds of the Madras people over the language and the blame rests squarely on the shoulders of the leaders of the Opposition who have created over the question of languages such stresses and such confusion and roused such passions that it is impossible to think dispassionately about this question and unless we discuss this question dispassionately and come to terms both with the South and with the North—and this may take some time—it is not possible for people not to get worried over the sudden changes that are sought to be brought about by a shift over the question of language. Ii/P(D)73BSS—6(a)

[THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair]

Today as we look around in the world, it is not only in our country that we are experiencing economic difficulties. The U.S. which is perhaps the most affluent society in the world is also facing tremendous difficulties. So also the U.K., and the currencies of both U.K. and U.S.A. are under great pressure. Even look around the Afro-Asian continents where also we see the same position. In these continents, there is hardly any country except Japan which has made that amount of progress as our country has. I am not referring to moral and political stability that we have built during the last 20 years and which is now breaking up on account of the sinister designs of certain parties which do not believe in either democracy or in civilised democratic behaviour.

In regard to the balance of payments also, it is not only we who are experiencing the difficulties. It is also the U.S., the U.K. and even West Germany which only till recently was considered one of the most affluent States of Western Europe. When all this is said, I must also point out that there are certain things which ought to be done in order that we get out of the money we invest a better result than we have got so far. Some suggestions that I would respectfully request the Minister to consider are: There are colossal arrears not only in income-tax but other Central arrears are also there which amount to Rs. 800 crores and this sum ought to be realised as quickly as possible and with as much ruthlessness as he is capable of. Because, unless we get all the money due to us, if we go on creating money, this will certainly push up the prices and also create an economic instability in the whole system. Secondly, the expenditure on non-developmental projects should be reduced as far as possible because it has from 1964-65 to 1967-68 increased by 50 per cent while Defence expenditure has increased only by 20 per cent. Regarding Plan expenditure also, we are spending not as was expected of us because out of the total

[Dr. Gopal Singh] resources of Rs. 3,729 crores, the Centre could spare only Rs. 511 crores for plan this year and Rs. 550 crores for next year. We have been able to unearth only Rs. 200 crores of black money so far though according to various estimates the amount is about fifteen times as high.

Similarly some of the problems that are confronting us within the country should also be tackled with more sympathy and understanding than before. For instance, just as we have been trying to discuss and negotiate with the rebel Nagas even though they have been fighting against us with arms, similarly we should go ahead with tackling the problems of Kashmir, Mizoland and Punjab, where people's minds have been exercised over the questions of Chandigarh as also Bhakhra-Nangal. We should similarly tackle the Mysore-Maharashtra dispute over the borders and the river border disputes as expeditiously as possible. These might be minor things, taken individually, so far as the all-India context is concerned, but they become big in their total effect and they create an instability in the minds of the people because if they cannot move from one State to another, if they cannot invest where they want to, if they cannot reap out of their investments or the benefits that they want, then certainly our economy would not look up as it is expected.

Another suggestion is, that because of our democratic elections we have to collect funds willy-nilly from certain business houses and it is these business houses which later on corrupt our politicians and the politicians in turn corrupt the services. If a way-out could be found to collect money for the elections through some other source as has been done, for instance, in West Germany and in Turkey, then perhaps it might be possible for us to get rid of this corrupting influence of the industrialists and the capitalists upon our politics and administration. What the German and the Turkish people have done is this. The Government allots funds to the political parties in relation to the votes they had polled in the previous election. If a similar procedure could

be adopted in this country, namely, if the Centre could allot funds to the Election Commission, and if the Election Commission could then parcel out these funds to the recognised political parties in accordance with the votes they had polled during the last elections, then it might serve the dual purpose of one, eliminating the independents from the elections and secondly, bringing about a climate of moral health in our electioneering campaigns and what follows out of it later on. Now I think that it is an under-estimate to suggest, as the hon. Finance Minister has said, that the public loans could hardly be raised from Rs. 56 crores to Rs. 93 crores, and the small savings from Rs. 110 crores to Rs. 120 crores. With the fresh business that the L.I.C. and the Unit Trust have bagged in the last year, it appears to me that these are under-estimates. So also Excise and Import Duties. If greater care is lavished on raising more public loans and on augmenting the small savings and giving us true estimates of the Excise and Import Duties, I think that the deficit financing would be of a much lessor magnitude than we now think it would be. It is good that the Bank Rate has been cut. Some irritants have been removed from the corporate and individual sectors. Agriculture has been given some more priority but my submission, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is that we should invest only where it pays more. For instance, if it pays more in the agriculture in the Punjab, then it should not be the case that we distribute all the money that we have got for agriculture all over the country. There should be certain pockets which produce more in agriculture, and it is there that more money should be invested in agriculture. Elsewhere, if there is a more productive industry, there more money should be put in or distributed. But what we are doing? Every State of ours—these are called States now unfortunately, instead of provinces, which they normally should be—every State now wants to have a steel mill of its own, and all the defence equipment being manufactured in that particular region, in the name of self-sufficiency not only in agriculture but almost in

everything, and they are creating a kind of atmosphere in their respective States, as if they were separate nations not only in the past but as if they wanted to be independent entities in the future also. This tendency should be curbed, and I have no manner of doubt that with the toughness, broad vision and commonsense with which our Deputy Prime Minister is blessed, he would apply his mind to investing his money only where it can yield better dividends, better results.

Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is a Budget without any thrill, without any new approach and extremely conservative in its approach. If we look at the Budget itself, we find that the revenues sought to be collected for meeting the expenses ought to be had from four sources, one, by loan, both internal and foreign; another is from taxation and customs and excise another is from the surplus with the Railways, and the fourth is—it is very important and significant—by deficit financing. There is a gap of Rs. 290 crores, and it is now common knowledge that it will be covered up by printing notes which, in turn, will bring in inflation and where the common man will be the worst affected. We hear very often from the Finance Minister about wage freeze, no increase in dearness allowance. But here is that very man who is going to create this vicious circle, the spiral in the index number of prices, and when, as a consequence, the working class, particularly the Government employees will be trying for more dearness allowance, there is no provision. He would ask them to wait, not to demand any further increase in wages. Now, this, according to me, is an unrealistic approach. This situation calls for rethinking. If an administration is to be run, that administration cannot be run without meeting the basic needs of those employees who work. And at the same time I should tell this House that it is not a problem for the Government employees alone. The situation, in its turn, releases a force which affects the economic condition of every citizen in this country. With the prices

going up, the consumers are hit, and they, in their turn, will either increase the price of the commodities they sell if they are agriculturists or, if they are factory workers, they will be asking for more wages. Now here is a Budget which does not take any *new* project in hand, and in that sense it is a *status quo* Budget. If the Budget is of that pattern, how to solve the unemployment problem in this country? Unless there is a new approach, new ideas of development of this country, where these unemployed engineers will go? They were the best talents in the schools and colleges and as such they got admission in the engineering colleges. Now, after passing the engineering degree examinations, they are being allowed to rot in a state of extreme unemployment. For this there should have been some provision of industrialisation, some provision for keeping them in employment. But we find nothing like that. We rather see that there is a state of recession. For this recession we don't see anything in the Budget. How to turn the tide? How to make this recession temporary or non-existent in the course of this year? We do not see anything to that effect. We do not see that. Yesterday a friend on this side of the House was telling us what will be the position of railway wagons. Now wagons are being ordered to be manufactured in the private sector for combating the present recession. Now as many as 16,000 wagons are being ordered to be thus manufactured. Money will be spent on that. But the Railways will be requiring only 11,000 wagons. So as many as 5,000 wagons will be manufactured without any scope or prospect of their being utilised. That will be the position. Of course, there was a time when there was a great dearth of railway wagons. Industries in the country could not develop at the desired rate for want of wagons. Now the stage has come when wagons are there and they are in surplus to the requirements. There will be no commodities for being transported by these wagons. Who has brought about this *state* of economy in our country? These twentyone years of Congress rule at the Centre has brought the country to this pass.

[Shri D. L. Sen Gupta] This is the hard real thing which has to be admitted. If it is admitted then the Government should retrace its step and think how best to give the country a lead towards real progress. Before I come to that chapter I should like to tell this House that on the one hand in the name of capital formation the big capitalists are being given tax relief. The annuity deposit scheme is abolished. But for running this Government there are poor workers each of whom has to send say Rs. 20 to his village for maintaining his poor parents. For sending this money he will have to pay more now by way of money order charges. The same is the position of the post card buyer. Who uses a post card? It is the common man who does it and he has now to pay more for his post card. Not only that. Even little children are going to be indirectly taxed when they eat biscuits or chocolates. So the Finance Minister is taxing the children, he is taxing the common man who writes on a post card or sends a money order to his village home for the purpose of meeting his family expenses, for maintaining his wife and children or for maintaining his old parents. The big people do not send money orders. They send their money by cheques and drafts. Here we are forgetting the economic repercussions that these impositions will have.

On the question of capital formation, I think the hon. Finance Minister will bear me out that when cement was decontrolled and the price of cement was increased it was given out in this House and elsewhere that this would lead to capital formation and the starting of more cement factories in the country, since the country was in need of more cement. I want to know what has been the capital formation in the cement industry. We only find that immediately after that price increase a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs was donated to different political parties by the manufacturers of cement and the poor public was made to pay more than this Rs. 25 lakhs for their cement. Where was the capital formation? If there was more cement and as a consequence less

price for cement then in the national interest possibly we might have tolerated this increase in the price of cement for the time being. But there is no such thing anywhere. Prices of cement will continue to be high for many years. Similar is the position with regard to other industries. Some 10 to 15 per cent of the excess profits or extra savings go for capital formation and some 80 to 85 per cent of the balance goes for other purposes. That being the position I feel that this Budget will only help the 'haves' and hit the 'have-nots'.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I come from the State of West Bengal and that State is now being governed by the Governor vis-a-vis the Congress Government at the Centre. In this Budget I am absolutely disappointed when I see that there is no national development programme in it. (*Time bell rings*). I am just finishing, Sir. There is no national development programme. A Bengal Budget will deal with many things which relate to the State of West Bengal and in that Budget we cannot expect any national plan or programme for development. Mr. Vice-Chairman I will not take more than three minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Three minutes? Your time is already over. Take two more minutes and wind up.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: Now, the State of West Bengal is a deficit State in the matter of food. We have got the jute industry, we have the tea industry and we have coal. In fact we contribute more than 40 per cent of the foreign exchange earned by the Government of India. But as I said, West Bengal is a deficit State in the matter of food. I may give to this House a short scheme by which this State of West Bengal can be made self-sufficient in the matter of food. On the 12th March, 1968, Shri Pannalal Das Gupta, a veteran revolutionary of Bengal and Shri Sachin-dranath Mookerjee along, with Mr. Jafar Alam submitted a memorandum to the Governor of West Bengal and they also gave a copy of the memorandum to Dr. K. L. Rao, the Union Irrigation Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Sen Gupta, the West Bengal Budget will be coming up here and then you can refer to all this.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: It has to be a national programme. It will not concern only the West Bengal Budget.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): You must finish now.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: I am just finishing, Sir. Dr. K. L. Rao gave a patient hearing to Shri Pannalal Das Gupta and referred the matter to the officers of the Irrigation Department of West Bengal for their study and report. In this connection I may tell the House that when the United Front Government was there, a similar representation was made to that Government and it was sent to the concerned officers and it was their view that this scheme was necessary in the interest of the State.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): I am afraid, Mr. Sen Gupta, you have to send that scheme to the Minister here and stop now.

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA: I just finish, Sir. This was known as the Bhandar Daha Beel scheme. Mr. Banerjee Project Engineer of the State Fisheries Development Corporation. Mr. Roy Choudhury, Superintendent of the Murshidabad District Fisheries Circle and some other officers of the same Department made a field survey under instructions from Dr. Saha, Adviser to West Bengal Government in the Fisheries Department. They all agreed that this scheme was very necessary for the economic revitalisation of the State, particularly for the purpose of augmenting the supply of food articles like rice and fish. This "Beel" is 70 miles in length lying north to south and is the first major channel to the Bhagirathi river. It is a great reservoir of water with natural embankment and water can be lifted and utilised for the cultivation of a very big area on both sides. This, in my humble opinion,

will help the Government in feeding this deficit State if only they undertake this plan. This will need only an investment of Rs. 1.25 crores and this will in turn yield a return of Rs. 2.75 crores each year by way of three crops. So this is a substantial scheme which should be taken up.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I desire to assess the effects of the Budget proposals as an effort to end industrial stagnation, energise the investment market and positive efforts to lead the growth in agricultural sector along with rural development.

The economic indications of the growth rates, gross capital formation and the colossal idle capacity in industry and the resultant unemployment need a financial policy to pull the industry out of the rut and create a healthy climate for stabilisation. I suppose that the hon. Finance Minister has definitely helped to achieve and must be congratulated for his efforts to give a boost to the industries. However, the production on the other hand where vast masses are dependant on agriculture needs positive steps for an all round increase in agricultural production and for a climate where they can participate in a small manner in industrial activities.

Very recently we have learnt about two economic assessments of this country as well as our neighbours by reputed economic experts like Dr. Myrdal, which have placed before us a very distressing picture of the development in underdeveloped countries of South East Asia and particularly of India. He has particularly stressed the hazards of the postponement of the economic revolution and has given certain directions how this industrial revolution should take place whether on the pattern of the western countries or on a pattern suitable to us.

Another Swedish expert has highlighted the inertia of the masses on this side and the necessity to take increasingly to hard work and cast off age-old prejudices based on religion.

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

In this light, I offer suggestions in two parts—one the development of industry whether public or private, small or big and the proposals in the Budget to encourage production and the other the development of agriculture and irrigation. The sectoral recession and the idle capacity along with the sluggish economic market are the prime indicators of the malaise in industrial sector. The rapid industrial growth generated in the two Plans and the absence of rigid control in Plan periods over licensing and investment has created fantastic capabilities overlapping one another. The industrialists have themselves to blame for this because they have clamoured for more industrial licences, grabbed them by means fair or foul and have never attempted to be cost-conscious and disciplined. The industrialists have exploited the sheltered market of this country by getting protection against foreign competition by pressurising the Government to create tariff walls. I am particularly against this class of industrialists who form the bulk because due to our faulty industrial planning and licensing system the availability of funds was the criterion and the necessity of techno-logy as an asset to entrepreneurship was lost sight of. In this light, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I should say that the present policy of import/export recently announced should find better recommendation by the public because they have now really rationalised the export policy as well as the import policy and in this respect¹ also I congratulate the Government for having taken the right lead in creating a climate for boosting our exports. The hon. Finance Minister has given certain concessions for export houses. I really appreciate this gesture because an underdeveloped country cannot undertake huge exports because of the samllness of their industries and the small man's means to exploit the foreign markets will have to be built up and I do suggest that this type of policy should be continued for a longer period.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): You appreciate everything.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am not like you. I am not here to wreck national development: I am here to help them. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I think you will please protect me by giving me that much time which is lost in interruptions.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: All right; I won't disturb you.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I! will not now go into the details. Since I have got very many points I will just go on mentioning them. I do not want to make long speeches and criss-cross with Mr. Niren Ghosh there.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I said I won't disturb you.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Now with regard to foreign collaborations I have got certain suggestions to make. Foreign collaborations in our country have already resulted in a huge drain of our funds in the shape of collaboration fees and profits that are repatriated and there is now need to examine how far foreign collaborations have helped economic growth and import substitution. I am also against indiscriminate imports being allowed to the public sector as well as to the State and Central Governments to fulfill their targets in the field of irrigation or industry because we have found in the various Consultative Committees that the State Governments and the public sector units are indiscriminately indulging in importing various items.

Then, Sir, I come to taxation. This is a very important aspect to which I attach great importance. I suggest to the consideration of the hon. Finance Minister whether because of the staggering amount of evasion known to be prevalent in the country the criterion for taxation should be changed from profits to the total value added. That will avoid loopholes and also reduce the cost of collection. This method is being followed by European countries with better results.

I would congratulate the Finance Minister for exempting dividends up to Rs. 500/-. I should point out that

he has only exempted the dividend but in other forms of payment like life insurance, deferred annuity deposits or the deposit schemes of 10 to 15 years the investment is exempted. If you want really to help the capital market he should have considered exempting the investment from which the dividend is got from profits and income-tax. We have got the glaring example of Pakistan where the dividend income upto Rs. 5,000/- has been exempted. Though we may not emulate Pakistan in other matters at least in economic matters or in matters concerning development we may copy her.

Now I want to make a suggestion in respect of small industries. In the taxation proposals may I say that a sheer injustice has been done to small companies and particularly I recommend some taxation incentives to small companies which satisfy the need of the definition of 'small industries' as per Government rules. This consideration is required particularly in the case of small companies which are unlike established business houses whose reputation about integrity and business efficiency is known all over India. A new businessman is known only to a small circle of relatives and friends who are all men from small and middle income groups. It is such men drawn from different social groups spread over the countryside who need to be encouraged and whose initiative needs to be utilised for mobilising savings and putting them to productive use. Considerably vast sections of our population are away from the reach of organised banking and the savings from such people could be drawn only through the agency of the small industry. If a reasonable amount of dividend is allowed to be deducted before payment of corporation tax, it would improve the profitability and the small companies would be in a position to pay attractive dividend and will encourage commercial banks to grant loans against the security of such shares which should be transferable. All this is possible and the savings which would otherwise have been frittered away would be available for productive use provided the

corporation tax structure is modified suitably.

In connection with these small industries I have also to bring before the hon. Finance Minister a very deplorable condition. There is a Development Commissioner's office for the small scale industries. There was a proposal there for 30 officers to be appointed but the Finance Ministry has turned down that proposal. Those officers were meant for the development of electronics, petro-chemicals and other sophisticated new lines in the field of small industries. The posts were not filled last year probably because suitable persons were not available but I do not understand why the Finance Ministry has turned down the proposal for their appointment now. If these posts are filled it will be a great help to the small industries.

As regards public sector I have gone through the reports of the speeches made by the hon. Minister in the Lok Sabha. I can understand a period of stagnation; I can understand the difficulties of the public sector but I do not understand the criminal waste as a result of keeping inventories for 15 months. At least this gap should have been plugged and the public sector should be re-aligned in this respect.

As far as administrative expenditure is concerned, we have seen from the reply given by the Minister of State in the Lok Sabha that it is being reduced by 4 per cent and I congratulate them for that. But there is much more scope and the Public Accounts Committee has shown a sum of Rs. 44 crores that could be saved in some five Ministries. It should also have been looked into. Now, Sir, I come to agriculture. As against 0.26 per cent of arable land in Pakistan they are getting Rs. 1,100/- as income per hectare. In India out of 0.35 per cent arable land, we are getting Rs. 700 as income per hectare. In the case of Japan out of 0.06 per cent of arable land, they are getting Rs. 8,000/- per hectare. Therefore, new technology has to be standardised and encouraged by massive in-

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni] vestments in seed, inputs, credits, education of the farmer, mechanisation, renewal of bullocks, etc. The prime necessity is to have tractors at cheap rates.

As regards credit, may I make a suggestion to the hon. Finance Minister? Commercial banks must be increasingly brought into this and unless they have some guarantees, they cannot advance loans. In the case of the co-operative sector, we have got certain guarantees. As in the U.K., a Farm Loan Guarantee Limited should be floated, which should guarantee the loans given by the commercial banks, so that a sum of Rs. 3,000 crores required as agricultural credit would be made available, or a part of it would be made available.

As regards cheap tractors you know that it is an utmost necessity to supply cheap tractors and agricultural implements. I do not find any policy in the Budget as to whether cheap tractors can be purchased. There are certain concessions given to the farm machinery manufacturers. I appreciate that. Tractor production and mechanisation of agriculture deserve the utmost priority and positive assistance.

As regards irrigation and rural electrification, it is a very simple problem. We have got 60 lakh wells already existing. Out of these 7 lakh wells have been energised. If we can energise all the 60 lakh wells, we will get 5 lakh tonnes more of foodgrains and there will be no need to import any foodgrains at all. As regards energising wells and rural electrification, I will say that it is creating an infra-structure for bringing a more small industries into being in the rural areas. They have provided Rs. 60 crores in the Budget. I really desire that Rs. 100 crores should have been provided for electrification and energising wells.

Similarly, about minor irrigation, time and again it is said that money has been provided, but actually the States have complained that they have not received funds for minor

irrigation projects and they are kicking in funds. Otherwise, the food problem would have been solved.

As regards agricultural income-tax, I want to say something, because that is the present topic which requires some type of elucidation at my level. However, there is another way to tap resources from the affluent amongst the poor agriculturists, who have been benefited by assured irrigation facilities. As per statistics available, it shows that tax revenue collection of Central and State Governments has increased from 6.63 per cent of the national income in 1950-51 to 15.06 per cent of the national income in 1965-66, against which land revenue and agricultural income-tax, taken together, has been, as a percentage of the national income only 1.63 per cent. In this context, may I suggest that cash crop can be taxed at the State level and the cash crop should be taxed on a per acre basis, whichever farmer gets more than five acres, so that the poor farmer will be absorbed of this difficulty. Similarly, agricultural tax cannot be levied because it is not a standardised and basic agricultural practice. Expenses differ from farm to farm. The yield differs from farm to farm. There is no guaranteed rain or any other assured water supply. Eighty per cent of the population of this country depend on agriculture. The affluent section among them will not be even two per cent of this 80 per cent. In view of this I do not understand why agricultural income-tax should be propounded at all by these people.

Another very important aspect of agriculture is the agricultural prices. Now-a-days in the Planning Commission all these economic experts have been all along looking at agricultural prices from the consumers' point of view. When industrial difficulties come in, when industrial recession is there and when prices are to be fixed, the Government appoints a Tariff Commission. It gives them all types of help in assessing the cost of production, but in this country during the last twenty years no worthwhile and positive effort has been

tirade to assess the cost of agricultural production of different commodities like millet, jowar, rice, etc. It has not been done. It is all a consumers' problem, a middle-class problem, all along. So, the poor agriculturist is not coming up and he should now pay tax: I share the view of the hon. Finance Minister recently-expressed in Bombay. Agriculturists are not due for agricultural income-tax. I congratulate him on this. I request that this stand should be maintained. Agriculture should be boosted, so that we will get more food.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I offer my thanks to the hon. Finance Minister for presenting the Budget. I was very much hopeful when I heard his last Budget speech, but his Budget is not an improvement on what it was last year. We expected much more improvement and some radical changes, since a courageous leader, with great experience, has taken over the finance portfolio and become the Deputy Prime Minister. A deficit Budget is bound to follow, for obvious reasons. For that I have not such criticism, although I am not happy over it. But I will be failing in *my* duty if I do not criticise him for not having economy and austerity in the expenditure in the Budget. Taxation there must be, but there must be definite steps to meet the basic needs of the common man in the Budget proposals, consistent with the declared and professed policy of democratic socialism. There is no indication of advancing the cause of socialism, rather it is indirectly helping to grow capitalism. Today unless we solve the basic needs of food and housing, of the poorest of men of our country, the Budget calculations will not help our country to advance. Unless some of the urgent pressing political problems are solved, we cannot lead the country to progress with the Budget only. There cannot be progress unless we solve our immediate political problems. Our whole country today is in great unrest. The law and order situation has greatly deteriorated leading towards chaos and dis-

order. Above all, communal forces are growing in the country. What is happening in the country today? Imposing of curfew has become an every day business in many parts of the country. Strikes and hartals have become the call of the day in all spheres of the society. Any group of people under any name, apart from the known political parties can organise a hartal and strike. Only it has to issue a pamphlet or announce through a mike. People do not like to resist these calls. They silently surrender to such calls. Disruptive forces are let loose in the country to disintegrate our national integrity. The symptoms are not the signs of a scientific revolution to establish a new order of society. So we all who believe in democracy and socialism should take the country's present situation with alarm and we should be alert. To face the present challenge of the times, we will have to launch a mass movement for the establishment of our objective of democratic socialism. Only then the disruptive forces and vested interests will die out. Otherwise these forces are going to kill our very foundations of democracy, not to speak of socialism. So we have to hasten the process of building our democratic socialism. This reminds me that we must build up a new pattern of education which will enthuse our young boys and girls with patriotism, nationalism and above all with a sense of citizenship.

Then, Sir, another thing has come which in the present circumstances calls for an amendment of our Constitution. In this respect may I refer to the latest disease, which I call cancer, which has cropped up in our Legislatures. I mean defections? These immoral defections are going to make it impossible for the proper functioning of democracy. It is the greatest disgrace, demoralisation and danger which has come in the way of the proper functioning of democracy—these shameless, immoral defections from party. According to me, prostitution has not done any more harm than the harm caused by defectors in democracy. Sir you have banned prostitution but

[Shri Sriman Prafulla Goswami]

it is high time to ban defections. I can understand if anybody's conscience does not agree with his party he can resign from the party, and he must resign immediately from the Legislature and seek re-election; then he can come to function as a Member or Minister. But what is happening in this country today? One morning he is in the opposition, next morning he becomes a Minister or Chief Minister. This is an alarming situation. I am not concerned so much about the politics but it is the national crisis which is of the utmost importance. Unless and until our Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, who is also holding the Finance portfolio, immediately try to solve this problem, there is no way out. I suggest there should be some sort of meeting of all parties who believe in democracy to evolve some conventions, some rules and regulations by which we can stop these defections. The present circumstances have demonstrated that we need to amend the Constitution so that democracy survives. Also we should discuss between all the parties, those who believe in democracy, to establish certain conventions and a moral code, code of conduct, for legislators both in Parliament and in State Legislatures. The way some of the Speakers have been behaving in the Legislatures, that also calls for an amendment to limit the powers and functions of the Speakers in the Legislatures.

I must lodge a protest against some of the proposals of taxation, for instance, the post card. The post card is the medium of communication for the poorest man. The Finance Minister said in the Lok Sabha that it is mostly used by the businessmen. May be, but there are thousands and crores of people who write on the post card. Do you want to tax them? Everyday they will be feeling this and criticising us. For getting this amount you can have tax by other means. You can increase the wealth tax by 1 or 2 per cent. You can reduce expenditure on the administration. You can reduce the luxury of these Ministers and others.

You can minimise their standard. You can curtail some of their amenities by 25 per cent, the amenities which the Ministers and other Secretaries are enjoying. By that you can give relief to the poor people by removing the increase on the post card.

Then about the third class fare. I do not know how many of our Ministers have had the experience of travelling in the third class in which I do travel now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): We are discussing the General Budget, not the Railway Budget.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI: This reminds me about that. That also comes under the broad policy of finance. The third class passengers do not get even the accommodation. Therefore, you have to increase the third class accommodation. You curtail the air-condition; leave it for the foreign tourists; let not the Ministers travel in air-condition even at their own cost. By reducing the cost on air-condition it can be converted into third class.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) :M. Ps. should travel in third class?

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI: That I do not know.

Another thing I can humbly suggest. It will not bring more savings but it will have a great gesture throughout the country. Those Ministers including the Prime Minister who pay wealth tax, let them serve Government humbly on Re. 1 per month. They need no money for their maintenance. They are already paying wealth tax. Let them charge Re. 1 per month. That will have a great moral effect over the people. Yesterday one of my colleagues has said about the two principles enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi: self-reliance and austerity. I again reiterate and I support that self-reliance and austerity should be the slogan of the Finance Minister, should be the slogan of the present Government.

The bureaucracy is growing and growing. We have inherited from the

British imperialism an imperialist j bureaucracy. Instead of reducing that bureaucracy we have been increasing it, and I am afraid that some day this bureaucracy will grow to such an extent that it will not only kill itself but will kill us also. So it is time that we should be alert to reduce the bureaucracy, decentralise the power to village level, to the district level, increase the power of district officers in all spheres of administration; let them decide, let them implement; make them responsible. Instead of having so many Secretaries, the Minister is sufficient to dictate the policy and one Secretary is enough to carry out and circulate it to the district level. Give more powers to panchayats. In the last Budget I said that the judiciary should be reduced by 50 per cent. Why should there be so many District Judges and High Court Judges?

Now let me say something about my State, Assam. Assam has been lagging behind. During the British time Assam was kept as a planters' raj. There were no communication roads, nothing. Even now after twenty years of independence we have not got a broad gauge to Gauhati. The broad gauge should be extended. It is a matter of disgrace that the national highway, the only link road to Assam, that frontier State, has not yet been completed. In the last Budget I pointed out that No. 31 National Highway is in a deplorable condition, and I put some questions on the floor of the House. Let me inform the Government that even now that National Highway No. 31 is not yet completed with the new railway crossings. Is it not a disgrace? The only road which leads to Assam, which gives a link with the rest of India is not yet completed. What about the second bridge over Jogigopa? That is very essential. You have not been able to have a bridge over Brahmaputra. You have so many bridges over Ganga. When our youths come and see the developments here, they are frustrated. Let me tell the mind of our youth and intelligentsia. They are very much frustrated. A certain feeling has grown in that neglected

Assam which is the north eastern frontier.

3 P.M.

Not only Assam; When I speak about Assam, I speak about Assam, NEPA, Manipur, Nagaland and Tripura. This whole north-eastern region is surrounded by hostile country, it is essential, it is the moral obligation and duty of the Government to build up communications, to build a broad-gauge railway and to have at least one second bridge on the Brahmaputra near Jogigopa. What about the cost of petrol in Assam? Well, they put questions to us. Assam produces petrol. the maximum, throughout India. And there are more sources of petrol which are not being harnessed. Petrol there costs more than what it costs in Calcutta or in Delhi. That is the paradox.

Then, what about industrialisation of Assam. NEFA. Manipur, Tripura and Nagaland? Except that small refinery, no big industry is there. What about the All India Radio at Gauhati? We cannot listen. For the whole north-eastern frontier region there is only one radio installed at Gauhati with a minimum capacity. It should be increased. Every part of the region should be enabled to hear from Gauhati because there is the defence line. Jawans from all parts of India protect India from there. I urge upon the Finance Minister and the Government to pay more attention, give more money and develop that northeastern region and at least the minimum facilities should be given, and expenditure curtailed: some austerity should be adopted in the administration. Personal austerity is not the only thing. I know, the Finance Minister has personal austerity. Personal austerity cannot help unless he asks the administration to curtail expenditure.

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बजट के मसल में और वर्तमान आर्थिक वातावरण पर भी विचार करने की आवश्यकता है इसलिए दो तीन मिनट का समय आपका लुंगा। वर्तमान आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण राजनैतिक

[श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे]

अस्थिरता हमारे देश में हो गई है। वर्षों से हम शासन चला रहे हैं, परिणाम क्या निकला है कि देश के ऊपर कर्ज बढ़ता चला जा रहा है, प्रत्येक व्यक्ति कर्जदार है विदेश का। दूसरा परिणाम क्या हुआ है कि पूँजी कुछ लोगों के हाथ में केन्द्रित होती चली जा रही है। तीसरा परिणाम क्या हुआ है कि गरीबी बढ़ती चली जा रही है और उनकी संख्या बढ़ती चली जा रही है। शिक्षित और अशिक्षित तथा टेक्नीकल स्नातकों में बेकारी बढ़ती चली जा रही है। बेकारी और दरिद्रता के कारण देश में अराजकता और विघटन की प्रवृत्ति बढ़ती चली जा रही है। युवक समाज जो है, शिक्षित या अशिक्षित दोनों की स्थिति यह हो गई है कि उनको अपना भविष्य अन्धकारमय दीख पड़ता है। परिणाम उसका यह हुआ है कि उनमें गहरी चिन्ता और निराशा फैल रही है। इसी कारण से जगह जगह भापायी और जातीय संघर्ष बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि ऐसे संकट के समय में, हमारा यह उद्देश्य है कि हम समाजवादी समाज की रचना करेंगे और यह हमारा संकल्प है पर इस संकल्प की पूर्ति के लिए कोई कदम उठना हुआ इस बजट में मुझे दीख नहीं पड़ता है। देश के सामने बड़ी गम्भीर समस्या है। आर्थिक विघटन और राजनैतिक विघटन प्रारम्भ हो गया है। ऐसी स्थिति में यह जो बजट हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत किया गया है उसमें हमसे यह कहा गया है कि इस बजट से और विभिन्न तथ्यों से जो हमको आय होगी, जो हमको लाभ होगा, उसको आगामी पंचवर्षीय योजना के विकास के कार्यों में इसे व्यय करेंगे। तो मैं अब थोड़ा विस्तार से आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ खेती के सम्बन्ध में। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि इस बजट में पिछले दिनों से कुछ अधिक खेती की तरफ ध्यान दिया गया है। यह भी मैं मानता हूँ

कि नाइट्रोजन खाद में वृद्धि की गई है, लघु सिंचाई के लिए रुपया कुछ अधिक लगाया गया है और इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि लघु सिंचाई योजना से कुछ सिंचाई की वृद्धि होगी लेकिन मैं यह मानता हूँ कि इससे जितनी आशा किसानों को लगी हुई थी वह पूरी नहीं हो रही है। खेती के लिए जो आधुनिक यंत्रों की आवश्यकता पड़ती है इन की तरफ पहले से कुछ अधिक ध्यान दिया गया है लेकिन वह पर्याप्त नहीं है।

यह बजट जो आपका है इसमें दो तीन बातें मुझे बड़ी विचित्र लगती हैं। यह मैं सोच नहीं पाता हूँ कि पी० एल० 480 जो है इसमें हम कब तक अनुदान लेते रहेंगे, सहायता लेते रहेंगे, कर्ज लेते रहेंगे, इस का कोई समय निर्धारित हो सकता है या नहीं? अगर इसका समय निर्धारित नहीं हो सकता है तो हमारे उज्ज्वल भविष्य के समय को भी निर्धारित नहीं किया जा सकता है।

श्री के० एस० चावडा (गुजरात) : बजट में बताया है, आशा व्यक्त की है कि दो तीन साल और लगेंगे।

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे : यह तो सन् 1952 से ही हम सुनते आ रहे हैं इसलिये उस वाणी में मुझे कुछ अधिक विश्वास नहीं रह गया है।

रेल का जिक्र मैं नहीं करना चाहता हूँ लेकिन डाक, तार और रेल में, यह साधारण मनुष्य की समझ के बाहर है कि इन में घाटा क्यों होता है। क्या कारण है? हम अपने बचपन में एक पैसा पोस्टकार्ड का दाम देते रहे हैं और वह दाम बढ़ता ही चला जा रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इनलैंड लैटर और पोस्टकार्ड इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करने की जरूरत है। किसान, गरीब और छोटे मोटे काम करने वाले व्यक्ति इन्हें प्रयोग में

लाते हैं, बड़े भी लाते होंगे, इसलिये इसके दाम को घटाना उचित होगा।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में जो कल-कारखाने चल रहे हैं उनमें से कुछ की ओर पार्टीकुलरली हिन्दुस्तान स्टील की हानत अच्छी नहीं है। मुझको अर्थ मंत्री से यह निवेदन करना होगा कि जो लोग इन कार्यों को करते हैं यदि उनमें समाजवाद के लिये संकल्प नहीं है, उसमें वे विश्वास नहीं रखते हैं तो उन क्षेत्रों में ठीक ठीक काम कर पायेंगे यह मुझको दीख नहीं पड़ता है और यही कारण है कि उसमें घाटा हो रहा है। तो इस संगठन की आवश्यकता पड़ेगी।

अब, हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा के सम्बन्ध में एक शब्द मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। इससे 45 करोड़ रुपये की वृद्धि की गई है। चीजों की मंहगाई बढ़ती चली जा रही है, त्राहे बाहर से आये या इस देश में बने उनका मूल्य बढ़ता चला जा रहा है, और जो जवान हैं जो अधिकारी फौज के हैं, उनका बतन भी बढ़ता चला जा रहा है, तो यह 45 करोड़ रुपये की जो वृद्धि की गई है उसके कोई मान नहीं होने हैं, बल्कि यह कह सकने हैं कि रक्षा के कार्य में जितने रुपये की आवश्यकता है वह नहीं रखा गया है।

अब मैं दो-एक शब्द उत्तर प्रदेश के सम्बन्ध में, खास तौर से पूर्वी जिलों के सम्बन्ध में, निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। हमारे भाई साहब ने आसाम का जिक्र किया। यह तो बड़े सौभाग्य की बात है, उत्तर प्रदेश को इस पर अभिमान भी हो सकता है और इसकी लोक-चर्चा भी हो सकती है कि जब से भारत को स्वराज्य मिला तब से भारत के प्रधान मंत्री उत्तर प्रदेश के रहने वाले रहे हैं और इस वक्त भी हैं। लेकिन इस चर्चा से और इस अभिमान से उन्नति नहीं हो सकती है।

बल्कि वस्तुस्थिति यह है कि उत्तर प्रदेश इस समूचे भारत में आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण में उपेक्षित रहा है, जितनी उसे सहायता मिलनी चाहिए, जितनी उसे प्रेरणा देनी चाहिए, जितनी उसे खाद्यान्न देना चाहिए, इस केन्द्रीय सरकार से उसे मिला नहीं है बल्कि उपेक्षा रही है। यही कारण है कि इस पर आप विचार कर लें शिक्षा उद्योग ट्रान्सपोर्ट और जीवन के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में जितनी उन्नति अन्य प्रदेशों ने की है उतनी उन्नति उत्तर प्रदेश की नहीं हो रही है। यह केवल उत्तर प्रदेश का ही दोष नहीं है बल्कि सबसे बड़ा दोष केन्द्रीय सरकार की उपेक्षा नीति का है। मैं इस वजह को भी आँखोपांत देख गया। मुझे दीख पड़ता है कि इसके उत्तर प्रदेश के प्रति जो परम्परागत उपेक्षा की नीति रही है वह ज्यों की त्यों कायम है। कांग्रेस तो एक महान संस्था है इसमें मुझे संदेह नहीं है, लेकिन इसके साथ साथ यह भी सही है कि कांग्रेस का चालीस वर्ष का—कम से कम मत् 1930-31 के कराँची कांग्रेस के बाद से—इतिहास इस बात का साक्षी है कि देश की जनता के लिए जो आश्वासन दिए गए, जो संकल्प पारित किए गए, वह पूरे नहीं किए जा सके। उनकी तरफ कदम नहीं उठाया जा सका। यह प्रवृत्ति रही है कांग्रेस की।

समाजवाद की बड़ी चर्चा है और उसको स्थापित करने के लिए विभिन्न अधिवेशनों में संकल्प पारित किए गए। उसके प्रति कोई प्रयास किए गए, कोई कदम उठाए गए? इस सारे वजह का अवलोकन कर लें, आपको कहीं नहीं दिखायी पड़ेगा समाजवाद के प्रति किसी प्रकार का मोह, किसी प्रकार का संकल्प या किसी प्रकार की नीति है।

उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों के बारे में एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। बनारस और गोरखपुर कमिश्नरियों में पड़ते हैं इस प्याहल जिले हैं। उसी तरह से उत्तर प्रदेश का

[श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे]

बुंदेलखंड का क्षेत्र है और पहाड़ी क्षेत्र है और यह उत्तर प्रदेश में अत्यंत पिछड़ा हुआ है और भारत सरकार ने समूचे देश के स्तर पर जिन जिलों को सबसे ज्यादा पिछड़ा हुआ घोषित किया है उनमें उत्तर प्रदेश के आजमगढ़, बलिया, गाजीपुर, जौनपुर, देवरिया और बस्ती ये जिले आते हैं और इस बात का हमको आश्वासन दिया गया था कि उनके लिए कुछ कदम उठाए जायेंगे, विशेष आर्थिक अनुदान देकर। मुझको स्मरण है

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

जब पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने लोक मभा में यह घोषित किया था और उसी आधार पर पटेल आयोग की नियुक्ति की गई थी तो उस पटेल आयोग ने उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों का भ्रमण किया और उसके जीवन की जांच करके केन्द्रीय सरकार को कुछ सिफारिशों की और यह निश्चय किया गया था कि गाजीपुर, बलिया, जौनपुर, आजमगढ़, देवरिया, बस्ती इन जिलों के भीतर पटेल आयोग की सिफारिशों के आधार पर विकास कार्य निश्चित योजनाओं के साथ किए जायेंगे। यह आश्वासन समाप्त हो गया। इस संदर्भ में इस केन्द्रीय शासन की तरफ से कोई कदम उठाया गया, यह मुझे दीखता नहीं है बल्कि मुझको क्या दीखता है कि उत्तर प्रदेश में कभी कभी सरकार ने उन जिलों के विकास के लिए जो अतिरिक्त धन देना स्वीकार किया, और केन्द्रीय सरकार ने अपने हिस्से को दिया नहीं, और जब केन्द्रीय सरकार ने देना प्रारम्भ किया तो उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार में जो संविद सरकार बनी थी उसने दिया नहीं। परिणाम क्या हुआ, ये जिले जिस प्रकार पिछड़े हुए थे उसी प्रकार पिछड़े हुए रह गए हैं। अब मैं किन्नी की प्रशस्ति के लिए नहीं कह रहा हूं, मगर मैं यह जरूर कहूंगा कि जब उत्तर प्रदेश के सिंचाई मंत्री श्री

कमलापति त्रिपाठी थे उन्होंने नहरों, लघु सिंचाई योजनाओं, ट्यूबवेल का कार्य कराया, उसके बाद जब उस विभाग से वह महाशय अलग हो गये तो आज तब उस प्रकार की उन्नति इन जिलों में कहीं देखने को नहीं मिलती है। इसलिए जैसी वहां सड़कों की हालत है, उद्योग है, सिंचाई की व्यवस्था है, उनकी हालत बड़ी चिंताजनक है। यह भूभाग दरिद्र है, जनसंख्या अधिक है, जमीन कम है, जमीन पर खेती करने के लिए आधुनिक साधन उपलब्ध नहीं हैं, लोगों की आर्थिक हालत अच्छी नहीं है, बेकारी अधिक है, कोई उद्योग धंधे नहीं हैं, आवागमन के मुलभ साधन नहीं हैं, ऐसी स्थिति में यह प्रदेश का पूर्वांचल जितना पिछड़ा हुआ चला आ रहा है, इस बजट में उसके लिए कोई अतिरिक्त सहायता करने की बात नहीं कही गई है।

एक बात मैं यह जरूर कहूंगा कि मैं ट्रांसपोर्ट मिनिस्टर डाक्टर राव को धन्यवाद देता हूं कि कृपा करके उन्होंने बक्सर में एक पुल बनाने का संकल्प स्वीकार किया है इसके लिये वह धन्यवाद के पात्र है। स्वराज्य होने के बाद हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों में दो तीन जो काम हुए हैं उसमें से एक यह भी काम है। बीस वर्षों में अवाध गति से, परिश्रम, प्रचार, डेपुटेसन, मिलना जुलना, यह सब कुछ कर करा के यह परिणाम जरूर हुआ है कि पुल तैयार हो गया है...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
अब कृपा करके खरम करें।

श्री तारकेश्वर पांडे : मैं खरम करता हूं। यह बजट को मैं आशाजनक, प्रेरणायुक्त और आगे बढ़ाने वाला नहीं मानता हूं। हम तो अभी हाल ही में स्वीकार कर चुके हैं कि यह घाटे का बजट है। हम घाटे को पूरा कर सकते हैं। हाल ही में यह प्रस्ताव हम स्वीकार कर चुके हैं कि बेंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण हो, हम हाल ही में स्वीकार कर चुके

हैं कि जनरल इन्डोरेन्स को नेशनलाइज करेंगे, हम स्वीकार कर चुके हैं कि राजाओं का प्रिवी पर्स समाप्त करेंगे। लेकिन इसमें इसका कहीं जिक्र नहीं, कहीं हवाला नहीं। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश बड़ा चंचल हो गया है, राजनैतिक स्थिति बड़ी भयानक है। अगर कांग्रेस टूटी तो देश टूट जायेगा लेकिन कांग्रेस के टूटने की संभावना स्पष्ट दिखायी पड़ रही है। क्यों दिखायी पड़ती है कि जिन संकल्पों को स्वीकार किया गया, प्रखर वृद्धि में नहीं बल्कि सर्वसम्मति से उस पर आचरण करने के लिये हमने उसके लिये तैयारी नहीं दिखायी। इसलिये मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाह रहा हूँ कि जिन संकल्पों को आपने स्वीकार किया, दृढ़ता के साथ कदम बढ़ा कर उस पर चलिये, तभी देश की रक्षा हो सकती है।

वित्त मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री जगन्नाथ पहारिष्ठा) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, तीन दिन से लगातार आम बजट पर चर्चा सुनने के बाद तो कुछ ऐसा लगता है कि सरकारी पक्ष को कुछ कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं क्योंकि माननीय विरोधी दल के सदस्यों ने जो कुछ कहा और कांग्रेस पक्ष के सदस्यों ने जो कुछ कहा, आम तौर पर उसमें कोई अंतर नहीं क्योंकि विरोधी सदस्यों ने भी आलोचना मात्र के लिये आलोचना की है और अंत में इस बजट का स्वागत ही किया है। वैसे तो जैसा उप-प्रधान मंत्री जी ने लोकसभा में स्पष्ट कहा कि कोई भी बजट आलोचना रहित नहीं हो सकता है और किसी बजट की आलोचना न हो, तो वह बजट ही नहीं होगा। इसलिये जो आलोचनाएं यहां पर की गई हैं, उनके बारे में मुझे कुछ कहना नहीं है। लेकिन कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने, जो तजुबेकार हैं, कुछ ऐसे रिमार्क कसे हैं, जिनके बारे में थोड़ा कहना उचित समझता हूँ।

कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने जो कि विभिन्न दलों के नेता रहे हैं, जो बहुत ही तजुबेकार

संसद् सदस्य हैं, उन्होंने जो बातें कही हैं, उनका जवाब तो उपप्रधान मंत्री जी ही देंगे क्योंकि वे नीति से संबंधित प्रश्न हैं और गम्भीर प्रश्न हैं। इसलिये मैं तो कुछ ऐसे ही सवालों को जो गम्भीर नहीं हैं या जिन में नीति संबंधी बात अटकी नहीं है, उनका जवाब देना उचित समझता हूँ। मैं उन मित्रों से जिन्होंने यह कहा कि इस बजट से किसी को तसल्ली नहीं हुई है या उन मित्रों को जिन्होंने यह कहा कि यह बजट आम जनता की आशा के विपरीत है, या उन मित्रों को जिन्होंने यह कहा कि गरीब तो गरीब होते जा रहे हैं और अमीर अमीर होते जा रहे हैं, इन सब के संबंध में थोड़ा अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। जैसा मैंने अर्ज किया, डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग हो, पब्लिक सेक्टर और प्राइवेट सेक्टर का झगड़ा हो, स्टेट्स द्वारा ओवरड्राफ्ट का सवाल हो, इन सब सवालों का जवाब स्वयं उपप्रधान मंत्री जी देंगे।

आम तौर पर इस बात की चर्चा की गई है कि इस बजट में इस बात की ओर इशारा नहीं किया गया है कि हमारे बजट से खेती में वृद्धि होने वाली है या हमारे बजट से जो उद्देश्य हमने विधान में तय किये हैं, जो प्रस्ताव पास किये हैं पार्लियामेंट में, उनकी ओर इस बजट में कोई इशारा नहीं हुआ है। मैं माननीय सदस्यों का ध्यान केवल उन्हीं बातों की ओर दिलाना चाहूंगा कि जब वे बजट पर यहां पर चर्चा करें तो उन सिद्धांतों को भी ध्यान में रखें, जो हमारे लम्बे अरसे से झगड़े थे जिनकी वजह से विकास में कमी आई है। लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ जो वर्तमान आर्थिक स्थिति है उन्हें उसका भी ध्यान रखना होगा। वर्तमान आर्थिक स्थिति को ध्यान में रखते हुए, वे बजट के उद्देश्यों को भी जाँचें तो यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि स्थायी रूप में विकास और वर्तमान स्थिति इन दोनों का सामंजस्य करने की बहुत आवश्यकता है। इसी लिए वित्त मंत्री जी

[श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया]

ने इन सब बातों को ध्यान में रखकर इस बजट को पेश किया है।

आमतौर पर इस बात की चर्चा की गई है कि हमारा बजट जो इस साल का है वह हर साल आता है जिसके द्वारा सरकारी खर्च में वृद्धि हो जाती है और विकास के काम कम हो जाते हैं तथा विकास पर खर्च कम होते जाते हैं, मैं माननीय सदस्यों को याद दिलाना चाहूंगा जो पूंजी बाजार की स्थिति है, उसमें जो अनिश्चितता है, जो कीमतें गिरती और बढ़ती रहती हैं, खासतौर पर खाद्य की और उसके साथ ही साथ उत्पादक और उपभोक्ता इन दोनों में संग्रह की जो प्रवृत्ति पड़ गई है और हमारी कीमतों की जो अनिश्चितता है, इन सब को ध्यान में रखना होगा। इन सब बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए इन बातों का भी ध्यान रखना होगा कि हमारे देश में दो तीन सालों से लगातार अकाल पड़ा। अकाल पड़ने के साथ साथ देश में कुछ ऐसी हालत पैदा हुई जिससे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति पर असर पड़ा, जैसा कि हमारे देश के ऊपर विदेशी आक्रमण हुआ। इस आक्रमण के साथ ही माननीय सदस्यों को यह भी याद रखना होगा कि आज जिस तरह की हालत होती जा रही है, जिस तरह से हमारे जनसाधारण के बिचार बदलते जा रहे हैं जिनको हमने पांच दस साल पहले नहीं सोचा था तो हमें इन सब चीजों के लिये उपलब्धि करनी है और निश्चित रूप से उत्पादन बढ़ाना है। उत्पादन बढ़ाने समय निश्चित रूप से इस बात का ध्यान रखा जाना है कि सबसे पहले कृषि के संबंध में हमें आत्म-निर्भर होना है और कृषि के संबंध में आत्म-निर्भर होने के लिये हमें निश्चित रूप से कुछ साधन उपलब्ध करने हैं। लेकिन यह कहना कि हमारे इस बजट में इस संबंध में कोई इशारा नहीं है, इस बजट में खेती के विकास के लिये कुछ नहीं है, यह बात सही नहीं है, जैसे कि माननीय सदस्य इस बात को जानते

हैं कि खेती का जो उद्योग है वह निजी क्षेत्र में है और अगर मैं इसके बारे में यह कहूं कि यह गलत-प्रतिगलत है तो कोई अनुचित नहीं होगा क्योंकि ज्यादातर लोग खेती पर खुद काम करते हैं। इसमें सरकार द्वारा कुछ सहायता प्राप्त हो सकती है तो उसको प्राप्त करनी चाहिये। सरकार इस संबंध में जितनी सहायता दे सकती है वह देती है। इसलिये इस संबंध में यह कहना कि सरकार खेती के संबंध में कोई सहायता नहीं देती है, उचित मालूम नहीं होता है। इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि खेती निजी क्षेत्र का उद्योग है और इस बात को भी ध्यान में रखना होगा। केन्द्रीय सरकार खेती के लिये जो सहायता देती है, उसके अलावा राज्य सरकारें भी खेती के लिये पर्याप्त मात्रा में प्रयास करती हैं तथा रकम देती हैं और साधन जुटाती हैं। किस तरह से सरकार खेती के संबंध में सहायता देती है, इसको मैं बाद में विस्तार के साथ बतलाऊंगा। राज्य सरकारें इस संबंध में जो कुछ देती हैं उनको बतलाकर मैं सदन का समय नष्ट नहीं करना चाहता हूं।

माननीय सदस्य इस बात को जानते ही होंगे कि सन् 1960-61 में रामायनिक खाद का आयात हमने जितना किया था, आज हम उसका दस गुना आयात करने हैं। माननीय सदस्य जानते हैं कि यह खाद सब खेती के ही काम में आती है और किसी उद्योग में यह काम में नहीं आती है। हमने इसका केवल आयात ही नहीं किया बल्कि इस देश के अन्दर रामायनिक खाद के कारखाने खोलने की बात भी की है और कुछ खाद के कारखाने बनाए गए हैं तथा कुछ के बनने की बात हो रही है।

माननीय सदस्यों ने कोआपरेटिव क्रेडिट के संबंध में भी आलोचना की है और जो माननीय सदस्य अभी बोल रहे थे वे कह रहे थे कि कोआपरेटिव क्रेडिट को कोई बढ़ावा नहीं मिला। सहकारिता के आधार पर कोई

मदद नहीं मिली। लेकिन माननीय सदस्य इस बात का ध्यान रखें कि पिछले साल करीब 400 करोड़ रुपया के लगभग सहकारी समितियों द्वारा हमने मदद की और इस साल हम कोआपरेटिव क्रेडिट के जरिए खेती के लिए 650 करोड़ रुपए खर्च करेंगे। इस तरह के आंकड़ों को देखने से यह बात स्पष्ट हो जाती है कि निश्चित रूप से सरकार के साधन विकास की ओर जा रहे हैं और धीरे धीरे करके जैसे हमारे साधन जुटते जाते हैं, जिस तरह से हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति हमको इस बात की इजाजत देती है त्यों त्यों हम पहले के अनुपात से खेती के लिए अधिक साधन जुटाते जाते हैं। जिस अनुपात से हम खेती की पैदावार में वृद्धि कर रहे हैं उसी अनुपात से हमारी आबादी भी बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है। जब आबादी बढ़ती जाती है तो निश्चित रूप से खेती की पैदावार में कमी हो जाती है और इस चीज का भी हमें ख्याल रखना होगा और ध्यान में रखना होगा। हमें इस चीज को किस तरह से चेक करना चाहिए, किस तरह से रोकना चाहिए, इन बातों का विचार जब स्वास्थ्य मंत्रालय के संबंध में चर्चा होगी, उस समय की जा सकती है, लेकिन इस बात को मद्देनजर रखना आवश्यक है।

मैंने खाद्य के संबंध में जो आंकड़े दिए, वे तो आपने देखे ही होंगे। 1966-67 में हमने बिजली के संबंध में एक योजना बनाई थी और उस समय हमने इस बात का अन्दाजा नहीं लगाया था कि जितनी बिजली हम गांवों को दे चुके हैं उतनी हम प्राप्त कर सकेंगे या नहीं? लेकिन माननीय सदस्य इस बात को जानते हैं कि आज गरीब आबादी का लगभग एक-तिहाई भाग बिजली से कवर हो चुका है, लगभग एक-तिहाई आबादी बिजली द्वारा लाभ उठा रही है। इस तरह से देहातों में जो खेती में काम करने हैं वे बिजली से लाभ उठा रहे हैं। मैं माननीय सदस्यों का समय आंकड़े देकर नष्ट करना नहीं चाहता हूँ और न उनको

उलझाना चाहता हूँ। मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि जितनी रकम हमने दो साल पहले खर्च की है यानी हमने लगभग 35 करोड़ रुपए देहातों में बिजली के विकास के लिए खर्च किया था और इस साल जो रकम हमने देहातों में बिजली के विकास के लिए दी है वह करीब 60 करोड़ के है। इस तरह से माननीय सदस्य 35 करोड़ और 60 करोड़ का अन्तर अच्छी तरह से समझ सकते हैं। इस बात के लिए भी यहां पर विस्तार से कहना मैं उचित नहीं समझता हूँ।

इस बात की भी यहां पर आलोचना की गई है कि जब जब फसल अधिक होती है तो किसानों को उसकी फसल की पूरी कीमत नहीं मिलती है। जब फसल निकल जाती है उसके बाद उस किसान को जो उस समय उत्पादक होता है, वह उत्पादक के रूप में अपनी फसल का कम दाम लेता है। जब वह उत्पादक स्वयं उपभोक्ता बन जाता है तो उस समय उसको फसल के लिए दाम ज्यादा देने पड़ते हैं। इसलिये सरकार इस बात का पूरी तरह से ध्यान रखती है कि उत्पादक और उपभोक्ता दोनों को सही कीमत पर अनाज मिलना चाहिए और सही कीमत पर उपभोक्ता वस्तुएं मिलनी चाहिए। सरकार ने इस बात की व्यवस्था इस बजट में की है और लगभग 140 करोड़ रुपया इस बात के लिए रखा गया है। अगर अनाज की कीमतें गिरती हैं तो निश्चित रूप से सरकार खरीदेगी। लेकिन जब हमें इस बात की कमी महसूस होती है तो उस कमी को ध्यान में रखते हुए हम बफर स्टॉक बनाना चाहते हैं जिससे देश के अन्दर अनाज की कमी न हो और जो कमी है उस कमी को पूरा किया जा सके। इसी कमी की वजह से जो विचौलिये भाई हैं, जो बिजनेस क्लाम के लोग हैं, जो नाजायज लाभ उठाते हैं, उस लाभ को नहीं उठा सके और लोगों को समय पर अनाज मिल सके, इसीलिये हमने अनाज खरीदने की बात

[श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया]

सोची है। जो किसान इतनी मेहनत से खेती का काम करता है उसको उसकी मेहनत का उचित मूल्य मिलना चाहिये। इन सब बातों से पता चलता है कि सरकार ने खेती के विकास में पूरा ध्यान रखा है। इन समस्याओं के समाधान के बिना हम अन्न के क्षेत्र में विकास नहीं कर सकते हैं और इसी बात को ख्याल में रखकर सरकार ने खेती के लिये हर तरह का प्रोत्साहन दिया है।

एक बात और निवेदन करना चाहूंगा जो माननीय सदस्यों ने आमतौर पर कही है। माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा कि खर्च बढ़ता ही चला जाता है और मैं आंकड़े लेकर सदन का समय नष्ट करना नहीं चाहता हूँ। आप सब सम्मानित सदस्य जानते ही होंगे कि जब उत्पादन में खर्चा होता है तो उसके साथ ही साथ हमको दूसरे खर्च बढ़ाने पड़ते हैं और जो खर्च खासकर बड़े हैं वे पुलिस और सेना पर ही बढ़े हैं। हमारी सेना और पुलिस पर खर्च क्यों हो रहा है, इनके कारणों के संबंध में मैं विस्तार पर नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ यह भी देखना होगा कि हमको राज्यों की भी सहायता करनी पड़ती है जिनकी वित्तीय स्थिति अच्छी नहीं है। आज राज्य सरकारों को यह आदत पड़ गई है कि जो भी खर्चा हो वह केन्द्रीय सरकार से मांगते हैं। अगर कोई कमी होती है, कोई समस्या आ जाती है, तो उसके समाधान के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार के पास आते हैं। कोई गलत चीज हो, चाहे उनकी गलती से हुई हो, उसका दोषारोपण केन्द्रीय सरकार पर करते हैं। तो एक तरफ राज्यों की सहायता, बढ़ता हुआ रक्षा का खर्चा और जो आज खास तौर से देश के अंदर जहाँ देखिये अशांति, साम्प्रदायिक दंगे और दंगों के अलावा कुछ ऐसे तत्वों का भड़कना जो देश के लिये बहुत बड़ा खतरा हो सकते हैं उनके लिए पुलिस का इन्तजाम भी करना, तो सेना पर

और पुलिस पर खर्चा, राज्य सरकारों को वित्तीय सहायता और उसके साथ-साथ हमारे खाद्य के उत्पादन के लिये हमारी बढ़ती हुई रकम, ये सब बातें हमें इस बात के लिये मजबूर करती हैं कि हम कुछ खर्चा बढ़ायें। मगर उस खर्च के बढ़ने के साथ साथ अगर आप देखें और यह कहें कि हमारा यह बजट डेवलपमेंट ओरियन्टेड नहीं है तो इस बात को मानना मेरी राय में उचित नहीं है क्योंकि जैसा कि माननीय सदस्य स्वयं जानते हैं कि सीमित साधनों में अधिक से अधिक विकास हम को करना है। अधिक से अधिक विकास करने के साथ साथ हमें अपनी वित्तीय स्थिति को भी ध्यान में रखना है। हमने अपने सीमित साधनों को ध्यान में रखते हुए और खर्च में कटौती करते हुए इस साल 50 करोड़ रुपये अधिक डेवलपमेंट के लिये रखा है। ये 50 करोड़ रुपये भी हमने उन्हीं वस्तुओं के उत्पादन के लिये रखे हैं जो बहुत आवश्यक वस्तुएँ मानी जाती हैं और विलास की वस्तुओं के उत्पादन का कोई सवाल ही नहीं है। लेकिन इस बात की चर्चा बहुत जोंगों से की गई कि देश के अन्दर उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिये कोई रकबा अपनाया नहीं गया और इस बजट को डेवलपमेंट ओरियन्टेड नहीं बनाया गया है। माननीय सदस्यों की जानकारी के लिये मैं केवल इतना बताना चाहता हूँ कि 153 करोड़ रुपये केवल आयरन एंड स्टील के लिये रखा गया है। 110 करोड़ रुपये हम इस बार खर्च करने वाले हैं बोंकारो प्लांट पर। उसके अलावा हम केवल आयरन एंड स्टील पर निर्भर रह कर काम नहीं चला सकते हैं। खेती के विकास के लिये अगर आप को अच्छे इम्प्लीमेंट्स और टूल्स बनाने हैं तो स्टील भी बनाना पड़ेगा और इस लिये जो बेसिक इंडस्ट्रीज हैं, जो की इंडस्ट्रीज हैं उनको भी डेवलप करना पड़ेगा, लेकिन उन पर ही हम निर्भर नहीं रहना चाहते हैं। इसके अलावा हमने पेट्रोलियम

रिसोर्सेज के लिये 80 करोड़ रु० रखा है और 70 करोड़ रुपये हमने कैमिकल्स और प्राइमरी फर्टिलाइजर्स के लिये भी रखा है। इसके अलावा हमने लोन्स की भी व्यवस्था की है जो कि किसानों को दिया जायगा और उद्योगों को दिया जायगा। इन आंकड़ों के अलावा मैं गवर्नमेंट का जो हिसाब किताब है उसके बारे में विस्तार से जानकारी दूँ तो ऐसा आपको मालूम हो जायगा कि जितने भी खर्चे हमारे हर साल होते थे उसमें हम बचत करते जाते हैं। वह बचत का एक ही आंकड़ा देकर आपको मैं बता देना चाहता हूँ कि 1954-55 में सरकारी कर्मचारियों पर खर्चा अगर 17 प्रतिशत होता था तो धीरे धीरे कर के उसको हमने घटाया है और आज उसका प्रतिशत 10.85 आता है। इस बात से माननीय सदस्य जानकारी प्राप्त कर सकेंगे कि धीरे धीरे कर के हम अपने खर्चे में कटौती करते जाते हैं और हमारा अनुमान ऐसा है कि अगले साल हम और भी बचत कर सकेंगे।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया (मध्य प्रदेश) : आज से दो साल पहले कुल कितना खर्चा था और आज कितना खर्चा है, प्रतिशत मत बताइये, टोटल बता दीजिये।

श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया : टोटल भी बता देंगे अगली बार, अभी जल्दी क्या है। रोज बताया जाता है और कल ही इस सदन में बताया गया उसके बारे में।

एक आलोचना की जो की गई वह खास तौर पर इस बात की की गई कि सरकार ने लघु उद्योगों की ओर पूरा ध्यान नहीं दिया, लघु उद्योगों का पनपना इस देश के लिये बहुत आवश्यक है क्योंकि देश की लगभग 80 प्रतिशत आबादी देहात में रहती है और जो लोग शहरों में रहते हैं वे छोटे मोटे उद्योग-धन्धे कर के अपना काम चला लेते हैं। लेकिन यह कहना कि लघु उद्योगों के लिये सरकार ने कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की,

यह अनुचित ही नहीं निरर्थक भी है और निरर्थक के साथ साथ अनगल भी मैं इसको कह सकता हूँ। अगर माननीय सदस्य बजट को पूरे तौर से देखें तो उनको इस बात का पता चलेगा कि टोटल एडवांमेज 1960 में अगर 27.54 करोड़ रुपये के लगभग थे तो आज वे 90.76 करोड़ रुपये के लगभग हैं। यह बात सही है और मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ कि जितना हमको लघु उद्योगों के विकास के लिये पैसा देना चाहिये था शायद उसकी व्यवस्था नहीं हो पाई, लेकिन माननीय सदस्य देख रहे हैं कि धीरे धीरे करके उसका अनुपात बढ़ता जाता है और अनुपात के हिसाब से अगर देखें तो पहले 1960 में अगर 2.4 प्रतिशत आता था तो अब उसका अनुपात 3.9 प्रतिशत आता है। ये सब बातें इस बात को बताती हैं कि धीरे धीरे कर के लघु उद्योगों की ओर भी सरकार का ध्यान जा रहा है।

माननीय सदस्यों का ध्यान मैं इस बात की ओर भी खींचना चाहूँगा खास तौर से कि 1960 से ही जो कुशल कारीगर हैं उन्हीं के लिये नहीं बल्कि जो आम कारीगर हैं उनके लिये एक गारंटी की व्यवस्था की गई है। वे जो लोन लेंगे उसकी गारंटी सरकार की ओर से है, लेकिन ऐसा मैं समझता हूँ कि पूरा लाभ उठाया नहीं गया। 90.76 करोड़ रुपये हमने इस बात के लिये 1966 तक रखे थे और इस साल उसमें और बढ़ोतरी हुई है, कमी होने का कोई सवाल नहीं है। यही नहीं हमने लघु उद्योगों को प्रायोरिटी सेक्टर में रखा है और हम ऐसी आशा कर के चलते हैं कि धीरे धीरे देहातों में छोटे उद्योग बढ़ेंगे और उससे बेकारी की समस्या का समाधान होगा। आज जो बेकारी फैली हुई है खास तौर से इंजीनियर्स में जिन की चर्चा इस सदन में और उस सदन में होती रहती है, मैं माननीय सदस्यों का ध्यान दिखाना चाहता हूँ कि इंजीनियर महान्भावों

[श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया]

से वे कहें कि वे बड़े बड़े कारखानों की ओर ही क्यों देखते हैं, ये छोटे उद्योग भी पड़े हुए हैं देश के अन्दर, मध्यम दर्जे के उद्योग भी, पड़े हुए हैं इस देश के अन्दर, इस लिये अपने छोटे साधनों में, सीमित साधनों में अपना ज्ञान लेकर के, इस पैसे का उपयोग कर के वे काम जुटाएं जिस से उनको भी काम मिलेगा और देश के अन्दर खाम तौर से देहातों में जो बेकार लोग हैं उनको भी काम मिल सकेगा, इस लिये माननीय सदस्य केवल आलोचना न करें, इन इंजीनियर्स से, उन कुशल कारीगरों से वे यह निवेदन भी करें कि वे जा कर के देहातों में काम करें, छोटे छोटे उद्योगों को खोलें और केवल बड़े बड़े उद्योगों की ओर न देखें।

टैक्सों की चर्चा भी यहां पर की गई है। मैं सब टैक्सों के बारे में यहां पर निवेदन नहीं करना चाहूंगा। लेकिन एक आम बात कही गई है कि डाक की दरों पर बहुत कर बढ़ा दिया गया है। डाक के बारे में कर बढ़ाने की बात आलोचना का विषय हो सकती है क्योंकि यह एक भावनात्मक बात है और जिस व्यक्ति से भी कहियेगा कि पोस्ट कार्ड के दाम 6 पैसे से 10 पैसे हो गये निश्चित रूप से हर व्यक्ति के दिमाग में यह बात आयेगी कि यह कैसी सरकार है जो कि आम लोगों के काम में आने वाली चीजों पर कर बढ़ाती चली जाती है। इसमें कोई भी पार्टी, राजनैतिक पार्टी चाहे वह जनसंघ हो स्वतन्त्र पार्टी हो, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी हो पीछे नहीं रहती, आलोचना करती चली गई। लेकिन मैं माननीय सदस्यों का ध्यान इस ओर दिलाना चाहता हूं कि आज देश के अन्दर जिस तरह की आबादी है, जिस तरह से आज आवागमन डाक का होता है उसमें मैं ऐसा मान कर चलता हूं कि देश के गरीब लोग उसका उपयोग कम ही करते हैं। जो ज्यादा चिल्लाहट हुई है वह ज्यादातर

हमारे व्यापारी वर्ग की ओर से हुई है जो कि डाक का ज्यादा आवागमन करते हैं। तो व्यापारी डाक के आवागमन के बारे में चिल्लाते हैं और वे शेल्टर लेना चाहते हैं उन गरीबों का, उन बिना पड़े लिखे लोगों का यह कह कर कि यह गरीबों के ऊपर खर्चा बढ़ जायगा, यह बिना पड़े लिखे लोगों पर खर्चा बढ़ जायगा। मुझे बड़ा ताज्जुब हुआ माननीय सदस्य भंडारी जी को सुन कर के। उन्होंने कहा कि आज अनपढ़ लोग जो 6 पैसे में पोस्ट भेजते थे, कल उसका दस पैसा ही नहीं होगा, उसको लिखाने के लिये कुछ एक्स्ट्रा पैसा देना पड़ेगा। मैं नहीं जानता कि ऐसा कौन सा देहात इस देश के अन्दर है, ऐसा कौन सा शहर इस देश के अन्दर है जहां इस बात के लिये लाइनें लगी रहती हैं कि लोग अपना पोस्ट कार्ड लिखाने के लिये खड़े रहते हैं...

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (राजस्थान) : आप एक गरीब घराने से आये हैं और मैं समझता था कि आपको जानकारी ज्यादा सही होगी।

श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया : मेरी जानकारी ठीक है और मैं यह जान कर चलता हूं कि जिन को हम गरीब कहते हैं वे एक महीने के अन्दर एक पोस्ट कार्ड भी नहीं लिखते। अगर वे एक पोस्ट कार्ड भी लिखते हैं और अगर वे 6 पैसे के बजाय 10 पैसे दे देते हैं तो उसका उनके ऊपर कोई विशेष असर पड़ने वाला नहीं है।

माननीय सदस्य ने केवल पोस्ट कार्ड की ही बात नहीं की, उसके साथ साथ बीड़ी की बात भी की। मुझे नहीं मालूम था कि नशीली वस्तुओं से आपको इसना प्रेम था। मैं आप से निवेदन करूंगा कि मेहरबानी कर के आप उस प्रेम को छोड़िये। आप को मालूम नहीं है कि मैं भी देहात का रहने वाला हूं और आप ने कहा...

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : वह पैसा बढ़ाने से कोई पीना कम नहीं होगा यह तो स्वीकार कर लिया उन्होंने।

श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया : पीना कम होगा या नहीं होगा, यह आपने स्वीकार कर लिया...

श्री राजनारायण : कुछ बड़े मंत्री के लिये भी छोड़िये और बँटिये।

श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया : बड़े मंत्री को बड़ी बातें कहनी हैं और छोटे मंत्री को छोटी बातें कहने दीजिये।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You must encourage the young Minister.

श्री राजनारायण : भंडारी जी, आप इनको इनक्रेज कीजिए और जब मोरारजी भाई बोलें तब कहिएगा।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : उन्होंने मेरा नाम लिया इस लिए मैंने बतलाया।

एक माननीय सदस्य : उनको बोलने दीजिये।

श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया : मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि भंडारी जी को नशीली वस्तुओं से प्रेम नहीं करना चाहिये। उनके प्रेम का प्रतीक अभी मालूम हुआ जब उन्होंने भाषण दिया। उसके पहले मुझे मालूम नहीं था।

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : नशीली वस्तुओं पर बोलने से क्या पीने का अर्थ होता है?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : These are little luxuries, you should not grudge Mr. Bhandari if he also uses them.

श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया : मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि पोस्टकार्ड भी एक ऐसी वस्तु है जो गरीब के काम जरूर आती है, लेकिन, जैसा मैंने पहले कहा, इस देश के रहने वाले

गरीब मुश्किल से महीने में एक पोस्टकार्ड भी नहीं लिखते, लिखते भी हैं तो 6 पैसे के बजाय दस पैसे देने पड़ेंगे तो वे उसका खर्च तम्बाकू पर बांट लेंगे। तम्बाकू देहांत में पैदा होती है, तम्बाकू पीने की वजह से उपयोगी अनाज बेकार चला जाता है, इसका अन्दाज माननीय सदस्य लगाएं। अगर आपको ध्यान नहीं है तो मुन जीजिए कि इस तम्बाकू की वजह से देश के अन्दर कई बार आग लगती है, हुक्का पीने हैं उसमें आग लगती है। खलिहान में पड़े अनाज या खलिहान में घर में आ गया अनाज जब इस वजह से जल जाता है तो उसको याद आती है कि हुक्का नहीं पीना चाहिए।

श्री बिमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया : बीड़ी, हुक्का, चिलम सब बन्द कर दो, हम तो इसको मानने वाले हैं, लेकिन अगर समाज नहीं चाहता तो समाज के साथ चलना पड़ेगा।

श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया : जो आप अच्छी बात चाहते हैं वह हम करेंगे, लेकिन जो बुरी बात चाहते हैं उसका करने का मवाल नहीं होता।

तो मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि अगर पोस्ट कार्ड पर पैसा बढ़ा है तो गरीब पर उसका ज्यादा प्रभाव नहीं पड़ने वाला है। व्यापारिक वर्ग पर खर्च बढ़ा है, इसलिये गरीब का नाम लेकर पोस्टकार्ड की कीमत घटाने की बात करना उचित नहीं है। लोकसभा में इस बारे में आंकड़े दिए जा चुके हैं, उनको दोहराने से कोई लाभ नहीं होगा।

मनीआर्डर कमीशन बढ़ाने की भी आलोचना की गई है कि मनीआर्डर का खर्चा गरीबों पर पड़ता है। जो पड़े लिखे हैं वे ही मनीआर्डर करते हैं। वास्तव में देहांत में तो लेन-देन हाथों-हाथ चलता है। जो मनी-आर्डर करते हैं, उसका लाभ उठाने हैं, उसको उसका खर्च भी उठाना चाहिए। सरकार पैसा लेती है तो उनके विकास के लिए

[श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया]

लेती है। इस पैसे से खर्चा भी पूरा होने वाला नहीं है, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि ये सब सुविधाएँ ऐसी होंनी चाहिए जो अपने आप में आत्मनिर्भर हों। अगर इन सुविधाओं को आत्मनिर्भर नहीं बनाया तो जो बड़े बड़े उद्योग हैं जिनको पब्लिक सेक्टर इंडस्ट्रीज कहते हैं उनको कैसे आत्मनिर्भर बनाने की सोचेंगे। अगर उनको आत्मनिर्भर बनाना है तो पहले इन सुविधाओं को, जो वेल-स्टेटलिशड सुविधाएँ हैं, हजारों साल से नहीं तो सैकड़ों साल से चली आ रही हैं उनको आत्मनिर्भर बनाना होगा।

एक और बात की ओर भी आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहूँगा। वह यह है कि जो ग्राम आलोचना की गई टेक्सों में इस समय बढ़ोतरी की वह तो है, लेकिन उसका स्वागत भी किया गया है, स्वागत करने वाले कुछ महानुभावों ने इस बात की आलोचना की है जो पेनाल्टी लगाई जा रही है वह बहुत कड़ी होगी। मैं ऐसे मत का हूँ कि पेनाल्टी कड़ी होनी चाहिए। जब तक कड़ाई नहीं होगी तब तक कर्षकों का पूरा पैसा नहीं आएगा और जब तक पूरा पैसा नहीं आएगा तब तक इस देश का पूरा विकास नहीं होगा। हम अनुचित तरीके से कड़ाई नहीं करना चाहते, लेकिन जो चोरी करते हैं, जो टेक्स छिपाना चाहते हैं, जो इस देश के विकास में रुकावट डालना चाहते हैं, निश्चित रूप से उनके साथ कड़ाई बरती जानी चाहिए और मैं इस मत का हूँ कि इसमें ढील नहीं देनी चाहिए। जो कैसेज ऐसे पकड़ जायें जो इस कड़ाई से न रुकें उनमें और कड़ाई की जानी चाहिए।

मैं ज्यादा समय सदन का नहीं लेना चाहता। दो-तीन बातें माननीय सदस्यों ने ऐसी कही हैं जिनकी ओर मैं उनका ध्यान जरूर खींचना चाहूँगा। एग्रीकल्चरल इनकम टेक्स के बारे में कहा गया। यह राज्य सरकार का विषय है, केन्द्रीय सरकार का नहीं, लेकिन आज हम देखते हैं कि राजनैतिक लाभ

उठाने के लिए अधिकांश पार्टियाँ इस बात की चर्चा करती हैं और चर्चा केवल इसलिए करती हैं कि जहाँ जहाँ कांग्रेस सत्तारूढ़ है वहाँ उसको हटा दिया जाए। केवल यह लाभ उठाने के लिए वे यह कहती हैं कि एग्रीकल्चर पर जो लैण्ड रेवेन्यू लगाया जाता है उसको समान कर देना चाहिए। जैसा मैंने पहले कहा, यह राज्य सरकारों का विषय है लेकिन व्यक्तिगत तौर से मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ कि लैण्ड रेवेन्यू रहना चाहिए। इससे किसान की आमदनी कम नहीं होगी। आज किसानों के पास वह एक सेफ्टी और सिक्योरिटी का जरिया है। साल में दो बार जा कर भेंट जमा करता है और उसके बदले रसीद ले आता है कि खेत मेरे पास है। अगर लैण्ड रेवेन्यू हटा दिया तो मुझे इस बात का डर लगता है कि गांवों में रहने वाले, जोर-जबरदस्ती वाले, लट्ठ वाले लोग दो चार साल के बाद उनको मारकर भगा देंगे और इस बात का कोई सबूत किसान के पास नहीं रहेगा कि यह खेत उस का है। इसलिए उनकी मल्लिकयत बनी रहे, खेत उनका बना रहे, जोतने वाले के पास बना रहे, इस बात को उचित समझते हुए मैं मानता हूँ कि लैण्ड रेवेन्यू लगाया जाना चाहिए। इसके साथ ही साथ इस बात का भी ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि जब राज्य सरकारें अपनी वित्तीय स्थिति अच्छी नहीं बता रही हैं, केन्द्र के पास ओवर-ड्राफ्ट के लिए आती हैं तो कल जब लैण्ड रेवेन्यू हटा दिया जाता है तो कितना ओवर-ड्राफ्ट केन्द्र से लेंगी। केन्द्र कहां से पैसा लायेगा? यह विषय राजनैतिक बन गया है। आपको हक है कि राजनैतिक विचारधारा अपनी कह सकें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि मेरा हक भी आप नहीं छीन सकते और आपको छीनना भी नहीं चाहिए। ये बातें मैंने इसलिए निवेदन कीं कि आज देश के अन्दर जो इस तरह का वातावरण है उसमें हमको इन सब बातों को ध्यान में रखना होगा।

कई माननीय सदस्यों ने प्रज्ञानत्र की, इस देश के प्रशासन की और अन्य बातों की चर्चा की है। खास तौर से इस बात की भी चर्चा की गई है कि कोई कानून और व्यवस्था नहीं रह गयी है तथा शांति भंग होने की वजह से हमारा औद्योगिक उत्पादन घटा है। अगर देश के अन्दर अशांति रही, कानून और व्यवस्था ठीक नहीं रही, मारे नागरिकों ने इस बात को नहीं समझा तो मैं समझता हूँ और मुझे भय है कि आज जो औद्योगिक उत्पादन घट रहा है ये आपसी दंगे जारी रहे तो कल किसी और का भी उत्पादन गिर सकता है। इसलिए मैं माननीय सदस्यों से यह अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि वे भी इस बात को समझें और इस बात का प्रयत्न करें कि जहाँ-जहाँ आपसी झगड़े राजनैतिक कारणों से होते हैं वे न हों।

कई माननीय सदस्यों ने इस बात की भी चर्चा की है कि पब्लिक सेक्टर अण्डरटॉकिंग के अन्दर जो उत्पादन घट रहा है उसका एक कारण जो लेबर लाज है उनका कीला होना है। अगर लेबर लाज में कुछ अमेंडमेंट हो तो मैं उसका पक्षपाती हूँ। केवल लेबर का नाम लेकर कोई राजनैतिक पार्टी लाभ उठाना चाहती है तो वह उचित नहीं होगा।

मैंने जो बातें अजें की है—बड़ी बातें जो माननीय सदस्य सुनना चाहते हैं वे उप-प्रधान मंत्री से सुनेंगे—उन पर भी विचार करें।

श्री राजनारायण : मालूम होता है कि मोरारजी देसाई खड़े होकर यहीं कहेंगे कि पास कर दो, हमको कुछ बोलना नहीं है। अच्छा सहायक मिला है आपको।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Mr. Vice-Chairman, this Budget is a public declaration of the bankruptcy of the nation. That is what he has done and our land, our dear country, under his stewardship, is heading towards a crash or crisis—just crash. We are

on the brink of a crash and *no* wonder because his patrons are very much in trouble. There is gold rush and the entire capitalist system is in danger. Who knows that in one month's time or a year's time or in two years' time there may be a crash like that of 1929 and if that happens which will happen in the future, this economy which is geared and tied clown to that economy, whatever has remained after this declaration of bankruptcy, will end in shambles and there will be nothing more. There will be a dust heap or only rubbles.

Now let us have a glance at the Budget itself, not in all its aspects as that will take time but only certain aspects which might be pertaining to recall at least certain aspects. What is our economy and the per capita income at 1960-61 prices? In 1961-62 it was 316 and in 1966-67 it is 313.1. There is progress no doubt, wonderful progress. So after six years, from 316 it has come down to 313. No doubt it is a wonderful progress—Congress brand of socialism, national development and what not.

Then I would like to say this about the burden of taxation. Between 1960—62 and 1965-66 the burden of taxation on the people through taxation measures by the Central Government, the State Governments and the Local Self-Governments went up from Rs. 1460 crores to Rs. 2971 crores, that is, a rise of Rs. 1511 crores, or more than double, Mr. Vice-Chairman. But that is not the only thing. During this period the direct taxation went up from Rs. 420 crores to Rs. 770 crores, that is, a rise of Rs. 350 crores. But the indirect taxation is the taxation which grinds this vast multi-million country of ours, whose per capita income has gone down—as Dr. Lohia once said, perhaps it is three annas or something, or whatever the figure he gave, per month for the lowest strata, or something like that. Now on them the indirect taxation has increased from Rs. 1040 crores to Rs. 2201 crores, that is, a rise of Rs. 1161 crores. Now this is the gift, this is the blessing to the people, you see Mr. Vice-Chairman: it is for the benefit of the nation, for the benefit of this wonderful economy, this socialistic

[Shri Nirgn Ghosh] pattern of society, and what not. Those words, it is one good thing that Mr. Morarji Desai has got rid of those phraseologies. Others use to chew those phraseologies and mutter them. But he has got rid of them. Supposed to be for the benefit of the nation, there has been a rise of more than one thousand crores of rupees in indirect taxation. And how this honest, rigid, puritan, conservative economist par excellence, His Exalted Minister, or His Highness, whatever I can call him, how he, the Deputy Prime Minister of India went in for deficit financing? He won't resort to deficit financing. "Oh, oh, no. by God I must not touch that. Our country's economy is going from bad to worse, and what not. Let us not go in for deficit financing any more." But what has been the amount of deficit financing from 1961-62 to 1967-68. In 1961-62 it was Rs. 168 crores; in 1962-63—Rs. 207 crores; in 1963-64—Rs. 241 crores; in 1965—Rs 381 crores, in 1966—Rs. 332 crores; in 1967—Rs. 268 crores and in 1967-68 including the first two months of this year 1968—Rs. 320 crores, and adding the amount of deficit financing for the next year which is budgeted for, it is more than Rs. 500 crores for 1968-69. Now it is a shot in the arm for the economy, according to their parlance, a shot in the arm for the benefit of capital formation, for fighting recession, and all that. But may I submit, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is there, in their economics in their books on economics, in the books of bourgeoisie economists. According to them this deficit financing is a fine method that is adopted generally to transfer wealth from the poorer strata to the richer strata. This is the economic device hit upon by the bourgeoisie besides taxation, besides the indirect taxation, which itself has alongside been mounting and hitting most the common man, and this deficit financing is for the transfer of wealth from the poorer strata to the richer strata, and this is the deficit financing that he has done. And he has the cheek, our Morarjibhai has the cheek to admonish the States, "Do not have any overdraft on the Reserve Bank. Oh, no. it is a sin on your part. You must not become sinful." And when he does this thing, it is a wonderful

thing; it is a heavenly thing that he ; does on behalf of the Central Gov-; ernment. It is not a sin. For that he need not go to a purgatory. He must be placed in the heavens besides Indra, Vishnu, all that, for resorting to this measure of deficit financing. This is how the country's economy is being run.

And now let me come to the Indus-I trial estates, small scale industrial estates. All those millions of medium enterprises, small scale enterprises, for them, oh, our Ministers and Mr. Morarji Desai can have no wink of sleep, for them something must be done. And what is that? For the industrial estates, total sheds completed—7496. Number of sheds working—4348. Sheds not working—3148. Of course those sheds are not working and it is for the benefit of the small and medium enterprises and the small businessmen; for their benefit they have arranged that 3148 sheds should not work.

Now, Sir, you see our country is independent. Our country is socialist. So you cannot touch the profits whether of the Indian monopolists or foreign monopolists. That would cause harm to socialism. So, obviously, if socialism is harmed, the nation is harmed. So, for the benefit of the nation, for the benefit of socialist and for the benefit of our great motherland—India—you must not touch the profits; you must allow the profits to go out of the country. You must do that. It continues to be for the health of our economy. We poor people on the opposition do not know, we are learning that it is for the health of the economy and so the profits must go out of the country. And what is that amount according to their figures? There was export of profits; profits went out of the country; in 1960-61 it was Rs. 70.1 crores; in 1961-62 it was Rs. 93.5 crores, in 1962-63 it was Rs. 108.2 crores; in 1963-64 it was Rs. 115.9 crores; in 1964-65 it was Rs. 133.3 crores; in 1965-66 it was Rs. 146.7 crores. The total for 1960 to 1966 was Rs. 668.7 crores—a very small sum. Now we can allow that; our benefactors in Washington, London, Tokyo, Bonn, Paris and Rome, well, they have benefited us, given us sp much aid.

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated) : Who is excluded?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : So something quid pro quo must go, this small sum, this direct export of profits. But perhaps you do not know that during the last six years the export of profits has doubled. Apart from that the invisible export of profits is never shown. For the invisible items there is a budgetary figure, but that is never revealed.

4 p. M.

You know what amounts go through under-invoicing and over-invoicing, particularly through under-invoicing. That cannot be found out. That is never checked. Besides that, the retained profits have been invested in this country itself. There are these foreign investments in India and they come to a mere Rs. 1,000 crores. All that is invested in strategic sectors of our economy and the foreign investors must have a commanding position in our economy. Otherwise, according to the Government, the country cannot advance. That is the view of this Government. That much about profits.

How do these benefactors help the other nations? Let us have a look at that. Taking the underdeveloped world as a whole the net aid for the developing countries in dollars, the position is like this. There is the contractual amount in billion dollars, the fresh loan, the debt services payment and then the net inflow or net aid. That is to say from the total amount of aid you take out the outflow due to debt services and then you get the net aid for the underdeveloped countries. In 1963-64, out of 3.12 billion dollars debt service payments account for 2.33 billion dollars. The net inflow is 0.79 billion dollars. In 1964, the fresh loans come to 3.54 billion dollars, debt services and repayments 2.84 billion dollars and net inflow is .70 billion dollars. In the year 1965, fresh loans come to 3.54 billion dollars, outflow due to debt repayment 2.96 billion dollars and net inflow is .58 billion dollars. So you see that according to these figures some 70 per cent or even more goes out as debt servicing. When we say that for every dollar given three are taken out we are criticised and we are told by

friends like Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee and others that we are ridiculing them when they are building up socialism. These are not my figures. They are their own figures. (Time bell rings).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You have exhausted your fifteen minutes, Mr. Niren Ghosh. Your party had taken some time and you got only 12 minutes. But I have now given you 15 minutes and even that is over.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : No, Sir. Our party got at least 40 or 45 minutes and my hon. friend here took only 15 minutes. Anyway I will finish now. As regards India, I must say that more than 28 per cent of the Budget is mortgaged for debt repayment alone, for paying the interest and principal. That is the present position as regards India. To that you have to add the export profits and the invisible exports and you find that whatever you get, about 50 per cent of it goes to the foreigner every month. This is as regards the so-called aid. These are more or less approximate figures.

Debt payment liability is given as a percentage of the exports. We find that in 1962, whatever we exported, as much as 10.8 per cent of it was for debt services. In 1963 the figure is 9.8, for 1964 it is 15.2, for 1965 it is 16.0, for 1966 it is 22.0 and for 1967 it is 26.0. This is from the report of the World Bank which, I suppose, knows everything about us. I cannot say that the World Bank is the real monitor because that would be a reflection on our independence. So according to the Fourth Plan as much as 36 per cent of the foreign aid is meant for repayment of earlier debts. This much about debts.

As regards the terms of trade if we take the index of export prices and the index of import prices, taking the year 1958 as the base year we find that for 1951 the index of export prices was 122, that for 1958 was 100 and the index for 1966 was 99. So whatever we were exporting, their prices were drastically falling. The index of import prices for the corresponding years are 106, 100 and 102. That is to say, they are more or less

[Shri Niren Ghosh] the same whereas the export index has declined by more than 20 percent. That is to say, if we exported in 1951 a certain volume of goods and earned about Rs. 1,200 crores we would now be earning perhaps only Rs. 800 crores. This is a kind of *nazarana* as they call it, an amount of Rs. 400 crores as *nazarana*. But this also, according to the Government is for our benefit. They have no doubt on that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Now you have to finish.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Our country, they say, is a socialist country and the people have prospered. You know the per capita income. Now let us see what some of the companies have got. They say that India is the most heavily taxed country in the world. The Associated Cement Companies earned a profit of Rs. 5.80 crores in 1965-66. In 1966-67 the figure came to Rs. 9.08 crores—almost double. The India Cement earned a profit of Rs. 1.66 crores in 1965-66 and Rs. 2.82 crores in 1966-67. Digvijay Cement got a profit of Rs. 1.47 crores in 1965-66 and Rs. 2.25 crores in 1966-67. This was due to the decontrol of cement and we are told that the profits of these companies must go up because it benefits our economy. That is the reason given for their decontrolling cement.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Thank You.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Sir, the ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : There are others also to speak.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : The tax liability of big companies has been reduced by giving them tax concessions. You can see how much of tax concession has been given to them. Let us have a glance at some of them. In the case of Tata Steels the tax liability has been reduced from Rs. 7.10 crores to Rs. 4.40 crores due to tax concessions. The Indian Iron & Steel Company gets a concession from Rs. 4.31 crores to Rs. 1.68 crores. Imperial Tobacco also gets a concession. After all they are Britishers and

they belong to the same Commonwealth wealth. We are all Commonwealth citizens, after all. From Rs. 2.72 crores the Imperial Tobacco company gets a concession to Rs. 2.17 crores. The Hind Lever concern gets a concession from Rs. 2.14 crores to Rs. 1.47 crores and the Indian Aluminium gets a concession from Rs. 1.87 crores to Rs. 1.47 crores.

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

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : What about the foreign banks? They are the holy of holies.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No, no. That will do.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : They do not bring in dollars or pounds sterling from Washington or London.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Have consideration for others also. Take two more minutes and finish your speech.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Their deposits have grown. How? In 1960-61 it was Rs. 217.85 crores, in 1965-66 it was Rs. 374.91 crores and in December 1967 it was Rs. 395.56 crores and this has gone up without any investment of pounds, sterling etc. ...

Now, another point about the States.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Now you must sum up.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : The States have been held to ransom. They are under leash; they have been put into strait-jackets and the only way by which they can augment their resources is by taxing the poor people. So I would like to take this opportunity to say that no State in India has agreed to this or will ever agree to this. As regards financial powers, any transfer of Finance Commissions would not do. There should be a fundamental reallocation of the resources and powers of taxation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Thank you. That will do.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Please bear with me a little.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : How can I bear with you? There are so many names.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Four days we have; tomorrow you can take full day.

Now France also puts up a fight for economic independence but our country alone cannot put up a tight for economic independence. Why?

Then I would say something about that enemy country, China. They can build submarines, they can build everything inside their own country, designing to everything. We were ahead but today we are nowhere. Why? Please ask this question. Today we want collaboration for everything, even for fertiliser. What is the necessity for foreign collaboration in fertiliser when our own Indian technicians designed and built with completely indigenous components two fertiliser factories? Why are you going in for this collaboration? Tell me which industry is independent today, independent of foreign control or independent of foreign sources of supply. This collaboration is a source of exploitation for the foreigners. Are we managing the economy for India or are we managing it for our foreign patrons or for the western patrons? This is the question you should answer. So the recession is bound to come.

Now about the kisans. They are speaking of picking up of the drought situation but there is the peasant indebtedness to the tune of Rs. 3,000 crores. Why don't you put a moratorium on that? For God's sake, why don't you give them proprietary rights? Then provide them with technology and see whether the peasants do not double the food production in the country.

Then, Sir . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Now you must finish. After you have said for God's sake you must finish.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I say that nothing short of a social revolution

can save India. Nationalisation of all monopolies, foreign and Indian, nationalisation of export trade, nationalisation of banking, all this must be done. And debt repayment must be stopped. For 250 years they have fleeced us. How long are we to allow India to be bled white? We must stop debt repayments here and now. For every dollar, for every pound, they have taken three dollars, three pounds. And it is our money, our blood money. Without a radical departure, our economy is standing on the brink of a crash and the capitalist world to which they are tied will go down into the abyss and let me hope that along with that Mr. Morarji Desai also will jump into that abyss and go down.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Siddalingaya. Now, I have cut down 15 minutes to ten. I hope the Members will help me. No body will speak for more than ten minutes.

SHRI T. SIDDALINGAYA (Mysore) : Sir, economy in time is also equally important because everything costs.

Sir, under the circumstances prevailing in the country I feel that no better Budget could have been produced. Now comparatively we must say we have gained confidence in our country. This Budget has restored our confidence. We have today in the Press read about the U.K. Budget. They have levied so many taxes worth a billion pounds and their Government has called upon the people for sacrifice, for suffering and for privations. We have not gone to that extent in our Budget. More or less we can say it is human and may be considered as generous. People have been feeling a great relief because our Finance Minister has dropped a pleasant surprise. People were expecting a very harsh Budget but now they feel it is not so harsh and it is now going to pave the way for future recovery and prosperity.

Now, apart from our appreciation of the Budget, there are certain points which should have been considered. Instead of nibbling at small things like biri or post card for a few I crores of rupees economy could have

[Shri T. Siddalingaya] been introduced in certain Departments. The Government can explore some of the points which I am now going to mention for the purpose of economising our expenditure. In the States the Centre is running regular duplicate Departments in regard to health services, housing schemes, publicity, tourism, education and public works. Each one of them swallows hundreds of crores of rupees. By just cutting off a slice out of these tremendous amounts the deficit could have been made up and taxation on these small things could have been avoided.

Now, I submit there is a great need for simplifying our economy. We have gone on undertaking many schemes. We have taken up a scheme for providing food. We want to provide everything in a welfare State but we have not been able to provide food which is the first necessity of life. This zonal system has brought about a lot of difficulty and obstruction to the free movement of food. I believe by removing the zonal system there will be a natural flow of food throughout the country and the prices also will be under control. I have myself personal experience of food being transported from north to south and from south to north and it costs a good bit of money. Therefore removal of these zonal systems will bring about better production and distribution of food in the country.

I should also refer to two items of expenditure in particular. One is education. We have all been interested in giving more and more education no doubt but we are not going into the cost of this education which easily can be reduced. A reduced period of curriculum could be introduced throughout the country. Our students, our young people of modern times are very intelligent and now they can grasp things more quickly than before. The four-year course could be reduced to two-year course. A condensed, compressed system of education could be given. The young people are eager to become earning members quickly and serve the country. I have got personal experience of these things. There is the great scientist and businessman of Coimbatore,

Mr. G. D. Naidu, who has made experience in this line. He has taught the same curriculum in half the time and his students have proved much better than those who have taken four to five years.

By introducing this system all over the country, so much money can be saved, not only for the Government, but for the parents also. We would all welcome a new exploration to be made of the educational system, which costs so much.

Secondly, we have also undertaken housing for everyone. We have got slums all over the country and we are unable to clear them. We see so many disturbances due to want of dwelling places for the poor people. In China and Japan, which were supposed to be worse than our country and especially in Japan, there is no housing problem at all. They construct cheap houses and everybody has got dwelling home for himself. Even in China the problem has been solved. To believe a recent book published by Dr. Chandrasekhar, China has no difficulty in regard to housing all the poor people, in that big, vast country, by adopting the system of cheap construction which Mr. G. D. Naidu has already put into practice. He has constructed some of them in Madras, some of them in Coimbatore and he wants to propagate the idea of making cheap houses instead of spending crores of rupees on the construction of big houses. Instead of constructing only a hundred buildings for a crore of rupees, ten thousand small, cheap houses can be constructed. It does not require much expenditure and everybody will be proud of being the owner of his own house. By adopting that system we can solve the housing problem in his country and the slums can be cleared very quickly.

Also, in these matters I would say that there are human considerations and moral and spiritual factors. Everybody is eager to do something for the good of the country. Here we are not taking our own officers into confidence. We believe that whatever bureaucratic method is given to us, we must adopt it. But there are very

honest people all over the country in the service of the Government, who are very patriotic, who are as patriotic as any politician in the country. If they are taken into confidence, expenditure can be reduced to a very large extent. For instance, in the case of the Railways, instead of appointing a Railway Board separately, all the nine General Managers themselves could manage it without extra cost. If we can encourage them properly to take up this work in a spirit of patriotism, certainly they will reduce the cost of running the Railways. Therefore, Government must place more confidence in their own people. They must infuse them with patriotism and take service from our public servants.

One word more. Here in Delhi we have got, 'Panorama of Progress' exhibition. It is excellently exhibited. People have not been making use of it. Our people can show how they can develop their industries and the exhibition is comprised of that. All people, even MPs, must pay a visit and give them appreciation. I am sure our country's economy will fare much better by encouraging such exhibitions. We can develop our industries also.

Finally, I have got only to thank you for giving me this opportunity.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Mr. Vice-Chairman. I have been listening to the speeches of hon. Members for the last three or four days, but I am sorry to say that no one, except one Member belonging to the Scheduled Caste, has said even a word or has shown even lip sympathy, for the removal of untouchability, as if it does not exist in our country. Nobody has spoken for the amelioration of the conditions of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe. Then, for whom do they want socialism? I fail to understand it. No doubt, it is slowly disappearing due to various steps taken by the Government, but still the fact remains that it is there and sometimes in a very serious and ugly form. On the floor of the House attention of the hon. Home Minister was drawn to the atrocities committed on the Scheduled Caste in Bilaspur dist-

trict of Madhya Pradesh. Five Scheduled Caste persons were murdered in January last in Madhya Pradesh. One Scheduled Caste student, because he was made a monitor, was murdered in UP. And today we had a Short Notice Question regarding burning alive of a person belonging to Scheduled Caste in Andhra Pradesh. This is a very shameful and serious happening in our country. The removal of untouchability is a national problem and it should be tackled as such. At this juncture I would draw the attention of the House to one or two historical facts. In America Abraham Lincoln abolished slavery, the most disgraceful institution in the world. In Russia, Prince Kropotkin waged a war against serfdom, against the tyranny of the nobles and the ruling class over the landless. In India, as everybody knows, Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, waged a nonviolent war against the observance of untouchability. This shows that it is the general rule of revolutions that a revolt starts from the ranks of the exploiters and not of the exploited. I believe that there will be a stalwart, a great son of India, who can revolt against social injustice and economic inequality. For this I cast my eyes on the hon. Deputy Prime Minister. Shri Morarji bhai Desai, the strongest man of India, whose able guidance, influence and personality will, I believe, safeguard the interests of the weaker sections, particularly of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in our country. I know the cause of Harijans and Adibasis is very dear and near to his heart. I would therefore pray to God that he may live long to achieve the goal of socialism, and I am very much hopeful that he will live long looking to his very good health and habits.

Now I come to the problem of education of the Scheduled Castes. The scheme of post-matric scholarships to the Scheduled Casts and Scheduled Tribes has been very successful since its inception. The expenditure incurred for Scheduled Castes in the First Five Year Plan was Rs. 1.59 crores; in the Second Plan Rs. 6.25

[Shri K. S. Chavda] crores; and in the Third Plan Rs. 14.89 crores. I do not know the expenditure incurred in the last and the current year, but I am sure that there would be an increase in expenditure on scholarships in those two years.

In the same way there has been a steady increase in expenditure in the case of the Scheduled Tribes. I understand that this scheme will not remain for ever. But I would submit that Government should continue it till the educational gap between those classes and the rest of the population of the country is reduced to the minimum. According to the 1961 census the percentage of education in our country is 24; that is of the Scheduled Castes is 10; and even less than that so far as the Scheduled Tribes are concerned. Keeping this in mind the hon. Deputy Prime Minister has said in his 1967-68 budget speech, I quote:

"The welfare of the backward classes, particularly of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, will also require more urgent attention than hitherto."

He has rightly said so. Therefore, to quicken the progress of education amongst them I have to make three submissions. Sir, My first submission is to increase the rates of scholarships. The Government of India give post-matric scholarships to the eligible students belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but the rates of scholarships were fixed in those days when the cost of living was not so high. Therefore, my humble suggestion is that the rates of scholarships should be revised and increased suitably looking to the prevailing circumstances.

My second submission is to abolish the slabs; means test with slabs is applied while awarding scholarships to Scheduled Castes students. I am glad that it is not applied to the Scheduled Tribe students. If Government intend to retain the means test in the case of Scheduled Castes, I have no objection at all to it, but my only request is to abolish the slabs.

Thirdly, so far as the maximum limit of means test is concerned, I submit that the maximum limit should be raised to Rs. 600, that is, in the case of Scheduled Caste students whose parents' income from all sources does not exceed Rs. 600 per month, Government should award full scholarships to them.

Now I come to the budget. The budget presented to this House is a very good one, and no Finance Minister could have framed a better one. I therefore congratulate the hon. Deputy Prime Minister and the hon. Finance Minister for presenting an excellent budget.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal); Also the Home Minister.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: No.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why not?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): We are dealing with finance.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Yes, Sir. Having a thorough insight into the economic problems of the country, the hon. Deputy Prime Minister has tried his level best to revive the economy of the country without imposing a very heavy burden of taxes on the public to cover up the entire deficit of Rs. 350 crores. He has proposed additional taxation of Rs. 65.73 crores for which we hear a lot of criticism, good and bad, and of which nearly all the burden will fall on the rich, and the poor will be hit a little in the case of biris only. Additional revenue from direct taxes would be Rs. 10 crores next year as a result of all the changes proposed by him. This will not at all hit the ! He has proposed to levy an excise duty on six new commodities, namely, confectionary and chocolates, transistors, etc., which is also not going to hit the poor. (*Time bell rings*). One minute. He has also increased the basic excise duty on refrigerators and air-conditioners, which is also not going to hit the poor. He has also increased the import duty on whisky, bi'andy and a few other alcoholic liquors; this will also not hit the poor. In the case of

im it-ase in postal rates no doubt the poor will be affected by the increase in post cards and inland letters, but the rich will be affected the most. The Finance Minister's task becomes very unpleasant and unpopular when he has to impose taxes. But just as a clever and careful doctor never minds whether the pills or doses of medicine are pleasant or not but minds only how to cure the patient, similarly a clever and careful Finance Minister will never mind whether new taxes or enhancement of the existing ones will be unpleasant or unpopular but will mind only how to cure the sick economy. This is exactly what the Deputy Prime Minister has done in the budget by his plastic surgery.

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

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: I am finishing. He has taken a very bold step in leaving Rs. 290 crores deficit uncovered. Due to the short-fall in agricultural production on account of two droughts during the last two years there had been a continuous rise in prices. But this year there is a very good production of foodgrains and commercial crops, and that is why the prices of agricultural products show a downward trend and the prices are falling. But inflationary trends due to deficit financing will, I believe, arrest the falling prices of foodgrains and commercial crops. Therefore, this step will be helpful to farmers to give them remunerative prices which are also assured by the hon. Deputy Prime Minister. I quote:

"Inadequacy of finance will not be allowed to stand in the way of purchase by the Government and the Food Corporation of such supplies as may be forthcoming at the procurement prices."

He has taken care of the consumers also He has also proposed to provide Rs. 140 crores, for building up of buffer stocks of foodgrains. There will be 7 million tonnes of foodgrains by way of procurement.

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

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA: Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Dr. Sapru. Ten minutes. You can sit and speak.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): No thank you. I can stand.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): There are two more speakers, Mr. Saligram and Mr. Suresh Desai.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We were given to understand that before 5.00 when the Punjab discussion comes up, the Union Home Minister will make a statement on the situation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Now we are dealing with finance, He will come at 5.00.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know that. Are we to adjust according to his pleasure? Yesterday . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): We are having time . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not want to disturb Dr. Sapru. We can sit longer. But I have an objection to this sort of thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I will consider it. The Home Minister will come.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Somehow or the other you do not take objection to what the Treasury Bench says. It is our job.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Dr. Sapru will speak.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why ten minutes? We will give Dr. Sapru twenty minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): There are two more.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why is the Home Minister not here?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): He will be coming, it is not yet 5.00.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We were told that he will make the statement well in advance of the debate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): At five, I remember.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He never said it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Yes, Dr. Sapru.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are dealing with moghuls, not Parliamentary Ministers.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: My friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You do not deal with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you deal with the Budget.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Only he is quite clear, which is the better subject.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: We do not live in an age of miracles. And situated as Mr. Morarji Desai is, it was not expected that he would introduce a miracle Budget. He has to work within certain limitations. And we have had two very severe droughts. We have had an inflationary spiral and we are having a recession in our trade. In framing his Budget within the framework of a social order based on a mixed economy, he had to take into consideration many factors. And it must be said to his credit that he has placed before us a Budget which requires careful consideration.

I may at once say, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that my sympathies are with the poor and the oppressed in this country. I do not know old age makes some people conservative but the older I grow the more radical I become. That is a phenomenon which

I have not been able to explain. So far as I am concerned, it may be just a mental aberration. But I find that everything is rotten in the State of Denmark. I wish it were possible for us to see things in their proper perspective. It is disgraceful that our people should have to live in conditions in which they are living. A great many of us like to live in luxury, we do not feel the hardships of the poor. Intellectually our sympathies may go to them. But I do not know whether we have ever considered the immorality of a system which condemns large masses of men and women to poverty and misery. Therefore, I think that we were not wrong in placing before ourselves big ideals of planning. We have been having an expanding population. We have to help these who are without food and shelter and the basic needs of life. And I wonder whether our Budget will pursue that objective, whether it will help us to achieve that objective. Last year, Mr. Morarji Desai told us that he was opposed to deficit financing. Experience has, however, shown that it is not possible to do without deficit financing and we shall have a deficit of about Rs. 300 crores.

SHRI M. N. KAUL: The same as last year.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Yes, the same as last year. Now, I wonder whether the object of tackling the problem of means which directly touch the pockets of the rich is not more suited than this system of indirect taxation. I know that the classing school of economists used to emphasise that capital is the result of saving and therefore in order that a nation might use its wealth, individuals must give the initiative to produce wealth. I find, Sir, that this initiative which we provide for our millionaires just only helps to corrupt the moral foundations of our society. And I have therefore always felt that it is necessary for us to think completely in terms of a social order which will enable the workers to control their own destiny. I want the average worker to feel that he is a great partner in the enterprise, in running the State, in running his factories

in running his workshops and that he is not being bossed over by millionaire this or millionaire that. I want him to develop as a captain of industry, and it is to him that I look for achieving or helping to achieve prosperity. (Time bell rings). It is very difficult for me. I have been used to a style of speech which requires . . .

SHRI M. N. KAUL: No ringing of bell.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: which is somewhat of an expansionist character. And it is difficult for me to compress my thoughts. But I wanted to say that I would like to dissociate myself from all those taxes which hit the poor man. Take, for example, the postcard. I know that a villager writes a postcard once a month. Why should we not encourage him to write a postcard twice, thrice or four times a month? I know that bidi is supposed to have some injurious effect on people. But the fact remains that a poor man has very few luxuries in life and I think it is not right for us to tax his bidis or his cigarette. I do not mind how you tax the rich. But I do not like the middle class, the lower middle class and the poor man to be hit hard.

Sir, as I have to rush through I would just say this. We are living in a period of inflation plus recession. It is a strange phenomenon that we are having recession and inflation at one and the same time. I want to know what we are doing to meet the challenge of this recession. Are we going to rely upon our big industrialists to save us from this recession and further corrupt our life than what they have already done? Are we going to see the small man, the farmer and the trader work in more and more difficult circumstances in times of distress . . . (Time bell rings).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The Finance Minister will keep in view your mature advice. Dr. Sapru. That would do. Mr. Salig Ram.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: I think. Sir, I have indicated my point of view. 1PFD)7WPg—8(a)

I [THE DEPUTE CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

j I do not associate with those parts of I the Budget which will hit the poor.

डा० शालिग्राम (हिमाचल प्रदेश) :

उपसभापति महोदया, मैं मबने पहले वित्त मन्त्री महोदय को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि जो बजट उन्होंने प्रस्तुत किया है वह आशा से भी ज्यादा अच्छा है। बड़ी निराशा-जनक स्थिति में इस मुल्क की आर्थिक अवस्था को देखते हुए यह बजट बहुत अच्छा है और मैं यह समझता हूँ कि उनकी दूरअदेशी और परिश्रम का यही परिणाम है कि आज इस तरह यह बजट प्रस्तुत हुआ है जिसका बोझ ग्राम आदमी पर नहीं पड़ा है।

लेकिन फिर भी कुछ न कुछ ऐसी मदें हैं जिन पर कुछ कहना मैं जरूरी समझता हूँ। उसमें सबसे जरूरी है मनीआर्डर, पोस्ट कार्ड, क्योंकि मैं उस प्रदेश से आता हूँ जहाँ विद्या सीखने के लिए बहुत सारे स्कूल और कालेज नहीं हैं और 14,000 वर्ग मील के क्षेत्र से वहाँ के विद्यार्थियों को बड़ी दूर दूर पढ़ने जाना पड़ता है। ऐसे बच्चों के लिए वालिडेन जो मनीआर्डर भेजते हैं उन पर मनीआर्डर के दर में बढ़ती करने से बोझ महसूस होगा और बड़ी हुई दर से जो एक दूसरे को पोस्ट कार्ड लिखेंगे, उससे भी उनको तकलीफ महसूस होगी और इसलिये अगर दोनों की दरें न बढ़ाई जायें तो उन्हें रिलीफ महसूस होगी। मैं समझता हूँ जो छोटी रकम के मनीआर्डर हैं उनके लि रिलीफ देने के वास्ते उसकी हद मकरर ५.४ दी जाय और पोस्ट कार्ड और इनलैन्ड लेटरों जो सिर्फ गरीब लोग इस्तेमाल करते हैं जो अपने बतन को छोड़ कर दूसरी जगह रोजगार की तलाश में जाते हैं और अपने काम करने के बाद बतन में से जो बचता है उसको अपने घरों में मनीआर्डर करके भेजते हैं, ऐसे गरीबों के लिये बड़ा सहारा होगा अगर आप उनकी दरों में कमी करेंगे। आप

[डा० शालिग्राम]

उस रकम को किसी और जगह डाल दें जैसे कि आजकल फंडेशन बहुत बढ़ रहा है, आप फंडेशन की चीजों पर उसको डाल सकते हैं, उन पर लगे टैक्सों में इजाफा कर दिया जाय और इसमें कमी कर दी जाय तो गरीबों के लिये एक तरह से राहत मिलेगी।

अब मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि चूंकि बजट बहुत सन्तुलित है लेकिन इसको कार्यान्वित करने वाले जो लोग हैं, यानी सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं, उनका तरीकेदार और रद्देअमल जो है उसमें सुधार की जरूरत है, जैसे कि वह बिना सोचे समझे ऐसी कार्रवाइयां करते हैं जिससे हमारे देश को काफी हानि पहुंचती है। जैसे हमारे यहां पार्लियामेंट के इर्द-गिर्द एक डी० आई० जेड० एरिया है, 1918 में यहां मकानात बने थे और 1950 तक उसमें सिर्फ एक इन्वॉयरी आफिस काम करता था, उस इन्वॉयरी आफिस के जरिये सारा मरम्मत करने का काम हो जाता था लेकिन अब उन्होंने तीन चार स्क्वेयर्स के लिये एक एक सब-इन्वॉयरी आफिस खोल दिया है। इसके बावजूद भी 1966 में वहां बायरिंग का एक ठेका दिया गया जिस पर एक लाख रुपया खर्च हुआ था लेकिन बायरिंग होते ही सी० पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० की तरफ से एक आर्डर शुरू हुआ कि यह क्वार्टर गिराये जायेंगे क्योंकि वह निकम्मे हो गये हैं। तो जब निकम्मे ही हो गये थे फिर एक लाख रुपए फालतू खर्च करने की क्या जरूरत थी? तो उपसभापति महोदया, मैं आपके जरिये यह बताना चाहता हूं कि इन सारी बातों में अगर हम छोटी छोटी बचत जरूर करें और रुपया बचायें तो कितना देश का धन बच जाएगा जो उन्नति के काम में लग सकता है।

इसी तरह से मैं आपको अपने यहां के बारे में बताऊं कि व्यास पर एक बड़ा भारी प्रोजेक्ट बन रहा है जिसको पौंग डैम कहते

हैं। वहां रेजिडेंशियल क्वार्टर्स-कम-रेस्ट हाउसेज और डाक बंगले बने। उसकी लागत के लिये कई लाख रुपये खर्च हुए लेकिन उनका जो अनुमान था, जो अन्दाजा था वह गलत साबित हुआ और वाटरलेवल के ऊंचे होने के कारण उसको डिमोलिश कर दिया गया जिसमें कई लाख का घाटा हमारी सरकार का हुआ। इसी तरह से टनल्स बिना सोचे समझे, प्लान किये हुए, बनाये गये। यह भी बीस बीस, तीस तीस फुट के लम्बे बन गये। उसमें पहले एक्सप्लेवेशन का काम हुआ, उसके बाद उन टनल्स में इनिशियल कांक्रिट लाइनिंग हुई, उसके बाद फाइनल कांक्रिट लाइनिंग हुई, उसके बाद रीइन्फोर्सड कांक्रिट हुई, एक तरह से काम मुकम्मल हो गया था कि उसके बाद इदारे को पता चला कि यह टनल्स ज्यादा लम्बी है, उसको डिमालिश करना है और उसको उन्होंने ने फिर गिराया। इस तरह से सैकड़ों चीजें हो रही हैं जो देश के लिये हानिकारक हैं और देश का जो धन देश की उन्नति के लिये लगना चाहिए, देश के डेवलपमेंट के लिये लगना चाहिए वह इस तरह से जाया जा रहा है।

इसी तरह से रेलवे जो सबसे बड़ी पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग है गवर्नमेंट की उसमें भी चोरी, पिलफरेज, और दूसरी तरह की सटका दी जाने वाली चीजें होती हैं। उसका नतीजा है कि कम्पेन्सेशन हर साल बढ़ता जा रहा है, हालांकि रेलवे प्रोटेक्शन फॉर्म और दूसरे इदारे कायम किये गये हैं लेकिन फिर भी बहुत ज्यादा रुपया रेलवे को कम्पेन्सेशन के तौर पर देना पड़ता है। यह घाटा बढ़ाने वाली चीजें हैं जिसकी तरफ हमें ध्यान देना चाहिए।

(Time bell rings.)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must wind up.

DR. SALIG RAM: But I am speaking for the first time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must finish (Interruptions). He must

finish this debate today. Only the Minister will reply tomorrow. You can have another couple of minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, Madam, this cannot be. We start the Punjab Debate exactly at 5 o'clock. Since this morning—and yesterday also I said—I have been attempting. Yesterday itself I said that the statement ought to have been made. But we were told that the statement would be made this morning. Then you said it would be made at 5 o'clock.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It takes time to collect facts. But if you want the statement to be made at 5 o'clock you should not take away the hon'ble Member's time. (*Interruption oy Shri Bhupesh Gupta*). Mr. Gupta, please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Where is the statement. Madam, which you have promised?

•) P, M.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: L. do not think in this fashion we can conduct this two-hour discussion. . . (*Interruption*), Please sit down Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. Jusi listen to me. I shall begiii this debate exactly at 5 o'clock and Mr. Salig Ram will get another 10 minutes tomorrow and after that the Minister of Finance will reply. There will be no other speaker on the debate tomorrow. We begin this discussion now for which the Chairman has allotted two hours, and at 7 o'clock sharp, I shall call the Home Minister. Now we begin.

SHRI: BHUPESH GUPTA: I have submissions to make relating to this business .

(*Interruption*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr Bhupesh Gupta had said this morning that the Home Minister should make a statement. The Home Minister this morning explained that he had not gone through all the facts and the statements that he had received and that as soon as he was able to go through them, he would put them before the House, There is no difficulty at all. (*Interruption*). Now, the Home Minister is here. He will make a statement I do not want any time *to* be wasted now. The Home Minister.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Two hours cannot be sufficient. There was an understanding yesterday that it may be extended even beyond two hours.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. Let us begin the debate.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West al): Madam, I rise on a point of order.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not Know what point of order can be raised. We have no business now . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have called the Home Minister. (*In- prion*). But you say what business is before the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not think Mr. Bhupesh Gupta can p(netrate into the minds of Members here. Let Mr. Chatterjee mention his point of order. I am talking to Mr. Chatterjee.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Points of order concern the entire House.

(*Interruption*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order, Mr. Chatterjee?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: My point of order is that it was decided on the floor of the House that the uVbalo w 11 continue for two hours and the statement, if any, by the Homo Minister or any other Minister will be exclusive of the time of two hours.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. There is no point of order.

SHRI A P. CHATTERJEE: Madam Deputy Chairman, it appears that the Home Minister's statement, which should have been made yesterday or this morning, much before the time of the debate, is causing erosion into the time of our debate which was decided on the floor of the House. Thereipre, it is completely out of order to reduce the time of the debate by the time of the statement.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat.

SHRI M. N. KAUL: Madam, as one of those who suggested yesterday that the Home Minister should make an authoritative statement on the subject, I must say, that I have been in touch with the Leader of the House and he has been making best endeavours since yesterday and all the time to get an early statement and so long as the statement is made before the debate begins, the requirement is complied with . . .

(Interruption)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, I have to speak on that. He says the requirement is complied with. On what basis? You said it was a very reasonable demand and you said the statement should be made earlier so that we could get a little time to reflect over it. Now what happens? Immediately after he makes a statement, the debate will start. Suggestions were made that copies of the statement should be made available before the debate, starts. We have not got anything. Therefore, you can let me go back on your word. I have no quarrel. But I considered it necessary to remind the House . . .

(Interruption)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order please. The Home Minister.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER RECONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOP- MENTS IN PUNJAB

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN): Madam Deputy Chairman, according to information received from the State Government of Punjab, the Governor of Punjab had prorogued the Punjab Legislative Assembly on the 11th March, 1968. The order, duly authenticated by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Punjab, was notified in the Official Gazette on 13th March, 1968 and copies thereof were circulated to all concerned. The order of prorogation was also notified by the Secretary of Punjab Vidhan Sabha, in a notification dated 13th March and copies were circulated, to all concerned. The Punjab Legislature (Regulation of Procedure in relation to financial business) Ordi-

nance 1968 was promulgated on the 13th March 1968. Another session of the Punjab Legislative Assembly was summoned and the House on 18th March.

It is also reported that when the House commenced its proceedings, one of the members of the Opposition objected to the presence of some strangers inside the Chamber. The Speaker is reported to have observed that he had allowed some additional temporary watch and ward staff inside the Chamber. At the instance of the members, the Speaker is, however, reported to have directed such additional staff to leave. This was followed by a number of privilege motions which were referred to the Privileges Committee. Thereafter, the aforesaid Ordinance promulgated by the Governor was placed on the Table of the House. The Speaker also read out a message under article 175(2) of the Constitution from the Governor, Punjab, to the Assembly.

It is stated that the Leader of the Opposition then raised a point of order challenging the constitutionality of the Governor's order re-summoning the House. A long discussion lasting about three hours followed. At the end of the discussion, the Speaker gave a ruling that the summoning of the House to meet on 18th March 1968 was illegal. He is also reported to have re-affirmed his earlier decision announced on March 7 adjourning the House for two months. After this, the Speaker and some of the members of the Opposition left the House. A little later, the Deputy Speaker called the House to order and conducted the proceedings of the House. The various items of the budget were then adopted by the House. The House is also reported to have passed the Appropriation Bill,

On the completion of the aforesaid business, the Deputy Speaker, after securing the necessary leave of the House, admitted a Motion for the removal of the Speaker. The House was then adjourned to meet on 5th April 1968. . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): What rubbish you are talking?

(Interruptions)