

he meant to say was that it was only where the Constitution requires it that he consults the Centre in this particular case, such a consultation was neither required nor permitted, and no advice was given by the Centre. He took the decision on the advice of the Chief Minister.

'As for the report quoted from the Indian Express, he made no reference whatever to dissolution as it did not arise then. No advice has been received by the Governor from the Chief Minister about dissolution hitherto. The advice was only in respect of prorogation of the Assembly.

The report that he had taken this decision on his own after hearing both the Chief Minister and the Leader of the Opposition is also not correct. He told them that he had met the Chief Minister and the Leader and a few other members of the Opposition earlier on the 19th July. The decision taken by him on the 20th July was based on the advice received on 20th July through a letter from the Chief Minister."

These are the facts. He again mentioned what is reported to have transpired between the Home Secretary here and the Chief Secretary there. That matter does not come in here.

Mr. Speaker: No we are concerned only with the matter raised originally by Shri Goel.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: These are the two things: whether I or anybody else from the Centre talked to the Governor, and gave advice. I stand by my statement and this is the explanation of the Governor. There is no discrepancy between what the Governor has to say and what I said. So I plead that there is no *prima facie* case for privilege.

Shri S. M. Banerjee rose—

Mr. Speaker: I do not think any further discussion is necessary. It is clear that the Governor himself has said that he has not consulted the Home Minister.

Shri K. K. Nayar (Bahraich) : The Governor has not stated, his Secretary has stated.

Mr. Speaker: The Home Minister also agrees and says that he stands by what he has stated. In view of the fact that the Governor also corroborates this, that he has not consulted the Home Minister, I do not think there is any case made out. I therefore withhold my consent to this motion.

We shall now adjourn for lunch to meet again at 2 P.M.

13.05 hrs

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for lunch till Fourteen of the clock.

The Lok Sabha reassembled after lunch at three minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

FINANCE (NO. 2) BILL, 1967—
 Contd.

Shri K. K. Nayar (Bahraich) : I rise to oppose the Finance Bill and to make some observations on the fiscal policy and practices of the Government of India. Many distinguished members of this House have already made topical comment on various aspects of the policy in the course of the discussion of the budget. I wish to say something about the unreality of the concepts and beliefs on which the policy is based. It, in the course of my observations, I utter some home truths which may appear pungent or unpalatable to my friends on the Congress benches, I would request them to bear with me.

[Shri K. K. Nayar]

now and to examine these home truths at leisure

We are singular among the nations of the world for our readiness to be inveigled and perverted by slogans and catch phrases, and the Congress has been ruling us all along with slogans and catch phrases. Congress leaders have not been slow to exploit our gullibility and our almost childlike faith in the appropriateness and sincerity of the slogans, and successive disenchantments have failed to make us either sceptical or even cautious. Many slogans inspired us and eventually betrayed us in pre-Independence days. One of these slogans is still with us 'Inqilab Zindabad'. But today it has a different meaning for those who declaim under its banner. For according to the Congressmen, Inqilab has come and gone, and any attempt to create a revolution or to suggest a revolution against the Congress ideology and practice is both sacrilege and heresy.

Akhand Bharat a slogan in which we all believed at one time—

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj (Wardha)
We still believe in it

Shri K. K. Nayar I do not disturb your belief

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj: We all believe in it. Perhaps you do not believe in it now

Shri K. K. Nayar: Whether I believe or not is not a matter for discussion now. I believe the matter for discussion is what I think of the policies of the day and not individual beliefs.

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj: If you also believe in it I am happy. We are happy.

Shri K. K. Nayar: My personal belief should not disturb you either. Akhand Bharat, a slogan in which practically every one in the country

believed at one time, is now the wall of but a few. Others believe that the slogan was assassinated by Congress perfidy and cannot be resurrected.

The first Prime Minister of this country gave us the slogan, *Aram Haram Hai*. Jawaharlal Nehru who set and preached this gospel of work could not make it survive or even live, for the men who mattered and still matter in the Congress set-up are senile or purblind and in any case weak and decrepit, be they discredited politicians bereft of popular support or retired judges or retired civil servants or defeated candidates. India is not only one of the oldest among nations, it is a nation ruled today by the oldest of men. Being the physical fossils and political derelicts that they are, how can we expect our Methuselans to give to the nation the new vigour that the nation's destiny calls for?

As long as the Congress remains in power we can be assured that we shall be ruled in senile decadence by oligarchs who learnt nothing and forget nothing. Their presence, positions and prestige indicate that the slogan should have been *Aram Haram Hai* to be nearer the truth. They take rest whether in the gubernatorial chairs or in positions under corporations and commissions and their *Aram* causes harm in this country.

Our next Prime Minister gave us the slogan *Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan*. We were thrilled by it during the conflict with Pakistan, we were inspired and we believed that this slogan had a meaning. But the denouement was sad and the slogan short-lived. Its end came with the supreme act of national betrayal known as the Tashkent agreement. The Jawans and the Kisans who shed their blood stood bewildered and aghast and disillusioned. While India obliterated and Pakistan pirated at the altar of the spirit of the Tashkent agreement, the nation convulsed in

the agony and humiliation of a victory of valour converted into debacle of diplomacy, realised that this too was one of the slogans, one of the mirages for our deluded acceptance which the architects of Congress policies have held out. And in the present state of official apathy to the kisans and the jawans alike, one would be nearer the truth in realising that the heartening hail *Ja Jawan, Ja Kisan*, should be replaced, to be in conformity with Congress practice, with the synical objurgation, *Ja Jawan, Ja Kisan*. Neither of them is looked after under this Government.

Not only fossilised personalities but petrified ideas also are being held up for our adulation by our leaders. One of them is prohibition. The ghost of prohibition has been laid in many climes among many nations and in many eras. But the Congress persists in the pursuit of this evanescent phantom. The distinction between the moral code for the individual and the economic mode for the nation is lost sight of in this hysterical chase. The result is catastrophic, not only for the nation but also for the individual. The nation suffers from the double affliction of deprivation of excise revenue and the increasing cost of the maintenance of a staff for the enforcement of prohibition. The individual suffers from the insalubrious and often deleterious character of the many brews that he consumes away from the eye of the State and he is cheated also by the exorbitance of the prices he has to pay. With illicit liquor freely available and rum-running rampant the State under prohibition does not consume less liquor than a State following the more rational policy of temperance, education and persuasion instead of compulsion and the threat of punishment.

Shrimati Lakshminathanamma (Khammam) : That is the mandate of the women.

Shri K. K. Nayar : A woman rules us now. The mandate of the woman runs over the whole of India.

Khadder is another fad. Rather, it is the cerement or wax-cloth in which the mummified carcasses of many fads are wrapped and displayed. Whatever khadder may have had in its favour in Gandhi's time, today the insensate adherence to khadder programmes is a betrayal of the nation's economic interests. The time-worn plea that it provides part-time employment and income to the peasantry is hardly ever supported by figures. If the khadder economy were to be accepted as a national programme and every citizen were to wear khadder we would need twice the amount of cotton that we consume today. It is not possible in our economy in which food is already short. And, considering the poor durability of khadder fabrics the ultimate cost to the nation will be even greater. Why then do we persist in this insane khadder programme? Is it the inertia of the Congress mind which prevents it from jettisoning an idea to which it has clung for long or is it the lack of moral courage needed for candidly disavowing an exploded belief? Today the khadder programme is a cocoon for the developing Congressite imago, it serves as a cloak to conceal however poorly, the fissures that rive the Congress edifice.

The Prime Minister is reported to have said in an assemblage of scientific and industrial talent that Indian science is sliding back. She said she had been told so by some Indians and by some foreigners. We have invested heavily on colleges and universities at the expense of primary schooling. We have built numerous engineering colleges and research institutions. We produce more engineers and scientists than any country in the world except USA and USSR. But our leaders do not know what to do with them. Scientists and engineers who should have been the

[Shri K. K. Nayar]

backbone of our industrial revolution are going about unemployed, seeking revolution in this country or resolution abroad of their problems. We have no plans for their utilisation. We plan only for allocating funds for their continued production.

It is an irony that we have suffered most through projects which the Government claims to be signal successes. We built many spectacular dams whose waters go largely waste. We have built them in places where the water requirement is not so great and we have failed to provide for a better distribution of our natural resources and to dig tanks and wells which would have had an impact on the food problem of the various States.

We built stupendous steel plants leading to higher costs in this country, but we supply steel today at cut-throat prices to other nations which are themselves producing steel. Our plans are so recalcitrant that the more we produce, the higher is the cost of the article we produce. Take coal and sugar, for instance. We are producing more coal and more sugar. But the prices of these commodities are rising. We have not geared up our production plans to the requirements of our economy.

The pace of technological development is such by nature that we have to run if we are to keep our place. But we are sliding back, for the economics of development is that you either develop dynamically or you stay stagnant.

It is not an easy task for any country to overtake, let alone surpass another country if it follows in that country's wake and does nothing to blaze a trail of its own. The progress in Russia and Japan has not been made possible by imitation of the developments in the European countries. They struck out new trails and therefore they have been able to go beyond the achievements of Euro-

pean countries. The tremendous progress of USSR and Japan have been generated from within. A single significant breakthrough like the SONY DIODE could lead to a surging tide of economic development. But what are we doing to harness our indigenous talent and resources to ensure us our rightful place among the advancing nations? It is not to be denied that the Congress leadership and their policies have not been able to enthuse the young intellectual in this country. A philosophy of abject dependence on foreign know-how, advice and patronage has been adopted. Our dependence on our doubtful allies for our defence, development and even for our diet is appalling. This is not the way of progress. This is not the way we shall build a new nation. Our anti-diluvian leadership in its hectic quest for foreign aid is selling our birth right for a mess of pottage.

I wish to censure, Sir, the present government for their inexcusable expenditure on fads, frills and fantasies. I plead for a change of policy from the political exploitation of the masses to the technological exploitation of our human and natural resources. Thus and thus alone may revolution be combated and progress ensured. Let us look ahead with vision and hope. Let us not look back either in satisfaction or even in remorse, because neither would help. Let us build a new and create the nation that has been our hope and our goal and in that process let us abandon, let us foresake the shibboleths and fetishes the veneration of which has so perniciously clogged our steps and cloyed our economic policy.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee (Ratnagiri) M^r Deputy-Speaker Sir, while I was listening to the speech of the hon Member, Shri Nayar, who has spoken just before me, it occurred to me that while he was accusing the hon Members on this side and the

Congress Government, for slogans and words instead of action, he himself in fact, did give us just slogans and generalities. Now that in some parts of India the responsibility of government falls on other parties, I trust that his party, where it has the privilege of bearing the responsibility of government, will have more ideas and actions than words and slogans.

Now, with regard to the Finance Bill which is under consideration today, I am glad to see that the Finance Minister has taken note of public opinion and has given certain concessions in excise duties and also has made some concessions in tax deductions at source to individuals of low income and to institutions like co-operative banks etc. We find ourselves in a pathetically paradoxical situation. Here we are, armed for emergency but, alas! complacent with an attitude of peace; surrounded with dire poverty and yet surpassing other wealthier countries in magnificent opulence; and sporting the trappings of democracy yet tiding to feudalistic pattern of thinking. This is what confronts any party, any Minister, who has to bear the executive responsibility of government.

These are the long-term imponderables, but the immediate problems which the Finance Minister has specified in his speech are inflationary pressures, reduction in agricultural output, the revival of industrial activity and adverse trends in exports. The combined effects of all these factors have produced in our country a grim economic crisis, which is a danger to our social and political security. Unless the entire economy of the country is tackled in a more realistic, pragmatic and comprehensive manner, mere restrictive measures and ad hoc price and commodity controls will, I am afraid, only aggravate peoples' discontent, anger and frustration, because, it is not always possible to administer these controls as one would want them to be administered

Not even an army of Commissioners of Civil Supplies, Purchase and Sales Organisations and the like can stem the tide of developments brought on by a stagnation of productive energy and a rise in popular expectation. This is what we are faced with today. What is the role of government in such a situation?

Primarily, I would say that the role of the government is to generate such confidence as it can in the people to face this relentless battle for survival, to generate hope and determination, instead of futility and lethargy; and when I say 'hope', I do not mean the hope of a good monsoon and such uncertainties, nor do I mean the hope of external assistance, but I mean 'hope' in the sense of attaining our given objectives through self-help. Therefore, fiscal policies must necessarily be incentive oriented. They must also be rational and if heavy burdens are to be laid on the poor by means of indirect taxation to attain a satisfactory rate of development in the coming decades, the minority of the well-to-do must be made to share their responsibility of this burden. Without this, it would be impossible to get the consent and co-operation of the people, without which just mere enactment of taxation laws, however progressive, would be meaningless. If the present inequalities are not reduced or due to faulty administration or convenient loopholes, the wealthy can find ways and means of wheedling out of paying their due share of taxes, then the people will not be with us. So, it is not enough that justice is done; it must also be seen to be done.

We take all these tax evasions far too lightly. This is what I mean when I say that it is not enough to have justice done but it must be seen to be done.

Whatever taxation measures are presented to Parliament, I think, on the whole, Parliament sanctions them fairly readily but it is, I would say, in the implementation of this taxation that the whole question lies. The

[Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee]

harassment to the ordinary citizen, particularly the people of the middle income group, is something difficult to tell. On the other hand, you have these cases like we had recently about Bird and Company which managed to get the penalty reduced by Rs 1,20,00,000. I am glad to say that the Government has undertaken an inquiry into this. But there is no reason why an ordinary citizen should go with cap in hand to an income-tax official.

I went through the Taxation Inquiry Committee of 1954 which was constituted under the chairmanship of Dr John Mathai and nowhere did I find that this aspect of taxation had been taken up by him. I do hope that the present inquiry which is being conducted by Shri Bhoothalingam will consider this aspect of the implementation of taxation.

I would say that there is need to include non-officials and, perhaps, even non-theoreticians—in fact, people who would know the subject of taxation at first hand—in such committees. We find that the committees are constituted with officials and economists. Of course they have a very vital and an important role in this but it is also necessary to have an ordinary person—may be a chartered accountant.

Shri N K P Salve (Betul): Chartered accountants are not ordinary persons.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: They are not theoreticians, officials or economists.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Alipur): Chartered accountants are magicians.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: Chartered accountants would know the loopholes and circumvention of taxation.

The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai): They also loopholes.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: If you had him on the committee, he would tell you where the loopholes are.

Shri Morarji Desai: Then they would find other loopholes.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: That is possible. Even in England with 80 or 90 per cent of taxation, you still have the very rich and the poor. No taxation system is infallible. The possibility is always there. What I am trying to say is that in spite of the legislation which this House passes year after year, we do not seem to change the pattern of society. Surely, the House has a responsibility to the people, otherwise, to what effect is this legislation?

The next thing I would like to speak about is the extent of parliamentary control in regard to excise duties. I was going through some reports and also discussing it with some people. I have no first-hand knowledge of this, so I can only submit to the House what I find in reports and from hearsay. The report of the Central Excise Re-organisation Committee of 1963 has pointed out a very important fact that the executive powers, which are vested in the excise officers, are such that they are far in excess of the powers which are exercised in other countries like the UK. For example Parliament passes the ceiling rates of excise but actually the notifications are issued later and whatever changes are brought about in the excise duties are not ratified by Parliament.

We do not know what actually happens in practice. Therefore, if you see the figures of excise collections, they are very interesting. There is a wide gap between the Budget estimates and the actual collections. In 1965-66, the Budget estimates were Rs. 819.19 crores and the actual collections were to the tune of Rs. 897.22 crores. The

variation was of the order of Rs. 78.78 crores and the percentage of variation was 3.61. Why I say this is, that these excise duties, indirect taxes, are really the things which affect the ordinary man, the small industrialist and the common man. These do not usually affect the rich people. So, it is necessary that the executive powers which are being enjoyed today should be brought in line with democratic principles. What is it that it happens in the U.K.? There, the rates can be adjusted, of course, only upto a ceiling of 10 per cent or they can be brought down by 10 per cent. Secondly, if there are any revisions in the rates, they must cover the whole range of taxed goods. They cannot cover an isolated commodity within a range of taxed goods. The third thing is, that whatever modifications are made, whatever changes are made, they have to be ratified by Parliament by an affirmative resolution. This, I would say, is somewhat an encroachment of Parliament's authority and I would request the Finance Minister to go into this. Here was this Excise Commission appointed for the purpose of enquiry and which has made this valuable comment. I think, it should be gone into. What do we find in the case of corporate tax and income-tax? We find that there are fabulous tax arrears. For instance, the total amount of arrears of corporate tax in 1955-56 was only Rs. 53.30 crores whereas in 1965-66 the arrears were of the order of Rs. 164.52 crores. The total arrears upto date from 1955-56 to 1965-66 are of the order of Rs. 396 crores. On the one hand, in the corporate taxation and in the individual taxation there are arrears of the order of Rs. 396 crores, on the other hand, the revenue collections, in indirect taxation, are far higher than the Budget estimates. This seems to me to be somewhat lop-sided. And here are the rich people who go on appealing and who go on using their various methods of employing tax consultants and specialists and so on. I think, this is a matter at which the Finance should have a look.

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Then, the Finance Minister has given us a Budget by which he hopes to curtail inflation. I would certainly want it to work out the way he has put it to us. What is it really that limits his scope of activity? That is the point. The fact of the case is that the Central Budget for the last few years has been approximately of the order of Rs. 4000 crores and the State Budgets have been approximately of about Rs. 3000 crores. It is surprising that the State indebtedness up to date, according to the Reserve Bank of India Report, has gone upto Rs. 5381 crores. Between the period of 1951-52 and 1955-56, it was to the tune of only Rs. 445 crores. Today, it is to the tune of Rs. 5381 crores. That means there is more than a 12-fold increase in the State indebtedness. By March, 1967, the R.B.I. Report says, it will go up further to Rs. 5908 crores. If you are not able to control the money in circulation, if the State budgets cannot be kept under control, if the States keep on under-estimating their expenditure and then coming to the Government of India every time, the Central Government will not be able to do anything as far as controlling inflation is concerned.

With regard to the levy of taxes, excise duties and so on, now that we are really experiencing the true federal structure of our Government, I feel that it is very necessary that there should be a closer conferring or consultation between the Central Government and the State Governments. There is this question of levy on yarn in my state of Maharashtra. There are a large number of people there who work on power looms. Therefore, the Maharashtra State Government people had to come here and explain to the Central Government. If there had been constant consultations between the two Governments as to what would be the effect of such a levy on the State, this could have been avoided. Then, with regard to the excise duty on footwear there is Agra, where a large number of people are making their living.

[Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee]

from footwear. Therefore, this sort of consultation would be necessary. It is not that I say so—it occurs to me that this would be more necessary now than in the past—but this is something which the Finance Commission has said. The Finance Commission has recommended that there should be a very strong cell within the Finance Ministry here to keep track on how the government expenditure in the State is going on, how the commercial units are working, what would be the effect of certain levies, etc. This becomes all the more essential now, as I have said, in the present federal structure.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: She may conclude now.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: I have spoken so much about the other things. Now I must really touch on the Finance Bill.

As there is not much time left, I would like to refer to this. Clause 27(1) provides for distribution and allocation of work on functional basis. That means, instead of one income-tax officer dealing with it, we shall have an assembly system where several income-tax officers will deal with it. It is expected that corruption will be curtailed by this. I can only say that I hope that in the attempt to distribute and allocate works on an assembly system, there will not be any reduction in efficiency because one knows from experience how long it takes to get income-tax returns sanctioned by income-tax officers; how many times one has to go there, and what sort of harassment goes on. Therefore, if this is introduced, I really do not know whether it will be as much a success as it was before. The tax system is so complicated that I do not know whether, leave alone the assesses, the income-tax officers understand it fully, and that is why we have these eternal appeals going on and also the tax consultants are growing in number as

fast as the income-tax officers are growing.

Clause 30 provides for a tax deduction of 22 per cent at source. I am glad to see that the Finance Minister has in his statement yesterday reduced the tax deduction to 20 per cent. What it means is this. Any one who has a small income per year of Rs. 4,000—it may be Rs. 4000 a year—say in deposits with bank or as an investment, his income will have a tax-deduction at source before it is given to him. Many widows, middle-class people, clerks and so on may have an income of Rs. 4000 a year. After the tax has been deducted, then he has to go and ask for tax rebate. I would request the Finance Minister to raise this level to Rs. 6000 because in the context of today's prices the sum of Rs. 6,000 is a very small amount. I would, therefore, request him to raise it from Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 6,000. I am glad that yesterday he had made another modification in this whereby the tax will be levied not after the first Rs. 200 but after the first Rs. 400. May I request him to look into this further and is possible to increase the exception limit from Rs. 4000 to Rs. 6000?

There have been many criticisms regarding indirect taxation. But it is not possible to get the necessary revenues through direct taxation in a country like ours where only one per cent of the people pay taxes. Therefore, indirect taxation is unavoidable or even inevitable in our country. I am sure the Finance Minister does not consider it less pleasant than I do to tax tea, coffee etc. But I feel that there are certain things which are necessities, and a certain distinction has to be made between necessities, non-necessaries and luxuries. Tea has become a "necessary" for the people. They cannot get milk; they cannot buy vegetables, and certainly in the district which I represent, they cannot even get rice. One of the things that they can survive on is tea. The

Taxation Enquiry Commission had considered tea and coffee as non-necessary items, because in those days that was so. But surely now it has become a necessary commodity. So, the taxation on tea should be dropped or at least reduced.

As I was saying indirect taxation is unavoidable, and, therefore, we have been taxing kerosene and edible oils and things like that.

The Income-tax Act has become one of the very vital and important laws of the land. But there cannot be two laws, one for the rich and one for the poor. This kind of thing must change. Unless we make that change we can not get the support and co-operation of the people.

— *Shri Hanumanthalya (Bangalore)*
Where are the two laws? There is only one Act.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee I was referring to the application of the provisions.

Shri Seshlyan (Kumbakonam) So far as the concessions announced by the Finance Minister yesterday and some of the assurances given by him earlier that some of the tax burdens would be absorbed by the manufacturing side, are concerned I would submit that they are so obscure and ambiguous that I do not know by what machinery Government are going to implement those assurances and expectations. What is going to prevent the manufacturers from passing on the burden of the tax to the consumer is yet to be seen. The reliefs given are token and nominal and reflect only the proverbial story of taking from the already overburdened camel's back a little of the burden, that has been intended to be lifted later on, just to give a sense of relief.

Just now, the hon. lady Member said that indirect taxation was an intolerable burden on the common people. As far as direct taxation is con-

cerned, the Finance Minister has been able to simplify and streamline it. But what has he done to remove the unbearable and steam-rolling effect of the indirect taxation?

14.44 hrs.

[*SHRI S M JOSHI in the Chair*]

For some time past I have been finding in the newspapers much publicity given to a mysterious and magic formula namely freezing of wages. I want to know what exactly is in the mind of Government regarding this aspect. Before coming to talk of freezing of wages Government should have taken steps to freeze the prices. If there had been freezing of the prices the wages would have taken care of themselves. In an inflationary economy the worst affected people are those with limited and fixed incomes. When inflation sets in, a wind-fall of profit goes to the higher income groups and the business people and they are able to look after themselves in the rising crescendo of prices but the poor clerical staff those with fixed incomes like the teachers and others are left in the lurch. They have to fight a lonely and losing battle against inflationary tendencies unleashed by our planning and by our Government's wastage and their ineffective measures.

In Three Five Year Plans we have spent as much as Rs. 20,500 crores. In the Fourth Plan yet to be finalised, the proposed outlay is Rs. 21,350 crores. When formulating all these Plans, they set up certain targets—certain targets to be attained for production, certain targets of taxation, certain targets for deficit financing and so on. But we find that the financial target, are always overfulfilled. In the First Plan the additional taxation amounted to Rs. 255 crores, in the Second Plan, the target was Rs. 830 crores whereas the achievement was very magnificent, Rs. 1062 crores! For the Third Plan, the additional taxation target was Rs. 1710 crores whereas they were able to achieve as much as

[Shri Sezhiyan]

Rs 2880 crores. As I said, on the question of additional taxation, they always overdo it. But when the question of hitting the physical targets comes, what do we find? According to our successive targets, in the beginning of the Fourth Plan we should have had a production of 101.2 million tonnes of foodgrains. But at the close of the Third Plan, we were only at about 72 million tonnes. The maximum reached was 89 million tonnes in 1964-65, even that was far short of the targeted figure.

Let us now come to deficit financing and see what is the performance. The First Five Year Plan had targeted for Rs 290 crores whereas the achievement was Rs 333 crores. In the Second Plan, target was Rs 1,200 crores, achievement was Rs 954 crores. In the Third Plan, it was Rs 550 crores whereas the achievement was Rs 1450 crores. Therefore, the Nasik Press has been pressed into service and the rate of flow of paper notes has been faster than that of national output, that is, the flow of services and commodities. During the 15 years of planning from 1950-51 to 1966-67, the supply of money has enormously increased from Rs 2016 crores to Rs 4964 crores. An additional 146 per cent of money supply has flowed into the hands of the public whereas the increase in the national output has been only 64 per cent. This phenomenon has led to a stupor rise in prices.

Those who argue for the Government on the question of expansion of inflationary tendencies and rise in prices attribute these to world-wide phenomena. Of course, after the second world war, prices have risen throughout the world, but not in this runaway manner, not in this unbridled way. As compared to pre-war prices, prices in India have risen 7 times now whereas in UK it is only 4 times, the USA 2½ times and in Russia, for some of the essential commodities, it is less than 2 times. This is because in these countries there has been some discipline in fiscal policies. Here it has assumed a runaway character. If we

take the figures for about ten years from 1964-65, our prices have gone up by 90 per cent whereas in UK, prices have risen by 34 per cent, in Japan only by 9 per cent. As I said, in these countries prices have risen in a controlled manner.

This abnormal increase in prices in our country has always hit the lower income groups. If we take 1952-53 as the base year (100) and calculate the index number of whole-sale prices—I am not referring to retail prices—we find that for all commodities it is now 217, if we take it from May 1966 to June 1967, the index number has gone up from 182 to 217.

If you take food articles alone, they registered a steep increase from 186 to 247, the rise was as much as 61 points within one year, about 33 per cent. If you take sugar, it has gone up from 162 to 368, the rise has been 125 per cent within a single year. These have affected the low income groups.

We have been taking pride in our five year plans and one of our chief objections has been to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor. How far has this been achieved? I would invite your attention to the national sample survey reports published last year after some field research made by them. They have analysed the household incomes of urban as well as the rural population. They have found that as far as the urban households are concerned, 13.6 per cent of the families are living on Rs 833 per person per mensem, 28.9 per cent are living on Rs 14.94, 32.5 per cent are living on Rs 22.71, 10.6 per cent are living on Rs 31.57. It shows that as much as 85.6 per cent, or roughly 86 per cent of the population is living on Rs 18.9 per person per mensem, that means 63 paise per day. So, 86 per cent of our population, after a decade of planning, has been living at a sub-marginal level.

If you go to the rural households, the same story has been repeated.

Shri Ranga (Srikakulam): It is worse.

Shri Seshayan: About 87 per cent of the population is living on 35 paise per day per person in the rural area. In the same analysis it has been found that 0.9 per cent of the rural household accounts for 16 per cent of the cultivable land and 33 per cent of the total agricultural income. Less than one per cent of the entire population in the rural areas are cornering one-third of the total agricultural income. This is the state of affairs after 15 years of planning.

Why are we so much worried about the rising prices of food? Because a large proportion of the income of the low income groups is spent on food, and as I have pointed out, food prices have been increasing at a very alarming rate, 25 to 30 per cent within one year. If you take the analysis, the lower income groups, i.e., those with a monthly income of Rs. 500 and less, have to spend as much as 79 per cent of their budget on food alone. Food includes, according to the national sample survey, so many items, cereals, pulses, milk products etc., but actually we find that milk products constitute only 0.2 per cent, pulses only 0.4 per cent etc. Therefore, practically the entire expenditure on food is on cereals, and for that a man has to spend about 79 per cent of his monthly budget. Therefore, you can well imagine the hardship that has been caused to the lower income groups by the appalling rise in prices which has been caused by the unimaginative and inflationary policies of our Government.

The Madras Government wanted to introduce the sale of rice at one rupee per measure. This was ridiculed by many, and the Central Government made it plain that if they wanted to fulfil such a scheme the Centre would not come in their way but they would not help them. The Central Government could have been more co-operative in containing prices. Once we contain the price of rice and food articles, it goes a long way to lighten the

budget of the lower income groups, and it also acts as a cushion to see that the prices of other articles do not rise in a haphazard way. For that the State Government was not given any help by this Government. I want to draw your attention to the centre-state relations as far as the financial policy is concerned. The Congress has been enjoying monopoly of power for the past twenty years in the centre as well as in the states. It was a sort of a political feudal system, the centre being in the position of overlord and the states, serfdoms. The pattern has changed. For the first time the federal structure has come to be recognised and it demands to be respected by the centre. The states are far from satisfied at the way planning is done and plans are changed. Sometimes they announce that Salem plant is coming. Five years later, they say that Salem is not going to come. Prime Minister Nehru assured the certainty of the Tuticorin Harbour project; that was later on endorsed by Lal Bahadur Shastri. Now, after all this, they say that it will have to be reconsidered and that it may end in a fishing harbour. These things go to show how the planners and the government at the centre work. I do not say that the centre should not have anything to do with the states. I do not say that the centre should not act as a co-ordinating agency. But they change these things very easily. Once they say: go ahead. Then they say: do not go ahead. On the floor of this House in 1962, Mr. Subramaniam the then Steel Minister announced a decision on Salem. Of course he happens to come from the South. But what he said here was on behalf of the government. He said that Salem plant had been accepted and that it would come in shortly. For six years it has been in cold storage. Unfortunately, Mr. Subramaniam is not here. He is somewhere else. It is true that the States should not be dependent permanently on the central exchequer. They should ordinarily be self-supporting. For that States should have adequate and elastic resources of revenue. A review of the division of

[Shri Sezhayan]

financial resources between the centre and the states is required. There should be a reappraisal of this aspect. All the expanding and bigger sources have gone to the centre and the states have been left with inelastic and sometimes closed resources.

If you take the figures for the past fifteen years, you will see that in 1950-51 the centre had a revenue receipt of Rs. 411 crores and all the states put together had Rs. 374 crores; out of total of Rs. 785 crores for both the states and the centre, the centre got 52 per cent and the states 48 per cent. Out of a total of Rs 4006 crores in 1966-67, the centre has got Rs. 2711 crores and the states, all put together, only Rs. 1,295 crores. These are the comparable figures for 1950-51 and 1966-67. In sixteen years the centre's resources have increased by 6.6 times, while those of the states have increased by 3.7 times only. That only further proves my point that the states' resources have been rigid and inelastic and the centre's resources have been expanding and bigger. In terms of percentage, in 1950-51, the centre's share in the total revenue resources was 52 per cent and it has increased to 66 per cent of the total in 1966-67. The previous speaker also mentioned how the debts have gone up twelve-fold for the States. The interest on loan from the centre to the states has gone from Rs. 5 crores in 1951 to Rs. 155 crores in 1967. By way of loans and interest we have been paying heavy sums. If I say that the Madras Chief Minister wants some more elasticity in the revenues earmarked for the states or if I quote Bihar Chief Minister, probably they may think that it has come from a non-Congress or anti-Congress government. But I can quote some of the suggestions made by the Congress governments themselves. This is from a speech of a Congress Minister: his reference is to central loans:

"These loans are expended by the State Government on capital

works which obviously last much longer than the period for which central loans are given and also take a longer time to yield results in terms of additional revenue. Legitimate annual depreciation provisions on the capital assets which have to be based on the life of the works and the paying capacity of the benefited citizens will not and do not pay for the annual equated instalments required to be paid to the government of India. The gap in resources has to be found by state governments. The annual debt charges borne by the state governments have increased (from year to year). This implies that there will be a heavy draft on our hard raised resources, if the existing terms and conditions of central loans continue. Government of India grant loans to state governments out of its own open market borrowing, from funds obtained by deficit financing and from foreign aid. Though a part of central loans comes from the Government of India's open market borrowing, much larger part would seem to come from funds obtained by deficit finance and from foreign aid. The terms and conditions under which the Centre gets its loanable funds and the terms and conditions under which these are made available to the states require equitable harmony. I trust the next Finance Commission will go into this question and recommend a satisfactory solution of this vexed problem which is likely to become a source of considerable financial anxiety to state governments with successive five year plans."

15 hrs.

Sir, this is from a budget statement of the Bombay Government for 1955-57. Mr. Morarji Desai was the Chief Minister of Bombay at that time!

Shri Morarji Desai: I shall give a reply to that

Shri Seshiyam: Now that he has come to the centre, he may say that he has changed his views if he is to go back to a State as the Chief Minister, probably he will emphasise these points with redoubled vigour. Many loans to the states have come even without their asking for them. Take for instance, the gold control order. This was a central government order passed without any consultation with the states. The goldsmiths were affected and they were thrown out of employment in hundreds and thousands. The centre advanced loans to them and while granting the loans routed them through the state governments and asked the states to treat them as loans to the states. Now, the states are repaying the loans with interest. While on this question, I want to know from the hon. Minister whether he is having any serious reconsideration about scrapping gold control. I understand that he was seriously thinking of it and on the floor of this House Mr Hanumanthaya made a statement to this effect while speaking on the Finance Bill last year. I shall quote him

"Shri K Hanumanthaya I was quoting Shri Morarji in order to show the untenability of this order. I was making the point that even its author is of the opinion that it is time it is scrapped. I am in a position to say that I have said this with his previous approval."

Some Members asked that Mr Desai was himself a member of the House and why should he not say this himself. He replied that he had resolved not to speak in the House unless he was a minister or something like that. Both the gentlemen are here. There was some discussion then and Mr Hanumanthaya said

"I may also say that it is not merely a case of his opinion or

my opinion that ought to matter. If this gold control order is left to the free vote of the House, I am sure this House will vote in favour of scrapping it."

He sensed the feeling of the whole House and said that the gold control order should be scrapped.

Regarding prohibition I agree entirely with the opinion of the Finance Minister. I approve of that idea. Prohibition has done something good, and so it should stay. But I want to know what he is doing to implement this programme. The directive given in the Constitution. The Constitution itself states that this policy should be implemented by the State. "State" means not the State Governments alone but the Central Government also. The Centre has got a share if not responsibility in implementing the directive principles in the Constitution. Even in that relevant article in the Constitution, that chapter says, the "State" includes the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislatures of each of the States."

Sometime ago, Mr Pant, while replying to the question raised by me said that at one stage there was a suggestion to meet 50 per cent of the losses or the financial resources in this regard, pertaining to the State, in implementing this scheme. I may state here that the Madras Government is implementing this policy with faith and conviction. I want to know whether you are going to give 50 per cent to the Madras State in this connection, because the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance himself said that they would meet 50 per cent. Therefore, if they want us to implement this policy, I would like to know—in the face of their desire and in the face of the suggestion that they would give 50 per cent—whether he is going to give 50 per cent to the Madras State.

[Shri. Sezhayan]

Lastly, I wish to speak about automation. This is a very serious problem which I want to bring to the Government's notice. Today, it is poignant to note that 40,000 employees of the Life Insurance organisation are on a token strike, they have been forced to the token strike because all the representations that they made, not only on behalf of the LIC employees but on behalf of others also wherein automation is being thought of, have been of no avail. Automation is slowly creeping in. I must say here that we are not against mechanisation in so far as mechanisation helps the human welfare and employment conditions in the country.

About employment potential, if automation helps well and good, it should be resorted to. But then, if we go to the figures of unemployment in this country, we find that at the end of the first Five Year Plan there were 53 million people unemployed, at the end of the second Plan, it was 9 million, at the end of the third Plan, it rose to 14 million. If you take the number of under-employment also into consideration as per the latest official figures it is 14 to 18 million. So the outstanding unemployment at the beginning of the fourth Five Year Plan will be of the order of not less than 20 million. At this stage, when there are 20 million people to be provided with suitable jobs, the question is whether it is advisable to bring in automation.

In this connection, I would like to quote from John Kenneth Galbraith, the American economist. I am quoting him, because, if I quote anybody else, they may not agree. In his book "Economic Development", John Kenneth Galbraith has given sound advice with respect to taking technical know-how from some other countries. There are two types of technical know-how or technical device which we take from other countries. He has amplified it by saying as follows:

"The borrowing of technology is also a subtle matter. In principle it is highly desirable. One must know, however, why the thing was worked out."

Because, blindly we should not take something from the other countries. He says:

"Was it a step forward in a process or product of universal application? Or was it an adaptation to the requirements of advanced economic development itself? High yielding maize hybrids, the Japanese method of rice cultivation, improved fertilizer use, LD process of steel production are advances of general application. They economise all resources."

Wherever there is a resource-saving device it should be adopted. He goes on to say:

"They are as appropriate and as important for the less or more developed country. But much of the technology of the more advanced countries represents an accommodation to labour shortages or reflects the other special requirements of the more advanced economy. The mechanical cotton picker and the modern heavy farm tractor are innovations of this sort. Their use on the farms in the United States reflects the fact that labour for hire is exceedingly scarce. This technology should not be taken over by countries in the earlier stages of development. To do so is to waste scarce resources and handicap development and much more than incidentally, to add to unemployment."

Therefore, automation may be a necessity for America where there is labour shortage, where an enormous price has to be paid to hire or employ human labour. In those conditions,

thus thing can be there In India, where more than 20 million people are standing in a long queue to get jobs, all these things are introduced in the LIC, oil companies, railways, income-tax Department etc Whenever we put this question, the ministry says there will be no retrenchment If you put a computer and at the same time, there is no reduction in labour, it means the computer is superfluous On the other hand, if it is going to reduce human labour, you should be very plain and say that 14,000 people will be retrenched in the process Then its usefulness is apparent We spend lakhs of rupees in foreign exchange to import these machines Today one such machine has been installed in the LIC, Bombay Therefore, they should make it clear whether the automation devices are cutting down the employment potential or not If they are not cutting down, then they are superfluous and we do not require them If they are cutting down employment potential, then also we do not require them

With these words, I appeal to the minister to look into the question of automation from the human point of view, the employment point of view and from the point of view of the interests of the workers who are affected by it.

श्री. रमकृष्ण गुप्त (हिंगार) समाप्ति
महोदय, इस बिल के द्वारा जो हाउस में पेश किया गया है इनकम टैक्स एक्ट की धाराओं को सिम्पलीफाई और राशनलाइज करने की कोशिश की गई है। इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि इनकम टैक्स ज्यादा से ज्यादा कोलेक्ट हो और जो पिछला टैक्स है, जो एरियर है, उनकी बसूली के लिए भी कोशिश की जाए। मेरा धयना खयाल है कि अगर नए टैक्स लगाने के बजाय प्रापर एसेसमेंट हो और कोलेक्शन का इतना धीक हो और टैक्स इवेनान को हम रोकने में कामयाब हो जाए जो बायब नए टैक्स लगाने की जरूरत न पड़े।

काफी से ज्यादा इनकम टैक्स की रकम इवेन होती है, चोरी होती है। इसको रोकने की बहुत ज्यादा जरूरत है। हमें वह मालूम करना चाहिये कि इसका क्या कारण है और इसको कैसे रोका जा सकता है। जहां तक मेरा खयाल है बड़े बड़े बैंक्स बड़े बड़े पूजा-पतियों के कब्जे में है। वे अपना काला धन इसमें छिपा देते हैं और फिक्टिशस नाम से भी एकाउंट खुले हुए हैं। यह बात मैं इसलिए कहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया ने इनकम टैक्स एपेलेट कमिशन को मुकर्रर जि। था उसमें भी इस बात की चर्चा है। मेरा कहने का मतलब यह है कि अगर बैंक्स को नेशनलाइज किया जाए तो काफी हद तक इनकम टैक्स की चोरी बन्द हो सकती है। उस हालत में बैंक्स पर आपका कंट्रोल हो जाएगा। इसलिए मैं मंत्री महोदय से अपील करूंगा कि इस तरफ वह जरूर ध्यान दे।

दूसरी बात मैं अडर एसेसमेंट के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। हाउस के अन्दर अभी ब्राडिट रिपोर्ट सिविल और कमशियल पेश की गई है उनको देखने से पता लगता है कि अफसरान इनकम टैक्स लगाते हैं बहुत ला र-काही करते हैं। इसके लिए एक दो मिसालें मैं हाउस के सामने पेश करना चाहता हूँ।

"In the course of test audit carried out during the period 1st September, 65 to 31st August, 66, under-assessment of tax of Rs 7 40-crores in 9880 cases and over-assessment of tax of Rs 65 89 lakhs in 2014 cases were noticed. Besides this, several defects in following the prescribed procedure also came to notice of audit."

इससे पता लग जाएगा कि अडर - एसेसमेंट के केसिस कितने बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। अगर अफसरान सापरवाही न करें और ठीक काम करें तो काफी से ज्यादा इनकम टैक्स की रकम यूसूल हो सकती है।

[श्री राम कृष्ण गुप्त]

इसके प्रस्ताव में यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो इनकम टैक्स की रकम काफ़ी एरियर में है उसको भी वसूल करने के लिए पूरी कोशिश की जाए। इससे हमारी ग्रामदनी बड़ेगी और हमें नए टैक्स लगाने की ज्यादा जरूरत नहीं पड़ेगी।

अब सै चंडीगढ़ के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। इसलिए इस विषय पर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि इसका जिक्र हाउम में दो तीन बार कुछ पंजाब के मेम्बर साहबान की तरफ से किया गया है। दरअसल अगर देखा जाए तो चंडीगढ़ के बारे में बेइसाफी हरियाणा के साथ हुई है। शाह कमिशन ने काफ़ी सोच-विचार के बाद, एबीडिस लेने के बाद, इनकवायरी करने के बाद यह सिफारिश की थी कि चंडीगढ़ हरियाणा को मिलना चाहिये। उन्होंने अपनी रिपोर्ट के पेज 40 पर इस बात का जिक्र किया है और कहा है।

"The Kharar Tehsil has a Hindi-speaking majority according to the 1961 census. It would be for the economic well being of the people of that part of Tehsil Kharar which is not covered by the controlled area and the capital project to be merged with the State with which the controlled area and the capital project area are merged

We, therefore, recommend that Kharar Tehsil including the Chandigarh capital project be merged with the Hindi-speaking State."

यह बात मैंने इसलिए कही कि अगर हिस्टोरिकली, लिमिटेडकली, कल्चरली, किसी भी वाइड ग्राम्य से देखा जाए चंडीगढ़ मुक्त में हरियाणा का हिस्सा रहा है और इसलिए असल इंचार्ज तो यह है कि अब भी इसको हरियाणा के अन्दर शामिल कर दिया जाए। सन् 1911 के पहले जब बिल्सी

हिन्दुस्तान की राजधानी नहीं थी चंडीगढ़, बिल्सी विविजन का हिस्सा था। बाद में जब बिल्सी को राजधानी बना दिया गया तो अन्धाला विविजन को निकाल कर पंजाब के साथ शामिल कर दिया गया। इसलिए मेरा कहने का मतलब यह है कि बोली के लिहाज से भी कमिशन ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में इस बात का जिक्र किया है कि ज्यादा भारी-भरकब लोगो की है जो कि हिन्दी बोलते हैं। उन्होंने कहा है :

"The large percentage of students who had the examinations from Chandigarh and Kharar Tehsil in the years 1965 and 1966 opted to answer the question papers in the Hindi medium broadly supports the inference that the language of the region is predominantly Hindi-speaking."

इसको देखते हुए मैं इस सदन से अपनी कसबा कि जल्दी से जल्दी चंडीगढ़ हरियाणा को वीटबा जाए और वह हरियाणा के लोगों के साथ प्राप ईसाफ करेंगे। ईसाफ का तकाजा यही है।

एक दो बातें मैं और भी कहना चाहता हूँ। त्रिबी पसिस के बारे में रिसेटली हमारी ए० आई० सी० सी० ने भी रेजोल्यूशन पास किया है। रेजोल्यूशन पास करने के बाद पब्लिक के माइड में यह एग्जिहेन है कि एन्ड इस रेजोल्यूशन को इम्प्लेमेंट किया भी जाएगा या नहीं किया जाएगा। मैं यह महसूस करता हूँ कि ए० आई० सी० सी० ने जो यह रेजोल्यूशन पास किया है इन्को इम्प्लेमेंट किया जाए। रकम की कोई बात नहीं है। तकरीबन पाच करोड़ रुपए की रकम सालाना बतौर त्रिबी पर्सिस के राज महारज्यों को दी जाती है। लेकिन देखना यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान के गरीब श्रमिकों के दिल में यह विश्वास पैदा हो कि हब नरीबों

के लिए सरकार कुछ करना चाहती है और देश के अन्दर ऐसी स्थिति पैदा करना चाहती है जिससे हर भारतीय तरक्की कर सके, चुनावों के अन्दर आसानी से हिस्सा ले सके। मैं यह महसूस करता हूँ कि इस बात की बहुत ज्यादा जरूरत है कि बिना पॉसिबल अन्य किए जाएं और यदि ऐसा किया गया तो इसका तमाम देश के ऊपर बड़ा प्रभाव पड़ेगा।

मैंने पिछले दिनों हाउस में एक मूवमेंट उठाया था और मैं समझता हूँ कि दूसरी पोलिटिकल पार्टीयें भी मेरी इन बातों की तरफ़ करेगी कि जो मैं कहने जा रहा हूँ। आप देखें कि आज हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर किस तरह से हालात पैदा हो रहे हैं। एक पार्टी के एम० एल० एच०, एक पार्टी के मेम्बर अपनी उस पार्टी को छोड़ कर दूसरी पार्टी में चले जाते हैं। जब यह सवाल 19 तारीख को इस हाउस के अन्दर आया तो तमाम पार्टी की तरफ से यह बाहिर किया गया और यह हाउस की राय थी कि जरूर इस किस्म का कोई आफ डिस्प्लिन फार पोलिटिकल पार्टीयें होना चाहिये। यह जो चीज है इसको हम इसी तरह से चलने रहना नहीं देख सकते। आज यह सवाल हमारे सामने नहीं है कि किम पोलिटिकल पार्टी का राज देश के किस भाग के अन्दर है। हमारे सामने सवाल डेमोक्रेसी का है, हिन्दुस्तान का है। अगर हम चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर डेमोक्रेसी कामयाब हो, अगर हम चाहते हैं कि हमारा डेमोक्रेटिक सिस्टम कामयाब हो तो इसके लिए एक साउंड, आनिस्ट, ईमानदार पोलिटिकल पार्टी तैयार की जा सकती है। इसलिए मैं यह महसूस करता हूँ कि तमाम पोलिटिकल पार्टीयें एक मीटिंग बुलाई जाएं और उस मीटिंग के अन्दर इस मसले पर गौर किया जाए।

और इस किस्म के उपाय किये जायें जिससे लेजिसलेटिव एक पार्टी को छोड़ कर दूसरी पार्टी में शामिल न हो सकें। ऐसा करने से हमारे पोलिटिकल सिस्टम

में आनिस्टी आयेगी।

इस बजट में इस बात का कोई खास ध्यान नहीं किया गया है कि बैंकवर्क एरियाज की तरफ़की के लिए कोई खास रकम मंजूर की गई है। हालांकि हमारी तीनों प्लान्स का यह मक़दद था कि हमारे देश के मुक़्तलिक रिजर्व और रियाज में जो डिस्पैरिटी है उसको कम किया जाए और अंडर डेवलप एरियाज को डेवलप किया जाये, लेकिन आबादी मिलने के इतने सालों के बाद भी हमारे देश में से बहुत से एरियाज हैं जो बैंकवर्क और बहुत अंडर-डवलप हैं। मेरी धरील है कि इस काम के लिए एक स्पेशल मिनिस्ट्री बनाई जाये और इसके लिए एक खास रकम मंजूर की जाये ताकि बैंकवर्क एरियाज के लोग यह महसूस कर सकें कि उनकी तरफ़की के लिए कुछ किया जा रहा है।

हमारा यह मक़दद है कि हम अपने देश में एक सोशललिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ़ सोसायटी कायम करें जिससे हर एक आदमी की तरफ़की का मौका मिले लेकिन हमारा यह मक़दद तब तक पूरा नहीं हो सकता है जब तक कि हम अपने देश में मानोपलोज़ को नहीं रोकेंगे। मानोपलोज़ कमिशन की रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि कुछ बिजनेस हाउसिंस तमाम हिन्दुस्तान की पंचाल परसेंट के करीब दौलत को कंट्रोल किए हुए हैं। यह बड़ा दुख की बात है। मेरी धरील है कि इन किस्म के साधन पैदा किये जायें कि यह जो मानोपलोज़ सिस्टम हिन्दुस्तान में बढ़ता जा रहा है इसको रोकना जाये जिससे हमारे देश में सही तौर पर एक सोशललिस्टिक निज़ाम कायम हो और हर एक गरीब आदमी यह महसूस करे कि उसको तरफ़की के लिए मौका मिला है।

Shri Shiv Sharma (Vidisha): Mr. Chairman, it is a tragedy that I should, for the first time, be addressing a practically empty House. However, the heads that are listening to my

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message are not empty, and that is a great compensation. It is another irony that I should be opposing the budget of the Finance Minister, whom, after Gandhiji, I have given the highest respect, so much so, that if, at the end of my criticism of his budget, he feels and he can say, that I am wrong, I would be prepared to withdraw all that I have said I have that faith in him

My subject is very restricted. It is with regard to the relationship of this budget to the Ayurvedic medicine. The Government set up a large number of committees over the decades, including strictly anti-Ayurvedic committees like the Sir Joseph Bore Committee, committees partly ayurvedic and partly modern like the Chopra Committee, purely ayurvedic committees like the Udapa Committee and the Vyas Committee. But on one thing they were all unanimous, that about 80 to 90 per cent of the Indian population is served by the indigenous medical profession. It is an irony that that system through which these 80 to 90 per cent people receive service should, in the entire Budget receive only about 4 to 5 per cent of the total grant on health 95 per cent of which goes to a system which does not serve more than 10 or 15 per cent of the people of this country.

Shri S. S. Kothari (Mentour) Does the hon Member suggest ayurvedic medicines for the country's ills?

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Rai-ganj) That would be the most honourable thing for India to adopt.

Shri N. K. F. Salve: It is a maiden speech.

An hon. Member: Please do not disturb.

Shri Shiv Sharma: I have no objection to any disturbance.

I have sufficient faith in this system to be able to answer any question that would be raised. I have always invited questions.

Since this subject has come up, I want to submit that I was invited by the Medical Faculty of Rochester University to address them on *ayurveda* and a large contingent of doctors from the West will be shortly coming to India to receive lectures on *Ayurveda*. During a question session from about 5 P.M. till about 1 A.M. I was asked questions by American doctors. It was the greatest thrill of my life that people asked questions because asking of questions proves that they are fully interested in the subject. I assure you that I will be at your service to answer any question and there will be no evasion. Of course, I am not insinuating anything with reference to the ministerial type of answering questions.

It is not so much the paucity of the funds that are being made available to the Ayurvedic system as the nature of their expenditure that I wish to bring to the notice of the House. I wish to discuss two particular aspects of *Ayurveda*—education and research. I will make an appeal to the Finance Minister at the end of what I have to say and I will leave the entire decision to him and let him, with his clean conscience, take a decision on the question whether the expenditure should be permitted to be made along the lines along which it is now being made.

A peculiar system of *Ayurveda* has been brought into existence. They use the word 'integrated medicine' for it. The word 'integrated' is a past participle. It means something that has been achieved. The graduates of this system claim that they are masters of both the systems. Now, I have the highest regard and respect for modern medicine. It is one of the greatest scientific achievements. When I talk of

Ayurveda, it does not mean that I automatically reject or condemn a system for which I have the highest admiration and for the practitioners of which I have the highest regard. The relationship between me and those practitioners is of mutual respect and exists on a very good level.

About this claim that they are masters of both the systems, I wish to bring this to your notice. If Shri Nanda had been here he would have told you—I met him in 1954 or 1955 in Bombay—that he was very angry and upset after he had met those modern medical men who were totally responsible for the institution of this course called the course of integrated medicine into which practically all the Ayurvedic funds of the States and the Centre have gone. On being questioned by me, Shri Nanda said, "I am angry with these hypocrites who say in their public speeches that they are building up the Ayurvedic system of medicine along modern lines, when I asked them what graduates they had produced their reply was that that was the only way to wind up the Ayurvedic system which was unscientific." This was the reply to Shri Nanda of the people who were the authors of the integrated system. On the merits of it my demand is that every penny spent on that so-called system should be stopped forthwith, as we are not producing either good doctors or good *vaidyas*.

The modern medical man shall not permit a graduate to practise allopathic medicine if he has spent a fraction of a second short of five years after doing his intermediate in science. We the Ayurvedic physicians, feel that a person is certainly not fit to practise ayurveda unless he is given a minimum of five years or so of intensive training and education to be able to grasp fully the Ayurvedic system. And it is claimed that within half the time of both one has become a master of both.

I want to bring to your notice that the Health Ministry, having supported this system for a long time, ultimately got ashamed of what it was doing, dropped the term 'integrated' and started calling it the concurrent system of medicine, because they realised that when two systems are taught concurrently without their integration anywhere they cannot be called a single system of medicine. What happens is that one teacher comes to teach modern medicine and he criticizes *Ayurveda* and at another time another teacher comes to teach *Ayurveda* and he criticizes the modern system. The result is utter confusion. Those who claim that they practise both, at what level do they practise both these systems? In modern medicine a thoracic surgeon would not open the brain. My friend doctor guide goes on opening brains continuously in Bombay because he is a neuro-surgeon and he would not take up surgical work on thorax. It is at lower levels that people start claiming that they know everything. The licentiates almost invariably write "L.M.P. Physician and Surgeon". If you go further into the villages, you will find the sign "Physician, Surgeon and Dentist". If you go very much further, you will read on the sign-board, "Physician, Surgeon, Dentist, Watch-mender and Gramophone-repairer". It is like a case of a boy who wants to marry a bride of 18 years and you present him with three girls of 6 years each and you tell him, "Here are three girls of 6 years each and you get one bride of 18 years".

This is the integrated system of teaching that is going on. All these boys do not want to practise *Ayurveda* and they insist that they should be given a condensed course in Allopathy and given the degree of M.B.B.S. The Health Minister cheerfully comes and says that they have given so many lakhs of rupees for the development of *Ayurveda*. Whether that money is going to the cause of *Ayurveda*, it is for you to see. Some research is being conducted on *Ayur-*

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veda and those crores of rupees, of course, very few crores of rupees compared to modern medicine, are spent on that sort of Ayurveda and they come here and say that they have spent so much money on Ayurvedic research

Sir, I seek your indulgence to quote an incident from Punjab which will give a very clear picture to you as to how funds allotted for Ayurvedic are being re-channeled into Allopathic field. You will find that the Ayurvedic College at Banaras has been abolished and there is now a modern medical research college. They have changed the name from the Ayurvedic College to the College of Medical Sciences, whatever that means. That is one city where the Ayurvedic tradition of teaching is over 3000 years old. The first work on Ayurveda was written in Kashi by Susruta, the first surgeon of the world, called the first disciple of Dhanwantari. You may be aware that there are two Dhanwantris in Ayurveda, one is Lord Dhanwantari; of, call it mythology or *puranas* or anything—I do not want to contest that—and the other is the Dhanwantari, who was teaching at Kashi, the historical figure accepted by all the medical historians of the world. Greeks at that time came to Kashi. If you study the literature written in Arabia, the Arabs came in numbers to study Ayurveda at Kashi which they called the very fountain-head of Ayurveda. Even when Aurangzeb, at Kashi, demolished a temple and left half of it undemolished after building a mosque in the demolished part, he did not interfere with the tradition of teaching of Ayurveda. Ayurveda's teaching continued even during the British days although they did undermine Ayurveda by influencing the minds of the people adversely. But the Ayurvedic tradition at Kashi was not broken. It is a great tragedy that it was in the days of the present Congress Government that the Ayurvedic College was

closed at Banaras and that funds allotted for Ayurveda were diverted

Some hon. Members: Shame, shame.

Shri Shiv Sharma: If you permit me, I may sum up in one sentence the story of all the eras of Ayurveda, that the attempt to misrepresent and liquidate Ayurveda, invidious during the Mughal period, insidious during the British period, became perfidious thereafter. There is no other word for it as you will see the level to which Ayurveda has been reduced.

Then, there was a direct attempt to break the Jamnagar Ayurvedic Research Institute into various pieces. I do not have to convey it to the hon. Finance Minister because he was the one who saved the Jamnagar Ayurvedic Research Institute from the machinations of the Health Ministry. Otherwise, it would have gone the way of the Banaras Ayurvedic College.

I may give an incident of pre-partition Punjab when a deputation of Hindus and Sikhs called on Sir Sikandar and represented to him that although the radio was financed mostly by these two communities, because they were richer and they were purchasing the licences in larger numbers, it was almost entirely, exclusively, employing the singers from the majority community, the Muslims. From the morning till the evening the programme consisted of Tamancha Jans and Mubarak Begums. When this deputation called on Sir Sikander, there was a news item in the paper that the Chief Minister gave a very patient hearing to the deputationists and promised them that their communities would also be represented. The next day, out of curiosity, we switched on the radio. In the morning the names were Tamancha Jans and Mubarak Begums and in the evening the names were Jaswant Kaura, Sakuntala Devis and others. When we heard in evening, the voices

appeared to be the same as they were in the morning. Subsequently it was found out that the same artists sang as Tamancha Jan and Mubarak Begum in the morning and as Jaswant Kaur and Sakuntala Devi in the evening.

I have given this story just to tell you that apart from the many many thousands of crores of rupees which are spent on conducting research in allopathy, even those few crores which are allotted to Ayurvedic Sakuntalas also go to allopathic Tamancha Jans. It is just only a change of name. Substantially it is again and again going to the same favourite. What is it to me if the tulsi leaves are broken into pieces and then their active principles are isolated out of them under the Ayurvedic funds as it is done under the allopathic funds? We can have research along very different lines that should build and expand Ayurveda.

I will quote from a speech delivered by late Prime Minister Shastri. That speech is very very significant because for the first time after 17 years of the present rule, a Prime Minister broke the tradition of suppressing anything which meant progress and development of Ayurveda. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri directly went into it. He not only said that 'it does require further consideration as to how Ayurveda should further grow and develop'. He went further and said that this development should be conducted through the people who are interested in its growth, by the vaidyas themselves'. But far more significant than this is a passage at the end. Having inaugurated the Health Ministers' Conference, having for the first time in 17 years introduced the concept of the desirability of openly expressing that our relationship with Ayurveda should be for its growth and development, he apologized to the Health Minister. His words were. "I am sorry I have said something which may not be generally liked by

the experts". Understand this picture. The Prime Minister is apologizing to the Health Minister for having said something which has hurt her! What has hurt her? That the funds of Ayurveda should be spent for the benefit of Ayurveda by the vaidyas without interference by the non vaidyas. That Health Minister was in charge of the funds for building of Ayurveda.

There is more to it. There was a resolution passed by the Medical Conference that Ayurveda should be wound up. The former Health Minister happened to be a member of that organisation. The Chairman of the Indian Medical Council wrote a letter to the Government of India saying that all that was in Ayurveda had been taken up by allopathy and nothing new was left out and therefore it should be wound up and there was no need for its existence. Then I happened to be the Chairman of the State Faculty of the Ayurveda of the composite State of Bombay and he asked me to increase the grant to the Nadiad Ayurvedic College by Rs 1 lakh. I pointed out to him that it was only a little while ago that he had written a letter to the Government of India that Ayurveda should be wound up. He said that he had written that as the Chairman of the Indian Medical Council and this aid he was asking for as the President of the Maha Gujarat Ayurvedic Society. I have never in my life spoken with two voices on any subject and it was very difficult for me to understand this. When these people, who demand total abolition of Ayurveda as members of the Indian Medical Council, come to the Health Ministry and say that they want to do something for our national medicine, do you believe that they will do it? Nobody is more aware of it than the then Finance Minister. He knows all the tactics which were played in order to wind it up. The entire grant that comes to Ayurveda goes back again to allopathy.

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I had said something very bitter on the occasion of that Health Ministers' Conference. I happened to be there as the representative of the Planning Commission because then I was honorary adviser to the Planning Commission on Ayurveda. I had to resign because my salary was one rupee per mensem, which would have debarred me from standing for the Parliament because that was an office of profit, in spite of the fact that I was sometimes adding one hundred rupees to it and returning it. I happened to meet a lawyer, otherwise, I would not have been here today. He told me 'Just rush to Delhi and get a certificate that your resignation has been accepted otherwise, your nomination papers will be rejected'. All these rules were not quite known to me.

I was asked at that time by the Health Minister to comment, and I said that there was nothing left for me to say after the Prime Minister had spoken, particularly when he had emphasised, firstly, that the funds allotted to Ayurveda should be for its development and growth secondly that unhampered by non-Ayurvedic physicians, the Ayurvedic physician should be permitted to do with that little sum what they wished to do and that they should be given a chance, and it was precisely by saying so that he had hurt the feelings of those people who were in charge of the future development of this system. My words were very few because I had spoken for five minutes, and I said you will be wondering why a person should be unhappy after such assurances from the Prime Minister, but I am aware that when these assurances go for implementation

Mr. Chairman: The hon Member should try to conclude now.

Shri Shiv Sharma: Do you want me to show the same respect for this bell which I generally show, or the one

which has been shown by my predecessors?

Anyhow, I will finish very quickly. I was thinking that probably the precedents established a tradition and the precedents that I saw before me were such that I could perhaps take more time after you ring the bell.

I will go very quickly into it, and I will give just one example and finish. You are aware that I cannot visit this place very often because I am not a politician by profession. Actually, had I known that the Health Ministry would go to a scientist, a man of absolute fairness and integrity, I assure you that I would not have stood for the Parliament and taken a seat from the ruling party. I would just have continued to do my work there. But unfortunately, the things for Ayurveda had become so bad that I had to leave my post and to come and fight.

My words at that time were as follows. I remember that incident because there was so much shouting afterwards and so many explanations were called for. The example that I gave was called indecent and I had to give explanations. There was nothing of indecency in it. I had said that Shastriji's assurances brought very little comfort to my mind. I said that my position was like that of a young man who, when asked by his friends why he was still crying after his girl friend had assured him that her heart belonged to him, answered 'It is true that she says that her heart is mine but I am not happy because the rest of her body continues to go out with other chaps'. My submission was that the time given was only four or five minutes, and we Orientalists used the simile in order to cut short a long argument. The corpus of patronage, the body of the grant, was the grant itself, and the authority to spend it, the whole corpus of that grant and related patronage was in the hands of the enemies

of Ayurveda, the right to spend it was in their hands, only the assurance was with us, that is, the heart was with us. Therefore, there was no frivolity behind it. There were suffering and bitterness at the years of destruction of Ayurveda, such as had never happened before, particularly when it is remembered that the Ayurvedic profession always stood behind the Congress throughout the independence struggle. All our dreams were centred on their coming to power, when they came to power they had hardly any time even to listen to us. At Nagpur in 1920 there was a resolution that they would make Ayurveda a national system. I do not ask for fulfilment of that promise. We are more than grateful for small mercies. We expected partiality. We are denied justice and treated very cruelly. It is that aspect of it that makes me appeal to the Minister now.

There was another aspect—I will not make you ring the bell twice. I just want to give one example. It is my privilege to have been a physician who went out of India on a thousand rupees per day and brought the foreign exchange straight to India and did not spend it outside. That cheque came straight to the Reserve Bank of India. The unilateral traffic of patients from India westwards has been made bilateral by the Ayurvedic profession.

This is no time to tell you of a number of patients coming from Canada, America and other countries for treatment by Ayurveda here. And they get what they come in search of—the cure.

I will just give you one example to illustrate this. This example I am giving, because there is no wriggling out of it. The records are such that it has pinned down the situation. In the September 1951 issue of the *Medical Digest*, there was an article, the reprint of which was distributed all over Bombay. In two sentences, I will give you the gist of that article.

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The patient was lucky to have been born during the era of antibiotics; and that but for recent advances in cardiology and the advent of antibiotics, there was not a ghost of a chance for that patient to survive.

It was put before me. I saw some eminent people who said, 'Now these patients also will not die.' When I said, 'They did not use to die even before the advent of antibiotics', I was ridiculed. Five months later, the patient had a relapse. He was the son of a millionaire and the son-in-law of a multi-millionaire. The cream of the medical profession, an eminent cardiologist who had received the number one prize as the cardiologist of the year from the American Medical Association was in charge of him. They had previously given him 400,000 units of penicillin per day, they raised it to 28,00,000 units per day of penicillin. They added one gramme of streptomycin daily and eight capsules of aureomycin. Then they announced the prognosis as 'very grave', the infection has become resistant to every antibiotic and the patient was dying. I took up the case for treatment under Ayurveda 15 years ago. You cannot say now that he ever had any disease. It was wrong to say that the patient was lucky to have been born during the era of antibiotics. He was lucky to have been born in India which had the blessings of the great science of Ayurveda which could pull him out of the jaws of death at a time when modern medicine at its highest level had failed.

I have given just one example. These cases are legion. At the highest level modern medical men come by the back door and take Ayurvedic treatment. Those files are there, not 10 or 15 but scores of them.

Therefore, I ask for the protection and development of this science. I am asking for something which is alive today, not what had lived before. With these words, I bring this to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister.

[Shri Shiv Sharma]

My respect for him cuts across party frontiers

I am sure he is fully worthy of that respect. May he prove as strong in doing justice to *Ayurveda* as he generally is in dealing with other problems. I want this entire issue to be reconsidered. I will be satisfied, to begin with, even with this much fund, but its expenditure should not be re-channelled back to *Ayurveda*, in its entirety. With this request, I resume my seat.

Shri Shri Chand Goel (Chandigarh)
He has more than justified his coming to Parliament.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur) I hope he will cure this Government in four years at least.

An hon. Member: Along with the hon. Member.

Shri Rajasekharan (Kanakapura) I would like to congratulate our Finance Minister on having introduced a budget without any deficit and also on giving certain tax exemptions on certain things. I personally feel he could not have done much better than what he has done in the present circumstances.

In every developing country, inflation is a necessary thing. With inflation comes a rise in prices. There is only one way of checking this inflation and rise in prices, that is to produce more. So, it goes without saying that the country, the nation as a whole, has to work very hard.

There are certain things to which I would like him to give his careful consideration. It has been said by many leaders and also in this hon. House that agriculture is the most important industry in this country. We should realise that agriculture is the basic industry of this country, but unfortunately all our budgets, all our plans, have been more or less oriented towards industries. We are unable to make this budget an agricultural budget, we are unable to make these

plans agriculture-oriented plans, with the result that after 20 years of independence we are unable to be self-sufficient in food. I know there have been many causes, but even then, we could have done better, we could have fared better than what we are today.

You know the problems of the rural areas you know the problems of the farmers. Today what is there to induce the younger people, the educated class, to take to the farming line because village life is very hard, and particularly the farming life is, I should say, very difficult. If you take the position of the farmer today, he is the man who has not been cared for very much. Is he getting the needed finance for the development of his industry? Is he getting the needed support by the various communities? Is he getting the needed facilities? I can say he is not.

With regard to loans the farmer is made to go from pillar to post. I know the co-operatives are extending loans, but I should say it is not sufficient.

Here I would like to invite the attention of the hon. Finance Minister to the fact that there is a big corporation known as the Life Insurance Corporation. The LIC is deriving its resources, about 30 per cent from the rural areas, but if you look at the investment which it is making in the rural areas it is hardly 3 per cent. That is why I would request the Finance Minister to see that the LIC comes forward to invest in the rural areas so that the farmer's life becomes better and also enjoyable.

One or two years back I remember the then Agriculture Minister, Mr. Subramaniam, made a suggestion to introduce the credit card system for the farmer. I do not know what happened to that proposal. I think it is one of the best proposals which was

ever made. According to it, if a farmer gets a card which assesses his credit-worthiness and also his needs, that, I think, would be a much better thing, so that he can get his credit in time.

Coming to the investment side, investment can only be done when we have savings. I personally feel that we have not encouraged enough savings in this country. I would like to quote the example of Japan. In Japan, particularly in the rural areas, among the farming community, they have got the highest savings. For example, in the co-operative societies in Japan they have got such high deposits that the banks, particularly the National Co-operative Bank of Japan, lends money to the National Reserve Bank of Japan. This is one of the examples which is before us. So, I would request the hon. Finance Minister to pay much attention to this.

Coming to agricultural research, this is one thing which has been neglected in this country from the beginning. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to see that more funds are provided. Only ten per cent of our science budget is spent on agriculture whereas in other countries something like 40 to 45 per cent of their science budget is devoted to agricultural research. We derive about forty per cent of the national income from agriculture but we hardly spend about ten per cent on agricultural research. No wonder that we are poor in many respects of agricultural production. The other day we were discussing the demands for grants of the Ministry of Agriculture. So much was said about the desirability of farmers being paid better prices for their commodities. Unless they get a better price, there will be no incentive to produce more. The agricultural price commission consists of agricultural economists who only read books but who have no practical experience of farming. That is why that commission fixes a price of Rs. 55-60 per quintal of wheat and when it

goes before the Government and the Government again raises it by Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 per quintal and fixes the price at Rs. 70-75 per quintal. The reason for this is that a practical farmer is not put on the commission. A practical farmer should be associated with the agricultural price commission.

I would draw the attention of the House to the emerging young India. Unfortunately we are not paying them much attention. Every year about four or five million young people attain adulthood and are taking part in public administration, business, industry, and so on and are becoming good citizens. What do we do to build up their character? Nothing. That is why there is a sense of frustration prevailing among the youngsters in the universities and colleges. The hon. Minister should try to create a sense of nationalism among the youngsters, a sense of social justice should be there. This can only be done when we take their aspirations into consideration and we have plans to build up their character so that they may play a vital role in the future. The future depends upon the younger generation. I would like to quote the brilliant example of West Germany. They have got a federal youth plan on which they spend Rs. 7 to 8 crores every year to develop German youngsters so that they can be better citizens. What are we doing in this country? I would quote from the report which has been published by a committee appointed by the Estimates Committee in 1959—the Kunzru Committee report. They say they have recommended an allocation of about Rs. 220 lakhs for the entire fourth plan period to meet the needs of the national physical education. Was this enough? Out of this sum, the Centre's contribution is about Rs. 120 lakhs. I would request the Centre to help the younger generation so that they can become better citizens of this country. This can be done if only they have a separate

[Shri Rajasekharan]

ministry for youth affairs This is not a new thing It is in existence in West Germany, Soviet Union and in East European countries I hope the Deputy Prime Minister will consider this

I shall now turn to some of the problems that my State faces Mysore is one of the most fertile States in India, it has many natural resources But unfortunately it has not been able to make use of the resources which are available there due to lack of funds It has got only about four lakh tonnes of food deficit Self-sufficiency can be certainly achieved within no time In regard to irrigation facilities Mysore State has got hardly about 7 per cent compared to its neighbouring State of Andhra Pradesh, which has got about 27 per cent and Madras about 22 per cent Therefore there is need that the Central Government should help our State to build up its irrigation potential

16 hrs.

Yesterday and again today—this morning—our revered senior parliamentarian, Shri Tennesi Viswanatham, was referring to the Nagarjunasagar project We do agree that the project should be completed as early as possible but not at the cost of Mysore State We believe in having a balance between the States we believe in equality and fair distribution of the resources to every State in India

The other day, I was very much pained to hear the comment made by one of our senior most parliamentarians, Shri H N Mukerjee He was saying, what does it matter whether this project has been put in Andhra Pradesh or elsewhere, it is a project which gives food to every State I do agree and there is no doubt about it, but, at the same time, I would request him, and I am sure that he would certainly not like to encourage any sort of imbalance in our country,

as he does not like to see any sort of inequality among the common masses.

Mr. Chairman: The hon Member's time is up

Shri Rajasekharan: I would like to take two or three minutes more, and then I shall conclude Mysore State would like to take up the Upper Krishna project as early as possible The other day, our hon Minister of Irrigation and Power was saying that he had sanctioned almost all the projects which were submitted by the Government of Mysore, though the project has been technically cleared unfortunately, he is not able to provide the money which we had requested That is why I would request the hon Finance Minister to give about Rs 130 crores to Mysore State so that they can take up this Upper Krishna project Here I would like to make one suggestion all the major irrigation projects should be taken up as national projects by the Government of India, because the States have not got sufficient funds to take up these projects. That is why I request the hon Finance Minister to consider the taking up of all the bigger projects as national projects and provide money for them

There is another point to which I would like to draw the attention of the hon Finance Minister and that is in Mysore State there is one project known as Kudremukha project Here we have a large quantity of magnetite ore which is supposed to be one of the best grades anywhere in the world We need about Rs 70 crores Unless this amount is made available, we will not be able to finalise this project There is keen competition, I have come to know, between Canada and India, because there is more or less the same type of ore found in Canada That is why I request that the Government of India should give at least about Rs. 40 crores to Rs 50 crores to start with,

so that this project can be taken up. I would just like to tell you how important is this project. This project is going to give us about Rs 20 crores foreign exchange annually to start with, and then after we complete the project, it will give us about Rs. 80 crores foreign exchange

I would like to refer to another point here. It is about the Shara-vathi, 9th and 10th units. Unfortunately, our hon Finance Minister has not agreed to give some foreign exchange to have the 9th and 10th units commissioned. The result is that we are losing about Rs 3 lakhs every day. I would therefore request the hon Finance Minister to consider our request and see that the 9th and 10th units are taken up immediately. As you know, electricity is one of the life-bloods of every State, and that is why I request the hon Finance Minister to give more consideration and see that this project is put into operation.

Lastly coming from a rural area, I would be failing in my duty if I do not mention about one project. In Bangalore district, there is one Muncipal anasele project which is to be taken up as a flood-control measure. This project has been pending with the Central Government since many years. I would request the hon Finance Minister to provide the required finances to take up this project. Every year the Arkavati river is devastating hundreds of acres of mulberry gardens. As you know, mulberry brings foreign exchange to us. I would request the Finance Minister to consider this and see what best we can do about it.

Shri Badradduja (Murahidabad)
Mr Chairman, Sir, this is the first time during the last few months that I have been permitted to open my lips and take part in the debates. I have reached the evening of life; the shadows of the evening are fast closing in upon me. Naturally, I will

be inclined to take a calm and dispassionate view of the entire situation.

Sir, I am in a reminiscent mood today. I am reminded of the glorious days of the Congress. In the early twenties, under the inspiring guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress was carrying on an intense struggle for emancipation of the country from the foreign yoke, creating a new orientation, developing a new phase, of thought, new stirrings of life, shapping and reshaping, moulding and re-moulding, integrating and re-integrating the dying forces of India towards the track of political, social and cultural revolution. In those days, often in the stillness of night, in the depth of solitude, in the grim silence of the heavens, in those moments, when the anxieties and cares of men are laid at rest and the mind of man is lifted above sordid surroundings and transported, not into a region of romance of fancy, but into a serene and calm atmosphere, in those silent moments did I ponder over the darksome fate of the country and my thought instinctively turned towards the great leadership of the Congress, which could usher in a new, even brighter, happier and prosperous India, in which all classes and communities, all groups and societies, would be adequately represented, each one contributing according to its own light and convictions to the social, political and cultural emancipation of the common motherland.

Sir, I am a student of philosophy. I am a misfit when I have got to discuss the financial problems. The Congress, Sir, raised great hopes in our minds in those days, but somehow or other, we have been disillusioned. Not that I have any prejudices against the Congress. I have faith and confidence in the drive, dynamism and the personality of the present Finance Minister. Sir, the situation today is such that I have come to believe that the Congress administration at the centre is

[Shri Budrudduja]

an unavoidable necessity at the present moment. The alternative to the Congress administration today is chaos in the country. I cannot believe for a single moment that our Jana Sangh and Communist friends pulling at cross-purposes will form an alternative Government in the country. That is my feeling, that is my reaction. I cannot resist it.

16.09 hrs.

[SHRI C K BHATTACHARYYA in the Chair]

Sir, coming to the financial problems, I congratulate the Finance Minister for some concessions he has made regarding certain categories of people. This relief granted to these people would reduce the Central revenues by about Rs 11 crores and odds by Rs 15 crores and odds in a full year. But Sir, does that solve the problem? It leaves behind another Rs 100 crores which will hit the lower income groups, the agricultural and industrial workers. But then what is the solution? Unfortunately, the Deputy Prime Minister with all his best intentions with all his sagacity and wisdom is suffering from an unfortunate legacy of the past.

The fiscal policies that have been pursued by the Government so far have resulted in industrial stagnation and shortfall in our agricultural and industrial production. If you will permit me I shall quote certain figures. Sir, we have to view the entire economic situation in the country in all its bearings in all its implications in all its significance and repercussions on the course of events in the whole country, affecting all classes of people and all categories of our countrymen. But what are the results of the steps taken, what are the results of the policies that have been pursued by the Government during the last twenty years? I will give certain figures. Perhaps the time at my disposal will not permit

me to go into figures, but I will give certain figures which are at my disposal. The entire economy has to be studied very closely in the context of the fiscal policy pursued by the Government, in the context of monetary stability.

About monetary stability, the less said the better. India has been living beyond her means during this decade. Naturally prices have soared higher and higher till they have gone far beyond the purchasing capacity of the poorest millions of consumers in the country. Prices have gone up during the last decade by 80 per cent, 28 per cent during the last two years and 46 per cent during the last three years as against only 25 per cent rise in all the stable countries in the world. The wholesale price index of all commodities is 128 today and of food 210 as against 100 in the base year 1952.

Among the international debtors, India today occupies a pre-eminent position. In 1951 our foreign debt was nil. At the end of the First Five Year Plan, it rose to Rs 14 crores, at the end of the Second Five Year Plan in 1957, it reached Rs 761 crores and at the end of the Third Five Year Plan in 1966, it stood at the staggering figure of Rs 2629 crores.

The report of the Scientific Research Foundation only a year back showed that barring Indonesia India has the lowest rate of growth in all the Asiatic and African countries—except of course Japan. Its rate of consumption and rate of national income is also equally unsatisfactory and discouraging.

The fiscal policy of the Government shows the worst handling of the economic situation so far. In the field of direct taxes, India is the highest taxed country in the world. The rate of income-tax rose to 82.2 on earned income and 89.4 on unearned income, over and above the liability imposed by annuity deposit.

The marginal rate of income-tax in Germany is only 53 per cent, 60 per cent in Japan and 65 per cent in Norway India is the only country where income-tax and wealth tax together amount to more than 100 per cent of the total income

This is the policy that we are pursuing We are talking of economy in public expenditure The hon Finance Minister in his anxiety to balance the budget and combat the inflationary spiral the rising prices has not resorted to lenient financing but has imposed certain taxes But what is the significance of this policy? Unless there is greater and greater production, and unless there is economy in expenditure, unless there is reduction in public expenditure, all talk of balancing the budget, of combating inflation and soaring prices is a meaningless hoax, a mere moonshine Nothing can come out of it That has never come about in the world The rapid increase of public expenditure from Rs 1,852 crores in 1955-56 to Rs 7530 crores in 1968-69 is simply staggering If this public expenditure grows and expands in geometrical progression and there is no reduction in public expenditure, prices are bound to soar up Sir, I come from a rural area My hon friend was just now referring to it Almost all of us represent rural constituencies I had been to my village I have seen things with my own eyes I am not exaggerating for a single moment I have seen with my own eyes that for days together our agriculturists, our farmers are going without even a morsel of food They have neither the purchasing power nor employment At the present moment, when there should be heavy downpour in West Bengal during monsoon, there is only slight rainfall and that too intermittently We have not the regular downpour, even during this month, during the monsoon What is the result? Our poor people are half starved, half fed, under fed and unfed. After 20 years of Congress administration, this is

the position of the agriculturists, on whose suffrage we all stand here. We, Members of Parliament, who represent them have no justification to be here if we ignore the claims and demands of millions of our people who do not get even a morsel of food for days together We cannot justify us and our position in this House The Ministers too, owe their position, their status, their eminence, the facilities, amenities and comforts they enjoy to the suffrage of these 70 per cent of the population

Sir, we are short of foodgrains in the country Over the years, over the last 20 years we have been importing food stuffs to the tune of several thousand crores Even now PL-480 is in operation and yet the crisis goes on deepening as time passes on Sir, I am not charging the Congress But the fact remains that we have failed. We have often talked of scientific technique, we have talked of scientific know-how, we have talked of better fertilizers, better seeds, better manure, better insecticides, and pesticides But we do not want any such things now I had a talk the other day when proceeding to Calcutta with an agro-economist posted at Barrackpore in West Bengal He said "we do not want anything except irrigation facilities" I asked "what about credit facilities?" He said "we do not want credit facilities either, give us water" These agriculturists, they are responsible for 46 per cent of our produce, these 70 per cent of the people who produce foodstuff not for themselves alone but to feed us all. But what is their plight? 7 million of our agriculturists in West Bengal do not have even a small portion of land to call their own That is the result of the land reforms that we have introduced or implemented so far People talk of giving them incentives giving them credit facilities, improved seeds during the sowing season and so on. Without irrigation facilities however, all those incentives would be meaningless. I belong to a village where there are 300 acres of

[Shri Badrudduja]

paddy fields but there are no irrigation facilities there. In the neighbouring village, there are paddy fields having soil of the same nature where irrigation facilities have been provided, because of the canal system that has been introduced. My village has not been covered by the canal with the result that in my village the per bigha yield is 7 to 8 maunds whereas the per bigha yield in the neighbouring village of Kagram in Murshidabad district is 12 to 15 maunds. This is the difference in yield only because irrigation facilities are provided in that village.

Therefore, for God's sake, do not think of heavy industries, at this difficult hour but go in for agricultural-oriented industries, give the agriculturists better facilities. Their children will not be philosophers, thinkers, statesmen, politicians, diplomats, administrators, ministers, Chief Ministers or Prime Minister. They begin with the plough and end with the plough from generation to generation. So give them better facilities. You have to give them facilities to produce not only for themselves alone but for us all. The entire city of Calcutta and the whole industrial belt is being fed by the agriculturists, so, give them all possible facilities.

Sir, then I come to the question of unemployment. Before I do that, may I know how much time I have got? Otherwise I will have to skip over some points.

Mr Chairman: The hon Member's time is almost up. But he may continue for a short while.

Shri Badrudduja: It is very kind of you, Sir.

Sir, I will come to the unemployment question, that has been referred to just now. Over the years, attempts have been made by the Planning Commission to increase employment

potential. I hope the Minister in charge will throw more light on this point. One of the objects of the Planning Commission was to generate, create and expand opportunities for employment. But, after three five-year plans, at the beginning of the fourth Plan, what is the position? There is a backlog of nearly 10 million unemployed among our educated and agricultural and non-agricultural people. If you take into account the disguised unemployment, it will be of the order of 18 million to 25 million. Sir, our educated young men—BAs and BScs, MAs and MScs—most of whom are unemployed are knocking about the streets for careers. When they compare their lot with the lot of members in the State Assemblies and Parliament and Ministers in the State and Central administrations, what is their reaction when they see them pitchforked in the highest positions of trust in the administrations of the country, and that too not because of superior wisdom and sagacity, not because of superior education and culture, not because of superior services and sacrifice, not because of better contributions to the political and social life of the country but because of force of numbers? When they compare their lot with the lot of ministers, many of whom in the States have not crossed the portals of universities, what is the reaction in our young men throbbing with new life, pulsating with new hopes and aspirations and dreaming beautiful dreams of a new India? Their reaction is rebellion which bursts into flames all along the line.

Sir, I would not have introduced the question of the minorities at the present moment. I believe in the good intentions of the Government over there. But I would only cite one example to show how we have been treated during these years in the services. In the Central administration there are about 3 million gazetted and non-gazetted officers and

in the State administrations throughout India there are about 4 million gazetted and non-gazetted officers. Out of these 7 million gazetted and non-gazetted officers, I doubt very much if there are 7,000 Muslims. These Muslims too constitute an integral part of the nation.

Sir, I would not for a single moment try to encroach on the privileges and rights of any other community. Let the members of the majority community occupy all the positions of trust in various services in the administration of the country through competitive examinations. Let them occupy cent per cent of the jobs but so far as non-competitive jobs are concerned, let the Government lay down the requisite qualifications—matric, IA, BA, MA, BSc or MSc—and give us a quota so that we may feel that we are also citizens of this land and can take up positions in the administration—in the police, the judiciary, the executive in all spheres of life, all fields of activities. Let us not feel that we are being stultified, that we are being shut out from all privileges and opportunities. In the name of the Constitution, in the name of constitutional proprieties, in the name of fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution, let us not be deprived of the rights and privileges which are granted to all other sections of the people.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirsa (Secunderabad): Where did you get the figure of 700 from?

Shri Badrudsaja: My time is limited.

Sir, then I come to the question of the official language. Dr. Govind Das was saying the other day that Hindi should be imposed and that there should be no regard for the English language. I have no prejudice or bias against the Hindi language. Hindi is one of the great languages of India. I do not question that for a single moment. But I would only appeal to the Congress administration, to the

Finance Minister and to the Prime Minister not to force down the throats of 300 or more millions of people a language which is the language and dialect of a poor minority in India. That language does not satisfy the demands of a fast advancing community of India. It is not a language of science and scientific studies. It is not a language of diplomacy and international communication. It is not a language of parliamentary ideas and institutions. It is not a language of the law courts and jurisprudence. Let any language develop to that stature, attain to that position, we shall accept that language without any hesitation, without any demur from any quarter; but let us not force down the throats of millions of people a language which has not attained to that position.

Sir, in this context, I cannot but refer to the Urdu language which has been thrown into cold storage, which has been consigned to the limbo of oblivion. I can understand hon. Members in this House of the Jan Sanghi or Swatantra persuasion, or even of PSP persuasion, going against the Urdu language. I do not object to that. Any section of the people, any party or organisation has every right, if they do not like the Urdu language, to stultify, crush, and throw it overboard on the dunghheap. But I am only against the policy of the Congress administration.

Sir, it has been laid down in the Constitution, in the Eighth Schedule that Urdu should have a regional character. I have heard of many aberrations, many disabilities, many shortcomings, and limitations of this administration, but I have not come across one such blatant example of this character that in violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution they have denied regional character to the Urdu language which has been guaranteed unto it under the Constitution.

Sir, only the other day about the Sindhi language, which is not one of

[Shri Badrudduja]

the languages of India, we unanimously passed a Resolution in the House and everyone of us voted for inclusion of that language in 8th Schedule of the Constitution because some of our brethren from Sind are Indians now. We have no grudge against that language.

Sir, I appeal to the Government and to all sections of the House. There are noble souls both in the Congress and in the Opposition parties, particularly among the Communist Party, who stood by us in the hour of our greatest need. They stood by us in 1964 when Muslims were being tortured with every refinement of cruelty and barbarous savagery and were being pursued to the bitter end. My friends, Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, Dr. Ranen Sen, Shri Indrajit Gupta, Mrs. Renu Chakravarty, stood by us when in the wake of Indo-Pakistan conflict thousands of innocent Muslims were arrested without rhyme or reason and thrown behind the prison bars. They took up our case and stood by us in the hour of our greatest need.

Sir, then about the West-Asian issue, the Congress Government deserves congratulations for the bold and courageous stand they took on the West-Asian issue against the aggressor, Israel—a mis-creation of Britain, the pampered child of American imperialism and supported the Arab cause. The hon. Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi took courage in both hands and in the teeth of opposition from some quarters in this House she stuck to the ground.

Sir, I hope all sections of the House will cooperate in building up a better future for the country. Let the cause of the poor people, poor agriculturists, who are knocking about the streets for a morsel of food, be taken on hand on a war-footing. Let the Finance Minister leave alone other problems for the

present, let him provide irrigation facilities, credit facilities and all necessary things for the growth and development of agriculture.

Sir, once again, I appeal to all sections of the House to rise to the occasion and support the cause of the vast millions of people of those half-starved, half-fed, under-fed and ill-fed millions of people of India. Unless we mobilise all our resources, moral and material, the nation, the poor and the impoverished nation, the half-starved nation, cannot be saved from the impending catastrophe that threatens its extinction.

श्री. बद्रुज्जा प्रसाद (बलिया) अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय वित्त मंत्री द्वारा प्रस्तुत विधेयक का समर्थन करते हुए मैं भारत के उस हिस्से की चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ जो अग्नेयों के समय में ले कर आज तक उपेक्षित रहा है। यह क्षेत्र हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश का पूर्वी हिस्सा और बिहार का पश्चिमी हिस्सा है। इस की आबादी करीब 4 करोड़ की है। यहाँ की बोल-चाल की भाषा भोजपुरी है, और यहाँ की स्थिति बहुत बुरी है। यहाँ की गरीबी और बढ़ी हुई आबादी का नाजायज फायदा उठा कर के अग्नेय यहाँ के लोगों को मजदूर और कुली बना कर मुद्गरपूर्व के देशों में झड़मान, निकोबार, बर्मा और मलाया आदि जगहों में भेजते थे। यहाँ की औसत आय भारत के अन्य स्थानों की आय की चौथाई से भी बहुत ज्यादा कम है। हमारे यहाँ पर आज तक कोई भी उद्योग धन्धा नहीं हो सका। हमारी जीविका का मुख्य साधन खेती और घरेलू नौकरियाँ हैं। खेती का मुख्य आधार यहाँ मानसून है। आज दो साल से मानसून नहीं हुआ जिस से हमारे यहाँ सूखा पड़ गया। हमारे यहाँ के लोग आज भूखी मरने की स्थिति में पड़े हुए हैं। बहुत प्रयास के बाद गोरखपुर में एक फर्टिला-

इसका कारखाना खुला है और गन्ना उत्पादन के क्षेत्रों में सुगर की मिलें हैं। यह हमारी स्थिति दयनीय और गरीबी की छाज है लेकिन इस के अलावा हमारा राजनीतिक इतिहास जो है वह बहुत ही उज्ज्वल और ज्वलंत है। 1857 में प्रथम म्यूटिनी वार जो हुई थी, उस में हमारे इसी क्षेत्र के कुंवर सिंह और साहिब मंगल पांडेय ने उस बगावत का नेतृत्व किया था। 1921 का जो चौरा-चौरी कांड हुआ उस को आप नहीं भुला सकते। 1921 में महात्मा गांधी ने इसे सेकेड बारदोली कहा था। 1942 में बलिया, आजमगढ़, गोरखपुर, साहाबाद और छपरा के कितने ही लोगो ने 1942 के उस आन्दोलन में भाग लिया था। अंग्रेजों ने हमारे बहा के लोगो को दबाया और अनेक यातनाएँ दी और हमारे कितने ही वीर नौजवान स्वतन्त्रता की बलिबेदी पर कुंबान हो गये। सन् 1857 से ले कर सन् 1942 के हमारे इस इतिहास के कारण और चूँकि हमारे लोग भारतवर्ष को आजादी दिलाने में सब से आगे रहे जिसके कारण अंग्रेजों ने बागी समझा। और हमारी जमीन बंगाल के कासिम बाजार और मद्रास के विजयनगरम को दे दी गई और नै जमीनदार होकर हम लोगो का शोषण करते रहे। लेकिन यह खेद का विषय है कि आजादी के बाद भी हमारी और उपेक्षा बर्ती गई और इस दयनीय हालत पर हमारे भूतपूर्व ससद् सदस्य श्री गहमरी जी के प्रयास के फलस्वरूप स्वर्गीय पंडित नेहरू जी की कृपा से पटेल कमिशन नियुक्त हुआ जिसने चार जिलो का सैम्पुल सर्वे किया लेकिन उस में भी हमारा जिला बलिया छोड़ दिया गया। कमिशन की रिपोर्ट के बाद भी कोई भी उल्लेखनीय कार्य इस क्षेत्र में नहीं हुआ। मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान अपने गरीब, सूखाग्रस्त, पिछड़े और भाविकसिन इलाके की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

हमारे बर्से एंड हाउसिंग मन्त्रालय की तरफ से प्रदेशों की आवास के लिए जो धन

दिया जाता है उस में खेतिहर मजदूर और किसानो की आवास व्यवस्था की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। बड़े बड़े नगर सजाये गये, वहा पर बडी बडी आलीशान इमारतें बनी लेकिन खेतिहर मजदूर और किसान जो कि इस देश में समाज की रीठ हैं उन के आवास का इतना ध्यान करने के वास्ते छोटे नगरो तक लाइफ इश्योरेंस की जो स्कीम है मकान बनाने की वह गंतक नहीं पहुँची और वह बड़े बड़े नगरो तक ही सीमित रह गयी। भारत सरकार की चूँकि गरीबो के प्रति सहानुभूति है और समाजवाद की तरफ हम बढ रहे हैं तो मेरा मुझाव है कि किसान, साधारण मजदूर तथा हरिजनो को मकान आदि बनाने के लिए लम्बी अवधि का बिना व्याज का ऋण दिया जाना चाहिए। लाइफ इश्योरेंस कारपोरेशन को जो मकान बनाने की और ऋण देने की योजना है उसे छोटे छोटे नगरो तथा देहातो तक फैलाया जाय। शिक्षा और बीडी मजदूरो का अनिवार्य जीवन बीमा कराया जाय। किसानो के लिये सिंचाई की व्यवस्था तथा फसलो का बीमा कराने का जल्द से जल्द कार्य किया जाय। हमारा ऐरिया अभावग्रस्त क्षेत्र है। हम अपने खाने के लिए उतना अनाज उत्पन्न नहीं कर पाते हैं जितना आवश्यक है और हमें बाहर से देश में अनाज मगाना पडता है और बाहर के अन्न पर हम निर्भर करते हैं। हमारी जमीन उपजाऊ है और में चाहूंगा कि बहा पर सिंचाई की समुचित व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए जिसमें किसानो को मानसून पर निर्भर न रहना पड़े। विशेष कर बलिया, गाजीपुर के लिये सिंचाई के लिये बक्सर में गंगा नदी से नहर निकाल कर घाघरा में मिला दिया जाय जिससे दोनो जिलो की सिंचाई हो सके। अगर इस बलिया आजमगढ़ और देवरिया में ट्यूबवैलस दे दिये जायें तो यह इलाका सरसब्ज हो जायगा क्योंकि महा की जमीन उपजाऊ है सिर्फ सिंचाई की व्यवस्था की आवश्यकता है और ऐसा करने से कम से कम गाजीपुर

[श्री चन्द्रिका प्रसाद]

कमिया इस कदरे इलाके की सिंचाई की समस्या हल हो जावेगी ।

फसलों की बीमा योजना लागू होगी चाहिए । आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारने के लिए बनस्पति, मछली पालन, डेरीफार्म, मूर्गी पालन आदि छोटे छोटे कृषि उद्योग कायम होने चाहिए ।

हमारा एरिया जैसा मैंने कहा भारत की आजादी की लड़ाई में सर्वप्रथम रहा और साथ ही उस आजादी की रक्षा करने में भी वह सब से आगे रहा है । आप को याद होगा कि चीन और पाकिस्तान की लड़ाई में आज़मगढ़ के त्रिगेडियर उस्मान, गाजीपुर के अब्दुल हमीद आदि के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं जो कि पाकिस्तान की लड़ाई में शहीद हो चुके हैं और उन को परमवीर चक्र भी प्राप्त हुए है । लेकिन इस क्षेत्र के लड़के सिर्फ सिपाही होते हैं, यदि हम चार करोड़ की आबादी वाले क्षेत्र में एक मिलेटरी स्कूल खुल जाय तो अच्छे सैनिक के साथ साथ आफिसर भी बन सकते है । जो आफसरों की कमी को दूर कर सकते है । इस से कम से कम हमारे कुछ आफसर निकल सकते हैं जो आइनीज एग्जेशन और पाकिस्तानी एग्जेशन के कारण पैदा हुई आफसरों की कमी को पूरा कर सकते है ।

हमारा क्षेत्र चीनी आक्रमण के बाधरे में पड़ता है इसलिए सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से उत्थान करना अति आवश्यक है । फौज तथा मजदूरों को ले जाने के लिए यहा बड़ी बाइल का होना अति आवश्यक है ।

यह हमारे भोजपुरी क्षेत्र के जिले जिसमें बलिया, आज़मगढ़, गाजीपुर, देवरिया, छपरा, सारन, धारा आदि मुख्य हैं लेकिन अगर हम एक जिले से दूसरे जिले में जाना चाहे तो हमको उतना ही समय लग जाता है

जितना हम को बलिया से देहली का समय लगता है और वह जिले बलिया और पावरा के पेटे में है । गंगा की तरफ बेंच डूंक है और पावरा के पास मेसल्ला हाईवे है । मेसल्ला हाईवेच से बेंच डूंक को मिलाने के लिये गंगा नदी पर बक्सर, पावरा पर सारन और बलिया को मिलाने के लिए बहुतहा और मांझी के घासपास जहां रेल ब्रिज बना है वहां रोड ब्रिज बनाया जाय, बलिया और देवरिया को मिलाने के लिये तुर्तीपार पर डूक सड़क पुलों का निर्माण होना चाहिये ।

हमारा गन्ना उत्पादन क्षेत्र है । हमारे यहा कोई शुगर फैक्टरी नहीं है । रसदा में एक शुगर मिल बनाने की योजना बन चुकी है जिसका शेयर भी बिक चुका है और इस के बनने से मोलेसिस अधिक होगा । जिससे स्ट्रिट, कार्डबोर्ड पेपर आदि उद्योग भी लगाये जा सकते हैं लेकिन आज तक वह कारखाना नहीं लगाया गया है । अगर वह कारखाना लग जाय तो जैसा मैंने कहा यह सब धंधे वहा लगाये जा सकते हैं । इस तरीके से हमारी गरीबी को दूर करने में यह चीज सहायक हो सकती है ।

हमारे यहा पावरलूम और हैडलूम के लिए बड़ा क्षेत्र है । आप को मालूम होगा कि यहा घर घर में इस का काम होता है और मऊ का कपड़ा भारत के सभी प्रदेशों में जाता है और अगर इस दिशा में थोड़ी उन्हें सहायता व प्रोत्साहन दे दिया तो मैं समझता हूँ कि आज़मगढ़, मुबारकपुर, फैजाबाद और टाडा आदि स्थानों में जो यह पावरलूम और हैडलूम के उद्योग चल रहे हैं वे और भी तरक्की करेयें और वह विदेशी मुद्रा भी काफी कमा कर ला सकते हैं । बलिया, देवरिया और गाजीपुर में काफी सख्या में जुलाहे इस काम पर लगे हुए हैं । गांधी आश्रम से इस दिशा में बराहलीय कार्य किया है । मैं चाहूंगा कि हमारी सरकार

उधर ध्यान दे और उन्हें सहायता व प्रोत्साहन दे। मुझे विश्वास है कि यदि ऐसा किया गया, तो यहाँ लघु उद्योग का काम बड़े धरुछे ढय से चल सकता है और जसा मैंने कहा हम विदेशी मुद्रा भी काफी कमा सकते है।

यहाँ के निवासियों का स्वास्थ्य बहुत ही खराब है और गरीबी के कारण टी० बी०, फाइलेरिया, हिनिया आदि बीमारियों का शिकार होकर यहाँ गावों के लोग मरते हैं। वेहातो में अस्पताल नहीं है। छोटे मोटे नगरो में अस्पताल है लेकिन वहाँ दवाएँ नहीं मिलती। मैं चाहूँगा कि उन जगहों पर दवाओं की व्यवस्था की जाये। गोरखपुरमें एक मैडिकल कालिज खोलने की आवश्यकता मानी गई थी जोकि अभी तक वहाँ पर खोला नहीं गया है। गोरखपुर में एक मैडिकल कालिज खोला जाय। हमारे यहाँ के हरिजन पढे लिखे लडके जब दूसरी जाही पर जय एम० बी० बी० एम० कोर्स के प्रवेश के लिए जाते हैं तो बिहार में राजस्थान में जहाँ भी वे बेचारे जाते है उन को दाखिला नहीं मिलता है। इसलिए जहाँ लोगो को इस मैडिकल कालिज खुलने से चिकित्सा की व्यवस्था मिलेगी वहाँ डाक्टरों पढने वाले इच्छुक हमारे प्रदेश के विद्यार्थियों को उसमें दाखिला भी मिल सकेगा। अब उत्तर प्रदेश में हमारे यहाँ अपेन कम्पटीशन है और वहाँ बेचारे हरिजन गरीब लडके अपेन कम्पटीशन में श्रीरो के मुकाबले पास नहीं हो पाते हैं इसलिए मैं चाहूँगा कि उन्हें बैंकवर्ड मान कर उन के बास्ते कुछ सीटें मैडिकल कालिज में सुरक्षित करनी चाहिए।

अन्त में मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहूँगा हू कि हमारे यहाँ ५० पी० और बिहार के सीमा का बहुत बडा झगडा है जिसके निपटारे के लिये स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री एडित ने.रू को पत्र माना गया था और नेहरू जी ने अपनी तरफ से श्री चन्द्र

लाल विवेदी को नियुक्त किया था। विवेदी जी ने अपना एक उस बन्दे में एकांठ भी दिया था लेकिन वह रिपोर्ट भी कागून के रूप में नहीं था सकी जिसके कारण सीमा पर अमान्ति, बूटपाट बनी रहती है और उसमें प्रतिवर्ष बहुत से आदमी दोनों तरफ के आपस में लड कर मर जाते हैं। मैं मन्त्री जी से चाहूँगा कि अति शीघ्र यह बिल सदन में लाया जाय और इस को पारित कर एक स्थायी सीमा बनाने के लिए बजट में प्राविजन किया जाय।

हमारा क्षेत्र शिक्षा की शिखा में बहुत पिछडा हुआ है। लडकियों के लिए यहाँ इन जिलों में उच्च शिक्षा के लिए कोई विद्यालय नहीं है टैकनिकल शिक्षा की भी कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। हम चार वरुड के क्षेत्र में कोई मैडिकल कालिज नहीं है। प्रदेश की सरकार ने समाचार पढने से ज्ञात हुआ कि 5-6 करोड रुपया इन जिला के लिए दिया है लेकिन क.प्र सरकार ने कोई मदद नहीं दी है। मैं चाहता हू कि कन्द्रीय सरकार भी इस दिशा में सहायता करे।

अन्त में मैं चाहता हू कि जिस प्रकार का यह हमारा बैंकवर्ड एरिया है उस को बैंकवर्ड मान कर आर्थिक सहायता देनी चाहिए। भारत के सभी इस प्रकार के बैंकवर्ड, अनडैवलपड और अपेक्षित क्षेत्रों के उत्थान के लिए एक अलग मन्त्रालय होना चाहिए जो इन क्षेत्रों की समस्याओं पर विचार कर सके। हमारा इतिहास बहुत गौरवशाली व उज्जवल है और और जब भी आप को आवश्यकता पडी है हमारे लोगो ने देश की आजादी की खातिर अपना खून दिया है, अपने सैनिकों और नीजवानों को देश के लिए दिया है और मैं चाहूँगा कि बिल मन्त्री महोदय हमारे क्षेत्र की और सहानुभूतिपूर्ण रह कर अपना कर सक्रिय ब

[श्री चन्द्रिका प्रसाद]

ठोस सहायता प्रदान करें। अगर यह नहीं कर सकते तो जो पटेल कमिशन रिपोर्ट है उस को लागू कर दिया जाये। इसमें हमारा काम चल सकता है।

मैं यहाँ पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमें अपने अतीत इतिहास को भुलाना नहीं चाहिये। जो भी हमारे शहीद हो गये हैं हम उनके जिलों में आज तक उनके स्मारक नहीं बना सके हैं शहीद मंगल पाण्डे हुए, कुंवर सिंह हुए, जो कि प्रथम स्वातन्त्र्य युद्ध के वीर सेनानी थे। हम को कम से कम उन के स्मारक तः बनाने ही चाहिये इनके नाम पर जो सन्ध्याये चलती हैं सरकार उनको धन की महयना दे ताकि वे समर्पित तरह से चल सकें।

आज पोलिटिकल सफरस के लिये बजट में प्राविजन किया जाता है जो मर चुके हैं उन के लिये। लेकिन जो जिन्दा है वह आज खाने बगैर मर रहे हैं, जिनका कोई ठिकाना नहीं है उन लोगों के लड़कों की शिक्षा का, उनकी पढाई का और उनके स्वास्थ्य का समुचित प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये। मे विरोधी दल के सदस्यों से भी कहूँगा कि जहाँ पर विरोध दलों की सरकारें हैं वह भी पोलिटिकल सफरस की शिक्षा दीक्षा का और उन के स्वास्थ्य का प्राविजन करने का विचार करें।

आज मैं, जो कि बलिया से चुन कर आया हूँ लोक सभा में, प्रथम बार यहाँ बोल रहा हूँ। इस के पहले दो सदस्य रहे, उन को कभी बोलने का मौका नहीं मिला। आप नें जो मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया उसके लिये मैं आप का बहुत आभारी हूँ।

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Alipore): A little while ago earlier in this debate today, Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee,

remarked that in the present circumstances of the economy of this country, some indirect taxation is inevitable. The point is not whether it is inevitable or not; the point is that if you study the trend, the pattern, of taxation over the years imposed by the Government of India, you find that in 1961-62, 19 per cent was the total share of the excise duty in the taxation revenue of this country and the share of direct taxes was 24 per cent. But now we find in 1966-67 that the share of the excise duty has gone up from 19 per cent to 41 per cent while the share of income tax in the total tax revenue has gone down from 24 per cent to 8 per cent.

The point is not whether indirect taxation is inevitable or not; the point is whether this pattern is inevitable or not. Is this direction inevitable? That is why I want to raise this question—because I have not got very much time at my disposal—of these burdens in the form of excise duties which have been imposed in this year's proposals which were calculated to bring in a little over Rs. 115 crores of extra revenue. Yesterday, the Finance Minister was kind enough to announce certain concessions which are marginal in nature which would amount in a full year to about Rs. 15 crores and which would in this year amount to a little over Rs. 11 crores. So that the main burden of the new taxation remains where it was.

We find, at the same time, that this is probably the first time after many many years—my memory may be wrong, but as far as I remember in the budget speeches of his predecessors in recent years, always there used to be at least lip service paid to the need for (a) trying to recover at least a part of the tax arrears which are there and which this time may amount in the form of income tax arrears to about Rs. 528 crores, and (b) making some effort

to mop up at least that part of the black money, unaccounted money, which has not already been transformed into real estate or gold or something like that—this is the first time after many many years this year that there is not even a pretence of this, there is not even a mention, even lip service (to this aspect I take it as a signal to the country that the Government of India have decided abjectly to surrender, to give up this fight even formally

Why has this been done? Because the philosophy of the Finance Minister runs very clear through all the budget and the Finance Bill that development must be curbed and stopped unless financed by non-inflationary methods. This is his mantram, this is his theory his philosophy which he has expounded throughout in all his speeches the documents and everywhere. Non-inflationary methods. At the same time, he imposes new excise duties which will entail a fresh burden on the common man of about Rs 115 crores

Therefore it is no wonder—I just wish to draw your attention to this fact—that all these rather contrived fulminations against the budget by my hon friend, Shri Masani, and other speakers of the Swatantra Party, rang so hollow here. They wanted to wax indignant because they are a party of the opposition, but they could not, because what is there to say?

Here is the *Capital*, the organ of the big British business particularly, "complimenting Mr Desai on his courage in taking so necessary and so prickly a decision, that is cutting the fourth plan to the point of virtually jettisoning it. This is a quotation from *Capital*."

Commerce another organ of big capital, reminds its readers that the Finance Minister decided not to ask any more sacrifice from the corporate sector for the national endeavour of

stabilising the economy, for this he should be applauded at least by the chambers of commerce"

These quotations make it quite obvious that, try as they like, our friends of the Swatantra Party cannot but welcome the whole strategy and the whole outcome of this year's budget and the Finance Bill, because what can be a bigger concession to them than this that in the hour of the most dire crisis of our national economy when we are facing the most severe crisis that our economy has ever had to face they are not asked to make any fresh sacrifices whatsoever and whatever sacrifices are to be made are put on the shoulders of the common man? That is the what has happened. They wanted even further concessions. Those concessions, major concessions at least, he has not given them. I admit that, we are thankful for tender mercies but what would be a bigger incentive to them than this that they are not required to make any fresh sacrifices at all in a year when our national economy has its back to the wall?

We are now talking a lot about recession. I do not know whether the Finance Minister or his colleague the Planning Minister consider this to be an economic crisis of severe magnitude or just temporary slump or a recession or depression or what, but in the name of that recession many things are being expounded here whose sum and substance means that developmental expenditure, planning, in this country is virtually scuttled for good, and this budget and this Finance Bill are the obituary notice of that.

As far as this recession goes, I just want to point out one thing. It is sometimes good to look at our state of affairs through other people's eyes. If there is really such a severe crisis and recession which is affecting the pockets of the industrialists, how is it that we find that the British invest-

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

tors in this country show confidence? What they think is very important because, after all, the budget has also laid a great deal of emphasis on the need of creating a climate which is conducive to the foreign investor to come here. And the British are still the biggest investors in this country, the oldest investors, the traditional investors, the most experienced investors. What do they say? We are shouting and shrinking about the recession and crisis in the economy leading to idle capacity, closure and so on and so forth in certain selected areas, but only a few weeks ago, the *Financial Times* of London sent a special correspondent by the name of Richard John to visit this country, and he wrote an article or a series of articles in the *Financial Times*, London, on his return. I can only take you through one or two sentences of this which are very illustrative of the way the mind of the British investor is working.

Mr John says

"The prospects for the expansion of business in India are a heartening one, despite the heavy burden of company tax, the chronic ills of the economy and the current state of political flux, he found in Calcutta an optimism about investment that owes nothing to traditional British phlegm. The distant glitter of this huge potential market has in no way been dimmed by the current industrial stagnation in the private sector which threatens to become a recession."

This is what he says. He then goes on to say

"It pays to be a rupee company registered in India with declaration and payment of dividends made here."

He is telling the British industrialists that the glittering prospect of the

Indian market is not dimmed for a single moment because there is some talk of recession just now. He ends up by saying

"The policy of successive Indian governments on remittances (remittance of profits) has remained impeccable. Whatever the rate of taxation levied on profits, the gap between what the Indians do not say remains a source of confidence to British businessmen."

Here is a brochure and I would like to draw the attention of Shri Morarji Desai to it, it is brought out by the Associated Chambers of Commerce—*Farefare for India*.

Shri Morarji Desai: What date?

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Two or three months back, just after the general elections.

Shri Morarji Desai: Before you took over in Bengal.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I am talking about economy, I am not talking about politics at the moment. It says

"Increasingly the internal official attitudes are becoming less rigid and more practical. Demands for the wholesale nationalisation of such industries as oil, steel, and banking have been rejected. India is now moving towards a more open and liberal economy."

It is the representatives of the biggest British concerns in this country talking. The other day the hon. Minister for Industrial Development made a statement in this House which surprised us, we were astonished to know that of the top ten companies in terms of investment, profit, assets, everything—eight were British; only two are Indian. This is the position after twenty years of Independence.

Therefore, this talk of recession, and crisis in the name of which the corporate sector in our country has been spared any sacrifice this time should be seen in its proper perspective.

Towards the end of his statement yesterday he made some observations, though somewhat belated in my opinion, as to how certain practical measures can be taken and are going to be taken by the government even within the existing framework of difficulties, to alleviate to some extent the present crisis and the present recession. It was perhaps a great discovery for him; I do not know. They are going to take the trouble of placing advance orders for railway wagons so that the main manufacturers of railway wagons are not put into the same kind of difficulty as they were, recently. I welcome that as far as it goes. They should try to investigate and find out. It is not merely a question of orders not having been placed in advance. He should also probe into the question why there was so much discrimination in the placing of orders between one firm and another, why it is that two Birla concerns which are wagon builders in this country Texmaco and CIMMCO were allowed to get orders far in excess of their previous year's orders while almost all the other wagon manufacturers were forced to accept a cut ranging from 20 to 35 per cent? Let him go into that also. Orders should not only be placed in advance; they should be on an equitable basis. The heavy structurals, the engineering industry is in a crisis.

Now, my information is that at the present moment, an order for 180,000 tonnes of heavy structurals, worth about Rs. 60 crores, is about to be placed by Bokaro Steel, for the construction of the Bokaro plant, and tenders have been called for. I would request him and the Planning Minister and the Industries Minister and the Steel Minister—if they can do

a little bit of co-ordination among themselves—to see that this huge order from Bokaro is distributed as far as possible on an equitable basis between the main structural fabricators in the Madras, Bombay and Calcutta regions so that no particular firm throws out or lays off any workers or retrenches the workers and thus keep its capacity unused.

In his fiscal proposals, the Finance Minister has announced Rs. 150 per ton as tax relief in the export duty on jute manufactures: very good. But the contradiction here is that at the same time he does nothing to check the rampant speculation which is going on the jute goods market. I have no time to quote from the recent speech of the Chairman of the Jute and Gunny Fabricators' Association in Calcutta, who has said that the rate at which speculation is going on in the jute goods market is permanently damaging our export trade. Only today, news has come just now—I saw it in the PTI script—that the IJMA has announced that every Saturday, for one day every week, the jute mills will remain closed. So, what is the good of giving them a huge relief on export duty if this is the way they are going to behave, and when the whole market and the whole trade are getting ruined by speculative practice? I hope he will look into that aspect of the matter too.

There is the question of self-reliance. I am surprised to find that though the Minister said yesterday that greater attention is going to be paid to indigenous sources for getting supply of equipment and machinery and components and stores and so on, I think about Rs. 3 crores to Rs. 4 crores are spent every year on importing things which can be produced indigenously here. Are they paying any attention to this? He did not outline any concrete steps.

Shri Morarji Desai: Will you please send me a list of those items?

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I cannot tell you now, because I have no time. But I will. But the point that I wish to make out is that if you want to develop indigenous capacity in this country, then, you have certainly got to stimulate scientific and technical research in our country. And what is the allocation you have made? You have reduced the allocation. When the allocation, shows that last year it was Rs. 16 crores and it is now Rs. 17 crores for the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, it is actually a cut because in the meantime devaluation has taken place and the prices of foreign scientific equipment, technical books and everything have gone up to such an extent that you are actually imposing a cut; they will have to give up many projects which they have taken in hand. They cannot undertake any new project. Where is all this capacity going to be developed from? Our scientists, our engineers, our technicians are capable of doing things. But on the one hand, you talk about self-reliance; on the other hand, you are cutting down the grant and the allocation for those people who are in a position to contribute something to this country's independent development, and a self-reliant development. Therefore, these glaring contradictions are there. It is no excuse to say that we are giving tax rebate to the scientists who may be studying abroad, because the main centre of research and development, which is the CSIR, is being hamstrung in your budget by a cut in the allocation for it.

16.58 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Mr. Speaker: Please conclude.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Therefore, it seems that, to sum up, what he has

decided in the name of avoiding inflation is to virtually scuttle the Plan. The budget is having supremacy. We have not even discussed the fourth Plan in Parliament yet. Two years have come to pass; and the budget has become supreme. What the Minister is interested in is not holding the price-line; what the Minister is interested in is holding the wage-line; the income-line. What he is interested in is a wage-freeze; what he is interested in is holding the employment line—not for getting further employment—by means of automation, retrenchment, modernisation and rationalisation. That is what is happening. Dividends are not to be frozen, the prices are not to be frozen; only wages are to be frozen. His predecessor, Mr. Sachindra Chaudhuri, took the tax off the bonus shares to be issued by the companies; and the present Finance Minister informs me in reply to my own question—that this will just show what is happening—that in the year 1965-66 in this country, the total value of bonus shares issued was Rs. 4.62 crores, issued by 48 companies. Within one year, it went up to Rs. 138.87 crores worth of bonus shares issued by 604 companies, i.e. a thirty-fold increase in one year from the day that Mr. Sachin Chowdhury announced that bonus shares would not be taxed. That is allowed to continue. How is the dividend freeze going to come about with this huge flotation of bonus shares? Where is no dividend freeze, but what he is thinking of is wage freeze, income freeze and employment freeze. In conclusion, I would like to say that if this is the way they intend to proceed, we in the trade union movement will also respond and react with work freeze. There will be production freeze and work freeze and the workers will fight to the last rather than accept this reactionary policy.