

REFERENCE TO STATE BANK EMPLOYEES' STRIKE

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, I have given notice of a Motion regarding the strike by the employees of the State Bank of India . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, it has been received.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Every day is important and so I would request you, Sir, that it should be taken up tomorrow . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is talking about the State Bank Officials' strike.

DR. R. B. GOUR (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, the State Bank is in the public sector and . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is all right. Why are you bothering about it?

DR. R. B. GOUR: It is not as if unless the Parliamentary staff go on strike, we are not going to move in the matter. They need not have waited for any notice, Sir. They have got all the materials with them. The Finance Minister is there and the Labour Minister also is there, so . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Sit down.

DR. R. B. GOUR: Please fix up the time for it so that . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: When are they going to fix the time for it, Sir?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Half an hour before I came here the paper was placed in my hands, and you want them to make a statement now? You should give them some time.

DR. R. B. GOUR: It has been sent to the Finance Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If you think so, Sir, let us have it tomorrow. That will be all right.

DR. R. B. GOUR: Tomorrow is too much.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Tomorrow is too much, of course, and today you go on strike!

Yes, you go on, Mr. Panikkar

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1960-61—GENERAL DISCUSSION—continued

SHRI K. M. PANIKKAR (Nominated): Sir, I should like to pay my meed of tribute to the Finance Minister for the excellent statement and the speech that he has made in connection with the Budget. Both are informed by a sense of cautious optimism, optimism in respect of past achievements and future prospects. The Finance Minister is too experienced and wise a man to be satisfied with mere optimism and not to guard it by certain principles of caution and at the very start of his speech, in paragraph 2, he says that we should be careful to control our expenditure and also to see that the austerity in respect of imports is strictly maintained. So actually the sense of caution which informs the optimism also takes a prominent place in the speech.

Many hon. Members in this House will remember a time when the whole Budget of the Government of India fell below Rs. 10,00,00,000 and today it stands at the very considerably higher figure of Rs. 896,00,00,000 on the Revenue side. As Shri Jaswant Singh said, it seems there is nothing left untaxed except fresh air.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): And Scotch Whisky?

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL (Punjab): That has been taxed.

SHRI K. M. PANIKKAR: He said only fresh air has not been taxed.

There are two ways of looking at a budget. One is to look upon it as providing the means or resources for the national expenditure. The other

as to look upon it as a method for social change. In the past we saw glimpses of this second aspect through various imaginative taxation items, like the wealth tax, the expenditure tax, etc., which were evidently meant to create a change and were motivated by a social purpose of bringing not merely additional funds, but creating a Welfare State or a socialist pattern of society. So far as the present Budget is concerned, I do not think even the Finance Minister would claim that any social purpose is being furthered through the Budget. There is, undoubtedly, an attempt to create more funds for State expenditure. But beyond that, the object of shaping society through budgetary proposals, through taxation, is certainly not in it.

All the same, the various proposals for additional taxation have had one particular result, namely, that of squeezing the middle classes. It is easy to speak of soaking the rich as a method of taxation. But the essential question to be put and the view point from which every budget is to be seen is whether the taxation falls equitably on all the classes, whether the burden of taxation is shared equally by the people according to the means they possess. So far as we here and the present Budget are concerned, there is no doubt—and I suppose that is the case with most budgets everywhere—it is the ordinary middle class with static incomes that suffers most. Whether it be the question of a tax on cycles or cycle parts and things which only the people with middle incomes use, or whether it be other proposals, the burden must unavoidably fall on the middle classes.

The middle classes suffer more by inflation than any other group. Actually the Budget itself has provided more in the way of creating inflation than of controlling it. There is one aspect of this Budget which naturally every person has emphasised, and that is, that it leaves both a revenue gap

and a gap in the capital expenditure, which we are told, are to be met by the issue of treasury bonds. What does this beautiful phrase mean? It means further depreciation of currency, a system or method by which rulers at all times, from the beginning of history, have tried to get money without making other people feel that they are paying. Dependence on the printing press to create money is in many ways a dangerous thing, unless administratively and by other controls the economy is kept well in hand. Controlled inflation may be of advantage especially to the primary producer. But unless the inflation is carefully handled by the authorities in two ways namely, by controlling consumption as well as by controlling imports, it has a tendency to run away and the economy becomes distorted in such a way as to create great social injustices. The system of increasing expenditure by merely increased printing of notes is a thing which has been the ruin of many countries which were otherwise flourishing. And when we are deliberately bringing in a certain amount of controlled inflation we have to see that, our controls in regard to expenditure, in regard to consumption, in regard to imports, are so strictly maintained that the economy itself does not suffer.

Unfortunately, in a developing economy a certain amount of inflation is unavoidable. Even though inflation strikes at everybody, it falls, as I have already said, mostly on people belonging to the low and middle income groups and unless methods are adopted to deal with those groups satisfactorily as for example the pay increases recommended by the Pay Commission which reported recently, what we will find is that social upheavals will stand in the way of progress which we are aiming at and for which we are anxious. What I mean is that both these things have got to be carefully calculated and carefully

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balanced in the budgets that we have to pass here in Parliament.

I should like to emphasise two other points. It has been said that Defence has not been sufficiently provided for, and my learned friend, Dr. Kunzru, has pointed out that out of the sum that has been provided, the amount to be utilised for the security of our border territory is even much less than what it would appear to be. In respect of Defence, more than anything else, there is one consideration which deserves to be emphasised and that is, it is foolish to rush about spending merely because there is danger to our territory or to our frontiers. Defence is a planned thing and we have got to think carefully as to how we are going to spend, on what we are going to spend and in what way we are going to phase it over a period so that our resources can be most effectively utilised. Merely because there is a certain amount of danger to our frontiers, it is not wise or possible for the Government to run about saying that we will recruit all the people of India, conscript all the people of India and provide them with guns. For that we would require too much money. Nowhere is this more clear than in Defence that money spent without clear purpose, without clear planning, is completely wasted. Especially in a country like India where a great deal of Defence material has to be bought from outside, expenditure incurred without planning and without careful thinking would involve a great deal of waste. Therefore, I do not see that the criticism that has been made that we are not spending sufficiently on Defence is in any way justified. Defence has to be provided but it has to be provided for after careful consideration, careful planning and careful phasing of expenditure.

The second point which I would like to emphasise is about the criticisms which we have listened to on the system of Prize Bonds stigmatised

by many speakers as a form of gambling. Now, as everybody knows, gambling is one of the traditional habits of India and from the Vedic times down today gambling is considered as a normal and legitimate activity. It is the puritanical approach which the British imported into India that has caused people to look upon it as something evil.

DR. R. B. GOUR (Andhra Pradesh): But the Finance Minister claims to be a puritan.

SHRI K. M. PANIKKAR: In fact, casting of dice is one of the things about which there are great many references in the old literature. So far as Mahabharata is concerned, you know, Sir, the whole story is based on the habit of gambling so that the idea that gambling is something which is prohibited or something which is wrong or something which is against the Indian culture seems to be a recent development of the puritanical habits which we have adopted from the British. Whatever it is, what we are trying to do is to tax

DR. R. B. GOUR: Does the hon. Member say that the Dharmaraj of Government should lose Draupadi?

SHRI K. M. PANIKKAR: What we are trying to do is to utilise some of the funds which come from gambling for national purposes. I do not think we can raise any objection merely on legal or political grounds to a system which is so much in vogue in all civilised countries. Whatever sources we can legitimately tax for purposes of our development should be taxed. We have to look upon this Budget, as on all the other budgets from the point of view of our Plan. They have to be considered within the framework of our Plan that we have for the development of this country. If we do not keep that objection in view, the creation of national wealth for purposes of the betterment of the lives of our people, all taxation becomes

purely a technical process of maintenance of Government. We are in the last year of the Second Five Year Plan and, therefore, we have to think not merely in terms of finding money to complete the programmes of this Plan but to prepare the ground for the Third Five Year Plan on which naturally a great deal of our development in the future will depend. To think of a parsimonious economy, a cheese-paring economy, to think in terms of not spending sufficiently would seem to be not only undesirable but dangerous from the national point of view. There are many ways of going bankrupt and one is by not spending.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They know all the ways.

SHRI K. M. PANIKKAR: One of the objects of our national expenditure is to raise our national dividend by creating more wealth in the country, and any economy which is too much economic can be disastrous to the nation. A cheese-paring Budget which does not provide adequately for development, which does not provide adequately for Defence, which does not provide adequately for social services, can be disastrous to the country. So far as we are concerned, we have not merely to develop our resources but have also to provide for expenditure on a large scale to develop also the human resources of this country. It is not merely that we have to build up steel plants or big dams but we have also to build up our human material through education, through medical facilities and through various other ways. This also requires a steady and continuous expenditure, as much if not more than the money we spend in building up our economy.

So, from every point of view, the Budget which we have now before us is one which, though not imaginative, though not providing for what you may call taxation for welfare purposes, yet is one which as a matter of fact provides funds for our essential needs and one which tries to look at it from

the point of view of the Plan which we have in mind. Therefore, I have much pleasure in according my support to the proposals which the Finance Minister has placed before us.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Finance Minister will reply at 4 p.m. We have another four hours. We have been considerably facilitated by the **Independents not taking their full time.** They have given us forty minutes. Mr. Dahyabhai Patel will take twenty minutes, Mr. Niranjan Singh will take twenty minutes and Dr. Gour will speak for ten minutes.

SHRI AMOLAKH CHAND (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this Budget.

[**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair**]

I find that I am quite in agreement with the hon. Members who have congratulated the Finance Minister for producing a Budget with a gap of only Rs. 60 crores. Now, I would not like to deal with the various proposals because many hon. Members have dealt with them but I propose to deal with some points which relate to the Administration, Education, Health, etc. and I would like the hon. Minister of Education to hear me for a few minutes.

Now, I find that indiscipline is getting an upper hand both in Government service and among students. When I refer to Government servants, I am sure the House will recollect that after the publication of the Report of the Pay Commission when we were dealing with that Report there were strikes, go-slow tactics and other things and I submitted then that these were things which ought not to be tolerated by the Government because Government Services also become trade unions, the Government offices will become more like factories where strikes can take place. Now, I shall come to the strike by the employees of the State Bank of India. My friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, was very enthusiastic for a statement from the

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Finance Minister about the strike in the State Bank of India. I hope he reads the newspapers and he knows that this strike began on the 4th March at 2.30 p.m. in Bombay followed by Calcutta, Madras, Delhi and other places. The reason for the strike, as far as I could understand, is that they want better wages, more amenities and the like. Now, on the floor of the House if a few Members take it into their heads to raise this question over and over again and if they want to encourage a policy of sabotage in the Government Services and in the running of the Corporations, Banks, etc., I do feel that it is a matter for serious consideration. I would not say anything further because I think I have used strong language for the very simple reason that I would like to make my point quite clear . . .

DR. R. B. GOUR: Strong language for a weak case.

SHRI AMOLAKH CHAND: Exactly; the weak case is yours and therefore you want to make it strong by raising it on the floor of the House. Anyway, I do not want to say anything more about that.

I would immediately go to the question of indiscipline among students because while the hon. Minister of Education was about to leave, I requested him to hear me for a few minutes on this subject and I am very grateful to him that he agreed to remain in the House and hear me on this subject. Today I was wondering why there were five questions about University Grants Commission and naturally it set me thinking about the condition of university education. If even an independent body like the University Grants Commission which is a statutory body under the Act of 1956 cannot restore discipline, cannot act properly, and cannot properly look after the education of children who are going to be the future citizens of the

country, I really fail to understand how the University Grants Commission is functioning. Rightly or wrongly the name of the Chairman of the University Grants Commission is connected with some other political issues. In this connection I am rather constrained to again refer to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta who, in his speech the other day, said on the floor of the House that Mr. Deshmukh had sent another letter to the Prime Minister as if the Chairman of the University Grants Commission was showing the copies of his letters to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta or to his party. I was further surprised when Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, by demonstration of his hands, said that so many files of corruption were there as if it means that all the files of corruption are with the Chairman of the University Grants Commission to which the Leader of the Communist Group in the Rajya Sabha has access. I fail to understand why all these things are connected. I do not know if you have seen what has appeared in the Press today regarding universities. That is why I wanted to bring it to the notice of the hon. Minister because I find that the hon. Minister do not take care to read what appears in the papers. This is cutting from the 'Hindustan Times' of today and if the hon. Minister has read it, probably I need not say much about it and I might merely summarise what it says. I might however draw the attention of the hon. Minister to one place where it says that one Prof. D.S. Sharma refers to principals of colleges who misappropriate athletic funds, professors and lecturers who accept private tuitions and are more interested in them than in their legitimate work, of managements who sell seats at the time of admissions and Syndicate members who connive at the nefarious trade of selling marks. He asserts that there are not vague and irresponsible statements and that he has concrete instances in mind. Now, on the one hand we talk about corruption among Ministers and the high-ups and on the other hand we find here corruption in the Universi-

ties. I do not know how far these facts are correct but if such things are going on in the universities, why is not the Chairman of the University Grants Commission utilising his time to look into them rather than giving out such whispering things to Members of the Opposition. Now, this leads us to a fundamental question as to whether any person who is drawing salary from the Government . . .

DR. R. B. GOUR: On a point of explanation, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I think it is quite unfair on the part of my hon. friend, Mr. Amolakh Chand, to say that the Chairman of the University Grants Commission has done some whispering to the leader of the Communist Group. All that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said was on the basis of reports that were already in the Press in the country and there was no occasion when Mr. Bhupesh Gupta had ever met the University Grants Commission's Chairman or had a talk with him.

SHRI AMOLAKH CHAND: The explanation could better have come from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta himself.

DR. R. B. GOUR: We do not function as the Congress Party functions.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI AMOLAKH CHAND: I entirely agree and I appreciate the statement of Dr. Raj Bahadur Gour. But the point that I was trying to make was how Mr. Bhupesh Gupta could say that there was this last letter and how he could say that so many files had been collected.

DR. R. B. GOUR: The reference to the collection of files was only a rhetoric gesture and about the correspondence the Prime Minister himself has said that he is receiving letters and that he has sent letters.

SHRI AMOLAKH CHAND: That is exactly what I wanted to very humbly suggest, that by gestures and by misinterpreting things confusion is created and to some extent my friend, Dr. Gour, agrees with that.

Now, Sir, I was referring to corruption in the Universities and I think it is a very serious matter. As we all know, the Universities are suffering very badly. We had disturbances in the Banaras Hindu University, in the Allahabad University, in the Lucknow University, in the Mysore University, this University and that University. The Aligarh University was in question this morning. What is the Education Ministry doing? I put a question to the Minister as to what they were doing to bring the students under proper discipline, and the hon. Minister was pleased to say that the report was under consideration and that steps would be taken. But then I want to know why the University Grants Commission are not taking such action as they can—and I think they can, because the hon. Minister explained to us this morning that when there was some discrepancy in the account of the Punjab University, the University Grants Commission said that until and unless the University explained all the accounts, the grants would be stopped. I think they have power also to check student indiscipline. Wherever they find that the students cannot be controlled, wherever they find that better management can be introduced, I would like to know what steps have been taken in that direction, why such steps should not be taken.

Sir, I leave Education here, and would like to go further into the subject of Health. During these fifteen or twenty days, being a member of the Contributory Health Service Scheme, I find that things as they go on need some improvement. I am sorry that the Health Ministry were not good enough to distribute

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their full report, but then I did get a copy of the summary for the year 1959-60. I was glad to find there that under the Contributory Health Service Scheme things are going to move in a better way. There they say that the number of patients treated at these dispensaries during the year has increased. They are giving a check-up clinic, and all that. I need not go into details, but I want to make a suggestion, and that is that under this scheme all the best medical help or medical advice that is available in the city of Delhi should be made open. Now, Sir, you will find that under this scheme a person can go to the Willingdon Hospital or the Safdarjung Hospital for his examination, etc., etc. We are told that there is another Institute called the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences situated just opposite the Safdarjung Hospital. There practically you find the best treatment available today. I have been there, Sir, I have been to the Willingdon Hospital, and I have seen the Safdarjung Hospital also. Comparing the three, I feel that really this Institute is doing very good work, and it deserves more sympathy and more funds from the Finance Ministry. Sir, you will find that this Institute is at present training about 221 students. They have not got their full buildings. They are running their hospital in the College of Nursing, and so on and so forth. But I was shocked to find that even this Institute, which is doing the best work and on which the Government of India are going to spend in the Second Plan Rs. 579 lakhs, has not got the necessary power connection, because the Irrigation and Power Ministry would not give it the power which is required to run its machines. The experts have not got telephones in the hospital, and it is only a few who could get private connections at their residences. I know how much difficulty it means to persons who are far away from the Institute and want consultations. I think the Irrigation and Power Ministry and the Posts and Telegraphs

Department should be kind to this Institute which caters to the wants of the needy public. Now, Sir, we find that for the work which is being done by the Institute foreign countries are giving them substantial help. The Rockefeller Foundation has given them 2 million dollars, under the Colombo Plan they have received 1 million dollars, etc. The Government of India should also help them according to their best capacity.

Now I want to come to the question of the Kolar Gold-fields. While going through this Explanatory Memorandum, I find on page 68 a curious position, and I would like to refer to it to understand what actually it means. Sir, some of the members of the Public Accounts Committee went there last year to see the working of the Kolar Gold-fields. I am referring here to page 68 of the Memorandum: "(b) Additional Contribution to the International Monetary Fund", and "(c) Purchase of gold". Here we find: "Provision was made in the Budget to the extent of Rs. 290.69 lakhs for the purchase of gold produced in the Kolar and Hutti Gold Mines, Mysore, at the official rate of Rs. 62.50 per tola. It is now estimated that a sum of Rs. 292.19 lakhs this year and Rs. 279.12 lakhs next year will be required for this purpose." I fail to understand this, Sir. I know that the figure of Rs. 62.50 per tola is the international price of gold. But now gold is being mined here in India. The Kolar Gold-fields to the best of my knowledge belong to the Mysore State Government, and compensation was paid out of a loan given by the Central Government to the State Government. I do not know how it has become necessary now to pay them another Rs. 292.19 lakhs in the current year, that is, 1959-60, and Rs. 279.12 lakhs in the next year. I would like to have an explanation on this point because what I understand is that gold from our fields and from India could not be secured because you see the paragraph above, which is

bad reading to my taste; I do not know what it means actually:

"A sum of Rs. 12 lakhs (which is included in the amount shown against 'g' above)" . . .

I am referring to the contribution to the International Monetary Fund—

"was incurred on the freight, insurance and other miscellaneous charges on the transport to India of gold purchased in the U.K. for payment of contribution to the IMF."

The point which I wanted to raise here is that you have got hold in India. Now the Reserve Bank has got gold. So much gold which is smuggled into India is forfeited and goes to the Reserve Bank. Now, what was the necessity of spending Rs. 12 lakhs as freight, insurance, etc., to purchase gold in London? I fail to understand, Sir, whether gold is not available in India itself or whether it is the policy of the Government of India in future to impose some tax on purchases of gold in India. What we find is that the prices of gold and silver are going higher and higher. That also corresponds with the rise in the prices of foodgrains and other essential commodities. The question I want to raise is why it should be necessary to purchase gold in London, why it was necessary to pay Rs. 12 lakhs as freight, insurance, etc. etc, and whether that amount of gold could not be purchased in India when daily we find that lakhs and lakhs of rupees worth of gold are sold every day.

Lastly, I would like to say something about education. You see, Sir, how education is being treated as compared to police housing. I would like to draw the attention of the House to page 77 of the Explanatory Memorandum where you will find that the police housing scheme gets three crores of rupees every year. In the previous Budget it was three crores and in this Budget also it is 3 crores. But the amount for the construction of buildings and

hostels for educational purposes was Rs 1.13 crores, which was the Budget estimate of last year. But the actuals were only Rs. 91 lakhs and now the allotment is Rs. 1.53 crores. So, I request the Education Minister to do something and create some such atmosphere so that the future citizens of India may be trained well.

SHRI PURNA CHANDRA SHARMA (Assam): Sir, I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for the successful termination of one year of his previous Budget and for entering into a new Budget. But, of course, I do not know how to congratulate him for the Budget that he has now presented. I must confess that either I have not understood the implications of such provisions or they are basically wrong. For instance, the most important matter that we have—you will find it in the Economic Survey also—is the fact of rising prices. If in spite of repeated Budgets providing for different categories of developmental projects and different categories of taxation reflecting the economy of the country, there has been a continuous rise in the prices of foodstuffs, it must be due either to deficit financing or some imbalance in the demand and supply. At least one glaring thing before us, is agriculture. In spite of so many provisions being made every year in our Budget at the Centre and in the States—so many crores of rupees being spent over this particular item of agriculture and agricultural implements—production has not been able to keep pace with the demand of the country. We are always promised plenty of production in the papers sent by the State Governments and the papers placed before us. In spite of all this, we find that there is always some shortage of food which we have to make up by bringing food from the U.S.A. and other places paying a very high price. The papers say that we are spending about one thousand crores of rupees for agriculture alone in the next Plan. But we are hearing of so many crores being

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med, being irrigated; we hear so much about Sindri Fertilisers and other things. All these are being added to normal agriculture. But we find a shortage of foodstuffs and we have got to import nearly two hundred crores of rupees worth of food and other foodstuffs from other countries. There must be something wrong somewhere. Either the reports sent by the State authorities are basically wrong or there has been a miscalculation and there has been a lack of supervision on the part of the higher authorities. We always find the reports saying that there is a little more production or production more than what it was last year. A district officer who takes charge of a district wants to show that he has been able to do something more than his predecessor, and without sending men to the actual field, the authorities do something, prepare the report and send it to some officers long before the harvest season. On the basis of such a report, the Central Government or the State Governments prepare their Budgets and they promise plenty of production next year or assure that there has been plenty of production in the previous year. As a matter of fact, this does not happen and this is one of the reasons why there has been sudden rise in prices, despite our wishes, in particular foodstuffs.

Sir, deficit financing has been going on for the last three years. This year it is a little more. We are going to make that up by issuing Treasury Bills which will naturally inflate prices in the country. I do not feel like congratulating the Finance Minister, because he has not been able to balance the Budget to meet the actual needs of the country. The low-paid Government servants, the middle class, are suffering for such rises in prices. A Pay Commission has to be appointed to go through their cases about every three or four years. Some facilities have to be given to them yet. There are people who get benefits and others who do

not get them. Because of the imbalance in the economy of our country all these troubles have arisen. There has been a constant rise in the prices of certain essential commodities some of which are exported to some countries. Take for instance sugar. At some places it sells at Rs. 2 a seer. Sugar does not reach the district places in time because it is said some sugar had to be exported all of a sudden. Of course, all these things are bound to happen in a developing economy and we are in a stage where we have only started building up the economy. At this stage, some miscalculations are bound to happen. We are yet to know sufficiently the actual economy of the country as to how it will be in future or how it has stood up till now. There is lack of statistics also in regard to many matters which ought to be clear so that the Government may know the actual position in the country and can make a nearly accurate plan.

We have many industries which mainly depend upon agriculture. For instance, the sugar industry depends on agriculture. The jute industry, tea industry, the cotton industry, all these depend upon agriculture. So it is very necessary that we should concentrate on agriculture mostly so that we are able to run our economy well without looking to other countries for any aid or any sort of assistance at the time of our crisis. Sometimes, we have to pay a very high cost for essential things. The Government have had to supply them at low prices although it had cost very high when imported.

Sir, the taxation measures do not show any hopeful sign of any relief to the poor whose conditions do not indicate any sign of prosperity. There have been excise duties on some commodities. The duty on diesel oil has been enhanced. Particularly, the cycle industry which is one of the main industries of our country at the present moment should not have been

taxed at all. Cycle is no longer a luxury on our country; it has been a necessity almost for every boy or young man in the countryside for his education, service and business. In my district headquarters there is a college. There are more than one thousand boys coming to study in that college always by cycle.

They go to the college from their homes, which are ten to fifteen miles away, by cycle. Cycle is a necessity for them. There are hundreds of Government servants who are working in offices here and there and they have to cycle about ten or fifteen miles a day. It is a necessity for those people; just like food it is a necessity, and so for the poor people cycle is not such a luxury as would warrant a tax on it. Maybe the prices have gone down here because we are producing the cycles in the country. But the material has also deteriorated if we make a comparison and an imported Rover or Triumph cycle cannot be equalled by any cycle made in this country since the material used in our cycles is not as strong as the one we used to find in imported cycles. Thus the cycle made here is also not very lasting and the cycle industry in our country up till now has not been able to develop or improve in a manner to withstand competition with any foreign cycle. Prices may have decreased on account of larger mass production, but at the same time it must be admitted that the material is not very lasting, and that is the reason why the price is low. It should not be taxed because it is a necessity of life, as it were nowadays. Here, in Delhi, we find so many thousands going to office daily on cycles. It is not that they could have avoided it and gone on foot to their offices; the offices are situated at a great distance and for the middle-class among them it costs a good deal to go by other transport. It is to our own interest that they use cycles because they can reach office in time, which will not be the case if they were to avail themselves of bus transport for the purpose for which they will

have to wait for long to get a seat in the bus. So, Sir, cycles should have been exempted from being subjected to a tax of nearly ten rupees for every cycle they purchased. Taxation has already been heavy on the middle-class and since it is they who look for their subsistence to Government employment and to employment in business and industrial concerns, they should have been spared this tax burden on cycles which they have to go in for their transport. The middle-class which has always an uncertain future should be relieved from burdens of taxation as far as possible; they pay the heaviest of taxes in different other ways also; they have to pay the sales tax on the articles they purchase; they have got to keep a little standard; they have got to educate their sons and for all these they have got to pay. But with their poor salaries—particularly the Government employees—it is hardly possible for them to pay another ten rupees extra from their budget for every bicycle that they purchase since every bicycle has got to be changed every two years or three years.

Then, Sir, I refer to an industry which is rather hanging in the balance, as it were, at the present moment on account of the heavy taxation on it. It is the tea industry and it brings us the largest amount of foreign exchange and this tea industry has got to pay so many kinds of taxes at different stages that it is now being strangled and many Indian tea estates are likely to be closed down and the Indian tea planters will be bound very soon to close down many of their concerns. Initially they have got to pay the land tax, then again income-tax, then corporate tax, again agricultural income-tax, then excise duty, export duty and so on. At the same time on every purchase that they have to make they have got to pay sales tax or some other tax, and the poor Indian tea industrialists are really in great difficulty for having to pay a large amount as tax in different ways to different authorities. There is also

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the road tax which they have got to pay to the State Government; immediately they put the thing on the road they have to pay an entry tax. This also is there. So the tea industry is suffering very badly, and all the relief promised to it has not come; only some sympathy is being shown by the Finance Minister in respect of the tea industry. I do not see any material change in the taxes being made in respect of that industry for the better.

Now coming to education, I have also similar complaints to make as other people have about their respective universities. I do not think the University Grants Commission is paying due attention to what is happening in that far-off corner in the Gauhati University. The audit reports on that university have revealed many things which I do not want to divulge here, but I draw the pointed attention of the Education Ministry to urge on the University Grants Commission to enquire into what has happened during the last two or three years in that university.

Now about the judiciary my submission is that there should be unified control, there should be one authority which should have uniform control over the entire judiciary throughout the country. It was promised a long time ago that with the separation of the judiciary this would be there, that the executive would have nothing to do with the judiciary, but up till now it has not come about. I should think that the judiciary should be left entirely in the hands of the Supreme Court or some other single authority, and the finances for the High Courts and for all limbs of the judiciary should come from the Centre so that the executive Governments in the States may not have any direct control over them either by way of finance or in any other manner. We have at the Centre the Election Commission which is completely under the control of the Law Ministry here. Similarly for the judiciary something might be found out. I do not suggest directly

anything but then all the High Courts and District courts should immediately be brought under one control, under the Supreme Court, and the finances should go from the Centre and not from the States. Their finances should be charged and also they should be brought under the unified control of one judicial authority which may be the Supreme Court.

I would not dilate any more. There are many other points but I would not like to speak at the present moment as time signal is hanging on me.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Bombay): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, at the outset I have to protest at the manner in which this House is being sought to be hustled through the Budget proposals. It used to be the practice, Sir, to lay the Budget proposals on the Table and give Members of the House some time to study them, and during those days there would not be sittings of the House. Today we are sitting from day to day and yet we are expected to read these voluminous papers that are sent to us, some of them very informative and some not. How can we read the thirty pounds of paper consisting of some 700 pages in the short space of two days that we were given? They were not two days initially; we had two nights and a day coming to some 36 hours. Sir, I had a little urgent work; so I went away to Bombay and while going I was talking to the Secretary of the Rajya Sabha, and he said it was impossible to give any more time. I came back by plane and fortunately, Sir, we had got one day more, at least to enable us to read something. But I still maintain, Sir, that this does not help healthy democratic traditions to hustle the House to go through these papers in this manner. Ample opportunity must be given to Members to study the papers if you want Members to take real and genuine interest

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT): Whom is the hon. Member blaming? It is the

Business Advisory Committee of the House that fixes the time. It is not the Government that determines all these things.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Sir, technically my hon. friend is quite right. But the House is packed with your majority. If you want to be reasonable, you can always be reasonable.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: It is the Business Advisory Committee. The hon. Member seems to be quite unaware of the Business Advisory Committee; it does not function on a majority-minority basis.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: All right, Sir. Then I would join in congratulating the Finance Minister for more reasons than one. He presented the Budget on his birth-day; he presented a Budget which was the hundredth Budget of India and he presented a Budget that ran into a thousand crores of rupees. Yet I would say that I had some criticism to offer when he delivered his Budget speech last year and I thought we would see considerable improvement the following year. I do grant that he has brought to bear his practical business like way and has applied a new outlook on the Budget proposals. The Finance Minister, last year, perhaps did not have enough time to devote and I thought he would have gone very much further in the matter of the Budget proposals. But I am disappointed in the taxation proposals that he has placed before the House, Sir. Some people have called it penny-pinching and I think it is a very justifiable charge, and particularly when the tax is to come through indirect sources, the indirect tax always hits the consumer; it does not hit the producer.

The tax on bicycles does not hit the bicycle factories; it hits the small consumer who has to come on bicycle. Sir, these are unwelcome features of the Budget. I do hope that the Finance Minister could still be per-

sueded to withdraw this iniquitous tax.

1 P.M.

Similarly, the tax on diesel oil. It is said that the tax is raised because the country is consuming too much of petrol and there is an imbalance in production. Very well. You have got the oil companies to give you concessions. You can save a lot of money. They can give you extra duty. Why do you not pass on the petrol duty to the consumer and make both petrol and diesel oil cheaper? If your idea is to strike a balance, then strike a balance in favour of the common man, in favour of the people of this country, not like the monkey, shall I say, that sat to arbitrate and give justice to two fighting cats when he took out a slice out of every one's share till there was nothing left.

I will say that there are certain aspects of the Budget which I welcome, for instance the raising of the exemption limit on the amount allowed for charities. That is a very welcome feature. I was expecting that the Finance Minister would go up to 10 per cent. because I know he is associated with several charitable trusts and educational institutions, as some of us also are, of which everyone of us feels the pinch every day. The sources of charity are getting dried up because of the encroachment of the Government everywhere in the form of tax. With the present taxes, even people who are inclined to give, who are generous-minded are not enthused to give. If some relaxation is made, perhaps more monies would flow into deserving charitable purposes.

Last year, Sir, I also referred to the point of raising the taxable limit which used to be Rs. 5,000. We were told that to tide over certain difficulty, it was reduced to Rs. 3,000. I do not know actually how much revenue Government gets from the people who have an income between Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 5,000, and I do not know how much Government spends on assessing that income. Is this whole-

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expenditure worth the amount of revenue that the Government gets? Sir, the methods of the Government are wasteful in many ways. There are many taxes that the Government collects. I do not know why they are so anxious to collect national taxes from which the actual return is very low to them. This House was rushed into several proposals of this type. If they are fair, if they give return to the Government, I do not mind. I am not very much concerned either with the Wealth Tax or the Gift Tax—I have little to give or take or to inherit. But I do feel that if this tax is not yielding enough revenue, if it is only used as a squeeze on a few people, if it only means creating additional departments of Government, it is infructuous expenditure and, therefore, there is no justification for continuing it. Certainly, if you want more money, the straight forward way is to increase the rate of income-tax. If you want money, if you want to tax people, have it from the rich people. Do it in a straightforward manner telling them that they have to pay so much income-tax instead of pinching on all sides.

Sir, the other unwelcome feature about this Budget is its inflationary effect because it touches so many aspects of the ordinary man's life. All tin articles used in connection with ghee or vegetable ghee or oil or the new rising vegetable preservation industry in this country are going to be hit. I know that because I am associated with some of my friends in Bombay who are in this industry. They came to me with their troubles. The vegetable preservation industry is a growing industry. They are just getting on to their legs, trying to find an export market for some of the *achars* and condiments. This tax will very nearly put them out of business because tin-plate and the method by which it is made is more or less a British monopoly. They dictate the price. You have no voice in it. Your tax will be passed on to the consumer. It means your export as well as

internal consumption will be affected. It will also affect the budget of the small man. Now *ghee* is practically a thing of the past for an ordinary man. He either takes the oil or the hydrogenated product both of which are packed in tins.

The question of taxing electric motors is also a thing that concerns both the agriculturists and the small industry. Sir, we talk of the need of taking industry to our villages. But how are you going to take it to the villages? Are you still thinking in terms of asking people to sit behind the machine and plod and plod and plod, or are you going to ask them to utilise electric power? You want to take electric power to the village homes and to provide cottage industries to people. The only way is to give them electric power and electric machines cheap.

Sir, I had occasion to visit Germany a few years ago, just after the war. How rapidly they were building their country. How did they do it? They are doing it by industrialising the country, the country that was completely beaten out into poverty. Now they are today a country that ranks high among the industrialised and wealthy countries of the world. Now they are in a position to give us loans when after the war, perhaps, they would have needed help from us. What is the reason? Many of our Ministers go abroad; so many of our people go abroad. Why do they not look and find out the reason for this? We bring machines from Germany. We bring technical aid also from there. Why do we not bring the spirit behind this hard work and industrialisation of theirs and give incentive to our people?

Sir, I would not be one to grudge the increases that have been recently awarded by the Pay Commission. It is necessary to examine the practical value of the work of the large number of government employees, about six million or whatever their number,

and to see whether the tax-payer who is really ultimately the employer gets the return for the huge bill that is being paid to them. It is not the employee's fault, it is the fault of the system that is there. Sir, we have an administration that is an amalgam of many things inherited from the British regime, ideas that were blindly copied from communist countries, and these are mutually incompatible, not only incompatible but they are mutually destructive, and therefore, we are in this trouble. It is essential, therefore, that a corrective should be taken in hand. I would say the remedy is not to restrict the number of staff, but to restrict the unproductive work. A lot of work that is done in many Government offices is not productive and the drain due to that is very heavy. It is necessary also to curb the increasing avarice of the firms that are lighted again and again by the different labour unions. They do not help anyone. They generate hatred which is very wrong. In this country after we have gained Independence, how many strikes we have faced and why? I am sorry to say that when unjust, illegal, ill-advised strikes are about to break, it is the highest in the land that go to the rescue of the people who make such strikes. It is therefore that they are getting these strikes again and again. Our Government has never been able to take courage and say firmly: 'We will face this and we will put this down'. If there is a class of people that go on holding the pistol up against the Government, against the trade and against the people of the country again and again, it is high time that they are put down with a firm hand, particularly the people who instigate these things. It is a weak Government that cannot stand up and put this down. The Finance Minister is no doubt faced with a difficult task. He has to set his house in order and counter balance the vagaries in the economy. He is expected to damp inflation by taxing more and to boost deflation by spending less. In this process the poor man, the common man, is lost. How far the Finance Minister will be able to succeed in this is the question. This

brings me also to another question which occurs to my mind. It is a more difficult question, namely, whether this Budget that the Finance Minister has presented to this House has pleased the Prime Minister. Since we achieved independence, I think Shri Morarji Desai is the eighth Finance Minister because I see a long list of his predecessors—most of them I would say were very illustrious—who have had to go because they could not please the Prime Minister. In reply to the debate that we had on the President's Address, I was not here when the Prime Minister replied but I took the trouble of going through his reply and I understood that he referred to me. He has mentioned two points and one was that I was wrong when I said that the Government was not paying adequate attention to the development of Gujarat and its oil resources. I join issue with the Prime Minister. I have already confronted him with a letter. He has evaded my letter. What I said was that after my talk with the Russian experts more than one year back at Baroda at a public reception given to them, where the President of the Congress was also present, I asked them about what they saw of the oil resources of Gujarat and about the setting up of the refinery. I asked them how long they would take to set up the oil refinery in Gujarat. They said, 'One year from the date of signing of the contract.' It is more than a year since the talk took place and we are nowhere near completion. I said that the Government was proceeding very slowly. I have already addressed the Prime Minister about the other development projects of Gujarat. The same type of reply I have received.

The Prime Minister, I am very proud of it, has a great reputation inside and outside. We are all proud of his international reputation but it is not fair to Members of Parliament that he should use his international reputation, his great reputation, to choke off opposition, to choke

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off criticism and, if I may be permitted to say so, distort facts. That the development of Gujarat has not taken place in the last 10 years as it should be is a fact that is affirmed again and again and even Shri V. T. Krishnamachari admitted it in the Planning Commission meeting last time when I asked him. Why should the Prime Minister jump up like this and say such things?

Another thing that the Prime Minister said when I had referred to Defence was, some people are allergic to Mr. Menon or to the name of Mr. Menon. Sir, humble as I am, I can also say that the Prime Minister is allergic to the name 'Patel'. A very able officer of this Government, who has served this Government very loyally and ably for so many years, has been hunted out of office and not paid his legitimate dues. They are still matters of correspondence between him and the Government because his name is Patel. I say this and I am very sorry that I have to say this in this House. I could say much more. The Prime Minister has forced me to do so. If the Prime Minister chooses to attack an ordinary Member of Parliament like me, who has come only recently, in this manner, it is but fair that I should reply to him.

I will not take the time of the House, particularly as my time has been cut further by reading the letters.

Coming back to the Budget, I have some letters from my friends in the transport business. They complain of the levies, as to how they will hit their trade, particularly the small man. What is not taxed? Excise duty on internal combustion engines, duties on vehicles, on trucks—15 per cent. or Rs. 2,500, whichever is greater—, increase of 25 naye paise per gallon on high-speed diesel oil and then there are tyres, etc. What is left? I was hoping that a day would come when the Government would give some relief to the small man. I am

beginning to lose hopes. I am thinking in terms of the 2 pice post card and one anna envelope. Is there any chance of it ever coming back? Coming to the P. and T. Department, it is going to be made into a Corporation. I do not know why and I do not understand it. Is it with a view to taking it out of the purview of questions in this House?

I come to the question of the large number of industries that the Government has in the public sector. I have tried to read through the voluminous literature and reports given to us. I am sorry to say that I have not been able to find from any of these the total outlay of the Government on these and what is the return they are making on them. Are they making 4 or 5 or 10 per cent? What are they making on these? What is more, they issue voluminous, beautifully printed reports—the L.I.C., the Indian Refineries, the Hindustan Antibiotics, etc. These are the only reports that I could lay my hands on. Are they making profits? Are they printed like this because they are in affluent circumstances or because they are spending tax-payers' money, I would like to know. I ask this in all seriousness. I was connected with a life insurance company, the largest one that managed its affairs very economically. I know it was run well. We printed annual reports, we printed all reports. We never indulged in the luxury of printing reports of this type. What is the purpose of this, say, of this report of the L.I.C.? What is the purpose of using such expensive paper and printing? How many reports do you issue and how many of them are read, I would like to know. In this country we used to emphasise on simplicity. The Finance Minister is a picture of simplicity. I wish people would copy many of his ways and I wish the Government would do so. All this could be done through a simply printed booklet of ordinary paper instead of indulging in the use of art paper. I think most of it is imported paper. Why do we waste our foreign exchange resources

on such things? I would implore the Finance Minister to look into these things in a practical manner with the practical mind that he has and stop wastes of this type which have been the bane of our country. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the other day I saw a pamphlet on behalf of the Forum of Free Enterprise, which has characterised the present Budget as leading the country towards Communism. That appeared to me something like a joke, since there has been general contentment in the circles of big business and big industries, whereas those who are really hit hard are the middle classes and the poor. And we know that any increase in the common man's cost of living is against the principle of a welfare State as also that of a socialist pattern of society.

I would first of all enumerate the items touched by the fresh taxation proposals which will naturally have an inflationary tendency, and the income benefits would be counter-balanced by the workers' demand due to inflation. To show how the indirect taxes will fall on the common man, I will deal with the tax of Rs. 200 per ton on tin plates and cuttings, etc., its effect on kerosene oil and tinned foods, on export industries like tea and cashewnut, the tax on aluminium foils and its effect on aluminium products and aluminium utensils, etc., on the cost of aluminium foils for tea chest linings, for cigarette packings, etc., the tax on pig iron and the tax on electric motors and internal combustion engines which mean discouraging industrial ventures, small-scale and village industries, engineering industries in general and also their effect on small farmers' irrigation schemes. Sir, the position of the tax on motor tractors requires clarification. And then I will deal with the tax on diesel oil and tea garden fuels and the effect on the health conditions in congested cities. Sir, these are the

points I would like to consider now, to show how the middle class man or the common man is being affected.

Sir, the incidence of the new taxation proposals mainly falls on the common man. Take for example the levy of a duty of Rs. 200 per ton on tin plates and cuttings, etc. This is a very high rate of duty on an essential commodity. Whereas a ton of tin strips costs less than Rs. 600, and other grades cost between Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200 per ton, the increase in the cost of tin plate will automatically mean a corresponding rise in the retail prices of kerosene oil, since the price of the tin is a major percentage of the kerosene oil tin's retail price. Similarly all tinned foods, like vanaspati, mustard oil and other edible oils will cost more. Even the infant and the lady in the house would not be spared. Baby foods will cost more, so also the tinned talcum powder. This will also affect the export industries like tea and cashewnut. The tea industry alone has to pay a sum of Rs. 9 lakhs annually as duty for its requirement of 4,500 tons of tin plate waste for tea chest fittings.

Similarly the high rate of duty proposed to be levied on aluminium products will mean a corresponding increase in the retail selling prices of aluminium utensils which are a necessity for the common man in his home. The tea industry will have to pay annually about Rs. 3 lakhs as duty on aluminium foils for tea chest linings while the consumers of package tea will have to pay a higher price for tea packed in foils. It is not unlikely that the large tobacco companies will also pass the increased cost of aluminium cigarettes foils on to the consumers.

Then there is the imposition of a tax on pig iron. This measure alone, with the proposed duties on electric motors and internal combustion engines will mean a clear disincentive to industrial ventures. Also the small-scale and village industries

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will be affected. This increase in the cost of the electric motors and engines will also affect the small farmers in their irrigation schemes.

In the matter of imposing duties on motor vehicles, I suggest that agricultural tractors should be specifically omitted from the impost of the proposed duty. It is not very clear from the Bill as presented, whether the hon. Finance Minister would like to tax agricultural tractors as well. I understand that the cost of an agricultural tractor of 25 or 30 horse power is round about Rs. 9,000 and the proposed levy of a minimum duty of Rs. 2,500 on motor vehicles not otherwise specified, will not be helpful to farmers, if this imposition is applicable to such tractors.

As regards the increase in the duty on diesel oil, I doubt whether the fiscal measure proposed by the Finance Minister was the only measure to correct the imbalance of production and consumption of diesel oil and the drainage of foreign exchange therefrom. Even with the higher rate of duty, diesel oil will continue to remain the cheaper fuel than petrol and the only result will be the increase in the cost of passenger fares and freights, both of which will have an inflationary effect. I would request the hon. the Finance Minister to think whether he will consider banning all operation of diesel vehicles in the congested metropolitan cities which has become an urgent need for health reasons. Diesel trucks and buses could operate on cross-country traffic and on suburban long-distance routes. In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the fact that during the last few years, import licences for diesel oil and firing equipment for tea driers have been issued to tea gardens freely, so that many tea gardens have now switched on to diesel oil instead of their customary fuel, which is coal. The reason for this is that the tea

gardens are refused permission to use any Ranigunj-Jharia coal and are forced to use locally available inferior coal not suitable for operating their tea driers. It is rather peculiar that some Government Departments refuse permission to the tea gardens to use coal of their own choice but do not mind the gardens using diesel oil which has to be imported from abroad while the hon. Finance Minister wants the nation to consume less of diesel oil.

All these would clearly show that the view held by the free enterprisers is quite contrary to the facts and this Budget is neither leading the country towards Communism nor anywhere.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE (Bihar): Where is Communism in the world?

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: That is a different thing and that controversial subject cannot be discussed here on the floor of the House. I can do it later on.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: But there is no Communism in any part of the world including U.S.S.R.

SHRI J. C. CHATTERJI: I would conclude by reading from the last portion of an editorial of the "Northern India Patrika". The son of the proprietor is, we all know, a Minister in the Bengal Government. The paper has concluded a long editorial with one sentence and it is this:

"Mr. Desai has called upon the people to endure sacrifices for a few years more. That feeling can be generated only by convincing the masses that the privations are being shared equally by all classes. The budget proposals under review will fail to carry conviction with the people on this all-important score."

This is what I wanted to say, Sir.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DAHYA-BHAI V. PATEL) in the Chair.]

شری پھر محمد خاں (جموں اینڈ

کشمیر) : جناب ڈپٹی چیئرمین

صاحب - بجٹ میں ٹیفلس کے

متعلق جو زائد رقم رکھی گئی ہے اس

کا میں خیر مقدم کرتا ہوں - لیکن

اس سے زیادہ خوشی اس بات سے ہوئی

ہے کہ فائیننس منسٹر نے یہ بھی

توقع دکھلائی ہے کہ اگر ضروری ہوا تو

زیادہ خرچ کے لئے وہ پھر ہاوس کے

سامنے آئیلنگے - جو زائد رقم رکھی

گئی ہے اس کے متعلق میں یہ عرض

کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمارے ملک کے

جو افیکٹیو پارت نیفا اور لداخ کے ہیں

ان دونوں پارٹوں کو زیادہ مضبوط

کرنے کے لئے یہ رقم خرچ کی جائے -

۴ تاریخ کی ڈیپٹ میں کشمیر

گورنمنٹ اور اس کے ایڈمنسٹریشن

کے متعلق ایک ممبر نے اپنی سپیچ

میں ہاوس کے سامنے ایک ایسی

تصویر پیش کی جو میرے خیال میں

تھیک نہیں تھی اس وجہ سے کہ میں

جموں اور کشمیر کی طرف سے آیا ہوں -

میں اپنی ڈپٹی سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس

ہاوس کے سامنے اس تصویر کو صاف

کر دوں جو کہ وہاں کے فائنڈشل امور

اور ایڈمنسٹریشن کے متعلق پیش

کی گئی ہے - اس کے ساتھ ہی ساتھ

یہ چیز بھی کہی گئی کہ الیکشن

کمیشن تو وہاں ہو گیا ہے لیکن اس

میں ایک خامی رہ گئی ہے اور وہ

یہ ہے کہ کانسٹیٹیوٹنسیز کے الیکٹورل

سٹیٹ لیجسلیچر کے ہاتھ میں

رہینگے اور وہ ان کو نہیں چھوڑنا

چاہتی ہے - اس کے متعلق میں

انڈین کانسٹیٹیوٹن کے پ ۳۲۸ کی

طرف توجہ دلاتا ہوں جس میں

سٹیٹ لیجسلیچر کو یہ اختیار

دیدیا گیا ہے - پھر ہائیکورٹ کے

متعلق یہ کہا گیا ہے کہ سب کچھ تو

ہو گیا ہے مگر ایک چیز سٹیٹ

گورنمنٹ نے پھر اپنے پاس رکھ لی ہے

وہ یہ کہ اگر سٹیٹ گورنمنٹ سے کسی

جج کا ٹرانسفر باہر ہو جائے یا باہر

سے سٹیٹ گورنمنٹ میں ہو تو اس

بارے میں صدر ریاست سے مشورہ کر

لیا جائے - میں نہیں سمجھتا کہ

اس میں کیا نقص ہے - جب وہاں

کے ججوں کی تنخواہ اور سب چیزیں

اندیشہ کی طرح سے ہو گئیں تو اگر یہ

چیز بھی ہو جائے کہ صدر ریاست کے

مشورہ سے ہو تو اس میں کیا نقص

ہوا - دراصل میرے دوست اگر

[شری پورمحمّد خاں]

انڈین کانسٹی ٹیوشن کے پیرا ۳۷۰ کو غور سے پڑھا لیتے تو میرے خیال میں وہ یہ چیز نہ اٹھاتے - کانسٹی ٹیوشن کے پیرا ۳۷۰ میں یہ بات صاف طور سے لکھی ہوئی ہے کہ پارلیمنٹ ڈیفنس و کمیونیکیشن اور فارن افرس کے علاوہ دیگر معاملات میں بغیر سٹیٹ کی رائے لئے کوئی چیز نہیں کر سکتی ہے - اس کے علاوہ سٹیٹ کی جانگرافیکل کنڈیشن اور اس کی ایڈارمل حالت کو دیکھتے ہوئے یہ طے کیا گیا تھا کہ باقی چیزیں وہاں کے لوگوں سے مشورہ کرے اور ان کی رائے کے مطابق لاگو کی جائیگی - چنانچہ آپ دیکھتے کہ ان تین سبجیکٹس کے بعد رفتہ رفتہ جس طرح سے آپس میں بات چیت ہوئی، تبادلہ خیالات ہوا، اس کے ذریعہ ٹیلیفون و ٹیلیگراف، انکم ٹیکس و بورڈ کاسٹنگ اور کسٹم وغیرہ، یہ سب چیزیں سیلٹر کے ماتحت آ گئیں - اس کے بعد فائنل شیل انٹیگریشن ہوا، سروسیز کا انٹیگریشن ہوا - فائنل شیل انٹیگریشن میں آڈیٹر جنرل کا وہاں اختیار ہوا اور اس کا نمائندہ وہاں پر اکونٹنٹ جنرل موجود ہے جو کہ سب اکاونٹس کو چیک، کنٹرول و آڈٹ کرتے ہیں - یہ سب چیزیں متفقہ طور سے آئیں - ایک چیز اور کہی گئی ہے اور وہ ہے ججوں کا ٹرانسفر - یہ کئی بڑی بات ہے - کیا خطرہ •

ان کو اس بات میں - کیا وہ جسٹس نہیں کر سکیں گے - کوئی خاص بات نہیں ہے سوائے اس کے کہ خواستخواہ کی نکتہ چینی ہے -

دوسری بات یہ ہے کہ انہوں نے ٹھیک طریقہ سے پیرا ۳۷۰ کو نہیں پڑھا ہے - ایلے سارے بیان میں اور اپنی ساری سہیچ میں انہوں نے بہت سے پیرے کوت کئے - مگر افسوس کی بات ہے کہ انہوں نے کسی جگہ پیرا ۳۷۰ کا ذکر نہیں کیا اور اسی طرح ۳۲۸ کا بھی ذکر نہیں کیا - مطالب یہ ہے کہ اس طرح کی پکچر نہیں پیمنٹ کرنی چاہئے - پھر سٹیٹ کے متعلق انہوں نے کہا کہ جو لونس اور گرانٹس دئے جاتے ہیں ان کو چیک کرنا چاہئے - گویا وہ یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا یا گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا کا فائنلنس ڈیپارٹمنٹ یا وہ فائنل شیل انٹیگریشن جو سٹیٹ کا ہوا ہے اس نے کچھ بھی نہیں کیا اور اب وہ مزید توجہ دلا رہے ہیں کہ گورنمنٹ اس سے زیادہ کچھ اور چیک کرے - ہاوس خود سمجھ لے کہ ان کی ملشا کیا ہے - اس کے متعلق انہوں نے ایک مثال بھی دی ہے کہ لداخ کی سڑک کی - اب میں اس مثال کو ذرا ایکسپلین کرتا ہوں جس سے ہاوس کی سمجھ میں آ جائے گا کہ انہوں نے کیا پکچر دکھی تھی اور اصل میں کیا پکچر ہے -

لداخ کی سڑک کارگل تک پہنچ چکی ہے اور کارگل کے آگے بہت سخت علاقہ ہے۔ اور اس میں کچھ دیر ضرور ہوئی۔ دیر ہوئی تو سٹیٹ گورنمنٹ نے وہاں ان انجینئرس کو یہ سمجھ کر کہ ان کے پاس کوئی تھپک وجہ نہیں ہے دیر لگانے کی سسپینڈ کیا اور ان پر کیس شروع کیا۔ کہا یہ کیا سپیج میں کہ پرائم منسٹر صاحب نے جب پریس کانفرنس میں لداخ کا ذکر کیا تو اس کے بعد یہ ہوا کہ وہ ہوا۔ ایسا نہیں ہے۔ پرائم منسٹر صاحب کی پریس کانفرنس کے چھ مہینے پہلے وہ سسپینڈ ہو چکے تھے اور ان کی تحقیقات شروع ہو گئی تھی۔ پھر بتایا یہ گیا کہ سینئر سے جب ایک افسر گیا تب وہاں کچھ کام ہوا۔ وہاں لداخ کا انچارج پہلے بھی سینئر کی طرف سے ایک افسر تھا اور اب جو گئے ہیں وہ بھی سینئر کی طرف سے گئے ہیں۔ ہم نے ان کو ویل کم کیا ہے۔ ان کو ویل کم نہ کرنے کی کوئی وجہ نہیں ہے۔ تو وہ کیس پرائم منسٹر صاحب کی پریس کانفرنس کے چھ مہینے سے بھی زیادہ پہلے پکڑا گیا تھا اور ان کو سسپینڈ کیا گیا تھا۔ یہ کہا گیا ہے کہ جب یہ نئے افسر صاحب وہاں گئے ان سے پہلے وہاں کوئی سٹیٹ کا ڈیپلیمینٹ انچارج نہیں تھا۔ ان کے پہلے ہی گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا کا ایک بڑا سینئر

افسر وہاں تھا مگر وہ سینئر افسر کیا کرتا۔ پنڈت جی نے خود اسی پریس کانفرنس میں یہ مانا ہے کہ وہ ایک بڑا سخت علاقہ ہے اور اس کے دیکھتے ہوئے یہ نہیں کہا جاسکتا کہ یہ کام کھتک ختم ہوگا۔

پھر یہ بتایا گیا کہ ہماری ریاست کے لوگ اپنے کو سینئر کلاس سٹیٹزن سمجھ رہے ہیں۔ میں دعویٰ سے یقین سے اور وہاں کا ایک نمائندہ ہونے کی حیثیت سے کہتا ہوں کہ ساری سٹیٹ میں ہم میں سے کسی ایک کا بھی ایسا خیال نہیں ہے کہ ہم سینئر کلاس سٹیٹزن ہیں بلکہ ہم یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ ہم اسی طرح سٹیٹزن ہیں جس طرح دلی کے لوگ ہیں۔ ہماری قطعاً اس قسم کی کوئی رائے نہیں ہے البتہ یہ ضرور ہے کہ ہم لوگ کام میں لگے ہوئے ہیں اور اپنے ملک کی ترقی کا کام کر رہے ہیں۔ ہمارے یہاں کے لوگوں کو ان باتوں کی فرصت نہیں ہے۔ اگر ان باتوں کی ان کو فرصت ہوتی یا ان میں کچھ دس کلمنٹ ہوتا تو پھر یہاں ہم میں سے ایک ممبر نہیں بولتا۔ بلکہ ہم لوگوں کے ویسے ہی ڈپوٹیشن آتے جس طرح پارلیمنٹ کے باہر آپ تماشا دیکھتے دھتے ہیں۔ دراصل وہ اپنے یہاں ترقی کے کاموں میں لگے ہوئے ہیں اور وہ ایسی باتیں سننا بھی نہیں چاہتے۔ میں آپ کو سٹیٹ

[شری پیٹر مسعود خاں]

کی فائنل شیل پروپوزیشن بتاؤنگا - وہاں کی گورنمنٹ جو ہماری نیشنل جماعت کی ہے میں فخر سے کہتا ہوں کہ وہ ایک سٹیبل قدرۃ حکومت ہے اور یہ میں ہی نہیں کہتا بلکہ بڑے بڑے آدمی کہتے ہیں - وہاں کی آمدنی ۱۹۵۸-۵۹ میں دس کروڑ ۴۸ لاکھ تھی، سنہ ۱۹۵۹-۶۰ میں وہ آمدنی بڑھ کر ۱۱ کروڑ ۷۷ لاکھ ہو گئی اور اب ۶۱-۱۹۶۰ میں جو موجودہ بجٹ ہے اس کے حساب سے وہ ۱۵ کروڑ ۷۰ لاکھ یعنی تقریباً ۱۶ کروڑ ہو گئی ہے - یہ فیکٹس یہ بتاتے ہیں کہ وہاں کا ایڈمنسٹریشن کس طرح کا ہے - اگر یہ روپیہ وہاں ڈاکہ مار کر اکٹھا کیا گیا ہوتا تو آج پارلیمنٹ کے آئے ۵۰۰ آدمی ہنگر اسٹرائیک کئے ہوتے - جب ایڈمنسٹریشن اچھا ہوتا ہے تبھی چیزیں دیولپ ہوتی ہیں اور آمدنی بڑھتی ہے - سنہ ۱۹۴۷ میں وہاں کی آمدنی پانچ کروڑ تھی - اگر کوئی صاحب یہ کہیں کہ سنہ ۱۹۴۷ میں آمدنی بہت زیادہ تھی اور اب بہت کم ہو گئی تو میں اس کے لئے کیا کہوں - جو اس وقت گورنمنٹ ہے وہ سنہ ۵۳ سے چلی آ رہی ہے وہی آدمی اس کھلیٹ میں نہیں چلے آ رہے ہیں مگر پرائم منسٹر وہی چلے آ رہے ہیں - تو اس لہذا شپ کے وقت میں سٹیٹ میں جو کچھ تولی ہوئی،

انڈیا کے ساتھ تعلقات بہتر ہونے میں جو ترقی ہوئی، وہ میرا خیال ہے کہ ہاؤس کا ہر ایک ممبر بڑی اچھی طرح جانتا ہے - میں پلڈت جی کی ۱۰ دسمبر سنہ ۱۹۵۸ کی ایک سپیچ کا تھوڑا سا حصہ عرض کرتا ہوں - میں یہ بتانا چاہتا ہوں کہ سٹیٹ میں حالات کیسے ہیں - بتایا یہ گیا کہ وہاں سیکوریتی اور دوسری چیزیں ختم ہو گئی ہیں اور اب وہاں حالات بڑے اچھے ہیں - لیکن واقعہ یہ ہے کہ پہلے ہم چکی کے ایک پائے کے نیچے تھے اور اب دو پائوں کے نیچے ہیں - ایک چائنی اینگریشن اور دوسرا پاکستان اینگریشن - اس سے آپ سمجھ سکتے ہیں کہ وہاں حالات کیسے ہیں - اور ہمارے بارڈر پر ہی نہیں بلکہ ہمارے ملک میں کیا چیزیں ہو رہی ہیں - ان چیزوں کو دیکھتے ہوئے پلڈت جی کا یہ خیال تھا —

“There had ben a secret, well-calculated and deliberate plan of sabotage in the State. Schools had been opened at certain places to instruct people in sabotage. People had been sent across the border for the purpose. So the State had been facing a difficult situation. Situations throw up a man to deal with them and the present Prime Minister of Kashmir, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, is a person who has undoubtedly shown quite remarkable qualities of organisation and leadership.”

یہ پلڈت جی کا سرٹیفیکٹ ہے اس شخص کے متعلق جس کا

ایڈمنسٹریشن یا جس کی ساری چیزیں اس ط کی پکچر پینٹ کر کے بتائی جاتی ہیں کہ وہاں خبر نہیں کیا ہو جانے والا ہے۔ اس سلسلہ میں میں ایک مثال اور پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ایران کے منسٹر آف انٹیریر کا کشمیر کے بارے میں کیا آپوزیشن ہے۔ ایران ہمارے مخالف گروپ میں ہے اور وہ سیتو میں شامل ہے۔ مگر وہاں کے منسٹر جب سرینگر جاتے ہیں تو ان کا یہ آپوزیشن ہوتا ہے :—

"I and my companions are carrying unforgettable memories of our stay in Kashmir though it was of short duration. Wherever we went we found practical and earnest effort being made for the betterment of the life and welfare of the people. The steps that have been taken during such a short period in Kashmir are commendable and augur a bright and glorious future. We hope that the people of Kashmir will march steadfastly towards progress and prosperity under the inspiring guidance of its Government and its leadership."

منسٹر خروشیچیف نے تھوڑا سا جو کہ کریملن میں اپنے ڈیلیگیشن کو کہا تھا جو کہ سرینگر بھی آیا تھا اس کو میں عرض کرتا ہوں —

"If you meet the Prime Minister of Kashmir, you should personally give him my best wishes. We are happy to see the work he is doing. Our delegation had also gone to Kashmir, and we are convinced that the people of Kashmir are behind the present Kashmir Government."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL): You have exceeded your time. آپکا সময় ہو گیا !

شری پیر محمد خاں : ایک ملت - اس کے علاوہ وہ میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہماری مخالفت وہاں دو قسم سے ہوتی ہے - ایک تو وہ جو کہ پاکستانی خیال کے لوگ ہیں مثلاً کانسپریسی کیس میں پھنسنے ہوئے ہیں - کیس چل رہا ہے مگر ہم اب کافی قابو پا گئے ہیں اس بات پر -

دوسرے وہ لوگ ہیں جو اور طریقے سے اقتدار کے لئے کچھ اس طرح کرنا چاہتے ہیں کہ ہم سے گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا کو بدظن کریں - میرا اپنا خیال ہے کہ یہ دونوں قسم کے لوگ کامیاب نہیں ہونگے اور کامیاب ہم ہی ہونگے - ہم اس کے بعد بھی یہی دیکھینگے کہ اس قسم کے لوگ کبھی کامیاب نہیں ہونگے اور کامیاب ہم ہی رہینگے - کچھ باقی ہے جو کہ پھر عرض کرونگا - شکریہ -

†[श्री पीर मुहम्मद खान (जम्मू और काश्मीर) : जनाब डिप्टी चैयरमैन साहब, बजट में डिफेंस के मुतल्लिक जो जायद रकम रखी गई है उसका मैं खैर मुकदम करता हूं। लेकिन इस से ज्यादा खुशी इस बात से हुई है कि फ्राइनेन्स मिनिस्टर ने यह भी तबक्को दिखलाई है कि अगर जरूरी हुआ तो ज्यादा खर्च के लिए वह फिर हाउस के सामने आयेंगे। जो जायद रकम रखी गई है उसके मुतल्लिक मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि हमारे मुल्क के जो अफेक्टिड पार्ट नेफा और लद्दाख के हैं उन दोनों पार्टों को ज्यादा

[श्री पीर मोहम्मद खान]

सज्जत करने के लिए यह रकम खर्च की जाये। ४ तारीख की डिबेट में काश्मीर गवर्नमेंट के और उसके एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के मुतल्लिक एक मेम्बर ने अपनी स्पीच में हाउस के सामने एक ऐसी तस्वीर पेश की, जो मेरे ख्याल में ठीक नहीं थी। इस वजह से कि मैं जम्मू और काश्मीर की तरफ से आया हूँ। मैं अपनी ड्यूटी समझता हूँ कि इस हाउस के सामने इस तस्वीर को साफ़ कर दूँ, जो कि वहाँ के फ़ाइनेन्शियल अमूर और एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के मुतल्लिक कही गई हैं। इसके साथ ही साथ यह चीज़ भी कही गई कि इलेक्शन कमीशन तो वहाँ हो गया है, लेकिन उसमें एक खामी रह गई है और वह यह है कि कान्स्टीट्यूएन्सीज के एलेक्टोरल स्टेट लेजिस्लेचर के हाथ में रहेंगे और वह उनको नहीं छोड़ना चाहती है। इसके मुतल्लिक मैं इंडियन कान्स्टीट्यूशन के पैरा ३२८ की तरफ़ तबज्जुह दिलाता हूँ जिसमें स्टेट लेजिस्लेचर को यह अस्तित्थार दिया गया है। फिर हाईकोर्ट के मुतल्लिक यह कहा गया है कि सब कुछ तो हो गया है मगर एक चीज़ स्टेट गवर्नमेंट ने फिर अपने पास रख ली है वह यह कि अगर स्टेट गवर्नमेंट से किसी जज का ट्रांसफर बाहर हो जाय या बाहर से स्टेट गवर्नमेंट में हो, तो इस बारे में सदरे रियासत से मशविरा कर लिया जाय। मैं नहीं समझता कि इसमें क्या नुक्स है। जब वहाँ के जजों की तनख्वाह और सब चीज़ें इंडिया की तरह से हो गई तो अगर यह चीज़ भी हो जाय कि सदरे रियासत के मशविरों से हो तो इसमें क्या नुक्स हुआ। दरअसल मेरे दोस्त अगर इंडियन कान्स्टीट्यूशन के पैरा ३७० को गौर से पढ़ लेते तो मेरे ख्याल से वह यह चीज़ न उठाते। कान्स्टीट्यूशन के पैरा ३७० में यह बात साफ़ तौर से लिखी हुई है कि पार्लियामेंट डिफेन्स, कम्प्यूनीकेशन और फोरन एफ़ेयर के अन्वावा, दीगर मुआमलात में बगैर स्टेट की राय लिये कोई चीज़ नहीं कर सकती है।

इसके अलावा स्टेट की ज्योग्राफीकल कन्डीशन और उसकी एबनोरमल हालत को देखते हुए यह तय किया गया था कि बाकी चीज़ें वहाँ के लोगों से मशविरा करके और उनकी राय के मुताबिक लागू की जायेंगी। चुनावों आप देखिये कि इन तीन सबजेक्ट्स के बाद रफ़्ता रफ़्ता जिस तरह से आपस में बातचीत हुई, तबादलाये ख्यालात हुआ, उसके जरिये टेलीफोन, टेलीग्राफ, इन्कम टैक्स, ब्राडकास्टिंग और कस्टम वगैरा, यह सब चीज़ें सेंटर के मातहत आ गईं। इसके बाद फाइनेन्शियल इन्ट्रिग्रेशन हुआ। सर्विसेज़ का इन्ट्रिग्रेशन हुआ। फाइनेन्शियल इन्ट्रिग्रेशन में आडिटर जनरल का वहाँ अस्तित्थार हुआ और उसका नुमाइन्दा वहाँ पर एकाउन्टेन्ट जनरल मौजूद है, जो कि सब एकाउन्ट्स को चैक, कन्ट्रोल व आडिट वगैरा करते हैं। यह सब चीज़ें मुत्तफ़िका तौर से आईं। एक चीज़ और कही गई है और वह है जजों का ट्रांसफर। यह कितनी बड़ी बात है। क्या खतरा है उनको इस बात में? क्या वह जस्टिस नहीं कर सकेंगे? कोई खास बात नहीं है, सिवाय इसके कि ख़ामख्वाह की नुक्ताचीनी है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि उन्होंने ठीक तरीके से पैरा ३७० को नहीं पढ़ा है। अपने सारे बयान में और अपनी सारी स्पीच में उन्होंने बहुत से पैसे काट किये। मगर अफसोस की बात है कि उन्होंने किसी जगह पैरा ३७० का ज़िक्र नहीं किया और इसी तरह ३२८ का भी ज़िक्र नहीं किया। मतलब यह है कि इस तरह की पक्कर नहीं पेंट करनी चाहिए। फिर स्टेट के मुतल्लिक उन्होंने कहा कि जो लोन्स और ग्राण्ट्स दिये जाते हैं उनको चेक करना चाहिए। गोया वह यह समझते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इन्डिया या गवर्नमेंट आफ इण्डिया का फाइनेन्स डिपार्टमेंट या वह फाइनेन्शियल इन्ट्रिग्रेशन जो स्टेट का हुआ है, उसमें कुछ भी नहीं किया और अब वह मजीद वज्जुह दिला रहे हैं कि गवर्नमेंट इससे

ज्यादा कुछ और चैक करे। हाउस खुद समझ ले कि उनकी मंशा क्या है। इसके मुतल्लिक उन्होंने एक मिसाल भी पेश की लद्दाख की सड़क की। अब मैं इसी मिसाल को ज़रा एक्सप्लेन करता हूँ, जिससे हाउस की समझ में आ जायेगा कि उन्होंने क्या पिकचर रखी थी और असल में क्या पिकचर है। लद्दाख की सड़क कारगल तक पहुंच चुकी है और कारगल के आगे बहुत सख्त इलाका है और इसमें कुछ देर ज़रूर हुई। देर हुई तो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट ने वहां इन इंजीनियर्स को यह समझ कर कि उनके पास कोई ठीक वजह नहीं है देर लगाने की, सस्पेंड किया और उन पर केस शुरू किया। कहा यह गया स्पीच में कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने जब प्रेस कान्फ्रेंस में लद्दाख का जिक्र किया, तो उसके बाद यह हुआ, वह हुआ। ऐसा नहीं है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब की प्रेस कान्फ्रेंस के छः महीने पहले वह सस्पेंड हो चुके थे और उनकी तहकीकात शुरू हो गई थी। फिर बताया यह गया कि सेंटर से जब एक अफसर गया तब वहां कुछ काम हुआ। वहां लद्दाख का इन्चार्ज पहले भी सेंटर की तरफ से एक अफसर था और अब जो गये हैं वह भी सेंटर की तरफ से गये हैं। हम ने उनको वैलकम किया है। उनको वैलकम न करने की कोई वजह नहीं है, तो वह केस प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब की प्रेस कान्फ्रेंस के छः महीने से भी ज्यादा पहले पकड़ा गया था और उनको सस्पेंड किया गया था। यह कहा गया है कि जब यह नये अफसर साहब वहां गये, उनसे पहले वहां कोई स्टेट का डेवलपमेंट इन्चार्ज नहीं था। उनके पहले ही गवर्नमेंट आफ इण्डिया का एक बड़ा सीनियर अफसर वहां था, मगर वह सीनियर अफसर क्या करता। पंडित जी ने खुद इसी प्रेस कान्फ्रेंस में यह माना है कि वह एक बड़ा सख्त इलाका है और उसके देखते हुए यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि यह काम कब तक खत्म हो।

फिर यह बताना क्या कि हमारी रियासत के लोग अपने को सेकेंड क्लास

सिटीजन समझ रहे हैं। मैं दावे से, यकीन से और वहां का एक नुमाइन्दा होने की हैसियत से कहता हूँ कि सारी स्टेट में हम में से किसी एक का भी ऐसा ख्याल नहीं है कि हम सेकेंड क्लास सिटीजन हैं बल्कि हम यह समझते हैं कि हम इसी तरह सिटीजन हैं, जिस तरह दिल्ली के लोग हैं। हमारी कतअन इस किस्म की कोई राय नहीं है अलबत्ता यह ज़रूर है कि हम लोग काम में लगे हुए हैं और अपने मुल्क की तरक्की का काम कर रहे हैं। हमारे यहां के लोगों को इस बातों की फुरसत नहीं है। अगर इन बातों की उनको फुरसत होती या उनमें कुछ डिस्कन्टेंटमेंट होता तो फिर यहां हम में से एक मेम्बर नहीं बोलता। बल्कि हम लोगों के वैसे ही डेपूटेन्स आते जिस तरह पार्लियामेंट के बाहर आप तमाशा देखते रहते हैं। दरअसल वह अपने यहां तरक्की के कामों में लगे हुए हैं और वह ऐसी बातें सुनना भी नहीं चाहते। मैं आपको स्टेट की फाइनेन्शियल पोजीशन बताऊंगा। वहां की गवर्नमेंट जो हमारी नेशनल जमायत की है, मैं फक् से कहता हूँ कि वह एक स्टेंडर्ड हुकूमत है और यह मैं ही नहीं कहता बल्कि बड़े बड़े आदमी कहते हैं। वहां की आमदनी १९५८-५९ में १० करोड़ ४८ लाख थी। सन् १९५९-६० में वह आमदनी बढ़ कर ११ करोड़ ७७ लाख हो गई। और अब १९६०-६१ में जो मौजूदा बजट है, उसके हिसाब से वह १५ करोड़ ७० लाख यानी तकरीबन १६ करोड़ हो गई है। यह फिर्मा यह बताते हैं कि वहां का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन किस तरह का है। अगर यह रुपया वहां डाका मार कर इकट्ठा किया गया होता, तो आज पार्लियामेंट के आगे ५०० आदमी हंगर स्ट्राइक किये होते। जब एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन अच्छा होता है तभी चीजें डेवलप होती हैं और आमदनी बढ़ती है। सन् १९४७ में वहां की आमदनी ५ करोड़ थी। अगर कोई साहब यह कहे कि सन् १९४७ में आमदनी बहुत ज्यादा थी और अब बहुत कम हो गई तो अब मैं उस के लिए क्या कहूँ। जो इस वक्त गवर्नमेंट है वह सन ५३ से चली आ रही है।

[श्री पीर मोहम्मद खान]

वही आदमी इस कैंबीनट में नहीं चले आ रहे हैं, मगर प्राइम मिनिस्टर वही चले आ रहे हैं। तो इस लीडरशिप के वक्त में स्टेट में जो कुछ तरक्की हुई, इण्डिया के साथ ताल्लुकात बेहतर होने में जो तरक्की हुई, वह मेरा ख्याल है कि हाउस का हरेक मेम्बर बहुत अच्छी तरह जानता है। मैं पंडित जी की १० दिसम्बर, सन् १९५८ की स्पीच का थोड़ा सा हिस्सा अर्ज करता हूँ। मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि स्टेट में हालात कैसे हैं। बताया यह गया कि वहाँ सिक्युरिटी और दूसरी चीजें खत्म हो गई हैं और अब वहाँ हालात बड़े अच्छे हैं। लेकिन वाक्या यह है कि पहले हम चक्की के एक पाट के नीचे थे और अब दो पाटों के नीचे हैं। एक चाइनी एग्जेशन और दूसरा पाकिस्तान एग्जेशन। इससे आप समझ सकते हैं कि वहाँ हालात कैसे हैं। और हमारे बार्डर पर ही नहीं, बल्कि हमारे मुल्क में क्या चीजें हो रही हैं, इन चीजों को देखते हुए पंडित जी का यह खयाल था :

“There had been a secret, well-calculated and deliberate plan of sabotage in the State. Schools had been opened at certain places to instruct people in sabotage. People had been sent across the border for the purpose. So the State had been facing a difficult situation. Situations throw up a man to deal with them and the present Prime Minister of Kashmir, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad is a person who has undoubtedly shown quite remarkable qualities of organisation and leadership.”

यह पंडित जी का सर्टीफिकेट है, उस शस्स के मुतल्लिक जिसका एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन या जिसकी सारी चीजें इस तरह की पिक्चर पेंट करके बताई जाती हैं कि वहाँ खबर नहीं क्या हो जाने वाला है। इस सिलसिला में मैं एक और मिसाल पेश करना चाहता हूँ कि ईरान के मिनिस्टर आफ इन्टीरियर का काश्मीर के

बारे में क्या आब्जरवेशन है। ईरान हमारे मुखालिफ ग्रुप में है और वह सिएटो में शामिल है। मगर वहाँ के मिनिस्टर जब श्रीनगर जाते हैं तो उनका यह आब्जरवेशन होता है :

“I and my companions are carrying unforgettable memories of our stay in Kashmir though it was of short duration. Wherever we went we found practical and earnest effort being made for the betterment of the life and welfare of the people. The steps that have been taken during such a short period in Kashmir are commendable and augur a bright and glorious future. We hope that the people of Kashmir will march steadily towards progress and prosperity under the inspiring guidance of its Government and its leadership.”

मिस्टर खुर्रुश्चेव ने थोड़ा सा जो कि क्रेमलिन में अपने डेलीगेशन को कहा था जो कि श्रीनगर भी आया था, उसको मैं अर्ज करता हूँ :—

“If you meet the Prime Minister of Kashmir, you should personally give him my best wishes. We are happy to see the work he is doing. Our delegation had also gone to Kashmir, and we are convinced that the people of Kashmir are behind the present Kashmir Government.”

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DAHYA-BHAI V. PATEL): You have exceeded your time. आपका समय हो गया।

श्री पीर मोहम्मद खान : एक मिनट ! इसके अलावा मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी मुखालफत वहाँ दो किस्म से होती है। एक तो वह जो कि पाकिस्तानी ख्याल के लोग हैं, मसलन कान्सपिरेसी केस में फंसे हुए हैं। केस चल रहा है, मगर हम अब काफी काबू पा गये हैं इस बात पर। दूसरे वह लोग हैं जो और तरीके से इक्तरदार के लिए कुछ इस तरह करना चाहते हैं कि हम से गवर्नमेंट

आफ इंडिया को बदज़न करें। मेरा अपना ख्याल है कि ये दोनों किस्म के लोग कामयाब नहीं होंगे और कामयाब हम ही होंगे। हम इसके बाद भी यही देखेंगे कि इस किस्म के लोग कभी कामयाब नहीं होंगे और कामयाब हम ही रहेंगे। कुछ बाकी है, जो कि फिर अर्ज करूंगा। शुक्रिया।]

श्री निरंजन सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जिस व्यक्ति या नेता के शब्दों पर हम लोग सिर कटाने के लिए तैयार रहें या अपने जीवन का सुनहरा पहर आंधी और तूफानों में काटें, वह यदि कुछ लड़खड़ाती हुई भाषा में अपने साथियों को, अपने दोस्तों को, बचाने की कोशिश करता है तो उस में दुख होता है और दिल में दर्द भी। हाल ही में प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने प्रेस कांफ्रेंस में जो एक दो बातें कहीं उन के सम्बन्ध में मैं पहले उल्लेख कर दूँ फिर दूसरी बातों पर आऊँ। उन्होंने यह कहा है। एक कौल साहब हैं। मुझे नहीं मालूम कि कौन हैं। उनकी वहां कांट्रोवर्सी हुई। मुझे पता नहीं कि वह क्या है। मैं नहीं जानता। लेकिन उनके सम्बन्ध में हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो कहा है, उसको मैं कहना चाहता हूँ :—

“Who has put in a good deal of active service not only in Burma and Arakan in the last war but in the old North-West Frontier and later in Kashmir operations.”

उन्होंने सब जगह को कहा है कि यहां काम किया है। मैं सिर्फ यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो स्टेटमेंट है वह—झूठ तो नहीं कहूंगा लेकिन झूठ को छिपाने के लिये किया गया है। तो इस तरह का स्टेटमेंट होता है। अराकान में, काश्मीर में, बर्मा में, उस व्यक्ति ने कभी भी फाइटिंग में भाग नहीं लिया, एक्टिव वार में भाग नहीं लिया। यह चार्ज है। अराकान में बह रहे, बराबर रहे, लेकिन ट्रांसपोर्ट के चार्ज में रहे, सप्लाय के चार्ज में रहे, काश्मीर में वह रहे, लेकिन जब हासटैलटीज खत्म हो गई

तब वह काश्मीर में आये और उसके बाद में भी जो वहां का डिवीजन का अधिकारी था उसने उनको निकाला भी और उनका नाम कुलवन्त सिंह है और उस के बाद फिर जम्मू काश्मीर की मिलिशिया में हुए और उसके बाद वहां के प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने अलग किया। यह हो सकता है कि सब जगह किया, लेकिन काम क्या किया? इस तरह का स्टेटमेंट है। मेरे पास कोई रिकार्ड नहीं है, लेकिन उनके साथियों ने, जिन्होंने उनके साथे पर काम किया है, खबर दी है। मेरे पास कोई रिकार्ड नहीं है, कोई डाक्युमेंट नहीं है लेकिन वे आदमी जब ऐसा कहते हैं तो आपको सोचना चाहिए कि इस तरह की बात सभा-भवन में या प्रेस कांफ्रेंस में जरा सोच समझ कर कहें।

दूसरा, उन्होंने भिलाई के सम्बन्ध में स्टेटमेंट दिया कि वहां सैबोटेज हुआ, डैमेजिंग हुई। किसका कसूर था, क्या हुआ, यह कुछ नहीं। उस रोज़ जब यहां सवाल हुआ तो यहां स्टील और माइंस के मिनिस्टर ने कहा कि सैबोटेज हुआ है। यह मेरे प्रान्त से सम्बन्धित है। मैं वहां गया और मैं आज भी कहता हूँ कि इन्क्वायरी कीजिये, अगर वहां किसी ने सैबोटेज किया है, तो फाल्स स्टेटमेंट की जिम्मेदारी लेने को तैयार हूँ। कोई भी सैबोटेज नहीं हुआ है। आदमियों को लात मारी थी और वहां दो जीप आकर खड़ी थीं, तो उनको आग लगा दी। मजदूरों को लात मारते हैं, तो गुस्सा आता ही है। किसी ने सैबोटेज नहीं किया है। वहां का जो जेनरल मैनेजर है, जिसको कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया ने भेजा है, उसने यह कहा, वहां के लेबर के लीडर्स के पास आ कर कि इनको शान्त कीजिये। तो २४ तारीख को यह हुआ। तो १८, १९, २० तारीख में, इन तीन दिनों में कोई सैबोटेज साबित कर दे, तो मैं उसके लिए गुनहगार होऊंगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं ने खास कर के जो सोचा है वह मिलिटरी के सम्बन्ध में है

[श्री निरंजन सिंह]

और मुझे कुछ डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब के सम्बन्ध में ही कहना है। उस रोज जब मैंने सवाल किया था कि आपने चंडीगढ़ में जो भाषण दिया उसमें एडमिनिस्टर्ड टेरिटरी के सम्बन्ध में कहा है और जो कोई एडमिनिस्टर्ड टेरिटरी नहीं है उसको आप छोड़ना चाहते हैं या नहीं, तो उन्होंने यहां बड़े जोर से कहा था कि नहीं, हमारा अर्थ अलग है, हम कोई भी टेरिटरी जो कि हिन्दुस्तान के मातहत में है वह नहीं छोड़ना चाहते हैं और उसका कांट्रिब्यूशन, उन्हीं का समर्थक जो पत्र है, जो बम्बई से निकलता है, जो कि बिल्टज है उसने लिखा है :

“Political circles are speculating on several formulas for a settlement of the dispute. First, China must concede straightway the MacMahon Line. India might consider conceding Aksai Chin Road adjoining Ladakh.”

इसका अर्थ क्या है ? यह उनका स्पेक्समैन पेपर है जो कि रात दिन इस बात को कहता है कि हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब की पालिसी बहुत अच्छी है और डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब की पालिसी बहुत अच्छी है। यह हम नहीं कह सकते कि उन्होंने क्या भाषण किया लेकिन उसके बाद यह प्रोपोगैंडा शुरू हो गया। प्रोपोगैंडा किया गया कि जो रास्ता बन गया है, अक्साई चिन रोड जो बन गई है, उस हिस्से को देने को आप तैयार हैं, डिफेंस मिनिस्टर की पालिसी में और गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी में यह दोखता है। जब इस तरह के स्पैकुलेशन होते हैं तो गवर्नमेंट क्या एक्शन लेती है ? यहां लाबी में स्पैकुलेशन हुआ। काफी स्पैकुलेशन किया गया है, लेकिन किसने आपत्ति की है ? आप यह कहते हैं कि लड़ाख का हिस्सा हम देने को तैयार हैं, जो रोड बना जो वह बना ली, उसको बाद में हम देने को तैयार हैं। यह अंधेर की बात है। आप थोड़े समय तक धोका दे सकते हैं . . .

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : क्या मेनन साहब इस अखबार के सम्पादक हैं ?

श्री निरंजन सिंह : उसके सम्पादक नहीं हैं। लेकिन ऐसी चीज है। आपने कहीं चर्चा की होगी कि हम पूरा का पूरा लड़ाख देने को तैयार हैं, शायद आपका स्टेटमेंट है, इसलिए आप कहते हैं। मैं तो यही समझता हूं कि जिन्होंने यह किया हो और जिन्होंने छाप्रा है इसके ऊपर कुछ सोचना चाहिए। वह पढ़ा जाता होगा, यह वेल-रेड पेपर है, ऐसा नहीं है कि किसी कोने में एक, दो पैसे का मे पेंपर डाल दिया और रही में फेंक दिया और उसमें छिप गया है, इसलिए हमारी नजरों से ओझल हो गया। ज़िले के कारस्पोंडेंट ने उसे छाप कर भेजा है।

2 P. M.

यह कह कर मैं अब डिफेंस के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूं। चेकोस्लोवाकिया से आपने आर्मस, राइफल्स और कार्ट्रिजेंस यहां मंगाये। कौन लाया, कैसे लाये गये, किसका उसमें हाथ है, मैं उसकी बहस में नहीं जाना चाहता हूं लेकिन इस सरकार की मर्जी पर लाये गये और जब वे यहां आये तो उनको चलाने के लिये यहां उनके पास आदमी नहीं थे। यहां तक हुआ कि वे इनने वर्स्ट ममझे गये कि उन्होंने अपने पाम मिलिटरी डिपार्टमेंट में न रख कर पुलिस को भेज दिये। और पुलिस डिपार्टमेंट में उनकी क्या गति हुई ? दूसरे पुलिस अफसरों ने और स्वयं आई० जी० ने लिख कर भेजा कि “साहब, इसमें डक्स भी मारने की सामर्थ्य नहीं है, ऐसे कार्ट्रिजेंस हैं।” फिर उनका गवर्नमेंट क्या करती ? उसने उनका आक्शन किया और आक्शन में भी पैसा नहीं आया, कोई लेने वाला ही नहीं था। जब आप ऐसा सामान डिफेंस के लिये खरीदना चाहते हैं और ऐसे सामान द्वारा इस देश का डिफेंस करना चाहते हैं तो कैसे हो सकता है ?

अभी माननीय प्रधान मंत्री साहब ने कहा कि गधे और खच्चर इस देश में नहीं

होते। ठीक है, बाहर से आपको मंगाने पड़ते हैं, इसका भी उन्होंने जिक्र किया। मेरा यह कहना है कि जब हम ऐसे प्रश्नों पर यहाँ क्वेश्चन करते हैं तो यह उत्तर दे दिया जाता है कि यह पालिसी का मामला है। जब आप क्वेश्चन करने पर इतना भी नहीं बता सकते कि उनके लिए टेंडर आपने बुलाया कि नहीं और टेंडर बुलाया तो किसने पर्चेज किया और किसकी जिम्मेदारी है। कांट्रिजेस पर्चेज करने की और यदि इस बात को वे हाउस में नहीं बता सकते, हम पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर नहीं जान सकते तो कौन आदमी जान सकता है? फिर, प्रेस कॉन्फ्रेंस में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री बताते हैं कि उसमें एक व्यक्ति का दोष नहीं है, उसमें तो साइनिंग अथॉरिटी थी, दूसरे ने पर्चेज किया था। इतना प्रेस कॉन्फ्रेंस में तो बता सकते हैं, लेकिन इम हाउस में बताते वक्त यह कहते हैं कि यह मीक्रेसी का मामला है, तो यह कैसी चीज है? इसलिए हम यह कहना चाहते हैं कि ये जो बातें आपकी हो रही हैं ये देश के डिफेंस के नाते से ठीक नहीं है।

मैं दूसरा उदाहरण आप के सामने देना चाहता हूँ। आप ने फ्रांस से जेट एयरोप्लेन लिये, जिनको तूफानी हवाई जहाज आप ने नाम दिया है। वे बेकार पड़े हुए हैं। बेकार पड़े होने के बाद वहाँ से आप कारीगर बुलाते हैं और कारीगर यहाँ आते हैं तो आप उनके लिये अरेजमेंट ठीक नहीं करते। उन को फैसिलिटी नहीं देते और वे लौट कर चले जाते हैं। यह कितने अंधेर की बात है कि जब आप के पास मेन और मेटीरियल नहीं है और आप कारीगरों को बुलाते हैं तो उनसे सुधरवाते नहीं हैं। करोड़ों रुपये के पाट्स पड़े रहते हैं, ऐसा मालूम हुआ है। काफी आप के जेट प्लेस आये थे और उनमें से कितने बेकार पड़े हुए हैं, क्या इसका आप ने अंदाजा लगाया?

प्रतिरक्षा उपमंत्री (सरदार एस० एस० मजीठिया) : वे सभी उड़ रहे हैं। एयरोप्लेन जिनका आप जिक्र कर रहे हैं, बेकार नहीं पड़े हैं।

श्री निरंजन सिंह : उड़ रहे हैं तो बहुत अच्छी बात है। लेकिन मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि फ्रांस से क्या कोई आदमी आया था, उनको सुधारने के लिये और वह आया था तो लौट कर क्यों चला गया? इसलिये कि उसको फैसिलिटी नहीं मिली।

सरदार एस० एस० मजीठिया : यह भी गलत है; क्योंकि हमारे एयरफोर्स के जो आदमी हैं, वे उनकी देखभाल करते हैं, उनको ठीक रखते हैं।

श्री निरंजन सिंह : देखभाल कर सकते हैं, ठीक कर सकते हैं, लेकिन पार्ट्स कहाँ से लें आयेंगे? आप के पास पार्ट्स नहीं हैं।

सरदार एस० एस० मजीठिया : पार्ट्स भी हैं, ठीक भी रखते हैं।

श्री निरंजन सिंह : फिर उन आदमियों को बुलाने की जरूरत क्या हुई? मेहमानदारी के ख्याल से बुलाया होगा।

सरदार एस० एस० मजीठिया : किसी ने नहीं बुलाया।

श्री निरंजन सिंह : तो फिर ऐसे आदमी को बुलाना नहीं चाहिये था, अगर आप के पार्ट्स अच्छे थे तो। कोई खराबी होगी तभी आप ने बाहर से आदमी बुलाया होगा। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी की बात को मान लूँगा अगर मेहमानदारी के लिये उनको बुलाया गया था या ऐसा मालूम हुआ हो कि कोई खराबी आ गई थी। इन्हीं बातों से हमारे देश के संबंध में दूसरे देशों में हवा उड़ती है और वे सोचते हैं कि उनको हम क्या सहूलियत दें, जब वे दूसरों के बल पर उठते हैं। आप तो मेहमाननवाजी करने वाले हैं; आप को मेहमाननवाजी करनी चाहिये।

फिर मैं एक और बात कहना चाहता हूँ। डेबलपेमेंट खूब होता रहता है और आप ने

[श्री निरंजन सिंह]

डेवलपमेंट के डिपार्टमेंट भी काफी खोले हैं। कहीं “शक्तिमान्” का निर्माण होता है तो कहीं कुछ और होता है लेकिन मिनिस्ट्री एक है। जब तक आप डिफेंस प्रोडक्ट्स के डेवलपमेंट के लिये और डिफेंस के लिये अलग-अलग ब्रांच नहीं खोलते, तब तक उसका कोऑर्डिनेशन नहीं होता। जो डिफेंस करता है वह प्रोडक्शन का भी काम करेगा, यह असम्भव सी चीज है। प्रोडक्शन वाला प्रोडक्शन करेगा और डिफेंस वाला डिफेंस का काम करेगा। जब तक आप यह रूपरेखा नहीं बना लेते, तब तक काम ठीक नहीं होगा।

फिर एक और नयी चीज है। आप यू० एन० ओ० में जाते हैं और वहां पर जा कर ऐसे आदमियों को एपोइंट करते हैं, जिनके ऊपर दूसरी कंट्री वाला संदेह करता है। उदाहरण के लिये, आप ने पेपर में पढ़ा होगा कि एक आदमी आप ने एपोइंट किया और एंटी अमेरिकन एक्टिविटी के कारण उसका इंटरोगेशन हुआ। अब आप बताइये कि क्या आप के देश में आप को क्लर्क नहीं मिलता, काम करने वाला नहीं मिलता, जिस पर आप कंफिडेंस हो और जिसके द्वारा इस तरह की बदनामी न हो। जिस देश में जाइये उसके खिलाफ बगावत करने की या षडयंत्र करने की कोशिश करो तो इस तरह का जो आप का कार्य है, वह अच्छा नहीं है।

मैं एक और बात कहना चाहता हूं और उसका संबंध हमारे माननीय मंत्री जी से है और प्राइम मिनिस्टर से भी है। वह अपर क्लास आफिसर्स के बोर्ड के विषय में है। यह कहा गया कि दो आदमी बोर्ड के सामने गये। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि जो आप का बोर्ड है और जो तीन आदमी सेलेक्ट किये गये उस पर इतनी कंट्रोलर्स क्यो हुई? असल बात यह है कि आम जनता से छिपाना चाहते हैं कि आपकी कंट्रोलर्स उसमें हुई। काफी दिनों से यह चीज कोल्ड

स्टोरेज में पड़ी हुई थी, जब कि आप का नियम है कि तीन महीने में एक बार बोर्ड को बुलाना चाहिये, आप ने अपने एक आदमी को ही पी० एस० ज्ञानी, उनका नाम है, प्राइम मिनिस्टर की प्रेस कांफ्रेंस से दो चार दिन पहले एपोइंट कर दिया जब कि साल भरसे उस पर कंट्रोलर्स चलती रही थी। और साल भर से आप ने किसी को एपान्ट नहीं किया। फिर आप ने दो आदमियों को सेलेक्ट कर लिया, जूनियर को सीनियर बना कर सेलेक्ट कर लिया। आप ने ये पी० एस० ओ० की जो पोस्ट की है वह ऐसी है कि जिसके कारण किसी भी आदमी को जो एक ही रैंक का है जिसको आप को लेफ्टिनेंट बनाना पड़ता है, उसको आप यहां पर ले आते हैं और यहां पर ले आ कर चूंकि आप ने अपनी मर्जी के मुताबिक रूल बना लिये हैं कि उनको फ्रण्ट पर रहना चाहिये तो उसमें सीनियरिटी और जूनियरिटी नहीं देखी जाती, जिसको वहां ले जाइये वह लेफ्टिनेंट जनरल हो जायेगा। जब आप कभी भी फ्रण्ट में उसे भेजेंगे, मिलिटरी के चार्ज में भेजेंगे तो वह लेफ्टिनेंट जनरल हो जायेगा और उसमें कितने ही आदमियों को सुपरसीड कर दिया जाता है। मेजर की पोस्ट के आदमी को आपने लेफ्टिनेंट जनरल की पोस्ट पर रख दिया। यह भी ठीक है, जो कुछ आप ने किया सही होगा, लेकिन नीचे के हिस्से को आप ने नहीं देखा। उदाहरण के लिये मैं आप के सामने दूसरी बात कहूं कि जो १९४१ के आरमी रैंक में हैं, उनको आप ने सबस्टैटिव रैंक में रख दिया, लेकिन १९४२, १९४३ या १९४४ में जिन आदमियों को आप ने एपोइंट किया है, उनके संबंध में आप क्या कर रहे हैं? उनका सेलेक्शन क्यों नहीं हो रहा है? साल भर या डेढ़ साल हुआ, १९४१ का सेलेक्शन आप का हो गया, १९४१ के बाद जो इमरजेंसी सर्विस में एपोइंट हुए थे, उन आदमियों को आप ने सबस्टैटिव रैंक में अब तक क्यों नहीं रखा? यदि आप नहीं रखेंगे तो कितने आदमियों को बिछोह होगा,

कितने आदमियों को दुःख होगा ? इसलिये आप का यह जरूरी काम हो जाता है कि उनकी तरफ भी देखें । इस के आगे मैं सिर्फ इतना कहना चाहता हूं कि इंटरनेशनल टैरीटोरियल वाटर कांफ्रेंस जो हाने वाली है, उसमें कौन मंत्री जायेगा, कितने उसके मेम्बर होंगे, इसके बारे में मुझे कुछ मालूम नहीं है । लेकिन साहब, मीटिंग होने वाली है और उसमें ५० देशों के आदमी आने वाले हैं और मार्च, १७ को यह मीटिंग होने वाली है । क्या आप ने उस मीटिंग के लिये अपना लीडर चुन लिया है ? आप ने अभी तक किसी आदमी का नाम डिक्लेयर नहीं किया कि उस डेलीगेशन में कौन जायेगा, कौन मिनिस्टर जायेगा और कितना लड़ होगा ? क्या आप लोग वहां पर एक दम चले जायेंगे ? उस मीटिंग में झगड़ा पड़ा हुआ है कि “सी एरिया” कितनी होनी चाहिये । कोई कहता है कि १८ मील होनी चाहिये और कोई कहता है १२ मील होनी चाहिये । इसी तरह से कोई कहता है ६ मील होनी चाहिये और कोई कहता है ३ मील होनी चाहिये । क्या आपने इस दूरी की कोई रूपरेखा बना ली है या नहीं ? अगर आपने नहीं बनाई है तो इस कार्य में देरी हांगी ।

अब मैं आडिट रिपोर्ट सन् १९५९ के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूं । इसमें यह लिखा हुआ है :

“Stock Verification in Army Units and Formations during 1957-58.—During the year 1957-58, stock verification was incomplete in the following respects:—

(a) No verification was carried out in four formations.

(b) Only partial verification was carried out in twenty-eight other formations.”

जब आप वैरीफिकेशन नहीं कर सकते हैं तो मिलिटरी को किस तरह से चलायेंगे ?

आपके पास ये चीजें स्टॉक में हैं, मैं इसके बहुत से कोटेशन बतलाना चाहता हूं । जब आप किसी चीज का वैरीफिकेशन नहीं कर सकते हैं तो आप क्या करेंगे ? आपके पास कितनी चीजें हैं और आप क्या करना चाहते हैं ? यह बात आप खुद नहीं जानते हैं । जब आपके पास स्टॉक में चीजें नहीं हैं तो इस कमी को किस तरह से ठीक कर पायेंगे ? मैं नहीं समझता कि आप क्या कर सकेंगे ? मैं आपके सामने एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं । पेज १३ में यह लिखा हुआ है :

“Based on an incorrect assessment of stock on hand as Nil when 50 units of an equipment were actually available, an indent was placed.”

When 50 units are available आप यह कहते हैं कि हमारे पास एक भी चीज नहीं है । क्या यही मिलिटरी की एक्यूरेसी है ? जगह जगह पर मिलिटरी का सामान पड़ा हुआ है और क्या आपका इसी तरह का वैरीफिकेशन होता है ? (*Time bell rings.*) में दो तीन मिनट लेकर अपना भाषण समाप्त कर दूंगा ।

फिर, साहब, १७ पेज में यह दिया हुआ है :

“Purchase of milk cooling pasteurising plants.—Ten milk-cooling and pasteurising plants costing about Rs. 3.80 lakhs were purchased between September, 1954, and March, 1958, for use in the Military Farms. Nine of these plants have not yet been (April, 1959) installed.”

यानीज दस परचे कर लिये और इतने दिनों से परचेज कर रखे हैं लेकिन दस में से ९ अभी तक नहीं लगा सके ।

इसी तरह से इसमें यह लिखा हुआ है :

“Practically the entire quantity of raw materials purchased (including silk fabric which deteriorates in storage) has been lying unused for 7 years.”

इसमें भी लाखों रुपये का सवाल है ।

फिर २८ पेज में जो बात लिखी है उसको पढ़कर मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ ।

"Irregularities in the accounts of a Central Ordnance Depot.—In July 1958, it came to the notice of the Commandant of a Central Ordnance Depot that Government stores were being surreptitiously used by a contractor who was carrying out some repair and maintenance work within the depot premises. Investigations subsequently carried out revealed that large quantities of nails, nuts, bolts, screws, metal tubings, small tools, vehicle components, etc. had been kept unaccounted for in the depot being hidden, or buried underground. The value of such unaccounted for stores, unearthed upto the end of February, 1959, is estimated at over Rs. 7 lakhs."

क्या यही आपकी रेगुलैरीटी है, मैं आपसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ ।

श्री अमोलख चंद : इसके संबंध में मैं यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमेटी उन सब बातों के बारे में जांच कर रही है और बहुत जल्दी अपनी रिपोर्ट देने वाली है ।

श्री निरंजन सिंह : आपकी पब्लिक कमेटी जांच कर रही होगी लेकिन मिनिस्टर लोग क्या कर रहे हैं ?

श्री अमोलख चंद : आपके हाउस की ही तो पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमेटी है ।

श्री निरंजन सिंह : आपकी कमेटी कर रही होगी लेकिन हमारी गवर्नमेंट क्या कर रही है ?

. PROF. DR. RAGHU VIRA (Bombay): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Budget proposals put forward by the Finance Minister.

They have allayed the many fears apprehended in different parts of the country. While supporting the proposals in a general way I would be failing in my responsibility if I were not to draw the attention of the House to the miserly allocations made for the defence of the nation. Sometimes there was a word used in this connection and that word was 'burden'. I am afraid that the underlying belief seems to be that defence is a burden, and thus the allocations for the purpose are miserly in the present context of things. May I submit, Sir, that Defence at the present moment is not a burden? It is an offering at the altar of freedom and, if I may say so, at the altar of unpreparedness. We have launched the bark of active defence of a mauled and lacerated border. Let us do it adequately and properly matching the offensive preparations on the other side of the Himalayan summits. We have accepted this operation, which might be called 'the Northern Vigil'. This operation has to be accepted as a long-term one, and if it is a long-term operation, as undoubtedly it is, let us never again be lulled into narcotic stupor even by the forthcoming meeting of the two Prime Ministers. As long as Chinese arsenals and massed soldiery are not disbanded, it is our duty to see that our watch and guard stand erect, strong and dense on our entire frontier and never again should we allow ourselves to think in terms of a rosy picture in India-China relations after our recent experience. The initiative to turn a rosy picture into a bloodshot one should not be left to any megalomaniac adventurers who may occupy the seat of honour as leaders of the neighbouring country. Our problem is: "Are we preparing fast enough and heavily enough?" We do not know. Perhaps we are, but probably we are not. Who is there to see and judge and to recommend or to enforce or to change the prejudices against the arming of the nation to defend itself? I suggest the creation of a Preparedness Committee of Parlia-

ment. There is a parallel in the U.S.A. where there exists the Senate Preparedness Committee. The nation cannot depend upon the ideas and judgments of two or three or four men in this vital matter concerning the very life of the nation.

May I further suggest that we learn from the Russians, adopting some of their models? The Russians have a number of institutions concerning the defence of the country. I shall mention only a few among them. The first is the psychological one, and that is the mobilisation of patriotism, of flaming ardour, which the Russians symbolise in the term 'Rodina'

(motherland, fatherland) जननी जन्म

भूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी).

Let that ardour and that fervour be aroused in our people and let them possess Bergson's *Elan Vital* which the Russians took as their motif, "the vital bounce", so that we become what has been mentioned in the Rig Veda as सहस्रः सुनूः the sons of

challenge, the sons of daring defiance. The Russians have an institution and this institution they call *Razvedka* the

Sanskrit equivalent being रहस्य वेदक

It is the department of intelligence and reconnaissance. Our *Razvedka* is timid, if I could use the word. It is very timid and it is a mere trickle. A road or an airstrip is hewn and lain; a slope, or a pasture or a lake is held and pervaded by the foes, and nobody knows for months and sometimes even for years. Why does this happen? Because our *Razvedka* is missing. The third thing which we may learn from the Russians, Sir, is that very important institution, 'Unichtozhenie' and I would not mind if this word were taken into the Indian language; it is the *sine quo non* of defensive solidarity. *Unichtozhenie* is the political annihilation—I use the word which has been used by the Russians—of the infiltrated might of the enemy that has spread

throughout the length and breadth of the country, here, there, in all forums and squares. Anybody who doubts the *sine quo non* of *Unichtozhenie* can have possibly nothing to do with the real defence of the country.

Another thing which the Russians found useful was *Skovy-vaiush-chaia gruppā*. This is the 2,000 miles long first echelon of defence. I do not know what our Ministers are doing. Perhaps they do not know about this *Skovy-vaiush-chaia gruppā*. It is the first defence, the border residents' force, mobilised, trained and armed. We should have them up to a depth of 200 miles.

There is the fifth organisation called DOSAAF. It is a parliamentary volunteer organisation for the support of Army, Navy and Air Force. In September, 1959, the Russians had got 15 million or 1½ crores of such volunteers. Our population is double and our danger is immediate. It can be well imagined what our strength in respect of such an organisation should be.

Sir, I take it that all these things are possible only if there is a foundational political rethinking and reformulation of mental postures, so as to allow the normal human defensive reflexes to operate in spontaneity.

Border defence is not war. It is active peace, peace with security, training and controlling of aggressive, non-peaceful, predatory or gluttonous nations into a peaceful mood. This can be done again only if we believe in the global doctrine of securing the freedom of smaller and weaker nations. Why is it necessary? Let me explain it by quoting to the House the Chinese politicians' nursery rhyme:

The sheep has wool
Fleece it;
The lamb is fat
Eat it.

[Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira.]

Oh! It is not the sheep
It is not the lamb;
It has teeth and claws
It is angry too.
It has a wolfy view.
Be off, be off.

Again, let us recognise clearly and squarely that the battle for Asia has begun. The vacuum created by the withdrawal or the turning out of the Western powers from Asia is not longer able to sustain itself. Ten years ago people of the world had asked in different capitals: "Who will fill the vacuum? China or India?" India protested and withdrew. Now China has stepped her ponderous heel right on our forehead. May I be permitted to say that our foresight failed us in this matter? But shall we now not use our hindsight to retrieve the loss, for today's hindsight is tomorrow's foresight?

The Chinese Prime Minister, honourable Chou En-lai, is coming. I have respect for him, I have love for him. We approve of his being invited. But there should be no waving of flags and no crowds. It should be a quiet reception, an official reception. As long as Chinese flags and forces are not removed from Aksai Chin, how can we wave flags? In the reception there should be no partisans. Partisans will bring about anti-Chou demonstrations. It will not be desirable either. There should be no waving of flags. It should be a simple, official reception.

Let us consider what Mr. Chou En-lai's *letmotif* is. His political philosophy—I should put it in a simple way, may not be a good way—is conquest. Now, Chinese have used Buddhist symbols to symbolise their present political philosophy. The ancient Buddhist symbol has been pressed into the service of expansionism. The world view is that of two lotuses, the red lotus and the white lotus. In between the two

lotuses comes the *Indra's Vajra*, the invincible and indestructible thunderbolt. The red lotus *chih lien hua*, forms the base on which stands the indestructible and invincible shattering *Vajra—Chin kang hua*. On the *Vajra*, 'there is the white lotus, *Pundarik or pai lien hua*. On the bottom lies the *Panchsheel* which has been utilised for the holocausting and liquidation of Tibet. *Vajra* is blatant aggression. The white lotus, the original broad-based law of peace and mercy, is now represented by the forthcoming negotiations.

Now Mr. Chou En-lai's objective in coming here is clear. Before him, Eisenhower came, Khrushchev came. What happened? We the M.P.s have been reduced to the position of waiting boys, whose one duty, only one duty, is to wait and to wait, not to think, not to participate in deliberations, but to wait and to clap thunderous approval when the final announcement is made.

It will be a serious matter when Red China, red in tooth and claw—on the 28th March, 9 A.M. she explodes her first atomic bomb, *yuan tzu tan*, 120 miles to the south west of Urumchi—armed with this *bott* from the blue sits on table with mature and wise India, India without tooth and claw. I only imagine, you also imagine, everybody should imagine what the negotiations would be, what the give and take would be. We and China are not the only peoples concerned with it, but there are bigger powers who are concerned, powers that hold the leash. If the leash has been pulled straight and hard, China may say: "I go out. I vacate Aksai Chin. I lay no claim to Longju. Macmahon and Ladakh lines, we shall rename them as lines of friendship, friendship of India and China, or *Han-Indu Ching Chich hsien*. I am sorry for the misunderstanding. Now, we shall form a *de-tente*. We, friends and brothers, come together and light lamps of peace, eternal peace, Asian and global peace—*Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai*."

But, Sir, if the leash has not been pulled straight, China may demand this or that, repeat her claims, withdrawing some, sticking to the rest. What will India demand? Can India make a demand too? Can there be negotiations without India needing something?

I come to the history of the Himalayas. I shall not quote from literature. Our Kailash, Mansarovar, Gurla Mandhata have a hoary tradition in Indian culture. Why should we not have the uninhabited area from Demchok to Rakas Tal right up to Kailash and Mansarovar following to Kailash range boundary. (*Showing a map of the Himalayas*) Here is Kailash, here is Rakas Tal, here is Mansarovar and here is Kailash range. Here is the territory from Demchok to Kailash. It makes an area of 10,000 square miles, exactly the area, mile for mile, which has been occupied by the Chinese in Aksai Chin. That would make India balance the Chinese demand for strategic purposes, for joining Tibet and Turkistan. If we make this demand, there is nothing wrong in it. If Tibet had been a sovereign country, our people could have gone for pilgrimage to Kailash and Mansarovar. Now they cannot go.

I have taken a long time. I shall stop with the remarks that defence is a matter in which the Parliament should take greater interest. I have been pained to see that we have been sometimes snubbed, our public has been snubbed, our students who wanted to interest themselves and participate have been snubbed. I wish that this snubbing stops and that defence is put on a long-term basis. Thank you, Sir.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

THE APPROPRIATION (RAILWAYS) BILL, 1960

SECRETARY: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message

received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha:

"In accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith a copy of the Appropriation (Railways) Bill, 1960, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 7th March, 1960.

The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution of India."

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1960-61 —GENERAL DISCUSSION—*continued.*

DR D. H. VARIAVA (Bombay): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I offer my congratulations to the Finance Minister for a very practical Budget and in this difficult task he has done his best to advance the economy of India. I agree with most of the proposals of the Budget but I have to offer certain criticisms about a few things.

The tax on transport, in my opinion, hits at the very root of the economy because transport is considered to be a very important part of the economy, both the village economy and the economy in the urban areas. As many speakers have said, the tax on trucks, diesel oils, tyres, etc. will hit not only the lower income group but it will also affect the whole economy of our country. At a time when we want to increase the transport facilities in the Railways, on roads, etc., if we made this rather expensive, then it might affect the economy. As we have a big deficit, the Finance Minister cannot help putting these taxes on transport but I will suggest that he should consider whether it will affect our growing economy adversely or not and if he thinks that it will, then he should make some adjustments in these taxes.