

[Shri Morarji R. Desai] and he himself admitted that when I speak he goes away, but now I am happy that I have excited some feeling in him that he has come into hear me, and I think this is a very pleasant thing that this debate has done, particularly good.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If you are provoking me to go away, I shall do so.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I only hope that the shock from which my hon. friend suffers just now will last for ever.

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

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

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, The VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.

THE APPROPRIATION (VOTE ON ACCOUNT) BILL, 1968

THE APPROPRIATION BILL, 1968

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to provide for the withdrawal of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of a part of the financial year 1968-69, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): You can move the other Bill also and speak on that also.

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: With your permission, Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1967-68, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, this Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1968 arises out of a sum of Rs. 736.85 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on the 14th March, 1968, in accordance with the provisions of article 116 of the Constitution and Rs. 2,203.90 crores in respect of expenditure "Charged" on the Consolidated Fund of India as shown in the 'Vote on Account' Statement which has already been circulated to hon. Members. As the House is aware, it is usual to seek approval of Parliament for two months' supply pending the completion of the procedure for the Voting of the Demands for Grants for the whole year and the passing of the connected Appropriation Bill. The provision indicated in the Appropriation Bill broadly represents one-sixth of the whole year's gross requirements as provided for in the Demands for Grants except in a few cases where the expenditure is not uniformly spread over the year and larger provision is required to meet the likely payments during the months of April and May. The items where larger provision is required have been detailed along with the explanations for the additional requirements in the Introductory Note to the Statement of "Vote on Account". However, I shall mention only the requirement under Repayment of Debt because a larger amount is involved.

Repayment of Debt relates to "Discharge of Treasury Bills". These Bills are issued in favour of State Governments, Banks and other parties as short term borrowings by Government and in the form of *ad hoes* in favour of the Reserve Bank of India for augmenting Government's cash balance from time to time. These bills have a maturity of 91 days and unless discharged on maturity are notionally shown as repaid and simultaneously re-invested. An "On Account" provision of Rs. 1,750 crores has been sought for discharge of Treasury Bills issued in the months of January-February, 1968. The balance of Rs. 158 crores is for discharge of 3½ per cent National Plan Bonds (Fifth Series) 1968, maturing on 12th May, 1968 and for expired rupee loans included Five Year Interest-free Prize Bonds.

With your permission, Sir, I will speak on the Supplementary Demands Bill also. Sir, this Bill arises out of the Supplementary Demands of Rs. 270.35 crores voted by the Lok Sabha on the 18th March, 1968 and the expenditure of Rs. 54.67 crores charged on the Consolidated Fund of India as detailed in the Supplementary Demands Statement laid ' before the House on the 27th February, 1968. The net outgo arising out of this batch of Supplementary Demands would be only Rs. 178.02 crores. As detailed explanations have already been given in the Supplementary Demands Statement, I would confine myself to a few introductory remarks on some of the major items for which additional provision is required.

A Supplementary provision of Rs. 130 crores is required under the Demand 'Loans and Advances'. The additional demand includes Rs. 50 crores for ways and means assistance to certain State Governments. An j additional provision of Rs. 18.90 crores is required for providing additional credit facilities to the U.S.S.R., certain East European countries and the U.A.R. in pursuance of the trade agreements executed with them. A provision of Rs. 42.15 crores is required to meet the increased loan requirements of certain public sector undertakings of which the major items are:

Rs. 11 crores for Hindustan Steel Limited due to less turnover in sales consequent on general recession in market and resultant shortfall in internal resources,

Rs. 10 crores for the Food Corporation on account of larger procurement operations following a bumper kharif crop and

Rs. 7.20 crores and Rs. 7.22 crores for Neyveli Lignite Corporation and Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited respectively, on account of accelerated supply of machinery and equipment from the U.S.S.R.

The House will appreciate that public sector undertakings consist mostly of plants which have long gestation periods. They are capital intensive and it takes time for them to show

results. Large investments have, therefore to be made in the initial stages. Consequent on the shortfall in the revenues of the P. & T. Department a loan of Rs. 18.95 crores is also required to be advanced to the P. & T. Revenue Reserve Fund to enable the P. & T. Department to clear the dividend liability to General Revenues, for the current year and the arrears in respect of the last two years as also to partly cover their deficit in the current year.

On the capital side, an additional provision of Rs. 86.45 crores is required to meet the increased estimated cost of purchase of additional quantities of foodgrains and freight thereon. Rs. 8.18 crores are required for capital grants to States for National Water Supply and Sanitation Schemes and the construction of roads, Rs. 5.49 crores for construction of National Highways and Border Roads and Rs. 3.73 crores for investment in Madras Fertilisers and Fertiliser Corporation. I am sure, the House will not grudge the additional provisions required for these essential items.

On the Revenue side, an additional provision of Rs. 33.52 crores has teen necessitated by payment of increased dearness allowance and other allowances to employees in the Civil, Posts & Telegraphs and Defence Departments. Rs. 19.45 crores are required for payrjent of Grants-in-aid to State and Union Territory Governments for their educational schemes and for scarcity relief and Rs. 8.65 crores for increased provision for Central Reserve Police and Border Security Force.

Sir, I move the two Bills.

The questions were proposed.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I need not dwell on the subjects that have already been dealt with by my leader and another hon. Member on this side and also by various other hon. Members. But this morning when I heard the Finance Minister's reply to the various points raised in the debate. I must confess I felt that he has left the entire debate high and dry. It was not at all satisfactory.

[Shri S. S. Mariswamy.]

He gave a picture as if milk and honey were flowing in this country. When he started saying that we had exceeded the food target from 81 million tonnes to 92 million tonnes I was wondering whether we are living in India, or whether we are living in America or some other country. Where is food available in plenty here? If you go to the countryside we find still half-starved people roaming about the streets. There are many villages in Madras as well as in other States also and even in U.P. where people do not have even a morsel of food but somehow or other they are carrying on but our Finance Minister was painting a rosy picture and saying that this Government had done a great deal and there was absolutely no starvation in the country. Even today there are starvation deaths but unfortunately it is not well publicised in the papers. If a man dies in a small hamlet because of starvation nobody knows that he has died of starvation; nor do the people around him have any sense of news value. They do not communicate it. So it goes on like that everywhere and the picture that the Finance Minister has drawn is deluding. I have no axe to grind if he wants to delude himself, his party and his Government.

I have an important matter to mention here. Some time back I tried with all my efforts to raise an important question in this House. There is one Defence Institute of Physiology and Allied Sciences in Madras. It is functioning there from 1962 onwards. Now after Sardar Swaran Singh has assumed the office of Defence Minister there is a move to transfer it from Madras to Chandigarh. I do not know what he owes to Chandigarh for which he must transfer that Defence Institute to Chandigarh but the reasons given are really perplexing. An hon. Member raised this question in this House. Unfortunately I was not present when the reply was given but I went through the records and the reason given is as follows:

"After the Chinese attack, it was necessary to reorient the main vitals of the Defence Institute of

Physiology and Allied Sciences to high altitude problems. The location of the Institute in Madras gave rise to serious impediment in the expeditious conduct of investigations in this field. A committee was set up to look into this matter. The report submitted by this Committee is under consideration of the Government."

This was the reply given by him but already attempts are there to move it from Madras to Chandigarh. May I therefore ask the Government to throw some light on this? When did this Chinese attack start actually? Was it in 1962 or 1964? It started as early as 1955: the only thing is our Government did not reveal it or disclose it to the general public. It started as early as that and if you ask my honest opinion I would say that it was one of the main reasons for Panditji's premature death. He placed so much reliance on the Chinese and he actually believed in the Hindi-Chini-Bhai-Bhai slogan and when they started attacking, he was disillusioned, he was heartbroken. That was the reason why he died so early. So the Chinese attack started in 1955 itself but now Sardar Swaran Singh comes and says that because there is Chinese activity on the border they have to shift it from Madras to Chandigarh. But the Institute was opened in Madras in 1962, for which the Madras Government gave 30 acres of land and also other facilities. Immediately afterwards there were rival claims from Delhi as well as Chandigarh and other places but those claims were rejected. But all of a sudden when Sardar Swaran Singh becomes the Defence Minister he finds out that Chandigarh is a suitable place. For this he owes an explanation to this House and I would request him through you to give that explanation.

Another thing I want to bring to the notice of this House is the serious situation that has arisen in Coimbatore District: not only in Coimbatore but all over Tamil Nad wherever there are textile mills. The yarn bales do not move from place to place and there is a glut in the market as a result of which a number of mills

have closed down. I am least bothered about the millowners but what worries me is that more than 20,000 workers have been thrown out of their jobs. Each worker will be supporting not less than four to five persons in his house and the total number of people affected comes to about a lakh. If one lakh of people suddenly lose their means of livelihood, what will be the situation can be imagined. If such a situation had arisen in Ahmedabad or in other cities in other States would the Government of India be so apathetic about it? So many representations have been made to the Government of India; many telegrams, petitions and memoranda have been sent and many people have met the Finance Minister also but I understand no step has been taken so far.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY (Madras): What steps do you want the Government to take?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: They should immediately buy the yarn, put it in some godown and give these people financial help as they have done in many other places. But why should you want to take up the case of the Government of India? What is it that you are going to derive from this Government of India? When you come to Coimbatore District or when you come to your own District, Salem, you will see the condition prevailing there. And furthermore what is the condition of the handloom weavers of your own town? If the yarn is not moving your own weavers would be hit. If they are affected and if no succour goes to them will they be as good citizens as you are? What will be the law and order position when over a lakh of people in Coimbatore and other adjoining Districts are laid off. Simply because there is a non-Congress Government in Madras you are trying to . . .

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY: That is an absolutely baseless charge because it is not the duty of the Government to take over all the sick mills at all times in any part of the country.

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SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Mr. Parthasarathy, I do not expect any better reply from you. I know what sort of reply you would give but I must tell you all your replies and your efforts to boost up this Government will prove in vain in due course.

Sir, this is a very serious problem and this problem must be tackled on an emergency basis. I looked forward that the Finance Minister would say something about it but he has not said a word. All the time he was only saying, we have done this, we have done that, and then he indulged in some philosophical epistles as if the entire House and the country does not know about them. Everybody knows all about it.

Now my friend there asked me what should be done to relieve the pressure on the textile mills. I will give one or two concrete suggestions. Firstly steps for export should be processed of about 10,000 bales out of future production. Additional banking credits must be provided to the extent of the full value of goods pledged with the banks. The Handloom Board should purchase and maintain buffer stocks for local consumption. And the excise duty on cotton yarn should be abolished so that prices will become competitive. All possible steps should be taken by the Government in order to avert the close of mills. Otherwise there is going to be very serious crisis in Madras State and in Kerala also if they have textile mills there and I believe they have. So this is a very important problem and I want the Finance Minister to take up this matter on an emergency basis and do something concrete; otherwise a law and order problem will be created there. And then you will turn round and say—because it is non-Congress Government there—that the Madras Government is not able to maintain law and order. There was a subtle attempt to paint such a picture but to their dismay the situation is good there and even the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. Shukla has said recently that the situation there is far better than what many people had tried to paint it. So this is a very

[Shri S. S. Mariswamy.]

important issue and I request the Government to do something in this regard.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, while speaking on the Appropriation Bill, after hearing Mr. Morarji Desai's speech, I would like to point out that even the herculean effort, which he said he was making to see that we did not slide down, will not succeed. It is because the amount of help that he is giving to the capitalist, the amount of help that he is giving to the big employers is so much that it will not be helpful to any progress in our country. Of course, we had a very difficult situation during the past two years. Rains failed us. From last year things have improved slightly, but we are unable to make use of the opportunity. Actually when food production has increased, we could have at least taken 15 million tonnes away and kept it as a reserve. We are unable to do it. We still depend upon American PL-480. I can very well understand that there was a time when we needed it, but even today, when we do not need it, why should you still insist on the import of 3.5 million tonnes from America? I do not understand it. That is because we dare not tap the surplus. Most of the States are not even prepared to tell us what they are producing. Some of the surplus States try to point out to us that they do not have any surplus. If this is allowed to go on I am afraid the entire surplus will go to the black market. The very people who are responsible for the crisis will continue to see that prices go up. They will hoard it and you will not be in a position to give cheap grains to our people. The result is that the inflation, which can be fought because of increased production, cannot be fought. The situation will continue to be as before. Of course, production has increased to 95 million tonnes. I am glad and we can increase it much more. But will this surplus help us? That is what I would like to know. As Shri Morarji Desai has pointed out, the increase in production is eaten up in the village itself. The benefits that arise out of increased

production do not come out and help us in our industrialisation. That is a fact. He has been speaking about Japan. It is quite true. Japan which is a small country has been able to produce more and has been able to industrialise itself. It has been able to take out the surplus population from the villages to the towns. Industrialisation has taken place there, whereas in our country industrialisation has not come to that stage. Unless we are in a position to remove the surplus population from the villages and from agriculture, we will not be able to find a way out of the present crisis. This is exactly what is happening.

A new class is coming up in the villages. It is the lumpier bourgeoisie which is eating up the entire surplus that we have in the villages. Who are these people? They are the middlemen, they are the so-called business men or moneylender and hoarders. They are the contractors. Of course, there are political parties who would like to speak on their behalf. If we had taken to State trading seriously, if we had mopped up all the surplus from the villages, we would not be forced to depend on foreign countries again for our food. Unfortunately, you do not have the courage. The result is certain deficit States suffer a good deal. Even now, with the surplus that we are having, it is a pity that we are not able to bring down the prices of foodgrains in the various deficit States. I do not know why you still fight shy of a national food budget. I do not know whether the States have become zamindaris to such an extent that most of them refuse to give us information about their surplus. If that is the position, we are only helping the disintegration of our country. You are only helping those forces which would try to see that this country is not treated as one nation. I would, therefore, request you to seriously take it up in such a way that the whole country is one on the question of food, on the question of clothing and on the question of industrialisation. On all these things disparity exists.

Shri Morarji Desai was saying that he looks at things in an objective

manner and that is the method which he has adopted and that he has no ideological bias. I am afraid I do not agree with him. Actually his attempt is only to boost up the very exploiting sections in our country and this would not in any way lead our country in the democratic and socialistic path. He has not succeeded and there is no such direction. Yesterday Mr. Dharia has been pointing out how our industrialisation suffers. It is because the neo-colonisation that is there today disorganises the very industry. Foreign capital which comes here is not in the shape of mere foreign capital. The spare parts we have to take from them for running the industries. It is only an expansion or projection of the developed countries inside our own country and nothing more. The result is most of our industries suffer. Even the small industrialists must have collaboration with others with the result that from lipstick to baby food everything now has got a collaboration agreement. If only we had taken to the self-help movement, which we had earlier, if only we had followed the tradition of Mahatma Gandhi, viz., we must stand on our legs for our industrialisation and for our agriculture, if only we had done it on a self-help basis, such a thing would not have come to pass. Today unfortunately that is not what is taking place. I am afraid this attitude of leaving open the entire doors for foreign capital and its penetration, will not help us to get out of the crisis we are in. Rains may come and rains may go. We would be sliding back and even the attempts, which Mr. Morarji Desai makes, will not help us because there is no sound economic foundation for the country to come up.

I expected that some bold steps would be taken. Instead of plastic surgery, an operation was necessary. That is what we require. On the question of agriculture, a definite scheme will have to be worked out. The villages will have to be made self-reliant. Their surplus must be mopped up. There is surplus. It is a fact that the rich, middle-class peasant is able to have a surplus, but we are unable to get it from him. Today

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there is a possibility, if we turn our attention to the countryside, if we rebuild the economy in our countryside, if we have planning in our countryside, that something can be done. The surplus labour that you have got there can be used for small industries, of course, mechanised small industries. We can go the way that most of the other developed countries have shown. That is our new path. Certainly a country like India with one-sixth of the world's population will have to contribute something new to the political and economic science of the world. Certainly a new method will have to be found out by us, not following America, not by following Russia, not by following China. There are other methods. If we honestly try that, we can succeed. We have been copying the West. We have been copying the socialist countries in all their methods. Something new can be done, if only we are prepared to do it. Certainly in the earlier period we had such an idea. When we spoke of a plan, we spoke of the heavy industries sector and of rebuilding it. Slowly expanding it, by having our village economy on a modern basis, we could have built it up. Instead of that even the State sector is now a handmaid of the private sector. I would seriously say that at a time like this when the entire capitalist world is shaking, when even countries like West Germany are not in a position to increase their production, when they are sliding down, when American is coming down, when Britain has not been able to make any headway in its production, the old capitalist methods will not take us anywhere. So with a firmer grip, a bigger attack on the monopolists, a powerful State sector, a bigger cooperative sector, small industries on a mechanised base, with no sort of sympathy for the middlemen to bleed us, with food in our hands, with food trading by us, we will be able to get out of the mire in which we are in. But unfortunately such an attempt is not made. Shri Morarji Desai still thinks that after all the *status quo* can be maintained. India has to run if she has to remain in the *status quo*. She has to make a big

[Shri Balachandra Menon.] leap if she has to remain where she is. This is the position. Of course it is not because of the population. It is because of our failure to produce more, of our failure to industrialise, of our failure to improve our agriculture, nothing more than that. I do not say that we should not spend for our defence. Certainly we have to spend. Japan had to spend a good deal for its defence, but still it was able to come up. In spite of the fact that it has very little raw material, still it was able to come up. With all the raw materials that we have with the possibility of industrialisation much more than Japan, twenty years have been wasted, and should we continue to waste again? That is what I want to know. That is because we have no clear perspective. That was lacking. Even now at this late hour if all those who are really interested in the country and its future, whatever be our little political differences that we have, if we are able to come up together and work out things in such a way, there is still a possible way out. But unfortunately as Shri Morarji Desai has stated and that in a joke, I take it as a big joke, certainly it was a big joke at those who say: all those who differ from me are my enemies. that is what all of us feel, that is what he said, unfortunately that is how we feel and act. From those narrow political differences let us have the courage to get out. Have we got the courage to say that we give due respect to the peasant and the worker, workers including technicians, also including those also who use their brain, all those people, but not the monopolists, not the biggest landlords, not the lumper Bourgeoisie which want to make use of the extra that we have from our agricultural sector? If we set ourselves against them, certainly a new set-up can be built up.

The taxation benefits that you have given to the big Bourgeois only help to make our condition much worse. The inflation that will come up will make the situation much worse, and the attack has been there on the worker already. You have definitely made it clear that dearness allowance will

not be linked with the rising cost of living. What does it show? That the poor man will have to bear the burden, that the entire new crisis will be thrust on him. Even the new benefits, even the little breathing space that we get, thanks to the improvement in agriculture, even that will not benefit us because the benefits will go to those very richer sections. Shri Morarji Desai was saying that the rich was becoming richer and the poor remained poor. The gap has become wider. That is the difference. That is how we decide. Whether the man has become poor or poorer is decided when you find out whether the rich has become richer. If the rich has become richer and the poor man stays where he is then his conditions are much worse. With the present unemployment that we have got among engineers, with the present unemployment that we have got among the technical people, we can certainly rebuild our economy if we make use of these surplus intellectuals. If we can make use of them from the village, whether it is construction, whether it is industry, whether it is building—these people can be made use of and we have got the talents. Those social engineers or those politicians can very well make use of these engineers and technicians and together we can rebuild the economy of our country if we are serious about it. As Swami Vivekananda once said, if a few thousand people are out there who are dedicated, the face of the country can be changed. Here we have got the people, we have got the technicians, we have got the engineers. Why not we make use of them, why not we rebuild our economy from our villages, why not have new industries, and thus come up? I would therefore request you to see that the present attitude is changed, that you have a bold policy of industrialisation with our State sector sounder, a bold policy which will be against the monopolists, a bold policy which will take up State trading on foodgrains, which will nationalise banks, and in such a way if we proceed there is quite a possibility of our country coming up. but not by the method which Shri Morarji Desai has pointed out.

not the capitalist method, not the old method which has been discredited everywhere, which is finding it difficult to stand even in developed countries.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, appropriation is claimed on the basis of a budget which is hollow and blank so far as not only the development of this country is concerned but also from the point of view of taking the country from the tight corner it has been in for the past several years. Sir, the basic ills of this nation remain untouched by the proposals contained in this budget. It has been stated that in the compelling circumstances in which the nation finds itself today, we have got to resort to deficit financing and more deficit financing. It may be, Sir, that in the circumstances prevailing in the country today for which the Government and its errors in the past are responsible deficit financing has got to be resorted to, but with deficit financing go more taxation proposals and fresh taxation proposals and increased tax rates, both direct and indirect, and the very purpose of deficit financing, if I may say so, is defeated on account of the fact that there are these taxation proposals. The very fact that more and more taxes are proposed inevitably lead to a situation in which there is a continuous and continuing rise in the price of consumer goods of essential articles for the common man. We have seen this year and we have been seeing every year in the past a rise in the prices of consumer goods from about the month of December onwards. This rise has been on account of the fact that every year in the budget proposals there have been more increased tax rates and fresh taxation proposals, and with a view to exploiting the benefit of the same the persons who are in charge of selling the goods, the private market, have found it very profitable to increase prices and see that essential articles are not even available in the market during the months of December, February and March. This has come to be almost as a static thing in this country, and if at least the Finance

Minister can assure in one or two years that there will be no new taxes and no new tax rates imposed on an enhanced basis, we will be able to control the spiralling rise and increase in the prices of consumer goods. The rise in prices of consumer goods has led to inflation and every year inflation has been, on the increase. We have not been able to arrest the rise in the prices of goods. We have not been able to arrest the rise in inflation and that has again resulted during the last two years in a very wide range of effects including industrial recession. The bad effects of industrial recession have taken the country to a very tight corner so far as industrialisation and existing industries themselves are concerned. This year there is a proposal for both direct and indirect taxes, direct taxes to the tune of about Rs. 10 crores more, and indirect taxes to the tune of about Rs. 55 crores or more. May I suggest to the Government that at least in the coming year it should be possible to see that there is no tax increase at all and no new taxation at all? And I would suggest to the Government with all the humility that I can command that the time is up to see that more non-tax revenue sources are exploited. Some of the State Governments, particularly the non-Congress Governments, if I may say so, have been able to see that nontax revenue sources are exploited with advantage, and it is necessary for the Central Government to see whether these sources can be tapped to a greater possible extent than increasing the indirect and direct taxes.

It has been stated by the hon. Deputy Prime Minister that there is no increase in the prices of consumer goods. That is wrong statement. There has been an all-round increase during the last three months in the prices of consumer goods. It may be, Sir, that on account of the fairly good crop in some of the States in the country, particularly the wheat crop, the prices of foodgrains, not very generally but particularly the price of wheat, might have come down in the open market. That is not going to be a permanent phase. There is

[Shri K. Chandrasekharan.]

no possibility of any decrease in the prices of foodgrains, particularly that of wheat that has been registered in the days past, becoming anything like a permanent feature. And if that is so, certainly the price of rationed wheat and the price of rationed rice would have been reduced. The hon. Deputy Prime Minister admitted the fact that the prices of rationed foodgrains have not been reduced. It is seen, particularly during the last two or three months, that the Central Government has raised the prices of foodgrains; particularly, so far as rice is concerned, a very big increase has been registered and implemented in the price of rice distributed by the Centre to the States in the country. So far as the price of rice in the South is concerned, the price was at 86 paise per kilogram. That price of 86 paise per kilogram has been raised by the Central Government three months back to as large a figure as 103 paise, which registers an increase of 17 paise per kilogram, which would mean that some of the State Governments are compelled to resort to more and more of deficit financing and the State Governments are compelled to resort to what is known as the subsidy scheme, so far as the maintenance of the old rate of rationed rice is concerned.

The hon. Deputy Prime Minister again stated, probably with a vengeance if I may say so, in the course of his arguments that we in this country who have been eating herbs and roots in 1946 have come to eating food grains today. That, again, is a completely wrong statement. A third of the nation, if I may say so, is still depending not on foodgrains, not on cereals, but on herds and roots. Take for example the position of my own State, Kerala. In the State of Kerala, even now a third of population of the State, if I may say so with shame, is dependent upon tapioca, a root, for the purpose of their existence, for their daily life. Tapioca was a thing unheard of prior to independence. It is a post-independence commodity in my State. More and more of this post-independence commodity is

being grown because of the fact that the rice which was being sent to that area prior to independence has been reduced very much in quantity as year after year goes on and as the population in that State increases.

Sir, it is necessary to state that the time has come for a complete review and revision of the financial provisions of the Constitution so far as the allocation of finances by the Centre to the States is concerned. It was stated by certain hon. Members in the course of the debate on the Budget yesterday that the States cannot go abegging to the Centre for more and more of their claims. There is no question of begging so far as the States are concerned. The taxes are collected from the States; the taxes are collected from the States on account of certain constitutional provisions and if those constitutional provisions could be changed and amended to suit the conditions, to suit, what we have learnt by experience, certain defects or omissions, if I may say so, a more scientific allocation of the revenues as between the States and the Centre would be the result.

A lot is being heard today that in the field of income-tax new being realised by the Centre there is a proposal to include agricultural income-tax also. I oppose that proposal on more than one ground. Agricultural income probably after sales-tax, is the most important source of revenue so far as the States are concerned. The income-tax law as administered in respect of non-agricultural income cannot be administered in respect of agricultural income. It will lead to a lot of hardship so far as agriculturists are concerned, and if you impose more hardships on the agriculturist in the country instead of enhancing agricultural production, agricultural production is likely to go down.

I may state, Sir, that it is also necessary for us at this stage to study the effects of devaluation. Devaluation was supported on the basis that exports of commodities from this country to the foreign countries would grow and that this

country would be able to earn a lot of foreign exchange and would be able to export a lot more of the finished goods. But what has been the result? The result has been dismal; the experience has been otherwise. Exports have fallen down; earnings in foreign currency on account of the devaluation have come down proportionately, taking into account the value of the rupee prior to devaluation. It is necessary for the Government, with an amount of courage, to study all the phases of devaluation and if devaluation has been disastrous so far as this nation is concerned, to take up the matter with the World Bank and, if necessary, at the United Nations level and see with a firm hand and with great courage, upholding the interests of this country in the international world, in monetary market, that the value of the rupee that fell on account of devaluation is restored to its original position.

Sir, we are having statements from our honourable President in the course of the Presidential Address that the Fourth Five Year Plan is likely to be implemented from 1968-69. It was thought, when Shri Asoka Mehta, a pronounced socialist, came to be in charge of the Planning Commission as its Deputy Chairman, that things would improve and we would be having a better Plan. But it has disillusioned not only the socialists of his country, it has disillusioned probably the Congress itself and the entire nation that once that great man took charge of the affairs of this Planning Commission, there was no Plan at all thereafter. We are still today in that stage. Another person has been put in charge of the Planning Commission. But the affairs are not improved. And so far as the States are concerned, this is creating a lot of difficulty and a lot of backlogs, if I may say so, so far as the implementation of the Plan is concerned. The States get the annual Plan rather late, not for the purpose of their Budget. At the time of the Budget they will have to make some arithmetical calculations and put something. The Plan allocations are not finalised in time in consulta-

tion with the Central Government and its officers and the Planning Commission and its officers. As a result, the States suffer, the nation suffers and the entire Plan, if I may say so, so far as it is being annually implemented at present is in a very haphazard state and has resulted in very bad effects so far as the actual implementation is concerned.

The hon'ble Deputy Minister referred, Sir to land reforms. It is a very welcome feature that many States are implementing land reforms, and the hon'ble Deputy Prime Minister was pleased to refer to that aspect. But, again, Sir, may I ask the Central Government in what way they are co-operating with the States and associating themselves with the implementation of these land reforms? The most important aspect of the implementation of land reforms is the preparation of a proper record of rights and new survey registers, and for this purpose, in most of the States where large-scale land reforms are being implemented, take for example, the State of Kerala, a completely new survey is necessary and the amounts that are allotted in the Budget for the purpose of survey are absolutely inadequate, if I may say so, to meet the demands of the State Government by way of grants and loans applied for to the Central Government for the purpose of implementing land reforms and for the purpose of bringing the record of rights up to date on the basis of enquiries made by land tribunals and the Board of Revenue.

I may also say, Sir, that so far as the income-tax enactment is concerned some modifications have been made in the Budget proposals by way of simplified forms etc. Here, again, it is time that we go into a whole revision of the income-tax enactment. Most of the provisions of the income-tax enactment are unintelligible even to first class lawyers. Most of the provisions of the income-tax enactment create a paradise for lawyers, if I may say so. Interpretations are given by the Income-tax Department in one way, by the High Courts in another way and by the Supreme

[Shri K. Chandrasekharan.]

Court in a third way and this is because of the way in which the income-tax enactment has been drafted. A revision of the income-tax enactment is likely to produce better returns so far as income-tax revenue is concerned. That has got to be investigated.

Sir, so far as certain ceiling prices are concerned, particularly on rubber, I have got to state that some of the recommendations made by the Tariff Commission in 1967 and the haphazard way in which these limited recommendations themselves are being implemented by the Central Government are absolutely unfair so far as some of the States are concerned. Here again, Kerala and, probably, Assam too might come in the picture. I am particularly referring to rubber for the purpose of fixing a fair price for rubber. The Tariff Commission in 1967 went into these aspects in a most arbitrary, unreasonable manner, and the result is that the price of rubber has been fixed at a very low figure of Rs. 4,150 per metric tonne. But it is months since in this House the hon'ble Minister of Commerce declared that this figure will be assured so far as the rubber planters are concerned. There are a number of small planters in rubber, and so far as they are concerned, even the small price of Rs. 4,150 fixed months back by the Central Government on the basis of the recommendation of the Tariff Commission has not been implemented, and even today the open market price of rubber is hardly Rs. 3,500 or Rs. 3,600 per metric tonne which is much below the rate fixed by the Tariff Commission.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): You have taken twenty minutes.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN: I am finishing. Steps have been suggested by the Rubber Board for the purpose of assuring this rate so far as rubber planters are concerned. But absolutely no action has been taken on the proposals made by the Rubber Board for the purpose of maintaining and assuring this price.

A word, Sir, about the public sector undertakings. The way in which some of these public sector undertakings are being run constitutes an insult to the public sector and a disgrace to the nation, if I may say so. The working of these public sector undertakings, the losses that some of these major public sector undertakings result in and the way in which the managements of these public sector undertakings deal with the labour create a situation in which the common man is compelled to believe that, after all, the private sector in the country may be better than the public sector. This is the way in which the public sector is managed. Most of the public sector undertakings are run at a loss on account of the filthy way, if I may say so, in which some of these managing directors are running the show. The managing directors of some of these public sector undertakings run the show for themselves and their families and not for the purpose of the public sector or the nation as a whole.

Sir, I close with a statement and rather very seriously that this Government has no right to appropriate the amounts claimed, particularly because of the very recent happenings in the State of Punjab where the provisions of the Constitution, particularly articles 178, 179 and 180, have been abused, if not prostituted. This Government has no right to function. It is the Central Government that is giving instruction. Whatever the hon'ble Mr. Chavan might say, that the Governor has issued the ordinance or the Deputy Speaker has done this way or that way, the world knows, the nation knows that the drama that was enacted in the Assembly of Punjab was the drama enacted at the instance of the Prime Minister and the hon'ble Home Minister. It is a drama which brings the Constitution to its twilight. It is a drama, Sir, which Dr. Ambedkar in all his glories, when presenting the Constitution to the Constituent Assembly would never have thought of.

I remember, Sir, reading through the debates, the hon'ble Dr. Ambedkar while commending the Draft

Constitution, as amended, to the Constituent Assembly for its final approval and acceptance having said that this Constitution is a great Constitution, that it would survive and the country will be able to progress under this Constitution, added that if this Constitution fails it will not fail on account of any inherent weaknesses in this Constitution, but it will fail on account of the persons who manage the affairs of this country. I, Sir, would submit that even the hon'ble Dr. Ambedkar, while speaking those words to the Constituent Assembly, would never have thought of the happenings in West Bengal, in Bihar, in U.P. and in Haryana and, last but not the least, in the Punjab where the provisions of the Constitution have been abused and prostituted by the Congress Central Government. Therefore, the Central Government has no meaning or content and it can never appropriate the amounts that it claims to appropriate today.

3 P.M.

SHRI N. PATRA (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Appropriation demands. While doing so, I want to draw the attention of the House to a situation arising on the Andhra—Orissa border in the Koraput district. The Andhra Government has occupied nine of the Orissa villages. They are called the Kukia group of villages. The revenue records show . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): When did they occupy?

SHRI N. PATRA: Recently.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: What is the date?

SHRI N. PATRA: After the boundary line was drawn, they were occupied. I have asked the Central Government, in a question, to intervene in the matter. The Orissa Government and the Andhra Government are the disputing parties in the matter. Therefore, I want the Central Government to ask both the Governments, at their Secretaries level or at the ministerial level, to come to some understanding. If they fail to

come to some understanding, I would request the Central Government to take up the matter and get it solved through their good offices or by appointment of an impartial tribunal. This should be done immediately because the Left Communists are very active on that Andhra—Orissa border. I have drawn the attention of the Government, through a call attention notice, to the fact that the Left Communists are very active in that area. So far it has not been rejected. Therefore, I want the Central Government to take prompt steps in the matter. Otherwise, things will take an ugly turn. Andhra is a big State. They are our big brothers. But they have tried to grab some of our territory. Our Chief Minister has also written a letter in this connection. This question has been defeated in the Orissa State Assembly. The Andhra Assembly has also perhaps discussed this matter. An hon. Member from Srikakulam constituency raised this question in the Andhra Assembly. We expected a fair way of dealing with the matter from the Andhra Government. But the Andhra Chief Minister, Mr. Brahma-nanda Reddy, said . . .

SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA (West Bengal): Congress Chief Minister.

SHRI N. PATRA: We are also Congressmen. I am not accusing anybody. He said "There is nothing to be done in the matter. I am not going to consult with anybody on this matter; it belongs to us." They have now started appeasing the people of the border villages, which they have occupied by opening some elementary schools and promising a primary health centre. They have also set up a police station there. Things are going too far. I want the Central Government to intervene in the matter. The Home Minister said in reply to my question yesterday that it is being examined. But it cannot be left at the examination stage. Both the Chief Ministers should be called together and this dispute should be amicably settled. Otherwise, the Left Communists, who are active there, will take this matter up and create trouble. Thank you.

श्री बी० एस० सावनेकर (महाराष्ट्र): माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल को सपोर्ट करते हुए दो महत्व के खातों के लिये ज्यादा पैसे की मांग की सूचना रख रहा हूँ और उसके लिए मेरा जो अनुभव है वह सरकार के सामने रखता हूँ।

सब से बड़ा ऐग्रीकल्चर, खेती का डिपार्टमेंट है जिसमें कम पैसा लगाया जाता है और उसकी तरद्द भ्रष्टी नहीं की जाती है। खेती में यह नहीं होने की वजह से हिन्दोस्तान का जो प्रोडक्शन बढ़ना चाहिए वह दस, पन्द्रह, बीस साल से नहीं बढ़ रहा है। मैं एक काश्तकार हूँ और महाराष्ट्र स्टेट से आया हूँ। ऐग्रीकल्चर डिपार्टमेंट के आफिसर्स के लिये पहले पार्लियामेंट में डिस्कशन हुआ था कि उनको गजटेट पोस्ट में करना चाहिये। आजकल हमारे महाराष्ट्र में ऐग्रीकल्चर आफिसर्स ऐसे बनाए जाते हैं जो नानमेट्रिक हैं और जो बीस महीने की ट्रेनिंग ले कर आते हैं। ऐसे छोटे छोटे ऐग्रीकल्चर आफिसर्स बनाये जाते हैं। ऐग्रीकल्चर की प्रॉब्लम ऐसी है और सरकार को जितनी तबज्जह इस तरफ देनी चाहिये उतनी नहीं दे रही है और जितना खर्चा इस पर सर्फ करना चाहिए उतना सर्फ नहीं कर रही है।

मेरे सवाल से दो विभाग ऐसे महत्व के हैं जिन पर ज्यादा पैसा लगना चाहिये, एक तो शिक्षा का है और दूसरा ऐग्रीकल्चर का है। हमारे त्रिगुण सेन साहब यहां बंटे हुए हैं। मैं उनसे भी यह रिक्वेस्ट करूंगा कि काश्तकारों के बच्चों को सहायित दी जाती है, उनकी फीस माफ की जाती है, लेकिन काश्तकारों का इम्प्रूवमेंट कितना हुआ है। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि देहात के जो काश्तकारों के बच्चे हैं पढ़ने के बास्ते आते हैं, उनसे खाली पूछिये तो क्या बोलते हैं "नानमेट्रिक डिग्री"। यह डिग्री बहुत बड़ी है किसान लोगों में। इसकी वजह क्या है? मैं त्रिगुण सेन साहब से जानना

चाहता हूँ कि किसानों के बच्चे मदरसे में भेजे जाते हैं तो तास्लुक में बोर्डिंग नहीं रहती है, जिले में बोर्डिंग नहीं रहती है और काश्तकारों के बच्चों को जो पढ़ाई की सहायित दी जानी चाहिये, वह नहीं दी जाती है।

इसके साथ साथ हमारा खयाल है कि चौथे स्टैंडर्ड से अगर किसान का बच्चा फैंसिलिटीज लेता है तो उसके लिए खेती का एक विषय रखना चाहिए और खेतों में प्रैक्टिकल काम करना चाहिए। आजकल बड़े बड़े काश्तकारों के बच्चे, हमारे यहां जिसको पांढर पेशा बोलते हैं, बुद्धिजीवी लोग बन रहे हैं, मास्टर लोग बन रहे हैं। मास्टर जो मेट्रिक होते हैं वे शनिवार और इतवार के रोज भी अपनी खेती देखने के लिए नहीं जाते हैं क्योंकि उनको खेती में काम करने में शर्म आती है।

आज हमने डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब को सुना। वे बोले कि मैं पहले फार्मर था, उसके बाद डिप्टी कलेक्टर बना। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वे फार्मर के ट्रेडिशन रखते हैं या उनके बच्चे रखते हैं। यह बड़े दुख की बात है कि जिसके पास खेती है वह खेती को छोड़ कर दूसरे धंधों को कर रहा है क्योंकि दूसरे धंधों में उसको ज्यादा पैसा मिलता है। यह भी देखिए कि इंडस्ट्रीज के लिए ज्यादा पैसा मांगा जाता है और हमारी खेती की इंडस्ट्रीज के औजारों के लिए बन्दी की जाती है। हम लोगों को ट्रैक्टर दिए जाते हैं लेकिन उस के टायर नहीं मिलते हैं, उसकी मशीनरी नहीं मिलती है।

हम श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया से रिक्वेस्ट करेंगे कि वे बतायें कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों को कितनी जमीन दी गई है और उन्होंने क्या प्रोग्रेस की है और हमारी नेशन की आमदनी को कितना बढ़ाया है। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि इन दोनों बातों के लिए हमारे डिप्टी मिनिस्टर साहब

रीप्लाय करेंगे। इसके लिये एक सर्वे किया जाय कि कितनी ज़मीन उन लोगों को दी गई, उसके ऊपर कितना पैसा खर्च किया गया और देश की उन्होंने क्या प्रब्लम हल की। मैं समझता हूँ कि किसी ने ज़मीन बेच डाली है, किसी ने फाइनेंस न मिलने की वजह से छोड़ दिया है और यह प्रब्लम वैसी की वैसी है। शिक्षा की प्रब्लम भी वैसी की वैसी है। मैंने अपने मित्र से यह मालुमात की कि पाश्चात्य देशों के बच्चों का ट्रेन्ड देखने हैं कि बच्चा किस लाइन में जा सकता है। वहाँ जब छोटे छोटे बच्चे खेलते हैं तो कोई इंजन बनाता है, कोई ट्रेन बनाता है और कोई कुछ बनाता है, कोई किताबें पढ़ता है। वहाँ बच्चों का ट्रेन्ड देख कर, उनकी साइकालोजी को पढ़ कर उनको एडवाइस किया जाता है कि वे क्या करें। उसी तरह से हमारे यहाँ भी गवर्नमेंट को उनका एक रिकार्ड बनाना चाहिए और फिर उसको एडवाइस करना चाहिए। आज जो टैलेंटेड होते हैं, जो इंजीनियर बनने वाले होते हैं वे मजबूरन मास्टर बगते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर आप देश को अच्छा बनाना चाहते हैं तो एजुकेशन और एग्रीकल्चर इन दोनों में ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैसा लगाइए। आज एग्रीकल्चर में यह है कि पहिले बोला जाता है कि इस बार बम्पर क्राप आएगी। हमारे महाराष्ट्र के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने भी कहा है कि इस बार बम्पर क्राप आएगी, लेकिन मैं अनुभव से बताता हूँ कि हमारे काश्तकार का प्रोडक्शन हमारे घर में आये बगैर हमारा नहीं है।

यह बड़े दुख की बात है कि जो एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्टर बनते हैं उनको यह भी नहीं मालूम होता है कि क्या-क्या अनाज पैदा होता है। त्रिगुण सेन हमारे सेन्ट्रल मिनिस्टर हैं, बड़े अच्छे और लायक आदमी हैं लेकिन इनको एडवाइस नहीं दी जाती। टीचर्स का प्रब्लम इतना बिगड़ गया है कि अदना कांस्टेबिल को जितनी रेस्पेक्ट मिलती है उतनी भी

मास्टर को नहीं मिलती। देहातों में जो मास्टर रहते हैं उनके रहने का इन्तजाम नहीं होता, डाक्टर का इन्तजाम नहीं होता। कैसे मास्टर बच्चों को पढ़ाएँ? वह देखता है कि उसका बच्चा बीमार है, वह बोलता है कि बंडी दी जाय लेकिन नहीं दी जाती। मैं समझता हूँ कि इंडियन गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी का मकसद है कि गांव सिविलाइज्ड हों, वहाँ अच्छे ट्रेड निर्माण हों, अच्छी पैदाइश निकले। मुझे यह दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि कृषि और एजुकेशन दोनों बातें बहुत बिगड़ी हुई हैं और इन पर ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैसा खर्च करना चाहिए।

एग्रीकल्चर में हर एक ताल्लुका में एक गजटेड आफिसर रखना चाहिए, दो चार अफसर उसके नीचे होने चाहिए, उनके लिए एक टारगेट बना देना चाहिए और उनके लिए एक टेस्ट रखना चाहिए कि तुम यह करोगे तो तुमको रखेंगे। हर एक ओहदेदार के काम में रूनिंग पार्टी का इन्टरफीयरेंस बहुत चलता है। जो आदमी अच्छा काम करने वाला है, नया काम शुरू करता है उससे कहा जाता है—

What interest have you got, you are transferred to that place?

त्रिगुण सेन साहब को सब स्टेटों से यह कहना चाहिए कि मास्टर लोगों का इधर-उधर ट्रांसफर नहीं करना चाहिए। जहाँ उनको महुलियत चाहिए वहाँ क्यों नहीं देते, जिसका गांव, खेत नजदीक है उसे वहाँ क्यों नहीं रखते। अगर उसका रिकार्ड खराब है तो भले ही ट्रांसफर करो, डिमिमिस करो। बड़े बड़े अफसर लोग कहते हैं कि मुझको मेरे डिस्ट्रिक्ट में रखो लेकिन जो नीचे के कर्मचारी हैं उनको एक जिले से दूसरे जिले में ट्रांसफर किया जाता है। कैसे हमारे हिन्दुस्तान की प्रगति होगी परमात्मा जाने। मैं देहात से आया हूँ, देहात में काम करता हूँ और आगे भी करता रहूँगा, लेकिन यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि इन दोनों डिपार्टमेंट्स की तरफ जितनी

[श्री बी० एस० सावनेकर]

तबज्जह देनी चाहिए, उतनी नहीं दी जा रही है ।

पहाड़िया जी बड़े यंग डिपुटी फाइनंस मिनिस्टर हैं, वे सर्वे कराये कि जो लैण्ड डिस्ट्रीब्यूट की गई, जो गरीबों को दी गई सब स्टेटों में वह कितनी जमीन है, उसका रिकार्ड मंगवाएं कि उस जमीन का कितना मुआवजा दिया गया ।

आजकल बैंकों से हजारों रुपया दिया जा रहा है । क्या वह खेती में लगाया जा रहा है । मैं समझता हूं कि ये कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटियां सब बॉगम हैं, पेपर प्रोग्राम हैं । जो खेती वालों को पैसा दिया जाता है मैं समझता हूं कि वह वापस नहीं आ सकता क्योंकि वह खेती में लगता नहीं । बैंक यह पूछते क्यों नहीं कि एग्रीकल्चर के बास्ते जो लोन दिया जाता है उसमें कितनी प्रगति हुई । प्रगति होती है जीरो । पेपर्स पर ही लोन देते हैं और लेते हैं । इधर से भी कमीशन खाते हैं और उधर से भी खाते हैं । बोर्ड के चेयरमैन और डाइरेक्टर्स प्रिंसेज बन रहे हैं । इन कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटियों पर अगर फाइनंस डिपार्टमेंट की ओर से चेक नहीं रखा गया तो मैं नहीं समझता कि ये कहाँ जायेंगी । हमारे महाराष्ट्र में कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटियों का नाम बड़े फर्क से लिया जाता है । मैं महाराष्ट्र से आता हूं । आजकल झूठ बोलने की सबको आदत हो गई है, कोई सच बोलें तो मुना नहीं जाता । गवर्नमेंट आफिसर्स भी 90 परसेंट डिमारेलाइज हो गए हैं । अच्छे आफिसर्स की कोई कद्र नहीं है । जो इधर उधर अड़ंगा मारता है वह ५५ बन जाता है, तरक्की कर जाता है । फाइनंस मिनिस्टर को देखना चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान का पैसा कैसा यूटिलाइज हो रहा है । मैं समझता हूं कि यह नेशनल प्राबलम बड़ा डिफीकल्ट हो गया है ।

The ruling party is responsible, whether non-Congress or Congress,

for interference in the Administration.

आफीसर्स को कहते हैं ऐसे बोलो, वैसे बोलो ।

त्रिगुण सेन साहब को इस पर ध्यान देना चाहिए । आजकल गांवों में नान-मेट्रिक की डिग्री बहुत खुशी से बोली जाती है । नान-मेट्रिक की पदवी क्या है । मास्टर लोग अच्छा पढ़ाते नहीं ।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) :
पंजाब मंत्रिमंडल में उनको भिजवा दीजिये ।

श्री बी० एस० सावनेकर : वहां के तजुर्खे होंगे । यह आल इंडिया प्राबलम है, मैं पंजाब का नहीं बोलता, आपका यू० पी० का नहीं बोलता ।

श्री प्रकाश नारायण सप्रू (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
यू० पी० में तो बुरी हालत है ।

श्री बी० एस० सावनेकर : त्रिगुण सेन साहब, क्या परमात्मा न किमान के बच्चों को बुद्धि नहीं दी, क्या परमात्मा का नियम ऐसा है कि इंजीनियर का बच्चा इंजीनियर होगा और किमान का बच्चा किमान ही रहेगा । यह तो आप लोगों की करतूत है । आप को किमान के बच्चों को स्पेशल फॅसिलिटीज देनी चाहिए । किमान दिन भर खेतों में काम करता है, वो लड़के को ताल्लुक में स्कूल भेजता है तो वह मिनेमा देखता है, अबारा धूमता है और वाप को बोलता है कि अच्छा है । मास्टर लोग भी डिमारेलाइज हो गए हैं क्योंकि उनको पगार नहीं मिलती, 20-25 रुपया लेकर क्लास पढ़ाते जाते हैं जब तक वह मेट्रिक में नहीं पहुंचता । मेट्रिक में वह पास नहीं होता और नान-मेट्रिक की डिग्री लेकर घर आ जाता है । 'घोबी का कुत्ता न घर का न घाट का' उस तरह वह किसी काम का नहीं रहता । वह खेत में काम नहीं कर सकता । रिस्ट वाच तो आजकल सब जगह है । पादचात्य देशों में ऐसा नहीं है ।

इजराइल के बारेमें मैंने सुना है कि ताल्लुक लेमेज पर गवर्नमेंट का दो-दो स्टाफ रहता है, हर किसान उसके पास जाता है और फौरन उसको मदद मिलती है। हमारे यहां भी बीज दिया जाता है, कब मिलता है शेरखां साहब को मालूम है—बारिश में, जब किसान नहीं लेता। बीज में कीड़ा लगा हुआ होता है जो फेंक देना पड़ता है। मैं समझता हूं कि ऐग्रीकल्चरल प्राबलम बड़ा खराब हो रहा है। पहाड़िया साहब, जो जमीनें दी गई हैं स्टेट्स में रिपोर्ट मंगा कर देखें कि उन्होंने कितने काश्तकारों को दी और खेती कितनी बढ़ी। अगर कोई डिपार्टमेंट बराबर काम नहीं करता है तो उसको टास्क पर लेना चाहिए।

हमारे ऊपर टैक्स बढ़ाए जा रहे हैं। काश्तकार अंगूर पैदा करते हैं, अंगूर पर टैक्स वसूल करते हैं। अगर अंगूर जल गया तो भी टैक्स दो। ये बातें देखनी चाहिए। हमारे घर में जब माल आता है तब हम पर टैक्स लगाओ, हम देने के लिए तैयार हैं, मगर जब हमारे खेत में बारिश गिरने से बोड़ी जल गई और कपास नहीं हुई तो टैक्स नहीं लगाना चाहिए।

खेती करने वालों को सहायित्व देनी चाहिए। ट्रैक्टर का टायर नहीं मिलता, दूसरा सामान नहीं मिलता। मनु भाई शाह ऐसे थे जो इण्डस्ट्रीज को इम्पोर्ट के लाइसेंस देते थे और इंडस्ट्री पर तो जोर देते थे लेकिन खेती के लिए कुछ नहीं हुआ। लेबर प्रोबलम भी बड़ा डिफिकल्ट है। गवर्नमेंट को सोचना चाहिए कि कोऑपरेटिव वेमिस पर जो रूपा खेती के लिये देते हैं वह उसमें लगता नहीं। इन दोनों बातों की ओर—जो सूचना मैंने दी वह अपने अनुभव से दी है—डिप्युटी मिनिस्टर फाइनेंस और एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर गौर करें।

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, in talk-

ing on the Appropriation Bill, I will really concentrate on two aspects of the measure because there are so many misuses and wastage of expenditure that really one does not know on what to speak. I will take this opportunity to pinpoint the expenditure on two aspects only—the expenditure on education, not because Dr. Sen is here but because I really wanted to speak on the wastage of expenditure that is generally done in the name of education on certain Departments like the National Council of Educational Research and Training which is nothing but a white elephant and on which lakhs of rupees are spent for nothing and for no product that it produces.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Which institute?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: The National Council of Educational Research and Training. I am grateful to you*, for putting that question. That only shows the nature of this institution, the one that one never hears of but still that institution is sought to be made up into a kind of University and much of public fund is wasted on it.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

श्रीमन्, यह ललित कला भी तो एजुकेशन में है !

श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र : संगीत है, साहित्य, सब अकेडमी है ।

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Of course it is here but not in this. When this Council was set up, certain Departments were transferred to it from the Ministry of Education and those Departments were formidable in number but then I might tell you that though the names were formidable and it was stated that all these Departments will be in the autonomous charge of the Council, actually these Departments have suffered a sea-change so to say after they were transferred to the Council. Look at the Departments which were transferred to the National Council of Educational Research and

[SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE.]

Training. The Directorate of Extension Programmes for Secondary Education, the Central Bureau of Text Book Research, the Central Bureau of Educational and Vocational Guidance, the National Institute of Basic Education, the All-India Institute of Audio-visual Education and the National Institute of Fundamental Education.

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

These big names were rolled out while the Council was set up and as Indians we are often victims of chanting of mantras and then these high-sounding words were rolled out and were repeated. Then naturally the people of India began to think that this is an institution which would be able to do something in the long run but this Council was constituted in 1961 and today we are in the year of our Lord of 1968.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION (DR. TRIGUNA SEN): Lord?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: It is a Christian year and therefore, the word Lord. This is 1968 and in seven years the mountain has been in labour and the product has been the proverbial mouse. Look at the Central Bureau of Text-Book Research that was transferred to this Council and one of the books that was prepared under its auspices is a photographic reproduction of an American text-book on physics. The text-books produced by this Council—by a Department called the D.A.C. is a photographic reproduction of an American text-book. Further, text books are often published from this Educational Research Institute—NCERT—but then these books again are generally prepared by panels of teachers. If I may put this question to the Minister of Education—if these books are to be made by a panel of teachers, readers, lecturers and philosophers who are recruited to the NCERT, if it is a question of preparation of text books by a panel, that could have been done by the panel even without setting up this white elephant.

Again it is a department where all kinds of strange things happen. Square pegs are put in round holes and round pegs are put in square holes. I can give an instance also, that there was a survey unit set up. Do you know who was appointed to the Survey Department? Whom could you expect to be appointed? He would be a person with knowledge of statistics, economics, etc. but a reader who has a Masters degree in Philosophy was appointed for this survey work. This is the position as far as the Council is concerned. There was an advertisement for a Specialist in Commerce. There are M.As. in Commerce, there are persons having educational qualification in Commerce but instead of appointing such persons, merely an M.A. in Economics was appointed. There are also other vagaries in such appointments. We have heard of appointments being made in this Department of persons who were rejected thrice and on the fourth chance appointed in this Department. It is perhaps because on the fourth chance that he got, he could have some strings pulled and so he was appointed. I can give the Education Minister an instance. A departmental candidate was rejected twice and he was admitted in the third chance within a couple of months of the date of his second rejection. The point is, either the man must have been very qualified even two months ago and therefore the evaluation of his qualification was not correct and that really resulted in a great amount of loss of money, energy, etc. or we certainly cannot expect that within two months of the second rejection he suddenly got extraordinary qualifications as if from heaven.

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: May I know the name?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I will give the name to the Education Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You write to the Education Minister and he will look into it.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I will give the name, not here because the Minister can easily imagine that if I

such visitor to the library and even one person is sitting there beyond 5 O'Clock, the librarian would consider himself a little lucky. Now this is the position, this is the research atmosphere. I am not blaming the Readers or the Lecturers or the Professors who may be eking out their income there. Everyone has to eke out his livelihood. Why should I blame a particular person because he is getting a fat salary, whether a Reader or a Lecturer or a Professor there? The point is not that. The point is this that, if you want research to be conducted, you must create the proper atmosphere for the research. I am pointing out these things in order to show that the proper atmosphere for research is not existing in this National Council of Educational Research and Training. And yet it has almost all the status of a university, at least the status is conferred on it. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in the campus they say that they will conduct fundamental research in educational training. Has any research in educational training been done so far? I can tell you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, that what they do is this, that they impart some training and, well, the training can be concentrated in a matter of few weeks, and they impart that training at a hill station which they go to during summer, then they drag it on for several months so that the salubrious climate of the hill station may be enjoyed by interested persons. And what they impart there is merely a Bachelor of Education course, or a B.T. training course, which is given by any university. Now instead of strengthening the syllabus for the B.(Ed.) or the B.T. in the different universities, why is this fund being wasted and spent by such training courses, and what fundamental research has been done in the direction of educational training? Sir, there is a unit—big names are all there; I always forget—a unit called Science Talent Research Unit. Now do you know how it is done. Science talent is being found—well. I am told—on the basis of one-hour test, on the result of one-hour test. And on the results of that one-hour test scholarships are given for college studies on research subjects. Now it could have

such visitor to the library and even one person is sitting there beyond 5 O'Clock, the librarian would consider himself a little lucky. Now this is the position, this is the research atmosphere. I am not blaming the Readers or the Lecturers or the Professors who may be eking out their income there. Everyone has to eke out his livelihood. Why should I blame a particular person because he is getting a fat salary, whether a Reader or a Lecturer or a Professor there? The point is not that. The point is this that, if you want research to be conducted, you must create the proper atmosphere for the research. I am pointing out these things in order to show that the proper atmosphere for research is not existing in this National Council of Educational Research and Training. And yet it has almost all the status of a university, at least the status is conferred on it. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in the campus they say that they will conduct fundamental research in educational training. Has any research in educational training been done so far? I can tell you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, that what they do is this, that they impart some training and, well, the training can be concentrated in a matter of few weeks, and they impart that training at a hill station which they go to during summer, then they drag it on for several months so that the salubrious climate of the hill station may be enjoyed by interested persons. And what they impart there is merely a Bachelor of Education course, or a B.T. training course, which is given by any university. Now instead of strengthening the syllabus for the B.(Ed.) or the B.T. in the different universities, why is this fund being wasted and spent by such training courses, and what fundamental research has been done in the direction of educational training? Sir, there is a unit—big names are all there; I always forget—a unit called Science Talent Research Unit. Now do you know how it is done. Science talent is being found—well. I am told—on the basis of one-hour test, on the result of one-hour test. And on the results of that one-hour test scholarships are given for college studies on research subjects. Now it could have

[Shri A. P. Chatterjee.] been done, the scholarships could have been given on the basis of the School Final Examination, or any other examination. Now I know that this N.C.E.R.T. is oriented too much to American models. I understand that in America such science talent is searched out on the basis of one-hour test. But we know what is happening in the United States of America now-a-days. Whatever fundamental research is now-a-days carried on in the United States is generally carried on by outsiders, by scientists from Italy, scientists from India, scientists from Germany, scientists from Britain, and so on. They really carry on fundamental research in the United States, and the original inhabitants of the United States of America, they contribute very little to fundamental research in the different universities of the United States. This is common knowledge. Even this atomic energy research, etc., that also was made possible in the United States because of such a great and eminent scientist as Fermi, and he was an Italian. Now this is the model which has been taken up by this National Council of Educational Research and Training. What more can we expect? But even then, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, even where we could have imitated the Americans a little profitably well, that also we have not done, because I can tell you here and now that there was a Central Examination Unit in existence in the National Council of Educational Research and Training. Now there was an objective-based programme, and that was taken from the programme enunciated by one Mr. Bloom of Chicago University, and that objective-based programme enunciated by Mr. Bloom of Chicago University, well, might be of some use—whatever the Americans do is not all bad, at least that is not my case.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): That is good.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: That is not my case. Some may be good. Now this Bloom's objective-based central examination programme, well, this has not been followed at all by this National Council of Educational

Research and Training. And what they do is this that they merely, well, tell people how to set papers. The Central Examination Unit has now been transformed or converted by this National Council of Educational Research and Training into merely a paper-setting unit—look at the dege-ration—where there was to be fundamental research on the question of examinations, because you know, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, that throughout the world there is the problem posed by examinations, what examinations are to be held, whether most of the examinations are to be held, if those examinations are to be held, on what basis are the examinations to be held, how the papers are to be set, etc. All these questions are there. It is a question of research and training. Now Mr. Bloom also gave a kind of line, Mr. Bloom of Chicago University, as far as this is concerned. But that was not followed. What they are doing is how to set papers. Now for setting papers is such a unit as the Central Examination Unit necessary? And what is happening in this National Council of Educational Research and Training, well, is merely wastage, complete wastage, and I am saying all these things because I am really calling upon him, with great respect calling upon the hon. Education Minister to look into the matter a little, to go there, pay a visit there and see what is happening. Often, even mere physical sight, the sight of a thing will convey a great many things to him, the things happening there in this case. He will find that sometimes silly things are done. Now look at the Survey Unit, and that Survey Unit was set up for the explicit purpose of conducting a second educational survey in 1967. Now what is done? That was an *ad hoc* unit altogether, but still it is continuing, today, even though the second educational survey of 1967 has already been completed. Now this is how the money is being spent on this National Council of Educational Research and Training. Then, Sir, every year, after every year, of their labour, so-called labour, what do they produce? They produce certain statistics. I have seen one of their books on statistics, and often, every year there is repetition of the same figures. And then again,

the figures which they give look at those figures. Well, after all it is not a statistical bureau, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, after all we wanted them to give some fundamental guidelines upon the figures which they collected. But look at any of their compilations. They give lots of figures no doubt, but then the lots of figures could have been given by any mere statistical bureau. Today there was a question in this House on the National Sample Survey Scheme of the Statistical Institute. That is being wound up now, so to say, because of the Pandharkar Committee report. Now these things could have been done by them. So you make people unemployed in one department and you, well, make another department, which was not meant for it, do the job. And they do the job in a very bad way too. As far as the collection of figures and statistics is concerned it could very well be done under the National Sample Survey Scheme of the Statistical Institute. But they are not being allowed to do it, or rather they may not be allowed to do it because of the report of this Committee. Perhaps they will be retrenched. What this National Council of Educational Research and Training is doing is the same thing as what the National Sample Survey Scheme has been doing, namely the collection of figures and statistics. Let them collect these figures and statistics. I have no objection. But then, was this National Council of Educational Research and Training set up for the purpose of collecting figures and statistics only? And if you look at their compilations you find that there are no conclusions based on those figures, not guide-lines based on those figures, no guidance to teachers and professors based on those figures. What then is the use?

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

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I am just finishing, Sir, I have dealt with only one aspect of the Appropriation Bill. Though I desired to speak on other aspects I will not do so now. Mr. Vice-Chairman, in view of your constant ringing of the time bell. I L/P(D)75 ESS—G

So much for the present and I hope I have at least given some food for thought to the hon. Education Minister.

श्री पंडरीनाथ सीतारामजी पाटील (महाराष्ट्र): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह विनियोग विधेयक 1968 का सदन के सामने आया है, उस पर मैं अपने कुछ विचार व्यक्त करना चाहता हूँ और कुछ समस्याओं के सम्बन्ध में शासन के सामने बातें रखना चाहता हूँ। इस साल का आय व्यय का जो व्योरा है वह तफसील के साथ सदन के सामने आ चुका है। उस पर मैं उन्हीं बातों को दुहराकर सदन का समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ। इस साल का जो घाटा है वह करीब 315 करोड़ रुपये का बताया गया है और उसको पूरा करने के लिये जो इलाज अपनाया है, उसके बारे में मैं थोड़ा सा कहना चाहता हूँ।

व्यय के घाटे को पूरा करने के लिये सरकार ने जो टैक्स लगाये हैं उससे गरीबों के ऊपर ज्यादा बोझ पड़ने वाला है। सरकार ने पोस्टकार्ड्स की कीमत जो बढ़ाई है उसका भार गरीब लोगों के ऊपर ज्यादा पड़ने वाला है। अगर किसी गरीब आदमी के घर में कोई बीमार हो गया है तो उसके पास दवाई दारू के लिये अथवा खाने के लिये पैसा नहीं होता है। ऐसे संकट ग्रस्त लोगों को अपने संबंधियों को बीमारी की खबर भेजने के लिये भी पोस्ट कार्ड की कीमत बढ़ाने में मुश्किल कर दिया गया है। कम से कम वह अपने सगे सम्बन्धियों को चिट्ठी लिख सकें, अपने घर की खुशाली के बारे में लिख सकें, वह चीज भी आपने उनके लिये मंहुगी कर दी है। पहले पोस्ट कार्ड की कीमत 6 पैसे थी और अब उसके दाम बढ़ा कर 10 पैसे कर दिया है। तो इस तरह से गरीबों

[श्री पंढरीनाथ सीतारामजी पाटील]

के ऊपर इसका बोझ पड़ने वाला है। सरकार पोस्टकार्ड की कीमत बढ़ाकर अपनी आमदनी ज्यादा बढ़ाना चाहती है। तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वह न बढ़ाकर उसके बजाय इन्कमटैक्स सुपरटैक्स और मृत्यु कर या ऐसे जो बड़े बड़े टैक्स हैं, उनकी दर बढ़ाकर यह घाटा पूरा किया जाना चाहिए था। कुछ धनी लोग अपनी सही आय छुपाते हैं। सरकार को इन लोगों के ऊपर नियंत्रण रखना ज्यादा कठोर करना चाहिये था जो उस तरह से टैक्स की चोरी करते हैं। ये लोग जो टैक्स की चोरी करते हैं वे सरकारी अफसरों को अपना बनाकर सब तरह की सहूलियत लेते हैं और जो टैक्स उनको सरकार को देना होता है, वह कम हो जाता है। लेकिन सरकार ने पोस्ट कार्ड की कीमत ही बढ़ाना अच्छा समझा है। शासन को चाहिये था कि जो धनी लोग टैक्स की चोरी करते हैं उन पर ज्यादा टैक्स बढ़ायें।

अब मैं और दो बातें माननीय मंत्री जी के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। अभी एक मित्र ने जो बातें सदन के सामने किसानों की दिक्कत के सम्बन्ध में रखी, उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं अपनी ओर से भी कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जितना धन किसानों को दिया जाना चाहिये उतना नहीं दिया जा रहा है। जो कुछ भी धन किसानों के लिये रखा जाता है वह भी जिस तरह से खर्च किया जाना चाहिये था उस तरह से नहीं किया जाता।

देश में अनाज की कमी है और इस साल के बारे में कहा जाता है कि अनाज का उत्पादन खूब होने वाला है। मेरा ऐसा ख्याल है कि जो अधिक अनाज होने

वाला था वह ओले गिरने से और नैसर्गिक कोप से कम हो गया है। हम लोगों को ऐसा नहीं समझना चाहिये कि देश को जितना अनाज चाहिये उतना पक गया है। यह बात मैं एक किसान होने के नाते और कुछ मेरे अनुभव हैं, उसको देखकर कह रहा हूँ। इसलिये मैं सरकार से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर देश में हमेशा के लिये अनाज का उत्पादन बढ़ाना है तो मामूली इलाजों से काम नहीं चलेगा। उसके लिये तो ठोस कदम उठाने चाहिये। अनाज का उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिये हमारे देश में जगह जगह जहाँ भी हो सकता है छोटी नहरें बनाई जानी चाहियें ताकि पानी की बजह से किसान अपनी खेती अच्छी तरह से कर सके। उसको रासायनिक खाद की सहूलियत मिलनी चाहिये, शुद्ध बीज मिलना चाहिये और अनाज की पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिये जो कुछ भी आवश्यक होता है वह सब कुछ उसको आसानी के साथ मिलना चाहिये। फसल के ऊपर जो रोग हो जाते हैं, उन्हें दूर करने के लिये उसे दवाई मिलनी चाहिये, पानी के लिये बिजली का प्रबन्ध किया जाना चाहिये और छोटे छोटे यांत्रिक औजार मिलने चाहियें।

एक मित्र ने अभी इजरायल का उदाहरण रखा है। लेकिन मैं सरकार के सामने जापान का उदाहरण रखना चाहता हूँ। हमारे जो किसान भाई जापान हो कर आये हैं, उन्होंने बतलाया है कि जापान के किसानों को खेती की पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिये चाहिये वह सभी साहित्य सरकार की ओर से खेत पर ही आसानी के साथ मिल जाता है लेकिन यहाँ किसानों को जो चीज मिलती है वह मंहगी मिलती है और वह भी बख्त पर

नहीं मिलती है। सरकारी अफसरों की ओर से इन चीजों को देने में बहुत से रोड़े डाले जाते हैं। बहुत समय तो ऐसा होता है कि जो पैसा किसानों के लिये दिया जाता है, जो सहूलियत दी जाती है, जो चीजें दी जाती हैं, वे उनको न मिल कर गलत भागों से दूसरों के पास चली जाती है। इस तरह की दिक्कतें होने से हमारे देश में अनाज का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ रहा है।

इसके साथ जो किसान खेतों में जो फसल पैदा करता है, उसको बाजार में उसकी उचित कीमत भी नहीं मिलती है। उदाहरण के तौर पर मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जब बाजार में किसान अपनी कपास लाता है तो व्यापारी कपास के दाम गिरा देते हैं जिससे किसान को उसके कपास के बहुत कम दाम मिलते हैं। मैं महाराष्ट्र से आता हूँ। वहाँ पर कपास को मनी क्राप माना जाता है। कपास की जब बड़ी फसल आती है, और किसान उसको बाजार में ले जाता है तो व्यापारी लोग कपास की कीमत गिरा देते हैं। वे लोग सस्ती कपास खरीद लेते हैं और मंहगे दामों पर मिलवालों को बेच देते हैं। फिर मिलवाले कपड़े का भाव निर्धारित करते हैं। इस तरह से किसानों की कोई बेल्यू नहीं है। उनको किसी तरह का प्रोटेक्शन नहीं दिया जाता। हम से कहा जाता है "प्रोमोटर फूड"। जब किसान अपना अनाज बाजार में बेचने के लिये जाता है और उसको वहाँ पर कम दाम मिलते हैं तो उस वक्त सरकार की ओर से कोई प्रोटेक्शन नहीं दिया जाता। बाजार में जब अनाजों के दाम गिरने लगें तो सरकार को खुद उस चीज को खरीद लेना चाहिये ताकि किसान लोगों का शोषण व्यापारी और मिल मालिकों

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द्वारा न हो सके। सरकार कपास का फ्लोर प्राइज बान्ध देती है और फिर किसानों से उस दाम पर बेचने के लिये कहती है। अगर किसान इस दाम पर अपना कपास बेचे तो उनका दिवालिया ही निकल जायगा। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि जब कपास के दाम निर्धारित करने हो तो उत्पादन खर्च का पूरा व्योरा तैयार करके ही न्यूनतम दाम निर्धारित किये जाने चाहिये। यह मेरा सुझाव है।

फिर मैं अदब के साथ शासन से यह कहूँगा कि अगर देश में किसान को सुखी बनाना है तो जब तक उसकी चीजों की बाजार में उचित कीमत नहीं आयेगी तब तक किसान कभी ऊँचा नहीं उठ सकता। आज शहरों में देखिये, बड़े बड़े बंगले बड़े बड़े कारखाने उठ खड़े हो रहे हैं क्योंकि व्यापारियों के पास लाखों करोड़ों रुपया आ रहा है। देहात में चलिये तो यह देखेंगे कि बाप दादा ने जो एक मकान बनाया था मिट्टी का या कचरे का उसी में हम लोग आज भी रहते हैं। हमारी कोई तरक्की नहीं हुई। हमारी गरीबी जैसी थी वैसी है। उलटे दूसरा चित्र आप देखेंगे कि किसान पर आज कोऑपरेटिव बैंक के कर्जों का पहाड़ पर पहाड़ बढ़ रहा है। मैं महाराष्ट्र की बात कहता हूँ। वहाँ पर करोड़ों तो क्या अरबों का कर्जा किसानों के ऊपर कोऑपरेटिव बैंकों का हो गया है। ऐसी हालत में हम अपने देश की खेती का उत्पादन कैसे बढ़ा सकते हैं और अपना देश ऊँचा कैसे उठ सकता है ?

आखिर में मैं शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। एजुकेशन डिपार्ट-मेंट के मंत्री जो यहां बैठे हैं, मैं उनसे विनती करूँगा कि आजकी जो शिक्षा

[श्री पंढरीनाथ सीतारामजी पाटील]

है स्कूलों में और कालेजों में वह किसानों की कोई तरक्की करने वाली नहीं है। शिक्षा जो मिलनी है वह बाबू लोग तैयार करने की और मास्टर लोग तैयार करने की। कोई टेक्निकल एजुकेशन, कोई औद्योगिक एजुकेशन आप के यहां स्कूलों में नहीं मिल रही है। मैं आग्रहपूर्वक कहूंगा कि अगर ज्यादा कृषि विद्यालय आप देहातों में खोल सकते तो हम पर बड़ी कृपा होती। हां, अगर इतना सरकार के पाम पैसा नहीं होगा तो कम से कम हर तहसील में एक कृषि विद्यालय गवर्नमेंट को चलाना चाहिये और उसमें किसानों के लड़कों को पढ़ने की हर प्रकार की मुफ्त सुविधा देनी चाहिये और आधुनिक खेती की शिक्षा उनको दी जानी चाहिये तब शिक्षित किसान लोग अपने खेतों में जाकर के अच्छी खेती कर सकेंगे। अतः किसानों के लड़कों को कृषि विद्यालयों में मुफ्त शिक्षा मिलनी चाहिये। इसके अतिरिक्त देहातों में कारगर जितने हैं वे सब भूखे मर रहे हैं। देहातों में लोहार है, बढई है, कुम्हार है, मोची है, चमार है, इन लोगों को कोई तकनीकी शिक्षा नहीं दी जाती है। वे आज अपने धन्धे नहीं चला सकते। मशीनरी से जो जूते बनते हैं बाटा कम्पनी जो जूते बनाती है वह देहात के मोची नहीं बना सकते हैं क्योंकि उनको कोई शिक्षा नहीं दी गई है। वे आज भूखे मर रहे हैं। अगर वे कोई चीज बनायें तो वह मंहगी पड़ती है और अच्छी चीज नहीं होती है। यांत्रिक चीजों का वे मकाबिला नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिये उनको ग्राहक नहीं मिलते हैं। देहात के लड़कों को औद्योगिक शिक्षा मिलनी चाहिये और इस तरफ हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री महोदय को ध्यान देना चाहिये हमारे अर्थ मंत्री जी को भी औद्योगिक

शिक्षा पर ज्यादा पैसा रख देना चाहिये। जब कि यह किया जायगा तो हमारे देश में कृषि और बाकी जितने भी उद्योग धन्धे हैं वे बराबर बराबर बढ़ेंगे और अपना देश सुखी होगा, हरा भरा होगा, और देश, सुजलाम सुफलाम होगा।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : क्या आप जूतों की शिक्षा देना चाहते हैं।

श्री पंढरीनाथ सीतारामजी पाटील : हां, देना चाहिये, जरूर देना चाहिये। वह भी एक व्यवसाय है। अस्तु जो शासन के सामने मैंने सुझाव रखे हैं उन पर शासन ध्यान देगा, अगले बजट इस तरफ जितना ज्यादा पैसा वे रख सकते हैं, उतना रखेंगे और इस तरह की टेक्निकल यानी यांत्रिक शिक्षा के लिये अधिक से अधिक ध्यान देंगे। इतनी आशा करके मैं अपनी जगह लेता हूं।

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I do not want to take the time of the House as almost all the points raised here have been replied to by the Deputy Prime Minister this morning and yesterday by me also. I would only like to refer to some new points that have been raised.

First of all, Mr. Mariswamy said that even today there are starvation deaths but I do not know from where he received this news. At least so far as this Government knows there has been no starvation death and if any starvation death has been there it might have been in the non-Congress Government States and definitely not in the States where the Congress rules.

Secondly he referred to the Defence Institute being transferred from Madras to Chandigarh. In this regard I would like to say that in October 1962 after the Chinese attack it became necessary to station large bodies of troops in high altitude areas and the existing knowledge of high altitude physiology was very

meagre. The Defence Institute of Physiology and Allied Sciences was called upon to reorient its main activities to high altitude problems of the army. The location of the Institute in Madras however gave rise to serious impediment in the conduct of investigations in this field and the Army medical authorities recommended that the Institute be shifted to another location better suited for the purpose, as the Chiefs of Staff had commented that the present location of the Institute at Madras was not suitable and a Committee should be appointed to look into it. Recently a Committee was appointed by Government to go into it and it has submitted its report which is under consideration. A final decision has not yet been taken and therefore to say that it is being transferred is premature today.

The second point raised by Mr. Mariswamy is regarding the textile industry. Sir, definitely there has been some shortfall in the production of the textile industry and the position as it exists today is not only in Madras State in Coimbatore District to which he has referred, but there has been some accumulation of yarn all over India. This is not unprecedented though the accumulation is somewhat higher than what it was about 2 months back. It is due to low-offtake of handloom. The situation has already come to the notice of the Government and efforts are being made to export the cloth to foreign countries. Therefore, Sir, the Government is quite conscious of the problem and every effort is being made to see that the workers who are thrown out of jobs are employed as soon as possible not only in Coimbatore District in Madras State but everywhere.

Then my friend, Mr. Balachandra Menon, who is the President of our Sudama Club of which I am the Secretary, quoted some figures. I do not know from where he has taken the figures.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): He has vanished.

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: He has vanished but I have not van!

shed. The President is gone but the Secretary is here. He said that at least a 15 million-tonne buffer stock should have been established and he wanted to stop the import of PL 480 foodgrains. The Government is also thinking in these terms and every effort is being made to see that we produce more and more foodgrains in the country so that we can stop the import of foodgrains as soon as possible. At the same time he has said that the prices of foodgrains may go down. Of that also the Government is conscious and a provision has been made of Rs. 140 crores to build a buffer stock of foodgrains.

Sir, I was surprised to hear Mr. Balachandra Menon when he said that States are so independent that they do not even co-operate with the Centre in the matter of procurement etc. I do not know what was in his mind but we hope it is only the State and the party of Mr. Balachandra Menon that are talking about independence of States. So far as this side is concerned we fully stand for the unity of the country as a whole. We do hope that Mr. Balachandra Menon and his Party will fully cooperate with us. Now, he has referred to this Budget and said it does not lead towards any ideology. The Budget, as it is, may not show the direction or the ideology which we follow. The purpose of the annual Budget is to further the long-term economic objective and policy and to do so in a manner consistent with the immediate requirements of the economy. For this an appreciation of the existing economic position is necessary before coming forward with any Budget proposals. My friend has not taken into consideration all these aspects. 4 P.M.

Then he said something about the rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer. I am glad that he also referred to the Father of the Nation. Mahatma Gandhi and he asked us to follow the traditions of Mahatma Gandhi. May I say that it will be better if instead of giving us advice, he himself and his partymen followed the traditions of Mahatma Gandhi? I may assure him that we will try and follow the lessons and

[Shri Jagannath Pahadia] teachings of the Father of the Nation. I do hope that he and his Party will also do the same.

Now, Mr. Chandrasekharan said that the rise in prices has been very high. No doubt in recent years the prices have gone very high, but so far as the trend now is concerned, the prices are going down. As the hon. Deputy Prime Minister mentioned this morning the index has come down by ten per cent. So to say that even today prices are rising, I think, is not fair. I would request the hon. Member to go through the figures which appear every day in the press, in every paper.

He also suggested that in future there should be no increase in taxes. I do not know how we can predict today that tomorrow or in the future there will be no increase in the taxes. So far as we are concerned, we do not want to raise any tax, but at the same time for the welfare of the Society, for the defence of the country, if it is necessary, we have to do it. Today we cannot say 'Yes' or 'No' in this regard.

He referred to agricultural income, tax and said that it is one of the most important sources of revenue. This is a State subject. Therefore, it will not be proper to say anything about this tax. If the hon. Member so likes he may ask his State to levy agricultural income-tax. As far as we are concerned, we have nothing to say in this matter, because it is a State subject.

Now, Sir, about exports he said that there has been a shortfall. I have got the figures for the last five years. In 1960-61 the export was of the order of Rs. 660 crores. In 1966-67 it has gone up to Rs. 1095 crores. The figures show that the rupee value of our exports has gone up to almost twice. If my hon. friend has not seen these figures, I would like to present him with a copy of the book which has been published by the Finance Ministry. All the figures are given here.

Now, I do not like to take the time of the House, because the other points have already been dealt with

by the Deputy Prime Minister. Mr. Patil and Baba Saheb have just now said that enough attention has not been paid to agriculture. We have greatly increased the outlay on every item which is required for agriculture. So far as the import of fertilisers is concerned, as I said yesterday, during the last five years it has gone up ten times. So far as minor and major irrigation is concerned, even this year we have provided Rs. 71 crores for minor irrigation and Rs. 110 crores for major and medium irrigation power projects. So to say that enough attention has not been paid to agriculture is not correct. Then Baba Sahab said that nothing has been provided for the co-operative sector to help agriculture. In this regard I would like to say that during 1966-67 short and medium-term loans for agriculture provided through cooperatives were Rs. 400 crores and this year we have provided Rs. 650 crores. The figures clearly show that every attention has been paid for helping agriculture through co-operatives.

These are the points which my hon. friends have raised here. Now, the last point was raised by a friend of mine. He said that the per capita income has gone down. I may say that perhaps the figures have been taken from his own collection. At current prices, the per capita income in 1966-67 was Rs. 481 as against Rs. 322 in 1961-62. Therefore to say that there has been a shortfall in the per capita income is not correct.

I would like to say that the points raised by hon. Members have been dealt with and nothing has been left out. This is all what I want to

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The question is:

"That the Bill to provide for the withdrawal of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of a part of the financial year 1968-69, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration".

This motion is adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): We shall now

take up the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill. There are no amendments.

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

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

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Ben-gal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would not have normally spoken, but I wish to take this opportunity to bring certain points to the notice of the House and the Government as well. My first point concerns the administration of justice. Now, Sir, how was Mr. Bachawat, a Judge of the Supreme Court, appointed. That is a bit ticklish question. As far as my information goes, when Mr. Gajendragadkar was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, pressure was brought to bear on Mr. Gajendra-gadkar by the Birlas to appoint Mr. Bachawat as a Judge of the Supreme Court.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Niren Ghosh, unless there is very substantial proof, I think you must not refer to it. A Supreme Court Judge has to be respected.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I am not raising this question lightly. That is why I have to speak in the Third Reading. Otherwise, I would have let this occasion off.

He superseded five Judges. For example, Justice P. N. Mukherjee, he is a very good Judge of the Calcutta High Court. On what consideration he could supersede five Judges and he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court? This is a very serious question. High Court Judges are superseded and somebody is placed there. Our information is like this that the Birlas have a hand in it. It is very sordid what our justice is coming to, to what end.

Thlen. Sir, I would like to say another thing. During those days when a furore was being raised about the

so-called 'gheraos', Sir. Biren Mukherjee—though the titles have gone, even now he is Sir Biren Mukherjee, even in the telephone directory; how it happens in our blessed land I do not know; the titles are gone after independence but he is entered there as Sir Biren Mukherjee.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Too insignificant a matter to be talked of on Appropriation Bill.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: He made a speech against 'gheraos.' Justice Wanchoo of the Supreme Court sent a telegram to Sir Biren congratulating him, and Sir Biren went to the Deputy Chief Minister of West Bengal, Shri Jyoti Basu, and told him, "Look here, here are your Judges".

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): There are many people who did not favour 'gheraos'.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What occasion had Justice Wanchoo to congratulate Sir Biren? Just see how our highest Court of Judicature in the country is functioning.

I would place before you another point. Justice A. K. Sarkar—of the Sarkar Committee on the Aminchand Pyarelal deal—he also superseded five Judges and was made the Chief Justice. Why are these things being done? It is always considerations other than justice and seniority which are being brought into play as regards the matter of appointment.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh): May I ask from the hon. Member whether he is aware about the method of selection of Supreme Court Judges? It is not by seniority, he should know that. It is on the recommendation of the Chief Justice of India, and if we say anything about the selection of the Supreme Court Judges, we are casting reflection on the Chief Justice of India.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Since our informations are these, we have reasons to doubt.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: It is absolutely wrong, what you are stating.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Why are they on several occasions superseding Judges like that without any reason?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): But a very improper thing to refer here.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It is a serious thing that I have raised.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: Your information is far from correct.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: How is it also that just retired Judges of the Supreme Court are appointed by the Government in several places, in several Commissions, this and that? If you persist in that practice, they will be automatically under an obligation before they retire that "we must please the Government so that we can get an appointment". Why don't you follow the administrative procedure . . .

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: It is all wrong.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: . . . that within two years of retirement no appointment should be given to them? These things are becoming very serious. So, I am raising this question with a full sense of responsibility.

Then I would raise another small point. That is as regards Works and Housing. That is about the Controller of Stationery and Printing, Mr. Lahiri. He is a fellow who had been in the British army, and he is responsible for the execution of seven patriots by the Britishers. He turned approver for the Britishers and now that fellow is being promoted—He has tampered, Mr. Vice-Chairman, with tenders that had been submitted to this Department. There is definite evidence, it has been proved that he has tampered with that. Even after that, the fellow has been promoted from a Deputy to be Controller. He is tampering with the union also. It is a recognised rule that where there is a recognised union, they cannot encourage another union. Now on his own he has set up another union there and is creating all sorts of trouble. I have brought this matter repeatedly to

the notice of Shri Jagannath Rao. So far he has not done anything about it, and great trouble is brewing there. He is definitely an anti-Indian, a lackey. He was responsible for the execution of seven patriots and he finds a nice berth in the administration. It is a wonder.

I would say another thing as regards Andaman and Nicobar islands. A strike is going on there for two months, and a hunger strike for twelve days. A fellow is in his death bed. There the administration is doing absolutely nothing. They are taking the plea that it is before the court. But one issue is before the court, other issues are not. Even if a small mercy is given to the workers—they are paid very poorly—if they are given some increment which even the administration thinks they should get, but they are not making any recommendation and they are sitting tight and allowing the factory to remain closed, and a person is on his death bed. He is on the point of dying, he is fasting for twelve days.

Another thing in Andaman and Nicobar is there is no self-government. This is the only Union Territory where there is no Territorial Council and all that, nothing. Everything depends on the Chief Commissioner. So, I think there should be some kind of Territorial Council there.

Another thing. In the last session here I brought certain definite and concrete charges against four Ministers. It is there, but they have not come to refute that. The Ministers concerned are firstly Shri Morarji Desai himself. It concerns the allegation of now huge sums went to his son and under what conditions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): That is a matter for discussion.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: The Cabinet is concerned. There is what is called the Cabinet. About Shri K. C. Pant I made an allegation that the I Birla concern, before he became a Minister here, passed a special reso-

lution to give him an extra Rs. 60,000. This is very peculiar. Shri Arjun Arora made the allegation. Under pressure from the party he kept silent, but we cannot keep silent. Shri Satya Narayan Sinha gave top priority to Birlas for trunk calls. It was withdrawn later on. Even the Ministers do not get that, but all Birlas he put on the top priority list of trunk calls. Is it not a question of favouritism? Then that Shri Muthyal Rao who is connected with some Hyderabad Birla concern, some Deputy Minister Muthyal Rao—they should refute that when it was made. They did not come even to refute that. It is strange. That is another point I am making.

Another point about the Chittaranjan National Research Centre. In it, the head of the institution, without any notice, for a temporary period, through sheer favouritism, had been appointed. All the normal rules of procedure for appointment to that post were over-ruled and he is continuing temporarily. Research has gone down. He is interested in decoration and all that. This was also brought to the notice of the Ministry and nothing has been done so far.

Then there is the question of the Geological Survey. Dr. Triguna Sen himself told me that he called for the papers. It appeared in the papers. Eligible persons like Shri Ram Krishna Das who are considered fit were somehow or other through subterfuge thrown out of the field and favourites were inducted. There were lots of complaints. Things appeared in the "Patriot". The Education Minister himself knows about it. Still I do not know what has been done about it.

I would like to say another thing about mines. All safety measures there are being neglected. You have recently heard that the Kulti Foundry of Martin Burn is going down due to soil erosion. This is because safety regulations have been violated and the Government is sitting silent. They are going scot-free doing as they like. But whenever a worker is concerned, even if factory owners

break contracts and agreements, he is hauled up. Three hundred colliery workers of Retibaty mines have been thrown out in violation of the agreement. I have given names to Shri Hathi twenty or thirty days

श्री राजनारायण : नहीं, जवाब दे दिया ।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I have given the names. "JTff feu" I

श्री राजनारायण : नहीं नहीं । लोक-सभा में आज उन्होंने जवाब दे दिया ।

ago but I have not heard anything about it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: ?m WW

% km eft ^ ffr ?rfr ^FRT I As regards another small thing, namely, foreign money, the Home Minister has said that foreign money has played a part in the elections. He conducted an enquiry and the report has reached their hands, but they will not place it on the Table of the House. On what considerations is the Home Minister keeping Parliament and the country in the dark? Foreign money has played a big role in elections. Some investigation has been made by the C.B.I., but the results of that investigation, whatever they are, I have little faith in the C.B.I. —have not been made public. The report should be placed on the Table of the House. It is a serious matter. The very basis of democracy is being challenged in our country.

There is another thing. Recently a news item appeared that the Consul-General of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is not being delivered his books. He is a diplomatic personnel and he is entitled to receive his books and mails from Hanoi. They are not being delivered to him on one pretext or other. It is in violation of all canons of diplomatic decency that a diplomatic personnel is not receiving his papers from his own country. It has appeared in the press. Even the ordinary people there are receiving their mails but the Consul-General is not receiving his papers. Strange things are happening in our country.

[Shri Niren Ghosh i

Then there is that favourite boy of Washington, Mr. Asoka Mehta, who took a leading part in the devaluation of the Rupee. Why is he entrusted with the Department of Petroleum and Chemicals, the most strategic field in which foreigners, particularly Americans, are so much interested? Therefore, is it any wonder that he goes on pleading for the establishment of fertiliser firms in this country with imported ammonia when we can in our own country manufacture everything indigenously with naphtha? He is going to America for importing ammonia. He is entrusted with that important portfolio. Is it under pressure from Washington that he is going there for that purpose? Therefore, why should Shri Asoka Mehta be entrusted with that portfolio? Everybody knows the dirty part that he played in the devaluation scandal. He is again playing a leading part looking to the interests of foreigners. It is a very serious thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You must finish now.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I have more or less finished. So these are some of the points that I wanted to raise. The Government should take note of them.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : श्रीमन्, हमारी इस योग्य सरकार के लिये सब ने विभिन्न भाषाओं में बधाइयाँ दीं, बड़ी अच्छी अच्छी आलोचनाएँ कीं किसी ने, और किसी ने खुल कर, दम भर कर, आलोचना की। लेकिन आज हम इस सरकार को बधाई देने के लिये खड़े हुए हैं, बहुत ही प्रशंसा इस सरकार की करने के लिये खड़े हुए हैं और वह इसलिये कि इन सरकार ने अभी तक संसार का जो पिछड़ा प्राणी था और जिसकी कोई कभी प्रशंसा नहीं करता था, इस बीसवीं शताब्दी में इस सरकार ने उसको भी आगे लाकर बढ़ाने का यत्न किया, इसलिये हम धन्यवाद देने खड़े हुए हैं।

श्रीमन्, गदहों के बारे में लोगों में इधर उधर की कहावतें प्रसिद्ध हैं। लोग कहते हैं कि गदहा इतना बोझ उठाता है तब भी लोग उसकी प्रशंसा नहीं करते। फिर भी, कभी कभी जब गदहा मुसकुरा कर आवाज देता है तब भी लोग कहते हैं कि यह तो बहुत बुरी तरह बोल रहा है और कभी कभी गदहा जब मुर से आलाप लेता है तब भी लोग सम्मानते हैं कि यह बहुत बुरा बोल रहा है, या ठीक तरह से नहीं बोल रहा है, या विघ्न डाल रहा है। हमारी भारत सरकार ने गदहों का सम्मान बढ़ा कर जो बीसवीं सदी में अपने देश की रक्षा की है उसके लिये हम भारत सरकार को बधाई देते हैं। श्रीमन्, भारत सरकार को जब सम्मान के लिये कोई नहीं मिला तो हमारे योग्य मित्रों ने 26 जनवरी को देश में से इधर उधर से गदहों को दिल्ली में लाकर उनका जो जलूस निकाला उसने संसार की जनता बहुत ही प्रसन्न हो रही है। कभी कभी लोग कहते हैं कि काबुल के लोग हम बात के लिये लालायित रहते हैं कि गदहा देखें क्योंकि वहाँ गदहें नहीं होते हैं। तो हम कहावत सुनते हैं कि क्या काबुल में गदहें नहीं होते। उन लोगों के लिये हमारी सलाह यह है कि वह कभी आकर हमारे मित्र श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया की सरकार में आकर देखें कि वहाँ गदहों का किस तरह सम्मान किया जा रहा है और उनका जलूस विजय पथ से निकाल कर बड़े डंके की चोट पर उनके ऊपर छत्र चढ़ा कर निकाला जाता है। इसलिये हम सरकार को तो जो कि दूसरों को चाहे सम्मानित न करे, लेकिन गधे को सम्मानित करे और उस पर रुपया खर्च तो जितनी भी बधाई दी जाय कम है।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : इसमें आपकी भी बड़ी दिलचस्पी है।

रक्षा मन्त्रालय में राज्य मन्त्री (रक्षा उत्पादन) (श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र) : म्यूल के बारे में कह रहे हैं ? म्यूल बहुत उपयोगी है। क्या आप जानते नहीं हैं कि पहाड़ों पर किस तरह लड़ाई के काम आ रहे हैं ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : खच्चर और गधे में फर्क नहीं करने। दूसरा प्वाइंट कहिए।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : जी हाँ, उम्मी पाइन्ट में सम्बन्धित बात कहता हूँ। लेकिन यह इतना गम्भीर विषय है जिसकी तरफ हमारी सरकार ने बारम्बार ध्यान दिया। पहले गधों को आदमियों के ऊपर उठा कर बैठाया और जब कभी आवश्यकता पड़ती है तो हमारे मिय उनको बहुत ही सम्मानित करते हैं। कभी कभी लोग भारत सरकार की आलोचना करते हैं। अभी तक ऐसा सुना जाता था कि लोग अपने अपनों को सम्मान देते हैं लेकिन अब आगे से लोग इस तरह की आलोचना बन्द कर दें क्योंकि भारत सरकार ने स्पष्ट बतला दिया है कि सम्मान देने में हम किसी से पीछे नहीं रहेंगे। तो इस देश में 26 जनवरी की झांकी देखने जब कुछ जर्मन लोग हमारे पास खड़े थे तो उन्होंने कहा कि जर्मनी या अमरीका में जब कभी जलूस निकलता है या अमरीका या रूस में जलूस निकलता है—अभी पचासवीं एनीवर्सरी हुई रूसी क्रांति की तो उसमें उन्होंने दिखाया कि हमने कितनी उपलब्धियाँ कीं, उसमें यह भी दिखाया कि रोकट कैसे जाता है कभी दिखाया चन्द्रमा में रोकट किस तरह गया, चाँद तक जाने में हमने कितनी प्रगति की, लेकिन भारत सरकार ने निश्चित रूप से कितनी उन्नति की कि गधों का जलूस निकाला और गधों के जलूस में उन्होंने आदमियों से ऊँचा उठा कर बताया दुनिया को कि हमने कितनी उन्नति की। इसलिये इस वजह में जो सबसे अच्छी बात है वह यह है कि हमारे

भारत सरकार को यह बात जंची कि इस देश का एक पिछड़ा प्राणी वर्ग जो कभी सपने में नहीं जानता था कि बोझा ढोने के सिवाय उसे कोई प्रशंसा की बात उनके बारे में कहेगा, उसको उन्होंने बहुत ही ज्यादा सम्मान दिया। इसलिये मैं कांग्रेस सरकार का अभिनन्दन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मुझे अफसोस है कि श्री मोरारजी देसाई, वित्त मन्त्री, जी ने जितने प्रश्न उनके सामने रखे गये थे उनमें एक का जवाब नहीं दिया...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : आप थे नहीं।

श्री राजनारायण : था या नहीं था लेकिन भाषण की जानकारी तो हमें है जैसे हमारे भाषण की जानकारी प्रधान मन्त्री को होती रहती है। एक पॉइन्ट को मैं साफ कर दूँ क्योंकि थोड़ा हम भारतीय संस्कृति के भी पुजारी हैं।

जो यह खल सरकार है, दुष्ट है, यदि उसे दंडित न किया जाय तो मैं अपने को धर्मच्युत समझता हूँ। इसलिए विनियोग विधेयक पर अपना धर्म समझ कर बोलता हूँ। मैं इस विधेयक का विरोध करता हूँ क्योंकि जिस सरकार को गलत समझता हूँ, उसको एक पैसा भी खर्च करने की इजाजत नहीं दी जानी चाहिये।

सामान्यतः अक्सर लोग यह कहा करते हैं कि यह एक संसदीय प्रथा है कि विनियोग बिल का विरोध न किया जाय। मगर जब से हमने संसदीय प्रथा में कदम रखा है तब से हम बराबर विनियोग बिल का विरोध करते आ रहे हैं, असेम्बली से लेकर यहाँ तक।

[श्री राजनारायण]

एक मुख्य चीज जो हमने कही थी उसका श्री मोरारजी भाई ने जवाब नहीं दिया। इंडायरेक्ट टैक्स को बढ़ाना यह मध्य और जनतन्त्री सरकार का फर्ज दुनिया में कहा माना गया है। कहीं नहीं माना गया है। तो क्या कारण है कि 100 करोड़ रुपये के इन-डाइरेक्ट टैक्स बढ़ाये गये और डायरेक्ट टैक्सों को घटाया गया। इस चीज का उत्तर सीधे सादे तरीके से नहीं दिया गया। हमारे उपमन्त्री जी जो इस समय प्रतिनिधित्व कर रहे हैं, वे भी कोई जवाब दे देंगे तो मैं नोचूंगा। कारण क्या है कि गरीबों पर बोझ डाला गया और अमीरों पर से बोझ हटाया गया। श्रीमन्, कल मैंने तीन बातें कहीं थीं। ऐन्वोल्वेशन आफ ऐन्स्युटी, जिसमें 35 करोड़ रुपये का लाभ हुआ है हमारे बजट में। यह गरीबों को मदद हुई है या अमीरों को मदद हुई है। जो 35 करोड़ रुपये का बजट में नुकसान हुआ है वह गया धनिकों के पास और उन्हीं को ही फायदा हुआ और उससे गरीबों का कोई फायदा नहीं हुआ है। इसका कोई उत्तर वित्त मन्त्री जी ने नहीं दिया है। उसी तरीके से हमने जो यह कहा रिडक्शन आफ डायरेक्ट टैक्सेज एण्ड एवो-लेयान आफ डिवीडेन्ड टैक्स यह भी रिच पर ही हुआ है। यह टैक्स और सरचार्ज को टैक्स, धन सब को मिला कर 10 करोड़ रुपये का लाभ हुआ है। यह भी अमीरों और रिच लोगों को ही फायदा करने के लिए हुआ है और उससे गरीबों को कोई फायदा नहीं हुआ है।

श्रीमन्, आप तो जानकार हैं और हमारे देश की स्थिति को समझते हैं। इस देश में करीब 30 करोड़ लोगों की फी आमदनी 8 आना रोज है और इसी औसत आमदनी पर वे लोग गुजर बसर कर रहे हैं। यहां पर तो गरीबों के ऊपर टैक्स बढ़ाया जाता है और जो जनसमुदाय की खर्च की चीजें हैं उसकी कीमत बढ़ाई कर दी जाती है टैक्स बढ़ाकर के। इस तरीके से सरकार गरीब लोगों के ऊपर

तो टैक्स का भार बढ़ा रही है और करोड़पतियों के ऊपर से टैक्स का भार घटा रही है। इस सरकार को समाजवाद और जनतन्त्र का तनिक भी ज्ञान नहीं है और यह उन्दी जाने वाली सरकार है। उसके बारे में इतना ही कहना है।

दूसरी बात में विदेश नीति के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं। मेरे मित्र श्री नीरेन घोष चले गए हैं। विदेश नीति के सम्बन्ध में यह सरकार कहती है कि वह बिन लगाव की है मैं इस बात को दावे के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर सरकार की बिन लगाव की नीति होती, सृजनात्मक होती, क्रियेटिव होती, क्रियान्वयक होती, तो इस मुल्क पर इस तरह का संकट न आया होता। फिर हम इसको खपाया क्यों दें और कोई भी खपा उसको देना नहीं चाहेगा।

तीसरी बात में इजराइल के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूं। आज तक इजरायल को इस सरकार ने मान्यता क्यों नहीं दी। हमारे मित्र श्री नीरेन घोष हमसे रंज होंगे कि फारमोसा का इस सरकार ने अब तक क्यों मान्यता नहीं दी है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : रंज होगा।

श्री राजनारायण : हम चाहते हैं कि वं रंज रखें। हमने ईस्ट जर्मनी को अभी तक मान्यता क्यों नहीं दी। क्या इसका कोई जवाब है। ईस्ट जर्मनी को इसलिए मान्यता नहीं दी गई क्योंकि पश्चिमी जर्मनी ने कह दिया है कि रूस को छोड़कर अगर कोई देश पूर्वी जर्मनी को मान्यता देगा तो उससे हमारे सम्बन्ध विच्छेद हो जायेंगे। क्योंकि पश्चिमी जर्मनी, इंग्लैंड और अमेरिका का एक गुट है और इन तीनों मुल्कों का भारत सरकार के ऊपर दबाव पड़ रहा है जिसकी वजह से आज तक पूर्वी जर्मनी को मान्यता नहीं दी गई है और उसकी हिम्मत यह सरकार नहीं कर रही है। तो इन हालातों में हम किस तरह से कहें कि इस सरकार की बिन लगाव की नीति है।

अब हम इजरायल पर आ गए । पूर्वी जर्मनी वालों का मामला बिगड़ा और ये चले गए पश्चिमी ब्लॉक में । अब ये रूस को खुश करना चाहते हैं, इसलिए इजरायल को मान्यता नहीं दी जा रही है पूर्ण रूपेण । अब वहाँ पर सबान उठता उठता चला जा रहा है मगर यह सरकार उसको मान्यता नहीं दे रही है । तो मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत सरकार की जो विदेश नीति है, वह शुद्धतः गलत है । हमको श्री निरेन घोष बतला दें और मैं आपके जरिए श्री निरेन घोष से कहना चाहता हूँ कि भाई भारत और पाकिस्तान, ये द्वितीय विश्व-व्यापी युद्ध के परिणाम है । एक मुल्क के दो टुकड़ों में विभाजन होना यह द्वितीय विश्व-व्यापी युद्ध का फल है और दूसरे विश्वव्यापी युद्ध के फलस्वरूप जर्मनी का भी विभाजन हुआ था । जब पश्चिमी जर्मनी को मान्यता देते हैं तो पूर्वी जर्मनी को मान्यता क्यों नहीं देते हैं ? पूर्वी जर्मनी को मान्यता देने की घोषणा आज ही सरकार को करनी चाहिए अगर इस सरकार की बिन लगाव की नीति है और उस पर चलने की बात करती है । उसी तरीके से इस विश्वव्यापी युद्ध के फलस्वरूप, उसी समय चीन का भी बंटवारा हो गया ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : बंटवारा नहीं हुआ ।

श्री राजनारायण : उसका एक बड़ा हिस्सा चला गया माऊ से तुंग के पास और उसका थोड़ा सा हिस्सा फारमोसा के रूप में च्यांगकाई शेक के पास चला गया ।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: American protection.

श्री राजनारायण : अब तक चीन की सरकार को और फारमोसा की सरकार को दूसरों ने मान्यता दी हुई है । लेकिन भारत सरकार माऊ से तुंग और चाऊ एन लाई को खुश करने के लिए इतनी आतुर थी, इतनी डरती है कि अब तक फारमोसा को मान्यता देने को यह सरकार नहीं झुकी । इसी

तरह से इजरायल के बारे में भी नीति बरती गई है ।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: That is the U.S. two-China theory.

श्री राजनारायण : इमलिए मेरा शुद्ध कहना है कि भारत की जो विदेश नीति है, जो चल रही है, उसका एक ही नतीजा यह होगा कि दुनिया में उसका कोई मित्र नहीं रह जाएगा । जब भारत सरकार भयंकर संकट में पड़ेगी तो हमारे मित्र श्री भूपेश गुप्त इस बात का समर्थन करेंगे । उस समय उन्हें ऐसा लगेगा कि भारत को न रूस से मदद मिल पाएगी और न अमरीका से ही मदद मिल पाएगी क्योंकि इस सरकार की बिन लगाव की नीति है ही नहीं ।

अब मैं जल्दी में दो तीन खास प्वाइन्ट कह देना चाहता हूँ कि कितनी बंगलिंग हुई है, कितनी ज्यादाती हुई है । मैं यहाँ पर एक उदाहरण दे रहा हूँ । एक तो जो चुनने वाले हैं, सलैक्टर हैं, उनको ललितकला की ओर से गोल्ड मेडल मिला हुआ है । उसमें श्रीकृष्ण खन्ना सलैक्टर हैं और उन्हीं को गोल्ड मेडल मिल गया है । कैसे मिल गया । जब श्री चटर्जी बोल रहे थे तो हमने पूछा था कि ललित-कला की चर्चा होगी या नहीं ? यह जो विभाग खोला गया है उसमें लोगों को खिलाने पिलाने की व्यवस्था की गई है । उसी तरीके से एक दूसरे को गोल्ड मेडल मिला है श्री मेहता को । काहे के लिए मिला है । क्योंकि उन्होंने श्री खन्ना के कलैक्शन और पेंटिंग्स को छांटा है । उनको भी खुद मेडल मिल गया, तो इससे बढ़ कर अन्याय कहाँ पावोगे । हम आपको बतलायें कि अगर इतनी अन्यायी सरकार जो निरन्तर अपने कुकर्मों से लगातार डिस-पैरिटी, विषमता और गैर बराबरी को बरतती जा रही है, जिसकी घरेलू नीति गलत हो, जिसकी विदेश नीति गलत हो, जिसकी शिक्षा नीति गलत हो, उस सरकार को एक पैसा

[श्री राजनारायण]

खर्च करने की इजाजत नहीं दी जानी चाहिए। अगर कोई देता है तो उससे बढ़ कर मूर्ख कौन होगा।

इस समय नेता सदन यहां पर नहीं है, उनको रहना चाहिये था। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि अगर श्री निरेन घोष का कहना सही है क्योंकि इस मामले में थोड़ा सा उनके और हमारे में मतभेद है। यह जो रैटीवैटी कोलियरी की चर्चा हुई थी, जहां पर श्री बनारसी प्रसाद झा की हत्या हुई थी और इसके बारे में जैसा मैंने पहले कहा कि यहाँ पर चर्चा हो चुकी है। उन्होंने खत लिखा है हाथी जी को और हमारे प्रतिनिधि ने जो खत भेजा है वह हमने हाथी जी को भेज दिया है। अभी हमें 10 मिनट पहले हाथी जी ने बतलाया कि निरेन घोष या बामपंथी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का जो आरोप है वह बिल्कुल गलत है। तुमने अभी कैसे जाना यह आरोप गलत है, जब हमने हाथी जी से यह प्रश्न किया। तो उन्होंने कहा कि हम अभी अभी लोकसभा में उत्तर देकर आ रहे हैं कि वहां पर किसी की छटनी नहीं हुई है और कोई गैर कानूनी ढंग से नहीं निकाला गया है। जो एग्जिमेंट हुआ है, उसकी तह में वहां पर काम हो रहा है। यह बात सही है कि इनकी जो यूनियन है और हम से संबंधित जो यूनियन है, उसमें द्वन्द चल रहा है वहां पर। अगर द्वन्द चले तो कायदे से चले, नाजायज ढंग से न चले। तो मैं नेता सदन से जानना चाहूंगा जिनके पास आज श्रम विभाग है कि अगर निरेन घोष सत्य है तो उसको देखा जाय। अगर हमारे यूनियन के प्रतिनिधियों ने जो खबर भेजी है, अगर वह सत्य है तो उसको देखा जाय कि जो उन्होंने खबर दी है वह गलत तो नहीं दी है अगर इसकी

मफाई आज न हो, तो कल यहां पर उनको कर देनी चाहिये क्योंकि आज ही उन्होंने लोबी में हमें बतलाया।

श्रीमन् एक मिनट जरा और मुन लिया जाय। आज मैं ने एक कालिग अटेंशन दिया था। हां, हाथी जी आ गये तो मैं ने आज एक कालिग अटेंशन दिया था और उसे मैं पढ़ देना चाहता हूं :

“21 मार्च के स्टेट्समैन में प्रकाशित रिपोर्ट है कि सी० बी० आई० ने भारत सरकार को . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): It has gone to the Chairman.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: It has gone to the Chairman but I have got every right to read it here.

कालिग अटेंशन पढ़ने की बात नहीं है। मगर मैं आपसे यह कह रहा हूं कि हमने कालिग अटेंशन जो दिया है, बजट पर हम को बोलने का हक है कि हम उस मैटर को यहां पर कह सकते हैं और अगर कहें तो असंसदीय काम नहीं कर रहे हैं।

श्रीमान् आज के स्टेट्समैन में खबर निकली हुई है कि सी० बी० आई० ने सी० आई० ए० का किन किन मंत्रियों से सम्बन्ध था, जान स्मिथ ने जो पुस्तिका लिखी है, उसके बारे में सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को अपनी रिपोर्ट पेश कर दी है।

तो इतनी बड़ी चर्चा है, दुनिया में इसकी गरम चर्चा है कि केन्द्र के कुछ मंत्रियों का उसमें नाम है। नाम तो आज भी अखबार में निकला है। उसमें हमारे मित्र हैं, पुराने परिचित हैं, हमारे नजदीक के रहने वाले हैं। श्री रामसुभग सिंह का उसमें नाम आया है।

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: I would like to know from the hon. Member under what item of Vote on Account he is speaking at present.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is speaking on the Home Ministry.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: I am asking Mr. Rajnarain, not Mr. Bhu-pesh Gupta.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं ऐसा समझता था कि हमारे मित्र भार्गव जी चूँकि आपकी जगह पर अक्सर बैठते हैं तो उनको इतनी जानकारी अपने से कर लेनी चाहिये कि किस से यह सम्बन्धित है, मगर अनावश्यक ढंग में अपना भी समय नष्ट कर रहे हैं और हमारा भी समय नष्ट कर रहे हैं। यह घर विभाग में सम्बन्धित है। तो श्रीमन्, मैं बहुत ही दुखी भी हूँ और खुश भी हूँ। क्षोभ में दुख और क्रोध दोनों का समावेश रहता है, तो गुस्सा भी है और अफसोस भी यह है कि कांग्रेस सरकार के केन्द्रीय मंत्रियों पर लगातार प्रचार है, भ्रष्टाचार का प्रचार है और अन्य विरोधी दलों पर भ्रष्टाचार का प्रचार है और आज भी उस अखबार 'स्टेट्समैन' में नाम है प्रसोपा के बारे में, अभी इन्होंने उस पर चर्चा नहीं की, आज उस पर चर्चा है, उस में स्वतंत्र पार्टी के नेताओं की चर्चा है। किन किन से जो सम्बन्ध है उसके बारे में अभी क्या जांच पड़ताल की जा रही है अभी पूरी रपट नहीं मिली है, पूरा ट्रेस नहीं मिला है। वह रपट हमारे सामने क्यों नहीं रखी गई। इंटेलेजेंस विभाग ने जांच कर के कि सी० आई० ए० से किन लोगों का ताल्लुक है वह रिपोर्ट यहां पर दे दी तो उस रिपोर्ट को हमारे सदन में क्यों नहीं रखा गया फिर वह रिपोर्ट किसी अमेरिका के अखबार में छप जायगी और उनके जरिये इंडाइरेक्टली टेढ़े तरीके से हमारे पास आ

पहुँचेगी, यह इस सरकार के लिये शोभा देता है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार का कोई कर्तव्य है या इसमें सरकार के पास कोई काम करने का नहीं है। अगर इस सरकार को अपने कर्तव्य का मान है तो यह सरकार हम को बता दे कि कारण क्या है कि इतने ऊँचे स्तर का भ्रष्टाचार हो और सरकार चुप बेठी है।

हमने एक विषय कल यहां पर और रफर किया था जिस का तल्लुक था जे० के० ग्रुप से। सरकार के ऊपरी स्तरों पर उसकी जानकारी करा दी गई मगर तीन करोड़ का हमारा इन्कम टैक्स बे वचा करके रखे हुए हैं और कोई कान में तेल नहीं डाल रहा है। वह बम्बई के एक मिल का मामला है जिस के बारे में हमने यहां पर चर्चा की थी। इन तमाम बातों के रखते हुये भ्रष्टाचार की सफाई न हो, निरंतर बढ़ती हुई डिस्पैरिटी की सफाई न हो, विदेशी मामलों के उलझाव की सफाई न हो और मुल्क पर खतरा बराबर बढ़ता चले तो फिर हम इस सरकार को कैसे पैसा खर्च करने की इजाजत दे सकते हैं।

अभी सेंट्रल हाल में हमारे एक मित्र ने एक मामला बताया और वह मामला है काश्मीर का। मैं उन लोगों में हूँ जिन्होंने सख्त सख्त को छड़ाने के लिये दस्तखत किये थे और हमने उसपर लिख दिया था कि यद्यपि हम उनकी बहुत सी नीतियों से सहमत नहीं हैं तो भी एक आदमी को इतने दिनों तक जेल में बन्द रखना यह जमहूरियत के खिलाफ है। अब मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि सवाल कहां भटका हुआ है। भारत सरकार अगर अपने मुल्क के लिये वफादार है तो उसने अब्दुल गफारखां को मदद देने की बात आज तक क्यों नहीं की। श्रीमान मैं काबुल गया

[श्री राजनाथगण]

था। शुद्धरूप में तमाम काबुल में पख्तुनिस्तान की डिमांड बड़ी है कि पख्तुनिस्तान का अलग होना चाहिये और तलवार के बल पर अयुब खां साहब पख्तुनिस्तान की मांग को ठुकरा रहे हैं। इसी तरह में बिलोचिस्तान के अब्दुल समद बिलोचिस्तान की मांग कर रहे हैं, पूर्वी पाकिस्तान पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान से अलग होने की आवाज़ बुलन्द कर रहा है और वहां पापुनर मूमेंट जनप्रिय आन्दोलन को अयुब साहब तलवार से दबाते हैं। भारत की सरकार को अगर अपने मुल्क के प्रति वफादारी है तो भारत की सरकार क्यों नहीं कहती सेख साहब ने कि तुम भारत और पाकिस्तान के बीच में मित्रता की बात करते हो, तुम कहते हो कि काश्मीर काश्मीरियों का है, हम भी भारत और पाक की मित्रता चाहते हैं और शेख अब्दुल्ला साहब ईमानदारी की बात है कि पख्तुनिस्तान के बारे में तुम्हारे दिल में दर्द क्यों नहीं है अब्दुल गफ्फार खां के बारे में तुम्हारे दिल में दर्द क्यों नहीं है, क्या अब्दुल गफ्फार खां स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के एक वीर सेनानी नहीं थे, फाइटर फार फ्रीडम नहीं थे। जो सीमांत गांधी के नाम से जाने जाते हैं उनके लिए किसी का आंसू नहीं गिर रहा है। जिस स्वतंत्रता संग्राम से निकल कर के यह सरकार बन गई उस स्वतंत्रता के सेनानी जो बचे हुए हैं उनके लिये इस सरकार के पास कोई शब्द नहीं है, उनको मदद देने की बात यह सरकार नहीं करती, अब्दुल समद को मदद देने की बात नहीं करती, पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में जो जनप्रिय आन्दोलन चल रहा है पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान के अलगांव का उसके लिये मदद की बात यह सरकार नहीं करती। मैं एक बड़े कांफेड्रेशन की

बात आज भी करता हूं। मैं चाहता हूं कि भारत और पाकिस्तान की दोस्ती हो। मैं चाहता हूं कि भारत और पाकिस्तान एक हों, बराबरी के स्तर पर एक हों। मैं चाहता हूं कि जो गलत, गैरकुदरती बटवारा भारत पाकिस्तान के रूप में हो गया है वह बटवारा खत्म हो और 14 जून 1947 का प्रस्ताव ए०आई०सी०सी० का जो था वह अपने मुकम्मल रूप में लागू हो क्योंकि उसी प्रस्ताव में लिखा हुआ है आखिरी लाइन में कि यह ए० आई० सी० सी० का पूरा यकीन है कि यह जोश ठंडा हो जाने पर दो राष्ट्र का सिद्धांत निर्मल सिद्ध होगा और दोनों का एकीकरण होगा। ए० आई० सी० सी० के 14.15 जून, 1947 के प्रस्ताव में यह लिखा हुआ है तो फिर उधर क्यों नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं। जिस प्रस्ताव की बुनियाद पर आजादी आई उस प्रस्ताव को आज कांग्रेस के नेता लोग ठुकराये हुये हैं, प्रधान मंत्री और घर मंत्री ठुकराये हुये हैं। मैं चाहता हूं कि एक कांफेड्रेशन बने और भारत पाकिस्तान दोनों उसके अंग हों, बिलोचिस्तान भी एक अंग हो, पख्तुनिस्तान भी एक अंग हो, पूर्वी पाकिस्तान भी उसका एक अंग हो। अगर इस तरह से कांफेड्रेशन की बात मानने को दोनों तैयार हों तो काश्मीर के बारे में हम सोच सकते हैं। जब तक पख्तुनिस्तान, बिलोचिस्तान, पूर्वी पाकिस्तान का मसला न हल हो तब तक केवल अलग कर के काश्मीर की बात कोई करता है तो वह देशद्रोही है, राष्ट्रद्रोही है। इसके बारे में भी हम को मुक्त कंठ से एलान कर देना चाहिये और जो सरकार इसका एलान नहीं करती है उस सरकार को एक पैसा ज्यादा खर्च करने की इजाजत जो सदन देगा वह सदन अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं करेगा।

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I will not take much time of the House as most of the points have been replied to again and again. But one point

has been left and I would like to refer to that. That was particularly referred to by Shri Rajnarain. It has been said that tax relief has been given to the persons who are well-to-do and no relief has been given to the poor.

श्री राजनारायण : आप हिन्दोस्तानी बोल सकते हैं तो हिन्दोस्तानी में बोलना चाहिये ।

श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया : मुझे प्रेक्टिस करने दीजिये थोड़ी ।

श्री राजनारायण : इनकी अंग्रेजी अच्छी नहीं है, इसलिए बतलाया ।

श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया : अंग्रेजी अच्छी कैसे होगी अगर आप बोलने नहीं देंगे ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I would like to know whether he is replying. If that is so, then I am only pointing out that reference has been made to a news item in the 'Statesman' and it is quite clear that the Central Intelligence Bureau and the CIA have got connections. He should therefore say something with regard to it.

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: I am very sorry, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that Shri Niren Ghosh the other day stated, when I was moving a Bill, that some responsible Minister should be here. I do not know whether Deputy Ministers are responsible or not. I would like to request him that he should consider that we are also responsible. If not to day, at least tomorrow we will be responsible. I hope he will encourage us. I would like to draw the attention of Shri Rajnarain that certain provisions have been made in the Finance Bill which are aimed at rationalisation and simplification of the tax structure and also improvement in the investment climate. The new tax incentives sought to be provided through the Bill are designed to encourage additional personal savings, promoting our exports and improving the productivity of our agriculture and industry. I hope I. ! H:: atSS :

when our production in agriculture and industry rises, definitely the section of the society which is known, as poor will be benefited by getting more and more employment and also things which they are now not getting.

I would draw the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that in view of the need of the Government for financial resources, there was virtually no scope for providing any major tax concession. In the corporate sector, the proposed discontinuance of the Dividend Tax and the reduction in the rate of Surtax from 35 to 25 per cent, would result in marginal modifications in the tax liability, the main object of which is to attract greater investment in company shares. The exemption from tax of the first Rs. 500 of Indian company dividends, in all cases, is only a rationalisation of the existing provision.

In regard to personal income taxation, while the Bill seeks to discontinue the separate levy of unearned and earned income surcharges, it also raises the rates of basic income-tax on incomes in the slab over Rs. 1 lakh. Besides, the rates of ordinary wealth-tax on wealth in the slab over Rs. 10 lakhs are also being raised by 1/2 per cent. These measures are, primarily, intended to rationalise the tax structure and simplify tax calculations.

One point was made regarding tax-evasion. I think hon. Members have gone through the Bill. Some provisions have been made in the Bill to check tax evasion and in this regard I would draw the attention of Members—and which has already been stated by the Deputy Prime Minister here and in the other House—that it has been decided to set up, departmentally, a valuation organisation for securing proper valuation of lands, buildings and other assets on a uniform basis, for the purposes of wealth-tax on capital gains, gift-tax and estate duty. There are some other provisions also. Not only provisions for fine but provisions for conviction and R.I. up to six months have been made.

[Shri Jagannath Pahadia.]

Therefore these provisions are included to secure that in future there will be no tax evasion and we will try to realise the taxes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Will there be no tax evasion in the future?

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: That is what we are expecting. We will try to see that there is no tax evasion.

Certain points have been raised regarding foreign policy. These can be discussed when we discuss the foreign policy here. So I need not reply to those points but I am surprised to note that Shri Niranjan Varma said something about the honour given to donkeys on 26th January on the Republic Day. I think the donkey is a symbol of labour and the dignity of labour should be recognised in this country. When we know how to honour donkeys, we will know how to honour bipeds also. He said something about by Government. I assure him that when I form my Government, I will definitely take his advice whether donkeys should be included in the Cabinet or persons should be included. I hope he will be satisfied.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You mean to say that there are not enough donkeys?

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: I only know that we are of your age.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The question is:

"That the Bill be returned." *The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1957-68, as passed by the Lok

Sabha, be taken into consideration".

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

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

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

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: I move:

"That the Bill be returned".

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir,...

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): If the hon. Member wants to speak certainly he is at liberty to speak as much as he likes and we do not want to limit him. The only point is, we had given two hours and we have discussed for three hours. Let us decide how long shall we discuss so that we know how long we should sit.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let us see.

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: We sit for half-hour? Let the Chair decide.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): There is one more Bill

श्री राजनारायण : श्री हाथी, उसका भी एक्सप्लेनेशन दे दें जो नीरेन घोष ने कहा है रेतीवेती कोलियरी के बारे में ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): In view of the appeal by the Leader of the House I would request you to be brief.

श्री नेकीराम (हरियाणा) : सभापति जी, मैं एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ अपने साथी के बोलने से पहले । ये शोर ज्यादा करते हैं, बोलते हैं और हाउस से चले जाते हैं,

**इसलिए सदन मुझसे सहमत होगा कि इनको
बाद में टाइम दिया जाय ।**

5 P.M.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: After hearing the hon. Member, we feel that we are in a comic show. I would like to highlight one or two points in this connection. First of all I should say a few things about the foreign policy on which there was no reply. I think it is a scandalous thing that this Government is still having trade with the South Vietnamese Government and only recently in the other House they revealed that certain materials are being sent to South Vietnam, knowing fully that South Vietnam is a puppet of the Americans and naturally, the Americans are waging a war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. Under the circumstances I cannot at all understand how the Government which claims to be non-aligned and claims to be the champion of peace, etc. could take such a step as to trade with South Vietnam.

At the same time they do not have any trade with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This is a serious matter. This is clearly a kind of association with the American aggression in Vietnam. This is what I would like to say. Not only that; we find recently—they have revealed—that a number of books, pamphlets and publications about the Vietnamese peoples resistance against the Americans are not being allowed to come into this country. They are either banned or they are not allowed under the Customs Regulations, and so on, to be imported into this country. The books relate to the glorious defence of freedom by the Asian people against the imperialist aggressors who have come from 10,000 kilometres in order to endanger the freedom and security of the entire region. I should also like to ask in this connection why, for example, the German Democratic Republic is not being given full diplomatic recognition. It is clear discrimination against the peace-loving German Democratic Republic, which is friendly to us, which has stood by

us in hours of crises and difficulties of this country, whereas the recognition is given to the Federal Republic of Germany which is against us, which supported imperialists whenever there was an open clash or conflict between our interests and imperialists' interests, as they are always. Besides, you know that at the time of Indo-Pak, war, and on other occasions also, this Federal Republic, this Bonn regime ran a campaign against our country. Many things are written there and published there which are anti-Indian, violently anti-Indian, and all that. Besides that, the West German Government is trying to have access to nuclear weapons, and it is becoming a major threat to peace, not only in Central Europe but in the whole continent of Europe and in the world. Now such a war-mongering Government, a revanchist Government, where Hitler's A.D.Cs. and others, supporters of Nazism, are being placed in high positions, a Government that is revanchist, that Government is recognised, and not the German Democratic Republic. Well, I would demand that German Democratic Republic be given full diplomatic recognition and the present policy of withholding recognition from them under the pressure of West German imperialists and the Americans and the British be given up. It is in our national interests that we recognise the German Democratic Republic. I say national interests and that point has to be made. Mr. Vice-Chairman. I think that the kind of stand that we have taken in regard to the two States is not tenable. The reality of two German States had been accepted by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and he spoke on the subject here. And how is it that only one State is recognised, that is, the war-mongering State, the revanchist State, the imperialist State, the State that wants to arm itself with nuclear weapons? Therefore I demand full recognition. Now the second point and I have done with it. I shall now very sweepingly pass on to the other ones. The third point is that nothing is said about the Commonwealth. Now, as you knew, in England public opinion is being roused against the Wilson

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

Government so that it does take certain steps against Ian Smith's regime in Southern Rhodesia. But our Government is keeping absolutely quite. I think the time has come for the Government—it is long overdue actually—even in the context in which I am speaking, for the Government to come out of the Commonwealth; the Government should have no association with it. On the contrary, we find that recently the Government of India had entered the Commonwealth Secretariat and placed one Mr. N. C. Sen Gupta, perhaps an officer of the External Affairs Ministry, there. I think he is now employed in the High Commission and in the Secretariat of the Commonwealth. This is a scandalous thing. Now we must prove our *bona fides* by concrete action, and unless strong public opinion, strong world opinion is able to have very heavy pressure on Downing Street for taking action, armed action, military action against Mr. Ian Smith's regime in Southern Rhodesia, we shall not achieve our objective easily. Therefore I say, coming out of the Commonwealth would be a concrete step in this direction. With regard to foreign policy I do not want to say very much; I leave it at that.

Now with regard to another matter I understand it has not been discussed very much. I am surprised that Mr. Morarji Desai has said that the crisis of the Dollar, rather the financial and monetary crisis in the West, especially in the United States of America, would not affect our economy. I do not know how Mr. Morarji Desai comes to such a conclusion. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you know some time ago the Pound Sterling⁷ had been devalued, and the devalued Pound itself was a sign of the crisis, not only of the British economy, but of the Western economy as a whole, an economy which *is* undoubtedly dominated by the United States of America, which is now full of internal crisis. We were told that the Dollar was stable. We were told that the Dollar was invincible. As you know the par value of the Dollar had been fixed in 1938

at 35 Dollars per ounce of gold. Thirty years have passed since then; much has changed since then. Thirty years have passed and the Dollar certainly does not occupy that position today. It has fallen into a crisis on account of the heavy expenditure in Vietnam, war expenditure in Vietnam, and other military commitments of the United States of America, and United States of America itself is shaken by this crisis. But Mr. Morarji Desai says nothing will happen. Now attempts are being made by the so-called Gold Pool Club of seven nations. Meetings had been held in Washington in order to avert the situation. And there had been again a dual arrangement, there are two markets for gold. All these things have been created. We should not be misled by such a thing. The Dollar has been shaken. Nemesis has come upon the Dollar. Now, what the Americans, the British and the others would be doing, this is very very important for us to understand, Mr. Vice-Chancellor. Their attempt will be to pass the crisis of the capitalist economy, especially of the Western capitalist economy, on to the workers in their own countries. No wonder that today three million unemployed are already in the United States of America, and unemployment is going on also in England, and other countries associated with the Western bloc. This is an important thing to note. And now, secondly, there is recession in the economy of practically all the Western countries. The rate of growth of the economy in the Western countries has been declining. And these are signs you must take proper note of them. What are they going to do in this situation? And that you must assess correctly. It does appear that it is an incompetent and illiterate Ministry—the Finance Ministry—and the Finance Ministry of the country does not know how to assess the economic situation in the world, and in that context understand the Indian position. Therefore, the crisis of the Dollar should not be minimised in the way it is being done here. Deliberately a section of the Indian monopolists is trying to make out as if it will not affect us. In the first instance

our exports will be affected. Secondly, we are tied up with the economy of the West, in a very serious manner with the United States of America, with West Germany, with Britain, and so on, and you know that the Dollar is in crisis, it is really the citadel of capitalist economy and it is now in crisis. I am not saying that because, immediately, they had to increase their Bank Rate by half per cent, that is to say, it is now 5 per cent. Since the 1929 crisis such a thing never happened. Therefore you must take note of the fact that world capitalist economy, imperialist economy, is in a state of serious crisis, a deepening crisis today, mainly of course as a result of heavy military commitments and war expenditure in Vietnam and other places.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, we would like to know from the Government what is their strategy because our economy is tied up with that of the West in very many ways. Our external trade, the bulk of it is still directed or patterned even now in that way. If you look at it you will find that this trade flows in that direction and if you take into account the U.S.A., West Germany, England and other countries you will find that the greater part of our external trade whether it be import or export, is in that direction. That is one thing. Secondly, we are indebted to the West to a very great extent, to the United States of America and so on. Our debt with the USA is not less than some three thousand crores. Our foreign debts have gone up and it is now over Rs. 6,000 crores. In such a situation we are placed in a very difficult position. That is quite clear. Even when the dollar was not under any crisis, they forced in 1946 June the devaluation of the Indian rupee in order to pass on the burden of their crisis to the developing countries. Now you can understand what the position will be when the dollar has been shaken. All the time it was webbling. It was a financial or monetary crisis. Now it is not only a monetary and fiscal crisis but it is an economic crisis which has broken out in the West. In such a situation what is required is a re-

examination of our economic relations with the West in the matter of our foreign trade, in the matter of our very many bilateral agreements, in the matter of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and indeed, with all the capitalist countries of the West. But nothing is being done. On the other hand, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am surprised that the Government should be trying through their propaganda departments to create an impression as if we are not going to be affected by all these developments when the rest of the world is taking steps one after another, to meet the crisis. All the countries which function in the orbit of the capitalist economy are taking steps to meet the crisis. Here we should at least try to develop our trade and other relations with the socialist countries and with the non-aligned countries. That is important. We should consider seriously the suggestion of the non-aligned powers to have conferences and so on. We have seen what has happened at the UNCTAD and how the developed nations have tried to sabotage all attempts on the part of the developing nations to come together and press their demands in order that the developing nations may get a fair part on the basis of better organised economic relations.

Therefore, I say the Government has no policy when the capitalist economy is entering the phase of a serious crisis in the London market, in the Washington market, in the Paris market and so on. And in such a situation we find complacency being shown on the part of the Government. I say steps should be taken and I am surprised that Shri Morarji Desai is not dealing with this matter. I warn you, if you do not take measures from now, if you do not build up your defences against the approaching deepening crisis, the crisis which is affecting the capitalists, especially with regard to their economy, we shall be rendered absolutely defenceless and these powers having fallen into this crisis will try to shift the burden of the crisis on to their own workers and to the developing nations of the world like ours, (Time bell rings).

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

One thing more—something political—and I finish. I would not wish to say many things at this stage. Mr. Vice-Chairman, when you smile it is good, otherwise I feel discouraged. Your smile is so sweet. Now I would only say that yesterday Mr. Chavan admitted that something wrong had happened in Punjab Assembly. Today he should admit, if he is consistent, that strangers were present in the Assembly Chamber, also that the police had come. Indeed he admitted it and he deplored it. If he does not dispute it then it is clear that the Budget was "passed" there in the midst of those persons who were present in the Chamber of the Assembly, within the House itself and so the whole thing is null and void even on that ground. I hope even Mr. Chavan will take note of this thing.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, finally I say that the Governor's posts should be abolished.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You have already said it before.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, but what have I not said before?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Why repeat it now?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is clear that the Governor's posts should be abolished. There is no need for them at all. With regard to the Calling Attention notice on another matter a vigilant Member has already done it. You are a vigilant Vice-Chairman, and you know that news has appeared in the Statesman of a C.B.I. report which the Government has not published. The Statesman has published it and it seems it has leaked out. If this is a leakage it must be said that even the intelligence reports of their highest bodies become available to newspapers even when Parliament has not the slightest hint of it. That itself is a matter for investigation. Therefore I demand that an investigation should be started at once to find out how this leakage took place, who is responsible for it in the Central Intelligence Bureau or in other

places so that such leakages may not take place in future. (*Time bell*).

And finally all the detenus should be released. Again and again I have been pleading for that and saying that all the Tripura detenus should be released. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Tripura is under the Centre and some 40 persons, former M.Ps, former M.L.As., mostly belonging to the Marxist Communist Party, are under detention under the P.D. Act. There is no justification at all for this kind of action being taken against them. The action is taken with a view to suppressing the democratic movement in Tripura. So I say all of them should be forthwith released. Similarly all the detenus in West Bengal and other places should be forthwith released.

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

(*Time bell rings*). SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Another important thing I have to say and I will do it in one word. It is important. The Rajya Sabha elections will not take place for West Bengal because there is no Assembly there. I wish the West Bengal Assembly was kept suspended for two months and dissolved after the Rajya Sabha elections. I do not know why this standard was not followed. In this connection I must say one thing. Today, after the populations have changed the allotment of seats, the quotas to the various States have changed to some extent. It was according to the population then existing. But now (*Time bell rings*) let me finish my sentence, Sir, In the Fourth general elections some of the Assemblies have got more seats. West Bengal and others have got more and others have got less. I think the allocation of seats in the Rajya Sabha should be accordingly changed. In view of the increase in population West Bengal and other States should get more seats. It is only fair. I hope the Government will take steps in this matter, because seats were allocated on the basis of the 1951 census. Since then there was the 1961 census and after that also the

populations have increased. The result is that you have readjusted the seats in the Lok Sabha and some States have got less compared to others and some have got more than what they had during the third general elections. You have increased or decreased as the case may be, the seats in the Assemblies in the various States. Therefore it is perfectly logical to follow the same procedure in the matter of the Rajya Sabha also and some adjustments should be made and consultations should take place. This matter should be attended to. I say these things because the Rajya Sabha elections are taking place and some of the States will suffer. It is clear. I hope they will not suffer any more.

Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Niren Ghosh, please take only five minutes.

श्री राजनारायण : पांच मिनट मुझे भी ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): We have already exceeded the time.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I will be brief. One point I want to refer to is that the International Control Commission had gone to the Pathet Lao area in violation of the agreement. The agreement was that if the three parties in Laos wanted it, only then the ICC. would go there. Without the agreement of the three parties and when the neutralist government had fallen there, yet possibly under the dictates of America, they went there against the wishes of another member of the Commission, namely, Poland, in order to show our bona fides to the Americans, who want to interfere there also. Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is time that the I.C.C. is wound up and India should get out of the I.C.C. The I.C.C. should be disbanded because it has become an instrument in the Americans to interfere in the Indo-China peninsula.

As for the Tripura detenus ... i

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): He has said that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Yes, and I support what my hon. friend here said and I also say they should all be released. Another thing is this. One Kedar Ghosh of the Statesman has been given Padma Shree by this Government. I don't know why. You see, this man was the special representative in the Eastern region in 1964 and high officials of the Intelligence Department of the Gov-ment of India briefed him and he made slanderous accusations in the press under the influence of the Government. And this man who was an ordinary journalist has been made the Resident Editor in Calcutta. It is a dangerous development that is taking place in the Statesman there and now you have honoured him with a Padma Shri. What is this? It is a scandal. This is the second thing.

The third thing is, why is our country spending Rs. 1,000 crores on defence? What for are we arming?

THE MINISTER OF STATES IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. C. PANT): You should know this.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It is strange. There is not going to be a war with China in the immediate future. Anyway, India is now weakened. It is far far weak in relation to China. But that apart, you may say Pakistan is our enemy. Even if we take that for granted you need not spend Rs. 1,000 crores. I have an apprehension that you are arming in order to provide a centre of gravity for those countries of South East Asia which are western-oriented. It is for them you are providing a centre of gravity. That is what you are doing and that is what I am suspecting.

Now, about this MIG complex, I would like to know whether we will be self-sufficient right from designing up to complete manufacture after it is set up or whether we have to go to the Soviet Union for spare parts, components, etc,

[Shri Niren Ghosh.]

That is what I want to know. Can we have all the technical know-how and all the resources for its manufacture indigenously, after the factory is set up? I do not want my country to be dependant on any country in such matters whether it is China or Soviet Union or America.

That is what I want to know.

Now as regards weightage . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): No. no. Your five minutes over.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: In our j State for every seven Assembly seats there is one Lok Sabha seat. In U.P. for every four or five seats perhaps they have one Lok Sabha seat. I have found in discussions with the Election Commission that there are discrepancies and there is overweightage in certain regions and underweightage in certain regions. Such things are there. It is a serious matter and it should be gone into.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Raj-narain, five minutes.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं एक बात श्री नीरेन घोष को पहले बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि जब वे बात करें तो पूरी करें । उत्तर प्रदेश में श्रीमन्, एक लाख से लेकर 90 हजार वोटों पर एक असेम्बली का मेम्बर जाता है । जब कि उनके बंगाल में 40, 50, 60 हजार वोटों पर एक असेम्बली का मेम्बर जाता है ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Rajya Sabha seats could also be increased. Even under the Constitution we have half the seats of Lok Sabha. We are not half.

श्री राजनारायण : श्री भूपेश गुप्ता ने जो बात कही है मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ । इस समय बंगाल का हाउस जो सस्पेंड किया गया है, उसकी वजह से राज्य सभा के

प्रतिनिधि अगले चुनाव में नहीं आ सकते हैं । यह बात ठीक मालूम नहीं देती है । वहां पर ऐसी व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए कि जो उनका कोटा है और जिस तरह से और विधान सभाओं में राज्य सभा के प्रतिनिधि चुनकर आयेंगे, उन्ही तरह से वहां के भी प्रतिनिधि चुनकर आने चाहिये । उसके बाद आप असेम्बली को डिजॉल्व कर सकते हो या सस्पेंड कर सकते हो । आपने जो इस समय सस्पेंड किया है या डिजॉल्व किया है, उसको आप रिवाइज कर सकते हो ताकि वहां पर इलैक्शन हो सकें और राज्य सभा के लिए । यह एक जस्ट डिमान्ड है ।

इसके अतिरिक्त मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ और जिसको मैं चाहता हूँ कि श्री भूपेश गुप्त और श्री नीरेन घोष सुनें । हम आज क्यों इतने बड़े पैमाने पर पीछे हैं ? आज हमने अपने यहां कुछ लोगों को क्यों पीछे कर रखा है और इसका कारण क्या है आज भी कुछ लोग अछूत हैं । आज हमारे यहां हरिजन और अस्पृश्य लोग हैं जो न ठीक तरह से होटल में खा पाते हैं और न अपनी स्वेच्छा के अनुसार मंदिरों में प्रवेश कर पाते हैं । आज उनको पूरी तरह से नागरिकता का अधिकार प्राप्त नहीं है । तो यह बात याद रखो कि अगर आपके देश के अन्दर किसी को अछूत बनाकर रखोगे तो दुनिया में दूसरे मुल्क भी तुम को अछूत बनायेंगे । इसलिए मैं मजबूती के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि 21 साल की आजादी आज बरबादी में बदल गई है । जो यहां पर पीड़ित तबका है, सब से गरीब तबका है, हरिजन है, जिस के बारे में राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था कि अगर मैं पुनर्जन्म लू तो मैं चाहूंगा कि मेरा जन्म एक भंगी के घर में हो । तो पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आज भंगी की हालत कहां सुधरी है, चमार की हालत कहां सुधरी है, हरिजन की हालत कहां सुधरी है और इसके लिए इस सरकार ने क्या किया ?

इस बारे में हमको आंकड़े दिये जा सकते हैं । हम डिप्टी मिनिस्टर माहब को इतना रुपया देने जा रहे हैं और पहले भी बहुत सा रुपया दे चुके हैं । तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि वह रुपया किन में खर्च हुआ और उस रुपये से किन को फायदा हुआ ? जो रुपया खर्च किया गया उससे लोगों की मनोवृत्ति बदली या नहीं । यहाँ पर इतने मंत्रीगण बैठे हैं, तो उन मंत्रियों ने अपने को हरिजन बनाया या हरिजनों को ब्राह्मण बनाया, या ब्राह्मणों को हरिजन बनाया या नहीं ? क्योंकि जब तक समाज में सामाजिक विषमता रहेगी, तब तक इस मुल्क की तरक्की सम्भव नहीं है । जब तक समाज में भेदभाव की नीति जारी रहेगी, ऊँचनीच की भावना रहेगी, तब तक यह देश उन्नति नहीं कर सकता है । इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक इन लोगों के लिए जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में 60 फीसदी जगह सुरक्षित नहीं होंगी, तब तक यह मुल्क दुनिया के पैमाने पर पीछे ही रहेगा ।

अब मैं एक बान अंकटाड के संबंध में कहना चाहता हूँ जो मुझे मालूम हुई । मैं हैरत में हूँ क्योंकि मैं बारबार इस मदन में बहस की मांग कर रहा हूँ और बराबर ध्यानाकर्षण की मांग कर रहा हूँ । लेकिन मुझे यहाँ पर एक रूल 180 बतला दिया जाता है कि इसके अनुसार चेयरमैन साहब ने इस पर बहस की परमिशन रोक दी है । यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है । जब हमारे देश में अंकटाड के इनने प्रतिनिधि विचार कर रहे हों कि जो पिछड़े मुल्क हैं, जो विकासशील मुल्क हैं, उनका विकास किस तरह से हो । श्रीमन् इस संबंध में हमारी दिनेश सिंह जी से काफी बातें भी हुई । श्री दिनेश सिंह जी इस समय यहाँ पर नहीं हैं । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अनावश्यक बातों पर समय बरबाद न किया जाय । अंकटाड में जिस स्वाम बातां पर बहस होनी चाहिये थी वह बहस नहीं हुई है । जब तक

दुनिया के देशों में विषमता नहीं मिटेगी तब तक चाहे अमरीका कितनी मदद क्यों न करे, रूस कितनी मदद क्यों न करे, हम तरक्की नहीं कर सकते हैं ।

श्री महेश्वर नाथ कौल (नामनिर्दिष्ट) :
दिनेश सिंह जी से क्या बातें हुई ?

श्री राजनारायण : मेरे पास इस समय समय नहीं है, नहीं तो मैं बनला देता (Inter-ruptions) जिस आदमी ने 20 मान से इस मदन की खिदमत की है और अपना कर्तव्य निभाया, उसको जवाब न दूँ क्योंकि मैं उसके गुणों का भक्त हूँ ।

तो श्रीमन्, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अपने भारतवर्ष में श्रमशक्ति और उत्पादन शक्ति क्या है । इस मदन में सरकारी पक्ष के लोग ज्यादा अच्छी तरह से समझेंगे और वे आज भी पूरी तरह से हिसाब लगा लें कि चीन, रूस, अमेरिका और भारत में श्रम शक्ति की क्या कीमत है । अमेरिका आज तीन मिनट में जितना पैदा करता है, भारत उतना 60 मिनट में पैदा करता है । रूस आज जितना 6 मिनट में पैदा करता है, भारत उतना 60 मिनट में पैदा करता है । चीन आज जितना 40 मिनट में पैदा करता है, भारत आज उतना 60 मिनट में पैदा करता है । तो अमरीका की श्रम शक्ति और उत्पादन शक्ति भारत से 20 गुना ज्यादा है । जब तक भारत की श्रम और उत्पादक शक्ति नहीं बढ़ेगी तब तक भारत दुनिया के पैमाने पर कभी भी तरक्की नहीं कर पावेगा । इसलिए जो मूल प्रश्न है, मुझे अफसोस है कि भारत के प्रतिनिधियों ने अंकटाड में इस संबंध में अबतक कोई चर्चा नहीं की । सरकार का कोई प्रतिनिधि बताये कि इस तरह की वहाँ पर चर्चा की गई या नहीं ? अपने देश में हरिजनों को उठाना पिछड़े हुए लोगों को उठाना, दुनिया के पैमाने पर समदृष्टि पैदा करना,

[श्री राजनारायण]

विश्व में मानवता का प्रसार करना, विश्व नागरिक बनाना, इस तरह की कोई बात नहीं की गई है। विश्व नागरिकता तब ही हो सकती है जब कि विश्व में फैली हुई विषमता दूर हो। इस चीज के लिए भारत सरकार ने कतई कोई कदम नहीं उठाया और इसीलिए भारत सरकार को एक पैसा खर्च करने की अनुमति नहीं मिलनी चाहिये।

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman I support Mr. Bhupesh Gupta in his suggestion for increasing the number of Rajya Sabha seats in respect of the States. If that is possible, I shall be only too happy. If West Bengal gets three more or two more, then Orissa will get one more and I shall be only too happy to accept such a suggestion. I would implore, through you, Sir, the Election Commission and the Law Minister and whomsoever is responsible for this to look into it and if they have to increase Rajya Sabha seats . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If Rajya Sabha remains.

श्री राजनारायण : मिश्रा जी, एक बात मैं बतला दूँ। विधान परिषद् भंग करने की बात भूपेश जी कहते हैं और मिश्रा जी उसको मानते हैं . . .

श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र : मैं नहीं मानता हूँ।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं कहता हूँ कि विधान परिषद् भी भंग करो और राज्य सभा भी भंग करो, ये दोनों अनावश्यक हैं।

श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र : आपका मतलब दूसरा है, हमारा मतलब दूसरा है। हम जो चाहते हैं वह कहते हैं और आपको जो चाहिये वह कहिये।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I make it clear that if the Second Chambers are to be abolished I am all in favour of it. Do not misunderstand me. But if they remain, you have to increase

the seats. Now, the seats here have been allocated on the basis of the 1951 census. The Constitution provides that Rajya Sabha can have a number equal to half that of Lok Sabha. Anyhow, whatever it is, reallocation has to be made on the basis of the population, as you have done in the case of West Bengal.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: If it is increased it is not that it will only help us, the Opposition Parties. It will also help the Congress because they are in damn necessity of more seats for themselves. I find that in many of the States they are in a soup. They do not know whom to choose and whom to drop, so much so that it appears from the newspapers that there would be some nominations out of the candidates who have been dropped by the Congress. Names which have been taken up in the State Parliamentary Board and the Central Parliamentary Board are being considered by the Home Ministry—it appeared in the newspapers—for nomination by the President. If that is done, it is one of the worst traditions they are going to introduce. I am putting up a new point. You kindly listen. They are going to nominate people whose names were considered by the State Parliamentary Boards seriously.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We should oppose it.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I am doing that. For the past twenty years at least. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, because he believed in pure democracy and not adulterated democracy . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Nomination is not meant for that. (*Interruptions*). One of them is going to be nominated. It is a matter of Government policy.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: The recommendation has to be done by the Home Ministry. The President does not go and search for people all over the country. It is the Home Ministry that does it. If that is done it would be very difficult for the nominations to be made. For such members to be nominated, who did not get a ticket in the Congress, but

get through the backdoor nominations to function in this House, I warn the Government, is not right. The Congress office at No. 7, Jantar Mantar Road, has now become the largest employment exchange, because it has to rehabilitate the maximum number of discredited people who have suffered reverses . . .

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MO-MIN (Gujarat): In Gujarat the Swatantra Party has not been able to put up even one candidate.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: You can get up and say that, but not when I am speaking.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Please sit down.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Take your own time and say that. Now, it is the largest employment exchange, where the largest list of unemployed persons is probably maintained. Now, I call it . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is the worst list of unemployed persons.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Misra, please wind up.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Therefore, employment should not be sought through the recommendations of the Home Ministry to the President for nominations to the Rajya Sabha. If that is done, it would be against all the good traditions that we have till now built up in this House and I would implore you and through you the whole of the Government, Mrs. Gandhi's Government . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Congress and the Opposition should sit together and decide the principle as to how the four seats are going to be filled.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Let Mr. Bhu-pesh Gupta speak for all the Parties.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: The principles are laid down. The convention has been, all through, that whosoever came here on any part-, ticket, either to this House or to the

other House or to any Legislature, or whose name was considered by any of the parties, becomes a partisan. Therefore, even if he is efficient in any particular field, his name cannot be considered for nomination. That has been the convention and tradition and I do not think, this Government is going to break it. If they break it, the nominated Members will have a hell of a time in this House to continue.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, हमारी एक रिक्वेस्ट मुन लीजिये । असल में मैं इसको कहना चाहता था क्योंकि मैं प्रेसिडेंट साहब से बात करके आया हूँ । डा० सिद्धू के बारे में लखनऊ के अखबारों में आया है और यहां भी आया है कि कांग्रेस पार्लियामेन्टरी बोर्ड में उनका नाम छंट गया, इसलिये अब प्रेसिडेंट के जरिये उनको नामिनेट किया जायगा । मैं चाहता हूँ कि किसी राजनीतिक दल के द्वारा अगर किसी का नाम निकाल दिया गया हो तो प्रेसिडेंट साहब उसका नामिनेशन न करें । हमें खुशी है कि इनकी भावना की रिपोर्ट हमने प्रेसिडेंट साहब से मिलकर के कर दी है कि अगर किसी राजनैतिक दल के द्वारा किसी का नाम ठुकराया गया हो तो उसको प्रेसिडेंट साहब नामिनेट न करें ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, my suggestion is that the Prime Minister should call a conference of all the Parties represented in Parliament and decide the principle on the basis of which the Government will approach the President for filling the four nominated seats in Rajya Sabha. It should not be left to the Congress Party, to the Prime Minister and the Congress Government, because the Constitution provides that men of special calibre should come here. It is not to be a sort of guided by partisan considerations, especially of the Congress. I think the basis of the arrangement should be decided.

(Interruptions)

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: Again, points relating to political and foreign policies have been raised and

[Shri Jagannath Pahadia]

it is only a repetition of the speeches. Therefore, I do not want to reply. Only there is one point which has been raised by the hon. Member, Rajnarainji, in regard to the development and upliftment of Harijans. I do agree with him that we have not been able to help them as much as we should have. But may I ask the hon. Member, Rajnarainji, what he and his Party have done for the upliftment of Harijans?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order. (Interruption) My point of order is this. It is convention and principle that when Members make certain suggestions to the Government on matters relating to policy, the Government is expected to reply to them or say: "We have not decided it. We shall consider it." It is not open to any Government Member to ask: "What have you done". The Government under the Constitution . .

HON. MEMBERS: What is your point of order? There is no point of order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Please listen. If you have a little patience. I shall say it. Under the provisions of the Constitution, the Government is responsible to do something. When we are asking the Government to do something or criticise something, in answer to this, it does not lie in him to ask: "What have you done?" We are not in the Government and besides we have raised a number of points. I find the Leader of the House is present here. Why the Leader of the House who is a member of the Cabinet is not saying anything? Even with regard to the suggestion that we have made about Rajya Sabha nomination, biennial nomination, he is not saying anything. I hope he will convey our feelings to the Prime Minister as to how the nomination should be done.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, पर्सनल एक्सप्लेनेशन । मुझे बड़ी खुशी है कि हमारे मित्र डिप्टी मिनिस्टर साहब ने सवाल किया कि हमने क्या किया ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान):
 मैं एलाउ नहीं करता । मुनिए . . .

श्री राजनारायण : यही संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी है जिसने बंगाल में हरिजन को रखवाया कैबिनेट में, यही संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी है जिसने यू० पी० में कैबिनेट में अपनी सीट दी और चरण सिंह को कहा कि हरिजन को जगह नहीं दोगे तो हम शामिल नहीं होंगे, मध्य प्रदेश में मिनिस्टर रखवाया, राजनारायण ही ने जिन्होंने हरिजन मन्दिर मूवमेंट चलाया, जिनकी दाढ़ी नोची गई, जिन्होंने डंडे खाए विश्वनाथ मन्दिर से रामेश्वरम तक, इसी संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के आन्दोलन के फलस्वरूप मंत्री महोदय कांग्रेस सरकार में डिप्टी मिनिस्टर बना दिए गए । मैं कहता हूँ कि इन्दिरा जी हटें, जगजीवन राम को कांग्रेस पार्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर बनाए क्योंकि जगजीवन राम में बुद्धि इन्दिरा से कम तो नहीं है । (इन्ट्रप्शन्स) तो संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी हरिजनों के लिए, पिछड़ों के लिए, औरतों के लिए 60 फीसदी जगह अपने संविधान में रखती है । संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी ही एक

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I think when Ministers reply, they are replying on behalf of the Government. As such they should reply what Government's attitude is and not refer to what the other parties have done.

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: I was simply trying to explain my point of view.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are not a Member of this House . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They should be other backward classes are also included in that taught. You are very good, you have said that section, I doubt whether a single member See how he took it, "I have explained my belonging to the Harijans or Adibasis can come point by view". You are not a member of this to this House or to the other House, because all House. You can speak only as a member of the landlords or all the education kdis will come the Government, on behalf of the in their seats. Therefore, this statement of Shri Government.

Rajnarain I reject outright not as a Member of this House but as a Member of Parliament, as a member of the Government, as a member of the Congress Party, because this is a statement, a resolution . . .

श्री राजनारायण : मैं आपकी व्यवस्था से सहमत नहीं हूँ। मंत्री को पूरा हक होना चाहिए कि अगर अपोजीशन का कोई मेम्बर पालिसी रखे तो उस पालिसी के बारे में उसने क्या किया जरूर पूछ सके। मैं बहुत प्रसन्न हूँ कि उन्होंने पूछा और हमको मौका मिला जवाब देने का। मैं अब भी चाहता हूँ कि हमारे प्रस्ताव को कांग्रेस पार्टी मानले कि कैबिनेट में 60 फीसदी जगह हरिजन, महिलाओं और शूद्रों को दे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
राजनारायण जी . . .

श्री राजनारायण : मैं इस में मुसलमानों को भी जोड़ रहा हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): You are repeating. I do not want you to say anything further.

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: I simply wanted to explain my point of view. I simply posed the question to the hon. Member, Shri Rajnarain, to explain my viewpoint. I reject outright the proposal made by Shri Rajnarain that this Government or the Congress Party should accept the proposal made by him that 60 per cent of the seats should be reserved for Harijans, Backward Classes and ladies.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: And Muslims.

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: This is the most mischievous resolution passed by any party. Reservation has been given under the Constitution. The Harijans have a reserved quota according to the law which is a certain percentage fixed by law. If the ladies and

SHRI RAJNARAIN: On a point of order . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order . . .

श्री राजनारायण : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है कि क्या आप मंत्री जी को हिदायत नहीं करेंगे कि मंत्री जी हमारी बात को समझें। हमने हरिजन कहा, आदिवासी कहा, शूद्र कहा, औरत कहा, गरीब दबा हुआ मुसलमान कहा और उनकी आबादी 90 फीसदी है और हमने उनको 60 फीसदी जगह जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में देने को कहा। अगर 60 फीसदी बहुत ही कम होगा तो माननीय मित्र 60 की जगह 90 कर दें, 80 कर दें, मुझे बहुत खुशी होगी। अगर वे चाहें तो मैं यह भी कहने के लिए तैयार हूँ कि जो बहुत ही ऊँचे क्लास के घरों की औरतें हों, जिसके जीवन-निर्वाह के दूसरे साधन हों, उनको न देकर हरिजन की औरत को सबसे पहले दिया जाय क्योंकि गांधी जी ने कहा था कि मैं चाहता हूँ कि हरिजन की लड़की प्रधान मंत्री बने, जवाहरलाल सखे लोग उसके सलाहकार बनें—यह गांधी जी का वाक्य है। अगर 60 फीसदी नहीं बांटा जायगा तो मौखिक बात दफ्तार शंख की बात रह जायगी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) :
बंद जाइए।

श्री राजनारायण : मेरे मित्र ने कहा कि हरिजनों के लिए सीट रिजर्व है। हरिजनों

[श्री राजनारायण]

को धोखा देने के लिए, उनका शोषण करने के लिए कांग्रेस सरकार ने यह व्यवस्था की थी जिसका बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर ने हमेशा विरोध किया था ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): No point of order. Sit down. Mr. Pahadia, you refer to the points only.

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: I refer to the points only. I think he has understood my point of view, what I wanted to say, that the proposal is very mischievous.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Pahadia, you address the

श्री राजनारायण : अब भी ?

श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया : अब भी और कल भी ।

श्री राजनारायण : तो, श्रीमान्, जरा हमको इनको समझाने का मौका दीजिए ।

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: I am sorry, Sir, I have to state my point of view.

श्री राजनारायण : अब भी ये हमारे प्रस्ताव का विरोध करेंगे तो हरिजन समुदाय के सबसे बड़े शत्रु होंगे ।

श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया : आप इस प्रस्ताव के द्वारा सारे हरिजनों का हक छीनना चाहते हैं ।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं यह कहने के लिए तैयार हूँ कि हरिजन औरतों को सब से पहले जगह दी जाए ।

Chair. You need not address him. You go ahead.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I got up on a point of order . . .

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: I reject the proposal of Mr. Rajnarain.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My submission is it is not fair. I know he is a young Minister. He has to learn. But you see the way he is replying. He is quarrelling as if it is a sort of playground showing his

iisticuff like that. You should not do that.

SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA: I know what you have done for Harijans. Please excuse me for saying so.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am concerned about his age and anger. That is what I am concerned about.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): I have heard you. I have advised that he should speak with a little calmness and quietness. As a senior parliamentarian you must help him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am helping him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): All right. Sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: When you get up, you remember that you must not lose temper as a Minister. Secondly, you must know how to evade inconvenient questions. Thirdly, you must know how to tell lies.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: When is any

श्री राजनारायण : श्री भूपेश गुप्त से मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि जैसे वे बोलना चाहें बोलने दें । वे नए हैं, उनको पूरी आजादी है । उन्होंने कहा कि वे हरिजन हैं, हम उनको विशेष अवसर दे रहे हैं । जैसा तरीका इन्होंने अस्तिथार किया पन्त जी वैसा तरीका अस्तिथार नहीं करेंगे—वे भले हैं—लेकिन अगर वही तरीका मोगरजी ने अस्तिथार किया होता तो हम उनको दूसरा जवाब दिए होते । भूपेश जी, इनको ज्यादा मौका दें, जैसा बोलना चाहें बोलें ।

exchange between us, he will do better.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): It is very unfair. You do not allow others . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We are allowing him. You have not understood it, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): The question is:

"That the Bill be returned."

The motion was adopted.