

हजाजत दी जाये। पिछली बार अविश्वास प्रस्ताव को पेश करने का अधिकार मेरे द्वारा श्री राममूर्ति को दिया गया था। मैं इस प्रस्ताव को पेश करने का अधिकार श्री वाजपेयी या श्री हिरेन मुकर्जी को देने के लिए तैयार हूँ। जब बंगाल से इस बारे में पी० टी० आई की पहली खबर आई और हमारे नोटिस बोर्ड पर लगी—उसके बारे में कोई विवाद नहीं हो सकता है—तो उसके बाद बिल्कुल नियम और कानून के अनुसार मैंने यह सबस्टेपिब मोशन दिया। इस प्रस्ताव को चाहे श्री वाजपेयी मूव करें और चाहे श्री सुरेन्द्र नाथ द्विवेदी मूव करें। मैं कभी अपने लिए नहीं लड़ता हूँ। मैं सिद्धांतों की बात कर रहा हूँ। मेरा प्रस्ताव इस प्रकार है :

“That this House disapproves the action of the West Bengal Governor in not acting strictly as a constitutional head inasmuch as he has refused to read the text of the mandatory address, as drafted by the Cabinet of West Bengal, and provoked ugly scenes in the Legislature and raised a needless constitutional controversy with frightful implications to the already strained Centre-State relations and the future of democracy in this country”.

इस प्रस्ताव पर द्रविड़ मुनेत्र कडगम, सी० पी० आई० (माकिस्ट), सी० पी० आई०, बंगला कांग्रेस की ओर से श्री सामन्त के और श्री बदरुद्दुजा के, इन सब सदस्यों के दस्तखत हैं। ऐसी हालत में चाहे श्री वाजपेयी मेरे इस प्रस्ताव को ले लें और चाहे श्री सुरेन्द्र नाथ द्विवेदी ले लें, मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है। लेकिन सबस्टेपिब प्रस्ताव आये। इसलिए आप इस बारे में सोच समझकर दोपहर दो बजे के बाद निर्णय दीजिये।

MR. SPEAKER : The *nirnay* has already been given. I am not going to change it.

श्री मधु सिमये : यह बिल्कुल गलत है। यह स्वेच्छाचारिता, आर्बिट्रेरी है। यह नियम के खिलाफ है।

MR. SPEAKER : I have given my ruling,

whether you like it or not. It is there. There will not be any change.

12 31 hrs.

#### GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd

MR. SPEAKER : We now take up the General Budget. We have already taken 4 hours and 50 minutes. Another 15 hours and 10 minutes remain. Shri Manoharan.

SHRI MANOHARAN (Madras North) : Mr. Speaker, Sir at the outset let me offer my birthday greetings to the author of the present Budget, Mr. Morarji Desai. He is now 73. He stands between the two mighty orders, the order that is dead and the order that is emerging. He might have seen in life much and gained rich in experience, not only political but social, economic and what not of the country. I can console myself by thinking that our Finance Minister can be a better guide, though not a good master, of the affairs of the country. Mr. Morarji Desai knows better than anybody else regarding the affairs of the nation. He knows where the wind is blowing ; he knows where the shoe pinches. So, I want to make some observations for the consideration of our Finance Minister.

After 1967 General Elections, the country has got the unique opportunity of passing through a certain mental and intellectual revolution. The people in the country are now trying to write the history of their own. The monolithic order, the Congress Party, enjoyed in the past 20 years has been smashed to smithereens and the myth that the Congress Party alone could deliver the goods has been exploded. All over the country, a sense of responsibility is aroused and a sense of participation is registered.

12.33 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER—in the Chair]

It is true that the fathers of the Constitution had thought that till eternity one and the only party, the Congress Party, will rule the country and they would not have visualised a sort of contingency that the Congress Party may go to the walls and the opposition may take up the administration of the

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country. But now the hopes of the fathers of the Constitution are belied and an altogether new development is in the offing. Different political ideologies have come up on the political horizon of the country. Till 1967, there was no emphasis given and the accent pronounced on the Centre-States relationship as we do it now. Till 1967, we did not bother about article 263 in the Constitution. I would like to quote articles 263 for the consideration of the House. It reads :

"If at any time it appears to the President that the public interests would be served by the establishment of a Council charged with the duty of—

- (a) inquiring into and advising upon disputes which may have arisen between States ;
- (b) investigating and discussing subjects in which some or all of the States, or the Union and one or more of the States, have a common interest ; or
- (c) making recommendations upon any such subject and, in particular, recommendations for the better coordination of policy and action with respect to that subject,"

This article deals with coordination between the States.

Now the entire country is thinking in terms of establishment of that Council which could definitely solve the disputes that may arise between the Centre and the States. Now the order—political, economic and social—of the country is changing. Everywhere this trend is developing that today it is not one-party's rule but, on the contrary, it is a multi-party system. The present trend is that. So, it is high time for the Congress leviathan to come out of the rut and be shorn of its abominable attitude. The days of sitting in the ivory tower and giving directives and directions to the fumbling States lifting its eye-brow and simply making any recalcitrant elements in the State spellbound or simply threatening the people and bringing them down by their tricks and warnings are gone. Now the unbearable shame from which the State Governments have suffered so far as enlarged municipalities is being replaced by assertions and responsibilities. The felling in the States

that they are not the servants of the Centre and nor the Mogul Emperor is gaining ground, and no State is going to tolerate the encroachment on the part of the Central Government. The distinct change that is visible in the attitude of the State Governments should be construed as not a defiance but, on the contrary, as an assertion of right in the clear direction.

In the light of this I want to analyse the Budget that has been presented by the hon. Finance Minister, Shri Morarji Desai.

I am sure the Budget has been farmed by our Finance Minister under the assumption that after 1969-70 there would not be any transfer of resources to the States in terms of the final award of the Fifth Finance Commission which is expected to finish its work by the end of July. You must have seen this in the State Budgets ; they have revealed an alarming deficit on non-Plan account and all over. They expected that the recommendations of the Finance Commission would be to the satisfaction of the States. Here, I think, Mr. Morarji Desai might have thought that the interim report of the Finance Commission must be final and shall be final. But I take a different view of that. I want to quote from the Finance Commission's interim report ; on page 4, it is said :

"We have still to have further discussions with the State Governments and other parties and to examine carefully the material already with us and the further information and memoranda which we shall receive regarding all the items of our terms of reference. The interim recommendations in this Report should not, therefore, be regarded as indicating our final views or recommendations or as committing us in any way regarding the principles of devolution of taxes or duties, other than estate duty, or grants under Article 275 of the Constitution or any other matters referred to us under the Presidential Order."

Therefore, the interim report of the Finance Commission is not final. Let not the Finance Minister conclude that there would not be any necessity for him to transfer resources to the State Governments which are struggling for their own existence. The State Governments have framed their plan on the assumption that the gap in non-Plan account will be definitely bridged by

the Finance Commission, but unfortunately it has not done so. If that is not forthcoming, what will happen? Either of these two things will happen. Either the State Governments will be compelled to resort to overdraft or they will be compelled to cut their development outlays. In either case it is not only bad politics but is equally bad economics. I would, therefore, request the Finance Minister not to rush with his proposals and ideas of cutting funds and not giving loans and not transferring resources to the States hoping that the final award of the Finance Commission would be according to his own thinking.

The second point is the claim made by the Finance Minister as regards stability of prices. Stability of prices is largely dependent on trends in agricultural production. Here I want to say something about one of his taxation proposals, the excise duty on fertilisers. This is a point at issue now. I am sure by this time our Finance Minister might have changed his mind; if so, well and good. The excise duty on fertilisers will definitely push up the cost of the cultivation. What will happen thereby? The farmers will have to demand more for their produce. Normally the State Governments as well as the Central Government will find it difficult to deal with a situation where the farmers will be demanding more for their produce. The incidence of the levy will normally have to be covered by higher price and Governments, both in the States and at the Centre, must face that situation. This will definitely introduce an element of confusion, this will definitely tilt the balance and upset the so-called theory of stability of prices.

Our Finance Minister was right in paying encomiums to our farmers, that they are doing a lot for this country's production as a result of which are fast overcoming our difficulties on the food front. But while on one side he is paying encomiums to the agriculturist on the other he is introducing this levy on fertilisers.

I think this is absolutely cruel on his part. I cannot understand or appreciate the logic behind this simultaneous distribution of bouquets and brickbats to the farmers. I think this is a disincentive to the green revolution widely advertised by the Government of this country. Morarji bhai cannot be sadist not only in politics but in economics also. So I would request him to

stop this cruel business of kissing and kicking in regard to the agriculturists of the country.

Yesterday I read in the papers that the Chairman of the Fertiliser Association of India, Shri A. D. Mango, while talking to newsmen said that 'fertilisers which are already costly compared to other countries will become costlier as a result of the proposed central excise duty.' He said that the industry would not be able to absorb the levy in its price structure and will have to pass it on to the consumer.' 'He was answering questions at a press conference organised in connection with the seminar on agricultural production being held tomorrow.' He said that the fertiliser industry will also be affected, and the tempo of the fertiliser offtake will fail to keep pace with the rate of increase envisaged in the plan projection.

I request the Finance Minister to consider this because if he is very sincere to the agriculturists of this country, he must come out with a proposal completely deleting the levy on fertilisers in his original proposal.

The second point concerns the tax on agricultural wealth. I am not going into the merits or demerits of the proposal. I am simply viewing from a different angle. I think the tax on agricultural wealth is an encroachment on the State jurisdiction. Secondly, it is a calculated move to ride roughshod over the State rights. Thirdly, I consider it a declaration of a cold war on the State jurisdiction in the matter of legislative competence.

**THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MORARJI DESAI):** Very funny argument.

**SHRI MANOHARAN:** I will explain. Art. 246 deals with the distribution of legislative powers as between the Centre and the States. The Seventh Schedule defines and delimits the powers of the States as well as the Centre, in the Union List, the State List and in the Concurrent List.

I am very happy that I could find some friends in the Congress camp who also attack the agricultural wealth tax. Entries 82, 86, 87 and 88 in the Union List gives exclusive power to the State legislature to legislate upon this. The Centre has no

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business whatsoever to encroach upon it Entries 46, 47, 48 and 49 in the State List clearly state that the Centre has no jurisdiction so far as agricultural income and agricultural land tax are concerned. So, it has been very clearly laid down in the Seventh Schedule that the Centre has no jurisdiction.

But I am told that the Finance Minister has claimed that he has fortified his argument with the opinion of the Attorney-General of this country. That might be true. Regarding this proposition, more than one view is possible. It may be true or it may not be true that the Attorney-General may have expressed that opinion and that may be correct or may not be correct, because it is a question of interpretation. But I can argue from a certain angle and it is this.

Parliament can legislate on this, but only under certain circumstances. I have no objection if Parliament wants to legislate but it can do so in only three extraordinary situations, and those situations are visualised in articles 249, 250 and 252.

Article 249 reads thus :

“Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this Chapter, if the Council of States has declared by resolution supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting that it is necessary or expedient in the national interest that Parliament should make laws with respect to any matter enumerated in the State List specified in the resolution, it shall be lawful for Parliament to make laws for the whole or any part of the territory of India with respect to that matter while the resolution remains in force.”

So, it is only when a resolution is passed by the Rajya Sabha that it shall be lawful for Parliament to make laws for the whole or any part of the territory of India with respect to that matter while that resolution remains in force. Article 250 deals with an emergency in operation. When there is an emergency Parliament has got right to pass any legislation on the State subject, provided it is in the national interest. Article 252 gives a similar power to Parliament when there is consent from the States.

So, it is very clear that the Government of India and this Parliament have no jurisdiction on this matter.

Probably, the Finance Minister may argue that the principle of *non-obstante* could be invoked. But I take strong objection to that and I submit that it cannot be invoked, unless there is a continuing conflict between the States and the Centre.

So, on any account, it is clear that Parliament and the Government of India have no right to pass legislation on any subject within the jurisdiction of the States.

There is one other point which I want to stress and I hope the Finance Minister will definitely concur with me on this point. The Central budget does not make any significant contribution on the question of tackling the ever-growing debt charges. Yesterday, the Madras Finance Minister had this to say in the Madras Legislative Assembly. This is what has been reported.

“Mr. Mathiazhagam, Finance Minister complained that the State was not getting its due share in the Central taxes. He said the State had asked the Centre to raise its share of income-tax from 75 per cent of the amount collected in the State to 87 per cent. In the case of excise duties it had pleaded for doubling the present share from 20 per cent to 40 per cent. He hoped that the Centre would accede to the request.”

I am glad that the National Development Council is going to meet shortly where all these points will be discussed. He further said :

“The State did not get a paisa from the corporation tax which brought in Rs. 320 crores. The State Governments had to be contented with their Ministers inaugurating new industries and companies while the taxes collected from them went straightway to the Finance Minister.”

The Finance Minister of Tamil Nadu further pleaded for collection or re-payment of the Central loans in easy instalments.

The debt burden of the States has grown from Rs. 445 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 5502 crores by the end of the Third Plan period. Thus, the debt burden of the States has increased by 14 times within a period of about

fifteen years. By 1968-69, this will increase to a little over Rs. 7000 crores. This figure represents the total debt owed by the States to the Centre. Out of the total volume of resources transferred under revenue account to the States from the Central Government, nearly 30 per cent flows back to the Centre for repayment of principal as well as interest. I request the Finance Minister to consider the question of re-scheduling of debts on the basis of a correct understanding and appraisal of the situation. He may argue 'Where are the funds?' We have no funds at all. The State Governments clamour for more funds and resources. But where are the funds? To him my humble submission would be this. All duplication and overlapping must go. Why should the Central Government have so many Ministries? For example, a Ministry of Education at the Centre is superfluous, because each State Government has its own Education Ministry. The people here at the Centre are doing nothing except eating the wealth of this country. Then take the Public Health Department. Each State Government has got its own Department of Health. Similarly, there is a list of other Ministries as well, namely the Food and Agriculture Ministry, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Co-operation, the Ministry of Rehabilitation etc. Those are all Ministries functioning here with thousands and thousands of staff and wasting thousands of crores of rupees without doing anything concrete. So, I would request the Finance Minister to consider whether it is possible for him to eliminate or abolish all these Ministries.

So far as agriculture is concerned, the point is very clear. What do these people know about agriculture? The cultivators are doing their job right under the very nose of the State Government which knows the problem. But here the people are sitting in an ivory tower without doing anything but standing as a stumbling block or an obstacle and eating the whole wealth of this country. Our Finance Minister here happens to be also the Deputy Prime Minister of this country; it is high time for him to think on the lines that I have suggested, namely of abolishing all these superfluous Ministries.

Just one instance will reveal certain facts in a very shocking manner. Take, for instance, the Food Ministry. There are so many Departments under this Ministry. For example, there is a man called Agricultural

Production Commissioner; there is another man called the Animal Husbandry Commissioner. Then there is a third man called the Inspector-General of Forests, and then there is a man called the Agricultural Marketing Officer. Why should there be so much of duplication and overlapping? The Finance Minister has asked us 'Where is the money?' But there is the money. If the Finance Minister rightly thinks in terms of the country's wealth and the country's money and the taxpayers' money he can easily find out a solution. I request the Finance Minister to think over this and see that something is done.

He is a man of rich experience and he knows better than anybody else in this country what needs to be done. If he is not going to do it, then who else is going to do it? So, in the evening of his life I think he can do something for the people of this country.

Regarding the tax on sugar, I do not know why he has levied this tax on it. I submit that the Finance Minister should not be so bitter towards sugar, because it is a common man's commodity. Regarding cigarettes, I do not understand why he has become a sadist like this to tax the common people of this country...

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI :** Everybody is a sadist.

**SHRI MANOHARAN :** I have got much regard for him. But he proves to be the pastmaster in this.

I would now like to say a word about the excise duty on textiles. I would say that the concessions granted by the Finance Minister are not only too late but are wholly inadequate. So, he must think over this matter again and see that relief measures are given to see that the mills which had closed at the time of crisis are reopened. To that extent I expect his co-operation.

The DMK Government is naturally anxious to help the people of our State. We want to embark upon certain plans which are productive, but we have no money. Our Finance Minister is a prohibitionist and claims to belong to the Gandhian order. I think he is the one and only man in the country who can claim that. The late lamented Chief Minister of Madras supported him and said that on no account would

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prohibition be scrapped. We are losing to the tune of Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 crores because of prohibition, but the Chief Minister said that he did not want to be lured by the tempting figures. He was satisfied that with the scrapping of prohibition, people would be in the streets, the women would be shedding tears, and he did not want it. So, we have every right to expect the Finance Minister to help us, but the Planning Commission which decided to give Rs. 250 crores to Madras State has now brought it down to Rs. 201 crores. If such a kind of attitude is developed, what will happen? We must think of that. The situation has changed, and the Finance Minister cannot say that he is the master and the States must follow suit.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : I will never say that.

SHRI MANOHARAN : I am not talking of you, but of the Central Government. Do not isolate yourself. When I say Finance Minister, you are not Morarji Desai.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : Do not mention the two together.

SHRI MANOHARAN : Now only I understand you have double personality.

So, our Finance Minister must take note, because the NDC meeting is going to be held, and he must correct it. If this is left as it is, what will happen? That is my question.

So far as the DMK is concerned, we had been preaching separation for several years. After 1962-63 we were convinced that we could not isolate ourselves from the main political current of the country, and we therefore decided to bury deep the philosophy of separatism. We did not expect any bouquet for it from anybody, we voluntarily did it, but we stressed that certain conditions and causes existing in the country which pave the way for undesirable slogans and undesirable political philosophies must be removed. The other day, while the Home Minister was dubbing the Shiv Sena a Fascist organisation—I am glad he did so—he said that certain conditions and causes exist in our society

which pave the way for the emergence of such Fascist organisations. So, unless and until they are removed, a solution is an impossibility. We were talking of separation not on any other ground. We have no desire to have a separate, independent Dravidasthan or something of that kind, so that Shri Morarji Desai may be my counterpart. The question is simple. We are aggrieved parties. Each and every State has such a feeling today. Nobody can say that Tamil Nadu alone is demanding this. What about West Bengal, what about Maharashtra, what about Gujarat? Each and every State feels that it must be an equal partner in the nation.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He may continue in the afternoon.

13.00 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.*

*The Lok Sabha reassembled after Lunch at Four minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.*

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker in the Chair]

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd.

SHRI MANOHARAN : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I shall finish my speech within five minutes. I have been referring to the need for the Central Government to help the States which are in distress. Today, what is required for the Central Government is to have fertile imagination and understanding and not futile obduracy and obstinacy.

After pointing out the basis of it, I shall conclude my speech.

The State Governments should be given more powers and the residual powers which are being maintained by the Central Government should automatically go to the States. Here, I want to quote the recommendations made by the Setalvad Team. A Study Team of the Administrative Reforms Commission, Mr. Setalvad's team, has pointed out that "as sharers in the fruits of such projects in the States, the Centre cannot in fairness to

the States absolve itself of all the responsibilities for shouldering a reasonable proportion of the repayment obligations. A high-powered expert committee should go into the problem of indebtedness of the States in all its aspects, and an imaginative, statesman like approach be evolved by tackling it." I hope the Finance Minister will consider the proposals that I have given for his consideration, especially in the National Development Council.

Now, I want to suggest for the effective consideration of the Finance Minister one important proposal, considering the need for development that obtains today in our country. It is this. Concentration of power must go, and decentralisation must be ushered in, for which an important statesman of the country made a suggestion to another important man in the country's national affairs. It is this. While Rajaji was the Governor-General, when the Constitution was in the offing, he suggested to Dr. Ambedkar, the then Law Minister, that considering India's vastness, the bulk of its population, the polyglot nature of its population, the society which we are having and which is plural, and the culture which is composite, which we are enjoying, India should have two federations, one for the South and the other for the North, and both should have a confederation in the top. The confederation should deal with foreign affairs, defence and communications. The present entries which are in the exclusive purview of the Central Government,—an exclusive list,—are too bulky and so they must be rearranged, and the Centre must be satisfied in dealing with three subjects and two or three more like currency and the like, and all the rest must go to the States. If that is not accepted by the Government of India, then I think they cannot solve the issues that face the country today.

Now, each and every State is clamouring for more powers. This has been the demand of the DMK party for the past so many years. One by one, each and every State is clamouring for more powers. The Prime Minister of this country and the Deputy Prime Minister cannot afford to ignore all these genuine demands of the States. Each State wants to assert itself. Probably the Deputy Prime Minister may think that thereby the strength of the Central Government may go. But, I feel otherwise. If the States are given enormous powers in their respective jurisdic-

tion and if the Centre deals with defence, communication and foreign affairs of this country as an equal partner in the national affairs, the Central Government can be made extra strong. But if you think that by taking away or snatching away the powers that are now vested in the State Governments, the Central Government can be made strong, you are sadly mistaken. So, you must have a realistic approach to the issues that crop up today. I am one of those who believe that this country's integration must be kept intact. So far as we the members of the DMK party are concerned, we are second to none in upholding the integration and solidarity of the country.

I have been repeatedly saying on the floor of this House that my party stands for that. So, if there is any misgiving on the part of the State Governments, it is not because of this but it is because of the non-chalant attitude adopted by the Central Government. So, I request the Deputy Prime Minister to come out from the old way of thinking and have a new look and have a new dimension of understanding and see that the problems of Centre-State relations are solved. It is high time for the Government of India to think on these lines, because everybody thinks that otherwise this country may go to dogs. Now, whether it is due to a clear-cut understanding that has dawned on the Government of India or not, we find that it is a fact that rehearsals are being staged and enacted to have a coalition all over. I am sure that after 1972 you cannot find a Congress Government at the Centre. The multiparty system will emerge, and the Congress Party has ample opportunity to have rehearsal from now on. Three solid years are before them. They must study problems absolutely and in their entirety. They must iron out differences, if there are any. They must try to accommodate people. They must shed away the so-called complex of isolation. They must think of the unity of the country. They should not think that the States are after all subordinates. Without States, there is no Central Government.

The contributions made by the State Governments are immense. The Central Government appear to have no realisation whatsoever regarding that. I would request the Deputy Prime Minister to think whether on the present basis it is possible to have the nation's integrity intact.

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On behalf of the Government of Madras, I now want to make a request to the Deputy Prime Minister. In the field of food production the condition in Tamil Nadu is very bad. We have been giving help to our neighbouring States like Kerala when they were in distress. But now the drought situation in our State is so fantastic and terrible. The day before yesterday, the Food Minister visited our State. Our immediate requirement is the extent of one lakh tonnes of rice. I am happy that the Food Minister has promised our Chief Minister that something will be done. But the term 'something will be done' is shrouded in misunderstanding and things of that kind. I submit that it must be positively done. Otherwise, we are seriously thinking of declaring the entire Tamil Nadu as a famine-stricken area. It is high time, therefore, that the Food Minister should help our State at this time of distress.

We demand, on behalf of the DMK, a reappraisal of the Constitution in the light of new developments. Secondly, we demand a rescheduling of debts. Thirdly, unnecessary duplication must go. As I have already pointed out, certain Ministries must be immediately abolished in the interests of the country's prosperity. I hope that the Deputy Prime Minister will do something in this direction.

Fourthly, in order to maintain the integrity of the country we must sit together and see what all we could do without any sense of reservation. Let us not have a sort of complacent thinking that these are all people creating troubles. Actually, no State under the Government of India as well as under the Constitution is recalcitrant towards the Centre. If the Centre tries to change its attitude, it would be all the more good for the Centre. If the Central Government is strong, stubborn, obdurate and obstinate without hearing and listening to the wishes of the people of the States, I think it is high time that the Central Government seriously thinks of removing such kinds of recalcitrant elements sitting at the Centre.

In regard to the tax proposals, I would request the Deputy Prime Minister to delete the levy on agricultural wealth, excise duty on sugar, tobacco etc. and give relief to the people of this country. Then only we can appreciate the Deputy Prime Minister's proposals. I hope he will do it.

श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम (भांवला) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री को बधाई देना चाहती हूँ उनके इस अपूर्व साहस के लिए जिस साहस के साथ उन्होंने इस वर्ष का वित्तीय बजट प्रस्तुत किया है। निस्सन्देह उनको कुछ कठोर व सख्त कदम उठाने पड़े हैं लेकिन आज अर्थ व्यवस्था में इसके सिवाय और कोई चारा नहीं था। यदि आज इस समय यह सख्त कदम न उठाये जाते तो हो सकता था कि हमारी उस अर्थ व्यवस्था की एक शृंखला टूट जाती और वह जिम्मेदारियों से भागना होता और परिस्थितियों से दूर हटना होता। इसलिए आवश्यक था कि इस तरीके का बजट देश के सामने उपस्थित किया जाता।

मुझे दुःख है इस बात का कि कुछ कर लगाये गये और उन करों का विरोध सभी संवर्गों ने किया है चाहे कांग्रेस की तरफ के लोग हों चाहे विरोधी पक्ष के लोग हों लेकिन सब से अधिक दुःख तो इस बात का है कि जो लोग समाजवादी कहलाते हैं, समाजवाद में विश्वास करते हैं उन्होंने करों की आलोचना की और करों का विरोध किया। मैंने भी समाजवाद को पढ़ा है और जहां तक मैं समझी हूँ मैं समाजवाद के एक ही मायने समझती हूँ कि लोगों के अन्दर एक क्षमता पैदा की जाय कि उत्पादक शक्ति बढ़े, उनकी आमदनी बढ़े, उनके अन्दर इतनी क्षमता प्राप्त हो कि वह खर्चों को उठा सकें, करों को दे सकें और क्रय-शक्ति उनमें बढ़ सके। यह एक समाजवादी सरकार का सिद्धान्त है यद्यपि हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री के पूरे बजट भाषण में समाजवाद शब्द का नाम भी मुझे देखने को नहीं मिला जबकि हमारे देश ने इस बात की घोषणा की कि हमारा देश एक डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्टिक, मुक्त है।

इस बजट के अन्दर गांधी जन्म शताब्दी के अवसर पर गांधी जी के नाम का जरूर एक जगह पर जिक्र है लेकिन समाजवादी देश होने पर भी समाजवाद का इस बजट में नाबोनिशान



नहीं है। जिस दिन से हम ने आरबी कांग्रेस के सेशन में यह घोषणा की थी कि यह देश समाजवादी देश होगा फिर इस को हम ने दुहराया जबकि भुवनेश्वर का कांग्रेस सेशन हुआ था कि यह देश हमारा एक समाजवादी देश है। तब से मैं ने देखा कि निरन्तर राज्यों के बजट में और यहां केन्द्र के बजट में भी बराबर कहीं न कहीं इस बात का जिक्र जरूर आया कि यह समाजवादी देश का बजट है किन्तु इस बार के केन्द्रीय बजट में यह प्रमुख लक्षण दिखाई दिया कि उस के अन्दर नाम मात्र को भी समाजवाद जैसे शब्द का जिक्र नहीं है। लेकिन फिर भी मैं जिम्मेदारी के साथ कह सकती हूँ कि यह देश एक समाजवादी देश है और समाजवादी देश बन कर रहेगा। इस के सिवाय और कोई चारा नहीं है।

हमारे सामने एक बहुत बड़ी चुनौती है, एक बहुत बड़ा प्रश्न है कि किस तरीके से हम आत्मनिर्भर हों। यदि आत्मनिर्भर होना है तो देश के सभी साधनों को इकट्ठा करना होगा। समाज के उन सभी अंगों पर बोझ डालना होगा जोकि इस देश से सुविधा उठाना चाहते हैं और उस से अपनी सम्पदा, समृद्धि और देश की सम्पत्ति को बढ़ाना चाहते हैं।

इस बजट के अन्दर यह हम को देखने को मिला कि समाज के हर अंग पर इस का बोझ पड़ा है चाहे वह गरीब हो, चाहे वह अमीर हो, चाहे किसान हो, मजदूर हो, शहर का रहने वाला हो या देहान का रहने वाला हो। कृषि पर टैक्स का विरोध किया गया। मैं समझती हूँ कि इस देश की आबादी का लगभग 80 प्रतिशत देहातों में रहता है। जिनकी छोटी जोतें हैं, छोटी होल्डिंग्स हैं उन पर इस टैक्स का कोई बोझ नहीं पड़ा यह केवल उन्हीं लोगों पर पड़ा है जिनकी कि बड़ी-बड़ी जोतें हैं और जो बड़े-बड़े शेतियार लोग हैं। आखिर क्यों न उन पर यह बोझ पड़े? एक तरफ वह शहरों के अन्दर रह कर अपनी आमदनी और दूसरे साधनों से बढ़ाते हैं और दूसरी तरफ

बड़ी-बड़ी अपनी होल्डिंग्स से अपनी फसलें पैदा करते हैं, कैश क्रॉप्स से अच्छी खासी आमदनी वह करते हैं इसलिए उन के ऊपर यह बोझ जरूर पड़ना चाहिए था।

हां फटिलाइजर्स पर जो टैक्स पड़ा है उस के मैं जरूर खिलाफ हूँ और वह इसलिए खिलाफ हूँ कि अभी तक भारत का किसान इस का आदी नहीं हो पाया है कि वह फटिलाइजर्स का इस्तेमाल कर सके। थोड़ा-थोड़ा उस ने सीखा है लेकिन आमतौर पर अभी वह अपने इंडिजनस तरीके से और पुराने फटिलाइजर्स से ही काम चलाता रहा है और उसी पर अपना विश्वास करता रहा है। मुझे इस बात की चिन्ता है और इस बात का भय है कि कहीं फटिलाइजर्स के इस्तेमाल से किसान का विश्वास न हट जाय और जो उस ने आज इस प्रकार का कदम उठाया है वह उस से पीछे न हट जाय। माननीय वित्त मंत्री इस पर सोचेंगे और विचार करेंगे। चाहे छोटा किसान उस को इस्तेमाल करता हो चाहे बड़ा किसान इस को इस्तेमाल करता हो, लेकिन फटिलाइजर पर टैक्स लगाना अन्याय का कदम है।

पिछले वर्ष निस्संदेह हमारी कृषि में चेतना आई है, हमारे उद्योगों में से रिसेशन घटा है, कीमनों के अंदर भी स्थिरता आई है, और हम जिम्मेदारी के साथ कह सकते हैं कि हम ने यह महसूस किया है कि अब हम अपनी एकानमी, अपनी आर्थिक अवस्था को कंट्रोल में लाये हैं। हमें इस बात का एहसास हुआ है, लेकिन सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न यह कि हम इस रिकवरी को, इस-स्थिरता को कायम रख सकें। हमारे देश का जितना खजाना है उस की 50 फीसदी आमदनी खेती से आती है और कुल आबादी के दो तिहाई आदमी उस में लगे हुए हैं। निर्यात बढ़ने के भी जो साधन हैं उन में भी लगभग 215 हिस्सा खेती पर निर्भर हैं। हमारी खेती की आमदनी के ऊपर निर्यात की आमदनी भी निर्भर है।

सब लोग जानते हैं कि देश के अंदर ऐसी

### [श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम]

बहुत भूमि नहीं रही जो ग्रैंड कल्टिवेशन लाई जा सके। इसलिये देखना होगा कि आखिर किस तरह से हमारी वर्तमान खेती सघन खेती हो सकती है। यदि सारे विश्व की स्थिति को हम देखें तो जहां पर भी खेती होती है, उस से हमारे देश की खेती आज बहुत पिछड़ी हुई है और उस में उपज बढ़ाई जा सकती है। लेकिन सिवा सघन खेती के, इन्टेसिव खेती के, इस के लिये कोई दूसरा उपाय नहीं है।

विस् मंत्री जी ने अपने बजट में अनुसन्धान के ऊपर 64 करोड़ रु० रखे हैं। पिछले वर्ष की अपेक्षा 10 करोड़ रु० बढ़ाये गये हैं। लेकिन जो अनुसंधान हुए हैं, उन में से बेमिक रिसर्च पर ज्यादा रुपया खर्च हो जाता है, अप्लाइड रिसर्च पर बहुत कम खर्च होता है। हम जो उत्पादन बढ़ा सकते हैं, चाहे इरिगेशन से बढ़ाये, चाहे खेती से बढ़ाये, वह बहुत कुछ अप्लाइड रिसर्च पर निर्भर करता है। यह सहायता हमें उन उद्योगों से लेनी होगी जिन की फैक्ट्रियां हमारे देश में स्थापित हैं। वह आप को ज्यादा से ज्यादा सहयोग दें और देश के नवयुवकों को कान्बिल बनायें, प्रशिक्षित बनायें। तभी अप्लाइड रिसर्च का लाभ हो सकता है।

सब से अधिक दुःख तो तब होता है जब देखते हैं कि एक प्रोजेक्ट प्रारम्भ कर दिया जाता है, लेकिन वह खत्म नहीं होता और उस के जो नतीजे होते हैं वह किसानों तक या उन लोगों तक नहीं पहुंचते जो रोजगार में लगे होते हैं। रिसर्च एक्सटेंशन में कोऑर्डिनेशन होना चाहिये। अगर लेबोरेट्रीज में रिसर्च कराई जाय और उस के नतीजे उन लोगों तक न पहुंचें जो उन का लाभ उठाना चाहते हैं और देश को लाभ पहुंचाना चाहते हैं, तो ऐसी रिसर्च से कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है। पन्तनगर में सब से बड़ा फार्म एशिया का है। वहां चुकन्दर पर रिसर्च हुई, सोयाबीन पर रिसर्च हुई, लेकिन

उस का लाभ वहीं तक सीमित रह जाता है। इसी तरह से रुड़की में इरिगेशन इन्स्टिट्यूट में वाटर रिसोर्सज के सम्बन्ध में वाटर रिकवायर-मेंट्स आफ व्हीट ऐंड राइस पर बड़ा जबर्दस्त कार्य हुआ। 2 लाख रु० गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की तरफ से लगाया गया। बड़ी-बड़ी टीमें उस को देखने गईं। यू० एस० ए० की एक टीम आई। उस ने उस की बड़ी प्रशंसा की। गवर्न-मेंट आफ इंडिया की फूड मिनिस्ट्री ने एक किताब छापी, लेकिन वह बीच में ही बन्द कर दी गई। पता नहीं क्यों। बहुत अच्छी चीज थी। गेहूँ के लिये कितने पानी की जरूरत है, राइस के लिये कितने पानी की जरूरत है, इस पर बड़ी भारी रिसर्च रुड़की युनिवर्सिटी ने की और इस इन्स्टिट्यूट के जरिये से बहुत बड़ी योजना बनी। परन्तु बीच में ही वह समाप्त कर दी गई। इसी तरह से पानी के ऊपर रिसर्च हुई कि किस जगह पर कितना पानी है। सभी स्टेट्स में टयूबवेल लगाये गये। रुहेलखण्ड के अन्दर, बुन्देलखण्ड के अंदर और उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों में हजारों की संख्या में टयूबवेल बने, लेकिन सब खत्म हो गये।

एक माननीय सदस्य : बुन्देलखण्ड में नहीं हैं।

श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम : वहां भी बने हैं। वहां पानी नहीं निकला। पानी निकला तो वह भी कटुआ निकला। बिना साइंटिफिक मेथड के कुएं बनते चले गये, इसलिये टयूबवेल से कोई लाभ नहीं हुआ। एक्सप्लोरेटरी टयूबवेल आर्गो-नाइजेशन 1954 में केन्द्रीय स्तर पर स्थापित हुआ और उस में बड़ी तेजी से काम हुआ। मझास में काफी टयूबवेल खोदे गये, बम्बई में सी कोस्ट पर भी बने, लेकिन सारी स्कीम में ढील पड़ गई। इस विभाग के होते हुए जितना काम होना चाहिये था उतना नहीं हुआ। चाहे रिसर्च वर्क हो चाहे एक्सपेरिमेंट वर्क हो। यदि खेती को सघन खेती में बदलना है तो अनुसन्धान

कार्य को तेज करना पड़ेगा और सक्रिय बनाना पड़ेगा ।

जहाँ हमारे देश की प्रगति और उन्नति लेती पर निर्भर है वहाँ उद्योगों पर भी निर्भर है । मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि उद्योगों को कुछ रिलीफ और कंसेशन प्रदान किये गये हैं । मैं समझती हूँ कि इस से हमारे उद्योगों के अंदर एक क्रांति आयेगी और चीजें भी सस्ती कीमतों पर मिलेंगी, साथ ही जो टैक्स है वह भी काफी मात्रा में वसूल हो सकेंगे । साथ ही मैं इतना जरूर कहना चाहती हूँ कि उद्योगपतियों की टेबेंसी भी ठीक की जाये । सब से बड़ी जरूरत आज इस देश में है कि एक इंडस्ट्रियल क्लाइमेट पैदा हो । हम ने पिछले दिनों में देखा कि बहुत घेराव होते रहे, स्ट्राइक होते रहे और लाक-आउट होते रहे । आखिर इन चीजों से इस देश का उत्पादन घटता ही है । अगर इस देश के अंदर एक इंडस्ट्रियल क्लाइमेट न बनी तो जितने भी कंसेशन और रिबेट आप दें, मजदूरों के लिये चाहे जितने कानून बनायें, लेबर लाज बनायें, इस से कुछ फायदा होने वाला नहीं है । आज तो आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि इस का पता लगाया जाये कि बेसिक गलतियाँ कहाँ हैं, जरूरतें क्या हैं । अगर ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तो इस देश में जो क्रांति हो रही है, चाहे रेड क्रांति के नाम से हो चाहे ग्रीन क्रांति के नाम से, उस को आप रोक नहीं सकेंगे, चाहे आप 144 लगाइये, चाहे कोई और कानून लाइये । जब तक आप इस की जड़ में नहीं पहुँचेंगे कि इस के क्या बुनियादी कारण हैं और क्यों आज क्रांति है, क्या हमारे देश की आवश्यकता है, क्यों इतनी बेरोजगारी है, अगर पढ़े लिखे नौजवान बेरोजगार हो गये लाखों करोड़ों की संख्या में, जिस का आप अनुमान नहीं लगा सकते, लोग बेरोजगार हो रहे हैं । आप इस देश की क्रांति को रोक नहीं सकेंगे । आज आप को चाहिये कि आप जो बुनियादी चीजें हैं उन को देखें, उन पर मनन करें । उम्मी है देश का फायदा और लाभ होने वाला है ।

आप जूट और काटन को प्रायोरिटी लिस्ट में लाये हैं । खुशी है । शायद इससे देश का कुछ भला हो, लेकिन किस नाम पर ? बेवेलपमेंट रिबेट मिलेगा, माडर्नाइजेशन होगा । मैंने पिछले 50 वर्षों का औद्योगिक इतिहास देखा है । उद्योगपतियों की यह टेबेंसी रही है कि वह इन्वेस्टमेंट करते हैं शुरू-शुरू में अपनी मशीनों पर, कारखानों की बिल्डिंगों के ऊपर, उसके बाद मशीनों से अधिक से अधिक काम लेना चाहते हैं, जब तक कि उनकी हालत ऐसी न हो जाये कि वह जर्जर अवस्था में हो जायें, जब तक उनकी सारी मशीनरी टूट फूट न जाये, खत्म न हो जाये । सन् 1936 में काफी शुगर मिलें उत्तर प्रदेश में कायम हुई, लेकिन आज तक उनकी मशीनरी में रद्दो बदल नहीं हुई । उनकी जो मशीनरी है उसकी क्रशिंग पावर खत्म हो गई, वह जर्जर अवस्था में हो गई, उनकी सारी शक्ति क्षीण हो गई, लेकिन फिर भी उनको बदलने का नाम वह नहीं लेते । जो रिबेट आप दे रहे हैं बेवेलपमेंट और माडर्नाइजेशन के नाम पर, उसके लिये आप क्यों उन उद्योगपतियों और इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स पर जोर नहीं देते कि वह अपनी मशीनों को खुद ठीक करें, बीच-बीच में अपनी मशीनों को बदलें, उनको माडर्नाइज करें ? हमें बड़ी खुशी होती है जब हम देश की बंगलौर एप्रोनाटिक्स फैक्ट्री को देखते हैं । 20-22 वर्ष हुए उसको कायम हुए, लेकिन उसकी मशीनरी का कोई हिस्सा आठ-दस वर्ष से ज्यादा पुराना नहीं है । जब सरकारी संस्थान और सरकारी फैक्ट्रियाँ बिलकुल अपटु बेट रह सकती हैं तब जो प्राइवेट सेक्टर की चीजें हैं, जिनसे लोग अधिक से अधिक लाभ उठाना चाहते हैं, क्या देश के प्रति और समाज के प्रति उनकी कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं है कि वह अपनी मशीनों को ठीक करें ? जहाँ आप उन्हें रेबेट दे रहे हैं, कृपा कर उन पर यह जोर डालें, चाहे कानून की दृष्टि से या जी अोज के आधार पर कि वह अपनी मशीनों को ठीक करें ।

चीनी के सम्बन्ध में मैं दो शब्द कहना

## [श्रीमती सावित्री श्याम]

चाहती हूँ। चीनी नंदी दुई है, इसका मुझे अकसोस नहीं है। इससे लोग चीनी कम खाना सीखेंगे और पैसे को बचाना सीखेंगे। लेकिन सबसे ज्यादा अकसोस की बात तो यह है कि एक तरफ तो कंज्यूमर्स को, चीनी खाने वाले को चीनी महंगी मिलती रहेगी और दूसरी तरफ उद्योगपति अपना मुनाफा लेते रहेंगे लेकिन जो गन्ना पैदा करने वाला है, उसको कम कीमत अपने गन्ने की मिलती रहेगी। केन्द्र से यह तय हुआ था कि गन्ना उत्पादक को साढ़े दस या पौने ग्यारह रुपया फी क्विंटल चीनी के लिए जो गन्ना दिया जाता है उसका मिलेगा। मैं जानना चाहती हूँ कि क्या आपने इस बात की भी जानकारी ली है कि मिलों ने किसानों को इतना रुपया दिया है या नहीं दिया है? आज भी हमारे पूर्वी जिलों में और पश्चिमी जिलों में जहाँ पर कि गन्ना बहुत अच्छा पैदा होता है, मेरठ, बुलन्दशहर, मुजफ्फरनगर आदि में बहुत बढ़िया गन्ना पैदा होता है, नौ रुपये और साढ़े नौ रुपये फी क्विंटल से ज्यादा गन्नों का दाम किसानों को नहीं मिलता है। उस किसान के लिए भी आपको सोचना चाहिये। आपको देखना चाहिए कि उसको ठीक कीमत गन्ने की मिले और समय पर मिले। मैं समझती हूँ कि आज समय आ गया है जबकि जिनको सिक मशीने कहा जाता है, जो कि सिक फॅक्ट्रीज के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं, उनको सरकार अपने कब्जे में ले, सरकार उनका नेशनलाइजेशन करें और देखें कि उनके अन्दर क्या हो सकता है, कितनी हैं जिनको ठीक किया जा सकता है और किस तरह से किसानों को ठीक और समय पर कीमत अदा की जा सकती है, कितना मजदूरों को दिया जा सकता है। चीनी का बाहर जाना लगभग बन्द हो गया है। वर्ल्ड मार्केट के कम्पीटीशन में हम खड़े नहीं हो सके हैं और इस कारण से हमारी चीनी का बाहर जाना करीब-करीब बन्द हो गया है। आवश्यकता इस बात है कि आप इसको काटेज इंडस्ट्री पर छोड़िये, लोग अपने-अपने कोल्लू से, अपने-अपने

ऊसर से शक्कर बनायें और बेचें। उस अवस्था में सरकार को कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं रह जायेगी कि महंगी बिकती है या सस्ती बिकती है और किसान को कम मिलता है या ज्यादा मिलता है या किसान को सही कीमत मिलती है या नहीं मिलती है। लेकिन जो नीति आपने अपनाई है उससे न तो किसान का कोई फायदा हुआ है और न ही कंज्यूमर का कोई फायदा हुआ है। जो चीनी मिलें हिन्दुस्तान में है और विशेषकर उत्तर प्रदेश में है, उनकी मशीनरी के अन्दर कोई जान नहीं है, सब पुरानी मशीनरी है और जर्जर मशीनरी हैं, कोई काम देनी वाली मशीनरी नहीं है। कभी मिल मालिक कह देते हैं कि गन्ने में कीड़ा लग गया है और कभी कह देते हैं कि रस पतला है, इसलिए जो गन्ने की कीमत है वह नहीं दी जा सकती है, तब शुदा कीमत नहीं जा सकती है। जो गन्ने की कीमत है वह भी अलग अलग जगहों पर अलग-अलग है, वह भी बेरी करती है। बुलंदशहर में कुछ है तो पूर्वी जिलों में बलिया और बनारस आदि में कुछ और है। हो सकता है कि ऐसा आपने क्वालिटी को देखते हुए किया हो, गन्ने की क्वालिटी को ध्यान में रखकर किया हो। लेकिन आवश्यकता आज इस बात की है कि किसान को अपने गन्ने की सही कीमत मिले, वक्त पर मिले और उसके साथ न्याय हो।

अब मैं वित्त मंत्री जी की सेवा में केन्द्र और राज्यों के बीच वित्तीय बटवारे के सम्बन्ध में कुछ नम्र निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ। तीन योजनायें समाप्त हो चुकी हैं। इन तीनों योजनाओं में उत्तर प्रदेश के साथ अन्नाय होता रहा है। मैं नहीं जानती हूँ कि इसका कारण क्या है? क्या इसका कारण यही नहीं है कि तीन तीन प्रधान मंत्री उत्तर प्रदेश के रहे हैं और सबकी जुबान इस मामले में बन्द रहती रही है, वे कुछ नहीं कह सके हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश सबसे बड़ा प्रदेश है। उसकी आबादी नौ करोड़ से ज्यादा हो चुकी है प्लानिंग कमिशन ने तथा फाइनेंस कमिशन ने भी कुछ उसूल तय किये हैं वित्तीय बटवारे

के सम्बन्ध में। केन्द्र और राज्यों में जो वित्तीय बटवारा होता है वह किन्हीं उसूलों के बिना पर ही तो होता है, एट रैंडम तो होता नहीं है, अनसाइंटिफिक ढंग से तो होता नहीं है। इस बटवारे में जिन बातों का ह्याल रखा जाता है उसके बारे में प्लानिंग कमिशन ने उसूल तय किया है कि पापुलेशन उस प्रान्त की ज्यादा हो बँववर्डेनस ज्यादा हो पर केपिटल इनकम कम हो तो उसको ज्यादा अंशदान मिलेगा। उसके पिछड़ेपन को ध्यान में ऐसा करते समय रखा जाएगा, उसकी सामाजिक और आर्थिक स्थिति को ध्यान में रखा जायेगा। उसकी एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव आवश्यकतायें कितनी हैं, इसको ध्यान में रखा जायगा। यह सब लिखा हुआ है। यह बात नहीं है कि प्लानिंग कमिशन ने ही यह उसूल तय किया हो, फाइनेंस कमिशन ने भी यही उसूल तय किया हुआ है कि वित्तीय साधनों का बटवारा केन्द्र और राज्यों के बीच में इसी को आधार मानकर तय किया जायेगा। जहाँ तक उत्तर प्रदेश का सम्बन्ध है, पिछली तीन योजनाओं के अन्दर उसके साथ ज्यादाती होती रही है और यह ज्यादाती आज तो पराकाष्ठा पर पहुँच गई है। चौथी योजना तो अभी शुरू होनी है। लेकिन इस साल की योजना के अंदर 83 करोड़ 59 लाख का अनुदान उसको मिलेगा, केन्द्रीय सहायता उसको मिलेगी जोकि पूरे बजट का या पूरी सहायता का साढ़े बारह प्रतिशत ही है। लेकिन इसके मुकाबले में आप देखें कि उत्तर प्रदेश की आबादी सारे देश की आबादी का साढ़े 17 प्रतिशत है। आप केवल साढ़े बारह प्रतिशत ही उसको धन दे रहे हैं। कम से कम बीस प्रतिशत धन तो उत्तर प्रदेश को मिलना चाहिए।

फिर आप यह भी देखें कि 1952 से लेकर आज तक जितने उद्योग लगे हैं, चाहे वे किसी भी प्रकार के उद्योग हों, उनमें से साठ प्रतिशत उद्योग मद्रास में, बंगाल में, गुजरात, महाराष्ट्र आदि में लगे हैं। जो बालीस प्रतिशत बचे हैं उनमें से उत्तर प्रदेश के हिस्से में बहुत कम

उद्योग आये हैं। उसको बहुत ही कम अंश इसका मिला है। उत्तर प्रदेश को आप इस हालत में न रखिये। अगर आप उसको इस अवस्था में रखते हैं तो क्या आश्चर्य कि लोग बटवारे की मांग करते हैं। एक भाग कहता है कि वह उससे अलग हो जाएगा और यह आवाज भी उठने लगती है कि इसको दो या तीन भागों में बाँट दिया जावे, किसी अंश तक उनकी यह आवाज ठीक भी हो सकती है अगर हम उत्तर प्रदेश की वर्तमान पिछड़ी हुई अवस्था को देखते हैं।

एक शब्द में बित्त मंत्री जी की सेवा में प्रोहिबिशन के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहती हूँ। वह प्रोहिबिशन के सम्बल कहलाते हैं, इसके साथ उनकी परसनैलिटी आइडेंटिफाइड है। गाँधी सैटिनरी के अवसर पर उन्होंने लिखा है कि हम कुर्षों का प्रबंध करें, खाने का प्रबंध करें, स्कूलों की ओर पर्याप्त ध्यान दें, शिक्षा की ओर ध्यान दें। मैं आशा रखती थी कि कुछ नशाबन्दी के ऊपर भी वह कहेंगे। डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स जो हैं, उनके अन्दर भी इसको स्थान दिया गया है। नशाबन्दी को लागू करना राज्यों का भी कर्त्तव्य है और केन्द्र का भी कर्त्तव्य है। मैं श्री मोरार जी देसाई से निम्न निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि यदि वह इस देश के अंदर प्रोहिबिशन नहीं लागू कर सकते हैं तो कोई और लागू कर ही नहीं सकता है। 1967 के अन्दर कॉन्फ्रेंसियों को टिकट लेने का जब समय आया था तब भी मैंने आपकी सेवा में एक नोट लिखकर दिया था कि यदि इस तरह के लोगों को कॉन्फ्रेंस का टिकट दिया गया तो प्रोहिबिशन लागू करने में बड़ी कठिनाई होगी। मेरी तकलीफ और भी ज्यादा बढ़ गई जब इस बार जो मध्यावधि चुनाव हुए उनमें मैंने देखा कि जहाँ पहले के चुनावों में चुनाव के अवसर पर शराब की दुकानें दो दिन पहले बन्द हो जाया करती थीं, इस बार वे बिल्कुल बंद नहीं हुई और चुनाव भर में वे खुली रहीं। मैं नहीं कहती हूँ कि इसने शरीर खरीदी या उसने शराब खरीदी। लेकिन दुकानें

## [भीमती सावित्री श्याम]

शराब की खुली रहीं। आप सोचते हैं कि छः करोड़ का फायदा बजट के अंदर होता है। लेकिन इसको महत्व न देकर आप सोशल बैल्यूज को महत्व दें, मारेल बैल्यूज को महत्व दें, आर्थिक बैल्यूज को महत्व दें। आप देखें कि कितना नुकसान देश का ऐसा करके हो रहा है। बड़े अफसरों की बीवियां हों, मजदूरों की बीवियां हों, मध्यम वर्ग के जो घराने हैं, उनकी बीवियां हों, उनसे जाकर आप पूछें कि शराब के नशे का जो असर है वह किस पर पड़ता है। वे आपको बतायेंगी कि उन पर ही पड़ता है, पुरुषों पर नहीं पड़ता है। मजदूरों के घर में रहने वालीया बड़े घर में रहने वाली जो बीविया हैं, कोई भी एक दिन भी नहीं चाहती हैं कि उनके घर में इस तरह का वातावरण पैदा हो कि कोई शराब पिये। जब ऐसा वातावरण पैदा हो जाता है तो वे पति को भी बिगड़ते हुए देखती हैं, भाइयों को भी बिगड़ते हुए देखती हैं, बच्चों को भी बिगड़ते हुए देखती हैं। मुझे उस जमाने की याद आती है जबकि हम महिलाओं ने पिके-टिंग किया था और अपने बाल खिंचवाये थे, लाठियां खाई थीं और उस जमाने में हमने जो आजादी का आंदोलन छेड़ा था, उस आंदोलन का एक अंग यह प्रोहिबिशन था। आपने आज शराब पर टैक्स अपनी आमदनी का एक जरिया बना लिया है। अगर यही बात है तो बहुत से मैनड टैक्सेशन के और हैं जिनको अस्तिवार किया जा सकता है। लेकिन नशाबंदी को तो आप लागू करें।

मैं अपनी शुभ कामनाएं व्यक्त करते हुए अंत में यही कहना चाहती हूँ कि धन के एक एक पैसे का सदुपयोग किया जाए, ठीक ढंग से इसको खर्च किया जाए और साथ ही साथ कम खर्चों का माहौल पैदा किया जाए। यह बहुत आवश्यक है।

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta North-East): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Finance Minister, perhaps conscious of the unsavoury nature of his budget, has tried to

embellish it with some feeble humour, but it remains a poor thing, little more than the usual petty book-keeping and, in the matter of taxation, the characteristic jumble of crafty concessions to the very rich and of imposts which irritate and injure the generality of the people.

My friends of the Swatantra Party, more a pressure lobby of the propertied and the privileged than a political party, must have been happy at the putrid economic philosophy, if it can be called a philosophy, which was propounded by the Finance Minister. I could imagine the Masanis and Dandekars laughing in their sleeve when the Finance Minister expressed the hope that he was not stealing the show from the Planning Commission. Why bother about the Planning Commission anyway when you have said goodbye to planning and all that? The Finance Minister has gallily tried to look into his own mirror, as he put it ingeniously, but he is in the centre of the stage, not the Planning Commission. For how long he will be there, now that the people are awake from Kerala to West Bengal, has come to be the moot point.

Meanwhile, this Budget has been welcomed by certain quarters and the *Economic Times* has written glowfully—I quote :

“Implicit in the highlights of the Budget is a meaningful leaning on the market economy and private sector expansion.”

The hon. lady Member just now was regretting that there was no mention of socialism. Mr. Morarji Desai does mention socialist society once but in a rather peculiar way. As a matter of fact, it is much better that there is no talk of socialism which is merely so much hypocritical bunkum.

This Budget gives a whole series of concessions to the very rich who are, according to the Finance Minister, possibly, the really needy. He has given relief to the cotton and jute mill-owners who shut up shop after eating away the assets of their companies as well as workers' provident funds. They will have a rebate for development. There is relief in export duty on jute manufacturers and tea. We want exports to be boosted but not at the cost of having to give continued support to people who have shown how

inefficient they are and how insensitive they are to the basic requirements of this country's economy.

Then, the Finance Minister has given an extension of the tax-holiday and development rebate to new enterprises. He has asked for cancellation of corporation tax ceiling at 70 per cent. He has allowed for amortisation of promotional expenses and expenses on project investments, market surveys and so on. He has said that there will be no increase in income-tax rates as far as the upper slabs are concerned. He has not hesitated to fleece the upper middle-class who because of fixed income are disabled even from evasion which is practised by all and sundry with incomes between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000. They are between two worlds, like the South Indian *miridang*—they are beaten from either side. I hold no brief for them. But because they are a sort of people who can be caught more easily, they are being made to suffer and the real big bugs have the run of the land. There is a new class division in our society of which even Marx was unaware, the division between those who have expense account and those who have not. The Finance Minister has taken good care to see that the big bugs get all the advantage of his Budget.

After paying court to Big Money, the Finance Minister has dipped his hand into the pockets of the poor. He is collecting Rs. 127 crores in additional excise duties. He has come heavily down on sugar forgetting, as the hon. lady Member just now indicated, the case of the producer, the peasant, who is actually in distress, and has come heavily down on sugar in a manner which would add to the pockets of the prosperous.

But he is raising into the bargain the price of a drink of even tea or coffee. The Finance Minister might tell us that there should not be much of a rise in the price of sugar, but he should ask his colleague, the Railway Minister, how over the months he has continuously increased the price even of tea and coffee. He does not travel by rail; most Ministers never travel by rail, but we know how a cup of tea or coffee costs so much more. His own colleague goes on increasing prices while he says here, 'I have put such a small impost that there should not be any significant rise in prices'.

Our friend, the Finance Minister, frowns on smoking. Even the frugal 'Char Minar' addict has to fork out a few more paise for a quiet puff. The poor man's bus fare is also going to rise because of increase in the duty on motor oil. We could go on like this; these are known, but it is better to put them all together to see what a cumulative effect this Budget is likely to have on the average man.

We oppose all the new taxes and impositions on the basic ground that new burdens are being laid on the people while big business gets relief. And as far as foreign capital is concerned, it is ruling the roost in a much happier condition than ever before.

The Finance Minister has proposed an excise duty on fertilisers and on power-driven pumps, and we oppose these because they would impose fresh burdens on the peasantry as a whole and would raise the price of agricultural products without benefiting the peasantry.

In regard to these impositions, the House has already learnt that the legal position is very doubtful, and as far as that is concerned, the entire goings-on suggest how terribly shoddy is the legal advice which is available to the Finance Minister. But quite apart from the niceties of the law, these hindrances are hurled exactly when our economy can move somewhat more quickly than before only if the rural sector operates at a more efficient level. We have been told by Prof. Gadgil of the Planning Commission that there should be at least a five per cent growth in agriculture and an eight to ten per cent growth in industry and business which are inter-related and these should proceed concurrently. Now, in spite of what is euphemistically called the 'Green Revolution'—the 'Green Revolution' which even our friend, Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha, tried to debunk the other day—in spite of this Green Revolution, we can certainly claim that a sort of a break-through in agriculture has been achieved in 1967-68, particularly in regard to wheat, largely on account of new types of seeds having been used; the rice crop was a little less in 1967-68 than in 1964-65 when there was not much ballyhoo about production. But, even so, at this point of time there has happened a certain improvement as far as agricultural production is

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concerned. Prof. Gadgil has pointed out in a speech at Bangalore that we have to face in regard to the agricultural problem a very serious situation and if we have to get results all over the country, the problem of co-ordination of the agricultural programmes requires much more serious attention than it has received so far. Then he says :

“.....this is going to be where the Fourth Five-Year Plan fails or succeeds : our ability really to get the programmes that are suitable for each crop and each region of the country. What will matter is our ability in each State to get a full co-ordination between the various departments, the Revenue, the Agriculture, the Animal Husbandry, the Co-operation and the Finance altogether. All this, and to get really on the ground the people who are interested in this programme in a meaningful manner, not only the old Community Development approach.”

I close the quotation here, but it is exactly at this point of time that the Finance Minister brings certain proposals which might upset the apple-cart in so far as agricultural production is concerned.

In principle, we support the idea of taxing agricultural incomes, but the way to do it is not through the proposed wealth tax which is bound to prove ineffective as far as we can see in view of the record of the Government. I realise that it is very necessary to prevent black money being translated into agricultural property and houses. For example, the country should like very much to know what happened when more than 2 million tonnes of wheat were procured in 1968 from Punjab, Haryana and U. P. and the Government agents including the Food Corporation of India bought all this wheat from the traders in the *mandis* at around Rs. 80 per quintal. From all accounts, the traders paid the farmers only Rs. 50 per quintal and no more. Thus, New Delhi's munificence allowed these intermediary traders to net a margin of Rs. 30 per quintal. For 2 million tonnes, the net amount comes to Rs. 60 crores. This whole amount goes unscathed and untaxed. New Delhi, of course, has no money to spare, let us say, for instance, for the needs of Calcutta. A World Bank estimate in 1960 said that Rs. 200 crores would “save” Calcutta. That

was their expression, that is, save it from going to pieces, which it has been doing steadily. The State Government has just reminded the Centre of its responsibility in this regard, for Calcutta, harried beyond endurance since Partition, when refugees poured in and life became nearly impossible is still India's city, the hub of industry and trade and the key to our export. But, of course, New Delhi is very curt and has no money to spare for Calcutta, while Rs. 60 crores go to the pampered profiteers in food who poison the economy with the assistance of the Government.

In this bedevilled situation, my party is in favour of forthwith transferring this subject of taxation on agricultural wealth to the States by suitable amendment of the Constitution. The Central Government cannot be relied upon for purposes of this tax because its machinery, corrupt or inefficient or both, will certainly harass the peasants in general and actually permit black money to escape. This is a game where the tax-collecting machinery has specialised to perfection. Moreover, the States are in need of new sources of revenue and at least in some States, democratic advance can be utilised to have genuine popular supervision of tax collection. It cannot be left to those members of the executive at the Centre or in the States who have so far behaved in a fashion which has gone against the interests of the country.

While the Finance Minister's proposals are what I might call a messy package which we shall just discard, we fully support any agricultural wealth tax that may be levied on urban big business in order to extend it to their investments in land. This is the idea we posit as against their plaintive concern about the “genuine” agriculturists which the Finance Minister expressed on the budget day when in the midst of his speech, the Prime Minister daintily handed over to him a chit which he was constrained to read.

Some people have said that it is a pity that his second thoughts did not come earlier before the presentation of the budget but he will be wise if he has further thought in the matter on the lines at least that I have indicated.

There is no time to elaborate on them, but class differentiation in our agrarian structure has widened the disparity between



big and small cultivators a very great deal. Over a year ago, one of the scions of the House of Birla, Mr. L. N. Birla, presiding over one of the capitalist meetings noted this development of what he called capitalist relations and hailed what he called an "accentuation" in the growth of properties agriculturists and an increasing number of landless cultivators who produce for other people and starve themselves. In UP, it was calculated in 1967 that the top two per cent of households owning as much as 12 per cent of the cultivable land got an annual income of Rs. 200 crores and what is more important, they are getting mixed up with the urban money-bags. They are a stupendous force which the Finance Minister's proposals just would not be able to tame in any way. This requires deeper thinking and thinking with the States very much in the picture. But what I fear is that this is not the Finance Minister's or the Government's intention. What has happened in this country is a juxtaposition of a thin stratum of the rich in the countryside with the urban rich who monopolise the gains of Congress planning through Government loans and control on sugar and other co-operatives and other ways of amassing wealth. They represent a problem which the ill-thought-out proposals of the Finance Minister cannot solve.

The Finance Minister is accustomed to pose before us as the paragon of stern virtue, but all that is a cloak and cover for cool and calculated indifference to the middle and poorer classes of the people and his solicitude for the well-being of the very rich.

He has said rightly of course in his budget speech that the objective of growth cannot be achieved by budgetary policy alone. But he should know that budgetary policy properly conceived can and ought to be an instrument of economic growth. His budget breathes no inspiration and no economic message except that foreign and Indian monopolists with their hangers-on have got to be appeased. His somewhat doubtful allocation for next year's yet unknown plan is Rs. 1903 crores, a sum only marginally higher than the current year's. Without, therefore, a structural reform in the economy and the social set-up, the tension and the burden of development and defence which has been put up as the country's objective is too much for the Finance Minister's humdrum budgetary devices.

Our economy will not be able to gain momentum unless some basic and courageous steps are taken. Yet, Government conducts merely a big barrage of propaganda about the national economy having turned the corner. I wish it was true. But it is a farrago of nonsense. This attempt to depict that we have got out of the rut of recession even without the limited planning in operation up to now warms the hearts of some people over here and outside in the country but it is a complete fallacy.

It has been stated by Government that the net national product rose by 9.1 per cent from 1966-67 to 1967-68, from Rs. 15,272 crores to Rs. 16,665 crores. But in the pre-recession year 1964-65 it was according to the Economic Survey, Rs. 16,219 crores at 1960-61 prices, and the rise, therefore, at the outside is 2.8 per cent per annum which is balley above the rate of our population growth.

When increased inequality is taken into account, the conclusion is irresistible that the overwhelming majority of our people are worse off today than in 1964-65. A recent national sample survey indicates that a third of our population, a little more than 34.6 per cent live in absolute poverty, spending less than Rs. 15 p. m. in rural areas and less than Rs. 24 in urban areas, and, also there are millions of "severe destitutes", particularly in the retarded areas of our country, whether in North Bihar or in Rayalaseema or in so many other areas who have less than Rs. 11, very much less than Rs. 11 a month to spend.

No sophistry, no jugglery in figures or argumentation can cover up the evidence of unspeakable poverty which assaults the senses in town and country in India today.

15 00 hrs.

It is interesting to note that the net national product had a growth rate in 1967-68 which can be mentioned. The contribution of agriculture rose by 20.3 per cent from Rs. 6,133 crores to Rs. 7,381 crores. Very welcome. But the nett product added by large-scale manufacture fell from Rs. 1,576 crores to Rs. 1,556 crores, and of construction from Rs. 761 crores to Rs. 740 crores. This is surely nothing to gloat over; it shows an imbalance in the economy which brings about a qualitative decline.

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We here of a "huge"—that is the word used—rise in exports, 10 per cent in 1968-69. But in 1964-65, our exports earned \$1,714 million; in 1966-67, it was \$1,558 million, and in 1968-69, it has been at \$1,700 million, that is, we are back where we were four years ago, and there is nothing to make a song of and dance about this 'huge' rise in exports.

But there is a sinister purpose to this propaganda, because foreign collaboration is to be allowed even in low-priority or non-essential fields of industry as well as trade, provided they can appear to be export-oriented. This is to be the new Morarji fig-leaf which would be sought to cover the nudity of reckless collaboration deals. The result will be that the dependence co-efficient of our economy will increase, and in the Gandhian Centenary—everyone is talking about it in the budget [discussion—self-reliance is being thrown overboard, thanks to the Finance Minister and his colleagues here—he alone is not to blame. Self-reliance, development-consciousness and plan climate have as good as vanished from the Indian scene, and yet they are making such a lot of to-do about it.

Stagnation bedevils our economy, and will continue to bedevil our economy, if this kind of pusillanimous policy continues. Stagnation bedevils our economy, and tinkering just will not help. The per capita daily availability of foodgrains was, according to our *Economic Survey*, 474 gms. in 1965, 396 gms. in 1967 and 457 gms. in 1968. But it is still lower by 3.6 per cent than in 1965.

The general industrial index had risen by only one per cent in 1966; it fell to 0.5 per cent in 1967. In 1968, it is estimated to rise by 5-6 per cent. But altogether, it is a dismal performance, with half the growth rate in 1960-65, when it was nothing startling at all.

The number of unemployed on the live register increases from year to year: 24, 69, 421 in 1966 to 30,11,642 in 1968.

From the 1st April, 1968 to the 31st January, 1969, at a time when our production of foodgrains was high, we imported 45.4 lakh tonnes of foodgrains at a cost of Rs. 293.64 crores.

15.04 hrs.

[Shri Thirumala Rao in the Chair]

This came out in answer to a question on 6th March—starred question 326. Government has no intention to keep up its promise to stop all food imports by 1971. PL-480 imports will continue, with all the damaging effect it has on our economy and on our self-respect.

Foreign private investments flourish. Sterling tea companies—I am quoting from the answer to Unstarred Question No. 1178 asked on 19th November, 1968—remitted Rs. 23.44 crores as profit from 1963-64 to 1967-68, the figures for 1966-67 being Rs. 2.85 crores, and for 1967-68 being Rs. 5.04 crores. Unstarred Question No. 3765 dated 9th December, 1968 elicited the answer that payments abroad for the year were Rs. 280.5 crores under different heads.

It is quite important to notice how very large amounts of money are sent out by way of dividends and profits. In 1967-68 we sent abroad, on account of dividends Rs. 32.7 crores, on account of technical know-how Rs. 14.7 crores, on account of current profits Rs. 7.6 crores, on account of accumulated profits Rs. 8.3 crores, and, of course, on interest on Government account and private account enormous amounts reaching up to very nearly Rs. 200 crores. For royalties we sent abroad in 1967-68 Rs. 4.3 crores. Ask our scientists, they will tell you that most of it is money thrown down the drain, and we throw this money down the drain because we have not the courage, the guts to stand up to these foreigners who are ruling the roost in our country.

Outstanding foreign investments in India increased from Rs. 255.8 crores in June, 1948 to Rs. 935.8 crores at the end of March, 1965. From 1956 to September, 1968, 3,049 foreign collaboration cases were approved. This was said in answer to Unstarred Question No. 3975 asked on 10th December, 1968.

The oil companies treat us so shabbily and we can hardly do a thing. At this rate we are moving towards being something like a satellite economy, but Government does not care. There is hardly any effort to collect at least one half of the several

hundred crores of arrears of income-tax, and of course there can be hardly any thinking in the mind of the Finance Minister or his Government something like a moratorium on foreign remittances. They have got so much out of it. The studies made by the Reserve Bank or the statements made by professors abroad at seminars in regard to the kind of return which foreign companies get in India show how they have been sucking our country dry, and we cannot even get anything like a moratorium very politely negotiated in regard to foreign remittances which are hitting a country like ours so hard. They talk about their desire to help our country, because if India goes down, democracy all over goes down. All that sort of rot is heard from time to time, but they do not come forward to help, nor do we have the courage to put a moratorium on foreign remittances. Mr. Morarji Desai would hardly have even any idea, he would not dream of having that kind of idea.

He is doing nothing either to ensure that public sector projects do not suffer egregiously as they do from inefficiency or corruption or both, and that a check is put on defeatist trends that in such circumstances as that of the Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals they prepare only to prove the failure of the public sector and get ready to hand it over as it were to private capital.

The winds of change are blowing in the country, but the Government, ostrich-like, puts its head in the sand and does not see what is happening. Relations between the Centre and States in financial and other terms need to be put on a different basis than hitherto. The claims of the popular Government of West Bengal, particularly in relation to the crying needs of the Calcutta region, for example, can only be ignored at the country's peril. There is no indication in the Budget that there is any awareness of such things in the Government's mind.

I shall quote to you, as I conclude, something which was said by Prof. Gadgil, again in his speech in Bangalore last year.

The hon. Member who spoke before me said that we need to increase our production. Everybody agrees on that. Prof. Gadgil puts in this way ; he is no agitator :

" .... this mass understanding of the production responsibility of everybody cannot come through unless there is a mass conviction that this is a fair society,

that this is a society in which the distribution of the product is being justly regulated and that everybody is participating and has a share. ... It is not agitators ; it is not politicians it is a basic problem of social understanding, of social participation in the whole process."

He adds :

"This basic problem is a challenge to society. It is a challenge to integration. We talk of national integration ; I think we should think much more of a social integration. National integration will then be easy. Because the society is not integrated, this problem arises."

That is exactly the problem. That is why I hark back again to the Gandhi Centenary. But today in answer to a question we were told that there is no universal provision even of drinking water in all the villages in this year. We know well how the memory of Gandhiji had been treated by the Government. I have got a pamphlet sent to us by Shri Shankarrao Deo which has got the heading : 'Could we not agree on Gandhi's alternative to capitalism. As far as we are concerned, we take another view of the matter. Gandhiji was a most highly estimable person but his alternative to capitalism was not the right sort. Even so, he said certain things in regard to the trusteeship idea. In this book there is reference to Dr. Lohia's attempted legislation to bring about trusteeship. He was prevented from bringing forward legislation : "Draft Indian Trusteeship Bill, 1967"

They will not even touch that or even attempt to try to introduce the Gandhian concept of socialism and trusteeship to find out if it works. According to our idea, it will not work ; we have to go in a different way. But they have not got the guts. Therefore I have to say that this Budget with its pettifogging *banda* approach is nearly a futile document which describes no more than the rather pathetic holding operation of a precarious economy which must courageously advance in a genuinely popular direction or be overtaken by the surging forces of history. This is what the Finance Minister requires to imbibe. Of course I have no illusions that he will do so. Even so we are here to express our views and I have tried to do it in the short compass of time at my disposal.

**SHRI S. R. DAMANI (Sholapur):** At the very outset, I want to say that I support the taxation proposals in the Budget. It is a matter of great satisfaction that after a long period of recession and depression when agricultural production had declined and industrial output remained stagnant and the capital market became shy leading to increased imports and decreased exports, we are now recovering all round and registering improvement in all sectors of economy. Our agricultural production during this year is about 96 million tons, inspite of drought in some parts and floods in some other parts of the country. In previous years there was a steep rise in the level of prices but prices had been maintained at a reasonable level during this years and our industrial production has also increased by about six per cent. Our exports have gone up by about Rs. 100 crores and our imports have come down by almost Rs. 100 crores. In this way, while our adverse balance was Rs. 700 crores in the previous year, it has remained at Rs. 500 crores during this year. Thus, I wish to say that there is improvement and recovery in this year, and I think that the action taken by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance while presenting the previous years' budget has also been of great help in bringing this improvement.

Similarly, this year, a deficit of Rs. 250 crores has been left. Last year, it was about Rs. 290 crores. When last year, a deficit of Rs. 290 crores was left, many economists and friends in the Opposition thought that it would lead to inflation and the prices may increase, but as estimated by the Deputy Prime Minister, neither was there inflation nor did it affect the prices. But, on the other hand, it has stimulated our economy and so I think this year also the deficit financing of Rs. 250 crores will help to improve the economic condition of the country and it will not create any kind of inflation.

I am happy to say that in order to increase our exports of jute and tea and mica, a reduction in export duty has been announced. Jute is one of the major items of export, and in the last few years the export of this commodity has declined considerably. For instance, in 1964, the export of jute was 487,000 tonnes. In 1968, it came down to 360,000 tonnes. In 1957, our export of jute was 88 per cent while Pakistan's was only 12 per cent. But now the position has changed. Our exports have come down where

as the export of Pakistan has increased considerably. Therefore, my submission is this. This is our traditional export item and every care should be taken to see that we do not lose our traditional market for jute in any way, and proper action is required to be taken at the proper time so that our export is not affected in this major item. I am happy to say that tea has also been given a fair deal, and I hope the export of jute and tea will also improve during the course of this year.

Regarding the textile industry, we have been pointing out that the industry has been passing through a very, very difficult time. Out of 636 mills, 80 have been closed down. There are many mills which are passing through a very difficult time. I am happy to say that the Deputy Prime Minister has thought about it and has given considerable relief in excise duty not only on cloth but also on yarn. This relief will to some extent improve the difficult position and the un-economic conditions in which the textile industry finds itself today as a whole. The relief has been given for hank yarn. The excise duty on hank yarn has been completely withdrawn. It is going to help the handloom industry. The excise duty on sized yarn is also withdrawn. It will help to check tax evasion and corruption. It will also help the industry. The relief given for coarse and medium quality cloth which constitute 88 per cent of the production of the mills, since most of the mills are producing this quality of the goods, will go to help the weaker mills in the country. From being uneconomic, they will become economic units again.

This time a 15 per cent *ad valorem* duty has been imposed on certain qualities, of cotton textiles. Coarse and grey cloth also have been included in the list on which *ad valorem* duty has been imposed. This is going to affect them adversely. The prices of canvas, etc. and blankets, manufactured from cotton waste as compared to the prices of coating, shirting, gaberdine, bedsheets, etc., will increase enormously because the excise duty on them is very high. The former qualities of cloth are mostly consumed by the Defence Ministry, Railways and industries. The increase in price of these qualities will also affect the Government and industries. Therefore, I request the hon. Deputy Prime Minister to do proper justice to the manufacturers of these qualities of cloth. On account of such high excise duty, the unorganised

sector will start manufacturing all these qualities and Government may not be able to get the excise duty from the organised sector, as expected. Therefore, you can levy as excise duty whatever is reasonable, but this 15 per cent *ad valorem* duty is too high.

Before the budget, it was expected that in view of the increase in cost of living, Government will increase the exemption limit for income-tax to Rs. 5000 or Rs. 4500. But I was a little surprised when I found that the income-tax has been increased for the people in the income group of Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000. In this slab, there are more than 6 lakhs people, earning Rs. 800 to Rs. 1500 a month. Most of them are people in service, who have to pay insurance premia, provident fund, etc. After meeting their household expenses, I do not think they will be able to save anything. Therefore, it is not very proper to increase the income-tax for them. If they are not able to contribute to the provident fund and insurance, it will affect the revenue of the country. Therefore, this matter should be looked into and this increase should be withdrawn.

As a matter of policy I agree with the excise duty imposed on fertilisers. But still our production is not sufficient to meet the needs of the country. Even after reaching a production target of 96 million tonnes we have to import and spend Rs. 300 crores to Rs. 400 crores a year on imports of food-grains. This levy of excise duty on fertilisers may not only get a sharp reaction on the sentiments of farmers but the cost of production will also go up. When after so much hesitation the farmers have started using fertilisers, at this stage to impose this duty is I think a little premature. We should give sufficient time to them to use fertilisers and increase our production. Our per acre production of all crops is still much lower than in other countries. In cotton our production is one-third in comparison with USA, Sudan or Egypt. By using modern methods our per acre production can increase. It has to be seen that in no way increase in production is affected and farmers are made to use more and more fertilisers so that as a result our country becomes self-sufficient as far as agricultural production is concerned.

A note has been circulated in which it has been stated that it does not act very much against increased production and the

increase in excise duty will have very little effect. In our country, 85 per cent of the land under cultivation depend on the vagaries of monsoons. Monsoons are uncertain. Suppose in a certain place, as it always happens, there is failure of monsoon the farmers will have to suffer by the extra inputs on fertilisers and the cost of production will increase. Therefore, they hesitate to use fertilisers and take the risk. My suggestion in this respect, therefore, is that at least in the beginning we should start with 5 per cent and as the production increases, as our farmers begin to get the benefit of increased production in the course of, say, three years, we can raise it to 10 per cent. I hope the hon. Deputy Prime Minister will give proper consideration to this.

About the wealth tax on agricultural land I would like to have one or two clarifications. It has been said that genuine cultivators will not be affected by this. If one agriculturist has surplus money and he deposits it in a bank—that is in the interest of the country because that money will not be kept idle and there will be income on it by way of interest—will he continue to be a genuine agriculturist or will he come under the mischief of this wealth tax? In another case, if an agriculturist constructs a house and gets rental from it, or he gets dividend from shares in the Unit Trust or he starts a transport business, will he continue to be a genuine agriculturist or will he be assessed under the wealth tax? My idea is that with the intention of the Government to mop up excess funds from certain persons they may not tax genuine farmers. This fact has to be taken into account. I would request the hon. Deputy Prime Minister to explain this so that there is no confusion left in the mind of hon. Members and the people in this country.

Regarding the functioning of the public sector undertakings, last year all the public sector undertakings made a loss of Rs. 40 crores in all. Some had made a profit and some had made a loss, but the sum total was a loss. The results for this year are not available. But it seems that this year also there would be a net loss. We have invested a huge amount in these undertakings. I know that Government are very anxious to overcome these difficulties and to cover the loss and they are conspicuously making progress in that direction. Reports have been received in this connection from the Administrative

[Shri S. R. Damani]

Reforms Commission and other bodies and they are under study. But according to me, some changes in the managerial structure are required in order to improve the situation. The present policy is that secretariat officers are transferred to the managerial posts, and if they fail they are reverted, with the result that nobody has a mind to look after the management properly. Something should be done so that the person who goes there to manage the affairs is held responsible for proper management and if he fails he should not be transferred to other departments in order to keep his service in tact. I do not want to do injustice or be unfair to our officers. Even if they are paid a little higher remuneration I would not mind; there should be no ceiling on the top salaries such as Rs. 3500 or something else. That ban should be removed. They should be paid more remuneration but at the same time they should be held responsible and made responsible for proper management. In the private sector, for instance, if a manager does not manage things properly, he is asked to resign. Similarly, if an officer who is posted in a public sector undertaking does not manage the things properly, then he should be asked to resign. If this kind of system is introduced, I feel that they will feel more responsible for proper management, and I think things will improve. No more time should be lost on this, and something should be done immediately in this direction so that our public sector projects which are very important assets of our country start making profits.

In this connection, I would like to make some suggestions. Our public sector undertakings are running with idle capacity at present. On the other hand, our imports of capital goods are to the tune of Rs. 300 to 400 crores every year. Even after the establishment of such a heavy industrial complex which is running with idle capacity, we find that we are still importing about Rs. 300 to 400 crores worth of capital goods. Government have no doubt taken many measures to improve the position but they have not proved successful. I would like to suggest that some more depreciation may be allowed on the plant and machinery manufactured in the country so that some more incentive may be there for the purchase of indigenous machinery. Government are not going to lose any revenue thereby, because they are going to give the full value of the plant and machinery in the course of seven or eight

years. Instead of that, if the period is made five years, that will be an incentive for the buyers to purchase more and more of machinery manufactured in the country. If that is done voluntarily, then the position will improve, and our engineering industry will get more orders and will be able to reduce its idle capacity if not eliminate it altogether.

I would also like to make a suggestion as to how we could save foreign exchange. At present, cotton is being imported and is being used for manufacture of cloth of whatever quality one likes. Indian cotton is available for manufacture of cloth up to 40 counts. Therefore, the use of global cotton for smaller counts should be prohibited so that Indian cotton could be used for counts up to 40 and global cotton could be used for finer varieties of cloth of 60, 80, 100 counts etc. If that is done, then we could save a lot of foreign exchange, and our farmers will get assured markets and better prices, and our production of cotton will also increase.

Secondly, we are not producing long staple cotton, which is used for manufacturing finer counts, in sufficient quantity. In order to give incentives to our producers of long staple cotton different rates of excise duty may be charged on yarn and cloth made of Indian cotton and imported cotton. If a lower excise duty is charged on yarn and cloth made of Indian long staple cotton, it will give a good incentive to Indian farmers to produce long staple cotton in sufficient quantities because of the rise in its demand.

Then I come to smuggling of silver from the country. It is estimated that every year silver worth about Rs. 200 crores are smuggled out of India. Even though government have taken some measures to check silver smuggling, I do not think they have been effective. And what are we getting in return? Smuggled gold and consumer items. Even otherwise these consumer items are available here in plenty. So, the smuggling of these items into the country affects our local industries. The demand on our local industries becomes less and less. That is why many of our industries are not running to full capacity and they have idle capacity. Something should be done to stop this smuggling. That will benefit the government by way of increased tax collections and the consumer industries by increased demand and, consequently, increased production. I

hope government will pay urgent attention to this. I will conclude by thanking you, Sir, for giving me an opportunity to participate in this discussion.

श्री शिव कुमार शास्त्री (अलीगढ़) : सभा-पति महोदय, वित्त मंत्री का कार्य बहुत ही कठोर और रूखा है और इसलिए उन के कर्त्तव्य को देख कर उन के प्रति सहानुभूति होना स्वभाविक है। वित्त मंत्रालय का काम सरकारी मशीनरी में और दूसरे उद्योग धंधों में स्निग्धता का (आएलिंग) का है इसलिए इस दायित्व को निभाने के लिए उनको अपने सारे के सारे स्रोतों पर यह दृष्टि डालनी पड़ती है कि उस सारे ढांचे को स्निग्ध कैसे बनाया जा सकता है? वस्तुतः यह कठोर कर्त्तव्य है और जब कोई व्यक्ति इस शासन के पद पर आता है तो उसे यह देखना पड़ता है। पैसे का काम पैसे से चलता है यद्यपि बहुत से आलोचक यह माँग करते हैं कि हमें यह चीज फ्री मिलनी चाहिए, शिक्षा निःशुल्क होनी चाहिए और ग्रन्थ चीजें होनी चाहिए। लेकिन जब यह दायित्व उन के ऊपर आकर पड़ता है तो उन को भी वही करना पड़ता है। मैं अपने आशय को प्रकट करूँ तो शायर के इन शब्दों में प्रकट कर सकता हूँ :

“मेरे सैयाद की तालीम की है धूम गुलशन में।  
यहां जो आज फंसता है, वो कल सैयाद होता है।”

यह कर्त्तव्य कठोर तो अवश्य है किन्तु इस के साथ साथ अगर देखा जाय तो यह चीज भी देखनी होनी है कि इस में से रस कहाँ से निकल सकता है? वित्त मंत्रालय के प्रति सहानुभूति होती हुए भी जब उन के कठोर कर के उस कार्यक्रम को देखा तो उस से ऐसा लमता है कि अब छूँछे में से रस निकालने लगे हैं। जितना रस निकल सकता था वह निकल गया। इसके प्रमाण के लिए दूर जाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। कृषि की वे सामान्य चीजें, खाद के ऊपर, पम्पिंग सैंट के ऊपर और दूसरी सम्पदा के ऊपर जो कर की दृष्टि गई है वह वस्तुतः छूँछे में से रस निकालने वाली बात है। जिन्होंने

कृषक के परिवार में जन्म लिया है, अथवा जिन का प्रत्यक्ष परिचय कृषि से है वह इस चीज को जानते हैं कि अगर भगवान की कृपा से फसल अच्छी आ भी जाय, यद्यपि किसान प्रत्येक फसल के लिए साटरी लगाता है और जब तक घर में वह भ्रम नहीं आ जाता तब तक कुछ पता नहीं कि वह परोसी हुई थाली उस के सामने से कब हटा ली जाय, कब ओला पड़ जाय, कब बिजली चमक कर सारे फूल को खराब कर दे और फल ही उन पर न लगे, फल ही न आये।

कुछ कहा नहीं जा सकता है। लेकिन इन बाधाओं के होते हुए भी कृषकों का भ्रम अगर घर में आ जाता है और उस समय कोई शहरी व्यक्ति जिस को खेती का परिचय न हो, किसानों के घर में भ्रमाज या गल्ला भरा हुआ देखता है तो उसकी आँखें चौंधिया जाती हैं और कहता है कि यह लोग बड़े मजे में हैं, इन के ऊपर टैक्स लगना चाहिए। पर कृषकों की कठिनाइयाँ तो देखिये। अगर एक भैंस खराब हो गई और उस ने दूध देना बन्द कर दिया तो एक हजार रुपये की चपत लग गई, अगर बैलों की एक जोड़ी खराब हो गई तो दो या ढाई हजार रुपये की ठुक गई। 100 में से 75 किसान ऐसे हैं जिनकी सारी की सारी उपज अच्छी खेती के होते हुए भी उड़ दो महीने में चुक जाती है और वह दूसरों की तरफ देखने लगते हैं। कभी खेती के लिए और कभी दूसरी चीजों के लिए दूसरों से ऋण ले कर किसी तरह से अगली फसल को उसे पकड़ना पड़ता है। सामान्य व्यक्तियों के ऊपर भी इस प्रकार का कर लगाया जाय तो जो मैंने छूँछे में से रस निकालने वाली बात कही वह बिल्कुल सार्थक है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन के प्रति सरकारी सरसता जगनी चाहिए और कुछ दया से काम लिया जाना चाहिए।

मिथले साल फसल अच्छी हो गई तो यही कहना चाहिए कि थोड़ा सा उस कृषक के कंकाल में रस का संचार हुआ, अभी मांस और

[श्री शिव कुमार शास्त्री]

मज्जा तक तो नीबत भी नहीं आई थी, और अब आप उस को कर लगा कर समाप्त कर देना चाहते हैं, यह उनके साथ बहुत कठोरता का व्यवहार है। अब का वर्ष भी सूखे का वर्ष है। जब थोड़ी सी फसल अच्छी दिखाई दे रही है तब लोग कह रहे हैं कि इस सूखे के वर्ष में भी पिछले साल जैसी फसल हो जाएगी। इस का कारण यह था कि पिछली फसल के कारण थोड़ा सा सहारा रहा। कुछ गवर्नमेंट ने पम्पिंग सेटों के द्वारा सिंचाई के साधन दिये, नलकूप बढ़ाये। इस लिए सूखे के वर्ष के अन्दर भी आप को यह फसल दिखाई दे रही है। अगर वह साधन भी सरकार किसानों के पास से खिसका लेना चाहती है तो उस की वही पुरानी स्थिति ही हो जाएगी।

अगर आप उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों में जा कर देखें तो वहा स्थिति यह है कि 100 में से 70 व्यक्तियों के शरीर पर इस समय भी पूरे कपड़े नहीं हैं। 100 में से 70 किसान इस प्रकार के हैं जो कि घोर सर्दी के अन्दर बिना रजाई के रात काटते हैं। परिवार के परिवार पुमान बिछा कर सो जाते हैं और इस तरह से काम चलाते हैं। सूर्य की गर्मी से वह दिन काटते हैं। संस्कृत के एक कवि ने लिखा है कि किसी गरीब आदमी से किसी आदमी ने पूछा कि तुम ने सर्दी कैसे काटी; तो उस ने उत्तर दिया कि :

रात्रौ जानु दिवा भानुः कृषान् संध्योर्द्वयोः ।  
इत्थं शीतं मया नीतं जान भानु कृशानुभिः ।

रात काटी घुटने पेट में देकर, संध्या काटी कृषानु अर्थात् आग के सहारे पर और दिन काटा सूर्य की गर्मी के आघार पर। इस तरह से मैं इन तीन आधारों पर सर्दी काटता हूँ। अगर इस का जीवित चित्र देखना हो तो पूर्वी जिलों में उत्तर प्रदेश के अन्दर जा कर देख सकते हैं। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन यह है कि कृषकों के साधनों के ऊपर जो इस प्रकार के कर की बात आप के मस्तिष्क में आई है, वह नहीं आनी चाहिए।

मेरी तीन चीजों से ही दिलचस्पी है। पहली मैंने कृषकों के सम्बन्ध में कही। दूसरी बात शिक्षा के विषय में कहना चाहता हूँ। पिछले शिक्षा मंत्री गये और दूसरे आये। यह सरकार का अन्दरूनी मामला है इस लिए इस से हमें कोई आकर्षण नहीं है। लेकिन एक चीज जो मस्तिष्क में है वह यह कि पिछले शिक्षा मंत्री ने एक लक्ष्य सामने रखा था, एक उद्देश्य सामने रखा था। त्रिभाषा फार्मूले को उन्होंने जन्म दिया। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले शिक्षा मंत्री को उस से प्रेम था, और यह स्वाभाविक है जिस प्रकार बाप को अपने औरस पुत्र से होता है। दूसरे शिक्षा मंत्री के आने से ऐसा समझिए जैसे एक अनाथ बालक का पालन पोषण कोई करे। जो ममता बाप को थी वह दूसरे संरक्षक को नहीं हो सकती। इसलिए अगर पहले मंत्री को अवसर मिलता तो वह फार्मूला प्रगति कर सकता था, आगे बढ़ सकता था।

मैंने एक बात पिछली बार शिक्षा मंत्रालय की डिबेट पर बोलते हुए कही थी, और उस को फिर कहता हूँ। त्रिभाषा फार्मूले के अन्दर संस्कृत बड़े संकट में थी। जो संस्कृत किसी प्रकार से अब तक जीवित चली आ रही है, वह सारे के सारे साधन स्वतन्त्र भारत में समाप्त हो गये। पुराने समय में जो राजे महाराजे होते थे वह संस्कृत को संरक्षण देना, आचार्यों की सहायता करना और गरीब विद्यार्थियों की सहायता करना अपना कर्तव्य समझते थे। वह राज परिवार समाप्त हो गये। सेठ और व्यापारी भी उस को अपना परम पवित्र कर्तव्य समझते थे और स्थान स्थान पर वह इस प्रकार से निःशुल्क भोजनालय स्थापित करते थे, जिस से कि गरीब विद्यार्थी पढ़ते रहें। किसी ने पुस्तक की सहायता कर दी, किसी ने कुछ और सहायता कर दी। उन सेठों के कारोबार में यद्यपि कोई विशेष परिवर्तन नहीं आया, पर उन के घरों में अंग्रेजी पढ़ी लिखी नई पीढ़ी आ गई, जिसको इस चीज में श्रद्धा नहीं है। इस तरह



से संस्कृत का वह सहारा भी चला गया। इस लिए अब यह विद्या राजकीय आश्रय पर ही सुरक्षित हो सकती हैं। जब शिक्षा मंत्रालय के बजट में हम इस के लिए अल्प राशि देखते हैं तो माथा ठनकता है कि ऋषियों की पुरानी थाती, जो अब तक बड़े कठिन समय में भी सुरक्षित रही, वह आगे किस प्रकार से चलेगी। जब तक उस को राज्य का आश्रय न हो तब तक वह किसी तरह से भी आगे नहीं बढ़ सकती।

उप के साथ साथ मैं अपने निर्वाचन क्षेत्र की बात भी कहना चाहता हूँ और वह इस सदन में अनेक बार कही गई है। अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय के लिये माननीय श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री ने भी कहा है और मैंने भी कई बार कहा है कि मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय के साथ विश्व लगा हुआ है। यह एक बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है कि अलीगढ़ के जितने भी कालेज हैं वह आगरा विश्वविद्यालय के साथ सम्बन्धित हैं। मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय, के साथ जो उसी शहर में है, वह कालेज सम्बद्ध नहीं हैं। न जाने किन किन दृष्टिकोणों से विचार किया जाता है। अगर वह सारे कालेज इस विश्वविद्यालय के साथ सम्बद्ध कर दिये जायें तो अनेक प्रकार की समस्याएँ जो रात दिन हमारे और आप के सामने आती हैं, उन का स्वतः समाधान हो जाये। मैं आप का ध्यान उस घटना की ओर आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ जिस ने भारत के माथे पर इस प्रकार का कलंक लगाया है जिस का अन्त नहीं है। अरबबंसी और इजराइल निवासी एक अतिथि अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय के निमंत्रण प्राप्त कर के अलीगढ़ विश्वविद्यालय में गये और वहाँ के छात्रों ने चाकू मार कर उन को घायल कर दिया। वह भी भगवान की कृपा थी कि उनके प्राण किसी प्रकार से बच गये। पर यह कितनी अपमानजनक बात है। कहां की राजनीति और कहां पर आकर गड़बड़ कर रही है। यह सारे का सारा बखेड़ा समाप्त हो सकता है, अगर शिक्षा मंत्रालय इस की ओर थोड़ा सा ध्यान दे। अलीगढ़ के जो

कालेज हैं उन्हें मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय के साथ सम्बद्ध कर दिया जाये तो अनेक प्रकार की कठिनाइयों का एक साथ ही समाधान हो सकता है।

15.47 hrs.

[Mr. Deputy Speaker in the Chair]

तीसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ बड़े संक्षेप में, वह यह कि आने जाने के कारण रेलों से भी कुछ हम लोगों का सम्बन्ध रहता है, और इस विभाग की दयनीय स्थिति है। आने जाने की स्थिति ऐसी है कि ऐसा लगता है कि इस विभाग का कोई घना घोरी नहीं है। अगर चार जगहें बल्बों के लिए बनी हुई हैं तो तीन बल्ब नहीं हैं, एक बल्ब किसी प्रकार से लगा हुआ टिम-टिमा रहा है। कहीं कोई चीज टूटी हुई है कहीं कोई चीज फूटी हुई है। एक बार तो मेरे साथ ऐसी बात हुई कि अगर मैं उसको कहूँ तो बड़ा विचित्र सा लगता है। मैं हरिद्वार से आ रहा था प्रथम श्रेणी के डब्बे की बात है। दैनिक आवश्यकताओं से निवृत्त होने के लिए जब शौचालय में गया और टोटी दबाई पानी के लिए तो टोंटी ही उखड़ आई और मेरे सारे कपड़े पानी से गीले हो गये। जब मैं बाहर निकल कर आया तो मेरे साथी मुझे देख कर हंसने लगे कि क्या बात है क्या कपड़ों सभेत नहा आये हो, मैंने तो ऐसे किसी को नहीं देखा। इस में कोई अतिशयोक्ति नहीं है। अनेक रेल के डब्बे जर्जर दशा में हैं और इस प्रकार के हैं कि सफर के लायक रह ही नहीं गये हैं। वह बुरी तरह से हिलते हैं। आप यहां से बोगियाँ बना कर दूसरी जगहों को तो सप्लाई करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन पहले अपने टूटे हुए छप्पर का फूस तो लगा लीजिये। दूसरे स्थानों को सहायता करने के पहले कम से कम अपनी सफर गाड़ियों को तो आप को उत्तम रखना चाहिए।

इस के साथ साथ वहां पर पानी का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए, प्रकाश का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए, साथ ही साथ जो डब्बे टूटे फूटे पड़े हुए

## [श्री शिव कुमार शास्त्री]

हैं उनकी मुरम्मत होनी चाहिए और खास तौर पर छात्र बिना टिकट चलते हैं उन के लिए आप को विशेष व्यवस्था करनी पड़ेगी। चाहे पुलिस के द्वारा हो या और किसी प्रकार से हो जो बुराई और बेईमानियाँ हैं उन को समाप्त करने का प्रयत्न आप को करना चाहिये।

DR. P. MANDAL (Vishnupur) : I thank you for giving me a chance to participate in this debate after repeated endeavours.

Our Deputy Prime Minister placed his budget before us with an additional tax content of Rs. 150 crores and yet there is a deficit of Rs. 250 crores.

There is no case at all for deficit financing to the extent of even a single rupee. I ask the Finance Minister to balance his budget by cutting extravagant expenditure and wastage in various departments and public sector undertakings. Wastage of crores of rupees in public accounts has been disclosed in Reports, but no remedial steps are taken by the Finance Minister. Rather this wastage is enhanced in the following year. I shall cite some specific examples of wastage in public sector undertakings.

The Durgapur steel project water supply scheme was drawn up by foreign consultants at an estimated cost of Rs. 1.10 crores. But a local engineer of the Kangsabati project was bold enough to indicate that the work could be done well with one-third of the estimate by suitable designing. After considerable argument, the design was left to that officer and he satisfactorily completed it well within one-third of the estimated cost ahead of schedule.

The scheme is now operating regularly.

Next I come to the Farakka Barrage project. A controversy arose there over the question of the submersible cellular coffer dam. Some local engineers felt that such a method would not work in alluvial rivers and in monsoon areas where fluctuations of the river water level are very much between flood months and dry months. A number of Russian experts were brought in. They strongly supported the idea that the submersible cellular coffer dam would work satisfactorily. Since some of the engineers still maintained that such system would not

work in the central part of the river, it was decided that some cells would be put up in the river. Accordingly, trial cells were put up at a considerable expense and a large quantity of cellular coffer dam piles were also purchased for the main works in anticipation of the method proving successful. But after the first floods, it was found that the cells were not there. They had to be found out by magnetic surveys below the river.

The third scheme pertains to a brick and tile factory set up at Palta which was to serve a dual purpose, namely, manufacture of good bricks and tiles and removal of silt from the Palta decantation beds.

The project has been very severely criticised on account of its failure in both these objects. The bricks are too costly and finding some difficulty in the market. The produced quantity is so little that it could not clear the silt at Palta appreciably. It is an example how foreign experts have failed to advise properly. It appears that in spite of all the data being furnished, the Czechoslovak experts set up certain plants which failed to work on account of the drying equipments not being suitable for local conditions. The whole of the drying system is to be changed, and under the circumstances the progress of manufacture of bricks is limited to the replacement of the drying system by locally improvised ones.

In these wrong ways the Government is losing a heavy amount of foreign exchange, because the Government has a habit now of bringing foreign experts with heavy expenditure for work which can be done by local experts, and thereby a saving may be done. The question of foreign experts does not arise at all at present. From the above examples you can well understand how Indian engineers are capable of doing each and every work. So, please cut down extravagant expenditure by the departments and wastage in public sector undertakings, so that deficit financing and additional taxes may not be needed at all.

The West Bengal Government has been treated in a step-motherly way. Dr. B. C. Roy fought tooth and nail for the legitimate demands of West Bengal, but it was not received. So, the development of Calcutta stands still. Every visitor has criticised that

it is a dirty city, but the Government of India is dead of hearing. Hooghly second bridge and Calcutta circular railway have been considered since long. The public is frustrated. Nobody now believes in these promises. The Government of India have given an assurance that there will be no financial difficulty for North Bengal relief work and electricity project, but all these works are half done due to want of funds.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Member may resume on the next occasion.

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15 59 hrs.

MOTION RE-STATEMENT OF MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS ON WEST BENGAL GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS TO BOTH HOUSES OF THE STATE LEGISLATURE

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now we shall take up the motion regarding the Home Minister's statement. Shri Surendranath Dwivedy.

We have three hours at our disposal. May I request the Mover, because he has to go away, to confine his remarks to 20 minutes ?

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara) : It is impossible. Not less than 30 minutes at the beginning.

[Mr. Speaker in the Chair]

I am very glad that this House has got the earliest opportunity to discuss this matter which has very serious implications, and if I may say so, the action of the Governor in West Bengal has really created a situation which is fraught with grave dangers.

My motion is very simple : I beg to move :

"That the statement made by the Minister of Home Affairs on the 6th March, 1969, regarding the Address by the Governor of West Bengal to both the Houses of the State Legislature assembled together on the 6th March, 1969, be taken into the consideration."

16 00 hrs.

What has been done in the West Bengal

Assembly on 6th March this year is a tragic chapter in our constitutional history. It exposes the manner in which the high office governorship is being utilised for party and political purposes. Our Constitution gives a very eminent position to the Governor, just like the judiciary. This Parliament has the authority to impeach the President but there is no provision whatsoever to impeach the Governor although for the acts of omission and commission of the Governor, we can impeach the President or censure the Central Government as such.

What happened subsequently is more unusual ; the Governor enters into a public controversy by issuing a statement justifying his action inside the Assembly. That is the conclusion one reaches after reading the statement issued by Mr. Dharma Vira. I am convinced that he has shown no regard for the Constitution. His action has no constitutional validity and I shall not be wrong if I say that he acted unwisely, as a willing political instrument of the Central Government and his action is fraught with grave danger, politically.

But this is not the only occasion he has done so. On 21st November, 1968 he acted in an unconstitutional and arbitrary manner. This is more objectionable than what he did in November, 1968. Then he refused to let the Government discharge its duty by dismissing it without testing its majority in the Assembly. Here, on this occasion, on the first day of the session of the Assembly the elected representatives of the Government have to tell the people about their programmes, and their strategy. That is a constitutional right to be exercised through the Governor. They have to tell the people what their assessment of the political situation is. On this occasion also, by skipping over those two paragraphs the Governor had deprived them of their constitutional right. It is unconstitutional and wrong. He issues a public statement to defend his action, to which I shall come later. He has acted illegally and it is to be examined whether it is not a contempt of the Constitution. I am not going at present to dilate upon the point whether this action leads to impeachment or dismissal or something else ; that is a different thing.

What we are concerned with, what this country is concerned with, what this Parliament is concerned with, is the strengthening of the democratic apparatus, the democratic