

[श्री साधू राम]

और समय आप दें ताकि मैं इस सारे बयान की सही तस्वीर आपके और हाउस के सामने पेश कर सकूँ।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA): Sir, the Home Minister had informed the House on April 2, 1969 that the Shankaracharya of Puri had, while speaking on March 29, 1969 at the International Convention of World Hindus at Patna, stated that untouchability was not wrong. The Home Minister had also assured the House that the question of prosecuting Shankaracharya under the law would be taken up with the State Government.

2. Government have obtained legal advice regarding the actionability under law of the speech delivered by the Shankaracharya. We are advised that the speech coming as it did from a person of the position of the Shankaracharya and delivered in a conference of Hindus constituted an encouragement to the practice of untouchability, and was accordingly punishable under section 7(1) (c) of the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955.

3. The Bihar Government were advised to examine the authentic text of the speech with a view to launching a prosecution. They have reported that the police are instituting a case under the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955 and section 153-A. I.P.C., and are taking up investigation immediately.

4. The police have registered and are investigating a case under Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955 in respect of the statements in the same strain made by the Shankaracharya in Delhi on 8th April.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Rohtak): But he has not been arrested.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: After the investigations are over, that will be seen.

SOME HON. MEMBERS *rose*—

MR. SPEAKER: We have already spent four or five hours on this.

SHRI S. KUNDU (Balasore): The prosecution is going on. Government have to come out with a statement why he has not been arrested.....\*\*

MR. SPEAKER: No, no. Nothing will be recorded. He should not get up like this and make such observations. It is not at all proper. I am not going to allow any further discussion.

SOME HON. MEMBERS *rose*—

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order..... (*Interruptions*) That has not been the practice all along. I am not allowing anybody to make any observation now.

12.30 hours.

FINANCE BILL, 1969—*contd.*

MR. SPEAKER: We have spent about 5 hours 25 minutes already on the Finance Bill and a balance of 4 hours and 35 minutes remain. The Deputy Prime Minister will have to reply sometime in the evening. I suggest that he may reply at about 6 O'clock in the evening; he will take about 35-40 minutes and then we have half an hour discussion also. We shall take up clause-by-clause consideration tomorrow; four hours are allotted for it and one hour for the third reading.

SHRI RANGA (Srikulam): Would you be good enough to give a little more time for the clause-by-clause discussion?

MR. SPEAKER: The Business Advisory Committee is making today. If you want to extend the time by half an hour or one hour we can discuss it there. The Committee meets at 3.30 and we can consider these things there.

Shri Achal Singh may continue his speech.

\*\* Not recorded.

श्री अचल सिंह (आगरा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं भारत की आर्थिक स्थिति के बारे में कुछ प्रकाश डालना चाहता हूँ। भारत एक कृषि प्रधान और गरीब देश है। हमारे यहाँ प्रति वर्ष देश की आय करीब 30,000 करोड़ रुपये की होती है। इसमें 15,000 करोड़ कृषि से होती है। मैं पिछले सत्रह बरसों से देख रहा हूँ कि हर वर्ष टैक्स बढ़ा दिये जाते हैं और अब वे असह्य हो गये हैं। भारतवर्ष की आबादी 55 करोड़ है और हमारा बजट करीब 3500 करोड़ रुपए का है। इस हिसाब से करीब 60 या 65 रुपये फी आदमी टैक्स पड़ता है, जबकि हमारा देश बहुत गरीब है।

मेरा सुझाव है कि अगर हमारी पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग को ठीक ढंग से चलाया जाये, तो हमें टैक्स लगाने की जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी, बल्कि उससे हमारा बजट सरप्लस हो सकता है। हमारे देश में करीब 80 पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग हैं, जिन पर 3500 करोड़ रुपया लगा हुआ है। इस वर्ष उनमें ३५ करोड़ रुपये का घाटा दिखाया गया है, हालांकि 700, 800 करोड़ रुपये का फायदा हो सकता है।

इसी प्रकार रेलवेज में करीब 3500 करोड़ रुपया लगा हुआ है। पिछले दो बरसों में रेलवेज में घाटा दिखाया गया था और इस साल 110 लाख रुपये का फायदा दिखाया गया है। रेलवेज में एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को अधिक दक्ष बना कर और फिजूलखर्ची को कम करके हमें उससे 700, 750 करोड़ रुपए की आय हो सकती है। हमने देखा है कि ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के जमाने में रेलवे से काफी आमदनी होती थी और वह उससे काफी रेवेन्यू पैदा करती थी।

अगर हम देश में समाजवाद स्थापित करना चाहते हैं, तो इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि हम घाटे में काम करें, जबकि हमारे देश में जो 75 बड़े-बड़े प्राइवेट कनसर्न्स हैं, वे करोड़ों रुपये पैदा कर रहे हैं और 25 परसेंट

से लेकर 50 परसेंट तक मुनाफा कमा रहे हैं। इस स्थिति में क्या वजह है कि हमारी पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग नुकसान उठा रही हैं? समाजवाद तो तभी हो सकता है, जब हमारे कार्य और व्यवहार में नैतिकता हो। हमारे बड़े-बड़े सरकारी कारखानों में ग्रीवरहैड एक्सपेंसिज बहुत ज्यादा हैं और करप्शन है, जिसकी वजह से उनमें बजाय फायदे के नुकसान होता है। आज कुछ लोगों की ओर से कहा जाता है कि बैंकिंग आदि कुछ और उद्योगों को भी सरकार अपने हाथ में ले ले। अगर ऐसा किया गया, तो उनमें भी घाटा हो सकता है।

इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि या तो पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग को ठीक ढंग से चलाकर उनसे फायदा कमाया जाये और या उनको ठेके पर दे दिया जाये। अगर हम रेलवेज को ठेके पर दे दें, तो वे 15, 20 परसेंट मुनाफा दे सकती हैं और भारत की गरीब जनता को काफी राहत मिल सकती है, जिससे ज्यादा टैक्स लगाने की जरूरत ही नहीं रहेगी।

जहाँ तक छुआछूत का सम्बन्ध है, वह एक बहुत बड़ी बीमारी है, जिसको दूर करने के लिए महात्मा गांधी ने अपनी जान की बाजी लगा दी थी। सब लोगों के सम्मिलित प्रयत्नों का नतीजा यह है कि आज शहरों में छुआछूत खत्म हो गई है। हाँ, गाँवों में अभी भी वह मौजूद है। इस सम्बन्ध में जो कानून बने हुए हैं, उनके अन्तर्गत हम छुआछूत के विरुद्ध उचित कदम उठा सकते हैं। जहाँ तक शंकराचार्य का सम्बन्ध है, उन्होंने दो हजार वर्ष पुराने शास्त्रों का हवाला देकर छुआछूत का समर्थन किया है। लेकिन आज की स्थिति में हमने अपने संविधान के अनुसार काम करना है।

आज से 2,500 वर्ष पहले भगवान् महाबीर ने छुआछूत के खिलाफ आवाज उठाई थी। उन्होंने बताया था कि मनुष्य मात्र एक है और अगर कोई ऊँचा-नीचा है, तो वह अपने कर्मों से ऊँचा या नीचा होता है, न कि अपनी जाति के कारण। जिस प्रकार हमने भगवान् बुद्ध की

[श्री अचल सिंह]

जन्म-शताब्दी मनाई है, उसी प्रकार हमें भगवान् महावीर की पच्चीसवीं निर्वाण-शताब्दी मनानी चाहिए और उसका फायदा उठाकर अहिंसा, सत्य और प्रेम के पक्ष में और छुआ-छूत के विरुद्ध प्रचार करना चाहिए। हमें जनता में यह प्रचर करना चाहिए कि सब लोगों को मानवता और "जीओ और जीने दो" के सिद्धान्त का पालन करना चाहिए और मानव मात्र के साथ वही व्यवहार करना चाहिए, जो कि हम अपने साथ चाहते हैं।

हमारे देश में ला एन्ड आर्डर की स्थिति बहुत बिगड़ गई है। हम देखते हैं कि देश के सभी भागों में कत्ल होते हैं और डाके पड़ते हैं, जिससे जनता बहुत भयभीत है और अपने-आप को सुरक्षित नहीं पाती है। अगर हमने देश में डेमोक्रेसी को कायम रखना है, तो हमें ला एन्ड आर्डर को बनाये रखना होगा। खास तौर से मध्य प्रदेश, उत्तर प्रदेश और राजस्थान में ला एन्ड आर्डर की स्थिति बहुत खराब है। हम देखते हैं कि वैंस्ट बंगाल में जो राज्य सरकार ला एन्ड आर्डर को कायम रखने के लिए जिम्मेदार है, वही वहां पर हड़ताल कराती है। वहां पर दुर्भाग्यवश चार आदमियों की डेथ हुई और उसको लेकर वहाँ की सरकार ने तमाम स्टेट में हड़ताल कराई और सारे कारोबार को बन्द रखा गया, जिससे बीस, पच्चीस करोड़ रुपये का नुकसान हुआ। इस प्रकार की गैर-जिम्मेदार सरकार किस तरह एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन चला सकती है? इसलिए केन्द्र को सावधानी और मजबूती से काम लेना चाहिए, ताकि आइन्दा इस तरह की बातें न हो सकें।

MR. SPEAKER: There should be some time-limit. What is the use of your simply going on? The points that you are making about Mahatma Gandhi, Mahavir, etc., are very good points, but they do not fit in with the Finance Bill. Please conclude within two minutes.

श्री अचल सिंह : मुझे यह कहना है कि हमारे देश का नैतिक पतन बहुत हो गया है और जब तक हमारे देश में नैतिकता नहीं

आएगी प्रजातन्त्र हमारे यहां कायम नहीं रह सकता है। इसकी वजह से हम देखते हैं कि हमारे देश में सम्प्रदायवाद, जातीयता, भाषा-वाद, बाउंड्रीज़ का सवाल, पानी का सवाल, यह सब सवाल रोज़ खड़े होते रहते हैं और आए दिन स्ट्राइक होती है, घेराव होता है और एक किस्म की अव्यवस्था पैदा की जाती है जिससे कि हमारे देश का पतन होता है और काफी नुकसान होता है, तोड़-फोड़ होती है, करोड़ों रुपये का नुकसान स्टेट का और सेंटर का तोड़फोड़ की वजह से होता है। तो जब तक कि हम अपनी ला एन्ड आर्डर की व्यवस्था को नहीं सुधारेंगे उस वक्त तक हम अपने प्रजातन्त्र को कायम नहीं रख सकेंगे।

अभी हाल में राष्ट्रपति जी ने 26 जनवरी को एक सन्देश दिया था। उसमें उन्होंने अपील की थी सारे देशवासियों से कि उनको नैतिकता को काम में लाना चाहिए और खास कर विद्यार्थी और नवयुवक-वर्ग से उन्होंने अपील की थी क्योंकि आज का 20-25 वर्ष का युवक या विद्यार्थी जो है उसको नहीं मालूम है कि किस तरह से हमने आजादी प्राप्त की है। उनमें आज बड़ी हलचल है और वह गलत राजनीतिक पाटियों के हाथ में पड़कर तमाम तोड़फोड़ की कार्यवाहियों में पड़ते हैं। तो हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने उनको सन्देश दिया है कि उनको अपने भविष्य के बारे में सोचना चाहिए और भविष्य को बनाना चाहिए। जो काम भी वह करें राष्ट्र के हित में करें। हम देखते हैं, एक तरफ जापान, जर्मनी, इंग्लैंड आदि के जो नवयुवक हैं उनके अन्दर कितनी देशभक्ति होती है जब कि हमारे नवयुवकों में और विद्यार्थियों में देशभक्ति का नाम तक नहीं है। बगैर देशभक्ति के हम आजादी को कायम नहीं रख सकते। देशभक्ति और मातृभूमि की भक्ति होना बहुत जरूरी है और वह तभी हो सकता है जब हममें चरित्र और नैतिकता हो।

मन्त्री महोदय से मैं यह अपील करूंगा कि टैक्सों में ज्यादा बढ़ोतरी न करें और साथ-

साथ में उन्हें धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि पर्मिपंग सेट का टैक्स और पोस्टेज टैक्स उन्होंने कम किया है। उसका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। दस हजार से पन्द्रह हजार तक जो टैक्स रखा है वह बहुत ज्यादा है। रुपये की वैल्यू आज दो आने रह गई है तो इस वक्त जो टैक्स मध्यम श्रेणी पर आता है वह बहुत ज्यादा आता है। इसलिए मैं चाहूँगा कि इसको कम करें। इसके अलावा प्रिजर्वेशन आफ फूड पर 10 परसेंट आपने टैक्स रखा है। जितने सामान इंडस्ट्री में लगते हैं सब पर सेल्स टैक्स और एक्साइज लगता है तो यह डबल टैक्सिंग हो जाता है। इसलिए मैं यह चाहूँगा कि जो यह दस परसेंट टैक्स आपने रखा है, उसमें जो पचास हजार तक की छूट दे रखी है, यह सीमा बहुत कम है, इसको डेढ़-दो लाख तक होना चाहिए। इसी तरह से जो काश्त करते हैं उनमें डेढ़ लाख तक जिनका असेसमेंट है इंडिविडुअल, और दो लाख तक जिनका असेसमेंट है ज्वाइंट फेमिली वाले, उनको एग्जम्पशन दिया है। तो इससे वैल्यू-एशन में काफी भ्रूण्ट पड़ सकती है। मेरा सुझाव है कि इंडिविडुअल केसेज में जिनकी काश्त 30 एकड़ तक हो उनको और ज्वाइंट फेमिली वाले को 40 एकड़ तक एग्जम्पट किया जाय।

**SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam):** Sir, while presenting the budget for this year, the Finance Minister said that he was performing the traditional role of a sutradhara. For a task that is harsh and hard, he made a departure from the usual practice in previous years and tried to bring in some humour this year which I think will be appreciated. The only relief, he could give was words of wit and humour. If he had given some tax relief to the common man, his wit and humour would have been appreciated more. But as he went on with his script in the financial drama that is being enacted, it became evident that he was not only the sutradhara, but also the Director, the Producer, the play-back singer, the hero and in the climax scene, by putting harsh taxes, he proved the villain also,

**SHRI THIRUMALA RAO (Kakinada):** DMK knows about cinema also?

**SHRI SEZHIYAN:** As Shri Thirumala Rao says, of course, DMK people know about cinema, but the Finance Minister has become a sutradhara and the Congress people are acting in the political drama of this country in many double roles.

As the drama was unfolded by the sutradhara, it became a tragedy for the common man. When I say this, not only the present Finance Minister but all the Finance Ministers who preceded him had made this climax coming to the tragic circumstances. Sir, 'tragedy' is defined as one that becomes inevitable and there is no turning back. Therefore, in this drama he has also a role to play. Of course, I do not blame the present Finance Minister, because the drama has been a continuing one since the Government of India took upon itself the planning affecting the country's destiny.

The Budget and the Finance Bill represent the procedure of the financial policy of this Government. This Government has been in office continuously for the past twenty years. In 1950 when the first plan was drafted, this country has been given to follow certain basic principles on which this planned economic development should take place. At Avadi where the idea first originated it was the idea of "socialistic pattern" then the name was changed to "socialism." Yesterday also, I am glad to note the spokesman of the Swatantra Party said that he also believed in socialism, but his socialism was of some other sort, "socialism of Gandhiji" as he called it. He said that he did not want socialism that verged upon communism. Therefore, let us not argue upon words. The other day the Finance Minister resented when somebody said that it was a 'dragging budget, and so on. I do not want to give it any name, but it is a budget presented by him based upon some policy. The Congress Party and the Government have been following a policy of planned economic development for so many years. Instead of going into the name given for that policy let us see what have been the aims set forth for that economic policy. When they first began to undertake planned

[Shri Sezhiyan]

economic development in 1951, they set before themselves certain specific objectives with definite periods of time. There is nothing vague in it. Let us analyse how far they have succeeded in achieving those objectives in the definite periods laid down by them.

In 1950-51, when the First Five Year Plan was set rolling, some basic objectives were set forth in specific periods of time allotted for each. I have listed five of the important ones. One is doubling of real *per capita* income by 1970-71. The First Plan set forth that by 1970-71 the real *per capita* income of the people will be doubled. Of course, the target date was changed to 1975-76 during the Second Plan period. The second objective was reduction in the share of agriculture in the total working force, from over 70 per cent in 1950-51 to 60 per cent in 1975-76. The third objective was self-sufficiency in foodgrains; the fourth—reduction in inequalities in income and wealth and prevention of concentration of economic power and, the fifth, total cessation of foreign aid by 1975-76. These five objectives were set forth before the country and certain target dates were also given in 1950-51. I do not want to go into the colour, whether it is pink-socialism or red socialism, these are the objectives and we should see how far the government have subscribed to these objectives and fulfilled them.

Regarding the doubling of real *per capita* income in the country by about 1970-71, the First Five Year Plan in Chapter I said this:

"We regard the rate of development indicated as not only the minimum that the community will have to aim at over the next few quinquenniums but as something which must be expected; with planned conservation and utilisation of resources, it should be possible to double the *per capita* income in twenty years or so. Doubling the national income *per capita* in this period is by no means an over-ambitious target."

If we see the statistics provided by the government itself in 1967-68 the *per capita* income was only about 25 per cent above 1950 levels. Incidentally, that was

an year of bumper crops for which the government should be very thankful. At this rate, it is very doubtful whether the Government will ever be able to achieve the doubling of the *per capita* income as set before the country.

The rate of growth during the first three plans was only 1.29 per cent (compound) as against 3.2 per cent rate of growth required to achieve the objective by 1975-76. If there had been a uniform rate of annual growth of 3.2 per cent during the first three plans, by 1975-76 our *per capita* income might have doubled. But, unfortunately, during this period the rate of growth has been only 1.29 per cent. If this trend continues, I am afraid it will take nearly 55 years to double the income; that is to say, from 1950-51 at this rate of growth only by 2005 A.D. we would have doubled the income. I do not know how many of us will live to see that day, even though I wish the Finance Minister long life.

Regarding the reduction of the share of agriculture in the total working force, which was the second target set forth by the Planning Commission and those who indulge in the economic development of this country, from 70 per cent to 60 per cent. It means that in 1950-51 seventy per cent of the people were employed in agricultural activities and if we want to industrialise, more and more people should be weaned away from agricultural activities; that was their aim and they wanted to reduce the share from 70 per cent to 60 per cent by 1975-76. Let us see how far they have succeeded. From the figures that have been given in the National Products series published in August 1967 by the Central Statistical Organisation, it is seen that in 1960-61 agricultural activities have absorbed as much as 73.21 per cent of the working force. In fact, there has been an increase instead of reduction. Therefore, I do not know how far they will achieve this target by that date.

Incidentally, justifying the excise duty that has been levied on fertilizers, the Finance Minister stated that agricultural activities have produced some prosperity and so the agriculturists should also join in paying for the development of the country. Nothing more can be far from

the truth than this because he himself has admitted somewhere that there have been continuous years of drought and hardship for these people and that only in 1964-65 and in 1967-68 there has been some relief for them. When they talk of green revolution,—they conveniently forget that the high-yielding varieties by themselves cannot deliver the goods. These high-yielding varieties cannot be grown unless we provide intensive use of inputs in terms of fertilizers, pump-sets, insecticides, etc. Of course, yesterday, he made an announcement that he is dropping the duty which was put on pump-sets. We should be thankful for that. But regarding fertilizers, I am afraid, still the condition is very bad in the country. On one hand we talk of green revolution and incentive to farmers, making available all the inputs, on the other hand, even at a slight improvement, we suddenly come with a heavy-handed taxation. In India, fertilizers are very costly as compared to other countries.....

**SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur):** The costliest in the world.

**SHRI SEZHIYAN:** I do not want to compare the rates in terms of money from one country to another. In the United States, 1 Kg. of fertilizer (NPK content) can be bought with 1½ Kg. of paddy; in Japan, 1 Kg. of fertilizer can be bought with 1.2 Kg. of paddy. But in India, 1 Kg. of fertilizer can be bought only with 5.2 Kg. of paddy.

**THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MORARJI DESAI):** That is not correct.

**SHRI SEZHIYAN:** If you want, I will give you the source also. You can contradict that. Probably, you will be giving one set of figures. I am giving another set of figures. I do not cook figures; I take them from some published statistics. When the figures become inconvenient, he can simply say these are not correct figures.

It is also said that when the national income goes on increasing, there is a share for agriculture also. Somebody said that out of Rs. 29,000 crores, a sum of Rs. 14,500 crores has been taken by agricul-

ture, and, therefore, the agriculturists should be able to pay something. But they conveniently forget that out of the total population, 70 per cent have to take 50 per cent of national income and the rest 30 per cent enjoy other 50 per cent. That means, if you compare between agricultural and non-agricultural section, non-agricultural section has an advantage of 2-1/3 times more than what is enjoyed by agricultural section. The per capita income in agriculture will even be less.

If you take the total domestic product of industries, the agricultural production, in value at current prices, in 1960-61, was Rs. 67,000 crores out of 13,525 crores which formed about 50 per cent. In 1966-67, it was Rs. 11,595 crores out of 24,389 crores, that is 40 per cent. There has been a slump. Even if you take constant prices, in 1960-61, the agricultural production in terms of value was Rs. 6,707 crores and in 1966-67, it was only Rs. 6,392 crores. I think, you will not contradict this figure. It has been taken from the estimates given by the Government, the C.S.O. itself. If you want, I can pass it on to you. Even at the constant price there is a slump in agricultural production; with increased acreage and with increased inputs, the total product value is less...

**MR. SPEAKER:** The hon. Member has got 10 or 12 more minutes. He may continue after Lunch.

The House stands adjourned for Lunch till 2.00 P.M.

13 hrs.

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

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

[**SHRI GADILINGANA GOWD** in the Chair.]

**FINANCE BILL, 1969—Contd.**

**SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirappalli):** It is a very serious matter, Sir. One of the

[Shri Nambiar]

Members of Parliament who was arrested and kept in jail, Mr. Chakrapani, is seriously ill and no medical aid is given. Doctors are not available in the hospital and only compounders are available:

SHRI E.K. NAYANAR (Palghat): I have just gone and met Mr. Chakrapani. Doctors are on leave. Only compounders are giving treatment.

SHRI S.M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Supposing he is down with fever. There is no doctor to attend. It should be brought to the notice of the Home Minister. He must have medical aid immediately.

SHRI SEZHIYAN: In the forenoon when I gave some figures of the comparative costs of fertilisers in various countries, the hon. Deputy Prime Minister said that the figures were wrong. I said I would certainly give him the source. Luckily during the lunch interval I was able to find the source. The figures I quote are usually taken from the figures provided by the Government. But here I took the relevant material from an article written by Shri M.S. Randhawa, Vice-Chancellor and Shri S.S. Johl, Professor and Head of Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Punjab Agricultural University. I thought the article written by them and the figures given by them would be correct because they are competent authorities. In the article written by them under the caption "New Agricultural Taxes and Green Revolution" published in *The Hindu*, Madras, dated 24th March, 1969 after the budget proposals had come out, they had opposed the taxation measures and said:

"In the US and Japan, for example, a farmer can purchase 1 kg. of fertilizer (NPK content) with a 5 kg. of paddy or 2.7 kg. of wheat and 1.2 kg. of paddy and 1.7 kg. of wheat respectively, while the Indian farmer has to pay an equivalent of 5.2 kg. of paddy or 3.7 kg. of wheat. This ratio is more favourable even in Pakistan, where a farmer has to pay the equivalent of only Rs. 85 kg. of rice for one kg. of fertilizer (nitrogen)."

This is what has been said by the Vice-Chancellor and the Professor of Agricultural

Economics of one of the leading agricultural universities in the country. I would leave it to the House to decide how far these figures are correct.

I would like to bring to the notice of the House what they have said further, in the end:

"Where we welcome and encourage agricultural development symbolised by the term 'green revolution', the Government policy must also be development-oriented so that the process of growth gets accelerated rather than getting dampened by such proposed tax measures."

They feel that the present tax measures will dampen the growth of agriculture in the country. They say further:

"For the purpose of mobilising additional resources, let us concentrate on measures such as checking evasion of existing taxes and improving upon the efficiency of the public sector undertakings rather than taxing the vitality of the growth points in the economy."

I hope I have satisfied the House and the Hon. Deputy Prime Minister on the figures that I gave regarding fertilizer. Regarding the other objectives set out by the Planning Commission such as self-sufficiency in foodgrains, reduction of inequality in income and wealth and total cessation of foreign aid by 1965-66, we all know how far these have been fulfilled. As years pass by, we are seeking more and more foreign aid, though we are not able to get the full quantum.

I want to take up another important aspect. The issue of Centre-State relations has figured during the budget discussion and the Deputy Prime Minister has categorically discredited the idea that the States are running to the Central Government for financial assistance. He said that it is not that the Government of India is becoming the parent; the Constitution has provided all these things and as long as the Constitution is there, he will do according to the Constitution. His contention is that there is no discrimination and everything has been done as per the Constitution. Here I can point

out that the figures prove otherwise. The financial assistance in the form of loans has over-shadowed the grants. Among the grants themselves, non-statutory or discriminatory grants have completely over-shadowed statutory grants. During the Third Five Year Plan the financial assistance given to the States comes to Rs. 5,600 crores. Out of these resources, the amount transferred through the medium of Finance Commission in the form of divisible taxes and statutory grants under Article 265 came to Rs. 1,488 crores. That means that 26.6 per cent of the total resources made available to the States have come through the medium of Finance Commission and the balance have been given either in the form of grants or in the form of loans either distributed through the Planning Commission or otherwise.

Therefore, there is vast scope given to discretionary grants. There is nothing statutory about it that they should pay it. Out of the Rs. 5,600 crores, only Rs. 1,488 crores have been given as per the statutory provision; the others have been under the head 'discretionary'. My point is that this gives a powerful handle to the Centre to influence the policies and programmes of State Governments.

If we go through the figures of revenue and expenditure of the States, they are put in a very disadvantageous position. The total revenue of the Centre in 1950-51 was Rs. 409 crores; at that time, all the States put together had a total revenue of Rs. 396 crores only. That means one Centre was equal to all the States put together. The total revenue in 1967-68 of the Centre was Rs. 2,739 crores and that of all the States together was only Rs. 2,377 crores, far less than that of the Centre. On the other hand, the total expenditure is booming and becoming larger and larger for the States. For all the States put together it was Rs. 393 crores in 1950-51; it went up to Rs. 2,427 crores in 1967-68. For the Centre, the corresponding figures of the corresponding years are Rs. 347 crores and Rs. 2,425 crores respectively. All the expanding sources of income have been given to the Centre while all the social and developmental and essential services have been given to the States.

For example, as we can see from the State budgets, the income has not risen as steeply as the expenditure. The total revenue has gone up from Rs. 409 crores to Rs. 2,700 crores, less than 7 times. For education, in 1950-51, all the States put together spent Rs. 60 crores while in 1967-68, they spent Rs. 500 crores. For medical and public health, the 1950-51 figure was Rs. 30 crores; now it is Rs. 200 crores. Debt services of the States in 1950-51 were of the order of Rs. 8.5 crores while in 1967-68, they have shot up to Rs. 400 crores and in 1968-69 to Rs. 455 crores. From Rs. 8.5 crores to Rs. 455 crores—you can imagine how burdensome debt services have become to the States.

The other day, the question was raised and the Deputy Prime Minister tried to answer that point. There is duplication of services at the Centre and in the States. One of the points raised here was that whereas medical services and agricultural activities are the sole subjects of the States, there are also duplicate departments at the Centre. To the extent it is possible to effect economy in these departments here and transfer the money saved to the States, they will be able to spend it on their departments.

Let me quote one example. Expenditure on expert and subordinate staff of the Central Ministry of Agriculture in 1963-64 came to Rs. 1.27 crores. If we take all the States together, who are responsible to co-ordinate this activity and produce more, it comes for the corresponding staff in various departments of Agriculture in the States to Rs. 1.44 crores. Here the Centre does not have a direct responsibility for this subject and yet it has a budget of Rs. 1.27 crores under this head while in the States which are in charge of this subject, the figure is Rs. 1.44 crores. Therefore, there are many sources where the Centre can effect economy and transfer those funds to the States.

Regarding the debt burden, I need not dwell on it because most of the other speakers have done so on various occasions. The gross debt of all States in 1951-52 was Rs. 445 crores; in 1968-69, it is Rs. 7032 crores. Out of the debt services of Rs. 455 crores in 1967-68, interest alone comes for all the States to Rs. 241 crores; so a large portion of the loan assistance from the Government



[Shri Sezhiyan]

of India to the States have to be re-directed towards repayment of loans and debt services.

If we take the State of Madras, in 1950-51, the amount repaid was only 4 per cent of the amount transferred by the Centre to the States. In 1968-69 it came to seventy per cent of the amount transferred from the Centre to the State. That means that only thirty per cent is in fact the net amount transferred to the State. The other day my hon. friend Mr. Manoharan also demanded, under article 263, the setting up of a Centre-State relationship council. There is another provision in the Constitution—article 274 which lays down that whenever there is taxation proposal or an amendment thereof likely to affect the interests of the states, they should be referred to the President before introduction. The Fourth Finance Commission while dealing with this aspect says on page 61:

“Article 274 of the Constitution would appear to have been purposefully framed to forestall and to remedy misunderstandings such as these.....An explicit provision for a recommendation by the President should normally entail some mechanism other than the usual briefing and advice from the concerned Ministry at the Centre.”

Whenever there is a proposal affecting the State allocation, they simply refer it to the Ministry concerned and get their consent. The Finance Commission further says:

“Thus, though procedural requirements of article 274 have all along been observed, such observance may be capable of further improvement in such manner as would more fully carry out the purpose of this article and would convey greater reassurance to the States. Contacts among States, and between the States and the Union Government, for discussion of matters of common financial interest ought to be much more regular than they have been in the past. Zonal meetings and meetings of the National Development Council are concerned with such a large number of important questions that they cannot always be expected to give to specific financial issues the close and detailed attention

which they deserve. The real intention of article 274, namely that all aspects of the impact on State Governments of financial proposals to be made Parliament should have been previously studied and approved by the President of the Union can be better served...”

For that they recommend a suitable machinery. I suggest that we should have a Centre-State Financial Council in which the Central and State representatives can meet and all these matters can be discussed.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (मधुवनी) : सभापति महोदय, आज सुबह हम लोगों को जो अर्मेडमेंट इन्होंने मूव किया है, वित्त मंत्रीजी ने, वह सरकुलेट किया गया है। उसमें जो संशोधन है मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो सेक्रेटेरियट की तरफ से फाइनेंस बिल जिसको लेकर कल आपत्ति हुई थी उसके मुताबिक संशोधन है लेकिन वित्त मंत्री जी ने कल कहा कि हकीकत में उनके द्वारा जो इंटीड्यूस किया हुआ वित्त विधेयक है वह पहला वित्त विधेयक है। दूसरा वह जो सेक्रेटेरियट के मुताबिक है लेकिन संशोधन जो आज सुबह हम लोगों को बांटा गया है उसे आप देखेंगे तो सेक्रेटेरियट के द्वारा जो वित्त विधेयक बांटा गया है उसके ऊपर संशोधन है। क्या मैं समझूँ कि पहला वित्त विधेयक जो उन्होंने पेश किया वह भी हमारे सामने है और सेक्रेटेरियट के द्वारा जो उसको कबूल नहीं करता वह भी हमारे सामने है? अब क्या मैं यह समझूँ कि जो उन्होंने कहा, जो पहला वित्त विधेयक पेश किया वह उनका है, सेक्रेटेरियट वाला नहीं? लेकिन आज जो संशोधन पेश किया है वह सेक्रेटेरियट का जो फाइनेंस बिल है उसके ऊपर है? इस पर मैं आपकी सफाई चाहता हूँ। वित्त मंत्रीजी इस पर कुछ कहें।

श्री नरेन्द्र कुमार खाल्से (बतूल) : आपकी आपत्ति क्या है? क्या संशोधन नहीं कर सकते?

श्री शिवचन्द्र झा : कल मंत्री महोदय ने कहा था कि जो विधेयक उन्होंने पेश किया था

वह अधिकृत है। लेकिन जो संशोधन आज आया है वह उनके विषेयक पर नहीं है, वह सेक्रेटेरियट के विषेयक पर है। उन्होंने वह विषेयक नहीं रखा है। बैसे मैं समझता हूँ कि दोनों उन्हींके हैं। जो सेक्रेटेरियट ने दिया है वह भी उन्हींका है और जो पहले दिया गया था वह भी उन्हींका है।

**श्री नरेन्द्र कुमार साल्वे :** इस पर आपत्ति क्या है ?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** We will see about it later. Now, Mr Sezhiyan may conclude his speech.

**SHRI SEZHIYAN:** As I was saying, the Centre—State Finance Council will be of large help in this, because it is important and necessary that in a federation the Central Government and the State Governments should function as partners and they should be in constant consultation in devising and adopting the financial policies for the planned development of the country.

One thing more and I have done. In Tamil Nadu, there is a serious drought, and the Prime Minister herself went there and saw the situation. A Central team has also gone there, and they have made a request to the Central Government. I hope the Deputy Prime Minister will give sympathetic and favourable consideration to these things. When there was some trouble in Kerala due to the food crisis, and whenever there was a surplus in the Madras State, we readily obliged the Kerala State. When the Centre spent Rs. 14 crores to appease the appetite of Hindi fanaticism, at least why don't you give something to appease the real appetite of the people of Tamil Nadu who are struck down by the harsh and severe drought conditions there?

The Finance Minister spoke, during the budget, of giving some appetisers. Appetisers are given to what or increase the appetite. We do not stand in need of that; we are really hungry. The people of Tamil Nadu want solid food and not mere appetisers which only create more appetite. The people of Tamil Nadu want something to satisfy their hungry stomach. They are

hungry. Appetisers will only accelerate the hunger. So, we want something solid to be done for the people of Tamil Nadu. I hope the Deputy Prime Minister will concede our demands and give a very sympathetic and favourable consideration to the demands of the people of Tamil Nadu.

Thank you.

**SHRI B.N. KATHAM (Jalpaiguri):** Sir, Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am very much concerned with the proposal to levy 10 per cent excise duty on certain categories of fruit and vegetable products. I am, however, glad that some of the items originally listed for the excise duty have been deleted but the fruit and vegetable processing industry should be relieved of the excise duty.

As you know, there are only 1,055 licensed units categorised as per the definition of Fruit Products Order, 1955. Out of these 1,055, 850 units are cottage scale and 70 of them are small scale units. 116 units have a production capacity up to Rs. 10 lakhs and there are only 10 large scale units with an annual capacity of over Rs. 10 lakhs. In fact, these 19 units can be said to be large scale units.

The small units are often managed and processed by the help of the family members with or without a few outside labourers. Sometimes, a few seasonal labourers are engaged on daily wages. Such seasonal workers often do not have their other means of livelihood. Therefore, these manufacturers are not capable of engaging the staff to fulfil the requirements of levy of an excise duty.

The cost of preserved fruits and vegetables has been on the increase particularly after the decontrol of sugar when the industry has been asked to purchase sugar from the open market. The high cost of sugar, citric acid, tin, bottles, packing materials as well as the uneconomic production levels of the majority of units practically have not left any margin for absorption of excise duty by the industry. You know that any increase in the price of the product will largely restrict the market and create consumer resistance. In that case, the manufacturers will be bound to cut the purchase price of fruits and vegetables. Therefore, the excise duty

[Shri B.N. Katham]

actually will not be collected from the consumers of these products as intended by the Government but from the producers of fruits and vegetables who will be ultimately adversely affected.

You will appreciate, Sir, that this fruit and vegetable processing industry is an infant industry. Therefore, it requires sympathy and needs assistance from the Government to develop this industry. You will realise that this industry has been already paying excise duty indirectly by using exciseable items like sugar, citric acid, and chemicals, etc. Originally this fruit-preserving industry was given sugar quota available at controlled price. Since the quota system has been withdrawn, the small units have been very much suffering on account of high price of sugar. Because of this trouble, many small units are about to be closed. If the proposed duty of 10 per cent is imposed, the industry will no doubt die soon. In our country, this industry is in its growing stage, its teething trouble is not yet over. Therefore, the proposed duty should be dropped if the Government desire to save this industry.

With regard to the duty on fertilisers, I agreed with other friends that the burden of this duty will have to be borne by all classes of farmers, poor and rich. It will hit hard the poor cultivators. Therefore, I oppose the proposed excise duty on fertilisers.

With these words, I support the Finance Bill.

**SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai)** Sir, I do not want to go into the small concessions, the small mercies, shown by the Deputy Prime Minister in his speech yesterday. The total concessions given do not amount to more than Rs. 5½ crores, while the enhancement is of the order of more than Rs. 127 crores. I would like to deal with certain policies underlying this budget. I will give some illustrative examples to show where the country has landed itself today due to the policies which the Government of India have been pursuing ever since independence.

22 years after independence, our country is still depending on foreign collaboration

for technical know-how for developing Indian industries. It is known that when we go into foreign collaboration, the cost of the project, the cost of construction, the cost of materials, the capital base, is at least 40 to 50 per cent more than what it would be if we had not gone in for foreign collaboration. Is there any wonder, therefore, that our goods are not today competitive in the world market. When the capital base itself is inflated to the tune of 40 to 50 per cent, naturally it goes into the cost of production and our commodities are not competitive in the world market. So long as we depend on foreign technical know-how, I do not think we are going to become competitive in the world market.

Take oil refineries. Yesterday Mr Ashoka Mehta was waxing eloquent about the need for entrusting offshore drilling to foreign companies, because we have not got the technical know-how for it. He conceded that after three or four years we may be able to develop it, but to get quick results we must be prepared to entrust it to foreign companies. That is what he said. In 1951, we allowed Burmah-Shell, Caltex and other companies to start their refineries in Bombay.

The Burmah-Shell was licensed to produce two million tonnes. ESSO was licensed to produce 1.90 million tonnes. May I know from the Government whether it is not a fact that today both Burmah-Shell and ESSO are producing not two million tonnes and 1.90 million tonnes but Burmah-Shell is producing 3.5 million tonnes and ESSO 2.50 million tonnes and the Government is not taking any action whatsoever? If any Indian entrepreneur had exceeded the target.....

**SHRI S. KANDAPPAN:** They are doing it with their permission.

**SHRI P. RAMAMURTI:** They are not doing it with their permission. They have not been permitted to do that.

**SHRI SRINIBAS MISRA (Cuttack):** Not officially permitted, that is all.

**SHRI P. RAMAMURTI:** That is a different matter. If they have been unofficially permitted, why was not Parliament

taken into confidence? This is the type of pressure that these oil companies are bringing to bear upon Government.

After all, we also know that the Oil and Natural Gas Commission, our Indian engineers and our Indian scientists are not as poor a stuff as is imagined. They have been able to develop their own designing. As a result of their own designing we put up our own refinery in Koyali and it was put up long before devaluation. Is it or is it not a fact that the cost of putting up the Koyali Refinery is less than half the cost at which Burmah-Shell did it in 1951? That is the sort of loot this country is being subjected to by these foreigners and this Government is allowing it continuously.

I can give instance after instance. Take our fertiliser organisation. Shri Asoka Mehta gave the policy. What is the policy that he had been following? I would like to know whether there is any change in policy. What are the basic feed stocks available in our own country for producing fertiliser? They are: coal, phosphates and pyrites. During the last 22 years what did this Government do in order to develop the technical know-how to help our Indian scientists and designers to use our own feed-stock for the production of fertilisers which is so much needed in this country? The Planning and Development Wing of the Fertiliser Corporation consisting of a number of patriotic engineers and scientists has developed the technology for it. They have developed the technology for producing fertilisers based upon coal. As a matter of fact, in Korba, in Mithapur, about six or seven years ago there was a project which was put up. After about Rs. 2 crores had been spent on that project it suddenly went away under pressure from the Americans and we are again putting up our fertilisers based upon naphtha. All the fertiliser factories in Goa, in Mithapur, in Mirzapur, Coromandel, Mangalore and Madras are based on naphtha and we have to continuously depend on it. We are also expending our fertiliser capacity with naphtha as the basic feed-stock. Within two years if our production capacity increases we will have no more naphtha and we will have to import naphtha from foreign countries. All these fertiliser factories we have put up on turnkey jobs, on turnkey

agreements with foreign collaborators so that Indian engineers and technologists cannot have anything to do with designing. It is all given to foreign collaborators. The technical know-how is that of the foreign collaborators with the result if they go away we will find ourselves in doldrum. This is what is happening.

We know as a matter of fact that our own designers have done well. It is a well known and admitted fact that the Indian designing capacity with regard to fertilisers has tremendously developed today.

Unfortunately, the Government of India do not give them an opportunity to put up our own things. FACT, for example, was willing to design and fabricate machinery for the purpose of putting up a plant for at least one million tonnes of production inside this country with Indian technology and design. But was it allowed to do that? What did Shri Asoka Mehta do all these years when he was the Minister in charge of Petroleum and Chemicals to develop and encourage our own technology? Were our technologists allowed to do these things?

Take another recent example. The Planning and Development Department has developed very recently a number of catalysts. After all, catalysts play a very important role in the production of fertilizers. There is an American Company, Catalysts & Chemicals Incorporated of USA which holds practically a world monopoly of catalysts. It produces nearly 80 per cent of the catalysts used in the fertilizer industry throughout the world. Our own designers and planners in the Planning & Development Wing of the Fertilizer Corporation have developed a number of special Indian catalysts, based entirely upon Indian raw materials, indigenous raw materials, for the production of which no foreign exchange whatsoever is required. For years they have been requesting the Government of India to licence the Fertilizer Corporation to put up a catalyst industrial plant. The Government of India procrastinated and slept over it. Of course, the pressure of the Americans was there. Ultimately, what do we find today? We find today that the Government of India have given a licence to the same American Company, Catalysts & Chemicals, Incorporated, USA, to set up a catalyst

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project in India for which crores of rupees have got to be invested. Of course, the foreign collaborators are there who will bring their own capital and machines at inflated cost. We have to pay 40 to 50 per cent of inflated cost for those machines because of this collaboration agreement. Yet, the Government have allowed that Corporation to put up its own factory in collaboration with FACT. This is the type of development that we are having in our country today and yet we are boasting that we are developing very fast.

Take, another example, the aeronautics industry. Countries like the USA, France and many Western European countries have produced their own aeroplanes, developing their own technology based upon the raw materials available in those countries, and it is only quite natural. In those countries aluminium is available in plenty. So, the aeroplane industry in those countries has been developed on the basis of aluminium. Unfortunately, we do not produce enough aluminium in our country. But we have got chromium in plenty. Did our Government ever think of asking our engineers and scientists to develop chromium technology so that chromium could be used for the manufacture of aeroplanes? Nothing of that sort was done. Yet, our own technologists have put up a pilot project and developed chromium technology and they have been asking the Government of India for the last five years to give them sufficient funds so that they can manufacture it on a commercial scale. But the Government of India would do nothing of that kind. They would have only collaboration agreements with foreign countries for the manufacture of aeroplanes. And, mind you, an aeroplane is not just an ordinary commercial vehicle. It is one of the most important things needed for the defence of the country. If for an industry which is important for the defence of the country you have to depend on foreign collaboration and the foreign countries for even the supply of the basic raw material then what is all this talk of this country being absolutely independent and self-sufficient?

I can quote many more examples. I can go on multiplying instances after instances. It is an admitted fact that because of collaboration agreements the cost of every

project goes up by 40 to 50 per cent because we have to buy even the raw materials from the collaborators. If after 22 years of independence we cannot develop our own technology with regard to many of these things, I cannot understand all this loud talk of our country being self-sufficient. Naturally therefore, as a result of this, there is a great, what we call, brain-drain. Many of our scientists, many of our youngmen, many of our engineers, many of our technologists, find no scope whatsoever for developing their skills. They do not find in this country an opportunity to utilise their knowledge, to utilise their capacity, and, therefore, you find hundreds of them leaving the country and going and seeking employment in other countries. This is what is happening in our country.

Today, we find our foreign debts mounting up, Rs. 4000 crores already, and it is said that at the end of the Fourth Plan, the net foreign aid will be half of what it is today. The net would mean minus what we have to pay them by way of loans well as interest charges. After all, during the next five years, loans and interest charge are going to pile up. They are going to be almost double of what they are today. Therefore, when you talk in terms of net, there is not going to be any change whatsoever in the total amount of drain as a result of foreign aid and interest charges. This is the policy we have been pursuing all these years.

Then, when we talk of Swadeshi, I am simply aghast at the tall talk of swadeshi and all that. Today, I would not call our Indian big businessmen as any entrepreneurs in the real sense of the term. They only know how to pull wires. They do not develop technology. Technical know-how is also borrowed. For any further development in technology, you pay for that in advance. That is what happens when you enter into collaboration agreements. Therefore, no technology is developed by them in the country. As for finding money, they do not find money. There are the banks. The people's savings in the banks are allowed to be utilised by them. Then, the foreign collaborators give them money. Our own governmental institutions, financial institutions, are there to give the money. What is the wonderful entrepreneurship about

them? They know how to pull wires, which official to catch hold of and whom to grease. This is all they are doing. And they are called wonderful entrepreneurs in the country. There is nothing wonderful about their entrepreneurship. As a matter of fact, under this dispensation, naturally, corruption is rampant. Black money is rampant. Why should it not be rampant? After all, the English proverb is a very good proverb. It says: Honesty is the best policy. It does not say, honesty is the best virtue. In the period of developing competitive capitalism, when the more honest person he was, the more custom he got and, therefore, the more honest he was, the more profits he made. So, honesty was the best policy at that time. But under this dispensation, when monopolies have grown, when licences are granted to monopolies—they alone produce a product and market it—the honesty is not the best policy for him but dishonesty is the best policy for him, because by dishonesty he is able to make a large amount of profit. That is what we are finding in our country today. Today, black-marketing and all these things are rampant. So long as black-marketing and black money is allowed to operate in the country, how can we ever put an end to corruption in governmental circles? How is it possible? It is absolutely an impossible thing.

The policies that are being pursued over a long period of years have landed us in tremendous crisis. We are not able to get out of the crisis. But the pity of it is that even today we are not able to think on fresh lines. We talk of swadeshi. I remember, in 1930, when we want and got ourselves beaten by picketing foreign cloth shops, a swadeshi certifying board was formed by the Congress. Pandit Motilal Nehru was the President of that board. I remember, at that time, the Buckingham & Carnatic Mills, Madras, applied to the swadeshi certifying board, because their cloth could not be sold in the market on account of the tremendous picketing that took place, for their cloth to be certified as swadeshi cloth.

They said, "We are manufacturing cloth in India; the Indian manufacturers are manufacturing it; the industry is situated in this country; therefore, give us this." But then Pandit Motilal Nehru said, "We cannot give you that certificate because, although

the workmen may be Indian workmen, the capital is that of foreigners and so long as foreigners continue to hold the majority of the capital shares, so long as the profits are allowed to be shipped out of the country, we cannot call it 'Swadeshi' at all." This was the position taken by the Indian National Congress movement in its struggle for Swaraj, in its struggle for Independence. But today all those days are gone. Today where is 'Swadeshi'? It is a commodity to be hunted and nowhere to be found in the country. Yet, today, those people talk in terms of Swadeshi and still go on allowing foreign collaborators to continue to come and depend upon foreign aid for the development of any technology in this country. Then where is our self-respect in this world? We go about everywhere begging for technology as if the Indian scientists cannot develop our technology. After all, there are the other countries in the world which have developed on their own. China may be our enemy, but let us learn a lesson from our enemy also if we have to develop. China did not depend upon foreign collaboration for developing its industries; it did not depend on anybody... (Interruption).

AN HON. MEMBER: On Russia.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: In the first five years there was some help, but they have not taken any help for the last so many years. Even there, they paid back every pie that they got. They did not go on begging the foreign countries to come and help them. But here is our country which is asking every country in the world for help—America, Britain, France, Germany, Soviet Union—, which is asking every country in the world, 'Come and help us; without your help we cannot go on'. This kind of continuous dependence upon every country in the world for our development is something which is sapping the vitality, sapping the morale of the developing youth, sapping the morale of our engineers, sapping the morale of our scientists; it is derogatory to the self-respect of the Indians. Therefore, I would ask the Government to think even now of changing these policies and if they do not think of changing these policies, the result would be that there would be tremendous frustration in this country and out of frustra-

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tion will arise all sorts of social discontent and social imbalance and you cannot blame the people if they take to all sorts of methods. This is what is happening in the country. Yesterday, for example, some 56 young men came here to present a petition to Parliament that they are unemployed. The problem of unemployment in this country is tremendously increasing and the only answer that the Government of India could give them was to send them to jail, to send them to the Tihar Jail. This is their policy. Are they going to succeed with this policy? No wonder that inside the Congress Party itself there are differences; when the deliberations were taking place the other day in Faridabad, they could not come to any conclusion. Mr. Morarji Desai presided over the Panel on Economic Policy. What was the final result? Nothing could be decided. All that they could do was to refer the whole thing to another All-India Congress Committee. They cannot come to any decision at all, because what decision can they come to? (*Interruption*) Here was, for example, the speech of the Congress President of the All-India Congress Committee; I should say that it does not distinguish the Congress Party from the Swatantra Party. I do not know what for Mr. Morarji Desai and the Swatantra Party are fighting with each other. Here I am reminded of a cinema fight. In cinema these people fight with swords; they are not real swords; they are swords made of card-board. This is just like that. A card-board sword fighting is going on between the Swatantra Party and the Congress Party, because, in effect, the policies of the Swatantra Party are being adopted day by day; the Congress have been adopting their policies. All this time they were shielding it, they were camouflaging it, but today the camouflage is not possible and, therefore, they say that even the public sector must go, the public sector is no longer useful. This is the speech of Mr. Nijalingappa, President of the All-India Congress Committee. Practically he says this. (*Interruption*) It means that, I am interpreting it. This is the interpretation. I do not find much difference between the philosophy of Mr. Nijalingappa and the philosophy of the Swatantra Party. Mr. Nijalingappa is an important guy; he is not an ordinary person. Therefore, I say that more and more the policies of the Congress

Party are converging into the policies adumbrated by the Swatantra Party. With these policies, I do not know whether these two Parties will one day coalesce. I will not be surprised if they come together. That is a different matter. It will be good if they coalesce. What I want to point out is that with these policies there is no reason, there is no wonder that our country is to-day in the midst of a deep crisis and you find all sorts of difficulties. You cannot give money to the States and the States will clamour for more and more. I do not want to go into that question because I do not have the time. As a result of all these policies you are hamstrung from all sides and as a result there is tremendous social discontent and social disability which will necessarily lead to political instability. After all, political instability is a reflection of social and economic instability that is growing in the country. Growth of unemployment and growth of instability of the job that the people are holding—all these are things reflecting the social instability and if this social instability continues, it leads to frustration for which this Government alone is responsible.

SHRI NARENDRA KUMAR SALVE (Betul): Mr. Chairman, Sir, when the Finance Minister assumed the reins of office two years ago the task that lay ahead of him of pulling the economy of the country which had been really in an abyss of morass for quite some time was a task which was as much delicate as it was gigantic. In fact I submit, Sir, the task was likely to be utterly thankless if he had failed in the same. On the one hand he had to introduce and adopt rigorous measures to bring about discipline in the fiscal and monetary policies and programmes and plans and on the other hand it was imperative and necessary for him to build up a very strong infra-structure of incentives and confidence in the people and stimulate the economy towards its expansion and a boom. If an impartial and fair assessment was made of the performance of the Finance Minister, I have no doubt that it would be found that the endeavours made by the Finance Minister in the preceding two years are certainly quite commendable. There are tangible indications to which I will draw your attention which will prove the measure of success he has achieved in his performance. The first indication is

regarding the price stability. In 1968 the prices were stable. The wholesale price index receded to 205 as compared to 208 in the earlier year keeping 1952-53 as the base year. The second indication of the success he has achieved is the increased production and increased efficiency in productivity both in agriculture and the industrial sector and lastly, the heartening performance in the export sector is a tribute to the manner in which our economy has been handled. However, I immediately hasten to add that whatever be our performance, however much satisfied we may feel about our achievement in building our economy, it is extremely insignificant, it is extremely meagre, and generations will have to toil hard and put in arduous and assiduous endeavours to build up the economy and then alone it will be possible for us to improve and better the standard of the people in the village and in the Adivasi areas.

14.52 hours.

[SHRI R.D. BHANDARE *in the chair*]

Coming to the most controversial measure in the Finance Bill regarding the levy of the Wealth Tax on agricultural properties Sir, I respectfully and whole-heartedly endorse the policy, the decision, the enactment which the Finance Minister has taken in this Finance Bill. Lavish exemption has been announced by him yesterday which has ensured one thing that the poor and genuine agriculturist will be outside the ambit of the levy of the Wealth Tax. Only those who are investors in agriculture will be within the ambit of the mischief. I do not find, therefore, any justification whatsoever for not requiring the rich investors contributing to the exchequer so that renewed and vigorous measures can be made to help the poor agriculturist in successfully carrying out their Green Revolution.

You are a Constitutional lawyer yourself and you will appreciate my inability to be complacent with the Finance Minister regarding the constitutionality of this enactment.

Sir, my apprehension is based on a reported decision of the Supreme Court in the case of BANARSI DASS Vs WEALTH TAX OFFICER, Special Circle, Meerut,

reported in 1965 (56) ITR 244. In this case, the Supreme Court was considering the scope of entry 86 and entry 97 which is a residual entry in List of the Seventh Schedule in the Constitution.

On a careful analysis of the said judgement, one finds three salient findings emerging out of it. The first one is that it has been held by the Supreme Court that it is Entry 86 in the Constitution which covers levy of wealth tax. The second feature in the judgement is that any express exclusion in Entry 86 and Entry 86, as you are aware, excludes levy of wealth tax on agricultural land—would in turn establish the clear intention of the authors of the Constitution not to levy wealth tax on such excluded items; and finally, the third proposition which emerges from that judgement is that Entry 97 which is the residual entry cannot be fallen back upon to support the levy of wealth tax on an item which is expressly excluded in entry 86.

SHRI S. S. KOTHARI (Mandsaur): Which court decision is that?

SHRI NARENDRA KUMAR SALVE: Supreme Court decision in the case of Banarasi Das.

Therefore, the Government are now trying to fall back on Entry 97 which is a residual entry—Entry 86 having expressly excluded levy of wealth Tax on Agricultural land. In view of this position of the matter whatever may be the view of the Attorney General, I consider the measure most important, utterly imperative and necessary and therefore submit that the Finance Minister must not take any risk whatsoever because if ever the Supreme Court strikes down this enactment, it will not only mean very great blow to the prestige of all those who are behind this and support this measure, but then it might be too late to rectify the error, I, therefore, submit that the Finance Minister should not take this risk and to change the form for levy of wealth tax on agricultural properties, I would once again request the Finance Minister to consider my suggestion which I made in my budget speech, to include agricultural properties only for the purposes of rates. That will completely eliminate the trouble.

SHRI S.S. KOTHARI: It will make it more complicated.



[Shri S. Ramamurti]

**SHRI NARENDRA KUMAR SALVE:**

May be so, but it will be Constitutional. Which tax law is not complicated?

Coming to my next point about the levy on fertilizers, the Finance Minister yesterday announced that the levy on oil engines has been withdrawn by him. By the same process of reason and analogy, and philosophy, I hope he will also withdraw the levy on fertilizers. It is not a question of farmers affording this levy. The real question is that it is going to create an adverse, psychological impact on the farmers and we should do nothing which will impede the endeavours of the poor farmers in the process of Green Revolution.

Coming to the direct taxes, I referred to the enhanced levy of income-tax on person earning between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 15,000. I happened to point out that and the Finance Minister had given certain concessions to such employees who earned between 10,000 to 15,00 if they owned a motor-car, they would get some concession, by way of additional conveyance allowance. My clarificatory speech was misunderstood by my friends and well-wishers for impliedly justifying the enhanced levy. I find my critics are absolutely right. There is no justification whatsoever for enhancing this income-tax on assessee's earning between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 15,000/-. In fact, when I studied the figures of the tax burden borne by different sections of the assessee's, I found that it is not only irrational and thoughtless that we are not increasing the exemption limit but it is highly unwise. The position is this: On studying certain figures relating to the tax burden of those earning below Rs. 10,000. I find from the figures of the ARC on this very important aspect that in 1966-67 assessments to the tune of 47.65 lakhs were pending. From the figures of the Study Group of Income-tax of the ARC it is found that out of this, 36 lakhs assessments related to assessee's whose income was less than Rs. 5,000 and 6.5 lakhs related to assessee's whose income was between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000. Out of 47.65 lakhs assessments, from 42.5 lakhs assessee's the total tax expected out of this was not more than Rs. 20 crores, that means 4 per cent of the total realisations. The figures are startling. That means 89 per cent of the

assessee's pay 4 per cent of the tax and 11 percent of the assessee's pay 96 percent of the tax. This, in my respectful submission, clearly shows that it is a most unprofitable business for Government to tax people below Rs. 10,000. These figures are not a figment of my imagination: I have taken them from paras 2.5 to 2.7 of the Report of the Working Group on Income Tax set up by the ARC.

15 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the chair*]

So far we had canvassed that the exemption limit should be raised because it was only fair to the poor harassed taxpayer. If my figures are correct, I submit that to make it really profitable and worthwhile the exemption limit must be raised to Rs. 10,000. Then by a stroke 89 per cent of the assessee's are removed from the records of the income tax department.

AN HON. MEMBER: What is the amount involved?

SHRI NARENDRA KUMAR SALVE: Rs. 20 crores—4 per cent.

My next point is regarding the tendency on the part of assessing officers to over-pitch assessments and thereby cause considerable harassment to the assessee's. It is unfortunate that officers, who might themselves be very just and fair, have to be victims of the pernicious and vicious atmosphere which prevails in the department so much so that they cannot thrive without being utterly ruthless, unscrupulous and dishonest and make what I would call unconscionable assessments.

A rough idea of the criminal harassment of the department would be had if I were to read a few lines out of the placitum of two reported cases. The first one is reported in 1964 (52) ITR 637. This is a case where the departmental men organised a large-scale raid on the assessee's. When the validity of the raid was challenged in a court of law, this was what the Assam High Court was compelled to remark about the income-tax department:

“Action under 37 (2) was taken on the assessee's in spite of the fact that there were no charges of evasion in the

past and no materials were disclosed by the authorities which would give rise to a reasonable belief that documents would be found at the places searched. The search was conducted in a high-handed manner with the use of armed forces of police and a large number of documents were seized irrespective of whether they would be helpful to the inquiry.

"Held, on the facts, that the action taken under section 37 (2) was *mala fide*".

There is another case which came up before the Allahabad High Court, reported in 1967 (71) ITR 204, where the officers, despite repeated requests from the assessee, refused to give refund to the assessee by rectifying the order within the time-limit, in terms of sec. 35. After the expiry of the time-limit, they said 'Your refund is barred under limitation; we are not going to give it'. The assessee went to the High Court. The Commissioner of Income-tax instead of apologising to the assessee for causing such harassment raised the plea of bar of limitation. The High Court repelled his contention and directed him to return the money.

The real misfortune is that our tax laws have become so utterly drastic and punitive that it will be impossible to see a parallel in its severity in any tax law of any other country. But this hardship is only on the assessee without ensuring that there is a just and fair administration of the matter.

I hope the Finance Minister will take up seriously at least the two cases I have referred and immediately order suspension of the officers concerned and institute an inquiry. I only hope that the plea that there is an appeal pending would not be raised.

It is impossible for me to conclude without referring to one more matter. I do not know what the Finance Minister will have to say in this matter; I will certainly be glad to take my command from him in every other matter, but so far as tax laws are concerned, I would beg of him to give me the hearing which I deserve.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I am giving it.

SHRI NARENDRA KUMAR SALVE: I cannot conclude without referring to the penalty now contemplated under the Wealth Tax Act for delay in submission of return. This is exceedingly harsh to the point of being vindictive. I shall explain how it is so. This is not a penalty for concealment of income. There is no criminality involved for this default. It is purely a technical default in law. A certain return has to be filed; but it is not filed in time. It is not for concealment of wealth purpose therefore, that this penalty is proposed. If I were to point out an extreme case a lady had a property worth Rs. 95,000. She inherited another property worth Rs. 1.5 lakhs and in respect of that inherited property there was some dispute for five years. She failed to make a statement of return to the Wealth Tax Officer in respect of her property during the pending of dispute. Under the provision of the law the lady will have to pay for five years an aggregate wealth tax of only Rs. 2,500 and the penalty is going to be only Rs. 1,05,000. Is this just, or fair penalty for delaying a statement? For concealment I submit a person justifiably lose his entire wealth. I therefore, request the Finance Minister not to make the life of the tax payer in India any more miserable than what it is. People in civilised countries are reconciled to the dictum that tax and death are absolutely The Finance Minister must not improve upon that and compel his fellow countrymen to feel that there is no difference between the two.

There is a small couplet which I want to recite to the Finance Minister then I have done:

नहीं जुद्ध के मरजायें तेरी उल्फत में,  
यही तो मौत है कि जीना हराम हो जाये।

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंबेर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा भाषण शुरू करने के पहले जैसा कि आप लोगों के द्वारा मुझे आदेश दिया गया है बजट का रहस्य खुलने के बारे में मैं अपना लिखित बयान पेश करूंगा और उसके बाद मुझे जो भाषण करना है, मैं करूंगा, क्योंकि अलग से लिया जाता तो ढाई घंटे की इस पर

[श्री मधु लिमये]

बहस होती। इसलिए अध्यक्ष महोदय ने मुझसे कहा है कि वह बयान पढ़ लूँ और उसके बाद जो भाषण मुझे फाइनेन्स बिल पर देना है, मैं यह दूँ।

“बजटवाले दिन दोपहर को श्री नन्दू सोमानी ने हममें से कुछ सदस्यों को अपने निवास स्थान पर खाने के लिए निमन्त्रित किया था। इस भोजन के दौरान मैं बम्बई से एक टेलीफोन आया जिसे नन्दू के पिता जी ने सुना। उन्होंने हमको बतलाया कि बहुत से बजट प्रस्ताव लोगों को पता लग गये हैं। फिर उन्होंने चीनी व खाद आदि पर लगाये जाने वाले कर के बारे में विशेष जिक्र किया। मेरे और नन्दू जी के अतिरिक्त जो संसद सदस्य वहाँ उपस्थित थे, उनके नाम हैं—श्री एस० एम० जोशी, श्री आनन्दन नाम्बियार और श्री सुरेन्द्र तापरिया।

2. बम्बई के सूती कपड़े के सूत्रों से मुझे पता चला कि कुछ दिन पहले वित्त मंत्रालय के कुछ बड़े अधिकारी बम्बई गये थे और उन्होंने मूल्य के ऊपर आघारित शुल्क के (एडवलोरम ड्यूटी) के बारे में पूछताछ की थी। बम्बई के कुछ लोगों को इस बात का पता लग गया था कि कुछ प्रकार के कपड़ों पर उत्पादन शुल्क के तरीके में परिवर्तन करने की सरकार की इच्छा है।

3. शेयर बाजार की तेजी इस बात का फल था कि शेयर बाजार के कुछ लोगों को इस बात का पता था कि बजट प्रस्ताव कारपोरेट क्षेत्र के पक्ष में होंगे और बहुत सी सहूलियत चालू रखी जायेंगी जैसे कि विकास रिबेट का चालू रहना, सूती वस्त्र और जूट उद्योगों को प्राथमिकता की फेहरिस्त में सम्मिलित किया जाना, नये कारखानों को कर मुक्ति आदि-आदि। उनको यह भी पता था कि बजट प्रस्तावों में कम्पनियों पर वेलथ टैक्स लगाने का प्रस्ताव शामिल नहीं होगा जिसकी चर्चा एक अर्से से चल रही थी।

4. निम्नलिखित समाचार बम्बई के दो बड़े आर्थिक समाचार-पत्रों में छपे थे। यह उद्धरण पूर्ण नहीं है बल्कि केवल एक मिसाल के तौर पर है। इसी प्रकार की खबरें दूसरे अंग्रेजी और भारतीय भाषाओं के समाचार पत्रों में भी छपी हैं—

- (i) “The sugar market apprehends a rise in the excise duty on sugar.” (*Financial Express*, 26th February, 1969.)
- (ii) “There have been rumours for the past one or two days that New Delhi was likely to step up excise duty on sweets.” (*Economic Times*, 26th February, 1969.)
- (iii) “Fears of Excise impost on sugar lead to fresh spurt.”

.....Meanwhile, the sugar traders, who envisage the fresh impost have begun to buy the goods. The brisk purchases in the Bombay market on Tuesday were due to fears of an impost. The market received about 1,200 bags of sugar on Tuesday, bulk of which was immediately absorbed on such an apprehension.” (*Economic Times*, 26th February)

- (iv) “Excise on cotton cloth to be on ad valorem basis.” (*Economic Times*, 27th February, 1969)
- (v) “Prices of staple fibre yarns continued to rule firm here today on expectation that excise duty on fibre might be raised.” (*Economic Times*, 27th February, 1969)
- (vi) “Share market steady on eve of Central Budget.”

“.....There has been a spurt in the quotation of Century Mills by Rs. 9 to Rs. 680.50 in spite of rumours that there will be a modest increase in the excise duty on rayon yarn. It is felt that any new impost will not adversely affect the finances of rayon manufacturers because they will be able to pass on the additional incidence to the consuming industries.

National Rayon have also gone up by Rs. 4 to Rs. 489." (*Economic Times*, 28th February, 1969)

- (vii) ".....Sugar prices rallied to Rs. 365 a quintal here today on fresh purchases by squash manufactures caused by the hope of an increase in excise duty....."

- (viii) "Tax relief likely for mill modernisation"

".....It is also expected that the issue of according a priority status to the industry which has been pending for a long time, will be decided in favour of the (textile) industry.

".....The excise levy on cigarettes is expected to be raised further. Besides, a moderate increase in the excise duty on rayon yarns is also expected. Activity in the yarn market increased noticeably here today with the forward rate for viscose yarn shooting up substantially. Ready prices also moved up.

".....Sugar is also expected to attract an increased levy under the usual reasoning of 'mopping up' excise profits, it is felt..."

(*Economic Times*, 26th February, 1969)

5. वित्त मंत्रालय के एक बड़े पदाधिकारी ने ( जिसका नाम मैं नहीं लूंगा ) अपना मकान एक बड़े औद्योगिक गुट समूह को बहुत ही अधिक किराये पर दे रखा है। ऐसे मामलों में टैक्स आदि को बचाने के लिए कागजी और असली किराये में हमेशा फर्क रहता है। यह भ्रष्टाचार का एक स्पष्ट उदाहरण है। क्या ऐसे अफसरों को बजट सम्बन्धी गुप्त काम सौंपा जाना चाहिए जब कि वे बड़े व्यापारी लुटेरों के एहसान में रहते हैं।

6. यह सबको अच्छी तरह मालूम है कि केवल बजट प्रस्ताव ही लोगों को मालूम नहीं हुए, बल्कि इस बात का पता लग जाने से

कुछ बेईमान व्यापारियों ने चीनी, स्टेपल फाइबर आदि को जमा करके और बेच कर लाखों रुपया कमाया। ये व्यापारी वित्त मंत्रालय के सम्पर्क में हैं और उन्होंने इन बातों का पता उन लोगों से लगाया जिन्होंने बजट बनाया और जिनके हाथ में बजट की गुप्त बातें थीं।

7. बजट के पहले हुए चीनी के सौदों की इस दृष्टि से जांच करनी चाहिए कि इन सौदों की उत्पादन शुल्क सम्बन्धी बातों का दोनों पार्टियों पर क्या प्रभाव पड़ा। अधिकतर चीनी की दरों में कमी या बढ़ोतरी का प्रभाव बेचने वाले पर ही पड़ता है। मेरा मतलब उस चीनी से है जो मिलों से बाहर आने वाली हो। अगर इसका असर खरीदने वालों पर पड़े तो इसका साफ मतलब है कि खरीदने वालों को इस बात का पता था कि एडवलोमर वेसिस में परिवर्तन होने वाला है। क्योंकि इस प्रकार की खबर के बिना कोई भी खरीदार अपने डेक्रे के ग्राम आघारों में परिवर्तन से होने वाली जोखिम को नहीं उठायेगा।

8. गोला चीनी के बदले सौदे 25 से 28 फरवरी, 1969 के बीच इसी आघार पर सट्टे में किये गये थे जिससे कि चीनी पर और अधिक टैक्स और एडवलोमर ड्यूटी लगाने के प्रस्ताव का पहले से पता चलने का लाभ उठाया जाए जोकि 28 फरवरी को घोषित होने वाला था। खरीदारों की चीनी रु० 322,00 पर देने का प्रस्ताव किया गया जबकि मिल से बेचने का रेट रु० 335.00 था। वह प्रस्ताव इसी आघार पर था कि ड्यूटी में अगर कोई वृद्धि हुई तो उसे खरीदार से लिया जाएगा। उसी सौदे के विक्रेता द्वारा इस आघार पर रु० 336.00, रु० 337.00 और रु० 339.00 तक करार किये गये कि ड्यूटी का बोझ प्रथम खरीदार द्वारा उठाया जाए। प्रथम खरीदार को 14.00 या 15.00 से अधिक ड्यूटी में बढ़ोतरी की आशा नहीं थी और इसीलिए उसने चीनी को खरीदा और फिर बेचा परन्तु सौदे के

[श्री मधु लिमये]

आरम्भ करने वाले श्री गोकुलचन्द मुरारका को मालूम था कि 14.00 या 15.00 से कहीं अधिक ड्यूटी लगने जा रही है इसलिए उन्होंने 14.00 का बदला स्वीकार किया और 337.00 प्रति बोरा पर करीब 41.20 प्रति बोरा की दर से लाभ उठाया जिसकी ड्यूटी रुपया 70.90 थी ; बाद में ये सौदे 41.20 के बदले 15.91 जमा 14.00 यानी 29.91 पर तय किये गए ।

ये सौदे मुरारकाओं द्वारा कानपुर बाजार में विभिन्न कमीशन एजेंटों के जरिये किये गये जिनमें गोला मिल के आज कल के दो कमीशन एजेंट भी शामिल हैं। निम्नलिखित सौदे हुए—

हर दयाल नेवटिया, विहारीलाल नेवटिया एन्ड सन्ज, अपर इण्डिया कमीशन एजेंट (प्रा०) लिमिटेड तथा ए० एच० भिवांडीवाला एण्ड कम्पनी। इन्होंने श्री गोकुलचन्द मुरारका के खाते में तथा भारत टैक्सटाइल्स और लक्ष्मीनारायण अरुणकुमार में अपने खाते पर 139 बैगन्ज के सौदे किये। एक बैगन में 145 बोरे के हिसाब से कुल बोरे 20155 हो जाते हैं। इन 20155 बोरों पर साधारण तौर पर रु० 6,04,650 का मुनाफा प्रति बोरा रु० 30 के हिसाब से अकेले कानपुर में इन लोगों ने कमाया।

इसके अतिरिक्त, इस बात का भी संकेत मिलता है कि विरला ग्रुप और उनके साथियों को भी बजट प्रस्तावों का पता था। निम्नलिखित कारखानों ने 25, 27, 28 फरवरी, 1969 को चीनी हटा दी :

- (1) 4500 बोरे गोला कानपुर एजेंट के खाते में
- (2) 2000 बोरे बर्मन कानपुर एजेंट के खाते में
- (3) 1000 बोरे हरगांव कानपुर एजेंट के खाते में

(4) 8000 बोरे हरगांव, लखीमपुर और सिवहारा से मिल खाते में चालान किया—जयपुर, अहमदाबाद और कलकत्ता को।

मुझे पता चला है कि बजट के इस प्रस्ताव का रहस्य खाद्य मंत्रालय से इन मिलों को मालूम हुआ।

मैं पटल पर क्रिस्टल सुगर मिल डेलीवरी रेट पर एक वक्तव्य रख रहा हूँ।

यह केवल एक मिसाल है, एक केस स्टडी है। पूर्ण जांच से पता चलेगा कि इस प्रकार के सौदे बम्बई, कलकत्ता बाजारों में और भी बड़े पैमाने पर किये गये थे।

9. यह मेरी खबर है कि रिजर्व बैंक ने, वित्त मंत्रालय की सहमति से, सिद्धान्त रूप से बैंक रेट को कम करने का फैसला कर लिया था। मैंने बजट से पहले इस बात का कई मुख्य आदमियों से जिक्र किया था। यह खबर भी कुछ लोगों के पास पहुँच गई थी और यह बात ही शेयर बाजार में तेजी का आघार थी। मुझे खुशी है कि वित्त मन्त्री ने कुछ ताकत से काम लिया और इस बैंक रेट को घटाने नहीं दिया। 16 मार्च, 1969 के फाइनेन्सियल एक्सप्रेस ने अपने संपादकीय लेख में स्पष्ट रूप से कहा है कि इसी मनाई के कारण शेयर बाजारों में कीमतें गिरने लगीं।

10. अगर शेयर बाजारों में हुए बजट से पहले और बाद के सौदों का अध्ययन किया जाए और इस सम्बन्धी कागजों और किताबों और दस्तावेजों को पकड़ लिया जाए तो पता चलेगा कि इन बेईमान व्यापारियों ने बजट का पता लगने से कितना लाभ उठाया। पिछले साल भी मैंने इसी प्रकार के तथ्य सुने थे और माँग की थी कि बजट रहस्य खुलने की तथा उन परिस्थितियों की भी जांच की जाए जिनके अन्तर्गत बजट के दो दिन बाद शनिवार को बैंक रेट घटाने की घोषणा की गई जबकि आम

तौर पर बैंक रेट सम्बन्धी घोषणा बुधवार को होती है।

परन्तु वित्त मंत्री ने मेरी मांग अस्वीकार कर दी। बजट प्रस्तावों को तैयार करने का सारा तरीका बदलने की बहुत आवश्यकता है। कोई ऐसा रास्ता भी ढूँढ निकालना चाहिए जिससे बजट बनाने की प्रक्रिया रहस्यपूर्ण न रहे और किसी को सट्टे के आधार पर मुनाफाखोरी करने का मौका न मिले।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री अपने भाषण के दौरान में, क्योंकि यह वक्तव्य मैंने पहले ही उनके पास बहुत दिन हुए भेज दिया है, एक-एक बात की सफाई देंगे और इस मांग को कबूल करेंगे कि अगर व्यापक पैमाने पर सन्देह उत्पन्न होता है तो उसकी जाँच करने के लिए कोई कमीशन बहाल कर देना चाहिए जो इस बात के लिए भी सुझाव दे कि इस तरह रहस्यपूर्वक वातावरण में यह सब काम न हो और उसमें सट्टे के ऊपर पैसा न कमाया जाए।

अब जहाँ तक वित्त विधेयक का सवाल है मैं पांच-छः चीजों के बारे में कुछ बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। सबसे पहले मुझे खेद है कि वित्त-मन्त्री ने बजट की चर्चा के दौरान में जो उत्तर दिया है उसमें हमारे आक्षेपों पर उन्होंने कोई प्रकाश नहीं डाला। एक बात तो मैंने यह अर्ज की थी आंकड़ों के साथ, कि पिछले 20 साल में जिनकी आमदनी 10,000 रु० से 15,000 रु० सालाना है उन पर क्रमशः 14 फीसदी अर्धिक इनकम टैक्स बढ़ा है और 15,000 रु० वालों पर 30 प्रतिशत बढ़ा है। लेकिन इसी दरमियान में जिनकी आमदनी पाँच और दस लाख रु० अर्जित है उनके ऊपर साढ़े ग्यारह और बारह प्रतिशत घट गया है। ये आंकड़े बीस साल से इकट्ठे करके मैंने रखे थे। इसका कोई जवाब वित्त मंत्री ने नहीं दिया।

एक दूसरी बात भी मैंने कही थी जिस को मैं सफाई से कहना चाहता हूँ और वह है

इन्टर बैंक डिपॉजिट एग्रीमेंट के बारे में। इस करारनामे के तहत डिपॉजिट की जो दर है उस को बढ़ाने के ऊपर रोक लगाई गई है। अब यह जो बड़े-बड़े बैंक हैं यह उद्योगपतियों के लिए तो घाटे में भी आवश्यक सेवाएं प्रदान करते हैं। लेकिन इस रोक के कारण जो डिपॉजिट है उसको अधिक पैसा मिल नहीं पाता। इसलिए मैं सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ, और सिटीकेट बैंक ने इस सवाल को उठाया है, और उनकी बात को मैं ठीक समझता हूँ कि इस तरह की जो रोक है डिपॉजिट की दर के ऊपर उसको हटा दिया जाय और उनको अधिक रेट डिपॉजिट के ऊपर दिया जाय। साथ-साथ ग्रामीण इलाकों में अगर आप चाहते हैं कि लोग बचत करना सीखें, बैंकों में पैसा लगाना सीखें तो उसके बारे में मेरा यह निवेदन है कि ग्रामीण इलाकों में डिपॉजिट का रेट ज्यादा रखने से हो सकता है कि लोग बैंकों में ज्यादा डिपॉजिट लगाना शुरू कर दें।

उसी तरह जो ब्रोकरेज और डोनेशन्स दलाली तथा चन्दे के बारे में बातें हो रही हैं उस के बारे में मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहूँगा कि आप रिज़र्व बैंक को आदेश दें कि ब्रोकरेज और डोनेशन्स देने की जो प्रथा है उसको खत्म किया जाय क्योंकि उससे जो साधारण डिपॉजिटर है और जो जनता है उसका बड़ा घाटा हो रहा है।

तीसरी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ नाइलान के बारे में। इन्होंने अपने बजट सम्बन्धी सुझावों के अंदर नाइलान के ऊपर जो एक्साइज ड्यूटी थी उसको घटा दिया। हम लोगों ने इस बात का स्वागत किया इसलिए कि हम सोचते थे कि अगर नाइलान धागे का दाम कम हो जायगा तो जो छोटे-छोटे कपड़ा उत्पादक हैं उनको भी फायदा होगा। जैसे सूरत में, जो माननीय वित्त मंत्री का क्षेत्र है, बहुत सारे बुनकर लोग हैं जिनको इस कृत्रिम धागे की जरूरत होती है। लेकिन हुआ क्या? एक्साइज ड्यूटी तो कम हो गयी, लेकिन आपको यह जानकर ताज्जुब होगा, नाइलान

[श्री मधु लिमये]

घागा बनाने वाले सिर्फ चार कारखाने इस वक्त हैं और एक पांचवां बिड़ला वालों का सेन्चुरी राका का निकल रहा है, इनको ही लाभ हुआ, और यही मुनाफा कमा रहे हैं। तो इस ऐक्साइज ड्यूटी को घटाने का नतीजा यह हुआ कि जो बुनकर लोग हैं उनको कोई लाभ नहीं हुआ। मैं इकानामिक टाइम्स के 27 अप्रैल के अंक से एक खबर पढ़कर मुनाना चाहता हूँ :

"The price of nylon yarns have recorded a steep rise ranging from Rs. 15 to 21 per kilogram in the Bombay market in the last four days. 15D yarn has shot up from Rs. 78 to Rs. 95.98 and 20D yarn has moved from Rs. 74 to Rs. 92. Official prices of leading spinners are Rs. 66 for 20D and Rs. 72 for 15D yarns."

इसका साफ मतलब है कि उत्पादक शुल्क घटाने से उसका फायदा बुनकरों को नहीं मिल रहा है, बल्कि यह जो चार बड़े पूंजीपति हैं जिनके हाथ में सारी पैदावार है यह लोग इसमें मुनाफा कमा रहे हैं, वितरक लोग मुनाफा कमा रहे हैं। तो क्या मन्त्री महोदय इसके बारे में विचार करेंगे। और एक बात के बारे में भी मैं जानकारी चाहता हूँ, मुझे सूरत के बुनकर सहकारी संघ से एक पत्र मिला है जिसमें उन्होंने कहा है कि यह संघ बहुत नाइलान घागे का इस्तेमाल करता है इसलिए उन्होंने इनके पास 11-10-1967 को लाइसेंस के लिए माँग की थी कि सहयोगी क्षेत्र में नाइलान का घागा पैदा करने के लिए हमको लाइसेंस दिया जाय। मैं नहीं जानता यह सहकारी संघ कौन हैं, माननीय वित्त मन्त्री ज्यादा जानते होंगे क्योंकि उनके क्षेत्र का मामला है। अगर इस सरकार की नीति है कि सहयोगी आन्दोलन को बढ़ावा देना चाहिए तो क्या वजह है कि डेढ़, दो साल तक इन लोगों के आवेदन-पत्र पर विचार तक नहीं होता है, और बीच में यह जो चार एकाधिकार स्थापित करने वाले मोनोपलिस्ट्स हैं, इनको जनता को लूटने का मौका दिया जा रहा है। तो मैं

कहूँगा कि नाइलान यार्न पर आपने उत्पादक शुल्क घटाया, अच्छा किया, लेकिन उसका फायदा अगर साधारण लोगों को, बुनकरों को नहीं मिल रहा है तो उनको सस्त कार्यावाही करनी चाहिए, और स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन के बारे में भी उनको कहना चाहिए कि वह भी दामों को घटाये ताकि इसका फायदा साधारण लोगों को हो।

जब आर्थिक एकाधिकारशाही की बात चल पड़ी, और मैंने सुना कि फरीदाबाद में भी इसकी बड़ी चर्चा हुई, तो यह जो एकाधिकार-शाही बढ़ रही है इसकी बुनियाद में हमको जाना चाहिए कि आर्थिक सत्ता का केन्द्रीकरण क्यों हो रहा है? मेरी राय में इसलिए हो रहा है कि पूंजीपति साय-साय राजनीतिज्ञ और नौकरशाही, तीनों के अपवित्र गठबन्धन हैं। नियंत्रित अर्थ व्यवस्था का इस्तेमाल इन बड़े-बड़े पूंजीपतियों ने अपने साम्राज्य का विस्तार करने के लिए और अपनी आर्थिक सत्ता अधिक मजबूत करने के लिए किया है। इसके बारे में इन्होंने जो छैँ तरीके अपनाये हैं उनका उल्लेख करना चाहता हूँ।

एक तो जाहिर बात है कि करों की चोरी होती है और उससे पूंजीपति लोग पैसा बचाते हैं।

दूसरे कच्चा माल खरीदते समय और पक्का माल बेचते समय सही दाम नहीं बताये जाते हैं। जैसे जूट है। जूट के बारे में हर रोज़ रपट पढ़ रहा हूँ कि उसमें बड़ा नुकसान हो रहा है। इसका कारण यह है कि कच्चा जूट खरीदने जाते हैं तो दिखाते एक दाम हैं जबकि दाम दूसरे होते हैं। और बेचने के लिए जब जाते हैं तो असली दाम दूसरे होते हैं और कागज पर कुछ और दिखाते हैं ताकि विदेशों में पैसा जमा हो। इस प्रकार से जूट उद्योग बरबाद हो रहा है। तो सरकार को इस बारे में कार्यावाही करनी चाहिए। इसका मतलब यह है कि यह जो पैसा कम्पनियों से निकाला जा रहा है उस पैसे से पुरानी कम्पनियों को

खरीदने का और नई कम्पनियों को कायम करने का काम ये लोग करते हैं।

तीसरा मॅनेजिंग एजेन्सी का तरीका है। शेयर होल्डरों को लूट कर मॅनेजिंग एजेन्ट्स मुनाफ़ा कमा रहे हैं। इसलिये कम्पनी कानून में मॅनेजिंग एजेन्सी के बारे में जो बिल है मैं चाहता हूँ कि उस को जल्दी से जल्दी पारित किया जाय। लेकिन इन्होंने किया क्या? जब देखा कि मॅनेजिंग एजेन्सी जा रही हैं तो उस के नाम पर एक दूसरा झूठ खड़ा किया है और उसका नाम है सोल सॅलिंग एजेन्सी। यह मॅनेजिंग एजेन्सी ही का एक बालक है। उस को भ्राम्य खत्म करने जा रहे हैं तो उन्होंने यह पंदा कर दिया। हम लोगों ने सिन्धेटिक्स और कैमिकल्स वाले विवाद में इसका सबूत देखा। इसके बारे में मैंने मंत्री महोदय को पत्र लिखा था। इन्होंने हमको जवाब दिया कि लाइफ इन्व्योरेन्स कारपोरेशन भी इसके बारे में योग्य कदम उठायेगी। अगर यह पहले ही बता देते कि लाइफ इन्व्योरेन्स कारपोरेशन का योग्य कदम क्या होगा तो मेरा ख्याल है कि दूसरे जो हिस्सेदार हैं उनको भी कुछ रोशनी मिलती। लेकिन लाइफ इन्व्योरेन्स कारपोरेशन ने कल या परसों वाली बैठक में काम तो अच्छा किया। लेकिन अगर पहले बता देते तो हिस्सेदारों को कुछ रोशनी मिलती। इस तरह की जो सोल एजेन्सियाँ चल रही हैं यह लूटने का नया तरीका है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री जी और कम्पनी कानून मंत्री जी इस पर रोक लगायें।

पांचवाँ इनका तरीका यह है कि बैंकों के द्वारा जो कर्जा दिया जाता है उसके बारे में कई बार सफाई हो चुकी है कि अधिक से अधिक कर्जा सस्ते दर से और दूसरी सुविधाओं के साथ बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों को मिलता है जिसकी वजह से हम कहते हैं कि बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाय। अभी जो स्थिति है उसमें साधारण उद्योग वालों के लिये या किसानों के लिये कर्जा नहीं मिलता।

छठा तरीका इनका यह है जो सरकारी वित्तीय संस्थाएँ हैं, फाइनेंशियल इंस्टीट्यूशंस हैं, उनके बारे में पूछा गया कि पिछले वर्षों में जब से ये संस्थाएँ बनी हैं अधिक से अधिक कर्जा किन-किन उद्योगपतियों के गुटों को मिला है, तो पता चलता है कि यहां मफ्तलाल और बिड़ला को ही सबसे ज्यादा कर्जा मिलता है। यह बात बिल्कुल बेमतलब है कि यह उद्योगपति बहुत चतुर हैं, बहुत मेहनती हैं, बहुत देशभक्त हैं और उनमें बहुत उपक्रमशीलता है, इंटर प्राइज की स्प्रिट है इसलिए यह लोग पैदावार बढ़ा रहे हैं और इनका विस्तार हो रहा है। यह बात सही नहीं है। यह सारा साधारण जनता का पैसा लेकर अपना विस्तार कर रहे हैं। मैं अब अपनी बात को खत्म करने जा रहा हूँ लेकिन एक, दो बातों का जाते-जाते मैं उल्लेख करना चाहूंगा।

एप्रोप्रियेशन बिल के समय जब वित्त मंत्री ने जवाब दिया तब मैं यहां नहीं था। ऐसा इसलिए नहीं हुआ कि उनका मैं कुछ अपमान करना चाहता था बल्कि इसलिए कि मुझे दूसरी जगह जाना था इसलिए मैं उपस्थित नहीं रह सका। लेकिन आते ही वित्त मंत्री जी का पूरा का पूरा भाषण मैंने पढ़ा। मुझे बहुत रंज हुआ यह देख कर कि जिन सवालों को मैं उठाना चाहता था उन का जवाब न देते हुए उन्होंने लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें कीं। वित्त मंत्रीजी ने कहा कि श्री मधु लिमये जितने पत्र उन्हें लिखते हैं हर एक पत्र का जवाब वह देते हैं। लेकिन मैं इससे नहीं कब करता हूँ? वित्त मंत्री जी को समझना चाहिए कि वहां उनके विभाग में सैंकड़ों कर्मचारी उनकी खिदमत में रहते हैं, सेक्रेटरी और स्टोनोग्राफर्स उनकी सेवा में लगे रहते हैं जबकि हम अकेले हैं और केवल वित्त मंत्री जी से ही नहीं बल्कि सरकार के अन्य सभी विभागों से लड़ते हैं और पत्र-व्यवहार आदि किया करते हैं। अब अगर वित्त मंत्री जी मेरे हर एक पत्र का जवाब दे देते हैं तो उस में कोई खास खूबी वी बात नहीं है। लेकिन



[श्री मधु लिमये]

अगर मेरे जैसे साधारण सदस्य, जिन्हें कि इस तरह की दफ्तरी सुविधा सुलभ नहीं है, विभिन्न समस्याओं पर मंत्रालयों को पत्र आदि लिखते हैं और रचनात्मक सुझाव देते हैं तो वह अवश्य तारीफ की बात है। रह गयी मंत्री महोदय द्वारा जवाब देने की बात तो उनका हर हालत में जवाब देना फर्ज होना ही चाहिए।

श्री डा० ना० तिवारी (गोपालगंज) : हम लोग आपकी तारीफ करते हैं।

श्री मधु लिमये : तारीफ करो या न करो लेकिन मैं यह अवश्य कहना चाहूंगा कि मंत्री महोदय जो पत्रों का जवाब दे दिया करते हैं वह कोई तारीफ की बात नहीं है क्योंकि जैसा मैंने पहले कहा पूरी सरकारी मशीनरी उनके पीछे है। हर हालत में जवाब देना उनका कर्तव्य है और इसमें उनके नाराज होने की कोई बात नहीं है। जवाब उन्हें देना ही चाहिए।

सवाल आया बी० ओ० सी० का तो उसमें भी सदन को गुमराह किया गया है। असल में जो कस्टम ऐक्ट है वह मेरे पास है उसमें दो सुझाव हैं। एक तो जिसके खिलाफ फैसला किया गया है वह खुद रिवीजन में जा सकता है। वह एक प्रक्रिया अलग है और सरकार खुद रिव्यू पुनर्विचार कर सकती है। अब सरकार ने स्वयं रिव्यू क्यों नहीं कराया इसका जवाब उन्होंने दिया? रिवीजन का जवाब नहीं दिया है, कस्टम वालों ने कि उसके बारे में रिवीजन ऐप्लीकेशन करनी चाहिए। उसके लिए मैंने बतलाया कि एक रपट नहीं बल्कि डाइरेक्टर आफ इंटीलिजेंस की दो रपट हैं और उन दोनों रपटों को मैंने सभा के पटल पर पेश किया है। उसके बारे में अध्यक्ष महोदय इजाजत दे रहे हैं। आज ही सबेरे मैंने दोनों रपट इनके पास दी हैं। इन रपटों के अध्ययन से और जो यह पूछा गया कि क्या सेंट्रल बोर्ड का फैसला आपने पढ़ा है तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि फैसला पढ़कर ही मैंने यह बात की थी। मैंने एक किताब पार्लियामेंट की

लाइब्रेरी से लेकर प्रारम्भ से लेकर आखिर तक पढ़ी थी। इसलिए यह सेंट्रल बोर्ड के निर्णय तथा डाइरेक्टर आफ इंटीलिजेंस रैवेन्यू की दोनों रपट पढ़ने के पश्चात मैं निश्चित राय का हूँ कि रिवीजन और पुनर्विचार के लिए इसमें भारी गुंजाइश है। 6 महीने की भियाद है कस्टम वालों को जरूर रिवीजन में जाना चाहिए। जैसा कि डाइरेक्टर आफ रैवेन्यू इंटीलिजेंस ने कहा है कि मामूली बात नहीं है। यह दोनों रपट आप पढ़िये। उससे साफ राय यह बनती है कि उसके खिलाफ रिवीजन के अधिकार का प्रयोग होना चाहिए। मैं ताकत के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि बैंक आफ इंग्लैंड ने हम लोगों को गुमराह करने का प्रयास किया लेकिन उसके बारे में उन्होंने कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की।

अंत में मैं एक बात यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ये जो बार-बार कहते हैं कि डा० गेबल्स की तरह विरोधियों को आरोप करने की एक आदत पड़ गई है बिल्कुल गलत है। अब मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हमने भाई ऐसा कौन-सा आरोप किया कि जिनके बारे में आप कह सकते हैं कि हम लोग गेबल्स की तरह हैं? मैंने तीन सवालों के बारे में स्पीकर साहब से प्रार्थना की थी, सल्फर स्कैंडल, बूलटोन्स और बॉरल के मामलों में। इन तीनों मामलों में से एक गया पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स कमेटी के पास और दो गये एस्टिमेट्स कमेटी के पास। उन तीनों की रपट आई है। यह तिवारी जी बैठे हैं। हमने जो बात कही, एक-एक बात साबित की है। स्वयं उनके बारे में यह गलतफहमी में रहे कि इनका और हमारा कोई व्यक्तिगत झगड़ा है लेकिन हकीकत यह है कि कोई झगड़ा नहीं है। हमारा किसी भी मंत्री से व्यक्तिगत झगड़ा नहीं है। लेकिन यह मैं दावे के साथ कहता हूँ कि 19 अगस्त को जो बहस यहाँ पर हुई उस बहस के दौरान मैंने अपने प्रस्तावित भाषण में सबूत के साथ इन बातों को पेश किया था। सन् 1964 में, इन्होंने कहा, कि कांति भाई ने इनके निजी सचिव बनने के बाद सारी कम्प-

नियों से सम्बन्ध तोड़ लिया। मैंने साबित किया कि 1964 में इन्होंने सम्बन्ध नहीं तोड़ा। सन् 1964 से लेकर साढ़े तीन या 4 साल तक इनका सम्बन्ध कई कम्पनियों से बना रहा। मैंने एक विशेष कम्पनी का जिक्र किया, बम्बई इंडस्ट्रियल एन्ड कॅमिकल कम्पनी, मोरारजी भाई ने सब कम्पनियों के बारे में जवाब दिया लेकिन इसके बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा। 19 तारीख को इनका जवाब पढ़िये...

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: He was not a partner in it.

श्री मधु लिमये : यह मान लिया कि व्यक्ति के रूप में पार्टनर नहीं थे, लेकिन आपने जो अपनी अल्प बचत का पैसा कम्पनी में लगाया तो इसके लिए कोई नहीं कह सकता है कि आपको उस कम्पनी के कल्याण के बारे में दिलचस्पी नहीं है।

मैं बेबुनियाद और बिना सबूत कोई आरोप नहीं करता। मैंने अपने एक-एक आरोप को साबित किया है और मैं आज श्री मोरारजी देसाई को यह चुनौती देना चाहता हूँ कि इस पार्लियामेंट की किसी कमेटी के सामने आप अपने मामले को भेज दीजिए, बिड़ला वालों के मामले को आप भेज दीजिए और वहाँ पर यदि ऐसा साबित होता है कि औचित्य भंग आपने नहीं किया है तो हम लोगों में इतनी उदारता है कि हम इसका साफ ऐलान कर देंगे कि यह हमारी गलती थी लेकिन अगर हम साबित करते हैं और पार्लियामेंट की कमेटी का मतलब आपके सहयोगियों की कमेटी, जिसमें कि कांग्रेस का बहुमत रहेगा, अगर उस पार्लियामेंटरी कमेटी के सामने हम यह साबित कर देते हैं कि मोरारजी भाई ने औचित्य का उल्लंघन किया है तो क्या उसके बाद भी मोरारजी भाई हमारे लिए कह सकते हैं कि डा० गेबल्स के तरीके से हम लोग काम करते हैं? इस तरीके से काम करने की हमको आदत नहीं है। धन्यवाद।

श्री चन्द्रिका प्रसाद (बलिया) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं उपप्रधान मन्त्री तथा वित्त मन्त्री द्वारा सदन में रखे गये वित्त विधेयक का आमतौर पर समर्थन करता हूँ। यह हर्ष और संतोष का विषय है कि खेती में काम आने वाले पम्पों पर जो एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगाई थी वह उन्होंने समाप्त कर दी है और एग्रीकलचरल वॉल्यू पर भी टैक्स की दर इन्होंने घटाई है। उनके द्वारा उठाये गये इन दोनों कदमों की मैं सराहना व स्वागत करता हूँ।

हमारी भारत सरकार के श्रम व उद्योग के कारण और विशेषकर कृषि मन्त्रालय के द्वारा जो देश में खेती की उन्नति हुई है, देश के कुछ हिस्सों में खाद, पानी आदि की समुचित व्यवस्था होने से वहाँ हरियाली क्रान्ति आई है और उसके फलस्वरूप किसानों की आमदनी में जो कुछ वृद्धि हुई है उसको देखकर हमारे देश के पूँजीपति ब्लाकमनी कम्पनियों का और वह किसानों की जमीन लेकर बड़े-बड़े फार्म, 200, 400 और 500 एकड़ के जो फार्म बनाये हुए हैं अगर उन फार्मों से भारत सरकार कुछ पैसा लेकर गरीब किसानों के लिए पैदा करती है तो मैं इस नीति का समर्थन करता हूँ। मैं अपने सूबे के तीन-चार जिलों का उदाहरण दे सकता हूँ जैसे मेरठ, मुजफ्फरनगर, बुलन्दशहर, वहाँ पर किसानों से 1000 रुपये का चन्दा मांगा गया था जबकि 10,000 रुपया बतौर चन्दा चुनाव में दे दिया। यह पूरी पार्टी ने यू० पी० का चुनाव उनके पैसे से संचालन किया। यह हमारे कृषि मन्त्रालय की देन है और भारत सरकार की सूरू है, लेकिन मैं फिर भी कहूँगा कि सरकार द्वारा हमारे उत्तरप्रदेश की बड़ी उपेक्षा की गई है। उत्तरप्रदेश आबादी व क्षेत्र-फल दोनों के लिहाज से हमारे देश का सबसे बड़ा सूबा है लेकिन उसकी जितनी उपेक्षा अब तक इन सारे प्लानों में की गई है, विशेषकर हमारा पहाड़ी एरिया, बुन्देलखंड का एरिया और उत्तरप्रदेश के पूर्वी जिले जोकि गरीब और भ्रिखमंगे इलाके हैं, आज उनकी हालत बहुत खराब हो रही है। वहाँ पर दो-दो

[श्री चन्द्रिका प्रसाद]

कमिशन, पटेल कमिशन और अशोक मेहता कमिशन बैठायें गये, भारत सरकार ने आश्वासन दिया कि हम उसमें सारे विकास के काम करेंगे लेकिन आज तक वह हमारा एरिया एकदम उपेक्षित पड़ा हुआ है। हकीकत यह है कि उनकी हालत आज तेलंगाना से भी खराब है लेकिन आज तक हम लोगों ने तेलंगाना के लोगों जैसी कोई आवाज नहीं उठाई कि हम अपनी बात मनवाने के लिए आन्दोलन करेंगे या किसी तरीके का कोई अवैधानिक काम करेंगे। लेकिन अब हमारी बर्दाश्त की सीमा समाप्त-सी हो रही है। इसलिए मैं विशेषकर उपप्रधान मंत्री महोदय को यह ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जो हमारे प्रदेश में विषमता फैली हुई है उस विषमता को मिटाने के लिए आप इस बिल में विशेष धन की व्यवस्था करें। विशेषकर पटेल कमिशन ने जो सिफारिशों की हैं वह एक वर्ष में लागू हुईं लेकिन चीन, पाकिस्तान के साथ भारत का युद्ध छिड़ जाने की वजह से वह बन्द कर दिया गया और हमारे जिले को कोई भी फायदा नहीं हुआ, विशेषकर बलिया, देवरिया के बारे में सारी पटेल कमिशन की सिफारिशों को खत्म कर दिया गया है। उत्तरप्रदेश मेडिकल फेसिलिटीज़ में भी सबसे पीछे रहा है। आप देखेंगे कि मुदालियर कमिटी की रिपोर्ट थी कि हर एक पांच मिलियन पापुलेशन पर एक मेडिकल कालेज होना चाहिए। इस हिसाब से उत्तर प्रदेश में 17 मेडिकल कालेज होने चाहिए, लेकिन आज वहाँ पर केवल सात मेडिकल कालेज हैं। विशेषकर पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश में, जहाँ की आबादी 6 करोड़ की है, एक भी मेडिकल कालेज नहीं है, और वहाँ की हालत बहुत खराब है।

डाक्टर्स के बारे में भी हमारे प्रदेश की हालत बहुत खराब है। वहाँ एक लाख मिलियन पापुलेशन के पीछे 13.7 डाक्टर्स का एवरेज है और 41 बेड्स हैं जबकि सारे भारत का एवरेज 17.2 डाक्टर्स और 49 बेड्स का है।

पूर्वी जिलों में फाइलेरिया, ट्यूबरक्लोसिस और लेप्रासी जैसी बीमारियाँ बहुत व्याप्त हैं। 2 लाख लोग कुष्ठ रोग से परेशान हैं और 1.1 लाख लोग ट्यूबरक्लोसिस से पीड़ित हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश के 54 जिलों में से 27 जिलों में 8 प्रतिशत से लेकर 30 प्रतिशत लोग फाइलेरिया से ग्रस्त हैं। इस प्रकार से उत्तर प्रदेश में कुष्ठ, ट्यूबरक्लोसिस और फाइलेरिया के रोगियों की उपेक्षा की जा रही है। आज उत्तर प्रदेश के लोगों की बर्दाश्त की सीमा पार होती जा रही है। मैं वित्त मंत्री से आग्रह करूँगा कि इस ओर विशेष रूप से ध्यान दिया जाये।

इसी तरह से हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों की हालत कृषि के बारे में भी बहुत खराब है। वहाँ पर छोटे-छोटे किसान हैं, आध-आध एकड़, एक-एक एकड़ से लेकर डेढ़-डेढ़ और तीन-तीन एकड़ तक के टुकड़ों की होल्डिंग उनके पास है। अशोक मेहता कमिटी ने कहा है कि विशेषकर हमारे 22 जिलों में एशिया में सबसे घनी आबादी है और उनमें भी बलिया में और ज्यादा है। इसलिए मैं कृषि मंत्री से कहूँगा कि वह स्माल फार्मर्स योजना में भारतवर्ष के जिन 22 जिलों को लेने वाले हैं उनमें कम-से-कम बलिया को जरूर लिया जाये।

हमारे यहाँ शुगर केन बहुत पंदा होता है, लेकिन हमारे यहाँ एक भी शुगर फ़ैक्ट्री नहीं है। 12 वर्षों से हमारे यहाँ एक कोआपरेटिव शुगर फ़ैक्ट्री का मामला चल रहा है, उसमें उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने अपना धन दिया, कोआपरेटिव का पैसा जमा है, किसानों का पैसा भी जमा है जो बारह वर्षों से ब्लाक पड़ा है, लेकिन शुगर फ़ैक्ट्री नहीं चलाई गई।

हमारे प्रदेश में एक वेटरिनरी कालेज पन्त नगर में है और एक मथुरा में है। पूर्वी जिलों में एक भी वेटरिनरी कालेज नहीं है। मैं चाहूँगा कि बलिया, गाजीपुर या आजमगढ़ में, जहाँ पर कृषि विद्यालय मौजूद हैं, कम-से-कम एक वेटरिनरी कालेज खोला जाय।

हमारे यहां गोरखपुर में यूरिया फर्टिलाइजर का एक कारखाना है और एक बनारस में है, लेकिन इन दो फर्टिलाइजर कारखानों से 27 जिलों की सप्लाई पूरी होने वाली नहीं है। इसलिए बलिया, आजमगढ़ या गाजीपुर में एक फर्टिलाइजर फैक्ट्री खोली जाये।

आजकल हमारे जिलों को गंगा और घाघरा काट कर बरबाद करती है। वहां पानी की जरूरत होती है, वहां पानी की व्यवस्था की जा सकती है और लिफ्ट इरिगेशन का उपाय किया जा सकता है, लेकिन आज यह नदियां बाढ़ से सारे जिलों को बरबाद करती हैं। अभी हमारे जिले से पत्र आया है कि यहां पर गंगा काट रही है और पानी दस फीट पर है। अगर अप्रैल में पानी को नहीं रोका गया तो जुलाई में गंगा से गाय घाट कट जायेगा और घाघरा से चांदपुर बलुआ कट जायेगा और सारा जिला डूब जायेगा और स्थिति यह हो जायेगी कि करोड़ों की सम्पत्ति नष्ट हो जायेगी। भारत सरकार के सिंचाई मंत्री वहां गये थे, उत्तर प्रदेश के सचिव भी गये थे और वहां के चीफ इंजीनियर भी गये थे। वह सब कुछ देखकर आये और उन्होंने आश्वासन दिया था कि वह वहां पर स्थायी ठोकर बनायेंगे। लेकिन अब सारे गांव को बरबाद कर के वहां पर रिटायर बाँध बनाया जा रहा है और इन दोनों नदियों के सुपुई किया जा रहा है। यह बात अच्छी नहीं है। रिटायर बाँध से जमीन भी बरबाद होगी और जो पैसे लगाये जा रहे हैं वह भी बरबाद होंगे। अगर वहां पर परमानेंट ठोकर बनाई जाय तो भी उतने ही पैसे में काम चल जायेगा जितने में रिटायर बाँध बनता है। आज भारत सरकार इस काम को उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार पर छोड़ रही है और उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार कहती है कि हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है। मैं श्री मोरारजी देसाई से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वह बलिया की समस्या को सहानुभूतिपूर्वक देखें। बलिया देशभक्तों का जिला है, शहीदों का जिला है और फौजियों का जिला है जो चीन

और पाकिस्तान से लड़ें हैं। आज उस जिले को बचाने के लिये वह उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार को दो करोड़ रुपये का लोन दें, बल्कि आउट आफ प्लेन दें। यहां के सिंचाई मंत्री की राय से योजना बनाई हुई है लेकिन पैसे के वगैर वह समाप्त हो रही है। आज वहां पर एक आन्दोलन छिड़ने जा रहा है रिटायर बाँध के खिलाफ। आज मेरे पास एक टेलिग्राम आया है कि तुम पार्लियामेंट से इस्तीफा दे कर चले आओ और आन्दोलन का नेतृत्व करो। इस को लेकर आज हम बड़ी विकट परिस्थिति में पड़े हुए हैं। हमारी दयनीय हालत को देख कर श्री मोरारजी देसाई को हमारे ऊपर दया करनी चाहिये।

इसी तरह से हमारे यहां हिन्दी की बड़ी उपेक्षा की जा रही है शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में। हमारे यहां सर्व भाषा कोश की नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा की 40 लाख रुपये की योजना थी। जो हमारे पहले मंत्री थे उन्होंने इस योजना को मंजूर भी किया था, लेकिन वह योजना आज खटाई में पड़ी हुई है। मैं चाहुंगा कि माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी इस धन का प्रबन्ध करें।

काशी विद्यापीठ हमारे यहां सबसे बड़ी संस्था है जो राष्ट्रीय संस्था है जिसने लाल बहादुर शास्त्री और सम्पूर्णानन्द जैसे देश के नेताओं को शिक्षा दी है। उसने बहुत से देश की आजादी के सिपाहियों को पंदा किया है, लेकिन इस शिक्षा मंत्रालय के कारण वहां की हालत खराब हो रही है। उसने उसको मान्यता प्रदान की, लेकिन मान्यता प्रदान करने के बाद वहां के अध्यापकों को तनखाह नहीं मिल रही है, सारे कर्जों में पड़े हुए हैं। इस संस्था ने आजादी से पहले किसी के आये पैसा लेने के लिए हाथ नहीं फंलाया, लेकिन जब जवाहरलालजी और पन्तजी यहाँ पर आये तो उन्होंने इसको सेंट्रल युनिवर्सिटी की मान्यता दी और कहा कि हम इसकी सहायता करेंगे, लेकिन आज तक इस

[श्री चन्द्रिका प्रसाद]

के बारे में बहुत ढिलाई हो रही है, जिससे संस्था खत्म होनी जा रही है।

हमारा जिला सैनिकों का जिला है। वहाँ के लोगों की माँग मिलिट्री स्कूल की है, लेकिन आज तक वहाँ पर रिटायर्ड फौजी सिपाहियों को मंहगाई की वजह से टी ए और डी ए मिलना चाहिये वह न मिलकर पुराना ही रेट मिल रहा है।

देश की आज जो हालत है उसमें भी हमारे जिले के लोगों की हालत बहुत खराब है। विशेषकर हरिजनों की आवादी ऐसी है जिनके पास न तो खेती है और न नौकरी है, लेकिन हमारे यहाँ जो बुनकर हैं उनकी हालत तो और भी ज्यादा खराब है। उनके लिए न तो खाना है, न नौकरियाँ हैं और न काम करने के लिए खेती है। मैं चाहूँगा कि खादी कमिशन इस उद्योग की ओर ध्यान दे और इसके लिए कर्जा दे, और रुपया दे, चमड़ा उनको दिया जाये। उनको काम देकर उनके जूते लिये जायें जो कि रूस को भेजे जा सकते हैं। घर-घर कारखाने बनाकर उन लोगों को काम दिया जाये। बुनकरों के लिए हमारे यहाँ बड़ा स्थान है। अगर उनके लिए पावरलूम और हैंडलूम की व्यवस्था की जाय तो उनको रोजगार दिया जा सकता है।

इसी तरह से हमारे यहाँ जो बेकारी की समस्या है उसकी ओर ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश ने कभी किसी के सामने हाथ नहीं फैलाया है, कभी कुछ माँगा नहीं है, जिसके कारण वह पीछे पड़ा हुआ है। मैं चाहूँगा कि इस पर ध्यान दिया जाये।

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

**SHRI D.N. PATODIA:** (Jalore) Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the course of the implementation of the planned economy during the last 20 years, the State has assumed larger and wider control over the economic activities of the country. The State has now become the principal instrument to provide

guidelines and direction for the economic growth. In order that State can provide these guidelines and directive, only one occasion is provided in a year and that is the occasion of presenting the budget. The Finance Minister, therefore, is expected not only to arrange for collection of revenue and expenditure in his proposals; he is also expected to provide necessary guidelines for the economic growth and to create conditions by which the basic ailments of economy like unemployment, illiteracy and lack of housing facilities can be cured. The justification of any budget proposals lies in meeting these basic demands.

Before I come to the proposals of the current year, I would briefly like to dwell on what happened in the course of the last 20 years after Independence. On the one hand, as I said, there is the acquisition of larger and wider control by the State over the economic activities and the State acquired more and more funds and finances by raising taxation, by borrowing within the country and outside and by resorting to deficit financing. I will quote some figures in support of my contention.

With regard to tax revenue, in 1950-51 the total tax revenue was of the order of Rs. 627 crores. It rose to Rs. 1,350 crores in 1960-61 and Rs. 3,433 crores in 1967-68. This year it has assumed a proportion of Rs. 3,900 crores as against Rs. 627 crores in 1950-51. This year, Government—Centre and States—will be acquiring Rs. 3,900 crores—a rise of more than 600 per cent. Look at the borrowings. In respect of borrowings, in 1950-51 the total borrowings of the Centre and States was of the order of Rs. 3,056 crores which today stands over Rs. 17,000 crores, including external borrowings.

Now all this collection of revenue and raising of borrowings has resulted in a shift of the saving of the society into the hands of the State. This shift was done under the specific pledge given by the State that the shift of income would be utilised for improving the well-being of the people, for improving their lot in the matter of housing, employment and providing the minimum requirements for the human being.

Let us examine where and in what manner this huge collection of funds, the

acquisition of the savings of the society, has been utilised. Let us look at it sectorwise.

First, employment. The total number of unemployed persons today is estimated by some people at 70 lakhs and by some others at over 1 crore. Whatever be the correct figure, the fact remains that the total number of persons unemployed in this country today is very much more than what they were in 1950-51. Out of them, 50,000 are qualified engineers, Thousands and thousands are graduates. This is the plight and the pity of our country that graduates coming out of our universities are today available seeking jobs at Rs. 150 per month. This is what we have done in respect of employment in the course of the last twenty years.

Look at illiteracy. In the 1950-51 census, the total number of illiterate persons in the country was 29.8 crores; in 1969, it is estimated at 34.9 crores. This is the result of the spread of education in the course of 20 years—an increase in the number of illiterates by 5 crores! 67 persons out of every hundred in our country do not know how to read and write in spite of independence 20 years ago.

Then come to housing. This is a basic necessity in our country today. Compared to 1951, the total number of persons without housing is very much more. According to estimates, in April 1966 the shortage was 7.41 crores. What is the position of construction of new houses today? Every year there is a rise in population by 12 million. Even to maintain the problem at the present level, you have to construct more than 2 million houses every year; but our total construction is less than one million. Everyday the problem is becoming more and more acute; everyday the shortage is increasing.

Look at the lower middle class and the poorer sections of the community. How do you judge their condition? Apart from employment and housing, you judge their condition by the level of consumption of the basic necessities of life like cotton cloth, foodgrains, sugar, edible oils etc. Here again the picture is very deplorable. Compared to the figure

of 1961-62 in respect of cotton cloth, from 14.8 metres, it came down to 13.8 metres in 1966-67. In foodgrains, as against 170 kg. it came down to 147 kg. in edible oils, the drop was from 4.2 kg. to 3.4 kg.; sugar consumption fell from 5.1 kg. to 5.1 kg. This is the level of *per capita* consumption of Indian society in 1966-67.

What is the condition of *per capita* income? During the whole of the Third Plan, not even an iota of increase was recorded in real terms at prices of 1948-49. In 1963-64, it was Rs. 302, in 1966-67, it was Rs. 301. This is the condition of *per capita* income.

How do you explain this? In spite of so much acquisition of wealth and borrowing the entire saving of the society having been taken by the State, why is our economy in the present state? There are certain definite reasons. The economy has been directed on wrong lines. Where has the money gone? First of all the money has been taken away by rising consumption expenses of the Central and the State Governments. The figures are very eloquent. The total consumption expenditure of the Central and the State Governments in 1954-55 was of the order of Rs. 930 crores which today stands at Rs. 5,000 crores. By raising taxation and taking away the savings of crores of people, the Finance Minister has transferred the wealth into the hands of the State. If savings are left in the hands of people or society, it gets re-invested either in capital formation or in economic activity. If they are taken away by the State, the result in this country had been that it was spent in the form of consumption expenditure without any return whatsoever.

The other reason is that we have resorted to continuous deficit financing for more than ten years. Taking into account the debt of the Central Government with banks, in the last ten years deficit financing had been to the tune of Rs. 2500 crores and this year it will increase by another Rs. 250 crores. If deficit financing is accompanied by an equivalent rise in production, it may be justified. Otherwise it is bound to create inflationary conditions and a rise in the price index.

[Shri D. N. Patodia]

Deficit financing was resorted to meet rising expenditure and investment in non-yielding projects. It has resulted in inflation. There has been faulty planning, indiscriminate investment all around whether in the public sector or the private sector.

15.58 hrs.

[SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR *in the Chair*]

Twenty per cent of our capacity is lying idle. Suppose there is no such idle capacity in our country, the total industrial production would have increased by Rs. 1200 crores and would have brought an additional income of not less than Rs. 250 crores every year to the State.

I now come to the public sector to which undue weightage had been given. There is uneconomic planning, continuous losses, idle capacity and over-employment. With an investment of about Rs 3500 crores, even this year it will result in a loss of Rs. 35 crores. This subject has been discussed so many times; still I am tempted to refer to the observations made by the Prime Minister in the A.I.C.C. on 27th April, 1969. She made three observations about the performance of the public sector. She justified its performance by saying that their gestation period might go up to 15 years propounding a new theory in economics. By whatever standard, anywhere in the world, all worthwhile capital equipment are liable to become obsolete after 15 years; in modern technology the gestation period is never more than five years. The result of her statement will be upto 15 years gestation period; after fifteen years it is obsolete machinery. Let the economy go to hell. This is going to be the effect of extending the gestation period up to 15 years.

16 hrs.

The second justification about the public sector given by her was that the public sector was highlighted on account of its being accountable to the public and Parliament, and if a probe was made into the private sector, the results would not be all too flattering. She was completely ignorant of the functioning of the private sector, of the inbuilt mechanism available in the private sector which prevents the occurrence of loss,

If the private sector industry runs inefficiently and at a loss, the inbuilt mechanism will compel it to die; it may not survive, and this very fear of survival, this very impelling fear of death will compel the industry to work efficiently. The public sector is living at the cost of society; it is living at the cost of taxation of the people and resulting in higher and higher taxation in our country.

The third ground on which she justified the public sector was that in respect of the public sector, profit motive cannot always be the consideration. Firstly, this is against the directive principles in respect of the public sector industries. And secondly, presuming but not admitting, that there is no profit motive behind it, then, where does the benefit of 'no-profit' go? Who is benefited by it? Do they mean to say that by having no profit motive, the commodities made by the public sector are being offered cheap to the public? Is the benefit being given to the society? Or, are the losses and inefficiency of the public sector being covered by the slogan of saying that profit motive is not there? This is how the public sector is being attempted to be safeguarded. I challenge it. The very name image of the public sector is being damaged. The people of the country will gradually lose faith in the public sector. It is in the interests of the public sector, it is in the interests of socialism that the performance of the public sector improves. Otherwise, nobody will trust it.

With this background of its performance for the last 20 years, let me briefly examine the budget proposals made for 1969-70. Let us examine by the same criteria, whether the budget proposals meet the needs of the situation: will they be helpful in reducing the unemployment in our country? Will they be helpful in providing adequate housing for our people? Will they be helpful in reducing the number of persons who are illiterate? In what respect are they going to be helpful in respect of each and every point? The answer is 'no'.

This year, there is an additional taxation of Rs. 127 crores, which has been reduced by Rs. 5 crores. Let us take Rs. 122 crores. There is deficit financing of Rs. 250 crores. There is an additional taxation by the States, about Rs. 40 crores to Rs. 50 crores:

I am not aware. The economy of the country will be further burdened by more than Rs. 400 crores. Where is it going to come from? Either in the form of rise in the price index or in the form of rise in the cost of living, in whatever form it is, it is bound to create an inflationary condition without an equivalent rise in the income or wages. This is how it is going to affect the people. How is it going to improve the living of the people?

Take for example some of the specific items. Take the case of sugar. In the case of sugar, 30 per cent of the total sugar produced is released in the free market for sale. The incidence of new taxation in respect of the 30 per cent of sugar will be as much as an additional Rs. 40 per quintal. On the one hand, there was the complaint all over the country that sugar prices are high and that they should be brought down. On the other hand, irrespective of the cost of production of sugar, by imposing this additional taxation of Rs. 40 per quintal on free sugar, Finance Minister has taken care to see that so long as this impost continues sugar is bound to continue to be expensive for the people of the country.

Has the Finance Minister chosen not to give any relief in the case of petrol, kerosene and fertilisers? Will it reduce the cost of a household or an agriculturist or the common man or will it increase it? He says, agriculture is capable of bearing something more. Let us examine whether the cost of agriculture in India is more or is less compared to other countries. Here the cost of fertilisers is high. The cost of pumping sets is high as it is. The cost of transportation is high, because distances are long. Storage facilities are not available. So, by all standards, our cost of production of foodgrains is higher. Does the Finance Minister feel that in respect of agriculture we have arrived at a saturation point and there is no need for further growth, further savings or further investment in agriculture? If he sincerely feels further growth is necessary, do these imposts go with the spirit of it? Of course, not. The only possible explanation is, in the desperate attempt to mop up whatever surplus is available, this time he has jumped upon agriculture also. I join with the voice of the whole House that the imposition on

fertilisers, kerosene and petrol should again be looked into and withdrawn.

About cement, the Finance Minister was good enough to announce some relief this morning. He said, originally the conversion from specific to *ad valorem* proved to be a little more and so it is being neutralised. But has he neutralised it? My calculation is that due to conversion from specific to *ad valorem*, the increase was an addition of Rs. 3.30 per tonne. The relief announced today is only Rs. 1.86. There is still a gap of Rs. 1.45. If the minister is serious that there should be no increase on account of this conversion, I would urge upon him to calculate it again and see that in spirit and in action, both are equalised.

About soap the Finance Minister has not announced any relief. Is it not correct that on account of conversion from specific to *ad valorem*, the total collection will be exceeded by more than Rs. 1 crore?

With regard to exports, on 28th February, certain reliefs were announced in respect of jute goods and tea. But are these reliefs adequate and timely, although they are welcome up to the point they go? Is it not a fact that both in respect of jute and tea, India has gradually but steadily lost the export market in favour of Pakistan and Ceylon respectively? Why is it so? Nor because these countries are more efficient than us or because we do not have any facilities of marketing. It is because both these countries stood at a positive advantage compared to India in respect of these two items. I submit that our export policies should not be directed towards revenue collection. They should be directed towards promotion and growth of trade. In our country, our export policies are directed towards collection of revenue as much as possible. If there is some fluctuation in the international market, our export duties are fluctuated accordingly. Let us learn a lesson from U.S. legislation. In the United States, to see that their export trade is not affected by competition from other countries or by market fluctuations, the imposition of export duties is prevented by legislation and by the Constitution. Therefore, all our export policies have got to be directed so that our industry can live.



[Shri B.N. Patodia]

Take the case of jute. In respect of jute we have completely lost the market for sackings in favour of Pakistan. In respect of hessian it is in the process of being lost completely. If the same trend continues for five years there will be no world demand for our hessian. In respect of carpet backings, the third item in which we hold a good position even today because there are no other competitors and nobody else is making this so far, looking at the situation prevailing in Pakistan, looking at the speed with which new looms are coming up there, I am sure unless we become realistic, unless we are able to bring our policies in line with them in the matter of giving incentives, in the matter of maintaining price level and in the matter of export duties, we are bound to lose the market. I hope the Government of India and the Finance Ministry will wake up to it and do the needful so that all these imbalances in the matter of export are removed.

With regard to agriculture I do not want to say anything more. I have taken sufficient time and my predecessors have already said enough about it. The whole point with regard to this new Budget is that all sections of the society, whether they are employers or they are middle-class people or they belong to the poor class, whether they are professional or businessmen, all have been adversely affected. This Budget continues to be one in the chain of old budgets, where in usual repetitive way expenses have been increased, investments have been increased and they have been balanced and neutralised by a simple arithmetical formula of raising the taxation. I hope our budgets are needed to be growth-oriented and not tax-oriented. They are needed to provide the guideline to the economy which may ultimately promote growth, which may provide employment opportunities, provide housing facilities, which may raise the standard of the people. This needs a bold step.

This was a year when necessary conditions were available for taking a bold step. Our agricultural crop was good, exports were picking up and for the first time after many years there was a price stability. We could have taken a bold step by giving reliefs, by creating conditions for making the economy growth-oriented. Have we taken

advantage of it? No. We have adopted the old policy of raising taxation and squeezing savings from the society.

I am very sorry to say, in conclusion, that a golden opportunity has been lost and the Finance Minister has lost the bus. I do not know when our economy will again be geared to the tune of growth.

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU (Chittoor): Mr. Chairman, in our country, our gross income is about Rs. 30,000 crores. Out of this Rs. 30,000 crores roughly more than Rs. 15,000 crores come from urban income and less than Rs. 15,000 crores come from rural areas—that is, agricultural income. After the introduction of land legislation or land reforms in some States now no one gets more income, no agriculturist gets more income and the income is divided among many people. About 80 per cent of our people live in rural areas and out of this 80 per cent about 50 per cent are owning lands. They get this income. This income is again shared by about 30 per cent of our population living in rural areas. But in urban areas the income of more than Rs. 15,000 crores is gained by one per cent or even less than one per cent of rich people in urban areas. This amount is shared or distributed over 19 per cent of the population in urban areas. So, is it not the duty of the government to collect more taxes from these people, less than one per cent of the people who live in urban areas and amass huge wealth? In the rural areas this amount is distributed over many people.

It is said that the policy of the government is to have a socialistic pattern of society. If you want a socialistic pattern of society, you have to tax people who have got more income. Instead of taxing people who have more income, you have turned your attention to poor agriculturists who constitute 80 per cent of the population in the rural areas.

16.16 hours.

[SHRI R.D. BHANDARE *in the Chair*]

Year after year our Government is going with a begging bowl for food from other countries. In such a situation, it is not the

duty of the government to try to grow more food in the country itself? Should they not encourage the farmers to grow more food? Instead of encouraging the farmers to grow more food, by these taxation measures the government are discouraging farmers from growing more food. We are told that it is the policy of the Government to become self-sufficient in foodgrains by 1971 and not to import any more foodgrains after that year. But is this the way you are encouraging the farmers to grow more food? In fact, the government is scuttling the grow more food campaign by these taxation measures. It looks as if they want to import more food from Russia or America rather than encourage our farmers to produce more. If that is so, I do not know where the government is leading the country to.

Coming to taxes on agriculture, government want to collect wealth tax on agricultural lands. In the cities wealth tax is collected on the basis of the value of the building. I do not know how government are going to value the land in villages. In a village a land which is fertile and has irrigation facilities will cost Rs. 15,000 to 30,000 an acre. In the same village another land which is less fertile and has no irrigation facilities will fetch only Rs. 1,000 an acre. How are the income-tax officers going to value lands? Will they say that all land in that village will cost Rs. 30,000? If that is the decision of the income-tax officer, there will be litigation and the poor farmers have to go on appeal to the tribunals spending a lot of money. You have not given anything to the farmers so far and now you want them to enter into litigation. I am not able to follow this policy of the government.

Coming to the tax on fertilizers, if you want to grow more food, you have to give incentives to farmers to use more fertilizers. You used to subsidise it in the beginning. Previously, the farmers were using only a quintal of fertilizer per acre. Now when the farmers have come forward to use hybrid seeds and more manures, a tonne of chemical fertilizer per acre, you are imposing this levy on fertilizers. When he is coming forward, putting more fertilisers and growing more food, you don't want him to grow more food. You have already stopped the subsid yon fertilisers and now you want

to tax him and dissuade him from growing more food. Is that the policy of the Government? I am very sorry to say I am totally opposed to the agricultural wealth tax and the fertiliser tax. In the interest of the country, in the interest of the people, in the interest of the agriculturists, I appeal to the Finance Minister to see reason and not to tax agriculturists by way of the wealth tax and the fertiliser tax.

Our Government is just like a trust. In the trust, if anybody swindles money, if he misuses money, he is charged in a court of law and he is punished. In the same way, the Government is like a trust looking after the tax-payers money. If the Government does not use money properly, if the Government misuses money, they are liable to be prosecuted in a court of law. What is the Government doing?

I am not against the public sector projects. I am one who wants the public sector projects. But the public sector projects must earn profits. Are the public sector projects started to satisfy a few communists in the country or a few socialists in the country? Is it not for the development of the country that we have started the public sector projects? In Russia, there are the public sector projects and these public sector projects earn profits. Why not in India? Why can't we get profits in the public sector projects? The main reason is this. In a communist country, no labourer can go on strike. If he goes on strike, he will be shot down. In India, labourers can go on strike. The communist party instigates them to go on strike; the socialist parties instigate them to go on strike. They are obstructing the development of the country. That is why the public sector projects are not able to make profits in our country.

There is another reason also for losing money in the public sector projects. If we appoint an officer to be the Chairman of a public sector project, he has a fear that he will be sacked if he does not manage properly. He will have that fear. He will have a fear that his emoluments will be cut down or he will be taken to task or a case may be filed against him in the court. He has got all the fears, if he is a public servant. What are we doing? We are appointing displaced

[Shri Chengalraya Naidu]

persons as Chairman of the public sector projects. They have been rejected by the voters already. In some cases, the courts have also condemned them, that they have mis-managed, they have done bad things and all that. We appoint them for the Heavy Engineering Plant at Ranchi....

SHRI HIMATSINGKA (Goddā): He has resigned.

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU: This is a trust property. We have to safeguard the property. Can we mismanage like this? Is the Government not responsible for the mismanagement?

MR. CHAIRMAN: You must make a distinction between defeat and judgment of the court.

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU: I have said both.

AN HON. MEMBER: The court's judgment is people's judgment.

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU: If this is going to be the fate of the public sector projects, I only blame the Government. The Government must come forward to appoint technical people or officers who can manage them well. I want the Government not to appoint any non-official people or political people. (Interruption) Don't charge us. Congress people as well as communist people have been appointed as Chairman of the public sector projects. Do not think that we are only appointing Congress people.

SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA (Begusarai): Where are the communists? Let him name at least one.

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU: Mr. Himatsingh, who is contesting the election in Banaskantha, was in charge of Asoka Hotel. Now also he is Chairman of some public concern. (Interruption) Why are you allergic when I mention names?

श्री मधु लिमये: हिममत्सिंह जी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नहीं हैं, इन्दिरा गुट के सदस्य हैं।

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU: May I request the members to allow me to speak? My time is being taken away. (Interruptions)

If you want to see that the public sector projects function efficiently and get profits, I would appeal to you to appoint people with integrity and efficiency, so that they manage them well.

The Government is doing another thing. There is a public sector undertaking—I do not want to mention the names of persons—which is manufacturing machines and for that we have appointed a General Manager who is a civil engineer and not a mechanical engineer. How can he manage it? This is the way we select and appoint people. Is it done in the interest of the project or in the interest of the persons whom we appoint? I want the Government to be careful in future while appointing persons for such important positions.

Coming to the economy of our country, for some time we were having American-oriented economy. Now we have come to Russian-oriented economy. I will tell you why I say, 'Russian-oriented economy'. We have got some projects; I will mention a few. For instance, we have got a Synthetic Drug Factory in Hyderabad, for which machinery have been supplied by Russia. This is an outmoded and outdated factory that they have given us. If, for half an hour, electricity fails, the entire raw material in the factory coming to tonnes of raw material is spoiled. They have to remove the entire machinery and they have to remove the spoiled raw material. And it takes twenty days to clean this and to start it again. Is this not an outmoded model? Why should Government purchase things like this? Again, the cost of the medicines produced is three times the cost of imported medicines. The medicines which we get for a rupee cost Rs. 8 in the Synthetic Drug Factory, Hyderabad.

We have got another antibiotics factory at Rishikesh. Here also the machinery is an old one, an outdated one; the machinery is useless. The management of that company have written to the Government that most of the items have to be changed and remo-

dolled, if the factory has to be worked. This is the position of the Russian aid.

I now come to the defence equipment that we purchase from Russia...

MR CHAIRMAN: Let this be the hon. Member's last point.

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU: Russia is giving some aid. If they are giving us 50 per cent aid, they are giving to Pakistan hundred per cent aid and also better equipment. They have given about 24 special aeroplanes of fighters to us. These are based near Delhi. On the Republic Day our Army officers wanted to use these 24 planes. Not all the 24 but some planes out of the 24 planes. They wanted to use them for Republic Day. The Russians said 'No'. They said 'If you want to use them you need tyres. We will not give you tyres.' With regard to the equipment you have acquired from Russia unless Russia agrees, we cannot use them. Tomorrow if we are at a war with any country, Russia may give permission to use the equipment. Otherwise we will not be in a position to use those equipment. Why should we go to this country and purchase useless equipment which we cannot use in times of war? This is a serious thing. When we purchase equipment, we must have the liberty to use it. What happens in a small country like Czechoslovakia. Even the Armies they marched in. They are not submitting to them. They are protesting. They are even sacrificing their lives for their freedom. In our country Russian armies have not marched. But our Government have submitted to the Russians in such a way to-day that we are becoming helpless. I will tell you one thing.

Mr. Ramamurti was criticising the Fourth Plan when the Plan was introduced. Why should he criticise? We have sent the Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission to Russia to get orders and we modified our plan according to these wishes and Mr Ramamurti criticises the plan approved by the Russians. This is the fate of our Government. It is a disgrace to send our Vice-Chairman to take orders from Russia. Are we a satellite of Russia? Have we no independence? This Government is responsible for this. Mr. Morarji Desai must explain to the nation why we have sent him to Russia. If there

is anything, they can send the Ministers. Now one thing more. That is the last thing.

Mr. Dinsh Singh while speaking the other day said that he had gone to Russia and order for wagons is coming. What happened to this wagon deal? Now the Russians said when our Indian Airlines wanted to purchase planes—Caravalls we are using—Purchase our planes.' We appointed a committee of important people and technicians to go into the matter and select what planes we should buy. These people selected some planes—Bing aircraft to be purchased. Then the Russians said 'You cannot purchase the American planes or English planes. You must purchase our planes.' Our Government obeyed implicitly and said we are not going to purchase the planes.' This is the way our Government is functioning. I am very sorry for this Government and the Minister in charge of it.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव (बांदा) : चेयरमैन महोदय, यह जो वित्त विधेयक पेश हुआ है, इसमें जो देश के विकास के बारे में बातें कही गई हैं वह उसी तरीके से हैं जैसे कि हाथी के दांत खाने के और, दिखाने के और। सरकार साधनों की कमी का रोना रोती है और इसी नाम पर गरीबों पर टैक्स लगाती है—जैसे कपड़ा, चीनी, तिग्रेट, बेजिटेबिल, घी इत्यादि पर टैक्स लगाती है—लेकिन बनियों को छूती भी नहीं है। अगर यह सरकार पैसा चाहती है तो क्यों हर साल पांच करोड़ रुपया राज-रानियों को जेब खर्च के लिए देती है? 600 करोड़ रुपया भूतपूर्व जमींदारों को मुद्राविज्ञे के रूप में क्यों देती है? 300 करोड़ रुपए के टैक्स की चोरी बड़े-बड़े व्यापारी और उद्योगपति करते हैं लेकिन उनका सरकार कुछ भी नहीं विगाड़ पाती है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण क्यों नहीं करती है? हर साल 130 करोड़ रुपया विदेशी पूंजी-पतियों को मुनाफा, सूद, रायल्टी आदि के रूप में विदेशों में क्यों जाने देती है? सरकार जो पैसा टैक्स आदि से इकट्ठा करती है प्रत्यक्ष रूप से या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से, वेईमानी से जो पैसा इकट्ठा करती है, उस पैसे को सरकार

[श्री जगन्मोहन यादव]

कायदे से खर्च नहीं करती है। मैं यह देखता हूँ कि प्रत्यक्ष और अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से सरकार के द्वारा जो पैसा गरीबों से इकट्ठा किया जाता है वह भ्रष्ट मंत्रियों द्वारा और एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव अधिकारियों द्वारा बहा दिया जाता है। उचित ढंग से जिस प्रकार वह पैसा देश के विकास में लगना चाहिए वह नहीं लगता है। और जो कुछ पैसा लगाया भी जाता है राजधानी में, प्रान्तों की राजधानियों में और दूसरे शहरों में ही खर्च कर दिया जाता है। प्रत्यक्ष और अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से जो पैसा देहातों से, गरीबों के घरानों से आता है वह उनके विकास पर बिल्कुल नहीं लगाया जाता।

मैं यह भी देखता हूँ कि जो प्रगतिशील प्रान्त हैं, जहाँ से ज्यादा मिनिस्टर बन गए हैं, उन प्रान्तों का भी विकास किया जाता है। आज उत्तर प्रदेश सबसे पिछड़ा प्रदेश है और उसमें भी जो बुदेलखंड है वह और भी अधिक पिछड़ा हुआ है। वहाँ पर सरकार पीने के पानी की भी व्यवस्था नहीं कर पाती है। वहाँ पर आज बहुत ही अधिक बेकारी फैली हुई है। भाँसी, जालौन, हमीरपुर, वांदा का जो पहाड़ी इलाका है वहाँ पर आज इतनी बेकारी बढ़ गई है कि आदमियों के पास भोजन तो है ही नहीं, पहनने के लिए कपड़े भी नहीं हैं। उस पहाड़ी इलाके में रहने वाले लोग कोल भील जाड़े में लकड़ी जलाकर आस पास पड़े रहते हैं। पानी की समस्या का तो यह हाल है कि 8-8 मील के बीच में पानी नहीं है। आज उनका जीवन बड़े खतरे में है जिसको बयान नहीं किया जा सकता। 32 लाख रुपया अभी उस इलाके के लिए मंजूर हुआ था लेकिन उसका बड़ा दुरुपयोग किया जा रहा है। कहीं नाली बिछाई जा रही है तो उसको बिछाते-बिछाते जुलाई का महीना आ जायेगा और 32 लाख रुपये का खर्चा भी दिखला दिया जायेगा। यह भी नहीं किया जाता कि जो रुपया खर्च किया जाये उससे स्थायी रूप से कोई व्यवस्था की जाये, ऐसा पक्का इन्तजाम कर दिया जाये ताकि दोबारा पानी की

समस्या पैदा न हो। अपने जिले में मैं देखता हूँ कि ब्रिटिश काल में जो हालत थी वही हालत आज भी सड़कों की बनी हुई है। वहाँ के निवासियों को यातायात की कोई सुविधा नहीं है। बारह महीने सड़कें पानी से भरी रहती हैं। मुश्किल से अप्रैल, मई, जून में कहीं जाकर रास्ते सूखते हैं तो किसान अपने खेतों का माल बाजारों तक पहुँचा पाते हैं। हमारे यहाँ एक टूटी-फूटी रेलवे ब्रांच लाइन है। आसपास के सभी संसद सदस्य लिखते-लिखते परेशान हो गए लेकिन आज तक वहाँ पर कोई एक्सप्रेस गाड़ी निकालने की व्यवस्था नहीं की गई। उसी इलाके में एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण चित्रकूट का तीर्थ स्थान है। एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण ऐतिहासिक स्थान खजुराहो है। पुराने जमाने से वहाँ पर रेलवे लाइन निकालने की योजना थी। आज भी पत्थर गड़े हुए हैं लेकिन उस रेलवे लाइन का कोई ख्याल नहीं किया जा रहा है। अगर वहाँ की जनता लड़ाई-भगड़ा, तोड़ना-फोड़ना जानती, तार और पटरी उखाड़ना जानती और सरकार का नुकसान करना जानती तो उस इलाके की भी सुनवाई हो जाती। लेकिन चूँकि वहाँ की जनता सभ्यता से शांतिपूर्ण रहना चाहती है और शांतिपूर्ण तरीकों से ही अपने अधिकारों की मांग करना चाहती है इसलिए उनकी कोई सुनवाई नहीं होती। इस सरकार में गरीबों की कोई सुनवाई नहीं है। साढ़े सात सौ संसद सदस्य देश के कोने-कोने से यहाँ पर आते हैं और सारे देश में जो भ्रष्टाचार फैला हुआ है उसको वहाँ पर एक्सप्रेस करते हैं लेकिन उनकी बातों को एक कान से सुना जाता है और दूसरे कान से उड़ा दिया जाता है। यहाँ पर पालियामेंट में जो कार्यवाही होती है वह उसी प्रकार से होती है जैसे कि देहातों में पुरोहित लोग जब वर-वधू की शादी कराते हैं तो कहते हैं कि सात वचन लड़के को लड़की के मानने चाहिए और चार वचन लड़की को लड़के के पूरे करने चाहिए—उसी तरह से अध्यक्ष महोदय जो हैं वे कहते हैं कि अमुक संसद सदस्य को यह बोलना चाहिए, इससे अधिक नहीं बोलना चाहिए।

इनको इतना टाइम देना चाहिए और इस विषय के झलावा नहीं बोलना चाहिए। इसी तरह से मंत्रिगण जो उत्तर देते हैं उनके उत्तर भी बेढंगे तरीके के होते हैं, वह चाहते हैं कि जो संसद सदस्य सवाल पूछता है उसका सीधा उत्तर न दें और ऐसे व्यंग्यात्मक ढंग से कहें कि उसका उत्तर न आये। यहाँ केवल पार्टीबन्दी करना चाहते हैं और देश का काम नहीं करना चाहते हैं।

देश के अन्दर इतना भ्रष्टाचार फैला हुआ है, इस तरीके से पैसा इकट्ठा किया जाता है, और एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव अधिकारी जो खजाने के छिद्र रूप हैं वह पैसे को बहाते चले जा रहे हैं, और इंजीनियर लोग तो करोड़ों रुपया झूठे बिल, गलत बिल बनाकर लूट रहे हैं। इसी तरह से बी० डी० ओ० को जो पैसा देहातों के डेवलपमेंट के लिए दिया जाता है उसको वह झूठे प्रोनोट बनाकर अपनी जेब में डालते हैं। लेखपाल, कानूनगो और हाकिम परगना की तो लेखपालों से भी ज्यादा गुजरी हालत है। जितनी सरकारी भूमि थी दफा 229(बी) में, जमींदारी अबालीशन ऐक्ट के मुताबिक अपने यहां मुकदमे दर्ज करा के और उनसे पैसे लेकर, सरकारी जमीन जमींदारों के नाम करते चले जा रहे हैं। इस तरीके से देश की समस्या बिगड़ती चली जा रही है।

सभी भेष बदल कर किसानों और मजदूरों की बात कहते हैं कि हम उनका हित करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन यहाँ पूंजीपरस्त नीति सरकार चला रही है। एक वर्ग हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर ऐसा है, जो चन्द मुट्ठी भर लोग हैं, और गरीब जनता का शोषण करते हैं और 90-95 फीसदी जनता ऐसी है जो शोषित होती है और उनका घन वकील, डाक्टर, लेखपाल आदि छीन लेते हैं। इसलिए इस शोषकों की सरकार को जब शोषित संगठित होंगे और डंडा मार कर जब निकालेंगे तभी यह निकलेंगी।

“रहिमन चाक कुम्हार को, मांगे दिया न देय.  
छेद में डंडा डाल कर चाहे नाँद ले लेय।”  
ऐसा जब होगा तब काम चलेगा।

**SHRI JAIPAL SINGH (Khunti):** Mr. Chairman, I wish you were in the Chair all the time. I give you my blessings. I wish that the present Speaker would resign and give his place to you.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Let him confine himself to the Finance Bill.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Do you accept his blessings.

**SHRI JAIPAL SINGH:** He needs my blessings.

I will make my usual annual complaint. Why is it that there are only two Cabinet Ministers here when the Finance Bill is before the House?

**SHRI V. KRISHNAMOORTHY (Cuddalore):** Why is Shrimati Jahanara Jaipal Singh not here?

**SHRI JAIPAL SINGH:** I have only one, or rather two points. One is in respect of what my young friend Limaye said. I agree with him to a very large extent, but not altogether. I wish he had spoken in English so that the Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister that is the title-would have listened to him; because he spoke in Hindi, he was reading something else; he was not listening to Mr. Limaye at all. I hope the Finance Minister would listen to me.

I have only one thing to say and that is about tea. He drinks tea; I also drink it; I drink something else also. Somebody advises me to give up tea; I shall be happy if he will give me... (An Hon. Member: Brandy). Tea was the biggest foreign exchange earner. It has taken, if I am correct, the third place; maybe the second place. I have thirty lakhs of *Adviasis* from my area who have built up the commercial tea industry in North Bengal and Assam. This year the tea industry is in a very bad way Raja Dinesh Singh of Kala Kankar last year at the tea seminar in Calcutta promised heaven on earth. I do not know what has happened. Practically every tea estate is going to lose money this

[Shri Jaipal Singh]

year. What is he going to do to promote greater export of tea from India as against Ceylon and East Africa and a few other countries? We have heard a lot of nonsense about the India-Ceylon consortium on tea. Ceylon is going to gain and we are going to lose. We lend money to Burma. But Burma does not buy our tea; it buys Ceylon tea. Is this the type of Government we deserve? It is very important that the Government of Assam—I am sorry my friends from Assam are not here...

AN HON. MEMBER: He is there.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH: He does not belong to Assam; he belongs to Delhi; his wife belongs to Delhi. His father was civil surgeon in Gauhati but he does not belong to Assam; you people do not know about him; he played hockey with me. This is the ignorance Members of the Lok Sabha display. It is a great pity that he is here. I wish he was there: I would have achieved something. What is happening in the north of the Brahmaputra is this. In respect of whatever spare land is there, the Government of Assam, this Hem Barua and that type of fellows who are here—they have no idea about the future development. Let the Assamese go and stay there. But how are we going to enlarge the tea estates unless the land is there? The land must be contiguous. It cannot be here, there and everywhere. Sir, I would ask Shri Morarji Desai he is not listening; what can I do? (Interruption)

AN HON. MEMBER: He is listening.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH: Why has he got some paper in his hands? Mr. Chairman, I demand that when I am talking about his Bill, he is not to read anything else. You command him.

AN HON. MEMBER: Ask him to resign.

SHRI JAIPAL SINGH: No, no. I want him to be the Prime Minister. Why should I ask him to resign?

Sir I would ask Shri Morarji Desai let him drink his tea, drink as much as he wants. This year he has been very kind to me in the budget; he has been very kind to me. He has not done me

Previously, every other year he has punished me. This year he has very kind to me, and therefore, because of that, I support his Finance Bill.

श्री हरदयाल बेवगुण (पूर्वी दिल्ली) : सभापति महोदय, मैं इस वित्त विधेयक का विरोध करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। बजट, अर्थ संकल्प और वित्त विधेयक देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को प्रकट करते हैं और उसकी दिशा का निर्धारण करते हैं परन्तु यह दोनों बातें उससे पूरी नहीं होती हैं। देश की वर्तमान आर्थिक स्थिति अत्यन्त गम्भीर और शोचनीय है यद्यपि उन्होंने अपने बजट के भाषण में तथा आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण में बहुत विशेषण प्रयोग किये हैं जैसे कहा गया है : "Green revolution in agriculture; revival in transport and trade; distinct sign of industrial revival; remarkable increase in exports. परन्तु इसके साथ ही यदि नेशनल सैम्पल सर्वे के आंकड़े भी पढ़ लिये जायें तो देश की स्थिति का अनुमान हो सकता है जब तीन भारतीयों में से एक का प्रति दिन खर्च एक रुपये से अधिक न हो, जब देहात में रहने वाले 80% लोग 50 पैसे प्रतिदिन में निर्वाह करते हों और शहरों में रहने वाले 34.3 प्रतिशत लोग केवल 80 पैसे में ही निर्वाह करते हों, जब एक करोड़ 60 लाख लोग इनके ही आंकड़ों के अनुसार बेकार हों, उसके अतिरिक्त अनेक ऐसे लोग हैं जिनका कि हिसाब नहीं जोड़ा गया अर्थात् जहाँ बेकारों की संख्या इतनी अधिक हो, जब मंहगाई इतनी बढ़ी हुई हो, तो देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को सन्तोषजनक नहीं कहा जा सकता। यह अत्यन्त गम्भीर है। आयात, निर्यात का असंतुलन भी इसकी गम्भीरता को प्रकट करता है। जब हम यह नेशनल सैम्पल सर्वे के आंकड़ों का अर्थात् 50 पैसे प्रतिदिन खर्च करने वाले लोगों का और एक रुपया से कम प्रतिदिन खर्च करने वालों का मुकाबला देश की मंहगाई से करते हैं और मैं चाहूँगा कि हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय भी यह तुलना करें कि 50 पैसे में कोई व्यक्ति अन्न खा सकेगा या जीवन की अन्य आवश्यकताओं को पूरा कर सकेगा? एक रुपये में शहर में

रहने वाला भ्रष्टमी कैसे किसी मकान में रह सकेगा, कैसे बच्चों को शिक्षा दे सकेगा, भ्रष्ट खा सकेगा भ्रष्टा कपड़े पहन सकेगा ? इन सब बातों पर विचार करने के बाद वे सोचें कि देश की आर्थिक स्थिति कितनी गम्भीर है ?

मुझे खेद है कि वित्त मंत्री जी से देश को जो आशाएं थीं वह पूरी नहीं हो सकीं। जब उन्होंने कांग्रेस दल के नेतृत्व का चुनाव लड़ा था और उसके बाद जब उनसे उपप्रधान मंत्री बनने का आग्रह हुआ था तो उनसे यह आशाएं थीं कि शायद वह देश की उन नीतियों को, जिनके कारण वर्तमान सोचनीय आर्थिक परिस्थितियां पैदा हुई हैं, कोई नया मोड़ देंगे, इतने ऊंचे पद पर रहकर वह उन नीतियों को बदलेंगे जिनके कि कारण यह सारी परिस्थितियां पैदा हुई हैं, परन्तु खेद है कि उस दिशा में उन्होंने कोई भी नेतृत्व देश को नहीं दिया, कोई भी मोड़ नीतियों को नहीं दिया। नतीजा यह है कि आज देश उसी ढर्रे पर चल रहा है जिस पर चलने से हमारा आर्थिक ढांचा गिरा है, रुपये का भ्रष्टमूल्यन हुआ है, मंहगाई बढ़ी है और देश में आर्थिक विषमता पैदा हुई है। जहां कुछ लोगों के पाम धन अधिक हो गया है परन्तु ऐसे लोगों की संख्या बहुत है जो निर्धन से निर्धनतर होते जा रहे हैं। जिन नीतियों के कारण यह सारी परिस्थितियां पैदा हुई हैं, वित्त विधेयक में उन्हीं नीतियों को आगे ले जाने की कोशिश की गई है। यह देश का दुर्भाग्य है। उन नीतियों में जब तक परिवर्तन नहीं आता तब तक देश की आर्थिक स्थिति नहीं सुधर सकती।

मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष श्री निर्जिलिगप्पा और श्री पाटिल ने उन नीतियों पर आक्षेप किया है और इसके लिए मैं उनको बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने दिलेरी और हिम्मत से काम लिया है। वैसे तो उप-प्रधानमंत्री और वित्त मंत्री श्री मोरारजी भाई बहुत सिद्धान्तवादी माने जाते हैं। वे अर्थ व्यवस्था पर राज्य के नियंत्रण का विरोध करते

रहे हैं। चाहिए तो यह था कि वह भी इसी प्रकार से खुलेआम उन नीतियों की अक्षफल-ताओं को स्वीकार करते और उनको एक नया मोड़ देने की कोशिश करते। मुझे इस बात की अवश्य खुशी है कि उन्होंने बजट में जो भूलों की थीं उनमें से कुछ को सुधारा है जैसे खेती में काम आने वाले पम्पिप सैंटों पर जो एक्सा-इज ड्यूटी लगाई थी वह उन्होंने समाप्त की है और एग्रीकलचरल वेंचर पर टैक्स की दर घटा दी है। लेकिन पूर्ण रूप से उस बारे में हमें संतोष नहीं हो सकता है क्योंकि अभी भी इस बजट में और इस विधेयक में ऐसी त्रुटियां हैं जिनसे हमारी आर्थिक व्यवस्था सराब होगी। जैसे कि घाटे की वित्त-व्यवस्था है अर्थात् 250 करोड़ रुपये के घाटे की वित्त-व्यवस्था इसमें मौजूद है। इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि करैसी का फलाव बढ़ेगा और मंहगाई बढ़ेगी। मध्यम वर्ग और निम्न वर्ग के लोगों पर सीधे करों और अप्रत्यक्ष करों का बोझ 100 करोड़ रुपये अभी मौजूद है जिसके कारण उनका जीवन निर्वाह ही दुष्कर हो जायेगा। इन कारणों से देश में आर्थिक विषमता और कठिनाइयां बढ़ेंगी। ऐसी स्थिति में वित्त मंत्री जी को उनके वर्तमान वित्त विधेयक के लिए हम धन्यवाद नहीं दे सकते हैं न उनके प्रति आभार प्रदर्शित कर सकते हैं।

मुझे सबसे अधिक दुःख इस बात पर है कि देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था के मूल आधार को समझने की कोशिश नहीं की गई। इस देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था का मूलआधार आज भी कृषि है। देश की समस्त राष्ट्रीय आय का 50 प्रतिशत आज भी कृषि से आता है और इस देश की 70 प्रतिशत से अधिक जनता आज भी कृषि पर निर्भर करती है, परन्तु इन पिछले 20 वर्षों में कृषि की जिस तरीके से अवहेलना व उपेक्षा की गई आज भी उसी प्रकार से उसकी अवहेलना की जा रही है। यह उस नीति से प्रकट है कि खाद पर लगाये टैक्स को हटाने से इन्कार किया जा रहा है। इससे साफ प्रकट होता है कि सरकार की वर्तमान नीति कृषि के लिए हितकर नहीं है।



[श्री हरदयाल देवगुण]

अगर अब भी सरकार कृषि के महत्व को समझ ले और कृषि में सुधार लाने की कोशिश करे तो हमारे देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था ठीक हो सकती है। आज हमारी सारी नीति विदेशी सहायता पर निर्भर है। जब तक बाहर से अनाज न आये, हम जिन्दा नहीं रह सकते। हम बहुत अपमानित होकर भी विदेशों से अन्न मंगा रहे हैं। यदि इस सरकार में कुछ भी स्वाभिमान होता तो उसने आज तक अमरीका से अनाज लाना बन्द कर दिया होता क्योंकि जब पाकिस्तान से लड़ाई हुई थी तब अमरीका ने अपमानजनक ढंग से गेहूं देना बन्द कर दिया था। उसके बाद हमको एक दाना भी अमरीका से न लेना चाहिये था और न स्वीकार करना चाहिये था। उस समय श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ने देश का आह्वान किया था कि हम इस देश में भूखे रहेंगे लेकिन बाहर से अपमानजनक तरीके से अन्न लेकर जिन्दा रहना स्वीकार नहीं करेंगे, साथ ही देशवासियों को भी आह्वान किया था कि वे सप्ताह में एक बार भोजन न करें, उन्होंने इस प्रकार स्वाभिमानपूर्ण ढंग से राष्ट्रीय संकल्प का उद्घोष किया था, परन्तु उसके बाद अनाज आने लगा क्योंकि यहां का अनाज पूरा नहीं पड़ता।

17 hrs.

जिस प्रकार से हमने सरकारी उपकरणों में रुपया लगाया है, जिस प्रकार से हमने उद्योगों की सहायता की है जिस प्रकार से उन को 80 प्रतिशत तक कर्ज दिया जाता है, जिस प्रकार से उन को आयात की सुविधायें दी जाती हैं, जिस प्रकार से उनको बिजली इत्यादि की सुविधायें दी जाती हैं, जिस प्रकार से सरकारी तौर पर उद्योगों के फँलाव के लिए ज्यादा से ज्यादा मदद और सुविधायें दी जाती हैं, अगर उनकी आधी मात्रा में भी कृषि को बढ़ाने में सुविधायें दी जातीं, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हम न केवल अनाज में आत्म निर्भर हो जाते बल्कि दुनिया को भी यहां से

अनाज भेज सकते। अकेले राजस्थान इतना अनाज पैदा कर सकता जो कि सारे देश की कमी को दूर कर देता, लेकिन राजस्थान नहर अभी तक पूरी नहीं हुई। यह नहर राजस्थान के लोगों को अन्न पैदा करने में बड़ी सहायक सिद्ध हो सकती है। कितने खेद और दुःख की बात है कि राजस्थान के अनेक क्षेत्रों में पीने के लिये भी पानी नहीं मिलता और सरकार बीस साल में भी अपनी इस जिम्मेदारी का निर्वाह नहीं कर सकी। यहां पर 3500 करोड़ रुपया सरकारी उपकरणों पर लगा हुआ है, करोड़ों नहीं अरबों रुपये विदेशों से अनाज लाने में लगाये गये हैं, लेकिन खेती के लिये ट्यूबवेल देने, खेती के लिये अच्छे साधनों को उपलब्ध करने, सस्ती खाद मुहैया करने के लिये साधारण कर्ज देने के लिए भी सरकार प्रचुर मात्रा में रुपया नहीं लगा पाई।

सरकार ने जो रूरल सर्वे आंकड़े प्रकाशित किये हैं उनसे पता चलेगा कि जहाँ उद्योगों को 6 प्रतिशत से 10 प्रतिशत दर पर कर्जा मिल जाता है वहाँ किसानों को 25 प्रतिशत से 50 प्रतिशत तक दर पर कर्जा लेना पड़ता है; इस से पता लगता है कि खेती के लिये हमारे यहां कितनी कठिनाइयाँ हैं। इसके साथ ही यदि आप पूँजी निवेश को देखें तो पायेंगे कि खेती के लिये कितनी कम पूँजी का निवेश होता है। आज जितनी भी विदेशी सहायता देश में आई है उसमें से 70 फीसदी और जो इस देश में छोटी बचतों से रुपया आता है उसका 70 प्रतिशत निवेश सरकारी उपकरणों में हुआ है और उसमें से 30 प्रतिशत निवेश उद्योगों तथा अन्य सेवाओं पर किया जाता रहा है। खेती पर कोई निवेश नहीं होता। जहाँ इस बात की आवश्यकता थी कि खेती के लिए कर्जों की सुविधायें दी जातीं, नलकूप खोदने के लिये, बिजली लगाने के लिये और आसान शर्तों पर कर्जा देने के लिये पूँजी निवेश किया जाता और पूँजी निर्माण के लिये सुविधायें होतीं, सरकार खेती पर टैक्स लगा रही है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार न केवल खेती पर

लगाये इस शुल्क को वापस ले ले बल्कि किसानों को और भी ज्यादा सुविधायें दे। उस को अपनी सारी नीति इस बात पर ही केन्द्रित और आधारित करना चाहिये कि खेती से ही हमारे देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था सुधर सकती है।

यदि हम देश को अनाज के मामले में आत्म निर्भर कर लेंगे तो हमारी सारी कठिनाई दूर हो जाएगी। आज देश में लाखों एकड़ जमीन ऐसी है, जो उपजाऊ है, लेकिन बेकार पड़ी है। जिस भूमि में खेती होती है उसकी पैदावार अन्य देशों की अपेक्षा बहुत कम है। उसकी पैदावार बढ़ाई जा सकती है बसर्तें यहाँ पर साधन हों, खाद हो, अच्छे बीज हों और दूसरी सुविधायें हों। यदि हम अनाज के मामले में आत्म निर्भर हो जायें, आवश्यकता से अधिक अन्न पैदा करने लगें तो उससे न सिर्फ उद्योगों को फायदा पहुँचा सकते हैं अपितु बेकारी को भी दूर कर सकेंगे और देश के कंज्यूमर को जो कष्ट है उसको भी दूर कर सकेंगे। इसलिये हमारी नीतियों का आधार इस बात पर होना चाहिये कि हम खाने-पीने की चीजों में विशेष-कर आत्म-निर्भर हों।

मैं घाटे की वित्त-व्यवस्था का भी विरोध करता हूँ। आप यह कहेंगे कि अगर हम शुल्क न लगायें, घाटे की वित्त व्यवस्था न चले, ड्यूटी न लगायें, तो सरकार का खर्च कैसे पूरा होगा? इसके लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ और श्री मोरारजी देसाई को याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जब वह मंत्री पद से हटे थे तो उन्होंने कहा था कि सरकारी खर्च में 10 प्रतिशत तक की बचत हो सकती है। मैं कहूँगा कि वह अब 10 प्रतिशत बचत करके दिखायें।

दूसरी बात यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो 3500 करोड़ रुपया सरकारी उपकरणों में लगा हुआ है उस पर कम से कम 10 प्रतिशत

मुनाफे का योजना बनानी चाहिये। इसी प्रकार से जो आयात लाइसेंस दिये जाते हैं, वह बाजार में 100-150 प्रतिशत के प्रीमियम पर बिकते हैं। सरकार को खुद आयात लाइसेंसों पर प्रीमियम लेना चाहिये। अगर एक हजार करोड़ रु० के आयात लाइसेंसों से सरकार कम से कम 1000 करोड़ रुपये की अतिरिक्त आमदनी पैदा कर सकती है।

SHRI HIMMATSINGKA (Godda): Mr. Chairman, I congratulate the Finance Minister for having given a number of incentives to industries and industrial development in his budget proposals in the shape of extension for another five years of tax holiday for certain varieties of companies, extension of development rebate for another five years, raising the amount of tax-free dividend from Rs. 500 to 1,000 and concession to the extent of 40 per cent in the case of royalty that may be earned by any company for know-how, if that know-how is supplied in India. But I feel that this concession should not be limited to an Indian company. If the know-how has been supplied by a person, or association of persons, there is no reason why that also should not get the same concession. I feel that the concession should apply to anybody who supplies know-how. In this connection, I would invite the attention of the Finance Minister to the provision in section 80MM where again the know-how income from foreign countries has been limited to Indian companies. That should be made applicable to others also. If any other person, individual or association of persons, if they are in a position to supply know-how, there is no reason why that individual or group should be deprived of that advantage which has been given to a company.

Similarly, the foreign income earned by authors, play-writers, artists etc. has been proposed tax relief to the extent of 40 per cent. If an individual, on account of his professional or any other kind of ability, can bring some income from foreign countries and the money comes in the usual course, under the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act and all that, that should also be allowed that advantage.

[Shri Himmatsingka]

Coming to certain provisions about penalty, I had written to the Finance Minister about the provisions in the Wealth-tax Act about the penalty and interest for late returns.

Certain concessions have been announced in the shape of amendment No. 302 by the Finance Minister. But I feel that even now the provision that remains is rather too severe so far as payment of half per cent, or one per cent in certain cases per month, is concerned for delay in filing of wealth tax returns. As was explained by Mr. Salve who spoke before me, in some cases, though the tax will be Rs. 25, the penalty may go up and may exceed Rs. 20,000. That does not appear to be very fair or reasonable. Therefore, in such cases, the penalty should be correlated to the tax evaded or tax increase and not to the amount of net wealth tax assessed or fixed.

Another provision which will create a lot of difficulty and a lot of trouble and litigation is about payment by crossed cheque. I had suggested that if a person pays a certain amount, over Rs. 2500, and the payee, the person to whom it is paid is also an income-tax assessee and accepts the payment and both the parties, the payer and the payee accept the position that money has been paid and the person who is to get the money has got the money and shows in his account, there is no reason why that payment should not be accepted by the income-tax officer. The provision that is there will debar the income-tax officer from allowing that amount even if the person to whom the money has been paid agrees and accepts the fact of such payment. That needs looking into and that should be changed.

Our country is one of the countries where taxation is one of the highest and the reason is that the expenses are increasing and, to meet those expenses, Government have to go on increasing the income and resources. Therefore, every attempt should be made to cut down the expenses as much as possible. I do not think there should be any difficulty in reducing certain expenses say, from even the defence sector also. In that connection, one of the suggestions that I can possibly make is that, in addition to the regular army, we should introduce some

sort of training for two or three years whereby a number of persons may be trained and they can then be treated as volunteers to be called when occasion arises. That, certainly, will enable the number of the regular army being reduced to some extent and the regular expenses may, be possibly saved.

As regards the working of the public sector undertakings, attention of the Government has been invited and they are looking into it. The working of the public sector undertakings should be improved. I am glad that in some of the undertakings, proper persons have been placed. I have in mind Shri Chalapati Rao who has been made the Chairman of the Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi, a very important undertaking. He is a very competent person and, I feel, he should be able to bring about improvements in the public sector undertaking at Ranchi. That is one of the most sophisticated machinery that we have in the country. I feel, if steps are taken, that factory should be able to meet most of the requirements of the country for new mills and factories. Attempts should be made by that undertaking in Ranchi to seek orders from not only public sector but also from private sector and they should try to see that the capacity is utilised and that it is not restricted, as at present, to about 25 per cent of its capacity. It is a crime that one of the sophisticated machinery that we have in the country should remain idle to the extent of about 75 per cent when it can be utilised manufacturing anything that is needed in the country. I had discussions with the person who knows and he said that in very few countries such sophisticated machinery have been established. But unfortunately it is not being properly utilised. Therefore, steps should be taken to see that the public undertakings that we have work properly and the production of those which are not working to full capacity is increased. One of the effects of such working will be that the inflation that we have in our country will be, to some extent, lessened. After all, if you invest such a large sum as Rs. 3,500 and sufficient production does not take place, to the extent that they are in a position to produce, there is so much of loss to the public undertakings and to the country. Therefore, I feel that every

attempt should be made to see that the undertakings which are not working properly are made to work and steps are taken to bring about results.

As you know, Sir, in the Durgapur steel factory the production is about 48 tonnes per man per year and in another undertaking of the Government, namely, Bhilai, the production is 78 tonnes per year per man. But the production in other countries comes to about 150 to 200 tonnes per man per year. Look at the difference. We produce 48 tonnes per year per man whereas about 200 tonnes can be produced. There is, therefore, no reason why steps should not be taken in that direction.

Again there is very much of overemployment in all public sector undertakings. I think, in Bhilai, Durgapur and Rourkela, about 10,000 personnel are in excess in each. You can imagine the drain on the finances of these undertakings if you have such a large number of personnel doing no work. As a matter of fact, if you have more persons than what you need, then the work suffers because it is nobody's responsibility to see what is happening, and the production costs also rise. That is the reason why, though our steel before the public undertakings had come up was the cheapest in the world, it is now the costliest in the world. Therefore, we cannot meet the competition from others.

Another matter that should be kept in view is that certain items which are in short supply should be taken up for production, so that import to that extent may be reduced. Mr. P. Ramamurti criticised our taking know-how from foreign countries. I feel that is one thing in which we are rather slow. If, by borrowing some knowhow from a foreign country, we can manufacture certain things here, why should we not do that? Why should we go on importing the articles which can be manufactured here? We can save a lot of money if we can manufacture things here by spending, for borrowing the technical knowhow, only a fraction of the amount that we have been sending out from our country. As a matter of fact, even the USA which is the most advanced country industrially have been borrowing know-how from other countries

though, of course, their income from know-how is more than what they pay. Even now Japan is spending more on borrowing know-how than what they are earning. West Germany has also been spending more than what they have been earning. Therefore, in the case of a developing country like India, there is no reason why we should grudge taking know-how and, instead of borrowing know-how, we go on importing things which can be manufactured here. I know certain cases. For instance, take the case of carbon products. We have been importing carbon products to the extent of a crore of rupees or more which we require for every day use for lights and for wherever electricity has to be generated. The know-how will not cost more than a few thousand rupees per year, but still sanction is not being accorded on the basis of the know-how supposed to be available. That person who says that he has got the know-how has been asked to give the know-how and to show how it is being or can be worked. He has failed and yet such know-how is not being approved but is being delayed. Therefore, this is a matter where I feel the Government should take immediate step.

Another thing. The Food Corporation has set up very nice up-to-date silos and godowns but look at the amount of cost in procurement. The Farmers' Parliamentary Forum went into the matter and they came to the finding that every quintal of wheat procured by Food Corporation is costing Rs. 18 per quintal. The cost of wheat is Rs. 76 per quintal whereas the cost of procurement and other incidental expenses come to Rs. 18. That means about 25% is the cost of procurement and the result is that prices go up. Therefore something should be done there also.

About jute and tea I still feel that the Finance Minister should consider whether or not he should consider the abolition of the export duty which is standing in the way of competition and which has enabled Pakistan to oust us from America and other foreign countries in competition.

With these remarks I support the Bill.

श्री अश्वकुल गनी डार (गुडगांव) : चैयरमैन साहब, जब से मैं लेजिस्लेचर में आया मैंने कभी आज तक फायनेंस बिल को अपोज नहीं किया और न ही मैं आज अपोज करने जा रहा हूँ। अगर हमारे फायनेंस मिनिस्टर जो माताएं बच्चों को दूध देती हैं उस पर भी टैक्स लगा दें तो मैं शायद उस पर भी एतराज न करूँ और अगर मिनिस्ट्रों के दर्शनों पर भी टैक्स लगा दें तो उस पर भी एतराज नहीं करूंगा। सिर्फ बात जो मैं चाहता हूँ, दो उम्मीदें सिर्फ मुझे रखनी चाहिए किसी भी सरकार से चाहे वह मधु लिमये की सरकार हो चाहे वह इन्दिरा गांधी की सरकार हो कि क्या 80 फीसदी गरीब लोग जो इस देश में बसते हैं उनकी जो जरूरियात हैं उनको फायनेंस मुहैया होती है? अगर होती है तो मुझे कोई भगड़ा नहीं है। मैं निन्दा नहीं करूंगा। मैं मुखालिफत तो करूंगा ही नहीं, सपोर्ट करूंगा। मैं ऐसा मानता हूँ कि मोरारजी भाई को और उनके साथियों को जो बापू का नाम लेकर जीते हैं और बापू के नाम को जितना चाहे उछालते हैं, उन्हें देखना है कि नमक, मिट्टी का तेल, डिजल आयल जो किसानों को चाहिए या खाद है, माचिस है, ऐसी छोटी-छोटी चीजें हैं जिन पर आये दिन यह टैक्स लगाते चले आ रहे हैं। अभी मेरे एक एक दोस्त ने कहा कि तीन बातों के लिए मुवारकबाद देता हूँ कि इनके वक्त में एक्सपोर्ट बढ़ा, इनके वक्त में आकर कुछ अच्छा इन्तजाम हुआ जहाँ तक कि फायनेंस का सवाल है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ, क्या डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब बताएंगे कि क्या यह सच है कि बेरोजगारी आज तीन योजनाओं के बाद बढ़ गई है? क्या यह सच है कि गरीबों की जो हालत है वह पहले से बदतर हो गई? क्या यह सच है कि चौथे दर्जे के जितने मुलाजिम हैं वह तो हैं ही, चौथे दर्जे के मुलाजिमों के बच्चों के लिए भी खाने-पीने का, कपड़े का, तालीम का, उनकी हैलथ का कोई इन्तजाम नहीं? अगर यह सच है कि टीचर्स, पटवारीज, पुलिस के सिपाही, इनकी हालत अच्छी नहीं है

तो मैं तारीद तो करूंगा ही और आखिर में जा कर विलकुल सपोर्ट भी करूंगा लेकिन मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि दिल्ली की पुलिस का सिपाही हरयाना जो एक छोटी स्टेट है उससे कम क्यों तनखाह लेता है?

17.24 hrs.

[उपाध्यक्ष महोदय पीठासीन हुए]

मेरी समझ में ऐसी बात नहीं आती है, लेकिन आ जायगी अगर मैं ज्यादा ध्यान दूंगा।

मधु लिमये से मुझे इतिफाक होते हुए भी मैं समझता हूँ कि मोरारजी भाई अकेले बेचारे क्या कर सकते हैं, किस तरह से रोक सकते हैं कि यह लीकेज किसी तरह से न हो। क्योंकि सारी दुनिया जानती है कि मिनिस्ट्री में दो-तीन घड़े हैं और आफिसर्ज तो अब मिनिस्ट्रों की भी मिट्टी छेदने लगे हैं। मैं तो इस बात को अपनी सेल्फ रेस्पेक्ट को चलन्ज समझता हूँ कि मामूली से मामूली अफसर एयर-कन्डीशन में जायें और हम लोगों के लिए यह कहा गया कि हम और मिनिस्ट्रजें यहाँ क्लास में सफर करें—मैं तो इसके लिये भी तैयार हूँ, मुझे इसमें भी कोई एतराज नहीं है—जैसा इनको चाहिए वंसा करें।

अगर आप कोई इन्डीपेन्डेंट एन्क्वायरी पब्लिक सेंक्टर के बारे में बैठायें कि कितनी मशीनरी वहाँ विलकुल बेकार है, जो विलकुल री-कन्डीशन्ड है, जो विलकुल यूज़रलैस है, जिसकी कोई जरूरत नहीं है—अगर ऐसी मशीनरी 20 परसेन्ट साबित न हो तो जो सजा मुझे दें, मैं सजा लेने के लिये तैयार हूँ, रिजाइन करने के लिये तैयार हूँ। लेकिन अगर यह बात सच है तो आपको आगे आना चाहिये और आपको देखना चाहिये कि पब्लिक मनी का सही इस्तेमाल हो। मैं कोई सल्ल लफ्ज नहीं कह रहा हूँ।

दूसरी बात—अभी मुझे पहले जो वक्ता थे, उन्होंने दो बातें कही थीं। अगर पब्लिक

संक्टर जो तैयारी करने वाला है, उसमें कोई कमी आ जाय तो यह होगा कि हमें माली नुकसान होगा। लेकिन जो हवाई जहाज रूस ने दिये हैं उनके लिये कहा गया कि टायर नहीं दिये। यह बात कांग्रेस वाले भाई बोल रहे थे। डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब पब्लिक संक्टर इस लिये बना था कि हम प्राइवेट संक्टर को यह सबक दें कि देखो भाई, आप लूट ज्यादा मचाते हो, नुकसान ज्यादा करते हो। मेरा चेलैन्ज है—चाहे भाई फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद हों या बहन इन्दिरा हों या मोरारजी भाई हों—अगर वह 5 परसेन्ट भी मशीनरी प्राइवेट संक्टर में ऐसी साबित कर दें जो उन्होंने बेकार ली हो या ऐसे ही मंगवाली हो जिसका कोई मतलब न हो तो मैं हर सजा लेने के लिए तैयार हूँ। लेकिन अगर ऐसा नहीं है तो फिर इसके मायने यह है कि पब्लिक संक्टर के नाम से, गरीबों के नाम से इन्होंने इस तरह की घाबली की है। इसकी वजह यह है कि जो हमारे मिनिस्टर्स हैं, वह उस एबिलिटी के नहीं हैं कि जितने उन के संक्रैटरी हैं। क्योंकि अगर उस एबिलिटी के होते तो क्या कोई संक्रैटरी हिम्मत करता कि किसी मिनिस्टर की बेइज्जती करे। बहरहाल पब्लिक संक्टर में नुकसान होता है, हालाँकि हम उसको दिलोजान से चाहते हैं। मधु लिमये की बातें बहुत जबरदस्त होती हैं, वह तो चलेंगी ही, लेकिन मेरा कहना यह है कि इस में प-दर-प नुकसान हो रहा है और उसकी वजह यह बताई गई है कि इन्होंने जानबूझ कर उसको अपने ही परब्यू में रखा है। चाहे साल के साल को रखिये, जरूरी नहीं है कि वह पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन से मन्जूरी ले कि आया इस काबिल भी है कि उसको रखा जाय।

अभी एक भाई ने बताया—जो कांग्रेस के हैं—10 हजार आफिसर्स ज्यादा रखे हुए हैं कि इतना ही नहीं इण्डस्ट्रीयल सिक्थोरिटी के नाम पर और ज्यादा पुनिस जा रही है ..

श्री हिम्मतसिंहका: कम्युनिस्ट लोग उनको घटाने में बाधा डाल रहे हैं, हटने नहीं दे रहे हैं।

श्री अशुलुगनी डार: अगर यही बात है तो आइये मेरे साथ बैठकर हिसाब कर लीजिये। कितनी प्राइवेट मिलें हैं जिनमें कम्युनिस्टों ने या सोशलिस्टों ने या लेबर यूनियनों ने हड़ताल कराई है और पब्लिक संक्टर कितने दिनों के लिये बन्द रहे हैं। यह तो एक बहाना है जो अब आइन्दा नहीं आयेगा क्योंकि पब्लिक संक्टर में नालायक से नालायक आदमी बड़ी-बड़ी तनख्वाहों पर रखे गये हैं। सिर्फ इसलिये रखे गये हैं कि वे आपके चहेते थे, आपके प्यारे थे, आपके अजीब थे। डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, करोड़ों रुपये के आर्डर इस लिये वापस हो गये कि हमारे प्रोडक्ट की वह क्वालिटी नहीं थी कि जिस क्वालिटी का हमने वायदा किया था।

इन सब नकायज के होते हुए भी मैं आपसे एक बात पूछना चाहता हूँ—हम इस पब्लिक मनी का इस्तेमाल करते हैं तो क्या गरीबों के बच्चों को दवायें मुफ्त मिलती हैं? लेकिन आप तो गरीबों की खाद पर भी टैक्स लगाने जा रहे हैं। क्या उनकी आपकी तरफ से ऐनकें मुफ्त मिलती हैं जैसा कि दूसरे अच् मुल्कों में मिलती हैं।

दूसरा प्वाइंट यह है कि सन् 58 में बैंकों में बेइमानी हुई, इनकी नोटिस में वह लाया गया लेकिन इन्होंने कोई परवाह नहीं की। मोरारजी भाई के खत मौजूद हैं, मैंने सन 63 में उस मामले को अपने हाथ में लिया। मैंने कहा कि रिजर्व बैंक की मौजूदगी में बददयानती होती है। उन सरमायेदारों को—जिनकी ये भाई चर्चा करते हैं—ऐसा करोड़ों रुपया दिया गया है जिसके पीछे कोई सिक्थोरिटी नहीं है। उसमें गबन हुए हैं लेकिन कोई सुनवाई नहीं। सन 65 में मुझे मजबूरन तंग होकर उसको एक किताब की शकल देनी पड़ी। तब सन 58 का मामला सन 65 में एफ० आई० आर० द्वारा पार्लिया-मेंट स्ट्रीट में दाखिल हुआ लेकिन फिर तीन

[श्री अब्दुलगनी डार]

साल के लिए गायब। सन 68 में उसको दूसरी बार शायी करना पड़ा जिसमें इनके तमाम वह खत जो लिखे थे वह भी दिये। फिर 68 में वह मुकदमा चालू कर दिया। अब वह मुकदमा कब तक चालू रहेगा? उसमें भी क्या किया कि पकड़ लो पुलिस कांस्टेबिल को क्योंकि उसने रुपये रिश्वत के लिए या किसी क्लर्क को पकड़ लो, लेकिन जो बड़े-बड़े मगरमच्छ हैं, रिजर्व बैंक के बड़े आफिसर हैं, पंजाब नेशनल बैंक के डायरेक्टर हैं या दूसरी बैंक्स के डायरेक्टर हैं, जिन्होंने कि अपने पावर का अव्युत्त किया है, उन पर क्यों न मुकदमा चलाया जाये—इस पर कोई सुनवाई नहीं। इसलिए मुझे मजबूरन प्रेसीडेंट के पास आई ओपेनर का काम करना पड़ा, अपने सीनियर मेम्बर्स की मदद से—उनको मेमोरैंडम की शकल में देना पड़ा। क्या मोरारजी भाई फिर भी फरार करते हैं कि गांधीजी के चले हैं और वे इस वक्त देश को सही रास्ते पर ले जा रहे हैं? बिल्कुल नहीं। मैं समझता हूँ वह घोखे में हैं। वे अपने-आपको समझते हैं कि गांधीवादी हूँ लेकिन शराब उसी तरह से आज भी जारी है। जयपाल सिंह जी जब कह रहे थे तो मैं हंस पड़ा—कि बड़े-बड़े नेतागण जो हैं, जब तक शराब न पियें फाइल पर आर्डर नहीं लिख सकते। तो शराब पर भी आज तक पाबन्दी नहीं लग सकी।... (व्यवधान) ...मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि चाइना जैसा मुल्क जो पहले अफीमी कहलाता था उसका जो स्टील का प्रोडक्शन है और जो आपका पब्लिक सेक्टर में स्टील का प्रोडक्शन है, उसका मुकाबला कीजिए—अगर आप उसके मुकाबले में 20 परसेंट भी हों तो मैं आपको शाबाश दूंगा कि आपने मुल्क की बड़ी तरक्की की, बीस साल में मुल्क को सरसब्ज कर दिया। उसी तरह से आप मुकाबला करें कि ब्रह्मपुत्र और दूसरी नदियों के सलाब से जो मुल्क की बरबादी होती है उसका भी आपने उनकी तरह से इलाज किया, तो मैं आपकी तारीफ करूंगा। फसल से बड़ी उम्मीद थी और यह आशा थी कि देश का भला होगा

लेकिन जो बिजली गिरी, पानी गिरा और फसल खराब हुई, उसकी आपने कितनी हिफाजत की? आपने कितने ट्रैक्टर बनाये जिससे कि खेती की जा सके—इन बातों का जवाब नहीं दिया जायेगा लेकिन हर चीज पर टैक्स ही टैक्स। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि आप यह भी टैक्स लगा दीजिए कि जो मंदिर में जायेगा उसको इतना देना पड़ेगा, जो गुरुद्वारे में जायेगा उसको इतना देना पड़ेगा और जो इस पार्लियामेंट में हमारे दर्शनों के लिए जायेगा वह भी देगा। यह सब तो बर्दाश्त होगा लेकिन करप्शन बढ़ रहा है इसलिए कि जो आफिसर हैं नालायक हैं, अमर लायक होते तो ऐसा कभी मुमकिन नहीं होता। आज गांधी बाबा नहीं हैं। इन व्यूरोक्रैट्स ने जितनी बदब्यातनी की, जिन्होंने हमारे बच्चों को फांसी पर लटकाया, जिन्होंने जवाहरलाल जी की माता को लाठियां मारीं, पं० गोविन्द वल्लभ पन्त की कमर तोड़ दी, इनको तो गैली से उड़ा दिया जाता लेकिन गांधीजी की वजह से हमने इनकी इज्जत की। मैं भी गांधीवादी हूँ। इन्होंने कितना फरारेन एक्सचेंज बर्बाद कर दिया लेकिन जब मैंने कहा कि मैं हज्ज के लिए जा रहा हूँ, कुछ और देशों में भी जाना होगा, हर मेम्बर को इसका हक है और 8 सालों में मैंने कभी इसकी मांग भी नहीं की तो पहले मोरारजी भाई ने जवाब ही नहीं दिया और जब जवाब दिया तो यह कहा कि आपको देंगे, आपकी बीबी को नहीं देंगे—मैं हंस पड़ा, मैंने कहा मेरी बीबी मेरी प्राइवेट सेक्टर की भी है, मेरी बिजनेस पार्टनर भी है लेकिन उसकी बदनसोबी यह है कि वह डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर की बेटी नहीं। अगर डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर की बेटी होती तो आसानी के साथ फारेन एक्सचेंज मिल जाता। इनके आफिसर्स जाते हैं और जैसा इन्होंने कहा, इनके ही आदमियों ने कहा कि रही और खराब मशीनरी लाते हैं। यह करप्शन को पनाह देते हैं इसलिए कि करप्ट हैं और यह चाहें तो मेरे मुकाबले में मुकदमा चलायें। इन्होंने पहले भी कहा था कि कैरों फोबिया हो गया है, जब मैं कैरों के करप्शन के बारे में कहता था। पंडित





## [ شرمی عبدالغنی ڈار ]

سہ سہولی انسر ایگزیکٹو میں جہاں لوگوں کے لئے یہ کہا گیا کہ ہم اور نمسٹرز تھمڈ کلاس میں سفر کریں۔ میں تو اس کے لئے بھی تیار ہوں۔ مجھے اس میں کوئی اعتراض نہیں ہے۔ جیسا ان کو چاہیے ویسا کریں۔

اگر آپ کوئی انڈیپنڈنٹ انکوائری پبلک سیکرٹری کے بارے میں بیٹھائیں کہ کتنی خستہ کاریاں کیا رہے۔ جو بالکل ریگولیشنڈ ہے۔ جو بالکل ریگولیشنڈ ہے۔ جس کی کوئی ضرورت نہیں ہے اگر ایسی مشینری ۲۰ پر سینٹ بھی نہ ہو تو جو چاہے سزا بھگودیں۔ میں سزا لینے کے لئے تیار ہوں۔ رزائن کرنے کیسے تیار ہوں۔ لیکن اگر یہ بات سچ ہے تو آپ کو آگے آنا چاہیے اور آپ کو دیکھنا چاہیے کہ پبلک سنی کا صحیح استعمال ہو۔ میں کوئی سخت لفظ نہیں کہہ رہا ہوں۔

دوسری بات۔ ابھی مجھ سے پہلے جو دکتا تھے انہوں نے دو باتیں کہی تھیں۔ اگر پبلک سیکرٹری جو تیار کر کے دلا ہے اس میں کوئی کمی آجائے تو یہ ہوگا کہ مالی نقصان ہوگا۔ لیکن جو ہوائی جہاز روس نے دیئے ہیں ان کے لئے کہا گیا کہ ٹائر نہیں دیئے۔ یہ بات کانگریس والے بھائی بول رہے ہیں۔ ڈپٹی سپیکر صاحب۔ پبلک سیکرٹری اس لئے بنا تھا کہ ہم پرائیویٹ سیکرٹری کو یہ سب دینے دیں کہ دیکھو بھائی آپ لوٹ زیادہ بچاتے ہو۔ نقصان زیادہ کرتے ہو۔ میرا چیلنج ہے۔ چاہے بھائی فخر الدین علی احمد ہوں یا بہن اندرا ہوں یا مراد علی بھائی ہوں۔ اگر وہ ۵ روپے لگے ہوں۔

پرائیویٹ سیکرٹری میں ایسی ثابت کر دیں جو انہوں نے کیا کرنا چاہا ایسے ہی منگوائی ہو جس کا کوئی مطلب نہ ہو تو میں ہر سزا لینے کے لئے تیار ہوں۔ لیکن اگر ایسا نہیں ہے تو پھر اس کے معنی یہ ہوتے ہیں کہ پبلک سیکرٹری کے نام سے۔ غریبوں کے نام سے انہوں نے اس طرح کی دکاندلی کی ہے۔ اس کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ جو ہمارے نمسٹرز ہیں وہ اس ایبلٹی کے نہیں کہ جتنے ان کے سیکرٹریز ہیں۔ کیونکہ اگر اس ایبلٹی کے ہوتے تو کیا کوئی سیکرٹری بہت کرتا کہ کسی نمسٹر کی بے عزتی کرے۔ بہر حال پبلک سیکرٹری میں نقصان ہوتا ہے۔ حالانکہ ہم اس کو دل و جان سے چاہتے ہیں۔ مدھو ٹیٹے کی باتیں بہت زبردست ہوتی ہیں وہ تو جلیں گی ہی۔ لیکن میرا کہنا یہ ہے کہ ہمیں پے در پے نقصان ہو رہا ہے اور اس کی وجہ یہ بتائی گئی ہے کہ انہوں نے جان بوجھ کر اس کو پنے ہی پر دیویں رکھا ہے۔ چاہے سالے کے سالے کے سالے کو رکھنے ضروری نہیں کہ وہ پبلک سروس کمیشن سے منظوری لے کہ آیا اس تاب بھی ہے کہ اس کو رکھا جائے۔

ابھی ایک بھائی نے بتایا۔ جو کانگریس کے ہیں۔ کہ ۱۰ ہزار آفیسرز زیادہ رکھے ہوئے ہیں۔ اتنا ہی نہیں انڈسٹریل سیکورٹی کے نام پر اور زیادہ پولیس بھرتی کی جا رہی ہے۔

شرمی ہمت سنگھ کا: کیونٹ لوگ ان کو گھسانے میں بادھا ڈال رہے ہیں۔ ہٹنے نہیں رہے ہیں۔

شری عبدالغنی ڈار :- اگر یہ بات ہے تو آئیے میرے ساتھ بیٹھ کر حساب کر لیجئے۔ کتنی پرائیویٹ طبع ہیں جن میں کیونسٹوں نے یا سوشلسٹوں نے زیادہ پونینوں نے ہڑتال کرائی ہے اور پبلک سیکٹر کتنے دنوں کے لئے بند رہے ہیں۔ یہ تو ایک جہاں ہے۔ جو اب آئندہ کام نہیں کرے گا۔ کیونکہ پبلک سیکٹر میں نالائق سے نالائق آدمی برسی رہی تنخواہوں پر رکھے گئے ہیں۔ صرف اس لئے رکھے گئے ہیں کہ دے آپکے چیتے تھے۔ آپ کے پیارے تھے۔ آپ کے عزیز تھے اور آپ ان کو فائدہ پہنچانا چاہتے تھے۔ ڈپٹی اسپیکر صاحب۔ کرڈوں روپے کے آرڈر اس لئے والپس جو گئے کہ ہمارے پروردگش کی وہ کوالٹی نہیں تھی کہ جس کوالٹی کا ہم نے داعدہ کیا تھا۔

ان سب نقائص کے ہوتے ہوئے بھی میں آپ سے ایک بات پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں۔ ہم اس پبلک منی کا استعمال کرتے ہیں تو کیا غریبوں کے بچوں کو دوائیں مفت ملتی ہیں۔ لیکن آپ تو غریبوں کی کھاد پر بھی ٹیکس لگانے جا رہے ہیں کیا ان کو آپ کی طرف سے ایکن مفت ملتی ہے جیسا کہ دوسرے اچھے ملکوں میں ملتی ہیں۔

دوسرا پوائنٹ یہ ہے کہ سنہ ۵۸ میں بینکوں میں بے ایمانی ہوئی۔ ان کی نوٹس میں یہ لایا گیا لیکن انہوں نے کوئی پرداہ نہیں کی مزاراجی بھائی کے خط موجود ہیں۔ میں نے سنہ ۶۳ میں اس معاملہ کو اپنے ہاتھ میں لیا۔ میں نے کہا کہ

رزرو بینک کی موجودگی میں بددیانتی ہوئی ہے۔ ان سرمایہ داروں کو جن کی یہ بھائی جو چا کرتے ہیں ایسا کر ڈرہا۔ دہیمہ دیا گیا ہے جس کے پیچھے کوئی سیکورٹی نہیں ہے۔ اس میں غبن ہوئے ہیں لیکن کوئی سنوائی نہیں۔ سنہ ۶۵ میں مجھے مجبوراً تنگ ہو کر اس کو ایک کتاب کی شکل دینی پڑی تھی سنہ ۵۸ کا معاملہ سنہ ۶۵ میں ایف۔ آئی۔ آر دوارہ پارلیمنٹ اسمبلی میں اٹھانے میں داخل ہوا۔ لیکن پھر ۳ سال کے لئے غائب سنہ ۶۸ میں اس کو دوسری بار شائع کرنا پڑا جس میں ان کے تمام وہ خط جو لکھے تھے وہ بھی دیئے۔ پھر ۶۸ میں وہ مقدمہ چلا کر دیا۔ اب وہ مقدمہ کب تک چلا رہا ہے۔ اس میں بھی کیا کیا کہ پکڑ لو پولیس کا فیشنل کو کیونکہ اس نے دو روپے رشوت لے لئے یا کسی کلرک کو پکڑ لو لیکن جو بڑے بڑے مگر مچھ ہیں۔ رزرو بینک کے بڑے افسر ہیں۔ پنجاب نیشنل بینک کے ڈائریکٹر ہیں یا دوسری بینکس کے ڈائریکٹر ہیں جنہوں نے کہ انہی پادرو کو ایجوڑ کیا ہے ان پر کیوں نہ مقدمہ چلایا جائے اس پر کوئی سنوائی نہیں۔ اس لئے مجھے مجبوراً پریسیڈنٹ کے پاس آئی اور پینر کا کام کرنا پڑا۔ پنے سینئر ممبر کی مدد سے۔ ان کو میورنڈم کی شکل میں دینا پڑا۔ کیا مارجی بھائی پھر بھی فخر کرتے ہیں کہ گاندھی جی کے چیلے ہیں۔ اور وہ اس وقت دلش کو صحیح راستے پر لے جا رہے ہیں۔ بالکل نہیں۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں وہ دھوکے میں ہیں۔ وہ

اپنے آپ کو سمجھتے ہیں کہ گاندھی جی کے چیلے ہیں۔  
 لیکن خرابی اسی طرح سے آج بھی جاری ہے۔  
 بھوپال سنگھ جی جب کہہ رہے تھے تو میں ہنس پڑا۔  
 کہ بڑے بڑے نیاگن جو ہیں جب تک شراب نہ  
 پئیں فائل پورا ڈر نہیں لکھ سکتے۔ تو شراب پر بھی  
 آج تک پابندی نہیں لگ سکی۔ (درو دھان)  
 میں ختم کر رہا ہوں۔ لیکن میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ  
 چائینا جیسا ملک جو پہلے ایٹمی کھلاتا تھا۔ اس کا  
 جو اسٹیل کا پروڈکشن ہے۔ اور جو آپ کا بلیک سیکٹر  
 میں اسٹیل کا پروڈکشن ہے۔ اس کا مقابلہ کیجئے  
 اگر آپ اس کے مقابلہ میں ۲۰ پرفینٹ بھی پوں  
 تو میں آپ کو شاباش دوں گا کہ آپ نے ملک کی  
 بڑی ترقی کی۔ بیس سال میں ملک کو سرسبز کر دیا۔  
 اسی طرح سے آپ مقابلہ کریں کہ برہمپتہ اور دیگر  
 نڈیوں کے سیلاب سے جو ملک کی بربادی ہوئی ہے  
 اس کا بھی آپ نے ان کی طرح علاج کیا۔ تو میں  
 آپ کی تعریف کروں گا۔ فصل سے بڑی امید  
 تھی اور یہ آسنا تھی کہ دیش کا بھلا ہو گا۔ لیکن جو  
 بجلی گری، پانی گرا، اور فصل خراب ہو۔ اسکی  
 آپ نے کتنی حفاظت کی۔ آپ نے کتنے ٹریکٹر  
 بنائے جن سے کہ کھیتی کی جا سکے۔ ان باتوں کا  
 جواب نہیں دیا جائیگا۔ لیکن ہر چیز پر ٹیکس پی  
 ٹیکس۔ میں تو کہتا ہوں کہ آپ یہ بھی ٹیکس پی  
 لگا دیجئے کہ جو مندر میں جائیگا اس کو اتنا دینا  
 چوگا۔ جو گوڈو دار سے میں جائیگا اس کو اتنا دینا  
 پڑے گا۔ اور جو اس پار لینٹ میں چار سے

درشنوں کے لئے آئیگا وہ بھی دیکھا۔ یہ سب تو ردا  
 ہوگا۔ لیکن کرپشن پر کرپشن بڑھ رہا ہے۔ اس لئے کہ  
 جو آفیسر ہیں نالائق ہیں۔ اگر لائق ہوتے تو ایسا  
 کبھی نہیں ہوتا۔ آج گاندھی بابا نہیں ہیں۔ ان  
 بیوروکریٹس نے عینی بددیانتی کی۔ جنہوں نے ہمارے  
 بچوں کو پھانسی پر لٹکایا۔ جنہوں نے جو اہر لال جی  
 کی ماتا کو لٹھیاں ماریں۔ پنڈت گووند مہا پنت  
 کی مکر توڑی۔ ان کو تو گولی سے اڑا دیا جاتا لیکن  
 گاندھی جی کی وجہ سے ہم نے ان کی عزت کی۔  
 میں بھی گاندھی وادی ہوں۔ انہوں نے کتنا  
 فائدہ ایکسچینج برباد کیا لیکن سب میں نے کہا کہ  
 میں سچ کے لئے جا رہا ہوں۔ کچھ اور دیشوں  
 میں بھی جانا ہوگا۔ ہر ممبر کو اس کا حق ہے۔ اور  
 ۸ سالوں میں میں نے کبھی اس کی مانگ بھی  
 نہیں کی۔ تو پہلے مراد جی بھائی نے جواب ہی  
 نہیں دیا۔ اور جب جواب دیا تو یہ کہا کہ آپ  
 کو دینگے۔ آپ کی جو می کو نہیں دینگے۔ میں  
 ہنس پڑا۔ میں نے کہا میری جو می میری پرائیوٹ  
 سیکرٹری بھی ہے۔ میری بزنس پارٹنر بھی ہے  
 لیکن اس کی بد نصیبی یہ ہے کہ وہ ڈپٹی پرائم  
 منسٹر کی بیٹی نہیں۔ اگر ڈپٹی پرائم منسٹر کی بیٹی  
 ہوتی تو آسانی کے ساتھ فائدہ ایکسچینج  
 مل جاتا۔

ان کے آفیسر بن جاتے ہیں اور جیسا کہ  
 انہوں نے کہا۔ اسکے ہی آدمیوں نے کہا کہ توڑی  
 اور خراب مشینری لائے ہیں۔ یہ کرپشن کو نادمہ

हैं। اس لئے کہ کرپٹ ہیں۔ اور یہ چاہیں تو میرے  
 مقابلہ میں مقدمہ چلائیں۔ انہوں نے پہلے بھی  
 کہا تھا کہ گیرڈوں کو بنایا ہو گیا ہے۔ جب میں گیرڈوں  
 کے کہ لین کے بارے میں کہتا تھا۔ پینڈت  
 جواہر لال نہرو نے کہا تھا کہ ۳۶ درش کی قید  
 ہوگی۔ پتہ نہیں مرادھی بھائی کتنی قید کرینگے۔  
 یہ مجھ پر مقدمہ چلائیں مجھے خوشی ہے۔ انہوں  
 نے بینکوں کو رزرو بینک کو اور آفیسرس کو  
 اس لئے پناہ دی کہ انکے اپنے پروے فاش  
 ہوتے ہیں۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ان کو اگر مہرت  
 ہے تو مجھ پر مقدمہ چلائیں۔ ورنہ اصلاح  
 کریں اور بینکوں کے ڈائریکٹرز کو سیدھی  
 راہ پر لائیں۔

going to question, may disreput it, is not proper.

SHRI A.S. SAIGAL: I am ready to go away but I cannot tolerate this kind of thing. This cannot be tolerated.

श्री डा० ना० तिवारी (गोपलगंज) :  
 उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं सबसे पहले वित्त मंत्री को  
 बघाई देता हूँ कि अबमूल्यन के बाद जो हमारी  
 आर्थिक दशा गिरती जा रही थी और कहां  
 रुकती समझ में नहीं आता था, उसको उन्होंने  
 एक ठहराव दिया और अब धीरे-धीरे हमारी  
 आर्थिक दशा सुधरती जा रही है। साथ ही  
 मुझे इसके कुछ सदस्यों के भाषण पर बहुत ही  
 एतराज है। वित्त विधेयक पर बोलते हुए  
 पर्सनल ब्रटेक किसी पर करना और कहना  
 कि तुम करप्ट हो, करप्शन की इनक्वायरी हो,  
 यह उनको शोभा नहीं देता।

श्री अब्दुल गनी डार : मैंने किसी का  
 पर्सनल नाम लिया।

SHRI D.N. TIWARY: I do not want to be interrupted; I do not yield.

SHRI ABDUL GHANI DAR: You are misleading the House. I never mentioned any name.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We have twenty minutes left. I am to call the Finance Minister at 6 O'clock. It has already been fixed. We have got to conclude this debate. Some time is left for the Independents. Mr. Tiwary.

SHRI A.S. SAIGAL (Bilaspur): Since yesterday our name is on the list and we have been here. Either you should follow the list or you should ask Members to catch your eye. I can tell you that this is not the system in Parliament. You are creating a news system. You are following the list at one time; you are not following the list sometime. This is not the way... (Interruption) Somebody comes to you and he says that such and such Member should be called; you call him. If we come you will never listen to us and you will say that you will not talk to us. After all we are coming here from prominent States and our name is in the list since yesterday.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I warn the hon. Members here that if they are

श्री डा० ना० तिवारी : यह पार्लियामेंट  
 प्रोटेक्टेड बगह है। हम किसी को भी बल-  
 बुरा कह दें इसके लिए हम पर मुकदमा नहीं  
 चल सकता और इसका अनुचित लाभ उठाकर  
 किसी को कह दें कि तुम खराब हो, घूस खते  
 हो, बदबानी करते हो, यह हम लोगों को खेबा  
 नहीं देता। हमारे ही दस के एक सदस्य ने कहा  
 एक आदमी कहीं पब्लिक ग्रन्डरटेक्चर में  
 बहाल हो गया और चूँकि वह हार गया इधर  
 लिए अयोग्य हो गया। बहुत से बड़े लोग  
 इलेक्शन में हार जाते हैं हमारे कांग्रेस के प्रेसी-  
 डेंट श्री कामराज हार गये थे तो क्या वह  
 अयोग्य हो गये? क्या उनको कोई जिम्मेदारी  
 की जगह नहीं दी जा सकती?

**SHRI SRINIBAS MISRA (Cuttack):** A very good defence of a defeated politician.

श्री द्वा० ना० तिवारी : वह आदमी जो बहाल हुआ था हैवी इंजीनियरिंग में वह ऐसा था जिसने हिन्दुस्तान को संसार के आयात मँप पर ला दिया। उसके बिजनेस मॅनेजमेंट पर कभी कोई शक नहीं हो सकता था। लेकिन हम यहां किसी को कुछ भी कह सकते हैं।

कल वित्त विधेयक पर बोलते हुए श्री अशोक मेहता ने गवर्नमेंट की फटिलाइजर्स और आयल पालिसी को क्रिटिसाइज किया था। मुझे यह देख कर बड़ा आश्चर्य होता है कि जब हम मंत्री पद पर रहते हैं तो उसकी चकाचौंध में इतने आ जाते हैं कि हम को गवर्नमेंट में कोई दोष नहीं मालूम पड़ता, लेकिन जब हम वहाँ से हट जाते हैं तो उसमें बहुत दोष व त्रुटियाँ दिखाई देने लग जाती हैं। कल उन्होंने कहा कि गवर्नमेंट की फटिलाइजर्स और आयल पालिसी बहुत गलत ढंग से चल रही है और उसे दूसरे तरीके से चलना चाहिए। अभी 6 महीने पहले वह भारत सरकार के मंत्री थे और उसी विभाग के मंत्री थे जिस विभाग की वह अब क्रिटिसिज्म कर रहे हैं। अब श्री अशोक मेहता को मालूम होना चाहिए कि गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी कोई नई नहीं हुई है जो उन के समय में पालिसी थी वही आज तक चलती आ रही है। यदि उनको उसमें खामी मालूम हुई तो उनको उसी वक्त उच्च करना चाहिए था। अगर गवर्नमेंट उनकी नहीं सुनती तो उस पद से हट कर देश में उसके लिए आन्दोलन करना चाहिए था। लेकिन असलियत तो यह है कि उन्होंने बजारत कोई पालिसी के ऊपर नहीं छोड़ी थी बल्कि दूसरे इश्यू पर मंत्री पद छोड़ा था।

श्री साल्वे ने कहा कि 10,000 रुपये से ऊपर की इनकम पर यह इनकमटैक्स लगाना

चाहिए उससे नीचे नहीं लगाना चाहिए। उन्होंने इसकी सपोर्ट में आर सी के स्टडी ग्रुप की फिगरर्स का हवाला देते हुए बतलाया कि इससे एक्सपैक्टर्ड टोटल टैक्स 20 करोड़ से ज्यादा नहीं होगा जिसका कि मतलब यह हुआ कि वह टोटल रिऐलाइजेशंस का 4 परसेंट ही होगा। अब जैसी हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति है 4-5 सौ रुपया महीना देश के एक बड़े तबके को मुश्किल से मिलता है और अगर यहाँ पर 10,000 से नीचे की आमदनी पर इनकमटैक्स नहीं लगे तो इस देश के अपेक्षाकृत एक बहुत छोटे तबके पर यह सारा भार जाकर पड़ेगा। इन्होंने कहा कि 2 करोड़ रुपया उससे आता है तो जिस देश में 1 करोड़ के लिए बहुत से प्रोजेक्ट बंद कर दिये जाते हैं यदि 20 करोड़ आ जाता है और खर्च काट कर बच जाता है तो यह कोई व्यर्थ बात नहीं है और उसको हमें करना चाहिए।

पहले 2000 पर इनकमटैक्स लगता था, फिर 3000 पर लगने लगा, 4000 पर लगा, फिर यदि 5000 पर या 6000 रुपये पर लेगा तो भी सन्तोष नहीं होगा। क्या हम यह जानते हैं कि जितनी हमारी आमदनी है उसकी हद से ऊपर जाकर यह टैक्स लगाया जाय ?

अब मैं कुछ ऐसी बातों की ओर आता हूँ जिनसे देश के ऐसे भाग का सम्बन्ध है जोकि बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ है। रीजनल इम्बेलेस हमारे यहाँ बहुत है। जैसे हमारे यहाँ शैंडयूल्ड कास्ट्स, शैंडयूल्ड ट्राईबस और पिछड़े लोग हैं वैसे ही देश में कुछ भाग ऐसे भी हैं जोकि बहुत पिछड़े हुए हैं। स्टेट ही नहीं बल्कि स्टेट के अन्दर ऐसे अंग हैं जोकि बहुत पिछड़े हुए हैं जैसे आंध्र में तेलंगाना हुआ और बिहार में नार्थ बिहार हुआ। ऐसी कई जगहें हैं जहाँ कि यह रीजनल इम्बेलेस बहुत है। उनके सम्बन्ध में क्या किया जा रहा है ? इसका आभास

तो मुझे बजट से मिला और न ही इसका भास इस फाइनेंस बिल से मिलता है।

मैं तो कहूंगा कि जहाँ के लोगों का स्तर ऊँचा है उनकी तरफ अगर कुछ कम तवज्जह भी हो तो भी कोई बहुत नुकसान नहीं होगा, लेकिन जहाँ लोगों का स्टैंडर्ड या आमदनी अत्यधिक कम हो, इतनी कम हो कि जो आल इंडिया एब्रज है उसकी भाषी हो तो ऐसे रोजंस को देखने की बड़ी जरूरत है। मेरे पास समय नहीं है, नहीं तो मैं झाँकड़े देता और वित्त मंत्री को बतलाता कि हमारे नार्थ बिहार की क्या स्थिति है। देश की आमदनी का जो एवरेज है उसका लगभग तिहाई नार्थ बिहार की प्रति व्यक्ति आमदनी है। हमारे विभिन्न स्टेटों के सदस्य अपने प्रान्तों के लिये अधिक धन मांगते हैं यद्यपि उनके प्रान्तों की हालत हमसे ज्यादा अच्छी है, उनकी आमदनी हमारे यहाँ से ज्यादा है। लेकिन ऐसी भी जगहें हैं देश में जो बहुत दबी हुई हैं। उनके सम्बन्ध में दो बातें वे लोग कहते तो मैं समझता कि उनकी भावना व्यापक दृष्टि की है, लेकिन छीना-भपटी में वह चाहते हैं उनको अधिक से अधिक मिले। उन्होंने यह विचार प्रस्तुत नहीं किया कि जिनकी आमदनी कम है उनके लिये भी कुछ किया जाना चाहिये। मैं कहूंगा कि ऐसे इलाकों की तरफ ज्यादा स्पेशल एफर्ट्स होनी चाहिये। यू पी का पूर्वी हिस्सा, नार्थ बिहार, तेलंगाना, ऐसे ही पूर्व की ओर कोई एरियाज हो सकती हैं, जिनकी ओर ज्यादा तवज्जह देने की जरूरत है। मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहूंगा कि वह इस ओर ध्यान दें।

नार्थ बिहार में अनएम्प्लायमेंट पोजीशन भी बहुत खराब है। तीनों प्लैन्स में और जगहों पर जो अनएम्प्लायमेंट पोजीशन थी उसमें सुधार हुआ और उनका एम्प्लायमेंट परसेंटेज बढ़ा, लेकिन हमारे यहाँ वह और भी घट गया। एजुकेशन बढ़ी है। लड़के निकलते जाते हैं लेकिन उनको नौकरी नहीं मिलती। इस

तरह होता रहा तो वे लड़के हमारे श्री शर्मा की पाकेट में या श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी की गोद में चले जायेंगे और देश में उच्छ्वलता बहुत बढ़ जायेगी।

**श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा :** श्री मोरारजी देसाई से कहिये कि वह उत्तर बिहार को डेवेलप करें।

**श्री डा० ना० तिवारी :** मैं कह रहा हूँ कि अगर श्री मोरारजी इसको नहीं देखेंगे तो वहाँ के लोग आपकी गोद में चले जायेंगे और हमारे प्रयत्न करने पर भी हमारे साथ नहीं रहेंगे। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ का अनएम्प्लायमेंट दूर करने के लिए कोई खास प्रयत्न किया जाये।

श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने कुछ इंडस्ट्रीज को टैक्स हानि दे दी है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि वही मापदंड ऐग्रीकल्चर के लिए भी हो। ऐग्रीकल्चर को भी टैक्स फ्री होना चाहिए कुछ वर्षों तक। अभी ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन हुआ, मैं बहुत खुश हूँ कि ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन हुआ और हमारी पैदावार में वृद्धि हुई। लेकिन आज इस पर किसी प्रकार की रूकावट डालनी ठीक नहीं है। मुझे बहुत खुशी है कि उन्होंने पम्पिंग सेट पर टैक्स को छोड़ा, लेकिन जो इनपुट है फर्टिलाइजर का, उस पर भी तो टैक्स छोड़ते। कम से कम एक-दो बरस तक तो ऐसा करते जिससे ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन आगे बढ़ता और जो हमारा इम्पोर्ट होता है उसमें कमी होती तथा देश का पैसा किसी न किसी तरह से बचता। यदि इधर से उनको रूपा नहीं मिलता, लेकिन जो फूड-ग्रेन इम्पोर्ट करते हैं उसमें उनको यकीनन फारेन एक्स्चेन्ज की बचत होती। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह भले ही ऐग्रीकल्चर इनकम पर टैक्स लगा दें क्योंकि मैं जानता हूँ कि जिनके पास सम्पत्ति है, जिनकी आमदनी है उन्हें स्टेट को चलाने के लिये अपना कंट्रि-

[श्री डा० ना० त्रिवारी]

व्यंशान देना चाहिये, लेकिन यह बात ठीक नहीं है कि जो चीज प्रगति कर रही है उसके रास्ते में कोई रुकावट आ जाय, और खेती अनइन्सैटिव हो जाय और पैदावार में कमी आ जाय। मैं फिर अपील करूंगा कि फटिलाइजर पर टैक्स न लगाया जाय।

एक बात मैं बजट के अलावा कहना चाहता हूँ। आज भी हमारे देश में फेसिफोरस टेन्डेंसी बढ़ रही हैं। जो हम लोग पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर धाते हैं उनकी मंशा यही रहती है कि चाहे कोई बात स्टेट की हो चाहे केन्द्र की हो, सब कुछ यहीं पर डील हो, और इसलिये जो स्टेट सब्जेक्ट्स होते हैं उनके बारे में भी हम लोग यहीं पर सवाल करते हैं, गवर्नमेंट को भला-बुरा कहते हैं और जोर देते हैं कि कुछ और करना चाहिये। तेलंगाना से अगर कुछ बिगड़ा तो हम आन्ध्र गवर्नमेंट पर उसको नहीं छोड़ेंगे। हम यहाँ उस सवाल को लाना चाहेंगे। अगर बंगाल में कुछ होता है तो हम नहीं चाहेंगे कि बंगाल के लोग उसको करें। वहाँ रिसपांसिबल गवर्नमेंट है, असेम्बली है। हम उस चीज को यहाँ रखना चाहेंगे। कोई चीफ मिनिस्टर गलती करता है तो हम यह नहीं चाहेंगे कि असेम्बली वहाँ की जो है वह उसको सजा दे, हम चाहेंगे कि पार्लियामेंट से हम लोग उसको सजा दें। इसका मतलब यह होता है कि हम चाहते हैं कि पावर सेंट्रलाइज हो, हमारी गवर्नमेंट का फॉर्म यूनिटरी हो और यह फंडेशन न रहे। इस संदर्भ में मैं कहूंगा कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को गम्भीरता के साथ सोचना चाहिये और लोगों की जो भावनायें हैं और जो आज पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरों के द्वारा व्यक्त होती हैं, उनकी इज्जत करनी चाहिये और उनकी इज्जत करते हुए अगर जरूरत पड़े तो एक फ्रैंच कंस्टिट्यूट असेम्बली बुला कर विधान में संशोधन करना या विधान को बदल कर यूनिटरी फॉर्म आफ गवर्नमेंट की

स्थापना करनी चाहिये। यह बड़ा अच्छा होगा इससे न तो जो इस वक्त रिखनलिज्म है, वह रह जाएगा और न ही लैंगुएज का भगड़ा रह जाएगा और न ही पार्लियामेंट में और असेम्बलियों में डिफरेंस की बात रह जाएगी। इस बात पर मैं समझता हूँ कि आपको गम्भीरता के साथ विचार करना होगा।

श्री धोकेन्द्र शर्मा : देश की एकता भंग हो जाएगी।

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM (Visakhapatnam); Sir, let me thank you very much for the time you are giving me.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Only ten minutes.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM: Sir, ten minutes is a great thing nowadays.

Sir, our system of discussion of the Budget and the Finance Bill is a legacy from the British method. The Finance Minister is there and the Members of the House make their requests. But they have no sense of belonging; no sense of participation with taking of the Budget of this country. They are not participants and the rules prevent them from making any suggestion which will take the destination of particular grant to some other destination. What are we here? We are all like petitioners going to the Sikandara Fort, the old Fort where Akbar used to sit in a single pillar Chamber where the people went and gave their *arzies* to which Akbar said 'yes' or 'go away'. That is the kind of Budget discussion which is going on here. This must change. We have often suggested that there must be some committees formed and in those committees there must be a better method of give and take between the Minister and the Members, and the voice of the Members should become more effective in these committees.

17.55 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*].

If that procedure is followed the Members will feel that they have really come here for some useful purpose, that here across the Table the Finance Minister and Members had some discussion, there was a give and take of opinions, that there was a give and take of ideas and that we were really able to make some changes in the Budget. At present whatever is proposed either we should accept or reduce. We cannot give them any other alternative.

The hon. Finance Minister gave us several guidelines. He referred to Gandhi Centenary and said that the most important things are drinking water, housing, slum clearance and all those things. In these various demands granted we do not find any specific provision or massive provision for these things. Still nearly 4 to 5 lakh villages do not have drinking water and even where they have got drinking water it is only brackish water. The budget is done and discussed as I said, in a manner which is a legacy from the British and whatever the Executive in the Finance Ministry thinks the Finance Minister agrees and he places it before us. We simply make all our requests and they are turned down in a general speech.

The second point which I want to make is that this Budget and the Finance Bill are based entirely upon expenditure, the expenditure as conceived or as accepted by the Finance Ministry. There is no question of pruning the expenditure. They say so much money is wanted by the various spending departments and that money must immediately be somehow provided. Therefore the Finance Bill comes. The hon. Minister may ask, do not we exercise any care about these things. It is true, but as I see the criticism of the Estimates committee my opinion changes. The Estimates Committee is a watchdog of the method of

current expenditure. If we look into the recommendations and the replies given by Government and the recommendations again made by the Estimates Committee we find that generally speaking the Finance Ministry simply sticks to whatever it says. Whether it is with regard to expenditure, efficiency or any other aspect, very few recommendations of the Estimates Committee are accepted by Government. Only certain recommendations, which are of a general nature, are accepted as if for guidance. Sometimes even with regard to healthy suggestions they simply say "Noted".

That is why this situation has arisen. That is why the expenditure is first arrived at. Then, in order to meet the expenditure, the Finance Minister wants to exploit resources. That is why every year we find extra taxation; Every year we find 20 or 30 amendments to the wealth tax, income-tax, customs and excise duties. There is absolutely no certainty for any of them. These frequent changes in the customs and excise duties are putting many people to a lot of difficulties. The big merchants, the big financial magnates and industrialists do not very much mind these changes because they know how to get over them by engaging competent people; they also know how to manage the Ministries. But it is the people belonging to the middle income and low income group, small producers and merchants, who are put to the greatest hardship by these frequent changes in the rates. They are mere slaves in the hands of the customs and excise officials. It has come to my notice a number of times that the officers interpret the rules as they like. And by the time they understand the rule, it is changed. What is the meaning of such frequent changes? For five years at any rate, could the Finance Minister not say that these shall be the rules and that they are not going to be changed? He says that he will give holiday for five years to big industrialists in respect of some taxes? Can he not give the same five years holiday to the rules, whatever might happen, so that the officers may interpret them only in one way or the other and the assessors may know where exactly the stand?



[Shri Tenneti Vishwanatham]

I know the extreme grief and anguish of the people who have started small-scale industries. Sometimes they shed tears. They wonder why they have pooled all their resources, why they invested all their resources on small-scale industries for which big promises had been made by the government.

The recommendations of the Estimates Committee are brushed aside. The public undertakings show continuous losses. They will continue to show losses. Of course, I am always in favour of public undertakings, provided they serve our national purpose, provided they are economic, provided they help the nation, provided they are not established just to satisfy some officers or just to satisfy some theory. When they know that there is mismanagement, when these undertakings continuously show losses, I really cannot understand why they cannot put a stop, at any rate where they are, consolidate the position and see that they improve the existing public undertakings. No, the Government do not do that. They continue the expenditure on public undertakings; they continue the expenditure upon construction works, where does not seem to be any limit. The estimates are revised and re-revised. That is why to this nation has come to this difficult position. The result is that the poor man is pounced upon and the rich man is given the concessions.

Now electricity is being supplied to only one lakh villages or so. There are nearly four of five lakhs villages which have no electricity. Yet, every year some kind of extra excise duty is imposed on match-sticks and kerosene. We tax every year whatever little things are used by the poor man, whose number we count in the great population of India. We show to the world that this is the largest democracy, having so many man. But the poor man is not cared for, the beggar is not cared for, the poorest people and the disabled beggars are not cared for; people who live under very bad housing conditions, not only in the villages but also in the cities they are not cared for.

But all of them constitute our great democracy and in their name we collect taxes and then give a tax holiday to the rich people and then tax again the poor people to compensate the so-called loss. Why? The most important reason is that this is a expenditure-based budget and not a resources-based budget.

Coming to a small matter, namely, joint Hindu families, the Finance Minister has made some changes with regard to the taxes on joint Hindu families. Whatever may be the taxes that are going to be imposed, my only contention is that they should have only prospective and not retrospective effect.

18 hrs.

There is another difficulty with regard to excise duties. The excise duties affect not only the poor people but also middle-class people and everybody, including the Government servants. What happens? The same year if not the same month the dearness allowance is increased, the excise duties are also increased. He gives dearness allowance by right hand and wipes it out with excise duties. So, this game is going on every year giving extra wages, extra dearness allowance, and simultaneously increasing the excise duties, indirect taxation in this way.

I believe one of the greatest reasons for discontent in the country is the resulting hardship to which people are put by this process. What I would humbly suggest is, please give a holiday for five years. After all, excise duties are not always necessary if you control expenditure. Please give them holiday for five years. The officers will be clear in their interpretation. The ordinary people will know exactly what they will get for five years and, particularly, the fixed-salaried people, the N.G.Os. in our States and the Secretariat people here, will all be very happy. I do not understand why every year they should be bothered in this way. ...

About the new tax proposals which are summarised at the end of the Finance Bill I also join with others that it was very wrong to tax sugar, specially chocolates. About fertilisers tax, I believe, he will now announce that he is going to remove the tax on fertiliser.

Then, here is a small item, prepared or preserved food. There is already a tax on the materials which form components of prepared or preserved food. Particularly, for those of us who come from south India, these prepared foods are sent in bottles. The gentlemen here, in the restaurants or in these kitchens, do not prepare them. So, these bottled things are coming and the first people to be hit by this provision are the D.M.K. members and some members from south.

Regarding, pilfer-proof packages, the packing is already taxed not only here but in the States also. There any amount of sales-tax, two times, three times, not a single-point tax. Therefore, increase in excise duties, change of excise duties, increase on sales-tax, all these things, are really responsible for the great amount of discontent in the country. Most of the assesses in the towns who form the intelligentsia are voting against Congress. I am not speaking for canvassing votes for or against Congress. Why do the Government always devise methods which will always rub the intelligentsia on the wrong side? Is it not good for them to have the intelligentsia on their side? Have they got at least the non-intelligentsia on their side? They do not have them either; because of the excise duties and increase in land tax and increase in so many other taxes, and because of the Government not attending to their housing, not attending to their drinking water and even light. I know there are thousands of villages which have no lights in the night. You cannot see a single light in these villages. This is the condition.

What I want to say is, if the Finance Minister is able to project his imagination, not into the difficulties of the rich people who can manage for themselves, into the

conditions of 75 or 80 per cent of the people, I shall be very much gratified and the nation will also be grateful to him.

MR. SPEAKER: Before I call the Deputy Prime Minister, I would like to make an announcement. The Attorney-General is coming here tomorrow. That is what was announced by the Deputy Prime Minister yesterday. Tonight his opinion will be circulated to the hon. Members. I would ask him to come here tomorrow at 3-30 P.M. Tomorrow is a non-official day. At 4-30 P.M., we will take up the non-official business. That is the only time. Any hon. Member wanting to have a clarification may kindly, after reading the opinion given by the Attorney-General, send a note so that the Attorney-General will be able to clarify whatever doubts there are. After he clarifies, of course, there will be no time and it is not possible to have a cross-examination, a discussion, questioning and cross-questioning. That is why I suggest to the hon. Members that they may, in advance, send intimations, say, at about 11 O' Clock tomorrow. The note is being circulated tonight.

SHRI SEZHIAN: Some clarifications may be required.

MR. SPEAKER: That is why I say this. The note will be circulated tonight and whatever clarifications the members want to seek after reading that note they may send them to the office, so that the office could communicate to him. Otherwise, we do not know who will begin. Mr. Mulla may put a question; Mr. Sheo Narain may also like to put a question. How can I prevent anybody? Therefore, I suggest that whatever clarifications the members want to seek, they may send them latest by 11 A.M. tomorrow, so that I can communicate to him. The note will be circulated tonight.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: We will send that by 11 A.M. tomorrow. Will that also be balloted?

MR. SPEAKER: No question of balloting. All the clarifications which the members want to seek after reading that note will be sent to him and in his speech he will clarify the points raised.

**SHRI NARENDRA KUMAR SALVE:**

Are you going to permit any supplementaries?

**MR. SPEAKER:** That will not be possible and that will not be done. There will be no end to it if supplementaries are to be allowed. Now itself the time is given to you. You study the note which is being circulated tonight and by 11 A.M. tomorrow you can send whatever clarifications you want to seek. If supplementaries are to be allowed, there will be no end to it and no purpose will be served.

**THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MORARJI DESAI):** Before I reply to the debate at the consideration stage, I should like to lay on the Table the opinion of the Attorney-General. It contains both the opinions, as far as I know, of the previous Attorney-General and of the present Attorney-General. [Placed in Library. See No. LT 980, 69]

Before I come to the various points raised...

**श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (मधुवनी):** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि उप-प्रधान मंत्री महोदय किस फाइनेंस बिल को आधार मान कर जवाब दे रहे हैं जो आपने इंट्रोड्यूस किया है यह या जो सैक्रेटेरियट ने सकुलेट किया है, वह।

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** I have already spoken about it and I need not say anything again.

Before I deal with the various points about taxation, which formed the least part of the debate, I would first like to refer to the special points raised by the hon. Member, Shri Madhu Limaye. He has a grievance that I have not replied to his points. I am afraid, his grievance is not correct, because I have replied to him on all the points which he has raised about leakage of the budget, as far as I remember.

If there is anything left out, I will certainly send a reply to him. But may I say

that I have gone through all the points raised by him very carefully and I find that there is no *prima facie* case for me to come to any conclusion that there has been a leakage of the budget proposals? My hon. friend wrote to me that I must be a tired man, a man who has lost his sensitivity, because I did not agree to a committee being appointed. Well, he can say what he likes, but I am not prepared to say anything in reply to that. I can only say that that was a very unkind way of writing a letter to me.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ—क्या यह मैंने बजट के बारे में लिखा था?

**श्री मोरारजी देसाई:** जी, हाँ।

**श्री मधु लिमये:** सिर्फ एक ही खत में यह लिखा है जो कि बी० ए० सी० के बारे में लिखा था। मेरी विनती है कि आप यहाँ पर पत्र रखिये। मैं आज बिल्कुल इन्टरप्ट नहीं करना चाहता था। वजट लीक के बारे में मैंने यह वाक्य नहीं लिखा था। मैं आज बोलना ही नहीं चाहता हूँ, चुप रहूँगा, आप को जो कहना हो कहिये।

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** I correct myself that it was with reference to BOAC.

**श्री मधु लिमये:** ठीक है, वह वाक्य बी० ए० सी० के संदर्भ में है।

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** I agree I confused the two because so many letters are received and, therefore, I did not remember whether it was in this or that context.

But ultimately it applies to everything. He writes generally that I must be a tired man and I must have lost my sensitivity. I also mentioned about the BOAC again. But I will first mention about this point. In that letter also there was a paragraph about budget leakage. Therefore, it was not only about the BOAC he has mentioned he has also mentioned, if he remembers properly that he has written about the budget leakage also in that letter.

(Interruptions) Does my hon friend maintain that he is alone right in whatever he says and another person has no right to say...

श्री मधु लिमये : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इतनी विनती करूंगा कि जिन पत्रों का वे उल्लेख कर रहे हैं दोनों पत्र सदन के सामने आयें। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी यह माँग ठीक है या नहीं ?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: If he now says, I will certainly put them before the House. I have put his letters on the Table of the House on the dates those letters were received. These letters were received after that. He has not asked me that whenever I write a letter I must put it on the Table.

MR. SPEAKER: Even then the Speaker comes into the picture.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: Certainly. May I say that I would not think of putting it on the Table of the House without your permission. There is no question of being told... (Interruptions) There is no need for me to hide any thing. The hon Members will be better able to judge who is right and who is wrong, who is writing properly and who is not writing properly. It is, therefore, that I put them readily on the Table of the House.

The first point he said is that he had heard when he was sitting with Mr. N.K. Somani a telephone call coming. If I understood him correctly, a telephone call came from the father of Mr. Somani to him probably Mr. Somani has not told me anything. But I believe when he says this what he said .....

SHRI NAMBIAR: His father also was there in his house.

MR. SPEAKER: They do not talk on the telephone.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: That is also possible. That is all that I have heard just now and that is what I remembered. In that he said that he had heard about fertilisers and pesticides and sugar. On pesticides no tax has been levied. That must have been seen. Therefore, it is not true that the infor-

mation that he conveyed was all correct. On fertilisers also it was not said how much was going to be levied. That also has not been said. This talk has been there for a long time. When these things are to be taxed, this was discussed in the Planning Commission. This was discussed outside and, therefore, if there are intelligent guesses and somebody is clever that he forecasts correctly, then what I have to say? As a matter of fact all this speculation that is going on in share bazaar always goes on in the name of the Finance Minister. The Finance Minister said this. Therefore, the shares must go up. I have had the experience of being brought in the share bazaar when somebody said that I was stabbed in office. I received several telephone calls enquiring as to how I was.

Then some of my hon friends asked for my resignation and that is why they also think that I will resign immediately to oblige them. This is done not for that purpose. This is done for quoting them in the share bazaar by the speculators. This is a common practice not only here but in all the share bazaars of the world.

Therefore, in this matter to say this story that there was a leakage is all wrong.

Then it was said that bank rate was proposed to be reduced. There is no more cock and bull story than this. No proposal was sent to me by the Governor of the Reserve Bank at any time orally or in writing. There has been no such conception even by the Governor. I asked him whether he had ever thought of doing that. He said that he did not think of it. The Government have never thought of lowering the rate at present. Of course I cannot say whether I will do it or not in future. But there has been no such talk of such a proposal. This was also thought that this was leakage and there were all kinds of speculations in the bazaar.

This is the material in which my Hon. friend believes and he wants me to go on a wild goose chase of investigation into leakage. I cannot say that I can agree to that. I have my own responsibility and I cannot accept such kind of investigation on everything which my Hon. friend wants to

[Shri Morarji Desai]

bring in. I do not think that everything that he says is wrong. He has certainly brought out certain things where there were facts. But there are certain things where there are no facts and when he has told me about them I have informed him accordingly. He still persists that whatever he says is right and whatever I am saying is wrong. In cases where he is right, immediately say he is right and take action and inform him. Where I find that he is not right, I say he is not right.

In the case of sugar, he said that stocks were released and taken away. He said that stocks were released in several cases to five mills. I do not know whether he has mentioned the mills or not. In the case of G la Mill the release order was for 10,822 bags and they took away or cleared only 4,440 bags by 28th February. In four-five days they did not take the whole of it. About the Babhan Mill, 1,540 bags were released and they took away only 880 bags. In regard to Hargaoon Mill the release order was for 5,187 bags and they took away 4,220 bags. Only one mill—Lakkimpur Mill—took away the full quota. The release order was for 1,585 bags and they took away 1,585 bags. In the case of Seohara Mill 12,557 bags were released and they took away only 5,900 bags. If these people had received any information, all these would have been released and all these would have been taken away. There was no bar to it. It was legally possible for them to do it. What does it show? This shows that there is no leakage. They are all intelligent guesses. Some of the guesses may become right and others may be wrong. Nobody has said how much tax was to be levied on sugar. If it was known, that would have also been known. How is it that there is leakage? There were some badla transactions. Five or six transactions were mentioned I have only been able to trace one. The others are not traceable. What am I to say about it? There may be badla transactions and there are all kinds of transactions on the eve of the budget. Some may be right and some wrong. Therefore, from that how could one say that there has been leakage? Leakage would be true if the rates are also mentioned. Then it is all right. In the matter of cloth, when *ad valorem* duty is now brought in instead of

specific duty on yardage, it is said that it is leaked. They did not say which kinds of cloth were going to have this. If they had said the kinds of cloth, then I could understand it and I will say that it is all right. All this is based on the fact that a high finance official went to Bombay and then this leakage came out. He went in the beginning of February and the proposals were framed very nearly the third week of February by me. Till then no proposals were made. It was not considered by me. How could there be any leakage because he went there? He went there only to find out certain facts on various things. After all, one cannot go on without making some sort of enquiry or suggestions. And these inquiries are certainly made. In the matter of *ad valorem* duties also, these things had been going on for some time. I have been told about it, that is what I should do, even by some millowners and others also, that this is a fair way of doing it. I have been considering it for some time. And this year when I applied it, guesses come. This is how this matter has been brought in. But if some things come in, to say that there is a leakage would be easy for him to believe but is not possible for me to accept. When there is a leakage, I would certainly accept there is a leakage, and I would not stay here. Why should I have to stay here if there is a leakage. I try to see that there is no leakage. God be thanked that there is no leakage, because there are several people, at least 15 persons, concerned who know this.

There was a leakage a few years ago. I got it first in Bombay when I was Chief Minister there. Somebody gave me exactly the whole copy of the speech which was going to be read, part of it giving the rates and everything. I learnt about it in the morning and informed the Finance Minister immediately. But what could he do? At that time he could not change it. Afterwards, an investigation was made. It was done in the printing press. After that, we brought the printing press in the Finance Ministry. Now people are kept indoors for 10 or 12 days until this is done, so that they cannot come out....

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR: Under preventive detention.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: No, they are there willingly and voluntarily. I give

them all kinds of facilities so that they do not have to go out.

**SHRI S.M. BANERJEE:** Next time, frame the budget in Tihar Jail. That will be better.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** Even some pressmen are at it from morning till evening, because they are also given information from the very beginning.

These are the precautions which are being taken. If in spite of that, something happens, one can consider it. But in this case, nothing has happened. These are only intelligent guesses.

My hon. friend talked about the bank rate. It is an absolutely cock and bull story started by somebody in Bombay, not by him. But he believes some of these and tells me. He believes everything that other people tell him, but will not believe what I tell him. What am I to do?

Naturally, he says he has no personal dislike for me. I know he has not. But last time he made the statement about my son in a speech in Bombay—this is what I am told; if I am wrong, he can tell me—he was asked at the meeting and he said that because he wants to remove the Congress and I come in the way; therefore, I must be removed. If this is simple logic, what can I do? By my removal, the Congress Party cannot be removed. I think he is intelligent enough to know that I am not such an indispensable person to the Congress or to the country or to anybody that my existence is going to do something or my removal is going to bring about something.

**SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR:** Congressmen are saying that.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** This was talked about in the Central Hall also. It was not only in Bombay where the speech was made publicly. Therefore, it cannot be denied. There were people who heard and told me.

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं कहीं नहीं कर रहा हूँ? मुझमें यह ईमानदारी है और मैं बराबर कहता रहा हूँ कि कांग्रेस को हटाना मेरा काम

है इसलिए आपको भी हटाना चाहता हूँ और दूसरों को भी हटाना चाहता हूँ।

इसको मैं बिल्कुल नहीं इन्कार कर रहा हूँ। मोरारजी भाई ठीक ही कर रहे हैं। हम कांग्रेस को हटाना चाहते हैं।

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** May I say that it is his right to make an attempt to remove the Congress? I am not denying that right to him. It is his right to try to do it. But let it be done legitimately. That is all I am saying. I cannot call this a legitimate attempt to do it, when he has publicly said like this. This is my only grievance. I have no other grievance about it.

The same thing holds true about his allegation about my having committed great impropriety in depositing some money in a company, the Industrial and Chemical Company, in Bombay. He said he mentioned it. He might have mentioned it then, My son was a partner in it. Why have I to mention that? That was only about the business activities of my son. There also I have given my reply. I have proved—and he has not proved otherwise—that my son did not do any business during the period from 1964 to 1967.

**SHRI MADHU LIMAYE:** Managing director.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** He was not Managing director. He was only a director of one or two companies. If it was a private company, that did not do any business. That was holding some receipts which they got. I have explained this at length and I have challenged; show any business that it has done and I shall certainly say I was wrong in giving this information. This is the information that I have collected. I cannot say that I cannot be wrong. I try to collect information and give it. If my hon. friend has not the honesty to acknowledge that I have made an honest attempt to give him everything, then what am I to say? Then if I give parallels why should he get angry? When he calls me all names, I do not get angry because I know what he is. I know that he is very much excited when he does all these things. I am quite sure that when

[Shri Morarji Desai]

he is outside he forgets all this; otherwise he would be sorry for what he says, because I consider him an honest person; I do not consider him otherwise. When an honest person gets excited and gets obsessed with the idea that he alone is right and all the others are wrong, this is what happens. That is all that I am requesting him to consider as a friend: I do not consider him an enemy. How can I agree to an enquiry being made in such kind of things where there is no impropriety whatsoever. Is it argued that I should not put deposits in any company? What is improper in it. Because that company is the selling agent for some Birla concerns for some commodities how have I committed a crime or how am I connected with Birlas? I do not understand it at all. This is what he has to prove. Merely by arguing hundred times, it is not proved. It does stick in the minds of some but it sticks only in the minds of those who are obsessed, not others. No reasonable man, no honest man will believe in this I have faith that truth will ultimately prevail. If he has told the truth it will prevail; if I have told the truth it will prevail. I know that I have told the truth; I have not told anything wrong. Therefore I have a clear conscience in this matter, whatever my friend may say. He may want me to resign; I am not going to oblige him. That is not the way, one can oblige anybody. Because that will be hurting the country if I do a thing like this. He may persist. I know what the communists want. They consider me their enemy No. 1.

**SHRI YASUDEVAN NAIR:** Your own people say that you should go.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** I know all that. I do not want them to go I want them to remain here; if they are elected they are welcome.

**SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR:** We know what happened in Faridabad.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** I know what happens everywhere; I know what happens in your houses also. I am also aware of who is with him and who is not with him and who supplies information to him. I am not bothered about it. Why should I bother? People try to do whatever

they like and if nothing happens they go on talking. They can go on talking and I shall go on replying to them. I propose sometimes to hold a press conference and tell pressmen to ask me any question they like and tell them whatever they want that will. I think, perhaps put an end to all this but I do not want to do it until Parliament was not over because I do not want to say anything outside which I have got to say here. I want to protect myself. I do not want to commit any indiscretion. I must be careful about it. Also I hold Parliament in the highest respect; more than my hon. friends do. If they hold it in respect they would not create the scenes that they are creating and they would not be responsible for going against the rules in the pretext that the rules are not being carried out properly. I am not doing it. I am not interrupting them at any time. Sometimes I may pass a humorous remark and they smile at it but they do not feel hurt. I would rather be humorous at my own cost rather than at their cost. But when I explain things they have to bear with me. What is the use of going about in the manner in which they are going about?

In the BOAC case, my hon. friend still persists even when there is no case in it. I am completely convinced of it. If I had not been convinced of it, I would have reviewed the case. He says the customs department should appeal against the Board. What a fantastic story? What a fantastic appreciation of the Governmental machinery? Does he mean to say that if I overrule the Board tomorrow, then the Board should go to court? Does he want that right to be given to the subordinates? Does he want that the Customs Collector should appeal against the Board? What does he want? I do not understand what sense of proportion he has got. This is what I do not understand. If this is what he wants, how can I satisfy him? I was convinced that the Board decided very rightly and if the Board had not decided in that manner, being afraid of people like my hon. friend, they would have failed in their duty and they would not have deserved to remain where they are. That is why I have got to support the Board.

**SHRI MADHU LIMAYE:** The Director of Intelligence.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: The Director of Intelligence. He also worked on not full information and he gave only one report. The hon. Member says that there are two reports. The Director attended the whole hearing. He assisted the Board in the hearing. He gave some notes to them about the enquiry. If he calls that another report, I can understand, but if he gets these reports, I can only say that they must have come from the Director or somebody connected with the Director's office. Otherwise how could they have come? I have not seen these reports myself, because I have not called for them.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE: I have given it to the Speaker. मेने सेंट्रल बोर्ड के फैसले को भी पढ़ा है और यह भी पढ़ा है। आप पढ़ना नहीं चाहते हैं। मत पढ़िये, दुनिया पढ़ेगी।

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I am not going to recognise anything brought in here like that. Even if it is put on the Table, I would neither confirm it nor reject it. I am not going to say anything about it. But the fact is that in the appellate order all these things have been discussed in detail. Let any reasonable person go through it and he will find that the Board could not have come to any other conclusion:

श्री मधु लिमये : यह तो नहीं कह रहे हैं कि रपट जाली है ? कम से कम यह तो साफ हो जाना चाहिये।

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I am not saying anything.

श्री मधु लिमये : यह साफ हो गया है कि जाली है, ऐसा नहीं कह रहे हैं।

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I only say that I neither confirm it nor reject it. Why should I get into a trap? I know my hon. friend is very clear in laying a trap. But I am cleverer than him in not walking into the trap. Let him know it.

श्री मधु लिमये : दुनिया तो समझ गई है जब डिनाई नहीं कर सकते हैं। दुनिया समझ गई है।

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : दुनिया जानती है आप कैसे हैं, हम कैसे हैं। लोक सभा भी जानती है आप क्या करते हैं, हम क्या करते हैं। सब जानते हैं। इसमें ऐसा कोई सवाल नहीं है।

Therefore, all these matters ought to be taken in the manner in which they should be properly understood. This is what I have to plead before my hon. friends here.

I will now come to the other matters where he has said that the tax...

AN HON. MEMBER: Replying only to that hon. Member?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I have got to. I will come to the others also.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH: Do not give him undue importance.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I gave him all the importance that he deserves, and he should get it. I do not know why I should not consider him as an equally important Member as anybody else. He takes the trouble to put cases. He helps in many cases. But he also hampers in many cases. I forget the hamp-ring. I take the help which he gives. That is all that I do.

Now, in the matter of taxation also, he said that the taxation level on an income of Rs. 3 lakhs and above today is less than before, and that on Rs. 10,000 is more. I had given the replies to this in my last reply, and if he does not care to look at it, what am I to do? It is not true that the taxation on that level is less today. What was happening was that earlier, there was no wealth-tax. Now there is a wealth-tax. If you combine the two, the taxation is much higher at these levels than it was previously in 1949-50. But my hon. friend does not want to have any consideration for it. Well, he is free to think and he is free to argue as he likes. But let facts not be ignored.



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Reference was made to the taxation on the bracket between Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 and above Rs. 20,000 which has been levied recently. It is said, I am taxing the middlemen. I have to tax the upper men, the middle men and the proper people. I have to tax all in this country.

**SHRI NAMBIAR:** Poor people must be saved.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** It is impossible. When 95 per cent of the people are poor, how am I going to work the economy of the country if I do not take any tax from them? One can say that I should take the maximum from those at the higher level. I am taking the maximum from them. I am taking even 100 to 115 per cent of the income of some people. I say to them, "Give it from your wealth. You can live on your wealth." If my hon. friend wants to know the figures of income-tax and wealth tax, I will give him those figures and explain it to him.

**SHRI S.M. BANERJEE:** What about black money?

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** My hon. friends are sometimes helping them by encouraging them in this manner. They help them in finding out other methods. I try to plug the holes and they try to open them. (व्यवधान) जब वे मेरी मदद करते हैं, तो मैं उसको बड़ी बेटफुली स्वीकार करता हूँ। लेकिन जब ऐसा नहीं होता है और दूसरे लोगों को मदद मिलती है, तो मुझे दुख के साथ वह बात भी कहनी पड़ती है। इसलिए मैं कहूँगा कि मेहरबानी करके ऐसा काम न कीजिए। वे न समझ कर करते हैं, लेकिन यह समझना भी तो जरूरी है कि इसका क्या परिणाम होता है। इसीलिए मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा हूँ।

**श्री स० मो० बनर्जी :** प्रायः हमारा एक निवेदन नहीं मानते, हम सब मानते हैं।

**श्री मोरारजी देसाई :** आपके कई निवेदन, जो कि मानने लायक हैं, मैंने माने हैं,

लेकिन जो मानने लायक नहीं हैं, उन का मैं क्या करूँ ?

Many times, the story is like that of Akbar and the child, Akbar said, I can please the child. Birbal said, "you cannot". Akbar said, "Bring the child". The child was brought and the child said, "Give me sugarcane". Akbar gave him sugarcane. The child said, "Break it". He broke it. Then the child said, "Make it whole again". Akbar could not do it and the child kept on crying. This is what happens with some of my friends here.

It was said by Mr. C.C. Desai that we have a huge foreign debt of Rs. 5,800 crores. It is true. But for what has that debt been incurred? How have we gone up in this country? Of course, some of my hon. friends say that we have not gone up at all. I was surprised to see that even an Accountant like Mr. Kothari lost sight of facts and figures. I do not understand it.

**SHRI S.M. BANERJEE:** Some people forget their vocation.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** I know that. Only my hon. friend does not forget his profession.

It is not true that we have financed our plans only on this. Our plans on the whole have been financed up to 20 per cent by external help. Four-fifths we have done by ourselves, with our own resources. We do not always want to depend on them. In this connection, Mr. Ramamurti said, "Even now we do not have technical know-how and we have to import it." But to appear objective, he brought in Soviet Russia also and said, "You are importing from Soviet Russia also", though he wants that always we should get only from them. Today he tried to be very impartial. It is good sometimes to try to be impartial. But what happens? After all, we have to pay them. True, but unless we bring this in, how are we going to improve our industries? Had we any technical know-how in this country? Whose fault was it? Was it the fault of this Government? If there is poverty in this country, is it created by this Government? What is all this want of sense and understanding I am seeing?

**SHRI NAMBIAR:** Twenty-two years have passed.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** Twenty-two years are nothing in the history of a nation which has been lying prostrate for many centuries. If fifty years are not good enough for my hon. friend to understand things, how is it enough for a country within twenty-two years to get all the technical know-how? I do not know (*Interruption*). Let my hon. friends know that we now know far more technical know-how. We do it on our own in many things. Therefore our exports are increasing and our imports are decreasing. We are not now importing wholesale plants from outside. What does that show? That shows we have gone up and considerably gone up. My hon. friends forget that we were not making a pin in this country in the year 1946. We are today making sugar machinery, we are making cement machinery, we are making power machinery, we are making textile machinery and we will soon have full capacity to make a steel mill ourselves. We are having machine tools and we are also exporting them. So many things we are doing now. We are even having trucks and we are having cars. We are even having some aeroplanes but not all the kinds that we want. That also we will soon develop. Can this be developed without getting help from outside? Has any country done so? My hon. friend, Shri Ramamurti forgets even after fifty years of development Soviet Russia had to bring in Italy for Fiat car and gave them a licence for doing that. That is after fifty years of development. In fifty years of development this country will be supplying to others, not getting from anybody.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore):** What about food imports? Do we have not know-how about food?

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** Soviet Russia in spite of the fact that they have seven times the area and less than half the population become self-sufficient only in fifty years. We are going to be self-sufficient in two years more. I have no doubt about that in my mind.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** How much have you spent on food imports?

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** If we did not have done that my hon. friends would have been happy because then there would have been deaths, chaos and they would have risen up against us on that. This is all that they want. Food imports are necessary because we are deficient in food. Why did we become deficient in food? That is also because we were not independent and we were dependent. During foreign domination we lost all capacity and our food production went down. Partition lessened it still further. Therefore we have to get it. But it is a small achievement that from 51 million tonnes we are now producing 96 million tonnes, and 96 million tonnes in spite of droughts in one or two States—in one State, then another and then in a third State—and floods in several States. In spite of that we have produced 96 million tonnes of food whereas we produced the maximum of 82 million tonnes of food in 1964-65 when the season was at its best (*Interruption*). This kind of talk and shouting is not going to help. When they have no facts they shout. A man with facts has only to argue. He will have patience and he will not get angry.

श्री अब्दुल नबी खान : मोरारजी साहू  
यह भी तो बताएँ, इम्पोर्ट कितना किया, सब  
से ज्यादा किस साल में इम्पोर्ट किया फूड  
ग्रेन्स का ?

[ श्री عبد الغنی ڈار :- مرارجی بھائی  
یہ بھی تو بتائیں کہ امپورٹ کتنا کیا ہے  
سب سے زیادہ کس سال میں امپورٹ  
کیا ہے فوڈ گریز کا۔ ]

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** My hon. friend is again one whom I know for many years. We have been good friends also. As a friend I also know what he talks and what he does not talk. His appearance here is different from his appearance when he meets me outside—that is the only difference. He is very sweet outside to me as a friend but when he comes here he has to prove that he is in the Opposition.

And that he is not friendly to me. Therefore, he goes on saying many things. I have gone into facts about which he has

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written to me. If I do not agree with him, what am I to say? Then, he thinks I am not supporting his facts. He is briefed by some wrong people; he does not realise that.

**SHRI ABDUL GHANI DAR:** Let him have a judicial inquiry.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** This has become a common thing, to have a judicial inquiry, to have a Parliamentary Committee, to have a committee of inquiry, to have a commission of inquiry and all that. What is in the brains of many I do not know. Are we going to have inquiries and nothing else? Is it the way in which the country is going to progress? Let there be an inquiry. But it should not be in a perverted manner in which it is sought to be done. This is not the way in which the country can progress.

**SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA:** What about Birla inquiry?

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** You have got the reply. Inquiries have been made; taxes have been levied; prosecutions have also been made and police inquiries have been made. That is what the hon. Members ought to know. It is no use merely going on repeating parrotwise things so that people may believe. Some people may believe. But the world at large will not believe this kind of stories. I am also being connected with the Birlas by these people. They hold public meetings to say this. Only fools will believe. No honourable intelligent man will believe. I have no doubt about it.

**SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR:** You are the only intelligent man in the country. Others are all fools!

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** This is the only intelligence which my hon. friend can exhibit that, I consider, I am the only intelligent man.

**SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR:** You say that people are fools in the country. You should have humility. There are millions of people in this country who believe that you are connected with it. Don't you live in a fools' paradise.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** My hon. friend does not know what paradise is. What is the use of saying, 'fools' paradise'.

Then, it was said that we are going to have more external assistance in the Fourth Plan than what we had in the Third Plan. That is what my hon. friend the great accountant said.

**SHRI S. S. KOTHARI:** I can prove it with figures.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** What figures? You must take net figures. What is the use of taking figures where repayments are also to be made. Net figures are very much less; we are going to make it less. We have to go on making repayments in such a manner that our development work does not stop, that the development work goes on and all that. Also, we will be repaying through exports. It is not true there will be more net assistance now from outside in the Fourth Plan than before. That is not true at all. The repayments and things like that are recognised all over the world, not only here. But if my hon. friends only want to find fault, I do not want to deny them the pleasure of it. I will not reply to them. That is all I will say.

Now, I come to the question of wealth tax on agricultural lands. It was said that is not legal. The Attorney-General is coming here tomorrow. I need not say anything. Those things have been circulated. I need not say anything. Let them hear him. That is where I will leave that matter. But I have this much to say, when you say all agriculturists will be involved, that is not true. Now, I have given them extra Rs. 150,000 exemption. Therefore, with Rs. 250,000 exemptions on agricultural land, I do not think any small or middle-class agriculturist can ever come into it. Is it argued that even rich agriculturists should not pay wealth tax or that they should not pay all these taxes? Why should they be differentiated I do not know. Wealth is wealth, whether it is agricultural or not. It is certainly wealth. I do not consider it otherwise.

**SHRI RANGA:** You do not have a ceiling on urban property.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** We take wealth tax from urban property. I have now levied extra wealth tax on urban property. They pay more tax. That was

levied in 1965-66. They are paying an additional wealth tax on urban property. That is also done. We should like to have a progressive thing. That is being done.

**SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU:** The companies having lands are not paying wealth tax and they are not going to pay the tax now.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** Then I would come to the question which has exercised several of my hon. friends here as well as there, and that is the tax on fertilisers. As I have said earlier, the tax on fertiliser is taken from the people who have benefited by all the expenditure that Government has made on agriculture over all these years. Crores of rupees have been spent for the benefit of agriculturists—not only for their benefit but also for the benefit of the country. There if any money is not going to come out of that, how are we to go on spending more and more money in one sector and deprive all other sectors of it? It is not possible to do so. After all, how much am I taking? I am taking only a small part of the profits which are accruing to the agriculturists from the use of fertilisers. I am taking if with a certain use of fertiliser what is produced will give him about Rs. 134 more—if he did not use that, he would get Rs. 134 less...

**SHRI BUTA SINGH (Rupar):** Where is the guarantee? (*Interruption*)

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** There is a guarantee. What is the meaning of 'no guarantee'? The rates are high. We have also assured that we will buy when the rates will go down. And out of Rs. 134, he will pay only Rs. 4 as a result of this taxation. I cannot, therefore, call this taxation high or unjustified at all and, therefore, I cannot accept the plea that this should not be done.

**SHRI NAMBIAR:** You may argue for days and days together, but you cannot justify this. It is high time that you gave it up.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** I know, it is not possible for me to convince my hon. friend.

**SHRI NAMBIAR:** Barring you, all the other 499 members of this House are not convinced on this issue. You ask them to vote secretly and you will know that.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** You will be very happy if the Party behaves like that. That is what you want. But the Party is not going to oblige you.

**SHRI NAMBIAR:** We want them to produce more. Let us not kill the goose which lays a golden egg.

**SHRI MORARJI DESAI:** It was said that non-developmental expenditure had grown higher than the developmental expenditure. This is what, I thought, was said. I do not know how it was said. Developmental expenditure has grown at a faster rate, at the rate of 42 per cent. The non-developmental expenditure has grown at the rate of 18 per cent. Now what is non-developmental expenditure? I have said from time to time that non-developmental expenditure is not such as can be avoided; it includes several items which have not to be done. Therefore, how can there be anything to be done about them? Debt servicing, police, tax-collection, audit—how are these things to be avoided? How can any less expenditure be made on these? This goes on increasing because of the requirements of the situation. Therefore, we cannot do anything about that. I have also said that, in the matter of administration, we are constantly trying to perform economies. Economies are performed. But as things go on, more expenditure is made. Therefore, it is not seen what economies are made. If these economies were not made, there would have been far greater expenditure.

As a matter of fact, it was argued that the income-tax department was not working properly. That is not true. We have brought down the arrears in this year by 8½ lakhs of cases. One-third is gone and the two-third which remains will be finished in the next two years, so that we will have only each year's receipts to be tackled. If this is not an improvement, what else is? We have recovered this year Rs. 30 crores more than last year. That is also what we have done. There are more prosecutions now, and I have seen that in every case where prosecution can be launched, prosec-

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cution is being made so that the tax evasion is at least minimised. I cannot say that it will go completely at any time from the life of the society; these things will not disappear completely. We have to reduce it to an irreducible minimum.

The wealth tax penalty is considered to be very high. But I had introduced some penalties last year, heavy penalties, for evasion, but, for late returns which is also a form of evasion to some extent, I had not said anything. This year, therefore, I have brought it in. Why should people give these returns late, I do not know. For marginal cases, therefore, I have provided and have said that the initial exemption should be deducted from the wealth so that it may not be on the whole wealth for which penalty will be charged. That is what I have declared this morning. Therefore, that concession has been made only because of that. But if people do not give the returns in time, why should they not pay penalties, heavy penalties? After all how are we going to stop all these things? We can stop them only by putting such penalties, which is not profitable for the persons concerned to evade taxes and not to pay taxes and if the penalty paid is Rs. 50,000 the man will not evade it. Otherwise he will evade it because he has to pay only Rs. 2,000. He will evade for 5 years and make up for that. Everybody is not caught everytime. Therefore I have got to make it known to them that once they were caught, they will lose everything. Therefore they will not do this. This is the conception on which this has been done. We go on revising our methods and they go on revising their methods. It has to be seen who succeeds. This is the way Government has got to work and this is what the Government is trying to do.

Thank you, Sir.

**SHRI JAIPAL SINGH:** I have to ask a question.

**MR. SPEAKER:** There is no time, the question is:

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1969-70, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

## BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

### Thirty-fifth report

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAGHU RAMAIAH); I beg to present the Thirty-fifth report of the Business Advisory Committee.

18.58 hrs.

### STATEMENT RE: TEMPORARY CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EM- PLOYEES WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE STRIKE

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA): In my statement made in the House on March 13, 1969, I had indicated that steps would be taken to ensure that the relaxations in regard to temporary employees are implemented fully and expeditiously so that the orders of termination would remain only in case in which there were stronger grounds for action. Doubts have been raised about the exact significance of 'stronger grounds, on the basis of which the order of termination of such employees could not be revoked, It has, therefore, become necessary to clarify that in regard to discharged temporary employees also, irrespective of whether their services terminated by giving a month's notice or forthwith by payment of pay and allowances in lieu of notice, the grounds on which the orders of termination may not be revoked would be the same as those indicated in my statement of March 13 in respect of employees under suspension. In other words except in those cases in which there is a complaint of violence, intimidation or active instigation, the discharged temporary employees would be permitted to rejoin duty after strict verification in each case in the light of these criteria. The employees so reinstated would continue to be liable to appropriate disciplinary action under the Service Rules where such action is justified on charges other than for only unauthorised absence from duty or where there is a conviction for an offence other than one under Section 4 of the Essential Services Main-