

चाहिये। एक और काम यह हाउस, यह सदन, कर सकता है, अगर आप या अगर सदन इस राय के हों कि प्रिविलेज कमेटी में भी भेजने से क्या मतलब, सारा मामला साफ है। *Everything is above board*. हर चीजें साफ हैं तो देन एंड देयर, इमीडियेटली, यह हाउस यहां बैठकर उस पर फैसला ले ले। एक तरीका और हो सकता है जिसके बारे में मैं बहुत साफ नहीं हूँ मगर मैं आपके सामने अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि यह मसला लोक सभा में भी उठा है और पब्लिक एकाउंट्स कमेटी दोनों सदन के मेम्बरों से बनती है तो दोनों सदन की एक मीटिंग हो

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : How this question comes in here ? This argument cannot come here.

श्री राजनारायण : बगैर सुने आप क्यों ऐसा कहते हैं।

तो दोनों की संयुक्त बैठक बुलाई जाय, अगर कोई ऐसा प्रोसीजर हो, आप इसको बूझें कि लोक सभा और राज्य सभा की एक ज्वाइंट सिटिंग हो और ज्वाइंट सिटिंग बैठकर के इस मसले पर हम विचार करें, आज करें, अभी करें या कल करें, जितनी जल्दी हो सके करें।

श्री सभापति : आप खत्म कर दें तो अच्छा है।

श्री राजनारायण : मेरा इतना ही निवेदन है कि आप हमारी इस भावना को जगह दें और सुब्रह्मण्यम् साहब के मामले पर, जो उनके जरिये सारी बंगालिंग हुई है और अब तक बेहयायी के साथ मंत्री-पद पर बने हुये हैं उसके बारे में, यह सदन अपना कोई निर्णय दे, और बडिक्ट देने के लिये सदन बैठ कर पी० ए० सी० की रिपोर्ट पर विचार करें या उनके मामले को प्रिविलेज कमेटी के सामने लाकर के यह सदन फौरन फैसला करे। यह हमारा आपसे निवेदन है।

श्री सभापति : मैं आपको इस बक्त प्रिविलेज के सवाल को उठाने की इजाजत नहीं देता। प्रिविलेज का मामला गालिबन कल उठेगा, भूपेश गुप्त साहब ने जो नोटिस दिया है मौका इस पर गुप्तगु के लिये जायेगा ताकि भूपेश गुप्त साहब यह मुझे समझायें कि मैं उसको स्वीकार कर लूँ, पहले तो मेरी कंसेंट उसमें चाहिये और उस कंसेंट के लिये मैं भूपेश गुप्त साहब से यह कहूंगा कि मुझे यह बतायें कि वह क्यों चाहिये। आपको तो मैंने सुन लिया। मेम्बरस कल मुझे बतायेंगे कि प्रिविलेज क्यों बनता है।

श्री राजनारायण : आखिर मेरा मोशन कब आयेगा, श्रीमान्, यह तो मालूम हो।

श्री सभापति : मोशन आपका एडमिट हो गया है नो-डेट-येट-नेम्ब-मोशन की तरह, जब प्रोग्राम में आयेगा तो पेश हो सकेगा।

श्री राजनारायण : तब तो वह मोशन महत्वहीन हो जायगा।

श्री सभापति : तो मैं क्या करूँ।

Shall we pass on to the next business ? It is 1 O'clock. The House stands adjourned till 2.30.

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

The House re-assembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, the VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHAROAVA) in the Chair.

RESOLUTION RE LEVYING OF EXPORT DUTY ON CERTAIN COMMODITIES—*Contd.*

SHRI K. K. SHAH (Maharashtra) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, was waxing eloquent on the question that the consumer would suffer because the export duty has been levied.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : No, no; you misunderstood me. I never said that the consumer will suffer because of the Export Duty. I said the consumer will suffer as a result of the things that you are doing.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : All right, the consumer will suffer as a result of what we are doing.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I referred to Mr. Manubhai Shah's statement and I said, "Cut your consumption. Drink: less tea and send it outside."

SHRI K. K. SHAH : It is now therefore necessary that I should give him a little idea of what devaluation means. In this country, what is known as the Reserve Bank controls the internal money circulation. If payments have to be made to a foreign country to a larger extent, to that extent the Reserve Bank withdraws more money from internal circulation. If payments are made to a foreign country to a lesser extent, to that extent the Reserve Bank withdraws lesser money from internal circulation. In fact, devaluation has the effect of deflation. Therefore, devaluation does not change the different. So far as the article is concerned. *(Interruptions)* My dear Sir, please bear with me patiently, and you will agree with me. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel may also revise his opinion if he likes. Coming to devaluation, take for example an article which cost us 10 Dollars prior to devaluation. In that event, prior to devaluation, it was the Reserve Bank which was making payment of the 10 Dollars on behalf of an Indian importer and was taking from the Indian importer Rs. 45. Today, if the same article cost us 10 dollars, it will continue to cost us 10 Dollars, but the Reserve Bank, while making payment of the 10 Dollars to a foreign country, will take from the Indian importer Rs. 75. This is the difference. So far as the article is concerned, there are two types of transactions which take place in the international market, transactions which take place on the basis of barter agreement or rupee payment. I will deal with the transactions which are on the basis of rupee payment or barter agreement later on. But transactions which take place otherwise in the international market are either in Dollars

or in Pounds Sterling or in Marks or in the other currencies of other countries. By devaluation the prices of these commodities do not change at all so far as the Pound, Dollar or Mark is concerned. The same price will be paid by the Reserve Bank. The only difference is that the Indian importer, instead of paying what he was paying before the 5th of June, will pay 57 per cent more to the Reserve Bank, not to a foreign country. In the same way if a pound of tea was fetching six shilling* in the international market, it will continue to fetch six shillings today. The Reserve Bank will receive six shilling* from the foreign purchaser and will pay to the Indian exporter, instead of Rs. 4.50 paise, Rs. 7.15 paise. Therefore, so far as devaluation is concerned, neither the prices of the international commodities, as they are known in the international market, have been changed, nor our liabilities have gone up. Whether our liability is 2,000 dollars or 1500 dollars, it has gone up in rupees, not in dollars.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You are saying nothing has gone up.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : You will see what has gone up. Devaluation has internal effect. Devaluation has no external effect whatsoever. It is the correct answer. For example, our international debt is paid in Pounds, Dollars, Marks and so on.

SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh) : From Rs. 2600 crores our debts have gone up to Rs. 4800 crores. Do you mean to say that the difference of Rs. 1700 crores signifies nothing?

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Yes, I am coming to that. It is in terms of rupees, please remember.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of order. Are we entitled in this House to exhibit our colossal ignorance in the manner in which he is doing?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Well, you can put that question to yourself.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Perhaps my learned friend does not want to understand.

BHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : On a point of order. Are we discussing devaluation because Mr. Shah is pro-ounding with him or not. I think the may on the Devaluation of the Rupee Mr. in the name of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, and I was waiting to see him move the Motion. But Mr. Shah is bringing in de-valuation which is not the subject of the Resolution under discussion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : The subject of the Resolution is connected with devaluation indirectly.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : The export levy is connected with devaluation. Sir, I again repeat, and I beg of my friends to lend their ears to me. The reason is simple. The payment that is made to a foreign country, so far as our debt is concerned, is in Dollars, Pounds, etc., and Rupees are not accepted in payment of our debts, and the debt is paid by selling our goods outside. The goods are sold outside either for Pounds or Dollars or Marks, or they are sold on the basis of barter agreements, or on the basis of rupees with rupee payment countries. I am not dealing for the time being with rupee payment countries, or barter agreements. I am dealing with the international market. This is why this export duty has been levied. Now why is export duty levied? The export duty is levied for the simple reason that the worth of a dollar has risen to Rs. 7.50 after devaluation from Rs. 4.50 before devaluation. Now if the export duty would not have been levied, we would have received less from the sales in the international market. But since the export duty is levied, the price which is paid being in Dollars or in Pounds, the exporter in India would have got much more than he would have got prior to devaluation and thereby the prices for internal consumption would have gone up. It is with a view to seeing that the prices for internal consumption do not go up that the export duty has been levied. If a man is getting in the international market six shillings for a pound of tea, and six shillings today cost Rs. 7.50 in this country, then nobody will be interested in selling at Rs. 4.50 unless the export duty is levied. That is the object of export.

So far as our exports are concerned, 80 per cent of our exports are traditional exports. They are either of jute or of tea or of coffee, and these commodities have an international market. There the price is quoted not in Rupees. My friend, Mr. Babubhai Chinai, may keep an open mind; otherwise in his transactions he may commit mistakes. He has been rather confused on the question of international foreign exchange. So let him try to understand again.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He has an open mind and an open purse for you.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Thank you very much. Therefore, if not now, at least when he deals with the transactions he will realise that these commodities, coffee, tea, jute, have an international market and the price is quoted in international currency, that is in Dollars, Pounds and so on. When devaluation takes place, the price in the international market does not come down.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : We will have to send more goods, double the quantity in order to get the same amount.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : No. That is why this export duty is being levied.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : This Rs. 1,700 crores more of your liabilities, is it of no consequence?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Now, he is saying shocking things. In order to earn 100 dollars in America, he says we do not have to send more goods after devaluation. Then what is this devaluation for?

SHRI K. K. SHAH : You are talking the transaction takes place in rupees when.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is what will happen.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : I have been telling my hon. friend that he is talking of transactions taking place in rupees.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : We do not have anything but rupee in this country.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : We are talking of foreign exchange.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You are in a thorough state of confusion.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra) : After this devaluation of the rupee, where we paid Rs. 4.76 for a dollar we now pay Rs. 7.53 and therefore to that extent devaluation of the rupee has taken place. So for earning 100 dollars you will now have to pay 57.5 per cent more. Is that correct?

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Yes, in rupee.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : And so to earn that much you will have to send 57.5 per cent more of goods.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : If my hon. friend will bear with me, I will explain the position. He is mixing up what will be paid in foreign exchange and what you will be paying in rupee.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is what it is.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : No. So far as the export duty is concerned, the export duty is intended to see that the foreign exchange earnings continue to be the same so far as the traditional exports are concerned.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You don't have to send out more quantities of goods?

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Export duty, I repeat—and you can get it examined by any expert economists—is intended to see that our foreign exchange earnings continue to be the same so far as the traditional items are concerned.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : How is it . . .

SHRI K. K. SHAH : If my hon. friend will bear with me for a moment, I will explain the position by taking an example. That will satisfy him. Take for example an article which cost Rs. 10 prior to this devaluation and that it had import content worth Rs. 3. After devaluation this import

content will cost Rs. 4.50 and therefore the price of the article will be Rs. 11.50.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : May be a little less.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Let us say it will be Rs. 11.50. Now Rs. 11.50 prior to devaluation was equivalent to 2½ dollars and today after this devaluation Rs. 11.50 will be equal to only 1½ dollars. Therefore, in order that we may not realise only 1½ dollars but with a view to realising the same 2½ dollars we are putting this export duty. That is the correct position and it is a very simple matter.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is a simple thing.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : That is simple and now my hon. friend understands it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You can say the earnings will be taken away in order to meet this requirement.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Earnings will not be taken away if the import duty is properly levied in the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Shah, on this Resolution Mr. Gupta will not understand it. But if you are speaking this on his own Resolution, then he will understand you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My trouble with my friend is that he is confused.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : And my trouble with you is that you don't bear with me and you don't try to understand me. I will again repeat for your information that the . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, you need not repeat.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : You can understand this much. Just as the prices of imported articles in rupee have gone up, in the same way, while you exchange that price of exports for the purpose of trade into dollars, the price in dollars will be less. And we do not want our export earnings to

go down. Therefore we are putting this export duty. If that is understood, then it is a very simple thing.

AN HON. MEMBER : Import duty ?

SHRI K. K. SHAH : No, export duty. It is not import duty. And again I repeat, if my hon. friends will bear with me. An article which cost Rs. 10 prior to devaluation and in which the import content was costing Rs. 3/- the same article will now be costing Rs. 11.50 after devaluation because the cost of that import content has gone up by Rs. 1.50, that is to say, from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4.50. Therefore the article will now cost Rs. 11.50. Now this Rs. 11.50 has to be converted into dollars. Prior to devaluation Rs. 10 were equal to 2 dollars and a few cents. Now, if you convert Rs. 11.50 into dollars, it will be less than 2 dollars. So even though the price of the imported content has gone up, so far as the external market is concerned, its competitive character is still maintained. This point of view must be remembered. It should also be remembered that at the moment I am not dealing with internal prices. So far as the internal prices are concerned, these internal prices have gone up to the extent of the rise in the cost of the imported content in the article. But so far as the outside world is concerned, when you convert that price into Dollars, Pounds, Marks and so on, on account of this devaluation, it will be the same or less in terms of Dollars, Pounds, Francs and so on. It will not be less if export duty is levied. Now, take the case of an article like tea. A pound of tea or say, a tonne of tea got us 100 Dollars. The price of tea in the international market has not gone down. The price of tea in the international market continues to be the same. A tonne of tea will continue to get you 100 Dollars. The Indian exporter formerly used to get Rs. 450 for a tonne of tea. That is to say, before the 5th June, a tonne of tea used to fetch that much in the international market, and for 100 Dollars the Indian exporter used to get Rs. 450/-. Today, if no export duty is levied he will get Rs. 750/-. Therefore, the Indian exporter will get Rs. 300 more if no export duty is levied. Therefore, if he gets outside Rs. 750/- then why should he sell for a lesser price internally ? If he gets 100 Dollars for his tea outside, which sum gives him

Rs. 750/- then he will not be interested in selling it here. But we want to maintain the internal prices. Therefore, you should mop up the profits by this export duty. This proposition is 100 per cent correct. When this proposition is cent per cent correct, then a corollary follows. The corollary that follows is this. For one tonne of tea you continue to get 100 Dollars today. It was fetching the same 100 Dollars prior to 5th June. After the 5th of June nobody can deny that . . .

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Bui at what cost ?

SHRI K. K. SHAH : At no cost. The international price of tea does not depend on Mr. Babubhai Chinai. The international price of tea depends on the supply and demand position in the international market. Now, the international market price is fixed in Dollars, Pounds, Marks and so on. The price of tea also is fixed in the international market in Dollars, Pounds, Marks and so on. Therefore they continue to be the same so far as the prices of our traditional exports like jute, tea and coffee are. So your sale proceeds in foreign exchange do not come down at all. If you accept that, then to the extent of Rs. 600 crores which in terms of Dollars . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : May I ask one question just to enable me to understand the position?

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Yes.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Suppose to earn 100 Dollars we used to sell 100 tonnes. Now, to earn the same amount of 100 Dollars, do we not have to sell 150 tonnes ?

SHRI K. K. SHAH : If my hon. friend had tried to follow what I have been saying, he would have understood the position. Please forget for the time being the rupee exchange and the barter agreement?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : And the Indian consumer.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Why ?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : Of course, you have to forget the Indian consumer.

Shri K. K. SHAH : Please let us remember that we are at present dealing with foreign exchange. I will come to the question of the Indian consumer later. So far as our foreign exchange is concerned . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Shah, you have taken 20 minutes. You must hurry up now

SHRI K. K. SHAH : But I am on a very difficult point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Yes, it is a difficult point.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Shri Akbar Ali's query was. Shall we not be required to send out 150 tonnes of tea instead of 100 tonnes in order to earn 100 dollars. My answer to Akbar Ali Sahib is this. The price of tea in the international market is fixed by the international comity of nations and they fix it in Dollars, Pounds, Francs and so on.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : But we have to send out more quantity.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Therefore if price, of tea are fixed by the international market, they do not depend upon the value of the Rupee. If you tender 100 tonnes of tea even today they will give you 100 Dollars. Please remember that the price is in Dollars and not in Rupees. The prices of commodities in the international market are fixed in Dollars, Pounds and Marks, not in Rupees. Therefore if prior to 5th June your 100 tonnes of tea used to fetch you 100 Dollars today also your 100 tonnes of tea will fetch you 100 Dollars.

SHRIMATI TARA RAMCHANDRA SATHE (Maharashtra) : But we can sell it at a cheaper rate even.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : When the international prices are fixed according to availability nobody sells it at a lesser price. We are not fools. It depends upon demand and supply in the international market. If Ceylon is selling a pound of tea for six shillings, why should India sell for less than six shillings ? It is in foreign currency; the

prices are quoted in foreign currency and the transactions take place in foreign currency.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : May I just ask one thing. You are giving examples but there is one doubt that still remains. The whole assumption is on the basis that upon devaluation we shall be in a position to increase our exports and we will earn more foreign exchange. We were earning Rs. 800 crores by exports and we expect to earn Rs. 14(H) crores in terms of foreign exchange under the present rates. On the one hand we claim to be making our things cheaper because we say devaluation means our things will be cheaper and they will have better markets in the world. We claim that we have devalued because we will have better markets for our commodities since they will be cheaper now. At the same time we will have counter-vailing export duty so that it will bring in the same amount of money.' So we will not get more foreign exchange because the old Rs. 800/- crores will be Rs. 1400 crores according to the new rate. To earn anything more you will have to export more. As a matter of fact do you expect the benefit of devaluation to be . . .

SHRI K. K. SHAH : I entirely agree with you. So far as the rupee payment is concerned it is only conversion. There is no question of that. Rs. 800 crores will be converted into a higher amount but the commodities will be the same, your earnings in foreign exchange will be the same and there will be no difference.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: It will only mean higher price for the internal consumer.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : It will not be higher price for the consumer here if you see export duty is properly levied. If this point has been understood properly that whatever commodities we were tendering in the international market they will continue to fetch the same foreign exchange since the prices in the international market continue to be the same, then the position will become clear. They say they will get Rs 1400 crores because on account of devaluation they will now get 57 per cent more in terms of the rupee.

SHRI C. D. PANDE : Shall we get more ? I doubt.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Conversion automatically gives you more; that is why they say they will be getting more. There is no magic that because of devaluation our export earnings will go up unless we sell more. I shall come to this point later but now I am dealing with Mr.

Dahyabhai Patel's question that the consumer will pay more. Prior to devaluation on an article which cost us Rs. 10 we levied an import duty of Rs. 6 and it became Rs. 16. After levying the import duty we put an excise duty of Rs. 3 and it went up to Rs. 19. That is how the article became costly. Therefore a time has come when the Government of India after devaluation should look into the price construction of each commodity, especially the essential commodities. It is time that the essential commodities are listed and where essential commodities are concerned the import duty and the excise duty should be so arranged—in some cases they should be removed altogether—that the consumer shall not have to pay more. Today what will happen is, the price of an imported article instead of Rs. 10 will become Rs. 15 but if you remove the import duty of 60 per cent there will be no addition to the price. Therefore the first thing that should be done after devaluation is, the essential commodities should be listed by the Government of India and so far as these essential commodities are concerned, the excise duty and the import duty should be so adjusted that the prices do not rise. This is the first thing that should be done by the Government of India. The second thing that should be done is—I hope my friend here will bear with me.

(Interruptions)

My friend here said that pressure has been brought by the United States of America. If they have brought any pressure, then it is against their own interests. And you will see how. Formerly if I had Rs. 100 and if I could purchase two Parker pens for Rs. 50 each I used to place an order for two Parker pens. Today the price of one Parker pen will go up by Rs. 30 and therefore I can place an order for only one pen now and not for two Parker pens, and the Reserve Bank will have to pay only for one Parker pen and not for two in foreign exchange.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh) : I am unable to understand this argument.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. K. SHAH : If you do not understand it is my misfortune; it is my incapacity to explain.

A Parker pen which used to be quoted in Dollars used to cost us ten Dollars prior to devaluation. That much you understand ? And the Indian importer was giving Rs. 45 for that. Today the Indian importer will have to give Rs. 75 for that. Suppose an order for two Parker pens was his capacity. However high one may be his capacity will be limited. Now he will be placing an order for only one Parker pen.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : That is begging the question.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : It is not begging the question.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But we have not devalued to get more Parker pens. Don't you know that balance of trade is . . .

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Therefore this is the chance for increasing the trade with rupee payment countries and barter countries.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Parker pens you forget.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN : You have taken a wrong example.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : All right you take a machine.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : America is selling to us fertiliser; America is selling to us wheat and various other things for which we have to pay higher prices and he is talking of Parker pens.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : It is not a wrong example. Whatever may be the requirements of the country . . .

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN : For two Parker pens they used to get Rs 90 but now for one Parker pen they will get Rs. 75. What about that ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Don't you know that this country is not a country consuming Parker pens ? This country consumes wheat; this country consumes . . .

SHRI K. K. SHAH : All right; take anything, fertiliser or a machine. I will take a printing machine.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Shah, you have to wind up in two minutes. You can take whatever you like, machine, Parker pen or fertiliser or anything.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : Suppose we want to purchase printing machines. If formerly two printing machines in America cost us 100 Dollars they continue to cost 100 Dollars today but 100 Dollars in this country now will mean Rs 750. My capacity is limited to Rs. 500 and I will therefore place an order for only one machine. Therefore the import from America will be of only one machine. I will search for another market, rupee payment market, from where I can procure another machine in exchange for rupee payment or by barter agreement. Therefore our business with America will go down and we will be searching for markets in other countries where the prices are less than what they are in America.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I hope the hon. Member will look for PL480 wheat also elsewhere. Will you ? 3 P.M.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : As I have said, so far as food is concerned, we will have to import certain articles. They say there will be liberalisation of imports now. Liberalisation of imports, where the necessity for purchasing articles from foreign countries goes down, is welcome. Liberalisation of imports, where the export earnings go up, is again welcome but liberalisation of imports for the purpose of internal consumption is not welcome. For example, suppose we have to purchase fertilisers instead of food. Fertilisers will cost one-fourth of what food will cost. Therefore,

it would be wise to purchase fertilisers either from America or from any other country and see that our food production goes up. Instead of paying four times for food imports, it is wise to pay less for fertiliser imports.

SHRI K. SUNDARAM (Madras) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the hon. Member, Mr. Shah, has made it a very complicated point. It is only a very elementary thing and the Government of India have circulated enough literature for anybody to understand devaluation. Now, coming to the point, Mr. Shah is theoretically correct, but there are other things such as sympathetic action and also market reaction. Moreover, our Government has been doing so much publicity about increasing our exports on account of devaluation that do you think that the importing countries will still pay that hundred dollars ? Definitely not. They are already asking for a price reduction of 10 per cent, 12 per cent or 15 per cent. Therefore, for the same quantity of goods you will not get the dollars that you have been getting so far. Our Government calls it a windfall, the extra Rs. 57i that the exporter will be getting on pending contracts as on 6-6-66. The Government calls it a windfall and, therefore, that should not be given to him. How is the Government entitled to that extra Rs. 57i ? I would like to know it. They are also not entitled to it. Now, what happened to the goods that were to be imported on that particular day? The importer has to pay Rs. 57i more. Does the Government pay this amount to him ? This is not his windfall, nor is this his 'ill-fall'. This is not fair. Now, the Government says it has to be mopped up, a phrase borrowed from the Finance Department. Mopping up means completely wiping the floor. You cannot mop up only the extra profit. It will wipe off the entire profit. That is what it is intended to be. Now, what does it matter if the exporter retains this extra Rs. 57i ? Will he become a millionaire? Just consider this tea industry. A few years ago there was a wage board award with retrospective effect. The entire tea industry was not able to meet the commitment or fulfil the award. Even by liquidating the entire assets, the tea industry was not able to fulfil the award. When such is the case, the tea industry is an appropriate case where they should be allowed to retain the 57i per

cent extra windfall as it is called. Even out of the windfall of 57½ per cent, how much can they retain? We have got the highest tax structure in this country and a very efficient tax-collecting machinery and these are all readily assessable accounts. He cannot escape it. At best he can retain this money for three months at the end of which the man will come and he has to deposit it as advance tax. He can retain a maximum of 15 or 20 per cent, which even now you are prepared to allow. Therefore, in my opinion, they must be allowed to retain this extra 57½ per cent. Instead, you want to collect an export duty on tea even before the goods leave the shores of the country. Even before he realises the value of his goods, you expect the exports to increase by two times and three times. Is it possible?

Now, look at the mess you have made in regard to the rupee payment transaction. Russia has agreed to only 47½ per cent. They are not prepared to compensate fully the 57½ per cent, whereas all other countries have agreed to it. The Minister has said that they want to get the maximum foreign exchange for the same quantity of goods exported. Now, if that is the case, why devalue at all? They have been doing such wide propaganda that our exports will be cheaper and we will be able to earn more foreign exchange. It is contradictory to what the Minister is saying. On top of that he wants us to restrain home consumption or reduce consumption. He wants each one of us to at least reduce a cup of tea every day, so that he should get more quantity for export. Now, he has forgotten that all qualities of tea are not exportable. If everybody gives up one cup of tea, the exportable quality of tea that will be available will remain the same and not one cup per head for the entire population. He has also forgotten that the internal cost of production of tea, in fact, the cost of production of all these traditional commodities is going up every day. What we are talking about is conditions as on 6-6-66. Even within these two months quite a lot of changes have taken place. The manufacturing costs are going up and that has to be adjusted. Is there any government machinery to correlate the increased extra cost internally and the fluctuations in the overseas markets, so that the mopping up of this export duty?

can be adjusted from time to time automatically and in time? The Government can never do it. We had the experience of subsidising exports. It has been now condemned as the most irrational and demoralising step. The same thing will happen to this also. You do not trust the exporter and you should not. But have you got any machinery to find out exactly what are the international prices of various commodities in various countries? You depend only on your Embassies and Trade Commissioners to do this job. I wish I had told this yesterday to the External Affairs Minister. In all our foreign Embassies there is very little co-ordination between the commercial section and the political section. The Commercial Attaches are not people trained for the job. They are officers who do not know anything about trade. At least I know of one instance where one of the Trade Commissioners does not know anything about cotton yarn. He has not seen anything other than the sewing thread that his wife is using. The same gentleman was asking me about grey cloth: "Why should any country be importing such large quantities of cloth dyed in one colour, the grey colour?" Such are our Trade Commissioners who are appointed abroad. Very recently I had another experience. When I wanted to dispose of the cloth that was lying at Brussels, I asked the officer concerned there to give me the price or at least to quote the price prevailing for that quality at that time in that market. He was not able to do it. Such is the calibre of our Trade Commissioners that are being employed all over the world leave alone the countries where they are importing our goods. On such ignorant reports of theirs on the market conditions we depend on our export performance. This is how we ruin our market. We have already ruined enough markets and it will take years to build up new markets.

Our Deputy Minister yesterday was telling about moderate stimulus to exporters. Is there any commodity in this list that has been submitted that you can export in unlimited quantities? Just now as Mr. Shah said, there is a limit for tea, there is a limit for coffee, and there is a limit for other items. There is a limit. We cannot export unlimited quantities. Either there is scarcity or there are no buyers. At best there may be some scarcity created in the

[Shri K. Sundaram.] internal market if we allow free export. What is the guarantee that the Government will not do it tomorrow ? They are going to do it, to restrain home consumption, to restrain internal consumption and keep it for export. Why not allow these exporters do the same ? I would like to know how **they** are going to spend this money that they are going to collect from this export **duty**. Are they going to subsidise other commodities which need still some kind of a support or are they going to spend it on ventures like the Madras International Fair that has been postponed for the time being? It is for such purposes only that these funds will be available or useful, not for any promotional purposes. In such a case I would like the Commerce Minister to **evolve** a scheme and submit it to this House for scrutiny and we will have a discussion and approve the same. The Deputy Minister yesterday said that the consumption of articles was going up every year, year after year, and particularly he mentioned about textiles. Unfortunately this morning in the Question Hour there was a question, No. 405, which for want of time we did not take up. I only wish the Minister had gone through the figures, and I hope he has not forgotten that mill after mill is even now closing down and stocks are still piling up. It was only the other day that the report of the Commerce Ministry showed that the current consumption of cloth was only 15.1 yards *per capita*. What is the Government doing for promoting the export ? We have seen what kind of Commercial Attaches we have got in the various countries. All the traditional commodities were sold to the Cost European countries also. They were not our traditional buyers. They also bought all these goods. Have we followed it up ? Have we found out how they are using these goods in their countries ?

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

There are market reports that say that these goods have found their way into the West European countries who are our traditional buyers of these traditional goods, and at a reduced price. That is the pity of it. The West European countries got our goods at a much cheaper rate from the East European countries than our own country. Thereby the East European countries got their foreign **exchange and**

we got their rupees, and in the bargain we lost our market also. A complaint was made and the Ministry has acknowledged it, and the reply was that it has been referred to the various Ambassadors to keep a watch on it. Do you expect these officers to keep a watch on these commodities? If only those words "Made in India" are removed, our people will never be able to tell or identify whether they are Indian goods at all. Such are the officers to whom we entrust this job. Our Government is only too eager to collect the taxes. They do things in such a haste. I have seen in these foreign countries, our showrooms; either they are junk shops or super sample shops. This is what they are in the foreign countries. You can see it in Lagos, Sudan, Nairobi, etc. We took part in the New York World Fair and the Moscow Fair and spent quite a lot of money. Some pretty faces enjoyed a holiday with pay and we got a certificate of merit. That was all the result. I would like the Minister to reconsider removing these export duties altogether and allow these tea, coffee, tanning, coir and other industries to be properly and well established so that at least in future there will be proper export earnings. Therefore, I oppose this resolution *in toto*.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhuwalka. May I request Members to be very brief ?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : (Uttar Pradesh) : What about me, Madam ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I have called Mr. Bhuwalka.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : My name was first in the list. I have been in the House all the time and I have been superseded.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhuwalka.

श्री रामकुमार भुवालका (पश्चिमी बंगाल) : उपसभापति महोदया, मैं कामर्स मिनिस्टर श्री मनुभाई शाह का ध्यान जूट की तरफ़ दिलाना चाहता हूँ। जूट की बनी हुई चीज़ों से हिन्दुस्तान के लिये सबसे ज्यादा फ़ारेन एक्सचेंज मिलता है लेकिन

उसी के बारे में 600 रु० से 900 रु० फी टन के हिसाब से ड्यूटी लगाई है। तो उसके ऊपर में ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

उपसभापति महोदय, सरकार बराबर कहती आई है कि हमें निर्यात अपने मालों का ज्यादा करना है, बिना निर्यात किये हमें फारेन एक्सचेंज काफी मात्रा में नहीं मिलेगी, दूसरी तरफ बाहर से आने वाले सामानों का आयात कम करें, बहुत जरूरी हो तभी बाहर से माल मंगाया जाय और समय आने पर आयात को बन्द करने की मंशा रखें और हमेशा निर्यात ज्यादा करने का खयाल रखें। लेकिन जो निर्यात हमारा होना है उससे और ज्यादा हो उसके सम्बन्ध में उस समय सरकार कुछ ऐसी बातें सामने रख देती है जिससे कि प्रगति होने में बाधा सी आने लगती है। सरकार बराबर तुरंत का ही फायदा देखती है लेकिन हमेशा का काम ज्यादा फायदेमन्द रहता है। जूट के बने हुये वैम्स तथा क्लाय पर सरकार ने जो 600 रु० से 900 रु० फी टन के हिसाब से एक्सपोर्ट ड्यूटी लगाई है यह काफी ज्यादा है क्योंकि इस वर्ष जूट का उत्पादन बहुत कम हुआ और जूट का मिल वालों को बहुत ज्यादा दाम देना पड़ा, जून के बाद से रों जूट के दाम करीब 30 परसेंट बढ़ गये। तो कुछ दाम बढ़े हैं और अब भी बढ़ रहे हैं। फिर भी माल भेजने में हेवी ड्यूटी के लग आने से बाधा होती है। अगर सरकार जो एक्सपोर्ट ड्यूटी लगी है उसे दो-तिहाई कर दे तो मेरा खयाल है माल का निर्यात होने में बाधा नहीं आनी चाहिये। सरकार ने मिल वालों को कच्चा जूट मंगाने के लिये आर्डर तो दे दिया है—आज उपज उसमें कमती हुई है क्योंकि अब की 75 परसेन्ट से भी कम वहां पैदाइश हुई है—उस पर उन्हें 250 रु० 500 रु० टन की मदद देना भी स्वीकार कर लिया है, जो अच्छा माल है उसका 500 रु० टन और जो घटिया माल है उसका 250 रु० टन, लेकिन उस पर मिल वालों

को कोई फायदा नहीं मालूम होता है। इसलिये मेरा सरकार से सुझाव है, विशेष कर श्री मनुभाई शाह से क्योंकि वे एक्सपोर्ट हैं और इस चीज को समझते हैं, कि इसमें एक्सपोर्ट ड्यूटी दो-तिहाई कर देंगे तो मिल वालों को ज्यादा माल निर्यात करने में सुविधा होगी।

वाणिज्य मंत्री (श्री मनुभाई शाह) :
What about the country ?

श्री रामकुमार भुवालका : Yes, the country's interest is there. आपने तो 40 परसेन्ट लगाया, साढ़े 17 परसेन्ट छोड़ा। लेकिन उधर जूट का दाम 20 और 30 परसेन्ट बढ़ गया। मुझे याद है, 12 वर्ष पहले जूट के बने माल पर इतनी ज्यादा एक्सपोर्ट ड्यूटी लगा दी गई कि एकदम माल निर्यात होना बंद हो गया। इस पर सरकार को मिल वालों की तरफ से बहुत समझाया गया लेकिन सरकार के ध्यान में नहीं गया और जब ध्यान में आया उस वक़्त दाम इतने ऊँचे हो गये कि हमारा माल बाहर जाना बिलकुल रुक गया और हमारे फारेन एक्सचेंज को बहुत नुकसान उठाना पड़ा। इसलिये मेरा सरकार से निवेदन है कि जूट के एक्सपोर्ट पर जो ड्यूटी लगाई है उसको दो-तिहाई कर दिया जाय। इतना कह कर मैं ख़त्म करता हूँ।

श्री रघुनाथ प्रसाद खेतान (बिहार) :
उपसभापति महोदय, मैं मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान एक अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण स्थिति की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ जिससे कि मुल्क को विदेशी मुद्रा ज्यादा प्राप्त हो। निर्यात ड्यूटी इसलिये लगाई जाती है कि जिससे हमारी चीजें इन्टरनेशनल मार्केट में ज्यादा नीचे दामों में नहीं बिकें या उन चीजों पर जिनका हम एक्सपोर्ट कम करना चाहते हैं, जिससे उनके दाम वहां ज्यादा रहें।

[श्री रघुनाथ प्रसाद खेतान]

हम जानते हैं कि जूट गुड्स 'सैकिंग' का निर्यात भारत के लिये विशाल रूप में विदेशी मुद्रा उपजाता है। हम यह भी जानते हैं कि इस व्यापार में पाकिस्तान हमारा सबसे बड़ा प्रतिद्वंद्वी है। इस पर भी सरकार ने "सैकिंग एक्सपोर्ट" पर बहुत ज्यादा ड्यूटी लगा दी है। एक ओर तो डिवैल्यूएशन हो गया है और दूसरी ओर एक्सपोर्ट ड्यूटी लग रही है। डिवैल्यूएशन का मुख्य उद्देश्य निर्यात की वृद्धि है। जहां तक जूट गुड्स के एक्सपोर्ट का प्रश्न है, डिवैल्यूएशन का उद्देश्य पाकिस्तान के कंपटीशन में भी "माल का विदेशों में विक्राना" कहा जा सकता है किन्तु एक्सपोर्ट ड्यूटी, जो करीब 40 परसेन्ट है, लगाने के पश्चात् भी हमारे किसी भी उद्देश्य की पूर्ति नहीं हुई। न तो हम साधारणतया सैकिंग एक्सपोर्ट की वृद्धि कर सकेंगे और न पाकिस्तान के साथ कंपटीशन में आ सकेंगे। पाकिस्तान आज भी नीचे दामों में माल बेच रहा है। भारतवर्ष डिवैल्यूएशन के बाद भी पाकिस्तान से कम्पीट नहीं कर पा रहा है। इसका कारण है एक्सपोर्ट ड्यूटी जो कि 600 रु० लगा दी गई है। इसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि 'सैकिंग' का फारेन मार्केट भारतवर्ष के हाथों से निकला जा रहा है।

आज के समाचारपत्रों में भी मैंने यह पढ़ा है कि जुलाई महीने में भी सैकिंग का स्टॉक 3,400 टन बढ़ कर आया है क्योंकि ओवरसीज बायर्स माल पाकिस्तान से लिये जा रहे हैं। आस्ट्रेलिया वाले तो ज्यादा माल पाकिस्तान से ही ले रहे हैं और जहां गत मार्च 1965 में सैकिंग का प्रोडक्शन 51,000 टन का था, जिसमें 29,600 टन का निर्यात हुआ था, 22,300 टन इन्टर्नल खपत के लिये निकला था, और फरवरी 1966 में वह प्रोडक्शन घट कर 46,400 टन हो गया जब कि 14,800 टन का निर्यात हुआ और 34,200 टन लोकल में खपत हुआ। आप देखेंगे कि हमारा निर्यात दिनों दिन गिरता

जा रहा है। एक तरफ तो हम चीनी जैसे खाद्यान्न वस्तु को भारतवासियों के हिस्से में से भी कटौती करके विदेश में 8 रु० 10 रु० मन पर भेज रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ हम एक्सपोर्ट ड्यूटी एक ऐसी वस्तु पर लगा रहे हैं जो कि सबसे ज्यादा विदेशी मुद्रा पैदा कर सकती है। पहले भी एक बार एक्सपोर्ट ड्यूटी लगी थी, उस समय सैकिंग पर 344.40 रु०, हैसियन पर 1476.30 रु० ड्यूटी लगी थी, अब हमें सैकिंग पर हैसियन के मुकाबले में ऐसा लगता है कि ज्यादा ड्यूटी लगाई गई है और सैकिंग का मार्केट हमारे हाथ से जा रहा है। इन सबको देखते हुए मैं मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करूंगा कि सैकिंग पर मे एक्सपोर्ट ड्यूटी हटा ली जाय।

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Madam Deputy Chairman, I must say that those in charge of arranging the business and the Government have obviously made a mis-lake. This motion is a baby of the act of devaluation. In fairness, devaluation should have been considered first and approved by this House and only then should these follow-up measures have come before us.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : But they wanted to take it up immediately.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : They want everything to be done immediately and they say that they believe in planning. The fact that this measure has been brought before the House first and not the motion on devaluation, is an indication of the confusion which has probably led to devaluation. This is a follow-up measure. I, however, sympathise with the Commerce Minister. He could not have been in favour of devaluation. There are Press reports that he was not in favour of devaluation and the names of many other Ministers, senior and junior to the Commerce Minister, have been mentioned in this connection. Some have contradicted; others have not. I do not know if the Commerce Minister has contradicted those Press reports. But it is obvious that being the Commerce Minister in charge of our imports and exports and in charge of many

of our vital industries like textiles and jute, he could not have favoured the folly which led to devaluation. And for him, devaluation has created more problems than it could solve. I do not know if it has solved any of the problems of our international trade. It has created many.

Madam, what has followed devaluation is all topsyturvy. Prices have gone up though the Government spokesmen go on denying it and they cite the example of vegetables sold in the Super Bazar at controlled rates as if the Super Bazar in the Connaught Circus where big and small cars assemble is so big and so super that it can supply rations, even vegetables, to the rest of the country. The situation is that within the first fortnight of the coming of the Super Bazar, the Super Bazar is running out of supplies and it does not give any customer more than six eggs per day. Now imagine, a person living in Defence Colony or Lajpat Nagar. If he has to get his eggs rationed to six per day from the Super Bazar, how much of petrol will it consume and what will be the cost to be added to the six eggs that he will be able to get? So, the Super Bazar is not the indicator of the prices which the consumer has to pay. The country as a whole is paying much more. Even Government agencies have increased the prices. This morning, an hon. Member mentioned the case of the HMT watches, one good thing which this country produces thanks to Shri Manubhai Shah who was for long our Industry Minister. Their prices have been increased by Rs. 15 or so.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh): That is because of the cost of its import content.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: I am coming to that, I know that.

We were all along told (that the import content of these watches is being gradually reduced and that it has been reduced to such an extent that the import content is now only 5 per cent or 7 per cent. Now, that 5 per cent or 7 per cent of Rs. 92

ed by those responsible for it that there is **hardly** anything which is without import content. Even vegetable growers and wheat growers are being told to use imported fertilisers. Mr. K. K. Shah said this afternoon that it is better to import fertilisers than to import wheat. So our economy is being so managed that every grain of wheat, every unit of potato, every tomato that we eat has some import content. And if the H.M.T., an efficient public sector unit, increases the price of watches because of the import content, why does the Government expect the wheat grower, the potato and the tomato cultivator not to increase the prices because it is the Government which is asking him to use the imported fertiliser? Therefore, every grain that we eat has something imported for which increased price has to be paid.

As a matter of fact, Madam, when I said that what has followed devaluation is topsyturvy, I had the much-publicised statement of the Finance Minister in mind. Soon after he announced devaluation he went round the country. Other Ministers were sent to industrial centres to assure everybody that devaluation is good because devaluation is going to be followed by import liberalisation. Now, Madam, I am not an economist. I am an humble trade union worker. But I know what an humble student of economics knows, namely this devaluation should have been followed by more restrictions on imports. I do not know who are the economic advisers of this Government, I do not know who has taken charge of our economy that soon after devaluation emissaries are sent round the country and the Finance Minister declares at the top of his voice that devaluation is going to be followed by import liberalisation. Now, if such are the people who are in charge of our economy, whatever Mr. Manubhai Shah may do to increase our exports and to reduce our imports and to regularise our international trade, our economy is bound to meet a disaster.

Madar>>, I think those who talk of import liberalisation in the wake of devaluation are foreign stooges who want to mort-

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concerned our <=

[Shri Arjun Arora.]

So far as the sterling is concerned, the proprietors of sterling, the British themselves, find that they have no sterling or anything to give us. The result of this policy of import liberalisation will be that our economy will for a long time be mortgaged to the land of dollars.

Now there is import liberalisation for everything. There is the case, for example, of jute imports. The Government has agreed to liberalise the import of jute

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH : Because we are short of it.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : Because we do not produce, and we do not require fertiliser for jute. We have not only liberalised the import of jute—that alone does not satisfy the jute barons. The press reports that the jute barons insist and the jute mills demand that they should be allowed to import just from wherever they want and that demand, I am told, has been met—we have allowed them to import from wherever they want. So it is not that certain things which we do not produce are to be imported. We will import even those things which we produce. There is, for example, the press report, which no body has contradicted, that the Government of the U.S.A. has advised our Government to curtail the production of cotton because more cotton is available in the U.S.A. and elsewhere for being imported into this country. (*Interruption by Pandit S. S. N. Tankha*) You do not know. You are just a khadiwalla. You do not know what is cotton. Anybody who knows a word about cotton knows that cotton cultivation is easy to destroy, easy to be discouraged, but not easy to be increased. Cotton fields in this country have been properly selected for various types of cotton, and that is why the quality of cotton produced in this country continues to improve. And if we once accept this advice of the Government of the United States, our cotton textile industry will *ahn meet the same fate which tho* ■ { ■ «« after part/Joa *11 ** indTMTy

try we find looms are sealed, hours of work are reduced in the jute textile industry. If we follow the American advice we will have to seal our looms. We will have to curtail production. That fatal advice we should never accept.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Food has to be increased.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : There is, for example, the Commerce Minister who is in charge of our balance of payments. In a way the balance of payments, as far as foreign loans are concerned, appear to be the charge of the Planning Commission. Balance of payments, as far as the normal international trade is concerned, is the charge of the Commerce Minister. Well, he will say something about it. But there is the Wall Street Journal, an American paper, which has said something about it and that is very interesting. The Wall Street Journal correspondent in India writes from Ahmedabad that "Nations with balance of payments problems can profit from watching India. They may watch what India does and then carefully do otherwise." This is what the Wall Street journal's correspondent in India stationed at Ahmedabad has written in that paper. Watch India if you have a balance of trade problem and then do otherwise of what India does. Such is the folly which seems to dominate our economic policy.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must wind up because there are others who have to speak.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : Mr. Shah and Mr. Gupta spoke for half an hour and I have taken only twelve minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I appeal to you that everyone will have to *restrict* his speech, otherwise we shall go on and on. Give your main points."^c seems to

have a theory of money peculiar to him. There are many theories of money. There is the miser's theory of money which thinks that counting money is the main proposition of money being there. Mr. K. K. Shah has, though he is not one, somehow the miser's theory of money. He just means you count more money and you have more money. He seems to forget that money represents certain goods and certain services and the value of rupee means that in the long run the goods and the services which the rupee represents will get devalued. He has however given a very good case for a wage increase and as a trade unionist I will quote him again and again. He has said that a pound of tea will bring the same amount of foreign currency but it will mean more Indian rupee. If that is so, and I hope that is so, the producer of that tea should get a bigger share of that productivity in rupee, the miser's rupee.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : That is why he is mopping it up.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : There is, in that context, no case for a wage freeze which Mr. Morarji Desai, our esteemed leader and Mr. Patil, seem to favour. Mr. K. K. Shah has repudiated those who stand for a wage freeze. There is, in the arguments of Mr. K. K. Shah, a case for immediate wage increase by 57.5 per cent, particularly in the export-oriented industries. Mr. K. K. Shah seems to own a Parker pen manufactured in the U.S.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : No, it is made in India.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : No? He said that now we will import only one Parker pen rather than two and therefore the producers of Parker pen in the U.S. will be the losers. He seems to be living in the 19th century when industrialised countries were interested in exporting finished goods. Now in the year of Grace, 1966, they are interested in exporting capital. Caltex, Burma Shell and ESSO did not build their refineries in India in the 19th century. They built them in the fifties and sixties. Many other foreign industrialists have come to India after Independence. To-day they are interested in ex-

porting capital to India and to establish factories here to exploit our cheap labour and introduce confusion in our Government. So what will happen is that for every Dollar that they invest in this country they will have more Rupee capital.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : When they take back it will be less.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : They never take back unless we throw them out and you may perhaps stand in my way of throwing them out. I hope you will not.

AN HON. MEMBER : You are mistaken.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : I will be glad if I am mistaken and if both Mr. Chinai and Mr. Shah join me in throwing them out.

SHRI K. K. SHAH : We only want you to understand.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : I understand. They are only interested in exporting capital to this country that capital now becomes more valuable and I do not know whether the reactions of all the countries to devaluation were taken into consideration when our Government decided to devalue the rupee. The fact is that apart from the U.S., no country is happy at our folly of devaluation. The British have the biggest capital investment in India. They claim that their share of foreign investment in India is about 60 per cent. They are extremely unhappy because their investment in India has also suffered because of devaluation. A press report from New York dealing with July 8/9th meeting of the Air India Consortium says that Japan which is a member of the Consortium reacted unfavourably to the World Bank's recommendation for devaluation of the Indian rupee. Japan's objection was that devaluation does not suit her and that the World Bank should have consulted Japan before making the recommendation. The World Bank however consulted only the Treasury of the Government of the U.S. Similar is the reaction of Germany, another member of the Consortium which has also reacted strongly against devaluation.

[Shri Arjun Arora.] Britain does not favour devaluation. Japan does not favour our devaluation, Germany does not favour our devaluation. It is only America which is happy that we agreed to its advice to devalue the rupee. When our Planning Minister comes and declares sharply that he was not pressurised by anybody, that he is so independent that he only accepted the advice of the U.S. Government.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That will do. I have entreated with you for long.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA : I have been given only 20 minutes.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Before I go on to the subject itself, I would like to say a word or two *a* connection with what my friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, said yesterday in the House about me and my views. Mr. Gupta did me the honour of calling me an intelligent man. May I return the compliment and say that he is much more intelligent than myself but at the same time I would like to see that this intelligence which he has and which is much more than mine, is used for the betterment of the country. What we see is that his intelligence is being used for creating more confusion and it has become more or less a policy of himself and his Party to create more confusion and disorder in this country. The second point on which I would like to say something is this. He called me not once but on several occasions during his speech that I am a capitalist. I am proud of being a capitalist and in that connection I want to bring to your kind notice that there are capitalists of two categories in this country. I belong to the second one. Number one is one who has got capital in the form of either gold or money or shares or stocks and sits tight over it. I do not want that in this country such type of capital should be there. But there are others. The second category are those capitalists who have money, who put it to use, who take risks and invest it for more production and for developing the industries. Again, whatever they earn, they put in some other industry and produce more. I think this type of capitalists is required in this country, and they are on par with labour, are

in no way inferior to the working class or the labour, according to me, and that type of capitalist I am, and I am proud of it.

Then, Madam, I want to observe that he waxed eloquent in saying that this Government is incompetent, that they are not in a position to deliver the goods. And if that is so, ...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, no, I never said so.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Certainly you did. I have got a copy of your speech. Please be careful if you contradict me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I say they are capable of delivering the country to the Americans.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : But he forgets that the 480 million people of this country have confidence in this Government irrespective of whether he or his party likes it or not.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Did the Congress get all the votes in the elections?

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : It is not a question of all the votes, but it can be half of the 480 million people the Congress Government is in power, and in a democracy whosoever gets a majority rules the country.

Then it is a question of a solution of this confusion in the economy, according to him, the only solution, on all occasions, whenever he is on his legs, as far as the economic situation is concerned, is nationalisation. If it is a bank, nationalise it. If it is foreign trade, nationalise it. I do not know how it will work because, for every problem, the solution of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and his party is nationalisation. I wish he remembers it when they come into power some day, which I think will never happen, but if they come, they must not forget that they should be able to nationalise everything. They cannot nationalise this *(points to his head)* Madam. Therefore let them understand that afterwards.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA . Capitalists' brains we shall never nationalise; they own very little.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINA! Then, Madam, according to them nationalisation is the solution to import-export trade, of foreign trade, as- they call it. On one side they say that this Government is not competent. All the same they say, "You nationalise foreign trade", and thereby they place more responsibilities on the Government. So are they convinced in their mind that this Government is capable of handling the export-import trade and thereby benefiting the country? If that is so, then Mr. Bhupesh Gupta must withdraw his words as he said that this Government is incompetent and is not in a position to deliver the goods. This Government no doubt is competent but I think it is not competent to see that the import-export trade, or the foreign trade, as they call it, is nationalised, because in that case their responsibility becomes greater, and Government today is not in a position to do that, and if they handle it, it will be at their risk and cost, and the confusion which the hon. Member wants. I agree will come very soon.

When the question arises whether we want these export duties or not. On one side we say that devaluation will bring more money by more exports. Now if that more money, if that 57 per cent more money comes, naturally, the Government should look into the condition of these particular industries which have been mentioned in the Resolution, must come forward and say that they will mop up a certain percentage of it so that it may be used for the betterment, or better development of this country without at the same time harming the exports. It was made out that for 100 Dollars you are going to get the same old 100 Dollars in foreign exchange or the Reserve Bank is going to get the same amount of foreign exchange in spite of devaluation I agree; there is no difference of opinion. But the question is, "On the 57 per cent which you will get more, is there any edge for more exports? Is there any edge for more production in this country, or not?" The answer is "Yes". There is an edge for more production and there is an edge for bargaining

for more exports, even with the condition that you are going to get the same pre-devaluation 100 Dollars for the exports made after devaluation. Therefore, Madam, to say that there is no change in value is not saying the correct thing. With the change in value, we are in a bargaining position. With the same foreign exchange but with more rupee payments the scope for more goods to be exported is there, and to that extent devaluation is bound to help exports. Also you must not forget that, when we have more commodities in hand, in quantity and cross-section, and when more quantities of more commodities will be exported, they will fetch more foreign exchange. Therefore to say that devaluation is not going to benefit us, even in foreign exchange, is not a correct position. It may not be to the extent of 57 per cent more, which we will be getting in Indian rupees, but to an extent we are bound to get it. Therefore I say, as I said before, that there is greater bargaining power. The foreign exchange earned may be the same 100 Dollars now or near about that, say, 98 Dollars. There is no question about that, no dispute about that.

A point more and I have done with it, and it is in connection with the prices within the country. It has been said that after devaluation the prices of several commodities have gone up. It is a fact. But it will take some time to stabilise it. There is no doubt that we have not got many things to export. Our traditional exports may not exceed the present limit except to a certain extent in tea. In other traditional items I doubt whether we will be able to do anything more. But that should not prevent us from making more production of such items, as, for example, jute. There we find we have to import a certain quantity of raw jute to produce more finished jute goods. If we can get more raw jute, we will be in a position to export much more than what we are exporting today so far as finished jute goods are concerned. In tea, of course we are today in a position to export a little more. Now much has been made out of the statement which Mr. Manubhai Shah made the other day about tea, by my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. He quoted Mr. Manubhai Shah where he said that twenty million kilograms of tea could be saved if everyone

[Shri Babubhai N. Chinai.]

gave up one cup of tea, and that tea could be exported. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta construed the statement to mean that the common man who is having his tea will be deprived of that cut of tea. But that was not the idea. The idea was that if somebody was drinking three cups or four cups or five cups of tea per day, he might reduce his consumption by one cup. The idea is not that the common man, who was drinking a cup of tea, should be deprived of it. But I am not surprised by this construction placed on it by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, because it happens in the game of politics to construe the ideas and the views expressed by those in authority, as it suits him. But the question is that he quoted him that way. He said that there was no other country where the people were asked to tighten their belts and export goods. I am prepared to quote not one but many which do so. Every country which is exporting, the people there have to tighten up their belts and then export. But a time may come when the fruits of this export are enough, when the belt is loosened and the people enjoy the benefit of that. Therefore to say that, no exports are to be done without any sacrifice, without any tightening of the belt in this country, is out of question. You see the case of 4 P.M. Japan. In Japan during the last forty or fifty years their internal prices were much higher than their export prices and yet they used to export. I know several items in which I myself used to deal with Japan. There was a vast disparity between their local consumption prices and the external prices with the result that today they are on the top. Their export is one of the largest in the world. Not only are they exporting to the under-developed countries, but they are exporting even to fully developed countries, to the sterling area, the dollar area, the marks area and so on. Therefore if our country is to survive, our people will have to make a little sacrifice irrespective of the conditions in which we are. Conditions now are bad, no doubt. The economic condition now is so bad that for the last several years we have not seen such bad conditions. But that should not deter us from facing the situation. Let us boldly face the situation. Let us tighten the belt and export more and earn more

foreign exchange and also see that the benefit of it in turn, goes to our people.

My hon. friend, Shri Arjun Arora, just now raised the question about cotton. He seems to argue that the U.S.A. had suggested to us that we should buy their cotton because they have got so much of surplus cotton. The point is, we have got certain areas of land and we must produce more of foodgrains than we have been doing. At present our deficit in foodgrains is as much as 17 million tonnes. That is what we have been told. In order to fill up this gap and also in order to produce even more of foodgrains, we will have to put more land under cultivation of food-grains. If this is to be done, then naturally some land which is under cotton will have to be switched over to the production of foodgrains. Then the argument is: How will your requirements of cotton be met? Now, under PL 480 you get cotton. Cotton also comes under PL 480. Therefore, they say they have this surplus of cotton and India can have this cotton so that we may put the land for food crop cultivation so that we may be able to become self-sufficient in food in times to come. The cotton crop last year came up to 54 lakh bales and we were short only by some 8 lakh bales and this 8 lakh bales we could import under PL 480 especially since we do not have to pay for it in foreign exchange. It will be paid in rupees. On the land we can then raise food crops. In America also they find they are short of foodgrains. We know they have been sending us foodgrains for the last several years and their stocks have dwindled there also. Therefore, they have suggested this. It is not as if cotton crop there is surplus and therefore, they have said to us: "You take away this cotton."

It is all very well for Shri Arjun Arora to say that wages also should be increased to the extent of 57 per cent. My hon. friend is free to ask anything, even for the moon. But the question is, does that arise out of this devaluation and this Resolution for the levy of export duties that is before the House now?

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh) : Yes.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : My hon. friend, Dr. Sapru, here says it does. Well, I take my hat off for his knowledge of economics. But I say in this Resolution

we are thinking of mopping up the profits which have come as a result of devaluation. Then how is it when we are thinking in terms of mopping up the profits you are at the same time thinking in terms of increasing the wages by 57 per cent? If this is done, then what will happen to our exports only God knows, and I hope Mr. Arjun Arora also knows it very well. Thank you, Madam.

شری عبدالغنی (پنجاب) : میڈم—

میں نے اس بل کے بارے میں کافی غور کیا۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس وقت ہندوستان میں جو بھائی سب سے زیادہ خدمت کر رہے ہیں ان میں ایک شری منو بھائی شاہ بھی ہیں۔ میں نے ان پر کافی ٹیکا ٹپنی بھی کی ہے لیکن میں محسوس کرتا ہوں کہ اس وقت دیش میں جو پریشائیاں بڑھ رہی ہیں اور دیش جو اس وقت بڑے امتحان کا سامنا کر رہا ہے اس میں مسٹر منو بھائی شاہ نے کافی دلیری کے ساتھ ہندوستان کے ایکسپورٹ کو بڑھانے اور فارن ایکسچینج حاصل کرنے میں بہت بڑی خدمت کی ہے۔

میں یہ بھی محسوس کرتا ہوں اگرچہ مجھکو آج اس پر کچھ نہیں کہنا ہے کیوں کہ میرے بھائی شری بھوپیش گپتا ڈیویلیوشن پر اپنی بحث چھیڑنے والے ہیں لیکن یہ ایک حقیقت ہے کہ دنیا میں بڑے بڑے کرشمے ہوئے جن میں قوموں کے لیڈروں نے بعض اوقات ایسی باتیں کہیں جو بالکل ایک اجنبی تھیں

اور جس میں کافی مشکل کا سامنا تھا لیکن وہ کر گزرے اس لئے کر گزرے کہ دوسرا اور کوئی راستہ ان کے سامنے نہیں تھا اسی طرح میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس صدی میں میری بہن اندرا گاندھی جی نے جو یہ ڈیویلیوشن کا فیصلہ کیا یہ ایک بہت بڑا قدم ہے۔ میں جانتا ہوں کہ اس میں ان کو ایک خاصا امتحان کا مقابلہ تھا لیکن انہوں نے یہ قدم اٹھایا۔ اس پر میں بحث تو تب کروں گا جب کہ بھوپیش گپتا اس بارے میں اپنی دلیل دینگے لیکن میں یہ کہتا ہوں کہ یہ ایک بہت بڑا واقعہ ہے اور مجھے معاف کیا جائے اگر میں کہوں کہ پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو بھی اتنا بڑا قدم نہیں اٹھا سکے جو کہ ایک کڑے امتحان کے وقت ان کی پتری نے اٹھایا ہے۔

اب ڈیویلیوشن کے بارے میں ہمارے بھائی ارجن اروڑا صاحب فرماتے ہیں کہ سوائے امریکہ کے اور کوئی دیش خوش نہیں۔ مان لیجئے کہ امریکہ بھی خوش نہ ہو وہ بھی ناراض ہو جائے اور ہمارے دیش کا اس سے بھلا ہو تو ہمیں اس کی اتنی چٹتا نہیں ہے کہ امریکہ راضی ہوتا ہے یا نہیں۔ اگر دیش کے سامنے سوائے اس کے کوئی اور راستہ نہیں رہ گیا تھا جو کہ اندرا جی نے اختیار کیا تو ارجن اروڑا جی کو

[شری عبدالغنی]

خوش ہونا چاہتے کہ ہمارا ایکسپورٹ اگر بڑھ جائے گا تو اس سے دیش میں ایک بڑی طاقت آئے گی۔ اور جو وہ چاہتے ہیں اس بات پر منو بھائی شاہ وچار کریں کہ بجائے لکڑی گڈس کے ہم گندم منگاویں فرٹلائزر منگاویں اور اس کا زیادہ امپورٹ ہو ان لوگوں کو انسٹیٹیو دیں اور اس میں پرفرنس زیادہ سے زیادہ فرٹلائزر کو دے دیا جائے، ٹریکٹرس کو دیا جائے جس سے کہ ہماری کھیتی باڑی اچھی ہو۔ تو اس طرح کی اور بھی چیزیں سرجسٹ کی جا سکتی ہیں لیکن میڈم۔ اس وقت مانگ تو انہوں نے یہ کی ہے کہ کچھ ڈیوٹی لگانا چاہتے ہیں اور اس بارے میں یہ ہاؤس اسکی منظوری دے۔ وہ اس بارے میں ہاؤس کی رائے لینا چاہتے ہیں۔ میں تو صرف یہی عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر پاکستان کے مقابلہ میں ہمارا جوٹ کا جو باردانہ ہے وہ خرچ ہو سکے تو یہ شک باردانہ پر جو ڈیوٹی وہ لگانا چاہتے ہیں وہ لگائیے کیوں کہ اس سے دیش کا معالید بڑھے گا۔ اور چائے پر بھی ڈیوٹی بڑھے کوئی بات نہیں جیسا کہ چنائی صاحب نے فرمایا کہ پانچ کپ نہیں چار کپ سہی۔ وہ میں مان سکتا ہوں وہ مجھے پسند بھی ہے لیکن یہ کہ ادھر جوٹ پر ڈیوٹی ہو اور ادھر ان کو را جوٹ

منگوانے پر سب سیڈی دیں تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس پر منو بھائی شاہ کو کافی سوچنا چاہئے کہ آیا پاکستان کے مقابلہ میں ہم مارکیٹ میں کھڑے ہو سکیں گے یا نہیں۔ اگر کھڑے ہو سکتے ہیں اور اگر ان کی رائے میں ایسا ہے کہ اس سے دیش کو کوئی نقصان ہونے والا نہیں ہے تو ہم اس کی بھی تائید کرتے ہیں۔ میڈم۔ اس وقت میں صرف ایک بات خاص طور پر منو بھائی شاہ جی سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں اور وہ یہ ہے کہ اب تک کا میرا تجربہ بڑا تلخ ہے را میٹیریل کے لئے جتنے امپورٹ لائسنس دئے گئے یا اسٹیلٹی سارٹیفیکیٹ جاری ہوئے اس میں بہت زیادہ وہ ہیں جو کہ حقیقت میں کلوں میں نہیں چلے اور جن کا مزدوروں کو کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہوا اور دیش کی صنعت جس ڈھنگ سے بڑھنی چاہئے تھی اس ڈھنگ سے اتنی نہیں بڑھی۔ بہر حال میں نے عرض کیا کہ بعضی کی مارکیٹ میں آنے دن لاکھوں روپیوں کے پروٹ بیچے جاتے ہیں اور ان کی جانچ کے بارے میں میں نے یہ کہا تھا کہ کوئی یہ کہے کہ عبدالغنی تمہارے پاس کسوٹی کیا ہے؟ منو بھائی شاہ کہیں یا کوئی اور کہے تو میں نے کہا تھا کہ میرے پاس اس کی کسوٹی ایک ہے کہ جس کو آپ نے را میٹیریل کا لائسنس دیا ہے۔ اس کی مل یا

فیکٹری میں جا کر دیکھتے کہ جتنی پاور کنزیوم ہونی چاہئے تھی اتنی ان دنوں کنزیوم ہوئی یا نہیں ہوئی۔ اگر میڈم—وہ کنزیوم نہیں ہوئی تو اس کے معنی یہ ہیں کہ وہ فیکٹری نہیں چلی۔ وہ جعلی رجسٹر بنا سکتے ہیں اتنا مال آیا اتنا بیچا اس طرح سے بیچا فلاں کے ذریعہ بیچا لیکن یہ جو پاور کا کنزیشن ہے وہ ان تمام سرکاری دفتروں کے بس میں نہیں ہے جو ان کی تمام انٹریز کو بتلا سکیں ان کی تمام انٹریز کو۔ میرا کہنا یہ ہے اگر ہماری گورنمنٹ کو تسلی ہو جائے کہ امپورٹ لائسنس کا ناجائز فائدہ اٹھایا گیا تو پھر اس طرف وہ اشارہ کریں تو اچھا ہو جیسا پنجاب میں ہوا یا کہیں اور ہوا کچھ لوگوں کی پکڑ دھکڑ ہوئی کچھ صحیح پکڑے گئے کچھ غلط پکڑے گئے لیکن اس کا مجموعی اثر بہت اچھا ہوا۔ اچھا ہے منو بھائی شاہ بھی اپنے محکمے کے ذریعہ کچھ لوگوں کو—چونکہ وہ ہمارے کامرس کے منسٹر ہیں—پکڑ کر جانچ پڑتال کریں کہ کتنے لوگوں نے بے ایمانی کی تاکہ آئینہ کے لئے انہیں بھی بلیک لسٹ کر دیا جائے۔ یہ بد قسمتی ہے میڈم—جو یہاں قصہ بڑا چل رہا ہے اسی چند پیارے لال کا کہ ان کو پہلے بلیک لسٹ کیا گیا تو کسی منسٹر نے پہلے ان کو چھٹی دے دی کہ نہیں ان کو ہٹا دو

کوئی پرواہ نہیں۔ حالانکہ سیکریٹری نے اس پر نوٹ لکھا تھا کہ ان کو بلیک لسٹ پر رکھنا چاہئے لیکن منسٹر نے اتنی بھی کرٹسی نہیں کی کہ وہ یہ کہیں کہ ریفریک کریں اور سیکریٹری اپنی رائے کو بدلے اور پھر دوبارہ بلیک لسٹ ہوا تو پھر دوسرے منسٹر صاحب نے ان کو اجازت دے دی۔ یہ میں جانتا ہوں کہ یہ غلط قدم اٹھا تھا اور منو بھائی شاہ اگر کسی کو ایسا کرینگے تو میرا دل کہتا ہے وہ پھر ہٹنے والا نہیں ہے اس کو تو بلیک لسٹ میں رہنا ہی ہوگا۔ یہ ٹھیک ہے کہ بلیک لسٹ پر سے ہٹانے سے فارن ایکسچینج کا بڑا رویہ آنے کا لیکن اگر فارن ایکسچینج میڈم—اس طرح سے خرچ ہو جائے کہ وہ رویہ پھر بلیک لسٹ میں چلا جائے تو میرے خیال میں اس سے کوئی فائدہ نہیں ہوگا بلکہ نقصان ہوگا اس لئے ان چیزوں کو منو بھائی شاہ نے دیکھنا ہے جہاں میں یہ مانتا ہوں کہ میں نے ان پر بہت ٹیکا ٹپنی کی لیکن ساتھ ہی میں اس نتیجہ پر پہنچا ہوں کہ انہوں نے بڑی خدمت بھی کی ہے لیکن میں اس بل کی تائید کرتے ہوئے ان سے اپیل کرتا ہوں کہ دو باتوں سے خبر دار رہیں۔ ایک یہ کہ پاکستان کے مقابلہ میں ہم کھڑے ہو سکیں گے یا نہیں اور دوسرے یہ کہ وہ چھٹی دیں چاہے ٹریڈ میں سبسائیڈ دیں

[شری عبدالغنی]

چاہے باہر سے منگائے میں السینٹو دیں تو یہ دیکھیں کہ آیا وہ ایمان داری سے اپنی کلوں کو چلائینگے یا کہیں ایسا نہ ہو میڈم—جیسا میں نے عرض کیا تھا نائن ٹاپس کے نام پر پچاس لاکھ روپیٹے ڈیفنس کے لئے آئے مگر ان کا ایک بھی پیسہ کا خرچہ نہیں آیا لیکن ان دو فرموں نے ایک کروڑ روپیہ بنا لیا۔ ہمارے ڈپٹی منسٹر صاحب نے فرمایا کہ یہ غلط ہے۔ میں نے پوچھا آپ نے کبھی ان کا حساب دیکھا ہے۔ لیکن وہ تو مارکیٹ ویلیو ہوتی ہے اس سے اندازہ ہوتا ہے میں ان کی تائید کے ساتھ امید کرتا ہوں کہ میری دونوں باتوں کی طرف منو بھائی شاہ جی دھیان دینگے۔ ایک یہ کہ پاکستان کے مقابلہ میں کھڑے ہو سکیں گے یا نہیں دوسرے یہ کہ سب کا سب وہ نہ لیں تاکہ بمبئی کے مارکیٹ کی رونق بنی رہے لیکن جو لوگ رات کو کنگال سوئے اور صبح کو بادشاہ اٹھے تو ان کی چھان بین کریں اور اس طرح دونوں باتوں کی طرف دھیان دیں۔

†[شری अबدول گنی (پنجاب):] : میڈم، میں نے اس بیل کے بارے میں کافی غور کیا۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس وقت ہندوستان میں جو भाई सबसे ज्यादा खिदमत कर रहे हैं उनमें एक श्री मनुभाई शाह भी हैं। मैंने उन पर

काफी टीका टिप्पणी भी की है लेकिन मैं महसूस करता हूँ कि इस वक्त देश में जो परेशानियाँ बढ़ रही हैं और देश जो इस वक्त बड़े इम्तहान का सामना कर रहा है उसमें मिस्टर मनुभाई शाह ने काफी दलेरी के साथ हिन्दुस्तान के एक्सपोर्ट को बढ़ाने और फारेन एक्सचेंज हासिल करने में बहुत बड़ी खिदमत की है।

मैं यह भी महसूस करता हूँ अगरचे मुझको आज इस पर कुछ नहीं कहना है क्योंकि मेरे भाई श्री भूपेश गुप्त डिवेल्यूएशन पर अपनी वहस छेड़ने वाले हैं लेकिन यह एक हकीकत है कि दुनिया में बड़े-बड़े करशमे हुए जिनमें कौमों के लीडरों से बाज औकात ऐसी बातें कीं जो बिल्कुल एक अचम्भा थीं और जिसमें काफी मुश्किल का सामना था लेकिन वह कर गुजरे, इसलिए कर गुजरे कि दूसरा और कोई रास्ता उनके सामने नहीं था। इसी तरह मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सदी में मेरी बहन इन्दिरा गांधी जी ने जो यह डिवेल्यूएशन का फैसला किया यह एक बहुत बड़ा कदम है। मैं जानता हूँ कि इसमें उनको एक खासा इम्तहान का मुकाबला था लेकिन उन्होंने यह कदम उठाया। इस पर मैं वहस तो तब करूंगा जब कि भूपेश गुप्ता इस बारे में अपनी दलील देंगे, लेकिन मैं यह कहता हूँ कि यह एक बहुत बड़ा वाकया है और मुझे माफ किया जाए अगर मैं कहूँ कि पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू भी इतना बड़ा कदम नहीं उठा सके जो कि एक बड़े इम्तेहान के वक्त उनकी पुत्री ने उठाया है।

अब डिवेल्यूएशन के बारे में हमारे भाई अर्जुन अरोड़ा साहब फरमाते हैं कि सिवाए अमेरिका के और कोई देश खुश नहीं। मान लीजिए कि अमेरिका भी खुश न हो वह भी नाराज हो जाए और हमारे देश का इससे भला हो तो हमें उसकी इतनी चिन्ता नहीं है कि अमेरिका राजी होता है या नहीं।

अगर देश के सामने सिवाए इस रास्ते के कोई और रास्ता नहीं रह गया था जो कि इन्दिरा जी ने अख्तियार किया तो अर्जुन अरोड़ा जो को खुश होना चाहिए कि हमारा एक्सपोर्ट अगर बढ़ जाएगा तो इससे देश में एक बड़ी ताकत आएगी। और जो वे चाहते हैं। इस बात पर मनुभाई शाह विचार करें कि बजाए लगजरी गुड्स के हम गन्दुम मंगवाएँ, फरटिलाइजर मंगवाएँ और उसका ज्यादा इम्पोर्ट हो उन लोगों को इन्सिस्टिव दें और उसमें परफेक्ट ज्यादा से ज्यादा फरटिलाइजर को दे दिया जाए और ट्रेक्टर को दिया जाय जिससे कि हमारी खेती बड़ी अच्छी हो। तो इस तरह की और भी चीजें सजेस्ट की जा सकती हैं लेकिन मेडम, इस वक्त मांग तो उन्होंने यह की है कि वह कुछ ड्यूटी लगाना चाहते हैं और इस बारे में यह हाऊस उसकी मंजूरी दे। वह इस बारे में हाऊस की राय लेना चाहते हैं। मैं तो सिर्फ यही अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर पाकिस्तान के मुकाबले में हमारा जूट का जो बारदाना है वह खर्च हो सके तो बेशक बारदाना पर जो ड्यूटी वह लगाना चाहते हैं वह लगाइये, क्योंकि इससे देश का मालिया बढ़ेगा और चाय पर भी ड्यूटी बढ़े कोई बात नहीं जैसा कि चिनाई साहब ने फरमाया है कि पांच कप नहीं चार कप सही। वह मैं मान सकता हूँ वह मुझे पसन्द भी है लेकिन यह कि उधर जूट पर ड्यूटी हो और उधर इनको राँ जूट मंगवाने पर सबसीडी दें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस पर मनुभाई शाह को काफी सोचना चाहिए कि आया पाकिस्तान के मुकाबले में हम मार्केट में खड़े हो सकेंगे या नहीं। अगर खड़े हो सकते हैं और अगर उनकी राय में ऐसा है कि इससे देश को कोई नुकसान होने वाला नहीं है तो हम उसकी भी ताईद करते हैं। मेडम, इस वक्त मैं सिर्फ एक बात खास तौर पर मनुभाई शाह जी से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि अब तक का मेरा तजुर्वा बड़ा तलख है। राँ-मेटरियल के लिए जितने इम्पोर्ट लाइसेंस दिये गये या

एसेशियेलिटी सर्टिफिकेट जारी हुए उसमें बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ है जो कि हकीकत में, कलों में नहीं चले और जिन का मजदूरों को कोई फायदा नहीं हुआ और देश की सतत जिस ढंग से बढ़नी चाहिये थी उस ढंग से उतनी नहीं बढ़ी। वहर हाल मैंने अर्ज किया कि बम्बई की मार्केट में आए दिन लाखों रुपये के परमिट बेचे जाते हैं और उनकी जांच के बारे में मैंने कहा था कि कोई यह कहे कि अब्दुल गनी तुम्हारे पास कसोटी क्या है? मनुभाई शाह कहें या कोई और कहे तो मैंने कहा था कि मेरे पास उसकी कसोटी एक है कि जिसको आपने राँ-मेटरियल लाइसेंस दिया है उसकी मिल या फैक्टरी में जाकर देखिए कि जितनी पावर कंज्यूम होनी चाहिए थी उतनी उन दिनों कंज्यूम हुई या नहीं हुई। अगर मेडम, यह कंज्यूम नहीं हुई तो उसके मायने यह है कि वह फैक्टरी नहीं चली। वह जाली रजिस्टर बना सकते हैं इतना माल आया, इतना बेचा इस तरह से बेचा फलों के जरिए बेचा लेकिन यह जो पावर का कंज्यूमेशन है वह उन तमाम सरकारी दफ्तरों के बस में नहीं है जो उनकी तमाम इण्डस्ट्रीज को बतला सकें। मेरा कहना यह है कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट को तसल्ली हो जाए कि इम्पोर्ट लाइसेंस का नाजाइज फायदा उठाया गया तो फिर इस तरफ वह इशारा करें तो अच्छा हो जैसा पंजाब में हुआ या कहीं और हुआ। कुछ लोगों की पकड़ धकड़ हुई, कुछ सही पकड़े गये कुछ गलत पकड़े गये, लेकिन इसका मजमूई असर बहुत अच्छा हुआ। अच्छा है मनुभाई शाह भी अपने महकमें के जरिए कुछ लोगों को—चूँकि वह हमारे कामर्स के मिनिस्टर हैं—पकड़ कर जांच पड़ताल करें कि कितने लोगों ने बेईमानी की ताकि आइन्दा के लिए उन्हें भी ब्लैक लिस्ट कर दिया जाए। यह बद-किस्मती है मेडम, जो यहां किस्सा बड़ा चल रहा है अमो चन्द प्यारे लाल का कि उनको पहले ब्लैक लिस्ट किया गया तो किसी मिनिस्टर ने पहले उनको चिट्ठी दे दी कि नहीं उनको हटा दो

[श्री अब्दुल गनी]
कोई परवाह नहीं। हालांकि सेक्रेटरी ने इस पर नोट लिखा था कि उनको ब्लैक लिस्ट पर रखना चाहिए लेकिन मिनिस्टर ने इतनी भी कटंसी नहीं की कि वह यह कह दें कि रेफर बैंक करें और सेक्रेटरी अपनी राय को बदले और यह दोबारा ब्लैक लिस्ट हुआ तो फिर दूसरे मिनिस्टर साहब ने उनको इजाजत दे दी। यह मैं जानता हूँ कि यह गलत कदम उठा था और मनुभाई शाह अगर किसी को ऐसा करेंगे तो मेरा दिल कहता है वह फिर हटने वाला नहीं है उसको तो ब्लैक लिस्ट में रहना ही होगा। यह ठीक है कि ब्लैक लिस्ट पर से हटाने से फारेन एक्सचेंज का बड़ा रुपया आएगा लेकिन अगर फारेन एक्सचेंज मेडम, इस तरह से खर्च हो जाए कि वह रुपया फिर ब्लैक लिस्ट में चला जाए तो मेरे ख्याल में इससे कोई फायदा नहीं बल्कि नुकसान होगा, इसलिए इन चीजों को मनुभाई शाह ने देखना है वहां मैं यह मानता हूँ कि मैंने उन पर बहुत टीका टिप्पणी की लेकिन साथ ही मैं इस नतीजे पर पहुंचा हूँ कि उन्होंने बड़ी खिदमत भी की है लेकिन मैं इस बिल की तारीफ करते हुए उनसे अपील करता हूँ कि दो बातों से वह खबरदार रहें। एक यह कि पाकिस्तान के मुकाबले में हम खड़े हो सकेंगे या नहीं और दूसरे यह कि चिट्ठी दें चाहे ट्रेड में सबसिडी दें चाहे बाहर से मंगाने में इनसैटिव दें तो यह देखें कि आया वह ईमानदारी से अपनी कलों को चलाएंगे या कहीं ऐसा न हो मेडम, जैसा मैंने अर्ज किया था नाइलोन टाप्स के नाम पर पचास लाख रुपये डिफेंस के लिए आए मगर उनका एक भी पैसा का खर्चा नहीं आया लेकिन उन दो फर्मों ने एक करोड़ रुपया बनाया। हमारे डिप्टी मिनिस्टर साहब ने फरमाया कि यह गलत है। मने पूछा आपने कभी उनका हिसाब देखा है। लेकिन वह तो मार्केट बेल्यू होती है उससे अन्दाजा होता है। मैं उनकी तारीफ के साथ उम्मीद करता हूँ कि मेरी दोनों बातों की

तरफ मनुभाई शाह जी ध्यान देंगे। एक यह कि पाकिस्तान के मुकाबले में खड़े हो सकेंगे या नहीं दूसरे यह कि सब का सब वह न लें ताकि बम्बई के मार्केट की रोक बनी रहे लेकिन जो लोग रात को कंगाल सोये और सुबह को बादशाह उठे तो उनकी छानबीन करें और इस तरह दानों बातों की तरफ ध्यान दें।]

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीया मुझे आज एक दुरूह कर्त्तव्य का पालन करना पड़ रहा है, कल्पना के जगत से वास्तविकता के जगत में आना है। भाई के० के० शाह तथा बाबूभाई चिनाई के भाषणों को सुनकर ही मैं कुछ कहने के लिये यहां पर उपस्थित हुआ वरना मैं इस पर कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता था। मैं चाहता था कि जब अवमूल्यन पर अच्छी प्रकार से विवाद होगा तब उस समय मैं अपने मत का प्रकाशन करूंगा।

तो प्रथम बात में आता हूँ क्योंकि अब इस पर मत होगा। भाई के० के० शाह और मनुभाई शाह भी और हमारे अब्दुलगनी साहब तथा सभी सम्मानित सदस्य एक प्रश्न का जवाब अपने मस्तिष्क से पूछें। अवमूल्यन किसी का भी हो जाय तो क्या यह प्रतिष्ठा की बात है? मेरा एक यही प्रश्न है। मैं समझता हूँ अवमूल्यन स्वतः में अप्रतिष्ठा की बात है। जिसका अवमूल्यन हो गया उसकी इज्जत बिगड़ गई। तो जब भारतीय रुपये का अवमूल्यन हो गया तो भारत की इज्जत बिगड़ी। इस प्रश्न का जवाब भूपेश गुप्ता ढूँढ़ेंगे और आगे चल कर मत देंगे।

दूसरी बात, मैं मत देने के पूर्व, भाई के० के० शाह से कहूंगा क्योंकि उनका मत हमें अक्सर मिलता रहा है और आज साक्षात् उनको सुनने का मौका मिला। ये प्रथम तो अवमूल्यन के विरोधी थे मगर उसके बाद इन्होंने काफी शोध की और शोध के बाद

अवमूल्यन के पक्षपाती हुए हैं, मगर इनको सुनने के बाद मैं इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचा हूँ कि अवमूल्यन के पक्ष में भी ये सहमत हैं, इनके उसमें कुछ सुझाव हैं, अगर उन सुझावों के साथ अवमूल्यन की नीति कार्यान्वित हो, तब ये उसके पक्ष में हैं वरना अब भी इन्हें इसके विपक्ष में रहना चाहिये। आज मैंने इन्हें समझा। अब जरा इन्हीं की बात में कहूँगा। ये कहते हैं हमको एक सूचिका बनाने की चाहिये कि हमको किन-किन वस्तुओं का किन-किन पदार्थों का बाहर से आयात करना है और कैसे अपने निर्यात की वृद्धि करनी है? उसमें आपने फर्टिलाइजर की बात कही—यह फर्टिलाइजर स्वतः में पूर्ण नहीं है—तो यह फर्टिलाइजर किस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिये है। वह फर्टिलाइजर हमारे देश के सारे अन्न को खा जायेगा। ऐसा है कि हाथी है, हाथी का कोई सूँड देख रहा है, कोई पूँछ देख रहा है, कोई पाँव देख रहा है, और सम्पूर्ण हाथी का शरीर देखने की कोई कृपा नहीं कर रहा है। न मनुभाई शाह, न भाई के० के० शाह, न भाई बाबूभाई चिनाई।

श्री के० के० शाह : अरोड़ा जी का नाम भी लीजिए।

श्री राजनारायण : अरोड़ा जी का भाषण तो नित्य प्रति की अपेक्षा अच्छा रहा है क्योंकि आज अरोड़ा के मार्ग का रोड़ा हमने हटा दिया। तो सवाल यह है कि अगर पूरी कृषि नीति को देखा जाय तो इस सरकार की कृषि नीति इस देश को विकाने वाली नीति है। हम तो हैरत में, आश्चर्यचकित हैं, अपने मित्र अब्दुल गनी को सुनकर। इनको खाली एक मंत्रालय से शिकायत है, और मनुभाई की तो तारीफ ही तारीफ है। जैसे प्राचीन जमाने में राजाओं के जमाने में, चारण अनावश्यक तारीफ करते थे। मैं आता हूँ वाराणसी से जहाँ कालीन बनती है, वे कालीन भी विदेशी मुद्रा का माध्यम हैं। मगर

मनुभाई शाह ने कालीन व्यापार को बिल्कुल चौपट कर दिया है। कैसे चौपट कर दिया है? (*Interruption*) कालीन, जिसको आप 'कारपेट' कहते हैं। उसमें दो लाख आदमी लगे हैं। इस पर चर्चा सदन में आने वाली थी। इशारे में मैं कह देना चाहता हूँ अगर मेरे दिमागी स्वास्थ्य की हालत सही है, तो न मालूम कितने मंत्रियों को यहाँ से फौरन, अविलम्ब, हट जाना चाहिये था। एक तो वहीं से आते हैं जहाँ उनका कालीन का कारखाना है। एक मंत्री यहीं के हैं श्री एस० डी० मिश्र, श्यामधर मिश्र उनका भी एक कारखाना है, उनके बाप के नाम था। वह कारखाना आज तक रजिस्टर नहीं है, वहाँ जितनी कालीन बनती हैं...

श्री के० के० शाह : आपके बनारस के हैं?

श्री राजनारायण : बनारस के हैं। कहीं के हों। वह कालीन नहीं बन पा रहा है, हम इशारे में कह दे रहे हैं। उस पर हमने दूसरा सवाल दे रखा है। हम के० के० शाह से कहना चाहते हैं कि यह फर्टिलाइजर कहाँ लगाएँगे, क्योंकि आज जितनी जमीन में खेती होती है उसमें महज एक-तिहाई एकड़ जमीन सिंचित हो रही है। इस सरकारी गैर-सरकारी साधन से दो-तिहाई जमीन के लिये सिंचाई व्यवस्था नहीं है। तो यह फर्टिलाइजर आपका क्या होगा? केवल खाद, यह अपने में काफी नहीं है, इसलिये मैं के० के० शाह जी से कहता हूँ कि खाद को मंगा कर ही अगर समझते हैं अन्न का उत्पादन बढ़ जायेगा, असंभव है।

दूसरी बात इसके पहले हमने एक सवाल के रूप में कहा था कि सायल कंजरवेशन, भूमि का क्षरण हो रहा है। यह वर्तमान सरकार जिस गति से चल रही है, अगर उसी गति से चली तो जो जानकार हैं, जो समझदार हैं, अगर पांच पंचवर्षीय योजना

[श्री राज नारायण]

भी बीत जाए, जितनी भूमि का क्षरण हुआ है, उतनी ही भूमि पर आप कायम रहें, आगे भूमि का क्षरण न बढ़े, तो पांच वर्षीय योजना के बाद वह सम्भव हो सकेगा और उसका संरक्षण हो सकेगा। तो भूमि का जो क्षरण हो रहा है उससे अवमूल्यन का अर्थ नहीं है।

अभी मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि माननीय श्री साहब ने तो एक ही मंत्रालय का नाम लिया और वे बेचारे सुब्रह्मण्यम् जायेंगे, इसको दुनिया की कोई ताकत नहीं रोक पायेगी अगर हमारे में सद्बुद्धि है। (Interruption) और न मालम देखिये कितने और होंगे। बाप का लगाया हुआ विष वृक्ष बेटी प्रधान मंत्री खा रही है। जो हमारे मित्र ने उदाहरण दिया उनके बारे में कहना है। बाप प्रधान मंत्री ने विष वृक्ष लगाया जो कि इस मुल्क को खा गया और अब बेटी प्रधान मंत्री उस वृक्ष में जो फल हो रहे हैं, उसको हम लोगों को खिला रही है। (Interruption) रुपये का अवमूल्यन तो तात्कालिक चीज है और जब रुपये के अवमूल्यन पर बहस होगी तब जानेंगे। यह तो 20 साल का नतीजा है। पंडित नेहरू से लेकर आज तक जितनी गलत राष्ट्र विरोधी, जन विरोधी नीतियां हुई हैं, उन सबका समुच्चय रूप अवमूल्यन में आया है। इस पर विचार कल होगा और विशद रूप में तथा विस्तार से व्याख्या कल होगी, आज नहीं। (Interruption) मेरा कहना यह है कि जैसे चाय की ही बात ले लीजिये। मैं इसके बारे में समझाना चाहूंगा क्योंकि भाई के० के० शाह ने कहा...

श्री के० के० शाह : लेकिन एक बात है कि विष खाने के बाद आप इतने तगड़े कैसे रहे ?

श्री राज नारायण : देखिये, ठीक है। अभी हमारी वह हस्ती है कि जहन्नुम भी

उगल देगा हमको निगलकर। अगर जहन्नुम हमें निगलने की कोशिश करेगा तो उसमें इतनी शक्ति नहीं है, उसमें इतनी कैपेसिटी नहीं, कूबत नहीं कि वह हमको निगल सके, हमें पचा सके। यह तो उनको पचा सकता है जिनका नाम में भूल जाता हूँ।

कई माननीय सदस्य : बाबू भाई चिनाई।

श्री राज नारायण : हां, बाबू भाई चिनाई जो बिल्कुल बुद्धि विभ्रम हो गये हैं, जो भ्रान्ति में विचरण कर रहे हैं और जो बुद्धि विभ्रान्त हो गये हैं क्योंकि आज सब कांग्रेस को समझ गये हैं और कोटावाले लोग कांग्रेस के बोट को भी समझ गये हैं। जो शकर मस्तिष्क लोग हैं वही यह कह सकते हैं कि यह कांग्रेस की जो सरकार है वह बहुमत वाली सरकार है, राष्ट्रीय सरकार है और यह सरकार राष्ट्रीय सरकार है। लेकिन मेरा कहना यह है कि कांग्रेस की जो सरकार है वह 38 प्रतिशत वोटों को पाकर, विरोधी वोटों को आपस में बांटने का नतीजा है और उसी की वजह से यह कांग्रेस सरकार बनी है। यह राष्ट्रीय सरकार नहीं है क्योंकि यह अल्पमत का प्रतिनिधित्व करती है। इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि यह पोलिटिकल एसपैक्ट है, यह राजनीतिक पहलू है, जिसको मैं कह रहा हूँ।

दूसरी बात को मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह हमारे मनुभाई साहब जरा गौर से सुनें कि अवमूल्यन का इस पर क्या प्रभाव हुआ है।

श्री मनुभाई शाह : एक्सपोर्ट रिजोल्यूशन की बात हो रही है।

श्री राजनारायण : बातें तो बहुत हो गई हैं। हम तो बोलने ही वाले नहीं थे क्योंकि हमने पहले नाम नहीं दिया था। लेकिन बातें यहां पर इतनी हो गई जिससे मुझे कुछ भी हुआ कि ऐसी बातें क्यों हुई।

श्री के० के० शाह : श्री भूपेश गुप्त जिम्मेदार हैं ।

श्री राजनारायण : यहां पर बातें सारी थियोरी की हो गई, सारे कैपिटल की हो गई, सारे पूंजीवाद की हो गई, पूंजीवादी कौन है, पूंजीपति कौन हैं, पूंजी क्या है, यह तो ऐसा हो गया जैसे हम किसी क्लास में बैठे हैं । हमारे चिनाई भाई ने अपना कैपिटलीज्म के बारे में बतलाया कि वह क्या है, सोशलिज्म के बारे में बतलाया कि वह क्या है, क्या सोशलिज्म की स्टेजेज हैं । इस तरह से मैं इन अनावश्यक चर्चा में जाना नहीं चाहता हूं । लेकिन मैं ईमानदारी से एक उदाहरण यहां पर देना चाहता हूं और हमारे श्री मनुभाई शाह इसको कहीं से खोचकर फिट कर लें । हवाई जहाज की जमीन और हवाई जहाज में घास, इसमें डिबैल्यूएशन कहाँ से आ गया ? शान्ताक्रुज, वहां पर घास का नीलाम होता है । मंत्री महोदय, उनका विभाग, पहले घास का नीलाम करता था 20, 22 और 25 हजार रुपये में । वहां पर क्रिकिटशस, नाम का एक एसोसिएशन बना हुआ था जो दूसरों को 2 लाख, 2½ लाख और 1½ लाख में नीलाम करता था । जब इस 2½ लाख वाले को पता चला कि यह 20 हजार लेकर हमको 1½ लाख में देता है तो उसने 51 हजार का टेन्डर दे दिया और उसका टेन्डर एक्सेप्ट हो गया उससे इन्कम टैक्स क्लियरेन्स सर्टिफिकेट भी मांग लिया गया और उसने यह सर्टिफिकेट दे भी दिया । इसके बाद दिल्ली से घंटी खटकी कि नहीं नहीं, इसको मत देना, पुराने को देना, नहीं तो मामला गड़बड़ हो जायेगा । फिर भी 2 हजार रुपये बढ़ोतरी करके उस घास के ठेके को पुरानेवाले आदमी को दे दिया गया । क्या यह रुपया डिबैल्यूएशन से आयेगा और क्या इससे हमारा अवमूल्यन का मामला सुलझेगा ? इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि सारी सरकार, सारा वातावरण इतना भ्रष्टाचार, इतना करप्शन, अनीति, कुनीति

और दुर्नीति में सड़ गई है कि जिसके बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता है । इसके लिए एक ही उपाय है और वह यह है कि जब तक यह सरकार नहीं हटती तब तक न अवमूल्यन से सहारा हो सकता है, न बहुमूल्यन से सहारा हो सकता है । आज सारे राष्ट्र का एकमात्र सहारा यह है कि इस कांग्रेस सरकार को उठाकर धड़ाके से फेंक दिया जाय और इस सरकार को बदल दिया जाय तब ही जाकर राष्ट्र बन सकता है । श्री के० के० शाह, श्री मनुभाई शाह, श्री चिनाई और श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा, जो यह चाहते हैं कि इस परिवर्तन से, इस अवमूल्यन के सहारे राष्ट्र का भला होगा, समाज में परिवर्तन होगा, वह होनेवाला नहीं है । माननीया, आप समझदार हैं और आपने गांधी जी का साहित्य पढ़ा होगा । मैं अपनी बात नहीं कहना चाहता हूं । मैं भूपेश गुप्ता और दूसरे लोगों को गांधी जी के साहित्य के बारे में बतलाना चाहता हूं । भाई के० के० शाह जानते होंगे कि महात्मा गांधी जी ने अपनी प्रार्थना सभा में एक बार नहीं, अनेकों बार कहा था कि मैं 120 साल तक जिन्दा रहना चाहता हूं । (Interruption) 120 साल तक गांधी जी ने कहा था । गांधी जी ने कहा था कि मैं 120 साल तक जिन्दा रहना चाहता हूं क्योंकि वे उपनिषद पढ़ते थे । उपनिषद में पूरी उम्र 134 साल होती है । इसलिए गांधी कहते थे कि मैं 120 साल तक जिन्दा रहना चाहता हूं । क्या यह सत्य नहीं है कि वही महात्मा गांधी जी जब कांग्रेस के हाथ में हुकूमत की बागडोर आये हुए 6 महीने भी नहीं हुए थे, तो कहने लगे कि मैं अब इस दुनिया से उठ जाना चाहता हूं और इस दुनिया में रहना पसंद नहीं करता । (Interruption) आज गांधी का सिक्का खोटा हो गया है और लोग उसको बाजार में भुना नहीं पाते हैं । अच्छा है कि मैं इस दुनिया से उठा लिया जाऊं । जहां गांधी जी का नाम लेकर हम नई जिन्दगी बनाना चाहते थे, उस रास्ते को कांग्रेस सरकार ने छोड़ दिया है । आज यह सरकार गांधी जी

[श्री राजनारायण]

का नाम लेकर, गांधी जी की दुहाई देकर जनता के ऊपर शासन कर रही है। जब तक यह सरकार नहीं हटेगी तब तक इस राष्ट्र का कल्याण नहीं होगा और इस राष्ट्र की जनता का कल्याण होने वाला नहीं है। गांधी जी के चेलों ने गांधी जी के गांधीवाद की पूर्णतया हत्या कर दी है। इसलिए अब कोई प्रश्न नहीं रह जाता है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : आप तो समाजवादी थे, गांधीवाद में कैसे पहुंच गये ?

श्री राजनारायण : देखिये सोशलिज्म की परिभाषा।

उप सभापति : आपका समय समाप्त हो गया है।

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, आप मेरे भाषण का समय समाप्त कीजिये मगर मेरा समय समाप्त न कीजिये। समय समाप्त कीजिये इस कांग्रेस राज का, इस कांग्रेस सरकार का। मैं शीलभद्र याजी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि सोशलिज्म की परिभाषा यह है "सोशलिज्म इज दी टोटल सम आफ ह्य मन नालेज" (Interruption)

[Time bell rings.]

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : मुझे माफ करेंगे उन्हें सोशलिज्म के बारे में, ऐसे स्वतंत्र बतावरण मैं उसको पढ़ना चाहिये।

[Time bell rings.]

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: Madam Deputy Chairman, I am very grateful to the large number of Members of this House, who have made their observations, very valuable in content, on this Resolution. Instead of ranging over the entire subject of economic reform, I will first confine myself to the subject-matter of the Resolution,

namely, soliciting the approval of this august House for these export duties. Devaluation is a monetary reform and should not be connected with any sudden accident of the type of an earthquake or allied to any political motivation. I have always taken this reform of devaluation in terms of its technical and economic value, namely, the benefits to be derived therefrom for our underdeveloped country. The basic idea among many others is to promote the export earnings of this country. Now the question arises as to how in the post-devaluation period do we go ahead and move forward so that one of the principal objectives of this economic reform is achieved to the maximum extent. There are, Madam, three parts therefore of this resolution which I want to bring to the notice of the House. The first is that the intention of the Government in the post-devaluation measures the series of which we have taken in the last six or eight weeks was to increase the profitability of the exporting units, the exporting industries, and the labour which is working in these exporting industries. Therefore, I can assure Mr. Arjun Arora and the working class and other Members who wanted that a portion of the benefit should go back to the exporting units both in the management investment and the labour field so that they can improve the production of these industries. That is the intention.

If you, Madam, and the House analyse the scheme of things, the maximum duty that we have levied is *ad valorem* 40 per cent and it is as low as 10 per cent among the entire gamut of about 82 per cent of the export goods which before devaluation were moving on their own motivation. No major assistance was available or was being granted by Government to the traditional exports of India which after devaluation had a windfall of profit or gain to the extent of about 57.5 per cent. Therefore, we allowed 17.5 per cent out of this for the exporting units which certainly could be shared by all the constituent elements in the exporting industries so that the edge in competition, the gain in competition in the world markets could be carried on by our export commodities. If you would have retained this 57.5 per cent as the hon. Member Mr. Sundaram was pointing out, what we would have done is that we would have given a big push to the price spiral

The intention of the House and the Government being to control the prices so that an incipient inflation of a runaway character does not get into our economy, that would have been result if there were no export duties levied. It is not to mop up any profit or return for the Government or the revenue of the Government but to protect the interests of the working classes and the masses of this country so that a runaway price spiral does not take place in this bulk of commodities which were going without any assistance—and they form a major portion of this country's production in agriculture, industry, minerals and other services.

Therefore, the first part was to leave a sizeable margin of profitability; secondly, to mop up the difference so that the prices are stabilised; and thirdly—which is the most paramount consideration before the Government—to see that devaluation does not lead to erosion of the foreign exchange earnings. This is the main consideration why the export duty Resolution is before this august House. If we would not have put these duties ranging from 10 per cent to 40 per cent, it would have been and it has been the case in some commodities where we forgot or we left to chance for the commodity to readjust to the world parity prices, that the prices sank in real terms; that is, the export earnings in terms of the foreign currency, whether dollar or rouble or sterling, actually went down or would have gone down, if we would have not protected and given a shelter to these prices through export duties. So, in terms of a military strategy I would compare the export duties as a fortress or a wall built in order that the army may march on with full protection from the bombardment of the world forces of market operation which always tend to depress the world prices. The terms of trade which this country was gaining in terms of iron ore or oil or cashew nuts or tobacco or mica or manganese ore and the large number of commodities which were going without assistance, they would have all fallen in real export earnings if the export duties were not levied. The indirect gain therefore was that this country's exchequer would gain Rs. 160 crores to Rs. 180 crores a year as a result of these export duties. If these export duties were not approved by this august House or imposed by the

Government, the conversion thereof at 57.5 per cent which works out to £ 120 million sterling—that would have been lost at the end of the year in terms of foreign exchange earnings, because every exporter of this country would have rushed to sell his goods with a little profit to himself at dust cheap prices competing with each other and underselling. As Mr. Abdul Ghani was pointing out, that had always happened when profits are too excessive in some cases underinvoicing, overinvoicing, underselling, undercutting, etc., would have taken place and there would have been no protection to the exporter against the foreign forces to see that the prices are well protected. Therefore, the paramount consideration before the Government in this case was, while retaining price stabilisation, while giving an edge to our exporters in the competitive market, to gain something for our industries, something for our labour, something for our commodities; we should see to it that the national interests are paramount and are duly protected. Therefore, this House has to give this limited approach to the export duty as of a character which is more protective and sheltering in its content than anything of an enlargement or promotion of exports.

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta mentioned that we would have to send one and a half times more goods to the United States—and I may also include Soviet Union—as a result of devaluation. His very fear that devaluation will lead to an erosion in real incomes of the nation in terms of foreign exchange by 57.5 per cent was the very reason why we put the export duty to prevent that erosion in income. Therefore, we will not have to sell any more one and a half times more goods to earn the same amount of dollar or the rouble or sterling, but we will practically sell as a result of this mechanism the same amount of commodity as before to earn the same foreign exchange as we used to do before devaluation.

Then, Madam, the question was : Is it possible that these duties may come in the way of export ? There is a fear expressed by some hon. Members. I will give them some figures. When jute goods before devaluation were being sold for sackings, for instance, we were receiving Rs. 1800 a tonne. As a result of devaluation on a

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straight arithmetical par value of the rupee the new price should have been Rs. 2826, that is 57.5 per cent added to Rs. 1800. If we would not have put the export duty of Rs. 900, straightway the Rs. 2826 would have gone into the market. The gentlemen in the jute trade, however strong they are, would have liked to sell it at Rs. 1900; Rs. 100 is a big gain on a commodity of Rs. 1800, and the nation would have lost Rs. 926, namely, 30 per cent of the foreign exchange. Under the mechanism of duty if you subtract Rs. 900 of duty on sackings out of Rs. 2826, still the exporter is left with Rs. 1926 as compared to Rs. 1800. Therefore, Rs. 126 is the margin kept for the exporter to be shared by the working class, the management and the staff. Then Rs. 900 comes to the Central exchequer for carrying out the welfare activities in various fields as part of the national income and we retain practically the same value in terms of foreign exchange. The same thing about the carpet backing. We have been careful to see that the competition with Pakistan in this very vital field of national interest, which gave us Rs. 184 crores last year (which in terms of sterling comes to £155 million sterling) is protected and increased and not allowed to decrease. On carpet backing we put a duty of Rs. 600 per tonne. There has been an intellectual analysis behind each of the quantum of duty, whether *ad valorem* or specific, in order to see that the unit value of the commodity does not go down, that we can compete better with our competitors in the world market and yet protect our national interest. The point is at Rs. 2200 per tonne before devaluation, in terms of simple arithmetic the new price would have been Rs. 3465. If we take away Rs. 600 duty, the exporter is earning Rs. 2865 which is Rs. 665 more than what he was earning before. I am sure the hon. Members who know the jute industry would agree with me that Rs. 600 extra profit on Rs. 2200—my friend is already nodding his head; obviously he is happy that a lot of more money is going to the jute industry as a result of these export duties.

Madam, I had mentioned as to what was the technique by which we could make devaluation the maximum success. I am

no more interested in the argument of what is right and what is wrong. It is a national decision; it is a *fait accompli* today; the decision has been taken in the best of motivation to see that the ill-health of a temporary character is cured. Mr. Raj-narain was saying that there was mismanagement for eighteen years. The grand management of this country which the ruling Party has been doing in the last eighteen years is a historical fact written in words of gold. When the history of India would have to be written, you will realise as I realise when I go across the whole world, the 88 underdeveloped countries, that India is the only country—I would not say India is the only country because people may think that I am an Indian and I am boasting—but India is the only underdeveloped country which has done so much in industrialisation and economic development. It has done so much for education. It has done so much for agriculture. It has done so much for mineral development. It has done so much for heavy industries. And it has raised the prestige of this country as no other underdeveloped country has done in the field of planning. It is only a matter of pride that this country has produced leaders of greatness because of its hoary past, of its glorious chapters of ancient culture and civilisation and that human development has been maximum in this country, more than the physical and the material development. It is the human development that we have achieved in terms of more technicians, more doctors, more lawyers, more professors, more humanitarians, more educated men and women in this country coming out of the portals of universities . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : And more Ministers.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: We have less Ministers than the Soviet Union. I am not comparing it, because that is a friendly country to which I have paid more visits than Shri Bhupesh Gupta. I have gone to the Soviet Union several times and I am considered to be a great friend of theirs, and I can tell you that .

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SHRI ARJUN ARORA: He goes there twice every year.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: You might be going only recently, but I have been going there for a long time.

श्री राजनारायण : आप सरकार में हैं, जा सकते हैं, इसका क्या कहना ।

श्री मनुभाई शाह : जब सरकार में नहीं था, तब भी जाता था ।

I have great admiration for that great country.

SHR BHUPESH GUPTA : I would support you.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH: And I have been, therefore, an advocate of the rupee trade which some friends in the Swatantra Party do not like because they do not understand it. The rupee trade is as good as the dollar trade or as good as the sterling trade. In some respects, it may be better than various other trades. Anyhow, that is not the point.

What I was trying to say was that devaluation is not the result of any frustration; devaluation is not the result of mismanagement of our economy. Devaluation and economic reform are the great roarich towards economic emancipation. We walked on the plateaus and valleys came in our way. We crossed the valleys. Now the mountain is coming. As I said in the Lok Sabha, it is an exercise in mountain climbing. There are occasions in the life of a nation when normal walking, normal going up and down, cannot carry you to the cherished goal, you have to run up the mountains and climb the mountains, and mountain climbing can be made successful and it can give character and vigorous health to the nation provided it is done with courage, stead-fastness and skill, which this country is not lacking in. We shall take steps from day to day and from year to year in the direction which the hon. Members have indicated—giving great attention to agriculture, to increasing the productivity per man, giving more attention to those sectors of the economy where the input of import and the input of foreign exchange are the minimum. We are not wedded to foreign assis-

tance, we are not wedded to foreign aid. Foreign aid is only an assistance for a temporary period till we become self-reliant in our national economy and in that direction of mountain climbing, a very, very difficult exercise is devaluation which we have to pass through and this is one of the steps. And I would say that the House would be reassured that all these steps are being taken with watchfulness. The day we find that the export duty retards the export promotion of that commodity, the duty can go. We are not wedded to levying duty as of some sacrosanct, religious character or of some ideological character. Duty is only a mechanism to prevent the fall of the earning of the rupee in real terms and that duty cannot stay one single moment more when the commodity loses marketability and the earning of foreign exchange in the world market. Therefore, I had given an offer in the other House regarding tea on which we had to put a specific duty. We could not devise an *ad valorem* duty on tea because tea auctions vary from day to day. Those hon. Members who are very much familiar with the Cochin auction, with the Calcutta auction and with the London auction will bear me out that the *ad valorem* duty was not possible. Therefore we put a specific duty. Now in the specific duty, we are prepared for slabs; one slab, two slabs, three slabs, four slabs. We did it on the basis of the common tea, and I have made the calculation. Rs. 5.60 was the pre-devaluation price. Now we put Rs. 2 as specific duty and at 57.5 per cent, they get the new rate of 8.3. If you had Rs. 2, from Rs. 5.60 it comes to Rs. 7.60 and still there is a margin of 70 paise per kilogram for the present, the most low priced tea. If you take the Darjeeling, the Lepchu, Orange Pekoe and Assam Bottoms and then if you go right up to the hills, then you will find that the duty is hardly 10 per cent, or it comes hardly to 15 per cent. And there is a margin of 42 per cent, for the superior tea. Therefore the export duty is a qualitative pointer that the better the tea you produce, the more the profit you gain. It is in the direction of profit that the duty points out. Even then, there might be some teas of a very, very low quality : for instance, the Green tea. The Amritsar merchants came to me. We met people from the Dehra Dun area and the Nepal Terai area and they told us that the Green tea cannot

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bear it. We calculated and immediately removed it before we came to the House—that we removed Rs. 2 duty on Green tea. I can assure the House : We are not dogmatic, we are not wedded to the concept of duty as a part of revenue earning. This is not a grab theory. It is a purely promotional, development aspect and if any hon. Member at any time feels any commodity being disabled by any quantum of duty, I am prepared immediately to reconsider and recommend to the Government immediately the withdrawal or reduction or rationalisation of the pattern of duty.

Then, Madam, my friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, always says that all trade in this country is bad and therefore, nationalise the foreign trade. I have had many occasions of giving a polite answer here. We are not wedded as a creed to the nationalisation of the foreign trade. And yet, we have never hesitated to take over any amount of trade whatever the protests of the traders may be, if we feel that particularly the taking over in the State sector is in the national interest. From Rs. 10 crores per year just a few years before, the present business commanded by the STC, the MMTC, the MSTC and the IMPEC, the four big public sector trading corporations that we have built up, in the last five years has gone up to Rs. 200 crores worth of trade, in the new terms Rs. 300 crores. And I have already said that the import of foreign cotton on which various Members have expressed their opinion, we are trying to canalise. Many people came to me, many cotton traders. We found that in the national interest, it is good and it will be beneficial in the long run both to the industry and to the trade to canalise it through the State sector. We were not hesitating to do so. At no time were we under the pressure of anybody except the national interest. If the pressure of national interest denotes to us that a particular commodity is important, we shall take it in the public sector. It is not a matter of competence or incompetence. My friend, Shri Babubhai Chinai, said that the Government is very competent in many respect but may be it is very incompetent in nationalising foreign trade. I do not want to join issue with him. What I say is this, competence or incompetence; apart from that, if the

private people are competent, may be the Government is also competent. But is there any benefit in taking over 10,000 varieties of cotton textiles in this public sector and then make a fool of ourselves ? Does it increase the foreign trade ? Does it give us more foreign exchange ? Does it save, by taking over the import of certain commodities, any foreign exchange to the nation ? Merely to paint everybody by black tar all across the line and generalise that all the people of this country, importers and exporters, are not good men or that they are not properly behaving is, I think, the worst condemnation that ever can come from anybody's mouth. The Indian people are as honest as anybody else in the world. My own experience of the last five years in this line shows me that out of 8 lakhs of exporters and importers that I deal with, the overall bad cases—Ghani Saheb was referring to them—would be less than 200. I am not saying that it is all right; there are some bad people who are doing this. But what is their quantum, what is their number, what is their percentage as compared to the great nation that India is ? And therefore because there is a black sheep, can we say that the whole flock of sheep is black ? I am quite sure that Ghani Saheb and Shri Bhupesh Gupta never wanted to say that all the Indian people are like that. There are very, very honest merchants here. As a matter of fact, many times, even when we try to do something which is not very correct, the merchants come and tell us privately that this is the correct thing and that the other thing is not correct, and we accept their advice. There is no shame in that. Therefore, I beseech, to us nationalisation of the foreign trade is not the panacea for all the evils. Wherever we feel that the taking over in the public sector of any trade which is in bulk can give us the strength of bargaining to us, we shall do so. For instance, take iron ore, take manganese ore. Four years before there was a public debate that Government should not take over iron ore, manganese ore. What we found was, that we were up against the great giants of the world, in Japan in the steel mills, in Germany in the steel mills and in Italy, in the steel mills. They bargained from a position of strength. All the steel importers of Japan had one association to buy iron ore. Now, what is the benefit in sending thousands of weak

people from this country who cannot enter into a ten or twenty-year contract to sell one tonne or 15 tonnes or 200 tonnes or 5000 tonnes a year? Is there any big, giant exporter in this country who owns all the mines of India? Therefore, Government becomes an ore exporter and helps these small units to give them strength, to underwrite all the risk of exports and to canalise it properly. And we have seen—from six million tonnes, we have gone up to 14 million tonnes. We propose to go to 30 million tonnes. This is the proof where the public sector can give real leadership to the various industries. Therefore, I would urge upon Shri Babubhai Chinai to convey to the members in the mercantile community that they should not feel that if at any time Government intervention comes, it is as though we are trying to grab something. It is to give them strength. Just now I may tell Shri Bhupesh Gupta, do not go along by dogmatic feelings, that because it is nationalisation, everything will go through or that any benefit will come to the Government or the people. Certainly we are with him if he can prove and demonstrate to us that jute trading by being taken over will give us instead of Rs. 180 crores, Rs. 190 crores or Rs. 200 crores. We will be with him. But it does not happen. Even in the Soviet Union, I have seen that trading is a person-to-person job, so subjective in its contacts. People have to meet each other, from India to the United States, from India to the Soviet Union, from India to Czechoslovakia, from India to England and *vice-versa*. It is the contact which you build on a person-to-person basis that is the greatest subjective character of foreign trade. Keeping this in mind I can assure the hon'ble House that wherever it is necessary, in order to give this strength to the national economy, if any commodity which is in bulk or where it is more vulnerable in the national interest and greater profitability to the country, to take over the same for external trade in the public interest we shall never hesitate to do so. This Party has never hesitated in the past and it shall never hesitate in the future to expand foreign trade in public sector.

Madam, Mrs. Sathe was saying about the import of cotton. I have had the privilege of circulating a note on this account to all the Members of Parliament. It is not as if

we are importing out of the pleasure of it. We are qualitatively and quantitatively deficient in cotton. If we have to clothe the people of this country we have to do that. The minimum that we are giving is 15 yards *per capita*. It is the lowest consumption in the world. Shall we deny to them the cloth? Shall we deny to them what they need in the daily use and also less export of about Rs. 100 crores? Do you want to stop it? And what will be the result? The African countries are as underdeveloped as we are. They can say if we do not buy their cotton, they would not buy our goods. This is what they have done to Japan. The other day Tanganyika issued a decree banning all the Japanese goods to be imported in that country only because Japan in that year failed to buy their cotton. They have only a few commodities while we have ten thousand commodities to export to the African and the Middle-East countries. They say you want only to sell to us and buy nothing from us. Even when we became self-sufficient in cotton, which we must be, as early as possible, we must dynamise our agriculture, increase the productivity per acre, even then it would be paying to this nation in the long run to buy their cotton, manufacture goods, export more so that both our cotton and their cotton combine and produce larger wealth for us. Reciprocity is the real principle in international trade. If everybody wants to be like Hitler on the principle of autarchy, national self-sufficiency, closing the door of his own country to the wide world and wanting to push their things in other people's land, what shall be the fate? It will meet the fate of Hitler. He was the last pseudo-economist who advocated autarchy as the principle of economics. There has never been in the past and, I hope, there shall never be in the future one who forgets that international trade means international interdependence. Unless you are inter-dependent on the whole world community, in respect of your community you cannot expect your goods to be received by them with pleasure and love and affection and money unless you buy their goods. Therefore, it is on that principle that I would beseech Mrs. Sathe, who raised that point many times, to appreciate the principle of bilateralism, multi-lateralism in foreign trade before we say that cotton imports are a burden to this country.

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Well, Madam, there were many other points which have been raised but I do not propose to take much time of the House. Mr. K. K. Shah laid great emphasis on the price line of essential commodities. I have narrated here on the floor of this House how many steps we have taken and yet I cannot say that we have fully succeeded. The circumstances in this country are so complex. On foodgrains, on essential drugs, on vanaspati, on cloth, on articles of mass consumption we have statutory control. There are some other basic items of engineering goods which have been bringing under price regulations with some satisfactory results. I am not fully satisfied. The Government or the Party, is not fully satisfied. And, therefore, I would beseech the co-operation of the honourable House that in each and every commodity which is of mass consumption and is required by the people of the country in a great quantity, if there are talks of scarcity or talks of rise of prices, let us know, we shall try to rush them. In the last two months we must have rushed goods to 80 to 90 places. That had an effect on the local prices. I am not saying that we shall be able to resolve all circumstances, but we shall take steps to see that inflation is kept in check and that the average index of price does not rise beyond a point which will be detrimental to the very process of devaluation.

Then, Madam, the last point which had been made was regarding my comment on the consumption of tea and other commodities being reduced. I would like to take this occasion, Madam, before this honourable House to appeal to them that while production is the key to all success, whether it is national income or export, we must energise in every sphere, production and more production. That is what we have been doing the last twenty years. Now is the time to see that out of every rupee invested and every unit of energy of human energy put into the labour, we must get better productivity. There is no answer to the Indian problem except higher productivity and higher production, higher production not by increasing the investment only but every rupee invested should give now a wealth of not twelve annas,

fourteen annas but fifteen annas. Unless we do that, whatever amount of larger investment we do it will go to waste. Therefore, it is very necessary that the honourable House and the hon'ble Members, while certainly criticising whenever there are weaknesses, should concentrate in their constituencies on this question appealing to people because it is a national problem. It is not a political problem. Devaluation does not belong to one party or the other. The international parity of the rupee for the Communists is not different from what it is for Congressmen or for the P.S.P. or the Independent Members. The rupee is the same for everybody. Therefore, this is a national problem. The production is the key to success, productivity is the key. And I would, therefore, appeal for the co-operation of the whole House to see that productivity and production are increased.

Now, when productivity increases, do we solve all our problems? Do we create surpluses of such an enormous character, with the living standards going up, with the national income going up, everybody wanting two shirts instead of one? And unless and until there is restraint in domestic consumption, we, Madam, cannot achieve our ends in a short period of time, and that is why my appeal for saving one cup of tea was there. I was not denying to the millions of this countrymen one cup of tea which is their legitimate due. But if there are two cups, can we make it one? If there are four cups, can we make it three? One cup in this country means almost 20 million kilograms, another 10 to 12 crores of rupees.

We have been consuming in the last ten years from 51 million kilograms to 194 million kilograms. Ceylon in the same period has almost 11 to 12 million kilograms, almost static consumption. Therefore, I am appealing like this. Will we be worse off by drinking one cup less of it and will we get lesser nutritional standard by reducing one cup? Therefore, it is a common appeal. Supposing, for instance, we decide that one yard of cloth we put on less. Instead of 15 yards, let us have 14, 13 or 12 yards. One yard means 500 million yards, and 500 million yards means

Rs. 60 crores worth of foreign exchange. Now, is it a wrong appeal ? Am I asking for tightening the belt too much which is absurd or impracticable? I know that we are already tightening our belt. Poverty in this country is colossal; it is classic and, therefore, we want to root it out. It is for the future needs that we suffer today the birth pangs of this order so that a new order of prosperity may come in, so that more foreign exchange can be earned. Therefore, domestic restraint is inbuilt into any country which is developing. With the massive population of India, it is here that the august House can join in the appeal to the whole country. We are not killjoys. We do not want to reduce the people to poverty or to privations. But there is a way of doing things. What had happened to England after the War ? I was there for some years after the War. They used to be given two eggs per week when normally their people were consuming 20 to 25 eggs per week. What were they doing ? Sugar was totally denied to us and the great professional luxury of black tea and black coffee rose out of the war, out of the ashes of the last war. Throughout the world the black coffee came in because they wanted to export sugar rather than consume it. Per week we were getting only two cubes and four pieces of chocolates, that is, 12 ounces when the normal consumption in Britain was 100 lbs. per year. And it produced a new nation.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Bread was also rationed.

SHRI MANUBHAI SHAH : Yes, bread was also rationed. And this created a new nation. Whenever I went to Harrow in all the stores what was written ? The shelf was full of goods. But they wrote "for export", "for export", "for export". They were not consuming in the country. Now that is the self-denial given to the generations of people who want, to build posterity which is glorious and which is prosperous. So we deny ourselves a little bit today so that our tomorrow can be better.

I do not believe in saying, "Let us take away morsel of food from their mouth". I will be the last person to say that because I know that they live hardly on a few morsels. But there are possibilities. In a

selective manner select such items which have a world market where we, the leaders of public opinion, can guide the large masses and take them with us. They only need a little lead from the top to see what are the possibilities. There is cashew nut. There are many, many items where we can certainly save a little bit more today to build a better tomorrow. Therefore, I hope, my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, while he might have any views on political matters will not stint his co-operation to us in appealing to the masses of the people and to the classes of the people of this country to save a little more for export, to make it possible to render a surplus for export now, not out of supply minus demand. That type of surplus in this country is not going to arise in the next thirty years. If we say that production must be so much more, that we consume all that we can and then whatever tit bits are left, whatever crumbs are left we export, then we have no future. Foreign trade cannot be built in a developing country like that. Foreign trade can be built only on the blood and the bones and the sweat and great sacrifice of the people of this country so that in future the foreign trade can make the country viable. Unless our balance of payments improves in the next ten years, I can assure you no amount of devaluation will help us. Devaluation is a great exercise and we must make it a success seeing to it that every measure that is necessary, rational and in national interest, is taken in the field of post-devaluation measures. Madam, this is one of the measures in order to save the value of the rupee in exports.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is :

"In pursuance of sub-section (2) of section 4A of the Indian Tariff Act, 1934 (32 of 1934), this House approves of the Notifications of the Government of India in the Ministry of Commerce S.O. No. 1696, dated the 6th June, 1966, as amended *vide* Notification No. 43(3) Tar/66, dated the 6th June, 1966, S.O. No. 1841, dated the 15th June, 1966, S.O. No. 1940, dated the 27th June 1966, and S.O. No. 2133, dated the 15th July, 1966, levying export duty on sacking (cloth, bags, twist yarn, rope and twine), jute manufactures of certain

fThe Deputy Chairman]

description, cotton waste (all sorts), **tea**, all oilcakes other than copra and groundnut oilcakes, tobacco manufactured, mica, all sorts, hides, skins and leather, tanned and untanned, all sorts, but not including manufactures of leather, and coir and coir manufactures from the date of such Notifications." *The motion was adopted.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : There is the next Resolution on devaluation, to be moved by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. What is the desire of the House ? Shall we sit till S.30?

HON. MEMBERS : On Tuesday.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I am leaving it to the House.

SHRI AWADESHWAR **PRATAP** SINHA (Bihar) : It should come when Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is fresh.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 a.m. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at one minute past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 12th August, 1966.