

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE PRODUCTION IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI A. M. THOMAS) : Sir, on behalf of Shri Y. B. Chavan, I beg to move:

"That in pursuance of clause (i) of subsection (1) of section 12 of the National Cadet Corps Act, 1948 (31 of 1948), this House do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Chairman may direct, one member from among the members of the House to be a member of the Central Advisory Committee for the National Cadet Corps for a term of one year commencing from the 25th June, 1966."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF WORKS, HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT (SHRI B. BHAGAVATI) : Sir, on behalf of Shri Mehr Chand Khanna, I beg to move:

"That in pursuance of clause (h) of subsection (2) of section 5 of the Delhi Development Act, 1957 (61 of 1957), this House do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Chairman may direct, one member from among the members of the House to be a member of the Advisory Council of the Delhi Development Authority."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING (SHRI B. S. MURTHY) : Sir, I beg to move:—

"That in pursuance of clause 3(vii) (b) of the Rules and Regulations of the Tuberculosis Association of India, this House do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Chairman may direct, one member from among the members of the House to be a member of the Central Committee of the Tuberculosis Association of India."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have to inform Members that the following dates have been fixed for receiving nominations and for holding elections, if necessary, to the (i) Animal Welfare Board, (ii) Central Advisory Committee for the National Cadet Corps, (iii) Advisory Council of the Delhi Development Authority, and (iv) Central Committee of the Tuberculosis Association of India :—

1. Last date and 13th May, 1966—time for receiving up to 3-00 p.m. nominations.
2. Last date and 16th May, 1966—time for withdrawal up to 3-00 p.m. of candidature.
3. Date and time 17 May 1966—between 3-00 p.m. and 5-00 p.m. election.
4. Place of election Room No. 63, First Floor, Parliament House, New Delhi.
5. Method of election. Proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.

THE FINANCE BILL, 1966—Contd.

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI (Madras) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, whenever we from this side of the House rise to offer our criticism on any of the measures brought forward by the Government, we do so with a kind of hesitation and even with a tinge of frustration because the sincere criticisms offered are not only, for erroneous but extraneous reasons, commanded from the other side of the House as misrepresentation being profusely indulged in. For instance, from this side of the House when we question the rationale behind foreign aid, Members of the ruling Party rise up to ask whether any country can do without such aid. They point out copious illustrations from the history of the various countries to show that most of the countries have relied upon foreign aid. But, Sir, when we question the rationale behind the aid growing in dimension, we do not mean to say that no country should take aid from any other country. We are concerned, as responsible members of the society,

about the nature, the volume, the velocity of the aid taken and the use to which the aid is being put to and our capacity for repayment because when we question it, we question the rationale behind the foreign aid. Whenever we put forward that plea, Members from the ruling side rise up to say that we are against aid as a whole. We are not against aid as a whole because in a world which is becoming smaller and smaller, no country can live without interdependence of another country. Our purpose in questioning it is only to find out whether the amount is being put to the best use, whether we are developing our repayment capacity, whether the creditor countries have got implicit confidence in us whenever we demand more and more aid.

Whenever we raise a point, especially about the taxation measures, the Members of the ruling party rise up to ask—one hon'ble Member last evening asked—whether any Government can live without taxes. It is too elementary to be mentioned in this august House. Nobody thinks that a welfare State or even a police State can be run without taxes. But when we question the measure of taxation, we are concerned with the volume, the velocity and even the vindictiveness behind the taxation measures. We have been pointing out many a time that more and more indirect taxation is being indulged in. The common man is being taxed more and more. If sugar is taxed, if kerosene is taxed, these things are taxed to such an extent that the regressive nature of indirect taxation has had its impact on the life of the masses of this country, and because of that we question the rationale of indirect taxation. Members of the ruling party rise up to ask whether any Government can function without taxation.

I understand, Mr. Chairman, that no civilised Government should depend entirely on taxation alone for its welfare measures. A Government if it is to be called a welfare Government, a progressive and modern Government, it should not crush the people with taxation merely because they need more and more money for expenditure. They should prune that expenditure. There should be priorities in that expenditure and they should augment their resources not merely from new taxes but

from the revenues that have been promised by the public sector. We have allotted a colossal sum to the public sector and what is the performance of the public sector? Have we realised the revenues expected of it? When you have failed woefully, miserably and continuously in regard to the public sector, robbing people, robbing Peter to pay Paul, when you have indulged in more and more taxation, we on this side of the House have got a right to question your new taxation proposals. That is why we are against your new proposals in the Budget. When I say that the Government should look to other sources than taxation, I am referring not to loans, because they have to be repaid. I refer to the public sector revenues which we have not been able to get. It is therefore that I say that the taxation proposals of this Government are more and more regressive leading to the grinding poverty of the people. But they point out that all this money that they take by way of taxation is being spent for the welfare of the people. As a matter of fact they have stated in a very enthusiastic manner as follows :

"Since every plan must evoke popular response if it is to be successful and since the ultimate objective of planned development is the improvement in the conditions of living of the people, the investment on commodity production has to be matched by allocation of adequate resources to those activities which constitute an investment in human resources."

I would like to ask Members of this House through you, Mr. Chairman, to enlighten me whether they have carried out this policy in respect of human resources, whether they have allotted enough money for social purposes so that the common man may feel that whatever he is paying by way of taxation, he derives benefit from that. Here it is further stated :

"The Fourth Plan has, therefore, provided for a much larger proportion of the Plan outlay to the education, health, water supply and such other social service sectors."

Mr. Chairman, when I read this very enthusiastic preamble, I read through the report to find out how they have translated this into action. It has been stated that

[Shri C. N. Annadurai.] They have allotted more and more money for education, health, water supply, etc. I find from their presentation that as far as health and water supply is concerned, they have allotted and spent something like Rs. 88.53 crores in 1965-66 and they are now going to allot more and more money for purposes like health and water supply. This year they are providing Rs. 81.60 crores. Why should we have such enthusiastic preambles when we cannot translate them into action ? For housing and construction they have allotted Rs. 33.56 crores previously and this year they are allotting Rs. 25.08 crores. For welfare of backward classes they have allotted Rs. 29.34 crores last year and this year they have progressed so much that they are spending only Rs. 24.31 crores. For labour and labour welfare they have spent Rs. 18.19 crores and now they are going to spend Rs. 17.20 crores. For rehabilitation they have increased it slightly. Instead of Rs. 15 crores they are spending Rs. 18 crores. Mr. Chairman, I would here say that the increase is inadequate if we take into consideration lakhs and lakhs of repatriates that are now coming to this country from Burma and Ceylon. As a matter of fact if this Government is interested in rehabilitation, it will have at least to double the amount because lakhs of people from Ceylon, who can make this country bloom with flowers, with fruits, with tea and coffee, if they are to be rehabilitated, the amount that has now been raised, *i.e.* Rs. 3 crores is quite inadequate and at least it ought to be doubled. On rural works they have spent Rs. 10 crores last year and they have progressed so much that they are now giving Rs. 8 crores. On the whole on social services they spent Rs. 407 crores last time and now they are spending Rs. 300 crores. Now I would request for your permission, Mr. Chairman, to question the necessity for such an enthusiastic preamble. Maybe the preamble is written by one officer and the chart is prepared by another officer and the chart-preparing officer is not as enthusiastic as the preamble-preparing officer. This is the sort of problem and this is the sort of method that is adopted by the Government. The amount of taxation that has been raised is so colossal and the return to the people by way of social ser-

vices, health, education, etc. is so meagre that I want to find out where all this money goes. Of course, they say that they have got such an advanced form of Government that more and more money is to be spent on the administrative machinery. They have promised a sort of administrative reforms forgetting for the moment that there are so many schemes in the pigeonholes of the Government of India wherein various administrative reforms have been adumbrated. Let us hope that the new Administrative Reforms Commission will be more effective than the previous one. But we should recognise this fact and Members of the ruling party should admit their failure to economise administrative expenditure. There is not only multiplication of administrative units but there are actual duplications of administrative units.

Mr. Chairman, we know that the Government of India has got an official organ for small-scale savings and they are spending a lot of money over that. They are now saying that the returns are adequate. I am not going into that now. But when there is an official organisation for small-scale savings, I would like to be enlightened by the Government for the necessity for this. It says :

"The Saving Mobilisation Board was set up as a Registered Society in 1964. The objects of the Board *inter alia* are the promotion of savings and investments in all forms of small savings schemes of Government, the Unit Trust of India and selected Public Sector Undertakings. Grants to the Saving Mobilisation Board will amount to Rs. 55 lakhs this year and Rs. 65 lakhs next year based on the actual requirements of the Board."

Now this is a sheer waste of money and duplication of institutions. When the all-powerful Government of India has got an official wing for this purpose, what is the necessity for a non-official body, though a registered one, getting Rs. 55 lakhs and Rs. 65 crores as grants from the Government ? This sort of wastage is everyday taking place and in every field taking place in the Administration of this Government. It is therefore that I say that they should look to other sources than taxation, especially the public sector revenue. They

should so prune their administrative expenditure that multiplication and duplication are put an end to.

1 P.M.

Again, when we point out that the performance of this Government is very poor, the Members of the ruling party here and elsewhere assume an air of amazement and arrogate to themselves a professional tone and ask us to remember that even Russia had to wait for two decades and even three decades. We ask them for an explanation for their failure and not for an elementary lesson in Russian history. We know Russia and we know Russian history. To compare the time taken by Russia for effecting improvements with the time taken by India for economic development, is something so ludicrous that it is unworthy of being mentioned in this august House. What was Russia after her revolution and how was India when the flag was unfurled at the Red Fort ? True it is that the British bled us white. But this country was not left in an uprooted state. Russia when it emerged from the revolution was full of scars. The whole faryard was devastated. Whole families were uprooted and society was in the throes of panic and disorder. And from that her leaders, the leaders of Russia, had to take the country along the path of progress and they have advanced and the time of plenty has become a possibility for them.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : In fourteen years.

SHRI C. N. ANNADURAI: To compare the number of years taken by Russia for development and reaching economic achievement, with these eighteen years that we have been taking is, to put it mildly, to insult this House. You put Russia after the revolution and India after her independence, and I challenge the Members of the ruling party to present the comparative pictures of these two situations before any august House and await the verdict of that august assembly. In 1947 when independence was granted to India, India was not in the same situation, in a similar situation or in an identical situation that Russia was in after the revolution. Another point is that the process and the method of development in the eighteenth century were different from those of the nineteenth century and different from the twentieth.

In between technological and scientific achievements have gathered such momentum that if it took 20 years in the eighteenth century to attain a level of economic development it ought to be possible in the twentieth century to attain that level of development in five years. Russia did not have at that time all this technology and science. What is needed in the modern age is a correct appraisal and a correct application of modern technology and scientific achievements. But what Russia had to do at that time was not the application of science and technology but the very unfolding of technology and science. To compare that Russia with the present-day India is something ludicrous. If I give a fine typewriter to my young son and ask him to prepare a draft and if he takes two hours, well, naturally I get irritated and ask him, "How is it you are so sluggish ?" And if my son were to retort and say, "Grandfather took a whole day to prepare a draft", is he being impertinent or is he being foolish ? Because his grandfather did not have a fine typewriter, he had to prepare a parchment, he had to sharpen his quill. All this he had to do and so he took a whole day to prepare the draft. But here I have given my son a fine typewriter. The modern age has given to present-day India a fine typewriter and if you do not know the keyboard and the key system, who is to blame if you take such a long time and if you make such a Juggish motion ? Of course you say you are moving. Yes, even a snail says it is moving. All except mountains and trees, move, even insects move. But if in spite of the application of science, in spite of the application of modern technology and the large amounts of taxes collected and the colossal amounts of aid you have got, if the progress is not there, then we are bound to point that out. When we point it out then they say we are biased and therefore we criticise the Government. But here, Mr. Chairman, is the finding of not a competitive body but a competent body. They may say that we on this side are a competitive body and they may not take our criticism. But here is the finding of a competent body. The team of the United Nations Organisation have said that the rate of growth of the Indian economy was the lowest in Asia, and yet they assume an air of affront and say we question their

[Shri C. N. Annadurai.] achievements. But here is the United Nations Organisation's research team saying that the rate of growth of the Indian economy was the lowest in Asia. At least they can give credit to the research team of the U.N. for having a rudimentary knowledge of economic systems. They say that the most unfortunate aspect of India's economic performance for the last decade is that it has been uniformly poor in every major sector of economic activity, including agriculture and manufactures. Rich indeed, Mr. Chairman, are the phrases that are given to us in tribute. We are uniformly poor in every major sector and with the sole exception of Indonesia India finds herself at the lowest rung of the ladder of economic performance in Asia. But the Members of the ruling party will rush up to the top of the ladder and shout at the top of their voice and say, "We have progressed." But here the UNO's research team has come to this finding that we are at the lowest rung of the ladder of economic performance in Asia, not only in overall terms but in each sector. Evidently capital has been possibly mis-invested and wastefully utilised and with excessive Government expenditure this has resulted in inflation. This coupled with the other factors has begun to act as a drag on the economy affecting growth adversely. What says the ruling party to this finding? It does not come from any disgruntled politician. It does not come from the opposition party. They are obstinate. But it comes from the research team of the U.N. Of course, it is a lame excuse when they say that the rate of growth is slow because we do not have technical assistance, that we do not have the proper know-how. But the World Bank team dispels even that illusion. The World Bank team says that India does not lack technical know-how, hard work or even the necessary finance but suffers from poor husbanding of available resources. Whatever may be the defect of Indian society, Mr. Chairman, we are considered to be very good husbands but this Government is charged with this heinous crime of poor husbanding of available resources. The team goes on :

"Priorities are lop-sided; e.g., big irrigation projects are preferred to the much-needed fertilizer plants. Even the minimum land reforms have not been

implemented. Legislation is passed but no real effort is taken for implementation."

And for this I know the members of the ruling party have got another answer : the Americans and American-tutored people are always prejudiced against us and therefore they are passing such uncharitable remarks. I have got, Mr. Chairman, finer colours to offer. Here is a stricture from the Soviet side. A Soviet team has written :

"The policy of becoming self-sufficient in too many lines at the same time has backfired. The number of big projects undertaken to become independent of imports is very large. If it had concentrated on a few schemes and completed them with maintenance requirements the results would have been far more rewarding. They would have maximised production; there would have been adequate returns and the public sector would have gained prestige."

Mr. Chairman, I have summoned, to defend me, economic experts, the United Nations Organisation and the World Bank and if the Government is not satisfied with all these strictures I would present them some home-made toffee too. Here is the Congress Minister, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy. He has said recently that problems like food deficit and fertilizer scarcity were the result of defective planning and lack of a realistic approach by the Planning Commission; there should be a radical change in the approach towards the country's problems by the Planning Commission. I think that the cup ought to have been full by this time and is it any wonder, and is it justifiable that we should be brought to the guillotine if we present all this criticism in our own humble way ? And what right has this Government to demand more and more taxes when their performance is of such a low order? Therefore it is that I think that this Government after having taxed the people so much have not given proper returns or proper accounts to the nation. Therefore I think I cannot be a party—of course I realise that I do not have the power to stop it but I cannot be a party—to abet a crime of allocating colossal sums to this inefficient, unrealistic, unresponsive and undemocratic Government that is being carried on but whatever may be the cri-

ticism that is offered on this side, they have got their numbers and their logic is merely based on numbers. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, offering these criticisms, we have to go to the other forum and get justice from the only source, the first source, the primary source, the public, and, Mr. Chairman, we are confident of getting a proper verdict.

Thank you.

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT (Madhya Pradesh) : Mr. Chairman, I congratulate the Finance Minister for showing regard to the lower income group* by giving income-tax relief at that level.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

He has given evidence of an open mind by promising reconsideration of the Gold Control Order. Though not a substantial relief, I feel encouraged by this to make some suggestions for his consideration.

Madam, the first and foremost thing necessary in a developing economy is that there should be stabilisation of prices. In the absence of stabilised prices the wage earners and the salaried class are the worst hit. They are passing through many hardships; their real wages have gone down and their purchasing power has decreased very much. Madam Deputy Chairman, the question of wage policy cannot be considered in isolation. It has got to be linked up with prices. When prices rise there is a demand for dearness allowance and no sooner is the dearness allowance announced, even before it goes into the pockets of the wage earners—there is a price rise again. Thus we find ourselves in a vicious circle and often this rise in prices is out of all proportions. Therefore, the linking of dearness allowance with the price line has to be both direct and immediate. We should get it linked up with a realistically assessed cost of living index and not with a notionally assessed index.

Madam Deputy Chairman, since we do not have stability in prices in our developing economy there is bound to be a good deal of inflation. Every possible step has, therefore, to be taken by the Government to guarantee at least the minimum supply

and equitable distribution of essential commodities at adequately subsidised rates. This subsidy, you will find, is not a wasteful expenditure but it is really an investment in development. It is of fundamental importance in our development programmes and it is bound to help in building up the morale of the people and in making them work harder for speedier achievement of higher production targets. In a democracy, as against a totalitarian regime, we have to boost up the morale of the people and to keep them in proper spirit. We remember that in Russia immediately after the Second World War there were large bread-queues but in a democracy we cannot afford to have such queues. We have to ensure sufficient supplies of essential commodities to the common man. In a totalitarian regime these queues and the discontent and dissatisfaction of the people can be controlled by force but in a democratic set-up we have to take the common man with us, because in the absence of that it will be difficult for us to enthrone him to work for our plans and development projects.

In this connection I would submit that every possible step has to be taken to promote agriculture as an industry. So far we have not been treating it as an industry, we have been treating it something like an ordinary routine. Just as we give protection to industries, we have to treat agriculture also on the same footing. Lack of agricultural development has told upon the country; gradually the time has come when the tiller has to be properly recognised. Absentee landlordism has got to be stopped. A man may be owning the land but it is the labourer who tills the land while all the profits out of the crop are reaped by the landlord who may not even know where his land is. So the time has come when land should be given to the tiller and incentives should also be given to him. These can be in the form of loans because if the tiller does not have the money he cannot produce. So he should be provided with loans on easy instalments and on a nominal rate of interest. Loans repayable in a reasonable period of time should be given to him so that he could become a real producer. That will be a proper incentive for him. Now, fair price to the producer has always been a problem. Steps

[Shri Nand Kishore Bhatt]

have to be taken by the Government to ensure adequate return to the farmer. Then again, of late we find in the country a tendency on the part of the agriculturists to go in for cash crops in preference to food crops. This, Madam Deputy Chairman, has got to be regulated and without regulation I am afraid it will be difficult for us to achieve our targets in respect of the production of foodgrains. We also require another positive measure, a network of good service co-operatives. Unless we improve the working of the co-operative societies and the co-operative movement by toning up the administration of the societies, we will not succeed in building up a strong and extensive cooperative movement.

Now, too much emphasis has been laid on physical inputs. It is no doubt true that water has to be supplied for agricultural purposes, quality seeds have to be provided, fertilizers have to be given and pesticides also have to be supplied. All these have, no doubt, to be liberally supplied and their importance is not underrated but what is lacking essentially is sound scientific and businesslike organisation of agriculture. I would urge upon the House that we should promote agricultural farms in public sector. For example, we have got a showpiece at Suratgarh in Rajasthan. It is a 1,000 acre farm. Would it not be desirable that we should have 1,000 acre farms spread all over the country, so that, on the one hand, we will be able to push up our agricultural production and, on the other hand, we will be able to build up buffer stocks ? Today for building up buffer stocks we largely depend on the foodgrains imported from abroad. If we take to the opening of such big agricultural farms in public sector, it would be possible for us to boost up agricultural production and at the same time, build up our own buffer stocks.

Today we are passing through a very dangerous situation and that is our food scarcity. This scarcity has been of an unprecedented magnitude. It has been found that full and proper facts are seldom disclosed. It is relieving to note that our Food Minister has started undertaking & tour of all food scarcity areas. A bureaucratic approach to these problems will not

help. Our bureaucracy today are prisoners of their own euphemistic phraseology. This leads to self-deception. It is, therefore, necessary that steps should be taken to provide relief work on a large scale. We should start relief works in all these areas. The problem also exists of transporting foodgrains from the ports to scarcity areas which requires to be tackled on a priority basis.

I come from a State which has been a surplus State all through. But, this time we in Madhya Pradesh are passing through a very bad time due to failure of monsoon and consequent scarcity of foodgrains. Our crops have failed and the State is in a very bad condition on the food front. There was a time when we were supplying food to others, but today we are finding it difficult to meet even our own requirements. In my State, there is a sizable section of people who are known as tribal people. They are no doubt poor, but they are self-respecting people. If their self-respect could be properly harnessed, if we could give them credit facilities, if Government could organise relief work for the affected people, then not only will they be able to retain their self-respect, but the country as a whole will also be benefited. It is, therefore, desirable that the Government should train the tribal people in technical services, so that we could build up the much needed infra-structure for the tribal economy. We could have properly dug wells and tanks and well-designed roads with the help of these tribal people. What I wish to submit is that under no circumstances should human labour be allowed to go waste.

I would like to draw the attention of the House to the Industrial Policy Resolution, which we adopted in 1948, and revised in 1956. In this Industrial Policy Resolution the Government had stated, that in respect of key industries the Government would themselves launch new undertaking *i.e.* in the public sector. I want to ask a simple question : Is agriculture not a key industry, on which depends the life of millions of people ? So, is it not necessary that they should be given all possible facilities ? The Government has a responsibility for promoting, assisting and regulating the development of agriculture as an industry, so that we can achieve our objective.

Unemployment is another major problem, which has been troubling the people of this country. At the beginning of the First Five Year Plan 5.3 million people were unemployed. By the beginning of the Second Plan we had another 10 million new entrants. So, round about 15 million jobs ought to have been provided. During the Second Plan period new entrants were 10 million. The total comes to nearly 26 million. Out of that, the employment generated is for 14 million only. Under planned development it is necessary to launch a more massive attack on the problem.

Agricultural labour is an important sector and I could have dwelt at length with their problems. I would like to submit that at least the findings of the Agriculture Enquiry Committees should be given due consideration. The role of agricultural labour in the development of our economy has been completely overlooked. In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the statesmanship shown by our present Labour Minister, who was the first Labour Minister of independent India. It was he who first sponsored the Minimum Wages Act for agricultural labour. Now that he is back in the saddle, I am sure, he will pursue his interest more zealously.

We are talking of productivity. I want to draw the attention of the House to the problem of defence workers. The defence workers stood like a rock at a time when the country was faced with the Indo-Paki-stan conflict. The working conditions of these people are bad. Their scales of pay are not good. It is high time that a third Pay Commission was appointed to go into the service conditions of these people.

I would also like to suggest that maximum attention should be given to small savings. It serves multiple purposes. It gives personal security and offsets inflation. I would like to make a reference to the compulsory deposit scheme. This is a scheme by which the common man would have been given an opportunity to show that he is also contributing something towards the development of the country.

Similarly, about unaccounted money, I only want to make one suggestion. So many concessions are shown to them. I would submit that people having unaccounted money may be allowed to invest in the housing programme and thus help in solving the housing problem and in creating social assets.

SHRI S. S. VASAN (Madras) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I am a humble Member of this House in the sense that I have not spoken a word in the last two years that I have been a Member of this House. On the days that I have been present I was wanting more to listen than to speak. But, of late, on hearing the debates in the House my mind got exercised on our political ideologies and how we understand them. The other day, my friend, the hon. Member on the other side, said :

"The Congress had adopted a policy of democratic socialism. The word 'democracy' was to hoodwink America and the word 'socialism' was to hoodwink Russia. It was a double-faced shameful policy."

If this is a shameful policy, I say this country has been carrying on this shameful policy for the last sixteen years. If mighty nations like America and Russia are being hoodwinked by the Congress, then, the Congress has been successfully hoodwinking them for the last sixteen years and it requires to be congratulated. The fact of the matter is that some people, on account of personal and political differences, have either forgotten or have not reminded themselves about the basic concepts of life embodied in our very Constitution sixteen years ago. Part III and Part IV of our Constitution tell us about the rights and responsibilities of both the individual and the State and these two Parts of the Constitution put together proclaim nothing else but democratic socialism. Our solemn resolution while constituting ourselves into a Democratic Republic speaks eloquently about only one thing, and that is democratic socialism. Democratic socialism was not introduced in Jaipur or in Bhubaneshwar or in Avadi for that matter. In these places the Congress was only strengthening and clarifying its own mind about the policy already hid down in our Constitution. This being so,

[Shri S. S. Vasan.] I am very sorry that my friend on the other side should speak of this policy as a shameful policy.

Madam Deputy Chairman, while I am on this, my mind also dwells on another aspect of the question. While we are talking of democratic socialism, some people light-heartedly speak of a socialist democracy. Madam, how can there be a qualification for democracy ? Democracy is supreme and complete. Just as there cannot be a Communist democracy, there cannot be a socialist democracy or a capitalist democracy. Democracy in our country will not and cannot admit of any adjective except the one and only adjective, parliamentary, because Parliament also is only a democratic body. This being so, the society that we want to build up can be achieved only through democratic means. Therefore, we have termed it democratic socialism, and this will remain so as long as our Constitution remains.

Madam, if only our basic concept of all our social and economic ideals and actions thereon are understood by all people, then there can only be two political parties functioning in our country, one to keep vigilance over the other, in promoting democratic socialism, and this way alone lies our speedier progress, and that we all want and not multiplication of political parties.

Thank you.

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

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-three minutes past one of the Clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, the VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया
मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय,
जो वित्त विधेयक माननीय मंत्री जी ने प्रस्तुत किया है उसका आशय धन एकत्रित करना और उसको राष्ट्र काम में लगाना है।

हमारी सरकार का सब से पहला कर्तव्य देश की सुरक्षा का है। यदि सरकार देश की सुरक्षा के मामले में असफल रहती है तो वह और जो कार्य करे या जिन अन्य कार्यों में सफल भी हो उनकी गणना नहीं हो सकती यदि हम इस मूलभूत बात को ले कर चलें कि इस देश की सुरक्षा के मामले में हमारी सरकार कहां तक सफल हो पाई है। हमें यह देखने को मिलता है कि आजादी मिलने के पश्चात् से अभी तक हमने अपनी 47 हजार वर्ग मील भूमि विदेशियों के कब्जे में दे रखी है और इसका मूल कारण यह था कि हमारी यह मनोवृत्ति थी कि हम अहिंसा के माध्यम से अपने आप की रक्षा कर लेंगे और हमारे जो रिसोर्सेज थे, हमारे जो साधन थे, उनको हमने दूसरे कामों में लगाया। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यदि गांधी जी के सिद्धांतों के अनुसार ही हमारी सरकार चलती तो भी मुझे कुछ आपत्ति नहीं थी क्योंकि उनमें इतना आत्मबल था कि किसी भी संकट के सामने अपने आप को खड़ा कर के, अपने आप को झोंक कर के, उस संकट का मुकाबला कर सकते थे चाहे वह नोजाखाली का प्रकरण हो या और कोई प्रकरण हो मगर आज हमारे यहां उनके नाम को ले कर चलने वाले लोगों में यह क्षमता नहीं है कि इस तरह से आये संकटों का मुकाबला उन्हीं सिद्धांतों के अनुसार कर सकें। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे समझ में नहीं आता है कि गांधी जी और कांग्रेस के सिद्धांत का पालन करने वाले जो अपने आप को कहते हैं कि स्वतंत्रता को हमने अहिंसा के आधार पर प्राप्त किया, विदेशी राज्य को हमने सिविल डिस्ओबिडियेंस एवं अहिंसा के आधार पर यहां से हटा दिया, तो क्या कारण है कि हमारी भूमि पर विदेशियों ने जब आक्रमण किया और जब आक्रमण कर के कब्जा करते हैं तब हम उस समय अहिंसा के आधार पर उनको हटा नहीं सकते। सीधा उत्तर है कि हमें अपने उस उच्चतम सिद्धांत पर विश्वास नहीं रहा जिसके आधार पर जैसा कहा जाता है कि हमने स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त की।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, लड़ाई हुई, चलती आ रही है, 1947 में भी हुई, 1962 में भी हुई और फिर अभी 1965 में भी हमको मुकाबला करना पड़ा। हमने लड़ाई की तैयारी पहले से नहीं की जब कि एक ओर 1954 से पाकिस्तान लड़ाई की तैयारी कर रहा है और दूसरी ओर चीन ने 1962 में हम पर आक्रमण किया। चीन का आक्रमण हुआ, चीन के साथ हमारे सम्बन्ध कैसे हैं यह किसी से छिपा नहीं है। अब पाकिस्तान और चीन का गठजोड़ हो जाने के बाद हमारे ऊपर संकट कितना बढ़ गया है यह बिल्कुल स्पष्ट है। हमारी सरकार यह भी जानती है कि चीन द्वारा तीन बार अणु बम्ब, हाइड्रोजन बम्ब, का विस्फोट किया जा चुका है। उसका खतरा हम पर कितना है इसकी कल्पना हमारी सरकार करती है मगर उसकी अनुमति नहीं करती कि इसकी रोक के लिये हम क्या करें। हम एक ओर यह भी कहते हैं कि हम संसार को अणु आयुधों से मुक्त कराना चाहते हैं, उसकी जो भीषण विभीषिका होगी उससे बचना चाहते हैं और दूसरी ओर अपनी स्वयं की रक्षा के लिये कुछ प्रयत्न न करें यह कुछ ठीक लगता नहीं है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारा संकट बढ़ता जा रहा है। पाकिस्तान हमारे क्षेत्र के मिजोज और नागा लोगों को गुरिल्ला युद्ध के लिये तैयार करता जा रहा है। पहले अमेरिका यह समझता था कि पाकिस्तान को हम अपने कब्जे में रख कर के, उसको शस्त्रास्त्र दे कर के चीन के विरुद्ध एक बड़े युद्ध के लिए तैयार कर रहे हैं मगर अब देखा कि चीन और पाकिस्तान की मित्रता हो चुकी है और फिर यह भारत के लिये सब से बड़ा संकट हो चुका है अमेरिका का सहयोग तो है ही चीन का और हो गया। आज विदेश मंत्री महोदय ने जो चर्चा की उससे ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि हमको कुछ इतना भय खाने की आवश्यकता नहीं बल्कि सब शान्ति से काम हो जायगा और उसका आक्रमण होगा कि नहीं होगा,

एक ऐसी बड़ी संशयात्मक बातें करते हैं जिससे ऐसा लगता है कि हम देश को आत्मघात की ओर ले जा रहे हैं। यह केवल स्वर्ण सिंह जी का सवाल नहीं, यह कांग्रेस दल का सवाल नहीं, यह सारे राष्ट्र का सवाल है कि यदि हम अपने मन में यह निश्चय करते हैं कि हम देश की सुरक्षा करेंगे तो उस समय इन सिद्धान्त की, उन ऊंची बातों का जिनका पालन करने की हम में क्षमता नहीं उन बातों को भूल जाना चाहिये और हमें निश्चय करना चाहिये कि सब से बड़ी आवश्यकता हमारे देश की रक्षा की है। मैं अपने मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब चीन की ओर से अणु आयुध का आक्रमण किया जायगा तो उस वक्त उसकी रोक के लिये क्या है। जब साधारण शस्त्रों से आक्रमण किया तब तो गफलत की नींद में सो रहे थे और उसका मुकाबला नहीं कर सके। हमारे मंत्री महोदय कहते हैं कि पाकिस्तान के मामले में हम बड़े सतर्क थे। मैं एक छोटा सा प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ—मैं अपने सैनिकों या अपने युद्ध के मैदान में काम आने वाले बहादुरों की बीरता के ऊपर कोई आक्षेप नहीं करता—कि जब हम पाकिस्तान से इतने बड़े हैं तब भी छम्ब और जीरियां में हमारा क्या हाल हो गया, हम क्यों पीछे हटे। जब पाकिस्तान के मुकाबले में हमारी ज्यादा शक्ति है तो अपने क्षेत्र में हमने कितनी प्रोग्रेस की, कितना काम किया, लड़ाई के मैदान में हम कितना अच्छा काम कर सके इसको देखेंगे तो लगेगा कि हम बड़े पीछे हैं। इसलिये यह अत्यंत आवश्यक है कि हम अपनी कमजोरी का आत्मनिरीक्षण करें। यह सोचना कि हम संसार को यह कह रहे हैं कि विश्व में शान्ति हो और अणु आयुधों का निर्माण न हो तो यह अपने आप को भुलावे में डालना है। राष्ट्र के साथ, हम आत्मघात कर रहे हैं, और यह एक सुसाइडल पालिसी होगी। इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि हमारी सरकार को बिल्कुल निर्णय लेना चाहिये। हम यह निर्णय किसी पर आक्रमण करने के लिये अणु आयुधों का निर्माण करने का

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालाल जी चौरड़िया]

नहीं ले रहे हैं परन्तु अपनी स्वयं की रक्षा करने के लिये, अपने आप को शक्तिशाली बनाने के लिये, हमारी सीमा की 47 हजार वर्ग मील भूमि जो दूसरों ने ले ली है और अगले साल और ज्यादा न ले लें उसको बचाने के लिये हमें चाहिये कि हम निर्णय लें और इस बारे में हमें स्पष्ट करना चाहिये कि हम अपने यहां अणु आयुधों का निर्माण करेंगे। कर सकते हैं और कर लेंगे ऐसा कहना तो वही बात होगी जब आग लगी तो चले कुंवां खोदने। इसलिये मेरी प्रार्थना है कि यह हमारी प्राइम ड्यूटी है, हमारा मुख्य कर्तव्य है कि इन टैंकों को वसूल कर के हम देश की सुरक्षा करें जिसमें आज तक हमारी सरकार असफल रही है। जब आग लगती है तो कुंवां खोदने का खयाल आता है, यह बिल्कुल गलत नीति है, इस नीति को छोड़ कर के हमारी सरकार को अणु आयुधों के निर्माण की ओर निश्चित एवं ठोस कदम बढ़ाना चाहिये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब पाकिस्तान का हमला हुआ तो हमारे कितने मित्र थे यह स्पष्ट हो गया। इंग्लैंड ने हमको हथियार दिया था मगर जब लड़ाई के मैदान में उनके स्पेयर पार्ट्स की जरूरत पड़ी तो वह अलग हो गया, जेनरल निम्मो ने रिपोर्ट दी कि हमारे ऊपर पाकिस्तान ने आक्रमण किया है लेकिन सिवाय मलेशिया के कोई मित्र राष्ट्र पाकिस्तान को आक्रंता घोषित करने के लिये तैयार नहीं हुये, इससे अंदाजा लगा सकते हैं कि संकट के समय हमारा साथ कौन देगा और कौन नहीं देगा इसलिये जब तक हम स्वावलम्बी नहीं बनते, अपनी शक्ति का संचय नहीं करते, तब तक हम अपने राष्ट्र को बचा सकेंगे यह सम्भव नहीं है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आंतरिक स्थिति बड़ी विचित्र है। हमारे यहां कल ही जो प्रश्नोत्तर हुआ उसमें प्रश्न के उत्तर में हमारे मंत्री जी श्री स्वर्ण सिंह जी कहते हैं कि चूंकि यह नागा और मिजोज का मामला ऐसा है

कि अपना आंतरिक मामला है इसलिये हम उसमें उतनी सक्ती नहीं बरत सकते जितनी कि बाहरी आक्रमण में बरत सकते हैं। मैं नहीं चाहता कि हम उतनी सक्ती का बरताव करें लेकिन यह भी नहीं चाहता कि हम इतनी नमी बरतें कि वे बाहर जा कर ट्रेनिंग ले कर हमारे देश में आये और रेल उड़ा दें, हमारे अफसरों को गिरफ्तार कर लें, साधारण नागरिकों को पकड़ कर ले जायें और इस तरह उनके जीवन को खतरों में डालें। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कल मंत्री महोदय ने बड़े सिद्धांत की चर्चा की कि हमें ऐसी सक्ती नहीं बरतनी चाहिये लेकिन मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूं कि उनका यह सिद्धांत बस्तर के मामले में कहां चला गया था, वहां के साधारण नागरिक, भोले भाले आदिवासी, रोटी मांग रहे थे, अपना धार्मिक कृत्य करने वाले थे लेकिन इसके बावजूद हमारी सरकार ने जो कि अपने आप में अहिंसा का दम भरती है वहां के लोगों को गोली से भून दिया, वे अन्य मांग रहे थे और उनको हमारी सरकार ने गोली दी, उनके जो नेता थे उनको बिल्कुल कुत्ते की मौत मारा। और सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह जी यहां कहते हैं कि यह नागा और मिजोज का मामला ऐसा है कि हम सक्ती नहीं बरतनी चाहिये, तो आपकी यह नम्रियत वहां कहां चली गई थी। मगर यहां तो कहने के लिये कुछ है और करने के लिये कुछ और है। हमारे मंत्री जी ने कल प्रश्न के दौरान में ही कहा कि कुछ सुझाव दें जिससे कि हम कुछ कर सकें। प्रश्न के दौरान सुझाव नहीं दिये जा सकते लेकिन अब अगर वह चाहें तो नोट कर लें कि मिजोज और नागालैंड के प्रश्न को हल करने के लिये क्या प्रयत्न हो सकते हैं। मेरे ये सुझाव उन्हें चाहे आज प्रिय न लगें मगर कल जरूर लगेंगे जैसा कि आज से पहले तक होता रहा है, जैसी कि जनसंघ ने घोषणा की थी, शेख अब्दुल्ला के बारे में जनसंघ के कार्यकर्ताओं ने कहा, कि शेख अब्दुल्ला गद्दार है लेकिन जनसंघ के हजारों कार्यकर्ताओं को जेल में

डाला किन्तु बाद में जब नतीजा देख लिया तो मानना पड़ा कि सचमुच में वह ग़दार है, उसी तरह से पाकिस्तान की मंधियों के सम्बन्ध में जो मनोवृत्ति है उसको बतलाया, चाहे वह नेहरू लियाकत समझौता हो, चाहे कच्चा समझौता हो और चाहे ताशकन्द समझौता हो और हमने यह बराबर घोषित किया कि धोका खायेंगे और आज हमारी सरकार मंजूर कर रही है कि ताशकन्द समझौते की पाकिस्तान धिजियां उड़ा रहा है और उसकी शर्तों का उल्लंघन करता जा रहा है, वैसे हमारे स्वर्ण सिंह जी कहते हैं कि हरफ ब हरफ उसका पालन पाकिस्तान वाले कर रहे हैं, कौन सा हरफ ब हरफ कर रहे हैं यह सामने दिख रहा है। इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि जो पुरानी घटनायें घटी हैं उनसे सबक ले कर आगे बढ़ेंगे तो ठीक होगा। मैं इस संबंध में कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूं और सबसे पहला सुझाव यह है कि उस क्षेत्र के सभी विदेशी मिशनरियों को तुरन्त बाहर निकाल दिया जाय तथा सारे पहाड़ी क्षेत्र को सीधे केन्द्र के अधीन लेकर वहां के ईसाई पादरियों के राष्ट्र विरोधी प्रभाव को खत्म किया जाय।

दूसरा सुझाव यह है कि उस क्षेत्र में वहां के लोगों में राष्ट्र भक्ति की भावना भरने के लिये तथा उन्हें राष्ट्र विरोधी तत्वों के प्रभाव से निकालने के लिये वहां भारतीय मिशनरियों को जाने वह कार्य करने की सुविधा दी जावे।

तीसरा सुझाव यह है कि वहां पर प्रशासनिक तथा सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से स्थिति में सुधार करने के लिये यह भी आवश्यक है कि ऐसे सशक्त और सुरक्षा आयोग का गठन किया जावे जो इस सारे क्षेत्र में सम्मिलित प्रशासनिक इकाइयों—नेफा, मणिपुर, असम, नागालैंड, त्रिपुरा की सुरक्षा तथा विकास की आवश्यकताओं और प्रशासनिक सुविधाओं के आधार पर पुनर्गठन करने पर विचार करे और उचित सुझाव दे।

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सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह जी कहते हैं कि हम नागा एवं मिजो विद्रोहियों के साथ सक्ती नहीं कर सकते हैं। तो मैं उनसे यह जानना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने बस्तर के लोगों के साथ क्या किया? जब यहां पर विरोधी लोगों ने, कांग्रेस के लोगों ने यह कहा कि सरकार ने वहां जो जांच आयोग बिठलाया है उसमें तीन जज नियुक्त कर दिये जायें, लेकिन हमारी सरकार उसके लिए तैयार नहीं है।

श्री प्रवीण चन्द्र भंजदेव के पत्र के बारे में बड़ी चर्चा चली। हमारे श्री शुक्ल ने आकर स्टेटमेंट दिया कि कोई इस तरह का पत्र प्राप्त नहीं हुआ है। यह प्रमाणित सा है कि बस्तर से इस प्रकार का पत्र श्री भंजदेव ने भेजा था, परन्तु वह दिल्ली की सरकार तक नहीं पहुंचा। अब समस्या यह रहती है कि अगर वह दिल्ली की सरकार तक नहीं पहुंचा तो बीच में ही डाक तार विभाग द्वारा गड़बड़ी होने की वजह से नहीं पहुंच सका या क्या अन्य कारण है। इसलिए इसके बारे में जांच की जानी चाहिये। मैं चाहूंगा कि जब माननीय मंत्री जी जवाब देंगे तो इस बात का जवाब देंगे कि स्वर्गीय श्री प्रवीण चन्द्र भंजदेव का अन्तिम पत्र कब आया और जिस पत्र के बारे में यह कहा जाता है कि वह वहां से रवाना हुआ, वह कहां पर रह गया? अगर वह इस बात का जवाब देंगे तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा। इसी प्रकार मध्य प्रदेश सरकार को भी स्वर्गीय श्री प्रवीण चन्द्र भंजदेव ने जो अन्तिम पत्र लिखा था वह कब मिला, इसके बारे में भी हमारे माननीय मंत्री महोदय कुछ बतलायेंगे तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जहां तक हमारे देश की बाह्य और आन्तरिक स्थिति का संबंध है, हमारी सरकार इस मामले में बिल्कुल असफल रही है। जब मैं अपने देश के आर्थिक ढांचे की ओर देखता हूं तो पाता हूं कि हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति इतनी

[श्री विमलकुमार मुन्नालाल जी चौरडिया] बद से बदतर होती जा रही है कि जिसके बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता है। एक जमाना था कि जब हमारा रुपया विदेशी मुद्रा खरीदने में बड़ा सफल था। शासकीय दर से एक डालर 4.5 रुपये के बराबर थी और एक पौंड की कीमत 13 रुपये थी। लेकिन आज हालत यह है कि हमें एक डालर के लिए 9 और 9½ रुपया देना पड़ता है और एक पौंड के लिए 27 और 28 रुपये देने पड़ते हैं। क्या हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारने का यही तरीका है, क्या हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति अच्छी होने की यही कसौटी है कि हमारे रुपये की कीमत कम हो जाय। विदेशी मुद्रा की कमी हो जाय और उसके खरीदने की ताकत कम हो जाय ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारी सरकार ने इस विधेयक द्वारा कुछ परिवर्तन और परिवर्धन हमारी कर व्यवस्थाओं में किये हैं। वैसे तो उनका जो भाषण था उस में बड़े बड़े सिद्धान्तों की चर्चा की गई कि मुद्रास्फीति नहीं होना चाहिये, और विदेशी भार कम होना चाहिये। परन्तु जब विधेयक देखते हैं, तो ऐसा लगता है कि सिद्धान्त कहने के अलग रहते हैं। और करने के अलग रहते हैं। आज मुद्रा-स्फीति के कारण हमारे देश में महंगाई बढ़ी है, आर्थिक असंतुलन हो चुका है जिसका विदेशी व्यापार पर भी असर बढ़ रहा है। हम जितना एक्सपोर्ट बढ़ाना चाहते हैं उतना एक्सपोर्ट नहीं हो रहा है और इससे मुझे शंका होती है कि हमारी कीमतें बहुत ज्यादा होती जा रही हैं। इन्फ्लेशन के परिणामस्वरूप हमारे सरकारी कर्मचारी हड़ताल कर रहे हैं। इसी तरह से रोडवेज वाले हड़ताल कर रहे हैं, तीसरा वर्ग हड़ताल कर रहा है और इस तरह से हर वर्ग में हड़ताल का कार्यक्रम जारी है। इस तरह से जो हड़ताल होती है उससे उत्पादन में नुकसान होता है और सारे देश की व्यवस्था में भी गड़बड़ी हो जाती है। इसलिए हमें सबसे पहला काम

यह करना चाहिये कि हमारे रुपये की शक्ति में जो कमी हो रही है, हमारे यहां इन्फ्लेशनरी टेन्डेंसी बढ़ रही है, नोटों का फेलाव बढ़ रहा है चाहे वह विदेशों से कर्ज लेकर अथवा क्रेडिट फैसिलिटीज, ग्रांट कर रहे हैं, उसको कम करना चाहिये। इन सब बातों को ध्यान में रखकर हमें अपने रुपये की कीमत में स्थिरता लाने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिये और उसके मूल्य को बढ़ाना चाहिये। अगर हम इस तरह का प्रयत्न नहीं करेंगे तो हमारी सारी व्यवस्था बिगड़ जायेगी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारी सरकार अरबों रुपया कर्ज ले रही है और इस समय भारत सरकार पर कुल कर्ज 8940.87 करोड़ है और इस वर्ष जो ब्याज देना है वह 4,09,83 लाख रुपया है। इतना भार किस के ऊपर है? आखिर यह रुपया तो हमको और आपको ही देना पड़ेगा। हमने अपने उत्पादन के लिए जो कर्जा लिया है अगर उसमें हमारा उत्पादन उसी मान से बढ़ता चला जाता तो मुझे यह कर्जा अप्रिय नहीं लगता। लेकिन हम जितना रुपया उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए लेते हैं उसका आधा भी उत्पादन नहीं कर पाते हैं। आज हमारे कई पब्लिक अन्डरटेकिंग्स घाटे पल चर रहे हैं और उनके बारे में रिपोर्ट सदन के सामने कई बार आ चुकी है। तो मैं यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि हमें इस तरह का प्रयत्न करना चाहिये कि हम अपने रुपये की स्थिरता को कायम कर सकें। इसके साथ ही साथ हमने जो दूसरों से कर्जा लिया है, अगर हम इतना उत्पादन नहीं कर सकते हैं, तो कम से कम ब्याज जितनी बचत तो दिखा दें। वरना इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि हमारी सरकार अपने आपको मोनोपोलिस्टिक पोजिशन में लाकर खड़ा कर देगी और इसका असर यह होगा कि चीजों के दाम बहुत बढ़ जायेंगे और उसको उपभोक्ताओं से वसूल किया जायेगा। जिस तरह से सरकार ने लोहे के बारे में किया कि जब स्टील प्लान्ट घाटे में जाने लगे, तो वहां टाटा कम्पनी को इस बात

की छूट दे दी कि तुम अपनी कीमत बढ़ाते चले जाओ, चाहे उपभोक्ता मरे या कुछ भी हो। क्योंकि हमारा दिवाला कम होना चाहिये इसलिए तुम्हें भी कीमत बढ़ाने में छूट है चाहे तुम कितना ही मुनाफा लो। इस तरह की भावना से सरकार काम कर रही है, इस तरह की हमारी सरकार की मनोवृत्ति हो गई है, तो क्या हम हथ समझ सकते हैं कि वह हमें लाभ पहुंचायेगी? तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस तरह की मनोवृत्ति को बदलें।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, काले धन की बड़ी चर्चा की जाती है। उसका निर्माण कब से हुआ, अगर हम इस बात को देखें, तो हम पायेंगे कि हमारी सरकार जो भिन्न भिन्न विधि विधान बनाती रहती है उसके परिणाम-स्वरूप काले धन का निर्माण हुआ है। जो धन हमारे इन्डस्ट्रीज के डेवलपमेंट के काम में आना चाहिये, जिसको उत्पादन के कार्य में लगाया जाना चाहिये, वह धन आजकल मसूरी की हवा खाने में और मकानों पर आयल पेंट करने अथवा अन्य प्रसाधन सामग्री पर खर्च किया जाता है। इस प्रकार का जो काला धन है वह उपभोग पर खर्च किया जा रहा है, लक्जरी के कामों पर खर्च किया जा रहा है और उसका सदुपयोग नहीं हो रहा है। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यह जो काला धन है वह हमारी सरकार द्वारा बनाये गये कई प्रकार के विचित्र विधि विधानों की अवैध उत्पत्ति है और जिस को पकड़े जाने पर कोई बलेम करने को तैयार नहीं है, लेकिन उसका उपभोग करने के लिए सब तैयार हैं। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि हमारी सरकार इस बात के लिए प्रयत्न करे कि काला धन क्यों पैदा होता है और उसके कारणों को दूर करने की कोशिश करे। अगर वह इस तरह की कोशिश करेगी तो यह समस्या हल हो सकती है और वह धन उत्पादक कार्यों में खर्च हो सकेगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे यहां कर के भार में वृद्धि होती जा रही है और एड-मिनिस्ट्रेशन का खर्च भी बढ़ता ही चला जा रहा

है। 1950-51 में केन्द्रीय और प्रांतीय कर का भार 910 करोड़ रुपये का था और 1965-66 में 5350 करोड़ रुपये का है। पंचायत, कारपोरेशन और म्युनिसिपैलिटीज के टैक्स अलग से हैं और ऐसी स्थिति में हमारे देश में महंगाई बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है। इस तरह से हम कर का बोझ तो कम नहीं कर रहे हैं बल्कि महंगाई बढ़ाकर जनसाधारण की कमर तोड़ रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं प्रार्थना करता हूं कि माननीय मंत्री जी भी इस ओर अवश्य ध्यान देंगे।

इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि अभी तक सेन्ट्रल सेल्सटैक्स 2 परसेंट था, लेकिन अब उसको बढ़ाकर 3 परसेंट कर दिया गया है। हमारे यहां तो एकदम इन बातों में प्रगति होती है क्योंकि अगर 2½ परसेंट बढ़ा दिया जाता तो केलकुलेशन करने में तकलीफ होती। चूंकि यह फिगर राउन्ड फिगर नहीं है, इसलिए दो से तीन परसेंट बढ़ा दिया गया है। इसका असर लोगों पर किस तरह से पड़ेगा, यह बात दिल्ली बंद से ही साबित हो जाती है। इस संबंध में सब लोगों ने हड़ताल की कि इससे सारे उपभोक्ताओं के ऊपर असर पड़ता है। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि जो आपने रुपये की कमी अनुमानित की थी वह दूर हो चुकी है कारण कि पी० एल० 480 से जो 90 करोड़ रुपया मिला है, उसके आने पर नये कर और नया सरचार्ज लगाने की जरूरत नहीं है। अगर आप इस सेल्स टैक्स को कम कर देंगे तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे यहां कानूनी व्यवस्था इतनी बिगड़ी हुई है कि हर साल हमें अमेंडमेंट करना पड़ता है। अगर साधारण ग्रेजुएट कालेज से निकल कर आये और उससे कहा जाय कि वह अपना इन्कमटैक्स का फॉर्म भरे, तो वह नहीं भर सकता है और उसके लिए उसे एक दलाल की आवश्यकता होगी। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि जब सब तरफ से वह चर्चा होती है कि हमारे

[श्री विमल कुमार मन्नालाल चौराड़िया]
कानून साफ और सीधे होने चाहिये, तो उस तरह की व्यवस्था क्यों नहीं की जाती है? आयकर के संबंध में जो हमारे विधि विधान हैं वे इतने कम्प्लिकेटेड हैं, जब तक उनको सरलीकरण नहीं किया जाता, तब तक कोई व्यवस्था ठीक तरह से नहीं हो सकती है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जहां तक प्रशासन का सवाल है उसमें इतनी गड़बड़ी चल रही है कि कभी इसमें अन्डर असेसमेंट हो जाता है और कभी ओवर असेसमेंट हो जाता है। इसी तरह से वर्षों तक केस पेंडिंग रहता है। शायद हमारे इन्कम टैक्स आफिसरों को सरकार के दबाव के कारण पैसा इकट्ठा करना पड़ता है और उसका नतीजा यह होता है कि वह कमानसेन्स को एक तरफ रखकर कि किस इन्डस्ट्री में कितनी पूंजी लगी हुई है, उससे कितनी आमदनी होती है, इतनी सारी बातों को छोड़कर, मनमाने ढंग से और आरबिट्रेरी ढंग से इन्कम टैक्स लगा देते हैं और उसकी आय कूट लेते हैं। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि जो छोटे छोटे लोग होते हैं वे बहुत परेशान हो जाते हैं। जो बड़े बड़े व्यापारी होते हैं, जो इन्कम टैक्स अधिकारियों से मिलने की क्षमता रखते हैं, वे किसी न किसी तरह से साम, दाम, दंड भेद का प्रयोग कर अपना काम बना लेते हैं और इस तरह से हमारी सरकार का इन्कम टैक्स का असेसमेंट चलता है।

जहां तक यह इन्कम टैक्स का सवाल है एक करदाता के दिमाग पर, जब तक उसका केस निर्णीत नहीं हो जाता है, एक टेंशन बना रहता है। इतनी तारीखें हमारे इन्कम टैक्स आफिसर लगाते रहते हैं कि उन तारीखों के लिये चक्कर लगाते लगाते वह परेशान हो जाता है। इस लिये मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि केसेज का निबटारा जल्दी हो सके इसकी सरकार व्यवस्था करे। केसेज कितने पेंडिंग हैं इसके अगर हम आंकड़े देखें तो यह ज्ञात होगा कि वे बराबर वृद्धि पर हैं। सन् 1959-60 में 5,08,777 केसेज पेंडिंग थे और

सन् 1963-64 की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार 12,26,406 केसेज पेंडिंग थे। मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि हमारी सरकार इतने केसेज पेंडिंग क्यों रखती है। इसमें बहुत से केसेज ऐसे हैं जो सन्, 1948-49 से पेंडिंग चले आ रहे हैं। अपीलेंट अदालत में 1948-49 के अभी 17 केस पेंडिंग हैं। और 1964-65 के 30,847 केस पेंडिंग हैं। हमारी सरकार घोषणा करती रहती है कि हम केसेज का शीघ्र निबटारा करना चाहते हैं। इसके बावजूद इतने केसेज पेंडिंग रहें तो यह कुछ न्यायसंगत नहीं कहा जा सकता।

इस लिये मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि ऐसी स्थिति में हमारी सरकार अपने देश के रक्षा के प्रश्न को सब से अधिक महत्व दे और चीन ने जो हाइड्रोजन बम विस्फोट किया है उसको मदे नजर रखते हुये हमारी सरकार अपनी वर्तमान नीति में परिवर्तन करे और अपने यहां पर भी अणु आयुधों का निर्माण कर के अपनी शक्ति को बढ़ावे। दूसरे जो हमारी आंतरिक अव्यवस्था है उसको सुधारने के लिये हमारी सरकार को ठोस और सख्त कदम उठाना चाहिये क्योंकि नर्माई से काम नहीं चलेगा। इसी नर्माई के परिणाम-स्वरूप हमारी स्थिति बद से बदतर होती जा रही है।

जहां तक कर की व्यवस्था का सवाल है, कर व्यवस्था के कानून में निश्चितता लानी चाहिये। अभी हालत यह है कि उसमें बराबर परिवर्तन होते रहते हैं। एक मंत्री के दिमाग में आता है कि एक्सपेंडिचर टैक्स अच्छा है और दूसरे मंत्री के दिमाग में आता है कि एक्सपेंडिचर टैक्स खराब है। एक ही दल है और एक ही पार्टी है मगर उसके जो मंत्री आते हैं वे अपने दिमाग के हिसाब से, अपनी सनक के हिसाब से नई नई दलीलें दे कर के उसका जस्टीफिकेशन देते हैं और उसका विरोध करते हैं। इस लिये कर की व्यवस्था के कानूनों में निश्चितता लानी चाहिये। यह पहली बात हुई।

दूसरे, कई प्रकार के करो से आय प्राप्त करने की अपेक्षा कम से कम प्रकार के करो से आय प्राप्त की जाय।

तीसरे, पूंजी एवं राजस्व के आंकलन, घिसाई के निर्धारण आदि की जो व्यवस्था है उसको अधिक अच्छा और वैज्ञानिक बनावें तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

चौथे, प्रशासन को जो अत्याधिक डिस्क्रिशन दे रखा है और जो दबाव के कारण अधिक कर निर्धारण में ही लगाया जाता है, उसपर थोड़ी सख्ती करना ठीक होगा।

पांचवें, प्रकरणों का निपटारा जो बहुत देर से होता है उसको भी शीघ्र करने का प्रयत्न करें।

छठे, कर की वसूली भी शीघ्र करें नहीं तो सरकार के कार्यों में इतनी जल्दी रहती है कि ऐडवांस लेते हैं और कहीं भूल की नहीं कि लोग फरार हो जाते हैं।

इसके अतिरिक्त ओवर असैसमेंट की वजह से जो लाखों रुपये प्रति वर्ष राइट आफ करने पड़ते हैं यह कोई अच्छी परिस्थिति का द्योतक नहीं है। इस तरह से हमारी सरकार को सन् 1963-64 में 1,60,37,681 रु० आय कर के राइट आफ करने पड़े। यह कोई अच्छी स्थिति नहीं है। हमारे यहां केसेज का निर्णय शीघ्र नहीं होता है जिस की वजह से बहुत से लोग अपना दीवाला निकाल कर फरार हो जाते हैं। इसकी भी व्यवस्था सरकार को करनी चाहिये।

इसके साथ साथ बिक्री कर में जो आपने वृद्धि की है उसको वापस लिया जाय। जनता ने भी इसका विरोध किया है। इसका उत्पादकों एवं उपभोक्ताओं पर बहुत बुरा प्रभाव पड़ेगा। इस लिये इस वृद्धि को वापस लिया जाय।

प्रशासन के खर्चों में जो बढ़ोत्तरी होती जा रही है उसमें कमी भी जाय। अभी हालत यह है कि हम केन्द्रीय कर्मचारियों का वेतन बढ़ाते हैं तो प्रांत वाले कहते हैं कि हमारी तनख्वाहें बढ़ाई जायें और प्रांतों में तनख्वाहें बढ़ती हैं तो केन्द्रीय कर्मचारी कहते हैं कि हमारी तनख्वाहें बढ़ाई जायें और यह क्रम चलता रहता है। तो मैं चाहूंगा कि हमारे प्रशासन में जहां जहां कटौती हो सकती हो वहां वहां कटौती की जाय। जितना अभी स्टाफ है उसका यदि पूरा उपयोग लिया जा सके तो मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि हमारी बहुत बचत होगी।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि हमारे मंत्री महोदय इन सारी व्यवस्थाओं को ध्यान में रख कर योग्य कदम उठावें। यही मेरा निवेदन है।

SHRI S. N. MISHRA (Bihar) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this Finance Bill, to my mind, is a child of late birth. At least by seven or eight months, I should think, the birth of this child has been delayed. In fact, it should have come in the midst of the Indo-Pak conflict, when the enthusiasm of the people was at its peak, in the form of a second supplementary Budget. Had it been done like that, I think the economy today would have been in a much better shape. But our Government, it seems to me, has still to learn the art of taking the flood at its tide, and we have missed another good chance, another good opportunity.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, you probably know what a huge dose of deficit financing had to be undertaken during the course of the last year, may be for a very legitimate kind of expenditure that had to be incurred. But if we had the second Supplementary Budget—and probably the fare of taxation could not have been less, as the people would have been prepared! for it, this amount of deficit financing would not have been necessary at all. I must emphasise that this deficit financing undertaken during the course of the last year bids fair to constitute a serious threat to the prices in the coming months.

[Shri S. N. Mishra]

Secondly, this Budget of 1966-67 could have brought in further additional resources and that could have practically settled the question of resource mobilisation for the Fourth Five Year Plan. This morning's newspaper gave us a very shocking news that the size of the Fourth Five Year Plan might suffer a further truncation because of lack of internal resources. Now, if the Government had acted with a little forethought, I think it would not have been confronted with any difficulty with regard to resource mobilisation for the Fourth Five Year Plan. I may also say that today we would not have witnessed the tragedy of the first annual Plan of the Fourth Five Year Plan which has got a lesser outlay than the outlay in the last year of the Third Five Year Plan.

So from all these points of view, I do think that the Government had missed a great chance of capitalising on the upsurge of the public sentiment and enthusiasm in the wake of the Indo-Pak conflict.

Even as it is, I must say that the Budget is a clear, unmistakable proof of the vitality and recuperative strength of the economy that has been built over the course of the last fifteen years of planning.

We have had, as you know, Mr. Vice-Chairman, one of the worst droughts in our history and there has been a drop of about 12 to 13 million tonnes in our foodgrains production. We have had a sizeable decline in the industrial production. There has also been a pause in foreign aid throwing out of gear much of our investment and production programme. And so it may well be that there is a decline in the national income during the last year.

Sir, in spite of all this, this Finance Bill registers an additional revenue of Rs. 90 crores or so. And if we view it in the context of the Supplementary Budget which had preceded it about eight or nine months back we would feel truly proud of the economy and its resilience. In spite of its weaknesses—and there are quite a few which have shown up during the course of the last few months—I dare say that this economy could stand any scrutiny or pressures, internal or external. It would indeed be a sad day if these pressures were allowed to change the course or the

momentum of our economy. Nevertheless, I must say that a sense of crisis is sought to be created about this economy, and to this the contribution of the Government spokesmen has been of no small order.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, you will remember that first we threw up our hands in despair and said that we could not have the Fourth Five Year Plan unless there was an assurance of foreign aid from certain quarters. You find a strange spectacle now in the country. There is the Planning Commission but there is no planning. There is the Planning Minister but there is Parliament minus planning. I can hardly recall any occasion during the course of the last

2 or 3 years when we have had any chance to discuss planning in this august House.

Then again we began crying aloud about our food deficit. We said we could not tide over the food situation unless there was a sizable aid in respect of food. This has been followed by trips and tours.

All this has contributed to a posture of 'he country which is too tempting for any foreign interests not to push us about. Naturally we find that foreign economic interests see an ideal opportunity in the present situation to exploit our difficulties and to force us to change our social and economic policies.

My submission is that the Government, with a little more toughness in its demeanour, with a little more grit and determination and a little more awareness of the sacrifice and hard work the people of the country are capable of putting in, could have discouraged any efforts, external or internal, to exploit our difficulties. But this is a course which apparently did not appeal to the Government.

I think it is necessary in this context for me to refer to the controversy about foreign aid. Hardly any one in his senses seems to be against foreign aid, but the overjealous protagonists of foreign aid have tried to put the whole controversy in a wrong perspective and focus. What is being currently debated, to my mind, is a very healthy thing and it does credit to the country and to the great democratic society which we have. The point that is being debated is not whether foreign aid

is necessary or desirable but whether the new terms and conditions that are being attached to foreign aid would not jeopardise our values and attempts to build up economic self-reliance and economic independence and ultimately whether it would not threaten the defence of our country. Whether it is the fertiliser deal, the Indo-U.S. Foundation, I would like the House to judge it on this touchstone. And let us all remember that self-reliance would not be achieved as a goal unless it is used as a means at every stage. Self-reliance is not a thing which would come to us on a particular day suddenly. For that we will have to use self-reliance as a means at every stage. Therefore I would like the House to remember that if the Indo-Pakistan conflict and its aftermath have taught us anything, it is this that our dependence on foreign aid is becoming not only considerable but it is becoming almost absolute and dangerous. Therefore the country wants to know from the Finance Minister how far we are from the goal of economic self-reliance or economic independence.

My own feeling is that it has been disastrous not to have prepared the Fourth Plan according to schedule and on alternative assumptions with regard to foreign aid. Had we done that and told the world that if foreign aid in a reasonable measure is available to us, well and good, but if it is not available, we shall stretch ourselves to the utmost and cling with the skin of our teeth to the cause of independent development, I think, things would have been completely different.

Now, Sir, it appears to me that the Finance Bill is too much centred on the routine problems of the day and it has not much thought to spare for the long-term economic and social objectives of our development. In fact, if you consider it in terms of the twin problems of defence and development, you would not find much justification for what has come to be characterised by some as a formidable fare. The annual Plan for 1966-67, as I have already told the House, is of a lesser order than of 1965-66 and, again, there has not been a substantial increase in the defence outlay. Even in respect of the most serious and urgent problem of rising prices the Budget does not seem to have much con-

cern—I would like to dwell on this subject at some length because this is the one problem which is very much exercising the minds of the people of this country—and this, Mr. Vice-Chairman, in spite of the fact that a huge dose of deficit financing was undertaken during the last year followed by a very serious food deficit in our country. As I told the House in the very beginning, this might exert pressure on the prices in the coming months and, I am afraid, that this Finance Bill, because it has failed to mop up the surplus purchasing power of the people to the desired extent, would be characterised as a serious failure in this respect. However, let me hope that it is not going to be so and there might happen something during this period which might help us to tide over the difficulty.

First, Sir, let me say that the deficit financing undertaken last year, when it was expected that there would be a sizable surplus, was of the order of Rs. 377.32 crores between 27-3-1965 and 25-3-1966. If we add to that Rs. 70.82 crores, the order of deficit financing undertaken during the period between 26-3-1966 and 1-4-1966, it would come to Rs. 448 crores. And let the House remember that this is the largest of its kind—or probably the second largest of its kind during the recent economic history of India. As against the original estimate of only Rs. 550 crores of deficit financing, the Government draft on the Reserve Bank of India would be of the order of Rs. 1,166 crores during the Third Plan. Now this should have made us use our fiscal instrument more purposefully in regard to private investments. But there is no private sector plan in 1966-67. We have got the annual plan for 1966-67 for the public sector but we do not have any private sector plan for 1966-67. Therefore we cannot say whether the private sector would exceed the plan estimates or not, a point at which we might apply curb of a certain character.

We also could have expected the Finance Minister to curb non-essential consumption so as to break the back of inflation. Further, there should have been no uncovered gap during 1966-67.

The Finance Minister does not seem to have bestowed much thought on this matter. Instead, he has taken certain steps which. I

[Shri S. N. Mishra.] I am afraid, are bound to feed the flame of inflation. I shall give you a catalogue of the steps taken by the Finance Minister which are going to feed the flame of inflation. Firstly, he has provided for larger dividend distribution through the liberalisation of the Dividend Tax and the abolition of the tax on bonus issues. This is bound to discourage plough-back and so this does not fit in with the claim that this Budget is production-oriented. Secondly, the inter-State sales-tax might raise the price of some essential commodities. Thirdly the duties on cloth, sugar and *kliandsari* might tend to raise the cost of living. And then, even this annuity deposit scheme of which I have never been terribly enamoured, has been liberalised. I have indeed been one of the most enthusiastic advocates of the CDS, Compulsory Deposit Scheme, and I think it was a disaster that it was taken away two years back. However, this liberalisation of the annuity deposit scheme also does not point to any intention on the part of the Government that it is very serious about the rise in the prices. Even the drive, Mr. Vice-Chairman, to unearth black money seems to have slackened. As you know, this black money has been playing havoc with the prices. And lastly, the abolition of the Expenditure Tax also certainly is not going to curb inflation. So there is hardly anything here in the Budget can be called anti-inflationary or disinflationary.

Many hon. Members have already pointed out to the rising expenditure on administrative services. This should certainly have claimed the attention of the Finance Minister if he wanted to curb non-essential governmental expenditure. This has been rising at the rate of more than 12.5 per cent per annum. Probably last year it might have come up to the neighbourhood of 15 per cent. It is very important that both from the point of view of curbing inflationary pressures and for resource mobilisation for the Fourth Plan the rate of increase in expenditure on the administrative services should be limited to 5 per cent per annum and nothing more. Similarly the non-Plan expenditure on revenue account should not be allowed to exceed 3.5 per cent per annum. Last year it increased by 15 per cent. This does not augur well for the Fourth Five Year Plan. In this context I would urge that an Economy Commis-

sion^ on the lines suggested by the Taxation Inquiry Commission should be appointed to go into the whole matter of the Expenditure on administrative services.

Now I have a few more points which I consider to be of some importance (*Time bell rings*). I have hardly taken 10 or 12 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You have taken 20 minutes. You were called at Ave minutes to three.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : If you could kindly allow me a few more minutes, I will touch on a few more points. You know, Sir, Budgets in these days are not like modern ladies basking on the beach in bikinis. They are like Victorian ladies draped in many folds of garment.

SHRIMATI C. AMMANNA RAJA (Andhra Pradesh) : Why all these remarks now ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No interruptions, please. Come to the point.

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : I am not saying that about any particular persons. I am saying about Budgets that . . .

A point is generally made, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that unless concessions or reliefs of a large nature are granted, there cannot be increase in production. This is a point with which I would like to deal some what fully. It must be clearly understood that what is standing in the way of industrial production is more physical than fiscal in character. So these concessions and reliefs which are being advocated by certain quarters seem to be somewhat irrelevant. The utility of fiscal incentives is bound to be severely limited in the context of the physical shortages and limitations. If real resources remain static and investment is sought to be artificially stimulated, the effect is bound to be inflationary. Moreover, investment in financial terms seems to have exceeded the Plan estimates, the Plan estimates for the Third Plan, I mean. And if the official view about large scale evasion and unaccounted, money is correct, one does not know how taxation can act as a disincentive.

What however has been a matter of genuine complaint by the private sector is the credit squeeze, and this is indeed one of the important things which seem to have escaped our attention. For the Third Plan period, the banks' draft on the Reserve Bank has been only of the order of Rs. 7.59 crores. The Scheduled Banks' draft was negative to the extent of Rs. 55.91 crores. The State Cooperative Banks also had drawn less than what had been envisaged. They had drawn only Rs. 63.5 crores as against Rs. 200 crores that had been envisaged. As against this, the total Government draft on the banks has been of the order of Rs. 413 crores. This was originally estimated to be somewhat between Rs. 175 crores and Rs. 225 crores in the Third Plan period. Instead, it has been Rs. 413 crores. The total Government draft on the banking system has been of the order of Rs. 1,580 crores. And during this period, Mr. Vice-Chairman, you will remember that the money supply increased by 1,700 crores. That represented an increase of the order of 60 per cent over the last level. Thus, of this increase in the money supply, a large amount, almost the entire amount, has been due to the Government's draft on the banking system. Consequently, some distress in the private industrial sector has been caused, and it is possible production might have been affected. So the obvious policy dictated by the experience of last year is to liberalise credit on a selective basis for productive enterprises and to try to reduce the Government's draft on the banking system.

Let me examine next for a few minutes the Finance Bill from the point of view of socialist advance to which we are pledged. I am afraid the position has not been quite satisfactory in this respect.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Only two more minutes.

SHRI S. N. MrSHRA : If you will kindly give me three more minutes, I will have done. This is a very important aspect of the Finance Bill which should interest the House and I would request the House for its indulgence particularly when I deal with this matter. I am afraid the structural and institutional tendencies of the fiscal system are not in keeping with our social 52RS/66—6

objective. No doubt the structure that is steadily emerging is more and more simple, more and more rational and more and more integrated. But time is being achieved, I must emphasise, at the cost of progressivity and at the cost of the social objective. As long as the private agency remains a major instrument of industrial development, the redistributive ethos of our taxation will have to be strengthened. The countervailing or corrective mechanism in the fiscal system seems to be eroding fast, and this must cause the House considerable concern. So we find that there has been a weakening of the redistributive measures like the Wealth Tax, the Gift Tax, the Capital Gains Tax, etc. Taxation, Mr. Vice-Chairman, has never been a redistributive force of any considerable consequence in this country except with the salary earning class, particularly because of tax evasion. Now this taxation structure further loses its potency as an instrument for radical change. In fact, there has been a steady dilution of the socialist content of the taxation structure during the course of the last few years. I have no doubt that this is going to create increasingly greater built-in tendency which will increase the economic inequalities in our society.

Today, Mr. Vice-Chairman, you find that the Expenditure Tax is abolished. For what reason has that been done? They say that the yield has been too scanty and also the administrative resources which were spent were proportionately too large. But you may take the same view with regard to the Wealth Tax and the Estate Duty and the Gift Tax. Who knows you will not do that tomorrow? And even this Expenditure Tax, as you know, has been imposed twice and abolished twice. So I consider it to be the Deogiri of taxation recalling that famous Rulers' whims and caprices. Probably that has been the case with regard to this tax.

So if these taxes which are of a redistributive character had been producing very poor results, what should have been the reaction of the Finance Minister? He should have asked himself whether it is so because the machinery has been deficient, whether the required skill has been lacking,

[Shri S. N. Mishra.]

whether the persons responsible for collecting these taxes have been lacking the necessary outlook; what has been the reason for this ? Therefore I would particularly plead, that to go into the redistributive character of our taxation there should be a Commission and this Commission should place before the House the reasons why these taxes have not been producing the desired results.

Only one word more and that is with regard to liberalisation which seems to be the most fashionable word at the present moment. I would like to warn the Government that this liberalisation should be undertaken with great care. We found that only two days ago in this House an announcement was made with regard to the de-scheduling of industries and 12 industries were mentioned in the first instance. I have not gone into this matter to the extent necessary. But I would say that the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act has certain very important objectives before it and they relate firstly to location, secondly to protection of small-scale industries and thirdly to the prevention of concentration of economic power. So if you are going in for liberalisation and for de-scheduling of industries, you must not lose sight of these important objectives implied in the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act. With these words I would like the Finance Minister to consider some of the important points which I have mentioned in this connection. Thank you.

श्री जगत नारायण (पंजाब) : वाइस चेयरमैन महोदय, मैं आपको एदाद व शुमारों के भंवर में डालना नहीं चाहता हूँ, मैं तो यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि आम जनता इस बजट को किस तरह से समझती है और वह चीज आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

इसमें कोई शक नहीं है, इसमें किसी को कोई एतराज भी नहीं है, इसको सब स्वीकार करते हैं कि हमारा देश सब नेशनों से ज्यादा हैविली टैक्सड नेशन है। दुनिया के देशों के जो एदाद व शुमार टैक्स के संबंध में हैं वे मेरे पास हैं और मैं उनको आपके सामने पढ़ कर सुना देना चाहता हूँ।

10,000 रुपये पर भारत में 535 रु० टैक्स है, पाकिस्तान में 550 रुपये है, मलाया में 120 रुपये हैं, ब्राजील में कुछ नहीं है, हांगकांग में कुछ नहीं है, ग्रीस में 580 रुपये हैं। इसी तरह से 20,000 रुपये में भारत में 3,175 रुपये है, पाकिस्तान में 2,300 है, मलाया में 760 रुपये हैं, ब्राजील में कुछ नहीं है, हांगकांग में 600 रुपये हैं और ग्रीस में 3100 रुपये हैं। इसी तरह से आप बढ़ते चले जाइये तो आपको मिलेगा कि एक लाख पर भारत में 56000 रुपये हैं, पाकिस्तान में 50900 है, मलाया में 19600 है, ब्राजील में 10800 है, हांगकांग में 12500 है और ग्रीस में 35000 है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : बड़े देशों का नाम लीजिए। चीन का क्या है, यह तो आपने नहीं बताया ?

श्री जगत नारायण : चीन तो अपने बारे में न कुछ बतलाता है और न कुछ देता ही है। तो मैं यह बतला रहा था कि आम जनता इस बजट के बारे में क्या सोचती है। मैं कांग्रेस में रहा हूँ और आजादी मिलने से पहले मैंने उत्तम बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा अदा किया है। जो सामने वाले बैंचों पर पुराने कांग्रेसी बैठे हैं वे मुझ से कहा करते थे कि जब आजादी मिलेगी तो इस देश में दूध, दही और घी की नदियां बहेगी। मगर आज हालत क्या है ? मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आज तो खालिस घी भी मिलना बंद हो गया है। कल ही की बात है वाइस चेयरमैन साहब। मुझे किसी काम से दरियागंज जाना पड़ा और जब मैं वहाँ दुकानों से गुजर रहा था तो एक दुकान पर डालडा दिया जा रहा था और उसके लिए कतार लगी हुई थी। उस दुकान पर 8 टिन दो दो किलो के रखे हुए थे। यह हाल मैंने अपनी आंखों से देखा है इसलिए मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ पर औरत और मर्दों की भीड़ लगी थी खालिस घी के लिए नहीं बल्कि डालडा लेने

के लिए। वहाँ पर जो भीड़ खड़ी थी वह दुकानदार पर चिपट पड़ी कि हमें डालडा दो। दुकानदार कह रहा था कि मैं इसे कल बेचूंगा और जो मेरे पुराने कस्टमर हैं पहले उन्हें दूंगा। मैं तुम्हें पहले कैसे दे सकता हूँ? वहाँ पर इतनी मार पीट हुई कि आज लोगों को बनस्पति भी तक नहीं मिल रहा है। आज के ही अखबार में मैंने पढ़ा कि रशिया से कितना टन बनस्पति आयाल आ रहा है। क्या हमारे देश में इस तरह की नीबत पहुँच गई है कि बनस्पति आयाल भी लोगों को नहीं दे सक रहे हैं और उसके लिए बाहर से मांग कर रहे हैं? कहा जाता था कि जब हमें आजादी मिलेगी तो इस मुल्क में घी, दही, दूध और शहद की नदियाँ बह जायेंगी। लेकिन हमारे मुल्क की हालत यह हो गई है कि आज उसे खाने के लिए डालडा तक नहीं मिलता है। बच्चों को पिलाने के लिए दूध तक नहीं मिलता है। पिछले साल यहाँ पर बतलाया गया था कि बच्चों को पीने के लिए टोन्ड दूध तक नहीं मिलता है, तो दूध और घी की तो बात ही अलग है।

तो मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि हमारा मुल्क सबसे ज्यादा हैबिली टैक्सड नेशन है। हम सरकार को टैक्स देना चाहते हैं क्योंकि वह समझती है कि मुल्क ने तरक्की करना है। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप अगर टैक्स लेना चाहते हैं तो लीजिए। लेकिन सवाल तो यह है कि आज जो टैक्स लेते हैं उसका सही तौर पर इस्तेमाल भी करते हैं या नहीं वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, मैंने हाल ही में सरकार से पूछा था कि पंजाब में गन्दम का भाव 60 रुपये क्विन्टल है और वहाँ से खरीदार आटे की शक्ल में 72 रुपये क्विन्टल पर यहाँ बेचा जा रहा है। जब 60 रुपए क्विन्टल भाव है तो पिसाई में दो रुपये या डेढ़ रुपये क्विन्टल आ सकता है। इसको जोड़कर भी यहाँ पर 9 और 10 रुपए प्राफिट लिया जा रहा है और वह भी गरीब आदमियों से लिया जा रहा है। जो

लोग अपने को धनी समझते हैं, बड़े समझते हैं, वे गन्दम खरीदकर घर में रख लेते हैं। लेकिन जो मिडिल क्लास के लोग हैं, गरीब लोग हैं, वे गन्दम खरीदकर बाजार से लाते हैं। कल ही मैंने सरकार से पूछा था कि वहाँ से गन्दम कौन लाता है क्या पंजाब से व्यापारी गन्दम लाते हैं? तो सरकार ने जवाब दिया कि व्यापारी नहीं लाते हैं, सरकार लाती है। जब सरकार वहाँ से गन्दम लाती है तो वह हर रोज उस पर इतना प्राफिट लेती है और इस तरह से हमारी सरकार की यह हालत है।

मैं आपके सामने एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि मैं अभी हाल ही में अमृतसर गया था और वहाँ पर मुझे रिक्शापुलरों का एक डैपुटेशन मिला। इसी तरह का जालन्धर में भी मिला और उन लोगों ने हम से कहा कि हम तुम्हें एक नई बात बतलाते हैं क्योंकि तुम पालियामेंट के मेम्बर हो और हमारी मदद कर सकते हो। मैंने उनसे पूछा कि मैं तुम्हारी क्या मदद कर सकता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा कि टायरों की सरकारी कोमत 8.4 रु० है, लेकिन पंजाब में एक टायर ब्लैक में 19 रु० को बिक रहा है। इस तरह से एक टायर के ऊपर 11 रु० प्राफिट लिया जा रहा है। सरकार को सेल्स-टैक्स ठीक न मिलने से घाटा होता है और इस तरह से गरीब को भी ज्यादा दाम देने पड़ते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि अगर हम झूट बोलते हैं तो तुम हमारे साथ अपना आदमी भेज दो। मैंने उनके साथ एक आदमी भेज दिया। जब वह आदमी दुकानदार के पास गया तो दुकानदार ने कहा कि मैं रसीद तो 8.4 रु० की ही दूंगा, लेकिन 19 रु० टायर के लूंगा। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि टायरों की जरूरत आम गरीब लोगों को होती है जो वाइसिकल पर सवारी करते हैं। इसकी सवारी ज्यादातर गरीब लोग ही करते हैं, मिडिल क्लास के लोग करते हैं क्योंकि उनके पास और

[श्री जगत नारायण]

कोई दूसरी सवारी का बंदोबस्त नहीं है। लेकिन हालत यह है कि जब टायर के दाम 8 रु० 4 पैसे हैं तो उन्हें 19 रु० देना पड़ता है।

इसी तरह से घड़ी के पुर्जों को भी ब्लैक में बेचा जाता है। जिन खास-खास डीलरों को इसका लाइसेंस मिला हुआ है वे ही पुर्जे बाहर से मंगाते हैं। लेकिन जो घड़ीसाज हैं, जो अपने को वाचमेकर कहते हैं उन्हें ये पुर्जे तिगुने दाम पर मिलते हैं। फर्ज कोजिए एक पुर्जे की कीमत 5 रुपया है, जिसे लाइसेंस मिला है, उसका वह 5 रु० में मिलता है, लेकिन जो वाचमेकर है, जो अपने को घड़ी का इंजीनियर कहते हैं, उन्हें वह पुर्जा दुगुने और तिगुने दाम पर मिलता है। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपको यह चाहिए कि आम लोगों को किस तरह से रिलीफ मिलना चाहिए और वही तरीका आपको अख्तियार करना चाहिए। लेकिन हालत यह है कि आज जिन लोगों को, जिन बड़े-बड़े लोगों को लाइसेंस मिले हैं वे तो अभीर होते जा रहे हैं और जो गरीब हैं, उनकी गरीबी बढ़ती जा रही है और आम जनता को कुछ भी फायदा नहीं मिल रहा है। इस तरह की जो बातें मुल्क में हो रही हैं वे आपके जेरे गौर होनी चाहिए? आपने मुल्क में अरबों और खरबों रुपया खर्च कर दिया है, लेकिन आम जनता की हालत वैसी की वैसी है। सरकार ने अपने तीन प्लानों के लिए बाहर से जितना कर्जा लिया है, उसका भार जो बच्चा पैदा होता है उस पर 50 से 100 रु० तक पड़ता है। इतना कर्जा हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार को देना है। फिर पिछले दिनों इटली में सन्दूक रखा गया हमारे लिये और कहा गया कि आटा चाहिये, चावल चाहिये, धन चाहिये और इस तरह सारी दुनिया में हमारी जो इमेज थी वह खराब हुई और हम बदनाम हुये। तो हमने इतना लिया बहुत से मुल्कों में मगर उसके बावजूद हमारी हालत आज वैसी की वैसी है और वैसी ही नहीं बल्कि पहले से बद से बदतर होती जा

रही है। आज लोग आप के एंदाद व शुमार नहीं चाहते हैं। लोग यह पूछते हैं कि हमें खाना कैसे मिलेगा, सस्ते दामों पर अनाज कैसे मिलेगा और सस्ते दामों पर दूसरी चीजें मिलेंगी या नहीं। पिछले दिनों दिल्ली बन्द हुआ और मैंने अखबारों में पढ़ा कि वह बन्द फेल हो गया। मगर क्या आपने यह देखा कि वह बन्द फेल तो हो गया लेकिन उसके दूसरे दिन दिल्ली में चीजों की कीमतें कितनी बढ़ गईं। पहले जिस सब्जी का भाव 8 आने था उसका भाव सब्जी वालों ने 12 आने कर दिया। जो एम० पी० खुद सब्जी लेने वाले हैं वे जानते होंगे कि उसके बाद सब्जी के दाम कितने बढ़ गये। आज हालत यह है कि जिस आदमी की तनख्वाह सौ रुपया है वह भ्रूशकल से अपने बाल-बच्चों को आटा महीने भर खिला सकता है। मगर हालत यह है कि हम बड़े-बड़े दावे करते चले जाते हैं कि हमने यह सहूलियत कर दी, हमने वह सहूलियत कर दी। आपने बड़े-बड़े प्रोजेक्ट्स बनाये होंगे मगर आम लोगों का इसी से तालुक है कि उनको खाने पीने की सस्ती चीजें मिलती हैं या नहीं। उनको पहनने के लिये कपड़ा सस्ता मिलता है या नहीं, चढ़ने के लिये उनको साइकिल के टायर ट्यूब सस्ते मिलते हैं या नहीं। आम आदमी का बार्ड स्टिक यही है कि उसको सहूलियतें कितनी मिलती हैं। मगर उसको सहूलियतें क्या मिलनी हैं, हालात पहले से और बद से बदतर होते चले गये हैं।

फिर यहाँ पर आप जो टैक्स लगाते हैं और टैक्स लगा कर जो खर्चा करते हैं वह तीन बातों के लिये करते हैं। एक तो इसलिए खर्च करते हैं कि देश का डेवलपमेंट करें और देश के लोगों को फायदा पहुँचाने की कोशिश करें। दूसरी बात यह है कि हमारे देश का डिफेंस मजबूत हो इस लिये खर्च करते हैं। तीसरी बात यह है कि देश की इंडेग्रिटी रहे। अब आप देखिये कि आज हालत क्या है। हम वह जो पाकिस्तान की

लड़ाई लड़े और जिस में हमारे जवानों ने बड़ी बहादुरी से मुकाबिला किया, तो क्या आज हम सिर्फ इसी बात को ले कर के बैठे रहेंगे कि हमने पाकिस्तान की इतनी पिटाई कर दी। अगर हम इसी बात पर बैठे रहेंगे तो यकीन रखिये कि किसी न किसी दिन आप को उसी तरह का धोखा होगा जिस तरह चीन के हमले के वक्त धोखा हुआ था। आप गलती में न रहें। जैसा कि चौरङ्गिया साहब ने कहा कि नागालैण्ड का नौ साल से आप कोई फँसला नहीं कर सके, तो क्या बात है। इसी तरह मीजो लोगों का 6 महीने से मामला चल रहा है, उसको आप अभी तक क्यों नहीं ठीक कर सके? इस पर यह कहा गया कि वे अपने भाई हैं। जो बागी नागा हैं वे आपको अपना भाई कहते नहीं और वे अपने को हिन्दुस्तानी भी कहने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। मैंने खुद एक को यह कहते हुये सुना कि हम हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं हैं, हमसे हिन्दुस्तानी होने की बात ही मत करो। जब यह हालत हो कि वे अपने को हिन्दुस्तानी भी कहने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं और आप कहते हैं कि वे हमारे भाई हैं। मुझे नागालैण्ड में सफर करने का मौका मिला है। वहाँ एक आफिसर ने एक नई बात मुझे बताई। उसने कहा कि हमारी जो फौजें वहाँ पर हैं वे एक जगह पर रुकी हुई हैं और उससे आगे नहीं जा सकती हैं। पिछले दिनों जो उन्होंने अपना झंडा लगाया वह हमसे सौ गज के फासले पर था। मगर हमारी फौजों से कह दिया गया था कि तुम को आगे नहीं जाना है और वे सिर्फ अपनी बूखी-पानी से उनको देखते रहे। एक बात जो उन्होंने और बताई उसको सुन कर मुझे बड़ी परेशानी और हैरानी हुई। इसके बारे में गवर्नमेंट को पता करना चाहिये। उन्होंने कहा कि जितने वहाँ पर आप प्रोजेक्ट बनाते हैं या सड़कें बनाते हैं या और चीजें बनाते हैं, उन पर जो ठेकेदार काम कराते हैं वे सब बागी नागाओं को हिस्सा देते हैं। अगर वे उनको हिस्सा न दें तो वे

वहाँ पर न सड़क तामीर कर सकते हैं और न कोई और चीज तामीर कर सकते हैं। उन्होंने एक बात और यह बताई कि जो वहाँ पर आपकी हुकूमत के वजीर हैं वे भी बागी नागाओं को अपनी कोठी में रखते हैं और फिर वे रातों रात वहाँ से चले जाते हैं। इस तरह जो हिन्दुस्तान का पैसा वहाँ लगता है उससे ऐसे लोगों को मदद मिलती है जो हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ खड़े होते हैं और बगावत का झंडा बुलन्द करते हैं। यही सब बातें हैं जिन की वजह से आज वहाँ पर ऐसी हालत है।

हमेशा हिन्दुस्तान पर जो हमला होता रहा है वह नोर्थ की तरफ से होता रहा है। मुझे बड़े दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आज हमारी सरकार ने पंजाब का विभाजन कर दिया है। यह जो आपने पंजाब का विभाजन कर दिया है इस पर आज जरा सोचिये कि किस तरह आप हिन्दुस्तान की सरहदों पर छोटे-छोटे सूबे खड़े कर रहे हैं। कल आप को वही दिक्कत पेश आयेगी जो आज आपको आसाम में बागी नागाओं की तरफ से पेश आ रही है या मीजों लोगों की तरफ से पेश आ रही है। आप देखेंगे कि पंजाब का भी कोई हिस्सा एक दिन नागालैण्ड बनेगा और वह आपके लिये एक बहुत बड़ी मुश्किल पैदा कर देगा। इस लिये आप जिस ढंग पर चल रहे हैं, यह एक ऐसी चीज है जो हिन्दुस्तान की एकजुती पर बड़ी भारी चोट है। सोचिये आप इस बात को कि खास कर के जो बार्डर प्राविस हैं उनके छोटे-छोटे बना कर के कहां तक आप हिन्दुस्तान की एकजुती के लिये और मजबूती के लिये एक पैगाम ला सकते हैं। आप देखियेगा कि आगे क्या होता है। मैं यह इसलिये कह रहा हूँ क्योंकि मेरे पास मास्टर तारा सिंह की तमाम स्पीचेज मौजूद हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि वे क्या चाहते हैं। मैं सिर्फ उनका एक फिक्करा ही पढ़ कर सुना देता हूँ। आप यह सुन कर हैरान होंगे

[श्री जगत नारायण]

कि मास्टर तारा सिंह किस ढंग से सोच रहे हैं। उन्होंने यह कहा है :

“अभी देख लो पाकिस्तान की जंग से पहले इस सरकार ने पंजाबी सूबे के सवाल पर बातचीत करने से भी इन्कार कर दिया था। यह समझ लो कि असल में पंजाबी सूबा लिया है तो हमारी फौज ने दिलवाया है या पाकिस्तान की जंग ने। जब भी पाकिस्तान या किसी दूसरे का खतरा इनको न रहा और न हम ही कोई एकता और ताकत कर सके तो यह हमारे साथ वैसा ही करेगी जैसा इसने काश्मीर के साथ किया है, जो खास हकूक वाला सूबा था।

हम आजादी चाहते हैं। आजाद रहने की मुश्तकिल पोजीशन और ताकत पैदा करना चाहते हैं और आजादी ले कर रहेंगे।”

मास्टर तारा सिंह के बहुत से लेख हैं और मैं उनको लाया हूँ लेकिन मेरे पास इतना टाइम नहीं है कि मैं उनको पढ़ कर सुना सकूँ। अब मैं यह बताना हूँ कि यह जो पंजाबी सूबा बना है इसकी असली मांग मास्टर तारा सिंह ने सब से पहले की थी। सन्त फतेह सिंह तो इस में ‘बाई दी वे’ आ गये। जब क्रिप्स मिशन यहां पर आया था तो उसके सामने मास्टर तारासिंह ने यह मांग रखी थी कि हम एक सिख स्टेट चाहते हैं। अगर आप तारीख के औराक़ को उठा कर देखें तो आप को पता चलेगा कि क्रिप्स मिशन के सामने मास्टर तारा सिंह ने जो मेमोरैंडम दिया था उसमें उन्होंने यह मांग की थी कि हम सिख स्टेट चाहते हैं। उस वक्त तो सिख स्टेट नहीं मिल सकी, लेकिन जब से आजादी मिली है तब से मास्टर तारा सिंह पंजाबी सूबे का नारा लगा रहे हैं और हमेशा वे कहते रहे हैं कि हम सिख स्टेट चाहते हैं। इस लिये मैं आप की खिदमत में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप को इस खतरे का अहसास करना चाहिए। हर जगह पर जो आप छोटे छोटे सूबे बना रहे हैं यह आप अपने सिये मुसीबत

पैदा कर रहे हैं। जिस तरह से आज हमारे सामने नागाओं का और भीजों लोगों का सवाल है उसी तरह से कल आप देखेंगे कि मास्टर तारा सिंह और उसके साथी—मैं सारे लोगों की नहीं कहता, मैं सिर्फ अकाली सिखों की कहता हूँ—आप के लिये ऐसा खतरा पैदा कर देंगे कि उस वक्त आप को सोचना पड़ेगा कि क्यों हमने यह बटवारा किया। यह ऐसी चीज आप अपने देश के लिये खड़ी कर रहे हैं जो आगे चल कर आप को बहुत मुश्किल में डालेगी।

आज इतना टाप हैवी ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन हमारा है कि उसको देख के इंसान दंग रह जाता है। आजादी मिलने के बाद यह हालत हो गई है :

"Government's expenditure has increased tremendously. The present figure is Rs. 5300 crores, as compared to Rs. 900 crores in 1950-51."

सन् 1950-51 में सिर्फ 900 करोड़ रुपया सरकार का खर्च था जो कि आज बढ़ कर 5300 करोड़ हो गया है। अगर आप ने सर्विसेज की तनख्वाह बढ़ाई है तो पांच-पांच रुपया बढ़ाई है। आपने उनकी दूनी तनख्वाह नहीं बढ़ाई है और अगर दूनी भी बढ़ाते तो 1800 करोड़ का खर्चा हो जाता। लेकिन कहां 900 करोड़ रुपया और कहां 5300 करोड़ रुपया यानी इस देश पर कितना बोझ है ?

यह कहना सही नहीं है कि आबादी बहुत बढ़ गई है। आबादी बढ़ने का क्या सवाल है। पाकिस्तान में उतने आदमी चले गए हैं जितने 20-25 साल में बढ़ें होंगे। इसलिए आबादी बहुत बढ़ गई है कहना गलत है। सवाल देखना यह है कि इतना टाप-हैवी ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन चल रहा है जिससे कि सारा वातावरण बदल रहा है और लोग बड़े परेशान हैं कि कैसे काम चलेगा।

(Time bell rings.)

How many minutes more ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : दस मिनट हो गए हैं।

श्री जगत नारायण : 15-20 मिनट तो दीजिए।

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras): Like is developing economy it is a developing Government.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अकबर अली खान) : आप 17 मिनट ले चुके हैं।

श्री जगत नारायण : हमारा देश फारेन एड पर बहुत डिपेंडेंट होता चला जा रहा है। इसको आपको ध्यान में लाना चाहिए।

आज यहाँ पर एटम बम के मुताबिक बहुत कुछ कहा गया। मैं उन लोगों में से हूँ जो समझते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान को एटम बम जरूर बनाना चाहिए। किस लिए बनाना चाहिए? इसलिए बनाना चाहिए—आप यह न समझे कि आज खतरा नहीं है—क्योंकि चीन ने आपके ऊपर हर हालत में किसी न किसी वक्त जिस वक्त आप जनरल इलेक्शन में लगे हुए हों या किसी और काम में लगे हुए हों आपके देश पर हमला करना है। अगर खुद हमला नहीं करेगा तो पाकिस्तान को एटम बम सप्लाई करेगा। आप कहते हैं कि हम एटम बम नहीं बनाते हैं, हमारी पालिसी नहीं है, यह महात्मा गांधी के उसूलों के मुताबिक नहीं है। महात्मा गांधी के उसूल बहुत ऊँचे उसूल थे, महात्मा गांधी ने भी, जब काश्मीर का मामला उठा था—मुझे अच्छी तरह से याद है—जब काश्मीर पर पाकिस्तान ने हमला किया था और उसके खिलाफ हमारी फौजें भेजी गईं तो उसके बाद जवाहरलाल जी डरते-डरते महात्मा गांधी के पास गए, उनको ख्याल था कि महात्मा गांधी नाराज होंगे, लेकिन नहीं, महात्मा गांधी ने उनसे कहा कि मैं नाराज नहीं हूँ, तुमने यह ठीक कदम उठाया है। इसलिए यह कहना कि बापू की पालिसी पर चल रहे हैं ठीक नहीं है। आपको अपने पाँवों

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पर खड़ा होना होगा। हिन्दुस्तान एक बड़ा मुल्क है। अगर आज हिन्दुस्तान यह समझे कि हमें एटम बम नहीं बनाना है, हमें एक अम्ब्रेला मिल जायगा अमेरिका से और रशिया से तो याद रखिए बाज रक्षा के हालात पहले वाले हालात नहीं हैं। पहले रूस बिल्कुल हिन्दुस्तान के साथ था, सीक्योरिटी कौंसिल में पाकिस्तान की तमाम बातों को वीटो करता था, नहीं चलने देता था, मगर आज वह बात नहीं है। आज रूस के ताल्लुकात पाकिस्तान के साथ अच्छे हैं। इसलिए आपको किसी गलतफहमी में नहीं रहना चाहिए। आज दुनिया में कोई ऐसा देश नहीं है जिसके लिए हम कह सकें कि सोलह आने हमारे साथ है। इसलिए पाकिस्तान और चीन का जो खतरा है यह मुस्तकिल खतरा है। मत समझिए कि यह खतरा नहीं है। रोज नेताओं की तकरीरें होती हैं। इन्दिरा गांधी हर रोज अपनी तकरीर में कहती हैं कि खतरा दूर नहीं हुआ है, हमारे

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

डिफेंस मिनिस्टर भी यही कहते हैं। अगर खतरा है और खतरा दूर नहीं हुआ है, दूसरे मुल्क यह बना रहे हैं तो फिर हिन्दुस्तान जैसे मुल्क क्यों घबड़ाते हैं। हमको भी एटम बम जरूर बनाना चाहिए और बना करके यह बता देना चाहिए कि हममें भी ताकत है लड़ने की जिस तरह कि पाकिस्तान को हमने मुंहतोड़ जवाब दिया था। इसलिए एटम बम बनाने से हिन्द सरकार को घबड़ाना नहीं चाहिए। वाइस चैयरमैन महोदय, चूंकि आपने दो दफे घंटी बजा दी है, मैं अब खत्म करता हूँ। आपका बहुत बहुत शुक्रिया।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. P. K. Kumaran. Ten minutes please.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, during fifteen years of planning, the three Plans, we have been discussing in the country, in Parliament, and then going about in quest of

[Shri P. K. Kumaran.] foreign exchange. Now we have reached a stage when we discuss our Plan in Washington and then when things are finalised there, we come to our Parliament to get it okayed. This is the development which we have achieved during the last fifteen years. It is also pertinent to note that after nineteen years of freedom we find the Adivasis of Bastar frustrated, the Nagas of Nagaland in revolt and the Mizos of Mizoland in revolt. In these areas we find that their life has not improved an iota. The Bastar Adivasis still go about half-naked, their living conditions and social organisation remain as they were before. Crores of rupees which the Government have been spending towards the uplift of the Adivasis have gone waste. We could not even do what the Christian Missionaries could do among them. This is the position.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Coming to the more civilised sections of the society, let me take the Central Government employees. A Class IV employee of the Central Government in the Railways or in the Postal Department or in any other Department now gets a wage which in terms of the 1939 value is equal to Rs. 18. In 1939 he was getting Rs. 15. That means that after fifteen years of planned development, of democratic socialism, he has improved his living status by Rs. 3. Taking into consideration the increased necessities, you know that this Rs. 3 is nothing. Take the case of a middle class employee, a clerk who joined the Central Services. If his present salary is converted into the 1939 value, it is Rs. 27. In 1939 he was getting Rs. 25. So fifteen years of planned development of socialism have given him an improvement of Rs. 2. This is the general position. Seeing this condition Mr. Annadurai was graphically illustrating how inefficient the Government was in performance and what bogus arguments they advanced in order to explain away the gap between promise and performance. I agree with all his argument, but many people seem to think that the Government is inefficient. I do not agree with that. Here it is a question of over-efficiency. I get the impression of a pack of wolves surrounding a dead body, each wolf trying to bite away as much as it can. That is what is hap-

pening. We have spent nearly Rs. 40,000 crores during the last three Plans. What has happened to all this investment ? (Interruption). That is the money allotted for planned development, and the wolves are our good Government. We do not know what is happening. Backward States like Kerala and Orissa continue to get neglected. We have seen saying that famine-affected areas should be given special treatment. Some all-India authority should be created to look after areas like Rayalaseema. A week back there was a famine convention where a large number of people attended and they formed an Action Committee and decided to go on a "bundh". They do not get drinking water. It is being brought from some 20 or 24 miles away in bullock cart. They have to purchase water. No action has been taken in this regard. I have read in the papers that the State Government has also requested the Central Government that it requires Rs. 20 crores for famine relief. Nothing has been done.

I am reminded of a story that is going on in the papers in the South. There is a company floated in Hyderabad called the Republic Forge Limited. This company was floated for the purpose of producing some parts for the manufacture of ships and the directors are some of the Ministers of Andhra Pradesh Government. They are Raja of Chellapalli; Shri P. V. G. Raju, Shri A. V. Bhanaji Rao, Chairman of the State Finance Corporation; Shri B. Hanu-mantha Rao; and Shri Dharma Teja of Jayanti. They purchased machinery worth Rs. 80 lakhs from a French firm, got it over-invoiced for Rs. 120 lakhs; and in this company the State Government have invested Rs. 20 lakhs and these gentlemen, some of whom are Ministers, have invested Rs. 25 lakhs, and the State Government has also given them a guarantee for Rs. 1.60 crores. Now they have already made a profit of Rs. 40 lakhs in foreign exchange because the machinery cost Rs. 80 lakhs and they got it over-invoiced for Rs. 120 lakhs. So Rs. 40 lakhs in foreign exchange are already earned; I do not know where it is lying. The machinery after arriving in Bombay has been lying in the docks or somewhere incurring a demurrage of Rs. 10,000 per month. For the last two years this has been the case. Government is not going into it and there has

been a talk that it wants to hand over this to the Birlas. Government has so much of stake in that. And the Praga Tools Corporation of Hyderabad, in spite of the fact that the cost is inflated by Rs. 40 lakhs, says that it is in a position to install the machinery and put it into commission within three months, that it is prepared even to meet Rs. 40 lakhs, that it can recover the inflated cost of the machinery and can use it. But even then the Government wants to give it to the Birlas. The Central Government pretends supreme ignorance as if it does not know anything about this. It seems to think—I understand—why the Central Government should take over this company and pay Rs. 40 lakhs over and above the price of the machinery. The straight and direct remedy would be to liquidate the company and see that the machinery costing Rs. 80 lakhs goes to the Praga Tools Corporation. It is lying idle. The whole thing is going in protecting the Ministers, and the prominent individuals who are involved in the company and it is also to see that the whole money, the whole thing, goes into the private sector. This is how policies are being implemented.

Another thing is this. In today's paper I read that the earthen bund of the coffer dam at Srisailam has been washed away in one rain. It is summer, there was one rain in the south, there was some flood in the Krishna River and that one rain washed away the earthen dam. What is this? Crores of rupees have been spent. In many countries in the world they are constructing dams and barrages. They do not get washed away like this. Only in India it has become a practice. Every year one dam or the other gets washed away. What happens? The money allotted for the work does not go into the work. Thirty to forty per cent of it goes to the contractors and from the contractors to the officers concerned, who strike a bargain between them, and in order to make up, they naturally use less of mud, less of labour and does all these things. Whether it is the Five Year Plan or the Six Year Plan or the Fifteen Year Plan, this is how each man becomes rich as much as possible, while the ordinary citizen has not been able even to gain Rs. 2 in his wages. A capital of Rs. 50 crores grows into Rs. 300 crores or Rs. 400 crores.

This is the development. Unless the whole policy is reversed, nothing useful will happen. I do not know whether they are capable of reversing it; they are not capable of doing it. So, as Shri Annadurai has said, the elections are coming and the people might teach them a lesson. All these things make sad reading. See all these developments. The whole fund, public finance, is being eaten by the contractors, engineers and Ministers in various forms.

Then, the Food Corporation, after a lot of hesitancy, seem:, to be slowly expanding its activities. While expanding, they naturally have to take over the staff of the regional Food Directorates in the different States. Now this kind of taking over is not new. I remember—the Vishakapatnam Harbour was run by the Railways, then by the Defence Ministry, then by the Transport Ministry. Then it has been taken over by the Port Trust. But the service conditions of the previous employees have been protected. But here they are given the option to resign from the Food Department and then join the Food Corporation. These employees who are virtually Government employees do not know what to do. Either they must resign or they must face retrenchment. There is no justification for this, there is no precedence in this country to follow this new innovation. I do not know which is the brain behind this in the Secretariat, which advised about this option. On this account the other day some 3,500 employees of the Food Department in Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Kerala and Madras went on a hunger-strike. Hunger-strike means, though they did not take any food during the day, they did their job. Even now the Secretary of the Hyderabad Union is on a hunger-strike. Government does not seem to take any interest in them nor does it care for them. I hope that the Deputy Minister who is taking copious notes will do something about this.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Your time is up.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN : Then I sit down.

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR (Rajasthan) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak on the Finance Bill.

[Dr (Mrs.) Mangladevi Talwar.]

Before I give my views, I must congratulate the Finance Minister, Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri, for his balanced Budget free from preconceived dogmas and without any attachment to any group considerations. The Finance Minister, while speaking in Bombay on the 7th May, 1966, has made a very good suggestion regarding recovering unaccounted money. After the Budget was introduced, in this House much has been said about unaccounted money, that large amounts are lying with different individuals unaccounted for. Shri Chaudhuri has suggested that in order to control this evil the top body of businessmen could form a group with five or six persons, in whom the community, individuals and the members of the business community had the utmost faith. Businessmen could disclose their income and wealth to this group. After all, the members who had business dealings or transactions among themselves could find out whether the disclosures made by the individuals or groups of businessmen were correct or not. Marginal differences would not matter but in case of a big difference between declared wealth and actual possession, businessmen should blacklist the individual concerned and have no business dealings with him. Shri Chaudhuri is understood to have said that such a scheme was working in America and it could be tried here also. At least it could be tried. Shri Chaudhuri further said that he had put the scheme before some industrialists and their reaction was very good.

Madam, I hope that Shri Chaudhuri will pursue this suggestion vigorously and would come forward with concrete proposals before this House so that the evil of unaccounted money could be checked.

Now, I express my views on some of the burning issues of the Finance Bill. Clause 47 imposes additional duties on a wide range of consumer goods and would thus add to the miseries of the common man who was already groaning under the burden of heavy taxation. The Finance Minister may reconsider this matter and see whether the taxes that have been levied could be reduced.

The major problem before the country today is how to increase production. It is sad to note that the industrial capacity is

not fully utilised and there is a great deal of idle capacity. If that idle capacity is properly utilised, it would not only increase production immediately but it would also help in improving the economy in many ways. In this connection, I would suggest that we should see that there is an evaluation of the performance and that responsibility is properly fixed. If the chief executive of a project has achieved outstanding success in production, he should be given due credit, and in case of failures due to gross negligence, a penalty should be imposed. Much has been said, Madam, about the inefficiency of our staff in the public sector. If these tests are applied there, I feel that a certain amount of efficiency could be introduced which is not there.

Criticism was levelled against foreign aid coming from particular sources only, irrespective of the terms or the need of the country. According to some people, certain foreign aid was bad under all circumstances. That kind of approach is not correct.

The rise in prices and the rising cost of living were serious problems which the Finance Minister had to deal with. The Budget proposals were further going to increase the cost of living by levying of taxes on sugar, diesel oil etc. Mere criticism of the policies of the Government does not help us in any way. What is required is to sit together and see what could be done to improve the position. It is not possible for any individual to bring about all the remedies at a time when the situation is going from bad to worse because of certain developments which have taken place in the Indian economy.

I appeal to the Finance Minister to repeal the 'P' Form altogether because it is unnecessary and useless. I wish to read out the comments from the Statesman of 16-2-1966. It says :

"An Indian reader writing to a newspaper on 23-2-66 has mentioned a very interesting incident. He writes, The following story, related to me by an Italian friend now stationed in India, will be of interest to your readers. Three rockets, Russian, American and India, made a date on the moon. The Russian rocket reached the moon first and the American rocket followed a few minutes

later. They both waited for their Indian colleague. Hours, days and weeks passed and yet there was no trace of the Indian rocket. The anxious companions returned to the earth and started searching for the missing rocket. Eventually, they found him sitting on a bench in the corridor of the Reserve Bank, Bombay, patiently (or impatiently) waiting for his 'P* form.'"

Now, while formulating the general policies for the development of the country, the Government must see to it that areas which are most backward do not lag behind and that there is coordinated progress so that the pace of development is uniformly fast throughout the country.

Rajasthan is a very backward area and deserve* much sympathy and support from the Centre. I refer to the news published in the Hindustan Times, about six Rajasthan projects held up due to lack of funds. It reads :—

"There are six medium irrigation projects; together costing about Rs. 4.14 crores in Rajasthan, which are approved by the Planning Commission but whose execution is held up for want of funds, according to an official report."

Madam, besides, there is another seventh project which is under the consideration of the Planning Commission and which awaits sanction. Its cost is more, but it is a very important project.

During the Third Plan period, it was, however, possible to accelerate the tempo of electrification in the Rajasthan rural area. Even so, the percentage of electrified localities in Rajasthan works out to 3.9 per cent, only as against the all-India average of 9.3 per cent. Compared to advanced States the disparity is very much more. So far as electrification of wells is concerned, which has now assumed so much importance, the total number of electrified wells so far is only 6,000.

In the recent war with Pakistan, it has been observed that special emphasis should be laid on the development of the border areas by the provision of the following:—

- (a) a network of roads to ensure adequate mobility of our forces;

- (b) a network of tubewells to that these areas do not remain uninhabited as at present and, therefore, provide an easy scope for infiltration.

A machinery should be set up to draw up a master plan to achieve these objectives.

For scientific utilisation of the ground water resources of the States it is essential that a survey is conducted to determine the ground water potential in different regions.

The Chambal Project is threatened with the serious problem of water-logging. The soils in the Chambal area have a very low permeability and irrigation without provision of proper drainage system is full of hazards and is likely to damage the soil.

The state of backwardness in Rajasthan is apparent from the fact that its per capita income is the lowest except in one State. It is astounding that of about Rs. 331 crores invested in the Central and the State sector industrial projects during 1964-65, Rajasthan's share was a mere 0.6 crores. We are pledged to see that the backward States are helped to come in line with the more advanced States.

Both the public and the private sectors were intended to serve the country's interest and not the interests of groups or individuals. Therefore, whether it be the public sector or the private sector, if there is mismanagement, it does not serve the purpose. The private sector has to be in tune with and should be dovetailed with the conception of centralised planning and also the country's interests. Therefore, the maintenance of a controlled economy becomes inevitable.

The increase in the excise duty on sugar and light diesel oil would affect the poor. Since the production of sugar has increased, it should be made available at a cheaper rate. The increase in the excise duty on diesel oil would affect transport and irrigation, which is of paramount importance in these days. I request that the Government should consider these points.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your fifteen minutes are over.

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TAL-WAR :
Madam Deputy Chairman, I would just like to draw your attention to the other aspects of Rajasthan's economy which are in very bad shape at the moment and which need the help and sympathetic consideration of the Central Government

With these words, Madam, I support the Finance Bill.

श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी (मध्य प्रदेश) :
माननीय उपसभापति महोदया, बड़ी प्रतीक्षा के बाद आज प्रथम बार आपने मुझे सदन में वित्त विधेयक के ऊपर बोलने का मौका दिया, इसके लिये मैं आपको कोटिभः धन्यवाद देती हूँ।

महोदया, किसी भी देश कीया राष्ट्र की अर्थ-नीति वहाँ के प्रजातंत्र के अनुसार उत्पादन, निर्यात, उद्योग और जनसंख्या के आधार पर ज्यादातर मुनहसिर होती है। हमें जब अपने देश को विदेशियों के हाथ से लेना पड़ा उस समय हमारे यहाँ की परिस्थिति बड़ी डावांडोल थी। हमें जो एक घर मिला था वह बिल्कुल उजड़ा हुआ मिला था। एक माननीय सदस्य ने रूस का उदाहरण दिया। रूस ने जो प्रगति की है उसकी तुलना भारत के साथ की गई। हम जो उतनी तरक्की या उतनी प्रगति नहीं कर सके हैं उसके कई कारण हैं। हमें आते ही बेकारी मिली। हमें आते ही भुखारी मिली। हमारे आते ही देश के दो हिस्से हुए उसमें हमारे कई भाई शरणार्थी बन कर आये जिनके लिये हमें लाखों करोड़ों रुपये का प्रबन्ध करना पड़ा, उनकी व्यवस्था करनी पड़ी और उनके रहने के लिये सारा इन्तजाम करना पड़ा। आज की जो परिस्थिति हमारी है, आज जिन कठिनाइयों से हमारा देश गुजर रहा है, जिन परेशानियों से हम गुजर रहे हैं उसके बीच में हमारे मंत्री महोदय ने जो यह वित्त विधेयक पेश किया है और इसमें जो उन्होंने छोटी सीटो सहूलियतें दी हैं उसके लिये मैं उनका धन्यवाद अदा करती हूँ, क्योंकि आज की परिस्थिति

में जो वे एक छोटी सहूलियत देंगे, इमदाद देंगे या करेंगे किसी तरह की कमी करेंगे वह बहुत बड़ा महत्व रखती है। आज हम बहुत सी कठिनाइयों से गुजर रहे हैं। आप-को यह पता है कि अभी चन्द दिन हुए जब हमारे ऊपर चीन का हमला हुआ और उसके बाद हम उससे उठ भी नहीं पाये कि एकदम से हमारे ऊपर पाकिस्तान का हमला हुआ। तो स्वाभाविक है कि जब हमें अपनी आत्म-रक्षा के लिये, अपने देश की रक्षा के लिये, अपनी सेनाओं को बढ़ाना पड़ेगा तो उसके लिये हमें करों को भी बढ़ाना पड़ेगा। किसी भी राष्ट्र के लिये, जो एक प्रगतिशील राष्ट्र होता है, करों का लगाना अनिवार्य होता है। और जब कर लगते हैं तो जनतंत्र में वे जनता के ऊपर लगते हैं और उनका वहन जनता को करना पड़ता है। ये कर इस तरह से होते हैं जैसे आपने देखा होगा कि जब सूर्य की गर्म किरणें समुद्र के ऊपर पड़ती हैं तो समुद्र का गंभीर जल खोल उठता है और उसकी भाप बन जाती है और फिर वही भाप ठंडक पा कर गली-गली और कच्चे-कूचे में बरसती है। इसी तरह जब जनता पर कर लगते हैं तो उस समय जनता में रोष आता है, गुस्सा आता है और एक तरह से उनमें एक अशांति सी पैदा होती है कि हमारे ऊपर कर का बड़ा बोझ लादा जा रहा है। लेकिन उन्हीं करों के द्वारा जब हम उत्पादन की शक्ति को बढ़ाते हैं, हम बड़े-बड़े उद्योग खोलते हैं, जगह जगह सड़कें बनाते हैं और लोगों के स्वास्थ्य का इन्तजाम करते हैं और सारी बातें करते हैं तो उससे जनता को सन्तोष होता है।

उपसभापति महोदया, यह जरूर है कि करों का बोझ जनता के ऊपर इतना नहीं पड़ना चाहिए कि वह वहन न कर सके। आज हमारी इस नीति की आलोचना की जाती है कि हम विदेशी मुद्रा ज्यादा ग्रहण कर रहे हैं। इस बात से कोई इनकार नहीं करेगा कि हमें विदेशों से ज्यादा मुद्रा नहीं

लेनी चाहिए, हमें विदेशों पर ज्यादा निर्भर नहीं रहना चाहिये, लेकिन जिस वक्त देश को जरूरत होती है, उस वक्त अगर हम अपने देश की प्रगति के लिये, देश को उठाने के लिये, उसको प्रगतिशील बनाने के लिये, लेकिन अपने देश की आत्मा का हनन न करके, अपने देश को किसी तरह की परेशानी में न डाल करके या अपने देश को किसी तरह बेगैरत न करके, विदेशों से ऐसी सुविधाएं लेते हैं जिससे हम देश को आगे बढ़ा सकें तो उसमें कोई बुराई नहीं है।

उपसभापति महोदया, एक तरह नागालैण्ड और मीजो लोगों का उदाहरण दिया जाता है कि हमारे भारत में इस तरह के उपद्रव हो रहे हैं और एक तरफ बस्तर कांड हमारे सामने पेश किया जाता है। मैं उस प्रदेश से आती हूं, इसलिये मैं थोड़ा विश्वास के साथ कह सकती हूं कि चन्द दिनों में वहां की भी वही परिस्थिति बनने वाली थी जो कि आज मीजो और नागालैण्ड की है। एक तरफ हमारे भाई चाहते हैं कि शासन व्यवस्था ठीक तरह से चले, एक तरफ हमारे भाई चाहते हैं कि जहां उपद्रव हो रहे हैं उनको हम शांत करें, लेकिन दूसरी तरफ जब हम ऐसे उपद्रवों को या जहां अराजकता होती है उसको दवाने की कोशिश करते हैं तो हमारी आलोचना होती है। मैं माननीय सदस्यों से यह विनती करूंगी कि हम इस तरह की दोहरी नीति को ले कर नहीं चल सकते हैं। दुनिया में सबको खुश करना बड़ा मुश्किल है। मुझे इस समय एक किस्सा याद आता है। बाप बेटे एक घोड़ा ले कर चल रहे थे। रास्ते में बेटे ने कहा कि पिता जी आप वुजुर्ग हैं, आप इस पर बैठ जाइये। मैं पैदल चलूंगा। जब वह बाप इस तरह घोड़े पर चढ़ कर चलने लगा तो रास्ते में कुछ लोग मिले और वे यह कहने लगे कि देखो तो जरा इसको, जरा से बच्चे को पैदल चलाता है और खुद घोड़े पर बैठा है। इस पर उसने लड़के से कहा कि बेटे, तुम घोड़े पर बैठ जाओ। जब वह

बेटा घोड़े पर बैठा तो लोग कहने लगे कि यह ऐसा कम्बख्त है कि बूढ़े बाप को पैदल चला रहा है और खुद घोड़े पर बैठा है। फिर जब वे दोनों घोड़े पर बैठ कर चलने लगे तब भी लोगों ने शिकायत की और उन्होंने वह घोड़ा ही छोड़ दिया। सरख यह है कि कोई किसी तरह से सबको खुश नहीं कर सकता। इसी तरह से हम अपने विरोधी भाइयों को किसी तरह से खुश नहीं कर सकते हैं। अगर एक जगह हम सख्ती करते हैं तो हमारी आलोचना होती है और अगर एक जगह हम नम्रता या ढील से काम लेते हैं तब भी हमारी आलोचना होती है। किसी की आलोचना करना बड़ा आसान है, मगर कोई कार्य करना उतना ही कठिन है।

आज जो वित्त विधेयक हमारे सामने पेश है इसमें मैं यह जरूर कहूंगी कि आज जो हम विदेशों के इतने बड़े कर्ज से दबते जा रहे हैं और हमारी जो चारबाकी की नीति है :

यावत जीवित सुखं जीवित,

ऋणं कृत्वा घृतम पीबेत ।

यह नीति ज्यादा दिन चलेगी नहीं और इस पर हमें सोचना पड़ेगा।

आज हम खाद्य की कठिन परिस्थिति में से गुजर रहे हैं। हम यह नहीं कहते कि हमसे गलतियां नहीं हुईं, हमने जहां बहुत से काम किये हैं, जहां हमारा शासन बहुतसी योजनाओं में सफल हुआ है वहां पर हमसे बहुतसी गलतियां भी हुई हैं। इंसान जब काम करता है तो यह स्वाभाविक है कि उससे कुछ गलतियां भी होती हैं। आज जो हम खाद्य नीति पर विशेष ध्यान दे रहे हैं इसको हमें बहुत पहले सोचना चाहिये था। आज खाद्य की समस्या कुछ हमारी तरफ से और कुछ प्रकृति की तरफ से इस तरह से विषम हो गई है जिसकी तरफ हमें सोचना पड़ेगा। मैं मध्य प्रदेश से आती हूं। पहले हमारा प्रदेश अपनी आवश्यकता से अधिक अन्न

[श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी]

पैदा करके दूसरे प्रदेशों की समस्या का समाधान करता था, लेकिन आज हमारी यह परिस्थिति है कि हम स्वयं अपनी समस्या नहीं हल कर पा रहे हैं। इसलिये हमें इस ओर सोचना पड़ेगा। जिस तरह से हम एक लड़ाई लड़ते हैं, जिस तरह से हम लड़ाई का मोर्चा बनाते हैं, जब तक हम उसी तरह का मोर्चा कृषि के क्षेत्र में नहीं बनायेंगे तब तक हमको सफलता नहीं मिलेगी।

उपसभापति महोदया, आज जो हम साधन किसानों को देते हैं, आज जो सहायित्व देते हैं इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि वे काफी हैं, लेकिन हमें इतना जरूर देखना पड़ेगा कि आया वे सहायित्व सही रूप से काम में आती है और मोके पर मिलती है। सिंचाई के साधन जहां कम हैं, वहां बढ़ाने पड़ेंगे, हमें लिफ्ट इरीगेशन के लिए सब तरह की सहायित्व देनी पड़ेगी और अगर प्रदेशों में बिजली के बजट में कुछ और प्रावधान करना पड़े तो करना पड़ेगा। मैं दावे के साथ कह सकती हूँ कि अगर मध्य प्रदेश के कृषि विभाग की जो जरूरतें हैं उसके अनुसार सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने सहायता दी तो यह प्रदेश एक-दो प्रदेशों की नहीं, भारत के बहुत से प्रदेशों की अन्न समस्या को हल कर सकता है बशर्ते कि सिंचाई के लिए, इलेक्ट्रिसिटी के लिए और दूसरी तरह की जो जरूरतें हैं उनके लिए सेन्टर हमारी तरफ ध्यान दे।

उपसभापति महोदया, आज जो परिस्थिति हमारे सामने है, आज जिन विषय परिस्थितियों से हम गुजर रहे हैं, उसके कई कारण हैं और उसके बारे में हमें सोचना पड़ेगा। हमारी जनसंख्या जिस तरह से बढ़ रही है उसकी तरफ हमको सोचना पड़ जाता है। समय के अनुसार नियम और कानून बनते हैं। मनुष्य नियमों और कानूनों से बंधा नहीं है बल्कि मनुष्य के लिए नियम, कानून बनाए जाते हैं। एक जमाना वह था जब हमने 'पंच वर्षों भवेत् गौरी' का नारा लगाया था। एक जमाना

वह था जब हमने शारदा एक्ट पास किया। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि परिवार को नियोजित करें। जिस तरह से हम अपने शासन का बजट बनाते हैं, उसी तरह हम परिवार का बजट बना कर अगर उसको नियोजित नहीं करेंगे तो कुछ समय बाद देश के सामने जो समस्या आने वाली है वह बड़ी विकट समस्या होगी। जहां तक परिवार नियोजन का सम्बन्ध है, मैं आपसे निवेदन करूंगी कि अगर संयम के साथ इसको अपनाया जाय तो सर्वश्रेष्ठ है, लेकिन अगर यह सम्भव नहीं है तो कृत्रिम उपायों के द्वारा भी उस पर किसी तरह से प्रतिबन्ध लगाया जा सकता है। लेकिन इसके पहले कि हम परिवार नियोजन की तरफ जायें, हमें इस तरह के साधन और चीजें अपनानी पड़ेंगी जिससे स्वास्थ्य के ऊपर असर न पड़े, हमारे चरित्र के ऊपर असर न पड़े, हमारे देश का जो वातावरण है उस पर असर न पड़े। इन सब चीजों को देखते हुए, हम परिवार नियोजन की तरफ अवश्य ध्यान दें।

करों के बारे में थोड़ा सा ध्यान आपका आकृष्ट करूं तो यह जरूर कहूंगी हम अपने उद्योगों की तरफ ध्यान दें। कृषि के द्वारा ही पूंजी नहीं बढ़ सकती, देश के वित्त को नहीं बढ़ाया जा सकता। हमें उद्योग पर विशेष ध्यान देना पड़ेगा और वह उद्योग केवल बड़े-बड़े उद्योग नहीं होंगे, उसमें हमें छोटे-छोटे उद्योगों पर भी ध्यान देना पड़ेगा जिसकी तरफ हमारा बहुत कम ध्यान जाता है।

मध्य प्रदेश एक तो वैसे ही पिछड़ा हुआ है। वहां आपने देखा होगा आदिवासी हैं। जगह-जगह जो फूल बिखरे पड़े थे उन्हें मिला कर एक गुलदस्ते के रूप में मध्य प्रदेश को रखा गया है। मध्य प्रदेश में छोटी-छोटी स्टेटें, छोटे-छोटे राजवाड़े, जो किसी जमाने में छोटी स्टेटें थीं—जैसे विन्ध्य भाग है, भोपाल है, महाकौशल है, मध्य भारत है—इनको

इकट्ठा किया गया है। मैं जिस क्षेत्र से आती हूँ वह छोटी रियासतों का बुन्देलखंड का एरिया है। आदिवासियों के पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्र से भी वह पिछड़ा हुआ है। वहाँ की मुख्य समस्या है डकैती की समस्या। डकैती की समस्या ऐसी भीषण समस्या है जिसका हम इलाज नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। जितने डाकू हम कम करते हैं उससे ज्यादा बढ़ जाते हैं। उसका मुख्य कारण है वहाँ की गरीबी, वहाँ की बेकारी और वहाँ की अशिक्षा। इसको हम किसी तरह से सम्भाल सकें तो यह समस्या दूर हो सकती है। वहाँ पर बहुत से खनिज पदार्थ हैं। विस्तृत पैमाने पर अगर सर्वेक्षण किया जाय और छोटे-छोटे धन्धे खोले जाय, बहुत बड़ा अंगस है, फारेस्ट है, उसके द्वारा काम दिया जाय तो लोगों को रोजगार दिया जा सकता है। यह बड़ा स्वाभिमान एरिया है। आपको विदित होगा कि आल्हा ऊदल, महारानी लक्ष्मीबाई, छत्रसाल जैसे लोग वहाँ हुए हैं। छोटे-छोटे रजवाड़े थे, छोटे जागीरदार थे जो अपने रुआव-दुआव से अपना काम निकालते थे। यह सारा खत्म हो जाने के बाद, बेकार होने के बाद जब काम नहीं मिलता और उनके आत्मसम्मान को धक्का लगता है तो वे सीधा जंगल का रास्ता पकड़ते हैं। (Time bell rings) बस दो मिनट। उपसभापति महोदया पिछड़े, इलाके के बारे में अधिक निवेदन नहीं करना चाहती लेकिन मैंने इसलिए आपका ध्यान दिलाया ताकि इन लोगों की बेकारी दूर हो सके। दूसरे कारों का बोझ बहुत ज्यादा होता जा रहा है वह अगर किसी तरह से कम किया जा सके और लोगों की आमदनी बढ़ाई जाए तो अच्छा है। जनतंत्र में यह सम्भव नहीं है कि जब हम प्रगति चाहते हैं, स्कूल चाहते हैं, उद्योगों का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं तो कर न लें। जनतंत्र में जनता के ऊपर कर लगे, लेकिन उनके द्वारा साधन भी मुहैया हों, उनकी आमदनी का जरिया भी बढ़े ताकि वे उसको वहन कर सकें।

उपसभापति महोदया, आपने मुझे जो समय दिया उसके लिए मैं आपकी बहुत-बहुत शुक्रगुजार हूँ। आसन ग्रहण करने से पहले एक बात की ओर आपका ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहती हूँ। हमारा जो यह वित्त विधेयक रखा गया है और विरोधी दल के सदस्यों ने उसकी जो आलोचना की है उससे वित्त मंत्री महोदय की हालत ऐसी हो गई है जैसी एक नई चतुर गृहिणी की घर में आने पर होती है। उसकी आमदनी के साधन तो बहुत कम हैं, सीमित हैं और जो रहनसहन का स्टैंडर्ड है वह बढ़ा हुआ है। जिस तरह से भूखा आदमी लंघन करने के बाद उठता है और एकदम भूख-भूख चिल्लाता है और उसको कितना ही खिलाया जाय, खाना भी दिया जाय तो भी वह आलोचना करने से नहीं चूकता और कहता है कि मेरी तृप्ति नहीं हुई, और खाना नहीं दिया गया। इसलिए मैं अपने विरोधी भाइयों से कहूंगी कि वे छिद्रान्वेषण न करें।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : गृहिणी फुड़ड़, मालूम होती है।

श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी : उपसभापति महोदया, मैं चाहती हूँ कि विरोधी दल न केवल छिद्रों का अन्वेषण करें बल्कि देश के निर्माण में कन्धे से कन्धा मिला कर साथ दें।

आज अणु बम का प्रश्न आया कि चीन ने अणु बम बनाया और हम इस विषय में सत्य और अहिंसा को मानते हैं—यह चीज नहीं। उपसभापति महोदया, सत्य और अहिंसा—हमारे देश में सत्यम्, शिवम्, सुन्दरम् कहा गया है—किसी को कायर बनाना नहीं सिखाते। अहिंसावादी बही हो सकता है जिसको अपने ऊपर पूरा विश्वास है, जो आत्मनिर्भर है। एक कायर कभी अहिंसावादी नहीं हो सकता। इसके साथ-साथ मैं यह जरूर कहूंगी कि आज की जो हमारे देश की परिस्थिति है उसमें यह जरूरी है कि हमें भी अणुशस्त्र बनाने पड़ेंगे और

[श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी]

बनाना चाहिए क्योंकि 'शंठ प्रति शंठ कुर्यात्, सादरं प्रति सादरम् ।' हमसे जो एक-आध गलतियाँ हुई हैं उनको हमें दोहराना नहीं चाहिए । हमारे विरोधी कोई सही बात कहें तो हमें उसको मान लेना चाहिए और मैं विरोधी सदस्यों से भी यह उम्मीद करती हूँ कि हम जो सही काम करें उसके लिए तो वे कम से कम धन्यवाद के शुब्द दे दिया करें ।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : Madam Deputy Chairman, the Finance Bill embodies the proposals in the Budget and it is an epitome of the economic policy pursued by the Government of India. Now we are in the first year of the Fourth Five Year Plan.

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR (Madhya Pradesh) : Where is the Plan ?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Their so-called Plan J Now, perhaps it would not be improper to have a look at the whole of the economic policy so far pursued by the Government of India. When an under-developed country achieves independence—political independence I mean—its first concern would be to consolidate that political independence and achieve economic independence. And in order to do that, that country which has won freedom must break with the imperialists and that is where the rub comes in. The Government of India born out of the 1947 compromise promised to keep the vested interests of the imperialists in tact. Not only that; they gave word to nourish and nurture it. They gave word to nourish and nurture those feudal interests which have betrayed the country and licked the jackboots of the British imperialists. Now the whole of this Government's policy is a policy which runs counter to the interests of the nation; it is an anti-national policy and the result has been that the whole of our economy is now in shambles. We are begging at the doorsteps of America for a number of years for food. In the Fourth Plan we envisage that Rs. 4,000 crores worth of foreign aid would be forthcoming and out of that a sum of Rs. 1500 crores is earmarked in order to pay back the principal and interest of the loans already taken; that is, for servicing the debt charges.

As regards the foreign trade, what is the position ? Year after year the deficit is mounting, 300 crores, 400 crores, 500 crores and so on. We are always in deficit and our hon. Ministers sitting on the treasury benches are shouting from the housetops day in and day out that in order to overcome the foreign exchange crisis what We have got to do is to export. But the fact is when you surrender to imperialist blackmail, when you move about in their orbit and under their sphere of influence you can never promote exports to that extent so that you can be self-sufficient. Is it not a matter of common knowledge, has not the ECAFE survey told you again and again, has not the UN survey told you again and again that the prices of the primary commodities of the underdeveloped countries have been falling over the last fifteen years ? There has been a drop of 10 to 15 per cent and reduced in terms of money for India alone the loss would come to about a thousand crores of rupees. On the contrary, the prices of whatever we purchase from the capitalist countries, from U.S.A., Britain and others, have gone up. So both ways if we have lost to the tune—there is no exact estimate—of Rs. 2000 crores it will not be surprising. How can you, under these circumstances, ever be self-sufficient ? For the running of your economy you require to import intermediate goods and spare parts to the tune of Rs. 700 to Rs. 1000 crores. At least Rs. 700 crores you would require at present. So you have to export at least for Rs. 800 crores and then only you can have the intermediate goods and spare parts and unless you import them the wheels of industry will stop. So how can you ever overcome the deficit in foreign trade ? Never in these conditions can you do that. So you lack the courage. Had the people of this country won their freedom with their blood, they could have driven out the British and confiscated the foreign imperialist capital; they could have taken over the land and given it to the peasantry. They were prepared for it in 1946 but you, the rulers of the country, the Congress bosses, got afraid of the people and you arrived at a shameful compromise with the imperialists. They got political independence that way but bartered away the economic independence of the country and now even that political independence itself is in danger. Is it not

a fact that a procession of Ministers, one after another, is running to Washington to make obeisance to the Grand Moghul, the President of the United States of America ? Just like the Moghul days when to the Delhi Durbar the satraps from all over India used to come and give *kuhnis* and *salams* to the Shah-in-Shah, you are going there. That means we are losing our political independence bit by bit. I say the whole of this policy pursued by the Government of India can be said in one word; it is treachery, national treachery. That is what you are doing and some day or other no doubt you will have to account for these foul deeds, dirty deeds, before the people of India.

SHRI N. SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore): When will that day come ?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : When it comes you will know it. As a result of this even our foreign policy has become whittled. They say that they stand for peace among the nations. Can any Minister in the Government answer this question : why have they not condemned the U.S. imperialists for their barbarous aggression in Vietnam . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: We have done it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : . . . against the freedom fighters, against the interests of the backward peoples of Asia ? In effect, by not doing so directly or indirectly you are aiding and abetting U.S. imperialist aggression.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : But Mr. Ghosh, we have done it. Prime Minister Lai Bahadur Shastri and afterwards the present Prime Minister has done it. We have expressed our anger against the bombing and we have asked them to withdraw their army. We have said that the Geneva Agreement should be implemented.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I would like to correct you. There was some such thing as you say in the Report of the External Affairs Ministry but then an explanation was called for and then it was said (hat it was done by some minor official and then you said that after some political settlement the U.S. army would withdraw. What sort of political settlement do you want ?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : We have said that we do stand by the Report and that propaganda that some minor official did it and we did not approve of it and all that is wrong.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to know from the hon. Member whether he says that the Government stands for the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. army. If so, then say so plainly. Do they say—not the bombing of North Vietnam—that the U.S. is committing aggression against the Vietnamese people in South Vietnam or not?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : That is the Communist view; we do not agree with it. We do not ascribe aggression to anybody. That is your view; I can understand that but there we differ.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : What have the Americans come there for and is bombing not aggression? It is perhaps peace.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about Tibet ? That you forget.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : That is how you are getting isolated.

SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA (Assam) : Will you condemn China for occupying our territory ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I will come to that. You have been shouting enough. I have come after eighteen months and I would like you to hear me.

So I say today our economy has been mortgaged because the World Bank has become the censor. It dictates the terms and we have to follow. As regards the PL-480 funds, a large amount is earmarked which it can spend as it likes and the Government cannot question it. I have heard from an important official that the U.S. Government have photographed the entire Himalayas militarily and then graciously they sent a copy of that to the Government of India. And you have the cheek to tell us that you are independent and you formulate your own policies. And that is why we are agitated about Vietnam.

[Shri Niren Ghosh.]

AJ regards the other things referred to by my friend, I am just coming to them. Now, as regards the Chinese bomb blast, I would say that I stand for the defence of my country. I am not prepared to depend upon anybody, either America or the Soviet Union or the U.K. We have to defend our country on our own strength, on the strength of our people. So, if our security is threatened, we do not want a nuclear shield. I disagree and violently disagree with the policy formulated by the Government of India that the nuclear powers should give an assurance that they would provide a nuclear shield to us. For India to depend on the nuclear powers for our political independence is to surrender our political independence then and there. So I stand for this, that whichever country in the world has got the power to make a nuclear bomb, it should make it. If all the countries possess nuclear bombs, then there will not be any atomic warfare. Those imperialists, the Pentagon bosses, will think a thousand times before launching an atomic war. Now, if they have the nuclear monopoly, they can dictate the terms to us. Who else in the world is afraid of the Chinese blast, except the U.S. and U.K. imperialists and their hirelings? I for myself take the stand that we have nothing to fear from their bias's. Let the forty crores of people muster sufficient strength to defend our country, whatever be the circumstances.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU (Uttar Pradesh): By annihilation?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Annihilation by a bomb?

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU : Annihilation by radioactive fall-out.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Nobody in the world has the power to wipe out forty crores of people. Have the U.K. or the U.S.A. ever said that they would never be the first to use the atom bomb? Consistently they have denied this for the last two decades. Why? Neither the Government of Great Britain has given any such promise. The Soviet Union is ready to give such a promise. They have pronounced it. Whether it may be true or false, we could only believe it. The Chinese Government have done it, but the Government of U.S.A. and

the Government of Great Britain have consistently refused to give that pledge to mankind that they will never be the first to use atomic weapons.

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

What does it mean? If anybody has to fear, it is from that quarter. Mankind should have cause for fear from that quarter. It is they who have refused to give a pledge before the bar of mankind. It is strange that our rulers rely on the enemy number one, the U.S. imperialists, to defend our country, to provide the nuclear shield. I think we should not be so panicky in order to defend our country. Let us rely on our own strength and on that basis defend our country. So, from this foreign policy, naturally as a consequence it follows directly, our internal policy has come to this. The spiralling rise in prices would never be checked under this policy. It would go on rising and rising. The food problem would never be solved. In regard to our industries, even in regard to the small industrial capacity, whatever we do, it will be under-utilised. As it is at present in respect of several important industries some 20 per cent, 30 per cent or 40 per cent of the capacity is under-utilised. Spare parts and components are not there. We have not got the machine building industry. We do not go in for that, but we depend upon the imperialists for that. So, in that case, if they underwrite our sinking ship, if America is prepared to pour in billions and billions continuously, year after year, perhaps we can float for some time, but this ship is leaking and even America's billions will not be able to plug the leak. Ultimately, if these policies are pursued, which are all I say anti-national policies, we will come to disaster and it is time....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Thank you, Mr. Ghosh. Your time is up.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : If you tell me, I shall sit down.

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am grateful to you for giving me a chance to say a few words on the burning issue of the day, namely, the recent nuclear explosion by China. A year

or so ago, when we were in London in connection with a parliamentary delegation, I had opportunity to visit the atomic establishments there. Naturally the question was on our minds as to how long it would take us to make the bomb if we took a decision. We put that question to the experts and they said : "If you make your decision today, then from the date of the decision it will take at least two or three years for you to make the bomb. You have the technical know-how to a certain degree. We know your capabilities, but the point is that for making these weapons you have to set up an entirely new set of workshops and -everything new from beginning to end and all that takes time. It is not a question that you have the technical know-how and you can switch over from some existing establishments to adopted ones by making certain changes. You have got to have a completely new set of workshops and adopt a completely new pattern." Then, they said : "All the secrets are not known to you. You can find out those secrets as every other power, that has tried to make the bomb, has had to do. Some of the secrets you will have to find out' by experiments. For that you will have to do a little experimentation of your own. So, it will take at least three years to set up the thing, to do your experiments and then you will be in a position to explode the bomb." That was their estimate. When the Foreign Minister said this morning that we have the technical know-how, that may give rise to an impression that within a short time we can switch over from our existing establishments and make the bomb. If this impression is created in the public mind. I think that impression should be clearly removed and it should be established beyond doubt as to what is the opinion of the technical experts, what time it will take from the date of the decision to make it. Government should make it clear as to what is the expert opinion. Then, incidentally, we got into conversation with some junior people in the establishment, who were very intelligent. The junior people, with whom we had talks, said : "Your Prime Minister ____"—referring to Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri—"Your Prime Minister thinks that the present policy may not be the policy for all time and we also watching very carefully the mounting public opinion in India. That leaves an impression upon our minds, in

foreign countries, that India is moving slowly and gradually towards making the bomb and, particularly, under the impact of public opinion and the activities of China in this field, Government will be forced one day to make the bomb." They said: "If you ultimately make the bomb, then you lose time. Suppose you make the bomb after five years or ten years, then you would have lost those ten years. You cannot, be any accelerated process, make up these ten years, because even though you may have the knowledge, so much experimentation is necessary, as the Chinese experiments have shown." So, they said : "If you have to make a decision, make the decision at once." My plea today is, whatever be the decision, let that decision be taken and the decision must ultimately be taken by Parliament. Let there be a full-dress debate in Parliament in both Houses. All issues should be clearly stated. All opinions should be given and the matter should be determined by Parliament, after a full debate. And if we have ultimately to make the bomb, because of the pressure of public opinion, is it wise to wait, or is it better to start now ?

Now, so far as the Disarmament Conference is concerned, we have put forward our various proposals. Those proposals have not found favour with the great powers. It is no use, I think, relying upon the shield. The reliance that we place upon the nuclear shield is because we think that any use of atom bombs will lead to a world war. Now, all these things are pure speculation. As politicians we have to proceed on something more solid than sheer speculation. The danger is facing us.

(Time bell rings)

There is only one more point that I would like to make. I would refer to a statement by Mr. Dean Rusk, who said a week or two ago: "If China, sooner or later, comes to discuss matters with us, then China herself will be a very powerful supporter of non-proliferation of the bomb." That is to say, China wishes to get admitted into these disarmament conferences as a full member, as a potentially great power, and then will join the other powers to stop the spread of nuclear powers.

[Shri M. N. Kaul.]

Then they also made the point, some of the people who talked to us, that greater delay has also another danger, namely, that various economic pressures will be applied by great powers, that is to say, they may withdraw economic aid and apply other threats to prevent us from making the bomb. I feel we have already delayed a decision and time is the essence of the matter. Whatever be the decision, let it be left to Parliament to decide; but the decision should be taken now and here for a long time to come.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Finance Bill, broadly speaking, reflects the economic trend of the nation. Sir, the Members opposite loudly say that the Government is wedded to socialism. Naturally I expected that this Finance Bill which embodies the financial proposals would contain something regarding socialism and socialist principles. But I am disappointed to note that the broad and predominant trends that have been revealed and reflected in this Bill more and more are akin to the capitalist way of developing our society and economy. Socialism has been given the go-by. We cannot speak of socialism if we approve of this Finance Bill.

Sir, if we are to attain socialism, if we are to attain self-reliance, if we are to attain economic independence, the primary task, the primary object should be to free our economy from the bondage of foreign domination. Sir, I regret to note that no such step has been taken or proposed so that our economy may be freed from the age-long domination of the capitalist and imperialist bloc. I have not got much time at my disposal and therefore I do not like to quote figures to prove that we are drifting more and more towards that. Therefore, I refrain from quoting all those figures although I possess many. But during these three Plans we have seen that foreign aid continues to increase with every Plan. During the First Plan the foreign aid utilised was of the order of Rs. 210.70 crores. During the Second Plan it was of the order of Rs. 1435.31 crores, and during the Third Plan it increased much and it was of the order of Rs. 2519.49 crores. Therefore, I think you will be convinced that there is a

regular increase in the quantum of foreign aid in the matter of executing or implementing our Plans.

Again, foreign aid estimated for the proposed Fourth Five Year Plan is about Rs. 4800 crores although not finally fixed, although not finally accepted. You will agree that this increased foreign aid, the bulk of which comes from Anglo-American bloc, is likely to make certain inroads into our national policies, national prestige and sovereignty. Therefore, I expected that something would be there in the Finance Bill to arrest this process and take our economy on the broad and firm road of self-reliance and economic independence. So I raise my voice of protest against this. Sir, you may say that the Government has undertaken the establishment and expansion of public sector which is a very salient point in our goal of attaining socialism in the country. I have got enough figures to quote but due to paucity of time I refrain from doing it. But my comment in this respect is this. With respect I may submit that this public sector has not yet been developed most conscientiously I will say which should serve as a powerful lever to counteract the machinations and the resistance of the private sector. It has not been led to a commanding height from where our economy may be moved more and more towards socialism and to a better position to fight the possible resistance of private capital. On the other hand what have we seen ? We have seen that private capital has been deriving benefit out of it. I would like to submit that the big capitalists are deriving benefit out of this. The way the production is made in the public sector, the way the price is fixed, the way the distribution is made, all these accord fully with the likes and interests of private capital. Therefore, they have got nothing to lose. Rather I say that they have derived benefit without involving themselves much in the risk. Sir, I can develop the point but due to paucity of time I refrain from doing so. Still I regret to place before you the fact that our Government, although wedded to principles of socialism, have been offering concessions after concessions to the private sector. Even in this Finance Bill I find that some concessions from the taxes have been offered. While these concessions for private sector are being offered,

more and more taxes are being imposed upon the over-burdened common people whose backs are already crippled. They cannot further withstand the imposition of new and crushing burden of taxation, and Government have done it. In doing so they proclaim that they are bringing in socialism. In doing so they say that they are trying to develop an economic policy which is in the best interests of the people of our country.

Sir, I want to draw your attention to this point also. You would like to know that indirect taxes which our common people are to share have constantly been increasing. I have got many figures but I will simply put two figures before you for your consideration. In the year 1961-62 the indirect taxes were of the order of Rs. 636.39 crores which increased to Rs. 1,271.19 crores by 1965-66, almost an increase of 100 per cent. Sir, this is the way in which they are building up socialism. I want the Finance Minister and also the hon. Members opposite to take note of it.

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

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Is my time over?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I am sorry.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Everything is with you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Secretary will read a message. The Finance Minister will reply tomorrow.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA RE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

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

"I am directed to inform Rajya Sabha that Lok Sabha, at its sitting held on Wednesday, the 11th May, 1966, adopted the following motion :—

"That this House recommends to Rajya Sabha that Rajya Sabha do agree to nominate three members from Rajya Sabha to associate with the Committee on Public Undertakings of this House for the unexpired portion of the term of the Committee, in the vacancies caused by the resignation of Shri Abid Ali, Shri M. N. Govindan Nair and Shri M. Govinda Reddy from the Committee and communicate to this House the names of the members so nominated by Rajya Sabha."

"2. I am to request that the concurrence of Rajya Sabha in the said motion, and also the names of the members of Rajya Sabha so nominated, may be communicated to this House."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 12th May, 1966.