

of Delhi and for matters connected therewith, be further extended up to the first day of the next session”

STATEMENT BY MINISTER REAPPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE TO REVIEW THE WORKING OF ADVOCATES ACT, 1961

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LAW (SHRI C R PATABHI RAMAN) Sir, as the House is aware, Government has decided to appoint a small Committee consisting of the Law Minister as Chairman, myself, the Attorney-General of India and nine Members of Parliament to review the working of the Advocates Act, 1961, in all its aspects. The names of the Members of Parliament, who have agreed to serve on the Committee are:—

1. Shri P. N. Saprú, Member, Rajya Sabha
2. Diwan Chaman Lall, Member, Rajya Sabha.
3. Shri Debabrata Mookerjee, Member, Rajya Sabha.
4. Shri Hem Raj, Member, Lok Sabha
5. Shri S. V. Ramaswamy, Member, Lok Sabha
6. Shri N. C. Chatterjee, Member, Lok Sabha
7. Dr. L. M. Singhvi, Member, Lok Sabha.
8. Shri Frank Anthony, Member Lok Sabha.
9. Dr. Shrimati Sarojini Mahishi, Member, Lok Sabha

**THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1966-67—
GENERAL DISCUSSION *continued***

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras)
Mr. Chairman, considering the circumstances in which the new Finance Minister was appointed, almost at a moment notice and with hardly a few weeks in which he could frame his Budget, one would have been justified, he himself would have been

justified, if he had brought in what I might call a carry-on Budget, even a caretaker Budget without meaning any offence to the author of the Budget

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

Looking at the Budget, looking at his introductory speech, he has made certain promises which, in the course of his Budget, I am afraid, he has not been able to perform. He said, for instance, that the Budget would try to correct or reverse the inadequate performance of the economy, the stagnation of the capital market, the pressure of the balance of payments and the rise in the prices of essential commodities. Now, how far do the Budget proposals carry out any one or all of these purposes? In considering the Budget, I would like to separate the capital side of the Budget from the revenue side of the Budget. The capital side of the Budget is concerned with business upon which the Government has thought it right to launch. It is concerned mainly with the running of a number of Government enterprises. Now, these enterprises should be run on business lines and like every businessman Government should try to get money from the capital market, float its own loans and try to carry on business as any businessman would. Therefore, the revenue account should not be organised in order to serve the interests of the capital account. It should not be made to pay for the demands of the capital Budget.

Now, looking at the proposals first, from the standpoint of taxation, taking indirect taxes first—because they form the bulk of our tax resources—the excise duty on crystal sugar and khandsari has been increased. The excise duty on crystal sugar affects the middle-class man, whereas the excise on khandsari affects the common man, the poor man, especially in the villages. One would have expected relief in these matters and also in regard to other indirect taxes, excise duties in regard to things commonly used by the common man—like the excise duty on kerosene, the excise duty on vegetable products, excise duty on footwear, excise duty on cycle parts, etc. I remember the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru saying once that India was marching on

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy] bicycles towards progress. Especially in the rural side that is the only means of transport open to the poor man and if you go on taxing the cycle parts, he will not be able to extend the cycle trade. The excise duty on cotton yarn and cotton fabrics, on the finer counts of fabrics, also has been increased. The Finance Minister has argued that he did this to restrain consumption. No doubt people who use these finer cotton fabrics ought to pay for their luxurious taste, but we must also remember that these finer cotton fabrics are exported outside India, especially to the South-east Asian and African countries. They would appreciate these finer cotton fabrics. The export of cotton fabrics, mill fabrics, has gone down from Rs. 58 crores which it was in 1962-63 to about Rs. 25 crores in more recent years.

Another thing I have not been able to understand is why all our customs duties and excise duties are calculated on weight and volume and why as in other civilised, advanced countries they are not calculated *ad valorem*. No doubt it would be much easier for customs officials and excise officials to assess excise duties and customs duties by weight and volume, but the *ad valorem* system seems to be a more civilised system of collecting indirect taxes.

On direct taxes, I have not been able to understand why the expenditure tax has been abolished altogether. No doubt the income is very small compared to the amount of labour involved, but I do not know how this expenditure tax is calculated. We see a lot of ostentatious, unnecessary expenditure—for instance at the time of marriage feasts and other feasts the large number of electric lights that are used and the large amount of food that is wasted on these occasions; the large number of houses owned by the richer sections of the community; the large number of motor cars used by the business people, etc. I think looking at these ostentatious forms of expenditure, these luxury expenditures, one would think that better organisation would be able to suck in much more money from the expenditure tax than it has been possible for the Finance Ministry. There is a suggestion which I should like to make in regard to all tax collections. In the matter of collection of

direct taxes, income-tax, estate duty, and so on, I do not know whether there is any detective service as there is in the USA. No doubt our customs officials or income-tax officials are trained in the art of—I suppose they are given some training—detection. But then detection is a very specialised form of investigation, especially detection of financial abuses. I think a special service should be started in the Finance Ministry, with special selection and special training of officials, whose main object would be to ferret out all these secret forms of tax evasion that are resorted to in our country. Estate duty has been raised, and no doubt some relief is given in regard to capital gains tax, in regard to the dividend tax, in regard to the surtax which has been reduced from 45 per cent to 30 per cent. But if you at the cumulative effect of all these taxes, they are a burden upon capital. They are a disincentive to the employment of capital in regard to the development of our industries. Then there has been an increase of sales tax, a new tax has been introduced called inter-State sales tax. All this has a great bearing on the common man. The total of the taxes proposed is an increase of taxes to the extent of Rs. 101 crores. In the present economic circumstances of the common man or the poor man, is it justifiable on the part of Government to raise this additional sum of taxes?

The Finance Minister, we are glad to note, has deplored the unauthorised overdrafts of States and he wants to seek some method of preventing these unauthorised overdrafts of the State Governments. But may I point out that this is largely due to the fact that it is the same party that is in power in the States as well as at the Centre? No doubt the Finance Minister and the spokesmen of the ruling Party will say, "It is not our fault; the country has voted Congressmen to power at the Centre as well as in the States." But there is therefore all the greater reason why the Central Government, knowing that the same Party is in power, should have exercised greater control over the extravagant expenditure of the State Governments. It may be for political reasons, for electoral reasons, that the members of the State Government, the Ministers of the State Government, who are also interested in being returned to power again and again, tolerate this

kind of unauthorised overdrafts by the States. But in the interests of the country as a whole, of the people as a whole, the Central Government should have a greater sense of responsibility and see that these States do not go on with this financial rake's progress of extravagant expenditure.

Considering the gap between the promises and the performances in the Finance Minister's statement in trying to explain the gap the Finance Minister has resorted to the monsoons and the hostilities. Well, the monsoon and the hostilities are things we have to live with. The failure of the monsoon is not a new thing, and any Government entrusted with these responsibilities of Government in India should take into consideration the possible failure of monsoons. It was an old Finance Member in the British days who described the financial budget as a gamble on the monsoon. The possible failure of the monsoon therefore has to be taken into consideration and the budget has to be framed with due regard to the possible failure of the monsoon. And hostilities of course we cannot help surrounded as we are by hostile powers. This is the time when there should be a reduction in expenditure which can be avoided. This is not the time for increasing expenditure on plan and non-plan projects. This is not the time for pursuing the Bokaro Steel Plant which is going to absorb hundreds of crores of rupees.

With regard to administrative expenditure, I am confining myself to expenditure on the administrative services, on administrative organisations and not on the services offered by the administrations regarding education, health, and so on. This expenditure which is going to be increased by Rs. 6 crores this year is too costly for the efficiency of the administrative departments. I have heard some ordinary clerks saying that the work of our Secretariat here at the Centre could be done with 25 per cent of the people that are employed in the Secretariat. There is a lot of dawdling going on, lot of doing nothing, going from the desk to the canteen and *vice versa*, talking over nothing in particular. There is a lot of waste of time and waste of effort, and I was shocked to hear the other day from

clerks employed in the administrative services that there is the practice of overtime in the administrative services, that is to say, clerks are paid for working beyond 5 o'clock, and this practice of overtime naturally encourages people to dawdle over the work because they have only to do nothing till 5 o'clock and then get busy in order to earn this overtime. I hope that the Administrative Reforms Commission that has recently been appointed will go into this question of the work of the administrative services and see whether such a large number of employees are required for our Secretariat and for other Central Services.

And then there is the question of the rise in prices. There is nothing in the Budget about controlling inflation. Inflation has been described as the cancer of the body economic. It is eating into the vitals of the economic system. Now, there is large Governmental expenditure on Plan and non-Plan projects, there is this large expenditure on administrative services. I do not refer to the large-scale expenditure that is required for our defence. That is unavoidable in view of the international circumstances in which the country finds itself. I would like to have an increase here, but it is here in the Defence Ministry that there has been a reduction of expenditure. When the Chinese invasion took place, we were promised eight new ordnance factories. Two ordnance factories have not yet been established, only six have been established. In the recent Indo-Pak hostilities, it was probably on account of the breakdown of ammunition that we were not able to deliver a knock-out blow to the Pakistan Army. And even for ammunition we depend upon foreign countries. I believe that the large bulk of our ammunition comes from Czechoslovakia. If we cannot be self-sufficient even in regard to ammunition, how are we going to organise the defence of the country on a secure basis?

Then there is the large-scale evasion of taxes and duties. I have already referred to this matter and I would urge upon the Government to give serious consideration to the establishment of a special detective service of the Finance Ministry which would

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy.]

prevent this evasion of taxes, as is being done in other advanced countries which are interested in saving every penny or every dollar

Yes, in regard to customs duties also, there is much loss of revenue because there is no organised system of preventing smuggling. Customs officials prevent smuggling only near the chief ports and minor ports and in the surrounding areas. We have got a long coastline of about 3,000 miles but that is practically uncovered by any anti-smuggling service, whereas every other country like the United Kingdom or the United States with a long coastline has an organised Coast Guard Service, a permanent, continuously operating Coast Guard, which is given the duty of being on the watch-out not only for storms and other incidents on the sea and going immediately to the rescue of the victims of these storms but also of preventing smuggling.

In conclusion, Mr Vice-Chairman, all that I can say about the Budget is that the Finance Minister has made the best of a bad job. But he has not shown a sense of realism and I hope that the next time, if he is fortunate enough to come back to the Finance Ministry, he will be able to produce a Budget that is based upon the realities of the situation, one that will have, for its object, the relief of the great tax burden that has been imposed upon the common man. If he does so, then he will have learnt from the experience of his first year in the Finance Ministry.

श्री ओम मेहता (जम्मू और काश्मीर) : बाइस चेयरमैन साहब, हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो बजट हमारे सामने रखा है, मैं समझता हूँ कि इन हालात में उससे बेहतर बजट नहीं हो सकता है। लेकिन अच्छा होता कि इसमें ज्यादा रिलीफ फिक्सड इन्कम ग्रुप्स, लोअर मिडिल क्लास और कामनमैन को दिया जाता। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि इन्कमटैक्स को जो लोअर लेवल था उसको बढ़ाकर उन्होंने 4800 कर दिया। लेकिन जो फायदा इससे लोगों को पहुंचता उसे उन्होंने क्लाय,

सिगरेट और दूसरी चीजों में 10 परसेंट एक्साइज ड्यूटी बढ़ाकर खत्म कर दिया। इस वक्त मुल्क में महंगाई बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है, प्राइसेज ऊपर जा रहे हैं, और इससे सब से ज्यादा नुकसान अगर मैं देखता हूँ तो उस ग्रुप का हो रहा है जिसकी फिक्सड इन्कम है, जो सर्विसेज में है और जिनकी आमदनी बहुत कम है। इन तरह से 10 परसेंट जो एक्साइज ड्यूटी बढ़ाई गई है सरचार्ज बढ़ाया गया है इससे लोअर इन्कम ग्रुप वालों का सब से ज्यादा नुकसान होता है और मैं समझता हूँ कि यह अच्छा होता अगर हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब उन लोगों की दुशवारियों और तकलीफों की तरफ ज्यादा तवज्जो देते और उनको कम करते।

इस बजट से जो बढ़ावा हुआ है वह करीब एक अरब का है। ठीक है, इन हालात में यह अच्छा है, लेकिन यह तब अच्छा होता जबकि यह जो बढ़ावा बजट में हुआ है उसका ठीक तौर से इस्तेमाल किया जाता। मैं काश्मीर का रहने वाला हूँ और काश्मीर पर तीन दफा एग्रेसन हुआ है। दो दफा तो पाकिस्तान की तरफ से हुआ और एक दफा चीन की तरफ से एग्रेसन हुआ। हम लोग जो काश्मीर में रहते हैं वे अच्छी तरह से समझते हैं कि वहां पर लोगों को कितनी दुशवारिया हैं, कितनी तकलीफें हैं और कितनी मुश्किलें हैं और किस तरह से वे लोग अपनी गुजर बसर करते हैं। पहली दफा भी जब पाकिस्तान ने हमला किया था तो वह It was an unprovoked aggression. दूसरी दफा जब पाकिस्तान ने इन्फिल्ट्रेटर्स भेजे और भेजकर उन्होंने जो उधम मचाया वह सब को अच्छी तरह से मालूम है। इस तरह की कार्यवाही हमारी तरफ से नहीं हुई बल्कि उनकी तरफ से हुई। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि हमने ताशकंद में पाकिस्तान के साथ सुलह कर ली है। हमने वहां पर पाकिस्तान के साथ इस तरह का समझौता किया ताकि हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान जिस

तरह 1947 से पहले भाई-भाई की तरह रहते थे, उस तरह से आगे रहें। लेकिन हाल ही में पाकिस्तान के जो फारेन मिनिस्टर श्री भुट्टो हैं उन्होंने जो स्टेटमेंट दिये हैं, उससे मुझे शक पैदा हो जाता है कि वह ताशकन्द स्पिरिट पर चल रहा है या नहीं और पाकिस्तान वाले इस बारे में क्या सोच रहे हैं? अभी हाल ही में उन्होंने एक बयान में कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान के साथ पाकिस्तान का जो समझौता हुआ है उसे "नो वार पैक्ट" न समझा जाये। हम काश्मीर में फ्रीडम फाइटरों को उसी तरह से मदद देते रहेंगे जिस तरह से पहले देते आये हैं। इसलिए मैं गवर्नमेंट को चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि जब इस किस्म के स्टेटमेंट आ रहे हैं, दो दफा काश्मीर पर एग्रेसन हो चुका है, तो हमें आगे के लिए बहुत होशियारी के साथ रहना है। दूसरी दफा जब पाकिस्तान ने काश्मीर पर हमला किया था और उसके इन्फिल्ट्रेटर्स श्रीनगर तक घुस आये थे तो हमारी सी० आई० डी० को उनके बारे में कुछ भी पता नहीं चल सका। इस तरह से जो वहां पर दूसरी एजेंसियां थीं उन्हें भी इन लोगों के बारे में मालूम नहीं हो सका। अगर उस वक्त वहां के लोग इन्फिल्ट्रेटर्स का साथ देते तो हिन्दुस्तान की वह हालत नहीं होती जो इस वक्त है। जिस समय पाकिस्तान ने छम्ब के इलाके पर इन्टरनेशनल बाउन्डरी पर एग्रेसन किया, उस वक्त हम लोग तैयार नहीं थे और उसकी सेना 12 मील तक हमारे इलाके में घुस आई। 7 रोज के बाद हमारी सेना को उसका मुकाबला करने के लिए भेजा गया। इसलिए मैं गवर्नमेंट को चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि दो दफा हमारे ऊपर पाकिस्तान ने एग्रेसन कर दिया है और यह स्टेट जो हिन्दुस्तान का एक हिस्सा है उस पर दुबारा पाकिस्तान हमला न कर दे क्योंकि उसके जो इन्टेन्शन हैं वे बहुत ही खराब मालूम दते हैं। मि० भुट्टो ने इधर जो बयान दिये हैं उनसे भी मालूम हो जाता है कि वह दुबारा काश्मीर पर हमला करेगा। यह ठीक है कि हमने

ताशकन्द में उसके साथ एक समझौते पर दस्तखत किये हैं क्योंकि हमारी जो पालिसी है वह हमेशा अमन की पालिसी रही है और हमारे मुल्क ने हमेशा अमन की कोशिश की है। जब पाकिस्तान ने हमारे ऊपर अनप्रवोकड एग्रेसन किया तो उस समय भी हमने अमन का हाथ उसकी तरफ बढ़ाया, लेकिन उसने इसको हमारी कमजोरी समझा और कुछ न कुछ गड़बड़ वह हमेशा करता ही रहा। इसी तरह से अब वह मिजो हिल्स वालों को बगावत करने के लिए भड़का रहा है। पाकिस्तान चाहता है कि जो हमारा कमजोर हिस्सा है वहां पर हमला करे, इस तरह से वह अपनी पुरानी आदत के मुताबिक मिजो हिल्सवालों को आर्म्स और एम्पुनेशन की मदद दे रहा है और उन्हें गुरिल्ला ट्रेनिंग भी दे रहा है। जब हमारी सेना अमन के लिए आगे बढ़ती है जो मिजो हिल्स वाले पाकिस्तान में भाग जाते हैं। इस तरह से पाकिस्तान वाले मिजो हिल्स वालों को हमारे खिलाफ हर तरह की मदद दे रहे हैं। इसलिये इन सब चीजों को देखते हुए यह कोशिश की जाय कि ताशकन्द में पाकिस्तान के साथ जो मुआहिदा हुआ है उसी तरह का कोई और मुआहिदा न हो। अभी हाल ही में हमने ताशकन्द स्पिरिट के तहत पाकिस्तान के हवाई जहाजों को हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर से होकर ईस्ट पाकिस्तान जाने की इजाजत दे दी है। लेकिन आसाम में हमारा जो नेविगेशन है, उसके लिए वह हमें इजाजत नहीं दे रहा है।

उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : श्री ओम मेहता जी, आप दोपहर के बाद कन्टिन्यू कीजियेगा।

The House stands adjourned till 2-30 P.M.

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

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

श्री ओम मेहता : वाइस चेयरमैन, सर, मैं कह रहा था कि हमें किसी भी सूरत में ताशकन्द एग्रीमेन्ट के बाद अपनी विजिलेन्स में कमी नहीं करनी चाहिये क्योंकि पाकिस्तान के ऊपर कोई भरोसा नहीं किया जा सकता। वह ताशकन्द उस वक्त गया जब कि हमारे बहादुर जवानों ने उसका हमला नाकाम बना दिया और उसको डिप्लोमेटिक फील्ड में भी कोई कामियाबी नहीं मिली। उसके बाद अब फिर जो स्टेटमेन्ट्स उनके लीडरों के और वहां के मिनिस्टर्स के आ रहे हैं उससे पाकिस्तान के ऊपर कोई भरोसा नहीं किया जा सकता। इसलिये हमें डिफेंस की तरफ ज्यादा तवज्जह देते हुए अपने को आर्मी-मेंट्स की फैंक्टीज़ में और दूसरी चीजों में सेल्फसफीशियन्ट करना चाहिए ताकि अगर किसी वक्त फिर एग्रेसन हो तो पहले जैसी बात न हो। उस वक्त यह हुआ कि डिफेंस के इक्वीपमेन्ट्स जो हमने मगरबी मुल्कों से, अमेरिका से या इंग्लैण्ड से अपना रुपया देकर खरीदे थे, उन्होंने वह भी बन्द कर दिये थे और वह बन्द करने के बाद हमें जो यहां मुश्किल हुई, वह हम अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। इसलिये वह फतेह जो हमारे बहादुर जवानों ने अपनी जान देकर हमारे लिये हासिल की थी, ऐसा न हो कि हम डिप्लोमेटिक फील्ड में उसको गंवा दें और फिर वही हालत हो जो आज से कुछ अर्सा पहले हुई थी। इसलिये मैं कहूंगा कि हमें ज्यादा विजिलेन्स की ज़रूरत है। इसके साथ-साथ हमारी स्टेट में डेढ़ लाख के करीब लोग रेफ्यूजी बने छम्ब और जोरिया के और अब जब वे वापस जा रहे हैं तो उनको वहां पर सिवाय खंडहर के कुछ नहीं मिल रहा है। इसलिये उनकी तरफ ज्यादा तवज्जह देने की ज़रूरत है ताकि वे अपने मकान बना सकें, अपनी जमीन को आबाद कर सकें। इसके साथ-साथ उनके प्रोटेक्शन की भी

ज्यादा ज़रूरत है। जितनी दफा भी एग्रेसन हुआ, उतनी दफा वे तबाह हुए और अब वे बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिये हमें चाहिये कि हम अपने डिफेंस को मजबूत करते हुए वहां पर लोगों को फुल प्रोटेक्शन अश्योर करें ताकि वे वहां पर जाकर बस जायें।

हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो बजट रखा है, मैं समझता था कि मानोपलीज़ इनक्वायरी कमीशन की रिपोर्ट जब उनके सामने है, तो जो हमारे यहां 80 बड़े-बड़े घर हैं उनकी मानोपली को तोड़ने के लिये इस दफा कुछ न कुछ इस बजट में ज़रूर लाये होंगे। लेकिन मुझे अफसोस हुआ जब मुझे इस किस्म की उसमें कोई चीज नज़र नहीं आई। मानोपलीज़ कमीशन ने भी यही कहा था अपनी रिपोर्ट में कि यह एक डेजर है, इस मुल्क के लिये एक खतरा है और इस खतरे को हम दूर करना चाहिये ताकि यह खतरा इतना ज्यादा न बढ़े कि हमारे मुल्क की जो इकोनामी है वह उनके हाथों में चली जाय। इसमें वावजूद उन्होंने कुछ भी नहीं किया। मैं आपको एक छोटी सी बात बताना चाहता हूं कि मानोपलीज़ कंट्रोल क्या है। कुछ अर्सा हुए जब यहां पर एक कमेटी बनी थी, झा कमेटी, जिस को एक रिपोर्ट देनी थी स्माल कार्स के मुताल्लिक। सन् 1959 में आज से सात साल पहले वह कमेटी बनाई गई थी स्माल कार प्रोजेक्ट के लिये। उसने अपनी रिपोर्ट भी दे दी है, लेकिन अफसोस है कि आज सात साल से उस रिपोर्ट पर गौर हो रहा है यह बताया जाता है कि हमारे पास विदेशी मुद्रा नहीं है या यह कहा जाता है कि इस वक्त फिज़िबल नहीं है कि हम इस वक्त स्माल कार प्रोजेक्ट को चला सकें। अभी-अभी जो जवाब दिया है हमारे आनरेरी मिनिस्टर ने लोक सभा में, उसको मैं पढ़कर सुना देता हूं। वे कहते हैं।

"The Union Government is examining a report furnished by the firm of Renaults of France in respect of a small car project."

इसके अलावा यह कहते हैं :—

"The Mysore Chief Minister, Mr. S Nyalingappa, had suggested that the prototype of a car developed by the Hindustan Aeronautics might be taken up for commercial manufacture. The Union Government had requested the Mysore Government to furnish full particulars of the scheme."

इसके जवाब में मिस्टर निजलिंगप्पा यह कहते हैं ।

"Mr. Nyalingappa told newsmen here some time ago that the car which his Government had recommended was not prototype but something which had been designed with 100 per cent. indigenous components. He believed that it could be put on the road for Rs 5,000 or so"

इस वक्त जो फियट, स्टैंडर्ड या ऐम्बसेडर कारें मिल रही हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि उनकी जो कीमत है उसके मुकाबिले में वे कुछ भी नहीं हैं क्योंकि उन्होंने एक मानोपली बना रखी है और उस मानोपली की वजह से वे 17 या 18 हजार में एक टोन का खिलौना दे रहे हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य - ब्लैकमार्केट में तो 25 हजार की मिल रही है।

श्री ओम मेहता: उनको जो प्रोटेक्शन दिया गया है उसकी वजह से आज लोगों को वह कारें ब्लैकमार्केट में खरीदना पड़ रहा है। फ्रांस में रिनॉल्ट ने 1959 या 1960 में जो एक प्रोजेक्ट दिया था वह मैं पढ़ कर सुना देता हूँ :

"The whole plant would cost Rs. 2.5 crores. Renault would invest about Rs 1.2 crores and we would require only Rs. 1.2 crores for which the possibility of credit has been indicated. It will start production in 18 months and to start with indigenous content will be 50 per cent. In another 6 months, the percentage will rise to 63 and in further six months to 77, and over a period of 15 months it would be 91 per cent."

और 50,000 कारों की उन्होंने गारंटी की थी। उन्होंने यह कहा था कि 50,000 कारें वे एक साल में बनायेंगे जो कि हमारे यहां की जरूरत थी। इसमें बावजूद कुछ लोगों को प्रोटेक्शन देने की वजह से हम उनको 2.5 करोड़ रु० की विदेशी मुद्रा नहीं दे सके क्योंकि हमारे पास उसकी कमी थी। लेकिन इसके मुकाबिले में अभी अभी जो हमें एक बुलेटिन कामर्स मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ से दिया गया है :

"Annual bulletin of statistics exports and imports, 1964 and 1965" "इसमें बताया गया है कि

	Lacs
Component parts of diesel engines for motor vehicles (including tractors)	438
Component parts of petrol engines for motor vehicles	104
Bodies, chassis, frames and other parts of motor vehicles other than motor cycles	2,096
TOTAL	2,638

इसके मुकाबिले में वह जितनी बार्स प्रोड्यूस करते हैं वह है 23,227 और इतनी मुद्रा देने के बाद भी वह हमें एक घटिया विस्म की कार मिल रही है। यह प्रोटेक्शन दिया जा रहा है, इसलिये मैं गवर्नमेंट से बतूंगा कि इस मानोपलीज कंट्रोल को तोड़ कर कमजोर कम स्माल कार प्रोजेक्ट को शुरू किया जाय जो 6 साल से बस्ते खामोशी में पड़ा हुआ है। इस सिलसिले में कई दफा लोग एजीटेड हुए यहां पर और लोक सभा में भी और हर दफा किसी न किसी वजह से कहा जाता है कि यह फीजिबल नहीं है, वभी कहा जाता है कि विदेशी मुद्रा नहीं है और वभी कहा जाता है कि अभी स्टडी कर रहे हैं ; इसमें अलावा हिन्दुस्तान एरोनाटिक्स वालों ने कहा है कि हमें बिल्कुल विदेशी मुद्रा नहीं चाहिये, हम 100 परसेंट सामान यही का लगायेंगे और 5 हजार में हम कार बनायेंगे। फिर भी

[श्री ओम मेहता]

मेरी समझ में यह नहीं आता है कि उनको क्यों इजाजत नहीं दी जा रही है और क्यों नहीं उनसे कहा जाता है कि अगर आप को विदेशी मुद्रा की जरूरत नहीं है तो आप बनाइए। लेकिन प्रोटेक्शन देने के लिये यह सब किया जा रहा है।

अभी कुछ दिन हुए जब यहां पर एक क्वेश्चन के जवाब में यह कहा गया था कि हमारे जो 30 हजार 4 करोड़ ट्रैक्टर हैं मध्य प्रदेश में, वे बेकार पड़े हुए हैं क्योंकि उनके स्पेयर पार्ट्स के लिये हमारे पास विदेशी मुद्रा नहीं है, फारेन एक्सचेंज नहीं है और इस लिये हम उन ट्रैक्टर को रिपेयर नहीं कर सकते और वह 30 हजार के 30 हजार ट्रैक्टर बेकार पड़े हुए हैं। मैं अभी यह रिपोर्ट पढ़ रहा था तो मैंने यह देखा कि सिर्फ 1965 में आर्टिफीशियल सिल्क के लिये 53 लाख 80 का फारेन एक्सचेंज खर्च किया गया। जब हमारे यहां रीयर सिल्क काफी होता है तो यह 53 लाख 80 का आर्टिफीशियल सिल्क मंगवाने की क्या जरूरत थी? फिर यह Pearls and precious and semi-precious stones unworked or worked 1 करोड़ 30 लाख 80 का मंगवाया गया। बैसे आज हालत यह है कि हमारा मुल्क दूसरों के सामने हाथ फैला रहा है, आज हम अपनी झोली फैला रहे हैं सारी दुनिया के आगे क्योंकि हमारे पास खुराक नहीं है, खाना नहीं है। आज हम खाना माग रहे हैं कभी अमेरिका से, कभी किसी मुल्क से क्योंकि हम अपने प्रोडक्शन को उस लेवल पर नहीं ला सके जिस लेवल पर हम उसको लाना चाहते थे। फिर भी डीजेल इंजिन्स और ट्रैक्टर जो हमारे यहां हैं उनको हम ठीक नहीं रख सके ताकि वे हमारा प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा सके क्योंकि हमारे पास विदेशी मुद्रा नहीं है। इसके मुकामिले में प्रेशस स्टोन्स, आर्टिफीशियल सिल्क और इसी किस्म की कई चीजें हैं जिनके लिये आप देखेंगे कि विदेशी

मुद्रा हमने दे दी, लेकिन इसेशियल चीजों के लिये नहीं दी। मैं यह चाहूंगा कि यह नेशन-लाइज किया जाय जिससे हमारा मुल्क दूसरों के सामने हाथ न फैलाए। इसकी तरफ ज्यादा तवज्जह दी जाय जिससे मुल्क को ऐसे संकट का सामना न करना पड़े।

इसी तरह से मैं अभी-अभी एक् ट्रेवेलिंग पढ़ रहा था कि 100 पी० एस० मेनन का। उन्होंने लिखा है कि 1947 में जापान में—जब वे वहां से गुजरे—गिरा हुई दीवारों, टूटे हुए पत्थरों रबल के अम्बार नजर आते थे। '47 में जब वे वेस्ट जर्मनी या ईस्ट जर्मनी गए तो वहां कोई बिल्डिंग ऐसी नहीं थी जो खड़ी हो या सालम हो, लेकिन आज 1965 में, 1966 में वे मुल्क जमीन से आसमान में पहुंच गए। '65 में फिर दुबारा जापान गए। वह लिखते हैं—वहां इतनी बड़ी-बड़ी इमारतें थी। जहां '47 में एक-आध कार नजर आती थी, आज वहां कारों की एक मील लम्बी कतार लगी हुई थी। वह कहते हैं कि दूसरी चीजों में भी इतनी प्रोस्पेरिटी थी कि मैं समझ नहीं सकता था कि ये वही मुल्क है जिन्हें वार ने, जंग ने तबाह करके रख दिया था। जापान फिर वहां पहुंच गया है, जहां जंग से पहले था। इसी तरह से वेस्ट जर्मनी ने भी तरक्की की और ईस्ट जर्मनी ने भी तरक्की की। क्या वजह है कि आज हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद हुए 19 साल का अरसा हुआ और अब भी हमें दूसरों से मांगना पड़ता है। परसों मैंने अखबार में देखा कि जापान हमें चावल देगा। इतना छोटा मुल्क, जिसमें इतनी गुजान आबादी है, बिल्कुल लैड नहीं है, वह भी हमें चावल दे सकता है। हमारे पास उनसे कई गुना सैबड़ों गुना जमीन है, जनशक्ति है, सब कुछ है, फिर भी हमें मांगना पड़ता है। मैं उम्मीद करूंगा कि जो थोड़ी सी मैंने अर्जंदाशत की उनकी तरफ तवज्जह दी जायगी।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, हमारे सामने जो बजट पेश

हुआ है उसको देखते हुए बजट के बारे में तो बहुत कम बोलना ही मुनासिब समझता हूँ क्योंकि मैं यह नहीं समझता कि यह सरकार जिस ढंग से चल रही है और जिस नीति को अपना कर चल रही है उस अवस्था में कोई दूसरे ढंग का बजट पेश कर सकती। कुछ इधर-उधर का हेरफेर जरूर किया है वित्त मंत्री ने, लेकिन उसका ज्यादा असर न हिन्दुस्तान की आर्थिक स्थिति पर पड़ने वाला है, न हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ नीति पर पड़ने वाला है। असल में उन्होंने जो आज कल की व्यवस्था है उसको कायम रखने की कोशिश की है। यहां तक तो वे सफल रहे हैं। थोड़ा बहुत नमक और मिर्च जरूर उन्होंने जोड़ दिया, कहीं डीजल आयल पर, कहीं चीनी पर और इस तरह की जनोपयोगी वस्तुओं पर उन्होंने ड्यूटी वगैरह बढ़ाकर दाम बढ़ने का जो सिलसिला है कि दाम बढ़ते चले जाये उसको कायम रखने की कोशिश की है और उसमें वे सफल हो जाएंगे क्योंकि दाम बढ़ते जाएंगे।

जब हम स्वतन्त्र हुए उस वक्त 1500 करोड़ की विदेशी मुद्रा हमारे पास थी और आज अवस्था यह है कि हमें दुनिया भर में सबको कर्ज अदा करना पड़ रहा है। विदेशी मुद्रा की इतनी कमी है और हम कर्ज लेने के लिए तैयार हैं।

श्री अकबर अली खान (आंध्र प्रदेश) : डेवलपमेंट का खर्च भी है।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : डेवलपमेंट की बात मैं थोड़ी देर में करूंगा। यहां तक कर्ज है हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के ऊपर—6,000 करोड़ रुपया कर्ज है—कि आज अगर उसे हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों में बांटें तो फी आदमी 12-13 रुपया पड़ेगा, यानी हिन्दुस्तान के हर आदमी के ऊपर 12-13 रुपए का कर्ज सवार है और चलते-चलते और भी यह बढ़ता जायगा। जैसा अभी कहा गया, डेवलपमेंट का खर्च है। डेवलपमेंट का खर्च तो होता ही रहेगा जिस ढंग

का डेवलपमेंट आज हो रहा है और वह खर्च बढ़ता-बढ़ता हिन्दुस्तान के हर नागरिक के ऊपर बोझ बनता जायगा। आज 12-13 से लेकर दो-तीन साल के अन्दर वह 20 या 20 रुपए के करीब हो जायगा। इस ढंग से हम अपनी नीति को चलाएंगे तो हमारे मुल्क को कहीं न कहीं जाकर डूबना पड़ेगा।

श्री अकबर अली खान : नहीं।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : एक साल नहीं, तीन साल के बाद, पांच साल के बाद सही, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की सारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था डूबेगी क्योंकि इसका दूसरा कोई इलाज आप नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। सरकार की जो भी नीति अभी चल रही है उससे यही भालूम होना है कि उसके पास कोई दूसरी नीति नहीं है। इसी को चलाने के लिए आप बहुत कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि किसी तरह इसी को चलाते रहे और अपने दिन काट दे। बाद में जो आएंगे, जो भी सरकार में बैठेंगे वे अपना मत्था फोड़ेंगे उनके पास चाहे नीति हो या न हो, वे देश को डुबाएँ, लेकिन हम अपने वक्त को काट लें, यही सरकार की नीति हो रही है। इस ढंग से हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ व्यवस्था चले तो मैं नहीं समझता कि हिन्दुस्तान का कल्याण होने वाला है।

डेवलपमेंट की बात कहते हैं। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान जब से आजाद हुआ उसके बाद कुछ न कुछ यहां प्रोजेक्ट बने हैं, कुछ फैक्ट्रियां भी बनी हैं। लेकिन हर एक देश में एक अर्थ व्यवस्था होती है, वह कभी स्टेनेट नहीं करती, उसकी इकानामी कर्भा रुकती नजर नहीं आती, उसका अपना मोमेंटम रहता है और वह चलते-चलते बढ़ता जाता है। असल में हम लोगों को यह देखना पड़ेगा कि इसकी रफ्तार क्या है, इसके डेवलपमेंट की रफ्तार क्या है, और देशों में जो डेवलपमेंट हो रहा है उसके मुकाबले में कहां तक हम डेवलपमेंट कर पाए हैं। यह असली कंसाटी

[श्री गोडे मुराहरि]

होगी अगर हम लोगों के डेवलपमेंट का कोई मतलब है। हम अगर इस कसौटी पर देखेंगे तो डेवलपमेंट की बात हमको नहीं कहनी चाहिए। अफ्रीका के भी कुछ देश हम से भी पिछड़े थे, वे भी हमसे ज्यादा इनकम पर हैं।

श्री अकबर अली खान : कौन से अफ्रीका के देश हमसे बेहतर हैं ?

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : घाना आप से बढ़ कर है।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: We have been to Ghana and we have seen it.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : इसलिए इस ढंग की बात कह देना कि डेवलपमेंट पर खर्च हुआ है, सही नहीं है। इसमें और चीज देखनी पड़ेगी। जितना खर्च होता है ज्यादातर खर्च नान-डेवलपमेंट और नान-प्लान एक्सपेंडीचर पर हो रहा है। इसको कम करने की अभी तक कोई कोशिश नहीं की गई।

वित्त मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र) : कोशिश हुई है।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : जो सिविल एक्सपेंडीचर है, नान-डेवलपमेंट एक्सपेंडीचर है उसको कम किया जाय।

साथ ही साथ मैं यह चाहूंगा कि जिस ढंग से आप प्लानिंग में कैपिटल की दृष्टि से प्लान करते हैं, इसको छोड़ कर लेबर इन्टेन्सिव प्लान करें। हिन्दुस्तान जैसे देश में जहां पर लेबर की शक्ति ज्यादा है, जहां अनएम्प्लायमेंट बहुत ज्यादा है, वहां पर कैपिटल को ध्यान में रख कर प्लान करना बहुत बुद्धिहीनता होगी। मैं अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि 18 वर्ष में हमने यही काम किया कि दूसरे मुल्कों की नकल की। दूसरों पर पूंजी है, उनकी नकल हम करते आए हैं, और हमारे पास जो पूंजी है, जो मनुष्य की शक्ति है उसको इस्तेमाल न करके कैपिटल फार्मेशन के चक्कर में

हमने गलत प्लानिंग की और आज हम उसका नतीजा देख रहे हैं कि किस अवस्था में हम पहुंच गए हैं। सरकार से मैं कहूंगा कि प्लान की बुनियाद बदलें। मैं जानता हूं कि जब तक यह सरकार बैठी रहेगी तब तक यह प्लान की नीति नहीं बदलेगी। यह कहना कुछ बेकार सा ही है, लेकिन मैं इसलिए कह रहा हूं कि जो सरकार आएगी वह इस दृष्टि से काम कर सकेगी।

अब मैं कुछ एक्सपोर्ट्स के बारे में भी कहना चाहूंगा। यह देखेंगे कि 1965 में हमारा जो एक्सपोर्ट था वह दो करोड़ से भी ज्यादा गिर गया। और इसका एक ही कारण था कि हमारा जो एग्रीकल्चर प्रोडक्शन है वह इस साल गिर गया और उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि एक्सपोर्ट भी गिरा। तो सारा चक्कर आ कर के कृषि पर रुक जाता है। तो कृषि के बारे में हमने जो नीति अभी तक अपनाई उसके बारे में भी हमको सोचना चाहिये। आज जो स्थिति अन्न के सम्बन्ध में हिन्दुस्तान में है उसको देखते हुए यह साफ है कि सरकार ने जो भी नीति कृषि के बारे में अब तक चलाई है वह असफल रही है। हम यह बात सालों से सुनते आये हैं कि 10 साल में सेल्फ सफिशियेंट हो जायेंगे, या कभी यह कह दिया गया कि हम 1952 ई० में सेल्फ सफिशियेंट हो जायेंगे। कभी यह कहा गया कि और पांच साल में सेल्फ सफिशियेंट हो जायेंगे लेकिन हर साल सेल्फ सफिशियेंट भी होते हैं और फिर दूसरे साल यह भी कहा जाता है कि क्या करें ऐसी कुछ नैचुरल कैटास्ट्राफी हो गई है इसलिए देश में अकाल पड़ गया है, इसके लिये हम तो जिम्मेदार नहीं, यह तो कुदरती है। तो एक तरफ तो कुदरत पर निर्भर करें और दूसरी तरफ यह भी कहें कि सेल्फ सफिशियेंट हो जायेंगे, तो यह जो दो-तरफा चीज है यह तो एक जानवर ही सिर्फ करता है और मैं समझता हूं कि कम से कम कांग्रेस को और सरकार को उस जानवर की नकल नहीं करनी चाहिये।

अन्न के बारे में कई बार यह कहा गया कि जब तक भूमि के बारे में नीति नहीं बदलेगी तब तक अन्न की पैदावार बढ़ नहीं सकती। यह भी कहा गया था कि जब तक छोटे किसान के ऊपर जो लगान है उसको माफ नहीं करते तब तक किसान लगान के चक्कर में जो अपना समय और शक्ति नष्ट करता है उसके चलते जो कृषि को नुकसान होता है वह रोक नहीं सकते। इसलिये बार-बार सरकार को यह कहा गया था कि जो छोटे किसान हैं उन पर से लगान माफ किया जाय लेकिन अब तक सरकार यह सोचती नहीं और उसमें यह दलील दी जाती है कि अगर हम लगान माफ कर देते हैं तो फिर उस पैसे की पूर्ति कहां से होगी। मैं तो आपको सिर्फ यही कहना चाहूंगा कि जहां तक किसानों के ऊपर लगान का सवाल है वह आपकी रेवेन्यू का एक प्रतिशत से भी कम है और उसको माफ करने से कोई इतना बड़ा नुकसान नहीं होगा, ऐसा मैं मानता हूं, और उससे फायदा यह जरूर होगा कि जो छोटे किसान हैं वे इस चक्कर से निवृत्त हो कर उत्पादन की ओर ध्यान दे सकेंगे। अब, यह कह देना कि फर्टिलाइजर की कमी से हमारे देश में उत्पादन नहीं हो रहा है, इस चीज को भी मैं मानने को तैयार नहीं हूं क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान में जिस ढंग की खेती चलती है उसको दृष्टि में रखकर हम चलेंगे तो मैं कहूंगा कि उसे केमिकल फर्टिलाइजर दे देना बड़ी मूर्खता की बात होगी क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान का किसान बिना फर्टिलाइजर के, बिना केमिकल फर्टिलाइजर के, अपना काम चलाते हैं अपने घर के फर्टिलाइजर से जो कि वह गांव में कम्पोस्ट वगैरह से पैदा कर लेते हैं। तो सरकार को यह चाहिये था कि अगर कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाने की कोई योजना बनाती तो पहले किसान जो अपने गांव में पैदा कर सकते हैं उस ढंग के फर्टिलाइजर्स के बारे में ध्यान देती और इस तरह के इरिगेशन प्राजेक्ट्स पर भी ध्यान देती जो कि सारे देश में भूमि को जो पानी की कमी है उसकी पूर्ति कर सकती लेकिन हमने यह

देखा कि बड़े बड़े कुछ प्राजेक्ट्स जरूर बने हैं—मैं यह मानने को तैयार हूं कि उन प्राजेक्ट्स के इर्दगिर्द में कुछ हजार एकड़ के इरिगेशन की पूर्ति हुई है लेकिन सारे देश में जो पानी की कमी है उसकी पूर्ति अभी तक नहीं हो पाई है इसलिये कि हमने अपना ध्यान छोटे इरिगेशन प्राजेक्ट्स पर नहीं दिया, हमारा ध्यान बड़े बड़े प्राजेक्ट्स पर ही रह गया। तो मैं यह चाहूंगा कि इस ओर भी सरकार अपनी दृष्टि मोड़े और बड़े-बड़े प्राजेक्ट्स के फेर में पड़ कर वहां अपना पैसा, अपनी पूंजी लगाने के बजाय छोटी-छोटी इरिगेशन प्राजेक्ट्स सारे देश में किये होते तो सारे देश में कृषि का उत्पादन बढ़ा होता और हम लोग कहीं ज्यादा कृषि के उत्पादन की बढ़ोतरी कर देते बजाय इसके कि जो बड़े-बड़े प्राजेक्ट्स हैं वे इर्दगिर्द कुछ हजार एकड़ में ही किये हैं।

तो आप ये सारी चीजें देखें कि एक चक्कर है हिन्दुस्तान में और वह चक्कर है बड़े लोगों का। मैं तो आज यह दावा करना चाहता हूं कि सरकार, सरकार की मशीनरी, सरकारी अफसर ज्यादातर बड़े लोगों के गुण होते हैं, बड़े लोगों के कुछ समर्थक होते हैं इसलिये जो भी प्राजेक्ट की बात आप करेंगे, जो भी प्लान करने की बात आप करेंगे तो पहले इस चीज का पता लगायेंगे कि फलां साहब को उसमें कितना नुकसान होता है, बिरला साहब को कितना नुकसान होता है, टाटा साहब को कितना नुकसान होता है, यह पहले कुछ लोग सोच लेते हैं फिर बाद में जो भी प्लान और प्राजेक्ट बनता है उसके इम्प्लीमेंटेशन के बारे में होता है। और साथ-साथ जो पब्लिक सेक्टर में कम्पनियां हैं उसके बारे में भी मैं यही कहना चाहूंगा कि उसके जो बड़े अफसर हैं उनमें से कई अफसर ऐसे निकले हैं जो पब्लिक कम्पनी में चार-पांच साल काम करते रहे और फिर बाद में कोई प्राइवेट कम्पनी अफसर बन गये। इसका मतलब यह होता है कि उनका ताल्लुक पहले से प्राइवेट कम्पनी

[श्री गोडे मुराहरि]

के साथ रहा और जो चार-पांच साल पब्लिक कम्पनी में काम किया वह उसके इशारे में किया जो कि प्राइवेट कम्पनी का मालिक है। इस ढंग की चीज़ हिन्दुस्तान में चलने लगी तो मैं तो यही कहूंगा कि जो लोगों का, जो जनता का पैसा है उसकी खुल्लमखुल्ला लूट चली आ रही है, हिन्दुस्तान में और उसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी सरकार पर है। लेकिन सरकार इसके बारे में कुछ कर भी नहीं सकेगी क्योंकि सरकार खुद इन बड़े लोगों के असर में गिरफ्तार है और इसलिये वह इसके बारे में कुछ कर नहीं पायेगी यह मैं जानता हूँ।

कुछ करप्शन की बात की गई। हमारे होम मिनिस्टर ने बड़े-बड़े लम्बे-चौड़े बयान दिये। बोले कि दो साल के अन्दर अगर मैंने करप्शन खत्म नहीं किया तो मैं खुद इस्तीफा दे दूंगा लेकिन दो साल क्या अभी चार साल होने को है। अब उस बात को तो दुहराते नहीं लेकिन उन्होंने बड़ी आसानी से यह बात कह दी। तो मैं चाहूंगा कि मंत्री लोग कम से कम अपने बारे में इतनी घमंड की बात न करें। अगर नन्दा जी ने, हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने, यह सोचा होता कि करप्शन के बारे में कुछ करेंगे तो उनको कुछ कर के दिखाना था लेकिन यह कहना कि मैं नहीं कर पाया तो इस्तीफा दे दूंगा और बाद में उस चीज़ को निभाना नहीं, कुछ शोभा नहीं देता। न सिर्फ गृह मंत्री के बारे में बल्कि हर मंत्री के बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा।

एक चीज़ हम यह भी देखते हैं कि सदन में एक बात कही जाती है और बाहर में कोई और चीज़ उसके बिल्कुल विपरीत कही जाती है। इसका मतलब यह होता है कि कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को धोखा में रखने की एक साजिश है। प्रधान मंत्री यहां पर आ कर एक बयान कर देती हैं, अभी परसों एक बयान उन्होंने किया कि पटनायक साहब को मैंने यों ही बुलाया, वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने आदेश

दिया इसीलिये मैंने बुलाया और बिल्कुल दूसरे दिन वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर बयान देते हैं कि मैंने ऐसी कोई बात कही नहीं, मैंने तो सिर्फ यही कहा कि कांग्रेस वर्किंग कमेटी में बुला लो। तो वर्किंग कमेटी की बात चीफ मिनिस्टर्स कांग्रेस को एप्लाइ की गई, लोगों को धोखा देने की कोशिश की गई।

मैं एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा। इस सदन में कभी एक बयान दिया जाता है। खैर, उसको छोड़िये, मैं उसको कहना नहीं चाहता हूँ।

अभी हाल में एक चीज़ पूछी गई इसलिये इसका जिक्र भी कर दू। वह यहां बैठे हैं। लोक सभा में उन्होंने ए. ब. नानावती हवेली राम को लेकर इन्होंने कहा कि उस दिन जब चमनलाल एंड कम्पनी—जिसके साथ कुछ हवेली राम के साहबजादे के ताल्लुकात थे—में संचर्च वगैरह हुई तो दोनों मिनिस्टर बंगलौर में थे इसलिये हमें तो कुछ पता नहीं। इस ढंग का एक बयान करना बिल्कुल गलत है और लोगों को मिसलीड करने की बात है क्योंकि मैं यह नहीं समझता कि जब वित्त मंत्री या गृह मंत्री कही पर खर्च करवाते हैं किसी के घर में खर्च करवाते हैं, तो श्री टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी साहब और नन्दा साहब वहां बैठे रहते हो कि खर्च कैसे हो रहा है इसकी तहकीकात करें, यह तो उनके अफसर लोग करते हैं। तो इसलिये ये मंत्री पद में बैठे हुए हैं और उनका आफिसर यहां खर्च करे तो उसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि

श्री सी० डी० पांडे (उत्तर प्रदेश) : वह इन्टरफियरेन्स नहीं कर सकता है।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : वह करेंगे नहीं। क्यों नहीं करेंगे वह सच तो करवा देंगे इन्टरफियरेन्स नहीं करेंगे, दूर बैठ कर तमाशा देखेंगे। यह तो चलता है। लेकिन ऐसी बातें यहां करना ठीक नहीं है। (Time bell rings.)

अभी मैं दो-तीन मिनट में खत्म करता हूँ। तमाम हिन्दुस्तान में एक तरफ तो हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था खराब हो रही है दूसरी तरफ यहाँ का भ्रष्टाचार का जो मामला है वहाँ पर दिन ब दिन खराबी होती जा रही है और तीसरी तरफ हम एक भयानक चीज़ देख रहे हैं कि जगह-जगह लूटमार और कत्ल हो रहे हैं। कभी अन्न की समस्या को लेकर होता है, कभी पंजाबी सूबे की समस्या को लेकर होता है लेकिन जगह-जगह पर यह हो रहा है और इसका आप लोगों को सोच-समझ कर कुछ नतीजा निकालना चाहिये

श्री सी० डी० पांडे : इसमें आपको सोचना चाहिये।

श्री गोड़े मुराहरि : मगर लोगों को इस सरकार के प्रति विश्वास निकल गया है और इस सरकार की करतूतों के कारण हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसी एक अवस्था पैदा हो रही है कि लोग अपने हाथ में ला एन्ड आर्डर को लेकर चल रहे हैं। इसका मतलब यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार बिल्कुल नालायक और विश्वास प्राप्ति के योग्य नहीं है हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के। अगर यह अव्यवस्था और कुछ महीने चल तो हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसी स्थिति आ सकती है कि सरकार बिल्कुल नाकाम हो जायगी। इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा, सरकार को भी इस बारे में सोचना चाहिये। यह कह देना कि अपोजिशन वाले कुछ हल्ला कर रहे हैं, या चूँकि इलेक्शन आ रहे हैं इसलिये कुछ अपोजिशन पार्टी वाले अभी से कुछ हल्ला वगैरह मचाना चाहते हैं ताकि पब्लिसिटी मिल जाय, यह एक बचकाने की दलील हो सकती है, क्योंकि अन्न समस्या को अपोजिशन पार्टी ने यहाँ उत्पन्न नहीं किया, बल्कि सरकार की नीति ने उत्पन्न किया और न पंजाबी सूबा की जो बात हुई है उसको अपोजिशन पार्टी ने उत्पन्न किया है। पंजाबी सूबा के प्रति सात साल तक उसके विरोध में आपने एक वातावरण पैदा किया। कांग्रेस पार्टी और प्रधान मंत्री की तरफ से भी ये बयानात हुए कि पंजाबी सूबा को हम हर्गिज नहीं होने देंगे और इलेक्शन के कुछ महीने

पहले आप एकदम से आज आकर के उसके बारे में एक फैसला कर लेते हो कि पंजाबी सूबा दिया जायगा। इसका मतलब क्या हुआ ? अगर इलेक्शन को दृष्टि में रखकर कोई काम हो रहा है तो फिर वह इस सरकार का ही हो रहा है, अपोजिशन का नहीं। पंजाबी सूबा की जब मांग हुई थी उसी समय वह दे दिया होता तो यह आरोप नहीं लगता। लेकिन उस सवाल को इतना उलझा कर रखते हैं और पंजाबी सूबा के बारे में निर्णय लेते हैं और फिर जब वहाँ गड़बड़ होती है तो फिर अपोजिशन वालों से कहते हैं कि ये विरोधी दल हमेशा गड़बड़ करते हैं, क्योंकि इलेक्शन आ रहे हैं। यह तो बिल्कुल बचकाना सी बात है। इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा सरकार इन सब चीजों के बारे में सोचे और असल में जब तक लोगों की जान व माल का मूल्य इस देश में नहीं होगा तब तक कोई चीज़ सुधरने वाली नहीं है। अपनी दिमाग में फर्क करो कि या तो लोगों की जान का मूल्य है या सम्पत्ति का मूल्य है। और लोगों की जान का मूल्य है तो फिर बर्ताव भी बदलना पड़ेगा, पुलिस को भी बदलना पड़ेगा, सरकार को भी बदलना पड़ेगा फिर जाकर लोगों को भी विश्वास होगा कि हमारा इस देश में कुछ स्थान है, हमारी जान की भी कुछ कीमत है। इसलिये हम भी थोड़ा इस बारे में सोच समझ कर काम करेंगे। जब यह दो तरह की चीज़ होगी तभी इस देश में शांति कायम हो सकेगी वरना इसी ढंग से काम चलते रहेंगे और हिन्दुस्तान की हालत बिगड़ती जायगी।

श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र : मैं एक एक्स-प्लेनेशन देना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने कहा, मुझे देख कर उनको उत्तेजना हुई और उन्होंने कुछ कह दिया। मुराहरि साहब लोक सभा में नहीं थे। मैंने वह सब नहीं कहा क्योंकि मैं बंगलौर में था। आपके जो साथी लोक सभा में हैं उन्होंने भी यही बात कही थी कि मुझ को देखकर उन्हें कुछ याद आया। तो आज हमको देखकर आपको भी याद आती है। उनको भी मुझे ही देखकर याद आया।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : क्योंकि आप होम मिनिस्ट्री में रह चुके हैं ।

श्री ललित नारायण मिश्र : उन्होंने यह कहा कि हमने जिनका नाम लिया गया उनके घर में 'रेड' रोकने की, 'हश अप' करने की कोशिश की । मैं तो जिस दिन रेड हुई 24 जुलाई को, यहाँ नहीं था, बाहर था । हमने कहा आफिसर्स से कि अगर नन्दा जी यहाँ होते तो हालत खराब कर देते । नन्दाजी यहाँ नहीं थे और मैं भी यहाँ नहीं था, मैं बंगलौर में था और हमने असल बात यह कही कि हम यहाँ हो या कहीं भी हो, किसी भी हालत में इन्कमटैक्स इन्फोर्समेन्ट आफिसर को कोई बात नहीं कही, कोई शब्द नहीं कहा । कभी किसी को बचाने की हमने कोशिश नहीं की है । मैं आज भी कहता हूँ, वहाँ भी कहता था और फिर दुबारा कहता हूँ कि किसी को शील्ड करने की, बचाने की हमने कभी कोई कोशिश नहीं की है ।

SHRI C. D. PANDE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is a matter of deep regret that this year the Budget Session has not evoked the same amount of enthusiasm or controversy in the country as used to be the case on earlier occasions. The entire atmosphere in the country is suffused with other things happening in the country. Our minds are exercised as to what will happen to the institutions which we cherish. I am grateful to Mr. Murahari for referring to this situation though in a different context, different from the one I have in mind. I feel that there is deep-rooted conspiracy by certain parties of the extreme left or extreme right which are determined to create disturbances in the country. It is not a matter of food. I agree that food is not the cause. There may be scarcity, there may be and is some difficulty in getting food but the parties which do not believe in democratic institutions are conspiring and working in a manner so that these institutions may be discredited in the public eyes. They create disturbances purposely. They announce a *bundh* here and a *bundh* there. We have heard of the Ahmedabad *Bundh*, the Kerala *Bundh* and ultimately the

Calcutta *Bundh*. The Bihar *Bundh* is also in the offing. I also do not agree with the Government that these movements are created for the purpose of winning the elections. It may be the aim of some party but I tell you that the reasons for creating all these disturbances are neither elections nor the food situation. The reasons are that certain parties—yours may not be one of them—are determined to create lawlessness in the country so that they may fish in troubled waters. They are just making experiments at paralysing the Government. They have done it once or twice here or there partially. After some time, when they gain confidence and if they can do so with impunity, they will not hesitate to seize power. That is the danger that Government should be aware of. With that in view, they should take such action in the country that they maintain law and order at all costs, they maintain the stability of the Government at all costs. This internal danger is a great enemy, I say it is a greater enemy than the enemy we fought on our frontiers only three months ago. We are proud of the fact that our people, our Government and our Army showed great result on the battle fields. When we see the internal situation, we have to hang our heads in shame. There is some sort of uncertainty in the minds of the people as to whether we will be able to overcome this difficulty but I am glad that of late Government has shown some strength in creating in the public mind respect for law and order. Things are being handled carefully and I am happy to say that your dreams will not materialise, dreams of creating trouble. The dreams of the Communist Party to bring disorder in the country so that some day they may establish a sort of dictatorship in the country will never materialise and we can assure you that democracy will triumph.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA (Bihar) : Assure the House.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : I assure you, Mr Vice-Chairman, and through you the House that we will triumph and democracy will continue.

Now, having said this I want to come to the Budget proper. Many Members have

paid compliments to the Finance Minister and I also join them in doing so. There are particularly two things that he has done that are of psychological importance. First of all, he has raised the exemption limit from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,800. This is a good thing. I have been clamouring for this for the last ten years in the Lok Sabha and in this House. To keep these people getting Rs. 250 a month as income-tax payers is not proper because that is too low an amount on which people should be asked to pay taxes. We give them dearness allowance out of all proportion and to give them help with one hand and take it away with the other is not proper. So raising the exemption limit from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,800 is commendable step and I congratulate the Finance Minister on that.

Similarly the exemption limit for annuity deposits has been raised from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 25,000. So long it used to apply to a class of people, not so poor, but middle class people and in India we cannot get any better class of people. But then it was difficult to keep the accounts of so many people. Even the Reserve Bank was finding it difficult to maintain so many accounts, to give them receipts etc. and it is a matter of satisfaction that the Finance Minister has realised this thing and has raised the limit for annuity deposits from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 25,000. It will relieve the pressure of work on the Income-tax Department and I am sure that whatever loss they may incur on the lower slabs will be made up from the higher slabs.

Now the main thing which is a matter of concern is planning. We are now entering on the Fourth Five Year Plan; we have had three Five Year Plans and we did achieve a lot of things but truly speaking these achievements cannot be called the fruits of planning because when we say planning it must be according to what we have planned. Whatever we have planned must be done; it must be done within that space of time decided upon and within that amount that has been provided for and the yield from the project should be in proportion to the expenditure incurred. Judged by these three standards planning here has not been to our satisfaction. Suppose we had plan-

ned a big steel factory for Rs. 150 crores; ultimately by the time it completed it costs of Rs. 250 crores. For instance, we planned the Heavy Electricals would cost about Rs. 50 crores but ultimately we needed Rs. 70 crores for that factory in Bhopal alone. As far as the heavy engineering project in Ranchi is concerned things have become very despicable. This House is well aware that for the last eight years we have been planning for many things but so far there has been no result achieved and nothing is in sight either. In point of time we do not keep to the time that we had stipulated; in point of expenditure we do not keep within the limit but we always exceed and in the matter of returns from all these projects, the picture is very dismal indeed. When we started upon the Third Five Year Plan the Government assured this House through the Budget that within the Plan period of five years we will get Rs. 440 crores out of the investments in the public sector. If we had got only say, Rs. 300 crores or so, one could say that we had provided for much and we could have said, 'After all, these are new things for us and we could not expect the maximum efficiency or the maximum return.' But that is not the case; we did not get even Rs. 25 crores. We get only Rs. 20 crores or so and I consider that this aspect of our planning is very frightening. In the long run this country is bound to have bigger and bigger public sector. Already within these few years we have invested in industry alone—not in Railways, canals and other things—Rs. 1,800 or Rs. 2,000 crores. If after investing Rs. 2,000 crores we get only Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 crores that is not good, because ultimately a day might come when the private sector may disappear altogether or may play only a very insignificant part in the economy of the country and then the Government will have to depend for its revenues, as it is done in Russia and other socialist countries, solely on the public sector. For that the planning will have to be fruitful. Why it is not happening is because our plans are getting costlier and costlier. Moreover a controversy has gone round in the country with the result that if somebody says that a particular project in the public sector has not yielded sufficient returns, then people say that he is criticising the public sector. That is not the case. What we want is that the public sector should be

[Shri C. D. Pande.]

run efficiently. Theoretically there should be no bar is for saying that it cannot be run efficiently. It can be run and it has been running in two or three cases very efficiently. For instance, in the antibiotic industries they are able to pay even 20 per cent return; in the same way the Hindustan Machine Tools have multiplied from one factory into four factories now. There the returns are splendid. If it is possible to make two factories very profitable it should be equally possible to do in the other cases also and if we have invested Rs. 1,800 crores we can get Rs. 440 crores as we had provided; or we can get even more.

Here I would like to make one suggestion. The Finance Minister is not here but Mr. Pathak, the Law Minister who is here is well aware of the economic laws. Is it not possible to throw open a certain amount of shares of public sector concerns to the private persons? If you do that it is not merely a question of getting some money; I am not very hopeful that you will get much by way of subscriptions. But by doing that you will be forced to produce return as private sector companies are doing. If they do not get returns they disappear. In the same manner if you allow private investors in the public sector, the middle class investors who want security for their money who have faith in your honesty but who have no faith in your efficiency, you will have to show results. Even if you can give 7 to 8 per cent. while others give 10 per cent. they will be pleased with your 7 or 8 per cent. So if shares are made open to the public it will lead to more efficiency and better yield. Even if you can get 7 to 8 per cent. return that would be much better though in the initial stages—I see Mr. Bhuwalka is sitting and he will bear with me—nobody who wants to earn money will come forward. But once you show results, as you have shown results in the antibiotic industry and in the HMT, it will make you succeed and one success will lead to another success and so on.

There is one thing to which I want to draw the attention of this House. There is a practice that has grown lately in this country that the State Governments are freely drawing upon the reserves of the Reserve

Bank without reference to the Central Government. They take overdrafts freely. This was absolutely unknown 20 years back. Somehow or other from 1950 onwards some States started doing this and it was detected in time. But within the last five or ten years this practice has ruled rampant all over the country and they have drawn large sums of money from the Reserve Bank and like prodigal sons they have been recklessly spending and like the doting father the Government of India just makes it up. This practice of drawing upon the funds of the Reserve Bank or the Consolidated Fund of the Government of India without reference to any legislature, without having been passed by us, is illegal. This has not been sanctioned either by the Finance Commission or by the legislatures. This is money that has not been voted and it is being appropriated by the States. This practice should be curbed, stopped, put an end to altogether.

There are many other things to which I would like to draw your attention.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : You have only one more minute.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : I think you will be kind enough to give some more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : There are a number of speakers. You must wind up in two minutes.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Now, there has been a great deal of emphasis on saving. There are appeals that people should save and invest in Government projects or in other projects. Now, why are not savings coming forward? First of all there is no margin. In certain scales of income there is no margin to save. Even in certain scales where there is margin, where people are frugal, where they want to save for their children, saving is not possible. People have lost faith in the future of this money, because the value of money is going down every day. I myself wonder whether I should save or not. Of course, I can save only Rs. 50 or Rs. 100 with great difficulty, but I am not disposed to save be-

cause I feel that the sum of Rs. 100 saved today will be worth only Rs. 50 next year. If that be the position, why should I save? People save for sake of earning more. People save for the sake of investment, so that they may get eight per cent. return, on lucrative and attractive terms. But that is spoiled. That is offset by the deterioration in the value of the money to the extent of 25 per cent. If I save Rs. 100 today, it is worth only Rs. 75 next year, it is worth Rs. 50 the year after that and Rs. 40 another year after that. Therefore, the long-term saving has no attraction to anyone. The real remedy lies in your re-establishing faith in our currency. Now, this is a very big question. It involves the question of devaluation of money. There was a rumour going round that perhaps devaluation would come about, but the Government was kind enough to scotch that rumour in the early stages. You may not like to devalue the rupee on account of prestige. The Government would like to maintain the value of the rupee, but circumstances might force you to do something. You may be forced to devalue your money or to be paid in that proportion to foreign countries or foreign debtors, because they will not accept it otherwise. The moment that situation comes it will be inevitable for us to devalue the rupee. Therefore, steps should be taken to re-establish the value of the rupee in this country. Now, I shall just give you an example. Three or four years ago, Rs. 100 of Pakistan was equal to our Rs. 75. Our rupee was quoted better in foreign countries. Today the pound sterling which is equal to Rs. 13 and six annas is worth Rs. 29. I have to pay Rs. 29 in foreign countries for a pound, whereas in terms of Pakistani rupees, one need pay Rs. 23 only. Three or four years ago the value of Pakistani rupee was low. Now, it is the other way about. One pound can be purchased with only Rs. 23 Pakistani rupees whereas for the same pound we have to pay Rs. 30 in Indian currency. Therefore you can see that the value of our rupee, in the last four years, has come down.

(Interruption)

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated) What do you think is the reason for this?

SHRI C. D. PANDE : The reason is that we are spending more than we can produce things in the country. We are borrowing and we are in debts. We have to try and export. We do not export to the extent we can and we should to meet our imports.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : My question is this : "You began by congratulating the Finance Minister. Has he answered any of these major issues you have raised?"

SHRI C. D. PANDE : I do not expect that Mr. Pathak will rise and answer my questions. I only put these, through him, to the Finance Minister, who will reply. There will be replies that you will get and the whole House will get. I do not expect that there should be questions and answers. That is not my expectation. Therefore, what I have said I have said not only by way of criticism of the Government, but to suggest that there are things which the Government should look into. There are doubts in the minds of the public and these should be cleared. The Government should re-establish confidence in the public.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Kerala) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, when Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri took charge as Finance Minister recently, people naturally expected that there will be a genuine effort by the Government to relieve the burdens on the economy, particularly in view of the most difficult situation that the country is facing in regard to food and foreign exchange. But I am sorry that I see no evidence of such an effort in the Budget that has now been presented.

First and foremost the Government should set an example of economy drive before it asks the nation to tighten its belt. Today the Governmental machinery is growing into a top-heavy administration, ever expanding and draining more and more resources of our national exchequer. The administrative expenditure was Rs. 295 crores in 1948-49 and it is Rs. 2186 crores today. Again, this year we find that there is an additional provision of Rs. 24 crores for civil expenditure in the present Budget. I, therefore, feel that there is urgent need for a deep probe in order to reduce the criminal

[Shri Lbrahum Sulaiman Sait]

wastage and cut down the bill on the Services by at least twenty-five per cent. I am happy that an Administrative Reforms Commission has been set up to streamline the administration. I sincerely hope that most of the colossal wastage will be slashed as a result of the recommendations of this Commission.

Even with regard to the Planning Commission, there is need for an economy drive. I feel that today our country can ill-afford a very heavy bill of Rs. 24,000 crores for the Fourth Five Year Plan. Our resources at home are getting lean, there is no increase in our national income, our industrial progress is falling and the resources we can mobilise from foreign countries are becoming slender. There is something wrong somewhere as far as planning is concerned. The state of our economy calls for a thorough review of the Fourth Five Year Plan. So far, it is said that our Plans have consumed Rs. 14,973 crores, but our achievements, are negligible in reality. Let us for heaven's sake, give up playing to the gallery with big Plans, with fantastic statistics, and with costly rhetorics. I regret to say that our performance in the Plans over the past fifteen years is a sad commentary on the widening gap between promise and fulfilment. Let me take only one example. Despite hundreds of crores invested in irrigation and power, in agriculture and fertilisers, the nation today is faced with colossal imports of food, increasing from year to year. And this year alone the food imports are to the tune of Rs. 750 crores, with a total of Rs. 2634 crores so far. It is the cruelest irony of fate that our planning for progress has landed this country in depending upon the world for charity for our food. There is no parallel in world history, of any country depending upon another country for food to the tune of 15 million tonnes, such as our country needs from the USA this year. Let the Government take courage in both hands to honestly admit its failures of policy with regard to food, which has brought the nation this disgrace in the world. I would only urge upon the Government to invite and take into confidence, all the leaders of the Opposition and evolve a national food policy and appeal to the nation to face the crisis with self-sacrifice. There should

not be any discrimination in distributing the food available in the country between different regions and zones. There should be equality of treatment given to the country as a whole, with as much free movement of foodgrains as possible. So far the course adopted by the Government has landed this country in humiliation abroad and lawlessness at home. I hope that the Government will take a bold step in the direction of evolving a national food policy very soon.

It is not only the food position that is critical today, but the Finance Minister has aggravated the situation in yet another way by imposing in the name of indirect taxation, heavy excise duties upon many articles of daily use such as diesel oil, sugar, tobacco and cloth. This will mean an additional burden of Rs. 52.86 crores on the poor and will only increase the inflationary tendencies, which are threatening the future of our economy. Therefore, I feel that this demands serious reconsideration by the Finance Minister.

Now, coming to Kerala, I am deeply pained to say that this unfortunate State, which calls for special attention, continues to be treated as the Cinderella of India. The size of the Oil Refinery is being cut down, the ship-building yard is still in cold storage, the urgently needed irrigation and power projects like Kerala Kallada and Idiki have not yet been developed; the essential railway lines for which constant demands have been made have not yet been taken on hand; and the industrialisation of the State has not secured proper attention.

As far as the sea-fishing industry is concerned, I have to mention this particularly that the potentialities for development have not been fully and properly exploited. Kerala at present exports 90 per cent of the marine products out of the total export of nine crores of rupees from India. If Kerala has to realise the target of Rs. 20 crores as has been proposed in the Fourth Five Year Plan it is possible provided adequate incentives and facilities such as the cash credit scheme are extended to this sea-fishing industry and the same facilities are provided for the deep sea fishing as given to the merchant marine industry. One basic factor has to be remembered that what is required in Kerala today is not larger

number of factories for processing marine products for export but what is necessary is more and more facilities for making raw material available to the existing factories and also attractive incentives to increase export of the products. I say this because even today the existing factories have work only for 100 days out of 365 days in a year on an average because of the non-availability of raw material. The sea-fishing industry, it must be understood, is an export-oriented industry where no raw material is imported and therefore the Government should give full encouragement to the same by making more and more mechanised boats and fishing trawlers available for the maximum possible catch.

Sir, it is gratifying to note that the Government and the ruling party have taken a right and bold decision with regard to the Punjabi Suba. In the same breadth of vision and wisdom I appeal to the Government that Urdu be recognised as the regional language in Delhi, U.P., Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. Millions and millions of Urdu-speaking people have been raising their voice from time to time, and the Government should act before it is too late. Urdu is a more widely spoken language and it is spoken in every district in the whole of this great country. While less popular languages which are not so widely spoken have been given official status in different States of the country, it is highly regrettable that justice has been denied to Urdu so far.

Sir, I am glad that many great jurists and leaders of different parties in this country have asked for the lifting of emergency, for the scrapping of D.I.R. and for the release of the detenus. I cannot over-emphasise the urgency of these measures. I would like to mention here that it is strange that when the whole country has come to admire and the Government has also acknowledged the role that the sixty million Muslims of India have rendered in demonstrating their loyalty to their Motherland during the Indo-Pakistan conflict, the Government had acted and taken into custody thousands of Muslims including leaders, journalists and other prominent persons in some parts of the country on frivolous reports by mischief-mongers. Some of them have been released but there are still many who are behind the bars.

I would demand that all the detenus be released forthwith. I would further plead that Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues be released as a part of the implementation of the Tashkent spirit of love and goodwill. I sincerely hope that this will surely lead to the improvement of the situation. Here while demanding this, I echo what the collective leadership of the Muslim community, the All India Muslim Majlise Mushawarat, has resolved recently and what the hon. Member of this House, Shri Sapru, if I am not mistaken, demanded in this House the other day.

Sir, the establishment of a police camp in the Aligarh Muslim University is a matter of great concern and anxiety. This is not only a standing disgrace to the autonomy and self-respect of the university but is also detrimental for the mental and moral growth of the students. I would therefore demand, Sir, that this police force in the campus of the Aligarh Muslim University should be removed immediately and all cases pending against the students and others in connection with the April incidents of last year should be withdrawn. I would like to point out that the conditions at the university are perfectly normal and I would also like to repeat the words of our Rashtrapati, Dr. Radhakrishnan, during his Convocation Address to the Aligarh Muslim University wherein he said : "If you are noble, you should not only forgive and forget but should also forbear." I would only like to see the Government act up to these noble utterances of our revered President. I also hope that the feelings of the entire Muslim community which have been so strongly and unitedly expressed will be fully respected in the proposed new permanent Bill wherein the name, the character and the heritage of this great minority institution, the Aligarh Muslim University, will be retained so that the atmosphere of mutual confidence between Government and the minorities may be preserved. I also earnestly believe that this permanent Bill will be brought before the House as promised by the Education Minister himself as early as possible.

Sir, it is distressing that there should have been certain fascist tendencies gaining ground in certain areas in our country. All political parties must get together and

[Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

condemn the spread of violence and restore the confidence of our people in our democratic values and secular character of our State.

In this connection I must bring to the notice of Government that there are certain newspapers and magazines which still breathe a hymn of hate against the Muslim community in India. I cannot sufficiently condemn the provocative articles written from time to time against Mussalmans by Shri Babu Rao Patel in his 'Mother India'. In this connection I have also to mention the Daily 'Pratap' and the weekly 'Organiser'. I demand from the Government that effective measures must be taken to see that nothing provocative or inflammatory is allowed to be printed and published in any of the journals and magazines, be it in English or in any regional language, which will do injury to the self-respect and susceptibilities of the different communities in India and thus endanger the communal harmony and secular character of our State.

Sir, exactly in contrast I have to mention with great regret the case of "Nidae Millat" a Urdu weekly journal published from Lucknow, which was punished for no fault at all. Not only the Aligarh number of this journal was confiscated by the Government before it was brought but the Editor and the staff members were treated brutally by the police as if they were worse than criminals. The Editor, Mr. Asif Kidwai, M.A., Ph.D., who is bed-ridden because of arthritis for the last twentyone years, was taken into custody under the D.I.R. I would appeal to the Government not to have double standards in dealing with different journals of different communities. No action is taken by the Government against "Mother India" and such other magazines and newspapers. The action taken against "Swarajya" and "Kalki" is withdrawn, but in the case of "Nidae Millat" I am very sorry to say that no action has been taken by the Government to withdraw the cases against them and release them in spite of the many representation that have been made in this regard. This is against all principles of justice and fairplay.

One more minute, Sir, and I will finish. What was the fault of "Nidae Millat"? After all "Nidae Millat" only criticised the Aligarh Ordinance. There was nothing wrong in it. It never wrote any articles that went against the Constitution of this country or anything that would damage the communal harmony in this country. The paper actually has always preached peace and harmony and upheld the democratic rights of the minorities. I would therefore urge the Government that the Editor and the staff members of the "Nidae Millat" be released immediately, and cases against them also be withdrawn.

Before conclude, I have to say that I am glad that Shrimati Indira Gandhi is now the Prime Minister of our country. She is today the greatest unifying force in a plural society which is multi-racial, multi-regional, multi-religious and multi-lingual. With her faith in secularism and democratic socialism, I look forward to an era of communal harmony, of social justice of peace and tranquillity, in this ancient and great land of ours.

Thanking you for the time given to me, I conclude.

श्री रामकुमार भुवालका (पश्चिमी बंगाल) उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय वित्त मंत्री श्री शचीन्द्र चौधरी ने 1966-67 ई० के लिये जो बजट पेश किया है उसके लिये मैं उनको बधाई देना हूँ। उन्होंने नये बजट में कुछ ऐसी रियायते और राहते दी हैं जो वास्तव में स्वागत-योग्य हैं और इसके लिये वित्त मंत्री निश्चय ही बधाई के अधिकारी हैं। मैंने वित्त मंत्री के बजट सम्बन्धी भाषण और कुछ दिन पहले दी हुई आर्थिक समीक्षा पर बड़े ध्यान-पूर्वक विचार किया।

अपने भाषण के भाग "क" में उन्होंने देश की आर्थिक समस्याओं का जो विश्लेषण किया है उससे सभी पूर्णतः सहमत होंगे। उनके अनुसार बजट प्रस्तावों का उद्देश्य उत्पादन बढ़ाना तथा निर्यात बढ़ाना है। उन्होंने यह भी चाहा है कि पूँजी बाजार जो काफी समय से गिरी हुई दशा में है वह

सुधरे और अधिक से अधिक लोग कम्पनियों के शेयर खरीदें। इस बात में वित्त मंत्री के साथ मतभेद की कोई गुंजाइश नहीं है कि बजट उत्पादन प्रधान होना चाहिये और बचत तथा हर तरफ कार्य कुशलता बढ़ाने के लिये अच्छा वातावरण तैयार किया जाना चाहिये। इस बात से भी सभी सहमत हैं कि सरकारी खर्च को कम करने की पूरी कोशिश की जानी चाहिये और यह कि देश के भीतर अतिरिक्त संसाधन तभी जुटाये जा सकेंगे जब कि देश की माली हालत अच्छी होगी, इसलिये यह बहुत जरूरी है कि कृषि और उद्योग का उत्पादन बढ़ा कर अर्थ-व्यवस्था का सुधार किया जाये। उन्होंने यह भी माना है कि "गैर सरकारी उद्योगों का विकास इस पर निर्भर है कि समाज के सभी वर्ग अधिकाधिक इक्विटी पूंजी लगाये और समाज की भलाई इसी में है कि पूंजी बाजार में फिर से जान आ जाये तथा लोग अपनी बचत को इक्विटी पूंजी के रूप में लगाये।"

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री ने इसी इरादे से करदाता व्यक्तियों तथा कम्पनियों को कुछ रियायतें देने की कोशिश की है जिनका सभी स्वागत करते हैं, जैसे शेयर बोनस कर उठाया जाना, एक्सपेंडीचर टैक्स उठाया जाना, शेयर डिबीडेंट टैक्स में कमी और 3000 तथा 4300 रु० आय तक टैक्स न लगाकर 3500 तथा 4800 रु० की आय से टैक्स शुरू होता है। इसके अलावा उन्होंने गिफ्ट टैक्स में कुछ सुधार किया है। वह यह है कि पहले 5000 रु० से ज्यादा की गिफ्ट पर 8 परसेंट की दर से टैक्स लगना शुरू हो जाता था पर अब वित्त मंत्री ने 10,000 रु० तक की गिफ्ट पर टैक्स न लगाने की घोषणा की है और इसके अलावा 10,000 से 25,000 रु० पर 8 परसेंट के बजाय 5 की दर से गिफ्ट टैक्स लगेगा। उसी हिसाब से, 25,000 रु० के ऊपर ज्यों ज्यों गिफ्ट की रकम बढ़ती जायेगी त्यों त्यों टैक्स भी बढ़ता जायेगा और 15 लाख रु० के ऊपर से 50 परसेंट की दर से

टैक्स लगेगा। ऐसे ही कुछ थोड़ी सी रकम की दरों में उन्होंने जो कमी की है उसके लिये हम उन्हें धन्यवाद देते हैं। लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने कुछ ऐसे कर बढ़ा दिये हैं जिसका कारण हो सकता है कि अर्थ-व्यवस्था में किसी प्रकार का सुधार न हो सके।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बजट के लेख में 117 करोड़ रु० की सम्पूर्ण कमी है जिसमें से 101 करोड़ रु० के कर बढ़ा दिये गये हैं। इस वर्ष का बजट पिछली फरवरी के बाद चौथा बजट है। इस बीच में जो बजट आये उनमें 180 करोड़ रु० का और कर लगाया। कुछ कर तो इस बार ऐसे हैं जिनसे जनसाधारण पर भी अधिक बोझ पड़ जायेगा। पहले तो चीनी तथा खांडसारी पर ड्यूटी बढ़ा कर ज्यादा कर दी फिर कपड़ों पर भी ड्यूटी बढ़ा दी। सिगरेट, डीजल आयल पर भी ड्यूटी बढ़ाई है। कपड़ा, नमक, अनाज, तेल, चीनी—ये चीजे ऐसी हैं जो हर आदमी के जीवन के लिये जरूरी हैं। इन चीजों पर कर लगाना और बढ़ाना इस गरीब देश की गरीबी को और भी बढ़ाता है। फिर प्रत्यक्ष करों में 10 प्रतिशत की बढ़ोतरी करना देश के ऊपर काफी भार लाद देने के समान है। आज सारे देश की अवस्था संकटमय है। यह कर भार इस अवस्था को और भी संकटमय कर देगा। इससे साधारण व्यक्ति का जीवन दूभर हो जायेगा। मैं देखता हूँ कि 1950-51 ई० में उत्पादन शुल्क से 64 करोड़ रु० की आय थी जो 1966-67 ई० में बढ़ कर लगभग 1012 करोड़ हो जायेगी। कुछ वस्तुओं के अन्तरराज्यीय बिक्री कर में 50 प्रतिशत की बढ़ोतरी की गई है जिससे कीमते और भी बढ़ेंगी और इसका बुरा असर हमारे निर्यात पर भी पड़ेगा। मैं अपने वित्त मंत्री को भली भांति जानता हूँ। वह बड़े बुद्धिमान और सद्भावी व्यक्ति हैं। फिर भी मैं इन करों को न्याययुक्त नहीं मानता। इन करों का असर सभी लोगों पर पड़ेगा, साधारण मजदूर और किसान से लेकर व्यापारी

[श्री रामकुमार भुवालका]

संसद् सदस्य और मंत्रिगण तक इससे प्रभावित होंगे ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अब हम यह देखें कि नया बजट वित्त मंत्री के उद्देश्यों को कहां तक पूरा करता है । इसका हमारे उत्पादन और पूंजी बाजार पर क्या प्रभाव पड़ता है । पूंजी बाजार की गिरी हुई दशा इस बात से स्पष्ट है कि पिछले चार वर्षों में शेयरों की कीमत 7 प्रतिशत सालाना की दर से गिरती गई है । ज्यादातर नये शेयर अंडर-राइट्स के हाथों में पड़े हैं । वित्त मंत्री ने इस पर गौर कर के डिबिडेंड टैक्स और सर-टैक्स में कुछ कमी की है । बोनस टैक्स को हटाया है । इससे जिन कम्पनियों में कुछ रिजर्व है और बोनस शेयर दे सकती हैं उनके दाम कुछ बढ़े हैं पर बाकी शेयरों की कीमतों में कमी हुई है और न ही नये शेयर बाजार में आने की आशा है क्योंकि वित्त मंत्री ने थोड़ी सी राहत देकर उससे कहीं अधिक कहीं कम्पनी कर में लगभग 10 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि कर के उसे वापिस ले लिया है । कम्पनी करों में वृद्धि से 36 करोड़ रुपया अधिक का अनुमान किया गया है । यह रुपया कम्पनियों को या तो डिबिडेंड की दरों में कमी करके देना होगा या जो राशि टैक्स देने के बाद कम्पनियों में लगाई जाती है उसमें कमी कर के देना होगा । यदि डिबिडेंड कम किया जो जाहिर है कि अभी भी अधिक पूंजी व्याज पर लगाने की ओर लोगों की ज्यादा रुचि है क्योंकि बाजार में व्याज की दरें काफी उंची हैं । कम्पनी के शेयरों में एक तो जोखिम दूसरे आमदनी कम और तीसरे पूंजी बढ़ने की आशा नहीं । फिर कोई कम्पनी के शेयरों में पैसा लगाये तो लगाये क्यों ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कारखानों में उत्पादन ज्यादा न बढ़ने के कारण सरकार न जानती हो ऐसी बात नहीं है । पिछले तीन चार वर्षों में पूंजी बाजार काफी गिरा रहा । नयी कम्पनियों का निर्माण नगण्य हुआ और

जो कम्पनियां पहले से थीं उनमें भी उत्पादन कम हुआ । इसका कारण सर्वविदित है—मुद्रा की कमी । बैंकों से उधार देना बंद कर दिया और बाजार में इतनी पूंजी है ही नहीं कि बड़े बड़े नये कारखाने खोले जायें । वित्त मंत्री इस स्थिति से पूरी तरह जानकार हैं जैसा कि उनके भाषण से ही स्पष्ट है । पूंजी बाजार में आत्म-विश्वास की कमी सरकारी नीतियों के कारण रही । बाहर वाले लोग भी हमारी बार बार बदलती हुई नीति से आशंकित रहे, इसलिये बाहर से पूंजी देश में इतनी आ न सकी जितनी अभी जरूरी थी ।

इधर तो कम्पनियों पर कर बढ़ा उधर व्यक्तिगत करों में 10 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि कर दी गयी, जिससे जो थोड़ा बहुत पैसा लोगों के पास बचता था वह भी अब नहीं बच पायेगा । तब फिर यह कैसे आशा की जाये कि अधिक से अधिक लोग कम्पनियों के शेयर लेंगे । पिछले ही वर्ष कुछ व्यक्तिगत करों में कमी की गई थी क्योंकि यह देखा गया था कि अन्य देशों में कर की दर कम होने से आर्थिक स्थिति को प्रेरणा मिली और सम्पूर्ण आय में भी अधिक वृद्धि हुई । यह जो एक प्रयास पिछले वर्ष शुरू किया गया मेरे विचार से उसको कुछ समय तक जारी रखना चाहिये था ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, खर्चों पर से कर हटा कर तो ठीक ही किया क्योंकि एक तो उससे कुछ आय नहीं थी और दूसरे उसको चलाने में कठिनाइयां थीं । परन्तु दान कर, संपत्ति कर, मृत्यु-सम्पत्ति शुल्क सब को मिला कर व्यक्तिगत करों की राशि इतनी अधिक हो गई है कि बहुत से करदाताओं को अपनी आय की 100 प्रतिशत से अधिक करों के रूप में देना होगा जो किसी भी तरह से उचित नहीं ठहराया जा सकता । इसी प्रकार कम आय वालों से जो कुछ बचाने की आशा की जा सकती थी वह कर बढ़ोतरी के कारण समाप्त हो जाती है । इससे पूंजी बाजार में सुधार आने की सम्भावना कम नजर आती है ।

हमारी दो प्रमुख आवश्यकताएँ हैं, जिनमें कमी नहीं की जा सकती और न ही मैं कमी करने की राय दूंगा। एक तो विकास सम्बन्धी और दूसरी रक्षा सम्बन्धी। विकास सम्बन्धी खर्चों में इस वर्ष 144 करोड़ की कमी की गई है और रक्षा सम्बन्धी खर्चों में केवल 30 करोड़ रु० बढ़ाये गये हैं। ऐसी दशा में और अधिक कर लगाने का कारण मेरे विचार में यही हो सकता है कि हमने अपने दूसरे गैर-विकास सम्बन्धी खर्चों में कमी करने की ओर विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया। पिछले वित्त मंत्री ने आश्वासन दिया था कि वे इस प्रकार के खर्चों पहले के बजाय 150 करोड़ रुपये कम करेंगे परन्तु मैं देखता यह हूँ कि गैर-विकास सम्बन्धी खर्च कम होने के बजाय इस वर्ष 136 करोड़ रुपये बढ़ाने का प्रस्ताव किया गया है। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि सरकार को गैर-विकास सम्बन्धी खर्चों में नियन्त्रण करने की बहुत आवश्यकता है क्योंकि यदि इन खर्चों को चलाने के लिये दिन पर दिन करो में वृद्धि की गई तो सिवाय कीमतों की बढ़ोतरी होने के अलावा और कुछ नहीं होगा। यदि खर्च उत्पत्ति बढ़ाने के लिये किये जायें तो थोड़े समय के लिये कीमते चाहे बड़े परन्तु लम्बे अर्से में जब काफी उत्पत्ति होने लगेगी तो कीमते अपने आप कम होंगी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वजट का और विश्लेषण कर के मैंने देखा कि जब कि करो में और करो से आय में दिन प्रति दिन वृद्धि हो रही है सरकार के हाथ में बचत कम होती जा रही है। 1961-62 ई० में सरकारी बचत कुल आय की 20 प्रतिशत थी जबकि 1964-65 में सिर्फ 7 प्रतिशत रह गई है। हर व्यक्ति को कोई भी कर देना वाजिब नहीं लगता, इसमें कोई शक नहीं है, परन्तु चुभन और ज्यादा होती है यदि व्यक्ति यह देखे कि उससे लिये गये करो का उचित प्रयोग नहीं हो रहा है। जब कि मैं करो के बढ़ने के बारे में परिणामों की ओर ससद् का ध्यान दिला रहा हूँ, मुझे ज्ञात है कि जो 117 करोड़ रु० की सम्पूर्ण

कमी है उसको किसी प्रकार तो पूरा करना ही होगा। जैसा कि मैंने पहले कहा, किसी हद तक गैर विकास सम्बन्धी खर्चों को कम अवश्य करना चाहिये। राज्यों पर भी जोर देना चाहिये कि वे अपने खर्च कम करें।

इसके अतिरिक्त दो बातें और मेरे विचार में आती हैं। एक यह कि पिछले वर्ष के अनुपात में इस वर्ष सरकार ने 90 करोड़ रुपये कम ऋण लेने की व्यवस्था की है। यदि पिछले वर्ष जितना ऋण लिया था इस वर्ष उतना ही ऋण लेने की व्यवस्था की जाती तो अधिक करो की आवश्यकता नहीं रहती। इसके अतिरिक्त इस वर्ष 345 करोड़ रुपये सरकारी कम्पनियों में लगाने की व्यवस्था की गई है। मुझे खेद है कि हमारी सरकारी कम्पनियों से आय मुश्किल से एक प्रतिशत पड़ती है। मेरे विचार से सरकारी कम्पनियों को भी गैर सरकारी कम्पनियों की तरह ही पूँजी कर द्वारा न दे कर ऋण द्वारा लेनी चाहिये और उन कम्पनियों को अपने लाभ को वापस कम्पनी में लगाने पर निर्भर होना चाहिये। सरकारी कम्पनियाँ डिवेन्चर निकाल सकती हैं, उस से उनको जिम्मेवारी भी महसूस होगी और यह ध्यान रहेगा कि लाभ कमा कर ऋण वापस करना है। यदि यह कदम उठाया जाय तो कर में वृद्धि करने की आवश्यकता नहीं रहे।

हाल में ही ससद् में विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च करने के बारे में कुछ सवाल उठाया गया था। कुछ सदस्यों को ऐसी शका है कि व्यापारियों पर सरकार ने विदेशी मुद्रा बहुत खर्च की है। विदेश यात्रा पर लगभग 10 करोड़ रुपये खर्च होते हैं, जिसमें सरकारी यात्राएँ, पढ़ाई, चिकित्सा के खर्च, निर्यात के सम्बन्ध की यात्राओं पर खर्च यह सब शामिल है। इसमें से केवल 1.93 करोड़ रुपये के निर्यात पर जो अधिकतर व्यापारियों के परिश्रम द्वारा होता है। खर्च होता है यह खर्च बिल्कुल मामूली है। मेरे विचार में कम से कम 800 करोड़ रुपये का आधा प्रतिशत तो विदेशी मुद्रा व्यापारियों को मिलना ही चाहिये। इससे अवश्य ही निर्यात

[श्री रामकुमार भुवालका]

में बढ़ोतरी होगी, परन्तु इस विषय पर कोई शंका प्रकट करने की गुंजाइश मुझको नहीं लगी। उल्टा व्यापारियों की यह शिकायत रहती है कि उनको वास्तविक व्यापारिक आवश्यकताओं के लिये भी विदेशी मुद्रा बहुत कम मिलती है और वह भी समय पर नहीं मिलती। मैंने सोचा कि संसद् के सदस्यों की इस विषय पर शंका दूर करूं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस तरह मैं देखता हूं कि सारा का सारा ढांचा रोज बिगड़ता ही जा रहा है। हमारे देश में जनसंख्या 2.8 प्रतिशत सालाना की दर से बढ़ रही है। यही गति रही तो भविष्य में जनसंख्या में बढ़ोतरी की रफ्तार और भी बढ़ सकती है। इन सभी लोगों के लिए अनाज, कपड़ा, मकान, शिक्षा, दवा दारू आदि की व्यवस्था करनी होगी। अतः यह एक बहुत जटिल समस्या है। पिछले 3, 4 वर्षों से लगातार चेष्टा के बावजूद हम इस समस्या को हल नहीं कर पाए हैं। हाल ही में एक समाचार प्रकाशित हुआ है। इस समाचार के अनुसार पंजाब के फिरोजपुर जिले में मामियावाली गांव की एक महिला ने एक साथ तीन बच्चों को जन्म दिया और तीनों ही जीवित बताते हैं। इस महिला ने अपने 11 वर्षों के वैवाहिक जीवन में इस प्रकार कुल 12 बच्चों को जन्म दिया। मैंने दो बच्चों को एक साथ जन्म लेते तो सुना था लेकिन यह मेरे ध्यान में पहली घटना है। जिस देश में 3, 3 बच्चे एक साथ पैदा होने लगे तो उस देश में जनसंख्या किस तेजी से बढ़ेगी, यह सोचने की बात है। यदि हम इसकी रोकथाम का कोई प्रभावकारी रास्ता नहीं निकाल सके तो वह दिन दूर नहीं जब देश की ऐसी हालत हो जाएगी कि समूहले नहीं समूहलेगी। मैं तो इस बात की कल्पना करके ही घबरा जाता हूं। हम बात पर गौर करने की जरूरत कि आबादी तो बड़ी तेजी से बढ़ रही है पर हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय में पिछले कुछ समय में बढ़ोतरी नहीं हो पा रही है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, उत्पादन में वृद्धि न होना आने वाले संकटों और तूफानों का संकेत है। उत्पादन उद्योगों में और कृषि में लगातार बढ़ना चाहिये। इस क्षेत्र में हम अन्य देशों के मुकाबले काफी पिछड़ चुके हैं। इसी कारण हम विदेशों के मुहताज हो चले हैं। जिस देश में जन है, जमीन है वह देश अपनी जरूरतों के लायक भी उत्पादन न कर सके तो हम अपने को क्या कहेंगे। हम उत्पादन अपनी जरूरतों के मताबिक ही नहीं, बल्कि उससे भी कहीं ज्यादा कर सकते हैं। लेकिन यह तभी संभव है जब उत्पादन के लिये सभी तरह की सुविधाएं जुटाई जाएं। किसानों को खाद, बीज, पानी, नयी तकनीकी जानकारी और जो भी सुविधाएं हों जुटाई जानी चाहिये। इसके अलावा, यह भी देखना चाहिये कि फिजूल की बरबादी न हो। अभी सुनने में आया है कि हमारे देश में 40 हजार ट्रैक्टर हैं जिनमें से करीब 20 हजार ट्रैक्टर इसलिये बेकार पड़े हैं क्योंकि उनको कुछ पुर्जों की कमी है। इस स्थिति के लिये कौन जिम्मेदार है?

अब तसवीर का दूसरा पहलू भी देखिये। अभी हाल ही में मुझे एक पत्रा देखने को मिला है पंजाब के किसानों का। इस पत्र में कई प्रदेशों में खाद्यान्नों के भाव दिये गये हैं। गेहूं पंजाब में 52 रु० प्रति क्विंटल है तो महाराष्ट्र में 100 से 150 रु० प्रति क्विंटल तक और दक्षिण प्रदेशों में 105 से लेकर 160 रु० प्रति क्विंटल। इसी प्रकार चना, मक्का, बाजरा आदि की कीमतें भी हर प्रदेश में भिन्न भिन्न हैं। इसका क्या मतलब है? एक ही देश के अलग अलग भागों में खाद्यान्नों की अलग अलग कीमतें होना किसी रूप में भी उचित नहीं है। यह बहुत खतरनाक और पेचीदा अवस्था है। इससे किसान और उपभोक्ता दोनों ही प्रभावित होते हैं, एक ओर तो किसान को पूरा दाम नहीं मिलता और दूसरी ओर उपभोक्ता है जो भारी कीमतें चुका कर पेट भर पाता है। क्या यह बात सरकार की जानकारी में नहीं है। इस पेचीदगी का कारण खाद्यान्न की क्षेत्रीय व्यवस्था, जोनल सिस्टम है।

देश की दुरवस्था का कारण सरकार की आर्थिक नीति है। हमारे देश में योजनाओं में धन का काफी दुरुपयोग हो रहा है। अगर हमारे वित्त मंत्री थोड़ा सा प्रयास करें तो निश्चय ही धन की काफी बचत हो सकती है। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि वित्त मंत्री इस ओर ध्यान देंगे। जनता की तकलीफें तभी दूर हो सकती हैं जब देश में आर्थिक नीतियों में आमूल रूप से इस प्रकार का सुधार किया जावे कि देश का विकास मुद्रा स्फीति के बिना ही तेजी से हो सके और करो पर इस प्रकार की सीमा निर्धारित की जा सके जिससे सरकार को सबसे अधिक धन राशि प्राप्त हो सक।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का स्वागत और समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI D. THENGARI (Uttar Pradesh).
Sir, we have always insisted that the Five-Year Plan or the one-year plan, that is, our annual Budget should be employment-oriented. But I am sorry to note that even in this year's Budget, there is no employment orientation. I should like to assert that after the completion of this Budget period the ratio of the unemployed and the under-employed to the total population of the country would be bigger than what it is today. Distribution of all cultivable waste land to landless labourers, particularly to those belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, introduction of subsidiary industries in the rural areas of the country, development of peculiarly Bhartiya technology with a view to decentralising the processes of production with the help of electrification in the rural areas, special protection to the cottage and small-scale industries, demarcation between the spheres of the small-scale industries and the large-scale industries, fixation of the national minimum and of the ratio between the minimum and the maximum, expendable monthly incomes in the land, proper correspondence between the prices of the agricultural produce and those of the manufactured goods, enunciation of the national price policy and substantial reduction in the indirect taxes, these among others are some of the measures which are calculated to ease economic tension of unemployment and

under-employment. I am sorry to say that none of these measures has found a place in the Budget under discussion.

On the contrary, there is a definite attempt to increase unemployment by various devices such as introduction of atomation in the Life Insurance Corporation, and admission in the agricultural industry of Punjab to big capitalists these are some of the examples of this official policy, leading to large scale unemployment. The Government should give up all such anti-employment policies and accept the olden rule that there should be no retrenchment without alternate employment.

An unemployment Insurance Scheme should also be introduced.

This Budget is bound to give a rude shock to consumers in general and workers in particular. While the plight of the general consumers has been already discussed elaborately, I should like to draw the attention of the House to the plight of workers who are the worst sufferers. It has become imperative now to chalk out of the National Wage Policy. Nothing has been done in this direction in the Budget under discussion. Workers can be inspired to perform supreme sacrifices for national prosperity. They have proved their patriotism during the Sino-Indian conflict as well as the Indo-Pak conflict. But they must feel that they are being taken into confidence. They must feel that their viewpoint also has been taken into consideration by the Finance Minister, that the Budget and the Plan are theirs, that it is the people's Plan and the people's Budget and that their sacrifices are not going to be in vain. For this purpose I request the Government to take the workers, along with other sections of the population, into confidence while preparing the Budget and the Plan.

4 P. M.

For evolving the National Wage Policy it is necessary, in the first place, to have a working class family budget inquiry conducted in all industrial centres and on the basis of such an inquiry to compile the working class cost of living index. I want to mention the report of a Committee appointed in 1959 for compiling the middle class cost of living and I would suggest that there should be a regular compilation of the middle

[Shri D. Thengari]

class cost of living which should be treated henceforward as the working class cost of living index because as a matter of fact looked at scientifically, the recommendations of the Middle Class Cost of Living Index Enquiry Committee are applicable to the working classes cost of living also. I would further suggest that the scheme of D.A. wherever it prevails should be abolished because dearness allowance is not a temporary phase now since there is no possibility of the prices coming down to the pre-1939 level and therefore dearness or the spiral of prices being a permanent phase, the D.A. should be merged fully, that is 100 per cent., in the basic wage and the entire pay packet should be linked with the cost of living index number.

Great discontent prevails among the workers on account of the provisions of the Payment of Bonus Act. As a matter of fact national prosperity certainly depends upon production and production has been impaired during the last few weeks because of the various strikes. I may just refer to the lockout in the D.C.M., the general strike in the Bombay Textiles, etc. and all these are on account of the defective provisions of the Act. Without going into the details, I would suggest that the Government should accept realistically the principle that bonus is a deferred or supplementary wage until there is a gap between the living wage and the actual wage and on the basis of the acceptance of this principle, the Government should be prepared to recast or remould the Payment of Wages Act. If that is done, many of the industrial strikes will be automatically eliminated. We will head towards industrial peace, greater production and greater prosperity. It has become necessary to ensure that our workers are given the right to rest in the absence of which productivity is hampered. The Regulation of workload, regulation of working hours and a appropriate leave facilities must be properly taken care of and this is the responsibility of the Government so far as the different industries are concerned. We have different pieces of legislation regarding social security such as different workmen's compensation, provident fund, gratuity, E.S.I. and other things but the workers have been demanding and demanding rightly that there should be an integrated social security scheme evolved

and what acts in the way of such an evolution it is difficult for me to comprehend.

In this Budget there has been no progress made in the direction of thinking about social security schemes and therefore I urge that this aspect of industrial sphere should not be lost sight of. We have been told that along with foodgrains and cloth, housing is also one of the most important problems of the masses but we know that though the Centre has allotted various amounts for industrial housing to the different States, the same have not been utilised either by the employers or by the State Governments. I would like to suggest that now we should begin from the other end so that the Centre should take the initiative in industrial housing and realise the due amounts from the State Governments and the employers subsequently. That is the only way to accomplish our programmes of industrial housing.

When I am speaking of a national wage policy, I cannot ignore the plight of our pensioners who have no trade union right and the monetary value of whose pensions has already gone down and therefore I request that though this class is ignored and ineffective, the Government should itself take care of this particular class and see that justice is done by restoring the monetary value of their original pension. There must be some basic re-thinking on the problem of the pattern of industrial ownership. I am happy to note that the Government seems to have relieved itself of its doctrinaire and academic thinking on this problem. As a matter of fact various industries have various characteristics and each industry should have the appropriate pattern of ownership suited to its peculiar characteristics and therefore there can be regulated private enterprise, municipalisation, co-operativisation and along with that I would suggest, labourisation, and democratisation. By labourisation I mean (1) co-partnership in which the worker, labour, is evaluated in terms of share and he is made a shareholder of his concern. (2) By labour co-operativisation I mean whenever there is an occasion to snatch an industry from the hands of the capitalists, the same should be handed over to the workers and their co-operatives should be allowed to run the industries,

and (3) there should be autonomous corporations with Board of Directors of Management consisting of the various interests including those of employees and in the same way by democratisation I mean that the industry's shares should be thrown open. Every share should be small and it should be a rule that only the low income group people should be allowed to purchase the shares. The employees should have priority in the purchase of shares and none should be allowed to purchase more than 5 or 6 shares and in this way the industries can be labourised and democratised. All these various patterns, without any regimentation of thought should be tried, so as to suit the peculiar characteristics of the different States and if this is done we will be able to make good progress in the industrial sphere.

For greater production industrial peace is necessary. Contented labour, enlightened employers, alert public opinion and just and fair Government, these are the four pre-requisites for industrial peace. This would necessitate change of outlook on the part of the employers and also of the Government and because the Government is the biggest employer, it is necessary that it should function as a model employer so that it would have a moral right to bring appropriate pressure to bear on the employers in the private sector.

While I have dealt with the working class, I would like to refer within a minute to the present situation and its demands. Today it seems we are on the brink of national disintegration. Various demands are raised. There is a demand for Punjab Suba, for Vidarbha, for Bhojpur State and for a Konkan State, and probably like the Athens' Sparta we are going to have so many States. The time is so ripe when we should seriously consider the propriety of moving in the direction of a unitary form of Government.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE (Maharashtra) What does the hon. Member mean by Konkan State?

SHRI D. THENGARI There is a demand for various States.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) What have you to say about the Konkan State, she asks.

SHRI D. THENGARI I have nothing to say about any particular State.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE Konkan is part of Maharashtra. It consists of three districts. They never demanded a separate State.

SHRI D. THENGARI It appeared in the press that there are demands and therefore I am suggesting.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN You should not mention and encourage it, that is what she says.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE It is not at all a separate one.

SHRI D. THENGARI I discourage it. That is why I am mentioning. I want to suggest that with a view to eliminating this tendency of national disintegration, the time is ripe when we should seriously consider how we can move in the direction of a unitary form of Government. Thank you.

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJAGOPALAN) (Madras) Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this Budget for 1966-67, is after all, a mixed Budget, and it has had a mixed reception in the public. Of course, there are some points on which the hon. Finance Minister has done better than he has in others. At the same time I would like to say that though there are some good taxes there are also some which are unwarranted and unnecessary. This Budget of 1966-67 should be studied and criticised only with the background in which it is presented. Sir, since 1962 we have been passing through a very critical period. There was the Chinese aggression which shook the nation completely. And before we could recover from that shock there was the Indo-Pakistan conflict which brought our economic development to a standstill. Foreign aid was stopped. There was drought. There was no rainfall. There was the rise in prices and also the diversion of the economic resources to defence production and also inflationary tendencies. All these have to be taken into consideration when we criticise this Budget. Of course nobody wants a deficit Budget and last August we had a Supplementary Budget. But still things did

[Shrimati Lalitha (Rajagopalan)]
not improve or change much for the better. If we compare this Budget of 1966-67 with that of 1965-66 we find that the finance Minister has not made any drastic changes from his predecessor's Budget. But at the same time no relief as such to any community is given. Stiff doses of taxation have been injected into all sections of the community. The poor man has to pay more for his sugar and for his cigarette. Some years ago I would have considered these luxuries, but now they have become necessities. There are duties on fine cloth and here I would like to mention a memorandum presented to the Finance Minister by the Tamilnad (Madras State) Handloom Weavers Cooperative Society from which I would, with your permission, like to quote this. They have said that they cannot but express their great disappointment.

"at the recent levy of excise duty on cotton yarn of counts NF 22 to 28, increase in duty on yarn of counts NF 29 and above and also on artsilk yarn. The hon. Minister is aware that the most important raw material of the handloom industry of the country is cotton yarn and the fresh levy and increase in levy of excise duty on cotton yarn as proposed in the Budget is sure to adversely affect the industry."

Further on they say :

"The normal off-take of handloom fabrics has fallen down and as a result there is already huge accumulation of handloom cloth. In the cooperative sector alone in our State."

that means in the Madras State :

"the accumulation is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 4 crores. In the private sector it may be double this quantity."

"All along there was no excise duty on yarn of counts below NF 29. This was a great help to this industry as more than 50 per cent of the handlooms are engaged in the production of fabrics of coarser counts,

And then they state :

"The proposed fresh levy and increase in excise duty will further increase the prices

of yarn considerably which will ultimately go to reduce the wages of the poor weavers."

Sir, I do hope that the hon. Minister of Finance will look into this matter and see that the grievances of these handloom weavers are taken note of.

Already when the Budget was known to the traders cigarettes have vanished underground and the price of washing soap rose by 6-12 paise and *khandsari* vanished from the market. How far the Government is going to check the rise in prices and what they are going to do with regard to this rise in the price of these commodities I do not know. Will the Government, under the present circumstances, be able to satisfy the requirements of the common man ?

As for those in the middle class, they are always struggling in life and they have to pay more in the form of income-tax though an indirect relief is given to them through income. Of course, the burden on businessmen is also enhanced.

Now I come to the subject of inter-State sales tax. This tax is to be raised in respect of "goods declared to be of special importance in inter-State trade or commerce." Here I would like a clarification from the hon. Finance Minister as to what it implies, this expression "goods declared to be of special importance in inter-State trade or commerce." Does it mean only foodgrains coming from another State, or does it mean also manufactured finished goods ? This term is very vague. Will it not lead to a rise in the prices of all commodities figuring in inter-State trade and commerce ?

Next I come to the proposed abolition of the Expenditure Tax. According to the hon. Finance Minister the yield is only Rs. 60 lakhs. But will this step not affect those who are employed in this Department ? Or are they going to be absorbed into some other Department of Government ? I would like to have a clarification on this matter.

As far the revision of the Gift Tax, and the raising of the Estate Duty, I think they are very good measures. The loss through the revision of the Gift Tax is Rs. 1.71 crores and the gain of Rs. 70 lakhs from the Estate

Duty will go to the States. I would like to know from the Finance Minister whether this will be utilised for stepping up agricultural production in the states at least to a little extent.

I would like to congratulate the Finance Minister for honouring the assurance of his predecessor in office by exempting from Estate Duty the estates of the members of the police force who were killed in action while defending the borders of our country. Another good measure is the levy of tax on bonus shares only where the capital gain is actually realised.

Fiscal arrangements need to be given to our industries in order to encourage them to provide technical know-how and technical service to newly developing countries in Africa and other countries. This is really a good move in the right direction. In this connection I would like to again emphasise that in African countries the demand for technical know-how and technical service is more and that is why I say that this is a move in the right direction.

Next I come to the priority industries. Among these the manufacture of tea, newsprint and printing machinery are also included. There is to be a straight deduction of 8 per cent from the total taxable income and this is a good move. But I would like to know whether there will not be any question of evasion of tax in this respect. That has to be seen.

The hon. Finance Minister has said that the Budget is to be framed in response to the economic trends as well as the long-term requirements of the economy. So the tax structure should be such that it strengthens the economy of the country. When considering the long-term requirements both the public sector and the private sector should be put on an equal footing. In this connection I would like to state that recently I read a news item to say that a machine tools unit is to be in the private sector. It says—with your permission. Sir, I shall quote it :

“A machine tools factory is to be set up in Bangalore in the private sector.

The West German firm of Krup is to collaborate with a leading road transport company in south India for erecting this factory which will go into production in another two years.”

I think if the private sector will go into production in two years and make the machine tools which are very badly needed, encouragement should be given to it.

Next I come to the subject of excise duties. The increase in the duty on crystal sugar may be a measure to boost up exports. But at present the international market price of sugar has fallen from £100 to £20 per tonne. The subsidies given by the Government to this industry for export purposes has cost the exchequer to the tune of Rs. 50 crores while the export earnings come to only Rs. 13 crores. Will it not be better for the Government to concentrate on other commodities like cashewnut, mangoes handicrafts, leather goods, engineering goods etc. instead of doing it on sugar ?

To increase the strength of our tea export, I would suggest the intensification of higher yield and better varieties, taking over by the Government of the uneconomic holdings among tea plantations. The abolition or reduction of excise duties should also be considered where necessary.

Non-Plan expenditure should be reduced and wastage on administrative machinery should also be pruned to the minimum.

The Finance Minister has expressed concern about some of the States resorting to unauthorised overdrafts on the Reserve Bank. In this connection I would like the Government, with the States concerned to evolve a common standard of discipline to avoid such practices in future.

Next I come to the subject of exports. Here I would like to say that in the three years of the Third Plan the rate of increase of export was higher than the rate of increase in period 1963-64. It was Rs. 15 crores and now it has fallen considerably. So the Government should find out the root cause and rectify the same.

[Shrimati Lalitha Rajagopalan]

A more liberal policy is required to give impetus to food production. Coming now to the duty on bleaching agents and synthetic detergents, I would like to say that though this measure has been adopted to restrict internal consumption it has only a very meagre basis for export. The duty on diesel oil is expected to give Rs. 5.35 crores. The reason given by the Finance Minister is that the price level of this oil should be put on par with the other petroleum products. He has also said that this measure has been adopted in order to avoid adulteration. This is not a good measure because it is going to affect our agricultural economy. I think this should be scrapped. As pointed out by my colleague, Shrimati Mohinder Kaur, mechanised farming in Punjab is being affected because of this duty on diesel oil. I think Government should give serious consideration to this problem as we have to attain self-sufficiency in food in course of time. Sir, the problem of agriculture should have been highlighted in the Budget. They should have stated the steps being taken to speed up agricultural production and agriculture-based industries. This is not there in the Budget. Exemption from the Gifts Tax to non-resident Indians who remit money through the Remittance Scheme is a good one but it should be put on a permanent basis to have a regular flow of income from that source. If this had been done earlier, I think the foreign exchange crisis would have been a little bit eased. The Tax Credit Certificate Scheme of 1964-65 is really a good measure because it encourages exports and I think more commodities should be brought under this. The exemption from Income-Tax given to charitable institutions is a good move in the right direction but at the same time, Government should see that these institutions do not misuse the funds.

I now come to a very important point, at least I consider it very important. The Finance Minister has said that foreign exchange earnings are increased not only by exports but also by tourism, shipping and the Remittance Scheme. In this connection, I would like to speak about tourism. I here would just like to read one paragraph from the leader of the Indian Express of yesterday. I quote,

'The revelations of Mr. Homi Talyarkhan, Maharashtra's Minister of Tourism and Housing, that many foreigners who are in India had not heard of Ajanta and Ellora caves is indicative of something woefully wrong with our publicity. It is equally disturbing that tourists after having come all the way to India should prefer during their brief stay to travel all the way to Kathmandu rather than see the Ajanta and Ellora Caves or the century old and richly carved temples of the South''

This shows clearly that we have a long way to go in the direction of tourism and I think this can be improved only if the Government makes serious attempts. The Air India offices abroad should have a pictorial wing where we can depict the places to tourist importance from the Himalayas to Cape Camorin. Of course, initial expenditure would be there but I think this expenditure would prove to be a very good foreign exchange earner. I feel that Government should take this matter up very seriously.

I now come to a point in which I completely disagree with the Finance Minister and that relates to the cut in the funds allotted for external publicity. I do not agree with this cut. External publicity of India has not been functioning efficiently and in this House itself many questions have been put during the Indo-Pakistan conflict. As a Member of the Delegation which went to the African countries, I found that the publicity machinery was there but the publicity wing was stagnant due to want of funds. People in Africa, taking only one country, are predominantly French-speaking. I feel that in our Embassies there we should have two wings, the information wing and the publicity wing and each wing should consist of one person well-versed in French and the publicity and other materials should be translated into the respective languages and thrown at the doors of all the people there. We may look to the activities of the USSR and the USA Embassies here in this regard. The publications, "Soviet News and Views" and "The American Reporter" are printed in all the languages, even in Tamil, and are circulated free. There is, of course, ex-

penditure involved in this effort but I think it is worth trying and if we want to keep up our national prestige, if we want to have publicity abroad and if we want to boost up our exports, we must go in for this kind of activity

There are certain things which have been left untouched by the Finance Minister. My colleague mentioned the question of pensions. The employees of the DESU have given a strike notice, the LIC employees have given a strike notice, the Air India staff is already on strike. In this connection, I would like to say that the P & T Pensioners have submitted a memorandum to Government, to the Finance Minister and the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs. They are in receipt of pension for more than twenty years and all that they want is an increase of five rupees in their pensions. Government should consider this point because of the rising cost. Their demand is legal and I hope the Finance Minister will consider this sympathetically. There is a growing tendency in the administrative field not to look into this kind of legitimate grievances sympathetically in time. This gives a handle to the anti-social elements to make capital out of the situation. I hope Government will take measures to avoid such things.

Concluding, Sir, I would like to say that one cannot deny the fact that all is not well with us and we have to go a long way for achieving economic stability. This is possible only if we have a properly prepared plan and are quick in achieving these plans. We have also to bear in mind that foreign aid and collaboration are indispensable. At the same time, we should see how we can increase our production capacity to the maximum. Of course, it is necessary to have increases in expenditure on Defence, the Atomic Power Plant, etc. but it is all the more necessary to increase the output of agriculture also. We eat to live or live to eat—they are both the same. The projects concerning our agricultural economy, relief and incentive to small landholders through credit facilities, fertilisers, etc., should be given top priority. We should also study this problem seriously and mark a date to attain self-sufficiency in food. I hope the Administrative Reforms Commission under the able chairman-

ship of Shri Morarji Desai will evolve the most practical solutions to all the problems, particularly to the food problem.

Thank you

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) I have to inform hon. Members that the Home Minister will make a statement about the Punjabi Suba at 5.30 P.M. The Debate will continue till then.

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

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN Sir, ordinarily between 3.00 P.M. and 4.30 P.M. is a very dull time in Parliament and we are living up to our reputation that at this hour the benches are empty. I notice that all the redoubtable leaders of the Opposition are not in their seats though they sometimes very vociferously complain that the Treasury benches are empty. I think if the Treasury benches could give it back to them it could be said that their benches are as often empty as the Treasury benches. But it is not good for us at the centre here that when we look to the right or the left . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa). If I may say . . .

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I am not yielding.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA . . . he has made a direct charge against the Opposition and . . .

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN I am saying that people from the centre who look at the empty benches here and empty benches there sometimes are not very inspired to say all that they wish to say but this was . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA You can look to the left and take the inspiration.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN . . . only by the way.

[Shri G. Ramachandran]

Here even Mr. Pande says that there is no enthusiasm for this Budget. That is nothing extraordinary, the whole thing looks and sounds very dull.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : It has been overshadowed by other events; that is what I meant.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : Whatever be the reason, it could not have been otherwise. This Budget has not created any undue excitement or interest either on the left or on the right or at the centre. We very much miss Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari in his seat. He had come back from his visit to Europe. He had gone to all kinds of places in Europe including the U.S.S.R. I asked him a question or two when he came back as to what happened there when a plan is made and how it is implemented. He said that he had come back mastering the idea as to how a plan once made should be implemented and so on. My own impression was that he was bubbling with new ideas and if he had presented a Budget, Mr. Pande and I would not be in agreement with each other. That there is nothing very exciting about the Budget. This new Finance Minister was pitchforked into his seat suddenly and I do not think anyone could have been more surprised than he himself that he became the Finance Minister overnight. He had no time and the Budget had to be made. I have seldom seen a more spineless and colourless Budget than the one with which we are dealing today. There is nothing in it except the usual, traditional, humdrum things. There is in it no urgency of what is facing this country. Even the Lady Member who spoke before me ended up by saying that the food problem is not sufficiently impregnated into the Budget. I would go further and say that this Budget which ought to have been food production-oriented is not that kind of Budget. I know the Minister of Food is sitting here and he would say, 'I am getting all the assistance I want from the Finance Minister.' I hope he does not say that. But if he does we shall excuse him because it is the camaraderie of Cabinet responsibility with each other. We should have had a food-pro-

duction-oriented Budget; everything for the peasant, everything for the food producer; nothing to be stinted not only technically in the farm but in building up the life of the food producer. I have often said, Sir, to myself that if you can take care of the food producer, his life, his children, his health and everything about him, he will take care of food production. What we are doing now is, we do everything to take care of the food production but do not take sufficient care to build up the life of the food producer. There is nothing of this kind in this Budget. Take the industrial labour for instance. It is very well organised and if something happens they stand up to it but there is no organisation of the food producers in India. It is not organised at all. Nobody sitting at the Planning Commission, nobody sitting in the seats of power as Ministers, is going to understand the problems of the peasants as they themselves can understand and yet they are nowhere in the picture. There is no organisation of the peasants which can send their delegates to the Minister. There is no organisation of the peasants which can meet again and again year to year, come to the Government, present their demands and get those demands met. I remember, Sir, long ago Sardar Patel started a Land League. I do not think most of us here would remember that Sardar Patel once started a Land League. It was after the Bardoli Satyagraha. He came to the south and he wanted to build up a Land League of India in which the peasants would find their organised strength. I suppose that is not very much considered needed now since Sardar Patel's party itself is now ruling. Then it was the British Government which was ruling. I think something should be done to organise the peasants and whoever organises the peasants, not for politically exploiting some situation, but whoever organises the peasants for themselves and through themselves and in order that they get their legitimate demands met from time to time, if somebody can do that, if some party can do that, that party will some day take the whole of this country in its hands. The Congress ought to be doing that but it is not doing it. So I am disappointed that there is nothing socialist in the whole of this Budget; there is nothing contrary

to socialism, either in the Budget. That is why I call it a spineless and colourless Budget. Supposing it had gone to the other extreme and said things, done things and created incentives for many things in the direction of private effort, even then it could have been a good Budget. But it is also not there. There is nothing in the Budget to galvanise the industrial labourer and the food producer to stand up and produce much more than what they are producing today. It is not a question of money only; it is a question of creating a climate in the country in which the producer will produce to the maximum of his capacity. We had that phenomenon during the emergency. The emergency is long over but you are keeping the emergency on paper. I want to join with all other friends who have voiced the demand in this House that the quicker you lift this emergency the better for the Government and better for the people. There is no emergency excepting in the imagination of the Government. The emergency is no meant to deal with problematical things which might arise tomorrow or the day after. The emergency comes in when there is a serious challenge to normal law. There is now no such challenge; to-day the conditions are normal and the conditions which you occasionally now call abnormal are the normal things in any democratic country. Do not keep this emergency one minute longer, if you are truthful with yourself in terms of the democratic spirit for which you stand. And has this emergency prevented disruption, prevented trouble? Your emergency is there, your D.I.R. is there but everything that happened in West Bengal happened; everything that happened in South India during the anti-Hindi agitation happened; everything that happened in the Punjab happened. Then why take the odium of keeping this emergency? You are unable to deal with the situations that arise even when you have this extra power. Lift this and let the people live a more natural and fearless life in this country and may be that can help to bring normality more than anything else.

I said that this Budget has nothing socialist in it, nor has it the contrary which can lead to a certain incentive in the other directions. Now this is so far

as the broad outline of my criticism of the Budget is concerned. It is not necessary to go into the details. I can say this Budget has not done this, this Budget has not done that. If Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari were sitting here today I would charge him with certain things as I had done before and he had always answered lucidly, ably, to such criticisms. A detailed criticism can be made about this Budget but when the Minister is not in his seat, when this is only a general debate and when we await the Finance Bill for more detailed criticism, I won't go into that now but there is not in this Budget one single line anywhere, one single provision anywhere, to give the people of this country what I once suggested on the floor of this House, a tremendous campaign of adult education. Adult education is not a small thing; adult education is citizenship training in the fullest sense of the world. We are not training the millions of our people to live up to the principles of citizenship within a peaceful democratic government. That is why all these troubles are coming up. If our citizens could be trained through a great programme of adult education to realise the responsibilities of citizenship they would behave much better than they do now. Even in the legislatures of India, even in Parliament things happen which are a disgrace to any democracy; the scenes that are created, the language some times used. When do we get out of this? When do we become a mature people working the democratic machine in a democratic manner? We can do that only when the millions behind us are trained in citizenship.

There is no provision here for adult education. People do not understand. Sixty to eighty per cent of the people do not understand a thing you want to do in this country. You have many programmes, you have many plans, but who knows about them? Nobody knows about them, except the city people. You go and ask the men in the villages anything about your Plans, your Third Plan or Fourth Plan. They will scratch their heads and say—"Plan? What is the Plan?" You will blink and they will blink. How can you build up a country like that? I do not want to go into it now because at some appropriate time I

[Shri G. Ramachandran]

am coming back to this attack that we are not taking up the adult education programme truthfully

Then, there is the rural industries programme. We are playing with it, doing nothing about it. We have the urban industries programme and I am glad it is there, because no modern nation can sustain itself without that kind of a thing. But in this country unless you balance urban industrialisation with rural industrialisation, you are going to create an imbalance which will be fatal and, which you will some day discover, will be the cause of a terrific explosion in this country. Everybody agrees theoretically that rural industrialisation is very important. Yes. We must give employment to people. We must bring prosperity to the hundreds of thousands of villages, but very little is being done. So little is being done that it hardly touches the fringe of the problem. The new Finance Minister is perfectly innocent of all this. He has been a great lawyer in his own way. He has been doing many other things. He has been suddenly asked to frame a Budget and what is he to do? We had educated T. T. K. again and again on the floor of this House, if I may use that expression, and he was well worth educating. He had taken many things from us and he might have reacted vigorously in a new Budget. It is a pity he is not there. It is not a personal thing. I do not distinguish between one and the other in a personal way. But I feel, as I said, that suddenly towards the end of this period, when we were looking forward to a brilliant Budget from him, we are confronted with a spineless, colourless thing. It is not the fault of the new Finance Minister. He could probably have done nothing better within the short time he got. But now let me quickly come to a few other political issues, for this is the only occasion when people on the floor of this House can air their views freely on leading political problems. Number one is the Tashkent agreement.

Now, this Tashkent agreement is the symbol of peace between India and Pakistan at the moment. I know enough to say that there is justification for those

who hold that Pakistan is not living up to the implications of the Tashkent agreement. But if you go to Pakistan today and listen to people there they will tell you exactly the same story, that we are not living up to the deeper implications of the Tashkent agreement. After all, ultimately, in the final analysis, what led up to the conflict between India and Pakistan and to what finally we had to decide at Tashkent? If you go deep down into the root cause, you will find that Kashmir is there and for us to repeat parrot-like, again and again that the matter is solved, settled, closed, bolted, is completely stupid. It is neither bolted, nor closed nor settled for ever. You may imagine that it is settled, but the other party will never admit it that it is settled and again and again this thing will come up. So, the deeper implication of Tashkent will be that when there are better relations between India and Pakistan, no hatred of each other, when we can settle our mutual problems more peacefully and in a spirit of goodwill, we must say that we shall then look at Kashmir again. No Government spokesman is saying that. Nobody is even saying from our side, 'Tomorrow or the day after, when we have settled many other problems and there is goodwill between us, we shall sit down and look at this problem once again.' If you say so, then immediately you will create confidence on the other side.

Then, I come to a point about which I have been sore all the time. When Sheikh Abdullah was arrested I said that it was an error politically, and it was even immoral conduct for us to have arrested that man. He had come back from abroad. He was not running away. You had some charges against him. He came straight back into your hands and said: "I want to meet the Prime Minister. I want to meet the Home Minister." You sent him to Kodaikanal and you are saying that you are keeping him there like a king etc. Some of our political prisoners were treated like kings in the first class in the old days, but they were prisoners all the same and when they were released nobody was happier than they were that they were released from the princedom in the prison. I think it is absolutely wrong to keep Sheikh Abdullah

for one day more in the confines in which we have kept him. We are saying that we have not interned him. I do not know what you have done with him or what is the new word that we should coin. You say you have not imprisoned him. Somebody says that you have not even interned him. He is simply kept within the municipal limits of Kodaikanal. I tried to see him, but was not allowed to see him and the reasons given were absolutely childish. The Home Minister Mr Nanda, treated me as though I was a political baby and he could write some nice little sentence and put me off but he cannot put Sheikh Abdullah off in that manner. If there is any wisdom in this country—and I want Mr Subramaniam to realise that and tell it to his colleagues—now, here is the time to release Sheikh Abdullah. Bring him to Delhi. Let him talk with you, sit with you and enter into an arrangement under which you can win that man as your friend. The moment you do that, the solution of the Kashmir problem will be in sight. There are many more things I can say but I am today suggesting that the first step is to release Sheikh Abdullah and bring him to the conference table, with the best minds in India and later on with the best minds in Pakistan. Some day we will have to do that and the quicker we do it the better. So, this is about Kashmir.

I have only one more thing to say, because I know that my time is up. There is a good deal of talk in this country about corruption. I do not think, technically speaking, there is much more corruption in this country than in many other countries of the world. There is corruption in every country, may be somebody can prove that we have five per cent more corruption or three per cent less corruption, but I admit corruption is there. I am sorry for the corruption and we should take more drastic steps than we are doing now to stamp out corruption. We are not facing even this problem of corruption squarely. Little fellows are caught and big people escape. Little fry are caught and punished and the big ones escape. But there is one corruption greater than every other corruption in this country and that is inefficiency. You pay a man or woman to do a job. We are

now paying much higher salaries than we ever did in this country. In Delhi, for instance, no salary is worth the name unless it is Rs 1,000/- a month. There are, of course, people who get less, but they think that they do not get any salary worth the name. But no one or hardly anyone or very few people do thoroughly the job for which they are paid. They do not come to their desk in time. They do not leave only when the time is up. They walk in and out as they like. Stand anywhere in the streets of Delhi and you can see people walk into their offices really half an hour or forty-five minutes after the time and they are making ready to get out half an hour before time from the office. There is wide-spread inefficiency in this country.

I got this deeply burnt into me during my recent travels in Europe when I saw how their young men and women, boys and girls, are quick, alert and efficient at many places where you see them at work. I can give you some wonderful stories but I have not got the time. Take air travel in India, which is the costliest travel in the world. The Parliament pays for me and for many others Rs 620 or so to come from Madras and to go back to Madras. Rupees six hundred and twenty is a very big figure, but you never catch your plane in time and hardly land in time. And then every day you open the paper and see that there is a strike and the plane will not leave. There is a friend of mine stranded today and he cannot go to Madras. If this is the truth about air travel, what about railway travel? I know we have a formidable Minister for the Railways, Mr S K Patil, a very able man, strong man, etc. But, conditions of railway travel are at a very very low ebb today. There are certain external symbols like fans, etc., but drinking water at the railway stations still remains a question mark. This is happening in a civilised country and where the Railways are making tons of profit. We are not able to ensure even today, in 1966, good drinking water, particularly cool water, even at big stations to the passengers. What future can there be for a country which is so grossly inefficient? For the poorer people travelling in the trains there were previously some guides, to help

[Shri G. Ramachandran]

them. They have disappeared in the emergency. The emergency has swept away many useful people. There were guides in the railway stations who told them where to get in and where to get out, and so on. There are no guides now. Look at the Railways and compare what you see today at railway stations with what you saw thirty years ago. The picture is very much the same. Persons are coming and running with children in their arms and they do not get in in the right place. There is nobody to guide them. They are often ill-treated. We are profiteering in the Railways at the cost of millions of this country.

In the end, I may say that the greatest corruption in this country is the gross inefficiency at almost every point where men and women are not doing enough for their full-time salaries. Nobody has the courage to tell them that this thing will not be tolerated—because most of us are thinking of the elections next time. But we want a strong Government, we want an efficient Government, we want a truthful Government, and above all today we want a Government which goes all out for food production in this country. Food is the greatest shame in this country. Everywhere in Europe where I was in the last couple of months the question was : “You have had eighteen years of freedom. Why are you going about begging for food?” And scandalous things are appearing in the newspapers in Europe. When I was in West Germany, a friend showed me a paper where there was a big headline “People are living eating cowdung in some districts of India.” I telegraphed to a friend in the district and there was no such thing as cowdung being eaten. Children are being asked to forego their breakfast or lunch to send help to India. The picture painted is that there is famine in this country, that thousands of people are dying, and that the Government is hiding all this from the rest of the world. It is a very sad picture. Let Mr Subramaniam sit again with the Finance Minister and let both sit with the Prime Minister, and whatever may be in the budget now, tomorrow, the day after, this year and the next, let us have a food production oriented budget. I am not talking about

matter and give a lot of suggestions. I do not want to do that because I would look like adding myself to the list of fools who are making all kinds of suggestions already. But, I repeat, we are not doing our duty in the matter of food production in this budget. We have staved off a disaster by the skin of our teeth this time. Next time it and when this food problem comes up again, and there is a mass wave in this country, that wave would sweep this Government off into the Bay of Bengal if they do not take care now. People in the cities are assured of food but in the rural areas, as I once said when I was speaking on the subject, there is trouble. I come from a rural area. Both in Tamilnad and in Kerala my home is in a rural area and I know that in the rural area people are finding it much harder than the people in the city. Even here there is a distinction in giving food to the city and the village. It is a terrible dichotomy. We must not allow this. I wish the Government well. I am no enemy of the Government. I want ordered government, ordered progress. But that progress has to be quick enough to catch up with the life and demands of an awakened people, and this Government seems not able to live up to that challenge. In that way lies disaster—the kind of disaster that I would like to see avoided in this country. Thank you.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA Mr Vice-Chairman, Sir, I came to speak on certain aspects of the Budget, but the distinguished previous speaker has provided me with certain points to which, I think, I, as a humble worker of the Congress Party, must reply. He has a halo of being a Gandhite, and I have in my own way tried to follow Gandhiji and the great Vinobhai. But sometimes some persons who are Gandhites talk in a very irresponsible manner, I say with all respect . . .

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN May I say that I did not say one word on the floor of the House claiming to be a Gandhian or a Gandhite.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA First he talked about food production and now about the C

He said that emergency is proclaimed when something actually is there. But I know it and let us see what article 352(3) says :

"A Proclamation of Emergency declaring that the security of India or of any part of the territory thereof is threatened by war or by external aggression or by internal disturbance may be made before the actual occurrence of war or of any such aggression or disturbance if the President is satisfied that there is imminent danger thereof."

Sir, finally our Defence Minister knows it and those who care to know, know it that China on our borders extending over 2000 miles has made roads, has made even aerodromes, has made other fortifications, and its intention of expansionism is always there. The emergency was proclaimed because of Chinese aggression, not because of Pakistan. Even with regard to Pakistan about which the hon. Member has referred, he has given us a homily as to what we as Indians should do. But he has forgotten what even yesterday the President of Pakistan said, what the Foreign Minister of Pakistan is saying these days. Even our things seized during the war, they are not returning to us. The Tashkent spirit does not mean this, I am very sorry to say this, because I was one of those who was enamoured of the Tashkent Declaration, and I was one of those who worked among Congressmen, among doubting persons outside the Congress fold, to try to convince them that this was the best thing and that we should live like good neighbours. I am one of those who always have in their heart a craving to be very very friendly with Pakistan because even in India today if I count the number of my friends, there are perhaps more Muslims than Hindus. And many of my friends are there on that side of the border. When the war was going on and whenever people said 'our enemy, Pakistan', those words hurt me

5 P.M.

much. But facts are facts. We cannot keep our eyes closed. And they say that so many things have happened in Madras, in Kerala, West Bengal, in Punjab and all that.

Sir, I say in all humility that if this emergency laws were not there, these things would have been much worse. That is my way of thinking and I am entitled to think like that. It does not mean that I say that it should continue on the Statute Book even for a day longer than it is needed. If the Government decides to withdraw, it tomorrow, they are pleased to do it, That is another matter. But to say these things and try to belittle its seriousness when the trenches and the aeroplanes and the armies are there, is to follow the policy of the ostrich trying to hide its mouth in the sand. The danger is there, very much there, from one end to the other, extending over 2,000 miles. If Indians do not realise it even after the 1962 invasion, God save the Indians.

Then reference was made about the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah. Sheikh Abdullah went out, he was friendly with Pakistani Embassies, he was getting their co-operation and he was pouring venom on us. He was working against India, against the interests of India. When he came back, he was put in jail and very rightly. But there are people who have tears for him and let such people shed their tears. We are not moved by such things. We are going to serve the country according to our own light. We do not want cheap popularity by saying such things about the emergency, by saying such things about Sheikh Abdullah and by saying such things about railways, this and that. Everything is wrong, everything is bad. Why do these people not act as Gandhiji did ? Why do they not act ? Why do they not try to improve things ? They come to this House and just blame us. I have always seen this. This is not the way to serve the country and this is not a responsible way.

He talked about food. This poor man, Mr. Subramaniam, I must tell you, has been a friend of mine ever since I have been in the Lok Sabha. He has been there. He took up this portfolio when even the senior colleagues of his were hesitating to take it over. He is a bold man. He has taken it up. I told him, "My dear friend, you have taken up a thankless job." He told me, "Mr. Siah, when I

[Shri Awadheshwar Prasad Sinha]

am to serve the country, I must take up the most difficult job and try to do my best." The poor man is getting nothing but abuse. He is never getting any appreciation for what he is doing. But for him, I say, many people would have actually died in India and there would have been greater trouble in this country. What I expected of people who stand for truth, who stand for non-violence, was to appreciate things, to realise the reality of life. But they refuse to do so—they blink at it. What did he do, Sir? He went to America and he got food for India, and he is getting it here. He is fighting the battle almost alone because of people who are trying always to get popularity at his cost saying that Shri Subramaniam is not doing this or that, that at some place there is no rice. That he has given so much rice to Kerala and asking him to give them so much of rice. Then Kerala says, you have given so much of rice to some other part and so give us rice. We are not changing our food habits, we are not trying to adjust ourselves to the situation. When a calamity is there, it is for all of us. It is not only for Shri Subramaniam or for the Government of India. I come from a rice-eating part of Bihar. I tell you, we will never marry off our daughters into a family where rice is not eaten day and night. Do you believe me, Sir? I am taking rice at no time now. All the three times, because of Kerala or because of West Bengal or because of this or that, I am now on *phulkas*. I can now do with the *phulkas* given to me by Shri Subramaniam at controlled rates. Some people say that it is very bad. I have not a very strong constitution, but it is doing me good. Perhaps it is American wheat. You are eating American wheat and are saying, "Look here, you are going about with a begging bowl." After 40 years of revolution in Russia, it was Mr. Khrushchev who went to America for purchasing lakhs and lakhs of tonnes of wheat. There it is 40 years, but here it is only 18 years. I have been a worker among the peasantry. I used to talk to Gandhiji about them. I was associated with the *kisan* movement, the abolition of the *zamindari* and relief to peasantry. Shri Masani who belongs to the other party is a great friend of mine.

It was he who took me first to Gandhiji and I discussed with him all these things. I know the village life. I come from a village, and I know how the villagers live and how they are changing their food habits, how in Bihar they are purchasing wheat from the Government wheat shops—fair price shops as they are called—and they are eating wheat day and night. They are the people who refuse to marry off their daughters because during the night at some places the other families do not take rice at dinner; their daughters will not get married there. We are adjusting ourselves. Why should not others also adjust themselves? They must adjust themselves, everywhere. They say, "Give me 180 grams or 200 grams." In the world market there is no rice, in India there is no rice. But Shri Subramaniam says, eat as much wheat as you like. But you say, "Give me rice". And for that, you build up an agitation. And then what do you do? You break up the railway lines, burn the wagons, do this, do that and do everything. But there is not a word about it. A man of peace, a man of non-violence has not a word against all these things. But he has everything to say against the emergency . . .

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : That is 100 per cent. wrong.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : I have not yielded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) : He has not yielded. Order, order.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : At least show that a Gandhite has some patience.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN : You are telling a gross untruth because non-violent people have declared from the house-tops that what has happened is wrong and shameful.

(Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) : Order, order.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : God save us from a Gandhite like you.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh) : God save us from a Congressite like you.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : I have been in Congress since 1920 when this gentleman was serving the British Government and British imperialism.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : Absolutely trash.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : It will take him much time, to have my career in the Congress.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : You are . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) : Order, order.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : You will take it from me. When you talk about my Congress character, it can compare with anybody's living in India. I must tell you that. I am not going to yield.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) : Let us get on to the subject.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : Now, I will say a few words about the Budget. I have not come to the Rajya Sabha today. In 1920, when I was 14, I joined the Congress, shared in the freedom movement and suffered. My wife was ill, I could not attend on her and she died. I am a widower without children. But people should know what they are talking about. They should realise, those who were serving the Government, our blood-suckers, as Judges..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) : Let us get on to the Budget.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : I must tell that. He should know where he stands.

(Interruptions).

About the Budget, I was listening to the speech of the great Finance Minister in the Lok Sabha. I was admiring the way in which he dealt with the subject and the way in which he replied to the criticisms. Sir, he is a very eminent lawyer; it is difficult to match his talents and argue with him.

But in his Budget Speech and in his reply in the other House, he has said that the financial position of the country is not good. This is primarily because ours is a developing economy. We have taken up projects which will yield results after years. So this is the result, not of stagnation—though paradoxical it may seem—but of growth. It is the result of the building up of these things that is creating all these troubles.

Sir, some hon. Members on this side as well as on that side—I do not mind what hon. Members on the other side say talk about the public sector. From my friends in the Congress there has come an attack on the public sector. But the growth of public sector industries is one of the cardinal principles of the Congress. The Industrial Policy Resolution also speaks for it. Sir, the industries, known as private sector industries, have been built up over generations. They have experience and the incentive of profit, whereas in the public sector, industries are coming up only for a decade or so. Therefore, mistakes are bound to occur. One may point out the mistakes but one has to appreciate the vast field these public sector industries are embracing. It consists of key industries like iron. We have also our ordnance factories. When the war was going on, even the Pakistanis admitted that they could not produce anything in their country whereas India produced at least 90 per cent. of its defence requirements. So this achievement is not an ordinary achievement.

Sir, if our industrialists are running their industries quite well, it is all right.

[Shri Awadheshwar Prasad Sinha.]

We believe in mixed economy and we have equal sympathy for both the sectors. I wonder whether my colleagues in the Congress, who seem to have more sympathy for the private sector industries and less for the public sector industries, are doing the right thing. For the private sector industries also, Sir, I have always had a soft corner. Once I had a talk with the late, illustrious, Pandit Nehru about this point. I asked him why he had at all allowed mixed economy or private enterprise. He told me that we had a democratic Constitution and we had to go through legislation in order to nationalise and since confiscation of property was against our Constitution, we had to pay compensation. When I suggested an amendment to the Constitution, he did not agree because, according to him, democracy and confiscation of property did not go together. We might not give full compensation but we would have to give reasonable compensation. Something had to be given, he felt.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) : The hon. Member has exceeded his time.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : Just one or two minutes, Sir, if you do not mind. I can as well finish. I am prepared to abide by your orders.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY) : Please finish soon. Take one minute.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : Sir, I have always been a staunch socialist. But I do not also mind the private industry growing. That is why when concessions were announced for them; I welcomed them. But two things have appeared to me, as also to others, as most irksome, namely, the 10 per cent. flat surcharge on income tax. I know some of the Government servants drawing Rs. 4,000/- a month whose wives have taken to service because of taxes. I know one of them whose son was appearing for an examination. The gentlemen has no cleaner for his car. He himself is so busy that he cannot attend to his car.

The result is that his son had to clean the car before putting it in the portico and then go for his examination. The wife has taken to service.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Getting Rs. 4,000 and his wife taking to service. I cannot believe. He must be a miser, Mr. Sinha.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA : He is honest to the core, not a miser. I can give you his name and everything. You know how much goes away by way of taxes. I will finish in a minute, Sir.

So, Sir, I suggest that up to Rs. 50,000 this 10 per cent. surcharge should go. It should be zero. Between Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 1,00,000 it should be 5 per cent. and a flat rate of 10 per cent. above that. About Corporate Tax, I feel, it should be 5 per cent. I have done, Sir.

MISS MARY NAIDU (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the new Finance Minister, Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri, had to prepare the Budget for this vast country of ours within a very short period of his taking charge. He deserves the nation's sympathy and congratulations for his realistic approach and also for the difficult job well-accomplished to the best of his ability.

Sir, after the attainment of independence, the prime task before the country was economic emancipation of the masses. With this cherished desire, we had fixed socialism as our goal, socialism which would eradicate poverty, disease and misery of millions of our countrymen. Though we did progress in certain directions, with regard to food the picture is still sad and gloomy. Despite the completion of three ambitious plans, our economic difficulties have not yet been fully resolved. The cause is not far to seek. The basic fact which our planners conveniently ignore is the basic character of our country's economy. Eighty per cent. of our population depends on agriculture. And if agriculture is neglected, where is the salvation ? The time has come for the nation to pause and think,

not only just think, but to trust and act on the Tharaka Mantram taught to us by our beloved Shastriji before he left us, Jai Kisan—Jai Jawan. That was the powerful Tharaka Mantram. As 80 per cent. of India's population are kisans, the greatest problem is solved by giving them the first priority. Our kisans are clever and hard-working. Give them sufficient water and fertiliser and they will feed the people of their motherland. No doubt about it.

Coming to Jawans, Pakistan without doubt had given us abundant and just cause for war. China undoubtedly makes us afraid by her border irritations and also makes us feel that there is just cause around the corner for war. But it is not every cause of war that should lead to war. War, we all know, is one of those dreadful scourges that shakes the foundations of society, brings in misery and wretchedness in so many forms to destroy private happiness and public enterprise.

We, the believers of Ahimsa, followers of Mahatma's philosophy will be the last nation to resort to arms unless driven by the dire necessity of preserving our independence. But to preserve our precious independence we have to be prepared, for, unlike in olden days when the slogan in History was 'Balance of Power', it is now 'Balance of Terror'. Hence there is great need for strengthening the support for research in the Ministry of Defence. No doubt a great amount is being spent on atomic energy research which is in keeping with the march of times but the amount of Rs. 10 crores allotted for Defence Research is extremely inadequate. It compares very unfavourably with what the Chinese are spending on similar schemes. Our Jawans must not be left in the lurch for a second time for want of proper research regarding the high altitude fighting. Agricultural research and the C.S.I.R. which cater to the needs of the growing Indian industries get very little financial support from the Government. I request the Finance Minister to take note of this and increase the allotment of funds.

Now touching on industry, I shall refer to two most important matters relating

to Andhra Pradesh from where I come and also to the whole country. First is the steel plant. The Anglo-American consortium had suggested that the fifth steel plant should be located at Vizagapatam. With your kind permission I would like to point out a few points why Vizagapatam is an ideal place for the location of the steel plant. Since Vizagapatam is a sea port the steel manufactured there can be supplied to the entire peninsular India by cheap transport, that is, by sea without overburdening the Railways across the land.

Recently an agreement was signed with Japan for the export of iron ore. According to this agreement the ore has to be transported to the port for shipment. In the process of this transport a large amount of dust is produced which, according to the scientists, can be very valuably utilised if the steel plant is at the port itself. Otherwise all the dust will be wasted.

I understand that the ex-Finance Minister was of opinion that there will be an extra cost if Vizagapatam is chosen for the location of the steel plant on account of the transport of raw materials and this can be avoided according to him if the plant is located at Bihar-Bengal circle which is the ore area. May I please point out that a very great mistake is done in not taking into account the reduction of the cost in transporting the finished material from Vizagapatam port to the rest of the country. It is easily taken to Calcutta, Madras, Cochin, Bombay, Goa, etc. by sea instead of from an inland plant of Bihar-Bengal. When both these factors are taken into consideration there will be no extra cost at Vizagapatam. What is more, if the value of dust saved is calculated there will be great gain instead. Will the Finance Minister kindly look into the justice of the case? Besides all the above facts we have also to take note of the fact that there are already four factories in the ore areas of Bihar-Bengal circle near Calcutta. Why create another in the same area and expose to danger of enemy action? Instead why not utilise a port which has all the advantages. Thus regional imbalance which is one of the causes for many of the economic ills of our country can also be corrected. I fully agree

[Miss Mary Naidu.]

with my Mysore friends that a start should also be made for a steel plant at Hospet. Steel is most essential for nation's prosperity and defence and is an answer to Shastriji's Taraka Mantram of 'Jai Jawan'.

My second point is about the development of power in Andhra Pradesh. Andhra has got a heavy population and a large area, twice as big as Madras State. But the power per person is very low, lower than even Assam. What is worse is, just at present when power is needed for the production of food, there is a heavy shortage and 40 per cent. cut.

The greatest tragedy—I call it a tragedy and not an injustice—is that in spite of our having immense resources for power in the shape of largest coal fields like Kothagudem, Ramagundam and other hydropower sites, there has been no development. On the other hand the Government developed poor lignite in Madras State for generation of power but did not utilise the coals in the near by areas of the South namely, Godavari District. Where is the justice ? Andhra's little surplus food must be distributed but when it comes to development the rich resources good for the whole nation, her case is overlooked. I request both the Planning Ministry and the Finance Ministry to examine the merits on the national level and do justice.

I do not want another bell to be rung though I have much more to say. Thank you.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER ON PUNJABI SUBA

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS
(SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA) : The Committee of Members of Parliament, headed by the hon. Speaker, has made its report which was laid on the Table of the House on 18th March 1966.

The Committee has come to the conclusion that it would be in the larger interests of the people of Punjab and of

the country as a whole, that the present State of Punjab be reorganised on a linguistic basis and has recommended that :

- (a) the Punjabi region should form a unilingual Punjabi State;
- (b) the hill areas of Punjab included in the Hindi region, which are contiguous to Himachal Pradesh and have linguistic and cultural affinity with that territory, should be merged with Himachal Pradesh; and
- (c) that the remaining areas should be formed as a separate unit which may be called the Hariyana State.

The Government have given careful thought to these recommendations. They have decided to accept, in principle, that the present State of Punjab be reorganised on linguistic basis.

The Committee further recommended that in case there were any boundary adjustments to be made, a Committee of experts be set up immediately to suggest the necessary adjustments. Government accept, in principle that the boundaries may be determined with the help of experts. They intend to take early steps to give effect to the decision to reorganise the State of Punjab on the lines mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

Before announcing these decisions, Government took into full and careful consideration representations made to them by various interests including those who were opposed to the reorganisation of the Punjab on the lines proposed. In the course of the long meetings held with some of them, misunderstandings and misgivings regarding the reorganisation that was under consideration were largely removed. The Government have made it clear to them :

- (i) that the proposed reorganisation of Punjab will follow the linguistic basis, without any communal or religious factors being allowed to come into consideration;