

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

THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 2)  
BILL, 1962—*continued*.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, when I was speaking and when I was unfortunately interrupted by the Minister's statement on Dr. 'Haldane's resignation, I was speaking about the need for developing a strong U.N. delegation. I wish that the hon. Prime Minister would give his attention to this aspect of the matter, particularly in view of the fact that in the next decade or two, politics all over the world would take on a complex character and it is necessary that men qualified are trained from now on for taking part in international affairs. In the U.K. and the United States, such delegations are built with men who have wide knowledge of international affairs and there should be no other qualification for a man to be included in such a delegation. \*In this connection I should also like to mention that it is time for Government to develop sound conventions regarding the conduct of foreign affairs. In the United States they have accepted the principle of bipartisan consultation on important affairs of policy. For example, when President Kennedy stood for election, President Eisenhower, even during the period of the conduct of the campaign of President Kennedy, kept him informed about major developments in foreign affairs. We have seen our Government sending troops out of this country to the Congo and at that time I had raised the point that before troops left our country for any assignments of an unusual character like the Congo assignment, Members of the Opposition should be informally consulted. There will be no question of any leakage of information whatever, if Members in the Opposition are consult-

ed on important aspects of foreign policy. The Consultative Committee of the External Affairs Ministry does go some way to meet the needs of exchanging information about foreign affairs, but the informal consultation of the kind that I mention, where the Leader of the Opposition and leaders of other Parties are called and told by the Prime Minister about unusual developments, would strengthen the convention that the foreign policy of the country has the support not only of the Congress Party but also of the entire country.

I was speaking about our external publicity and it is a subject on which I think I can speak with some confidence as I have been an old-time newspaperman in this country. The material which is sent out to foreign countries in the form of 'Indiagram' is extremely scrappy, as friends who have been abroad and read those despatches would testify. There is included in all these messages some statement of what this or the other Minister was saying somewhere. We are trying to give publicity to ministerial activities in the "Indiagram" and it is inevitable that some such publicity should be given, because Ministers are in charge of the Government, but one who reads this 'Indiagram' abroad does not get a real idea of what is happening in the country. And I would like to suggest for the consideration of the External Affairs Ministry that they should send a fortnightly assessment of what is happening in India written dispassionately, not to please a Minister or to highlight something that he has done, but to give an objective assessment of what is going on in the country. In the old days, when the British Government was in existence, such fortnightly reports used to be sent by various State Governments and I think a beginning can be made in that direction in this matter.

The other point I would like to suggest is that publicity is a complicated and technical matter. The

[Shri A. D. Mani.] Foreign Service as it is constituted today does not have sufficient training in publicity. The Estimates Committee which went into the demands of the External Affairs Ministry mentioned about the methods of training which have been adopted, but since our Foreign Service men are not trained in publicity work and one sees for example that a lot of confusion has arisen in the United States over Ambassador Nehru's statement, I think the External Affairs Ministry might well set up a Committee of Members of Parliament who are conversant with external publicity and some newspapermen to advise the External Affairs Ministry from time to time. I do not think that the Committee will ask for information which is confidential or secret, but they can assist the newspapermen. And there are a handful of competent men who would be willing to serve on the Committee in an advisory capacity. They would be able to tell the External Affairs Ministry what should be done in order that our news publicity abroad is better. I might mention also that the Estimates Committee had recommended the creation of a cultural cell. Since our public sector is expanding and since we have international commitments in respect of repayment of loans, we should have a strong unit of cultural information service like the USIS or the BIS, where books can be made available on India, where articles on Indian affairs can be competently written by people and sent for publication. I think that the creation of a unit of this character will strengthen our external publicity.

I would like to mention it Unfortunately, there is no representative of the Ministry of External Affairs either in this House or in the Official Gallery at this time and I hope that the Government will take note that when the Appropriation Bill is discussed there should be an appropriate representative of every Ministry in the Official Box, so that

notes of what is said are taken and placed before the Minister-in-charge. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to mention that recently I had been to Moscow. There the Russian Government, as well as the people that I met, were most anxious that an India Correspondent should function in Moscow. It will cost Rs. 4,000 per month. It is quite possible for the External Affairs Ministry to find the money and enable one of the news-agencies to have a correspondent in Moscow and at important capitals. Such correspondents can do a lot to strengthen the publicity material which is published in those countries and in promoting exchange of information between India and those countries.

I would also like to refer—since I have mentioned so much about external publicity—to the tendency on the part of the External Affairs Ministry to see that important appointments are manned only by staffmen. There seems to be a move to see that non-officials are not appointed as far as possible in important centres. If our foreign policy is to be projected properly, the man who speaks must have had experience of public affairs. No official, however eminent he may be, can put forward the point of view on public affairs as well as a public man and it is possible for the Ministry to see that important appointments like the one in Moscow or London or Washington is held by a non-official.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is that post?

SHRI A. D. MANI: Ambassador's job. You are not interested in that. The hon. Member is not likely to be interested in ambassadorial appointments. I was talking about ambassadorial appointments, when you were putting on your earphones please. It is possible for us to see that the best non-official is sent to those places, who can interpret our country's policies

and who can speak with much greater freedom. And if our U. N. delegations are properly constituted, that will be the nucleus for these ambassadorial appointments. I have laid much stress on the U. N. delegation because that is the source for personnel of ability for manning our Foreign Service and I do hope that the Prime Minister would discourage the efforts on the part of the Foreign Service here to see that it is kept as a preserve for Servicemen. They are all very much worried whether 'A' or 'B' will get a chance of becoming an Ambassador, but we are only worried by one fact namely that the man who represents us must represent us properly. Sir, I would like to go on to one little matter, and I would not take much time. It is a very important document which I would like to read. We have the Heavy Electricals functioning at Bhopal. The Heavy Electricals have got an arrangement with the Associated Electrical Industries which co-operate with us in the running of the plant. A number of people are being trained abroad. Over one hundred have been trained abroad, and I have got in my possession a document which is damaging to the Associated Electrical Industries. They have passed a circular asking the concerned departments not to give information to Indian trainees. I would like to read only two paragraphs from this circular. This is dated 5th August 1960 and is signed by a person called Mr. Beely in London.

"When H.E.L. trainees first began to arrive in the U.K. it was foreseen that they would tend to collect manufacturing information etc. for their private use and that in some cases the information thus unofficially gathered might conflict with our official recommendations to H.E.L.

Unfortunately the eventuality has now become a concrete fact and we are being constantly asked for fur-

ther information regarding aiaus, processes, designs etc. which are not in line with our official recommendations to H.E.L. and which are causing a serious waste of time both here and at Trafford Park in investigating the necessity for the request.

I would like to stress again to all concerned the importance of ensuring that design, manufacturing and organisational information is only transmitted to H.E.L. through the regular channel of E.E.I.O. and the Resident Consultant and not given either officially or unofficially to trainees either in this country or by letter after their return to India".

What has been happening is that these trainees who are going abroad are not getting the information that they require for the conduct of their work when they come back, and whatever the Associated Electrical Industries are telling them is their official recommendation; no other information they can use. I think that the Minister for Heavy Industries should go into the matter and find out whether these trainees whom we are sending abroad in these various projects are getting the necessary information that they require. In this connection I may mention that the Double Day Company in the United States has published a book called the "European Executive" stating the qualifications required for an executive in European concerns. If in India we set up a Committee to go into the matter of the qualifications and experience required for an executive in a public sector concern, we will have found all the materials for evolving our future policy regarding recruitment to these concerns.

डा० जवाहरलाल रोहतगी ( उत्तर प्रदेश ) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे ज्यादा नहीं कहना है क्योंकि यह बजट लोक-सभा में अच्छे तरह से डिस्कस होने के बाद, एक एक आइटम पर बहस होने के बाद, राज्य सभा में आया है और यहां भी इस पर अच्छी तरह से

[डा० जवाहर लाल रोहतगी]

वहस हो रही है और सब लोग अपने अपने सुझाव दे रहे हैं। इस बजट में यह दिया हुआ है कि सरकार को भिन्न भिन्न सड़ों पर किस तरह से खर्च करना चाहिये और उसके लिये ही सदन द्वारा इजाजत ली जाती है। इसलिये इस चीज पर अब ज्यादा कहना मैं मुनासिब नहीं समझता हूँ। यह ठीक है कि चाहे कितनी ही अच्छी चीज क्यों न हो उस पर भी कुछ न कुछ कटिबिन्द हो सकता है, उसमें से भी कुछ न कुछ कमी दूर हो सकती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब और उनके अफसर ने जिन्होंने यह बजट बनाया है वह हमारे बुकिया के मुस्तहक हैं। यह ठीक है कि पहले की तरह अब बजट द्वारा एकचक्कर के लिये खर्चा इकट्ठा हो नहीं किया जाता है बल्कि प्लान्ड इकोनोमी के लिये और बहुत किसम के डेवेलपमेंट करने के लिये सरकार को बहुत ज्यादा खर्च की जरूरत होती है। सरकार को यह कोशिश होती है कि किस तरह से सारे देश की जनता से खर्चा लिया जाय और उसको उसकी भलाई के कामों में लगा दिया जाय। सरकार जनता को भलाई के ही लिए खर्चा लेती है और उसको यह देखना होता है कि सब लोगों को इस खर्चे का लाभ पहुंच रहा है या नहीं। मुझे सरकार का चन्द बातों की तरफ ध्यान दिलाना है और वह यह है कि मेडिकल और पब्लिक हेल्थ को मद पर जो खर्चा रखा गया है वह बहुत कम है। मेडिकल बजट में ११ करोड़ २४ लाख १२ हजार खर्चा रखा गया है और १२ करोड़ १४ लाख १५ हजार खर्चा कैपिटल आउटले है, इस तरह से टोटल २४ करोड़ रुपये के करीब हुआ जो सारे बजट जो ७६,५६,४३,७४,००० होता है, का ३ प्रतिशत के करीब है। सारे मुल्कों में मेडिकल के मद में ज्यादा खर्चा बजट में रखा जाता है। क्योंकि यह देश बहुत गरीब है, यहां पर तरह तरह की बीमारियां होती रहती हैं। यहां के लोग कमजोर हैं, उनके पास इतना पैसा नहीं है कि वह दवाइयों में खर्च कर सकें। इसके साथ ही साथ फैमिली प्लानिंग का भी काम है

और यह भी मेडिकल के मातहत आता है। इसलिये हमारे बजट में ज्यादा खर्चा रखने की जरूरत थी, लेकिन नहीं रखा गया है। मैं समझता हूँ यह खर्चा बहुत कम है और जिस तरह से हेल्थ मिनिस्टर साहब ने काम बांटे हैं उसको देखते हुए इतना खर्चा बहुत कम है। मेडिकल के तहत बहुत काम है लेकिन खर्चा काफी नहीं है। मुझे उम्मीद है कि सरकार इस ओर ध्यान देगी और मेडिकल के लिये और खर्चा बजट में बढ़ावेगी। मैं सरकार का ध्यान इस बात की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो खर्चा है बहुत कम है और इसको जल्दी से बढ़ाना चाहिये।

इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने वायदा किया था कि एक "ग्राल इण्डिया मेडिकल सर्विस" शुरू करेगी जिसमें सब स्टेट्स के डाक्टरों को लिया जायेगा और एक स्टेट के डाक्टर दूसरे स्टेट में जा सकेंगे। लेकिन अभी तक इस तरह की सर्विस सरकार द्वारा शुरू नहीं की गई है। ऐसा मालूम देता है कि गालिबन रूपों की कमी की वजह से इस तरह की स्कीम शुरू नहीं की गई है। आज मुल्क के हर हिस्से से शिकायत आती है कि हमारे पास डाक्टर नहीं, हमारे अस्पताल में डाक्टरों की कमी है। डाक्टर न मिलने के कारण यह है कि ये लोग अपनी पढ़ाई में जितना खर्च करते हैं उसके मुकाबले में उनको तनख्वाह नहीं मिलती है। इसी तरह की पढ़ाई में खर्च करने वाले दूसरे लोगों को काफी अच्छी तनख्वाह मिलती है लेकिन डाक्टरों को उनके मुकाबले में बहुत कम तनख्वाह मिलती है। अब तो डाक्टरों को प्राइवेट प्रैक्टिस करने की भी गुंजाइश कम रह गई है क्योंकि जमींदार और राजा सब खत्म हो गये हैं और लोगों के पास भी खर्चा पैसा कम है। इसलिये आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि उनका पे स्केल बढ़ाया जाए, उनकी तनख्वाह बेहतर की जानी चाहिये जिससे हमें ज्यादा से ज्यादा डाक्टर मिल

सक। अगर हम उनकी तनखाह नहीं बढ़ाएंगे तो डाक्टरों का पेशा बहुत कम लोग अस्वीकार करेंगे और दूसरी नौकरियों में अपना समय लगाएंगे क्योंकि वहां पर उन्हें अच्छी तनखाह मिलेगी।

आजकल देखने में यह आता है कि रूरल एरियाज में डाक्टर बहुत कम जाते हैं। आज हो भुबह मिनिस्टर साहिबा ने बतलाया कि डाक्टर गांवों में इसलिये नहीं जाते हैं क्योंकि वहां पर उन्हें रहने के लिये जगह नहीं मिलती है और न उनके बच्चों के पढ़ने के लिये कोई इंतजाम ही होता है। इसके साथ ही साथ वहां पर उन्हें किसी तरह की प्रैक्टिस करने की गुंजाइश नहीं रहती है। इन कारणों से रूरल एरियाज में कोई डाक्टर नहीं जागा चाहता है। अब तजवीज यह हो रही है कि जब मेडिकल कालेज से लड़के निकलें तो पहले उन्हें कुछ सालों के लिये रूरल एरियाज में भेज दिया जाय। मेरा सरकार से यह निवेदन है कि जो लड़के स्कूल से वहां जायेंगे उन्हें किसी तरह का प्रैक्टिकल ट्रेनिंग नहीं होगी। जब तक कोई नया पढ़ा हुआ लड़का किसी डाक्टर के मातहत तीन साल तक प्रैक्टिकल ट्रेनिंग नहीं ले लेता है तबतक उसको वहां भेजना उचित नहीं है। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि डाक्टरों का पे स्केल और एलाउन्स बढ़ाया जाना चाहिये मकानों का इंतजाम होना चाहिये ताकि उन्हें रूरल एरियाज में जाने में कोई हिचक न हो। मुझे आशा है कि सरकार इस ओर अवश्य ध्यान देगी।

दूसरी बात यह है कि हर राज्य में, हमारे यहां भी, डाक्टरों की हर स्थान में अलग अलग तनखाह है। अगर उन लोगों की एक ही पे स्केल हो जाय तो बहुत अच्छा होगा। लोकल एलाउन्स अलग रहें।

तीसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि युनाइटेड स्टेट्स और युनाइटेड किंगडम में हर दो या तीन डाक्टर के पीछे एक कम्पाउन्डर

(pharmacist) होता है लेकिन हमारे यहां सैकड़ों में एक कम्पाउन्डर मिलता है। हमारे देश में qualified कम्पाउन्डरों की बहुत कमी है। हमारे यहां फार्मसी पढ़े लिखे हुए लोगों की बहुत कमी है। अभी तक ४३४ डिप्लोमा प्राप्त फार्मसिस्ट हिन्दुस्तान भर में हैं और मदुराई में १५० लड़के वहां के मेडिकल कालेज से पढ़कर निकलेंगे। तीसरे प्लान में करीब दो हजार pharmacists पढ़कर निकलेंगे जबकि हमें कई हजार की जरूरत होगी। इसलिये कम्पाउन्डरों की कमी हमारे लिये बनी रहेगी और जब तक सरकार उनको पढ़ाने का प्रयत्न तेजी से नहीं करती है तब तक हमारा काम नहीं चलेगा। सन् १९४८ में फार्मसी ऐक्ट पास हुआ था लेकिन सन् १९५७ तक वह किसी जगह लागू नहीं हुआ और न अभी तक फार्मसिस्ट काउंसिल ही बनी। और न फार्मसिस्टों को पढ़ाने का इंतजाम हो किया गया है। बात यह है कि pharmacists की हमें बढ़ी सख्त जरूरत है और उनकी पढ़ाई के लिये कोई न कोई इंतजाम अवश्य किया जाना चाहिये। उनको कुछ पढ़ा लिखा होना चाहिये, उनको कुछ मालूम होना चाहिये। आज हालत यह है कि उनको यह नहीं मालूम है कि बैरियम सल्फेट और बैरियम सल्फाइड में क्या फर्क है। वे यह समझते हैं कि दोनों एक ही चीज होंगी। वे बहुत थोड़ी चीजों को समझते हैं। अक्सर उनसे बहुत सी गलतियां हुई हैं और बहुत सी मौतें हुई हैं। जो मरीज अच्छा हो जाता है वह डाक्टर को दुआएं देता है और जो मर जाता है वह कोई किस्सा कहने लगे आता नहीं है। इस तरह की नसा मरीज किस की गलती से मरता है यह हमको मालूम नहीं होता है। इसलिये मैं यह समझता हूं कि अगर किसी डाक्टर को सक्सेसफुल होना है तो यह जरूरी है कि उसके कम्पाउन्डर काफी होशियार हों और काफी पढ़े लिखे हों। इसके लिये जरूरी है कि pharmacists का diploma कोर्स फौरन शुरू किया जाय। उसमें ज्यादा वक्त भी नहीं लगता है।

[डा० जवाहर लाल रोहतगी]

हाराष्ट्र में उन्होंने कहा है कि Dispensing असिस्टेंट बनायेंगे, जिन को हम साल भर सिखायेंगे और साल भर के बाद किसी क्वालीफाइड फार्मसिस्ट के अंदर काम करायेंगे। यह बात सही नहीं है। जो साइंस पढ़ा हुआ है और इंटर पास है उसमें लिये एक साल Diploma के लिये काफी है। अगर तनख्वाह अच्छी दी जाये तो मेरे ख्याल में काफी होशियार स्टूडेंट्स मिल सकते हैं और वे काफी अच्छी तरह से इस काम को कर सकते हैं।

एक बात मुझे पेटेंट प्रोप्राइटी मेडिसिन्स के बारे में कहनी है। यह ठीक है कि लोग पेटेंट प्रोप्राइटी मेडिसिन्स बनाते हैं और ज्यादा चार्ज करते हैं, लेकिन जिस तरह की उसको डेफिनिशन बनी है वह ठीक नहीं है। अभी उसकी डेफिनिशन यह है कि कोई भी चीज जिस के ऊपर बनाने वाले का निशान हो, जिसके ऊपर कोई नाम, हो व पेटेंट प्रोप्राइटी मेडिसिन कही जाती है। ठीक पेटेंट प्रोप्राइटी मेडिसिन वह है जिसके बारे में यह मालूम हो कि वह किस तरह से बनी है। अगर यह न मालूम हो तो उस को दूसरा नाम दिया जा सकता है और दूसरे नाम से वह चलाई जा सकती है। इस लिए मेरा खयाल है कि इस डेफिनिशन को बदलने की जरूरत है ताकि जितनी फार्मास्यूटिकल चीजें हैं वे सब उसके आदर न आ जायें और लोगों को ज्यादा दाम दे करके उनको खरीदना पड़े। इस लिए पेटेंट प्रोप्राइटी मेडिसिन की डेफिनिशन बदलने की जरूरत है।

दूसरे मुझे यह कहना था कि फैमिली प्लानिंग की जितनी चर्चा है उतना काम नहीं हो रहा है। फैमिली प्लानिंग के लिए सब से बड़ी जरूरत यह है कि हम इसमें प्राइवेट मेडिकल प्रैक्टिशनर्स को इंट्रस्टेड करें और ऐसे आदमियों को रखें जो गांव गांव में जा कर के लोगों को समझा सकें। लोगों में

इसकी एक खाहिश तो है। गांवों के लोग भी चाहते हैं। मुझे खुद तजुर्बा है कि वह लोग चाहते हैं। वे कहते हैं कि छः बच्चे हो गये हैं, खाने को पूरा नहीं है, कैसे बच्चे को पढ़ायें, क्या करें। उनको यह समझाने की जरूरत है कि वे किस तरह क्या करें। तो इस काम के लिए ऐसे लोग रखे जायें जो दवाई दे सकें, उनको समझा सकें और उनको तरीका बतला सकें, तभी यह काम चल सकता है।

मुझे शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों के लिए कुछ कहना है। महात्मा गांधी ने यह कहा था कि हमने इतनी गुलामी जो सही है वह इसलिए सही है कि हमने आदमी को आदमी नहीं समझा। हमने आदमी को कुत्ते से बदतर समझा। हम कुत्ते को अपने पास बिठलाते हैं और आदमी को दूर बिठलाते हैं। इसलिए उसका प्रायश्चित हमें करना है। मेरा खयाल यह है कि सब से जरूरी काम यह है कि शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब के नामों को जितनी जल्दी हो सके हम निकाल दें। हम सब बराबर हैं। हम को बहुत से ऐसे शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के लोग मिलते हैं जो हम ब्राह्मणों से अच्छे हैं। असल में सब इंसान इंसान हैं। इसके साथ साथ मुझे यह कहना है कि बाल्मीकियों के कुछ लड़के बी० ए० और एम० ए० हो गये हैं, लेकिन वे बेचारे मारे मारे फिरते हैं। उनको सर्विस नहीं मिलती है। उनसे कोई काम नहीं लिया जाता है। मैं समझता हूं कि शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के जो लोग हैं उनको ज्यादा प्रिफरेंस दिया जाये और उनको अपने बच्चों को पढ़ाने में जो खर्च करना पड़ता है उसमें उनको और मदद दी जाये और शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब का नाम जल्दी से जल्दी खत्म किया जाये। आज भी गांवों में उनको कुएं से पानी नहीं भरने दिया जाता है। वे अपना कल्सा ले आते हैं और उसमें कोई आदमी पानी ढाण देता है। कहीं

कहीं उनके लिए अलग कुएं बनवाने पड़े हैं। तो यह जो भेदभाव है, इसको जल्दी से जल्दी खत्म होना चाहिए।

और मुझे यह कहना है कि हमारे यहां मेडिकल रिसर्च की बहुत कमी है। मेडिकल रिसर्च के लिए अगर हम ज्यादा कया दे सकें, तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

अखिर में मैं यह कहूंगा कि इस ऐं-प्रो-प्रियेशन बिल के बारे में लोक सभा में जो तय हो गया है, वह तय हो गया है और इसको हमें यहां सपोर्ट करना चाहिये और पास करना चाहिये।

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Ori«sa): "Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the items that come under this Appropriation Bill are so many, and their scope is so wide that it is not possible for me to speak on all the items. But I shall be failing in my duty if I do not refer to one or two matters that have cropped up in my mind. I shall first deal with industry.

We are now in the beginning of an industrial revolution. There is no doubt that for the economic growth of the country industrialisation is essential and probably that is why the Government thought of nationalising some of the industries. In nationalising the industries, the Government probably had in their mind three things, firstly, to speed up industrialisation; secondly, to step up production and thirdly, to create a self-generating economy and getting profits out of the nationalised industries for the implementation of the Plan. "Now, Sir, when one goes into the details of the working of these nationalised industries, it has been a disappointment to everybody in the country and probably to everybody in this House also that the nationalised industries, the public sector enterprises, have miserably failed.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): That is the view of the Swatantra Party.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA; Many of the Congress Members will also agree with me. Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee might not be agreeing with me but many of the Members have discussed about it on the floor of this House. It may be that there are one or two exceptions and those exceptions do not justify that nationalised industries have not failed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA); But Mr. Misra, you cannot speak for everybody, for every Member.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA; Sir, I have been listening to the speeches that have been made by Members from the opposite side. I heard them. I also had personal discussions with many of the Congress Members.

SHRI P. A. SOLOMON (Kerala): Many of the Congress Members are Swatantra-minded.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA; It only shows that they are right-minded people.

SHRI A. D. MANI; This is only . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: We are projecting into the Congress the shortcomings of the nationalised industries. (*Interruption*).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why have you left the Ganatantra Party and joined the Swatantra Party?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA; Because we found it to be better than the Ganatantra Party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He has made a discovery. After Columbus, he has discovered it.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA; Whenever I start a speech, there is always an interruption from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta who is the leader of the Communist Party. Sir, as I said, the public sector enterprises have miserably failed, and if Mr. Bhupesh Gupta thinks that a profit of 0.3 per cent

[Shri Lokanath Misra.] per annum is justified, that it is a good profit for a public sector enterprise, then probably he is mistaken. Even if we deposit a hundred rupees in a bank, we get at least 3 per cent per annum as interest from the bank. Even that is not forthcoming from public sector enterprises. It is not that they are undergoing teething troubles. Many of them have gone beyond that stage. Some of the enterprises are in their 9th year, 10th year and 11th year. All the same the profit that is forthcoming from those enterprises is very small. So it is time for the Government to make a probe into these matters. Public money has been invested in those enterprises and it is the responsibility of the Government to look into these facts, and unless we mend matters now, probably they will be losing concerns and only be a burden on the public exchequer rather than be profit-making concerns and a source of help for the implementation of the Plan.

(Interruption)

Please be audible; else I shall have to ignore your interruption.

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar): Are you interested in the implementation of the Plan?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: We are definitely interested in the Plan, but we are sorry to say that we cannot go to the extent that the Congress has gone in supporting its implementation; we definitely find something wrong with the implementation itself. As I said, unless the Government goes into " the matter in detail and finds out where the wrong lies, it will go on becoming a burden on the exchequer. To my mind it may be either the wrong personnel or it may be that the men in charge of the management do not have the sense of cost-accounting. About the personnel I do not have to say much because many of the speakers in this House have also said it. It is not any administrator who can get into the management and

manage a concern properly. They should be highly technical people. Just an I.A.S. officer or just some officer from some office in the Secretariat going over and taking charge of a public enterprise will not carry us anywhere. Any business needs personal attention, but officers from the Secretariat are used to the impersonal character of Secretariat administration, and once they take charge of a public enterprise, they look after the enterprise as they used to look after the Secretariat. Thus personal attention is not given and without personal attention no business can prosper. So the Government should now think of training some persons to take charge of these public enterprises. If proper men are not placed in proper places, then also, irrespective of the amount that we invest in those enterprises, they will turn out to be failures, and if Government finds it out after 20 years or 25 years that these concerns have proved to be failures and should be taken over by private enterprise, that would probably be the maximum insult to the idea\*of socialistic pattern of society. So I warn the Government that if they want to attach any importance to the socialistic pattern of society,, they must begin at the right end. I am not one of those, Sir, who would advocate for private enterprise only. I believe in a spirit of competition. I believe also that the public sector should be there as well as the private sector. There should be a spirit of competition between the public sector and the private sector because I have-t.he consumers' interest uppermost In my mind and not whether the public sector should be there or the private sector should be there, but whatever the sectors there would be, consumers' interests must be safeguarded. If there would be a monopoly either in the public sector or in the private sector, then there is bound to be deterioration in quality and rise in prices. Once there is competition, whether it is between the public sector and the private sector, or between the different firms and organisations,, the rising prices cannot be there; thej»



have to come down because of the competition, and everybody would then compete as regards the quality of the products. So it is in the interest of everybody in a welfare State that there should be the competitive spirit, and the private sector and the public sector should go together. In view of the condition of the public-sector enterprises, I would just like to add one sentence more. Had such been the condition of any company in the private sector, the shareholders and directors of the company would have turned out the men on the management long ago. It is only because it is a public sector that those people have been kept even after showing such a poor profit over such a long period.

Then I shall speak a word especially about the External Affairs Ministry. Mr. A. D. Mani has spoken about it and I would only endorse what he has said. In all progressive countries diplomatic services are given to men and women from public life. That was also the convention in the beginning in this country, but somehow some people have been able to put a stop to that convention and they have created a new convention. They probably have taken advantage of the generosity of the Prime Minister, and bureaucracy has crept in gradually. Outstanding personalities like Dr. Radhakrishnan used to represent this country outside. They had a dignity and they could bring the people of the country that they represented nearer to the people of other countries. It is only through ambassadors that countries could be brought together. That is why they must be men of ability, acumen, and capability also. Now it has gone down to the Services. I do not think the actions of our Ambassador in the U.S.A. will be repeated by anybody else. Howsoever senior the Ambassador taken from the Services may be, he is capable of committing the blunder that that Ambassador of ours in the U.S.A. committed. A public man in his place could never have committed the blunder that had been committed by him

because the former was responsible to the people primarily while the man from the Services was responsible to the Ministry alone. Once a public man commits such a blunder and comes back to the country, he is not hailed; he is condemned; he loses his prestige; he loses his position, while the man from the Services, whatever blunder he may be committing, once he comes back, he gets into his original post at least, if not anything else. So, I would request the Prime Minister to kindly look into this matter. Of course, I do not know if any suggestion coming from the Opposition would be either listened to or accepted but it is in the interest of the Ministry itself and in the interest of the country at large that the Prime Minister should pay some heed to it.

SHRI A. D. MANI: They are not laking notes also.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Those notes will be carried to the Ministry itself.

SHRI A. D. MANI: But they are not taking any notes.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Even if they do not take down notes here, the Ministry will get the notes.

AN HON. MEMBER: All the speeches here are being recorded.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Recorded and extracts from them sent to the Ministries concerned. Your speech will be sent, Mr. Mani.

Sir, I was saying that our diplomatic services are being manned more and more by Service people. It shows as if there is a bankruptcy of public men in India which is not a fact. There are public men and public men out of whom they can choose. I do not speak of the Opposition Benches. Even in the Congress Benches and in the country there are public men belonging to the Congress Party who can probably serve as better Ambassadors, better diplomats

[Shri Lokanath M'sra.] than men from the Services. So, I think the Government would not turn a deaf ear to this point and would listen to the suggestions that are acceptable.

One more point and I have done. I would speak a word about the Ministry of Transport and Communications. The country has been divided into circles under BO many Postmasters-General and Directors of Posts and Telegraphs. Now, the Postmaster-General is doing almost the same job as a D.P.T. does. I speak this because I come from a State which has only a D.P.T. and not a P.M.G. The D.P.T. has some limitations though he has as much responsibility as a P.M.G. I was very happy to learn that all the D.P.Ts. are being upgraded to the rank of Junior Postmaster-General and there will be Postmaster-General in charge of larger States. But the sooner it is done the better because as one who comes from Orissa I have been feeling some difficulty about a certain thing. There was a portion that belonged to Orissa which during the last general elections was taken away by West Bengal, because W<sup>st</sup> Bengal has a P.M.G. who could come and influence the Secretariat and the lobby in Delhi and the poor D.P.T. from Orissa could not press his own point. If he would have been a Postmaster-General, probably he could also press his point. While Orissa has so many tracts which are now being looked after by the Postmaster-General, Bihar and by the Postmaster-General, Andhra Pradesh, the D.P.T. is not able to get them back.

Then there are administrative difficulties. The Jharsuguda area, which is now being administered by the Postmaster-General, Bihar has some difficulty about telephone instruments. So, I would request the Minister-in-charge of Transport and Communications to look into the matter. Orissa had to part with a tract of its own circle in favour of West Bengal. I do

not know if it happened because of the general elections but somehow it is a fact that a tract has been given away to West Bengal. In all fairness Orissa should get back all her territories that lie under other Postmasters-General. (*Time bell rings.*) One minute more and I have done.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Your time is over.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Just one point. Last time while speaking on the Budget I spoke about prohibition and how it has proved to be a sad failure in Orissa. I said from my experience that in spite of this clamour in Parliament the situation in Orissa had not improved.

SHRI A. D. MANI: There is no clamour. It is a glamour.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I clamoured for it last time. I do not know if the Congress people clamour for it.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I said it is glamour with them.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Yes, to perpetuate illicit distillation is a glamour with them. Through you, Sir, I would request the hon. Finance Minister at least to take a note of this and appoint one of his agencies to find out whether what I said then is correct or not, whether there are 252 illicit shops dealing with illicit liquor in Cuttack. I said last time that if the Congress Government had successfully decentralised anything it was illicit distillation. It has *now* gone into every village. It is now distilled everywhere. After I made my speech in this House last time I was threatened with dire consequences. They have the audacity to threaten me that unless I stop clamouring about it, they might do something to me. That is what they have threatened me with. If that be a fact, I shall have to hesitate to speak out whatever I want to say. Whereas last time I had said that I wondered whether any administration existed in

Orissa, this time I have to say that I doubt whether any administration exists in India, if their threat proves to be correct. Then, Sir, I would appeal through you to the Finance Minister to kindly appoint some agency to find out whether what I have said is a fact or not.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Provided that agency does not start drinking.

SHRI BAHARUL ISLAM (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, during the course of the discussion on the Appropriation (No. 2) Bill of 1962 the Government of India in its different Ministries have come in for criticism. Regarding the Indian foreign policy, particularly in her relation to China and Pakistan, it has been said that India has not taken proper action. It was said that some thousands of square miles of her territory have been aggressed by China on the northern side and on the southern side some Santhals have been fired upon and killed by Pakistani soldiers. In this connection it was advised by one of the hon. Members that India should show her might lest these countries should be thinking that India is very poor so far as its Army and other matters are concerned and thereby they might be encouraged to commit further aggression. But I may respectfully submit that apart from the policy to which India is wedded India believes in non-violence and cannot take the action suggested by some hon. Member because India tries to solve all her problems, as far as possible, by peaceful means. For example, recently Pakistan fired upon and killed four Santhal refugees and if in return India also fires and kills some "Pakistanis, what would be the result then? And thereby is the problem solved? Is India's position *vis-a-vis* Pakistan improved? I submit it will deteriorate and there is every possibility that a war may be precipitated. Therefore, it will not be a good thing -on the part of our Government to retaliate in the same way as Pakistan has done.

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With much regret I have also to point out that some Pakistani leaders are creating mischief. Whenever there are any communal incidents in India, these Pakistani leaders, who take undue interest in us, say that the Indian Muslims are in danger. Who are they to take interest in us, I ask? It is not their responsibility to look to the interest of the Muslims in India. Muslims in India are the citizens of India. They believe in their own leaders. They have full faith in their own leaders. They have full faith in their own Government and it is the responsibility of the Government of India to look to the interest of the minorities. That is not the interest or responsibility of the Government or leaders of Pakistan. Therefore, it is highly improper on the part of the Pakistani leaders to take undue interest in the Muslims of India, thus putting the Muslims here to embarrassment. If at all they want to do any service, they would be doing that service by not taking any interest in the Muslims here. By taking undue interest, they have been doing a great disservice to the Muslims of India. For example, suppose there is some incident of a communal nature in India, and suppose in that incident a few Muslims are killed. It is to be regretted also that sometimes when there is some incident, the Pakistan High Commissioner seeks the permission of the Government of India to visit that place and he is allowed to do so. I would respectfully submit that he should not be allowed to visit the place. After all, there are so many Ambassadors in India. The Pakistan High Commissioner is not the only Ambassador from a Muslim country here. There are the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia, the Ambassador of Afghanistan, of Iran and of many other Muslim countries and also non-Muslim countries. They are all here. Are they taking similar interest in the Muslims of India? No, they don't. And suppose the High Commissioner of Pakistan is permitted by the Government of India to visit some affected area and he finds that a few Muslims are killed. What can he do? My first submission is that

I Shri Baharul Islam.] he should not be allowed to visit that area for even if he finds that a few Muslims have been killed, what will he do? He cannot do anything. He cannot give any redress to the Muslim community here, and all that he does is to publish it in a rather exaggerated manner in the Pakistan press and indirectly he will thus be causing further communal disturbances in Pakistan, putting the Hindu minorities there in great distress. Therefore, I would respectfully submit that the Pakistani leaders should not take undue interest in the Muslims of India. Possibly, the Government of India might say: Well, we are a democratic country, we have nothing to hide and so if anybody asks us to let him visit any place, we will allow him to do so. If the Pakistan High Commissioner wants, let him visit any place he wants. But my question is, though as a matter of fact there are many other High Commissioners and Ambassadors here from outside, do they seek such a permission from the Government of India?

Regarding the economic policy of India it has been said that it has been faulty, that it is making the rich richer and the poor poorer. That is what has been said. What I say is that the purpose of this economic policy of India is to establish a socialist pattern of society. A socialist pattern of society, no doubt, cannot be established in a very short time. But if we want to establish that type of society, the criterion will be to see whether we are, by our economic policy, marching and progressing towards that type of society or whether we are regressing, or whether we are stagnant. How can we judge or test this?

Firstly, I would say that there are many crimes committed in India, like theft, burglary, dacoity, robbery, murder\* and so on. The motive for these crimes is mainly economic. Generally the poor criminals commit crimes because of their poverty. In the case of the rich criminals, possibly they

commit crimes because of a feeling of insecurity about their own future and the future of their children. The poor criminals commit crimes so that they may be able to make both ends meet. The rich people feel if they are able to get some money, possibly their future will be secure, as also the future of their children. What we are aiming at is to establish such a society in which nobody need think about his economic future or be worried about his future or the future of his children. When that is achieved, then possibly the motive to commit crimes would be less.

In the Statistical Handbook published by the Government of India for 1961, some figures of crimes have been given. For instance, regarding murders the number of murders committed in 1951 is given here as 10,343; in 1956 as 10,025, in 1958 it as 10,537, in 1959 it is 10,565 and in 1960 it is 10,757. Similarly, the figures for dacoities are: 1952—7,301, 1956—5,397, 1958—4,451, and so on. The totals are also given. Figures are also given for robbery, house-breaking, theft, rioting and so on. I am referring to these figures in order to show whether during these years crimes in India have increased or decreased and from this we can judge whether there has been an improvement in our economic position or not. Of course, naturally there has been an increase in our population also during these years. Still we want to see whether there has been a proportionate increase in the crimes or whether there has been a proportionate decrease in the number of crimes. If there is a proportionate decrease in the number of crimes, then it can be inferred that this decrease is due to the fact that the causes for such crimes have been gradually removed and to that extent the economic policy of India is stepping forward towards the establishing of a socialistic pattern of society. The total for riot cases for 1952 is not given here, but we have other figures. The total for 1952 is 6,12,010, for 1953 it is 5,85,217, for 1957 it is 5,81,371, for 1958 it is 5,94,693, for 1959 it is 5,91,266 and for 1960 it is 6,14,975.

From the figures for rioting given for the other years it is found that the figures vary from 24,700 to 23,055. Even if on an average about 20,000 is added to the 1952 riot figure, it comes to about 6,34,400. This shows that there is a decrease of 3 per cent in crimes, in these nine years. Of course, during these years there has been an increase of population also. During the last 10 years the increase in population is 21.49 per cent. In nine years, 'it will be roughly 20 per cent. So the real decrease in crimes is 23 per cent, if the figures of 1952 are taken as the basic ones. So the decrease is 2.8 per cent per year. This shows that actually and definitely crimes have decreased during the past few years.

What is the case for this decrease in crimes? As I have already submitted, it is due to the fact that the motive for committing crimes or the causes for crimes have been partly removed by the economic policy of the Government of India. This is a great tribute to the economic policy and if the Government of India goes on with this policy for a few years more, the picture will be brighter and there will be less and less of crimes, their number will be smaller and smaller.

Next I want to speak about the educational policy of the Government. So far as the present educational policy is concerned, I can support it. The Government of India is trying to remove and has actually removed illiteracy to a large extent. Furthermore, so far as general and technical education is concerned, India has been successful in producing a large number of educated people in the general line and also in the technical line. But what I would respectfully submit is that the spiritual part of education, the moral part of education, has been neglected to some extent. 3 P.M. Even if India progresses a lot materially, unless and until this moral aspect of man is developed the future man will be ill at ease. Therefore, the educational policy of India has to be reorient-

ated in such a manner that not only the physical and intellectual part of man is fully developed but also the other part, the moral and spiritual part, so that he can understand the real values of life and be happy in prosperity and in adversity. The children at the very early stages should be taught the idea of nationalism. In the books prescribed particularly for technical, medical and engineering students, we find only technical matters. We do not find any general books or books based on moral principles or values. This is necessary because a man may be a great engineer but he may not be a great man and greatness in man is more important than greatness in the doctor or engineer. Therefore, that part of man should also be developed.

A few words about Assam. It is, I think, known to everybody that the prices of commodities of daily use in Assam are very high, at least higher than in any place in India. This is due mainly to the fact that Assam is linked only by a narrow strip with the rest of India and in the rainy season when the railway line gives way, Assam is cut off. Prices are very high generally and during the rainy season they are abnormally high. Therefore, I would like the Government of India to see that the Broad Gauge line is extended from Barauni up to Amingaon in the beginning and if possible immediately also to give a double line at least up to Amingaon.

There is a lot of talk about infiltration of Pakistanis into Assam. It has been pointed out that a number of Pakistanis enter into Assam. This must be checked. Under the Foreigners Act, if one is a foreigner, he can be prosecuted or immediately deported but there is no provision in the Act to protect an innocent Indian citizen who is an Indian citizen according to the Constitution or the Indian Citizenship Act who may be caught as a foreigner and deported. There is no provision for him to prove that he is really an Indian citizen and he should not be touched.

[Shri Baharul Islam.] I would ask Government to see whether it is not necessary to amend the Foreigners' Act so that the Indian citizens living in Assam may not be harassed.

SHRI B. K. GAIKWAD (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while speaking on Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, I shall make a few observations. Though certain tax concessions have been announced by the Finance Minister the common man has not got any benefit from the concessions. Many hon. friends of both the sides have spoken on different subjects. I will confine myself to the immediate needs of the common man to lead a human life in the country. Sir, what is required for a common man to lead a human life? A common man, to lead a human life, needs food to eat, house to live in, water to drink and clothes to wear. These are the immediate necessities of a human being. I take food first. You will find that generally speaking the common men are those who are called Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward class people. They are in the most miserable plight throughout the country. In certain parts of the country they do not get foodstuffs. In the district of Nasik from where I come, during the rainy months of *Jyeshtha*, *Ashad* and *Sra-van*, the people do not get foodstuffs. They go into the jungle and collect *khandmool* or *bhumikhand*. This is not sweet but it has got a little bitter taste but because there is nothing to eat, these people take these *bhumikhands* out, boil them and lead their lives by eating them. This is the position in the Konkan part of Maharashtra and in other backward parts also. Government is keen enough to provide cheap grain shops throughout the country but here again you will find that these cheap grain shops are provided mostly in cities and particularly in commercial cities. You will find no such arrangement in the villages and particularly in the villages which are

in the backward areas. Hence you will find the position of the people living in these areas is most pitiable. There are merchants living in the villages who naturally sell grains at a very high rate. Whatever concession -is given by Government is confined\* to the people living in cities and particularly in the commercial cities and not to those people who really deserve. This is the position as far as people living in the backward areas are concerned. Most of the people get jobs only for six months in a year, not more than that because they get work only during the harvest season and they are unemployed for the rest of the time. They have got energy, they have got strength to work but they do not get work. Under the Constitution it is the bounden duty of the Government to remove unemployment. In spite of \*his provision, there is this unemployment and Government is doing nothing. In villages you will find not lakhs but crores of people who are unemployed. We should find some remedy by which this unemployment can be removed. It is no use only talking about this problem. We have also to propose some remedies. There is a considerable Government waste land available in the country. In the Lok Sabha, it was said by the hon. Minister for Food and Agriculture that about ten crore acres of land were available. This land should be given to those who are willing to work. It does not mean that people have not demanded land for cultivation. People are submitting their applications to the authorities concerned to get land but you will be surprised to know that land is not given to these people. I do not know the reason thereof. Moreover, you will find that the food problem is so acute in the country that every year we have to import foodstuffs from outside countries costing something like Rs. 150 crores. Even after fourteen years of independence India is unable to become self-sufficient so far as the food supply is concerned. Whatever land is

available in the country should be utilised for growing food but our Government is not doing it. I do not understand the reason for not doing so. If you give the Government waste land to these people who are unemployed, you will be solving not only the unemployment problem but also the food problem as we are having a great scarcity of foodstuffs in the country. This problem may be solved partly; I do not say that it will be solved fully. People have been demanding both in this House as well as in the Lok Sabha and even outside the Parliament that land should be given to them for cultivation but it is regrettable that Government is not doing anything. They do not take any notice of it. I request the Government and the Finance Minister to look into the matter and see that wherever such lands are available they are given to the landless people in order to remove unemployment as well as to solve the problem of scarcity of foodstuffs in the country.

Then you will find the people living in the villages. What is their daily wage? If a man works for a day, he gets twelve annas to a rupee or at the most a rupee and four annas. If a female goes for work, she gets hardly eight to twelve annas per day. This is their daily-wage. If you take into consideration the high cost of living in these days, how is it possible for those people to maintain themselves on such inadequate wage? Often we take up the cause of the government servants and commercial workers and we say that a man must not get less than Rs. 100 per month. If that is the position, just imagine how these people living in the villages can maintain themselves with these poor wages. A man or a woman working for the whole day gets meagre wages and that also they do not get permanently throughout the year. That is only for about three to four months or six months at the most. Many people say that everything is all right and nothing is there

to be done. In this connection I say that the Government should take care and see that they should take into account the high cost of living and fix some minimum wage for these people. An Act for this purpose should be passed and it should be implemented throughout the country. Generally you will find that implementation is not done properly. A Minimum Wage Act has been passed but you will find that such laws are not at all implemented. I do not know why. Most probably Government would say that the burden will fall on the agriculturist. Whether the burden will fall on the agriculturist or not is not the question. What is the position of the people who live in the country? That is to be seen. If the people in the urban areas earn so much, is it not the bounden duty of the Government to see that these people also get adequate wages to enable them to live in this world? They have got every right to live in this world. So the Minimum Wage Act should be made applicable throughout the country as early as possible. This is the position of the people in the villages.

The second point which I want to mention is about the hut-dwellers. As I have explained, when the people who live in the villages are not able to maintain themselves, naturally they leave the villages and go to the cities. Practically in every town we see such people who have come from the villages. Here in the capital town of India, in Delhi, there are about 2 lakhs of people who have come here from nearby villages in order to earn their bread, in order to earn their livelihood. And they are working somewhere, earning something and living here. But they have no houses to live in. Housing accommodation is not at all provided to them. So where-ever land is available, they have constructed small huts. What is the condition of those huts? If any hon. Member tries to go into any of these huts it will not be possible for him to go in straight. He will have to bend

[Shri B. K. Gaikwad.] down and then only he can go into the hut. That is the sort of huts in which they live. And you know how many people are living in Delhi like that? There are two lakhs of people living in such huts and among them there are even Government servants. We have received complaints from these people that their huts are demolished by the Government. Because the Government says, 'No, you cannot stay here.' They say that the land is unauthorisedly occupied and so they must 'be evicted. But these people have been living there for six to ten years. Even then they are told to go somewhere, in this connection I say that unless and until alternative accommodation is provided to these people, their huts should not be demolished. But who is going to listen? We are crying and crying but we find that the Government has become deaf. They do not attach any importance to this problem because it is a problem of the poor. We must realise who these people are. They are the people who have constructed this Parliament House and all big beautiful buildings. They are the people who have produced all sorts of food and happiness which you enjoy in this world. They are the creators of the happiness in the country and if we ignore their happiness in this way, that will be very cruel on the part of the Government. I therefore request that so far as these huts are concerned, Government should take immediate steps in the matter. And this is not a problem only in Delhi. You go to any big city, Bombay, Madras or Calcutta, and you will find that there are such people who are unable to maintain themselves in the villages and have come to these cities to earn their bread. In Bombay I heard that a locality where such people were living was required by the Government. They said, 'We want to have a garden there for the people to come and have a walk in the evening and so the huts should be demolished.' Sometimes the Government say that they want it for

having a colony for the rich people or something like that. In this connection I just want to request that the immediate thing that the Government should do is that unless and until alternative accommodation is provided to these people, their huts should not be demolished; this policy should be adopted by the Government.

I know the time is up. There are several points that I wanted to raise before this House. The most important of them is the problem of drinking water. You will find that there are thousands of villages in the country where there are no wells at all and wherever wells are there you will find people observe untouchability. The so-called untouchables—I don't call anybody untouchable but these so-called untouchables—are not allowed to go and draw water from the village wells. I know that the Government passed a legislation in the year 1955—the anti-untouchability Act—but we have found that the Government has become impotent in implementing this Act. The Commissioner who has been appointed by the Government to look after the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes comes forward and says that untouchability is being observed throughout the country. If there is this anti-untouchability Act, what is Government doing? If the Government have passed such a legislation, is it not the bounden duty of the Government to see that the Act which they have passed is implemented? I do not know why this Act is not being implemented. The other day even the hon. Prime Minister said: 'Oh, untouchability is there and it will go slowly and slowly.' Why should it go slowly and slowly? When you said, 'Swaraj is my birth right and I want to have it today' can you not say that nobody should be treated as an untouchable and that if anybody is found observing untouchability, he will be penalised under the law? You know how that law is implemented in the country. Whenever there are such



cases brought up, the magistrates fine Rs. 2 as if a man was riding a bicycle on the wrong side or without light. Many times they are asked to compromise and come to an amicable settlement. They are told, 'Don't quarrel among yourselves. Do not listen to the leaders who have come from outside.' This is how the Act is being implemented. I was surprised when the hon. the Prime Minister said the other day to the Government Servants' convention, 'Oh, untouchability would go slowly, it will take some time'. When the hon. the Prime Minister says this, notice is taken of this by orthodox Hindus and they say, 'The Prime Minister says that it will take some time. It means it will be removed slowly and not immediately. Don't make haste.' That is the position.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. IBHARGAVA): It is time for you to wind up.

SHRI B. K. . GAIKWAD: As far as the provision of drinking water is concerned, I say it is the most urgent necessity and the Government should see that water is supplied to all the villages. You know we have started these development schemes but under such schemes wherever people have paid 50 per cent, of the cost of well, it will be taken up for construction but not otherwise. The people are poor and if they are not in a position to meet 50 per cent, of the cost, no well is constructed for them. So in such poor localities if the people have no well for drinking purposes, the Government should see that immediate steps are taken to make the necessary provision for water supply. Food, water, shelter and clothing should be provided to the people.

I am very sorry I have got many other points to make but I shall speak on them on some other day. But I wish that Government takes note of whatever suggestions I have made, considers them sympathetically and

sees that the condition of the poor people of this country is improved. Who is going to tackle this problem? That is the most immediate problem to which everybody should pay attention and see that the grievances of common men are redressed immediately.

Thank you.

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY (Madras) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the Appropriation Bill that is being discussed now. The hon. Finance Minister laid a statement on the critical foreign exchange situation of our country some days ago. The successful implementation of the whole Plan depends upon our getting the foreign aid that we need to carry it out.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

After a careful consideration of our earnings from exports, it was decided that we should get external assistance —Rs. 2600 crores of foreign exchange for this Plan. The 'Aid India' Consortium also appreciated the fact that to fulfil our projects we must invest so much and they have to come to our help. At present we are short of foreign exchange and we hope that when the consortium meets next time they will give us enough aid. We are getting aid without any strings attached to it. It is said that our going in for MIG is taken as if we would go to this group or that group. It is not so. We always follow a policy of non-alignment and I hope the countries will realise it, appreciate our point of view and come to our aid.

Apart from the foreign aid that we get, we have to step up our exports and raise our foreign exchange resources. In this connection I want to point out some defects in the working of our Government machinery by which we were losing foreign exchange and we did not raise enough foreign exchange. For instance, the Ministry of Agriculture has got a great part to play in this. The production of industrial raw materials in the

[Shri K. S. Ramaswamy.] agricultural sector has a direct bearing on the output of manufactured goods and their prices. I would like to give some figures to show how we failed to produce certain goods which affected our foreign exchange greatly, for instance, cotton. In the year 1958-59 we produced 47 million bales of cotton but in 1959-60 it came down to 3'7 million bales. With regard to jute it was 5'2 million bales in 1958-59 and it came down to 4 million bales in 1960-61. And because of the shortage of cotton we have had to import a lot from foreign countries and thereby we had to spend our foreign exchange. Jute-manufactured goods also declined and we could not export to a great extent. Thereby we did not earn a good amount of foreign exchange. So, we should regulate the production in the agricultural sector, so that the industries in our country are supplied with the raw materials available in the country. Thereby we can save a lot of foreign exchange. Now, in 1961-62, we gave Rs. 100 more per candy of cotton and the cultivation of cotton has gone up. The price policy followed by the Government is an important factor. The agriculturists also get their prices and we will get enough of raw materials. Take, for instance, sugar. The price of sugar is high and so the cultivation of sugarcane also has gone up. In 1958-59 it was 48 lakh acres and in 1960-61, 57 lakh acres were grown with sugarcane. So, within one year ten lakh more acres are grown with sugarcane. Such a deviation should not be allowed and we should take care to see that enough acreage is grown with the required crops, that is, money crops like oil-seeds, sugarcane, cotton and jute.

Again, the Commerce and Industry Ministry has to rectify certain defects in order to save our foreign exchange. With regard to the supply of raw materials, viz., ferrous and non-ferrous metals that are imported, our industries are lacking in their supplies and the production is going down. Though there is more production in

manufactured goods, the cost has not come down, as much as it has come down in the case of agricultural goods. The reason is that enough raw material is not supplied to our industries and they are not working profitably. For want of raw materials, they have to work one shift only in certain industries. How can we expect the prices to be competitive and how can we expect them to export at low rates?

Another thing is this. We get foreign exchange with very great difficulty and we give licences, not indiscriminately of course, but with great care and all that. We import machinery and instal them. And if we do not utilise these machines to the fullest extent, it will be a drain on our economy. The foreign exchange invested in them will not produce enough return. So, unless we run all the industries to their full capacity, the foreign exchange that is put in them will go waste.

Now, one Minister is in charge of International Trade. It is a good thing that an export promotion scheme has been started. But this is also working under some defects. An export promotion scheme for art silk was started in 1959. The actual users and exporters were given licences to import art silk yarn and they were allowed to sell it in the country at fixed rates by the Textile Commissioner. But they sold the yarn at very exorbitant prices, at about 175 per cent, and 200 per cent, more than what it was. So, the prices within\* the country of these articles go up and even when it is exported next time the prices go up automatically. The incentive scheme by which these exporters are given entitlement certificates to import is not working satisfactorily. When the entitlement certificate is fixed on the value of exports, the importers begin to over-invoice them. When it is fixed on weight basis, they begin to under-invoice them. In that manner we are losing a lot of foreign exchange. This\*

was considered by the Estimates Committee, and the Committee's recommendation has to be implemented. They say at page 12 of the 165th Report as follows:—

"It has been pointed out to the Committee by a representative of the trade that a piece of 100 yards of staple fibre cloth weighing about 28 pounds entitled an exporter to a foreign exchange allocation of Rs. 168 for import of artsilk yarn as against the foreign exchange earned of Rs. 53 which was the actual sale price of the cloth at 53 nP. per yard. There has also been criticism in the press that under the previous scheme import licences for artsilk yarn worth Rs. 9 crores were issued against the export fabrics worth Rs. 35 crores, entailing a net loss of foreign exchange worth Rs. 5-5 crores."

The Committee further observe:

"It appears to the Committee that either there is no effective machinery to watch the working of the incentive scheme or if there is one it has failed in its duty completely."

We earn this foreign exchange with very great difficulty, and when it is lost with our knowing it, it is a serious thing, and Government must take steps to stop this. Our country is fast getting industrialised both in the small-scale and in the large-scale industrial sectors. Everywhere in the urban area industries are growing up and the face of the country is changing. But when we go to the villages, we see that the backward areas have no industries. Rural industrialisation is very slow and people are getting more and more unemployed and under-employed. The only thing by which we can give them more employment and enough money is only by rural industrialisation. It is a good thing that the Government has proposed to start industrial estates in rural areas. But they are based on big industries or industries where

power is used and all that. There should be small village industries started depending upon the raw material that is available in the villages, and they should cater to the needs of the villages, and then only those people will get employment. So, an all-India Board on the model of the N.I.C.C. for rural industries should be set up, and it should co-ordinate the activities of the various voluntary organisations, the Khadi and Village Industries Board and others. Only when the backward people in our villages get enough money and their standard of living is improved, socialism will have any meaning.

I now want to refer to another Ministry, the Education Ministry. The Central Advisory Board of Education has come to a decision with regard to the academic courses in the secondary stage, intermediate stage and degree stage. The pre-university class was introduced and the degree course was raised to three years. Now the secondary schools have to be upgraded to higher secondary stage, and it means a lot of expense and also time. The Madras Government has come to a decision not to upgrade these secondary schools into higher secondary schools, and they propose a two-year course in the intermediate stage and a three-year course in the degree stage, that is, altogether 15 years for the whole academic career. I feel that we need not have changed the old system under which the secondary school stage consists of 11 years, the intermediate stage 2 years and the degree stage 2 years. That system is better suited to the students, and the students seem to study in the proper stage at their appropriate age, and they will be able to grasp things better that way than under the present system.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up. Your time-limit is over.

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY: I am winding up. Most of the headmasters in the schools feel that they are not able to finish the syllabus within ten years, and so they want the second-

I son l. b. Kamaswaray.] dary stage to be 11 years instead of 10 years. I think it is high time that the Education Ministry comes to some decision and stops introducing such educational reforms off-and-on. Thank -vou.

**श्री निरंजन सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश) :**

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं पहले उन चीजों के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ जिनके बारे में मैं इस सदन में पहिले कह चुका हूँ। लेकिन गवर्नमेंट ने उन पर ध्यान नहीं दिया और न ही किसी तरह से उनके ऊपर विचार करने की कोशिश की। गवर्नमेंट बराबर यह कहती है कि उसका विचार सब जगह डेवलपमेंट करना है और उसको देश में हर जगह पहुंचाना है। लेकिन मैंने गत वर्ष भी छिन्दवाड़ा कोल माइन्स के सम्बन्ध में कहा था कि वहां परखा वालेस कम्पनी काम कर रही है। वहां पर तीन सीम है। एक ८ फीट ऊपर, उसके बाद १२ फीट और फिर ६ फीट की हैं। दो सीमों पर तो कोयला निकाला जा रहा है लेकिन तीसरी सीम इस तरह से बरबाद कर दी गई है कि भविष्य में उससे कोयला नहीं निकाला जा सकता है। किसकी तरफ से यह गलती हुई है, मैं नहीं जानता। लोगों के लिए रुलस यह हैं कि दस मील स्क्वायर तक की मिलती है लेकिन देखने में यह आता है कि वे दस मील से भी ज्यादा एरिया से कोयला निकाल रहे हैं। ज गई एरिया जो भारत कालरीज की थी इस कम्पनी ने लीज खरीद लिया है। इसकी करीब पांच एकड़ की एरिया है। जब यहां पर इस बारे में प्रश्न किया जाता है कि इसको ट्रांसफर करने का अधिकार किस को है तो गवर्नमेंट की ओर से जवाब दिया जाता है कि यह मामला अभी अन्डर कंसीडरेशन है। इस बारे में स्टेट गवर्नमेंट फैसला करेगी या सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट करेगी, यह अभी तक तय नहीं हुआ है। इस तरह से नेशनल प्रापर्टी को नुकसान हो रहा है और इस चीज को नैगलैक्ट किया जा रहा है। इससे ज्यादा दुर्भाग्य की बात और किसी राष्ट्र के लिए क्या हो सकती है।

दूसरी चीज जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह प्रायरन के कोटा सिस्टम के बारे में है। आप काटेज इंडस्ट्री को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं, आप विलेज इंडस्ट्री को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं, लेकिन इस कोटे को वजह से न तो विलेज इंडस्ट्री बढ़ रही है और न काटेज इंडस्ट्री बढ़ रही है। जितना कोटा एक बार किसी स्टेट को दे दिया गया है, वही चला आ रहा है। यह उनका नादानी से हो या लापरवाही से हो, लेकिन कभी कभी यह होता है कि गवर्नमेंट आफिसर्स यह सोचते हैं कि यदि हम कम खर्च बतलायेंगे तो हमारे ऊपर सरकार प्रसन्न हो जायेगी, इसलिए कम कोटा बता दिया जाये। इससे उनका भी बोदरेशन कम हो जाता है और सरकार के लिए भी यह प्रसन्नता की चीज हो जाती है। आप देखिये कि इस कोटा सिस्टम की वजह से कुछ प्रांती को क्या हालत हो रही है। यदि किसी स्टेट में हम कोई नई इंडस्ट्री बनाना चाहते हैं, तो उसके लिए कोई सुविधा नहीं है। उसके लिए सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के पास दीटना पड़ता है। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट में जिन की पहुंच होती है उनका कोटा बढ़ा दिया जाता है। लेकिन जिनकी पहुंच नहीं होती है, जिनको दूर से आना पड़ता है, वे कुछ नहीं कर पाते हैं। इसीलिए आप देखिये कि क्या हो रहा है। आज आप दिल्ली के आस पास चले जाइये, पंजाब में चले जाइये, आप देखेंगे कि स्माल इंडस्ट्रीज बढ़ रही हैं। क्यों बढ़ रही हैं, इसका कारण यह है कि यहीं पर गवर्नमेंट आफिसर्स रहते हैं और उन से दिल्ली के आस पास के लोग अपना काम करा लेते हैं। यदि मद्रास, मध्य प्रदेश या महाराष्ट्र से कोई आयेगा तो दस बार आने जाने में उसको इतना खर्च करना पड़ जायेगा कि वह उसका बदाश्त नहीं कर सकता। इस तरह उसकी इंडस्ट्री पार्फिनेबिल कंसर्न नहीं बनेगी, बल्कि उसका लस होगा। इसका परिणाम यह है कि काटेज मिलज इंडस्ट्री जहां जहां बढ़नी चाहिये, वहां वह डेवलप नहीं हो रही है मध्य प्रदेश का एक उदाहरण मैं आप को

बतलाऊं। वहां बहुत पहले भिलाई कारखाना शुरू किया गया, लेकिन गवर्नमेंट वहां एक रोलिंग मिल लगाने देना नहीं चाहती है। यह मैं नहीं जानता कि उसका लाइसेंस क्यों नहीं मिलता। लेकिन गवर्नमेंट लाइसेंस नहीं देती है, यह बिल्कुल फैक्ट है। उसकी तह में क्या है, यह सब मैं नहीं जान सकूंगा। यह गवर्नमेंट ही जान सवेगी कि वह लाइसेंस क्यों नहीं देती है। यह सत्य है कि यदि लोगों को छोटी छोटी चीजें बनानी हों, कीलें बनानी हों, छोटे छोटे पार्ट्स बनाने हों तो उनको यहां पर कोटा के लिए आना पड़ता है और फिर भी उनका काम नहीं बनता है। मुझे महाराष्ट्र और मध्य प्रदेश के दो चार उदाहरण मालूम हैं। वहां कुछ लोगों ने लाइसेंस प्रोक्वायर करने की कोशिश की और किसी तरह से मिल भी गये। लेकिन यहां सेंटर में बैठे हुए आदमियों ने उनको यह समझाया कि यदि तुम किसी फारेन कंट्री के साथ कोन्वेन्शन करोगे तो तुम को फारेन एक्सचेंज की सुभीता हो जायेगी। इसके अतिरिक्त जो इंडस्ट्री खोलना चाहते हैं उनसे यह कहा जाता है कि यदि तुम यहां दिल्ली के पास में रहोगे तो तुम को बिजली की सुभीता रहेगी और दूसरी चीजों की सुभीता रहेगी और यहां पर तुम्हारी इंडस्ट्री बढ़ेगी, फलेगी और फूलेगी। इसका परिणाम क्या होता है? जो अनडेवेलप्ड प्राविसेज है उनको डेवेलप होने का मौका नहीं मिलता है। यहां मैनिपुलेशन होता है, स्टेट लेवल पर मैनिपुलेशन होता है और उसके परिणाम-स्वरूप लोग एक स्टेट से दूसरी स्टेट में चले जाते हैं। कानूनी में एक आदमी ने पांच एकड़ जमीन ली और उसमें एक फैक्ट्री चलाने की कोशिश की। लेकिन जब वह यहां दिल्ली में आया तो दिल्ली वालों ने उससे कह दिया कि वहां कुछ नहीं हो सकता है, तुम को यहां आना पड़ेगा। एक साहब मध्य प्रदेश में फैक्ट्री खोलना चाहते हैं। उनसे भी यही कहा गया और फिर वे एक दम से मैसूर में चले गये। जां रेजिमेंटेशन के द्वारा

आप अपना मैनिपुलेशन करना चाहते हैं, वह गलत चीज है।

दूसरा उदाहरण मैं देना चाहता हूं जिसका और कापर का। जिन स्टेट्स में जो कोटा मिल गया है, उन्हीं स्टेट्स को आप कोटा देते हैं और दूसरी स्टेट्स को यह चीजें नहीं देते हैं। आप डिस्ट्रीब्यूट करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन जब तक आप छोटी छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज को, काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज को, विलेज इंडस्ट्रीज को नहीं खोलेंगे तब तक आप डिस्ट्रीब्यूट नहीं कर पायेंगे। इस प्रकार जो आपकी स्कीम है, या जिस भावना से आप काम करना चाहते हैं वह फेज हो जायेगी। इसीलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि कोटा सिस्टम के द्वारा जहां आप इंडस्ट्री बढ़ाना चाहते हैं वहां बढ़ती है और जहां आप घटाना चाहते हैं वहां वह घटती है और पनप नहीं पा रही है। मैं यह कहना चाहता था कि जो कोटा सिस्टम आपने रखा है, वह कोटा सिस्टम ठीक है, आप इकुअल डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन कीजिये। लेकिन कोटा सिस्टम में जहां पाशियालिटी और अन्याय होता है वहां यह कोटा सिस्टम कभी सफज नहीं हो सकता। काटेज और विलेज इंडस्ट्री बढ़ाने के लिए आपकी बहुत अच्छी भावना होगी और इसके लिए आपने कमिशन बनाये होंगे, इन्वयरी कमेटीयां बनाई होंगी, लेकिन आपका जो तरीका है उसके कारण वे बढ़ नहीं पा रही हैं बल्कि घटती जा रही हैं और जहां नहीं बढ़ना चाहिये वहां और ज्यादा बढ़ती जा रही हैं।

तीसरी चीज मैं खादी कमिशन और खादी बोर्ड के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं। हम बार बार गांधी जी की दुहाई देते हैं और यह कहते हैं खादी का उत्पत्ति होनी चाहिये और खादी ज्यादा बिकनी चाहिये। लेकिन जिस तरह से खादी कमिशन बना है, जिस तरह से खादी बोर्ड बने हैं, क्या उस तरह से खादी पनप सकती है? यह तो आपकी इस्टीमेट कमेटी की रिपोर्टों ने बता दिया है, आपकी जो इन्वयरी

## [श्री निरंजन सिंह]

कमेटियां बनती हैं उन्होंने भी बता दिया है कि खादी को बढ़ाने का यह तरीका नहीं है। अम्बर चर्खा सीखने के लिए जो आपने स्टाइपेंड दिये, उनसे भी कोई लाभ नहीं हुआ। मैंने गत वर्ष पूछा था कि आपने अम्बर चर्खे जो अफगानिस्तान पहुंचाये थे, उनके द्वारा कितनी तरक्की हुई। उसपर आपने कहा था कि बहुत तरक्की हुई है। लेकिन इस देश के भीतर जो लाखों रुपये हमने अम्बर चर्खे पर खर्च किये, वे क्यों बेकार जा रहे हैं और यह क्यों कहा जाता है कि उस पर बनिस्वत आडिनरी चर्खे के ज्यादा खर्च पड़ रहा है। आप स्टाइपेंड देते हैं, विद्यालय खोलते हैं, अमालय खोलते हैं और वे बन्द हो जाते हैं। जो लोग काम सीखते हैं उनको कोई रोजगार नहीं मिलता है। वे काम करने के लिए विलेज में जाते हैं, लेकिन वहां भी उनको कोई काम नहीं मिलता है। कल ही मैं एक किताब पढ़ रहा था, जिसमें यह कहा गया था कि जब हम अनएम्प्लायमेंट साल्व करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं तो जहां अनएम्प्लायमेंट है वहां हम चर्खा क्यों नहीं भेज रहे हैं। यह मैं मानता हूं कि पंजाब, यू० पी० आदि में जहां खादी के प्रति अभिरुचि थी, वहां हमको ज्यादा प्रोत्साहन मिला और जहां अभिरुचि नहीं थी, वहां प्रोत्साहन नहीं मिला। परन्तु यदि आप अनएम्प्लायमेंट साल्व करना चाहते हैं, तो केरल जैसे प्रांत में जहां अनएम्प्लायमेंट है वहां आपने इस सम्बन्ध में कितने विद्यालय चलाये, कितने अमालय चलाये। जो काम करने वाले आपके पास आते हैं, उनको काम नहीं मिलता है। मुझे अपने प्रांत की बात मालूम है। चूंकि महाराष्ट्र और हमारे यहां का चर्खा संघ एक ही था, इसलिए मुझे वहां के सम्बन्ध में भी मालूम है कि आप जितने केन्द्र खोलते हैं, वे थोड़े समय के बाद बन्द हो जाते हैं। अम्बर चर्खा आपने इस लिए चलाया कि

जिनको नहीं मिलता, जिनको मजदूरी नहीं मिलती, उनको इससे काम मिलेगा और मजदूरी मिलेगी। जैसा कि हमारे भाई गायकवाड़ जी ने कहा कि जो अनएम्प्लायड हैं उनको आप रोजी देंगे।

जिस मजदूर को रुपया रोज फील्ड में काम करने के लिये मिलता है उसे दो रुपया रोज देंगे तो वह चर्खा चलायेगा और तब आपकी उत्पत्ति होगी। परिणाम क्या हो रहा है? न तो अम्बर चर्खा चल रहा है और न पुराना चर्खा चल रहा है और जो पहले उत्पादन केन्द्र थे वे भी खत्म हो रहे हैं। केवल यह बात चल रही है कि कुछ आदमी बैठे हुए हैं और वे वही होंगे जो कि आपकी सरकार के मुंह लगे होंगे। कौन एक्सपोर्ट माना जायगा जो कि टेकनीशियन होगा? जिन्होंने सारा जीवन खादी की उत्पत्ति में दिया, खादी के प्रचार में दिया, उनको स्थान नहीं मिलेगा, लेकिन जो गवर्नमेंट में सर्विस कर रहे हैं उनको स्थान देंगे। परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि खादी नहीं बढ़ रही है और आपका लाखों रुपया निकला जा रहा है। मुझे मालूम है कि एक संस्था को कम से कम दो लाख रुपया खादी कमिशन ने दिया और वह दो लाख रुपया भी खत्म हो गया और वह संस्था भी खत्म हो गई और उसमें से एक पैसा भी नहीं बचा। कोई कांग्रेस पार्टी का होता है तो उसको कमिशन रुपया दे देता है और वह अपनी दुकान खोल लेता है। तो इस तरह से प्राफिट के लिये एक कंसन बना दी गई है और अपने आदमियों को एप्वाइंट करने के लिये कमिशन बना दिया गया है लेकिन खादी की तरक्की के लिये वह नहीं है। अगर गवर्नमेंट इसमें दिलचस्पी लेती है और रुपया खर्च करना चाहती है तो जब वह ठीक तौर और तरीके से काम करेगी तभी यह काम बढ़ सकता है।

कम्प्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट के लिये और कम्प्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट के प्रोग्राम के लिये मैंने हर साल यह कहा है कि जितना आपका बजट वहां हो रहा है वह असहनीय है। बजट का कारण यह भी है कि आप पैसा देते नहीं हैं और श्रमदान करवाना चाहते हैं। जिसको पहले बंगार कहते थे वही अब श्रमदान हो गया है। नाम बहुत सुन्दर रख दिया है लेकिन सिवाय बंगार के यह और कुछ नहीं है। तो बंगार के रूप में कोई आदमी काम नहीं करता है। आपने कह दिया कि तुम्हारा कांटीव्युशन हो लेकिन वह कांटीव्युशन होगा कैसे जब कि काम नहीं करेंगे। इस तरह से कुछ नहीं होगा। जब आपका पैसा वहां पहुंच जायेगा तो जो आपके पैट आदमी है उनको वह दे देंगे और उसी में मजदूरी कम ज्यादा कर के दे देंगे। मजदूरों को मजदूरी कम देकर के उसी में से डेवेलपमेंट का काम कर देंगे और नतीजा यह होगा कि न सड़क बनेगी और न स्कूल बनेंगे। तो इस तरह से कम्प्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट का काम हो रहा है और उसके द्वारा आप ग्राम-राज बना रहे हैं। आपने कहा तो बहुत सुन्दर है कि ग्राम-राज में कोई पार्टी पालिटिक्स नहीं रहेगी और कोई पार्टी कैंडीडेट्स नहीं खड़े होंगे। लेकिन हमको मालूम है कि कुछ स्टेट्स में एलेक्शन नहीं है और ग्राम पंचायतें पुराने एक्ट्स के अनुसार ही बनी हुई हैं और उनमें नामिनेशन की प्रथा है। गवर्नमेंट की जो पार्टी है वह नामिनेट कर देती है और नामिनेशन के बाद जिला पंचायतों का एलेक्शन हो जाता है। तो यह कह देना ठीक नहीं है कि कोई पार्टीबन्दी नहीं है। आप पार्टीबन्दी करते हैं। आप अपनी को नामिनेट कर देंगे और उसके बाद एलेक्शन करवाएँ तो ग्राम भी होगा कि सिवाय पार्टीबन्दी के और कुछ क्या होगा। तो इस तरह से ग्राम-राज में श्रमदान होने वाला है यह मैं आपके सामने बताना चाहता हूँ। अभी तक जो ग्राम

पंचायतें हैं, जो संस्थाएँ हैं, डिस्ट्रिक्ट कांसिल, डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड या लोकल बोर्ड की जो संस्थाएँ हैं उनका एकाउंट आडिट होता है परन्तु बाद में वह आडिट भी खत्म हो जायेगा। जिस तरह से काम हो रहा है उस तरह से तो कोई भी संस्था, कोई भी लोकल बाडी, सकल नहीं हो सकती है। ग्राम-राज में क्या होने वाला है वह आप देखें। आपने कहा कि हम सब डेवेलपमेंट का काम उनके हाथ में देने वाले हैं, ठीक है लेकिन चेक किसके हाथ में है, चेक आडीटर के हाथ में नहीं है। आप ग्राम पंचायतों को रुपया दे देंगे, एक हजार रुपया दे देंगे, १० हजार रुपया दे देंगे लेकिन वहां न तो आडिट करने वाले हैं, न कोई चेक करने वाले हैं, सब एडवाइज करने वाले हैं। सिर्फ एडवाइज करने से ही कुछ काम नहीं होता है। कार्रिजेंस में आडिट भी होता है और लोकल बाडीज में भी आडिट होता है लेकिन यहाँ पर न तो कोई आडिट का सवाल है और न कोई कंट्रोल का सवाल है सिर्फ एडवाइज करने का सवाल है। कोई तालाब दो हजार की जगह ४ हजार में बन गया तो उसे कोई रोकने वाला नहीं है। स्कूल बनाना है, सड़क बनानी हैं लेकिन उसके लिये न तो इस्टीमेट की जरूरत है और न उस काम को देखने की जरूरत है। अभी कम से कम कोई काम तो देखता है, अभी कम से कम ब्लाक डेवेलपमेंट वाले इस्टीमेट तो बनाते हैं लेकिन यहाँ इस्टीमेट भी नहीं बनेंगे और बिना इस्टीमेट के सड़क, तालाब और स्कूल बनाये जायेंगे। तो इस तरह से कितनी फिजूलखर्ची होगी और कौन उसके ऊपर चेक करेगा, कौन कंट्रोल करेगा। जब तक कंट्रोल नहीं होगा तब तक आप पनप नहीं पायेंगे। फिर, कल यह हो जायेगा कि ये अव्यय हैं और अव्यय होने के कारण हम इस संस्था को मिटाना चाहते हैं, ग्राम-राज को जो भावना है

## [ श्री निरंजन सिंह ]

उस ग्राम-राज की भावना को हम इसलिए मिटाना चाहते हैं कि वहाँ पर अयोग्य आदमी है, हिसाब के ऊपर उसकी कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं है, हिसाब वह ठीक तरह से नहीं रख सकते हैं, इसलिए हम इनको हटाना चाहते हैं और तब एक पटवारी को या एक गवर्नमेंट आफिशियल को वहाँ बिठा देंगे और उसने द्वारा यह काम करवायेंगे। तो हमारी जो मनोभावना है कि हम ग्राम-राज को आगे बढ़ा दें उसको आप बढ़ावा नहीं देंगे बल्कि उसको आप नीचे गिरायेंगे। तो यह जो आपका रूप-रेखा है वह इसी हानिकारक है कि उसके द्वारा हम ग्राम-राज को बढ़ा नहीं पायेंगे बल्कि उसको हम नीचे गिरायेंगे।

अभी जैसा कि मेरे भाई ने कहा कि एनेक्शन के पहले एक बहुत सुन्दर स्कीम बनाई गई थी और यह कहा गया कि जितने ट्राइबल्स हैं उन सबको हम फ्रेंच पाठ्यपुस्तक और पैसा देंगे। कहा गया कि थर्ड स्टैंड तक एक रुपया देंगे, उसके बाद दो रुपया देंगे, पांच रुपया देंगे, १५ पया देंगे, २० पया देंगे। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि ट्राइबल्स को नहीं देना चाहिये या हरिजननों को नहीं देना चाहिये। लेकिन मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस भूमिका में क्या है? जहाँ पर आर्क रिजर्व सीट है वहाँ का आदिवासी इन सारे एडवन्टेज का ले सकता है लेकिन जहाँ वे दूसरी कांस्टिट्यूट में रहते हैं वहाँ यह उ को नहीं मिलेगा, तो यह भेदभाव क्यों? इसल में होना तो यह चाहिये था कि कहीं का रहने वाला हूँ, अगर उस जाति का है तो उसे मिलना चाहिये लेकिन मैं तो इसका विरोध हूँ। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप यह एक गरीब को देना चाहते हैं या एक जाति को देना चाहते हैं। एक बार

ब्राह्मणों का पल्ला भारी था तो सारा एडवन्टेज उन्होंने ले लिया, जब क्षत्रियों का पल्ला भारी था तो सारा एडवन्टेज उन्होंने ले लिया, तो क्या हरिजननों और आदिवासियों को भी इस तरह से देना चाहते हैं। आप एक गरीब आदमी को देना चाहते हैं या अगर एक आदिवासी गौड़ है और वह राजा है तो उस राजा को भी फ्रेंचिप देना चाहते हैं, स्कालरशिप देना चाहते हैं और एक गरीब जो कि हरिजन है उसको नहीं देना चाहते हैं। यह क्या बात होगी? आपको डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन इस तरह करना चाहिये कि जो गरीब है अपढ़ है, असहाय है, उसको सरकार का तरफ से मदद मिले और उसको नहीं जिसने कि पास बहुत धन भरा हुआ है, जिसको किसी पर भी मिलती है, जिसका व्यापार भी चलता है और जिसको मोटर भी चलती है। उनको आप रुपया देना चाहते हैं, यह किस तरह का न्याय है और इस तरह से आप नेशन को किस तरह से उठावेंगे। इसने जो डिमारेन्डेशन होगा उसको आप को दूर करेंगे। तो मेरा कहना है कि ट्राइबल्स के लिये आपने स्कालरशिप देने का या उनको रुपया देने का, सबसिडी देने का, जो तय किया है वह तरीका गलत है। वह गलत है, जैसा अभी मैंने आपसे कहा। आप यह कीजिए—मैं यह नहीं कहता कि जो आदमी अशिक्षित है उसको शिक्षा न दी जाए—उसको नौकरी दी जाए, उसको मोल्सलन दी जाए लेकिन जिसके पास साधन हैं, जैसे एक कलक्टर का लड़का है और वह आदिवासी है, उसके पास अब कुछ है पैसा है, लेकिन आप उसको स्कालरशिप इसलिए देंगे क्योंकि वह आदिवासी है गौड़ है, भाल है। यह जो आपका तरीका है यह गलत है और इसलिये मैं यह सोचता हूँ कि इस तरह की स्कीम जो आपको रिवाइज करना पड़ेगी और आपको यह देखना पड़ेगा कि जो आदमी असहाय है, और जो आदमी गरीब है वह



आदमी पैसा खर्च नहीं कर सकता, पैसों के लिये मुहताज है लेकिन होनहार लड़का है तो उसके लिये आप हर तरह की मदद करें तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा। उसमें यह भेद-भाव करना कि अमुक जाति का है, अमुक कास्ट का है, अमुक धर्म का है, यह भावना नहीं होनी चाहिये।

**श्री उप सभापति :** दोमिनट हैं।

**श्री निरंजन सिंह :** एक ही मिनट में सब खत्म कर दूंगा। पेन्शन का जहाँ तक संबंध है, यहाँ केन्द्रीय गवर्नमेंट में भी और राज्य सरकारों में भी बहुत ही खराब तरीका है कि चार चार छ-छः साल तक जो आदमी रिटायर होता है उसको पेन्शन नहीं मिल पाता है। तो पेन्शन के संबंध जल्दी तय करने चाहिये। दूसरी चीज यह है कि जो आदमी दस साल पहले या बीस साल पहले रिटायर हुआ है, चूंकि आज सबकी कास्ट आरु लिविंग पहले से बहुत बढ़ गई है इसलिये उनको भी इयरनेस अलाउन्स के रूप में कुछ मिलना चाहिये।

ब्राडकास्टिंग के संबंध में चौहान साहब ने भी बतलाया। उक्त मिनिस्ट्री के द्वारा जो यह कहा गया है कि उनको कोई स्थिति नहीं है तो मैं उनको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने एक फोर्ट-नाइट पहले एक मीटिंग की है और उस में यह पालिसी लेडाउ का है—की पालिसी लेडाउन की है यह नहीं मालूम—लेकिन उन्होंने पालिसी लेडाउ करने के लिये मीटिंग बुलाई और उसमें आफिशर्स को कहा गया कि इस तरह से ब्राडकास्टिंग होनी चाहिये और उनी का रिप्लेशन, रिपरकेशन पेरिड में, जनता में हो रहा है और उनका तरफ उनको ध्यान देना चाहिये। मिनिस्टर साहब की कौन सी मन्शा थी यह नहीं कहना चाहता लेकिन सब के मन में शंका जरूर

हो गई है कि भई, यह तो आल इंडिया रेडियो में पुरानी जो पालिसी थी उसको चेन्ज करना चाहते हैं। इसमें ऊपर मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान देना चाहिये।

इसके अलावा न्यू माइन्स सर्वे के लिये ज्यादा कशिश करनी चाहिये। यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रान्ट्स कमिशन के संबंध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रान्ट्स कमिशन मनमानी पैसा देता है। कहीं किसी यूनिवर्सिटी को कुछ दिया, कहीं कुछ दिया, कोई चेक नहीं है कि उन्होंने जो खर्चा दिया कहां खर्च किया है, कहां खर्च किया है, किस तरह से खर्च किया है, इसकी परीक्षा नहीं है। इसके अग्रे ऐसी कमेटी नियुक्त होनी चाहिये जो यूनिवर्सिटीज में चेक कर सके कि पैसे का सदुपयोग हुआ या नहीं हुआ।

SHRI P. A. SOLOMON: Madam Deputy Chairman, I fully agree with the observations made by hon. Shri Gaikwad especially regarding the food situation in the country. During the Question Hour this morning our Food Minister was eloquent enough to say that the entire target of production will be completed during the Third Five Year Plan. But apart from his eloquence what are the assurances for the fulfilment of this target? If previous experience can be any guide, nobody can be so sure about the fulfilment of the targets of food production of our country. During the Second Plan period the target of foodgrains' production was 81.8 million tons but the actual production was only 77.2 million tons. For the Third Five Year Plan we have a huge target of 101.6 million tons. Of course, compared to our needs it is not so huge, but in the present arrangement of food production, especially at the hands of the bureaucratic machinery, I do not think the hope will be fulfilled. I say it is a dangerous complacency.

[Shri P. A. Salomon.]

Madam, the target of cotton production also, as was mentioned here by one of the hon. Members on the Treasury Benches just now, is not satisfactory. The target of cotton production in the Second Plan was '65 million bales but the actual production came to 5.1 million bales, V4 million bales less than the target. Now, the target of the cotton production in the Third Plan is 7 million bales. I wonder how it will be fulfilled if the present arrangement of things is continued. The production of consumer goods, especially food articles, must be vehemently attempted and for the fulfilment of that target co-operation from the people must be igot.

In this connection I would like to draw the attention of the House to the position of land reforms as it obtains presently. Land reforms are not completed. While in certain States it is completely put in cold storage, in certain other States it is still under consideration by State legislatures. As far as Kerala is concerned, it has been passed with certain modifications and amendments against the interest of the actual peasant. Anyhow, it is on their Statute Book.

' So, I should like to know how without implementing land reforms and proper distribution of cultivable lands, as mentioned by an hon. Member here, this target of production will 'be reached. That is a point that I want

\*to draw the attention of the House to And how this food position will affect the price level has further to \e taken into consideration.

Madam, the position of consumer goods is very bad. Their price level has been registering an upward trend during the last two Plans. The prices of food material have been steadily Increasing. The consumer price index as published by the Department of Statistics shows as follows. Whereas the price level of food was at 100 in 1949, it was at 126 in 1960. The upward trend of these consumer prices

continued during the current year and in the previous year also. Therefore, the Government must take immediate steps to produce more consumer goods otherwise this upward trend in price level cannot be checked. I should like to say that inadequate production of consumer goods is not the only reason for the upward trend of the price level of consumer goods. Of course, the policy of indirect taxation has also affected the price level.

Indirect taxation has increased very much during the last ten years. The total tax revenue in 1950-51 was Rs. 357 crores. According to the present Budget the total revenue from taxes is Rs. 768 crores, that is an amount of Rs. 411 crores has increaed in taxation in a decade. But the increase in direct taxation is insignificant compared to that in the indirect taxes. In 1960-61 the amount of direct taxes was Rs. 130 crores and it has come to Rs. 206 crores in 1961-62. So actually there has been an increase of Rs. 76 crores during the last ten years, in the matter of direct taxes. At the same time, indirect taxes have increased by Rs. 335 crores. In 1960-61 the amount of indirect taxes was Rs. 227 crores. According to the 1961-62 Budget, the amount of indirect taxes was Rs. 562 crores. Therefore, I submit that this taxation policy of the Government hits the common people in the matter of the price-level of consumer goods. We must find more money, of course, and there are many ways of finding the funds for running our Plan projects.

However, the Government is only interesting itself in taxing the common people more and more. That is the difficulty and the common man is suffering as a result of this policy. This will retard the progress of the common man and also affect the entire economic structure. If the common man is not able to buy his foodstuffs and other consumer goods, then naturally it will affect our entire production and our entire economy. So the common man should get some relief with regard to the prices of the con-

■turner goods and other necessities of life, otherwise he will suffer very much.

Next I would like to say something about our defence production. Some hon. Members have made many observations regarding concentration of the ■defence production. One hon. Member went to the extent of saying that -w» must immediately start the pro-s«h»etion of missiles and other conventional weapons. I do not know ■whether he meant that we must produce nuclear weapons also.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY; Conventional weapons.

SHRI P. A. SOLOMON: But I don't know whether concentration of ■weapons is going to be helpful, under the present conditions, for attaining \*mr goal. We are for total disarmament and I think . . .

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY; Who are for total disarmament?

SHRI P. A. SOLOMON: I think India is pledged to total disarmament ■and has agreed to the proposal for "total disarmament in the U.N- I thirik, however, that it is interesting to see Dr. Rajendra Prasad advising the nation that India must unilaterally -accept disarmament. Certain Congress Members fear and ask for concentration of more and more defence production and at the same time persons like Dr. Rajendra Prasad are advising otherwise. In any case, though I do not know if such a proposal can be implemented immediately, India must take the initiative in this regard and India must be in the forefront to create .« peaceful situation in the world and thus help humanity and save the present-culture and civilization from a global war. Of course, the policy of the Government is not against suoh a noble aim, and so I hope the Government ana the people will take the maximum interest in the movement, namely the -anti-nuclear weapons movement and

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also for the attainment of total disarmament. Thank you.

**श्री महावीर दास (बिहार) :** उप-सभापति महोदय, सदन के समक्ष बिल १९६२ विचारार्थ पेश है। इस बिल के अनुसार ७६,५६,४३,७५,००० रु० का एरोप्रिएशन बिल है और १४४ विषयों के बारे में इसकी स्वीकार करना है।

अभी सदन के सामने हमारे पूर्व वक्ता ने कुछ ऐसी बातें पेश की हैं जिस की ओर मैं सर्व-प्रथम आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के लिए जो स्कालरशिप जातीयता के नाम पर निश्चित हो रही है वह सचमुच में ठीक तरीका नहीं है। मुझे इस बात पर उनका ध्यान आकर्षित करना है कि भारतीय विधान के अन्दर यह महसूस किया गया था और यह बात मान ली गई थी कि हरिजन और आदिवासियों को जिनको सदियों से आर्थिक सामाजिक, धार्मिक और राजनीतिक तौर पर इतना कुचल कर रख दिया गया था कि उन्हें उठाने के लिए भारत जैसे गगनतन्त्र देश में अपने संविधान में उनकी जातीय नामावली अंकित करनी पड़ी यह एक विचार की बात है कि इतने बड़े देश के संविधान में एक जात की नामावली रखी जाय जिसके लिए सुरक्षा की आवश्यकता समझी गई हो। जब संविधान में जातिगत मामलों को स्वीकार करते उनकी तरफ की के लिए आर्टिकल-धारा-रखा गया जो यह उचित नहीं होगा कि इस समय सरकार दूसरी ओर विचार करे और हरिजन और आदिवासियों को जातिगत समझकर उनकी तरफ पर विचार न करे। मैं इस बात से कतई सहमत नहीं हूँ कि हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के लिये जातिगत विचार उठा दिये जायें। जब तक जातिगत तौर पर हरिजन और

[श्री महावीर दास]

आदिवासियों की उन्नति नहीं हो जागी, पूर्णरूप से जब तक वे समाज में घुल मिल नहीं जाते, समाज की दृष्टि से समाज में अपने लिए स्थान नहीं बना लेते तब तक उनके लिए हर तरह की सुरक्षा और प्रोत्साहन मिलना चाहिये।

अभी मैं थोड़ी देर पहले अपने पूर्व बक्ता का भाषण टैक्स के संबंध में सुन रहा था और वे कह रहे थे कि जो टैक्स सरकार द्वारा लगाये गये हैं वे कामन मैन को, सारारण जनता को बहुत अखरते हैं। लेकिन गणराज्य देश के सिद्धान्त के अनुकूल यह माना पड़ेगा कि वास्तव में देश का मालिक जनता है। अगर वास्तव में देश की मालिक जनता है तो यह सरकार उसकी मैनेजर है, और यह सरकार का काम हो जाना है कि वह देश के काम के लिए मालिक से पैसा मांगे और जनता की भलाई में लगावे।

श्री बी० के० गायकवाड़ : उनका विरोध नहीं करेंगे ?

श्री महावीर दास : जितना मैनेजर काम करता है वह सारे का सारा इस देश के लिये, इस देश की जनता के लिए करता है जो इसका मालिक है।

श्री बी० के० गायकवाड़ : इसके मैनेजर को निकाला जाय।

श्री महावीर दास : अगर सरकार टैक्स नहीं लगाती है तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि वह कौन सा फण्ड है जिससे सरकार देश के लिए और जनता के लिए काम कर सके। कोई भी गणराज्य देश ऐसा नहीं है जो जनता पर टैक्स न लगाये और फिर उस टैक्स से जो रकमा प्राप्त हो वह देश की सुरक्षा और जनता की तरक्की पर खर्च न करे।

मैं यहां पर बहुत सी बात सुनता रहा और अखबारों में पढ़ता रहा कि इतना टैक्स बढ़ाया जा रहा है। लेकिन आप देखेंगे कि डाइरेक्ट टैक्स जब कि अन्य प्रगतिशील देशों में ६३ प्रतिशत लिया जाता है, आज अपने देश में टैक्स अधिक से अधिक ५० प्रतिशत होगा।

श्री बी० के० गायकवाड़ : उनकी इन्कम क्या है ?

श्री महावीर दास : अब आप देखिये कि ६३ प्रतिशत टैक्स जहां लगता है वहां के नागरिक और व्यवसायी ईमानदारी से ६३ प्रतिशत टैक्स देते हैं। परन्तु यह दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि भारत में जो करदाता हैं वे अगर ५० प्रतिशत टैक्स लगा हो तो उसमें से २५ प्रतिशत भ्रष्टाचार के द्वारा गुम करना चाहेंगे और २५ प्रतिशत ही सरकार के कोश में देंगे। इससे यह सिद्ध होता है कि अगर ५० प्रतिशत टैक्स हो तो सरकार के कोश में अधिक से अधिक २५ प्रतिशत आ सकेगा। इस देश में कहने के लिए अगर ५० प्रतिशत टैक्स हो, तो उसके ऐक्चुअल्स में जाने पर आप देखेंगे कि अधिक से अधिक २५ प्रतिशत ही वह सरकार के कोश में आ सकता है और २५ प्रतिशत हमारे करदाता किसी न किसी बहाने, भ्रष्टाचार की मदद से या अपनी खुदगर्जी से टैक्स को इवड करते हैं।

अब आप देखिये कि हमारे राष्ट्र की तरक्की प्लानिंग के द्वारा होती आ रही है या नहीं। आप देखिये कि अपना देश जब गुलाम था उस समय हमारी क्या हालत थी। उस समय हम इतने भूखंड थे जिसकी कोई गिनती नहीं की जा सकती। हम इतने गरीब थे कि हम कह नहीं सकते कि उसकी क्या गिनती की जाय। परन्तु आज आप देखिये कि कितनी प्रगति...

**श्री श्रीलाल याजी (बिहार) :**  
इतने मूल्य होते तो आजादी की लड़ाई कैसे लड़ते ।

**श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी खौर-  
ड़िया (मध्य प्रदेश) :** उस समय हम सब मूल्य थे तो स्वराज्य हमने कैसे प्राप्त किया ?

**श्री महावीर दास :** आप देखिये कि हम प्रगति की ओर इतना ज्यादा जा रहे हैं कि हमें दिन प्रति दिन स्कूल और कालेज खोलने पड़ते हैं, फिर भी उनसे हमारी आवश्यकता की पूर्ति नहीं होती है । इसका कारण यह है कि हम अपने प्लान के द्वारा अपने देश की प्रगति कर रहे हैं । हमारे माननीय सदस्य ने बड़ी कृपा की कि उन्होंने इस ओर ध्यान खींचा कि उस वक्त हम इतने मूल्य थे तो हमने स्वराज्य कैसे प्राप्त किया । आपका कहना ठीक है । हम मूल्य थे या नहीं थे, इस सम्बन्ध में उस समय जितने पड़े लिखे लोग थे उनकी संख्या से आज जो पड़े लिखे लोग हैं उनकी संख्या से यदि आप मिलान करें तो आप का पता लगेगा कि आपकी कितनी प्रगति इस ओर हुई है । आप देखेंगे कि सन् १९६०-६१ में एक से ले कर पांचवीं क्लास तक ३४४.२ लाख लड़के थे । सन् १९६०-६१ में छठी से आठवीं क्लास तक ६३.५ लाख बच्चों का एडमिशन हुआ और नवीं से ग्यारहवीं क्लास तक सन् १९६०-६१ में २८.७ लाख लड़कों का एडमिशन हुआ । अब सन् १९६१-६२ में आप देखेंगे कि ३७६.७ लाख बच्चे एक से पांचवीं क्लास तक हैं, ७०.१ लाख बच्चे छठी से आठवीं क्लास तक हैं और ३१.५ लाख बच्चे नवीं से ग्यारहवीं क्लास तक हैं । मैं आपका ध्यान इस ओर इस लिए आकर्षित कर रहा हूँ कि आप को मालूम

हो कि हम कितनी प्रगति कर रहे हैं । परन्तु शिक्षा विभाग में मैं यह अवधान कह देना चाहता हूँ कि स्कूलों में हर वर्ष, दो वर्ष में जो किताब बदल दी जाती है उससे जनता को सचमुच में बहुत दिक्कत होती है और खास तौर से गरीब जनता को बहुत कठिनाई होती है जिस को हर वर्ष अपने बच्चों के लिए नई नई किताबें खरीदनी पड़ती है । शिक्षा विभाग को इस ओर ध्यान देना चाहिये और उनको कोर्स की किताब इस तरह से निश्चित करनी चाहिये जिससे एक परिवार कई वर्ष तक उनसे लाभान्वित हो सके ।

हिन्दुस्तान स्टील लिमिटेड के सम्बन्ध में आज बहुत सी बातें उठाई जाती हैं । उसको मैं ने बहुत अच्छी तरह से देखा है । हिन्दुस्तान स्टील लिमिटेड कम्पनी का संचालन भारत के राष्ट्रपति महोदय द्वारा नियुक्त चेयरमैन, बोर्ड आफ डाइरेक्टर्स, जनरल मैनेजर, फाइनेंशियल एडवाइजर्स और चीफ एकाउन्ट्स ऑफिसर करते हैं । उसके उत्पादन में जो प्रगति हुई है उसको आप देखिये । सन् १९६० में पिग आइरन का उत्पादन १० लाख ६५ हजार और ८३३ मीट्रिक टन हुआ । सन् १९६१ में ११ लाख ३८ हजार और ८४३ मीट्रिक टन हुआ । इस प्रकार वृद्धि ४३ हजार और १० मीट्रिक टन हुई ।

**श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी खौर-  
ड़िया :** घाटा भी बतला दीजिये । ७४ लाख रुपये का घाटा है, वह भी बतला दीजिये ।

**श्री महावीर दास :** फिनिश स्टील का उत्पादन सन् १९६० में २२ लाख २८ हजार और ४१० मीट्रिक टन हुआ । सन् १९६१ में उसका उत्पादन २६ लाख १ हजार और ३०४ मीट्रिक टन हुआ, अर्थात् वृद्धि ६ लाख ७२ हजार और

[ श्री महावीर दास ]

८६४ मीट्रिक टन हुई । मैं माननीय सदस्य को बताना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग किसी रोजगार या किसी कारोबार की स्थापना करते हैं, शुरूआत करते हैं, उन्हें शुरू शुरू में इन्स्टीट्यूशनल कास्ट और अन्य प्रकार के इतने खर्चे करने पड़ते हैं कि चन्द वर्षों तक उनके प्राफ़िट ऐंड लास के आंकड़े ठीक तरह से तैयार नहीं हो सकते । परन्तु यह बात जरूर है कि जो गवर्नमेंट के लेवल पर काम होता है, जो गवर्नमेंट के द्वारा काम होता है, उसमें खर्चा तो ज्यादा होता है लेकिन वह विश्वासप्रद होता है । वह विश्वासप्रद इस लिए होता है कि वह किसी खास व्यक्ति की चीज नहीं होती है । कुछ खर्चा ज्यादा पड़ता है, परन्तु वह काम देश का होता है और देश उस से लाभान्वित होता है ।

श्री विमलकुमार मसालालजी चौरङ्गिया : यह कारखाना १०-१-५४ से चल रहा है । अभी कितने वर्ष और घाटा चलेगा ?

श्री महावीर दास : माननीय सदस्य को मालूम होना चाहिये कि यह पहले एक दूसरी कम्पनी में था । फिर कई एक कम्पनियाँ मिलाई गई, विदेशी शेयर होल्डर बने और फिर अन्त में गवर्नमेंट ने पूर्णरूप से उसको लिया । इस तरह से उसकी प्रगति हुई है जो माननीय सदस्य अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं ।

अब मैं आपका एक विषय की ओर ले जाना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि हमारे जो खास पदार्थ हैं उनके सम्बन्ध में यह कहा जाता है कि हमने शायद कोई प्रगति नहीं की है । सन् १९६०-६१ में हमारी पैदावार ७६.३ करोड़ टन हुई जो सन् १९५६-६० की पैदावार से ४.६ करोड़ टन अधिक है । चावल

सन् १९५६-६० में ३१.० करोड़ टन पैदाहुआ और सन् १९६०-६१ में ३३.७ करोड़ टन पैदा हुआ । गेहूँ सन् १९५६-६० में १०.१ करोड़ टन पैदा हुआ और सन् १९६०-६१ में १०.६ करोड़ टन पैदा हुआ । विदेशों से जो हम खास पदार्थ मंगाया करते थे, आप देखेंगे कि उसकी खरीद में भी कमी हुई है । इन सब बातों पर विचार करने से आपको ज्ञात होगा कि हमारे देश में कितनी उन्नति हुई है ।

मैं सिर्फ एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि हमारे देश में हर व्यक्ति की आमदनी बढ़ी है, परन्तु फिर भी हम दुःखी हैं । इसका कारण यह है कि हमारे देश में तिलक और दहेज जैसी सामाजिक कुरीतियाँ बढ़ रही हैं । इसका परिणाम यह होता है कि आमदनी बढ़ने पर भी लोगों को नहीं मालूम होता है कि उनकी आमदनी बढ़ रही है ।

इसके साथ साथ हमारी जन संख्या भी बहुत बढ़ रही है । आज हम प्लानिंग करते हैं और कल फिर जन संख्या बढ़ जाती है । यह भी हमारे लिए एक विचार का विषय है ।

हमारी जो आमदनी बढ़ती है उसमें काला बाजार भी इस किस्म की बाधा है जिससे हम अपनी आमदनी समझ नहीं पाते हैं । साथ ही साथ आप देखेंगे कि भ्रष्टाचार भी हमारे लिए एक रुकावट है ।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं एंथ्रोप्रिअशन बिल का समर्थन करता हूँ ।

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhagat, how long would you take?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT) : About an hour.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. The House will sit till 5.30 P.M.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Ma, I just make one submission? The whole House will, I am sure, regret that the Finance Minister is not here. The dignity of Illis House and its usefulness under the Constitution must be respected by the Ministers themselves. We have got great respect for the two junior Ministers who are here but they may not be in a position to reply to all the points that have been raised in this debate. I would request the Deputy Minister to convey to the Finance Minister our sense of great disappointment that he was not here.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I think the House will appreciate that both the Houses were discussing financial measures. The other House was discussing the Finance Bill and the Finance Minister was there.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh): The other House is not discussing the Finance Bill today.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: What I mean is simultaneously both Houses were engaged in the discussion of financial measures and the Finance Minister was present there. The Finance Minister will be present throughout the discussion for three days when the Finance Bill is taken' up here. It was but meet and proper that some of us who are in the Ministry along with him should be in charge here. As for our capacity to answer the points raised I think I will request the hon. Member to wait and have the patience to see if the points are answered or not.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes: I think you have given the explanation.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: This House has been discussing the Appropriation Bill for three days and it is natural that a large number of members

should have participated in the debate. I find that about 25 Members, 13 belonging to the Congress Party and 12 belonging to the Opposition have participated in the debate.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How many out of this 12 are fellow-wanderers?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The hon. Member should not be obsessed with tilings that happened in the past. He should be concerned with the present.

Madam, a number of points were raised, some of the important among them being the rise in prices, the progress of the Plan, agricultural development, internal and external resources, concentration of weaxch etc. and also today the rise in expenditure. These are some of the important points raised and I would try to meet these points to the best of my capacity.

Before I come to the larger issues raised I would like to dispose of some of the small points that have been made by hon. Members. Not that they are not of much importance but because I can deal with them now before I go into lengthy arguments and so that I may not be charged with the allegation that I missed those points.

The hon. Shri Ruthnaswamy referred to the growth in civil expenditure. This is not only a hardy annual but it comes up almost every month whenever Members speak about governmental expenditure, in spite of the fact that we on this side have been trying to disabuse the House of this misapprehension that there is disproportionate increase in governmental expenditure. Parliament has charged this Government with the task of implementing the planned development of the country. The House very well appreciate that during the last ten years the economic development has entailed a heavy burden on the administrative structure with the result that the expenditure has gone up. But the House or some of the Members at

[Shri B. R. Bhagat.] least failed to realise or appreciate that along with the pressure of developmental expenditure administrative expenditure also tends to go up. Where we have to draw the line is between the expenditure that is necessary for developing the economy of the country, for promoting the well-being of the country,—and some of the administrative expenditure which goes along with the development of the economy— and avoidable expenditure which may be considered as waste due to inefficiency or lack of proper scrutiny. If we analyse the expenditure in this context, we will come to a different conclusion than what the hon. Members have tried to draw. What is the picture over the last five or six years? The total expenditure met from revenue excluding certain self-balancing items increased by Rs. 543 crores. In this the increase in Defence expenditure accounts for Rs. 130 crores and I am sure the House will not grudge the increased Defence expenditure which is going for the defence of the country. Of the rest, Rs. 162 crores are for nation-building development and social services including Public Works which are a part of our Development Plans. Then there is some obligatory expenditure which forms a bulk of Rs. 167 crores and what are the main items under this? They are interest charges. Because our public debt is increasing, our borrowing programme is large and therefore necessarily the interest charges go up. You cannot check it although it may be said that they are not necessary, but Parliament has committed the Government to it. The interest charges alone increased during these years by about Rs. 43 crores. Then there are transfers to the States as a result of the various measures. If you therefore analyse the figures of increase in expenditure you will not be able to put your finger on any item which you can call either avoidable or unnecessary.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: I was referring to civil expenditure.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, may I ask . . .

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I will answer all the points if you will allow me. The Public Accounts Committee is there; various other units are there. In a democracy it is the function of Parliament to go into these things. On behalf of the Government we welcome any active scrutiny by the House but I think the scrutiny should be fair and based on facts. I am giving some facts which I would like to be challenged . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In the various Audit Reports suggestions have been made about wasteful expenditure or about moneys being misspent. I would like to know what kind of expenditure it is when you spend several lakhs of rupees for laying flower beds and gardens in the Minister's houses. What sort of nation-building is that? I know that flowers are good; Mrs. Tarkeshwari Sinha likes them very much.

SHRI SONUSING DHANSING PATIL (Maharashtra): May I request the Leader of the Opposition not to cross-question but allow the Minister to have his say in the matter?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Now, let us come to the administrative charges about which there can be a grouse. They have increased during this six-year period by only Rs. 27 crores of which Rs. 7 crores occurred under General Administration, Rs. 11 crores under Police, Rs. 6 crores under External Affairs and Rs. 3 crores under Audit. Now, part of this increased expenditure is due to the increase in pay and allowances of the Central Government employees. The increase in the Audit Department is because of the greater burden on the 'Audit Department as a result of a larger amount of developmental expenditure having been involved. Naturally there has been increase in staff and other expenditure by them. The increase under Police may be "considered disproportionate but a very large part of this increase is because



of the policing of the border. As the House is aware, the entire northern border and some of the eastern border is being policed, apart from the Military.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: A part of It is met by the State Governments.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: It is on the basis of subsidy; we give them the money. So a bulk of it comes under that. If we look at the whole thing from this point of view, then we come to the conclusion that there is no disproportionate increase in expenditure. As for charges of Administration, the House as well as we on our part have got to be vigilant. It is our duty to be vigilant and curb any undue increase in expenditure under this and we have taken measures towards this end. It is a continuous process. The suggestion was made that we should appoint a high-powered Commission like the Hoover Commission which was appointed in the United States to check all expenditure. I would submit that we cannot check increase in expenditure by appointing a commission. We did appoint some economy committees and others in the past some ten years ago. We realise—this is the most important point—that growth in expenditure in a dynamic situation as ours is a continuous process and we must have a machinery which will go into it every time, not only in respect of the rise in expenditure but also in respect of the rise in the staff. We must have a continuous, built-in machinery in each department, an independent machinery to check or scrutinise the feasibility of economy in the expenditure involved and efficiency of working. For this we have various units like the Special Reorganisation Unit, the Committee on Plan Projects and other units which go into these things. We try our level best to bring down the expenditure and to avoid all wasteful expenditure so far as administration is concerned.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: What is the percentage of growth in the *esse* of Civil Administration?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I do not like to be interrupted like this. Otherwise, I will not be able to complete my reply at all. If hon. Member\* have any questions, they may put them at the end and I shall reply to them. It is very unfair to me if questions are asked like this.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL\* (Gujarat): How is it unfair? (Inter-ruption).

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The hon. Member, Shri Arora, expressed his dissatisfaction at the way in which U.P. has been treated by the Finance Commission. He was particularly critical of the recommendation of the Commission to give a higher weight-age to the factor of contribution by reducing the weightage of population for allocating shares in income-tax to the State. He also criticised the recommendation of the Commission *on* taking account of, besides the factor of population, the relative weaknesses of the State's backwardness, etc. in distributing the shares of excise duties. As the House is aware, the Finance Commission is constituted under a statute of the Constitution and the recommendation of the Finance Commission, which is a very high-powered and independent body, is treated as an award. The Central Government does not and, in fact, should not make any change in the shares of individual States or challenge the principles which the Commission recommends for allocating the shares. There are fifteen States. They have different claims based on different considerations and it is not only a very difficult task but a delicate task which the Commission has tried to perform to the best of its ability. To disturb its recommendations would lead to various difficulties. Apart from the propriety of it, it is in the nature of an award which if not accepted would lead to so many practical difficulties between States and States. Therefore, it will not be proper to change the recommendations of the Finance Commission.

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

Then, he said that because there has been a change in the structure of company taxes, there has been a shrinkage in the divisible pool so far as income-tax is concerned. He seems to be labouring under a misapprehension that the States have to lose as a result of such a change two years ago. Hon. Members would recall that so long as income-tax was divisible according to the recommendation of the Second Finance Commission, Government had decided to make good the loss of the States arising from the changes in the company tax structure by the payment of *ad hoc* grants. The Third Finance Commission was specifically asked to take these changes into account. It is important to remember that the scheme of devolution is an integrated one and cannot be dealt with separately for each item of divisible tax. The Commission has sought to fill the entire gap in the revenue resources of the State Governments; firstly, by allocating a share of Central taxes and duties and then if the gap still remains unfilled by covering it by the payment of grants-in-aid. So, there is no loss to the States as a result of the change in the tax structure or anything else.

The hon. Member, Shri Chordia, referred to the loss of Rs. 12-44 crores on the introduction of decimal coinage. I entirely fail to understand how he has calculated this to be a loss. So far as I know, only a small amount had to be incurred on publicity and other administrative arrangements leading to this reform, but this certainly does not constitute an item of loss. Perhaps the hon. Member was confused by the accounting arrangements of coinage operations. On the introduction of new coins, the difference between their face value and their metallic content is treated as a profit. Likewise, on the withdrawal of old coins, the difference between the face value and the value of the metals extracted on the melting of these coins is treated notionally as a loss which, in fact, represents a write back of the profit assumed earlier.

There is thus virtually no loss involved on coinage operations. I am surprised that the hon. Member should have chosen this subject as a matter open to criticism. In fact, the introduction of new decimal coinage in India has been accepted in the country and outside as an important administrative reform and the manner in which it was brought about has received universal acclaim. For the benefit of the hon. Member I might also inform him that thinking in governmental circles even in Great Britain is also on these lines. They have set up a Committee of Enquiry in Great Britain to examine the possibility of introducing decimal coinage. So, it is a thinking in the right direction all the world over.

Then, some hon. Members referred to our investments in the public sector. I was surprised, rather shocked, at the allegations made, sweeping remarks made that the public sector undertakings have miserably failed. It reflects more the outlook, the attitude with which they see these public sector undertakings than the actual facts.

SHRI A. D. MANI; May I know whether the hon. Minister can quote any statistics to show that the public sector undertakings are a success? If people are saying irresponsible thing\* on this side, he should not mind it.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: This is not the first time that facts and arguments have been given to show that the public sector undertakings are not only not a failure but they are doing very well and they are going to make a very significant contribution.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL; Why don't you produce facts and figure\* actually to show which industry is doing well?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT; If the hon. Member shuts his eyes and mind to whatever has been given, what can I do? It is not only once, but repeatedly in this House in this Session twice.

or thrice facts and figures have been given.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Does the hon. Minister mean to say that everybody on this side is shutting his eyes. I say it is a persistent demand from the Opposition.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I have not got much time at my disposal and I shall try to give some facts and arguments to show . . .

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी  
चौरीया : क्या यह जो आडिट की  
रिपोर्ट है और इसमें जो घाटे बताये  
हैं आपके कारखानों के बारे में, क्या वे  
गलत हैं ? अगर आप कहते हैं कि ये  
गलत हैं तो हम भी बिदड़ा कर लेंगे ।

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: As was explained by the Finance Minister in his Budget Speech, Government attach considerable importance to the question of earning adequate returns on the amounts invested on public sector enterprises, so that these could be ploughed back for further investment. This is a task which continues to receive constant attention.

The point was made that concerns like Oil India and the Indian Refineries Limited are running at a loss. The financial working of public undertakings is a subject on which a clarification has been given in this House, as well as in the other House, on several occasions. The main point which I shall repeat is that it is not fair to look at the financial results of undertakings, which have only recently been set up and which have not yet started production. For example, the figure given by the hon. Member, of course, is there in the Explanatory Memorandum, viz., 3 per cent return. But that includes all the steel plants, which is a very big portion of the capital employed. There it is not fair. They are at the construction stage or at the stage in

which the construction period is not complete. It is not that only in the public sector the three steel plants have not yet attained maximum production or that they are not showing returns. Take also the private sector. For example, the Tatas who undertook a programme of expansion during the same period when the public sector was set up, have also not reached the maximum production, and it would be of interest to the House to know that the Tatas do maintain the dividend which they were paying for the past so many years. They had to draw funds out of their reserves so that they could maintain the dividend. So it is not fair to conclude that all the capital employed in the big concerns like the steel plants is not productive when they have not completed their gestation period.

AN HON. MEMBER: The major portion is invested in steel plants.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Take, for example, some of the concerns which are running and the profits that they have made. For example, in 1960-61 the Hindusthan Machine Tools Factory made a profit after tax of 12.5 per cent as a percentage of net worth. Hon. Members would recall that in the initial stages of the establishment of the Machine Tools Factory similar apprehension was expressed by this House or by some sections of the House. But today the picture is that not only the Hindusthan Machine Tools Factory is giving a dividend of 12.5 per cent but the future expansion of the Factory is going to be done with the profits earned by it. This is an important factory which the House ought to know. Similarly in the case of Hindusthan Cable the profit after tax as a percentage of net worth was 11.2 per cent; Hindusthan Antibiotics 13.31; Hindusthan Insecticides 11.4. Then there is the Travancore Minerals. So, if you see the profits of most of the running concerns, they are above 10 per cent, and they have not been running for

[Shri B. R. Bhagat.] a long period. If you take them separately, the working is good, the profit declared is good, and the expectation raised in the Budget speech by the Finance Minister that the public sector enterprises are going to make significant contribution will be realised.

SHRI P. A. SOLOMON: You have given the name of the Travancore Minerals but not the figure.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: So, to say that the public sector enterprises are a failure is not only to give a wrong impression to the House but also to ignore the basic facts that have been given from time to time.

I now come to the point raised by the hon. Member, Shri Bhupesh Gupta. While listening to his long ^eloquence of ninety minutes, I felt that he was speaking more out of anger and that he was giving wrong emphasis and was quite often led astray from the main argument. He spoke about the postponement of the meeting of the Aid India Club and complained that whatever aid had already become available "was not being utilised. That was the main point he made about that. He referred to the figure given in the Economic Survey and said that as on 1st October 1961 Rs. 1386-86 crores worth of aid had remained unutilised. That is the figure he quoted from the Economic Survey. This is correct. But he has failed to draw the correct conclusion from it. That is my grievance against him. He said that at the end of the Second Plan period foreign assistance worth Rs. 943 crores had remained unutilised. That is also true. But he fails to realise that this figure of Rs. 943 crores includes the balance of assistance amounting to Rs. 570 crores under PL-480 which was authorised only in May 1960, and this is a four-year programme. So, he could not expect this to be utilised in one year or in a few months. If you deduct that, the figure would be much

less. So, if you exclude this figure, the unutilised balance of assistance in respect of Second Plan projects which have been carried over into the Third Plan is not Rs. 943 crores but Rs. 372 crores. He has also exaggerated the figure of balance of assistance which remained unutilised as on 1st October 1961. This is another date he has mentioned. While it is true that the unutilised balance available as on that date was Rs. 1386-86 crores, this figure also includes the unutilised balance from the PL-480 agreement. Also this includes another figure of Rs. 329 crores of assistance from East European countries which was authorised for the Third Plan projects in the last year of the Second Plan and also aid authorised during April—September 1961. These are the three things which he had excluded. I think he is intelligent enough to know that these were the figures, but he did not think it proper to mention them. If you exclude PL-480 balance, Rs. 326 crores of assistance from East European countries and also aid authorised between April and September, 1961 . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is not a question of that. It is a question of utilisation.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Aid authorised between April and September 1961 cannot obviously be utilised in October 1961. So, if you take all these into account, the balance of unutilised aid is not so much as he tried to show.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Tell me how much. Your Secretary, Mr. Jha, should know it.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: He is afraid of the facts, and that is why he tries to interrupt. Then, the hon. Member should know that utilisation of the aid is in different stages. When a loan agreement is signed in the case of free aid, it can be utilised immediately, it has been utilised immediately. In the case of free aid from the U.K. or Germany, as soon as the

agreement is signed the entire amount is utilised because it goes towards the maintenance of the economy. But then the bulk of the aid is what is called tied to the projects, and it is utilised in various stages. Let me explain some of the stages for the benefit of the hon. Member of the project-tied loans. Immediately the negotiations are completed the orders are to be placed and the equipments are to be received before the loans are actually utilised. So, there is necessarily a time-lag. Then there are the power projects, the big heavy engineering projects, and so on, for which the machines are not readily available which we can go and order. The machines are specially made to order. We place the order only when the loan agreement is signed. Sometimes there is a two-year time-lag, sometimes it is eighteen months. So, there is necessarily a time-lag in the project-tied aid which the hon. Member should appreciate.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You must relate it to the target.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The basic point remains that regarding his anxiety to utilise the aid rapidly so that the implementation of the project should be there, I am one with him, and not only this but the Finance Minister in his Budget speech and recently in the statement on the foreign exchange situation which he placed on the Table of the House only a few days ago has emphasized the point—apart from taking certain measures he has emphasized this point—that the Government is taking all steps towards the speedy utilisation of the aid. That statement is there. But the point that my friend made that a big part of the aid is not being<sup>1</sup> utilised is not correct. Now, he tried in his speech to make much of 5 P.M. the foreign exchange situation. I think the House is aware that nobody is more concerned about it than the Finance Minister himself who lost no time in coming to the House and

making the country aware of the foreign exchange situation and of the steps that he was going to take. Even in his last statement, he has detailed a number of steps that he is going to take so that the foreign exchange situation could be under control.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do you mean to say that the 'Aid India Club' . . .

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: And to say that the Finance Minister or some of the officials of the Finance Ministry have given a wrong picture to the House is not only unfair but it is absolutely without any factual basis because, as I said, from time to time facts have been placed before the House and the House has been taken . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, he should answer that point. I read out the Finance Minister's . . .

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am not yielding. Therefore, the point remains that he did not offer any constructive suggestion about the difficult position in which the country is today. It is a national problem, this foreign exchange situation. Everybody knows, the House knows, that for the implementation of the Third Plan, we did incur a foreign exchange liability and the Finance Minister and the Government are doing their best to raise all the resources both internally and also externally. So, it is not a party problem. But the hon. Member instead of making any constructive suggestion, has tried to make much of a situation like this, which he should not have done. He had hardly any constructive suggestion to make except to say that all the gold hoards in the country should be frozen as if everybody has got gold. The suggestion was made some time ago and we in the Finance Ministry went into this question and examined it; the Government considered it and

[Shri B. R. Bhagat.]

we found it difficult to implement it in a practical way. It may be possible in a country to which the hon. Member ideologically belongs where you can freeze all the assets by just a decree of the government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Ideologically belonging to a country? No, no. What is meant by 'ideologically belonging to a country', I would like to know.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I did not say 'physically'.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Pathologically belonging to a Minister.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The shoe pinches on the . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I say, he pathologically belongs to the Minister.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The House knows what it means.

SHRI A. D. MANI: For information, which country is that?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Well, it is better that it is not made more clear, but I think the hon. Member has got the hint.

What I was saying was that the only suggestion that he made was about freezing of all the gold. It is possible in a country where there is no democratic freedom and where the State by a law can freeze all the assets including gold. But in a democratic country like India, it is not possible.

Therefore, after going into all the pros and cons, we came to the conclusion that although it might be a very tempting suggestion, it could not be implemented. Therefore, the problem is to find a remedy. That is how we look at things, to find a remedy or a course of action which is both useful and effective. He should not attack the Government without any

purpose. It is not easy to find such a remedy. But I am glad that hon. Members are exercised over this problem, and we have not given up hope of finding a solution to this deep-seated and difficult problem. As for the foreign exchange situation, we have already taken a number of steps to restrict imports and travel, and are making every effort to impart a new dynamism to our exports. No one questions the seriousness of the situation. But the important thing again is to work together and I would request the hon. Member to view this problem in this spirit and work together for finding a solution rather than indulge in recriminations against individual Ministers or officials of the Government.

Then, Madam, the hon. Member was very vehement about the U.K.'s joining the Common market and its effects on Indian exports. He used strong language and referred to the "blackmailing methods and exploitation by the Western Powers". No one denies that the developments in Western Europe have a material bearing on India's trade as they have on the trade of a number of other countries. India's position on the U.K.'s entry . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is what your Secretaries write.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: . . . into the Common Market has been explained to the British Government and other Commonwealth countries . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Has he ever yielded to anybody in his life?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Shri Bhupesh Gupta wanted to know where we stood in regard to these developments. Government has already explained in this House and elsewhere that it would be our policy to persuade the United Kingdom and the European Economic Community to avoid such measures as are likely to affect adversely the trade of the underdeve-

loped countries. There is no question of servility either to the European Common Market or to the U.K. Whether there is a Common Market or not and whether or not the U.K. joins it, our point of view is that the prosperous countries of the world should provide growing markets for our exports by adopting truly liberal and far-sighted policies. Otherwise, the present imbalance in our trade with these countries will continue. There is considerable understanding of our point of view abroad, and there is no need to judge things prematurely. In the ultimate analysis, it is only through our own efforts at expanding production of export industries and making them competitive in the world markets that we should hope to improve our export earnings. But our efforts should not be thwarted by restrictive policies abroad and recriminations in our own domestic field.

The hon. Member said that in our Memorandum to the European Common Market, we have adopted a very defeatist attitude.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have given a certificate to the European Common Market.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The hon. Member's way of looking at things is different. It is different on many fronts, on a variety of national fronts, and on international fronts. He looks at the European Common Market from one point of view. We look at it from the point of view that we have described. (*Interruption*). He may believe in the policy of speaking strong language or speaking even about blackmailing. We do not believe in that policy, we believe in a policy of gentleness, saying our things quietly in a gentle manner. But the whole world knows that however gentle and decent we may be in our ways, we are firm in our national policies and our attitudes. That is our policy and we believe that harsh words do not make any sense.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, I like to know . . .

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: For your information, behind . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, you will kindly protect me because I read it out. I read out the statements made by the Prime Minister in this House, made at the Press Conference and made in the other House where he in His mild way said things which were in principle very strong. He never gave a certificate to the Common Market but the Memorandum that was submitted by the Government to the members of the European Economic Community contained a clear, categorical certificate given by this Government. Why is there this contradiction?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: That is a conclusion which the hon. Member draws and whatever he has quoted from the second paragraph of the Memorandum is torn out of context and he is giving it a different meaning. The Memorandum . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No. Why was the Memorandum published in 'The Economic Times' and the Members of the House had not been given?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: A copy has been laid on the Table.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is a privilege of the House. We are entitled to have the Memorandum. I wrote a letter to the Deputy Minister of Finance requesting him to supply us with copies. You will be surprised to hear that we have not been supplied. I do not know whether any Member . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: We have not been supplied.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But the full text of the Memorandum has been published in 'The Economic Times'. How is it . . .

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: This Memorandum was laid on the Table of the House by the Minister of International Trade.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How is it that you have omitted us? You did not give it to Parliament, to Members either in this House or in the other House. "The Economic Times" published the full text of the Memorandum. It must have got it from you. Tell us how it happened.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: This is a public document. And the short point is that he has quoted out of context and tried to show that it does not represent the Government's views. The Memorandum is on behalf of the Government and represents . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is a public document, he says.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: He tried to make out that while on the one hand we cared to develop Iran—and even went out of our way—with the Western countries, we were not trying to develop our trade with the East European countries. This is again an attitude of mind with which, you know, he looks at the thing. Our policy is to promote trade on all fronts. With the Western countries, with the other countries and also with the East European countries we have been trying to promote trade so much so that since 1952 our trade with the East European countries has gone up from Rs. 5 crores to Rs. 100 crores in 1961.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): What is the percentage?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: We do not look at things, this trade and other matters, from any political angle or from any ideological angle. We want to promote . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: With one-third of the world your trade is 7·8 per cent; with the rest it is about 94 per cent.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Then, Sir, the hon. Member in his usual waywardness tried to frame certain charges against the Finance Minister while he dealt with the taxation in the Soviet system. Sir, let me categorically say to the House with the greatest force at my command that if you go through the speech of the hon. Minister, which he made while replying to a point raised by an hon. Member belonging to the party of the hon. Member here, you will find that he was replying to a short question, but he did not add any point or say anything in the nature of a complaint against a friendly country. To say that he has spoken against a friendly country or slandered a friendly country is quite without any basis and it is factually not true. In fact the Finance Minister went out of his way to say that he was not quoting the figures of taxation in the Soviet Union in order to criticise them—he said that—for they too must raise resources for their development as they see fit. In spite of this statement of his the hon. Member tried to give the impression that the Finance Minister was slandering the Soviet Union. This is absolutely wrong. This is not the way to indulge in debate, or to have a parliamentary debate, and it puts me in difficulty to reply to the points which he raised when he goes beyond that. But the point remains that he said this in reply to the point raised, because the hon. Member there belonging to his party raised a question that because the Finance Minister is indulging in indirect taxation, indirect taxation is going up and therefore it is a burden on the poor, that this tax system is regressive and is a step against socialism. And in that context the Finance Minister was trying to give figures from the Soviet Union, which the hon. Member could not deny, and that was the only point he was making and therefore . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It was the case ten years ago.



SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: So here also Sir, the point remains, and I am going to prove to this hon. House that what the Finance Minister said there and what I am going to say here proves the point that merely because a country introduces indirect taxation, it is not a step against socialism, or is not a burden on the poor. Let us see, Sir, the picture in this context, because the hon. Member said that indirect Taxation is a negation of socialism. Also I am reminded that he also objected to his quoting figures from American sources. Sir, it makes no difference from which source figures are quoted as long as the figures are correct.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is the point. I challenge those figures and I offer to give the Finance Minister an authoritative Soviet publication which is sold here.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Let him challenge and shout in challenge, but let me tell him, let me give the figures from a more respectable source, from the official source of the Soviet Union, and the conclusion would be the same. That is my point. I have looked up the official

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: There the standard of living is increasing year by year.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I have looked up the official statistics

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But here is the book, "Road to Communism," which contains the speeches of the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, in which the taxes are also dealt with. Are you aware of this book?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Let him get the facts from his own source. Now I have

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You would not have read this book.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I have looked up the official statistics of the Soviet Union

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Your Secretaries never read Soviet books; they spend time in reading American literature.

SHRI M. H. SAMUEL (Andhra Pradesh): They do so because they are not correct.

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SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who said they are not 'correct'? And do I understand that the Secretaries believe that the American books are correct? You ask them to read the other also.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I thought that the hon. Member's steam was off when he spoke for 90 minutes.

AN HON. MEMBER: No, no 70 minutes.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I have looked up the official statistics of the Soviet Union and I got a picture which was, no different from what was given by the Finance Minister in the other House. According to the official Soviet journal 'Izvestia', Soviet Union's net national Income—again I do not want to enter into the other figures, that of national income, etc. unless the hon. Member wants it, I would skip them over because then he would say that the two figures are not comparable although I have tried to make them more comparable, but I want to go to the basic point, the short point that he raised

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All your points are short.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: If you see, you will find that the proportion of turnover taxes to national income in the U.S.S.R. works out, according to this official source—again I am trying to underline it—to as high as 28-2 per cent. In addition, there are profits of public enterprises which cannot be distinguished from taxation since it is open to the State to increase the prices of commodities as a means of raising resources. If these profits are also added on, the proportion goes up,

[Shri B. R. Bhagat.]

to as high as 45 per cent—this is indirect taxation. In India indirect taxes constitute only 6.9 per cent of national income, and since the two national incomes are not comparable, because we include the contribution of services and they do not include the contribution, I have tried to bring round the comparable figures, and if we also exclude the services, the indirect taxation may go up to 10 per cent as against their 28 per cent: if you include the contribution of the public enterprises which are there. I mean the profits therefrom, which cannot be distinguished from taxation, in their case it comes to 45 per cent. Also you should remember that the Soviet Union has gone far ahead in their journey towards economic development whereas India today is far behind in that journey to understand the proportion of indirect taxes in the two countries, and then you can draw your own conclusions. Shri Bhupesh Gupta knew the weakness of this line of argument and therefore he came with the clever argument that the turnover taxes are not indirect taxes and that they are different from our excise duties. That is the fine point he made in support of his argument. For example, he said that turnover taxes such as those on electricity are paid by the State and that therefore they are not indirect taxes. The same is true of excise duties here too. I want to point out . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Minister can certainly answer but he should not just put things into my mouth. I pointed out that turnover tax is imposed not only on consumption articles but on such other things as electricity and power which are consumed in the Soviet Union by the State. The State imposes and the State pays the taxes, and there again, Mr. Bhagat, I pointed out that prices are reduced and certain other amenities are given. The entire structure of the thing I read out to you, and "would you ask your Secretary for

Heaven's sake, to read what Mr. Khrushchev says and write rather than unknown writers of America?

SHRI K. L. NARASIMHAM (Andhra Pradesh): He believes only in American agency. Can you tell us what is the *per capita* income there in the Soviet Union and here in India? Can you tell us also the percentage of taxation in relation to the *per capita* income in the Soviet Union and the corresponding percentage here?

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala): Are you representing Russia?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: That is a separate question.

SHRI K. L. NARASIMHAM: Are you representing America?"

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI): We represent both.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I shall present you with two copies of this book. One you pass on to the Secretary, and another you read to yourself.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I should like to have those presents.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The only thing is, I hope, you will not be called a fellow-traveller and I will give you the book.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Then let us see the book. The point is that their turnover tax is 28.2 per cent and if the profits of their public enterprises are added on, it comes to 45 per cent, whereas in India indirect taxes come to only 10 per cent. It is quite proper for me to say that the distinction which he tried to make in the case of turnover taxes by saying that they were of a different nature and that they were different from excise duties, is a distinction without difference. He gave some examples; he said that electricity is consumed by the State. Likewise steel or power or cement is consumed by the State.

ana the state is the biggest tax-payer on those things in the shape of excise duties here. That is the point. If the Government purchases commodities • . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Does the taxation bear the same meaning here as is the case in the Soviet Union"

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: If the Government purchases commodities on which excise duties are levied, it is not as if Government in this country is exempt from the payment of taxes. In fact there is hardly any distinction between a turnover tax and an excise duty except in the method of levy. We could, at a stroke, convert all excise duties into a fixed or varying *ad valorem* tax which would amount to the same thing as turnover tax in so far as its effects on prices, production, etc. are concerned. The distinction between turnover tax and excise duty is a distinction with difference. It is a pity that the hon. Member should have had to seek refuge in this distinction. He also said that—I again come to another example apart from electricity—items like milk, fruits and other essential consumer goods are exempt from turnover tax, but they are exempt from excise tax here, even from sales tax. There is no excise duty on these commodities. So, Madam, there is absolutely no distinction between the two. And what is the conclusion? In spite of the eloquence, anger and indignation of the hon. Member the conclusion is" that in the march of economic development each country thinks fit to levy taxes in the manner it thinks best. The Soviet Union has raised taxes. It is not a criticism. Again I want to impress" upon this House that when we quote the Soviet Union, it is not in a spirit to criticise them. The comparison is to prove the point that indirect taxation does not necessarily mean regressive taxation or a negation of socialism. If we choose goods properly and levy taxes, it can mean not only not negation of socialism but also it would go

to decrease the inequalities of income. (*Interruptions by some hon. Members*) I have only ten minutes at my disposal.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You pay your Secretaries for this kind of brief. I shall brief you better without taking any money.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Now you are going to other points.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: We would not accept you as a Secretary.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I think that would do with the hon. Member's point.

The honourable Shri Vajpayee made certain points about the L.I.C. He said that a high-powered enquiry committee should be set up to look into the affairs of the L.I.C. I submit, Sir, that it is entirely not warranted by facts which he has cited of the working of the L.I.C. The L.I.C. has submitted its report. The Estimates Committee has gone into it, and all these do not suggest any alarming situation which he has tried to point.

Now, Madam, let us come to the points that he has made. He said that the L.I.C. development plans are over-ambitious. In a country like ours where the population is growing fast, where more and more employment is becoming available and where a L.I.C. policy is one of the most desirable means of saving for the individual, an annual increase of 20 per cent, or 25 per cent, in new business is surely no unrealistic target. Actually from time to time in the debates the House wanted the L.I.C. to go ahead rapidly. An analysis of lapses of policies year by year from 1955 which is given in the Corporation's Fourth Annual Report shows that since its establishment, the L.I.C.'s lapse ratio has shown a steady fall. To ensure that good quality business is written and that bad business is avoided, the Corporation insists

[Shri B. R. Bhagat.] on payment of a minimum of three monthly premiums in the case of monthly policies which are proposed at the end of the year when the rush of business is the highest. The Chairman of the L.I.C. is keeping a strict watch on the figures of lapses, and if any undesirable features are disclosed in respect of any region, he will take the necessary steps to remedy the situation.

Then, the hon. Member said about the delay in settlement of claims. Madam, it will be seen that the allegation that the L.I.C. unnecessarily delays payment and keeps large amounts in suspense is not objectively sound. I shall presently give you the latest figures that we have for claims outstanding on March 31st, 1962 when the amount was about Rs. 13' 5 crores. In 1960, however, the amount of claims was Rs. 31 crores and the number of claims involved was 1,34,000. Then, again, while the premium of the L.I.C. for the year 1960 was nearly Rs. 97 crores, the total amount lying unadjusted was about Rs. 8'5 crores only.

The L.I.C. is keenly aware that the claims when they arise should be settled promptly. But it happens that in many cases the whereabouts of the policyholders in respect of policies, which had become paid-up years ago, are not known, and tracing the policyholder takes time. Sometimes, again, the policyholders or claimants cause delay in completing the formalities before receiving payment. Death claims, moreover, unavoidably take some time in investigating especially if the policyholder was a resident in an outlying area. The unadjusted receipts which, as I said, amount to less than 10 per cent, of the L.I.C.'s annual income are mainly due to reasons like short remittances of premium by policyholders, remittances sent with policy numbers that are incorrect, premiums sent after days of grace without payment of late fee and so on. The L.I.C. is doing its best to

settle claims as promptly as practicable and to reduce the figure of adjusted receipts on its books.

Then about securing mortgage loans, the hon. Member said that there was corruption, or money had to be paid. In such a problem, Sir, children's allegations will not help us. The L.I.C. and the Government are keen that if bribery is there, it has to be wiped out completely, and I would seek the co-operation of the hon. Member to give us some typical cases in which there have been some bribes given so that we may be able to deal with those cases. We have published a brochure for making it known to the public that there is no need of another intermediary between the L.I.C. and the person concerned for instituting a mortgage. The brochure published by the L.I.C. underlines this point very carefully. So, Madam if you see all this problem, I think the L.I.C. is trying to do its best. The position is satisfactory and the L.I.C. is trying to improve things and there is no case for enquiry of the nature which the hon. Member has suggested.

One last point, again a point raised by the hon. Shri Bhupesh Gupta, namely, about the concentration of wealth. This point was raised in the other House. The Finance Minister in his reply on the Finance Bill has tried to deal with it at a great length. Since the point has been raised by more than one hon. Member, I would try to deal with it here also although I would not like to enter into a lengthy debate whether inequalities of income and wealth have increased or not, because at the present moment we do not have sufficient information to allay the fear of the hon. Member that our reply would always be based on certain facts which cannot be statistically proved. At the present moment the Committee appointed by the Planning Commission is going into this question and many things would be revealed after the Committee has done its work.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The appointment of the Committee itself was done on the basis of a presumption that concentration of wealth was taking place. And it was done after a debate in the other House when the Prime Minister gave the assurance. In a speech in the other House he said that as a result of the Plan 5 to 10 per cent, people had benefited and he admitted that 90 per cent, or so had not. He made that statement. It is in the proceedings of the other House. On that presumption a committee was appointed. Therefore, you must bear that also in mind.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: You did not draw the conclusion which the hon. Prime Minister has drawn. Let me point out this. If you see some of the indirect evidences, how do you know of such a situation? One way of saying is that incomes of ten persons during the last ten years have increased from Rs. 100 crores to Rs. 250 crores. I fail to understand it. When ten persons had never an income of Rs. 100 crores, how it increased to Rs. 250 crores? I think he must have meant the companies and the persons controlling the assets of companies. But controlling the assets does not mean owning them. That is one way of looking at things. I only want the indulgence of the House and request that this whole question be looked at as an integrated whole. You say that some groups of companies have increased their assets and, therefore, you come to this conclusion. It is not a scientific way of looking at things. Because so many things are put in a general way, that is why we appointed this committee to tackle this problem.

There is another way of looking at these things as against looking at increases in larger incomes or of very large incomes that are pointed out. If one looks at the increase in the consumption of the kind of commodities which are normally consumed by poor classes when they get slightly richer, if one also looks at the struc-

ture of direct taxation and the way in which it has evolved in the last few years, if one also compares the relative increase in the prices of agricultural commodities and those of manufactures, the conclusion is inevitable that the poor classes have certainly enjoyed a significant increase in incomes and that rural areas as a whole have prospered as a result of our development programmes. The consumption of foodgrains itself is the most direct evidence of this. The *per capita* availability of cereals and pulses has gone up from 13'2 ounces per day to 16'2 ounces per day in the last ten years. The rich do not add to their consumption of grain when their incomes increase; the same is true of coarse varieties of clothing as also of durable consumer goods such as bicycles. The fortunes of a few naturally attract much more public notice than the slow and steady improvement in the conditions of the masses. To say this, however, is not to deny that there are problems like unemployment about which we are as much concerned as are the hon. Members. The pressure of population on land has been increasing in recent years and although our industrial output has nearly doubled in the last ten years, we have not been able to absorb all the new entrants to the labour force in industry, transport and other services. It was in view of this difficulty that a programme of rural works has been initiated during the Third Plan period. We are taking a number of steps like establishing rural industrial estates so that wherever there are regional depressed areas, we may be able to lift the economy and bring about a change.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I dispute some of the facts that the Deputy Minister has just now stated, because they are not correct. He said something about sugar and cloth and so on. But actually there is not much of a change. Even in the British days the consumption was about 15 ounces. In England in the 19th century and in America in the 20th century, con-

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] centration of wealth did take place and some sections of the population became rich and they got a little more money. That does not mean that concentration of wealth has not taken place. It did in the beginning of this century in England and in the U.S.A. Therefore, even if I assume that some section of the community is getting one or two clothes more and so on, it does not mean that concentration of wealth has not taken place here. The theoretical fallacy is there.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The hon. Member is very backward in his economic thinking because he tries to judge by one fact and says there is concentration of wealth just because he sees some people rich. You should see the picture for the last ten years. During this period there is a change in the entire economy. There is the public sector which has been built up and it is going to have a commanding position in our economy. See how the taxation system and structure has been built up, how the entire economic structure is built up and how the rural economy has come up and how the poorer classes are being pushed up, by the measures under the various Plans that have been taken during the last ten years, and you come to the conclusion that things are better now. We do not claim that inequality has been lessened very much. But it is a fact that but for these steps and for the progress of the public sector and the change in the tax structure and but for the various other measures, this inequality in incomes would have been much more than what it is today, and on the balance of circumstances we come to the conclusion that the inequality of wealth is not more than what it was before and, if anything, it is less.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, we have been fried in butter instead of in mustard oil.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: One last point I have yet to deal with. It has been pointed out that we have not been able to look to the future with any perspective. This point was made by Shri Lingam. May I invite his attention to page 29 of the Third Five Year Plan where tentative targets for 1970-71 have been given for the basic industries, foodgrains, transport etc? It is said there that we are working tentatively within this framework of a long-term Plan which seeks to achieve a tentative target of 18 to 19 million tons of steel by the end of the Fourth Plan, 170 to 180 million tons of coal and 24 to 26 million tons of cement. A target of 125 million tons of foodgrains is also indicated there. The importance of having a long-term perspective for our current efforts has thus been recognised by the Planning Commission.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1962-63, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill. There are no amendments.

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

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

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Madam, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

*The question was proposed.*

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, I want to make one observation at this stage. I desire to make one thing clear for your consideration. When

the Appropriation Bill is being discussed, we discuss matters relating not only to the Finance Ministry but other Ministries also. Naturally, we are entitled to and in fact, we do bring up other matters, as indeed we have done. But no other Minister cared to reply to any of the points we had raised, whether it be about the External Affairs Ministry or the various other Ministries. I notice that none of them was even present here and I do not think this is doing justice to this House or showing respect to this House. What is the use of having an Appropriation Bill discussed here? Of course, matters relating to the Finance Ministry are discussed during this debate. But other matters relating to other Ministries also come up in the discussion in this House, more especially because we do not have an opportunity of discussing the Demands for Grants here. But you will have noticed, Madam Deputy Chairman, how the Government has treated this matter. I am not particularly blaming the Finance Minister. After all, he is a senior member of the Government. But certainly there are other Ministers. They could have come and studied things overnight. Saturday was there and there was then Sunday in between. They could have done it. I strongly object to this kind of attitude on the part of the Government towards this House and to the Members of this House, to those of the Opposition and also, to hon. Members on the other side of the House. Not one point which does not concern the Finance Ministry as such and its sphere of administration, that was raised here has been answered. I am extremely sorry.

Before I finish, let me say one thing more. I do not like that Ministers should always speak with this kind of brief given to them. First of all, they are representatives of the people, elected by the people. They have their responsibility to the Party and they are answerable to some extent to the people also. But you see, in the course of the reply that the

Deputy Minister gave, he stuck, when dealing with the Soviet figures and so on, to what the Americans had said. It did not occur to those who briefed him or to the Minister that the Soviet Union also is a civilized country, that it publishes books which are available in the city of Delhi itself and more books are published on finance and other subjects in the Soviet Union than in any other country in the world. Yet they have not cared to refer to one single book originating from that country, written by authoritative people and even by their Prime Minister. I say, this is not a serious way of dealing with this subject. I expected that in the course of the reply this question of E.C.M. would be dealt with, more especially since Mr. Sandys is here and the Finance Minister is having discussions with him. We should have thought that he would come better equipped after having had personal talks with the British Commonwealth Secretary and he would have taken part in the debate and in the course of it informed the House as to where we stand. Madam Deputy Chairman, I pointed out that certain statements had been made in the Memorandum which ran counter to the sentiments expressed by the Prime Minister with regard to the European Economic Community, certain statements made by him about the scope, function and future of the organisation but this has just been brushed aside. There is no answer. Now, they can say that Government have changed their policy since the Prime Minister made that statement and that is why this kind of statement came to be written but Government did not say that. They want in a rather strange way to square what has been stated in the memorandum submitted to the European Economic Community by Mr. Lai with what the Prime Minister has said. I put it to you that any reasonable man—and if you will look into it, you—will find that there is a patent and unambiguous contradiction in the matter of looking at things. The Prime Minister looks at things from a critical angle but

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

the memorandum says that it will be good for the Member-countries and it will be good for people abroad. This is exactly what the Prime Minister repudiated at the Press Conference, In this House and in the other House and I can give dates and exact quotation. There is no attempt on the part of the Government to explain how the contradiction came to be made. All I can say is that the approach of the Government with regard to this question is one that is not very straightforward, that does not conform to the honour of the country. Yes, I would like the sentiment to be expressed, E.C.M. or no E.C.M, Ind'a shall go forward. Why then this cringing expression in the Memorandum? Why does Mr. Lai go on bended knees to people asking for little mercies and concessions from those people who are determined to drag India into the E.C.M. which jeopardises not only our external trade but the implementation of our Plan? From the press today you get the report that the Finance Minister is perhaps bargaining with Mr. Sandys. Well, he must have been doing some hard kind of bargaining but then it is also equally clear that nothing is coming out from the talks and they stick to their position. How can Britain take any other position? You may dislike our politics but at the same time, these are matters to be studied objectively. Britain is there and West Germany is a firm factor in the E.C.M. and, therefore, Britain is not in a position even if it wants, to put her case on the contrary. Today, the European community is so developed under the concentration of power in the western part of the European continent, especially in the hands of the Federal Republic of West Germany, that they have no other go. As far as the British Imperialists are concerned, they have to swallow this thing and this is being opposed by many in the Labour Party, by the trade union movement. I have been in touch with the British Labour movement.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I think you have made this point clear in your speech.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not want to cross swords with him at this stage because he is doing some hard bargaining. I know Mr. Sandys when I was in England. He is the son-in-law of a great father-in-law. Anyway, I know hard bargaining is going on but I should like to know where we stand. You are not getting anything excepting some sparks. I saw Mrs. Menon smiling very happily while receiving Mr. Sandys. I can understand a smile but what I cannot understand is why the Government should not clearly state firstly, why they do not condemn this business of the E.C.M. as a retrograde step which harms trade between East and West, which stands in the way of the normalisation of trade in the world which we want in our interest as in the interests of the other countries, and secondly, what is the alternative policy to meet the situation, not asking little mercies and concessions of them, not going in for this kind of bargaining. What I suggested and I suggest here again is that I should like the Finance Minister to see that we review and re-examine our trade pattern. We should diversify our trade. West Germany, in no time, accounts for 10 per cent, of our trade and the entire socialist system today has less than 9 per cent, of our trade. Let him explain how our trade is being bogged up with certain Western countries, giving them a position of vantage to dictate their own terms and brow-beat us into submission in such important economic matters.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think you have made your point.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am sorry that this matter has been treated in this way. We do not bring in partisan considerations in such things. The hon. Minister said that I introduced partisan spirit. Why should I?



The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry also mentioned this thing.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I never said that. The hon. Member is wrongly quoting me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We shall be very grateful to the Finance Minister if he will kindly tell us where exactly we stand. I believe Mr. Sandys is about to say 'good bye' now! He can tell us exactly where we stand.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think you have finished, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I think this Government must have a clearly orientated policy to meet the situation created by the move of the European Economic Community and Britain's attempt or rather proposal to join it regardless of what happens to another country.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: May I say, Madam, that this Government is not going to imitate my hon. friend, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, either in shouting or in bullying or in abusing? We believe in having a dignified method of having our talks with other nations and other countries in matters of trade and that is what we are doing in the matter of E.C.M. too. What he objects to is the second para of the Memorandum. I do not see what there is to object in it. There is nothing contradictory to what the Prime Minister has said either in this House or in the other House. Whatever we do, whatever policies we follow are those which are agreed to by the Cabinet, by the Government

and by the Prime Minister. There cannot be a departure from that policy at all but if my hon. friend thinks that by merely shouting and using abusive language he can run down the negotiations, he is very much mistaken.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I never said this. This is not fair.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I am not going to yield. These are all not good manners either here or outside. He even breaks the rules of the House. He thinks he has the liberty of speaking any time he likes, getting up any time he likes, and talking anything he likes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not prepared to take this kind of ruling from him, Madam.

On a point of order, Madam. A Minister can rise and object but a Minister, in the course of the speech, should not talk as if he is the Headmaster of this House. He is not the Headmaster of this House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am o.k. my feet.

The question is:

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

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at forty-seven minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 19th June, 1962.