

Bill, 1967

12.33 hrs.

FINANCE (No. 2) BILL, 1967—Contd

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up further consideration of the Finance (No. 2) Bill. We have got 3 hours and 20 minutes more left. Two or three party's spokesmen have yet to speak and some Congressmen also have to speak. After five or six of them have spoken the hon. Minister may reply at 4.30 or round about that time. Is that all right?

The Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister (Shri Morarji Desai): Whenever I am asked.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Barua:

श्री प्रबुल बरुआ : (गुडगांव) : मेरा एक प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है। अभी श्री नाथपाई ने आप की सेवा में कुछ अर्ज करनी चाही थी। आपका हम पूरी तरह से आदर करते हैं, मान करते हैं। आपने उन से बेइसाफी की है। उनको सैटिसफाई करने के बजाय आपने उनको बिठा दिया है। इस तरह मे कौसे काम चलेगा ?

[شری عبدالغنی قار - میرا ایک پوائنٹ آف آرڈر ہے - ابھی شری ناٹھ پائی نے آپ کی خدمت میں کچھ عرض کرنی چاہی تھی - آپ کا ہم پروری طرح سے آدر کرتے ہیں - مان کرتے ہیں - آپ نے ان سے بے انصافی کی ہے - ان کو سٹیسفائی کرنے کے بجائے آپ نے ان کو بٹھا دیا ہے - اس طرح سے کسے کام چلے گا -]

Mr. Speaker: I would request you to sit down. It is neither a point nor a point of order; it is disorder. That is all; nothing more.

Shri Barua has got about 16 minutes at his disposal.

Shri Hem Barua (Mangaldai): Sir, this Finance Bill, like a public thoroughfare, is an omnibus thing. There are so many changes, modifications, amendments and tax relief proposals incorporated into it that it is not possible to discuss all these

matters in an open arena like this. Therefore I suggest that the Finance Bill should be sent to a Select Committee. The Select Committee might meet for a day or two, deliberate upon the proposals and the conclusions of the Select Committee should be incorporated in the Bill. That is my suggestion.

True it is that our economy is in the coldrums today. While addressing an audience at Hyderabad Shri Morarji Desai said that the economy is suffering from a slump. If he used the word 'slump' in order to off set the fears of some people who used word 'recession' I think he is wrong and if he used the word 'slump' in order to describe the actual position of the economy he is absolutely correct. Slump is a full-fledged collapse of the economy. Whether it is slump or recession, the basic fact remains that there is economic depression all along all over in this country—a depression that is affecting not only the economic avenue of our national life but also the political avenue of our national life.

We must not forget that industry is closely related to agriculture in this country and all our economic efforts including capital formation are determined by the supply of foodgrains. We must not forget that. I would like to describe industry as the second-line of our economic defence whereas agriculture is the large public sector in this country.

What happens to agriculture? Our agricultural income slided by Rs. 1600 crores last year. That is the position. During these twenty years of freedom, we have to depend on the mercies of other countries for food aid. This is a shame on our country. This has badly, adversely, affected our present economy. There is no doubt about it. Even those people who demonstrate against foreign missions, diplomatic missions, in Delhi or anywhere in the country, on this international issue or on that international issue, go to demonstrate against

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Western imperialists from whom we get food, wheat or rice. That is the condition of our economy today. It is true that we have become free on the 15th August, 1947. But, may I say, we are free only outwardly. Inwardly, we are still a nation of dependence. We are a nation of global beggars. That is the position we have been reduced to by our Government. We have to go out with a begging bowl for food from different quarters of the world. Now, there is difficulty in the supply of food from abroad. The crisis in the country has become still very grave and still more acute. **This is a shame, so far as this country is concerned, that the country has to depend on foreign food aid in order to sustain ourselves as a free nation.**

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma (Khammam): Such degrading terms should not be used by the hon. Member.

Shri Hem Barua: When I present a **tortured vision of our economy, please** say where I have gone wrong. If you go on saying that it is wrong to describe the economy of the country like that, **we will not be able to arrive at scientific conclusions of the present-day conditions. It is no use trying to hide fact from your eyes.**

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: It affects the nation.

Shri Hem Barua: It does not. What has happened? Can you deny the fact that there is no economic crisis in the country? Can you deny the fact that there is no food scarcity in the country today? Can you deny **the fact that our economy is not tottering, breaking and shattering at present?**

On the top of all this, what happens is, the Suez Canal is closed for us. Not only the food supply from U.S.A. to this country is hampered due to the closure of the Suez Canal but the kerosene supply from U.S.S.R. is also hampered. The prices have gone up very high; the prices have

spiralled up. What is the history of the economy of this country? The prices have spiralled up by 15 per cent annually during the last three years. You must not forget that. Now, due to the closure of the Suez Canal, the prices have sky-rocketed and the hardship is borne by the people in the lower middle class and the people in the fields and the factories. That is what is happening in the country.

When Mr. Chagla visited our friend, President Nasser, high hopes were raised in this country that he will be able to persuade President Nasser to lift the embargo put on our food ships and on our defence cargo ships. But, unfortunately, he has come back empty-handed as he went there. **It is no use of saying that we have good and sincere friends abroad. If our friends do not act when our nation is facing a crisis, it is better not to have any friends. I do not want to elaborate on this because my friend, Mr. Nath Pai, while speaking on the foreign affairs debate has elaborated on these particular things. Of course, we have a policy of non-alignment. This policy of non-alignment is a non-man policy. I do not want to elaborate on that. Mr. Nath Pai has done that sufficiently well. Now, when we describe the actual conditions in the country in that manner, to allege, to describe, that it is character assassination, I think, that is a wrong description.**

I would say that we, of the PSP, yield to none in our loyalty to this country; we yield to none in our patriotism and, therefore, to say that this is character assassination is absolutely wrong.

Now what has happened? Mr. Chagla's visit has yielded no results. Serious efforts must be made to revitalise our economy. Possibly Mr. Morarji Desai understands that. Now what is happening? We are spending 65 per cent of our national income on foodgrains. Yet, the nation starves. There is economic stagnation all

over the country and this economic stagnation has affected our industries, particularly the engineering industry, the most. What has happened to the engineering industry? This decline in production in the engineering industry is not sudden; it has accrued over a number of years due to the unimaginative policy pursued by this Government. There was a cut in the maintenance items; there was a cut imposed on the allocation of non-ferrous metals for this industry, particularly in 1965. On the other hand, agricultural operations have gone down in this country and the fact that the agricultural operations have gone down in this country has adversely affected the supply of engineering products also, and that is another reason. Not only the engineering industry is affected, but the other industries are also affected. They know that there are certain industrial units in this country at present which have an idle capacity of 90 per cent.

Now what has happened to the industrial output? When we read the Annual Report of the Ministry of Industrial Development, we find one thing. During 1961 and 1963 the industrial output in this country was 8 to 9 per cent, but now it has slumped down to 2.46 per cent. This has happened. This sad history is repeated in all the avenues of our industrial life. What about coal? What about jute? What about tea? What about cotton textiles? What about sugar? Last year we produced 35.5 million lakh tonnes of sugar and this year we have produced only 21.5 million lakh tonnes of sugar and it might come down also in the next year; there is every possibility.

Now we have the steel plants. Mr. Nehru, romanticised over the steel plants, described them as the golden temples of modern India. What has happened to these golden temples of modern India? Mr. Morarji Desai knew this very well when he said very recently that it would not be

possible to carry on the expansion so far as the existing steel plants are concerned and also to set up a new steel plant because of the non-availability of resources and funds. Mr. Morarji Desai understand that very well. (Interruption). He knows. As a socialist, I am not opposed to public sector. But if you examine the role of the public sector undertakings in this country, you will find that it is a fact that most of the public sector undertakings have failed to earn any profit; most of them are running at a loss. I think, Prof. Galbraith, before he become the Ambassador of U.S.A. in India, was appointed to inquire into the working of the public sector undertakings and he made a recommendation that the public sector undertakings must earn profits. But what about Durgapur plant? It is running at a terrible loss. True it is that we have Five-Year Plans. But the Five-Year Plans, instead of rejuvenating and revitalising our economy, have dissipated our economy. May I tell you that the Second and the Third Five-Year Plans were over-ambitious? They were related to ambitions and were not related to the availability of resources. What about the Planning Commission?

When Shri Asoka Mehta was appointed as the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, high hopes were raised in this country that our plans would thereafter at least be true to the kindred points of heaven and home. That was the hope raised. But, unfortunately, this Moses of Indian planning, suffering under the weight of his intellect has reduced our planning to a stage which everybody knows. I want the plans to be small in size and related to the availability of resources in this country. It is not use having ambitious plans that we cannot execute. There was a demand for a pause in planning and those people who were opposed to this idea-poooh-pooohed the entire idea, but I am happy that Shri Morarji Desai while speaking before

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an audience recently at Hyderabad, compared India to a man running with great speed to the destination; at the same time he said that that man must have some respite. When he said that that man must have some respite I believe he had a holiday for the poor planning in his mind.

Shri Morarji Desai: No, no.

Shri Hem Barua: We must have some respite. That is what he has said.

Then, I would say that taxes are evaded in this country. Prof. Kaldor has pointed out that about Rs. 300 crores are evaded in taxes in this country. If we could realise this and also effect a 5 per cent cut in administrative expenditure, I feel that we could make a substantial contribution towards infusing health into our ailing and recalcitrant economy. If we fail in this, then what would happen? I have already said that our present-day economy is in the doldrums and this would produce an effect on the political aspect of our life, as it has already done. What about the gheraos? I think the gheraos are a prelude to revolutions. These gheraos have a lot of inbuilt capacity for revolution. We must not forget that. The longest gherao that took place was in West Bengal, which lasted for 152 hours. Industrial output in West Bengal has gone down because of the gheraos by Rs. 20 crores. 3 million man-hours were lost and Government have lost Rs. 5 crores by way of revenue. That is what is happening. Therefore, I say that a recalcitrant economy will produce an adverse effect on the political life of this country. So, the Finance Minister should see that our economy is revitalised and rejuvenated particularly through the sensitive cells. Scissors and paste work, by cutting a piece here and cutting out a piece there, would not help to rejuvenate our economy.

Whenever there is a decline in food production in this country it is very often said that the monsoons are failing. We depend so much on the rain God that the rain God has failed us on so many occasions. We forget that fact. Monsoon alone cannot save this country unless positive and constructive efforts are made to rejuvenate the economy.

Finally, I would say a word about Assam. What is happening in Assam? Floods are an annual phenomenon in Assam, and this Government, in spite of warnings, have done nothing to give relief to the people of Assam who are the victims of floods every year. If I describe how they suffer that will bring tears to your eyes, and, therefore, I do not want to describe it.

Again, what about the industrial map of Assam? Since 1962, after the Chinese aggression, there has been no capital investment in Assam. Does it mean that they have given up Assam? Does it mean that Assam should be swallowed up by the Chinese or by the Pakistanis?

Shri Nath Pai: Never.

Shri Hem Barua: If it means that then I shall be very sorry and that will be a tragic day for this country.

I would submit that serious efforts must be made by this Government to rejuvenate our economy. There is also a gap in our foreign balances and that gap is going to increase. There should be efforts made to bridge that gap. But where are those efforts? Whatever efforts are made by the Finance Ministry are made in a piecemeal way. Small measures or piecemeal measures would not help to rejuvenate or revitalise our economy. Whether there is a slump or a recession is for Shri Morarji Desai to decide. If by slump he means that our economy has totally collapsed then I congratulate him for coming out with

an open truth and describing the fact as it is.

12.53 hrs.

[SHRIMATI LAKSHMIKANTHAMMA in the Chair.]

श्री पहाड़िया (हिंडोन) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त विधेयक पर विभिन्न वक्ताओं के विचार सुनने के पश्चात् कुछ ऐसा लगता है कि इस सदन में और बाहर भी देश को विकसित करने के लिए विचारधारा में कोई ज्यादा फर्क नहीं है। सब से पहले प्रोफेसर रंगा का भाषण सुनकर ऐसा लगा कि उन से जाकर निवेदन करूँ कि आप क्यों स्वतंत्र पार्टी के अध्यक्ष बनने हैं ? आपने काफी अच्छे विचार व्यक्त किए हैं देश की तरक्की के लिए और कई वक्ता जो इधर से बोले चाहें वह समाजवादी पार्टी के हों या दूसरी पार्टी के हों उन के विचार भी अच्छे लगे। कई बातें ऐसी भी कही गई हैं जिन के बारे में सफाई करने की जरूरत होगी। मैं कुछ मित्रों का हवाला दे कर उन बातों की सफाई करूँगा। लेकिन इस के पहले कि मैं उन बातों पर जाऊँ मैं वित्त मंत्री जी को इस बात के लिए धन्यवाद दिए बिना नहीं रह सकता कि उन्होंने कुछ चीजों में करों में छूट दी। और चीजों का नाम लिया जा चुका है। मैं खास तौर से नाम लेना चाहूँगा छोटे पत्तों का। उनका ढाक का खर्चा बढ़ जाता। बड़े पत्तों को तो इस बात की छूट मिल जाती कि वह और अपना दाम बढ़ा लेते। लेकिन छोटे पत्र उन लोगों तक जो कि देहात में रहते हैं जो दैनिक पत्र नहीं पढ़ पाते हैं उन्हें वह छोटे पत्र न पहुँच पाते। लेकिन आप ने उस पर विचार किया, उस के लिए विशेष धन्यवाद। एल्युमिनियम के बर्तन पर भी आप ने छूट दी, वह भी एक अच्छी बात की। लेकिन जूते पर जो छूट दी मेरे ख्याल से उस का ज्यादा असर किसी व्यक्ति विशेष पर नहीं पड़गा क्योंकि आप जानते हैं कि छोटी से छोटी चीज भी चाहे वह चपल भी हो या जूता ही हो वह भी इतने सस्ते दाम पर नहीं आता जिस पर कि आप ने छूट दी।

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इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि दस बारह रुपये तक आप इस छूट को बढ़ा दें, इतने दाम तक के जूतों पर यह छूट दे दें तो साधारण लोगों को कुछ फायदा हो जायगा। वरना तो उस का कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है चाहे वह गरीब हो चाहे अमीर।

एक बात मुझे खास तौर से कहनी है। मुझे शिकायत है आप से। आप ने सिगार पर से और चुहट पर से कर घटा लिया मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं। घटाइए चाहे बढ़ाइए। लेकिन बहुत मात्रा में जिस चीज को लोग पीते हैं और खेती पर जिस चीज का असर पड़ता है वह है तम्बाकू। वह केवल सिगार में और चुहट में काम नहीं आता केवल सिगरेट में काम नहीं आता बल्कि उस को लोग हुक्के के रूप में भी पीते हैं। देहात के अन्दर और बीड़ी पीते हैं। छोटे छोटे चार चार पांच पांच साल के बच्चे आप को बीड़ी पीते हुए मिल जायेंगे। चार पांच साल की बात सुनकर आपको ताज्जुब होगा लेकिन यह बात सही है और आठ दस साल के बच्चे तो आम तौर पर आप को ऐसे मिल जायेंगे। कितना उत्पादन तम्बाकू का होता है ? और उस को रोक दें और उस के बदले में अनाज पैदा करने लगे तो काफी देश को फायदा हो सकता है। इसलिए मेरी पहली शिकायत तो यह है कि आप के जैसे व्यक्ति को इन नशीली चीजों पर और ज्यादा टैक्स लगाना चाहिए था। लेकिन वशाय टैक्स और बढ़ाने के आप ने जो बढ़ाया था वह भी घटा लिया। खैर आप ने उस का कुछ मुद्दा देखा होगा। आप ने कहा कि उस से कुछ बेकारी फैलती, जो लोग काम करते हैं इन छोटे उद्योग धर्मों के अन्दर वह बेकार होते हैं उस बात को मान लेता हूँ। लेकिन इस बात को मानने के लिए मैं तैयार नहीं हूँ कि जो दूसरी

[श्री पहाड़िया]

नशीली चीजें हैं उन पर क्यों टैक्स नहीं लगाया ? शराब की खर्चा हुई। मेरे कम्प्यूनिस्ट भाइयों ने बड़ी वकालत की कि जितना शराब की आबकारी से आप पैसा कमाते हैं उस से ज्यादा प्रशासन पर खर्च होता है। शायद ऐसा हो। लेकिन मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि शराब पर जितना टैक्स आप लगा सकते हैं वह लगा देना चाहिए। उस का उगाहने का खर्चा भी चाहे दुगुना चार गुना या दस गुना भी करना पड़े तो भी कोई बात नहीं। मैं इस बात को यहीं तक नहीं कह रहा हूँ बल्कि मैं इस से आगे जाने वाला व्यक्ति हूँ और आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अब वह जमाना आ गया है शायद देश के लिए उपयुक्त समय आ गया है जब कि आप को प्राहीबीशन पूरी तरह से लागू करना पड़ेगा, पूरी नशाबन्दी करनी पड़ेगी। आप ने देश का विधान बनाते समय डाइरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स में इस बात को कहा था कि पूर्णतया नशाबन्दी हम करेंगे लेकिन 20 साल के बाद हम देखते हैं कि न सिर्फ यह कि नशाबन्दी नहीं हुई बल्कि जिन प्रान्तों में हुई थी वहां भी उस को ढोला किया जा रहा है, उस को छूट दी जा रही है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि देश को हम कहां ले जाना चाहते हैं ? एक तरफ तो कहते हैं कि देश के अन्दर बेकारी बढ़ रही है, बेरोजगारी बढ़ रही है, कीमतें बढ़ती चली जा रही हैं, इसलिए हमारी परवर्जित पावर कम होती जा रही है और दूसरी तरफ वही व्यक्ति जो इस तरह की बात करते हैं वह इन नशीली चीजों पर टैक्स न लगाने की बात करते हैं। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जिन नशीली चीजों पर आप ने टैक्स बढ़ाया है उन पर बढ़ाइए और खास तौर से शराब के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ कि च. हे. वह देश की बनी हुई देशी शराब है या विदेशी शराब ही उस पर जितना टैक्स लगा सकते हैं लगाइए। मैं

जानता हूँ आप की मजबूरी को। अगर आप का बश चले तो आप पूर्णतया नशाबन्दी कानून के जरिए लागू कर देंगे। मैं आप की मजबूरी को समझता हूँ। लेकिन जब तक कानून के जरिए पूर्णतया नशाबन्दी नहीं कर सकते हैं... क्योंकि उस में राज्यों की राय लेनी पड़ सकती है, विधान की धारा रास्ते में आती है लेकिन इस में कोई अड़चन नहीं हो सकती है और मैं समझता हूँ कि मदन का बहुत और बहुत बड़ा बहुमत, मैं यह भी कहूँ कि तीन चौथाई भाग मदन का इस मामले में आप के साथ होगा, अगर आप पूर्णतया नशाबन्दी कर दें तो साथ आप को मिलेगा। जो लोग इस बात को कहते हैं कि आज शराब जो पीयी जाती है देहात के अन्दर उस से कोई लाभ हुआ, नहीं हुआ, मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हम टैक्स क्यों लगाने हैं ? टैक्स हम इसलिए लगाते हैं कि उन गरीब व्यक्तियों को जो कि देहात के अन्दर रहते हैं, जो बेकार हैं, उन व्यक्तियों को जिन को कोई आमदनी का जरिया नहीं है कोई राहत पहुंचा सके। वह न कर सके तो अगर दूसरी तरह से जो उन का खर्चा होता है, उसे ही रोक दें तो भी बहुत बड़ी राहत हो जायेगी। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि शराब के मामले में जो कुछ हुआ सो हुआ। अगली बार आप इस का ध्यान रखें कि जितना ज्यादा से ज्यादा टैक्स आप लगा सकें वह लायें।

प्रोफेसर रंगा ने इस विधेयक को सेलेक्ट कमेटी में भेजने की बात कही। मैं नहीं समझता कि इस को सेलेक्ट कमेटी में भेजना चाहिए क्योंकि वह तो वित्त मंत्री का एक दायरा है जिसके अन्दर वह सोचकर कोई काम करते हैं। उस दायरे से बाहर जायेंगे तो संसदीय परम्पराओं का भी उल्लंघन होगा और वह उचित भी नहीं है। लेकिन

प्रोफेसर रंगा ने कुछ और बातें कही थीं। उन बातों को मैं मान कर चलता हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि उन बातों पर भी विचार करें तो बुरी बात नहीं। लेकिन कुछ बातें ऐसी भी कहीं जिन के बारे में मैंने कहा कि मैं बाद में निवेदन करूँगा। एक खास तौर से चर्चा हुई महंगाई की और बरोजगारी की। महंगाई दिनोंदिन बढ़ती चर्चा जा रही है। देहान के अन्दर बढ़ रही है, शहर के अन्दर बढ़ रही है। हर चीज पर बढ़ रही है। लेकिन जो चीजें रोजमर्रा के काम में आने वाली हैं जिन को कि कन्स्यूमर्स गुड्स कहते हैं उन की कीमतें रात दिन बढ़ती जा रही हैं उस का कारण क्या है? उस का एक कारण हो सकता है कि व्यापारी लोग कीमत बढ़ा दें। आप के टैक्स बढ़ाने का भी असर हो सकता है। जिन चीजों पर आप टैक्स बढ़ाते हैं उन की कीमत बढ़ ही जाती है। लेकिन जिन चीजों पर टैक्स नहीं लगाते हैं उन की कीमत क्यों बढ़ जाती है? इस बात को सरकार को देखना चाहिए। अगर जिन चीजों पर टैक्स नहीं लगाया है उन पर ज्यादा कीमत बढ़ गई है तो उस व्यक्ति को जिस ने यह बढ़ाया हो कड़ी से कड़ी सजा देनी चाहिए। मुझे याद है आप के विचार। आप चाहते हैं कि इस तरह का कोई कानून बनाया जाना चाहिए जिससे ऐसा करने वाले व्यक्ति को कड़ी से कड़ी कम से कम पांच साल की सजा अवश्य मिलनी चाहिए चाहे छोटा से छोटा अपराध उस का हो चाहे एक पैसा ज्यादा कीमत उसने ली हो। अगर ऐसा नहीं होगा तो आप की कीमतें जो बढ़ती जा रही हैं उस की रोक होने वाली नहीं है। लेकिन इस का दूसरा कारण है आप की कमजोरी। मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ जब भी मांग आती है यह ट्रेड यूनियन वाले भाई या समाजवादी भाई और हम भी उस संलग्न नहीं हैं यह मांग करते हैं कि कीमतें बहुत बढ़ गई इसलिए जब तनखाह भी

बढ़नी चाहिए। मैं जानता हूँ तनखाहें जरूर बढ़नी चाहिए। जिन व्यक्तियों की फिक्स्ड इनकम है उन को मुश्किल हो जाती है और जिन को कम मजदूरी मिलती है उनकी मजदूरी बढ़नी चाहिए। लेकिन आज इस सवाल पर गहराई से विचार करना पड़ेगा। और गहराई से विचार नहीं किया गया तो मैं नहीं समझता कि महंगाई कम हो सकेगी क्योंकि जैसे ही कीमतें बढ़ती हैं रोजगार बढ़ाने की बात कही जाती है, जैसे ही कीमतें बढ़ती हैं तनखाह बढ़ाने की बात की जाती है, वेजेज बढ़ाने की बात की जाती है और जैसे ही वेजेज और सैलरीज बढ़ती हैं कीमतें फिर दुगुनी हो जाती हैं। तो इस का कहाँ एन्ड होगा? अगर कीमत बढ़ने के साथ साथ वेज बढ़ें और सैलरीज बढ़ें और वेजेज और सैलरीज के बढ़ने के साथ कीमतें बढ़ें तो यह तो मल्टीप्लाई होता चला जायगा जिसका एन्ड होने वाला नहीं है। इसलिए आप इस में कोई स्थिरता लाइए। और आप कीमत में स्थिरता लाना चाहते हैं तो वह समय आ गया है कि जब कि आप को निश्चित रूप से वेजेज में और सैलरीज में स्थिरता लानी पड़ेगी। अगर वेजेज और सैलरीज में स्थिरता नहीं लाते हैं तो कीमतों पर भी कोई रोक टोक होने वाली नहीं है।

13 hrs.

एक निवेदन और करना चाहता हूँ। भाषा के संबंध में बहुत कुछ कहा जा चुका है। मैं कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन मैंने सुना है कि मालूम नहीं कहाँ तक सही है कि इस सदन के अन्दर एक इस तरह का विधेयक आने वाला है जिस के तहत किसी एक राज्य को इस बात की वोटो पावर होगी कि अगर वह चाहे तो दूसरे राज्यों पर अंग्रेजी भाषा लदी रहेगी। मैं इस भाषा का विरोधी नहीं हूँ कि अंग्रेजी चलती रहे। मैं चाहता हूँ कि अंग्रेजी चलती रहे। मुझे उस में कोई एतराज

नहीं है। लेकिन मैं यह बात जरूर निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि किसी राज्य को यह बीटो पावर नहीं होनी चाहिए कि उस राज्य के कहने से न केवल वहाँ पर अंग्रेजी चलती रहे, न केवल सेंटर में अंग्रेजी चलती रहे बल्कि अन्य सब राज्यों पर भी अंग्रेजी लदी रहे। अगर वह चाहते हों कि उन के यहाँ अंग्रेजी चलती रहे तो उसे चलाये या और कोई भाषा ले आये लेकिन अगर दूसरे राज्य चाहें कि उन के यहाँ अंग्रेजी न रहे केवल हिन्दी में काम चलाना चाहें तो उन्हें इस बात की छूट होनी चाहिये। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अब समय आ गया है जब कि हमें कोई देश की भाषा बनानी पड़ेगी। अगर सरकार चाहे कि अंग्रेजी चलती रहे तो इस तरह से हिन्दी को कोई बढ़ावा नहीं दिया जा सकता। वैसे तो हिन्दी को कोई अब रोक नहीं सकता है चाहे अंग्रेजी रक्खी जाये या कोई क्षेत्रीय भाषा रक्खी जाये। जिस तरह का ट्रेन्ड देश में चल रहा है उस में चाहे कोई भी रोक टोक लगाई जाये तो यह नहीं हो सकता है। विरोधी भाई भी चाहें तो हिन्दी को कोई रोक नहीं सकता है। हिन्दी देश की भाषा है, हिन्दी राष्ट्र की भाषा है, हिन्दी राज्य की भाषा है। इस को अब रोका नहीं जा सकता।

आज मैं एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी 80 प्रतिशत लोगों की मातृ भाषा है। आज अगर आप दूर दक्षिण में भी चले जाइये तो उन्होंने हिन्दी का काफी विकास किया है। आज मैं उन को इस बात के लिये धन्यवाद और बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। साथ ही उत्तर भारत वालों को एक चेतावनी भी देना चाहता हूँ कि आज से दस साल बाद शायद ऐसा समय आ जायेगा जब कि हिन्दी जानने वाले लोग दक्षिण में ज्यादा होंगे। अच्छी हिन्दी वह जानेंगे और हम उन के साथ कम्पिट नहीं कर सकेंगे इस लिये हम को ध्यान रखना

चाहिये कि हिन्दी के विकास के लिये जितना ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैसा हम दे सकते हैं वह दिया जाये।

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member may continue after Lunch.

13.02 hours

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after lunch at Seven minutes past Fourteen of the clock.

[SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA in the Chair]

FINANCE (NO. 2) BILL—contd.

श्री पहाड़िया : सभापति महोदय, मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि इस देश की कोई भाषा अगर हो सकती है तो वह हिन्दी ही हो सकती है। इसका मतलब यह नहीं कि मैं प्रांतीय भाषाओं का विरोधी हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस देश की जितनी भाषायें हैं वे सब फलें, फले और उन प्रांतीय भाषाओं में प्रांती का काम काज हो। लेकिन कभी कभी ऐसी भी कोशिश की जा रही है कि नई नई भाषायें बनाई जायें और उनको संविधान की आठवीं सूची में स्थान दिलाया जाए। मैं राजस्थान से आता हूँ। थोड़े दिन पहले मैंने सुना था कि राजस्थानी के लिए एक बिल पेश किया जाने वाला है ताकि उसको संविधान की आठवीं सूची में सम्मिलित किया जा सके। समझ में नहीं आता है कि इस तरह से नई नई कितनी भाषायें आप बनाते जायेंगे और उनको संविधान में स्थान देते जायेंगे। जो राजस्थान के रहने वाले लोग हैं वे इस बात को अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि जो भूतपूर्व रियासतें वहाँ पर थी वहाँ स्थानीय बोलियों में काम चलता था। वे बोलियाँ तो हो सकती हैं, और वे चल भी सकती हैं लेकिन राजस्थानी नाम की कोई भाषा वहाँ पर नहीं है। मैं निवेदन करना

चाहता हूँ कि नई नई भाषायें बनाने की कोशिश न की जाए। अगर ऐसा किया जाएगा तो न केवल इससे देश को नुकसान होगा बल्कि हिन्दी का भी ग्रहित होगा। देश में जो एकता हिन्दी के जरिये आ रही है, इससे उसका भी नुकसान होगा।

अब मैं शिक्षा के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। जिस तरह से आजकल हमारी शिक्षा चल रही है उसको आप देखें। कालेजों और यूनिवर्सिटीज की तरफ आप देखें हमारे जो कालेज और यूनिवर्सिटीज हैं वे आज फैशनेबल लड़कें और लड़कियाँ ही तैयार कर रहे हैं, उनके द्वारा तैयार किये गये नवयुवकों और नवयुवतियों में बेरोजगारी बढ़ी जा रही है, बेरोजगारों की फौज तैयार होती जा रही है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि अच्छा यह होगा कि हाई स्कूल तक की शिक्षा को हम निःशुल्क कर दें, उसको हम फ्री और कम्पलसरी कर दें और उससे आगे केवल टैक्नीकल शिक्षा ही अपने युवकों युवतियों को देने का प्रबन्ध करें। कालेज और यूनिवर्सिटी एजुकेशन पर इतना धन खर्च करने के बजाय मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस रुपये को बचा कर, इस खर्च को बन्द करके जो पैसा बचे उस पैसे को हम देहातों में प्राइमरी स्कूल इत्यादि खोलने पर खर्च करें और पिछड़े वर्गों के लोगों के लिए, उनकी शिक्षा पर देहातों में खर्च करें।

हम यह भी देखते हैं कि देश में और भी कई हिस्सों को भाषा के नाम पर बांटने की कोशिश की जा रही है। एक बार हम देश का भाषा के आधार पर पुनर्गठन कर चुके हैं लेकिन वह मामला ठीक बैठा नहीं। आज असम के अन्दर ही अलग से हिल स्टेट की मांग की जा रही है। वहाँ हम पहले नागालैंड की स्थापना कर चुके हैं और भी कुछ मांगें चल रही हैं। कहां तक हम इस मुल्क के टुकड़े करते चले जायेंगे समझ में नहीं आता है। मैं निवेदन करना

चाहता हूँ कि न केवल असम का पुनर्गठन हो बल्कि सारे देश का पुनर्गठन किया जाए और इसके लिए एक आयोग बनाया जाए। ऐसा करते समय भाषा को ही अकेला आधार हम न बनायें। शासन को ठीक तरह से चलाने की दृष्टि से, अर्थ व्यवस्था को ठीक तरह से सम्भालने की दृष्टि से यह जरूरी हो गया है कि हम देश का पुनर्गठन करें। ऐसा करते समय भाषा को भी एक आधार माना जा सकता है, लेकिन इसको केवल मात्र एक ही आधार मान कर हम नहीं चल सकते हैं। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस पर गहराई और गम्भीरता से सरकार विचार करे और न केवल असम के सवाल को बल्कि सारे देश के सवाल को ले और सारे देश का इस तरह से आप पुनर्गठन करें जिससे देश के अन्दर हमारी प्रशासनिक इकाइयाँ ठीक बन सकें और देश का अधिक ढांचा ठीक हो सके।

अब मैं खाद्य समस्या के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ कि किस तरह से वह खाद्य समस्या का समाधान रना चाहती है? हम देखते हैं कि हम 150 करोड़ रुपये की सबसिडी अनाज पर देते हैं। लेकिन किस अनाज पर देते हैं? उस अनाज पर देते हैं जो अनाज बाहर से आयात किया जाता है। इसका लाभ शहर वालों को मिलता है, शहरों में रहने वाले लोगों को मिलता है। इस तरह 150 करोड़ रुपये की सबसिडी तो वह है। उस के साथ साथ हम 225 करोड़ रुपये का फर्टिलाइजर इम्पोर्ट करते हैं। बजाये इस के कि हम 375 करोड़ रुपये की इस रकम को इस प्रकार खर्च करें हम उस का उपयोग किसानों को पर्याप्त सद्-लियतें देने, छोटी सिंचाई योजनाओं और खेती के विकास-कार्यों पर करें। ऐसा करने पर हम थोड़े ही समय में ऐसी स्थिति में पहुंच जायेंगे, जब हमें बाहर से अनाज नहीं

[श्री पहाड़िया]

मंगाना पड़ेगा और हम अन्न के विषय में आत्म-निर्भर हो सकेंगे।

हमारे सामने एक सम्भीर समस्या देश की बढ़ती हुई आवादी है। परिवार-नियोजन से उस का समाधान हो सकता है, लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि परिवार-नियोजन किस तरह से हो। आज परिवार-नियोजन के जो उपकरण हम दे रहे हैं क्या वे देहात में चान सकते हैं? क्या हमारे देश के अनपढ़ लोग उन को उपयोग कर सकते हैं? मैं समझता हूँ कि अनपढ़ और देहात के लोग ही नहीं, शहरों के लोग भी उन को उपयोग नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि अगर सम्भव हो, तो गर्भ-निरोध के लिए उपयुक्त इन्जेक्शन या टबलेट्स तैयार की जायें ताकि हमारे देश के सभी स्तरों के लोग अपना परिवार-नियोजन करने में समर्थ हो सकें।

माननीय सदस्य श्री तापड़िया ने कहा है कि गर्भ-पात के लीगलाइजेशन के बजाये उस का लिबरलाइजेशन होना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन दोनों में कोई फर्क नहीं है और हमें इस दिशा में कदम बढ़ाना चाहिए। इस सम्बन्ध में यह बहुत जरूरी है कि इस देश के हालत को ध्यान में रखा जाए।

इस देश की बढ़ती हुई आवादी का एक कारण है हमारे धार्मिक और सामाजिक संस्कार। हम समझते हैं कि अगर हमारे यहां लड़का पैदा नहीं होगा तो पुनर्जन्म में हमें मनुष्य की योनि नहीं मिलेगी, हमें स्वर्ग नहीं मिलेगा। इस लिए हम में से बहुत से लोग इस उम्मीद से बच्चे पैदा करते-चले जाते हैं कि अगली बार बजाये लड़की के लड़का होगा। इस के अतिरिक्त जिन लोगों के यहां कोई लड़का नहीं होता है, बुढ़ापे में उन के लिए कोई सहारा नहीं

होता है, उनकी देख-भाल करने वाला कोई नहीं होता है। इस कारण लोगों को अपनी वृद्धावस्था के सम्बन्ध में आशंका होती है। मेरा सुझाव है कि सरकार शीघ्र से शीघ्र ओल्ड-एज और डिसएबिलिटी-पेंशन की योजना को लागू कर दे, ताकि लोगों में यह भावना पैदा हो जाये कि उन के यहां लड़का हो या न हो, बुढ़ापे के बारे में चिन्ता करने की जरूरत नहीं है। क्योंकि सरकार उन की देखभाल करेगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन कार्यों से हमारी आवादी की वृद्धि पर कुछ रोक लग सकेगी।

आज हमारे देश के विभिन्न प्रदेशों में—जैसे महाराष्ट्र और मैसूर में—पानी के बंटवारे के सम्बन्ध में डिसप्यू चल रहे हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे यहां राजस्थान नहर और नागार्जुनसागर जैसी जो बड़ी बड़ी योजनायें हैं केन्द्रीय सरकार उन को अपने हाथ में ले ले। राज्य सरकारें इन बड़ी योजनाओं को क्रियान्वित करने में समर्थ नहीं हैं। अगर केन्द्रीय सरकार सब बड़ी सिंचाई योजनाओं को अपने हाथ में ले ले, तो एक तो प्रदेशों के पारस्परिक विवादों का समाधान हो जायेगा और दूसरे पानी का ठीक उपयोग हो सकेगा जिस से हमारे देश का उत्पादन बढ़ेगा।

मैंने सुना है कि सरकार कृषि-उपज पर इनकम टैक्स लगाने वाली है। अगर किसान आर्थिक दृष्टि से इस योग्य हो जाये कि वह अपनी फसल पर इनकम टैक्स दे सके, तो यह बहुत अच्छी बात होगी। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि वर्तमान स्थिति में कृषि-उपज पर इनकम टैक्स लगाना बहुत गलत बात होगी, किसान के लिए एक परेशानी की बात होगी। मैं तो यह पसन्द करूंगा कि पांच एकड़ तक की अनइकनामिक होल्डिंग्स को तो लैंड रेबेन्स्य मुक्त कर दिया जाये

और जो पंद्रह बीम एकड़ तक के बड़े किसान हैं, उन का लैंड रेवेन्यू दुगुना, तिगुना कर दिया जाये।

अब मैं पिछड़े हुए इलाकों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। पिछड़े हुए इलाकों में खास तौर से राजस्थान आता है। वहाँ पर पीने के पानी की समस्या का अभी तक समाधान नहीं हुआ है। वहाँ के लोग पानी के लिए तरसते हैं और कई-कई मील तक पानी नहीं मिलता है। इस लिए मैं सरकार से यह निवेदन करूँगा कि वह राजस्थान को चतुर्थ पंच-वर्षीय योजना से अलग तीन करोड़ रुपये प्रति-वर्ष पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था करने के लिए दे। यह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है कि एक तरफ तो हम शहरों में बड़ी-बड़ी इमारतें बनायें, उन की एयर-कन्डीशनिंग करें, बड़े-बड़े रिफ्रिजरेटर प्लांट और टेलिविजन प्लांट खड़े करें और दूसरी तरफ हमारे देहात के लोगों को पीने का पानी भी न मिले। मुझे इस बात पर कोई अफसोस नहीं है कि देश में इन उद्योगों का विकास किया जाये, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि जब तक हमारे देहात में पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था नहीं कर दी जाती है, अगर तब तक इन लक्मरी गुड़ज के प्रोडक्शन को खत्म कर दिया जाये, तो वह कोई खराब बात नहीं होगी।

जहाँ तक बिजली का सम्बन्ध है, अगर भस्करा और चम्बल की बिजली की जोड़ दिया जाये, तो इस से न केवल राजस्थान बल्कि दिल्ली हरियाणा और पंजाब को भी फायदा होगा। इस पर डेढ़ करोड़ रुपये खर्च होगा।

पिछड़े हुए इलाकों के विकास के संदर्भ में मैंने चम्बल घाटी से सम्बन्धित एक योजना सरकार के सामने रखी है। उस क्षेत्र में डाकुओं की समस्या का समाधान करने के लिए सरकार को लाखों, बल्कि उस से

भी ज्यादा, रुपये खर्च करने पड़ते हैं। वहाँ की जमीन बहुत उपजाऊ है। अगर ट्रैक्टर आर्गनाइजेशन के द्वारा यमुना और चम्बल के बीच की भूमि को समतल कर दिया जाये, तो वहाँ पर खेती की पैदावार भी बढ़ सकती है और डाकुओं की समस्या को हल करने के लिए सरकार जो लाखों रुपये खर्च करती है, वे भी बच सकते हैं।

पाकिस्तान से लगती हुई राजस्थान की जो सीमा है, वह करीब 1000 मील लम्बी है। आये-दिन वहाँ पर पाकिस्तान की तरफ से छुटपुट हमले होते रहते हैं। हम उन का जवाब अवश्य देते हैं, लेकिन आवागमन के साधनों के अभाव के कारण वहाँ पर हमारी स्थिति अपेक्षित कमजोर रहती है। इस लिए बार्डर रोडज के निर्माण की तरफ ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। सब स्थान सरकार इस बारे में कोशिश कर रही है; उस ने काम शुरू भी कर दिया है, लेकिन पैसे के अभाव में उस काम में अधिक प्रगति नहीं हो पा रही है। मैंने सुना है कि बाहर से भी कुछ यंत्र आने हैं। अगर केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से बार्डर रोडज का पैसा जल्दी से जल्दी दिया जाये, तो बार्डर के साथ साथ कृषि का विकास होगा, सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से हमारी स्थिति और मजबूत हो जायेगी और पाकिस्तान द्वारा आये-दिन की जाने वाली छुटपुट वारदातों की समस्या का भी समाधान हो जायेगा।

Shri Viswanatha Menon (Ernakulam): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose, on behalf of my party, the Finance Bill. I was hearing all the speeches made by the Finance Minister and other Ministers to try to find out anything there in favour of the common man and I have to confess that I did not find a single item in favour of the common man. Although in his interim Budget speech the hon. Finance Minister claimed that he would be bringing some wonders in this Budget, he has not brought any-

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thing. The old wine is now in new bottles; nothing more than that.

We cannot expect anything progressive or revolutionary from the Finance Minister, but I was expecting some reforms at least. But, unfortunately, the Central Budget is against the common man and in favour of the monopolists. I do not want to go into the details because many of the speakers have pointed out all those things and my time is so limited. I only want to stress two or three points.

The main population of this country are the peasants and the workers. What is the relief given to them in this Budget? It is actually nothing. The people were expecting that he would try to do something to stop the price rise but actually he has done to raise prices once more. My humble submission is that the common man has now to retaliate against these Budgets and when the people rise, naturally the Government will begin to have their repressive measures. They want to curb the fight of the people for the redress of their grievances. But that would not do.

Take, for example, the case of Naxalbari. By whatever name you may call it, the fact is that the poor man, the landless labourer is actually fighting for his rights.

Shri S. K. Tapuriah (Pali): No.

Shri Viswanatha Menon: Till twenty years ago when we fought for our freedom it was not for the sake of 75 monopoly houses but for the sake of the working class and the peasantry.

Shri S. K. Tapuriah: For Mao.

Shri Viswanatha Menon: I will come to that; do not worry.

What has happened? For 20 years the Congress has been misruling this country and now in a majority of the States they are not representing the people. They have not got even majority votes and still they want to

rule with the help of repression. That will not solve the problem. If the people's problems were solved by guns or by lathi-charge or by arrests, I am sure, the Britishers would have been here even now. That is not the way to solve the problems. By whatever name you call the Naxalbari problem you have to solve the land problem there. You are not doing it.

An hon. Member: Why don't you do it?

Shri Viswanatha Menon: I am coming to that. I was expecting that question and I will answer it. We have been there for four months now. We have to undo the sins committed by Congress for the last twenty years. They have created jotedars; they have created benami transactions. If the land is to be acquired, we have to pay the compensation—that is the law you have made so as to get the land for the landless. You are not prepared to amend the Constitution. You are asking us what we have done in four months. We have to undo the sins which you have committed during the last twenty years. We must do that; we will do that.

Then, I would like to say one thing about the working class. Take a small case of retrenchment. Have you got a law to stay retrenchment? You have no law to stay retrenchment. When the worker is retrenched, he is entitled for only retrenchment benefit. Even for that, he has to go to the tribunal, the High Court and the Supreme Court. He has to wait for years. Even after that, you have no law to implement the award given by the Tribunal or the High Court or the Supreme Court. Have you got any such law? No. Then, the worker has to resort to gherao. That is the position you have created. You have not even tried to amend the Industrial Disputes Act or any labour legislation in this regard. You are only trying to find fault with the worker. These gheraos are not new things. These things have been practised in

this land for the last twenty years. The first gherao was resorted to in Chicago in the last phase of the nineteenth century on May Day and the Red Flag was the contribution of that event. I want to tell this House that gherao is nothing new. The working class has been using this weapon. It is a legitimate weapon just like a peaceful picketing or strike or *satyagrah*. There was a time when even *satyagrah* was a crime, when the British regime was here, and when strike also was a crime. Now, you are saying that gherao is a crime of the people who want to get their legitimate grievances redressed, say, for example, the implementation of an award. Are you prepared to use force against the management? Are you prepared to put the management in jail if they do not implement the award? You are not prepared for that. Even after going to the High Court and the Supreme Court, even after coming out with an award, if the award is not going to be implemented, the worker has to do all these things. When the workers do something in a peaceful way, you call it a law and order problem.

Sir, the cry of law and order is not new to us, to the people coming from Kerala. We have seen it ourselves. You cried law and order, in Kerala, in 1959, under the able leadership of the Prime Minister when she was the Congress President. In 1964 you put us all in jail, calling us Chinese spies. What is your balance-sheet? I may say for your information that nine of our Left Communist M.P.s here were, according to you, Chinese spies and were detenues there. We have elected only one congress candidate, the Law Minister. All others were detenues there and, according to you, were called Chinese spies. Now you have got one seat in the Parliament out of 19. How many have you got in the Assembly? 9 out of 133! In 1965, you conducted elections there....

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: This is because democracy is still there.

Shri Viswanatha Menon: I am coming to your democracy. In 1965 you put us all in jail saying that we were China's agents and you conducted the elections. You did not get the majority. Then you dissolved the Assembly. That is your democracy. That is the democracy you are going to have in Madhya Pradesh also. When you lose your majority, you dissolve the Assembly. That is your democracy. This is not democracy, this is something like hypocrisy, political hypocrisy. According to our Masters, Karl Marx and Lenin, when the bourgeoisie feel that they cannot exploit the people with democracy, they smash the democracy. We will work in democracy but when you wreck the democracy, we know how to tackle that. We are working in democracy and we will work in democracy. We have shown this in West Bengal and Kerala and we will show it in the other States also.

I have to say a few words about my constituency. My constituency is Ernakulam. Many of my Congress friends will know that place because the fatal AICC session was held there before the elections took place. After that session, you came over for elections and you lost something like 8 or 9 states. That was very good. I come from that constituency. If I may be permitted to say, it is a symbol of the Centre's neglect towards Kerala. We want a ship-building yard there, we want a thermal plant, we want a civil airport. We want all these things there. My constituency was represented by a Congress member during the last 15 years and for 10 years we were fortunate in having a Minister here at the Centre. Our MP was a Minister here at the Centre and still we have not got anything. My submission is that you are keeping us in such a neglected condition; you are not giving us the ship-building yard and you are not giving us even rice to eat. I am sure, this is not the way to solve the problem. Even yesterday we were saying that the position about

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rice to Kerala is the same and not a single wagon has been sent there.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member will conclude now.

Shri Viswanatha Menon: I will finish in one minute.

I want to say a few words about rice because I come from Kerala. I will not be surprised if tomorrow the news comes that the KPCC President, who is running all over Kerala, defending the Centre, is gheraoed. I will not be responsible if he is gheraoed. The people of Kerala are threatening to gherao him. They were gheraoing Ministers and MLAs. But now they will gherao the KPCC President also. *(Interruption)*. My learned friend may not like that, but that is the position there.

Give us food, give us the ship-building yard, which you promised 11 years ago, give us the thermal plant, give us the Idikki plant. Only by giving these things, you can win over the people of Kerala and not by starving them.

In conclusion, I want to say that the Party which has lost the majority of the States, which has not secured the majority of votes, is sitting there and is dictating terms to the people. The people will not hear them. In Madhya Pradesh you are going to do it on the 28th; the Ministry; the Chief Minister there is going to ask for dissolution of the Assembly there. This is the democracy that you have got.

Mr. Chairman: Shri N. K. P. Salve. He will confine himself to ten minutes only.

Shri N. K. P. Salve (Betul): I shall try my best to finish as early as I can.

Better and more competent Members from different sections of this House have already taken care of the indirect taxes as well as the wider economic, political and philosophical

issues connected with our fiscal legislation. I shall, however, try to confine myself strictly to certain facets of the direct taxes connected with the Finance Bill and the fiscal policies and the fiscal legislation.

Many changes have been contemplated in the Finance Bill by the hon. Finance Minister. One of the most commendable of the various changes suggested by him relates to his announcement that hereafter we shall be governed by the doctrine of the prospective levy of taxes. Heretofore we were governed by the doctrine of the retrospective levy of taxes for our direct tax purposes. As a result of that, whenever a levy was there, the effective rate was announced under the Finance Bill and that governed the incomes which we had already earned. It was an utterly obsolete and outmoded method of collecting revenues by way of taxes on income. Therefore, all those who are interested in a very progressive and healthy and streamlined tax system prevailing in our country would welcome this declaration by the Finance Minister that hereafter we shall be governed by the doctrine of the prospective levy of taxes. At last, by this we have got rid of an anachronism which had plagued our fiscal statutes all these years.

But in this connection the Finance Minister would do well to clarify a few points which obscure the position and are not very clear on these facets even to the esoteric tribe of tax experts. The first point that needs to be clarified is this. Why are the effective rates which will govern the incomes of the current year ending 31st March, 1968 not prescribed in the First Schedule to the Finance Bill? The rates prescribed in part III of the First Schedule to the Finance Bill are only for purposes of certain sections of the Income-tax Act which govern computation of the quantum of the advance tax to be collected against the incomes in the year ended 31st March, 1968. These rates cannot be the effective

rates unless they are enacted under the charging sections. Therefore, in the absence of effective rates being prescribed by the Finance Bill, may I ask the Finance Minister how for the assessment year 1968-69 he is going to work on the doctrine of the prospective levy of taxes? If the rates prescribed in part III of the First Schedule are to be converted by the Finance Act, 1968 as the effective rates for the assessment year 1968-69 then this assumption has some grave implications to be considered. The rates prescribed in part III are very much on the high side and excessive as have been prevalent for the preceding two assessment years 1966-67 and 1967-68. For these two years, the high rates have been justified because of exceptional restrictive pressures on the economy of the country as a result of drought and famine conditions, but the taxpayers cannot be condemned to the same high rates of taxation for the income of the current year if we have a favourable monsoon. The point, therefore, which needs to be clarified by the Finance Minister is whether the rates in part III will be modified and reduced if the economic conditions of the country show any improvement.

I deem it my duty to point out that there is the greatest and most imperative necessity of making our tax structure very much more incentive-oriented. If our revenues from taxation of income have shown a lamentable decline in their annual growth from 1962-63 onwards, if the savings are adversely affected, if the economy has been sluggish, if not only the conscience of the people to pay taxes but also the cost consciousness is lost, if the monetary stringency is defying all efforts to alleviate or minimise large idle capacity in our industries, if we are in an overheated economy confronted with pressure of inflation on one side and the fatuous slump in demand for want of purchasing power on the other, I submit that the vertiginous rates of taxes on income have contributed largely towards bringing us to this state of affairs. One would only consider oneself ignorant if the two years

of drought and famine conditions only were to be blamed for this unfortunate state of affairs. This would be an attempt, I submit, at oversimplification of the problem. All endeavours need to be intensified to stimulate growth of incomes on absolutely modern and pragmatic basis and not on the basis of any doctrinaire conceptualism of cheap political slogans.

I have no objection to levying the heaviest possible taxes if such levies can remove the enduring disparities in wealth, opportunities and power which exist in our country. But heavy taxes unfortunately have not destroyed these disparities but have only widened them. Those who have been able to save themselves from the clutches of Government either by ingenious lawful means or by undetected unlawful means have amassed fortunes and wealth while those who could not protect themselves are in an impecunious state. This is yet another reason for the rich becoming richer (for they command better resources to thwart the oppression of the State) and the poor becoming poorer.

Equally commendable are the suggestions made by the Finance Minister regarding amalgamations. He has conceded that amalgamation of companies, which are not economically doing very well, with other units, will bring about economy of scale as well as increased efficiency and productivity. In this connection, I would like to put to the Finance Minister that amalgamations which have taken place so far should not entail any tax liability because there is a consensus of legal opinion that under the existing provisions contemplated in section 41(2) of the Income Tax Act which brings the income-tax on the balancing charge of assets transferred or under the provisions of sec. 45 which refers to capital gains, they do not attract liability in the case of amalgamation. This is a plausible view of the law. The Finance Minister having accepted in principle these amalgamations for effecting economies of scale for increased efficiency and productivity, in the larger interests of the country

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amalgamations are desirable. I would request him to direct his department not to rake up the issue in respect of amalgamations which have taken place so far.

Equally praiseworthy are the provisions contemplated regarding tax holidays. Those who are connected with the working of tax laws know that so far the tax holidays were an absolute illusion. New industrial undertakings in the hotel industry could not take advantage of these tax holidays for the very simple reason that in the initial year there was very heavy development rebate or there was depreciation when the companies did not earn and when it was time for them to take advantage of these, it was not there. It was a deception. The Finance Minister has taken good care to rationalise these provisions. The amendments he has made by the announcement he made the other day make the relief real and effective so as to truly serve the purpose for which it is intended.

A word about cl. 27 of the Bill in which the Income Tax Act, the Wealth Tax Act and the Gift Tax Act are sought to be amended. By this we are switching over to the functional system of working from the unitary system. So far, the work of initiation of proceedings, investigations, quantification of the total income, quantification of the total tax liability, demand notices and also collection, all were vested in one set of hands. Now it is a different set of officers doing it, looking into different phases of assessment. Shrimati Mukerjee said that this is contemplated to avoid some sort of corruptions. I do not know whether it is done to avoid corruption or not, because corruption emanates from the attitude we follow; it stems from the moral fibre of the people, the officers and the assesses.

But then so far as the switching to the functional system is concerned, I suppose it is a bold experiment by which we are introducing a great amount of specialisation, and this spe-

cialisation is expected to introduce some efficiency in collection of tax as well as involve less harassment to the assesses. I have at the same time some inhibitions about the success of this system which is based on the USA pattern. I have had the privilege to see the system work in the USA. I must point out that there is one basic difference in our system of tax as distinct from the system they have in the USA. There they very largely depend on automation, electronic devices and electronic computers. Therefore, this functional system is absolutely inevitable, ineluctable there. But once we have taken this bold step, we should have a sustained experiment on it for at least four or five years. Unfortunately, we are changing our laws even before the ink on them is dry. Let there be a sustained and proper experiment on these lines. We should not go on changing our laws as often as we do now because we are suffering from a most deadly malady of making incessant changes in our tax laws, particularly the Income Tax Act, right, left and centre, in season and out of season when we are here in session.

The kaleidoscopic changes which have been made to the Income Tax Act in the last five years are incredibly fantastic. Such continuous tinkering with tax laws creates an impression rightly in the minds of the taxpayers that without proper knowledge, experience and maturity experiments are made with fiscal legislation by politicians on what turns out to be half-conceived ideas and ill-digested notions to ineffectively set right the mechanism of direct taxation. This not only stultifies and impedes the healthy growth of fiscal laws but has more pernicious ramifications. It creates utter contempt and disrespect for our tax laws which every unstable law of the land deserves.

Mr. Chairman: He should conclude now.

Shri N. K. P. Salve: Would you not give me five minutes more?

This will interest you also.

Mr. Chairman: I am only interested in calling as many members as I can.

Shri N. K. P. Salve: This Act started with 298 sections; 97 sections of these were amended, 11 sections were deleted, and 60 new sections were added; changes less drastic than omissions have been made in 22 out of the 60 sections.

Mr. Chairman: That history is known.

Shri N. K. P. Salve: What I am pointing out is that this type of tinkering with the law....

Mr. Chairman: That has already been stated.

Shri N. K. P. Salve: But most commendable has been the announcement by the Finance Minister that the principle of deduction at source originally supposed to cover the professional fees, brokerage, commission etc. is now so much whittled down. This recommendation of Shri Bhoothalingam is one of the most obnoxious things. I do not know who named him Bhoothalingam, but his recommendation on this matter did not befit even a ghost or a devil.

The interim report of Shri Bhoothalingam is a monument of mediocre talent and inexperience in our tax administration. I only request that for bringing about improvement in fiscal legislation the work must not be distributed in the spirit of patronage and charity. It should go strictly by merit and entrusted only to those who are known for forensic skill and tax expertise.

There is a tooth paste allowance given by the Finance Minister of Rs. 26.

Mr. Chairman: He should conclude now.

Shri N. K. P. Salve: I have concluded.

Shri N. Dandekar (Jamnagar): I should like to begin by trying to set this Finance Bill against the background of the present conditions.

I think it will be conceded that the first outstanding feature of the present situation is the low level of agricultural production, where, because of past neglect, the monsoon continues to be our only rescuing and decisive factor.

The second feature is the high level of prices which continue to move upwards, and here what was needed was to discontinue deficit financing,—but it has not been discontinued as I have said in my speech on the budget,—to reduce drastically the current consumption expenditure of Government, but that too has not been done; and to avoid and reduce the wasteful Government investment, but that too I regret to say has not been done.

The third feature of the present situation is the low rate of industrial production and of exports, both of which continue to fall. The urgent need here is to restore, in the first place, basic law and order in the country and also industrial discipline in the country. I have just come from Calcutta, and I am not surprised at the extent to which industrial activity in the whole area has been affected; the whole of the industrial region from Calcutta right up to Dhanbad, through Howrah, Asansol and the Raniganj coal-fields, has been affected by a state of utter lawlessness called gheraos and other activities of that kind. This is not a matter for the Finance Minister, but I do think it is a matter to be emphasized in the present context. Secondly, it is necessary to remove all shackles on industrial activity. Thirdly, it is necessary to restore dynamism in the industrial economy by making risk-taking and enterprise in the production of goods and services worthwhile. This is relevant to the Finance

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Bill. And finally, it is necessary not so much to inhibit consumption by making it more expensive, as to make savings and investment positively more attractive in preference to consumption.

It is from these standpoints, namely, the effect of this Finance Bill on exports on the one side and revival of exports and industrial activity on the other, that I propose briefly to examine the repercussions of the Finance Bill. Let me consider first the problem of export. The rupee was devalued in June, 1966. The former Commerce Minister was known to be bitterly opposed to devaluation and so he seems to have set out deliberately to ensure its failure. I say this because the measures that we have taken following this devaluation in respect of international trade, that is, exports, were remarkable. In the first place, there was indiscriminate abandonment of all export promotion schemes in respect of all non-traditional exports; and secondly, he launched out on an "export inhibition" scheme by launching indiscriminately a high and wide range of export duties on traditional exports. The consequent fall in exports is now well known and it is continuing.

Superimposed upon this situation have been other factors affecting export which cannot be ignored. There have been over the past one year, to confine the argument to only one year, increases in wages and other manufacturing costs, increases in freight rates recently announced by the Railway Minister, increases in the cost of road transport by increasing excise duties on petrol and diesel oil, increases in ocean freights, steeply enhanced recently on account of the closure of the Suez Canal and, finally, increases in excise duties and countervailing import duties. In this situation, it seems to me, the urgent need, looking at it from the point of view of the Finance Bill, was to face

squarely the problem of export recession. It is no longer a problem of export promotion. We are starkly facing a problem of export recession; and it is from that angle, I should have thought, that the Finance Bill would have been constructed. I suggest what was necessary was firstly to institute quickly in some direct, positive forms, schemes for export promotion in selected non-traditional goods. Secondly, to boost exports by re-examining the whole scheme of export duties, not from the revenue point of view, but for deliberately activating the export of traditional goods. And finally, to maintain profitability by retaining the export incentives in the tax structure. Instead of this, we have this picture: some niggardly schemes of cash subsidies are being worked out at snail's pace, in regard to non-traditional items of export, secondly, there has been some fiddling around with export duties, not so much in the Finance Bill, as by notifications issued under the appropriate Acts. For instance, there is some export duty reduction in regard to tea, so as merely to neutralise the increase in excise duties and to simplify the assessment of duty; not, in other words, with the positive object of stimulating the exports of tea, but merely to neutralise some other kick that the tea industry has got elsewhere. Then there is a reduction of some sort in export duty on jute manufactures, and reduction of export duty on certain categories of manganese ore and export duty on iron ore and fines.

I am glad that in his recent speech for consideration of the Finance Bill, the Finance Minister did, in respect of manganese ore and iron ore, make some changes that go in the right direction. But my submission in regard to these duties and specifically in regard to jute, tea, manganese ore and iron ore, is that these trifling adjustments in export duties are not what the present situation required.

What the present situation required was, regardless of the revenue consequences, a positive approach on the subject of promotion and a revival of our exports in traditional goods. Thirdly, this Bill contains a remarkable abandonment of tax incentives in regard to exports. I refer to clause 2(4) where certain export incentives in relation to the taxation structure which this Finance Minister himself introduced,—and introduced rightly,—way back in 1962 and 1963, are now being terminated with effect from 6th June, 1966. I will not go through the speech he then made in justification of these export tax incentives, but I will say this: that between 1962 and 1963 on the one hand and 1967 on the other, there has been such a tremendous increase in costs, of various kinds, in the exporting industries that if there was any time when these export tax incentives should have been continued, and not discontinued, this was the time. But I am surprised that just the opposite action is being taken to what the situation requires.

I turn now to the proposals in connection with revival of industrial activity, for introducing dynamism into the industrial economy, so that what looks like a recession of a serious kind,—call it slump or recession, it does not matter,—might be arrested. If it is not, I do not know what sort of situation is going to confront us this time next year. In this regard, I must concede that there are some admirable provisions contained in the Finance Bill as well as in the speech of the Finance Minister the other day, moving the motion for consideration of the Bill. I refer to provisions relating to amalgamations which are admirable; provisions about new industrial undertakings where, for the first time, the tax holiday is designed to be effective; provisions in regard to industrial undertakings employing displaced persons; rehabilitation allowance in regard to industries which may temporarily be dis-

continued by natural catastrophe or civil commotion; and continuance of benefits to priority industries. This collection, I must concede, is good. But I would like to add that many of these provisions come too late, concede too little and are hedged in too much. I wish the Finance Minister had more courage, because these are the right things to do. There is no point, on the one hand, doing these things and on the other hand tying them round with so much of red-tape; in the result the assessee who with good intentions wants to take the benefit of these concessions will find himself tied up in knots.

I would like to say a word about amalgamations. I support the speaker who said,—I have myself taken that view,—that many of the concessions which are now statutorily enacted in regard to balancing charge, non-levying of capital gains tax, gift tax, etc. are only really clarificatory provisions. I take the view that in the law as it stood, these impositions could not be levied any how. In order to remove doubts on the subject, I would suggest that the Finance Minister may consider my amendment by which the effect will be that these provisions relating to amalgamations will have effect as if they were always in force. There are two or three other shortcomings in the amalgamation scheme. First of all, it is not clear whether the bugbear about “deeming” certain transactions to be dividend will be eliminated, and whether unabsorbed depreciation of amalgamating companies will be carried over to the amalgamated company in the same way as the balance of development rebate and development allowance is to be carried over. Then, there are certain defects in regard to shareholding requirements which also require to be removed.

Having paid just tribute to the Finance Minister for the changes he has made in regard to and with the purpose of activating industry generally, I would like to say that the

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main burden on industry today,—the main factor which inhibits the revival of industrial activity—is the burden of taxation. I would like to deal with this a little more fully. It has been the fashion of the Finance Ministry time and again to reiterate that the burden of taxation in this country, measured in terms of the percentage of national income that is taken away as tax is probably the lowest in the world. The figures certainly seem to support that proposition. I have here an article that appeared in the *Hindustan Times* this morning which indicates that only 14 per cent of the national income in India is absorbed in taxation, whereas in a majority of the advanced countries and some under-developed countries also, the percentage is considerably higher. As a fact, in terms of a mere arithmetical statement of figures, one has to concede this. But I deny the conclusion which the Finance Ministry tries to derive from these figures. I suggest that they mislead themselves and the country by saying that this means that this country is the lowest taxed in the world. They mislead themselves, because they fail to take into account two important circumstances—firstly the level of national income *per capita* in this country compared with the level of national income *per capita* in the countries with which comparison is made; and secondly, the proportion of population paying direct and indirect taxes in this country compared with those countries. I suggest, if these two factors were taken into account it will have to be conceded that India happens to be the highest taxed country in the world, not the lowest.

Now, Sir, as regards introducing dynamism in the industrial tempo and economic life generally, I have already said that the two considerations paramount in this connection are, in the first place, whether participation in industrial activity as a matter of enterprise and risk-taking is or is not worthwhile. The taxation structure in this country, I submit,

makes it increasingly not worthwhile to engage in enterprise, to engage in risk taking, to go forward, to look forward to better times even if the present times are bad and so on. Secondly, the taxation structure not only does not make savings and investment more responsive to capital demands, but attempts induce more savings by the simple expedient, as they think, of making consumption more expensive.

What is to be done about it? I think the answer is simple and one must approach it in a straightforward way. There can be no hedging around with this business. Either this country is excessively taxed, either enterprises and risks are inhibited, either saving is inhibited and investment is inhibited, or it is not. Let us have it cleared once and for all. My judgment is that they are inhibited. I therefore feel that there is a considerable case for drastic changes in the direct taxation structure.

I suggest, firstly, that all surcharges must be abolished and the basic levels of personal and corporate taxation must be substantially reduced. Secondly, the double penalising of those having unearned incomes, once by way of wealth tax and again by way of surcharge must certainly be discontinued. Thirdly, exemption in favour of savings must be liberalised and not hedged in. I have gone through the various provisions in this respect. They are well intended, but they are so hedged in. Let me illustrate this by reference to dividend. When I first saw in the newspapers and heard here that dividends up to a certain limit were going to be totally excluded from total income I thought it was good. But now I find that if you have dividends only up to that limit that will be excluded from the total income, but if you have dividends Rs. 5 over, the whole dividend will be included in the total income. It does not make sense to me. What does make sense is this: If this is the kind of taxation relief, a large number

of middle class people who have some investment and so on will promptly dis-invest to a point at which their dividend income will come down to Rs. 500 so that they can get that benefit and then look around for investment in other directions. Furthermore there should be no 'cheating' in the name of simplification. I deliberately use the word 'cheating'. I know the Finance Minister too well to appreciate that here it is not he who has done this thing, but it is the bureaucrats who have got the better of him. In the name of simplification the most dreadful thing has been done to the rate of taxation on long-term capital gains. I have worked out every conceivable type of example. Technically, it is a simplification; there is no question about it. You simply take your capital gain, take off a certain amount, add the rest to the total income and calculate the tax. But when you compare the tax as it would be now under the present provisions, and the tax as it will be after these provisions regarding long-term capital gains are embodied in the way they are sought to be embodied in the relief provisions, the increase in burden of taxation, particularly on those whose income levels are low, from nil upto somewhere around Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 25,000, in terms of long-term capital gains is really monstrous. If the Minister would like, I can work out a number of examples for him, but I am sure his technical department is competent enough to tell him what would be the amount of tax on long-term capital gains with the law as it stands today and the amount of capital gains tax as on the law as it would be tomorrow, if certain levels of other income were assumed and the new provisions applied. I suggest that that sort of "simplification" must be knocked out.

15 hrs.

In the field of indirect taxation,—my leader, Shri Ranga, has already dealt with the impact of indirect taxation. What is required in terms of diminishing the crushing burden of

indirect taxation is in the direction of increasing the purchasing power of the people so that not only will their standard of living be improved but it will put an end to the recessionary stage of industrial activity, which must once again be revived, because without demand there is nothing one produces for. Only Bhilai steel plant produces, whether the stuff is required or not required; they produce mountains of iron rails, even when they are not required. Ordinary industries do not do it; ordinary industrial production is geared to demand, and if there is no demand, there is no production; and if there is no production, you have a continuance of industrial recession.

So, I submit, the time is not for inhibiting consumption; the time is not for reducing internal consumption for increased exports. The time is to stimulate production in all directions. One of the most important directions is to increase the consuming and purchasing power of the people so that the recessionary situation may improve. I suggest that two things are necessary for this. Far from any increase in the levies on consumer goods and services and on consumer durables, there should be a substantial reduction of taxes on such goods and services all round.

One word I would like to say, finally, about this vexed question of deduction at sources. I really appreciate the response which the Finance Minister has made to the very strong public opinion on this subject. This, again, was an example of the bureaucracy running amuck. It is accepted that there is such a thing as deduction of tax at sources from income, as one of the well-known devices for efficient collection, for avoidance of tax evasion and so on. But that exercise is legitimate when confined to those categories of income for the earning of which no expenditure has to be incurred. But where you have got income, what is mis-called "income" because it is really gross receipts,

[Shri N. Dandekar]

where you have got gross receipts from which tax is sought to be deducted by describing it as income, when it is not, and for the earning of which considerable expenditure has to be incurred, then, really the bureaucracy is running amuck. So, as I said, I am appreciative of the Finance Minister's response to this particular situation by abolishing the whole thing except in relation to collection of tax at source on the payment of interest. As I said, with the exception of deduction of tax at source in regard to interest, he has been good enough to abandon all the other proposals in this regard.

There are, however, two suggestions I would venture to make to him with a view to improving this very scheme and making it less harsh on the assessee. The first is this. The kind of affidavit which those who are not assessee are required to give requires of them the faculty of clairvoyance. If, for instance, I am one such fortunate person, that I have income below the taxable limit and I have interest income coming in the month of April, I am supposed to give an affidavit to the effect that I will not have income at the end of the year that will make it liable to tax. How can I do that, unless the words "to the best of my knowledge and belief" were introduced in that affidavit or the statement, so that I can honestly make a statement before April, when I would be giving such an affidavit, that I have to the best of my knowledge and belief no income beyond the taxable limit and, therefore, please do not deduct any tax on my account. If those words were there, I can understand it. Therefore, I would suggest to the Finance Minister that the wording in the affidavit should be "to the best of my knowledge and belief" by the declarant.

Shri Morarji Desai: How can it be anything else?

Shri N. Dandekar: The wording is "it will not exceed the taxable limit."

Shri Morarji Desai: It is to the best of his knowledge.

Shri N. Dandekar: No, Sir. The way the income tax departments consider the law, since the time I left it is....

Shri Morarji Desai: It is the same; that is why you know it.

Shri N. Dandekar:that commonsense interpretation is ruled out.

The second suggestion I will make is this. Just as a person declaring that he does not have income beyond the taxable limit will not have any tax deducted at source, similarly, those who declare and produce a certificate from their assessing officer that they are already assessee, when the district in which they are assessed is known, the register number is known, the general index register number etc. are known, those people should also be allowed to file a certificate from the income-tax officer to the effect that they are already being assessed, so that they too may have no tax deduction at source.

I say this because I know that a very large number, by far the largest number, of recipients of interest on fixed deposits and various other kinds of deposits with companies, firms, banks and so on are of lower and middle income groups. They will, almost certainly in all cases, be put to the bother of collecting the whole lot of tax deduction certificates—some of them will be lost and there will be massive correspondence—and they will have to apply for refunds. Altogether the exercise will not be worth the candle and it seems to be an unnecessary exercise.

Sir, I have endeavoured to indicate that in my judgment, in so far as the basic requirements of the current

situation are concerned, namely, the growth and promotion of exports, the growth and development of industrial activity and the growth and development of savings and investment, the Finance Bill is extremely wanting.

श्री क० ना० त्रिवारी (बेतिया) : समाप्ति महोदय मैं वित्त मंत्री को इस बात के लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि वह अपने वादे के अनुसार एक वैनैसड बजट लाए हैं। एक कृषक होने के नाते मैं उन का ध्यान कृषि की समस्याओं की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

इस सदन में दोनों ओर से यह कहा जाता है कि खाने-पीने की चीज के दाम घटाए जाने चाहियें और साथ ही यह भी कहा जाता है कि कृषि को एक इंडस्ट्री की तरह से चलाना चाहिए। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज सब ओर दाम बढ़ रहे हैं—रेल का भाड़ा बढ़ गया है, कपड़े के दाम बढ़ रहे हैं स्कूलों की किताबों के दाम बढ़ रहे हैं, स्कूल फीस बढ़ रही है किसान की आवश्यकता की सब चीजों के दाम बढ़ रहे हैं। इस स्थिति में जब तक किसान को अपने उत्पादन के चाहे वह ईख हो और चाहे गेहूँ, चावल और काटन हो, अच्छे दाम नहीं मिलते हैं, उस को पानी, खाद, ट्रैक्टर और अन्य आवश्यक चीजें सस्ते दामों पर नहीं मिलती हैं तब तक कृषि को इंडस्ट्री करार देने पर भी उस को कोई फायदा नहीं होगा।

बिहार की गंडक प्रोजेक्ट जैसी इरिगेशन की जो बड़ी बड़ी प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं रुपये की कमी की वजह से उन के काम में बाधा आती है। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि इन प्रोजेक्ट्स के लिए रुपये की कमी न होने दी जाये। इस समय बिहार में 2 लाख टन अनाज की कमी है। वहाँ पर जब गंडक प्रोजेक्ट पूरा हो जायेगा तो अनाज का उत्पादन 26 लाख टन होगा। उस अवस्था में बिहार न केवल अपने डेफिसिट को पूरा कर लेगा बल्कि बाहर भी अन्न भेज सकेगा। सिंचाई की छोटी स्कीम्स को सरकार अवश्य से,

लेकिन उस तरह की बड़ी बड़ी प्रोजेक्ट्स में रुपये की कमी न होने दी जाये जिस से सिंचाई के अभाव से उत्पादन में कमी हो।

वैसे तो देश में सभी चीजों की कमी है लेकिन अन्न चीनी की बहुत कमी होने जा रही है और एक बड़ा फ़ाइसिल पैदा होने वाला है। थर्ड प्लान के दौरान में हम ने 35 लाख टन चीनी पैदा की और फ़ोर्थ फ़ाइव-थीनर प्लान में सरकार का टारगेट 37 लाख टन चीनी पैदा करने का था। लेकिन इन दो बरसों में चीनी के उत्पादन में बड़ी कमी हुई है और उत्पादन 35 लाख टन से कम हो कर 22, 22½ लाख टन ही रह गया है। इस का कारण यह है कि चूँकि किसान को गन्ने का उचित दाम नहीं दिया जाता है इस लिए वह धान, मक्की और गेहूँ की तरफ़ जा रहा है जिस में उस को ज्यादा फ़ायदा होता है। इस के अन्तर्गत 60 परसेंट जो आप का सुपर केन होता है वह गुड़ और खांडसारी में चला जाता है। 40 परसेंट से आप की चीनी बनती है। तो 60 परसेंट जो गुड़ और खांडसारी में ईख चली जाती है और गुड़ और खांडसारी के ऊपर कोई कंट्रोल आप का नहीं है नतीजा इस का यह होता है कि आज दो सौ ढाई सौ रुपये क्विंटल गुड़ बिक रहा है और चार सौ साढ़े चार सौ रुपये क्विंटल खांडसारी बिक रही है जबकि व्हाइट चीनी करीब डेढ़ सौ से दा सौ रुपये पर क्विंटल है। उम्मीद यह की जाती है कि करीब 30 से 40 परसेंट सुगर केन इस साल और कम हो गई है। उस का नतीजा यह होगा कि अगर 60 परसेंट सुगर केन चला गया गुड़ और खांडसारी में और सुगर केन का दाम आप ने नहीं बढ़ाया तो 12 लाख टन से लेकर 15 लाख टन ही देश के अन्दर सुगर का उत्पादन हो सकेगा। आप का इनर कन्जम्प्शन जो है वह 28 लाख टन का है और कैंरी ओवर जो होगा वह आप का तीन लाख का होगा। तो आप विदेश में जो भेजते थे ढाई लाख टन

[श्री ६० नं० तिमारी]

से लेकर 5 लाख टन तक वह भी नहीं भेज सकेंगे और विदेशी मुद्रा जो 12 करोड़, 14 करोड़ कमाते थे वह भी नहीं मिल सकेगी। आप के यहां जो करीब 15 लाख टन चीनी पैदा होगी या 18 लाख टन के करीब करी ओवर को लेकर के भान लें तो दस लाख टन की कमी आप को अपने देश में चीनी का जो खपत है उस में हो जायगा। वह आपको विदेश से मंगानी पड़ेगी। इससे सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के रेवेन्यू में करीब 40 से लेकर 50 करोड़ रुपये तक का नुकसान होगा। जो प्रान्तीय सरकारों को कर के रूप में इस से मिलता है उस का जो नुकसान होगा वह इस के अलावा है। एक किसान एक एकड़ जमीन में ईख बोता है तो सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट और प्राविशियल गवर्नमेंट दोनों को मिला कर करीब करीब 5 सौ रुपये आमदनी होती है कर के रूप में। और अभी तक यह पता लगा है कि हमारी जो महाराष्ट्र की सुगर फीक्ट्रियां हैं उन को सुगर केन नहीं मिल सकेगा क्योंकि गुड़ का भाव वहां बहुत ज्यादा है और अभी से कच्चा सुगर केन काट कर वह लोग गुड़ बना रहे हैं। यू० पी०, बिहार, पंजाब और खास कर के पश्चिमी यू० पी० में यह सारा केब जो है वहां जो लोग गुड़ और खांडसारी बनाते हैं वह 14 रुपये क्विंटल खरीद रहे हैं और उस के ऊपर अपना मोटा कर रहे हैं जबकि आप 5 रुपये 12 पैसे या 30 पैसे तक कहीं कहीं पर क्विंटल सुगर केन का दाम देते हैं। तो जब आप देते हैं 5 रुपये 12 पैसे या 30 पैसे उस की जगह अगर 14 रुपये पर क्विंटल मिल जाता है तो वह कमी भी आप को अपना सुगर केन नहीं देंगे। नतीजा यह होगा कि ईख, गुड़ और खांडसारी के अन्दर चला जायगी। गुड़ और खांडसारी पर आप का कोई कंट्रोल नहीं है। इस के दो हानि तरीके रह जाते हैं। एक तरीका यह है कि इतनी कीमत ईख को दीजिए जिस में कि कम्पैटेशन मिल वाले कर सकें गुड़

और खांडसारी वालों से और तब जो आप कंट्रोल करना चाहते हैं वह कंट्रोल रखिएगा तो आप की पैदावार सुगर को बढ़ सकती है अन्यथा सुगर को पैदावार 12 लाख टन से लेकर 15 लाख टन से ज्यादा नहीं जा सकती।

दूसरी बात यह है कि अभी तक इंडस्ट्रि-अलिस्ट्स का कहना है कि अगर उन को फ्री कम्पीटेशन करने दिया जाय गुड़ और खांडसारी वालों से और सुगर से कंट्रोल हटा दिया जाय तो 25 लाख टन तक सुगर बन सकती है। तो दोनों में एक बात को चूज करना होगा। या तो आप सुगर को डो-कंट्रोल कीजिए जिसमें 25 लाख टन सुगर बन सके और तब आप को विदेश से सुगर नहीं मंगानी पड़ेगी या दूसरा तरीका यह है कि आप इतना दाम बढ़ा दें कि जो 14 रुपया 13 रुपया क्विंटल गुड़ और खांडसारी वाले खरीद रहे हैं मिल वाले भी उतना दे सकें और उसी पर चीनी का भाव तय किया जाय। तभी चीनी लोगों को मिल सकता है और तभी कंट्रोल रखने का कोई जस्टिफिकेशन आप के पास है।

एक दूसरी बात की ओर भी मैं बिल्कुल मंत्री का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं। एक बात यह बराबर कहा गई, हम लोगों ने मांग की कि ट्रेक्टर्स जिससे कि खेतों आसानी से हो सके बनाए जाने चाहिए। छोटी कार के लिए और बड़ी कार के लिए बराबर मांग लागू करते हैं और गवर्नमेंट भी परेशान रहती है लेकिन अच्छे ट्रेक्टर्स की जो हमारे यहां जरूरत है यह विदेश से रशिया से, चेकोस्लोवाकिया से और दूसरे देशों से मंगाने पड़ते हैं। जितनी हमारी रिक्वायरमेंट है उतना एक चौथाई भी हम समझते हैं आप यहां से पूरा नहीं करते। तीन चौथाई आप बाहर से मंगाते हैं और डिफरेंट पैटर्न के मंगाते हैं, डिफरेंट काइन्डस के मंगाते हैं। इसलिए पार्ट्स भी मिलने में शिक हो जाते हैं और 30 हजार ट्रेक्टर्स देश ल

आज भी पड़े हुए हैं बिना पॉर्ट्स के। तो मेरा निवेदन है कि यह जो कांग्रेस का सिद्धांत है कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर और पब्लिक सेक्टर दोनों का, मिक्स्ड एकोनामो को आप मानते हैं तो आप कहिए कि ट्रैक्टर फैक्ट्री बँठानी है, वह प्राइवेट सेक्टर में हो सके तो वहाँ लगाया जाय। उस में लाइसेंस का झगड़ा आप लगाए हुए हैं। उस का वजह से किसी को इन्सेन्टिव नहीं होता है और किसी को यह मौका नहीं मिलता है कि वह जो काम करना चाहता है उस का करे। तो इन सब बातों के ऊपर विचार कर के इस में ढिलाई कीजिए जिसमें कि ट्रैक्टर की फैक्ट्री प्राइवेट सेक्टर में कोई लगाना चाहे तो लगा सके। अगर पब्लिक सेक्टर में आप बना सकें तो बनाइए। लेकिन अगर आप के पास फाइनेंस नहीं है, आप नहीं बना सकते तो प्राइवेट सेक्टर को कहिए जितना रुपया वह लगा सकते हैं लाकर के ज्यादा से ज्यादा ट्रैक्टर पैदा करें जितने किसानों का सस्ते से सस्ता ट्रैक्टर मिल सके। धन्यवाद।

Shri S. K. Tapuria: At what time the hon. Minister will reply?

Mr. Chairman: At 4.30 today.

Dr. P. Mandal (Vishnupur): While moving the Finance Bill, the hon. Finance Minister said that it is the primary duty to collect revenue to meet the essential expenditure without deficit financing. I wish to say that the Finance Minister should regulate the expenditure in such a way that the people may get relief out of it. I request the Finance Minister that he should not indulge in expenditure on novelties like Revolving Restaurant in Ashoka Hotel, prestige buildings, Jayanti Shipping affair, etc., Our Government is more prompt in importing than in producing in our own country. The Government have spent more money in importing food than what has been spent for irrigation since Independence upto this year.

The Finance Minister has announced some concession on footwear upto

a value of Rs. 5. I think, he has no time for marketing. Does he think that a pair of footwear will be available within Rs. 5? Even a single shoe will not be available for Rs. 5, not to speak of a pair. So, I request the Finance Minister to raise the concession on footwear upto a value of Rs. 15.

During the budget speech, our Finance Minister assured the House that there would be no price rise. But every day the price is going up and up, beyond the purchasing power of the common people, who are hard hit by this.

I would now like to express something relating to my district, namely Bankura in West Bengal. Bankura was a surplus district in 1964 and in 1965, but in 1966 it had become famine-stricken and the people are now turning to beggary as a result of complete drought in the district in 1966. Government had sanctioned the Kangsabati project in the Second Five Year Plan. The cost was Rs. 25 crores and the command area was 8 lakhs acres. But the Second Five Year Plan has passed, the Third Five Year Plan has passed and two years of the Fourth Five Year Plan are also going to pass. But during the last year only one lakh acres were irrigated. If only the Kangsabati project had been completed in the Third Plan, Bankura would have remained a surplus district for ever. But this was not only completed but the Irrigation Ministry put up an objection in regard to the minor irrigation project also in command area. As a result, no minor irrigation works were also done in this district. Last year, under very great protest, this objection was withdrawn and some minor irrigation works were sanctioned and some bunds etc. were constructed; some tube-wells were also sunk but they are not working even during this year because of lack of power. Though these minor irrigation works were done with heavy expenditure they could not be worked because of lack of power. There seems to be no co-

[Shri P. Mandal]

ordination with the Irrigation and Power Ministry, and, therefore, these tub-wells have remained idle. Overhead electric wires are passing through the villages but there is no substation to supply power. The lines are running through the cities and towns to supply power but not to the villages for use in agricultural purposes. Therefore, I feel that the Irrigation and Power Ministry should be tagged on to the Food Ministry so that food production may not be hampered for want of power.

The Food and Agriculture Ministry should be treated on the same footing as industry. There are so many avenues for financing agriculture but they are not sufficient to cater the needs of the cultivators. If we wish to produce sufficient food in our country we must fulfil the needs of the cultivators so that they could cultivate their land without suffering from want of funds.

Our Government are very sympathetic to the backward classes. But I find that one-third of the budget for backward classes has been cut. Rs. 40 per month stipend in post-Matric has been sanctioned for the backward classes, but if the budget is cut by about 33 per cent I do not know what will happen; I would like to know whether the number will be curtailed or else the amount will be curtailed. So, I request the Finance Minister to consider this matter sympathetically so that the budget for the backward classes is not drastically cut.

Mr. Chairman: Shri J. K. Choudhury. He will only confine himself to essentials.

Shri J. K. Choudhury (Tripura West): Mr. Chairman, last time I was given three minutes. With the time that is available today to me, there is no time to make any reference to non-essentials.

This time also, I will confine myself to only one aspect of the budget, I mean defence. It is particularly so because only this morning when in this House there was a calling attention motion, certain revelations made in a Sub-Committee of the Foreign

Relations Committee of the American Senate were referred to, how Germany sold tanks, and aeroplanes etc. and they passed from Iran to Pakistan. Our External Affairs Minister said that the German ambassador had assured him that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany had never sold any such things to Pakistan. Literally it is true, but it is only a verbal jugglery, I do not say of our own External Affairs Ministry, but jugglery done elsewhere.

It so happened that I had during the recess gone to the Library. There was a teleprinter news that the German Government sold F-86 aeroplanes to a firm of brokers by name Marex AG and this private firm sold them to Iran and Iran passed them on to Pakistan in the name of getting them repaired. Of course, we know that they will be available to Pakistan whenever she attacks India. That is only one point.

In the same manner, these defence questions, have been on us in this House for the last few days. Many questions have been raised. For instance, there was the question of Lattilla-Dumabari, two of the villages on the border of Tripura within the limits of the Cachar district of Assam which had been occupied, along with two others, by the Pakistan army. The reply was that subject to certain measurements by the survey authorities of the two countries, these are for the present, under Pak occupation.

Then there was the question of certain villages in the Karimpur thana of the District of Nadia and other border districts. It was said that after the demarcation of the boundaries, it had been settled that these villages belong to India; it is now only a matter of taking over by India. I should like to ask the Minister to order that these be taken over and see what happens.

Let us go to the bigger problems in this matter of surrender of our territories. Did we not occupy the Haji Pir Pass? Have we not always proclaimed that Kashmir belongs to

us? Have we not in the loudest voice asserted that Kashmir is an integral part of our territory? But what happened? Pakistan was the aggressor. We know it from established facts from the report of Adm. Nimitz and from U Thant's revelations in the Security Council, that Pakistan attacked first. We counter attacked and conquered our territory from Pakistan and wrested it by force because she used force to keep it. But what did we then do? At Tashkent, we made a gift of our own territory, reconquered from Pakistan, to Pakistan again and this in the name of truce.

Is there anybody in the world, is there any such fool as that who will ever believe that we are very serious about our claim on the Pak-occupied areas of India? I can not think there is any. That is your territory, and you regain it from the aggressor by force when he has been an aggressor again, and then you make a gift of it to him in the name of truce. That has been the policy all over. Whenever there has been any dispute raised by Pakistan, we have at once said: let us go to arbitration. And it is Pakistan that has raised all the disputes.

We made the same mistake originally about Kashmir itself. Our Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, I remember having read it in the newspapers—said at the New York World Fair when opening the Indian pavilion there that taking the question of Kashmir to the UNO was a mistake. It should have been fought off and finished at that time. Three days were wanted by Gen. Thimmiah to get all the raiders out. And Sardar Patel, is one of his speeches afterwards, while addressing our troops in Kashmir said: "Had things been otherwise, you would now have been in Peshawar or Rawalpindi."

I leave out all those old things. What is happening just at the moment? Pakistan is building a 60' wide road just within a mile of the border of Tripura, to the west of Agartala town. The water of this area flows down into Pakistan by a river called Howrah

and two very big canals, and that 60' wide road is meant for military purposes, so that she can run her tanks over it. This road has closed all these canals, and Agartala Town is going to be submerged. What have we got to do? To protest?

We know how to make protests, and in our protests we use all the adjectives that are in the English dictionary. First it is a protest, then it is a strong protest, then it is a vigorous protest, then it is a tremendous protest, and then perhaps it is a thunderous protest. All these go into the waste paper basket in Pakistan. Here also, our protests will all go into the waste paper basket. But then the town of Agartala will be under water all the same, and the people will suffer.

Then I come to the age-old refugee question. We have just got information that refugees are coming to the district of Cachar from Pakistan, and they are lying like animals here, there and everywhere under the monsoon rain. Nobody is taking any notice of them. How long will this continue? In Tripura itself 50, to 60 persons come every day. That is a question which has never been settled.

There was the Nehru-Liaquat pact, that each country was responsible for its own minorities. Who has cared for it? We in India, not Pakistan. In the same manner, the Tashkent declaration—who has respected it? We in India, not Pakistan. And so, these one sided treaties are only to be respected by India, and Pakistan can deal with them as mere scraps of paper. I do not know for how long we are going to tolerate this kind of things.

We are wedded to peace, we are wedded to non-aggression, and therefore we shall wait for Pakistan and China to attack us again if we ever want to regain our territory by pushing them back to the original border. Suppose they do not attack us again in future. In that case whatever has been taken by China remains with her whatever has been taken by Pakistan remains with her. Then, why all this tall talk of regaining our territory

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from China or from Pakistan? It is better, then, we say whatever has been taken has been taken.

Then, there are people who say: why not begin talks with China, why not come to terms? But on what terms? They say, "Whatever we have taken is ours, how much more are you going to give"? Are we prepared to talk on those terms? These things will have to be settled. Some answers will have to be given. This kind of weak policy will never help us.

Certain measures, therefore, have to be taken. We have ceded territory not only, as I said, in Latitila and Dumabari, not only in Karimpur in Nadia, and also in the Haji Pir pass in Kashmir. But at the very time of partition the Chittagong hill district, a district with only three per cent of Muslims, the whole district was given away to Pakistan without anybody knowing this, in a moment of forgetfulness as it were. Since then it was never cared for by any body except the unfortunate victims. It is adjacent to Tripura. Pakistan has built a dam over a river called Pheni and in that dam and reservoir, they have submerged 25, square miles of Tripura territory. They said that they would pay compensation. Now they say, "these areas belong to us, and there is no question of compensation." That is what Pakistan says. In fact, whatever has been submerged of Tripura, belongs to Tripura. But we have kept quiet about it. That is the way we are going about these things. Lathitilla-Dumabari are just adjacent to Tripura and within the border of the district of Cachar in Assam. Now, this policy of nibbling gradually is Pakistan's tactics, and I should say, it is good tactics in the sense that on our side we think: After all, it is a question of four villages here or six villages there and one need not go to war on that score. And thus gradually, it is a case of giving up small pieces of territory from time to time. In Lathitilla and Dumabari, Pakistan is on the one side

of a bottleneck. On the other side, there are the hostile Mizo foothills. If the hostile Mizos suddenly come up to the foothills and Pakistan gives a sudden push, they will between them, close the lifeline of Tripura so that Tripura will be detached from India, and will altogether go out of India. And perhaps it may be said then that after all like the Chittagong Hill Tracts it is very far and a small district; well, instead of going to war, let us make a present of it to Pakistan! In return for what, I do not know. Perhaps gratis.

Then there are 12 thanas in the district of Sylhet, which in the Radcliffe award have been said in words that should come to India. They are adjacent to Tripura and Cachar.

Mr. Chairman: Please conclude.

Shri J. K. Choudhury: I am concluding. Radcliffe made it very specific and said that where the lines in the map do not clearly show the demarcation, then the description shall prevail. According to this description, and also by the line on the map, 12 thanas in the district of Sylhet should have come to India. But, again, we did not raise that point. They are still with Pakistan. If this is our policy, if this is the way we are dealing with our own land, if a piece of land claimed by Pakistan or China as disputed is agreed to at once by us as a dispute, and particularly by Pakistan, what would happen? We did the same in the case of Kutch. Even in 1960, we had admitted there was a dispute about it and now it is under arbitration.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member will please conclude.

Shri J. K. Choudhury: I am concluding. Have we ever, on the contrary, claimed and occupied a single patch of territory of China or Pakistan? Can we say we have occupied one acre of land which is in East Pakistan and which we have called "disputed"? No. So, Sir, my submission is that the 879 crores of rupees that have been set apart for defence is necessary.

If we have to fight, even more would be necessary. But it must be seen that in the interests of India's sovereignty, the promise that not an inch of land shall be surrendered must be redeemed.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : (कमोज) सभापति महोदय, वैसे तो मुझे वित्त मंत्री जी की एक झूल पर, जो कि एक 0 को लेकर हुई है, मेरी समझ में, विशेष तौर पर बालना है, लेकिन उसके पहले मैं कुछ खास बातें बता बूँ ।

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : वह मुझे भिल गया है । उस पर मुझे बोलना है ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : क्या मैं उसे वापस ले लूँ ?

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : मैं जवाब दूंगा उसके बारे में ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : तो मैं उस पर थोड़ा ही बोलूंगा ।

अभी आक्रमण का खतरा बहुत जबरदस्त हो रहा है—सम्भावना है यह मैं नहीं कहता । है ही (सारी दुनिया में एक आक्रमण की छूत शुरू हो गई है । पिछली बार जब आक्रमण हुआ था तब आप को याद होगा कि एक महीने के बाद एक मंत्री की बलि हुई थी, और ऐसी सम्भावना हो चली थी कि अगर चीनी लोग न रुकते तो सरकार की भी बलि एक या डेढ़ महीने के अन्दर हो जाती । इस बार अगर आक्रमण हुआ, और अगर पीछे हट हुई, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह सरकार एक सप्ताह से ज्यादा चल नहीं पायेगी । इस लिये इस लोक सभा के माननीय सदस्यों को बहुत गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिये कि कैसे एक सरकार को बनायें जिसमें इतनी संकल्प शक्ति हो कि वह आक्रमण हो जाने के बाद जमीन पर, पानी पर, हवा में, नाले में, नदी में और गुफा में, जहाँ भी हो लड़ें । और तब तक लड़ें जब तक या तो खुद खत्म न हो जायें और या दुश्मन को अपने देश से बाहर न निकाल दें और एक एक इंच जमीन से

उसको खदेड़ न दें, साथ ही उस जमीन से भी जो 1947 के बाद से दुश्मन के कब्जे में चली गई है । मैं साफ कर देना चाहता हूँ कि मैं कौम की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ । दुनिया में ऐसी कौम न हुई है और न होगी जो अपने खून की आखिरी बूंद तक लड़ती है, जैसे हल्दी घाटी जैसी घटना हो जाती है, धर्मापाली जैसी घटना हो जाती है । लेकिन सरकार अवश्य इस बार ऐसी होनी चाहिये जो अपने खून की आखिरी बूंद तक लड़े, संकल्प शक्ति के साथ लड़े और कहे कि या तो विजय होगी वरना खत्म होंगे । तब जा कर कहीं हमारे देश का बचाव हो सकता है । मुझे यह कहना इसलिए जरूरी हो गया है कि अब शायद अक्टूबर तक का भी समय नहीं रह गया है । सम्भावना है कि चीन और पाकिस्तान जिनके कि बारे में सब से ज्यादा खतरा है पहले ही कोई चोख कर बैठें । यह भी सम्भावना है कि अभी कुछ ही दिन में मामला हो जाये । लेकिन इन सब सम्भावनाओं को दिमाग में रखते हुए अब माननीय सदस्यों को उसके बारे में गम्भीर चिन्तन कर लेना चाहिये और ऐसी संकल्प शक्ति के उदय के लिए जो कुछ बन सके, करना चाहिये ।

अब मैं दूसरी तरह की संकल्प शक्ति की बात करता हूँ और वह है भोजन के बारे में । इस बजट में न तो रक्षा की संकल्प शक्ति है और न भोजन की संकल्प शक्ति है । भोजन देश को मिले उसके लिये अन्य सभी बातों को छोड़ कर मुझे खाली एक बात पर आपका ध्यान खींचना है । कई तरह के जमीन के सुधार के विचार आये हैं । उन सब को मैं छोड़े देता हूँ । कुछ हो रहे हैं, कुछ होंगे । लेकिन एक सुधार आवश्यक होगा । वरना आज जिस तरह से एक आदमी पाँचे 6 एकड़ जमीन है, दस पंद्रह बरस के बाद 5 एकड़ रह जायेगी और तब सब आपके जो सुधार हैं खत्म हो जायेंगे । एक सुधार तो यह करा कि एक एकड़ पीछे न्यूनतम पैदावार बांधो और दूसरा यह कि एक एकड़ पीछे न्यूनतम साधन, बीज का, पानी का और दूसरा बांधो ;

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

अगर वह न्यूनतम साधन मिल जायें और फिर भी वह न्यूनतम पैदावार न हो तो ऐसी जमीन को ठीक लो और उन किसानों को दो दो जो उन न्यूनतम पैदावार का हासिल कर सकते हों। इस सुधार के अलावा अब और कोई भोजन प्राप्त करने की सम्भावना नहीं रह गई है।

पिछली बार माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने सिचाई के मामले में कुछ कहा था। मैं उनसे कह सकता हूँ कि पूरा मन लगा कर सड़कों को शिफा कर रहे हैं खास तौर पर दो सूबों में। उसकी सम्भावना अलबत्ता कम दिखाई देती है। इसका कारण यह है कि आप जानते ही हैं कि अपना दे कैसा हो गया है। मैं भी अपने निकम्पेपन को कोई छिपाना नहीं चाहता हूँ। जब तक जेल जाने के लिए दस बीस या पचास हजार आदमी हम लोग इकट्ठा नहीं कर लेते हैं तब तक काम बहुत मुश्किल है। लेकिन सिचाई करने के लिए स्वयं सेवकी के आधार पर इतने आदमियों को इकट्ठा करने की जो बात है वह चीज चल रही है और पूरी कोशिश जारी है, इतनी आपतसल्ली रखें। एक चीज जल्द है कि समाज का आमूल परिवर्तन अगर हो जाता है तो इस तरह के स्वयं सेवकी ज्यादा सम्भव होते हैं। यह सही है कि किसी न किसी एक चीज को जो अपने देश में कम है उस गर्मी—की बराबरी सारी जनता को दिखानी पड़ेगी। चाह कोई एक चीज आप लें, गेहूँ लें, चावल लें, चीनो लें। पूरे पचास करोड़ को कमी की बराबरी का अनुभव मिलेगा तब पता चलेगा कि देश को क्या करना चाहिये।

जो चीज मैंने सुबह आपको, अध्यक्ष महोदय, और वित्त मंत्री को दी है वह असल में सिर्फ मशीनी करवों के सम्बन्ध में नहीं है, कपड़े को लेकर है। अगर यह सही है—जो मुझे डर है कि सही है—तो एक शून्य बिल्कुल

हिसाब में से सट्टा कर दिया गया है। अगर ऐसी बात है तब तो बजट बड़ा ही खतरनाक हो जाता है। मंत्री महोदय ने जो सूत के ऊपर चुंगी रखा है वह 7.8 करोड़ की रखा है और जो घटा दिया है उसमें उन्होंने कहा है कि 1.4 करोड़ घटेगा और इस तरह से 6.4 करोड़ बचकी रह जायेगा। यह उनका हिसाब कैसा आया, यह उनको बताना चाहिये। जिन किताबों का वह जिक्र करते हैं जैसे यह रिपोर्ट आन दी पावर लूम इनक्वायरी कमेटी वगैरह, उसके पृष्ठ 52 के ऊपर बिल्कुल साफ लिखा हुआ है कि पंद्रह करोड़ किलोग्राम सूत की आवश्यकता पड़ती है। पंद्रह करोड़ किलोग्राम में हो सकता है कि दो चार पांच या सात करोड़ इधर उधर के हाथ करवों वगैरह के लिये हो या मोटे कपड़े के लिए हो लेकिन अधिकतर महीन अथवा अति महीन कपड़े के लिए है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक शुद्धि आप कर लें। मैंने अपनी चिट्ठी में लिखा था कि अति महीन। उसमें महीन भी शामिल है। पंद्रह करोड़ किलोग्राम इस किताब में है। पंद्रह करोड़ किलोग्राम में से कितना भी कम हो, आठ, दस बारह करोड़ किलोग्राम तो अतिमहीन कपड़े में जाएगा। एक रुपया अगर घटाओगे तो कम से कम दस बारह करोड़ रुपया घटेगा, एक रुपया बढ़ाओगे तो दस बारह करोड़ रुपया बढ़ेगा। आप बढ़ा रहे हैं अति महीन कपड़े के ऊपर, अति महीन सूत के ऊपर तीन साढ़े तीन रुपया किलो के हिसाब से और महीन के ऊपर एक या डेढ़ रुपया के हिसाब से। उसको आप देखें। जो चुंगी आपके पास आयेगी वह छः करोड़ की कैसे आयेगी। मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि पूरा एक शून्य ही गायब है और साठ करोड़ के करीब आयेगी। साठ करोड़ और छः करोड़ में बड़ा फर्क होता है। अगर अंदाज लगाने में करोड़ दो करोड़ का फर्क हो जाये तब बजट सही सम्झा जा सकता है। लेकिन अगर अंदाज में छः से साठ करोड़ का फर्क हो जाये तब उससे बाह

खर्ची और फिजूलखर्ची इतनी ज्यादा फँस जाया करती है कि सारा देश विगड़ जाया करता है।

इस किताब में भी और और किताबों में भी मैंने इसको देखने की कोशिश की है और तीन चार ऐसे लोगों से भी जानने की कोशिश की है जिनकी मर्शन करघों में दिलचस्पी नहीं है, मिल वाले हैं या दूसरे लोग हैं और उनसे भी मुझे पता चला है कि अति महीन करघे के कपड़े के ऊपर दो किलो से लगा कर तीन या चार किलो तक जो महीन है, इस्तेमाल होता है, एक दिन की दां शिफ्ट में, दां पाली में। इस तरह से अगर अस्सी हजार जो करघे हैं और जिनका जिक्र इस किताब में भी है और वे कम बताये गये हैं सूत वाले, और जो नकली रेशम वाले हैं, वे कोई पचास हजार के करीब बताये गये हैं। उनके हिसाब से भी आप लगाओगे तो जो मैंने कहा है, चालीस पैतालीस करोड़ रुपये का मामला है वह सामने आ जाता है। जो बड़ी मिलें हैं कपड़े की उनका इधर 1956 से 1964 तक चार अरब अस्सी करोड़ से घट कर चार अरब साठ करोड़ हो गया है, यानी वह घटा है लेकिन करघों का, मशीनी करघों और हाथ करघों का एक अरब साठ करोड़ से बढ़ कर तीन अरब हुआ है। यह बढ़ता चला गया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि मंत्री महोदय मेरी बात को मानेंगे और अगर गलती हुई है तो उसको सुधार लेंगे। अगर उन्होंने ऐसा नहीं किया तो फिर बाद में चल कर इसके नतीजे बड़ें खतरनाक हो जाया करते हैं। यह केवल इसलिए नहीं कि मैं कह रहा हूँ। पूरे बजट में मुझ को अब शंका हो रही है कि कहीं ऐसी गलतियाँ और जगह तो नहीं कर दी गई हैं। अगर ऐसा हुआ तो यह बड़ा कलेंकी बजट हो जायेगा। तब मतलब होगा कि किसी तरह से भी अपने इस देश को ठीक तरह से चला नहीं पाओगे, और न आमदनी और खर्च की इतनी विशाल खाई को पाट सकोगे।

मैं निवेदन करता हूँ कि जब वित्त मंत्री जी उत्तर में तो बतायें कि करघे कितने हैं, कितना सूत चाहिये। मैं माननीय सदस्यों से यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वह रक्षा वाली भी संकल्प शक्ति अपने देश में जरूर पैदा कर लें।

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) : सभापति महोदय, माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने टैक्सिज और ड्यूटी में जो छूट दी है, उससे इंजीनियरिंग इंडस्ट्री और कुछ दूसरी इंडस्ट्रीज को सहायित मिलेगी। उन्होंने अपने बजट में इनकम टैक्स रेट को करंट यीअर पर लागू करने की जो व्यवस्था की है, वह एक अच्छी बात है। एक अच्छी व्यवस्था यह भी की गई है कि किसी नई इंडस्ट्री को जो नुक्सान होगा, वह दस साल तक आगे चलेगा। पिछले पांच साल में साढ़े बारह सौ करोड़ रुपये का डफ़िसिट फ़िनांसिंग हुआ है। इस बजट में पहली बार डफ़िसिट फ़िनांसिंग नहीं हुआ है, यह भी एक बेलकम स्टेप है।

फ़िनांस मिनिस्टर ने देश की आर्थिक स्थिति का चित्रण करते हुए कहा कि इंडस्ट्री को प्राडक्शन कम हो रही है, कीमतें बढ़ बढ़ रही हैं, पैदावार घट रही है, आदि। देश को जिन समस्याओं का सामना करना पड़ रहा है, उन्होंने उनका अच्छा चित्रण किया, लेकिन सवाल यह है कि क्यों इस बजट से उन समस्याओं को हल करने में मदद मिलेगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस बजट से और बाद में दिये गये रिलीफ़ से उन समस्याओं को हल नहीं किया जा सकता है। यह बजट और यह रिलीफ़ तो उन समस्याओं को छूने भी नहीं हैं, उनके निकट भी नहीं पहुँचते हैं। वास्तव में हमारी समस्याओं के सम्बन्ध में वित्त मंत्री ने जो कुछ कहा है, व समस्यायें उससे कहीं अधिक गम्भीर और कठिन हैं। मैं तो यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमारे देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था एक ऐसी भयानक स्थिति में से गुजर रही है, जो कि बीस साल तक हमारे यहाँ पैदा नहीं हुई थी।

[श्री कंनर लाल गुप्त]

आंकड़ों से पता चलता है कि कीमतें बहुत बढ़ रही हैं। अगर 1952-53 को आधार मान कर चलें, तो इन्डेक्स नम्बर ग्राम होलसेल प्रार्थिसज 1960-61 में 127.5 था और आजकल 215.9 है, बल्कि अब तो वह 225 के करीब पहुंच गया है। कीमतों का इन्डेक्स नम्बर लगभग दुगना बढ़ गया है।

जहां तह नारो नैशनल इनकम का सवाल है, जो कि हर साल पांच प्रतिशत बढ़ी चाहिए थी, 1960-61 में वह 14140 करोड़ रुपये थी, 1961-62 में 14490 करोड़ रुपये थी और 1965-66 में केवल 15930 करोड़ रुपये थी।

इसी तरह अगर हमारी पर-कैपिटल इनकम को देखा जाये, तो 1960-61 और 1965-66 में वह करीब करीब उतनी ही है। 1948-49 में वह 249.6 थी और 1965-66 में वह 298.3 है। इन आंकड़ों से यह प्रकट होता है कि तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनायें पूरी होने के बाद भी हमारी नैशनल वेलथ और पर-कैपिटल इनकम बहुत आहिस्ता आहिस्ता बढ़ रही है।

करन्सी फीजव के और मनी सर्कुलेशन की स्थिति भी सन्तोषजनक नहीं है। जहां तक बैंक रेट का सम्बन्ध है, 1951 में वह 3 परसेन्ट से 3½ परसेन्ट हुआ, 1957 में परसेन्ट हुआ, 1963 में 5 परसेन्ट हुआ और 1964 में वह 6 परसेन्ट हो गया। हमारा बैंक रेट आहिस्ता आहिस्ता बढ़ता जाता है। इसका मतलब है कि मनीमार्केट बहुत टाइट है।

इंडस्ट्री की हालत यह है कि इंजीनियरिंग टैक्स्टाइल, शुगर आदि की सैकड़ों इंडस्ट्रीज बन्द हो रही हैं। उन में करोड़ों रुपयों का माल पड़ा हुआ है, जिसका कोई ग्राहक नहीं है। हजारों मजदूर बेकार हुए हैं। ले आफ के नोटिस दिये जा रहे हैं। उनको कोई रास्ता नहीं सूझता है कि क्या किया जाये और क्या न किया जाये

हमारा प्राइव्जन भी गिरता जा रहा है। 1965-66 में प्राइव्जन का रेट 3.9 परसेन्ट था और 1966-67 में 3.5 परसेन्ट है, जब कि बर्ड प्लान के पहले चार सालों में रेट 7.8 परसेन्ट था।

इस प्रकार देश की आर्थिक हालत आहिस्ता आहिस्ता गिरती जा रही है। सवाल यह है कि क्या माननीय वित्त मंत्री द्वारा पेश किये गये बजट से वह हालत सुधर सकती है। मैं कह सकता हूं कि नहीं सुधर सकती है। उन्होंने एक पुराने किंवदन्तिल, स्टोन टाइम का बजट पेश किया है। कभी दस करोड़ इधर कर दिये और कभी दस करोड़ उधर कर दिये, इस तरह के माइनर एडजस्टमेंट्स और थोड़ी सी विन्डो ड्रेसिंग से काम नहीं चलने वाला है। आज तो इंडस्ट्रियल एक्शन की जरूरत है। जब तक इन समस्याओं को हल करने और इस भयानक स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए एक डायनामिक एप्रोच नहीं अपनाई जायेगी, तब तक इधर-उधर छोटी मोटी एडजस्टमेंट करने के कोई मानी नहीं हैं। हमारे यहां तो यह परम्परा चली आ रही है कि वित्त मंत्री पहले तो टैक्स लगा देते हैं और फिर दस, पंद्रह करोड़ रुपये का रोलिफ दे देते हैं और उसी दायरे में काम चलता रहता है।

सवाल यह है कि सरकार की इकानोमिक पालिसीज का क्या लक्ष्य है। कांग्रेस हमेशा से यह कहती आई है कि हम देश में समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं, जिस में हर आदमी को रोटी, कपड़ा और मकान मिले। मैं वित्त मंत्री से यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि आजादी के बाद लगातार बीस साल तक इस सरकार ने जिन इकानोमिक पालिसीज को अपनाए रखा है, वे कौन सा समाजवाद लाई है। क्या वह समाजवाद, जिस में मानोपलीज कमिशन की रिपोर्ट के मुताबिक हमारी इंडस्ट्री में लगी हुई पूंजी का 48 परसेन्ट

केवल 75 बिजनेस हाउसेज का है ? क्या वह समाजवाद, जिममें हजारों रिपोर्ट ? के अनुसार एक ही बिजनेस हाउस को नौ दस साल तक लगातार न जाने कित, लाइसेंस दिये जाते रहे ? वे लाइसेंस किम को दिये गये, यह सवाल नहीं है। सवाल यह है कि साढ़े नौ साल तक इस सरकार के मिनिस्टर क्या करते रहे। इस सरकार ने वे लाइसेंस क्यों दिये ? अब सरकार इस मामले की एन्क्वारी कराने जा रही है। लेकिन वह एन्क्वारी सिर्फ अफसरों तक ही महबूद नहीं रहना चाहिए, बल्कि उसकी टम्ब्रं आफ रेफरेंस में यह भी होना चाहिए कि उस ओरसे में जो मिनिस्टर रहे हैं वह वह फिनांस मिनिस्टर हो, इंडस्ट्रीज मिनिस्टर हो या कोई और मिनिस्टर हो, उन्होंने उस बिजनेस हाउस के साथ कितनी रियायत की है। मैं जानता हूँ कि अगर इस मामले की जुडिशल एन्क्वारी हो, तो ये जितने बड़े बड़े मिनिस्टर हैं, ये सबसे पहले मुलजिम के कटहरे में खड़े होंगे क्योंकि उन्होंने उस बिजनेस हाउस की की तफदारी की। केवल अफसरों पर ही सारा दोष गढ़ देना या यह कह देना कि पालिसी ठीक है, लेकिन उस का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन गलत था, यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है।

इस सरकार की नीतियों से देश में आजतक सोशलिज्म पैदा नहीं हुआ है। आज भी देश में लगभग दस करोड़ इन्सान ऐसे हैं, जिन को पेट भर खाने को नहीं मिलता है, जो अनफेड हैं। आज भी करोड़ इन्सान ऐसे हैं, जिन के पास कपड़ा नहीं है। यह सरकार बीस साल के बाद भी लोगों को खाने को नहीं दे पाई है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि उस की पालिसीज से लाभ क्या हुआ है।

जहां तक एम्प्लायमेंट का सवाल है, इन पन्द्रह सालों के दौरान, तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में, अनएम्प्लायड लोगों में 65 लाख की वृद्धि हो गई। अगर यही रफ्तार रही

तो इस बात की आशंका है कि इस योजना के बाद देश में एक करोड़ लोग अनएम्प्लायड हो जायेंगे।

इंडस्ट्री की और दूसरी रिपोर्ट्स से पता चलता है कि पैदावार में कमी होती जा रही है। जब तक आर लोगों की र्विक्रम में बेसिक अप्रोच में फर्क नहीं होगा तब तक देश का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता।

16 hrs.

अब अध्यक्ष महोदय, एक बात कही जाती है कि आखीर 20 साल में हम आगे बढ़े हैं, हम ने तरक्की की है, हमने यह किया, हम ने वह किया, मेरे सामने वाले मित्र कई बार यह कह देते हैं। यह मैं भी मानता हूँ कि आपने प्रगति की है लेकिन; कितनी प्रगति है सवाल तो यह है। किस वेग के साथ आप की गाड़ी चल रही है, यह सवाल है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहां दुनिया हवाई जहाज की रफ्तार से आगे जा रही है और वह हवाई जहाज जो कि आवाज से भी तेज जाता है, वहां कांग्रेस सरकार की गाड़ी बैलगाड़ी की रफ्तार से चल रही है और 20 साल के बाद जहां हमें पहुंचना चाहिये उस से हम बहुत पीछे हैं यह मैं कहने के लिए आया हूँ। इस के बाद, अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप यह देखिए कि 20 साल तक दुनिया में कोई ऐसी पार्टी नहीं है जिस को 20 साल तक लगातार राज्य करने को मिला हो। तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं बन चुकी लेकिन फिर भी आपकी बैलगाड़ी वैसे ही टिकटिक करती हुई आगे जा रही है। इतना ही नहीं, फस्ट प्लान त्रिकोण प्लान और थर्ड प्लान के अन्दर 26 हजार 847 करोड़ रुपये इस सरकार ने खर्च किए और अभी तक दो साल और बीत जाए हैं तो करीब 45,000 करोड़ रुपया आप खर्च कर चुके हैं इस बैलगाड़ी को चलाने के लिए। इतना नहीं जो टोटल बाराईस है वह 1950-51 में 2865 करोड़ रु० था और 66-67 में 14355 करोड़ रुपया हो गया। इतना रुपया

[श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त]

आप ने लोगों से उधार ले रखा है। जो एक्साइज ड्यूटी है वह 1950-51 में 67 करोड़ रुपये थी। 1966-67 में वह 1,626 करोड़ रुपये है। इसी तरीके से जो इम्पोर्ट आफ फूड हुआ है फल्ट प्लान में 120 करोड़ रुपया का हुआ और तीसरी योजना में वह 216 करोड़ का हो गया। फारेन डेब 1950-51 में केवल 32 करोड़ रुपये था। 66-67 में वह 4,623 करोड़ हो गया। इतना रुपया आप ने दुनिया के मुल्कों से कर्ज लिया हुआ है। इस का मतलब यह है कि यह सारा कुछ करने के बाद 20 साल मेहनत करने के बाद आप की जो रफ्तार है वह बैलगाड़ी के बराबर से ज्यादा आप क्लेम नहीं कर सकते। आर देश ने एक आवाज के साथ आप का साथ दिया। देश की जनता ने एक बार नहीं, दो बार नहीं अनेक बार आप को और आपकी हुकूमत को चुना। और इतना पैसा कर्जा लेने के बाद इतना टैक्स लगाने के बाद इतने करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करने के बाद अगर आप की रफ्तार वही बैलगाड़ी की है तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ आप के जरिए से अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को कि आप को वहां बैठने का हक नहीं है। अगर आप का हिस्ट्री लिखी जाय और इस के ऊपर मैं चाहता हूँ कि एन्वयरी होनी चाहिए कि 20 साल में जो आप के टागेंट्स थे वह कितने मरे हुए, कितनी योजनाएं बनाई थीं, कितने अचैम्पियन हुए तो मैं बड़े अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ माननीय मंत्री जी को कि उनका राजा एक ही निकल सकता है कि आप लोगों ने देश के साथ फ्राड किया है। आप ने लोगों की सेवा नहीं की, एक गफलत की है और ऐसी गफलत की है कि हिन्दुस्तान आप का बरुश नहीं सफता।

अध्यक्ष महोदय इसके आगे एक चीज मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर हमारी

एकोनामी का एम क्या होना चाहिए। हमारी आर्थिक नीति के तीन ही उद्देश्य होने चाहिए। एक उद्देश्य तो यह कि हर एक आदमी को मिनिमम गारन्टी होनी चाहिए बेयर एमेनिटीज की बेयर नेसेसरीज आफ लाइफ की। बेयर नेसेसरीज आप लाइफ में मैं केवल रोटी की बात कहता हूँ। किसी दूसरी चीज की नहीं। केवल रोटी तो मिलनी ही चाहिए। और दूसरी चीज कि देश की रक्षा होनी चाहिए। देश का कोई भाग दुश्मन हमारे से न छीने। यह दूसरी बात होनी चाहिये। और तीसरी चीज मैं चाहता हूँ कि देश अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो। यह नहीं हो कि हमारे गले में फन्दे लगते जा रहे हैं। कहीं अमरीका का फन्दा है, कहीं रूस का फन्दा है, कहीं चीन का फन्दा है। यह फन्दे हटा कर के देश अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो। यह तीन चीज हमारे लक्ष्य हैं जो हमारी आर्थिक नीति का आधार होनी चाहिए। लोगों को खाने को मिले यह पहली चीज आप को गारन्टी करनी पड़ेगी। यह जो कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं यह एक ऐसा नाग है जो डसना चाहता है। यह अगर रोक नहीं गया तो ठीक नहीं होगा। मैं वित्त मंत्री से कहना चाहता हूँ कि सब से पहले आप इस के ऊपर जोर दीजिए। आप घोषणा कीजिए आज। पांच छः चीज छांट लीजिए। अनाज या खाने की चीज पहनने की चीज इस तरह से केवल पांच चीज आप छांट लीजिए और यह कहिए कि 6 महीने के बाद इन पांच चीजों के बारे में सरकार यह देखेगी कि कोई कीमत नहीं बढ़ती। यह गारन्टी देनी चाहिए आप को। यह पहली चीज होनी चाहिए और दूसरी चीज कि हर एक आदमी को देश में खाने को मिलेगा। वह केवल फाइनों पर नहीं, कागजों में नहीं, उस के पेट में जाने के लिए अनाज आप देंगे। अध्यक्ष महोदय आप को सुन कर ताज्जुब होगा हम ने दिलो में एक सर्वे किया अभी पिछले पन्द्रह दिन पहले। मैं खुद भी

सर्वे में गया और वह सैम्पल सर्वे था आप को ताज्जुब होगा कि दिल्ली में जो भारत की राजधानी है 3 लाख आदमी ऐसे हैं जिन्होंने कई साल से न चाय पी है न दूध पिया है। यह दिल्ली की अवस्था है।

अब एक चीज आप यह करने जा रहे हैं कि जो सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं उन की सैलरी न बढ़े उन का डी० ए० न बढ़े। वेज फ्रीज आप करना चाहते हैं। ऐसा कृपा कर के मत करिए क्योंकि आप प्राइस का फ्रीज ता कर नहीं सकते हैं। वेज का फ्रीज कर देंगे नतीजा यह होगा कि अगर आप फेल गई गवर्नमेंट सर्वेंट्स के अन्दर तो आप को संभालना मुश्किल हो जायगा। इतना मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार डिसेटिस्फाइड मशीनरी के साथ नहीं चल सकती। आप को अपने कर्मचारियों को अपने साथ ले कर चलना होगा। इसलिए जो उन की उचित मांगें हैं उन को पूरा करना चाहिए। दूसरी चीज मैं चाहता हूँ कि डाई सौ करोड़ रुपये लोगों को खाने को मिले और लोगों की आवश्यकताएँ पूरी हों इस के लिए सन्निडी देनी चाहिए। आज एक कामन मैन के लिए जितनी सन्निडी दे रहे हैं उस के अलावा 250 करोड़ रुपये देना चाहिये।

दूसरी चीज डिफेंस के लिए आप को डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपये और देना चाहिए। चीन खड़ा है सिर के ऊपर और पाकिस्तान खड़ा है। दोनों का मेल हो गया। अमेरिका दबाव डालना चाहता है। रूस की भी माँखें बदल गई हैं। चारों तरफ से इस देश के ऊपर मुसीबत के बादल छाये हुए हैं। ऐसे समय में हमारी सेना के ऊपर ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। जो डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपये मैं कह रहा हूँ वह किंग रेस्टोरेंट पर नहीं खर्च होना चाहिए, कोई मूविंग टावर उस से नहीं बनाया जाना चाहिए। बल्कि मैं

चाहता हूँ कि जवानों के परिवारों पर और जातों के लिए वह खर्च होना चाहिए। आप नाइट फाइटर्स उस से खरीदिए। हमारे पास हम ने मुना है नाइट फाइटर्स नहीं हैं। आप और सामान उस से खरीदिए। आप जवानों के परिवारों को शिक्षा दीजिए। जो दूर ऊँचे पर बैठे हैं उन का मन डावांडोल नहीं होना चाहिए। जब उन के पास चिट्ठी जाती है कि दिल्ली के कालेजों में उन के बच्चों का दाखिला नहीं हो रहा तो उन का मन डावांडोल होता है। मिलिटरी के पास सबमेरिन्स नहीं हैं। वह खरीदिए उस डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपये से।

तीसरी चीज—हम लोगों को राहत नहीं दे सकेंगे जब तक कि हमारे यहां इंडस्ट्री ठीक नहीं होगी। आज इंडस्ट्री के अन्दर जो टैक्सेज हैं हिन्दुस्तान में सब से ज्यादा रेट हैं टैक्सेज का। ग्रैंड इनकम के ऊपर जो इंडिजिप्रल टैक्स है वह 82.2 परसेंट है और अनग्रैंड इनकम के ऊपर 89.4 परसेंट टैक्स है। तो यह टैक्स दुनिया में सब से ज्यादा है। और कारपोरेट टैक्स हिन्दुस्तान में जो अनडिस्ट्रीब्यूटिड प्राफिट के ऊपर है वह 70 परसेंट है। जबकि यू०एस०ए० में 52 परसेंट है जर्मनी में 51 परसेंट है और यहां पर 70 परसेंट है। मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय को दो तीन सुझाव टैक्स के बारे में देना चाहता हूँ। एनविटी स्कीम से हटा दिया जाय इस से 30 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा आप को पड़ेगा। इस तरीके से जो सरचार्ज है उस को खत्म कर दिया जाय। उस से 25 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा पड़ेगा। एक्जम्पशन लिमिट जो 4000 रुपये की है उसे बढ़ा कर 5000 रुपये कर दी जाय। उस से डेढ़ करोड़ रुपये का घाटा पड़ेगा यह एक्जोरेंस दे दिया जाय कि किसी भी आदमी को 70 परसेंट से ज्यादा टैक्स नहीं देना पड़ेगा। उस से 10 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा पड़ेगा। इस तरीके से 66 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा अगर आप करने लगे तो

[श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त]

उस से इंडस्ट्रीज बढ़ेंगी। कैपिटल फारमेशन होगा, इंडस्ट्रीज में जान आयेगी।

उस के साथ साथ जो आप रेलवे बेगन्स का आर्डर देंगे तो सब चीजें ग्रहिस्ता ग्रहिस्ता चलेंगी लेकिन यह जो टैक्स इवेन्शन हो रहा है दरअसल टैक्स आप ने इतना लगा रखा है कि लोग उस को बचाते हैं। यह एक हाइड और सीक की बात हो रही है। आप कानून बनाते जाते हैं और लोग उस में से निकलने का कोई न कोई रास्ता निकालते जाते हैं। यह चीज बन्द होनी चाहिए।

दूसरी चीज मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सेल्स टैक्स को खत्म करना चाहिए। इस ने सारे व्यवसायियों को बर्झमान बना दिया है। सोर्स के ऊपर आप को टैक्स लगाना चाहिए जैसे आप कपड़े पर लगाते हैं या और कई चीजों पर लगाते हैं इसलिए जहाँ जहाँ भी सोर्स के ऊपर टैक्स लगा सकते हैं आप को यह सोर्स के ऊपर टैक्स लगाना चाहिए।

16.12 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

इस के साथ इंडस्ट्रीज को क्रेडिट फैसे-लिटीज भी देनी चाहिए और बैंक रेट 6 परसेंट के बजाय 5 परसेंट होना चाहिए। इस के अलावा आप को इंटरनेशनल प्राइस के ऊपर जो रा मेटोरियल है वह इंडस्ट्रीज को देना चाहिए ताकि वह दुनिया में मुकाबला कर सकें। इस प्रकार से 100 करोड़ रुपये का रिलीफ अगर आप इंडस्ट्रीज को और व्यापार को देंगे तो इंडस्ट्रीज बहुत आगे बढ़ेंगी।

एक चीज जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि आप कहते हैं कि हम इंडिपेंडेंट हैं लेकिन आप ने कई करोड़ रुपया उधार

ले रक्खा है। मैंने आप को बताया कि आप ने जितना उधार सन 48-49 में विदेशों से लिया था और जितना उधार आज हमने ले रक्खा है उस के हिसाब से 140 गुना ज्यादा उधार हम ने विदेशों से ले रक्खा है। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं मानता हूँ कि उधार लेना पड़ता है। शुरू में ग्रहिस्ता ग्रहिस्ता जो डेवलपिंग एकोनामी होती है उस में जरूरत पड़ती है लेकिन आज हमारी हालत क्या है? पैसा बाहर से आता है, अनाज भी बाहर से आता है। आप ने कहा कि 1971 तक हम अपने पैरों पर आज अनाज में खड़े हो जायेंगे। लेकिन मुझे इस में शक है। जिस प्रकार से आप ग्रहिस्ता ग्रहिस्ता अनाज इम्पोर्ट करते जा रहे हैं, अगर वह क्रोगर आप देखेंगे तो उस से यह लगता है कि यह चीज सम्भव नहीं है। सन् 1962 में 3.6 मिलियन टन इम्पोर्ट किया गया और 66 में 10.5 मिलियन टन इम्पोर्ट किया जबकि सन् 1967 में केवल पांच महीने में 6 मिलियन टन हम ने अनाज बाहर से मंगवाया। अब अनाज हमें बाहर से चाहिए, पैसा हमें बाहर से चाहिए योजना बनाने के लिए, टेक्निकल नो हाऊ बाहर से चाहिए। एजुकेशन के एक्सपेंस भी हमें बाहर से चाहिए। इतना ही नहीं अमेरिकन पीस कोर वालियंट्स भी हमें बाहर से चाहिए, कहीं रूस से मदद चाहिए। मुरारजी भाई कह सकते हैं कि वह आज तक झुके नहीं हैं लेकिन यह डीवैलुएशन क्यों हुआ? यह ताशकंद का एग्जैमैट क्यों हुआ? रोबाना काश्मीर के बारे में सौदेबाजी के लिए अमरीका द्वारा दबाव डाला जाता है कि यह क्यों नहीं हुआ? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप की गरदन पर हर साल एक फंदा और पड़ जाता है और इस एकोनामी में कभी सोचा ही नहीं कि हमें अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होना है। मैं आप के जरिए से चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि देश जब तक अपने पैरों पर खड़ा नहीं होगा आप कितनी भी

चीजें कीजिये वह सब थोड़ी है और उस के कोई मायने नहीं हैं। इसलिए आप को अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होना चाहिए।

आखिर में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह 5000 करोड़ रुपया आयेगा कहां से यह एक सवाल आता है तो उस के लिए आप के नौन डवलपमेंट प्लान के अन्दर 1960-61 में 953 करोड़ रुपया था और अध्यक्ष महोदय, 1966-67 के अन्दर वह 2623 करोड़ रुपया हो गया यानी हमारी सरकार एक बिल्डिंग ओरियंटेड सरकार हो गयी है कि लायब्रेरी बनानी है तो लायब्रेरी की इन किताबों के पीछे 20,000 रुपया रक्खा है और बिल्डिंग उस की चार लाख की। इसी तरह से लेबोरेटरी बनानी है, रेबोरेटरी का सामान 10,000 का और लेबोरेटरी की बिल्डिंग 2 लाख की। इस प्रकार से बेकार की चीजों में हम ने रुपया खत्म किया है।

डिफेंस का भी अगर हम बजट देखें तो उस में भी बहुत सारे लक्जूरियस आइटम्स हैं वह सब काटने चाहिए। मेरा कहना यह है कि यह जो नौन डवलपमेंट प्लान हैं इस में 300 करोड़ रुपया आप बचाइये। इस प्रकार से हमें पब्लिक सैक्टर के अन्दर 150 करोड़ रुपया बचाना चाहिए यह मेरा कहना है क्योंकि आज टोटल पब्लिक सैक्टर के अन्दर इनवैस्टमेंट 2037 करोड़ रुपया है। उस की नैट इनकम एक परसेंट से भी कम है। अगर थोड़ा ईमानदारी से करें तो उस के अन्दर 150 करोड़ रुपये का और नफ़ा हो सकता है। इन में कोई शुल्क नहीं है। जो मेरे पास आंकड़ें हैं कि बिड़ना को 9 परसेंट उस का इनवैस्टमेंट मिलता है, टाटा को 11 परसेंट मिलता है, जितनी भी इंडस्ट्रीज हैं उन को एंज नैट इनकम 9 परसेंट जाता है, जब उनका 9 परसेंट आ सकता है तो क्या भारत सरकार का पब्लिक सैक्टर का 2 परसेंट नहीं आ सकता

है? आ सकता है लेकिन उस में थोड़ी कोशिश करने की जरूरत है।

इस के साथ साथ एक चीज और कह कर मैं खत्म करूंगा। जो हमारे एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव एक्सपेंसेज हैं वह दिन पर दिन बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। उस की फीगर भी मैं आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ और मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि उस में 50 करोड़ रुपये की बचत की जा सकती है। सन् 1956-57 में 38 करोड़ रुपया एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव एक्सपेंसेज का था जिसमें जनरल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन 10 करोड़ 84 लाख था जबकि सन् 1967-68 के अन्दर एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विसेज के लिए 123 करोड़ 67 लाख रुपया है और जनरल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के लिए 29 करोड़ 5 लाख रुपया है तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विसेज में से 50 करोड़ रुपया आप निकाल लीजिये तो इस के बाद 500 करोड़ आप का पूरा हो जाता है।

इस के साथ आखिर में मैं यह कह कर खत्म करूंगा कि जब तक डेडिकेशन नहीं होगा तब तक काम नहीं चलने वाला है। जब डेडिकेशन का माद्दा होगा तभी देश अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होगा, अपनी जमीन अपनेपास होगी और हर एक आदमी को खाने को मिलेगा। इस प्रकार की अर्थ व्यवस्था यदि आप बनायेंगे तभी देश का कल्याण होगा नहीं तो यह काले बादल छाये हुए हैं भले ही आप अपनी जो मौत है उस को आगे को सरवा सकते हैं लेकिन वह अयोग्य अवश्य। जो नीति सरकार अपना रही है उस में मौत निश्चित है और बहुत जल्द मौत आने वाली है।

Shri M. B. Krishna (Peddapalli): Just as you sympathise with me, the House has to sympathise with the Finance Minister because he has taken over at a time when the weather was not kind to us. Devaluation has left

[Shri M. R. Krishna]

the country with a problem of payment of an additional Rs. 350 crores towards Debts. Non-Congress Governments in various States have lost confidence in the Central Government and therefore, the Finance Minister has to be more generous to those Governments which are non-Congress and belong to the Opposition. In a similar manner, recession in industry and various other things have caused really great strain on the finances of the country. He has to impose tax and he has to incur the displeasure of sections which have been affected by the tax burdens.

Though we sympathise with the Finance Minister, the Finance Minister at the same time should be cautioned that he should not stop the development programmes. He is very keen that we should avoid deficit financing, and he is also very keen that the drain on the Reserve Bank should be curtailed. Therefore, he has even helped the State Governments to the extent of Rs. 108 crores to tide over the overdraft which the State Governments are in the habit of taking from the Reserve Bank. All these things really go to the credit of the Finance Minister, but when he tries to stop the development programme, he is only hampering the progress of the country, and probably after one or two years we will be in a really very difficult period. The Finance Minister should not become answerable to this kind of calamity or hardship which is going to be cast on this country's resources because of this strict financial control or starving the developmental programmes.

I only cite one instance. Yesterday my hon. friends have spoken about the Nagarjunasagar project. There is also another connected project, called the Pochampad project. I do not want to make the Finance Minister feel that we are always in

the habit of asking for money for these projects, but Parliament and the country know that we are paying enormous money in importing food-grains from various countries. At one time the way in which the Government and the Finance Ministry behaved made us feel that probably we were not planning the agricultural programme of the country, ourselves. But we were being advised by some friends like the United States, who have been coming to our help by giving food etc. They may desire that we should not become self-sufficient in food, but should depend upon them. The way in which they are treating these projects which are going to free this country from imports, this impression is definitely being created.

I want the Finance Minister to understand that this Pochampad was the only project in the erstwhile State of Hyderabad. Even at the time of integration, you, Mr. Speaker, probably know very well, the Central Government and even the State Government had said that the backward area of Telengana would get this project, and they would be able to find money for that.

Now, the Nagarjunasagar project was also linked with this Pochampad project, because the machinery and the engineers who have been working on the Nagarjunasagar project were to be transferred to this Pochampad project the moment they had completed the former. So, the restrictions which the Central Government has imposed on the State are going to starve not only the Nagarjunasagar project but also the Pochampad project which has to be given purely on humanitarian grounds.

The Finance Minister, in one of his meetings, said that the tractor project which was to be in the public sector will be shelved because the Central Government will have to in-

vest Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 crores on it. You know that even a great man like Lenin said that if a country has to be socialised, if socialism is to be introduced in a country, you have to get only tractors and electricity. In this country probably we are thinking that electricity is needed to run the air coolers or air-conditioners in rooms, but in many countries which have made rapid progress in agriculture and various other spheres, they have made it a point that electricity should go for the development of agriculture. In this country even though we know that the largest income we have to get is from agriculture and the largest number of people are engaged in agriculture, still when the question of electricity comes and when the question of money for the development of agriculture comes, we seem to be taking advice from foreign countries which are not very good in advising us, or our Government sometimes becomes ignorant of all these things.

We try to copy many countries which have advanced, but wherever we have to copy certain countries in order to improve our economy, we miserably fail. When devaluation was resorted to, we had forgotten how Germany had imposed its own conditions. Some of the countries like America and the United Kingdom, which have helped them to come up after the war, Germans have said that in order to repay their loans, credit and everything, including repatriation amount, whatever is produced in Germany should be purchased by those countries which have helped them to rehabilitate. They have not only said that; they have further said that even the ships which have to be engaged in transporting their goods must be German ships. Whereas in our country, when we are purchasing food under PL 480, we do not impose that kind of condition, even though the Americans would have willingly conceded it if it was really, effectively done. When the

Suez Canal is closed, when we are not able to get ships in order to transport our food which has been given under PL 480, now. It is our Indian ships that are being chartered and the number of ships chartered is almost double of what was chartered earlier, because we have been faced with a particular type of difficulty, we are trying to explore all the possibilities, and are trying to convince the countries which are helping us, to let us use our own ships. This is a fact which proves that just now, we are engaging our own ships, and the number has doubled. Sometime back, we did not care to explore all these possibilities and we allowed the foreign ships to be engaged for transporting the food that we required.

Shipping is one of the most important industries which would bring a lot of revenue to this country. In 1966-67, it was said that our Vizag shipyard should be able to manufacture three to four ships per year, and they said it could be increased to six ships a year. But the Finance Ministry and the Government of India seem to have forgotten that commitment made earlier, and the resources and the money that are required for ship-building are not being granted. I would like the Government of India to consider this industry as an essential industry and see that whatever finances are required are provided for the shipping industry.

The Government is going to spend an enormous amount of money for family planning. Family planning may be very important for a country like India because we do not want that our people should suffer and starve and live in misery. We would like to have family planning and control, but the way in which this programme is going to be implemented almost becomes mockery, giving money to the people who come for the operation; that also did not attract many people. Now, the Minis-

[Shri M. R. Krishna]

ter comes with a very novel idea, that a transistor should be given to the people! But we forget the very basic things. We always try to tinker with a problem, and leave the entire problem to remain there for ever.

Let the Health Minister find out where is the growth of population greater. Is it in places where the people have four to five rooms, or is it in the huts and the slum areas? Probably, even though the Finance Minister becomes liberal in granting whatever money the Minister of Family Planning and Health wants, he did not try to ask the Health Ministry where the population growth is more: whether it is in the cities or in the rural areas, whether it is in the slum areas or in the huts. You allow the huts to remain there; the whole family to remain in one small hut—father, mother, children, everybody—and then you still think that inducements like money and transistors is going to stop them from producing children. The Finance Minister may not agree with me; even in places where prohibition has been introduced, and in places where prohibition has not been introduced, it is really an interesting study that the Health Minister should conduct, to find out whether in the places where prohibition has been introduced, the family growth is greater than in the places where prohibition is not introduced. This may look to be a little queer, but they are facts. You cannot forget the facts, if you think you will have to really curb this and spend your money in a sensible manner. This is one of the aspects which has to be studied properly. You should not allow the money to be wasted in various forms.

Tourism is another thing by which we can get a lot of money. But the foreign tourist has got various fears in his mind. He thinks if he comes here, he cannot eat what he wants, or drink what he wants, he cannot meet whomsoever he likes and he

cannot move about and see places which he wants to see. These fears are already publicised in a greater degree, but the real things which can attract the tourists are not properly publicised. In Hyderabad, we have the Salar Jung Museum; perhaps it is the world's biggest museum of curios collected by a single individual. Anyone who comes out after seeing it cannot but express his appreciation. Still, there are very few pamphlets and leaflets brought out by the Ministry of Tourism to publicise these things. You have got beautiful baths. In Germany there are places where people go for baths. Of course, I am not speaking about Turkish bath. These are real, natural spring baths which make men healthy.

Shri Hem Barua: What are natural baths?

Shri M. R. Krishna: I do not know much about Turkish bath; perhaps my friend, Mr. Hem Barua, knows.

It is said that the former Viceroy used to get drinking water from Simla to Delhi. There are other places like Kovalam, Gulmarg and Kufri, where every foreigner would love to have winter sports. These places can attract any foreigner. But in this country, we only publicise our temples, because we want to tell the foreigners about our culture. Today the foreigners know more about our culture than Indians. Whoever visits foreign countries will be surprised to hear how much they know about our *Mahabharata* or *Ramayana* or about the cultural institutions in India. Still, there is nothing wrong in the ministry bringing out really effective pamphlets to induce foreigners to visit this country. We always try to frighten them with various things which are not prevalent in India. The foreigner thinks that he cannot drink in India. This is absolutely not true. But still our Ministry and Embassies think that these values are more important. We will have to give up these things if we really want tourism to increase in this country. We will have to give

adequate publicity to the various tourist attractions in our country.

Tractors, land army, improved agricultural implements and land reforms are most essential for increasing agricultural production. It is said that nearly 67 to 70 per cent of people in this country are small farmers using all kinds of primitive implements to develop agriculture. We will have to take these things seriously. Unless we mechanise the whole of agriculture, there will be no salvation for us and we will have to always depend on foreign countries for food. Whether it is in the private sector or public sector, Government should not hesitate to finance them and see that cheap agricultural implements and cheap tractors are produced. If tractors can be produced cheaper, we must allow both the private sector and public sector to produce as many tractors and implements as possible.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): Power tillers also.

Shri M. R. Krishna: If he wanted to allow some of our friends in Orissa to develop industries, by today they would have given a lot of power tillers to the whole country. But he was a little bit unfair to those who were trying to develop industries there.

The other day we were talking about border roads and the Defence Minister in his usual way tried to convince this House that the border roads programme is going on to the full satisfaction of the Defence Ministry. At that time no hon. Member could ask him questions. Even though you permit us liberally to put questions, many times you do not allow the Minister to reply fully because you know the Minister has no answer. The Defence Minister said in this House that the work entrusted to the State Governments with regard to construction of roads was going on in full swing without any stoppage and he was fully satisfied with it, but the next day in the State Assembly it was brought out that the Central Government was not helping

the State P.W.D. in the matter of construction of roads and therefore there was lot of delay and the progress had been hampered. This kind of statements, specially when we are dealing with border roads, is not good. Last time, when the Chinese attacked us, in this House it was made out rightly that mainly because of lack of communication on our borders our troops failed miserably. Even after taking that bitter lesson, the Defence Minister or the Government should not try to confuse the House by giving information which is not correct. I would beg of the Finance Minister and you, Sir, to see that whenever questions relating to defence are taken up here, they should be properly answered and answers should be given only after making proper studies and no Minister should get away by saying . . .

Mr. Speaker: Let them have time to study. The hon. Member has to conclude now. I now call the hon. Finance Minister to reply to the debate.

The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as is the convention, the debate on the Finance Bill at the consideration stage has been full of references to subjects without any limitation. And, that is as it should be. I have no quarrel with it. But it will not be possible for me to refer to all the points raised by the hon. Members. Of course, it has also been said by one or two hon. Members that nothing better than this was expected from me and yet they tried to say several things for my benefit expecting that I will not hear them. I do not know why they should have made such a fruitless exercise. Yet, I heard them with full attention and I shall try to profit by them as much as I can. I have also been cautioned by many hon. Members. The last caution was from my hon. friend here. I will heed his caution, but I hoped he would heed your caution when the Bell rang. I will certainly act better. That is all I can tell him.

[Shri Morarji Desai]

There have been various points raised regarding direct and indirect taxation, administration, chronic under-estimation of revenue receipts, improvement of tax administration, simplification of tax procedures and structures and the burdens of taxation. I was a bit intrigued when my hon. friend, Professor Ranga was referring to the fall in industrial production. I was wondering what was happening, and I have tried to collect some of the figures. He said that the decline in production was 91 per cent in coal. I suppose he meant that 91 per cent was produced.

An hon. Member: It must be 9.1 per cent.

Shri Morarji Desai: But what I heard was this. Then he said that the decline in production was 34 per cent in automobile tyres, 44 per cent in automobile tubes, 22 per cent in bicycle tyres, 47 per cent in soda ash, 75 per cent in caustic soda. He also went on to say that decline in production was as much as 129 per cent in razor blades, 104 per cent in air-conditioners etc. I do not know how he was briefed. How can there be any fall in production beyond 100 per cent? I do not understand this mathematics. Therefore, I thought I would brief him better so that he is not in future misled into making statements which cannot be verified.

Sir, I would like to point out that production in coal in 1966-67 was actually 1 per cent higher, and not less, than in the previous year. In the case of automobile tyres, it was higher by 5.2 per cent, of automobile tubes higher by 5.7 per cent, of bicycle tubes higher by 16.6 per cent, of soda ash higher by 5.1 per cent and caustic soda higher by 6.4 per cent. He chose, therefore, wrong examples. Production has gone down in several industries, I do agree, but not in the ones which he suggested, and yet it is on these he based his deductions. It is therefore necessary to be cautious in

this matter. I do not want to caution him but I want to request him to take more care in the figures that he may quote in future so that I can be more benefited by his criticism.

He also said, and several other members also said it, that the tax revenue has been under-estimated by about Rs. 100 crores, and that is usual, and some figures were also cited. I do not know how those figures fit in, but I do not find those figures from the previous budgets I have seen. As a matter of fact, in the last two budgets, it has not happened, and there was more of deficit financing. That is what it has resulted in. We have found deficit financing almost all years. How did it happen if there was so much of extra collection of revenue?

Shri Tenneti Viswanatham (Visakhapatnam): May I refer him to page 1 of the Audit Report 1967 where the budget figures as well as the actuals were given for the Plan period? I quoted from that. That is my mistake.

Shri Morarji Desai: That is certainly a mistake, because further figures were not asked for. Even in audit sometimes figures are taken without taking explanations, and that is why this mistake has occurred. If you take the budget as a whole, if you take only the revenue figures and if you do not take the other figures of capital...

Shri Tenneti Viswanatham: I am sorry, they are in the audited accounts. After explanations are taken and the accounts are audited, one year later they are produced in the report. The figures are available on page 1 of the Audit Report for 1967.

Shri Morarji Desai: I shall certainly try to reconcile the figures to my hon. friend, later on; there is no time for me to do it just now. But the fact is clear that in spite of all these figures, there has been deficit financing, there has not been a balanced budget, there has not been a surplus budget all these years.

Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta: There might have been more of expenditure.

Shri Morarji Desai: Therefore, it was not that revenues were deliberately under-estimated and expenses were over-estimated. Though it is always said so, it is not so; perhaps, the expenditure is more under-estimated than what is given; that is what the experience shows, if all these figures are true. After the Audit Report pointed out this matter, government has been very very careful and we are more careful even this year.

My hon. friend, Dr. Lohia has pointed out to me a mistake of one zero, as he says, and he has written a letter to you, Sir, which I have got earlier. Therefore, I could find out the facts and I would like to read out here from the letter which I propose to write to you in explanation:

"The conclusions on the basis of which he has sought to raise this issue appear to be based on certain figures given on page 52 of the published report of the Powerloom Inquiry Committee, 1964. The estimate of the committee that the quantity of yarn required by the powerlooms then in existence was about 150 million kg. per year was only a hypothetical one on the assumption that all the 82,000 powerlooms would work two shifts a day all round the year."

This is not happening.

"We have, for the purpose of arriving at the additional revenue from the Budget proposals, gone by the figures of actual clearances by payment of duty on seized yarn of fine and super-fine counts by all the licensed power operated sizing units, spinning mills and composite mills. These figures of clearance are readily available with the Central excise officers since even during the year 1966-67 sized yarn of fine and super-fine counts was chargeable to special excise duty.

Since representations had been made by the various powerloom weavers' associations and some Members of Parliament regarding under-estimation of additional revenue, a report was specially called from the Collectorates of Central Excise all over India. I enclose for your information a complete statement of the Collectoratewise clearance of sized yarn of fine and superfine counts used by the powerlooms in 1966-67. I have no objection to a copy of the statement being passed on to Dr. Lohia.

For the purpose of estimating the revenue collections we have assumed, on the recommendation of the aforesaid team of officials, that there would be a 10 per cent reduction in the offtake of superfine yarn as a result of increase in the duty. It has been calculated that in a full year the duty on sized yarn of superfine and fine counts would be paid on quantities of 14.8 million and 8.6 million kilogrammes respectively. On the 24th July, 1967 I had proposed a reduction of duty of Re. 1 per Kg. on sized yarn of superfine count and, therefore, this would involve a reduction of Rs. 1.48 crores in the full year. The estimate of revenue originally made at the time of formulating the Budget proposals, the revenue figures revised on the basis of a special study by the team of officials and the estimates now taken on the basis of reduction of Re. 1 per Kg. on superfine sized yarn in the Budget proposals are set out in a statement enclosed."

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अध्यक्ष महोदय, क्या मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से थोड़ा पूछ सकता हूँ क्योंकि अगर मुझे माननीय मंत्री बता दें कि देश में कितने मशीनी करघे हैं जिनके कि ऊपर महीन और अति महीन सूत से काम हो रहा है और कितने किलोग्राम इस्तेमाल हो रहा है तब उस के बाद

[श्री राम मनोहर लोहिया]

कुछ नवौंजे पर पहुँच सकूंगा और यह जैसा कि पालियों की बसत कह रहे हैं तो मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि कहीं पर तीन पालियाँ हो रही हैं, बित्त मंत्री जी सभला और बढ़ गया है आगे।

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : कहीं पर तीन पालियाँ हो रही हैं कहीं पर एक भी नहीं चल रही है।

श्री राम मनोहर लोहिया : इसलिए दो रख लीजिये।

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : कहीं बिल्कुल नहीं चल रही हैं।

श्री राम मनोहर लोहिया : इसलिए तो कहा कि दो रख लीजिये।

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : दो रख सकते हैं लेकिन दो होती नहीं हैं।

श्री राम मनोहर लोहिया : आगे चल कर इंडस्ट होमा। मुझे ही कहने के लिए मौका मिलेगा।

Shri Morarji Desai: Then, my hon. friend should be happy that he will have ample food to find fault with me.

श्री राम मनोहर लोहिया : उस में मझे खुशी नहीं होगी।

Shri Morarji Desai: Let me assure my hon. friend that I am not interested in perpetuating a mistake. It would be wrong on my part to do so. I have, therefore, again enquired and twice I have verified from the actual figures of sized yarn on which this has been levied last year. It cannot be more than that this year.

श्री राम मनोहर लोहिया : करघों की तादाद ?

Shri Morarji Desai: I can certainly get that and also supply to my hon. friend as to how many are there. This

is taken from the sizing units who supplied to the powerloom.

श्री राम मनोहर लोहिया : कल तक मिल जाय तो अच्छा है अध्यक्ष महोदय।

Shri Morarji Desai: Therefore, the duty that was received last year also can show what duty can be received this year by the increased duties. From that point of view, there was, according to the calculations, a difference of only Rs. 86 lakhs or Rs. 87 lakhs which was more than what we had calculated. I have now taken that also into consideration. Therefore, there is no question of trying to take more duty under false pretences. May I, for the sake of argument, tell my hon. friend that even if what I say is not true, if at the end of the year it is found that Rs. 60 crores have been utilised, that will not be known to the spending Departments at all and no more money is going to be spent and no more schemes are going to be sanctioned on this basis. We have cut down as much as could be cut down and I may have to cut down more as a result of what cuts have been made in this. I have no doubt in my mind that there should not be a deficit at the end of the year and that is how I am trying to work this year the finances of this country.

श्री राम मनोहर लोहिया : ज्यादा पैसा आने पर आदत बिगड़ जाती है, मोरार जी भाई।

Shri Morarji Desai: I am one of those who do not want to have any habit and, therefore, there is no question of spoiling it. But I do want to be corrected and if I find that that is so, I shall certainly apologise to my hon. friend that I am wrong. I will tell him so. If he wants me to get out, I will get out. I am prepared to pay a penalty if I do something wrongly. It is not that. I have tried to verify it. Of course, the bureaucracy can be blamed as it is being blamed.

The bureaucracy has not been deliberately trying to do anything wrong. The bureaucracy has been most helpful in this matter. They have verified it again and again. Ultimately, the bureaucracy is required in Government. You cannot do without bureaucracy.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : थोड़ा सा अपने दिमाग को अगर इस्तेमाल करें तो मामला जरा अच्छा रहेगा ।

श्री रबी राय (पुरी) : आप तो नीकर-शाहों का इस्तेमाल करना चाहते हैं ।

Shri Morarji Desai: Because I am utilising my mind, I have not gone wrong. My hon. friend has utilised the brain of other people and has pointed out this to me and, therefore, I have got to tell him. Otherwise, why should I have to tell him this? I do utilise my brain; I do not go by the brain of anybody, not even of Dr. Lohia.

Another point that was made by my hon. friend was that we should be determined about our defence. I have said in my Budget speech also that the first priority is defence. About defence, there will be no steps left and, certainly, I agree with him that Government should shed its last drop of blood and save this country as far as it lies in its power. There is no doubt in the mind of Government in the matter of this determination.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : यह सरकार खत्म होगी एक हफ्ते में, और फिर दूसरी आप को बनानी पड़ेगी ।

Shri Morarji Desai: Then, I will not have to form Government. When I disappear, how have I to form this Government?

Shri Hem Barua: The whole country should shed its last drop of blood to defend this country.

Shri Morarji Desai: That is what I was coming to. My hon. friend is satisfied only if Government is determined to shed its blood. That is not how the country can be saved. The country can be saved if the country is prepared to shed its last drop of blood for which we must be united and see that the country is united. If we are united—I am sure, we will be united in the hour of trial—no power on earth can subjugate us. We have not become free in order to be subjugated again. Therefore, I can assure my hon. friend on that, so far as determination goes, and the rest is in the hands of God, not in my hands.

Then, it was said by my hon. friend, Shri Dandekar, who has a very long experience and a rich experience of Government machinery, having himself been in it, and, therefore, he knows what goes on inside—he utilised it for a different purpose and, therefore, it is seen differently—that there is still deficit financing and he referred to the P.L. 480 funds. Last time, he was not present here; otherwise, he would have known what it was. The use of the P.L. 480 funds of Rs. 145 crores or Rs. 150 crores, whatever it is, in the Budget cannot be called a deficit financing by any sense. It is money which is realised from the people by sale of foodgrains to the people. It is received from the people. It is not even American money which is utilised here. It is money which comes here in the hands of Government; it is not created money. That is why it cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be called deficit financing. I do not want to indulge in any deficit financing for any purpose whatsoever. But there are so many hon. members who do want deficit financing to take place. My hon. friends belonging to the Communist Parties want that deficit financing should go on and development should go on by deficit financing. They forget.... (Interruptions). That is what they are saying. Otherwise, how

[Shri Morarji Desai]

to go on? They said that they would give us a method of getting more money and what was that method? It was to take the income above Rs. 1 lakh and credit it to a fund. Why should anybody earn above Rs. 1 lakh if you are going to take it away? They are not stupid. Those who make this suggestion may not have sense enough to see that people will not act like that. But others will not work afterwards for more than Rs. 1 lakh. Even today what is happening? In the case of income above Rs. 1 lakh, we are taking away Rs. 92,000 for every lakh. It is not remaining with them; that is taxed. This is done in respect of every personal income. So, what is the use of saying that that is not being taken away? If Rs. 8,000 remain with him, he will have some impetus to work and earn Rs. 1 lakh. Then Rs. 92,000 will come to Government.

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्ता : यही आगूमेन्ट आप के ज्वैनिंग कमिशन के वाइस चेअरमैन ने आज दिया है। जो कन्युनिस्ट कहते हैं वही कहा है

Shri Morarji Desai: I should not like to go into an argument about this. I should like to discuss it with him when the time comes.

Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta: He should not issue such statements.

Shri Morarji Desai: I do not know. I am not responsible for it. He has not yet assumed charge. Till then he is free. Therefore, how can he say that he should not.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : बेचारे। बाद में बनेंगे।

Shri Morarji Desai: When he has not assumed charge, how can you bind him? I do not think that he has published this. Somebody else might have published this. That is what happens. (Interruptions).

श्री रवी राय : उसके बाद नियन्त्रण करेंगे क्या ?

Shri Morarji Desai: I have not understood this. Then it was said by my hon. friend, Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta, that Rs. 50 crores should be taken away from administrative expenditure and that money could be utilised. How is it to be taken away? By disbanding several departments, by putting on the streets several people? I wish he does that. He and his friends have got the charge of Delhi Administration now. Let them put several people on the streets and I will see what happens. Let him set an example in this curtailment.

Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta: Certainly we will do it and show him the result.

Shri Morarji Desai: There are eight Governments, which are functioning, of the Opposition Parties who are here advising me in various ways. They better set an example and I shall be certainly thankful to them for it, I shall certainly learn from them; I might sit at their feet, if they are fit to be learnt that way, but they will have to show that I can learn from them. Otherwise, they will have to learn from me. That is all that will happen.

Therefore, it is not a question of merely giving advice; now it is a question of performance which will have to be made, and that performance alone can tell us what can be done and what cannot be done. It is not easy.

Now take the administration for tax collection. It is not more than 2 per cent or 1.5 per cent. What is the use of saying that it is more? I may have to increase it in order to see that arrears disappear. But to say that there is an increase of staff everywhere will not help. There is an increase of staff in the secretariat;

we are trying to take steps to see that that does not happen. But all this can give us results in course of time because we cannot put the people on the streets immediately. We will have to absorb all these retrenchments as opportunities go on occurring because Government is always an expanding business. There will also be some people retiring. All these can enable us to absorb the retrenched material. But that takes time. It is, therefore, that I have not taken any account of whatever economies can be performed or carried out in administration. That is the only reason why it has not been done. At the end of the year, it will be seen. That will also help us in seeing that wherever there are some shortfalls we might make up for them. This is how one has got to work under difficult circumstances.

17 hrs.

When I am asked to perform economies, I am certainly at one with them because I do want to have economies, but on the other hand, some hon. friends want me to spend more money for their own schemes. They have pleaded for schemes for their own States. It is very natural. I do not say that it is not natural; I would not consider it as improper, because that is what they have got to do. Otherwise, they will not have done their duty probably. But how is one to do this when there is no money? How is the money to be given? This is a curious trick that some of the industrialists also, want me to perform. They say that Government should spend less but they should be given more and deficit financing can be there for productive purposes through them. I cannot understand what that means. They also want deficit financing from banks so that more credit can be given to them and they can go on expending. Is that also not deficit financing? That trap cannot be accepted.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Alipore): Does he approve of it?

Shri Morarji Desai: Therefore, I have not approved of that. I am not going to have deficit financing. If my hon. friend thinks that I have approved of it it means that he does not understand the budget and he does not understand what I say and naturally so because our languages are different; our impetuses are different; our impulses are different, and our outlooks on life are different. I know he may not agree. But let us agree to differ. Why should we quarrel over it?

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Peermade): We want to teach him something also.

Shri Morarji Desai: First of all, let them learn before they teach. I do not want to teach them. I do not consider myself capable of teaching students who do not want to learn. Why have I got to do it? I would not make such a futile exercise. Such futile exercises are only left to my hon. friends. I believe only in making fruitful exercise.

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj (Wardha): They are not capable of learning.

Shri Morarji Desai: The same thing applies to direct and indirect taxation. It is said that indirect taxation is increasing. Indirect taxation certainly has increased. But direct taxation also has increased. But indirect taxation has increased much more. I am not denying that. But when my hon. friends talk about it do they not realise that in Russia it is mostly indirect taxation?

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Why is he so fond of Russia?

Shri Morarji Desai: It is not a question of Russia; governments are the same everywhere. Governments cannot run differently. Both governments run on taxes. If they do not want to have direct taxes, I do not quarrel with them. I am not finding fault with them. But why should there be double standards? I do not

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understand that. Why should they apply two standards, one standard for the Fatherland and another for the Motherland?

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Let there be one standard in everything and not only in taxation.

Shri Morarji Desai: There are some friends who say that I should raise the exemption limit for income-tax from Rs. 4000 to Rs. 6000. What will that achieve? That will only achieve more indirect taxation again. Nothing else will happen. If we want to have less and less indirect taxation, we should have to have more and more direct taxation and have more and more people into the net of direct taxation.

There are today only 26 lakhs of people paying income-tax. Unless this number increases and becomes 260 lakhs. I do not think there can be any impact on the indirect taxation. We shall have to do that. Incomes are increasing also. Look at the per capita national income. If by that standard we judge the minimum limit here (i.e., in relation to our per capita income) we shall find that it is much higher than the minimum limit in any other country. Of course, that is a comparison which cannot hold wholly true. Of course, in other countries the per capita income is far high and our per capita income is far low. But when our per capita income is far low, should not those who get more than ten times that income pay a tax to the country? If they do not do it, how is the country to go up? We do not want any money from outside as most of the people say. I do not want any help from outside if I can help it. But before we can do that, we shall have to put ourselves in a position where we can develop with our own effort and without taking anything from others. Until that time we shall have to take help from other people and of course, on

terms which are suitable to us and suitable to both parties and not only to one party.

This is what we are doing. And there it is argued by my hon. friend, Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta, that nothing has happened so long. If you only take the use of kerosene in this country, how much were we using in 1948-49 and how much are we using today? We are now using far more kerosene. Who is using that and how? This is in spite of the fact that in 1948 we had only 3600 cities and towns with electricity in the country. In all these 17 years, we have more than 62,000 villages with electricity. Still my hon. friend will say there is no progress. He can certainly say that because he must traduce Government and say this Government is useless, just as my hon. friend, Shri Nayar, used adjectives to traduce Government. He could not do so while he was in service; therefore, he is utilising the opportunity provided now to do that. I do not mind it.

Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta: We said the progress is very slow.

Shri Morarji Desai: I agree the progress is slow. But if the progress is to be faster, all of us will have to work hard. All of us will have to co-operate and not pull each other's legs; if we do that, the progress will always be slow. It is there that we want co-operation from them. Certainly try to remove us as much as you can because that is your right—I do not deny that. But in all nation-building activities, for all purposes where the nation's prosperity is to increase, let us all work together.

It is therefore that I had told my hon. friend, Dr. Lohia, when he gave a scheme that I shall certainly be fully willing to co-operate in his scheme. But he probably felt that I was joking.

ड० राम मनोहर लोहिया : बिल्कुल नहीं । ऐसा कमी नहीं समझता हूँ आपके बारे में । मैं समझता हूँ कि आप मजाक करना जानते ही नहीं हैं और न मजाक समझते हैं ।

Shri Morarji Desai: That is what Shri Pattnayak told me.

That was what I was told by his follower, Shri Pattnayak, who came and told me that. I am not saying I did not think so. But he told me 'he thought you were not perhaps serious'. I said I am very serious, but I am only warning you, which he admitted today, that the climate in the country is different.

ड० राम मनोहर लोहिया : तब भी मैंने कहा था । घमंड मुझ को नहीं है ।

Shri Morarji Desai: Still it must be done. As much as can be done should be done so that more can be done, and I shall be fully co-operating with it. I say this without hesitation because it has got to be done. This is one way of building the country, which is the surest way—I have no doubt about it. But it requires a crusading spirit. My hon. friend, Dr. Lohia, has a crusading spirit. I only hope that he does not apply that crusading spirit in any denunciation. It should not be lost in denunciation; it should be applied to construction.

श्री रबी राय : दोनों होने चाहियें ।

ड० राम मनोहर लोहिया : ध्वंस और रचना, दोनों ।

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : किसी चीज का ध्वंस करना है तो उसका करो जो खराब हो । यहाँ ध्वंस करते हो तो समय बरबाद होता है । इसका कुछ फल नहीं निकलता है । आपका ही समय जाता है, मेरा नहीं जाता है ।

Ultimately time is lost in debate, nothing else happens. That is why I am saying that we have got to see that we utilise the time and our energies in a proper manner. If that is done, certainly we will have far quicker progress in this country and far less waste than what is happening. I do not say that there is no waste, but that has got to be eliminated in a proper manner. If you point out to me where there is no waste that there is waste, then certainly everytime you do so, I will ask myself? 'Why should I look into it every time? Why should I go on making futile exercises over it?' I have far more important work to do. Why should I always go after errands and chases which are fruitless? That gives me a different kind of impetus.

But let me assure my hon. friends that I do not mistake any of their suggestions as misguided at any time. I look into it every time that I get it, and try to benefit by it so that I can improve. I do not believe, as some may believe, that I have got all the remedies for the ills of India. I have not got that much intelligence. I have a limited amount of intelligence given to me by God, but I have certainly the intelligence to teach me that I must learn from everybody and accept from everybody whatever is acceptable. Of course, the acceptability has to be judged by me, not by anybody else. I do not think my friends would also want me to mortgage my intelligence to them or anybody else.

Shri Kamal Nayan Bajaj (Wardha): They have done.

Shri Morarji Desai: I do not think they have done it.

Something was quoted from Dr. Jivraj Mehta when he spoke as Finance Minister of Bombay about the relations between the Centre and the State about loans and other things, and it was pointed that I was Chief Minister at that time. It is true, but when the States speak for themselves I do not find fault with them. This is what the Finance Minister was saying at that time, but I was cer-

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tainly telling him this was not a fiscal matter, but he said, "let us tell them". This is what they do. Therefore, I also know the tricks, because I have got the experience of both the places. So, I know what it is. But I want to help the States because it is after all the States which contain India. The Centre is made up of the States, the Centre by itself has no existence, but the States will have no existence when the Centre is not strong and the Centre does not act properly.

डा० रम मनोहर लोहिया : बात सही है प्रदेश पटवारी और केन्द्र कलक्टर।

Shri Morarji Desai: I would not say. I would only say I do not like this patwari and collector analogy. My hon. friend does not like the bureaucracy, but still he is very fond of giving that example. I believe the Centre is the head of the family, and the States are the members of the family. This is how I would like to consider it.

Therefore, the Centre has not only to see that the States are strengthened, but whatever moneys can be collected are collected and given to the States. After all, if there are plans for the Centre, those plans are also meant for the States, they are not for the Centre. Whatever money is spent by the Centre is spent in the States, it is not spent anywhere outside the States except union territories, and union territories are also States. What else are they? Therefore, there is no question of there being any conflict of financial interests between the Centre and the States.

And it is not that this talk is taking place now that there are 8 non-Congress Governments. The Congress Governments were far more aggressive than these Governments, because every State Government wants to talk of itself only. That is the system in this country, that is what we find even

in this House. Every hon. member, when he speaks, speaks only like that. We are all in that habit, we have to change that habit. Unless all of us do that, unless the whole society does like that, this sort of contradiction will go on being expressed not only here but outside, and we have to set a better example in that matter, because we represent the people, and we claim to represent them rightly. We have been returned by them. If we say that this is the cream of India, nobody can deny it, whether it is really the cream or not, that is not the question, it is bound to be the cream. The cream is whatever it is, and that will show what the country is. It is, therefore, that sometimes when I find that the cream turns sour I am bothered, because the country will be judged by what is happening here. It is therefore that I am pleading to see that we do not give that appearance outside, so that the whole country gets condemned, and those who come here and watch us take an example from us. Afterwards it is asked: why is there no discipline, why are people talking like this, why is there no order? How can there be any order outside if there is this example set here by most of us, by my hon. friend here? What am I to do? He wants that there should be discipline, and he acts otherwise. So, what can we do?

एक माननीय सदस्य : यह नवीहत अपने वालों को भी दीजिये।

Shri Morarji Desai: I am talking about everybody, I am talking about even myself. I am not considering that I am an angel. Let not my hon. friend set an example just now of it. Therefore, we have got to be very careful about it.

Then, I was asked about the printing press for notes. Shri Tenneti Viswanatham cited the case of the police having found some printing

press for notes. I do not know how he made the suggestion that the notes were circulated by the Government. I do not know where he got this fantastic case from.

Shri Tenneti Vishwanatham: There was a notification by Government or by the Bank that the notes having been in large circulation, they cannot be declared illegal. They went into currency.

Shri Morarji Desai: I would like to see that notification. I do not think there was a notification like that. What had happened was that it is not that the police could get the press, because the press was melted by them, when the police went and tried to take it; some parts were obtained. They were destroyed, but notes to the extent of Rs. 8 lakhs or more were also seized and they were deposited in the Reserve Bank and marked on it "forged". They are to be destroyed after five years when the period is over. That is the rule. There are other notes also about Rs. 2 lakhs to Rs. 3 lakhs worth. It was also found out. Notes worth about a lakh of rupees or so must have gone into circulation. That was what was found then, and for that, a notification was issued that the people should be careful and should hand over those notes to Government, so that they can be destroyed, and they will be given Rs. 100 notes so that they can give back the notes. This is what was done. It was not that these notes were put in circulation or accepted in circulation.

Shri Tenneti Vishwanatham: Was there a case of a single note having been destroyed?

Shri Morarji Desai: Five years are not yet over. They were deposited in the Reserve Bank in 1963, after the case was over.

Shri Tenneti Vishwanatham: I am sorry to interrupt. I am not referring to these Rs. 8 lakhs or Rs. 2 lakhs, that were seized by Police but to the lakhs and lakhs that went into circulation, about which the Finance

Ministry says that a notification was issued offering Rs. 100. Are there any cases which have come to the knowledge of the Government, that such notes were given back and were destroyed? There is not a single case to our knowledge.

Shri Morarji Desai: Well, I do not know; I can neither contradict him nor confirm him. But I shall certainly try to find it out. It is possible that nothing may have been found. It is just possible. The people may be afraid to give it, that they may be charged. That also might have happened. But I shall certainly try to find out. But it is not true that Government circulated those notes. That was a fantastic charge to be made.

Shri Tenneti Vishwanatham: They went into circulation; that is all that I said.

Shri Morarji Desai: You said Government circulated it.

Shri Tenneti Vishwanatham: I said Government appropriated it.

Shri Morarji Desai: "Government appropriated it." What else was the meaning of it? My hon. friend is certainly very clever in his language, but I must say that the language, to be used like that, does not lead to truth. That is what all of us should be concerned with. If I am to be damned, let me be damned, but let me be damned truthfully. That is all that I am asking.

Then, my hon. friend from Madras, Shri Sezhiyan, talked about gold control, and asked me whether I had not said—quoting Shri Hanumanthaiya who had spoken here—that I was also of the view that gold control should be scrapped. I did not speak anything about it so long, but when he has put it to me, I would like to say this: gold control was introduced for a specific purpose, of controlling gold smuggling, and sav-

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ing a lot of foreign exchange being drained away from this country in a very wrong manner through smuggling. And we are very short of foreign exchange. It was, therefore, that that was made, and 14-carat gold was the basis of that Gold Control Order. After I left Government, Government thought it fit to change that Gold Control Order and diluted it, and that made smuggling even more possible. It is, therefore, when I was asked "What do you suggest?" I said, "Rather than have such a truncated Gold Control Order, I would rather see that it is gone." But I also said that gold control will be vitally necessary for this country if we are to save ourselves economically. But it has to be done in a manner which people can now be made to accept and abide by it. That also becomes necessary. The Gold Control Order—the law—which has been passed subsequently has taken note of it. The Prime Minister also at that time had said in her policy statement made in both the Houses, and agreed with the main conclusions of the Committee which had said that 14-carat rule which helped to reduce the demand for gold and placed impediments in the circulation of smuggled gold should be accepted as an essential ingredient of India's long-term gold policy. She said she agreed with the conclusion, but while reiterating the Government's long-term objectives of gold policy, which remain unaltered, she stated, however, that Government also recognise that a major socio-economic reform, which is aimed at changing centuries-old traditions and customs cannot become fully effective within a few years and that control measures should, therefore, be effected progressively along with a good deal of public education. This is the policy of Government today. The Gold Control Bill, which will come before the House in its own time will have that policy before it. The House will have ample opportunity to consider it.

An hon. Member: Again control?

Shri Morarji Desai: There is a gold control law today. But when the Defence of India Rules disappear, we will have to make another law. Then hon. members will have full opportunity to discuss it and advise me.

My hon. friend also advocated prohibition and asked me what I was doing about it. He knows very well that I have not given up the case of prohibition.

Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta: You seem to be demoralised.

Shri Morarji Desai: I am demoralised? Even my hon. friend cannot demoralise me. Let him know that. Nobody can demoralise me like that. But he cannot also make me act as a mad man. I cannot go on crusading every day that prohibition is not introduced and therefore I will commit suicide. Is that the idea? That cannot happen. But prohibition will not be given up by me at any time. Even if I am alone, I will go on propagating it.

Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta: I am with you.

Shri Morarji Desai: Then, why don't you campaign for it? My hon. friend's administration wants to give up the grant to the Prohibition Council of Rs. 50,000. That is the only retrenchment they are proposing to do. This is the sincerity with which they want to prosecute prohibition! If this is what you want to do, I will have to consider what to believe in and what not to believe in. But I am not going to give up prohibition. Let that be understood. It is not a question for me to introduce prohibition in every State. I cannot do it. I wish I could do it. If I could do it, I would do it tomorrow. I would not be afraid about it. I will rather give up power rather than not do it, if I have it within my power.

(An hon. Member: Thank God;)

Thank God, that is what they say. I do not know why, because they will

miss the liquor afterwards. What can I do? But I think they will be much better than those who are taking liquor.

They will thank me and they will thank God that it is good that it has happened. It is no use, therefore, having a controversy about it. (*Interruptions*). I had promised at that time 50 per cent contribution to those who have not done it. Of course, my hon. friend now says, why don't you give 50 per cent to Madras now? Where is the question of giving anything to Madras now? Madras was not in need of it. Madras has done it and has benefited by it. Its finances have been benefited by it. Those States which have taken to prohibition have benefited their finances and they are in a better financial condition today than those States which are wet.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Bootleggers have also benefited.

Shri Morarji Desai: There are far more bootleggers in Punjab where there is no prohibition than in the areas where there is prohibition. There will be bootleggers everywhere, even in the happy land of West Bengal share my hon. friend reigns. Even there, amongst themselves also there will—I do not know what there will be and what there will not be, because it is they who are more used to underhand and underground working than anybody else. Therefore, they know the secrets of bootlegging, smuggling, etc. I do not know about it. I wish they stop it themselves. This is what I would like to plead with my hon. friends. Let them cooperate with us in this matter and they will see that there is much further progress. You may call it recession or slump; let us not quarrel about words. It is a fact that industrial production has gone down and we have got to bring it up. We can bring it up not merely by finding fault with each other but by creating a better climate, a better atmosphere. It cannot be done merely by giving up taxes as my hon. friend Shri Dandekar thinks. Let his friends also

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exert themselves and not merely cry out; give us all incentives and then we will work. What is the meaning of asking for more and more incentives by these people. What about the poor people who are there? What incentives are you going to give to them, if only incentives are to be given to these people who have no dearth of money? Therefore, let them learn a better lesson and let them act better. Government will certainly help them wherever necessary, and Government is going to help them. Therefore, that is a matter which they should consider.

There is another matter which I wanted to tell my hon. friends, just to show how they are carried away by vague notions without knowing facts. When I was speaking on this Bill, in the beginning, and I declared that there will be no tax on shoes lower than Rs. 5 in wholesale value per pair and that there will be no increase in prices between Rs. 5 and Rs. 8, they were all laughing saying that no pair of shoes is available in that money. Do they know what the facts are? 71 million pairs of shoes are being prepared in these factories which are being taxed. Out of 71 million pairs, 51 million pairs are under Rs. 5 and another 4 million are under Rs. 8. I have, therefore, actually exempted 87 per cent of the production, and yet my hon. friends try to think that no concession is given. Well, those who do not want to believe they cannot be made to believe and I cannot make an attempt to make them believe, and still I want to make an attempt to make them believe because I believe in them as my countrymen, I consider them as my friends even though they do not consider me as their friend.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : बुद्धिमान
बहुत हो. इस में कोई शक नहीं है।

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Cen-

[Mr. Speaker]

tral Government for the financial year 1967-68, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker The House will consider the Bill clause by clause tomorrow. Let us now take up the half-an-hour discussion.

17.28 hrs.

LOSS IN HINDUSTAN STEEL LIMITED*

Sri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): **Mr. Speaker**, Sir, it is very unfortunate that due to lack of time this important Ministry could not be discussed in this House. What I propose to discuss is only a limited aspect of the Steel Ministry.

In the beginning I want to say that because of the bureaucracy, nepotism, mismanagement and favouritism that is prevalent in our steel factories the public sector industries are getting a bad name—not that there is anything wrong in our public sector industries. Add to this, I must also—you will excuse me if I refer to that—register my protest about the way the present steel Minister started his work. He was imported to this Ministry from Andhra and probably it takes time for him to forget his past surroundings. I want to tell him that when he visited Rourkela—it was his first visit—the first act of his was to lay the foundation for the Andhra Bhavan which created the bitterest communal feelings in that area, and today there is such a tension existing among the employees that they feel as if in Rourkela unless you are a South Indian or a Bengali you have no place. Be that as it may, I would just like to refer to the reply that he made to the

question about the losses incurred by Hindustan Steel. I know that when you, Sir, were the Minister in charge, some efforts were made to find out what are the real reasons for the increase in cost of production and what steps can be taken to reduce that.

First of all, let me point out that the Minister in his reply has tried to show that the Hindustan Steel as a whole is now making profits. He said that whatever losses were incurred were at the initial period and that there were so many other factors involved in it. I want to ask him whether it is not a fact that it was estimated that after depreciation in 1964-65 they would earn a profit of about Rs. 11 crores. But what is it that they have earned? In 1964-65, according to their own reports, the profits earned are only Rs. 2.1 crores. Again, next year it is only Rs. 1.66 crores. In 1966-67 have they earned any profit? Are there not heavy losses? This can be borne out from the very fact that according to the Pande Committee Report in Durgapur alone the loss is to the tune of Rs. 13 crores. I do not know, but I think I am correct in assuming, that whatever profit Bhilai and Rourkela would earn would not make up this deficit.

We have dumped Rs. 960 crores into the steel establishments. What are the real reasons for the steel factories not coming up to expectations as regards earnings? The Minister cannot take shelter by saying that the Mahatab Committee was the only committee that found out the defects. There have been recommendations made by the Committee on Public Undertakings. Right from the year 1965, that Committee has submitted as many as five reports in this regard wherein that Committee has pointed out the main defects. I have the whole