

nearly the same as the Revised Estimate of the Plan outlay this year, despite larger Central assistance, but this is mainly due to the fact that the State Government had a very comfortable cash balance at the commencement of the current year, which they were able to use for the Plan but this will not be so next year. The Plan provision next year has been strictly determined with reference to the resources in sight at present but the question of augmenting the Plan Outlay could, if necessary, certainly be considered if it is found that it would be possible during the year to mobilise more resources for meeting the additional expenditure.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta North East) : Sir, with regard to this matter, I would like to have your guidance in regard to the procedure. As the Deputy Prime Minister himself stated, the President's proclamation regarding West Bengal has been intimated to the House, and the House has to approve it. I feel that the approval of the House should precede any discussion of the West Bengal budget, either supplementary or for the whole year. You will please see to it that, that is done.

MR. SPEAKER : I agree; that is the correct procedure.

श्री प्रकाश बीर शास्त्री (हापड़) : उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में भी यही होना चाहिए ।

MR. SPEAKER : We will consider how to regularise this. Naturally the proclamation of the President must be discussed first. I agree with you. We shall discuss this and see how we should fix the time when we meet in the afternoon at the Business Advisory Committee.

SHRI D. C. SHARMA (Gurdaspur) : The speech should be circulated.

MR. SPEAKER : It will be circulated.

12.38 HRS.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Rana may continue his speech. He has already taken four minutes.

SHRI M. B. RANA (Broach) : Sir, I would not take more than about 10 minutes as I am not fond of hearing my own voice nor am I fond of stealing the thunder nor of playing to the gallery. I shall finish within the time given to me.

Yesterday I was mentioning the taxation proposals as between the utility goods and the luxury goods, and I was speaking of the curtailment in the expenditure on administration and also on building proposals. I was on the point of Narmada project when my time was over. It is an all-India project and it should be treated as such. We have had the Khosla Commission which went into it and submitted a report. It is high time now that the report should be given effect to by the Government of India. Narmada is a river which will irrigate MP, Gujarat and the Rann of Kutch. There is some sort of agitation about the proposed giving away of some Kutch land to Pakistan. But if we are able to give them Narmada waters so that the Rann may be irrigated, I am sure all the agitation will die down not only in Kutch but in the whole of Gujarat.

Coming to price rise, one of the reasons for the rise in price of foodgrains is the zonal system, whereby the surplus States hang on to the surplus foodgrains they produce and do not allow it to go out. The deficit States want the surplus foodgrains. The farmers in the surplus States are agitating that they are not getting enough price for their foodgrains. So, the zonal system is liked by neither surplus nor deficit States. It should be done away with as soon as possible.

The rise in prices is also due to the general rise in prices all over the world. I was travelling by steamer from Naples. The moment I got off the steamer, I had to pay Rs. 2 to the porter who carried my two suitcases. The taxi driver who drove me 3 miles to the hotel demanded Rs. 20 and I paid him Rs. 15. When I paid one rupee to the shoe-shine boy, he refused and wanted Rs. 2. A hair cut costs about

[Shri M. B. Rana]

Rs. 4. Italy is supposed to be the cheapest country in Europe! Now it is very costly. We went in a delegation to London in 1961. We were put up at the Savoy hotel. A member from the UP Assembly श्री देवकानंदन विभव was also there with me. I said, विभव साहब, जरा बाल तो कटवा लीजिए। वड़ा खराब दिखता है। शेरवानी के पीछे आता है, जरा कटवा लीजिए।

But he was carrying on. I said, you come with me outside the Savoy Hotel and I will show you a good hair-cutting saloon which will cost you only 4 shillings. But he said,

राना साहब, चलेगा, चलेगा।

One day all of a sudden he went into the saloon of the Savoy Hotel. When he came out, he said,

राना साहब, मर गया।

He did not know much of English and to every question put to him, he said, "Yes". Hair cut? Yes. Shampoo? Yes. Massage? Yes. The result was, he had to pay a lot of money to the saloon. Therefore, price rise is there everywhere in the world, not only in India.

The public sector industries should be distributed in all the States. The States should be asked to distribute them in every district, so that we get equal distribution of the public sector industries in the various States.

Then, I wish to say something regarding our projects like the Narmada and other projects. Unless we are able to get the rains, these projects will not be of much use and as such in order to regulate the rains, we must start afforestation as soon as possible. The Government of India should see that 20 per cent of the land in all the States are afforested or some sort of trees are grown, and garden trees and fruit trees grown, so that the rain comes more or less regularly. Unless that happens all our projects in the Narmada valley or any other valley will not be of much use. Then, there should be extensive cultivation. A lot of waste land lies on both sides

of the railway lines. We can utilise some of these lands in growing trees on both sides of the railway lines. And in our parts where we are in Gujarat, there is what we call the *khar* land, which is over-run by tidal water and nothing can grow there. That could be very well developed and they could grow trees there. If we do that, we shall be able to grow more trees and have more afforestation and de-salting of the land could be prevented by afforestation.

Then, Sir, Gujarat is having one thousand miles of coast land and Broach is the district which I come from. This port is the oldest not only in India, but in Asia. From the Broach port—which we used to call Bhrugu Kutch—the vessels used to go right up to Greece and Egypt and all other places. All the muslins in which the mummies in Cairo were wrapped were the Dacca muslins. They were exported through the port of Broach. So, Sir, we should develop all the ports all along the line of the Gujarat coast.

Then, the other thing which I wish to say in regard to the development of agriculture is this. There should be intensive farming. And there, when I see the cowdung being made into cowdung cakes and used, I feel very sorry for the country, because the cowdung and the night soil are soil manures. They are the best manures possible and they are easily available. In China they say that the guest came here, but he went away without dropping any night soil here. They were so much fond of these manures to be put in their lands so that whatever they sow, grows properly. We have been using the cowdung as *gobar gas* whereby the gas is produced from the cowdung and when that *gobar gas* plant is used, we get the gas enough to cook the food for some purposes.

We are talking of the people's car in India. Henry Ford said that he would produce a car for every farmer and he kept up the promise. And I know that Ford cars were available for Rs. 2200 or roundabout that. Two-seater was available for only Rs. 1600.

But what is it that our capitalists are doing here, the Birlas and the Walchand Hirachands? Instead of producing cheaper cars, they are making them more and more expensive. Even the jeeps which Messrs Mahindra and Mahindra promised to produce soon after the end of the war for Rs. 4,000 could not be produced and now the jeeps are available for not less than Rs. 18,000.

Then, Sir, we give too much importance to the language question. First we divided the country religion-wise, India and Pakistan. Then we divided the States language-wise. We are gradually disintegrating the country. I would suggest, let us have only five States, five zonal States, North, East, South, West and Central, and get rid of this language question. Let language be a means of expression and nothing more. Let us try to produce the feeling of national integration by this way. The time is ripe when we should say that India is our country and we should develop the country as soon as possible.

12.50 HRS.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I heard yesterday the learned eloquence of Dr. Rao. Of course, the eloquence was not as telling as the eloquence of our sister (*Interruption*). Sometimes learned people with their eloquence confuse people, but they do not confuse people without first confusing themselves. The learned professor spoke in different terms than when he was in the university. He said, there are no ideological overtones in the Budget. Afterwards he said he was a socialist and we must work for socialism. What did he say? He said, if we are to bring socialism in this land we must be prepared to pay more and more taxes, while he praised all the remission of taxes that was made by the Finance Minister to the capitalists. I wonder where from more and more taxes which are disliked by every party will come excepting from the poor, and I suppose that would be the fulfilment of socialism.

Then he said that he welcomed the inflation that has been provided for in the Budget. Why? Because, he said, that would keep the prices of foodgrains high which was necessary for the cultivators, while the Planning Commission has been saying that the cultivators are getting enough and they must be taxed. I do not know what the policy of the Government to increase food prices is, because it had in the past an effect on what the economists call cost-push-inflation. He wants this inflation to be added on to by another inflation which is the cost-push-inflation.

Then he said that we will soon be able to export agricultural produce. This promise was given to us by our first Prime Minister at the time of the Second Five Year Plan. But, as yet, we have not seen this promise fulfilled; rather, we find that we have to get from outside more and more food.

Then, he gave us an account of how our economy had been suffering and how this economic crisis had overtaken us. When I and some others asked him about the causes of this economic crisis which has bedevilled our public and private life, he said: "Do not interrupt; wait; I shall come to it". Up to the last he did not give any causes for our present economic condition. Of course Government has been giving causes which it thinks are not in its hands which were acts of God; for instance, droughts and foreign war.

But, as I said during the discussion on the President's Address, there are many man-made causes, if I may say so, government-made causes, and the first and the greatest cause is inflation, monetary inflation in an economy that is stagnant and not expanding. Then, there is this cost-push-inflation which is also man-made and not God-made.

There is defect in our industrial policy, which has not been properly conceived. There are gigantic plants that have been put up. We are told sometimes that this or that plant is the biggest in Asia; sometimes we are told that it is the biggest in the world. This craze for bigness has affected our economy very adversely. There are 3

[Shri J. B. Kirpalani]
steel plants and 50 per cent of their capacity is kept idle resulting in a loss of crores of rupees. Yet, another plant is contemplated at Bokaro which will be much more costly than the plants that are already there.

Priorities too are neglected, as pointed out in the Hazari Report. When you have a planned economy it is not only necessary that you fix priorities in the public sector but you have to fix priorities in the private sector. Our licensing policy also has been very defective. Another thing is the failure to identify our mistakes and disinclination to take proper steps at the proper time to rectify those mistakes. There is no dialogue between the Government, industry and commerce. There is ever-increasing unproductive expenditure in the Centre and in the States. Further, much of our private investment has gone into land and palatial buildings. Also, there is conspicuous consumption.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I hope he will finish in two or three minutes.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: I have not even begun. I do not ask any questions; I never raise any points of order; I speak three or four times.

AN HON. MEMBER: Let him continue after lunch.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I will have to adjust. All right. Let him continue after lunch. We adjourn for lunch to meet again at 2 O'Clock.

13 HRS.

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

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Kripalani to resume his speech. May I request him to be brief?

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: I have listed the causes of our present economic troubles. They are all man-made causes and I must say that they

have been caused by the blundering of our Government in the last fifteen years. Has the Budget remedied any of these causes so far as it is possible for the Budget to do so? All causes may not be cured by the Budget, but there are certain things which the Budget could have done which it has failed to do. Take, for instance, inflation. Deficit financing we were told, will never be resorted to during the tenure of office of our present Finance Minister and in our philosophy it is said: "जान जाय वचन न जाय"

I suppose this has a reference only to the so-called promises in the international field, but it has nothing to do with the promises that the Ministers make to the public from time to time.

The only bright spot in the Budget is that for the first time it has been recognised that agriculture is the basis of all economy and also it is the basis of industrial growth. In America 9% or 10% of the population are engaged in agriculture and they supply the whole country and other countries with foodgrains. But it is good that the Government has recognized the fact that agriculture is the basis of our industry. Yet, we were told that they will have to import six or seven million tonnes of food. Why? Because they will be having buffer stocks. This talk of buffer stocks has been going on since the days of Mr. . .

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Since the duffers took over.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: . . . Patil and even before that and when the drought came and we wanted grain, we do not know where these stocks had gone. I would request the Finance Minister to make sure that when the Food Minister makes buffer stocks, he sees that he has provision for keeping them. I am afraid we do not have proper arrangements for keeping these buffer stocks safe from insects and animals. It was said by our last Rashtrapati that 30% of our foodgrains are lost on account of insects and rodents. What is the conclusion?

It is said that this Budget would give an impetus to our economy. I am sorry to say that it will be no such thing. If there is to be any change, it will be only a marginal change. I am fortified in this opinion by an international authority, Dr. Myrdal of Sweden, and he is an internationally-known person. He was often here, was consulted by our Prime Minister and also by the Planning Commission. Sir, it would be very useful for Prof. Rao to hear the opinion of an international authority whom he must be knowing. What does Dr. Myrdal say? He says :

"The postponement of the economic revolution contemplated by Jawaharlal Nehru has become permanent."

Then, he says that our industrial revolution must not follow the lines taken by the industrial revolution in the West but it must be job-oriented. This was the very thing that Gandhiji used to talk and which we here have failed to follow.

An international conference is going on here and we want them to help us. We know that this want of job-oriented economy is pressing hard on every Western country. They have introduced automation. Automation means that they can produce any amount of goods, but labour will not increase; that means that the people will have no purchasing power. So, every country in Europe and America itself has a balance of payments to meet, and their currencies are being devalued. England has already devalued. We devalued our currency because of inflation and other things. But we did not take any steps to rectify the economy as they have taken in England, for example. They have disbanded their eastern Army; they have dismissed their expenses on their defence and they have taken away even the health scheme which the Labour Government had themselves initiated. They are not afraid of being unpopular as our Government are afraid of. Therefore, our Government are becoming more un-

popular than they would be if they took proper steps to put the economy on its feet.

Further the Prof. says that there is inefficiency. He is talking mostly of India; though his report is on South-East Asia His emphasis is on India. He says that another difficulty is inefficiency of our administration and inefficiency in our industry. He says that there is rigidity and inequality of established institutions which have not been changed. He says that there are unequal economic and social power relations. These have become more unequal than they were before.

So, here is an international authority who is a friend of India, and whom Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had invited and whom the Planning Commission had also invited to advise them, he has given this report in two volumes, and he was authorised by an international body to make a report. What is the meaning of all this? The meaning of all this is that there is colossal unemployment and frustration in every section of society. And what does it lead to? It leads to the violent disturbances that we see. The law and order situation has become impossible. Even our morality is affected by these defective economic relations. The effect of all this is that politicians do not mind how they behave, so that our democracy also is in danger of being frustrated and it is being frustrated. There was a Speaker in Bengal and there is now another Speaker in Punjab. In no Western country will the Speakers nullify the Government, the executive and the judiciary and the legislature. Here all the three are nullified because our morals have gone down. In England, such a thing will not be done, in America it will not be done. People will be ashamed, these things are not done. All these things are being done because economically we are down.

I did not believe in Marxism, but I am inclined to think that Marx was right when he gave an economic interpretation of history. But I find it is not the economics that have gone

[Shri J. B. Kirpalani]
 wrong, but it is those who are managing the economics, it is the Government that has gone wrong, and unless the Government puts its house in order, unless they bring about efficiency, unless they bring about economy, unless they change this luxury expenditure that is going on, they may have a majority in this Parliament, but there seems to be no future to this country. As we see, neither the Congress Party nor any other party is going to help this country to get out of the morass in which it has been dragged for the last 20 years of the Congress Government.

श्री शिव नारायण (बस्ती) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं माननीय उप-प्रधान मंत्री और फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर को बधाई देने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ और उनके बजट को बेलकम करता हूँ। जरा कलेजा थाम कर बैठो अब मेरी बारी आई। मैं उन को एक्स्प्लेन करना चाहता हूँ जिन्होंने कहा कि डेफिसिट बजट आया है।

What is this deficit of Rs. 290 crores in fact? Let us examine it in some detail. Out of this Rs. 290 crores, Rs. 150 crores are meant for the buffer stock of foodgrains, and another Rs. 78 crores are meant for the States as advance. Thus, actually the deficit is of the order of about Rs. 62 crores.

बड़े बड़े विद्वानों ने उधर से बड़ा क्रिटिसाइज किया लेकिन मैं कोट करना चाहता हूँ। देखिये मिल्टन ने कहा है कि :

They serve best who watch and see. You must watch and see what the Finance Minister will do, see what is in his pocket.

एकानामिक्स में तुम फेल हो गये, अर्थशास्त्र के पंडित लोग फेल हो गये। पढ़ा नहीं उन्होंने यह हमारी बेलेंस शीट है, यह नमूना है हमारे बजट का जो फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर ने रक्खा है, जो कि हमारे देश का सब से मजबूत फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर है। उन्होंने क्या कहा? विदेशों को हमारा माल एक्सपोर्ट हो। डिबैलूएशन के

बाद उन्होंने सोचा कि हमारा माल जो एक्सपोर्ट होगा उस से फारेन एक्स्चेंज आयेगा और देश के लिये सुरक्षा आयेगी। यह हमारे मुल्क की ड्यूटी भी है क्योंकि फारेन माल के बायकाट पर हम ने आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी थी, और इस का नतीजा यह है कि हमारा देश आगे बढ़ा है। हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने डिबैलूएशन किया जिस में हम विदेशी माल का बायकाट करें और विरोधी दल ढोल पीटते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट ने डिबैलूएशन किया। हम उन को सही रास्ते पर लाना चाहते हैं। यह विरोधी दल का नमूना है।

हम चरण सिंह, गवर्नमेंट का नमूना भी आप के सामने रखना चाहते हैं। मेरी कांस्टिट्यून्सी में पत्थर पड़े। वहां का तहसीलदार उस जगह को देखने गया और सड़क से ही लौट आया। जब 5 फरवरी को मैं आया तो लोगों ने मुझे बतलाया। मैंने कहा कि तहसीलदार साहब जा कर देखो दसियां गांव में क्या हुआ है। मैं सीघा ठाकुरों के गांव में गया और वहां की हालत को खुद जा कर देखा। जब देख कर लौटा तो वहां से उपज का यह नमूना लाया हूँ जिस को गवर्नमेंट देखे। मैं यू० पी० गवर्नमेंट के अफसरों के कारनामे दिखाने के लिये लाया हूँ जो सड़क देख कर लौट आये हैं। यह हमारी ब्यूरोक्रेसी का, आई सी० एस० और पी० सी० एस० का नमूना है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : यह क्या है ?

श्री शिव नारायण : यह बाली है:

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा (बाढ़) : उन्होंने देखा ही नहीं है, वह क्या जानेंगे यह क्या है।

श्री शिव नारायण : वहां के पटवारी की रिपोर्ट में 20 परसेंट लास है। जब मैं ने कहा कि लो देख लो यह गेहूं की वाली, तो वह कार्नर हो गये। वहां के ठाकुर खुश हुए कि हमारा एम० पी० आया है हमारी हालत

को देखने के लिये। मैं तो गवर्नमेंट का एलची हूँ और गवर्नमेंट को रिअल पिक्चर देता हूँ। यह चरण सिंह गवर्नमेंट का नमूना है। चरण सिंह किसान का बेटा है लेकिन उस ने ट्यूब वेल को बन्द किया है। जिस की तबियत हो चल कर देख ले। हमारा ट्यूब वेल रुका हुआ है। पच्चीस हजार रुपया खर्च करके मैंने ट्यूब वेल लगवाया था लेकिन वह बेकार पड़ा है इस एस० एस० पी० की सरकार की मेहरबानी की वजह से।

आजादी के पहले हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय 89 अरब रुपया थी जो कि आज हमारे आर्थिक प्रयासों और नियोजन के कारण बढ़ कर 102 अरब रुपया हो गई है। यह जो इतनी बढ़ोतरी इस में हुई है इसका श्रेय इसी सरकार को तो जाता है, और किस सरकार को जाता है। लेकिन जो वास्तविकता है उससे भी हमें अपनी आंखें नहीं फेर लेनी चाहियें। यह भी एक वास्तविकता है कि कुल राष्ट्रीय आय का चालीस प्रतिशत आज भी लगभग 250 परिवारों के हाथ में है जिन में हमारे मोदी साहब भी शामिल हैं। इस पैसे को ये बड़े-बड़े परिवार वाले कंट्रोल किए हुए हैं। इसका नतीजा यह है कि गरीबी और अमीरी की जो खाई है वे चौड़ी ही होती चली जा रही है। इस खाई को सरकार को पाटना चाहिये। यह जो अन्तर है इसको कम करना चाहिये। इस पूंजी के केन्द्रीयकरण को रोकना चाहिये और जरूरत हो तो राष्ट्रीयकरण भी कुछ चीजों का किया जाना चाहिये।

जहां तक गल्ले के आयात का सम्बन्ध है गत दो वर्षों में हमारे देश में बीस अरब रुपये का गल्ला बाहर से मंगाया गया है। अब भी सत्तर लाख टन गल्ला बाहर से आप मंगाना चाहते हैं। मैं इसका विरोध करता हूँ। मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अन्न की कमी आज देश में नहीं है। इसके आयात पर आप प्रतिबन्ध लगायें फिर चाहे देश को

भूखा ही क्यों न रहना पड़े, चाहे सूखा ही देश में क्यों न पड़े। आप जनता से अपील करो कि वह बजाय छः छटांक के तीन छटांक रोजाना साल भर खा कर गुजारा करे, दो जून के बजाय एक जून खा कर गुजारा करे, लेकिन अन्न बाहर से नहीं मंगाया जाना चाहिये। अगर आप इस तरह से विदेशों से अन्न मंगाते चले गए तो देश की आर्थिक स्थिति कभी भी सुधर नहीं सकेगी। अन्न के मामले में हम आत्म-निर्भर हो सकें, इसके लिए मैं आपको कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ।

आपको चाहिये कि भूमिहीन किसानों को आप जमीन दें और उनके लिए बाजिब साधन मुहैया किये जायें—

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (उज्जैन) : किस ने आपको यह सब लिख कर दिया है।

श्री शिवनारायण : मैं किसान का बेटा हूँ। अपने हाथ से मैं लिखता हूँ। मैं जन संघो नहीं हूँ। मैं पढ़ा लिखा हूँ, ग्रेजुएट हूँ, मिडल फेल नहीं हूँ।

एक और मैं सुझाव सरकार को देना चाहता हूँ। कृषि योग्य जो भूमि है उसका आज भी केवल पच्चीस प्रतिशत सिंचित होता है। 75 प्रतिशत के लिए कोई सिंचाई की व्यवस्था नहीं है। मैं इन स्वतंत्र पार्टी वालों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि नोटों को जो इन्होंने तिजोरियों में बन्द करके रख छोड़ा है, इनको इन्हें निकालना चाहिये और भामा-शाह बनना चाहिये। नाक इनकी कटती है और शर्म हम को आती है। विदेशों में हम को भीख मांगने के लिए जाना पड़ता है मोदी साहब जैसों को खिलाने के लिए

श्री पीलू मोड़ी : आपकी सरकार है और आपका ही वोट ले कर यह पावर में आई है।

श्री शिव नारायण : मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप किसानों को ये सहूलियतें दें तो सारा इंतजाम हो जायेगा। हमें अपनी

[श्री शिव नारायण]

जरूरतों के लिए बाहर से अन्न भी नहीं मंगाना पड़ेगा और मैं आपको आश्वासन देता हूँ कि हम अनाज बाहर भेजने की स्थिति में भी हो जायेंगे।

मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश का सब से निर्बल वर्ग हरिजनों और आदिम जातियों का है। इसके उत्थान के लिए संविधान में कुछ व्यवस्थाएँ की गई हैं। उन व्यवस्थाओं को अमल में नहीं लाया गया है। आप नमूना देख लीजिये कि हरिजनों के साथ किस प्रकार का व्यवहार होता है। इसका नमूना आपको मध्य प्रदेश की घटनाओं से मिल जाएगा। अफ्रीका की बात होती है लेकिन वहाँ दिन दहाड़े हरिजनों को मार डाला गया है। हमारे आदिमियों को कत्तल कर दिया गया है। हाउस के अन्दर जब उनका सवाल आया था और उस पर चर्चा हो रही थी तो कितने शर्म की बात है कि उस दिन उधर बैठे हुए एक माननीय सदस्य ने कोरम का सवाल उठा दिया था। और कोरम की घंटी बजवा दी थी। ये हरिजनों के वड़े दमदार बनते फिरते हैं लेकिन जो इनके कारनामे हैं उनको आप देख लीजिये। कोरम का सवाल उठा कर इन्होंने हमारी नाक कटवा दी, शर्म से हमारा सिर झुक गया। मैं चाहता हूँ कि ला एंड आर्डर को हर कीमत पर मेनटेन किया जाए। गरीबों के साथ हमारी हमदर्दी होनी चाहिये। उनको ऊपर उठाना हमारी जिम्मेदारी है, सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है। यह मोरारजी देसाई साहब की जिम्मेदारी थी, जवाहरलाल जी की जिम्मेदारी थी और दादा कृपालानी जी की है। आज जवाहरलाल जी हमारे बीच में नहीं, महात्मा गांधी हमारे बीच में नहीं हैं, दयानन्द जी नहीं हैं। इन्हीं लोगों ने यह जिम्मेदारी उठाई थी। शिव नारायण ने नहीं उठाई थी। संविधान आचार्य कृपालानी जी ने नहीं लिखा था। वह डा० अम्बेदकर ने लिखा था जिसका मतलब है कि शिव नारायण ने लिखा था। अब उसकी व्यवस्थाओं का पालन करना

सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है। कान खोल कर सुन लो, हम कमजोर नहीं हैं, हम भिख मंगे नहीं हैं, हम इस में विश्वास करते हैं "कर बहियां बल आपनी तजौ पराई आस"। हम आगे जा रहे हैं, और आगे बढ़ते चले जायेंगे।

मैं फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि वह गरीबों की मदद करें। मैं उन को एक बात बतलाना चाहता हूँ। हमारे एक्स फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर श्री टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी ने एक वचन दिया था कि पटेल कमिशन के दायरे में बलिया और बस्ती को ले लिया जाएगा। मैं उनका अनुगृहीत हूँ कि उन्होंने ऐसा किया भी। मैं श्री मोरारजी देसाई से अपील करता हूँ कि उसके द्वारा मुझाई गई चीजों पर वह अमल करें, जो स्कीम उन्होंने उठा कर रख दी है, उसको फिर से चालू करें। बस्ती, गोरखपुर, देवरिया आदि जो ईस्टरन उत्तर प्रदेश के भाग हैं ये भारतवर्ष के सब से गरीब भाग हैं, ये मोस्ट पूअर पार्ट्स आफ दी कंट्री हैं। कमिशन की रिपोर्ट गवर्नमेंट के पास है लेकिन इसकी रिकोमेंडेशन को अमल में नहीं लाया जा रहा है। कोई देखने वाला नहीं है। आई०सी०एम० अफसरों के चक्कर से आप बचें और अपने दम पर आप आगे आयें। अगर आपके नेतृत्व में यह समस्या हल नहीं हुई और हम ऊंचे नहीं उठे तो कहना पड़ेगा।

आशा भई निराशा कंकर भयो परासा
जिन मोर खैली रिनहली जोरिया ते कर
पूजौ आसा

मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इसका खयाल करें।

62 करोड़ की जो कमी है, कांग्रेस वाले आपको बता सकते हैं कि यह कैसे पूरी हो सकती है। विरोधी दल वाले नहीं बता सकते हैं। इन्होंने अर्थ शास्त्र पढ़ा ही नहीं है, ये पंडित ही नहीं हैं यह कोई ऐसी कमी नहीं है जो हमारे वित्त मंत्री पूरी न कर सकें। खर्च में कमी करके इसको पूरा किया जा सकता है।

अब मैं बेकारी के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। इंजीनियर जो बेकार हैं उन सफेदपोशों की हालत पर यहां बड़े आंसू बहाये जाते हैं। उनकी संख्या तो चालीस हजार ही है। लेकिन आप देखें कि लाखों की संख्या में किसान भुखमरी से पीड़ित हैं, बीमारी से परेशान हैं, खाना उनको नहीं मिलता है। उनके बारे में कोई बोलता ही नहीं है। अस्सी प्रतिशत आदमी इस देश के निम्न स्तर पर रह कर गुजारा कर रहे हैं। जानवरों की तरह रह रहे हैं। आप यहां किसानों और गरीबों की बदौलत ही बैठे हुए हैं। कैपिटलिस्ट आपके लिए वोट नहीं करते हैं, बनिया, ब्राह्मण, ठाकुर, वोट आपको नहीं करता है। गरीब किसान, चमार, भंगी, कुर्मी, कुम्हार ही आपको वोट करते हैं। अब थोड़ा-सा उन्होंने भी हाथ खींचा है। हमारे जो वोटर्ज हैं इनको रोका भी गया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इसको ठीक करो। इसके बिना गाड़ी चलने वाली नहीं है।

27 पैसे से ज्यादा उनकी आमदनी नहीं है। डा० लोहिया ने कहा था जिस दिन कि 27 करोड़ आदमी इस मुल्क में तीन आने पर गुजारा करते हैं तब पंडित नेहरू ने कहा था कि पंद्रह आने पर करते हैं और मेरे लायक दोस्त नन्दा साहब ने कहा था कि साढ़े सात आने पर करते हैं। तीनों का औसत अगर निकाला जाए तो चार आने बैठता है। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि डा० लोहिया सही थे। 27 करोड़ आदमियों को आप इग्नोर नहीं कर सकते हैं। गरीबों को मिले रोटी तो मेरी जान सस्ती है, इस सिद्धान्त पर आपको चलना चाहिये।

हमारे वित्त मन्त्री जी ने बड़े लोगों को कुछ रियायतें दी हैं। मैं उन रियायतों का विरोध नहीं करता हूँ। उन्होंने ठीक किया है। इससे इंडस्ट्री जिन्दा रहेगी। लेकिन मैं इंडस्ट्रीवालों को कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे धन तिजौरी में सड़ने के लिए न डाल दें। इसको उत्पादन बढ़ाने के काम में लायें।

स्माल इंडस्ट्रीज और बिग इंडस्ट्रीज साथ-साथ चलनी चाहिये और कम्प्यूटीशन होना चाहिये। लेकिन स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज सर-वाइव करें यह आपको देखना होगा।

श्री राम सेवक यादव (बाराबंकी) : आप इन बड़े बड़े इंडस्ट्रियलिस्टों के पक्ष में बोल रहे हैं ?

श्री शिव नारायण : राहू और केतु मेरे दाएं-बायें बैठ गए हैं। मैं उनको चौ० चरण सिंह की बात बतलाता हूँ। वह किसान के बेटे थे। उन्होंने उत्तर प्रदेश में क्या किया, यह मैं आपको बता चुका हूँ। महाराज सिंह भारती यहां नहीं हैं, उनको मैं धन्यवाद देता हूँ। वह बड़े ईमानदार आदमी हैं और सच्ची बात कहते हैं। उनको वहां कमलापति ने नहीं हटाया, सी० बी० गुप्ता ने नहीं हटाया, एस० एस० पी० वालों ने हटाया, इन्होंने उनका गला काटा। इसमें मेरा क्या दोष है।

मैं कहूंगा कि यह घाटे का बजट नहीं है। उनको इसके बारे में परेशान नहीं होना चाहिये। निकम्मेन का डोल पीटने की विरोधी पक्ष को जरूरत नहीं है। हम किसी विदश्री पैसे के चक्कर में नहीं हैं। मैं फारन कोलौबो-रेशन का विरोध आज भी करता हूँ, कल भी करूंगा और जीवन भर विरोध करता रहूंगा। इसका कारण यह है कि अंग्रेज हमारे देश में बनिया हो कर आया था और उसने हमको दो सौ बरस तक रगड़ा। मैं गवर्नमेंट को सावधान करता हूँ कि खाली रिपोर्ट लिखवाने पर आप ध्यान मत दो, कुछ काम करो, कुछ काम करो, जंग में अपना कुछ नाम करो।

मैं जगजीवन राम जी ने जो शूगर के बारे में पालिसी अख्तियार की है, उसके बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। चालीस परसेंट शूगर को उन्होंने डिक्ट्रोल किया है। उसका इनाम किसान को मिला है। उसके घर में लाखों रुपया पहुंचा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर यही पालिसी जारी रही तो अगले साल चीनी का शार्टेज हमारे देश में नहीं होगा। इस का

[श्री शिव नारायण]

श्रय श्री जगजीवन राम को है। आज उन के इकबाल से इस देश में अन्न की कमी नहीं रही है। लेकिन मैं सरकार को कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह सावधानी के साथ अपनी पूँजी को बटोर कर बफरस्टाक को जमा करे। इस वक्त बफरस्टाक जमा करना आसान है। वह सोना दे कर बाहर से अन्न न मंगाएँ, बल्कि नोट छाप कर गल्ला खरीदे और उस के बाद उस को बांटने की समुचित व्यवस्था करे।

मैं फिनान्स मिनिस्टर को बघाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने ऐसा सुन्दर और पेचीदा बजट बनाया है, जो इन लोगों की समझ से परे है। मैं उन से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि देश का भविष्य बड़ा उज्ज्वल है। उन के साम्य में और उन के हाथों से देश का कल्याण हो जाय। उन्होंने स्वराज्य की लड़ाई लड़ी है। वह हमारे बुजुर्ग और नेता हैं। हम केवल मिनिस्टर के नाते ही नहीं, बल्कि अपने लीडर की हैसियत से उनका आदर और रेस्पेक्ट करते हैं। हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि उन के रहते हमारी नाब पार होगी। हमारी नाब डूबने वाली नहीं है। इन लोगों की नाब तो दस महीने में ही डूब गई।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI N. K. SOMANI (Nagaur) : Sir, while participating in the budget debate, I am reminded of a story that all of us learnt in our primary school, where there was a vivid illustration entitled *Gulliver's Travels*, where we found that Gulliver was lying prostrate in the middle of the woods, trying to recapture his energy and to find a new direction; and, before he got up, he found small tiny little men trying to put a number of bandages on him, so that he could not move. I would like to begin my presentation with this remark that the Deputy Prime Minister for the first time in the last 10 years has tried to take courage in his hand and has attempted a little limited change, but like Gulliver has not been allowed to do enough. Not

only speaker after speaker in this House, but international economists, the Planning Commission, the Government of India and the people are agreed that we are in the middle of an economic distress, that our plans have gone awry and are in disarray, that the fourth plan has been postponed and this was the propitious moment when he could have done a lot more to set the economy going.

It is a very curious fact that two speakers agreed on the present situation summarising the country's problems today. One was Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao who yesterday summarised the country's problems beautifully and well. He talked about unbridled inflation that we have been facing for the last several years. He talked about our high cost economy where price has become such a stumbling factor that we are completely disabled to sell our produce at home or abroad. He talked about the debasing and devaluation of our currency which, in spite of a massive dose of devaluation, continues to shed its value year after year. He talked about the growing unemployment and a host of other problems about which we are all agreed. The other speaker who spoke in similar strains to the Indian Merchants Chamber sometime ago was Mr. J. R. D. Tata, who unfortunately speaks infrequently in the country. In the matter of summarising the problems of this country, both these gentlemen were identical.

As far as Prof. Rao is concerned, he has had a tremendous opportunity to prove his theories when he was not only a distinguished member of the Planning Commission but now as a member of this Government. I submit he has nothing new to offer to this country, because whatever his policies and philosophies have been, they have been followed by this country for the last 15 years under his aegis and under his direction as far as planning is concerned. Therefore, we will have to give the benefit of doubt to another set of theories which will revive our economy and we can take more courage in our hands and try to follow

meaningful examples and lessons from several tiny little countries round the world, countries like Ivory Coast in Africa, like Philippines and countries like New Zealand, Mexico and Japan. With greater adherence to these principles followed by these countries we can take the country to more rapid economic advancement. The management of the economy of the country is no more a guess work if the decision making process can be tried today not only in business, but in the administration of a country, either on computers or on mathematical models or on simulation theories or other operational techniques. Therefore, I would appeal to the hon. Deputy Prime Minister that before he ushers in any new proposal, before he makes any adjustment towards the positive or the negative side, he can try all these models and not leave anything to chance or guess work.

I was saying that presently this country is not yet out of the woods; the balance of payments position still continues to overcome us and there is stagnation and imbalance between the agricultural and the industrial growth, with the former far outstripping the latter. This is all the more pertinent because during the last five years we have witnessed in this country 81 per cent rise in the agricultural prices vis-a-vis 28 per cent rise in the industrial prices. In addition to all these factors, our problems are further accentuated by an exploding population. On this, I submit, in spite of the youthful and energetic Minister for Family Planning, hardly anything has been done in this country which will justify our ambitions.

I wish to say something on the expenditure on defence and the consumption expenditure. I am not trying to over-simplify the enormous problem that faces the hon. Deputy Prime Minister; but I would like to say this that instead of trying to shun in limited winds of change he should have been more bold, courageous and realistic and should have set the ball of economy rolling. We are just like the patient suffering from cancer. There

is, therefore, need for an immediate surgery instead of giving the patient the radiation therapy, which will only postpone the evil. We have to examine the budget from this point of view, whether it will help our recession, which is enveloping the country today with our high-cost economy. We have to see whether it will reduce our cost of production and increase our exportability. Our investment market is stagnant and moribund. We have to see whether the budget will revive the necessary climate and whether the capital market will get the necessary movement.

I would also like to refer to another curious feature, that there is lack of coordination between the various Ministries of the Government of India. There is lack of coordination between the Ministry of Finance, Commerce, Ministry of Industry and Ministry of Food and Agriculture. Otherwise how can we explain with the increased capacity installed in this country, our Commerce Minister and Industry Minister going on liberalising the imports in a rather indiscriminate manner, not at all concerned with what happens in our country, at home. I would like to say this, that either the hon. Deputy Prime Minister who was the Chairman of the Administrative Reforms Commission for two years had not been able to reduce the cost of administration and consumption expenditure in our Government, or something else has gone wrong somewhere. Otherwise how can you explain the fact that in 1964-65 the cost of civil administration in this country was Rs. 107 crores which has now gone up to Rs. 186 crores in the budget proposals?

At this moment I am reminded of a very curious story. The Minister of Home Affairs the other day while answering a question put by me asserted that Rs. 1,16,000 are spent every year in this country of ours, twenty years after independence, on training new IAS recruits in the art and craft of horse riding. Not only that, he said that for these collectors and district magistrates it is necessary for them to be conversant in this art

[Shri N. K. Somani]

and that it is an ancient Indian tradition. This is the type of thing where we follow blindly the British traditions. During the British days the collectors and district magistrates were expected to lead their charge of the light brigade upon the Indian people and horse riding probably was relevant in those days. There are numerous examples of this type of waste. If this Rs. 1,16,000 was spent in training these officers in the field of behavioural science, in the field of human relations, in the field of getting along with people, in the field of increasing their sensitivity to become alive to the needs of the people, I am sure this amount would have been very well invested. I suggest, therefore, in view of this, we cannot afford such expenditure and attitude any more.

The entire new employment to the Government sector should be frozen for the time being before we can give meaningful and full employment to the existing people. I am told there are 6.5 million people today on the State rolls, when you take both the Central and State Governments together, and this has not stopped at all.

Coming to defence, for the first time defence has broken the sound barrier of Rs. 1000 crores. It is futile to suggest we should apply any indiscriminate or irrelevant cut as far as defence is concerned. But we can certainly apply modern management techniques, certainly look into logistics, our mobility, inventory control, professional management and follow and take meaningful lessons from Mr. Robert McNamara who not only pruned the U.S. defence budget by billions of dollars but in this process proved that if you want to become more efficient and effective, budget is not the only consideration, we have to follow modern tools of management. Therefore, I would like either a standing committee on defence or a closer probe into this ever-mounting defence expenditure.

Once again the financial, fiscal indiscipline of the States of India has made the entire country pay for it. Just last year the Deputy Prime

Minister provided Rs. 113 crores to liquidate their overdrafts on the Reserve Bank. Now, to perpetuate this indiscipline, because he has not been able to control these various States, he is once again providing Rs. 50 crores so that these States can come into discipline. I suspect at this rate they will never be disciplined and this Rs. 50 crores is likely to go up to Rs. 80 crores or even Rs. 100 crores depending on the circumstances.

Now I come to the State sector or the public sector. I am afraid this has become anti-public sector, otherwise we cannot justify the gross mismanagement that is being perpetuated in the matter of investment of nearly Rs. 3000 crores. It has become a bottomless and fathomless pit of one way traffic of finance and revenue. After all the country is entitled to a reasonable rate of return on these business enterprises. This is also part of the national economy. There have been numerous reports. In this House there have been innumerable reports by experts and by review committees which have gone into this problem. The Administrative Reforms Commission has come out with a document. It has tried to probe into the working of the public sector enterprises. There has to be a line drawn somewhere by which the present investment of over Rs. 2,900 crores has to be frozen until such time as all these enterprises start yielding reasonable revenue to this country. Just imagine what a chance we are missing. Just a nominal 5 per cent improvement over the present 1.5 per cent yield from this colossal investment would improve the central revenues to the extent of Rs. 125 crores and half the problem of inflation and deficit financing which the Deputy Prime Minister has been ill-advised to resort to would have been solved if there had been this nominal return on the public sector enterprises.

Once again, Professor Rao yesterday counselled us that we should not be ideological or doctrinaire in the matter of our budget. I am sorry to say that another ideological baby in the shape

of the Bokaro plant is being foisted on this country. A project which should not have been allowed to see the light of day, a project which should not have received any investment from government, for such a project Rs. 110 crores has been appropriated in the budget at this time. And I dare say that this Bokaro project is going to cost us, at this rate of inflation in this country and at this level of management in the country of the public sector enterprises and the ideological forces that are working behind this project, it will cost us upwards of Rs. 1,000 crores when and if completed. And you do not have much freedom when you are dealing with the Russians, because they are going to give it to you as one complete plant of their specifications and the Indian industry is going to be denied either fabrication or design or supply of material, as far as this plans is concerned.

In the matter of family planning, I do not know why the hon. Deputy Prime Minister, while he has given a weighted assessment or write off in the matter of exports and one or two other items, he does not provide for one and one-third write off in the matter of expenditure on family planning in the private sector. After all, we have to encourage all efforts in family planning and, therefore, the corporate sector must be encouraged to put in as much money as possible in the family planning programme.

It is a pity that all this while in this country the utmost attention has been paid to create capacity but very little and scant attention has been paid to utilising this capacity efficiently and economically. When it recommends a capacity, the Planning Commission is faulty in its programme. The Ministry's licensing programme is faulty. The DGTD also has its share of blame that we keep on indiscriminately creating capacity without bothering to look where the raw material is going to come from, whether the unit is able to put in economic production, whether we shall be able to export at all, whether this is the minimum economic unit in the 20th

century technology. We must understand once for all that either we have to make do in this country with small-scale cottage type of industries, irrespective of considerations of efficiency and cost, or this country has to compete in international markets; if our textile industry must be able to compete with the textile industry in the west, our computer technology has to be equal, if not better than, the computer decision making technology of the west and our personnel, our management our philosophy, our environment, they must be equal, if not better than, those prevailing in those countries with whom we are supposed to compete.

While on this question of idle capacity, I think I must comment at this stage on the lack of coordination between the various Ministries. How can you justify the import of aluminium products when the aluminium industry in the country is operating today at 20 per cent of its installed capacity? How can you justify the import of cables when the cable industry is in the throes of a severe recession? How can you justify a liberal dose of indiscriminate import of separate and components when the entire engineering industry has downed its shutters? I have so many other examples of this type of lack of coordination but for lack of time I will not go into this any more.

Then I come to another case where the Government could have used a little more imagination. India is one of the largest buyers of fertilizer today in the world market. And will you believe that when on a monopoly basis we allow this fertilizer to come to India, it is packed in paper bags or jute bags made in Pakistan? Does it need the Government a lot of imagination to tell our suppliers that they can make use of jute bags made in India for packing fertilizer.

THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MORARJI DESAI): How is it possible?

SHRI N. K. SOMANI: It is certainly possible.

SHRI PILOO MODY : If you are a big enough buyer you can dictate terms.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : I know what terms they are dictating.

SHRI N. K. SOMANI : Then I would like to say that the vanaspathi industry must be de-controlled immediately, not only from the point of view of the steep fall in the groundnut oil prices but for many other reasons. The price of groundnut oil has fallen to such a level that in the next term the farmer is not going to touch this crop. But, for a variety of considerations, the Government of India is continuing to perpetuate its control on vanaspathi industry, on paper industry and a host of other industries.

Coming briefly to the field of excise duties, I fail to understand why such a heavy load of excise duties is put upon the textile industry. When the textile industry yields to the Central exchequer over Rs. 100 crores in terms of excise duty alone why is it that it has not been thought fit to be given relief. After all, our exports of cloth textiles are falling, our production of cotton and yarn are falling, our employment in the textile industry is falling and the entire performance has been afflicted by the heavy load of excise duty imposed by the budget. Therefore, this is the time when internal marketing also is a prime question and, after all, they are not going to export hundred per cent produce and the cost of cotton and wages is not under the industries' exclusive control.

Before I sit down, I would like to say that just a nominal scaling down of corporate rates of taxation from 55 and 60 per cent to 50 and 55 per cent and the abolition of 10 per cent surcharge on personal income-tax which would have cost the Deputy Prime Minister only Rs. 57 crores would have provided the necessary stimulus and incentive for this economy to revive itself and to get going. When you compare in the context of the outstanding tax arrears of over Rs. 550 crores and when you consider the total

budget outlay of Rs. 4700 crores, it is a very small price to pay if you want the economy of the country to compete with others.

While I welcome the distinction that has been removed between earned and unearned income, I would like also to make an earnest plea with the hon. Finance Minister that the distinction of taxation between public and private limited companies should also be abolished now. After all, a large majority of our corporate activity is done either on the lines of Hindu undivided family or the area of operation is so narrow that a few people just get together and, in the shape of a private limited company, engage in manufacturing, trading or marketing. From this point of view, in respect of these large number of group of people of private limited companies who for purely legal, technical or other reasons have not converted into public limited companies, I think, it is unfair that they should continue to pay higher taxation.

Then, I speak of an outstanding document in respect of which, of course, the Finance Minister, would hasten slowly and that is the Bhoothalingam Report. One aspect of it which he should consider during the deliberations of this debate is the raising of the minimum slab of income-tax from Rs. 4000 to Rs. 7500 as has been cogently recommended by Mr. Boothalingam. When you consider that this slab of Rs. 4000 was fixed in the year 1951-52, when you consider the price rise that has occurred after that, when you consider the complexity of the burden on the Department of Income-Tax in the matter of assessment and collection, from every point of view, it behoves that the time has come when we should raise the exemption limit to Rs. 7,500 in the case of individuals and Rs. 10,000 for Hindu undivided families.

The former Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari has made a very serious statement castigating and ridiculing this present Government. He has even charged that all his plans and all his proposals and his promises

given on the floor of this House have been purposely cold-storaged, sabotaged, by this present Government. While I will not join issue with Shri T. T. Krishnamachari on this, there is one aspect of his promise that I would like to bring to the attention of the present Finance Minister and that is the vital complex of Rajasthan Canal project about which the people of Rajasthan and the Government of Rajasthan were promised on the floor of this House that in terms of agricultural potential, in terms of its defence potential and the sheer inability of the Rajasthan Government to complete, this project will be taken by the Central Government.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I would like to point out that on this side there are a number of Members who are eager to speak and the Members representing some States have yet to participate. I request you to confine yourself to 15 minutes each so that I may be able to accommodate as many Members as possible. Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha.

श्री मणिभाई जे० पटेल (दमोह) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम को मालूम करना है
कि किन-किन लोगों के नाम उस में हैं।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER : That is not the question. We will see that all the States get their proper share in the debate.

SHRI P. K. GHOSH (Ranchi) : Sir, is it a monopoly of some of the Members to speak on everything? We are not being given any chance. (*Interruption*).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Every State, as far as possible, will get a chance.

SHRI P. K. GHOSH : Some Members are speaking on everything. We want your production, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : On some occasions, rather senior Members are allowed to participate. (*Interruption*) As far as possible, I will try to accommodate the Members from all the States.

SHRI PARTAP SINGH (Simla) : Sir, I have not been given any chance to speak during this session.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I know. There are other members also.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA (Barh) : I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak. May I inform some of my friends who are sitting in the Back, if they are pointing to me that I have spoken a number of times, that I did not speak on the President's Address; nor did I speak on the Railway Budget because I wanted to speak on the General Budget. Therefore, I would like to remove this misunderstanding that I have spoken earlier and I am taking my chance out of queue. I do appreciate that.....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Even if she does not take part, her presence is felt and that is why they feel that she has spoken.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : I have listened to the speech of the earlier speaker and also the speeches made in the last three days, and I feel that many of the points that have been made are quite genuine and deserve serious consideration. I do agree with Acharya Kripalani that many things have been allowed to go unattended and that is why we have come to face this situation. I do appreciate that the Deputy Prime Minister had a very mixed inheritance. It was not altogether an unmixed blessing. He inherited many things and he is facing many things.

It was quite a difficult job to present a budget when the resources capacity fell down and the resources did not come up to expectations. He was faced with a large gap which he had to leave open and, there was no other course by which he could have bridged that gap except either by heavy taxation to fill that gap or by creating immediate resources which was not possible because of the inflationary and recessionary climate of the Indian

[Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha]

economy. Therefore, what he has done may not be a great blessing but it is only out of necessity that he had to resort to this deficit financing. Therefore, I could not quite appreciate the argument that was put forward yesterday about Mr. Morarji Desai's breaking his promise to this House and to the country about not resorting to deficit financing. You are yourself, Sir, a very eminent student of economics. You know, and this House knows, that there is no last word in economics. Nobody can deny that. I do not understand how the hon. members who have been here for so long., the veteran members of this House, understood the implication of that statement of the Deputy Prime Minister in this simplified manner. When he said that he would not resort to deficit financing, he meant that if he was in a position to control a certain situations, he would not resort to deficit financing, if he could possibly do that. And no Finance Minister can make a statement saying either 'yes' or 'no'. It is very difficult for a Finance Minister or for any economist to make such a statement. Economics is a living science and like a living being it also lives. Sometimes it faces upsets and it is to meet those situations that things have to be adjusted. Therefore, I do not know what was the basis and what was the substance of the argument which was given yesterday by one of the veteran members of the Communist (Marxist) Party, Mr. P. Ramamurti whom I respect very much, when he said that the Deputy Prime Minister had really cheated this House, that the Deputy Prime Minister had insulted this House. What was the insult? Deficit financing is neither a prestige to anybody, nor is it a lack of prestige. It is a phenomenon, it is an effect of certain conditions which are created, and to mitigate those conditions or to meet certain other conditions, one has to take certain steps, and the Deputy Prime Minister has been very clear about this that he has taken this steps as an intermediary step because the other possibilities were much more riskier and much more dangerous.

15 hrs.

Yet, he has already accepted it that this is an evil. This, by nature, is an evil and there are other safeguards that he has to take which I hope he will do, when he has chosen the lesser evil that is, the deficit financing. He will be able now at least to hold the price line if he had to resort to this kind of recourse to deficit financing.

What has been the cause of economic stagnation? I just now heard a very distinguished representative of business interests. He knows his subject and, he talked in a very subtle way of certain benefits that will accrue to the industry in general and certain specific industries. I am glad that he knows the subtlety of English language and he has been able to convince the Finance Minister about his own case in a very very convincing and intelligent manner and I commend his performance. But I would certainly like to say one thing. What were the causes of this economic stagnation? The business community here cannot plead that they were acting as a snow-white, sleeping in their bed for 50 years not knowing anything. . . (Interruptions). I am not one of those who have defended Government when it should not be defended. Even now I will not defend it when things have to be said because I think that loud thinking in Democracy is the only way. Therefore, I do not think the DPM also would take the criticism in the light other than that we want to reflect. But I would like to say this that if the fault has been committed by the Government, it has been equally committed by the business community which was lulled into a snow-white sleep by the protected existence which the business community got from the very inception of Independence and even before Independence. The business community here was brought into existence under the 'Govardhan' of protected market. They were brought up that way and the baby-kissing went on and on and if I have any grievance, it is against this kind of baby-kissing which the Government has initiated in our industry and now they are trying

to bring it to the agricultural sector. I will plead with the Finance Minister that it is high time that we realised that the soft-peddalling does not always pay and I am grateful for the remark of Mr. Myrdal, famous Swedish economist when he says that soft-peddalling is not always good. According to him, one of the reasons why the South East Asian countries and India are suffering from economic maladies is because of the soft-peddalling that they have given to the economic front.

Sir, I do appreciate that politics counts in the economic thinking but I think that if commercial interests are sometimes derogatory to the national interests, political interests are equally derogatory, even more derogatory to the national interests. We have allowed ourselves to be shuttled between commercial interests and political interests. We have not allowed ourselves to gear up for our real national interest. When the commercial interests come, we have decided about a policy on the basis of immediate needs. And that is why it happens that to-day in the foreign-exchange field even after devaluation, the total earning capacity of our exports is not even 60% of the import requirements and the payment that we have to make for our imports. If we add the service charges without even a single penny of repayment liability, 25% of our exports have to be mortgaged to the liability of meeting the service charges. I can understand that a country can seek moratorium. Countries have sought it. Britain has sought certain concessions from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. I do not feel that it is a loss of face or prestige if a certain understanding is arrived at on the basis of the international monetary situation to have a breathing time. That is not a bad thing at all. But what I would like to say is that the moratorium on loan is understandable, but mortgaging for the service charges of 25% of the exports is not understandable. Why is this kind of imbalance? We started with a very favourable balance. We had 900 million pounds sterling and in

spite of the fact that we had this kind of sterling balance, we allowed things to drift the way they have drifted. What happened in the Second Plan? In the Second Plan, a serious imbalance was created between the agricultural sector and the industrial sector. The industrial capacity was allowed to go up by 151 per cent. I would like the hon. Member who just preceded me to find out whether there was any one business concern or one business representative at that time who said that this kind of industrial expansion should not be allowed at the cost of the other sectors. We had a planned economy. Planned economy meant an economy where every sphere was interlinked with the other spheres. Industrial growth is interlinked with agricultural growth and agricultural growth is interlinked with power, transportation and other things. Everything is interlinked. If one link in the chain breaks, then the entire chain gets disjoined. That is exactly what has happened.

In the Second Plan, agricultural production did not come up to expectations. In transport, there was a shortfall in the target. In power, there was a shortfall in the target. On the balance of payments side, there was a shortfall in our exports. But industrial target on the other hand not only fulfilled itself but it went up by 151 per cent. That was the birth of the imbalance in the Indian economy which has led to this situation.

May I ask the hon. Member who preceded me whether there was one business house or any one chamber of commerce and industry which had pointed this out and said that they should go slow on the industrial development and they must all co-ordinate their development with the development in the other sectors? Actually, there was a running race for being the first to get the licence. At that time, if Shri N. K. Somani would have advised his colleague in this manner, they would have considered him as not wise. They would have thought that he was not behaving as he ought to behave; and he being a

[Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha] smart businessman, did the same thing as everybody else.

Everybody ran for getting a licence, and what has happened? We brought ourselves into a situation where agricultural and industrial balance was disturbed, with the result that the purchasing capacity of the agricultural community went down while industrial production went up. There was transportation shortage, and then there was shortage in power also.

Today the biggest problem that this country is facing is non-utilisation of the very hard-earned capacity. This has happened because capacity was created but the utilisation conditions were not created.

Then also so far as foodgrains are concerned, people are thinking as if one monsoon is going to solve lot of our problems. I do not think so. We have expectation of 95 million tonnes of foodgrains. I accept the estimate because this time the picture looks really rosy. The intrinsic worth of the picture looks bright and, therefore, I accept the Government figure of 95 million tonnes of foodgrains. But meanwhile have we realised that 40 million new mouths have been added which must be fed? Even as regards this figure of 95 million tonnes, if we take the figure of 1964-65 which was a very auspicious year, we find that the difference now is only about 6 million tonnes. I feel that this cannot be considered as very great achievement. Actually, we must achieve the target of 120 million tonnes by 1970-71, if we really want to be self-sufficient, and 150 million tonnes in less than ten years' time if we really want to compensate for the growing population which we are seeing today.

That is why I feel that in agricultural orientation a lot of rethinking has to be done. It has again got to be dealt with on the basis of a crash programme. I wish the Deputy Prime Minister to ask the States not to create again a parasitic class in the agricultural population. The agricultural

population does not want subsidies; it wants real good inputs to be put into agriculture. It wants reasonable prices and it wants the capacity to stand on its own feet. I have the experience of Bihar and I know what happened there. During the drought period in Bihar, there was a programme of constructing wells. Thousands of tube-wells were dug. But what was done by Government? Government gave grants from here, and the Bihar Government started distributing them according to a certain pattern which was sponsored by the Government of India. Rs. 2000 was paid as subsidy, and Rs. 2000 had to be paid by the person which was later on converted into a loan to be given by Government. So, there was a loan of Rs. 2000 from Government, and Rs. 2000 subsidy from Government. Many of the people who desired tube-wells and pumping sets....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am sorry to disturb the smooth flow of the hon. Member's speech, but I am pressed for time. So, she should try to conclude now.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA: May I have two more minutes? Rs. 2000 was given as subsidy. The result was that many of the people who did not want pumping sets got those pumping sets by paying Rs. 2000 which they got as subsidy from Government, and they sold those pumping sets the next day for Rs. 2500 thereby earning a profit of Rs. 500 on an investment of Rs. 2000 which was made by the Government itself in shape of loan. That was how they earned a profit. This kind of a parasitic existence we do not want in the villages. In the villages we want real, reasonable inputs, good and reasonable prices and an integrated agriculture-industry programme. Suppose the industrial climate today is facing a recession. If every year we can add to the purchasing power 10 million population from the villages, in five years time we will have 50 million people from the villages who will be in a position to buy the industrial products which they are not in a position to buy today.

It is time we had an integrated programme. But even today nobody is thinking in terms of silos and warehouses. I am glad the Deputy Prime Minister has promised to open banks in rural areas. They will probably act as warehouses. Even then, we must have silos. What is the sense of increasing the buffer stock if we do not have silos? Buffer stock cannot be built up without the creation of silos.

One word about foreign exchange. Foreign exchange or foreign aid has been like a crutch to us. It should be like a stick and not like a crutch. We are always quoting McNamara, but we should see what Japan has done. Mr. McNamara has brought computers into American life. I wish we do not have that in our country, but certainly we can learn one thing from Japan, because they are so wise about economic planning. Once they learn the technical knowhow, they never re-import it.

Foreign collaboration for identical purposes has been coming to this country. It has caused a lot of disturbance in the entire foreign exchange programme. Therefore, I suggest forbid not when you must permit, permit not when you must forbid.

SHRI N. C. CHATTERJEE (Burdwan): The eloquent and impassioned speech of Shri Sheo Narain makes our task easier. He has defended the Finance Minister, but the real problem is much more fundamental and much more serious.

India stands today at the crossroads and we have to make up our mind. The question is of choice, what pattern of economic development of the country we adopt. Will India deliver herself into the hands of a few monopolists and big business capitalists who have got the economy of the country in their firm grip and to some extent control of political life, or will India make a departure and curb the activities of those who have held us to ransom and take courage and take bold decisions?

There are three or four points which I wish to put before the Finance Minister for his serious consideration. Firstly, I plead for an early termination of P.L. 480 imports. That gives us no joy. It is a shame for a country like ours to live on borrowed food and to pay for that, and at the same time go about with a beggar's bowl. We had to do it because nature was very unkind to us and there were difficulties, but this time nature has smiled. If Government's figures are correct, 20 million tonnes more you are getting. After all, we were importing only 10.5 million tonnes through P.L. 480. If that is so, why don't you stop it, why don't you put our economy in proper shape and order and tell the country: no more of begging, no more of dependence on American or any other foreign country. Therefore, I suggest that it should be the first step. The second step should be a vigorous drive for procurement from the bumper harvests to the tune of at least ten million tons. I am sorry to say that the great hopes which were raised when the United Front Government assumed office throwing out of office the Congress, were not realised in my State and other States. When they assumed office, we said, we pleaded with Mr. Ajoy Mukerjee and the Food Minister P. C. Ghosh: have a proper scheme of dehoarding and have a proper buffer stock. Unfortunately, that failed and I shall not go into the reason. He has been pushed out of office and a new regime had come. Kripalaniji said something against the Speaker and I am not going to speak about that. Some developments have taken place. Anyhow, I shall plead with the hon. Finance Minister to give top priority to procure grains from the bumper harvest and build up a buffer stock of ten million tons. There is no question of revival of PL 480.

I know the Finance Minister is keen on a gradual expansion of controls over the banking system in order to obtain greater facilities and also to curb and weaken the power of monopoly houses. Lastly, there should be some definite trend towards national-

[Shri N. C. Chatterji]

isation of some aspects of foreign trade, both exports and imports. Otherwise the monopolies will continue.

It is easy to criticise the Finance Minister for deficit financing. We have been talking a lot about it. That is our Fundamental Right under article 19 of the Constitution, freedom of speech and expression to go for the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister. I is also the mandate that we have got from our people to go and criticise them and expose them. What is the trouble? What is troubling me and many people in the country is not deficit financing but deficit nationalism deficit secularism. There is a pathetic failure in living up to the old standards. Where is our nationalism? I had the privilege—questionable privilege if you choose—of going to Meerut the other day along with three Members of Parliament with the good wishes of the Prime Minister. What we saw and heard there made us very uncomfortable and uneasy. I had the privilege of meeting Shahnawaz Khan, our old friend. I told him: Shahnawaz, you were the right hand man of Netaji; you were here; but why this communal trouble in Meerut? What am I to say, he replied, I was the right hand man of Netaji and that was the great privilege of my life but I am today called a traitor. I was assured by him of something, which this House must know. It is not correct that Sheikh Abdullah went there and delivered any speech inciting communal passions or creating communal cleavage. On the other hand he told the Muslims—that is what Shahnawaz told me and I believe him—who numbered about ten thousand, it was a very big crowd coming from different parts of India: you are born in this country and you will die in this country; you must identify yourself with this country and nation; that is your duty; you should not do anything that will harm this country. I am glad to tell the House that the district magistrate also confirmed this. The district magis-

trate, incidentally, is a Kashmiri pandit; the Kashmiri pandits are in a minority in Kashmir and they are in great trouble; I am sorry to say that that minority is oppressed in Kashmir. And to a large extent it is being oppressed and they are labouring under many grievances. I am not going to dilate them. Anyhow, that gentleman assured me that what Shahnawaz Khan told us was perfectly right. I do not know what is happening. Possibly, Sheikji is now singing a different tune in Kashmir. I hope he will not take a different line and will stick to the line of thought he expressed in Meerut which is a good thing for India and for the minorities at large.

What is happening in Assam? I had the privilege, though I belong to another political organisation—to be briefed by the Prime Minister and the then Chief Minister of Assam and I appeared for the Indian National Congress in regard to Assam before the Radcliffe Commission. I pleaded strongly for the inclusion of Badarpur and Karimganj in Assam. Thank God, we got Karimganj. What is happening today? Communal cleavage communal chauvinism, communal trouble: I had the opportunity of going there as President of the Karimganj Convention and I was very much at pains to learn that Karimganj has become the paradise of infiltrators from Pakistan; it was not checked and therefore there is this trouble which had started. Something should be done to stop this.

What is happening today in Gauhati? You talk of deficit financing. But there is deficit in secularism, deficit of nationalism, and there is racial chauvinism, communal cleavage and regional bias which mar our national life, and these are a greater danger and they must be crushed. I am appealing to the Deputy Prime Minister and other Ministers to take some step which will really bring about the integration and fight the forces of disintegration. The speaker who spoke just a few minutes back was perfectly correct: that there is absolutely no co-ordination between

the different Ministries. I have got here the Kutch Award. You will be amazed to know, and I am sorry to say that a portion of India's territory which could be demonstrated to be India's territory is being presented to Pakistan. I am sorry that both Dara Banni and Chhad Bet—which are absolutely Indian territory, the territory belonging to our motherland—are now going to be ceded to Pakistan, under the Kutch Award. I can demonstrate from the Award itself that it is not correct. Anyhow, it is all due to one unfortunate thing. I saw the late Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then Prime Minister and told him that "you held a conference with Opposition leaders and told us that you are going to have the tribunal only for the purpose of demarcation of territory." But the first clause in the terms here says that the tribunal shall be entrusted with the task of the determination of the boundary. Who gave you the authority to determine the boundary? Who gave the tribunal the authority to determine the boundary? You know what is the distinction between determination of boundary and delineation of boundary. One is the lawyer's task, a statesman's task, a political and juridical task. The other is an architect's task; it is purely an engineer's task and the surveyor's task. Lal Bahadur Shastri told me that nobody brought it to his notice. What was the Law Minister doing? What was the Defence Minister doing and what were the other Ministers doing? I do not know. But there is complete lack of co-ordination. That is why India's sovereignty is in danger.

What is happening in South India today? My friends told me about Bengal. "What Bengal tries to do today," said Gokhale "the rest of India will do tomorrow." Well, Sir, they tell me that you are not doing something for the Bengali language. I do not think we should imitate either the Southern State or any other State in this matter. What we have is national property and what should be done has to be done with the purpose of vindicating our loyalty to the Bengali language.

Now, this linguistic chauvinism must stop and this can only stop provided the Government stands up to do its duty. It is a problem which can be solved and it is not an insoluble problem. But the thing is, that most unfortunate resolution has led to this misunderstanding. What is deficit financing? Mr. Morarji Desai has already, and he can, go in for it. What is facing us now is, the whole country is facing complete disintegration and complete chaos and complete anarchy. Therefore, I am submitting that there should be some method of having some kind of national integration; call it a council or a committee. There should be some method of co-ordinating the financial resources of both the States and the Centre. You cannot any more proceed on the old lines, with one monolithic party ruling both the Centre and the States, when everything is settled either at the Prime Minister's house or in the house of the Congress President, and any cleavage or any difficulty, any trouble as between the Centre and the States was being resolved at the party level. That cannot be done now. Whether you like one Governor or another Governor, whether you like one Ministry or another Ministry you cannot perpetuate the rule of one party throughout India. And it is quite clear now, since four or five non-Congress Governments are in power. I do not know what will happen after the mid-term poll in West Bengal. That is the only solution, on a democratic basis. Our only regret is that this was not done before.

I am therefore, suggesting that there should be some commission, some machinery, to work out the differences between the Centre and the States, to put the federal and the State relationship on a proper footing, which will do justice to both, and, at the same time, establish cordial relations to bring about harmony, progress, and check and resist all forces of disintegration, chaos and anarchy in the country.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K.
C. PANT) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir,

[Shri K. C. Pant]

my purpose in intervening in the debate at this stage is a limited one, it is to clarify some of the doubts that have been raised by hon. Members. Yesterday, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, my senior colleague, intervened in the debate and he has already answered many of the points that were raised in the course of the debate before his intervention. At the end of the debate, the Deputy Prime Minister will reply, and therefore I propose to confine myself to a few areas in which hon. Members seem to have been particularly interested and which have come under a certain measure of attack.

I think it is fair to say that taken as a whole the budget has had a fairly good response in the country, both in the press and in other sections of informed public opinion. Though when the debate takes place in the House, there is a certain amount of give and take. That is part of the debate. Some hon. friends have not been able to resist the obvious temptation of having a dig at the Deputy Prime Minister for having brought forward a deficit budget in spite of his proclivities to the contrary, to which he gave expression last year. But it is amusing that the same friends in the same breath blamed him for not being rigid regarding deficit financing and at the same time for being inflexible. This is hardly consistent.

One noteworthy feature to which I would like to draw the attention of the House is that among the hon. members opposite who spoke, at least two, who have experience of running Governments, viz., Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and Prof. Humayun Kabir, gave almost unqualified support to the budget. Perhaps that was because of the dose of responsibility that has been administered to them in earlier years.

The basic objectives of Government's budgetary policy remain unchanged. These have remained unchanged and must remain unchanged, because the basic objectives are to secure economic growth in an environment of stability and to work towards distri-

butive social justice. This process of rapid economic growth has been going on ever since independence. But in the last two years, it has been interrupted primarily because of the agricultural situation so that the energies of the nation have been diverted to avert a national disaster. When one is engaged in building a house, if a fire breaks out, one has to suspend operations for the time being and devote one's energies to putting out the fire first. Having put out the fire, one must collect the materials, draw up another time schedule and proceed with the building of the house at a faster pace. This is roughly what we are engaged in today and the budget of any particular year has got to take into account the immediate circumstances and the context in which it is framed.

This is a transitional period of re-adjustment and consolidation which is necessary before we launch forth again into the Fourth Plan which will call for a much bigger effort and in which we hope to achieve a much better rate of growth.

Sir, there is no need for me to go in great detail into the economic scene which has already been put before the House in the Economic Survey as well as in the budget speech. But some features are obvious, and they have been referred to by some hon. Members who have participated in the Debate.

There is improvement, I would say, substantial improvement, in the agricultural situation. There are signs of improvement in exports. There is a clear prospect of the easing of strains on the price situation. Industrial production has remained sluggish and so also private investment. The growth rate of industrial output, which was around 8 per cent a year not so long ago, has diminished year after year over the last three years. In 1965 it was 5.6 per cent. In 1966 it was 2.6 per cent. In the current year so far it is only about 1.5 per cent. So, the task before us in the coming year is first and foremost to stimulate industrial growth and to stimulate exports

and to do so in a manner consistent with price stability. Sir, these are the objectives to which the Budget has applied itself.

In listening to the Debate, I did not find that any hon. friend opposite had seriously offered a better alternative to the budget presented by the Deputy Prime Minister. Even those who opposed or complained of deficit financing did not suggest the cutting of developmental outlays because they were aware of the conditions of recession which now prevail; nor did any of them have the courage to suggest that the gaps should have been filled in by additional taxation. I do not hear any such suggestion. So, faced with this dilemma many of the hon. friends opposite have fallen back on their old whipping horse, government expenditure, as a sleek solution to all the problems, saying, cut down defence expenditure and the gap would be filled automatically. I will be the last one to rule out the possibility of curtailment of expenditure in the Government, but at the same time, the scope for economy is limited and restricted. And one has got to take this into account in coming to a judgement on the alternatives before the Deputy Prime Minister in the matter of the final framing of the Budget.

My hon. friend, Shri Masani said that non-developmental expenditure was going up twice as fast as developmental expenditure. I will take that up later and I will give facts and figures. But the surprising thing is that after saying this, when he came to offering his own suggestions and his own solutions to the problems facing the country, he suggested measures which will only increase the non-developmental expenditure. One sleek solution suggested by him is that Government should subsidise food-grains for the vulnerable sections of the population. I do not know how this is consistent with his keenness to bring about reduction in non-developmental expenditure. Some of the increases in non-developmental expenditure to which he drew pointed attention took

place precisely because of the very great increase in the burden of food subsidies during the years which he mentioned. Food subsidies, which are classified as non-developmental expenditure, amounted to Rs. 19 crores in 1961-62, Rs. 30 crores in 1964-65 and as much as Rs. 106 crores in 1967-68. Government had to incur these expenses because of the very difficult food situation which was prevailing at that time. Now, Shri Masani wants to perpetuate this system and, if I have understood him correctly, he suggested that subsidy should be given to nearly 20 per cent of our population, urban and rural. The cost of this would be more than what was incurred even in 1967-68 when the level of subsidies was the highest.

Now I turn to the question of relative increases in developmental and non-developmental expenditure. The Centre's developmental expenditure was Rs. 95 crores in 1950-51, Rs. 810 crores in 1962-63 and Rs. 1149 crores in 1968-69. As against that, other expenditure was Rs. 358 crores in 1950-51, Rs. 1063 crores in 1962-63 and Rs. 2235 crores in 1968-69. Let us analyse these figures. It will be seen that developmental expenditure in 1968-69 is more than twelve times the developmental expenditure in 1950-51 while other expenditure in 1963-69 is only six times the expenditure in 1950-51. The increase in developmental expenditure between 1950-51 and 1962-63, that is, not taking into account the difficult period that came after 1963, is even more impressive. Developmental expenditure in 1962-63 was 3½ times the expenditure in 1950-51 and other expenditure in 1962-63 was only three times that in 1950-51. If there has been a slight worsening since then it is only because of the steep increase in defence, police and debt servicing charges.

AN HON. MEMBER : And Bokaro.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I will come to Bokaro, do not be in a hurry. Let us examine the break-up of this non-developmental expenditure, because it

[Shri K. C. Pant]

has been suggested time and again that there is great scope for cutting down on this non-developmental expenditure. This point has been made repeatedly. Let us examine it. Out of the total increase of Rs. 1172 crores between 1962-63 and 1968-69 in expenditure which is not labelled as 'developmental', defence accounted for Rs. 541 crores, debt servicing Rs. 305 crores, food transactions accounted for an increase of Rs. 98 crores almost wholly because of requirements of building up a buffer-stock and another Rs. 139 crores are accounted for by larger grants-in-aid to States and Union Territories. Thus Rs. 1083 crores out of a total increase of Rs. 1172 crores are accounted for by these four items, and the rest of the increase of Rs. 89 crores is spread over a number of items and I will not go into them.

Let us look at the main items—debt servicing, defence and food transactions. So far as debt servicing is concerned I would submit to the House that in India borrowings have been utilised exclusively for developmental purposes. They have not been utilised for meeting revenue deficits. Therefore whatever money has been borrowed has gone for meeting the requirements of development. I do not think it would be suggested that this was improperly used at any stage. Similarly, on buffer-stock, I do not think there is any serious difference of opinion. Though this is a non-developmental expenditure in the technical sense, in the context of the requirements of the country, in the context of the long-term requirements of the country, the need for price stability and so on, and the need to avoid the kind of situation with which we were faced in the last two years as a result of shortfall in agricultural production, I think the buffer-stock operation expenditure will not be grudged by the House. Similarly, I do not think the House will grudge expenditure on defence, police, and border security. Even this includes expenditure on housing, ordnance factories and the like which cannot be considered as wholly non-developmental.

15.40 HRS.

[SHRI G. S. DHILLON in the Chair.]

Coming to developmental expenditure, it has increased by Rs. 339 crores since 1962-63. Of this, Rs. 145 crores are accounted for by larger grants to the States and Union Territories for developmental purposes. Of the rest, that is Rs. 194 crores, Rs. 30 crores are accounted by export promotion measures and the balance mostly by larger Plan outlay. Can anyone seriously suggest that there is scope for cutting down expenditure on any of these outlays?

Some friends have suggested that if proper economy measures had been taken this deficit of Rs. 300 crores could have been avoided. I do not know whether they meant it as a serious proposition. Let us examine the pattern of our expenditure. Our total expenditure, whether by way of direct expenditure or grants or loans is now of the order of Rs. 4,700 crores. A broad breakdown of this is as follows: Assistance to States and Union Territories Rs. 1,359 crores; Defence Rs. 1,015 crores; interest charges Rs. 562 crores; buffer stock operations Rs. 140 crores; financial institutions Rs. 67 crores; police Rs. 62 crores; export promotion Rs. 45 crores. This leaves about Rs. 1,450 crores which is almost entirely for developmental expenditure and the bulk is for maintenance of completed projects and for the execution of projects already started. If these provisions are curtailed further, developmental activity will be severely affected and the process of recovery from the stagnation from which we all want to get out would be seriously affected.

So, that leaves us with another whipping horse, administrative expenditure. Let us take up that question. Let us take administrative expenditure, particularly general administration and see whether Government has been lax in the way the expenditure has grown in the years gone by. The percentage of administrative expenditure to total revenue expenditure excluding defence has steadily come down, from 17 in 1954-55 to 10.85 at present and it is expected to go down

to 10.70 next year. The percentage of expenditure on general administration in relation to total administrative expenditure has been steadily decreasing. I will give just one set of figures. In 1964-65 the percentage of expenditure on general administration to total administrative expenditure was 17 per cent in 1968-69, in the budget expenditure it is 14 per cent. Then we will take the percentage of increase in expenditure on general administration over the previous year, that is, the increase in each year, which is a very important figure. In 1965-66 it increased by 17 per cent; in 1966-67 by 12 per cent, in 1967-68 in the revised estimates by 8 per cent and in the budget proposals for 1968-69 by 4 per cent. Now, could there be a more striking demonstration of the effectiveness of the economy measures that have been taken during the last two years? The Planning Commission memorandum on the Fourth Plan envisaged a growth of expenditure on general administration to the extent of 5 per cent per annum, and the current level of increase to which I have just referred is 4 per cent, well within that limitation.

It does not mean that further efforts should not be made to achieve further economies. Efforts are certainly made and we are paying the maximum attention to this. I have deliberately taken the time of the House and burdened it with some facts and figures because this is very often trotted out that if you cut down expenditure you will be able to meet the budget deficit and you will be able to find resources to a very large extent. There are limitations up to which one could do this. I hope the facts and figures which I have placed before the House will once and for all put this matter in its proper perspective.

I find Shri Masani is not here. He had referred to some figures regarding increase of the establishment of the Planning Commission. I checked these figures and I find that Shri Masani has probably misunderstood the Planning Commission figures which have been given in the budget papers.

Out of the total establishment in Planning Commission, next year there will be 95 less and this reduction also includes expenditure on class IV. So, instead of an increase in the establishment, there is actually going to be a decrease. I think, there are three columns in that Table. Mr. Masani read the first two and in his eagerness to make the point, he forgot to read the third.

Now, I come to another favourite whipping horse, that is, the public sector. It is the nation's resources that have gone into the building of the public sector and I need hardly say that the progress of the public sector is something which should interest all sections of this House because we need the resources that can be generated in the public sector undertaking. The recession has shown very clearly how the fate and the health of the public and private sectors, indeed of public and private investments, is linked. Only last year, I remember very many voices who today are criticising the public sector, saying again and again that the Government should not cut down its public expenditure and that we should keep it up in order to keep up the demand in the economy, in order to cut down the evil effects of recession. Therefore, the one is inter-linked with the other. I think, this basic fact should not be lost sight of by those who seem to take some perverse pleasure in criticising the public sector day in and day out.

The Reports up to 1965-66 have been placed on the Table of the House. I do not want to go into them. We have discussed them at various stages last year. This year, the Report for 1966-67 is not yet out. It is under preparation. But, I think the House may be interested in having a broad picture of the functioning of the public sector undertakings in 1966-67 on the basis of the data now available. At the end of 1966-67, there were 77 industrial and commercial enterprises consisting of Hindustan Steel Ltd., 43 other running concerns, 12 promotional and developmental undertakings, 3

[Shri K. C. Pant]

financial institutions and 18 undertakings under construction. The total investment in all these 77 industrial and commercial enterprises was Rs. 2841 crores at the end of 1966-67.

Now, so far as Hindustan Steel Ltd. is concerned, its gross profit calculated before interest and tax was Rs. 0.02 crores in 1966-67 as against Rs. 20.65 crores in 1965-66. This was due to the fall in sale owing to general economic recession in the country. In the case of the other 43 running concerns, the gross profit before interest and tax increased from Rs. 31.97 crores in 1965-66 to Rs. 37.67 crores in 1966-67. After interest and provision of tax, there was a net loss of Rs. 1.82 crores in 1966-67 against a net profit of Rs. 7.95 crores in 1965-66.

Analysing the composition of the net profit and loss made by the running concerns, two or three facts emerge. One is that 30 concerns which had made a profit of about Rs. 16 crores in 1965-66 have increased their profit in 1966-67. The profit now, as against Rs. 16 crores, is Rs. 31 crores. The second fact is that as many as 23 enterprises out of 43 running concerns improved their performance during 1966-67 compared to the previous year, that is, the bulk of them have improved on their performance last year. The third fact is that the loss this year primarily, is due to the fact that 3 concerns have started production in 1966-67 and have been included in the list of running concerns for the first time this year and they have contributed a loss of about Rs. 12 crores. Everybody who knows anything of industry will appreciate that in the first year there are all the teething troubles and enterprises like Heavy Engineering Corporation, Bharat Heavy Electronics and Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals cannot be expected to straightway make a profit. It will take time. It is because of these three concerns having been taken into account for the first time that it has shown a net loss, but if you leave these three out, that will be turned

into a profit. These facts have got to be kept in mind.

So far as promotional and developmental undertakings as well as financial institutions are concerned, they are 15 out of the 77 which I have referred to earlier. These have improved their performance considerably over the previous year. Their net profit is Rs. 10.3 crores as against Rs. 1.3 crores in the previous year.

Now, a lot has been said about the Bokaro Steel Plant and my hon. friend is very keen to know something about Bokaro. About Bokaro, there is a campaign to create an impression somehow that it is wrong to construct the Bokaro Plant at this stage and we do not really need steel, that there is surplus steel in this country. That is a very facile argument 'Steel' is a generic term. Many things are made out of steel. Certain things can be surplus and certain other things can be in short supply. This is something which my hon. friends never cared to clarify. The fact of the matter is that the Bokaro Steel Plant has been designed to produce flat products which are in short supply in the country. This is the justification for Bokaro. The gap is estimated to be 1 to 1.2 million tonnes per annum by 1970-71.—the gap between the production and supply of flat products—and the Bokaro Steel Plant is planned to produce 1.3 million tonnes of finished steel by 1971, i.e. 1.3 million tonnes as against the unsatisfied demand of 1 to 1.2 million tonnes. This is expected to wipe out the gap that remains. But for Bokaro—this is a point which I want the House to appreciate—the country will have to continue to import flat products which in terms of foreign exchange will be of the order of about Rs. 90 crores per year by 1970-71. Is it seriously contested that this project is necessary? Is it suggested that if this Project is not started now, by some miracle, we will be able to bring this into being before 1970-71? Is it claimed that the gestation period of a steel plant can be less than this? If not, the justification is obvious and it will be a mistake to delay this project.

Coming to the performance of the public sector undertakings, in the export field, the House will be glad to know that, during 1966-67, the value of exports amounted to Rs. 93.87 crores as against Rs. 48.59 crores in 1965-66. The special features of the improved export performance were that Hindustan Steel achieved an increase in exports from Rs. 2.21 crores in 1965-66 to Rs. 9 crores in 1966-67; there was substantial increase in the export of machine tools, and petroleum products over the previous year, the trading corporations like the STC and the MMTC were able to export many non-traditional items like engineering goods, footwear, chemicals, bananas, etc., and some of these items were also exported to non-traditional destinations. I think that the public sector enterprises are to be congratulated for having taken advantage of the difficult demand situation in the home market to step up their exports substantially.

Now I come to the taxes and in this, first of all, I should like to take up Mr. Masani's point that the tax free limit should be raised from Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 7,500. Apart from the revenue implications of such a measure—and the revenue implications are about Rs. 18 crores—it will very sharply reduce the base of our income taxation contrary to the concept that income-tax should have a wide coverage. It will exclude from the sphere of direct taxation over 1.1 million tax-payers having incomes between 9 times and 16 times the national per capita income. So, raising the general exemption limit to Rs. 7,500 would mean conferring tax exemption on persons having a monthly income up to Rs. 625. I do not know whether this would be justified in view of the need for wide-spread and increased participation in the developmental efforts and resource mobilisation effort that is necessary under our planned economy.

Sir, two divergent points of view were expressed in the course of the debate while dealing with the taxation measures. Some said that we had given reliefs to the better-off sections. Others said that the reliefs were not enough.

The main reliefs provided for the corporate sector are the discontinuance of the Dividend tax and reduction in the rates of surtax from 35 to 25 per cent. These two reliefs are meant for improving the investment climate without losing sight of the Government's need for financial resources which leaves little scope for providing substantial tax relief. The selective concessions are calculated to revive business confidence which they have already done. It is our hope and expectation that the corporate sector would plough back more funds into investments rather than current consumption.

Other incentives to which some references were made are selective and directed to specific priority sectors, such as, export promotion and agriculture.

Now, the other relief which is meant primarily for the investors in the lower and middle income brackets is the exemption from tax of the first five hundred rupees of Indian company dividends in all cases even where the total dividend income during the year is more than Rs. 500. While this measure will have the effect of attracting further investment in Indian company shares, it is primarily a step towards rationalisation of the existing provision.

In the field of personal taxation, the discontinuance of the levying of a separate surcharge on unearned and earned incomes is essentially a measure for rationalisation and simplification of the tax structure. It does not lead to any substantial change in the incidence of tax because this is a point which I would like the House to note. The rates of basic income-tax on incomes over Rs. 1 lakh are simultaneously being stepped up and the rates of ordinary wealth tax on wealth over Rs. 10 lakhs are also being increased. While the increase in the rates of basic income-tax on incomes over Rs. 1 lakh maintains progression in the incidence of income-tax, the increase in the rates of ordinary wealth tax would serve the purpose of subjecting wealthy persons having unearned incomes to the higher incidence of tax.

[Shri K. C. Pant]

Every week we have questions in Parliament about the measures being taken by Government to step up the rate of assessment and collection and the tightening up of provisions relating to tax evasions. Well, Sir, Government have taken various measures to improve the administrative machinery and I would like to refer to a few of them.

The first is the functional scheme introduced in income-tax circles. The essence of this scheme is that the functions of assessment, collection and administration which were carried on by a single income-tax officer in the past have been distributed among various Income-Tax Officers so that each function can receive his exclusive attention. Well, Sir, we have not yet had this functioning long enough to be able to say definitely what improvements have been effected, but the improvements have been noticeable and we are extending the system to other Assistant Commissioners' ranges. To-day it has been extended to 17 units.

In the case of small income cases administrative instructions have been issued to deal with them without personal hearing of the tax-payer and this would help not only to clear the back-log which consists largely of small cases but we hope it would help encourage tax-payers to extend their willing co-operation to the Department and create an atmosphere of mutual trust.

Another very important step that has been taken is to reduce the time limit, that is, to reduce the period of time limitation for completion of original assessments from 4 years to 2 years so as to expedite the pace of disposal of work.

Then, we have taken a decision to set up departmentally an organisation for valuation of lands, buildings and other assets. This too is an important step which will improve our collections of wealth tax and tax on capital gains, estate duty and gift tax besides introducing a measure of uniformity in the valuation of assets.

16 Hrs.

Then, Government have been devising ways and means for countering tax evasion. This time, apart from this step which I have just mentioned, namely the creation of a valuation cell which will take care of this problem to some extent, another very important step has been taken. In fact, several steps have been taken and one of these is the proposal to step up the minimum and maximum penalties for concealment of income and wealth so as to achieve a forfeiture of the concealed income or wealth in all cases; because the minimum is one hundred per cent, we cannot have less. This measure is sought to be made effective from 1st April, 1968.

Another measure to curb malpractices leading to evasion of tax in businesses and professions is the disallowance of excessive payments to relatives and associate concerns and also disallowance of expenditure for which payments are made after a date to be notified in amounts of above Rs. 25,000 otherwise than by crossed cheques or crossed bank draft.

I would also like to draw the attention of the House to para 56 of the memorandum explaining the provisions to tighten limits of corporate expenditure, to which reference is made in the House very often. To curb wasteful and lavish expenditure in businesses and professions, entertainment expenditure incurred though entertainment allowances or expense account of employees is also being brought within the purview of the existing limit over the deductible amount of such expenditure. Expenditure on perquisites to higher-paid employees is also being subjected to greater restriction than at present and the restrictions are being extended to non-corporate enterprises as well. That is all I have to say with regard to the direct taxes in this budget.

One very important step which has been taken in the field of indirect taxes is meant to relieve the administrative burden involved in physical control over a large number of fac-

tories manufacturing the excisable commodities and also to avoid irksomeness caused in physical supervision over the removal of goods. Therefore, it has been proposed to introduce a system of self-assessment by the manufacturers. The basic scheme is already in operation selectively for 13 commodities manufactured mostly in the organised sector, but the option to work under the scheme is today left to the manufacturer. The revised scheme is not optional, but all manufacturers, large or small, in the case of commodities which are brought under audit type of control will be required to determine their own duty liability in respect of the goods which they manufacture and intend to remove. Simultaneously, the penal provisions for evasion are being made more stringent by the statutory change proposed in clause 38(1) of the Finance Bill. Tentatively, it has been decided that the scheme should come into operation from 1st May, 1968, and the necessary changes required under the rules are being drafted and will be issued shortly. It is proposed to extend this scheme to all excisable commodities except 13 of which I have a list, but I do not think that I should take up the time of the House by reading out that list.

I know that the other Members of my party are keen to speak, and I do not want to take too much time of the House. . .

DR. KARNI SINGH (Bikaner) :
What about us ?

SHRI K. C. PANT: Now, I turn very briefly to the Centre's assistance to States, because again an impression is sought to be created that the Centre is somehow withholding assistance from the States. This charge does not bear scrutiny nor does the other charge that there is discrimination between Congress and non-Congress State Governments bear any scrutiny. As regards the assistance for the Plan, this has progressively increased from Rs. 880 crores in the First Plan to Rs. 1058 crores in the Second Plan and Rs. 2500 crores in the Third Plan, L15LSS(CP)/69—7

constituting approximately 61 per cent, 51 per cent and 61 per cent of the Plan outlay of the States. The corresponding percentages in respect of the subsequent period are 59.3 per cent in 1966-67, 59.6 per cent in 1967-68 and 65.5 per cent in 1968-69 on the basis of approved outlay and promised Central assistance.

Some other figures which are relevant may also be of interest to the House. The States share of Central taxes and duties has increased from Rs. 178 crores in 1961-62 to Rs. 438 crores next year. The grants-in-aid have increased from Rs. 215 crores in 1961-62 to Rs. 472 crores next year. The loans and advances have increased from Rs. 452 crores gross in 1961-62 to Rs. 856 crores gross in 1968-69. Loans and advances net of repayment increased from Rs. 318 crores in 1961-62 to Rs. 431 crores next year.

Some hon. members referred to the proposals made by certain States for the rescheduling of debt repayments to the Centre. They forget that these debt repayment dues are taken into account while determining the Centre's resources for meeting its own expenditure as also for giving Central assistance to the States. So, anything that is done to reduce the capacity of the Centre to finance its own plan would also have the effect of limiting its capacity to help the States. Therefore, this fact has got to be kept in mind while making requests of this kind.

I might mention in this context that last year and this year in the case of needy States like Bihar, the Centre was very generous in giving scarcity assistance which in the total aggregated Rs. 80 crores.

In conclusion, may I say that the annual rate of national income at constant prices over the last 14 years ending 1964-65 was 4.2%. The average rate of growth of population being a little over 2% in the course of the last 14 years, these figures are not satisfactory, and we have really to make a much bigger effort to step up the growth rate in the fourth plan

[Shri K. C. Pant]

which is to be begin next year. This will call for still greater effort and cooperation from all quarters, if this rate of growth which has been placed tentatively I think between 5 and 6% has to be achieved. This debate will have served a very useful purpose if it conditions the nation to the climb ahead and creates an atmosphere of realistic hope in which it will be easier for the necessary effort and co-operation to be forthcoming.

SHRI C. JANARDHANAN (Trichur): Much has been heard about this budget already, how our economy has been handed over to the capitalists, how the fourth plan has been kept in cold storage, how landlords are helped in the name of helping the farmers, and how the Finance Minister is still indulging in deficit financing. All these points have been made by my friends here, and I do not want to repeat them.

The arguments put forward by the hon. Minister, Mr. K. C. Pant, and by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao yesterday, do not convince anybody. This time at least the Finance Minister is a bit honest. There is no pretension about a socialistic economy or socialistic advancement in our country. There is no word of socialism in his speech. I am thankful to him for at least that much honesty that he has shown.

When our country become independent, our people wanted an all-round development in the country. So, they demanded a long-term plan, economic plan, for this country, for our development. The Congress Party came forward to accept it but instead of having a plan in the interest of the people, these gentlemen planned in the interest of the capitalist class and they are trying to build up capitalism here. That is why they were forced to keep the plan in cold storage now. When there was food scarcity and profiteering and racketeering became rampant, people began to demand that the wholesale trade of foodgrains should be taken over by the Government.

Immediately the Government came forward and told us that they were ready to form the Food Corporation of India but it had not been allowed to function anywhere. Recently, I saw a report yesterday or the day before that the Chairman of the FCI had resigned because of differences in policy matters.

The demand came from the people that banks must be nationalised to curb the monopolies. The slogan of nationalisation was raised inside the ruling party but an alternative slogan of 'social control' has been given. We know how it touches the bank employees; it does not touch even the bankers. This type of hoodwinking people was going on for the last so many years. The time has now come when people are not going to be deceived by these promises and so the Government is forced to come out in its true colours. That is the meaning of this budget and that is why I am thankful to the Finance Minister.

The main point I wish to dwell upon is the State-Centre relationship. The hon. Minister, Mr. Pant, told this House how generous the Government has been to the States and in his budget speech the Finance Minister threatened the States for overdrawals. I do not deny that the States were pressing for more assistance from the Centre and that they were overdrawing from the Reserve Bank. Still it is very unfortunate and unfair on the part of the Government to take such an attitude towards the States. If they had pondered over the financial position of the States for one minute at least, they would not have taken such an attitude. The resources which yield an increasing revenue are mostly in the hands of the Centre while the responsibility for economic and social development is thrown on the States. Mobilisation of the resources for developmental work is controlled largely by the Centre and at times even the Government goes against constitutional provisions. According to article 280 of

the Constitution, the Finance Commission recommends the percentage of revenue to be allotted to the State, but then the Government rejected the recommendations of the Third and the Fourth Finance Commissions and now they have curtailed the rights of the finance commission when planning began. With all that, what is happening now? Now, the Minister says that they have increased the grants and the loans to the States. But what the State Governments are entitled to by legal means, it is dwindling, and what is given by way of grants and loans is increasing. By these methods, the States are put under the mercy of the federal government always, and the Centre uses that for its political ends. That is our charge. Those States who behave properly, who have a pull in the Centre, get more, and those States who dare to challenge the Government policy get none. That is the practice all along.

For example, take the State of Kerala, which is my State. This year, there is a deficit of Rs. 18 crores in the budget of our State. How did it happen? We did not give, the State Government did not give, any concession to the rich men. They did not impose any new taxation and there is no possibility of any more taxation in the State. But still how did it happen? Because this Government at the Centre cut the food subsidy to the State Governments. It was a cut for all States; I am not mentioning the Kerala State Government alone. They have cut the food subsidy to all the States. You know that Kerala is a chronically deficit State and we were depending upon the Central Government for our assistance, though we are not getting it properly. Because we are a deficit State, because the Central Government is not helping us properly, the price of rice in the open market of Kerala is very high. Suppose we increase the price of rice supplied by the Government. Then naturally the open market rate of rice also will go up. In Kerala unemployment is rampant and the living standards of the people are very low. So, we

cannot afford to raise the price of rice there. So, the Government of Kerala decided not to raise the price of rice because we did not want to pass on this new burden to the people. Naturally the Government of Kerala had to shoulder the burden which comes to about Rs. 16 crores a year. So, the Government was forced to have a deficit in its budget this year. It is going to affect the development work in the State if the Centre is not going to revise its policy.

The spiral of price rise in India is due fundamentally to the policies of the Central Government. Nobody can deny it. When the Central Government employees demanded an increase in DA, though the Finance Minister said no at first, he was forced to give it later on. The price rise is not affecting the Central Government employees alone. It affects State employees as well. Now the State employees are demanding more DA, but the State Governments are not in a position to give it, because the Centre is not assisting them in that aspect also. We can give many more instances like this. The Central Government is not yielding and it is not taking the economic position of the States into consideration. So, more and more rupture between the States and the Centre is coming up now.

After the last general elections in 1967, a new phenomenon has developed in the country. In many States, we have non-Congress ministries. At the Centre, we have a Congress ministry. There are differences in the policies between the State Governments and the Central Government. The differences are evident. Likewise, there is a possibility that the situation might change. There is also a possibility of a non-Congress Government at the Centre and Congress Governments in one or two States. In this complex political situation, if the State-Centre relationship is not reviewed, this friction is going to increase and our country will go to dogs. If we want national integration and the unity of the nation to be strengthened, the whole thing must be reviewed and

[Shri C. Janardhanan]

the States must be given more powers in economic and political matters and more elbow room for shaping their own policies and to have their own development programmes. Then only the Centre-State relationship will smoothly develop. But this Government is not doing it. It is more interested in toppling non-Congress ministries now. They have toppled a number of them already. In some States like West Bengal, the topplers are toppled. This very thing is going to happen in Punjab and Bihar also. This toppling business will not get us anywhere. There is a report in the newspapers that the Governor of West Bengal was saying that in West Bengal about 101 industries are closed, lock-outs are continuing in 29 industries and strikes are continuing in 16 industries. As a result, about 32,000 workers are unemployed now. All these things began when the UF Government was in power there. The capitalist class headed by the monopolists developed these things to pressurise the UF Government. The Central Government looked on and did not intervene. This sort of attitude towards the non-Congress ministries develops animosity rather than a friendly attitude between the States and the Centre. Now their eyes are on Madras and Kerala. I do not know what they are going to do about it. The cry of law and order is coming up from some Congress leaders in Kerala. The other day, our Law Minister, Shri P. Govinda Menon, while touring in Kerala, had the audacity to say publicly in Kerala that a piece of legislation which the Kerala Government is contemplating would not get the assent of the President. What business has he to say like that? It is beyond our comprehension. That only shows the attitude of the Central Government and the ministers towards non-Congress ministries.

The bungling of the Central Government on the language question, their bungling on the question of boundaries between States, their carelessness regarding safeguarding communal

minorities and national minorities in some States—all these have given room for fissiparous tendencies in India. The only way out of this crisis, this political and economic crisis, is the review of all our economic and political policies and to have a basic change in this policy. Then only we can serve this country. Otherwise the topplers will be toppled; and that day is not far off. That is all that I have to say.

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA (Raiganj): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I support the budget proposals introduced by the hon. Deputy Prime Minister and the Finance Minister. I do not say that the budget is a perfectly ideal one or that it does not suffer from any limitations. But I do so with the belief, with the idea, and with the confidence that it is the best that could be done under the circumstances. Excepting one matter, I believe, it has received the general support, and that is, the increase in the postal rates. I hope this matter will be reconsidered and by the time the hon. Finance Minister comes to the House for the purpose of passing the Finance Bill, this postal increase may be reviewed to serve the interests of the people. I may bring to his notice that there is a precedent. On a previous occasion too, the budget included an increase in the postal rates, but when the Finance Bill came, that was abandoned. The present Finance Minister may follow that precedent and earn the gratitude of the people.

Sir, the utility of judging a budget is only the elasticity which it has and whether it serves the interests of the common man, whether it meets his needs and relieves his sufferings. In that way, this budget is a successful one. There can be no doubt about it. The only helpful comments and constructive comments that should be offered in this budget is how to cover the gap of deficit that has been left in the budget. That is the only point as that may possibly lead to inflation unless proper steps are taken. It can be met by increasing the taxes or

reducing the expenses or increasing the sources of income. The question of raising the taxes does not come. The question of reduction of expenses may be considered and also the question of increasing the income. One sector in which income may be increased is from the industry, that is, by conducting our industries in such a way so that industries may produce more without increasing the cost of production. In that matter, my opposition friends, both capitalists and anti-capitalists may combine with the Finance Minister, so that industries may not be hampered in their production and they may also produce more, without increasing the cost of production. That appeal may be made to them too, because they are also anxious that this deficit should not be there.

Certain recent statements made from the Finance Ministry in both the Houses of Parliament have given the figures regarding the amount of income-tax written off. That gave me a headache. If the hon. Finance Minister devotes his attention in that way, I believe much of his worry about this deficit may go and a good amount may be recovered from the income-tax arrears which will help him to cover the deficit.

When I speak about this subject of Income-tax, I should say that it was in 1951-52, when Shri Tyagi came as the Finance Minister, that he introduced the idea of quasi-disclosures. The ills of the Income-tax Department grew from that time when quasi-disclosures were allowed and were condoned. Of course, afterwards the Direct Taxes Enquiry Committee was appointed, but that was appointed under Tyagiji himself and the Committee did its work rather in a perfunctory way. I suggest to the present Finance Minister that he may take into consideration the period ten years back from now and make a total of the income-tax written off. That, I believe, will be a staggering figure. Sometime back Shri Bhagat, as Minister of Finance, made a statement in this

House about the outstanding income-tax and the parties from whom those taxes were outstanding. The names were revealing. All of them were rich persons and the amounts outstanding against them were also heavy. This is a source which ought to be tapped and it may be tapped as the Finance Minister has himself indicated.

Better administration of income-tax department is more needed than better income-tax law. Even under the present Acts, I may state that we may get much more revenue from income-tax than even if we do not wait for the amendment of the law in the ways suggested from different quarters. But an inquiry has to be made, as I have suggested, about the total amount outstanding for the last ten years, the process through which these arrears have accumulated, the parties from whom these arrears are due and the methods how this can be realised.

Many hon. Members have spoken about Rs. 541.71 crores outstanding of the income-tax assessed. There is also the income-tax assessment arrears the volume of which has increased. Regarding this Rs. 541.71 crores, this is the outstanding amount on 31st March 1967. I believe, in the previous years the amount outstanding would not go beyond Rs. 300 crores.

16-33 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair.*]

Within a short time the outstanding amount has gone up to this extent. That is a matter of inquiry. In this we are involved in a vicious circle. What happens is like this. If the administration of the income-tax realisation is lax, then that leads to the rise in the amount outstanding. If the amount outstanding goes on rising, then the tax structure goes up. If the tax structure goes up, then again the tendency to evade tax comes in. This is something like a vicious circle which ought to be broken somewhere. I hope the hon. Finance Minister will be able to do it.

When I speak of the income-tax arrears, I am also reminded of the sales-tax, arrears. Sometime back I had occasion to go through the sales-

[Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya]
 tax arrears in Delhi. My hon. friends in the Opposition who are interested in the Delhi Administration may go through the same list and find out the amount outstanding. The amount outstanding is heavy and against parties who are well known parties. But after the amount of sales-tax was attempted to be realised they just disappeared. That is a statement I secured on an authoritative basis and it may be checked. I came to the conclusion that the capital of these firms on which they work is not the capital they produce or they bring or put into the business, but it is the capital they secure by keeping outstanding dues to the public exchequer. Dues not paid to the public exchequer for years become the capital with which they work and from which they make profit. That is a matter that requires the attention of the Finance Minister.

While on this matter, coming as the representative of West Bengal, I must bring to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister the urgent necessity of completing the Farraka Barrage scheme. The Irrigation Minister has assured us that it will be completed by 1970. I hope money will not be withheld and the scheme will be allowed to be completed within the specified time, because the Farraka scheme is something like a life and death question, not only to West Bengal but to the entire eastern region. It will be a way of supply to Assam, Manipur and Tripura, all the eastern States. So, that requires completion with the greatest expedition possible.

Then I wish to bring to his notice one point about the administration of public sector undertakings. The hon. Minister of State for Finance who spoke just now defended the public sector. Even then, there are some features in the management of the public sector that requires to be taken note of. The main defect in the management of public sector undertakings is that the top administration is run by persons who are at the fag end of their career, when they can have no interest in the well-being of

that undertaking. Since they have completed their career, it does not depend upon the successful running of the institution. So, they just while away their time and when one goes, another person in the same category comes in. Their philosophy seems to be: sufficient unto the day the leave thereof.

In this connection, I want to refer to DVC in particular. The present Chairman of the DVC is a person who was very bitterly criticised by the Public Accounts Committee for the losses he has caused to the Government. He has allowed Government money to be wasted. So, he was removed from where he was and posted somewhere in Kerala. From Kerala he has been brought and put at the top of DVC. With this example before them, how can we expect the public to have confidence in the running of the public sector undertakings when the Government themselves make such top appointments? Though his term expired some time back he has been given an extension of six months. Could the Government not find some other officer to be put in as Chairman of DVC? When an officer has received such adverse comments from the PAC when he was running another organisation, if he is put in charge of this organisation, how could the people have confidence in the running of public sector organisations? I hope the Government will take into consideration this aspect of the matter.

Then I want to refer to another report of the PAC and that is the Twentieth Report for 1967-68. I do not know why this time all the demands of the defence services are put together as a composite demand for revenue expenditure on defence services. Why are the three existing demands put under one demand? When it came to the notice of the PAC, the Committee objected to it. After the objection of the Committee was communicated to the Ministry, the Committee examined the Secretary, Ministry of Finance and the Financial Adviser, Ministry of Defence. They explained their position as best as

they could, but they could not convince the PAC. The Committee were not impressed with the arguments adduced before them. After that the Government informed the Committee that the Government did not wish to pursue the proposal.

This brings to my mind a query which I shall put before the hon. Finance Minister. Is there any attempt anywhere to combine all the three services under one head and put a central authority over all the three? Under our Constitution the President is the Supreme Commander of the Army. Let there be no attempt made anywhere to put up a parallel authority to the President's authority given to him by the Constitution. The hon. Finance Minister, I hope, goes on with his ears and eyes open and I beseech he will keep his attention to this point as to why the question of merging three army services demands under one head was raised and why it was abandoned after the Public Accounts Committee objected to it.

Then, I shall refer to some matters which involve greater problems than mere balancing the Budget, that is, the present social trend to which some of my friends on this side and that side have already referred to. I heard with interest the speech of the young Member of the Swatantra Party when he asked us to copy the West in many matters. I put one question to him—I wish he had been here—and that is: Can he find out from the British Parliament where the Minister of Finance has come to the Parliament laying before it a list of persons who have evaded taxes and taxes to the extent of Rs. 34 lakhs, 40 lakhs and so on? I would request him to find it out. I should say that here also we should copy the West, the public morality in the administration and public morality in business. In effect, I am of the opinion, as I have said it a number of times that we are here put into difficulty by some alliance between the administration and the business community where both agree to go against public morality in a way that harms the administration. If that

were not done, we would have been in a much better position today. That is what should be avoided.

Sir, the Finance Minister has been called upon to look to prevention of disintegration. I hope he will do it. I should only draw his attention to the two sensitive corners of India, one in Assam and one in Kashmir. In both these places, the civil authority is functioning only to a very limited extent and both the places require attention of the hon. Finance Minister, not only as the Finance Minister but also as the Deputy Prime Minister. I hope he will do it.

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। मैं आपका ध्यान संविधान के आर्टिकल 370 की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। जम्मू काश्मीर की एक लअग कांस्टिट्यूट असैम्बली है। आज वहाँ यह हुआ है कि एक कांस्टीट्यूशनल एमेंडमेंट बिल सरकार की तरफ से रखा गया था और आपको यह जानकर खुशी होगी कि वहाँ सरकार फेल हो गई है, और वह एमेंडमेंट गिर गया है और सरकार को इसके पक्ष में दो तिहाई मजोरिटी नहीं मिल सकी है। चूँकि सरकार वहाँ फेल हो गई है इस वास्तव वह इल्लीगल सरकार है। वह वहाँ दो तिहाई मजोरिटी नहीं ले सकी है। जो सरकार वहाँ गिर गई है वह इल्लीगल सरकार है। वहाँ पर जो कांस्टीट्यूशनल क्राइसिस पैदा हुआ है उस पर विचार होना चाहिये। इस में सेंटर की जिम्मेदारी आती है कि वह गवर्नर को डायरेक्ट करे और कहे कि वहाँ पर जो सरकार है उसको वह खत्म कर दें। वह सरकार इस्तीफा दे और इसके लिए गवर्नर उसको बाध्य करें। इस पर यहाँ अभी डिस्कशन होना चाहिये और प्रोसीजर के जो रूल हैं उनको आपको वेब कर देना चाहिये।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have interrupted the debate on a plea that something has happened in the Kashmir Assembly.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: This is a very serious matter.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is a serious matter. But it happened on a certain measure regarding the amendment of the Constitution which requires two-third majority. I presume that is correct. In such a position, it is certainly a question of all the constitutional processes within the framework of the Constitution and the conventions regarding losing a majority. Whether Government loses a majority, if it fails to get two-thirds majority or ordinary majority, is a question to be considered these are the questions to be considered. Therefore, there is no point of order.

श्री रवि राय (पुरी): काश्मीर के बारे में मैं भी एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ (Wardha): I rise on a point of order. After the Chair has given the ruling, can he question it?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Is Mr. Rabi Ray making some submission? I have already ruled it out of order.

श्री रवि राय : मेरा कहना यह है कि काश्मीर में जो स्थिति पैदा हुई है—

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: So far as Kashmir is concerned, certain vote has taken place on a Constitutional Amendment Bill.

श्री रवि राय : आप सुन तो लें ।

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: There is no problem before this House on which a point of order can be raised.

श्री रवि राय : कंवर लाल गुप्त जी ने जो कहा है उस पर आप विचार करें । सरकार ने जो कंस्टिट्यूट असेम्बली में संशोधन विधेयक रखा था और उसको पास कराने की कोशिश की थी, उसमें वह फेल हो गई है । वहां एक संकट पैदा हो गया है, ऐसा हमें लगता है . . .

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. members wanted to raise it on same pretext, and both of them have raised it. So far as the Constitutional provisions are concerned, there is noth-

ing. I have already ruled it out of order. (Interruptions).

Shri Ram Gopal Shalwale.

श्री राम गोपाल शालवाले (चान्दनी चौक) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मन्त्री जी ने जो बजट हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत किया है उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं उनकी सेवा में कुछ निवेदन करना आवश्यक समझता हूँ । अभी भट्टाचार्य जी ने लिफाफे और पोस्ट कार्ड की कीमत जो बढ़ाई जानी है उसकी तरफ उनकी तबजह दिलाई है मैं उनकी बात का समर्थन करता हूँ । मेरा उनसे विनम्र सुझाव है कि पोस्ट कार्ड की कीमत को वह न बढ़ायें और उसकी चालू कीमत ही रहने दें । यदि वह पोस्ट कार्ड पर जो घाटा होता है उसको पूरा करना चाहते हैं और मुनाफा भी पोस्टल डिपार्टमेंट में लेना चाहते हैं तो मेरा निवेदन है कि जिस प्रकार अंग्रेजी राज्य काल में एक पैसे का पोस्ट कार्ड होता था और जो साइज उस पोस्ट कार्ड का होता था वही साइज अब कर दें ताकि गरीब ग्रामीण जनता के ऊपर भार न पड़े । आप इस बात को भली प्रकार जानते हैं कि पोस्ट कार्ड का प्रयोग अधिकांश रूप में ग्रामीण और देश की जो गरीब जनता है वही करती है । इस बास्ते ग्रामीण जनता को राहत देने के लिए मेरा सुझाव है कि पोस्ट कार्ड का दोनो ओर का कलेवर कुछ छोटा कर दिया जाए लेकिन इसकी कीमत न बढ़ाई जाए । जहां तक लिफाफे का सम्बन्ध है मेरा निवेदन है कि जो वह दस पैसे के लिफाफे को पंद्रह पैसे का करना चाहते हैं और पंद्रह पैसे के लिफाफे को बीस पैसे का करना चाहते हैं इसको न करके एक ही लिफाफा पंद्रह पैसे वाला रखा जाए । बीस पैसे वाला और अब जो पंद्रह पैसे का होगा इन दोनों को हटा कर पंद्रह पैसे वाला एक ही लिफाफा रखें और इस से बिक्री आपकी काफी बढ़ जाएगी औप डेढ़ गुनी या दुगुनी हो जाएगी और चूंकि बिक्री बढ़ जाएगी इस बास्ते आपको इसमें मुनाफा भी होगा और पोस्टल डिपार्टमेंट का जो घाटे का बजट है यह नफे के बजट में परिवर्तित हो सकता है मोरारजी भाई देश की

गरीब जनता के ऊपर इस प्रकार का भार न डालें। इससे उनकी शान रहेगी और सरकार के प्रति जनता की सद्भावना भी बनी रहेगी।

हमारे देश के अन्दर परिवार नियोजन के ऊपर काफी बड़े पैमाने पर खर्च हो रहा है करोड़ों रुपये खर्च हो रहे हैं। इसका प्रोपेगंडा करने पर काफी खर्च आपकी तरफ से किया जा रहा है। लेकिन परिवार नियोजन का शिकार केवल एक ही समुदाय हो रहा है और वह समुदाय हिन्दू समुदाय है। मुसलमान और ईसाई लोगों ने धार्मिक तौर पर शरियत की बिना पर घोषणा करके कह दिया है कि परिवार नियोजन इस्लाम के खिलाफ है

डा० कर्णो सिंह : पाकिस्तान में तो हो रहा है।

श्री राम गोपाल शालबाले : पाकिस्तान की बात को आप छोड़ दें। वहां मुसलमान ही मुसलमान हैं। वहां कोई दूसरा नहीं है।

यहां पर मुसलमान परिवार नियोजन नहीं करते, ईसाई नहीं करते। दानों ने ऐसा करने से इन्कार कर दिया है। इसके साथ-साथ हिन्दू कोड बिल के अन्तर्गत एक हिन्दू एक ही पत्नी रख सकता है। किन्तु हिन्दू कोड बिल का नाम यदि इंडियन कोड बिल होता तो मुसलमानों पर भी यह लागू हो जाता। परन्तु हमारी सरकार की कमजोरी के कारण वह इंडियन कोड बिल नहीं बन सका क्योंकि मुसलमानों के धर्म में दखल देने का अधिकार हमारी इस सैक्युलर सरकार को नहीं है। उसका यह परिणाम है कि एक मुसलमान चार बीवियां रख सकता है। दिल्ली में मैंने एक व्यक्ति ऐसा देखा जिसकी सात बीवियां ह। वह व्यक्ति मेरे ही मुकदमे में गवाही देने के लिए आया। जब मुझे पता लगा कि उसकी सात बीवियां हैं, तो मैंने उसको कहा कि इस बात को अदालत में पेश करूंगा। इस पर वह गवाही देने से भाग गया।

हमारे देश में एक समुदाय का कोई व्यक्ति चार या सात बीवियां रख सकता है, जबकि

दूसरे समुदाय पर प्रतिबन्ध है, जिसका परिणाम यह है कि अगर कोई दूसरी शादी करे, तो उसे मुसलमान बनना पड़ता है। मैं बड़ी नम्रता के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि यह विषमता दूर होनी चाहिए और एक प्रकार का कानून सारे देश पर लागू होना चाहिए। इस प्रकार का सेकुलरिज्म हमारे देश को ले डूबेगा। (अब-घान) सामने के कुछ माननीय सदस्य हंसते हैं, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि उनकी नीतियों पर आने वाली सन्तान हंसेगी। वे देश में इस प्रकार की विषमता पैदा कर रहे हैं, जिससे आने वाले लोगों को बड़ी विपत्तियों का सामना करना पड़ेगा।

यदि इस देश में हिन्दू इसी प्रकार घटते रहे और दूसरे लोग बढ़ते रहे, तो यहां पर एक नये पाकिस्तान का निर्माण करने की जो योजनायें बन रही हैं, उनको सफलता मिलेगी। मैं आपके माध्यम से वित्त मंत्री महोदय की सेवा में निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि इस देश में इस प्रकार की मांगें बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर की जा रही हैं और श्रेष्ठ अब्दुल्ला की रिहाई के बाद यह प्रवृत्ति जोर पकड़ती जा रही है। अभी हाल ही में केरल में मुस्लिम लीग का एक अधिवेशन हुआ है, जिसमें उसने यह मांग की है कि केरल में इस प्रकार के जिलों का निर्माण किया जाये, जहां मुस्लिम बहुमत हो। यदि सरकार इन समस्याओं की ओर से आंखें मुंदती है, तो वह बड़े अन्धकार में है।

इस देश में पाकिस्तान के घुसपैठिये काश्मीर और आसाम में सक्रिय हैं। पिछले दिनों आसाम में जो हत्याकांड और अग्निकांड हुआ है, उसके शिकार केवल मारवाड़ी और हिन्दू ही हुए हैं, दूसरे कोई नहीं। इस प्रकार से एक समुदाय को इस देश में समाप्त करने की योजनायें बन रही हैं। जैसा कि मैंने अभी कहा है, पाकिस्तान बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर अपने एजेन्ट काश्मीर, आसाम और देश के सभी भागों में फैला रहा है।

केवल दिल्ली में लगभग सत्तर हजार बेकार नौजवान हैं, जिनको रोजगार नहीं मिलता

[श्री राम गोपाल शालवाले]

है। इसका परिणाम यह है कि यहां पर चोरियां और डकैतियां होती हैं और नाना प्रकार के उप-द्रव होते हैं। सरकार ने शिक्षा पद्धति में परिवर्तन नहीं किया है, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप आज पढ़े-लिखे नौजवान बेकार खड़े नजर आते हैं। जब वे बेकार और भूखे होते हैं, तो उनको हर प्रकार के अपराध करने के लिए विवश होना पड़ता है। मेरा निवेदन है कि शिक्षा-पद्धति में आमूल-मूल परिवर्तन किया जाये और जापानी ढंग की शिक्षा-पद्धति को इस देश में लागू किया जाये। जापान में प्रारम्भिक कक्षा से ही प्रत्येक बालक को अक्षर-ज्ञान के साथ-साथ दस्तकारी सिखाई जाती है। जब वह बच्चा पढ़-लिख कर अपने घर आता है, तो वह दस्तकार बन कर आता है।

महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था कि इस देश में कुटीर-उद्योग चलाए जायें, लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने उस ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया। इस सरकार के द्वारा गांधीजी की सभी मान्यताओं को नजर-अन्दाज किया गया है। गांधीजी ने कहा था कि इस देश में गो-हत्या बन्द होनी चाहिए लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने उसकी तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारतवर्ष देहातों का देश है; यहां साढ़े पांच लाख देहात हैं। भारत का आधार देहात हैं; देहात का आधार किसान है; किसान का आधार भूमि है; भूमि का आधार बैल है और बैल का आधार गाय है। इस लिए जब गो-हत्या बन्द नहीं होगी, तब तक इस देश में अन्न की समस्या का समाधान नहीं किया जा सकता है।

गत वर्ष दिल्ली में एक बड़ा भारी गो-रक्षा आन्दोलन हुआ था उस समय सरकार ने यह आश्वासन दिया था कि हम तीन महीने में फ्रैंसला करेंगे कि देश में गो-हत्या किस प्रकार बन्द की जाये। मुझे इस बात की बड़ी हैरानी है कि आज आठ महीने बीत गए, लेकिन उस कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट तक नहीं दी है। जनता में नाना प्रकार की बातें फैल रही हैं और सरकार के प्रति अविश्वास उत्पन्न हो रहा है।

मेरा निवेदन है कि सरकार जनता की भावनाओं को देखे और सही तरीके से गांधीजी के आदर्शों पर चलने का प्रयत्न करे।

श्री कमलनयन बजाज : उस कमेटी में कांग्रेस के लोग अधिक नहीं हैं उसमें दूसरे लोग भी हैं।

श्री राम गोपाल शालवाले : यह तो सरकार बतायेगी कि उस कमेटी में कौन लोग हैं। माननीय सदस्य मुझ से क्या पूछते हैं? वह सरकारी कमेटी है। उसकी रिपोर्ट अभी तक क्यों नहीं आई है? इसके लिए हम जिम्मेदार नहीं हैं, सरकार जिम्मेदार है। सरकार को जल्दी उसकी रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित करनी चाहिए और उस पर आचरण करना चाहिए।

मुझे याद है कि इसी दिल्ली में 1921 में महात्मा गांधी की मौजूदगी में एक बहुत बड़ा गो-रक्षा सम्मेलन हुआ था और गांधी जी ने कहा था कि अंग्रेजों के जाने के बाद कलम की नोक से गो-हत्या बन्द कर दी जायेगी। अंग्रेजों को गए हुए बीस साल हो गए लेकिन अभी भी बाकायदा गो-हत्या हो रही है। मैं विश्वास के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि आज अंग्रेजी राज्य-काज की तुलना में बहुत ज्यादा तादाद में गो-हत्या हो रही है। आज घी नहीं मिलता है, दूध नहीं मिलता है, अन्न नहीं मिलता है और इस प्रकार से आज हम अपाहिज बने हुए हैं। यदि यही परिस्थिति रही, तो आने वाले समय में बीस साल के बाद, डालडा खाने के कारण, हमारे यहां अभक्ष्य पदार्थ प्रचलित होने के कारण हमारी आने वाली सन्तान लूली-लंगड़ी और अन्धी पैदा होगी। आज लोगों को खाद्यान्न नहीं मिल रहे हैं, खाने में पौष्टिक पदार्थ नहीं मिल रहे हैं और सरकार ने इस बारे में कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं किया है।

अगर सरकार चाहती है कि घाटे का बजट पूरा किया जाये, तो मैं एक प्रस्ताव रखना चाहता हूँ। कोई भी सरकारी अधिकारी 1500 रुपये मासिक से ज्यादा न ले। क्या कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोग यह त्याग करने के लिए

तैयार हैं ? यदि वे तैयार हैं, तो देश उनका स्वागत करेगा और कांग्रेस मिनिसट्री कभी भी नहीं जायेगी। इस प्रस्ताव पर अमल करने से देश में दस अरब रुपये साल की बचत होगी, जिससे देश की गरीबी और बेकारी दूर हो सकती है और हमारा घाटा पूरा हो सकता है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इस थोड़े से समय में मैंने जो बातें रखी हैं, वित्त मंत्री महोदय उन पर विचार करके अपना कर्तव्य-पालन करेंगे।

SHRI R. BARUA (Jorhat) : At the outset, let me congratulate the Finance Minister on his having come forward with a budget which cannot be better than what it is today under the prevailing circumstances. We must not forget that we are passing through very difficult times. The droughts were there. Food scarcity prevailed, and the economic recession coupled with spiralling prices practically benumbed the entire economy of the country. On top of it, the increasing number of unemployed youth is assuming staggering proportions.

When we go to the export market, we find that our export is not in a position to meet our import bill. It is only 60 per cent of the import bill which can be met by our export. Besides, for the purpose of the servicing of debts etc. we shall have to find out another 25 per cent. That being the position, I think that there is no other way than to have come forward with this modest budget in which there was not much scope for further taxes or for any other developmental activities.

In this background, the last general elections came, and the people thought that after the last general elections things would move forward in a better direction, but unfortunately our experience of the past few months is that the governments in the various States became very much unstable. The political position of the country being unstable, the consequent law and order situation developed, and the country is sinking ever deeper into the morass of economic and financial

difficulties. The burning issues were not the economic issues or increased production in agriculture or the foreign exchange crisis. But the main issues were ban on cow slaughter, communal riots and boundary disputes. This was the state of affairs prevailing in the country. It is really a very disturbing state of affairs in the country that nobody is concerned over the vital issues of production, industrial activity and the financial position but everyone is concerned with things which are not at all relevant to the modern living and modern thinking.

Let us examine the budget in that context and background. One of the objectives of the budget is to bring about an industrial revival. I do not say that this is a budget which encourages growth economy. Because growth is yet far away from it, it is only attempting to bring about industrial revival. Because of the recession in the industrial field, about 194,000 labourers have been laid off and production went down enormously. To tackle that, the Finance Minister certainly did well by abolishing the excess dividend tax, reduction of sur-tax on company profits from 35 to 25% and giving selective incentives for developing the export market. Already, the signs are there. The improvement that was expected by giving the reliefs is seen in the share market today.

17 hrs.

Therefore, all this is good, but I am constrained to register my concern because the budget is rather non-plan oriented. There has been a progressive decline in the Government spending programme during the last few years. This has been largely accountable for the recession in the private sector also. However much the private sector may talk against the public sector, it is evident and abundantly clear now that because of this progressive decline in Government spending in the public sector there has been a serious set back in our industrial activity. As pointed out by the Economic Survey the gross capital

[Shri R. Barua]
formation financed out of the budgetary resources of the Union Government rose by 20% in 1962-63, and 30% in 1963-64, but in the later years it was 10%, 7% and 4%. There has been a fall of 8% in the current year.

While presenting the budget last year the Finance Minister said :

"I have been able to balance the budget primarily by keeping the plan outlay strictly in check."

This was understandable when there was a recession and shortage in agricultural production, but this year we find there is a 20% increase in agricultural production, and a 10% increase in the national income. To add to it we find there is deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 300 crores this year and Rs. 290 crores next year. That being so, I do not understand how planning activity can be postponed. If it is postponed, my feeling is that the results would be disastrous for a developing country like India.

I do not think that the deficit financing by itself is bad. For certain limited purposes and for a limited period, it is understandable. It is not necessarily inflationary provided the Government expenditure increases the supply of goods and services more than the demand. If it is coupled with higher marginal tax rates, then also it will be less inflationary. But from the Finance Minister's own statement we find that there will be an increase in industrial output only of 5 to 6%. If that is so, I fail to understand how this additional money pumped into the market will be absorbed by the additional output of 5 to 6%. The inflow of additional money is bound to increase the inflationary pressure which is already there. Since 1965 the price rise has been to such an extent that the cost of living of the common people went up by 34% and to that extent, real income was eroded. Therefore, I submit that this deficit financing without proportionate attempt at planning is not likely to check inflationary tendencies which are there already in the country.

Much of the turmoil that we find in the country today is due to lack of

regional balance in the sphere of planning and in the sphere of economic development. For instance, my State of Assam is very rich in power potential, particularly hydro-power, but it has been able to produce only 140 MW which is 1.4% of the figure for Indians a whole. The power potential of the State is enormous and I understand that the State of Assam has one-fourth of the hydel power of India. Still we produce only 1.4 per cent of the total for India. In the Fourth Plan it was proposed that 234 megawatts should be produced at a cost of Rs. 63 crores. Unless you energise industrial activity through power development and other things, it is not possible to get the economy going. Therefore, the Finance Minister should take note of the economic backwardness of such areas. For instance, we have the largest quantity of bamboos which could be used for the production of paper but unfortunately till today we have not been able to get a paper mill in the public sector. How is it that private money is not getting into that area for such activities? We must remember that Assam is not Bombay and Bombay is not some other city. Each area has got certain peculiarities and that is why I say that this is an area in which the public sector industries could play a useful roll. A paper mill or a cement factory could be established there; the cement factory has still to get a green signal from the minister and it should be established in the near future in the public sector, as quickly as possible or else it will lead to frustration of the people who will find that while other States were advancing their State remained backward. The railway lines are running in the metre gauge and the broad gauge system has still to come in. We have got a bridge across Brahmaputra at Gauhati. There is an immediate need for a second bridge across Brahmaputra at Jogigopa. Actually two or three more bridges are needed but for the time being one more bridge is essential at 17.7 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

Jogigopa. The railway line can run to the south of the bank and it may

go to the Garo hills, thus connecting them with the rest of India through this bridge, when constructed. Garo Hills are full of geological interest. Supposing that area is to be exploited, how can you do it without proper communication? The only communication is a railway line that runs on the southern bank of Brahmaputra.

The NEFA area came into importance after Chinese aggression and it needs special interest and attention. The recent economic survey conducted by the National Council of Applied Economic Research says that this area needed attention, particularly in the field of development of roads and exploitation of forest products and it recommended for this purpose an investment of Rs. 20 crores spread over four or five years. In the budget I do not find any bold step to integrate this area economically so that our defences could be served better. Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya rightly indicated that there were two sensitive areas in India—Eastern region and Kashmir. I hope the Finance Minister takes note of what the techno-economic survey has indicated for the exploitation of the forest resources in the NEFA area. He should also take note of the special requirements of Assam for the railway bridge across the Brahmaputra, establishment of a cement factory and a paper factory in the public sector in that area at least for the time being in view of the limited resources.

Now, with regard to the food problem, it is a fact that this time we have been able to produce 95 million tonnes and generally the criticism is heard that nothing was done during the last 20 years. But in this respect I refuse to agree with that view because during the three plan periods, Rs. 2,300 crores have been spent on agriculture and community development, and a sum of Rs. 3,000 crores on irrigation and power, which is 35 per cent of the total outlay of Rs. 14,000 crores in the public sector during that period. Therefore, the investment in the agricultural sector was massive compared to our limited resources. Why then was the progress tardy? My

feeling is, the answer has to be found by giving a closer look to the whole affair. We have our irrigation projects, and if we go through the evaluation report, you will find that much of our irrigation projects were not properly planned, or, even if they had been properly planned, they were not properly executed. Therefore, whatever potential was created by irrigation, it did not reach the peasants.

Then again, in the case of land reform, we did not proceed as we wanted to, and so far as the rural sector is concerned, where so much needed to be done for the benefit of the people, where money was granted it did not reach the people in time. Now, we have come to a stage, a break-through, by introducing high-yielding varieties. If you want that, you also want increased fertilisers. But what happens today? Fertiliser is a must and we must have it in a big way, but then, we are just quarrelling as to whether it should be naphtha-based or liquid-ammonia based. The dialogue is going on and the peasant is suffering, and I do not know how long the Government will take to come to a decision and complete the negotiations in the private sector, or the public sector for producing immediately the fertilisers which are so much needed for the introduction of high-yielding varieties.

So, my point is that it is the implementation which is the crucial factor. In the final analysis, the success of the entire strategy depends upon the efficiency and the sincerity of the Central and State Governments.

With these words, I support the budget.

श्री अब्दुल गनी दार (गुड़गांव) : स्पीकर साहब, मैंने मोरारजी भाई और के० सी० पंत की तकरीरों को बड़े ध्यान से सुना और मैं उनसे इतिक्रमिक करता हूँ कि इन हालत में शायद ऐसा बजट बेहतरीन हो सकता था। लेकिन जब मैं यह देखता हूँ कि जो बजट उन्होंने पेश किया है—आया वह देश के हित में होगा, तो इस पर मुझे थोड़ा अन्देशा है कि शायद ऐसा नहीं होगा। क्योंकि डिफेंस के लिये

[श्री अब्दुल गनी द्वार]

तकरीबन 40 परसेन्ट हिस्सा बजट का लिया है। अगर गांधी जी की बात मानी जाय—“हमें जीने दो, हम आपको जीने दें, हम किसी मुल्क पर कब्जा नहीं करना चाहते” तो क्या मोरारजी भाई या डिफेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब मुझे यह बता सकेंगे कि इतना बड़ा ह्यूज एमाउन्ट लेने के बावजूद, क्या वह आज तक चाइना से उस इलाके को, जो उसने जबरदस्ती हम से छीन लिया था उसमें से एक मील भी वापस ले सकते हैं? अगर चाइना से नहीं ले सकते, क्योंकि वह ज्यादा ताकतवर है तो क्या पाकिस्तान से—जब कि वह यह मानते हैं कि काश्मीर हमारा है और यकीनन हमारा है—तो क्या पाकिस्तान से वह इलाका जो हम से जबरदस्ती छीना हुआ है, जिसमें दो बार काफ़ी अन्दर तक चले गये थे, पहली दफ़ा जब पंडित जी जीवित थे, तब हमने तकरीबन दो-तिहाई से ज्यादा हिस्सा छीन लिया था, लेकिन हमारी फौजें खुद लौट आईं, इस दफ़ा कारगिल की सरहद तक हम पहुंच गये थे, लेकिन ताशकन्द के मुआहदे के मुताबिक फिर लौट आये, ऐसी हालत में डिफेन्स पर इतना रुपया क्यों खर्च किया जा रहा है। अगर हमने अपना इलाका नहीं लेना है और उसके एवज में यह कहां तक सच है, सरकार ही बताये कि पाकिस्तान से जब वह किसी मसले पर बात करते थे, तो उन्होंने ऐसा क्यों किया कि कच्छ के इलाके के लिये तो ट्रिब्यूनल को मान लिया, उसका फैसला खुदाई फैसला समझा, उसको खुदा की तरफ़ से हुआ फैसला समझ कर हम उसको मानेंगे, चाहे सारा देश उसको न मानें। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब डिफेन्स पर इतना रुपया खर्च हो रहा है तो वह इलाका जिसको ट्रिब्यूनल ने भी नहीं माना है कि वह पाकिस्तान का है, आपने क्यों माना। इसका मतलब यह है कि डिफेन्स पर अरबह्रा रुपया खर्च भी कर रहे हैं, फिर भी हमें वह ताकत नहीं है कि हम उस इलाके को वापस ले सकें, उसको अपने पास रख सकें। इस लिये मैं

मोरारजी भाई से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि डिफेन्स के लिये इतने ह्यूज एमाउन्ट का बजट आपने क्यों बनाया ?

दूसरे—आज की दुनिया की तरफ़ अगर आप निगाह डालें, अगर आप रशिया और अमरीका की तरफ़ निगाह डालें, तो उनका तो हम मुकाबला कर ही नहीं पाते, क्योंकि उन्होंने जब इसराइल का साथ दिया, तो मिस्र जैसी ताकत को, बल्कि सारी अरब दुनिया को शिकस्त का मुंह देखना पड़ा। उनको छोड़ दीजिये, चाइना की तरफ़ देखिये—चाइना के पास आज कितनी ताकत है, वह एटम-बम बना रहा है, उसके मुकाबले में हम यह कहते हैं कि हम एटम-बम नहीं बनायेंगे—ठीक है, न बनाइये, क्योंकि हम इन्सानियत के अलम्बरदार हैं, हम सारी दुनिया में शान्ति चाहते हैं, बेहतरी चाहते हैं, अगर यह हालत है तो आपको गौर करना चाहिये—कोई भी मुल्क आज डवेलप नहीं कर सकता जिसका 40 फीसदी सिर्फ़ डिफेन्स पर चला जाय। फिर भी मैं खुश होता, अगर मैं यह देखता कि हज़ारहा नौजवान फौजियों को, जिनको हमने 1962 में लिया था, भरती किया था, उनको हम निकाल न देते और आज वह हज़ारों नौजवान दिल्ली की गलियों में एक-एक मेम्बर के घर घूमते हुए दिखाई न देते। मैं तब भी इसको पसन्द करता—अगर हमारा डिफेन्स इतना मजबूत होता और हमारी ताकत इतनी होती कि बियतनाम में जब हम दिवो-जान से यह मानते हैं कि अमरीकावाले बमबारी करके बड़ी ज्यादाती कर रहे हैं, हम उनकी अमली तौर पर कुछ मदद कर सकते—लेकिन हम कुछ न कर सके, इसके मायने यह है कि हमारे पास इतनी ताकत नहीं है कि 40 फीसदी बजट का खर्च कर के भी हम किसी मुल्क का, जिसको हम समझते हैं कि वह ठीक है, मदद कर सकें।

मुझे इस बात की तरफ़, स्पीकर साहब, मोरारजी भाई का ध्यान दिलाना है कि 20 वर्ष हो गये हमारे नेताओं ने इस मुल्क को तक-

सीम किया या उन लोगों ने जो टू-नेशन थ्योरी को माननेवाले थे, उन्होंने उसको मन्ज़ूर करने के लिये मजबूर किया, और चूंकि हमारी सरकार का इस बीस साल के अर्से में सक्यूलर होने का दावा ही नहीं था, बल्कि बरसहाबरस पहले से वह इसकी मुद्दी थी, तो मैं पूछ सकता हूं कि 40 फीसदी बजट खर्च करने के बाद भी कितने मुसलमानों को इस बीस साल के अर्से में आपने मौका दिया कि वह देश के हिन्दू भाइयों के साथ शाने-बशाने मिल कर लड़ाई लड़ सकें। अगर देश के पुराने इतिहास को देखें तो आपको मालूम होगा कि जो मुसलमान यहां के हिन्दू राजाओं के मुलाजिम थे, उन्होंने बाहर से आये हुए मुसलमान हमलावरों का बड़ा बहादुरी से मुकाबला किया। आपने पाकिस्तान की लड़ाई में भी देखा—जितने मुसलमान फौज में थे, चाहे अंग्रेजों ने उन्हें भरती किया था, उन्होंने किम मर्दानगी के साथ पाकिस्तानी हमलावरों का मुकबला किया—आन्ध्र के शैल-फेंकनेवालों ने किस हिम्मत के साथ शैलों को फेंका—अगर यह सच है तो क्या मोरारजी भाई या डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब जवाब देंगे कि मुसलमानों की बफ़ादारी पर शक क्यों किया जाता है। मैं मुसलमानों से भी कहना चाहता हूं और खुले तौर पर कहना चाहता हूं—चाहे 20 वर्षों में लाखों कत्ल हुए और कत्ल करनेवालों में से एक की भी नकसीर नहीं फूटी, लेकिन उनको मुल्क की यगानगत के लिये ईमान लेना चाहिये कि हमारा देस सारी दुनिया में अच्छाई देखना चाहता है और वह तमाम गरीब मुल्कों का साथी है। इसलिए आपको हिन्दू-मुस्लिम इत्तहाद में भरोसा करना चाहिए। कई भाइयों ने कहा कि घुस-पैठिये आ गये। कैसे आ गये जब इतनी बड़ी फौज काश्मीर में पड़ी है? आपकी इतनी पुलिस वहां पड़ी है, पुलिस के बेहतरीन आदमी, होम मिनिस्ट्री के बेहतरीन आदमी वहां पड़े हैं, इसके बावजूद वह कैसे आ गए? जैसा कि पन्तजी ने यहां फर्माया कि हुमायूँ कबीर और बख्शी ने इसकी ताईद की, तो मैं भी ताईद

करने के लिए तैयार हूं बशर्ते कि हमें पता चले कि जो रुपया है उसका सही इस्तेमाल हो रहा है। हम तो देखते हैं कि मिस्र में हमारे नौजवान, मि० विजय सच्चर और दूसरे हिन्दुस्तानी इसलिए मारे गए क्योंकि हम उनको हवाई जहाज से नहीं ला सके, उसमें ज्यादा खर्चा होता, हमने कहा कि समद्री जहाज से लाएंगे जबकि कैंनेडा वाले अपने जवानों को हवाई जहाज से निकाल ले गए। इसी लिए उनकी जानें चली गईं। मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि मोरारजी के आने से अब इन्दिरा जी के हाथ मजबूत होंगे और वह मुल्क को बेहतर बनाने की काफी कोशिश करेंगी।

यह ठीक है कि आपने डेवलपमेन्ट पर पहले से दस गुना ज्यादा खर्च किया है और बाकी बातों पर भी ज्यादा खर्च कर रहे हैं लेकिन क्या आप दयानतदारी से बता सकते हैं कि मुल्क में लिगुइस्टिक और कम्युनल क्वेश्चन्स हद से ज्यादा नहीं बढ़े हैं। मैं तो यह देखकर हैरान हो जाता हूं जब साउथ वाले भाई यह कहते हैं कि हमारे साथ नार्थ के भाई इन्साफ नहीं करते हैं, सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेन्ट इन्साफ नहीं करती है। यह साउथ और नार्थ, ईस्ट और वेस्ट के झगड़े काफी गौर-तलब हैं।

एक बात मैं और अर्ज करना चाहता हूं। पठानकोट से लेकर कन्या-कुमारी तक और राजस्थान से लेकर आसाम तक जो चुनाव हुए उनकी फ्री एन्ड फेयर एलेक्शन्स कहने में, अगर सौ फीसदी नहीं तो 90 फीसदी तक कांग्रेस सरकार दावा कर सकती है। लेकिन क्या वह काश्मीर में फ्री एन्ड फेयर एलेक्शन करवा सके? मोरारजी भाई जोकि गांधीवादी हैं, अगर यह कह दें कि हां, फ्री एन्ड फेयर एलेक्शन्स हुए हैं तो मैं अपने हथियार डाल दूंगा और मैं समझूंगा कि मैं मूर्ख हूं, मैंने गलत बात कही। लेकिन आप वहां पर फ्री एन्ड फेयर एलेक्शन्स नहीं करवा सके। आज भी आप हैफेजर्ड वे में कोरोड्डा रुपया बरबाद कर रहे हैं। मैं यकीन के साथ कहता हूं कि मैं

[श्री अब्दुल गनी बार]

कभी भी इस बात को नहीं मानता कि काश्मीर में कोई भी ऐसा आदमी है जो एक मिनट के लिए भी पाकिस्तान से रिश्ता जोड़ना चाहता हो। मुझे कहते हुए खुशी होती है और शर्म भी आती है कि जब शेख अब्दुल्ला चीफ मिनिस्टर थे—या वजीरे आजम कहिए—तब उन्होंने पंडित जी से कहा था कि आप एलान कीजिए कि काश्मीर और हिन्दुस्तान एक हैं, इनमें कोई झगड़ा नहीं है लेकिन पंडितजी का उस वक्त कहना था कि हम दुनिया को क्या मुह दिखायेंगे, हमने रिफ़ूडम का वायदा किया था। लेकिन बदले हुए हालात में जब हम पर पाकिस्तान ने हमला किया तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आप मदद में कोई देश आया? मैं मानता हूँ कि रशा ने कुछ टैंक भेजे लेकिन वह किस वक्त भेजे? उस वक्त जबकि हम लड़ाई में गुथे हुए थे। क्या दुनिया में कोई ऐसा मुल्क है जिसने कहा हो कि चाइना या पाकिस्तान एग्रेसर था? आपको कोई भी ऐसा नहीं मिला।

आप करोड़ों रुपयों की मंजूरी इस हाउस से लेना चाहते हैं। आप मंजूरी भी ले लेंगे क्योंकि आपकी मेजारिटी है। हो सकता है कि आप पोस्टकार्ड के कुछ पैसे छोड़ दें, हालांकि उसकी उम्मीद भी मुझे बहुत कम है मोरारजी भाई से। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपने दुनिया में हमारी साख क्यों नहीं बनाई? आज चीजों की कीमतों की वजह से, बेरोजगारी की वजह से या और दूसरी वजूहात से इस मुल्क के करोड़ों आदमी बेचैन हैं, बेकरार हैं। अगर आप बजट मंजूर कराना चाहते हैं तो मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब की तबज्जह इस तरफ दिलाऊंगा कि आज आसाम और जम्मू काश्मीर के रजौरी इलाके से लाखों मुसलमानों को निकाला गया है। ये लोग तो वही थे जिन्होंने आपको खबर दी कि दुश्मन आ रहा है। काश्मीर में रजौरी और जम्मू के इलाके से इनको अपने घरों से क्यों निकाला गया और क्या आप इनको पनाह देने के लिए तैयार हैं?

आप वहां के लोगों को सर्टिफिकेट दें कि वे हिन्दुस्तानी हैं, हिन्दुस्तान के नेशनल हैं।

आपने जो बजट पेश किया, जो रुपए की मांग की, वह ठीक है, आपने बड़ी हिम्मत से इसको रखा, मैं इसमें कोई झगड़ा नहीं करता। लेकिन आप इसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन कैसे करेंगे, किस तरह से मुल्क के मजदूरों को उभाड़ सकेंगे? पब्लिक सेक्टर में जो स्टील के कारखाने हैं उनमें करोड़ों का नुकसान है। डिवैल्यूएशन करने के बावजूद आप इन्टरनेशनल मार्केट में स्टैंड नहीं कर सकते हैं क्योंकि दूसरे मुल्कों की कीमतें बहुत कम हैं। आप यहां के एक रुपए के माल को बाहर जाकर 6 आने में बेचते हैं और उसकी सजा मुल्क वालों को देते हैं और कहते हैं कि इंसेंटिव दिया जाता है। नतीजा यह होता है कि चीजें ब्लैक-मार्केटिंग में जाती हैं, उनके दाम बढ़ते चले जाते हैं। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि मोरारजी भाई इस तरफ भी तबज्जह देंगे कि जो एक्सपोर्ट और इम्पोर्ट की पालिसी है, जो एनवार्यसिंग की पालिसी है, आए दिन करोड़ों रुपए का माल बाम्बे में बिकता है जिसका पता सरकार को भी है, इसकी तरफ भी वह तबज्जह देंगे और इसका कोई उपाय सोचेंगे।

आखिर में मैं फिर एक बार मोरारजी भाई, यूनियन सरकार और इन्दिराजी से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आप मुसलमानों के साथ इन्साफ करें और उनकी वफादारी पर कोई शक न करें। आप उनको फौज में और पुलिस में मौका दें और इस बात का मौका दें कि वे आपके कदम चुमें और पाकिस्तान का मुंह-तोड़ मुकाबला कर सकें। अगर आप ऐसा करेंगे तो आप मुसलमानों से कभी मायूस नहीं होंगे। लेकिन—

वही कालिल वही शाहिद वही मुसिफ ठहरे,
अकरबा मेरे करें कतल का दावा किस पर।

वही बात अलग है लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि आपको मुसलमान पर भरोसा करना चाहिए। मुसलमान वफादारी और हर तरह से बतन के

साथ रहेगा और वह बतन का साथ देगा । अगर उसने तंग आकर यू० पी० में और दिल्ली में जनसंघ का साथ दिया तो इसलिए कि वह मायूस हो गया था । इसलिए उनको मायूस न किया जाए, वे बराबर हिन्दुस्तानी हैं । मैं फिर वास्ता देकर कहता हूँ कि आप काश्मीर के मसले को सुलझाइये । आप बोगस सरकार रख कर काश्मीर का मसला हल नहीं कर सकते, आजाद काश्मीर को वापिस नहीं ले सकते । उसको तभी वापिस ले सकते हैं जबकि आप मजबूती के साथ इरादा कर लें कि पाकिस्तान का कोई हक वहां नहीं है । जिस तरह से आप आंध्र और बंगाल को मानते हैं उसी तरह से जो काश्मीर में बसते हैं उनको पूरा तय्युन देकर, वहां की सरकार को हटाईये और वहां पर फ्री एन्ड फेयर एलेक्शन कराईये, इसी में देश का भला है और तभी आप गांधी जी के सच्चे शिष्य कहला सकते हैं ।

[श्री عبدالغنی ڈار (ٹرگاؤں) :

سیکر صاحب - میں نے مراجمی بھائی اور کے - سی - پنت کی تقریروں کو بڑے دھیان سے سنا اور میں ان سے اتفاق کرتا ہوں کہ ان حالات میں شاید ایسا بجٹ بہترین ہو سکتا تھا - لیکن جب میں یہ دیکھتا ہوں کہ جو بجٹ انہوں نے پیش کیا ہے - آیا وہ دیش کے ہت میں ہوگا تو اس پر مجھے تھوڑا اندیشہ ہے کہ شاید ایسا نہیں ہوگا - کیونکہ ڈفینس کے لئے تقریباً ۴۰ پر سنٹ حصہ بجٹ کا لیا ہے - اگر گاندھی جی کی بات مانی جائے - ”ہمیں جینے دو - ہم آپ کو جینے دیں - ہم کسی

ملک پر قبضہ نہیں کرنا چاہتے - “ تو کیا مراجمی بھائی یا ڈفینس منسٹر صاحب مجھے یہ بتا سکیں گے کہ اتنا بڑا ہیوج ایوانٹ لینے کے باوجود کیا وہ آج تک چائنا سے اس علاقہ کو جو اس نے زبردستی ہم سے چھین لیا تھا اس میں سے ایک میل بھی واپس لے سکتے ہیں - اگر چائنا سے نہیں لے سکتے کیونکہ وہ زیادہ ناقتور ہے - تو کیا پاکستان سے - جب کہ وہ یہ مانتے ہیں کہ کشمیر ہمارا ہے اور یقیناً ہمارا ہے - تو کیا پاکستان سے وہ علاقہ جو ہم سے زبردستی چھینا ہوا ہے - جس میں دو بار کافی اندر تک ہم چلے گئے تھے - پہلی دفعہ جب پنڈت جی جیوت تھے تب ہم نے تقریباً دو تہائی سے زیادہ حصہ چھین لیا تھا لیکن ہماری فوجیں خود لوٹ آئیں - اس دفعہ کارگل کی سرحد تک ہم پہنچ گئے تھے لیکن تاشقند کے معاہدہ کے مطابق پھر لوٹ آئے - ایسی حالت میں ڈفینس پر اتنا روپیہ کیوں خرچ کیا جا رہا ہے - اگر ہم نے اپنا علاقہ نہیں لینا ہے اور اس کے عوض میں یہ کہاں تک سچ ہے سرکار ہی بتائے کہ پاکستان سے جب وہ کسی مسئلے پر بات کرتے ہیں تو انہوں نے ایسا کیوں کیا کہ کچھ کے

[شری عبدالغنی ڈار]

علاقے کے لئے تو ٹریبونل کو مان لیا۔ اس کا فیصلہ خدائی فیصلہ سمجھا۔ اس کو خدا کی طرف سے ہوا فیصلہ سمجھ کر ہم اس کو مانینگے چاہے سارا دیش اس کو نہ مانے۔ میں پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جب ڈینس پر اتنا روپیہ خرچ ہو رہا ہے تو وہ علاقہ جس کو ٹریبونل نے بھی نہیں مانا ہے کہ وہ پاکستان کا ہے۔ آپ نے کیوں مانا۔ اس کا مطالبہ یہ ہے کہ ڈینس پر اربہا روپیہ خرچ بھی کر رہے ہیں پھر بھی ہم میں وہ طاقت نہیں ہے کہ ہم اس علاقہ کو واپس لے سکیں۔ اس کو اپنے پاس رکھ سکیں۔ اس لئے میں ناراجی بھائی سے پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ڈینس کے لئے اتنے ہیوج ایماؤنٹ کا بجٹ آپ نے کیوں بنایا۔

دوسرے۔ آج کی دنیا کی طرف اگر آپ نگاہ ڈالیں۔ اگر آپ رشیا اور امریکہ کی طرف نگاہ ڈالیں تو ان کا تو ہم مقابلہ کر ہی نہیں پاتے کیونکہ انہوں نے اسرائیل کا ساتھ دیا تو مصر جیسی طاقت کو بلکہ ساری عرب دنیا کو شکست کا مزا دیکھنا پڑا۔ ان کو چھوڑ دیجئے۔ چائنا کی طرف دیکھئے چائنا کے پاس آج کتنی طاقت ہے۔ وہ ایٹم بم بنا رہا ہے۔ اس کے

مقابلے میں ہم یہ کہتے ہیں کہ ہم ایٹم بم نہیں بنائینگے۔ ٹھیک ہے نہ بنائے کیونکہ ہم انسانیت کے علمبردار ہیں۔ ہم ساری دنیا میں امن چاہتے ہیں۔ بہتری چاہتے ہیں۔ اگر یہ حالت ہے تو آپ کو غور کرنا چاہئے۔ کوئی بھی ملک آج ڈیولپ نہیں کر سکتا جس کا ۴۰ فیصدی صرف ڈینس پر چلا جائے۔ پھر بھی میں خوش ہوتا اگر میں دیکھتا کہ ہزارہا نوجوان فوجیوں کو جن کو ہم نے ۶۲ میں لیا تھا بھرتی کیا تھا ان کو ہم نکل نہ دیتے اور آج وہ ہزاروں نوجوان دہلی کی گلیوں میں ایک ایک ممبر کے گھر گھومتے ہوئے دکھائی نہ دیتے۔ میں تب بھی اس کو پسند کرتا اگر ہمارا ڈینس اتنا مضبوط ہوتا اور ہماری طاقت اتنی مضبوط ہوتی کہ ویتنام میں جب ہم دل و جان سے یہ مانتے ہیں کہ امریکہ وائے بمباری کر کے بڑی زیادتی کر رہے ہیں ہم ان کی عملی طور پر کچھ مدد کر سکتے۔ لیکن ہم کچھ نہ کر سکتے۔ اس کے معنی یہ ہیں کہ ہمارے پاس اتنی طاقت نہیں ہے کہ ۴۰ فیصدی بجٹ کا خرچ کر کے بھی ہم کسی ملک کی جس کو ہم سمجھتے ہیں کہ وہ ٹھیک ہے مدد کر سکیں۔

مجھے اس بات کی طرف - سپیکر صاحب - مرارجی بھائی کا دھیان دلانا ہے کہ ۲۰ برس ہو گئے ہمارے نیتاؤں نے اس ملک کو تقسیم کیا تھا یا ان لوگوں نے جو ٹو - نیشن تھیوری کو ماننے والے تھے انہوں نے اس کو منظور کرنے کے لئے مجبور کیا اور چونکہ ہماری سرکار کا اس ۲۰ سال کے عرصہ میں سیکولر ہونے کا دعویٰ ہی نہیں تھا بلکہ برسہا برس سے وہ اس کی مدعی تھی میں پوچھ سکتا ہوں کہ ۴۰ فیصدی بجٹ خرچ کرنے کے بعد بھی کتنے مسلمانوں کو اس ۲۰ سال کے عرصے میں آپ نے موقعہ دیا کہ وہ دیش کے ہندو بھائیوں کے ساتھ شانے بسانے ملکر لڑائی لڑ سکیں - اگر دیش کے پرانے اتھاس کو دیکھیں تو آپ کو معلوم ہوگا کہ جو مسلمان یہاں کے ہندو راجاؤں کے ملازم تھے انہوں نے باہر سے آئے ہوئے مسلمان حملہ آوروں کا بڑی بہادری سے مقابلہ کیا - آپ نے پاکستان کی لڑائی میں بھی دیکھا جتنے مسلمان فوج میں تھے چاہے انگریزوں نے انہیں بھرتی کیا تھا - انہوں نے کسی مردانگی کے ساتھ پاکستانی حملہ آوروں کا مقابلہ کیا - اندھرا کے شیل پھینکنے والوں نے کس ہمت کے ساتھ شیلوں کو پھینکا - اگر

یہ سچ ہے تو کیا مرارجی بھائی یا ڈفینس منسٹر صاحب جواب دینگے کہ مسلمانوں کی وفاداری پر شک کیوں کیا جاتا ہے - میں مسلمانوں سے بھی کہنا چاہتا ہوں اور کھلے طور پر کہنا چاہتا ہوں - چاہے ۲۰ برس میں لاکھوں قتل ہوئے اور قتل کرنے والوں میں سے ایک کی بھی نکسیر نہیں پھوٹی - لیکن ان کو ملک کی یگانگت کے لئے ایمان لانا چاہئے کہ ہمارا دیش ساری دنیا میں امن دیکھنا چاہتا ہے اور وہ تمام غریب ملکوں کا ساتھی ہے - اس لئے آپ کو ہندو مسلم اتحاد میں بھروسہ کرنا چاہئے - کئی بھائیوں نے کہا کہ گھس پیٹھے آ گئے - کیسے آ گئے - جب اتنی بڑی فوج کشمیر میں پڑی ہے - آپ کی اتنی پلس وہاں پڑی ہے پلس کے بہترین آدمی و ہوم منسٹری کے بہترین آدمی نے یہاں فرمایا کہ ہمایوں کبیر اور بخشی نے اس کی تائید کی تو میں بھی تائید کرنے کے لئے تیار ہوں بشرطیکہ ہمیں پتا چلے کہ جو روپیہ ہے اس کا صحیح استعمال ہو رہا ہے - ہم تو دیکھتے ہیں کہ مصر میں ہمارے نوجوان منسٹر وجے کمار سچر اور دوسرے ہندوستانی اس لئے مارے گئے کیونکہ ہم ان کو ہوائی جہاز سے نہیں لا سکے اس میں زیادہ خرچا ہوتا ہے ہم نے کہا

[شری عبدالغنی ڈار]

کہ سمندری جہاز سے لائینگے جب کہ کیناڈا والے اپنے نوجوانوں کو ہوائی جہاز سے نکال لے گئے۔ لیکن ہمارے نوجوانوں کی جانیں چلی گئیں۔ میں امید کرتا ہوں کہ مرارجی کے آنے سے اب اندرا جی کے ہاتھ مضبوط ہونگے اور وہ ملک کو بہتر بنانے کی کافی کوشش کریں گی۔

یہ ٹھیک ہے کہ آپ نے ڈیولپ سینٹ پر پہلے سے دس گنا زیادہ خرچا کیا ہے اور باقی باتوں پر بھی زیادہ خرچا کر رہے ہیں لیکن کیا آپ دیانتداری سے بتا سکتے ہیں کہ ملک میں لنکوسٹک اور کمیونل کوشچنس حد سے زیادہ نہیں بڑھے ہیں۔ میں تو یہ دیکھ کر حیران ہو جاتا ہوں جب ساؤتھ والے بھائی یہ کہتے ہیں کہ ہمارے ساتھ نارٹھ کے بھائی انصاف نہیں کرتے ہیں۔ سینٹرل گورنمینٹ انصاف نہیں کرتی ہے یہ ساؤتھ اور نارٹھ ایسٹ اور ویسٹ کے جھگڑے کافی غیر طلب ہیں۔

ایک بات میں اور عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔ پٹھانکوٹ سے لے کر کنیا کماری تک اور راجستھان سے لے کر آسام تک جو چناؤ ہوئے ان کو فری اینڈ فیئر ایلیکشنس کہنے میں اگر ۱۰۰ فی صدی نہیں تو ۹۰ فی صدی تک کانگریس سرکار

یہ دعوے کر سکتی ہے۔ لیکن کیا وہ کشمیر میں فری اینڈ فیئر ایلیکشنس کروا سکے۔ مرارجی بھائی جو کہ گاندھی وادی ہیں اگر یہ کہہ دیں کہ ہاں فری اینڈ فیئر ایلیکشنس ہوئے ہیں تو میں اپنے ہتھیار ڈال دوں گا۔ اور میں سمجھوں گا کہ میں مورکھ ہوں۔ میں نے غلط بات کہی۔ لیکن آپ وہاں پر فری اینڈ فیئر ایلیکشنس نہیں کروا سکے۔ آج بھی آپ وہاں ہیفیزرڈ وے میں کروڑھا روپیہ برباد کر رہے ہیں۔ میں یقین کے ساتھ کہتا ہوں کہ میں کبھی بھی اس بات کو نہیں ماننا کہ کشمیر میں کوئی بھی ایسا آدمی ہے جو ایک منٹ کے لئے بھی پاکستان سے رشتہ جوڑنا چاہتا ہو۔ مجھے کہتے ہوئے خوشی بھی ہوتی ہے۔ اور شرم بھی آتی ہے کہ جب شیخ عبداللہ بڑے منسٹر تھے یا وزیر اعظم تھے تب انہوں نے پنڈت جی سے کہا تھا کہ آپ یہ اعلان کیجئے کہ کشمیر اور ہندوستان ایک ہیں اس میں کوئی جھگڑا نہیں ہے لیکن پنڈت جی کا اس وقت کہنا تھا کہ ہم دنیا کو کیا منہ دکھائینگے ہم نے ریفرینڈم کا وعدہ کیا تھا۔ لیکن بدے ہوئے حالات میں جب ہم پر پاکستان نے حملہ کیا تو میں جانتا چاہتا ہوں کہ کیا آپ کی مدد میں کوئی دیش آیا۔ میں ماننا ہوں کہ رشیا نے کچھ

ٹینک بھیجے۔ لیکن وہ کس وقت بھیجے۔ اس وقت جب کہ ہم لڑائی میں گوتھے ہوئے تھے۔ کیا دنیا میں کوئی ایسا ملک ہے جس نے کہا ہو کہ چائنا یا پاکستان ایگریسر تھا۔ آپ کو کوئی بھی ایسا نہیں ملا۔

آپ کروڑھا روپیہ کی منظوری اس ہاؤس سے لینا چاہتے ہیں۔ آپ منظوری بھی لے لینگے کیونکہ آپ کی میجسٹری ہے۔ ہو سکتا ہے کہ آپ پوسٹ کارڈ کے کچھ پیسے چھوڑ دیں حالانکہ اس کی امید بھی مجھے بہت کم ہے مرار جی بھائی سے۔ میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ آپ نے دنیا میں ہماری ساکھ کیوں نہیں بنائی۔ آج چیزوں کی قیمتوں کی وجہ سے بیروزگاری کی وجہ سے یا بعض دوسری وجوہات سے اس ملک کے کروڑوں آدمی بیچین ہیں بے قرار ہیں۔ اگر آپ بجٹ منظور کرانا چاہتے ہیں تو میں ہوم منسٹر صاحب کی توجہ اس طرف دلاؤنگا کہ آج آسام اور جموں کشمیر کے رجوری علاقے سے لاکھوں مسلمانوں کو نکالا گیا ہے۔ یہ لوگ تو وہی تھے جنہوں نے آپ خبر دی کہ دشمن آ رہا ہے۔ کشمیر میں رجوری اور جموں کے علاقے سے ان کو اپنے گھروں سے کیوں نکالا گیا اور کیا آپ ان کو پناہ دینے کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ آپ

وہاں کے لوگوں کو سرٹیفکیٹ دیں کہ وہ ہندوستانی ہیں اور ہندوستان کے نیشنل ہیں۔

آپ نے جو بجٹ پیش کیا جو روپے کی مانگ کی وہ ٹھیک ہے۔ آپ نے بڑی ہمت سے اس کو رکھا۔ میں اس میں کوئی جھگڑا نہیں کرتا۔ لیکن آپ اس کا امپلمینٹیشن کیسے کرینگے کس طرح سے ملک کے مزدوروں کو ابھار سکیں گے۔ پبلک سیکٹر میں جو اسٹیل کے کارخانے ہیں ان میں کروڑوں کا نقصان ہے۔ ڈی ویلوٹشن کرنے کے باوجود آپ انٹرنیشنل مارکیٹ میں اسٹینڈ نہیں کر سکتے ہیں۔ کیونکہ دوسرے ملکوں کی قیمتیں بہت کم ہیں۔ آپ یہاں کے ایک روپے کے مال کو باہر جا کر چھ آنے میں بیچتے ہیں اور اس کی سزا ملک والوں کو دیتے ہیں اور کہتے ہیں کہ انسینٹو دیا جاتا ہے۔ نتیجہ یہ ہوتا ہے کہ چیزیں بلیک مارکیٹنگ میں جاتی ہیں ان کے دام بڑھتے چلے جاتے ہیں۔ میں امید کرتا ہوں کہ مرار جی بھائی اس طرف بھی توجہ دینگے کہ جو ایکسپورٹ اور امپورٹ کی پالیسی ہے جو اینوائسنگ کی پالیسی ہے آئے دن کروڑوں روپیہ کا مال بمبئی میں بکتا ہے جس کا پتہ سرکار کو بھی ہے اس کی طرف بھی وہ توجہ دینگے اور اس کا کوئی اہانے سوچینگے۔

[شری عبدالغنی ڈار]

آخر میں میں پھر ایک بار سرارجی
بھائی یونین سرکار اور اندرا جی
سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ آپ
مسلمانوں کے ساتھ انصاف کریں اور
ان کی وفاداری پر کوئی شک نہ
کریں۔ آپ ان کو فوج میں اور
پولیس میں موقعہ دیں اور اس بات
کا موقعہ دیں کہ وہ آپ کے
قدم چومیں اور پاکستان کا منہ توڑ
مقابلہ کر سکیں۔ اگر آپ ایسا کریں گے
تو آپ مسلمانوں سے کبھی مایوس نہیں
ہونگے۔ لیکن۔

وہی قاتل وہی شاہر

وہی منصف ٹھہرے۔

اقر با میرے کریں قتل

کا دعویٰ کس پر۔

وہ بات الگ ہے لیکن میں کہتا
ہوں کہ آپ کو مسلمان پر بھروسا
کرنا چاہئے۔ مسلمان وفاداری اور
ہر طرح سے وطن کے ساتھ رہیگا اور
وہ وطن کا ساتھ دیگا۔ اگر اس نے
تنگ آ کر یوپی میں اور دہلی میں
جن سنگھ کا ساتھ دیا تو اس لئے کہ
وہ مایوس ہو گیا تھا۔ اس لئے ان
کو مایوس نہ کیا جائے وہ برابر
ہندوستانی ہیں۔ میں پھر واسطہ دے
کر کہتا ہوں کہ آپ کشمیر کے
مسئلے کو سلجھائے۔ آپ بوگس سرکار
رکھ کر کشمیر کا مسئلہ حل نہیں
کر سکتے۔ آزاد کشمیر کو واپس

نہیں لے سکتے۔ اس کو تبھی واپس
لے سکتے ہیں جب کہ آپ مضبوطی
کے ساتھ ارادا کر لیں کہ پاکستان
کا کوئی حق وہاں نہیں ہے۔

جس طرح سے آپ آندھر اور بنگال
کو مانتے ہیں اسی طرح سے جو کشمیر
میں بستے ہیں ان کو پورا تعین دیکر
وہاں کی سرکار کو ہٹائیے اور وہاں
پر فری اینڈ فیر ایلکشن کرائیے اسی
میں دیش کا بھلا ہے اور تبھی آپ
گاندھی جی کے سچے ششے کہلا سکتے
ہیں۔

SHRI DHANDAPANI (Dharapuru-
ram) : Mr. Speaker, Sir,

“Uru pasiyum ovarapiniyum
cherupakayum cherstutathiyalvathu
nadu.”

This was envisaged by the great
savant Thiruvalluvar. I shall give the
English version of it :

“Nor hunger, nor epidemics it
knows nor fear for invading foes.”

Where the people are free from the
said things, as penned by Thiruvallu-
var, that alone would be the people's
nation. The Government, unable to
provide enough food, unable to pro-
vide sufficient medical facilities to
all, has placed us in such a position
that we always have the fear of
aggression in our minds. I do not say
that this is not at all a nation.

Sir, after 20 years of independence,
after having announced to the people
that once they got Swaraj there would
be rivers of milk and honey, what do
we now see? We see streams of blood
and tears. The poor have become
poorer and the poorest and the rich
have become richer and the richest.
The tears of poor would be curse to

a nation. The great Thiruvalluvar says :

Allarpattu Atrathu Azuta Kan-
neeronre Selvathai Theykkum Padai
I will give the English version :

Than bitter tears by the oppressed
shed is enemy there more dread ?
Therefore, Sir, the Government should
not allow anybody to shed tears on
account of hunger and poverty. This
Government should take more interest
in the improvement of the condition
of the poor and working class people.

Sir, my learned friends have enu-
merated the various acts of omission
and commission of the Government.
Our hon. Finance Minister has submit-
ted a deficit budget. The former Fin-
ance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnama-
chari anticipated a deficit of Rs. 400
crores. Perhaps, he was broad-minded.
The present Finance Minister has
showed only a deficit of Rs. 290 crores.

Sir, the living conditions of the
Government employees are deteriorat-
ing. Last year they were given a
small enhancement to their dearness
allowance. But one part of the DA of
employees was credited to their pro-
vident fund instead of being paid in
cash. Our Finance Minister advises
employees not to withdraw the money
for the reason that he wants to main-
tain a climate of price stability. If
they withdraw it, it would lead to
inflation. There is a saying in Tamil :

Upadesam Oorukku; Unakkallai
Kanne.

A preacher told his wife that advices
given by him are not addressed to her
but for others to follow. Similarly,
Sir, our Finance Minister is preaching
to the Government employees about
inflation and price stability. On the
contrary, the Government print cur-
rency notes enormously. Private
people are also doing the same. I do
not say that this was a joint venture.

At this juncture I must say one
thing. The upgradation of Coimbatore
City as B class area is urgently called
for. It is one of the important indus-
trial cities of India. The long cherish-
ed aspirations of the people of Coim-

batore, especially the Government
employees, must be looked into.

Again, the Finance Minister has
stated about economising—I quote
from his budget speech—

“Economising, they say, is a dismal
science and I see no escape from
savings more in order to preserve
the value of savings.”

He speaks about savings and he takes
away the annuity deposit scheme. If
the Government of India has real faith
in economising, they must follow the
example of Madras Government. The
Ministers in Madras voluntarily cut
down their salaries. They use smaller
motor vehicles, as the late Prime
Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri did.
My Government scrapped unnecessary
posts created by the previous rulers.
I hope that the Government of India
also would follow the lines of the
Tamilnad Government. Otherwise,
there is no meaning in speaking about
economy. The Finance Minister uses
the words “No Escape”. No doubt,
Sir, not only from the savings but
also from the untimely death if the
Congress Party rules for some more
years.

While we speak about savings, the
Reserve Bank of India reduces the
rate of interest for deposits also. If
the Government want to attract more
deposits from common people, they
must maintain the old rate of interest
on deposits. In the budget Rs. 105
crores have been allocated for the
purchase of fertilisers. This is the
only country where the agriculturist
gets fertilizer at higher prices. Shri
Hanumanthaiah, Chairman of the
Administrative Reforms Commission
also has stated the deplorable condition
of the agriculturists in the country. He
has stated :

“It is said that the Indian peasant,
the poorest in the world, is made to
pay the highest price in the world
for the fertiliser he purchases.”

My leader, Arignar Anna has also
stated the needs of the agriculturists
are generally neglected. While he
was taking part in an agricultural

[Shri Dhandapani]

seminar, he spoke as follows: I quote from a Daily :

"Mr. Annadurai expressed confidence that Madras was definitely on way to becoming surplus in food production, and he wanted the few bottlenecks that still existed to be removed quickly.... Complaining of bottlenecks, Mr. Annadurai said that a scheme for minor irrigation, complete with details, was with the Centre for months awaiting sanction.

He also complained that though the package programme area in Thanjavur district was getting all the fertiliser, it needed for its high-yielders, other districts were starved of fertiliser because they cultivated other varieties of paddy."

If sufficient quantity of fertiliser is allotted to Tamilnad, we would be in a position to boost up production in the agricultural field. I hope that this Government would give more consideration in this respect.

The vast area in Madras State could be brought under the plough if there was enough water. I request the Government to constitute a committee to go into the matters of sharing waters from inter-State rivers and to evolve a national policy on inter-State river water disputes.

In my constituency, Dharapuram, Vellakoil, Palani and Oddanchatram are considered to be dry areas which need the irrigation facilities like sinking of wells, bore wells, filter point tube wells, etc.

In the Budget, Rs. 243 crores have been allotted as grants to the States. This amount is very meagre for the entire nation. The States are asked not to avail overdraft facilities. But the unsound policies of the Central Government will increase the need for overdrafts by the State Governments. The Government has chosen to reduce the rate of interest in Savings Bank and Fixed Deposit Accounts. It should also reduce the rate of interest payable by the State Governments to the Centre towards the loans. Though

the Central Government was holding enormous powers over the States, it did not discharge duties properly and efficiently. I should say that the following statement was made by a very learned and senior politicians of the country. I quote :

"Even as the Prime Minister was declaring in the Lok Sabha that, "if India was politically stable, it was because it had a strong Centre", he was deploring the political instability, so visibly evident in various parts of India and directly attributing it to the existence of a "very weak Centre" which had failed to assert its overriding authority. "Just see those who are at the helm of affairs: No wonder no problem has been solved—the language problem, food problem, student's problem, political turmoil in States, planning, industrial recession, exchange crisis and what not—everything is allowed to drift". The very weakness of the Centre was responsible for the emergence of fissiparous forces in the country, he said."

He is nobody else but Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the former Finance Minister. Congressmen, as a rule, suffer from the chronic disease of speaking untruth while in office. No sooner they step out of office, they overcome the disease and start speaking the truth.

Our Finance Minister propose to levy tax on six new commodities including confectionery and chocolates. Out of these, he expects Rs. 13.72 crores. I request the hon. Finance Minister to consider the question of dropping the tax on confectionery and embroidery. If he does not, the ladies, parents and children will curse him. The children will also say, "Morarji chacha is very bad."

Mr. Morarji Desai's stock defence for the taxes has always been: more demand from the States, suggestions from the Members of Opposition not to tax the poor, the advice of Economists not to print more currencies without backing, etc., etc. We are tired of such excuses. Mr. Morarji

Desai, instead of wasting his time and also the time of the nation by telling lame excuses should find out and formulate ways and means for a permanent solution of the problem. May I submit to the Finance Minister a suggestion made by our leader Arignar Anna. I quote from a Daily :

"The Chief Minister, Mr. C. N. Annadurai today indicated his disappointment with the Central Budget in not having effected savings through various measures of economy. In his view, the Centre could have saved at least Rs. 500 crores and this money could have been divided among the States for various nation-building activities."

"The three measures spelt out by him in this regard were: streamlining of public sector undertakings wherein Rs. 2000 crores had been invested without adequate return; economy in defence expenditure without in any way impairing our striking power; and eradication of the process of duplication in the administration, i.e., the Centre engaging itself in activities more pertaining to the States' sphere, as for example, in the Health, Education and Engineering fields.

"The Chief Minister suggested the appointment of a committee consisting of experts including experienced entrepreneurs to suggest ways and means of improving the running of public sector undertakings."

Another step is to take effective steps against tax-evaders. The Finance Minister himself has disclosed that nearly Rs. 541 crores remain uncollected. The properties of such evaders should be confiscated by the Government; if need be, a suitable law can be passed by the Parliament to empower the Government.

Another resource is banks. There were 73 scheduled banks and 27 non-scheduled banks in the country. The paid-up capital of all the banks, including the State Bank of India, was only Rs. 70.53 crores. The deposits with the banks were Rs. 4,797.91

crores. Suggestions for the nationalisation have always been on the agenda of the nation, but the Government were not in a mood to think over it. Deposits of common people were being misused by the bankers. If the banking industry is taken over by the Government, the idle deposits could be utilised for public welfare purposes.

Another important point which the Government should take note of is this. A demand was put by our Works Minister, Kalpankar Karunanidhi, for the adoption of Tirukkural as a national literature. I need not say that the Tirukkural has been translated into several enriched languages of the world. Those who have gone through the Tirukkural and fully understood its meaning would not hesitate to have it as a national literature. We have national games; we have a national bird; why should we not have a national literature?....

MR. SPEAKER : He may conclude.

SHRI DHANDAPANI : Tirukkural is the only literature that would be acceptable to all, irrespective of caste, creed or religion and region. It would suit all for all times. I hope that this Government would concede to this suggestion.

MR. SPEAKER : That is all.

SHRI DHANDAPANI : Before I conclude I must tell you one thing.

MR. SPEAKER : No, no. That is all.

SHRI DHANDAPANI : I hope, the Government would consider all these things.....

MR. SPEAKER : Yes. The Government would consider all these things. That is all. He will please sit down.

Now I will call Mr. Dhillon. But before he starts speaking, I would like to say this. Till now, I see that seven Independents have participated in the debate. I do not think that any other Party, even Swatantra, has got so many speakers. Still I see some of them, for example, Dr. Maitreyee Basu and Mr. Kunte, waiting for the last five or six days watching and watch-

[Mr. Speaker]

ing for their chance. They should get a chance, but one complaint that I have heard is that, from amongst the Independents, the same people have been speaking. Some Independents came and complained to me that the same people from the Independents Benches have been speaking.....

SHRI P. K. GHOSH : I have also been waiting and waiting; I have not been called....

MR. SPEAKER : I am talking of the Independents; I am not talking of the Congress. I am talking of the Independents and am telling them about my difficulty. Some Independents have been waiting for the last five or six days. Whenever I come to the House, I see them sitting. Of course, I would give two or three people the chance to speak, but it will be very difficult for me to accommodate all.....

SHRI P. K. GHOSH : I have also not been called.

MR. SPEAKER : About the Congress Party, I would only say this. Suppose some of them have not got the chance now, I am sure they will get a chance, rather their Party will give them the chance, to speak on 'Demands for Grants' and on so many other things which will come up. Where there is a Party, I have no worry; I follow the discipline of the Party whips. My difficulty is only with regard to Independents.

Seven Independent Members have spoken already. But the complaint made is that the same seven Members who have been speaking every time have spoken this time also. I hope that this time those two or three of them who have been waiting for one week to get their chance would be given a chance.

DR. KARNI SINGH : May I make a submission? This is something in relation to what you have just now said.

MR. SPEAKER : I know that the hon. Member wants to speak. I know he has written to me that he has come from Bombay this morning and he

wants a chance immediately.

DR. KARNI SINGH : The submission that I wish to make is that ever since 1952, the Independents have formed themselves into a group....

MR. SPEAKER : But I have not recognised them.

SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirappalli) : Just now there was a complaint from the Congress Benches saying that there was a monopoly only by some Members.

MR. SPEAKER : They will take care of it. I know that the hon. Member wants to start some disruption in their ranks....

SHRI NAMBIAR : That complaint cannot be ignored. It is very bad that the Congress should behave like this. They should not behave like this. We are very much worried about it.

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ : That is none of the hon. Member's business.

MR. SPEAKER : Now, Shri G. S. Dhillon.

SHRI G. S. DHILLON (Taran Taran) : I shall not go into the complications and complexities of the budget except to say that in my opinion it is a very balanced, practical and realistic budget. Keeping in view the recession and the stagnation, I think a genuine effort has been made to revive the economy. Also some relief and concessions have been given in a very balanced manner by giving stimulus to encourage exports and incentives to industrial output and agricultural productivity. It is indeed a matter which has been welcomed so much by the press and the people that concessions have been given by way of reduction in the surtax on companies, annuity deposits have been abolished and there has been a reduction in income-tax and also a little bit raising of the income-tax leviable amount.

During the very short time that I have at my disposal I want to say a few words about the stimulus that has been given to agriculture. This is the first budget in which agricul-

ture has been treated on the basis of a regular industry. So much has been said about the deficit in a very conventional sense. But I think, as Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao remarked yesterday, that in view of the increased production this year and also the chances of more incomes to the farmers, this gap even if it is left open is bound to be bridged and will lead to a revival of the economy both in industry and in agriculture in the long run. It has been a very welcome thing that agricultural research has been given a special consideration. Agricultural development allowance has been allowed to various concerns and user industries. This is the first time that besides the university extension services which are also very poorly financed, there are some other resources which have been found whereby research may be encouraged from the funds available from those sources. I am referring especially to the producers and the farmers in the shape of implements, seeds, fertilisers and pesticides. In the Punjab, we have already achieved very good results from the high-yielding varieties, especially in wheat. In food production I am afraid that Punjab is going at a very fast pace, and the time is not far off when there may be surplus production, and we will have to face the problem of storage, the problem of having more silos, and ultimately when there is a very limited market due to a small one State single zone, there will be some sort of unrest when it affects the price level also. So, I would request the Deputy Prime Minister to keep this in view. We are going forward with quick research on high yielding varieties and there is bound to be a surplus which it would not be easy to manage unless it goes through the system of well planned and profitable procurement to Central stocks or other States. There has been recently a lot of discussion on various party platforms about the zonal system, and in my own opinion, Punjab is a very small State as compared to other States to be a single State zoned because it was already

half after partition in 1947, and later on it was further partitioned into four parts and now it is only a small territorial unit, but due to the efforts of the farmers there will be a surplus and we will have to look to this at some later stage.

I want to draw your attention also to another controversial matter, this unnecessary expenditure burden of the Union Territory of Chandigarh. I spoke about it last time also. Chandigarh still continues a Union Territory without any arbitration from the Centre or any other machinery being devised to decide its future. The cost of its administration has gone up to Rs. 7 crores this time and this can be easily saved if the Union Government took steps to decide its future.

Originally it was built as the Capital of Punjab and all the buildings were built on the advice of the Central Government under one consideration that at one time the States of Pepsu, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and some adjoining areas would be merged into one State and that Chandigarh would be a central place for the Capital, but in spite of that the reverse action took place, and now the future of this city which we started with bright hopes is uncertain because we have yet to decide as to which side it will go.

It is a very anomalous position that in this Capital we have three Heads of State, the Governor of Haryana, the Governor of Punjab, the respective secretariates, and the Chief Commissioner of Chandigarh. We all occupy rented buildings, we are the tenants of the Government of India. It is a very unheard of thing. Chandigarh is surrounded by Punjab on all four sides, like West Berlin which belongs to West Germany though surrounded on all sides by East Germany. It is an identical case. Punjab being a border state, the capital should be as far removed from the border as possible and therefore proper consideration should be shown to Punjab State. Because of the lack of any

[Shri G. S. Dhillon]

final decision on this town, why should the Central Government spend Rs. 7 crores on it? It is a strange position. There are some institutions in Chandigarh. The University of Punjab was brought from Lahore to Solan and from Solan again it was shifted to Chandigarh. In the course of many years, we built up this university on the basis of one unit State. Now, there are four States: Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and the Union Territory of Chandigarh. It is being financed by the four States and yet it is a Central University. I happen to be an old member of the Senate and also a Syndicate and associated with law faculty for sometime. I am very much interested in the future of this university.

Now, immediately after the recent reorganisation of the State, Himachal which had Punjabi as the second regional language substituted it by Urdu. You can imagine when you speak to Dr. Karan Singh. Punjabi dialect is the language of the hill areas; he speaks such good Punjabi and it is spoken by all the hill people. Himachal replaced it by Urdu. In Punjab University, we have so many interests clashing: Punjab for Punjabi, Himachal for Urdu and Haryana for Hindi and Chandigarh Union territory being bilingual; there are other conflicts also such as sectional and regional and communal and conflicts of interests of the State. Something must be done to decide about them, about the future of this university, its status and inclusion in one of these States. The University at Patiala and the Kurukshetra University in Haryana are both non-affiliating while the Punjab University is an affiliating university. If at all it has to be kept in the Union Territory, serious thought should be given to the future of this university. If the universities at Patiala and Kurukshetra are to be kept as non-affiliating universities, Punjab University must go to Punjab State and other States should be allowed to have an affiliated university of their own. Himachal can have it at Simla and Haryana can have it at the of their

choice. That is the problem that has arisen out of the political reorganisation of Punjab. I was personally opposed to the reorganisation of the State of Punjab and perhaps I was the only victim of the fury of the protagonists of linguistic partition. Reorganisation of Punjab has done no good to any of the States. On the other hand, we are experiencing political instability in that area. Immediately after the reorganisation, the instability was so much that the people of Kangra and Kulu who got merged with Himachal Pradesh started feeling that they committed a blunder. I cannot say whether the M.Ps. here will bear me out. I met some of my old friends who were members of the legislature. They said so. The Haryana people meet us every day. They had the experience of President's rule, and now Punjab is heading towards that.

18 Hrs.

SHRI NAMBIAR: In that both will be united: Haryana as well as Punjab.

MR. SPEAKER: There are two separate Governors.

SHRI G. S. DHILLON: Well, there is the classic instance of Speakership as we experience in West Bengal and Punjab. If it goes on like this, a time is coming when we have to realise our folly.

Then, I want to say a few words about the border areas that exist in Punjab. We are the only people in the North Indian State which bore the brunt of the last war, and when I go to the other parts of India, I am seeing that most parts of the Indian continent are unaware of it.

18.1 Hrs.

STATEMENT RE: ASSAULT ON THE JUDGE OF SUPREME COURT

MR. SPEAKER: Just one minute, Mr. Dhillon. I heard a very bad news which one hon. Member has brought to my notice: some judge in the Supreme Court has been stabbed in the court. Now that the Home Minister has come, the House would like to know if he has any information to give and likes to say something.