

4. Date and time of election—3rd May, 1961 (Between 3 P.M. and 5 P.M.).
5. Place of election—Room No. 63, First Floor, Parliament House, New Delhi.
6. Method of election—Proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.

#### THE FINANCE BILL, 1961—*continued*

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this Finance Bill is based on defective budgeting, under-estimation of income from revenue and over-estimation of expenditure. Such budgeting reduces planning into a farce. The income from land revenue in 1948-49 was Rs. 42 crores and it was Rs. 90 crores in 1959-60. This increase is largely due to the conversion of rent into revenue at the time of the abolition of the zamindari system and also to the imposition of income-tax on higher agricultural income and also to having brought some lands under fresh cultivation. From the Corporation tax and other taxes the income in 1948-49 was Rs. 197 crores while it was on an average Rs. 200 crores per annum between 1949-50 and 1959-60 which means that in the last eleven years those paying Corporation and other taxes were burdened with an extra Rs. 3 crores only per year. As opposed to this, the total indirect taxes realised in 1948-49 were Rs. 362 crores. It is nearly Rs. 600 crores per year on an average in the last eleven years. Thus indirect taxes have increased by more than Rs. 235 crores per annum. These indirect taxes, by and large, have been borne by the people in general, though certain excise duties on luxury goods are borne by persons of higher income groups. All this clearly shows that our fiscal policy has hit the common man most.

Under this Finance Bill also, while direct taxes to the tune of Rs. 3 crores have been imposed, indirect taxes to the tune of more than Rs. 50 crores are being imposed. Originally about Rs. 60 crores were imposed. After giving some concessions in indirect taxes to be borne by the common people, it will be about Rs. 52 crores or so. From all this it is obvious that our fiscal policy neither corresponds with the declared socialist objective of the Government, nor with the policy of the Planning Commission with regard to the reduction of inequalities through fiscal measures. Inequalities are being increased rather than decreased.

It is to be noted that in the last eleven years the entire extra burden for financing our Plan projects and development schemes has been borne by the common man through indirect taxes. The Finance Minister yesterday pointed out that certain welfare schemes were undertaken in rural and urban areas. It may, however, be pointed out that all these schemes were undertaken at the cost of the common man, who had paid for it, and not because of the taxes that were raised by the higher income groups. It is true that these schemes have their own merit, but it cannot be said that it is a step towards the promotion of social equality and towards the enhancement of the income of the common man unless they are promoted through taxation on higher income groups.

I may further point out that the Finance Minister's social analysis is defective. To understand which classes have benefited from the developmental schemes in the last twelve years, income is a better criterion. It is true that big peasants have benefited from the rise in prices. It is also true that a new class of big peasants has emerged. And it is also true that industrial oligarchs have emerged in the Indian economy. But the agricultural labour, the small peasants and the middle peasants—

have not been beneficiaries of the increase in national income. The Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee admits that the *per capita* Income has gone down and their indebtedness has increased. The same thing can be said of the small peasants also. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister, admitted before a Parliamentary Committee that the real income of industrial workers had gone down in the last few years due to a rise in prices. According to the estimate of the national income, the Income from small enterprises at current prices has not much increased. The increase is not sufficient to balance their budgets due to rise in prices. It is obvious that only big businessmen, big industrialists and big farmers and high executives have been the chief beneficiaries from the increase in national income. The middle-classes and the labour classes have not benefited much from this national income. The actual condition of certain sections of the middle-classes has worsened. The Government, which claims to have certain social objectives, has failed to implement them.

The rise in prices as a result of the Indirect taxes has adversely affected the family budgets of not only employees of the Government of India, but also of the State Governments. The scales of pay that are now admissible to the employees of the State Governments are so meagre, even though they have been working in the same place and sometimes in the same building as the Central Government employees. I would, therefore, urge that the Central Government should go to the rescue of the State Governments, so that they can level up the scales of pay of the non-gazetted employees of the State Governments and bring them up to the level of the Central Government employees. I would urge that the Government of India should, through its Finance Minister, bear in mind the social objectives that we have ourselves placed before us in implementing these Plans,

v., bring down the inequalities that

J47RS—4.

are now existing. The inequalities in income are the largest in India. I should say that nowhere in the world such inequality of incomes exists. It is a pity that even though we have achieved independence some twelve or thirteen years back, the process of bringing down the inequalities in income has not kept pace with what we have all wanted it to be. I would urge the Government to see that more radical steps are taken so that the inequalities in income are abolished, and if not abolished, at least brought down to the narrowest minimum.

Thank you.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Mr. Chairman, to impose taxation is not a pleasant task and that in a country like India, whose *per capita* income is one of the lowest and where opportunities for raising the *per capita* income are poor, it is very difficult to propose taxation.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Considering the fact that we are making efforts to raise resources for the Plan and that the revenue deficit year by year during the Plan period is to be covered to the maximum extent possible and in the best manner possible, proposing new taxation is really very difficult. Considering also the fact that the nation has borne, in addition to the normal taxation which itself is pretty high, an additional taxation of Rs. 1040 crores during the Second Plan period for the whole country, and about Rs. 800 crores for the Centre alone, it becomes very difficult for anybody to levy such taxes. And the Finance Minister is faced, during the Budget year, with a deficit of Rs. 125 crores and it is not an easy matter to cover this deficit. His position is not enviable, although his office does excite envy. I must thank the Finance Minister for having been very receptive to the suggestions made by the public and very responsive to the criticisms offered by the public and to the representations made. He has announced concessions to the extent of Rs. 6:14 crores, by a

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.] series of exemptions and adjustments, so as to help in removing some hardships and relieve the difficult position with regard to some of the items. I must admit that he has endeavoured, in making his taxation proposals, to see that on no particular section of the community the taxation burden falls heavily. He has tried to see that the indirect taxes that he has proposed cover a very large number of items. He has tried to see that the incidence of taxation on the lower income group is not very heavy and he has kept the objective in view of reaching our economic objects through his taxation proposals. With regard to the concessions he has made, I appreciate the effort he made in welcoming suggestions from the public and making certain adjustments to the extent of Rs. 6-14 crores. It is good that the Finance Minister has been so receptive, for it is quite possible that when a commodity is being taxed, a proper survey may not have been made. I can put it in another way, *viz.*, that wrong assumptions will have been made, or an incorrect appraisal of the field of the commodity, particularly in the rural sector, is possible. I do not blame anybody for this. There have been some wrong assumptions and also some incorrect appraisal in regard to certain of the commodities on which duties have been imposed as per this Bill, and I do not blame anybody for this. That is because in the nature of things the particular official section who have to make this survey will not have close touch with the rural sector, and, therefore, want of knowledge of the actual conditions obtaining will have been responsible for their not making a correct appraisal. So it is not because of want of honesty or integrity or effort on the part of anybody that wrong assumptions will come to be made or wrong appraisals taken as correct. I give some examples to show that there have been quite incorrect assumptions with regard to some or want of imagination with regard to some others.

Take the commodity of betelnut. This is a commodity which has been taxed all along. Now it is little realised, according to me, that betelnut is a commodity which both the poor and the rich use. Normally people chew pan and it is a habit which it is very difficult for anybody to overcome. One can say that it is a small duty which one has to pay if he wants to have the pleasure of chewing. But there is a religious significance attached to this betelnut. In our society whenever an elder visits a house, it is customary to offer him pan swart, and particularly, and that too mostly in the South, religious functions, particularly marriages, start with distribution of *pan supari* to a very large number of people. It will be in heaps that these things will be distributed. One can say, when a man is prepared to spend on a marriage Rs. 3000 or Rs. 10,000, why not he give the duty on the betelnut? It is very well for him to say that, but it should be realised that the poorer sections will also have to do it, it is customary for them also to distribute it. I agree that well-to-do people are in a position to pay and should pay. But how can we expect, when custom has such a strong hold on the poorer people, that they should incur such a heavy expenditure in their state of poverty during religious functions which they consider essential to be performed? This, I consider, is one example of want of imagination on the part of the people who proposed it.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh): May I ask the hon. Member whether this reasoning will not apply in the case of cigarettes, tobacco, coffee, tea, etc.?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: It does not apply, as tobacco is not connected with any religious ceremony and, therefore, one is not obliged, whereas with regard to betelnut one is obliged. I am coming to tobacco.

Particularly I do not object to the duty on tobacco except to the rates that will be enhanced on tobacco\*

stalks. It is one plant which is taxed wholesale. Tobacco leaf is taxed, tobacco stalk is taxed. I do not know the uses of tobacco stalks, if they have any medicinal or commercial uses. There is only one use which I know of, and that is these stalks are taken and pounded and grannies in the villages chew the stalk bits. That is the only use, as far as I know, to which it is put. It is very hard on our part to expect these village women to pay more for these tobacco stalk bits. I think the Finance Minister could have very well done without enhancing the rate on these tobacco stalks.

Kerosene is another item about which wrong assumptions have been made. Sir, it has been admitted by the Minister in a way that in rural areas a large number of people use inferior kerosene inasmuch as half the duty is now taken off. About forty years ago it is true that we in our villages used, and even now poor class families are using, the open tin kerosene lamp. You know, Sir, it gives out soot. If a lamp for the size of this House is put in here, the whole roof will be covered with soot in a matter of days. Today that commodity is not used or it is used only for that purpose or by people who indulge in arson to sprinkle this inferior kerosene on things which they want to set on fire. There is no other purpose for which this inferior kerosene is used. I think his advisers have informed the Finance Minister that this inferior kerosene could be used for stoves for lanterns and for other purposes. It is not fit (for such use, as has been represented on the floor of the House by several hon. Members. So, this was a wrong assumption by his advisers and, therefore, this was a wrong appraisal. It is said that one of the main objects for which the hon. Finance Minister has thought of taxing kerosene is to save foreign exchange. Well, Sir, this passes my comprehension. How can we expect villagers not to use kerosene? And kerosene is the only thing which can give them light. They are

mentally in darkness and now again we put them also physically in darkness. I do not know if there are not other methods for saving foreign exchange. Let the Finance Minister give a little attention to the number of Government delegations that go abroad, what purpose they achieve and what result they achieve, and I am sure he will find there a hundred times more chances of more savings in foreign exchange than the foreign exchange that he is able to save on kerosene. This is again a matter of wrong appraisal. I wish he considers that. I am glad that he has taken away 50 per cent, of the duty on kerosene, but I would like even this 50 per cent, to go. It is a very hard levy considering the fact that about 80 per cent, of our people have only kerosene lamps, and now for want of fuel even in village parts—everybody knows that there is a shortage of firewood—kerosene has become a necessity for using for stoves and, therefore, I think he would do well to consider removing even this 50 per cent.

With regard to patent and proprietary medicines, his argument is that this is a revenue measure, that there are Ayurvedic and Unani medicines available, and that, therefore, these medicines could bear it. I can understand it if sufficient number of doctors are trained in Ayurvedic and Unani systems, which I would like the Government to do. Then we can afford to forego the use of patent medicines. Now it is a necessity in this country to use patent medicines, and for diseases and ills the first thing that an allopathic doctor does is to recommend patent medicines. So they have become a necessity, and, therefore, imposing 10 per cent, *ad valorem* duty on patent medicines is not quite correct, although it does not result in as much hardship as the imposition on kerosene would do.

With regard to wireless receiving sets, I have no objection to his imposing taxes. Now the tax is levied for sets costing Rs. 350 and above. For sets costing between Rs. 150 and

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.]

Rs. 350 half the duty is imposed and sets costing less than Rs. 150 have nothing to pay. The indirect implication of this is that a man is encouraged to use a set costing Rs. 150. Nobody can suppose that we can get a very good wireless set for Rs. 150. They are encouraging people to go in for cheap sets. Has it been realised that there is a national waste involved here? I buy one cheap set today and if it does not give me good service, I have to change it, I have to buy another; whereas if I buy a set for Rs. 350 or Rs. 450, it lasts a life time. I do not think that this aspect has been visualised. This results in national wastage. I think exemption should be made for sets costing not more than Rs. 350.

With regard to tea, in order to cover the loss in reduction & export duty the Finance Minister has proposed enhancement of duty on loose tea. This, I think, is a thing which must be reconsidered.

I come to another subject which has engaged the attention of the hon. Finance Minister. It is the question of power looms. The Finance Minister's opinion is that this industry is in a buoyant condition. Of course, the power loom industry is prospering, I do not deny that. But the basic consideration which seems to have favoured this imposition is that there is fragmentation in order to avoid paying excise duty. It is true that there is fragmentation but according to the Textile Commissioner himself it is not much. And there is a restriction also on fragmentation. There have been notifications issued by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry inhibiting fragmentation and there is also the Finance Ministry's notification according to which heavier duties are imposed in the matter of transfer. It has been less than a year since they have been induced as a measure of avoiding taxation to bifurcate these units into smaller units. Apart from that fact,

there is some anomalous position which has to be considered. It is very good of the Finance Minister that he has given exemption for four looms if they work on one shift. Now there is no tax on two looms. If two looms work on three shifts, then it will be six loom-shifts and they get an income of Rs. 100 per loom. For three shifts it is estimated at Rs. 75 whereas the Textile Commissioner estimates it to be at Rs. 100 per month. Even taking it at Rs. 100 per loom, well, for four looms the earnings will be Rs. 400 per month. And then the excise duty has to be worked out if they work in three shifts and the duty is Rs. 220. So very little is left for the weaver, whereas a man working two looms in four shifts is in a better position.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR (Madras): They cannot work four shifts.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: It does not matter but he is in a better position because he has not to pay the excise duty. He is in a better position than the other man.

Then there is the question of the master weaver. The hon. Finance Minister has given exemption to the self-employed weaver. A master weaver, according to the Textile Commissioner, has been defined as one who is not a weaver himself, who has no machinery and who does not own any looms. He buys from the looms and he sells the yarn. He is a merchant in fact. Now because of this the master weaver is thriving; the Finance Minister's proposals hit the self-employed weaver hard. It is quite possible that a weaver works more than one shift by not engaging outside labour, by engaging his own family people. Now why should he be penalised because the master weaver is thriving on the labours of the self-employed weaver?

There is another factor here, There are looms worked by pedals. They

are also connected to a motor and I they are considered as power-looms. Well, we have to encourage such an effort instead of penalising them. Even the Report of the Kanungo Committee says that handlooms are gradually giving place to power-looms. When that is the policy of the Government as I deem it to be, it would be very good to encourage people who are using pedal-looms to connect them to a motor. And why should they be taxed at all? I do not see any reason for it. I can understand taxing the bigger units, let the bigger units pay. But unfortunately, wittingly or unwittingly, the Finance Minister's proposals help the larger units whereas they act as hardships on the smaller units. In regard to cotton fabrics, according to the proposed taxation, for 7-unit looms the figure of duty is Rs. 777; the revised taxation is Rs. 555. Here he has given some concession. For 8-loom units it is Rs. 666, and it will be lesser for larger number of units. I will quote some figures here. It is 285 per cent, for 5-loom units. For 6-loom units it is 160 per cent., for 7-loom units it is 117 per cent, and it goes on decreasing for larger units. Well, this fact has to be considered.

With regard to the point some hon. Members raised that it is assumed that larger units in Surat work only one shift, there is an explanation.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE  
(SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI): That is also wrong.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: That I am explaining. The Surat Municipality has imposed a restriction. . . ,

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: It is wrong to say . . .

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: It is in other places also but the name of Surat was taken here. So I have taken it as an example. I do not say that it is confined only to Surat. The explanation there is that the operation is restricted to only one shift of power

load, whereas the larger units which work outside the municipal limits work in more shifts.

One other item which I would like to deal with is—this has already been referred to by Mr. Dahyabhai Patel— with regard to rayon yarn. I do not object to the imposition of a duty on rayon yarn but there seems to be some difficulty in the matter of rayon yarn. The hon. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel pointed out yesterday—and I think Mr. Shah also spoke about it yesterday—that there were some factors which had to be considered. I think Mr. Dahyabhai Patel pointed out in detail how the countervailing import duty imposed was not only to the extent of the increased duty but that it absorbed the whole excise duty. I am not going into it in detail but there are other factors which are to be considered particularly when the indigenous yarn production is not sufficient to meet the national needs. It seems that only 40 per cent, of our requirements is manufactured indigenously and there is no competition also between the indigenous yarn and the imported yarn because the indigenous yarn is manufactured in 120 to 150 deniers, whereas the imported yarn is below 100 deniers. By an executive notification these rates of import duty have been corrected lately but there is a case for further reconsideration. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to consider liberalising this in the case of the smaller units particularly because of the fact that rayon earns, I am told, a good deal of foreign exchange. Rayon fabrics are exported. There is very severe competition in the foreign markets for these rayon products and because of the duty the cost of production rises, and, therefore naturally the prospects of these fabrics being sold in the foreign markets are less. Particularly in view of the fact that this is a foreign exchange earner, the hon. Minister may please consider the question of decreasing the countervailing duty and giving encouragement to big producers also. I would not have made this recommendation if

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.] that was not a foreign exchange earning product.

There are two general points which I would like to make and I will finish my speech. There is a proposal in the British Budget for levying a payroll tax. It is a tax on the employers, a surcharge on the employers. I would request the hon. Minister to consider this proposal. I do not know the details of this tax, I do not know whether it will work adversely in our industrial set-up. I would like him to consider this and because we do not know the details of this pay-roll tax, I would request him to enlighten us on this aspect in his reply. And if it would be advantageous to us and if it could help him in getting a good return, he may very well consider imposing it here in our country.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: What is it?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: The British Chancellor of the Exchequer has imposed a surcharge on employers. It is called 'pay-roll tax'. Employers are to pay tax according to the strength of their labour force.

The other thing is that on 17 of the items new imposts have been levied. Now the returns are not shared with the States. I do not know the intention of the Finance Minister, whether he does want to appropriate the entire revenue from these items to himself. Now that the Taxation Commission is sitting and is considering the proposals to examine the principles of redistribution of income-tax and of distributing the tax on railway fares now merged in the fares and of the redistribution of the Estate Duty, may I ask whether he has any idea to refer this matter to the Finance Commission to examine whether any share is to be given to the States. Whereas the basic duties were of the order of Rs. 1752 lakhs, the States got Rs. 204 lakhs as their share and in the matter of additional duties the States got Rs. 26 lakhs, now these new im-

posts are giving him Rs. 1108 lakhs, and how much of this are the States to get? Whether this question is being considered or is being referred to the Finance Commission, I would like to know.

This is all that I have to submit.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, before I come to deal with economic matters I would like to have a few words on certain other aspects of the situation, both national and international, because in this period some very important developments have taken place. In fact we from the Opposition gave notice jointly for having a discussion on foreign affairs for a day. We all signed it, but then we had been advised that we might as well—if we so desired—take up the points in the course of the discussion on the Finance Bill as it was not, well, found possible for the Prime Minister to initiate a debate on foreign affairs. Therefore, Sir, a few words I would like to have on the international situation.

The very first thing that we have in our minds is the question of Cuba. I say this thing because we must have a clear, definite and firm policy on Cuba, on the question of Cuban independence against constant threat of aggression. We are all very happy that the aggression and invasion had been repulsed by the patriotic people of Cuba and the whole world has acclaimed it. At the same time we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that even after the American policy met with such a fiasco in Cuba, President Kennedy met the Cuban rebel leader, traitor cardona at the White House and had some consultations. It is quite clear that fresh plans are being hatched with a view to invading and attacking Cuban independence. In this connection, Sir, I would like to read out to you what the *New York Times* wrote:

"It is no secret that the U. S. Government has been helping the

Cuban exiles over a period of many months with arms training and facilities on the American soil and in Guatemala."

"Very many American papers openly wrote about the manner in which the counter-revolutionary traitors were trained and equipped by the U. S. authorities so that they could. . . .

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON) : How does it concern the foreign affairs of our country? I would like to know.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are not concerned with what the U. S. Government does.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, of course in foreign affairs we are concerned with it. It is a strange thing to ask how we are concerned. Do we not discuss the Chinese Government or the Soviet Government or the U. K. Government? We are very much concerned." If that is not the case I would not speak at all. I will say whatever I like in this matter.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will say whatever I like. You cannot just say this thing, that we are not concerned with the U. S. Government, that we are not concerned with Cuba, that we are not concerned with Hungary.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are concerned with only what our Government does.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore, I say it relates to this Cuban policy. In this we are concerned with it. You may shut it out as out-of-order, but let it be known . . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are not concerned with the U. S. A.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: May I draw the attention of the hon. Member that he may not speak in this manner to the Chair and say: "You cannot do this and you cannot do that." It is not proper. The hon. Member may make his submissions. But this is not proper; it is not befitting a Member of this House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is a strange thing. I say about the American policy and I am reading out from the *New York Times*. You are concerned with the United States of America.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are concerned with only what our Government does and does not do.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We are concerned with international developments.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Even as regards the Cuban policy you may say only about what our Government does or does not do. We are not concerned with what the U. S. Government does or does not.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, Sir. You cannot take away my right. If you do, what I can do but to walk out of the House?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have to be relevant.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is absolutely relevant. In our foreign policy it is relevant.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But we are not concerned with the American Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I say it is absolutely relevant.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. It is my ruling that you cannot discuss it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Is it your ruling that I cannot speak about the American Government?



MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can speak about what our Government does and does not do regarding the Cuban matter.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I can speak. *(Interruptions.)* What is your ruling? Is it your ruling that we cannot discuss the United States of America? Then let it be known in this Parliament that no other Government in our international affairs can be discussed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can speak on our Government's policy.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But how can I speak unless I relate it to what the U. S. A. does Or does not do? It is absolutely important. I know that there is their dollar aid, and it is on account of their dollar aid today that we are being silenced, that we cannot speak about the American Government.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have to observe certain principles.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do; I know the precedents. Can you show me the contrary precedents? You may adjourn the House if necessary, to show them to me.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Not the United States of America.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then let me speak later on, after I talk with you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now you please take that ruling.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is that ruling?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will read it out to you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is the ruling, Sir? Do not count all this time as the time taken for my speech.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is the ruling of the Chair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is the ruling?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can speak; but I do not allow it. My ruling is that we are not concerned with what the American Government does or does not.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is absolutely relevant, I say, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: My ruling is that it is not relevant.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If that is so, then I do not know. Let this matter . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can speak on anything other than . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If that is your ruling then, first of all, I say that the Communist Party withdraws from the Rules Committee. If that is your ruling, I say the first thing—to make matters clear—that we the Communist Party withdraw from the Rules Committee, because in a foreign affairs debate . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. You may do anything.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I make a submission? Can I argue with you? I knew it because I had been advised not to speak on Cuba before I started speaking. Now the ruling comes. It is a strange thing. Let the country know this thing.

*(Interruptions.)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; I **will** give you the ruling.

*(Interruptions.)*

You please understand me. You can speak on Cuba so far as the omissions and commissions of our Government are concerned, but not what the American Government or the German Government or the Soviet Government does. We are not here sitting in judgment over the American Government or the Soviet Government or other Governments.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I make a submission? Are you in a mood to listen?

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : On a point of order. Is it proper for a Member of this House to enter into a wordy duel with the Chair on any question?

AN HON. MEMBER: Very improper.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has his own way.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is not like that. If you do not protect the rights of the House, then I have to protect them.

SHRI MORARJI R. DESAI: I take objection to what the hon. Member says, that it is his monopoly to protect the rights of the House. It is wrong, it is entirely wrong; I repudiate it. On the contrary he is destroying the rights of the House by entering into arguments.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now may I make my submission? Will you hear me?

-MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am prepared to hear you.

SHRI FARIDUL HAQ ANSARI (Uttar Pradesh): Why does he not obey the Chair?

PROF. M. B. LAL (Uttar Pradesh): Once the Chair has given a ruling, it must be obeyed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I can make a submission. Please treat it as a submission. I know I am on a difficult subject. If I had spoken against certain other countries, it would not have mattered. Treat it as a submission. We discuss the foreign affairs of the Government. We discuss it not in relation to what happens internally in this country but in relation to what happens outside. The discussion of foreign affairs at once makes it relevant. Well, it brings in the relationships of and references to the role of other Governments in international matters. I am not discussing here . . .

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: On a point of order, Sir. You have given the ruling that we are not concerned with what America does in Cuba. Now is that ruling going to be respected or not? That is the question.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You said that you would listen to me.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH (West Bengal) : If the Chair gives a ruling, it must be obeyed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know that is the ruling. But I can make a submission and that must be listened to.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. You may say. I am prepared to hear you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let it be recorded. I know that you are supreme here and I cannot have my way. I know that very well. **But** at least I can have my say. You will be entirely right if I discuss internal affairs of the United States. Here I am discussing the foreign affairs policy of our Government relating to matters which affect our country, our relations with other Governments, their activity in relation to our country. For instance, if I say something

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] should play in the forthcoming about the role that our Government Geneva Conference or the Conference that is meeting here, certainly we can discuss as to what the Government of Laos or certain other Governments' Co-Chairmen are doing. I would suggest along what line they should discuss all international affairs. I am not saying what other Governments should or should not do. I am not saying that. The main thing is that I have to point out that in the light of these developments our Government should take this stand. These I mentioned as the background to international developments to which our foreign policy must relate, which must be taken note of by the makers of our foreign policy so that they can formulate their stand. That is all that I want. If that is not done, how can I on earth discuss international affairs?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please hear me. There is a decision of the ■Chair:

"During the discussion on the Finance Bill, Pandit Krishna Kant Malviya proceeded to refer to the European War and the blockade of Germany, when the President intervened and pointed out:

"The Honourable Member must realise that on this Finance Bill he can discuss any action of the Government of India in any manner he chooses, but not any action of the Government of England..... The Honourable Member should not go outside India ..... He must confine himself to the administration of the Government of India and to the Finance Bill."

I stand by my ruling. You will not be justified in criticising Governments outside India.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have at least brought it to the Finance Bill .....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may say anything about the Government of India's policy regarding Cuban matter, but we are not concerned with other Governments' policies

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I would not take any more of your time nor do I hope that this time will be counted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It would not be counted. You can go on.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I take your ruling. I am extremely sorry but let me speak about the Government of India. Our Government has now got a favourable ruling here and I have lost on that score. But they will kindly note that they have to have a very firm policy with regard to Cuba. Cuba is threatened with invasion even now.

The Government of India should also note that the United States Ambassador within India, Mr. Galbraith, called Fidel Castro a "despot". I would call upon our Government to protest against this kind of behaviour on the part of the U. S. Ambassador to call the head of a friendly Government a "despot". I would call upon our External Affairs Ministry to protest against this kind of behaviour on his part. He is not only within India but within Delhi.

Then Sir, full assistance should be given to the Cuban Government to maintain its independence. We should take a very clear and categorical step. That is what I would like to say in this connection, because Cuba seems to be a touchy point, and I do not want to touch it more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are so many touchy points.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, Sir. You should not touch the point. I can understand the Government touching it.

I need not say that we all want Cuba to remain independent and the heroic manner in which they have defended their independence, we hope the Government, in consonance with what the Prime Minister has stated earlier in the House and which has been acclaimed all the world over by peace-loving people, will take necessary steps in defence of Cuban independence, in making it known that we shall give every moral and, if necessary, material assistance in defence of Cuban independence.

Then, Sir, coming to Laos, here again all I say is this. What our Government should do, when it sits in this Conference, is to ensure that the Geneva Agreements are generally followed. If you do not like me to name the American people, you should try to see that the terms of the Agreement are strictly enforced. The situation in Laos has arisen as a result of the violation of the General Agreement and connivance on the part of certain people. We welcome the step that has been taken, for this Conference, that will be held in Geneva, will also be held here. Here again, the crux of the matter is that we should review the terms of the Geneva Agreement of 1954 and take necessary steps so that the letter and the spirit of this Agreement are observed.

Then, Sir, in connection with the Congo, the Defence Minister was reading out his speech. He read Mr. Hammarskjöld's letter. I am sorry I could not get the full text of that thing. It is not merely how our troops will not be used, it is a question of how they shall be used and should be used. We do not get any indication from the letter that was read out. Well, if it were so, he should have read it out. But anyway, we are there to export away the imperialist military personnel. That is our task. We are there to see that the Congolese Parliament functions. We are  
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there to see that the military personnel and their agents are disbanded. I

We are there to see that the Congolese independence is protected against all kinds of machinations on the part of imperialists. That cannot be easily enforced until and unless we have very clearly settled our account with the Secretary-General, thus are making the position clear.

Sir, in this connection, naturally, I would insist on the recognition of the Gizenga Government. That is the crux of the matter. We should not delay that recognition. It will strengthen the position of India in fulfilling and discharging the responsibilities. We should also set a time-limit for our troops to be there. We should tell the United Nations clearly that within this time-limit we want to discharge these responsibilities. We should call upon other like-minded forces to assume these responsibilities so that we can fulfil the functions for which our troops have been sent there. There seems to be some kind of vagueness about it. Now that the leaders there have fallen with each other—Mr. Tshombe has walked out of the meeting and General Mobutu seems to be catching him—here is the time to take decisive action on the side of the patriotic forces like Mr. Gizenga and others in fulfilling our international and moral obligations.

Then, Sir, about our policy with reference to France. There the rebellion or the insurrection, whatever it is, has been crushed. In this connection we must realise that we have an added obligation because of this development towards the Algerian struggle for liberation. Here we say that we should recognise the Algerian Provisional Government and thereby help the process of, if you like, peaceful settlement of the Algerian problem, Algerian independence. The recognition of the Algerian Provisional Government will help the process. It will be more close to the stand that we take. It will put us in a better position to help the Algerian people in winning their independence.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

Then, Sir, internally let me come to another question, the question of Defence. I would only like to say that hon. Members opposite and also from this side, while they speak, they do not talk about the social, economic and other conditions of the Armed Forces, about the education of the children of our men and officers there. I should have liked some of them to criticise the Government on that score, for not having made adequate arrangements, for better conditions of our soldiers, for better educational facilities for their children and better care and so on. But this has not been done.

We are told about certain promotions, 2, 3 or 4. We do not know who they are. We do not want their voices to be heard. We want to hear the voices of Members of big business. We do not think if because of these things, we are ashamed. Some people in the Army have grievances. The morale of the Army is dead, they say. On the contrary we think the morale of the Army is raised by improving the conditions of the soldiers and men and officers and so on. This is what we should certainly consider. Of course, they must mention the Armed Forces in a proper way but I do not know why so much fuss is made. It seems to be the political talking point of those people who want to assail the Prime Minister or the Defence Minister and others. Their talking point is all the time promotions, promotions. At least tell us in the lobby who these people are and how many of them are there so that the Indian Army is going to rack and ruin because some feel a little disappointed. We should like to know.

SHRI SUDHIR GHOSH: It will be very embarrassing for the Defence Minister if my friend's party supports him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not know whether Mr. Ghosh has had a promotion or demotion but certainly he aspires for promotion.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can continue after lunch. The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at halfpast two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I was dealing with, under your injunction or instruction, internal matters and I was just mentioning about the promotions and so on in the Armed Forces. I do not wish to say very much. Only I would point out in this connection that in the matter of promotions in high places in the Armed Forces, the Parliament is supreme and the Cabinet, naturally, is supreme in this matter, and we have to go by the Cabinet in whatever decision they take. We may criticize them but the question is that it is their right to do so. It must be asserted all the time and we, on this side of the House, consider it all the more important in the present context. Many things are said about the quality and so on. Gallantry and efficiency are important qualities on the part of the leaders of the Armed Forces—Generals and so on—but then their loyalty not only to the country but to the democratic institutions are also very important. In this connection I cannot but recall the Speech that was made by General Cariappa at the Lion's Club, which is an American - sponsored institution, in Bangalore, where he spoke about 2 years ago that India was not ripe for democracy and he advocated some kind of dictatorship. He has been spreading such ideas. He went to Calcutta and spoke derisively about the Parliamentary institutions in this country. He is going round the country saying such things. He is a retired official. May I know whether such things are taken note of by the Government and whether this kind of activity on the part of Generals is borne in mind when they deal with the question of promo-

tions at the highest level in the Armed Forces. Then certainly it should have been mentioned.

Then we came across an unsigned letter published in the *Current*, a letter supposed to be written to the Finance Minister Shri Morarji Desai. That letter was published in the *Current* weekly and we are told that a copy was sent to the Finance Minister. By whom? It is not known but rumour has it that General Verma wrote such a letter. We want that the matter has to be investigated. Anyway, it is surprising that such a letter appeared in the *Current*, in a paper like that, and also it was written to the Finance Minister. I think that kind of thing undermines the morale of the Armed Forces. I need not say very much in the subject. Therefore, gallantry, ability, efficiency, absolute loyalty to the country and unshakable faith in the democratic institutions—these are very very important when we decide the question of promotions at the very highest level. After all we have seen how the Armed Forces operate sometimes as rival centres of power. It has been so in a number of countries. Therefore, I would like the Armed Forces to be led by people who are absolutely wedded to parliamentary institutions, to the democratic institutions, to the system of Government that we have established here to-day. I would have liked Dr. Kunzru and others, who make a very big noise out of these things, to mention this aspect, of the matter. It is a good thing.

May I say another word about internal matters? We welcome the statement made by the Prime Minister on Jabalpur riots. It was heartening to read what he said at Jabalpur on the question of communal riots. He said, as you have seen, that Congressmen were sitting like *purdahnashin* women, I consider that it is a very fine expression. I learn English and expressions from him. It is a good thing. I know that many Congressmen are as much anti-communal as we are. You, Sir, are very anti-communal. It

is not a question of the general run of Congressmen. He pointed out the need for vigilant action and intervention on the part of the Congressmen against communal riots but unfortunately it has not been taken in the right spirit. He is being repudiated not only by Seth Govind Das but also by the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. It is surprising. I think the Prime Minister is right in what he said. I think Dr. Katju and Seth Govind Das are wrong in their repudiation and it is disheartening. I think communal riot is something which we must altogether fight. Here there is no party line at all. Whoever wants to fight the communal elements and communal riots must come together, join their hands together, fight together, if necessary die together in defence of the rights of the minorities and protection of the minorities. Jabalpur is a challenge not to one party but to all parties that stand for secularism and all that is decent in our public life, all that is human in our public life. Therefore, over such matters I expect leadership from a person like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and when we read such statements coming from him, critical statements about his party and also forthright utterances, we see in it good leadership. We of the Communist Party, naturally, reciprocate such things and we, in our humble way, would like to join with all right-minded Congressmen and others in preventing communal riots and protecting the rights of minorities and to make things like the Jabalpur riots impossible in our country.

Here is just a little interesting thing—In the recess one refreshes not only oneself but one refreshes by reading things also. I read this:

"The Aid India Club's meeting in Washington this week may postpone taking a decision on India's request for £228 million loans and credits for a month or two ..."

"Indian and British financial experts here, the sources said, were

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] anxious to know the attitude of the USA in view of India's disapproval of U.S. intervention in Cuba. These experts, however, did not believe India's oil policy would have much bearing on the issue, the sources said."

This is from the *Statesman* of 25th of this month and the news comes from London.

Here again a little interesting news appeared. I have a paper here which says:

"The *Observer* featured a despatch from Rawle Knox from Delhi ..."

It is a London paper, as you know—

"Mr. B. K. Nehru is reliably understood to have urged Mr. Morarji Desai ..."

He will tell us about that—

...the Finance Minister and Mr. Malaviya to make some concessions to the foreign Oil Companies before the coming meeting of the 'Aid India Club' group of the western nations which is consulting over the foreign currency investment in India. Mr. Malaviya has clearly been unmoved."

Mr. B. K. Nehru has come here to move or unmove people, I do not know which. This appeared in a London paper. We would like to have a little intimate information on this subject

Another little subject I want to touch is this. The election of the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party is no concern of mine but the moment it gets linked up with the possible successorship of Prime Ministership or the Leaderhip of this House, it becomes a public matter concerning all parties. I think the matter should be a little better handled and at least it should be known to the country

that whoever becomes the Deputy Leader, is not necessarily the possible successor of the Prime Minister.

AN HON. MEMBER: Sir . . .

(Interruptions.)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not think you are going to be one.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Anyway, it is none of your business.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is the question of possible successorship—that is the point. I don't trouble you over these things. You are quite right. These things are not my business. But when I see western papers, American papers make it their business, I cannot be disinterested altogether.

Now let me come to some of the aspects of the Finance Bill which I would like to deal with. I think the problem of resources is one of the biggest problems that we have to face. I agree with that and I agree also that the task of the Finance Minister, the task of any Finance Minister, would be difficult in a situation like this. The question is whether we have set about the task in the right manner. We have had two Plans and we have had ten years' experience and now we have to ask ourselves if we have drawn the correct lessons from this experience. We find that although there have been certain quantitative changes in the matter of budgeting and financing and even in this Finance Bill, the essential pattern remains the same and the Finance Bill reflects it. By pattern I have in mind the budgetary pattern. That pattern and the methods of raising revenue remain essentially the same, and that is the trouble. Some little concessions have been given and certain other taxes have been imposed. But I want to discuss this matter from the broad angle of policy. It is clear that the conventional way dictated primarily by the class interests of capitalists still continues and this will not give us the correct solution. This is what I say after ten years of experience. What

is important today is to come to brass tacks as far as this approach is concerned. I submit the situation calls for a change, an orientation, a radical orientation in our approach, in our policy as well as in our methods of raising revenue. I know the hon. Finance Minister will try to brush aside what I say, saying that it comes from a Communist and there are ideological differences. Therefore, I would make my suggestions not from the point of view strictly of a Communist, but from the point of view of the broad democratic principles, from the point of view of their own set objectives and goals, from the point of view of what normally all right-minded Congressmen should accept and should find no difficulty in accepting. Therefore, I say, the time has come for us to consider this matter from a basic angle. A three-fold orientation is needed. Not that other things don't need to be improved, but to that I shall come later.

First of all, we want land reform in the interest of the peasantry to promote capital formation in the countryside, because 45 per cent, of the national income comes from the agrarian sector and 70 per cent, of the population are dependent on agriculture. But you find that 130 million to 140 million acres of land are there which can be cultivated but which lie fallow or not otherwise brought under the plough. This is the position. There is unemployment and under-employment of the agricultural labour population. This agricultural labour population constitutes 22 per cent, of the total population there. As a result of this situation we do not generate adequate resources in that vast sector, that vital sector of our economy. It is the task of the leadership of our country, especially of the Government, to exert its endeavours in order to bring about a situation which will generate resources in that sector. Once you generate it, you will be getting plenty of resources. For example, you should improve the food situation. It has not at all improved, but once you improve it, you get capital

formation ready, because we would spend no foreign exchange. As it is, this part of the money is not under our control, for even under the P.L. 480 the different funds cannot be utilised. You have to pay the shipping freight and there are other foreign exchange payments also. Therefore, a great deal of the surplus is lost to the country simply because we do not have the proper type of agrarian reform. Then again, if you improve the situation with regard to cash crops, you can export some of these things. You need not import cotton and so on from abroad. You would be totally self-sufficient and thereby you will save foreign exchange.

If as a result of the distribution of the land and radical agrarian reforms the condition of the peasantry improves, we get other advantages also. Firstly, the capacity to save improves. Probably the peasant will be able to save a little money and that money will be available for developmental purposes, apart from the fact that the labour power would be utilised in constructive activities and for the development of the country. The problem is one of utilising the unutilised labour. Their asset is not so much financial as their own labour. The task of the Government is to create a situation where this vast labour force could be harnessed to productive purposes and engaged in productive activities in the agrarian sector of our economy. Therefore, the problems of unemployment, of under-employment and of semi-starvation all come in the way not only of general development, but also of developing the resources of the country, and finding resources for higher rates of investment in our economy. Therefore, the condition of the vast mass of our population, of the peasantry, has to be improved. After the report of the Second Agricultural Commission nobody will say that the condition of the peasantry has improved. The overwhelming majority of them have their *per capita* income below half the average national *per capita* income. Whatever may be the national *per capita* income, the



[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] income of the peasantry is less than half that national average. Merely by investing in the community development projects you cannot get very far. It has been stated by evaluation reports that much of the money spent on these community development projects has been wasted. How much, I cannot say, but crores and crores of rupees have been wasted and it is an admitted fact that the results have not been commensurate with the expenditure incurred. Therefore, the agrarian sector needs attention. At the Nagpur session, a resolution was passed—I have got that resolution here—to say that something should be done to improve the situation generally. But that resolution went by default and nobody remembered it after it was passed.

The Finance Minister said taxes would play a vital part in our economy. I agree. But what sort of part they will play, is the question today. Are you viewing the matter in the conventional way, or are you viewing this matter with any changed ideas and with a different perspective? Taxes have to be there, but the taxation policy has to be changed in a progressive direction. To that I shall come later. But merely by taxation and merely by relying on taxes you cannot *meet* our requirements. We have come to such a situation.

Since 1951 Government revenues have gone up by 75 per cent. The corporation and income-tax have increased only by 25 per cent, while indirect taxes have gone up nearly by five times. That is the position. Even so, we have to face a very difficult situation. Here the question of public sector comes. I think the question of the public sector should be taken much more seriously than we have done. We want the public sector for developing the heavy and machine-building industries, that is to say, the basic industries. At the same time, must develop the public sector for yielding revenue in profits

for the Government to invest in further developmental activities. In the Third Plan it is envisaged that Rs. 440 crores will come from the surplus in the public sector. This is a small sum. Even so, I have my doubt whether, as matters stand, we shall be in a position to draw Rs. 440 crores from the public sector. There are twenty-seven industries owned by the Central Government including Hindustan Steel, Ashoka Hotel, Air India International, Indian Airlines Corporation, etc., and their total capital is about Rs. 600 crores but this is small because, if you look at foreign capital here, it is also of the order of Rs. 600 crores. Therefore, we want a bigger industrial sector owned by the Centre. A recent study shows that there are about 125 State industrial undertakings whether under the Central Government or under the State Government. The position as it is today, even at the end of the Third Five Year Plan, is that industries and minerals in the public sector will have been of the order of Rs. 2,000 crores whereas the investments in the private sector under the three Plans will have been of the order of Rs. 2,500 crores. Even in the Third Plan, according to the computation of the Government, it is the private sector which will be in the lead. I must mention that whereas all the public sector investments are accounted for because they are Government owned, many of the private sector investments are not accounted for. Actually, the figure will not be Rs. 2,500 crores but much more. For instance, building construction and various other items of private construction are not accounted for. We shall be lagging behind. Therefore, a vigorous policy has to be adopted and you must have not only big but also medium and small scale industries. It is not only the Central Government that should start industries but it should encourage the State Governments also to start medium and small-scale industries in the public sector. First of all, it enables the State Governments and the Central Government to have a better grip over the economy or to influence the economic

growth of the country in a more effective way and secondly, this will enable the State and Central Governments to find resources: That aspect has to be borne in mind. Nationalisation is very important and you can not arrive at that situation merely by setting up new industries. They have to be started but nationalisation has also to be launched. Nobody is asking the Finance Minister to nationalise 27,000 odd companies that are there. He says that he does not believe in making it a principle. I also say that you need not make it a principle; otherwise, I would have asked for the nationalisation of 27,000 companies but take it from the point of view of expediency and practical consideration and see the need for it. This is what I would argue with him. In the Nagpur Resolution it "was said that the public sector should be strengthened with a view to improving the resources position. It was very rightly said in the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress, but unfortunately that aspect of the matter has been lost to view and is not being implemented. Nationalisation is important. Banking should be nationalised. Today, the total bank deposits, not including the State Bank, comes to about Rs. 1300 crores or so. Bank advances by the scheduled banks comes to Rs. 900 crores or so. The other day, the Finance Ministry informed us through a paper that between November, 1959 and May, 1960 the scheduled banks advanced Rs. 200 crores a considerable part of which, according to the estimate of the Ministry itself, went into speculative business. Such things are happening. Therefore, you must have the banks under you, the bank money under you, so that you can invest it and regulate it. A bank is also a kind of an institution which carries on deficit financing in the private sector. When we talk about deficit financing, we have only in mind Treasury Bills; we do not have in mind the credit expansion which the private sector indulges by the expansion of bank credit. In order to control deficit financing, not only 147 R.S.D.—5.

must you restrict Treasury Bills but you must also have a better control over the credit institutions of the country, especially of the banks. How the money can be utilised was seen in the case of the Palai Bank which crashed because of the mal-practices and the machinations of the Directors. If you have the banks under you, you can earn a lot of profit as the State Bank today is earning already. You have more funds, liquid money in your hands to invest according to priorities. You are in a better situation in the economic setup of the country. The coal mines should be nationalised. For instance, Messrs. Andrew Yule & Co., a British concern, controls over three million tons of metallurgical coal. One of their companies, the Bengal Coal Company, only the other day issued shares and debentures worth one crore of rupees. They are making enormous profits. It is discussed there and it is also agreed that some coal company paid dividend or profit as much as 70 per cent. Such is the position today. This has to be taken note of. The coal mining industry has to be taken over in order to have the vital resources, in order to get more money for purposes of investing in our developmental projects and also to prevent wastage and such things that are taking place. Jute mills in Calcutta should be taken over. Take the question of Jessops. I do not see why, if we can send Mr. Mundhra, of course, after taking money for elections from him, to jail, we cannot take up Jessops. Certainly, Jessops would be better situated under Government than Mr. Mundhra is situated, shall we say, in the Lucknow Jail or in the Calcutta Jail. Can't we take it up? Attempts are being made to corner shares of Jessops and everybody knows that Sahu, Jain and Rohtas are buying shares with a view to cornering this concern. I would call upon the Minister to explain the position. Why we cannot take up, for example, the Calcutta Electricity Supply Corporation? The matter is being very much discussed. They have got a

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] deposit of about 2,35,00,000 sterling, and every year they make about seven to eight lakhs of sterling as profits. They have created a crisis in Calcutta today, electricity and power crisis. The question of the renewal of licence has come and they have decided, on the eve of renewal, to raise electricity charges. Why can't we take over the Calcutta Electricity Supply Corporation? All the opposition parties today are demanding and the Central Government should take up this demand for taking over this concern because it is behaving now, at this particular moment, by plunging Calcutta into darkness as an anti-national, money-grabbing institution of the foreigners. I support the recommendations of the Estimates Committee in regard to the L.I.C. funds. Investible funds should be taken over by the Government, and I am glad that the Chairman of the L.I.C. is also in favour of this kind of thing. Their investments stood at Rs. 449 crores out of which 18.3 per cent went to the purchase of shares and debentures, roughly accounting for Rs. 70 crores. Now, this investment is no investment for development, it is only a change of ownership. Some shares had been bought from some hands and passed on to others. We can find plenty of resources there. In any case, the L.I.C. funds represent the savings of the community and should be used, subject to actuarial calculation to meet the calls on the insurance policies, for the development of the economy strictly on a priority basis. They should not be made a pawn of speculation on the stock exchanges. In regard to State trading, the turnover seems to be, in the latest Report, of the order of Rs. 35 crores which is negligible. It should be much more. The turnover of the State Trading Corporation, both external and internal, should be much more. We are not satisfied with this matter and they should go in for it in a bigger way. Institutions should be started both in the Centre and in the States in order to expand the field of trad-

ing. This way, you will earn money, you will get resources and you also check profiteering, speculation, hoarding, and so on. If you take our foreign trade into account, it comes to about Rs. 1500 crores, imports and exports together. If you take even half of the foreign trade to yourself, then at even 5 per cent, commission, we shall be getting Rs. 35 crores out of the handling of the foreign trade. I do not see as to why we should not take up the foreign trade. Shipping comes to about 10 per cent, of the foreign trade; that is, if our foreign trade is Rs. 1500 crores, the shipping charges come to\* about Rs. 150 crores, and at present we are paying foreign shipping concerns not less than Rs. 70 crores

annually. I think we can 3 P.M. improve the situation by improving national shipping and also by acquiring ships, if possible, on loan and so on. That matter has to be gone into. In this connection, our trade has to be reorganised! and redirected. We must have trade with the socialist countries and with the capitalist countries in the worlds

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM  
CHETTIAR: Is there no time limit, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: His party has got 50 minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Are you upset?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes; your time is up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You said that you would give a little more time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken 50 minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That time; Sir . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Take another two minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Just a few minutes more, Sir; and I will finish.

Now, here it is said:

"Again, our large adverse balance of trade is mainly because of growing imbalance in our foreign trade with two countries, viz., U.S.A. and West Germany. Between 1950 and 1959, our imports went up from Rs. 101 crores to Rs. 195 crores in the case of U.S.A. and from Rs. 8 crores to Rs. 119 crores in the case of West Germany. But the corresponding figures for exports are Rs. 104 crores and Rs. 95 crores in the case of the U.S.A. and Rs. 10 crores and Rs. 19 crores in the case of West Germany. Our Government should use their good offices with the Governments of these countries and see that this imbalance in our foreign trade with these two countries is rectified in as short a time as possible."

This is from the address delivered by the President of the All-India Manufacturers' Organization when their conference was held in New Delhi recently.

Now, I would like to point out only one or two things. So far as foreign trade is concerned, it will come, according to our reckoning, to Rs. 35 to Rs. 40 crores if you take up half the foreign trade. Then these contracts are going to the various firms. Even Government contracts for construction are going to the firms; Karamchand Thapar for example. The contracts of the National Coal Development Corporation are given out. We can take over some of this foreign trade. It is very important. By taking such measures we can raise not Rs. 440 crores but Rs. 1,000 crores with a little change in the present policy and with certain vigorous steps . . .

Now, foreign investments come to about Rs. 600 crores and their annual remittance comes to Rs. 30 crores.

We need not allow this money to be sent abroad. We can say that we will keep this money and give them interest on that. We can pay interest at 3 per cent, and that would come to Rs. 30 lakhs. The remaining money we can tap more or less as a compulsory loan for the development of our country. Between 1948 and 1959 nearly Rs. 133 crores were re-invested by the foreign concerns but they were invested on lines on which they liked. We do not have the priority in respect of them. Here again this money should be made to be invested according to the plans of the Government. They should not be allowed to make investments freely as they like. During this period Rs. 231 crores of new capital issues were sanctioned in favour of the foreign concerns in the country. That is not right.

There is another important point to which I would just draw your attention. Just before the war there were about 1200 companies registered on the stock exchange; 1125 companies precisely and their scrips came to an aggregate value of Rs. 270 crores. What has happened today is very interesting. This point has been studied recently. The number of quoted companies, that is, quoted on the stock exchange, has remained more or less static. Since the war their scrips have gone up by 20 per cent, and their value has gone up 1/1 times as compared to 1947. The share of the Indian Dyestuff Company is quoted at Rs. 1,000 while its paid-up value is Rs. 100. So you can see the value has gone up ten times.

In this connection you will see how people sometimes behave. Yesterday in the reply to three Unstarred Questions in the other House it was revealed that one Mr. B. Patraaik despatched 53,740 tons of iron ore and did not pay the royalty. He has also been working in the manganese mines in Keonjhar over an area of 1006 acres without having the mining lease. He had not paid his dues

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] to the Government in respect of certain other leases also and they all came to Rs. 6,18,926. The Magistrate is supposed to have served a notice on this gentleman. Mr. Patnaik, incidentally, is the President of the Orissa Congress and he may be waiting in the list to become a Chief Minister. Therefore, Sir, the control should be there and money should be got from the resources of the companies by more taxation; wealth tax and so on, these are not adequate. Further taxes should be imposed and compulsory loans should be arranged.

Now, the Indian princes have got plenty of resources abroad in cash and in securities. I do not know what the Reserve Bank is doing. Why can't the Government get hold of some of this money? It will come to many crores, apart from the value of their privy purses. Payment of compensation to big landlords should be stopped. Rs. 155 crores have been given.

THE MINISTER OF MINES AND OIL (SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA): May I say a word about the reference which the hon. Member has made about Mr. Patnaik not paying royalty on the lease? This matter is *sub judice*; it is before a court of law.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is from the answer laid before the House.

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: He should not refer to these cases.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have only mentioned what has been said in the Minister's answer. Beyond that I have not said anything. I agree with him there.

Then, Sir, according to the Finance Ministry the gold reserves in the country are supposed to be of the order of Rs. 3,000 crores based on internal prices. Now they say that gold worth Rs. 1,500 crores is held

by the middle class in jewellery, etc., while the other Rs. 1,500 crores worth of gold is in bullion. Why can't we get at the bullion at least? We can call upon all the bullion-holders to declare their bullion. That way also we can get some money.

Then we should exercise a little economy. The experience at Bhakra-Nangal showed that 10 per cent, of the cost was due to wastage and corruption. Similarly in many places wastage and corruption are taking place. If we could have a little economy in our projects we can save crores and crores of rupees apart from what we may save in civil expenditure. And we can take all these measures. They are all within the four corners of the present Government policy and within their reach. They can easily do so. If we can do such a thing, we can develop the public sector. We should try to get more money from the corporate sector which pays only Rs. 105 as Corporation tax. It can be made to pay much higher. If we can raise more money from the corporate sector, from the partnership concerns and from individuals by way of Corporation tax, income-tax, etc., and if we develop the public sector and exercise more economy, I think we can easily get additional several hundreds of crores.

There is only one more point. In the Second Plan we were to have sanctioned only Rs. 100 crores worth of foreign exchange for the private sector but I have got the figures with me here and we really sanctioned for them Rs. 301 crores a good part of which—Rs. 40 crores went to the rayon industry; Rs. 28 crores for automation in the textile and jute industry and so on—are not high-priority investments. Such things should not be allowed; such methods should be changed. That is how we can improve our position. I think I have given some suggestions for the hon. Minister to consider. The question is whether they are going to change their policy and approach with re-

gard to this matter. If they did so we should not be in such a critical situation as to have to impose such heavy taxes on our people and face crisis after crisis in foreign exchange and other things.

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, while listening to the speech of my hon. friend I was amazed at two things. One was your tremendous patience in allowing this speech much beyond the time limit . . .

DR. A. SUBBA RAO (Kerala): He did not exceed the time. How does he say that the time limit was exceeded?

SHRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIAR: . . . and the second thing was, I was amazed at the illogicality of the position that has been taken by the hon. Member who spoke just before me. He wants to nationalise shipping, he wants to nationalise coal mines, he wants to nationalise almost everything, every big industrial undertakings in India. Today what we want is to expand the industrial activities in the country and for that purpose we want to get aid from all countries and yet we are not able to take up all the schemes which we want. If we go into this grandiose scheme of nationalising things which are already functioning well in this country, I am sure nothing new can be done. I say that nationalisation has its own place. It must come in certain sectors but not today when we have so many other schemes for which money is lacking. That I say is not the way of wisdom.

Now, let me come to a few points relating to the Finance Bill itself. We are happy that some concessions have been given. But there is one matter which I would like to point out. That is clause 4 about gratuity and to which an amendment has been tabled. The exemption of income-tax on gratuity relates only to that paid at the Gov-

ernment level. You may be aware that the Kerala Government today is proposing to introduce a scheme of gratuity in almost all the industries. You may also be aware that in the Madras State there is a scheme of gratuity-cum-pension or gratuity-cum-provident fund, which is being made applicable to all the teachers, including university teachers. If gratuity is being exempted in the Government sector, I see no reason why it should not be exempted in all the other sectors also. Also, there is this reason that gratuity is earned year by year. When gratuity is earned all these years, if it is all added up and income-tax is to be levied on all the amount that is earned in twenty years or so, the income-tax will come to a large amount indeed. That is neither fair nor good. I know this House cannot successfully move any amendment to the Finance Bill, but I hope this will be borne in mind at least when the next Finance Bill comes before us.

Now, let me come to the effect of these taxes on the price levels. In a note that has been circulated to us in the Informal Consultative Committee of the Finance Ministry, they have said:—

"The Economic Adviser's index of wholesale prices covers 18 out of the 31 items touched by Central excise under the recent budget proposals. If the Government levies as also the increases in existing duties are added to the wholesale prices, the proposed changes in Central excise should not raise the all-commodities index by more than 0-40 per cent, over the pre-budget level."

They expect that the increase will be to the extent of 0-40 per cent. Then, it says:—

"The enhancement of import duties directly impinges upon 7 items figuring in the wholesale price index, and it should not account for a rise of more than 0-06 per cent, in the all-commodities index."

[Shri T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar.] They go on:—

"As a result of the proposed changes in Central excise and import duties, consumer price index in the five important industrial centres—Bombay, Calcutta, Kanpur, Madras and Delhi—is estimated to rise by 0.2—0.4 per cent, over their recent levels as shown in the table below."

Let us know whether these prophets have been proved to be true.

I would refer to another document which has been supplied to me by the Finance Ministry, for which I am grateful to them. They have supplied to me figures about the index of prices as on 1-4-61. They do not have figures as on 1-3-61, but they have figures of prices as on 25-2-61. It shows that the prices are continually rising. I know it and I hope the Finance Minister would have also got the information that as far as Madras is concerned, there has been a large increase in prices. Let me give you a few commodities and their prices. The comparison is between the index as on 25-2-61 and the index as on 1-4-61:—

Commodities	Index on 25-2-61	Index on 1-4-61
Coffee ..	85.6	886
Vanaspati ..	1298	132.1
Kerosene Oil ..	90.2	95.4
		(It is 5 per cent increase)
Diesel Oil ..	112.4	123.1
		(Nearly 9 per cent increase)

It has affected not only the taxed products but also the other products. Let me come to food products. These are figures given by them:—

Commodities	Index on 25-2-61	Index on 1-4-61
Milk ..	1043	125.1
Groundnut oil ..	146.4	155.8
(Nearly 8 to 9 per cent increase)		
Groundnuts ..	155.2	~

What I am pointing out to you here is that it is not according to the calculations made by the Finance Ministry, about the result of the levy of these excise duties and import duties.

It is not as if the result has been as they foresaw. What has actually happened is that in many places the rise in prices has been extraordinarily high. That is No. 1. Point No. 2 is that the rise is not only in the prices of commodities on which the taxes have been levied, but also in the prices of articles on which taxes have not been levied. The Madras Hotels Association has issued a public statement, an advertisement, in the papers. In their list they give the rates for sugar, firewood, coffee seeds, milk, refined oil, vanaspati, raw rice, boiled rice etc. They have pointed out how the prices have gone up extraordinarily (high). They have demanded, because of this rise in prices, a rise in the rates they are charging in the hotels and coffee clubs. I would ask you and through you the Government and the Ministry as to what has been the reason for this rise in prices. Many times your calculations have not been wise. Your calculations have not proved true. And why is it so? I would like the Finance Ministry to go into it. After all you know what an amount of difficulties is created by your not being able to hold the price line. When the strike was going on, Minister after Minister said that it would be our duty to hold the price line. The poor are hard hit by the price increase and not the rich. You know that Mr. Deputy Chairman. And then what is happening today? The salaried classes are in considerable difficulties, especially the middle-class. It is not only a problem of making both ends meet. It is a human problem. Even his ordinary work suffers. At times he quarrels with his wife and children, as a result of the rise in prices. While it may profit perhaps certain industries—certainly the industries are profited, as one Member quoted figures to show that large profits are being made by certain industries—it may not profit the people. The textile industry, for example, and other industries also profit by this rise in prices. But the ordinary, salaried people, whose rise in income is not commensurate with the rise in prices, suffer

considerably. Not only that. Our Plan projects suffer. In the Second Plan they say that the prices have gone up by 30 per cent. It is of the order of 30 per cent, or so. To that extent your Rs. 10,000 crores means only Rs. 7,500 crores. Now, I want to know what is being done to hold the price line. We have had lectures about the reasons for the rise in prices. Any economic book will give you a lesson. There is increase in price on things like cement, iron and steel. In these cases the rise in prices is only due to the Government's action. Deficit financing has its own contribution. Then, higher spending power in some people is another thing. People having more money supply will demand more goods. These are contributory causes. But it is up to us to find out why this extraordinary rise in prices has taken place within these two months.

Now, I come to another matter and that is a matter which I have mentioned every time and which I would like to mention this time also. People are prepared to pay taxes and I think our people are a reasonable people. But before paying taxes, they would like to be satisfied that the money that they are paying is fairly utilised. It is common talk in the States, it is common talk among the officials, it is common talk among the Ministers that the rate of expenditure made by the Government of India is extraordinary. When we discuss things with the State officials and Ministers they say 'We do not spend like Delhi. The Delhi people waste huge amounts of money and we are more economical.' And that is true. Has any committee gone into this question as to why there is such high standard of expenditure? You know that there was the Report of the Estimates Committee about the increase in staff which was taking place. I demand here that a committee be appointed which should go into the matter and say whether the staff that has been appointed is justifiable. A mere recommendation or certificate of the Finance Ministry that it is justifiable

will not do. Today we have increased the staff expenditure about ten times in ten years. What is it due to? These are matters in which the public must feel that the money is being well spent. Otherwise tax evasion which is already there will be more so, because they feel it is not justifiable. There are odd ways in which men's mind works. It works in many ways. I would suggest that the Government should take up two of the most important matters concerning even the success of the Third Plan: (1) the reason for the rise in the prices and how that can be avoided, and (2) the reason, the justification for this extraordinary rise of staff in the Government departments.

Coming to buildings, for example, even in Madras today the rise of prices is so much that many Government buildings have not had tenders. I know that. There has been an extraordinary rise, and if this rise of prices goes on, it would be very difficult for us to reach even half the target. You may have spent Rs. 10,000 crores but the physical targets which you will reach will be about only half, and that is a very important matter which the Finance Ministry must go into.

Now, Sir, let me go into the sources of taxation. I read the speech of the Finance Minister delivered yesterday—I hope it has been properly reported—in the newspapers. The newspaper report says:

"Refuting the criticism that there is increasing concentration of wealth in the country the Finance Minister pointed out that hardly 20 per cent, of the national income was derived from mining and manufactures. Half of this came from small-scale and cottage industries."

It says that he goes on to say that there is no concentration. I may tell you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that I sometimes do not have very much faith in these statistics that are being exhibited. You know, Sir, that statistics are something which can be made



[Shri T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar.] to prove anything. I know that if you give the statisticians a conclusion, they will give you the arguments for that position. What do I see when I go about the country? If there had been ten people with Rs. 10 lakhs in my town ten years back, now there are a hundred people with over Rs. 10 lakhs. We say that the per capita income of the ordinary peasant has increased by 20 per cent. What does it mean? For the ordinary peasant, the ordinary cooly, the ordinary worker, the increase has been very little. But I see how many cars have increased in spite of the cars being bad and the expenditure being more. Look at the number of houses worth more than Rs. 1 lakh coming up everywhere. The sort of concentration which we mean like the United States where the people have a thousand crores, that will never come in India for many years to come, and that is not the standard which we should get. I feel, knowing as I do, that in any developmental economy it is the people who earn the money who will first have the money, and now that is being earned by the industrialists and they will have it and to that extent there will be concentration.

Another thing has amazed me. The Government have appointed a Committee to go into the question of how this 40 per cent. increase in national income has been distributed. Before that Committee comes to its conclusions what is the hurry for the Finance Minister to make that statement? It seems as though it was a hint to the Committee to say what they should say. Usually when such enquiries are being made the Government will be well advised in not giving such a categorical answer. I should deprecate, Sir, that in a matter of such importance—because on that will depend our principles of taxation, our policy of taxation—such a statement should have been made.

I do not like to take much of your time as I myself have another en-

gagement to fulfil in another five minutes. So I am glad that I could say these few words. I would appreciate if the Finance Ministry, apart from raising taxation, also see to it that every rupee that they get was well spent.

**श्रीदेवकीनन्दन नारायण (महाराष्ट्र) :**

उपसभापति जी, फाइनेन्स बिल को देखते हुए पता चलता है कि हमारी सरकार, खास कर के हमारे अर्थ मंत्री जी, जनता की आवाज की कितनी कद्र करते हैं। बजट में जो मुझाव टैक्सेज के बारे में किये गये थे और उनमें किस तरह से कमी की गई और किस कारण से की गई, उसके बारे में अर्थ मंत्री जी ने कल आप से कहा। यह तो अच्छी निशानी है, जिन्दा डिमाक्रेसी की निशानी है कि जनता की आवाज हर वक्त विचार ली जाती है और जनता की आवाज के अनुसार तब्दीलियां की जाती हैं। यह तो मानी हुई बात थी कि थर्ड फाइव ईयर प्लान के साथ बहुत से नये टैक्सेज आयेंगे इस वक्त आये और आगे भी आने वाले हैं और बढ़ते ही रहेंगे। परन्तु इन टैक्सेज को परिणाम कहां पर किस तरह से और कहां तक होता है यह देखना जरूरी है। कहने को तो कल कहा गया कि १०० रुपये टैक्स के पीछे, सिर्फ नये टैक्सेज की वजह से, ४० नया पैसे बढ़ा है, परन्तु आप जनता में जाइये, बाजार में जाइये, तो आप को पता चलेगा कि थोड़ा सा ही टैक्स बढ़ जाने से वहां किस तरह से जनता के ऊपर ग्राम तौर पर बोझ बढ़ जाता है। आप कैरोसीन आइल को ले लीजिये। कैरोसीन का टैक्स आप ने कम किया परन्तु देहातों में तो देखियेगा कि महीने पहले जो एक बोतल चार, साढ़े चार आने में बिकती थी वह आज साढ़े पांच आने में बिकने लग गई है। आप ने लिखा है कि तीन महीने बाद मंचेज का टैक्स बढ़ेगा, परन्तु बाजार में वह टैक्स पहले ही बढ़ गया और पांच पैसे की जगह सात पैसे किसान को देने पड़ते हैं। तो मैं आप से कहना चाहूंगा कि सिर्फ इतना कह देना से कि बहुत कम टैक्स बढ़ा है १०० के पीछे

४० नया पैसे बढ़ा है काम नहीं चलता। उसका आम जनता पर कितना बोझ पड़ता है, किस कारण से पड़ता है, इसको भी सोचना चाहिये और इसको सोच कर इसकी कोई तजवीज निकालनी चाहिये कि बनिया नाजायज लाभ न उठा सके।

कल हमारे अर्थमंत्री जी ने यह भी कहा कि एक के बाद एक जो हमारी योजनाएँ आ रही हैं इससे हमारी बहुत तरक्की हो रही है, चारों तरफ तरक्की हो रही है। मैं भी मानता हूँ कि तरक्की हो रही है। परन्तु तरक्की का बैलेन्स देखियेगा आप। एक साथ तरक्की सब जगह हो रही है, यह कहना मुश्किल ही है। डिस्पैरिटी कम हुई है, यह कहना मुश्किल है। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि शहर और गांव का अंतर कम हो रहा है, डिस्पैरिटी कम हो रही है। यह भी कुछ सच नहीं है। आप देखें कि आज खेतिहर मजदूर को क्या मिलता है, किसान को क्या मिलता है। आज खेती के मजदूर को जो मिलता है उससे बारह गुना टैक्सटाइल मिल के मजदूर को मिलता है। इतना ही नहीं, एक प्रान्त में पर कैपिटा इन्कम जो है वह दूसरे प्रान्त में नहीं है। मैंने सुना है, पंजाब की पर कैपिटा इन्कम करीब करीब आप की नेशनल पर कैपिटा इन्कम की दूनी है। तो इस तरह से जब प्रान्त प्रान्त में, प्रदेश प्रदेश में पर कैपिटा इन्कम कम और ज्यादा है तो आप किस तरह से कह सकते हैं कि डिस्पैरिटी कम हुई है और चारों तरफ एक सा विकास हुआ है। आप देखियेगा कि हमारा प्लान मकसद यह रहा है कि अनइम्प्लायमेंट कम हो और इम्प्लायमेंट बढ़े—पहली पंचवार्षिक योजना का यह मकसद था, दूसरी पंचवार्षिक योजना में यही मकसद लिखा गया था और तीसरी पंचवार्षिक योजना में भी वही शब्द दोहराये गये हैं, मगर आप देखिये कि अनइम्प्लायमेंट कम नहीं हो रहा है, आप टारगेट तक नहीं पहुँच रहे हैं। पहली पंचवार्षिक योजना का जो टारगेट था इम्प्लायमेंट देने का, वह आप पूरा नहीं कर सके।

दूसरी पंचवार्षिक योजना का आपका जो टारगेट था इम्प्लायमेंट देने का वह आप पूरा नहीं कर सके दूसरी योजना के आखीर में आज जो बेकार हैं उनकी तादाद पहले से बहुत कुछ बढ़ गई है। मेरा ख्याल है कि तीसरी पंचवार्षिक योजना की शुरुआत करते वक़्त आप के सामने ६० लाख बेकार होंगे, इसमें आगामी पांच वर्ष में डेढ़ करोड़ की वृद्धि होगी, यानी २४० लाख हो जायेंगे और कहा जाता है कि हम तीसरी पंचवार्षिक योजना में १५ लाख को काम दे सकेंगे। मैं सरकार से जानना चाहूँगा कि आप हम को यह भरोसा दीजिये या कोई ऐसी योजना दिखलाइये कि जिससे इतने वर्षों में इस देश की बेकारी कम हो जायेगी, कोई बिना काम नहीं रहेगा। आज हमें इस बात की चिन्ता भी है कि जब देश में दिनों दिन बेकारी बढ़ रही है, एक तरफ कारखाने बढ़ रहे हैं, उत्पादन बढ़ रहा है, विकास हो रहा है, सब बातें हो रहीं हैं, इसके साथ ही साथ बेकारी भी बढ़ रही है। जब हम यह देखते हैं तो चिन्ता होती है कि किस तरह से आगे चल कर हम इस बेकारी की समस्या को दूर कर सकेंगे। इस समस्या का दूर होने का हमें कोई हिसाब बतलाइये—कोई भरोसे लायक तरीका बतलाइये। मैं आशा करूँगा कि माननीय अर्थ मंत्री जी हमें निश्चित रूप से यह बतलायेंगे, कोई भरोसा या विश्वास दिलायेंगे कि देश में जितनी बेकार जनता है उसे किसी निश्चित काल में समय में उद्योग मिलेगा।

इस बेकारी की समस्या के साथ ही साथ अर्थ बेकारी की भी समस्या हमारे सामने है। अर्थ बेकारी की समस्या के संबंध में कोई यह कहता है कि देश में इनकी संख्या दस करोड़ की है और कोई यह कहता है कि इनकी संख्या आठ करोड़ की है। इस बात का कोई शूमार नहीं है। हमारे देश में जो विमान है, वह अर्थ बेकार है और चार करोड़ खेती के मजदूर अर्थ बेकार हैं। गत दस वर्ष से

[ श्री देवकानन्दन नारायण ]

अर्थ बेकारी की समस्या को दूर करने के लिये गांवों में छोटे छोटे उद्योग धंधे शुरू किये गये लेकिन उन सबका क्या हुआ ? कहने को That is an integral part of our national economy.

आप ने पहली पंचवार्षिक योजना में छोटे उद्योगों के हित में यह कहा था —

“Reservation or demarcation of spheres of production.”

दूसरी बात आप ने यह कही थी—

“Non-expansion of the capacity of the large-scale industries.”

तीसरी बात आप ने यह कही थी—

That imposition of a cess on large-scale industries”

इन तीनों बातों में आपने क्या किया, मैं यह आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ—

“Reservation and demarcation of spheres.” . . कहीं नहीं हो रहा है। मगर expansion of the big industries is going on. आप ने सेस की बात कही और कुछ सेस कहीं लगा दिया। यह बात सच है, पर इससे जनता को कोई फायदा नहीं हुआ। आपने करवे कमेटी कायम की और उसने अपनी रिपोर्ट में हैण्डलूम के होते हुए पावर लूम को इजाजत न दिये जाने की सिफारिश की। आपने इस कमेटी की सिफारिशों को कहां तक माना ? हम तो यह देखते हैं कि आज देश में दिनों दिन पावर लूम बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं और हैण्डलूम की तरक्की घट रही है। आल इंडिया हैण्डलूम कॉफ्रेन्स में हर साल प्रस्ताव पास होते हैं कि कृपा करके पावर लूम बन्द कीजिये। आन्ध्र सरकार और दूसरी सरकारें इसी तरह का प्रस्ताव पास करती हैं लेकिन कोई सुनने वाला नहीं है। और दिनों दिन पावर लूम बढ़ते ही चले जा रहे हैं अगर एक पावर लूम कायम होता है तो १० हैण्डलूम को खा जाते हैं और दस आदिमियों के पेटों पर पैर

पड़ता है। यह बात कोई नहीं सोचता कि पावर लूम लगाने से गांव के उद्योग-धंधों और वहां की जनता को बहुत नुकसान होता है। हमने करवे कमेटी क्यों कायम की ? इसलिये कायम की कि यह इस तरह की सिफारिश करें ताकि गांवों से बेकारी दूर हो। मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हम ने हैण्डलूम के लिये कौन कौन से स्फियर रिजर्व्ड किये ? जिन बातों से करोड़ों आदिमियों को रोजगार दिया जा सकता है, उद्योग धंधे दिये जा सकते हैं, उन सब बातों की ओर हमने ध्यान नहीं दिया।

इसी तरह से बहुत सी बातें की जा सकती हैं। चावल की मिलों को ही ले लीजिये। हम ने इस बारे में एक राइस कमेटी नियुक्त की थी और जिसने यह सिफारिश की कि देश में नई मिलें नहीं लगनी चाहियें और खास कर “हलर टाइप” की, लेकिन देखने में यह जाता है कि आज “हलर टाइप” मिलें देश में चारों तरफ फैल रही हैं।

आप ने आर्यल कृषिग कमेटी नियुक्त की, सब कमेटी बनाई, लेकिन आप ने उसकी सिफारिशों को नहीं माना। इन सब चीजों का नतीजा यह हुआ कि जिन चीजों द्वारा गांवों में बेकारी की समस्या को दूर किया जा सकता है उनको हमने नहीं अपनाया, जिसकी वजह से आज देश में बेकारी की समस्या और भी ज्यादा बढ़ गई है।

इसके बाद आप से यह कहना है कि आप शहरों की तरफ देखिये। आज शहरों की आबादी दिनों दिन बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है। गांव के पढ़े लिखे लोग शहरों की तरफ चले जा रहे हैं। जिन लोगों को गांवों में मजदूरी नहीं मिलती है वे भी आज शहरों की तरफ दौड़ रहे हैं। इस कारण आज शहरों में स्लम्स बढ़ रहे हैं और शहरों में बेकारों की तादाद बढ़ती चली जा रही है। आज इस बात को कोई नहीं सोचता है कि गांव वाले शहरों

में क्यों जा रहे हैं और उनका शहरों में जाना किस तरह से रोका जा सकता है? आज देश की भलाई और शान्ति के लिये गांव वालों का शहरों में दौड़ना रोका जाना बहुत ही आवश्यक है ।

एक बात मुझे और कहनी है और वह प्रोहिबिशन के बारे में है । इस समय हमारे अर्थ मंत्री जी नहीं हैं, अगर वे होते तो मुझे बहुत खुशी होती ।

**श्री उपसभापति :** अर्थ मंत्री बैठे हैं ।

**श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण :** जब अर्थ मंत्री जी ने स्वयं बम्बई राज्य में २० करोड़ रुपये की आय प्रोहिबिशन से गवाई तो यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती कि दिल्ली राज्य में जो मध्यवर्ती सरकार के आंच के नीचे है, एक दो करोड़ रुपये प्रोहिबिशन के कारण क्यों नहीं बर्दाश्त किया जा सकता है ? जब बम्बई में फुल प्रोहिबिशन किया जा सकता है, मद्रास में किया जा सकता है, फिर दिल्ली में ही क्या खाम दिक्कत आती है ?

**श्री एन० एम० अनवर (मद्रास) :** इस वक्त वहाँ है ।

**श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण :** मैं नहीं समझ सका कि हमारे अर्थ मंत्री जी दिल्ली में प्रोहिबिशन क्यों नहीं लागू करते हैं ? जब हमारे अर्थ मंत्री श्री मोरारजी भाई देसाई, करोड़ों रुपये का बजट बनाते हैं तो क्या उस में एक दो करोड़ रुपये की कमी बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते हैं ? मैं आशा करूंगा कि जब वे प्रोहिबिशन चाहते हैं, सारे देश से चाहते हैं, तो दिल्ली में भी अवश्य करेंगे । जब हम लोग बम्बई पहुंचते हैं, देहातों में पहुंचते हैं, तो वहाँ के लोग पूछते हैं कि क्या वजह है कि दिल्ली में अभी तक प्रोहिबिशन नहीं हुआ ? प्रोहिबिशन करना हमारे देश की नेशनल पालिसी रही है । हमने इस चीज के लिये एक आल इंडिया प्रोहिबिशन कमेटी नियुक्त

की जिसने यह सिफारिश की कि सन् १९५८ तक सारे देश में प्रोहिबिशन कर दिया जाये । इसके बाद लोक सभा में भी यूनिनिमसली एक प्रस्ताव पास हुआ जिस में यह मांग की गई थी कि सारे देश में जल्दी से प्रोहिबिशन होना चाहिये । परन्तु पैसे का लोभ कहिये—यह कहा गया कि इसमें बड़ी अड़चने हैं । आज पचास वर्ष से हम यह कहते चले आ रहे हैं कि सारे देश में प्रोहिबिशन होना चाहिये और हमारे कांस्टीट्यूशन में भी इस बारे में डायरेक्टिव है । इन सब बातों के होते हुए वैसी समझ में यह बात अभी तक नहीं आई कि हमारी सरकार सारे देश में प्रोहिबिशन क्यों नहीं लागू करती है ? जब तक आप सारे देश में प्रोहिबिशन वांछित नहीं करेंगे तब तक बम्बई तथा मद्रास में भी यह सर्वसंगत नहीं होगा । देश की जनता यह सोचती है कि जब सारे प्रांतों में कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट है तो जो चीज बम्बई और मद्रास की गवर्नमेंट कर सकती है वह दिल्ली और बंगाल या दूसरे प्रांतों की गवर्नमेंट क्यों नहीं कर सकती है ।

इसके बाद अनाज की समस्या की ओर आप का ध्यान आकृष्ट कराना चाहता हूँ । कहने को तो आज देश में अनाज की कमी नहीं है और वह किस वजह से नहीं है ? इसका कारण यह है कि काफी अनाज अमेरिका से देश में आ चुका है । परन्तु आप ने देखा होगा, आप के पास जो मालूमात पहुंचे हैं, जो आंकड़े हैं, उससे पता चलेगा कि किसान अन्न की निपज के मुकाबले में दिन-ब-दिन कौश फ्राप की ज्यादा निपज कर रहा है । मैं आंकड़ों से आपको दिखला सकूंगा कि गत दस वर्षों में अनाज का एक्जरेज बहुत कम बढ़ा है बनिस्वत कपास, शुगरकेन, जूट आदि के । सन् १९४८-४९ में २३३ मिलियन एकड़ अनाज बोया गया था । सन् १९५९-६० में वह २७९ मिलियन एकड़ हो गया यानी २० टका उसकी वृद्धि हुई । परन्तु आप शुगरकेन को ले लीजिये तो वह ३८ लाख की

[श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण]

जगह ५२ लाख एकड़ में बोया गया यानी ३३ टका वह बढ़ गया। अब आप काटन को ले लीजिये। वह ११३ लाख की जगह १६३ लाख एकड़ में बोई गई; यानी ७५ टका उसमें वृद्धि हुई। इस प्रकार किसान कौश क्रॉप्स ज्यादा पैदा करने की कोशिश करता है; क्योंकि वह अधिक मुनाफा चाहता है। उसका कारण यह है कि आप अनाज का भाव बांधने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। आप पहले से किसान से कहिये कि उसको रीजनेबिल मिनिमम प्राइसेज क्या मिलेंगी, ताकि उसे विश्वास हो जाये और वह अपना हिसाब कर सके कि मुझे अनाज से कितना पैदा होगा, काटन से कितना पैदा होगा, शुगरकेन से कितना पैदा होगा। अज वह गैम्बलिंग में फंसा है। अगर कमी मूंगफली का भाव तेज हो जाता है तो वह आते सीजन में मूंगफली बोने लगता है। अगर कमी गड़ का भाव तेज हो जाता है तो वह गन्ना बोने लगता है। और अगर कमी गेहूं रहता हो जाता है तो वह आगे गेहूं बोता ही नहीं। यानी उसको कोई भरोसा नहीं है। इसीलिए माननीय श्रीमन्नारायण जी ने प्लानिंग कमीशन की ओर से यह सुझाव दिया था कि हमें आने वाले सीईंग सीजन के तीन वर्ष पहले भाव तय कर देने चाहियें ताकि किसान को भरोसा हो जाये कि उसे उससे क्या पैदा होगा। यही नहीं, आपने जो फूड कमेटी मेहता साहब की अध्यक्षता में कार्यरत की थी उसने भी यही सिफारिश की थी : *The minimum prices must be declared well before the seasons.* उसको आपकी नेशनल डेवलपमेंट कौंसिल ने जून, १९५७ में मंजूर किया। परन्तु इतना ही नहीं, नागपुर कांग्रेस में यह रेजोल्यूशन पास हुआ कि यह आवश्यक है कि इस देश के किसानों में निश्चिन्तता पैदा करने के लिए और अनाज की अधिक उपज बढ़ाने के लिए यह पहले से जाहिर हो जाना चाहिये कि उनको कम से कम कितनी कीमत मिल सकेगी। प्लानिंग

कमीशन, डेवलपमेंट कौंसिल, मेहता फूड कमेटी रिपोर्ट और नागपुर रेजोल्यूशन के बावजूद अभी तक यह बात तय नहीं हो पाई है कि हम मिनिमम प्राइसेज की गारंटी करें और सीईंग सीजन से पहले हम किसानों को बतला दें कि क्या पैदा करने से उनको क्या लाभ होगा। इसलिए मेरी यह प्रार्थना है कि इस ओर तुरंत ध्यान दिया जाये।

अभी आप से स्लमस के बारे में मैंने कहा। आपने नया सेंसस देखा होगा। शहरों की जितनी आबादी बढ़ी है उतनी गांवों की नहीं बढ़ी है और शहरों में जो आबादी बढ़ी है वह उन लोगों की बढ़ी है जो महा गरीब हैं, जिनके घर नहीं हैं, जिनके अंग पर वस्त्र नहीं हैं, खाने को पूरा अनाज नहीं है और काम करने के लिए कोई धंधा नहीं है। तो मैं आपसे यह दरखास्त करूंगा कि जब आप तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की बात कर रहे हैं और हजारों करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने जा रहे हैं, तो हर साल जब कि डेवल्यूएशन हो उस वक्त हमें यह भी बतलाया जाये कि यह जो नीचे का स्तर है, यह जो मजदूर हैं, यह जो गरीब हैं, इनकी आमद कितनी बढ़ी, इनकी उन्नति कितनी हुई। इसका कोई जरिया तो समने आना चाहिये। दूसरी बात यह भी होना चाहिये कि सरकार की ओर से जो हमारी बेहतरी के लिए खर्च किया जाता है उसके सम्बन्ध में यह बतलाया जाये कि फी आदमी शहर में कितना खर्च किया जाता है और फी आदमी देहात में कितना खर्च हो रहा है। जब ऐसा किया जायगा तब फर्क मालूम हो सकेगा और जो कल कहा गया कि हम शहर और गांव में कोई भेद नहीं करते हैं उसका भी पता चल जायगा कि शहरों पर आपकी ज्यादा मेहरबानी है या देहातों पर। इसलिए इसकी आवश्यकता है कि आप यह बतलायें कि गांवों पर पर कैपिटल आप क्या खर्च कर रहे हैं और शहरों पर पर कैपिटल आप क्या खर्च कर रहे हैं।

आखिर में मुझे एक बात और कहनी है। हर एक जगह यह बात कही जाती है, बहुत अच्छी बात है, खुशी की बात है, यह १२ वर्ष पहले ही हो जानी थी और वह है कम्पलसरी प्राइमरी एजुकेशन की। यदि आप कम्पलसरी प्राइमरी एजुकेशन को कामियाब बनाना चाहते हैं तो मेरी आप से एक प्रार्थना है कि सिर्फ कम्पलशन से और फ्री कर देने से आम गरीब जनता के लड़के लड़कियां पढ़ने आयेंगे, ऐसा आप न मानें, क्योंकि देहातों में चलिये, गिरिजनों में चलिये, अछूतों में चलिये तो आपको पता चलेगा कि उनके आठ-आठ दस-दस वर्ष के बच्चों को पेट के लिए काम करने जाना पड़ता है और वे स्कूलों में जा नहीं सकते। तो जब तक आप कम्पलसरी प्राइमरी एजुकेशन के साथ उनकी स्लेट्स, उनकी किताबें और उनके दोपहर के खाने की कोई तजवीज नहीं करेंगे तब तक आपकी कम्पलसरी और फ्री प्राइमरी एजुकेशन की योजना सस्सेसफुल होना बड़ा मुश्किल है। इस लिए मेरा यह सुझाव है कि आप यह तजवीज अवश्य करें।

हम डिस्पैरिटी कम करना चाहते हैं और वह कम होनी भी चाहिये। कहा जाता है कि बिजली का सब जगह उपयोग किया जाये और इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि बिजली का उपयोग किया जायगा, तो उससे अधिक पैदावार होगी, अधिक पैसा आयेंगा। परन्तु आज तक दस वर्षों में १९ हजार गांवों में बिजली बड़ी मुश्किल से पहुंची है और हमारे सब गांव हैं करीब छः लाख। यानी इतनी धीमी चाल से बिजली बढ़ रही है कि अगर यही हालत रही तो छः लाख गांवों में बिजली पहुंचने में शायद ५० साल लग जायें या सौ साल लग जायें। इसलिये यदि इस ओर तेजी से ध्यान न दिया गया तो इससे समानता बढ़ने के बजाय डिस्पैरिटी ही बढ़ने वाली है। तो जो कुछ आप करना चाहें वह मुट्ठी भर लोगों के लिये न करें, अधिक से अधिक लोगों के हित के लिए करें ताकि लोगों में धीरे धीरे

समानता आ सके और डिस्पैरिटी कम हो सके। जब आप मुट्ठी भर लोगों पर ही ध्यान देते हैं, मुट्ठी भर लोगों के लिए ही बड़े बड़े कालेज, स्कूल और न जाने क्या क्या खोलते हैं तो स्वाभाविक है कि जो पहले ही पिछड़े हुए हैं वे और भी पीछे रह जाते हैं और ये दिल्ली जैसे शहर वाले और भी आगे दौड़ जाते हैं। इसलिये आप को अधिक ध्यान उन पिछड़े हुये लोगों पर देना चाहिये जो गांवों में, देहातों में बहुत बुरी हालत में रहते हैं। उनको सबसे पहले मौका दिया जाना चाहिये और इन शहर वालों को पीछे मिले तो कोई हर्ज नहीं है। इसलिये मैं यह कहूंगा कि जो आखिरी है उस पर हमें अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिये। हमारा मन्तव्य देश को बेकारी से बचाना है, सब को ऊंचा उठाना है। परन्तु सर्वप्रथम जो सब में नीचा है उसकी उन्नति करना हमारा खास मकसद होना चाहिये। बड़ों को आपकी मदद की उतनी आवश्यकता नहीं है जितनी कि गरीबों को है। जैसा कि कल वित्त मंत्री जी ने कहा कि बड़ों के धंधे छीन लिये जाने से टैक्सेज ही कहां से आयेंगे, वैसे मैं यह नहीं कहता कि आप बड़ों के कारखाने बन्द कर दीजिये, परन्तु जितना टैक्स आप उनसे लेते हैं उससे और अधिक टैक्स आप उनसे लीजिये और उसको इन गरीबों की बेहतरी के लिए दे दीजिये। आप कृपा कर अब नीचे वालों की ओर ध्यान अधिक दें, गांवों की ओर अधिक लक्ष्य दें, ग्रामोद्योगों की ओर अधिक ध्यान दें, प्रोहिबिशन सारे देश में दायित्व करें। It is not by bread alone that a man lives.

SHRI DAYALDAS KURRE (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Finance Bill which is before the House. Apart from my support to the Finance Bill, I congratulate the Finance Minister for submitting this courageous Finance Bill. The Bill itself is very courageous, wealthy and rich. The reason behind my congratulation is

[Shri Dayaldas Kurre.] the courage shown by the Finance Minister in submitting this Bill, He has shown all this courage for increasing the national wealth in order just to make our National Plans a success.

Sir, we have just completed our first two Plans and are entering into the Third Five Year Plan. These Plans cannot be carried out without money. That is the only source with which we can make our Plans successful. In the face of various odds we have made great advance in the first two Plans and this time we propose to make our Plan even more successful.

The Finance Bill has only the increase of our national income in view. There are several ways in which our national income is going to be increased. No doubt more taxes are going to be levied. Now, these taxes will affect rich and poor, cottage and palace alike. To make the Plan successful it is essential to have a sound taxation policy. The national fund is here and while allocating this national fund, the States' educational and other conditions should also be taken into consideration.

Sir, In India we have States whose economic, social and educational condition is not at par with that of other advanced States. The State of Madhya Pradesh, from which I come, is very backward educationally and financially. Madhya Pradesh, with its 43 districts, has an area, so far as I remember, of not less than 1,72,000 sq. miles and 39 per cent, of its population depends on forests. With this vast area of forest we can imagine the economic and educational condition of the State. Therefore, the backwardness of these areas must be borne in mind while allocating funds for the Plan.

Now, Sir, what are the media through which these areas are to be developed? This area, as far as I know, produces rice and wheat but the crops suffer for want of adequate

irrigation facilities which are very difficult to develop. For developing this area we have first to think of improving the irrigation facilities there.

We have taken co-operative farming as one of the most important instruments to improve our agriculture but agriculture can be improved only if irrigation facilities are improved adequately. There cannot be two opinions about this. Without developing irrigation facilities we cannot imagine the development of this backward area for a moment.

Now, Madhya Pradesh has vast irrigation potential. There are several rivers. The Mahakoshal area was mentioned in the Irrigation Committee. Mahakoshal has the Chhattisgarh-area with its three districts and two rivers. The Hajdo river is very important in this connection. The Hajdo plan is now being considered. Apart from this, there are the Agraha and the Mahanadi plans. These plans have to be considered. After these plans are taken in hand irrigation facilities will increase tremendously, and with the availability of irrigation facilities we can make our co-operative farming a success. Only yesterday there was a meeting of the Co-operative Farming Society where it was stated that co-operative farming could not be made a success without first improving irrigation facilities. There are several reasons for the failure of cooperative farming and lack of irrigation facilities is one of the most important reasons. The other prerequisites of co-operative farming are good seed, a good labour, financial assistance from Government which has since been provided to the cultivators. But unless there is good facility for irrigation, the crop can fail. Sir, to make our co-operative farming more successful in those areas, especially in Mahakoshal, these rivers must be taken in hand in the Third Plan for irrigation purposes. Just now we

are entering "into the Third Five Year Plan and this must be taken in hand

As regards education of the people in those areas, in the present situation it is difficult to impart the best type of education to the children there, i About Madhya Pradesh I had previously said that 39 per cent, of the area was covered with forests. So educationally this area is very backward. There are not enough schools to impart better Type of education to the children. We want to give to the children primary education, especially in the rural areas but this area, as we see it, has not a sufficient number of schools to impart primary education. So while making^ allocations from the national exchequer, this must be borne in mind and more funds should be allocated for educational purposes in this area. No doubt there are 7 colleges and there are training institutions and universities are also being opened but when most of the masses live in those areas which are undeveloped, how can we expect them to develop without giving them higher standards of education? Therefore, the first and most important thing is to develop primary education and more primary schools should be opened through the State.

Regarding cottage industries, I agree fully with Shri Deokinandan Narayan who just now mentioned that cottage industries are neglected absolutely in the rural areas. No doubt various training institutions for Industries have been opened or are being opened or are about to be opened but they are limited to towns and cities only. A few have been opened in the rural areas. Generally we say that 82 per cent, of the population of India are in the rural areas and the national income belongs to the whole of India. Here, if the cottage industries are neglected, how can you say that full or equal allocation has been made? Full advantage is not being given to the people in the rural areas. So a change in the present policy in regard to cottage industries is indicated. More training institutions should be opened

either by the Community Development Ministry or by the Industry Ministry but they must be opened.

The other point that I wisri to refer is regarding Railways. Th Madhya Pradesh there are the two districts-Sarguja and Bastar. About Bastar you know very well that there is the Dandakaranya scheme and other affairs are also going on but. I may say here that these two districts are very' backward. There is no railway line in those districts. A vast area is covered by these two districts in Madhya Pradesh. It is a pleasure to us to say that there are minerals in these two districts. You might know that Bailadilla iron ore mtne is there in regard to which we have entered into a contract with Japan and out of which we are earning about Rs. 5 lakhs from Japan but it is rathe?" an-unhappy thing to say that in Bastar there is not an inch of railway line. I humbly suggest, that that area must be opened up-through railways. So while allocating funds, the hon. Finance Minister must think over this matter and the Railway Ministry should be asked to take-this matter into consideration.

Much has been said about taxation.. There are taxes on small things like *supari*, kerosene oil, etc. These are most important things and are used by the rich as well as the poor and if heavy taxation is levied on these things which are used by ordinary people, then I may say that it is a real tax on people and it taxes the mind of the people also. So I would request that this matter be reconsidered and<sup>1</sup> the taxes may be reduced as early as possible. These are my observations. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I welcome the Finance Bill particularly because, in response to-the pressures of public opinion, the Finance Minister has been good enough to have a second look at his own Budget proposals and he has now come to this House with revised esti-



[Shri N. M. Anwar.]

mates that give relief to the nation to the tune of Rs. 6£ crores.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I must say that now we see a wind of change in the Home Ministry. Only the other day we heard the announcement of the release of the Maharaja of Bastar. This is in fact a bold step which has added a cubit to the moral stature of the hon. Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri. Believe me, Mr. Deputy Chairman, while replying to the debate on the Appropriation Bill, the hon. Finance Minister referred to the assurance that the Government of India had given with regard to the princely order. I was really very pleased, because every man of honour has got to keep his pledge and more so a government has got to redeem its pledge, no matter how much it may cost the coffers. Time and again, on the floor of this House and elsewhere, references are being made to curbing the powers and privileges that have been bestowed on the princely order. Believe me, Mr. Deputy Chairman, if we look upon the antecedents of those in this princely order, it redounds to their glorious traditions that at the time of the merger of the States, when that great architect of the national integration of India, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, appealed to their sense of patriotism and their sense of duty to stand by the country, they responded. That is on record. They responded as never before in the history of India. And nowhere else do we see in the world today such magnificent contribution and sacrifice, a sacrifice which meant to them not only the sacrifice of pomp and pageantry; but also self and power. Yet the princely order responded and the hon. Sardar Patel gave them an undertaking on behalf of the nation as the spokesman of the Government of India, to guarantee to them and to their posterity, certain privileges and also certain privy purses. I must say that he purchased this national integration and the merger of the States

of India almost for a song. The privy purses loom so large in the eyes of a good many of our friends in this House and it amazes me to see that. And sometimes it amuses me also, for I should think they are a mere pittance when I think of the glorious manner in which the princely order had behaved at the turn of our history. We should be eternally grateful to them. On the contrary, sometimes it is jarring to my ears to hear what some Members in this House and elsewhere say and to see how they decry the princely order and hold them to ridicule. Believe me, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I should think that we must all feel that we have got to stand by the pledge given to them, cost what it may to the national exchequer. There are a good number of princes who have come to exercise an increasing share in the affairs of the nation. We must welcome them and extend to them not merely justice, but something more. With an attitude of generosity we have got to welcome them and take them into our national fold and see that we take the very best out of their energy and we have to see that the fundamental rights which as citizens of India they enjoy are not interfered with. That was why when that day the Maharaja of Bastar was taken into custody—I don't know who he is—I felt it was a set-back, that it was a step in the wrong direction. Why should we try to turn Utem way into the enemy's camp and lose their goodwill for no fault of theirs? Maybe, some in this princely order have their idiosyncrasies. But that is part of the measure of the freedom that we have guaranteed under our Constitution. That difference of opinion even between two individuals is bound to exist and it is a true measure of our democracy not merely to recognise it but to appreciate it. Therefore, I feel that I should welcome and endorse this statement of the hon. the Finance Minister that this Government will stand by the assurances given to the princely order.

Believe me, Mr. Deputy Chairman, as I said a little while ago, we see a wind of change in the Home Ministry and I appeal to the hon. Home Minister, Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri, to take up the entire question of the princely order *de novo*. I know of some occasions and I still call to memory the case of the Maharaja of Baroda—His Highness Shri Pratap Singh Gaekwad. I think it was many years ago—I don't know when—when there was a double punishment imposed upon him. One was de-recognition because of the whims and fancies of certain officials of the Ministry and the other was that his privy purse was touched. I can well understand disciplinary action being taken for difference of opinion; but I cannot understand how a pledge given in the name of the nation by Sardar Patel could be put into jeopardy in this way. I think this is a vicarious punishment of which we should not feel proud and because the hon. Home Minister has come forward with a very bold step, with a very bold decision, I think this is the time when the Government should have a review of the whole position and see that we try to get the princely order firmly identified with the national urges of this country.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, there is another pronouncement of policy which the hon. Home Minister delivered immediately after the assumption of office, and to which I myself had the privilege to listen, when he was delivering it in reply to the debate on the Home Ministry's demand in the Lok Sabha. I should think that that is one thing more than anything else which would go a long way to restore confidence of the minority in the future of this country. Nothing else can do it better, because in that pronouncement he has said that the Government of India with the mighty machinery at their disposal, will take into preventive custody communal

agitators who incite violence. I am not here going into the question of any violence that took place here or there. All the time I am not so much concerned with looking into only difficulties that abound in any country, as with the correct outlook. I am reminded of that wonderful approach and outlook that Carlyle displayed when he was making an appointment. There were two applicants before Carlyle and he was holding a glass of water. He asked one applicant to describe the glass of water and he described it as a glass half empty. Then he asked the other and he described it as half full and immediately he gave the appointment to the latter, because that applicant had the right approach to problems, the right and basic approach that we must have to the problems of our country. I am not thinking of the disorders that broke out anywhere. Rather I am even now filled with an overwhelming sense of pride that all over in this country we have this Symphony and harmony and we have got to see that that harmony is given a momentum. It is for that reason that I feel that the hon. Home Minister's pronouncement of policy, to use Preventive Detention Act against communal agitators will go a long way not only to forestall ugly situations that had brought disrepute to and dismay in the country, but to make the minorities feel assured of their person and property. Any government in the world worthy of the culture and civilisation to which it has the right and honour to belong, should consider it its utmost duty to guarantee this sense of security which is imposed upon it as one of the fundamental rights of the Constitution. If that Government is not capable of securing this right for the minority then that Government has no business to continue even for an hour longer. Believe me, Sir, that it is only in this respect that we, who come from the State of Madras, to which I have the honour to belong, think of that glorious act of the hon. Shri Lai Bahadur at the time of tht

[Shri N. M. Anwar.] Ariyalur train disaster. At that time he was holding the Railway portfolio and he had that highest sense of duty to feel one with the country and immediately resigned his office because he took the entire responsibility for the tragedy. That is the sense of duty, that is the sense of responsibility that we expect from any man of honour and that is the only thing that would evoke admiration from the entire country. It is several years since that thing took place; I do not know how many years ago it was but I bring that counter-argument whenever people in my part of the country bring in the question of division of India. Here is a man who does not belong to any part of the South but who belongs to Uttar Pradesh but nevertheless he felt one with the people right down in the South and gave proof not only of his patriotism but of his sense of duty. That should have been done in Jabalpur. No matter what happened there, things which put us to shame before the bar of world opinion, none of the Ministers, either of Madhya Pradesh Government or of the Central Government, ever thought it fit to go to this part immediately to end the mischief that was going on there but held to office here at the Centre and in the State and never even showed a semblance of impression that they felt for the minorities. It is the soaring idealism of the Prime Minister who has been exerting his authority to see that such violence does not spread any longer in the country. Let us hope that this will have a deterrent effect on the future course of action in our country.

When I look upon the achievements which have already been ushered in so soon after his assumption of office as the Home Minister, I am rather tempted to think of him in the classical description given of Napoleon Bonaparte, that the hon. Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri is the glorious little man of our Government and I hope that very soon, apart

from his negative approach of putting people, who indulge in this type of violent communal agitation, in jail under the Preventive Detention Act, he will try to understand this minority problem as a human problem as the biggest problem that is now challenging the statesmen of India.

There is one thing over which I feel very happy, and that is about the conduct of our Army. The other day when I was listening to the statement of the hon. Shri Krishna Menon—our Defence Minister—I felt so immensely pleased and proud of our Army and about Defence production which has come to receive tremendous encouragement at his hands. If we look back upon the humble beginning we made in this field, it is something very gratifying that we should have improved our defence equipment position and should have come now into the missile age. We are very happy and proud also to hear that our defence production has almost been carried to a degree that we can feel a sense of national self-sufficiency but it is not only this production that has given me that satisfaction. The Prime Minister has time and again been saying that the Army is in fine fettle. We as a nation feel overwhelmed with a sense of the deepest gratitude for this Army of ours which has undertaken difficult and delicate responsibilities overseas in discharging the great ideals of our Constitution, in carrying the banner of peace almost into every country where the United Nations had called us. Whether it was in Korea, in Laos or in the Suez or in the Congo as now, the Army has been discharging its responsibility to the glory of the United Nations and the glory of the cause of world peace and we are happy and proud that the soaring idealism of Prime Minister Nehru has been so wonderfully vindicated by this Army. When we have got such men at the helm of affairs as the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister, who go into the question of promotions in the Army, you can take it from me, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that

notwithstanding many accusations that have been levelled against certain promotions in the highest echelons of the Army, the nation reposes its utmost confidence in our Prime Minister and the Defence Minister. This feeling calls not only for satisfaction but for pride that we have got in our Defence Services men and officers and we have got at the helm of affairs Ministers who enjoy the confidence of the country.

Very frequently we talk of bringing about national integration. At the moment I am busily engaged in writing out a thesis as to the ways and means by which we can convert this minority allergy into national energy. On the physical plane particularly, we have in our country many diseases of disintegration and while suggesting remedies we have to beware that our remedies are not more dangerous than the disease itself. I wish to say one thing in passing. Recently we had the Canal Water Treaty with Pakistan under the auspices of the World Bank. This has been made possible, and so is the construction of the big Aswan Dam in Egypt by the collaboration of big powers. We have got to approach this problem in a big way with a big heart and a big mind. In the South, as you know, there is already an agitation going on and growing, which wants to disrespect the Constitution, which wants to dishonour the Flag and which wants to divide the country. I think we must take time by the forelock and see what are the forces that can set up this momentum of integration. Let the Ganges which has inspired awe and love, which flows from the Himalayas and runs waste into the Bay of Bengal, be brought down through the heart of the country and linked up with the Cauvery. This should be possible. At the moment it may look like an idle fantasy but in our country when we have had such a tremendous amount of industrial progress, particularly in these years after independence—there has been progress with lightning rapidity in all fields of industry. I am happy and pleased to see here the hon.

Minister for Oil who has been striking oil almost in every part of the country in recent years, sometimes he makes statements sooner than he should—it should be possible to link up the Ganges with the Cauvery. This will bring in a wave of exhilaration all over the country. We must have that scheme which Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar brought forward years ago and link up the Ganges with the cauvery. This will add to the spiritual heritage that we have got. Let the Ganges, instead of being allowed to flow waste into the Bay of Bengal, may also be enabled to run its course and be made to flow south into the Indian Ocean. This will bring about a great and glorious economic integration of the country.

One thing more and I have done. I am very happy indeed that you should have given me this opportunity. When we think of provincialism which is raising its ugly head now in the South and in so many States, I feel that it has become an eyesore to me. I meet people here in Parliament, in the lobbies and in the city of Delhi. I have had opportunities of travelling not only all over the country but in various countries of the world many times. There is one set of people with whom I have had discussions over so many times and who had never betrayed that trace of parochialism, that sense of provincialism, of course, they do suffer from other diseases that are bringing about disintegration unfortunately of our country—and that is the people of U.P. Now, the people of U.P.—I do not know how I have come to develop this regard for them—in all my discussions with them gave me this impression. I sometimes feel that it is a danger from which we have to save them and save the country. U.P. comes quite often to think it is the entire country. Of course, that probably is a danger from which the other parts of the country must have to save them and save the country but otherwise they do not have that provincialism which, for example, people coming from other States do possess. And I am very happy to

[Shri N. M. Anwar.] say that we acknowledge with a sense of gratitude this kind of patriotism which they have for the country. Even when it comes to matters concerning their own States, I have not seen the men and women of U.P. giving the slightest impression that they belong to a part which is entirely different from the country and I hope that example will be emulated by one and all and I must also say, Sir, that we in Madras would feel very happy if this example is extended all over the country.

SHRI S. C. DEB (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, there has been discussion here regarding the tax structure and also on direct and indirect taxation. Sir, when we go through the Finance Bill this year, we find that there is more emphasis on indirect taxes than on direct taxes. When there is indirect taxation, naturally the people at large will suffer.

First of all, I would like to say that there must be a sound policy of taxation. It should not be only to seek to mop up from wherever there is lacuna or from wherever it has not been mopped up so far. That should not be the policy of taxation. If some Members say here that no injustice is done by indirect taxation, I would humbly say that I cannot agree with them. I say—and this is my feeling—that when we are laying so much stress on public sector, the production in the public sector should be such that it will help to augment our resources. When so much money is diverted to the public sector, we should lay more stress on the productivity on the public sector. They should produce more wealth so that we can augment our resources more and more. In this direction I think our Government should pay more attention to the efficiency of the public sector, to the profit-making aspects of the public sector and to their administrative ability. Those who are working there must have that national spirit in them that it is the country's wealth that is there and that more wealth must come

out from the public sector. Those who are entrusted with the work of managing the public sector undertakings should work with that spirit. We are also lacking in the matter of experts. That deficiency should be made up soon. We are getting foreign experts for managing our public sector enterprises here and there. Our experts should also be there with that zeal and national spirit to produce more for the benefit of the nation as a whole.

Now, I would like to say some thing about tea. This time there is taxation on common tea, the tea that we are consuming here, so that there can be more earnings through export. But if we examine this tea industry we will find that we are not getting good results either by the efforts of the Tea Board or by the efforts of Government. One-fourth of the production of the whole country is represented by tea but that much of attention is not given by the Government to this industry. They think that it is already getting foreign earning and so it should continue to get it. But efforts should be made not only to develop this industry but also to improve the industry through research and other things. We have only one research station at Toclai and that is of I.T.A's; the Government is not setting up research stations in other places to improve the quality, to improve the production and to develop the industry wherever there is neglect. As you know in some parts the foreign companies which are working here are neglecting this industry. They are only after the profits; they are not thinking of the development of the industry. There is room for development in many respects but it all depends upon research works and research stations should be set up wherever there is neglect. No doubt the Tea Board is there but the Tea Board is not seeing to these things. That is our complaint. And in the Tea Board people are there who are not at all eager to see how this industry could be developed, how we could earn more profits, how the quality

could be improved, and how the quantity could be increased. We are not seeing to that. I come from a part where the tea industry plays an important part in the economy of that area. But I find that it is being neglected from year to year and no attention is given to it. I find that there is this drought menace in the tea plantations. As a result no further improvement in plantation is made. There, the development of tea can be undertaken. That is not done. Also, good quality tea can be produced. It is not done. Another thing is this. When we are going to have common tea, in many parts common tea is more in quantity than in quality. In common tea there is a mixture. Though we have a definition of waste tea, it is not applied. No care is taken. For internal consumption this common tea is used. There is the mixture of waste tea with common tea and no effort is being made to remove that defect.

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

I only suggest this to our Finance Minister. When you are giving relief to coffee, why are you not giving relief to tea, which is earning much more foreign exchange? I humbly urge our Finance Minister to see to it and remove this burden on common tea.

Now, I would like to say a word about betelnut. There is taxation on betelnut which is imported. In my part large quantities of betelnuts are smuggled. If you have that tax, more smuggling will be there. The Government will not get any benefit. So, there was a representation from that area saying that betelnut should also come within the purview of Customs duty and that part should be declared a port. A representation was made to the Finance Ministry as also the Commerce and Industry Ministry, but nothing is done. I urge upon them to see to this, whether the smuggling, which is giving no benefit to the Government and which is going to be increased, cannot be stopped. Though

our land customs department is there, it cannot deal with the smuggling effectively. Smuggling is going on. So, if you want to stop it, some definite steps should be taken and the representation, which was made from that part, should be given due consideration.

Now, some other friend also touch-  
upon rural economy and cottage  
and village industries. One thing we  
must do. That is, we must remove  
the disparity between town and  
village. If we are to remove it, what  
should be done? We should develop  
small industries, village industries and  
cottage industries. How can they be  
developed? For that power should  
be there. Now, my hon. friend was  
saying that out of six lakhs of villages,  
only 19,000 villages have been electri-  
fied. This is meagre. If village elec-  
trification is not given due considera-  
tion, we cannot make progress. When  
our Draft Five Year Plan was discus-  
sed, among Members of Parliament,  
I asked for information about how  
much of village electrification was  
contemplated in the Third Five Year  
Plan. The answer was very unsatis-  
factory. Unless you develop your  
village industry, which is being tried  
by 'Gramodyog', how can you  
advance? They are also contemplat-  
ing to employ the surplus labour and  
also agricultural peasants, who are  
not wholly employed, to develop  
village industries and to make a plan.  
But unless power is supplied, unless  
you have a good scheme of rural elec-  
trification, how can village industries  
be developed in these modern days?  
We say big things. We say here and  
we shout from housetops that so much  
is being done for the rural areas.  
But actually we are not doing what  
should be done. If rural electrifica-  
tion is there, then rural industries can  
be developed. Otherwise, it cannot be  
developed. Unemployment cannot be  
solved. The only solution for unem-  
ployment is the development of small  
industries and cottage industries.  
Otherwise, unemployment will  
increase year by year and there will be  
frustration among young men,

[Shri S. C. Deb.]

particularly among educated young men and there will be chaos. That will lead the country to a very chaotic condition. Unless the question of unemployment is solved, unless definite plans are made to solve unemployment, to develop village industries and small-scale industries, unless power is supplied to every area, including backward areas, you cannot develop this country. If you take to big industries only, that does not solve the problems of this country. The solution depends on solving the unemployment problem, particularly the problem of educated unemployed. There is much frustration in every town and among young men. You will find, whether he is a Government servant or not, that he is anti-Government. Why is he anti-Government? It is because the unemployment problem is there and Government is not courageous enough to solve unemployment. They are talking big things, doing nothing. Unless unemployment is solved, the Government will collapse. So, I humbly beseech the hon. Finance Minister to find in the Third Five Year Plan a solution to the problem of unemployment. You should develop cottage, village and small-scale industries. You should develop power in every area, in every backward area. If you can develop power, in that case you can solve the problem of unemployment. Otherwise, you cannot solve it.

Thank you.

**श्रीमती सवित्री निगम** (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय, श्रीमन् मैं इस फाइनेन्स विधेयक का समर्थन करने के लिये उपस्थित हुई हूँ। जिस तरह का यह विधेयक इन्द्रेड्यूस हुआ था उसने इसमें अब बहुत से संशोधन, परिवर्तन और परिवर्धन हुए हैं और उनका मैं स्वागत करती हूँ। मुझे खुशी है कि फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर महोदय ने हम लोगों की बहुत सी सिकारिशें—हम लोगों की बहुत सी मांगें—मंजूर कर लीं और खास तौर से उन छोटे छोटे उद्योगों को थोड़ी थोड़ी

मदद और राहत पहुंचायी जिनको फाइनेन्स प्रपोजल्स के द्वारा बहुत कठिनाई का सामना करना पड़ रहा था।

श्रीमन्, ग्लासवेअर और टेवल बेअर के मिलमिले में मैंने बजट स्पीच के समय भी कहा था कि जितने स्माल प्रोडक्शन यूनिट्स हैं, जितने छोटे छोटे, नये नये, अभी बने हुए छोटे छोटे कारखाने हैं जिनकी आय २०० रुपये या ३०० रुपये महीने से अधिक नहीं है और जो कि इन्डिविजुअल बेसिस पर खोले गये हैं उनके ऊपर जो एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगायी गयी थी उसके कारण एक बहुत बड़ा संकट आ गया था। यहां से पास ही उत्तर प्रदेश के खुर्जा नामक स्थान में चारों ओर सैकड़ों ऐसे कुम्हार हैं जो छोटे छोटे बर्तन बना कर, चार पांच सौ रुपये महीने तक कमा लेते हैं। ज्यों ही ये बजट प्रपोजल्स आए त्यों ही उन लोगों के ऊपर मानो एक संकट का पहाड़ टूट पड़ा था; लेकिन इस फाइनेन्स बिल में मुझे यह देख कर बड़ा ही संतोष हुआ कि ऐसे छोटे प्रोडक्शन यूनिट्स को राहत पहुंचायी गयी है।

श्रीमन्, दूसरी बात मैंने वायरलेस रिसेविंग सैट्स के विषय में पिछली बार भी कही थी और मुझे बड़ी आशा थी कि वे तमाम नये नये, छोटे छोटे उद्योग, छोटे छोटे यूनिट, जिनके द्वारा लोगों ने अभी बड़े साहस के साथ इस तरह के छोटे छोटे वायरलेस सैट बनाना शुरू किया है उनको राहत मिलेगी। लेकिन मुझे यह देख कर दुःख हुआ कि उन पर भी इन नये बजट प्रपोजल्स द्वारा जो नये एक्साइज ड्यूटीज और टैक्सेज लगेंगे उनका उस उद्योग पर एक बहुत खबरदस्त प्रभाव पड़ने वाला है। इस विषय में हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर महोदय ने तो ध्यान नहीं दिया लेकिन मेरा विश्वास है कि वे जल्द, जब कभी हो सकेगा, एक अमेण्डमेन्ट के द्वारा इस वायरलेस इण्डस्ट्री को राहत पहुंचाने की कोशिश करेंगे।

श्रीमन्, वायरलैस इण्डस्ट्री का हमारे देश की विकसित इकानामी की स्थिति को देखते हुए बहुत बड़ा महत्व है। आपने स्ट्राइक के जमाने में देखा कि किस तरह इन वायरलैस सेंट्स द्वारा जो तमाम पंचायतों में, गांवों में लगाये गये हैं, हालांकि उनकी तादाद बहुत कम है, उनके कारण लोगों को सही सही खबर मिल सकी और एक बहुत बड़ी नेशनल क्राइसिस जो आने वाली थी उसको एवट करने में, मैं कहती हूँ, बहुत बड़ा हाथ इन छोटे छोटे वायरलैस सेंट्स का था, जिनसे गांव गांव, कोने कोने में सही खबर, देश के हित की खबर पहुंचाई गई। वैसे भी हमारे देश में इन वायरलैस सेंट्स की संख्या व्यक्तियों के अनुपात से बहुत कम है। इस बीसवीं शताब्दी में इस तरह की जो एक जीवन के लिए उपयोगी वस्तु है जिसके द्वारा जन जन का स्तर बढ़ाया जा सकता है, उन पर इस तरह से करों का और एक्साइज ड्यूटी का बोझ डालना, मैं सोचती हूँ, बहुत उचित नहीं।

श्रीमन्, पिछली दो योजनाओं के समय में, प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना और द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में, हमारे नियोजकों की बहुत बड़ी चिंता का एक ही विषय रहा है। योजना को गति देने के लिये जितने भी सेवशन्स थे उनका उतना सहयोग नहीं मिल सका जितना मिलना चाहिये था और उसका सबसे बड़ा कारण यह था कि लोगों में उत्साह की कमी है, जानकारी की कमी है। उन छोटी मोटी योजनाओं को जिनको हमारे प्लानर्स बनाते हैं उनको जनतय के लोग—हमारे ग्रामों के लोग—अपना समझ कर अपनाते नहीं हैं। और, उसमें एक बहुत बड़ा तथ्य भी था। लेकिन मुझे यह बड़ी प्रसन्नता का विषय लगता है कि हमारे प्लानर्स ने इस कमी को महसूस किया और उन्होंने प्रजातंत्र की सूची प्रतिष्ठा करने के लिये पंचायती राज्य को भी मान्यता दी। कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट मिनिस्ट्री ने, श्रीमन्, बहुत से अच्छे अच्छे काम किये हैं लेकिन मैं समझती हूँ कि उन्होंने पंचायती राज्य को

प्रतिष्ठित करके एक नया पृष्ठ हमारे इस महान् देश के विकास की दिशा में खोल दिया है। वह सबसे अधिक प्रशंसनीय और अनुकरणीय है। मुझे अभी स्टडी टीम के सिलसिले में कई प्रान्तों का दौरा करने का अवसर मिला और श्रीमन्, मुझे यह देखकर बहुत ही आनन्द हुआ कि जितना शक और शुबहा लोगों के दिल और दिमाग में था पंचायती राज्य के विषय में, वह दूर हो गया है। ग्रामीण लोग जिन्हें कभी राजकाज का अनुभव नहीं रहा, जब उनके ऊपर इतनी बड़ी बड़ी जिम्मेदारियां छोड़ी जायें—बड़ी बड़ी ग्रान्ट्स को संभालना, योजनाओं को बनाना या किसी टेक्निकल किस्म के काम को कराना—तब कैसे वे उनको सभालेंगे? ये तमाम मुश्किलें और चिन्ताएं हमारे प्लानर्स के दिल व दिमाग और देश के अन्य कर्णधारों के दिमागों को परेशान किया करती थीं। लेकिन, श्रीमन्, आज मैंने अपने इस स्टड टीम की यात्रा के दौरान जो कुछ देखा उससे मुझे विश्वास हो गया है कि आज भी हमारे देश में चाहे किसी ग्रामीण को किसी कालेज या यूनिवर्सिटी में जाने का अवसर नहीं मिला है लेकिन अपना हित और अहित, अपना कल्याण समझने की बौद्धिक क्षमता और न-कल्याण और समाज के कल्याण के लिये परिश्रम करने की एक हार्दिक शक्ति और मानसिक शक्ति, दोनों मौजूद हैं। जिस तरह से पंचायती राज की प्रतिष्ठा और सफलता मैंने अपनी आंखों से विभिन्न जिलों में जाकर देखी उससे मुझे विश्वास हो गया है कि उनमें कितनी शक्ति और सामर्थ्य है। हर गांव में मैंने अनपढ़ से अनपढ़ व्यक्तियों को बैठकर अपने गांवों के लिये, अपने समाज के हित के लिये योजना बनाते हुए देखा और उन योजनाओं को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये जो मैंने उनमें उत्साह देखा उससे मेरे दिमाग में तो कम से कम कोई शक और शुबहा नहीं रह गया। अगर हम चाहते हैं कि देश की जो तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना है उसको, और जो द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना का शेष कार्यक्रम रह गया है, उसको हम पूरा करना चाहते हैं तो



[ श्रीमती सावित्री निगम ]

हमें तुरन्त ही, केन्द्रीय सरकार को भी और प्रांतीय सरकारों को भी, यह बात समझ लेनी चाहिये कि वे बिना पंचायती राज के पूरी प्रतिष्ठा नहीं प्राप्त कर सकते। पंचायतों को पूरे पूरे अधिकार दिये बिना कभी भी हमें सच्चे मानों में सफलता नहीं मिल सकती, न हमारी ये योजनाएँ और तमाम कार्यक्रम उस तीव्रता और उस गति विशेष से पूरे हो सकते हैं, जिसकी कि आज हमें आवश्यकता है। श्रीमन्, मैंने देखा कि लोगों के मन में अब भी झिझक है कि कैसे वह अधिकारिबर्ग, जिसके हाथों में सत्ता थी, जो अब तक शासक थे, जो डिमोक्रेसी के नाम पर, प्रजातंत्र के नाम पर, एक तरह से छोटे मोटे राजा या शासक बने हुए बैठे थे वे भला सत्ता को अपने हाथों से निकल जाने देंगे? लेकिन मैं अपने देश के अधिकारिबर्ग को भी मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूँ कि जिस तरह से, जिस हिम्मत के साथ, जिस उदारता के साथ, उन्होंने सत्ता को एक धाती समझकर अब तक अपने पास रखा था उसी उदारता के साथ उन्होंने बड़ी खुशी खुशी से गांव गांव में जाकर उस सत्ता को गांववासियों के हाथ सौंपा। उसको देखकर हमें विश्वास हो गया है कि जो संकाएँ, चिन्तएँ थीं कि अधिकारिबर्ग और गैर-सरकारी वर्ग, अर्थात् जनता के जो नुमाइंदे हैं, उनके बीच में एक खाई भी बन जायगी, ईर्ष्या और द्वेष पैदा हो जायगा, उसकी वजह से वे लोग पंचायती राज्य के कार्यक्रम को सफल बनाने पायेंगे, वह भ्रम, या शंका बिल्कुल निर्मूल निकली। आन्ध्र में

मुझे देखने का अवसर मिला, राजस्थान में और गुजरात में मैंने देखा कि अधिकारिबर्ग और गैर-सरकारी वर्ग के लोग दोनों मिलकर, कंधेसे कंधा मिलाकर काम कर रहे हैं पंचायती राज को सफल बनाने के लिये। इस प्रकार to transfer power to the last ladder करने के लिये वे कोशिश कर रहे हैं और मुझे कोई शक और शंका नहीं रह गया है कि अगर आज यहाँ पर केन्द्रीय सरकार पंचायती राज ऐक्ट को समूचे देश के लिए पास कर सके तो कोई भी स्टेट ऐसी नहीं होगी जो उससे पूरा फायदा न उठाए।

श्रीमन्, दो तीन बातें मुझे इस विषय में जरूर कहनी हैं। हमने देखा कि जिन स्टेट्स में पंचायती राज के लिए अलग फंड बना दिया गया है, वहाँ पर अधिकारियों को भी और गैर-सरकारी लोगों को दोनों को कार्य करने में रेड टैपिज्म का सामना करना पड़ रहा है, जिससे काम में रुकावट आती है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ROHIT M. DAVB): Will you take more time?

SHRIMATI SAVITRY DEVI NIGAM: Yes, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: You can continue tomorrow.

The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 2Cth April 1961.