

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla]

1966. [Placed in Library.
See No. LT-616/67].

- (1) Memorandum explaining the reasons for no-acceptance by Government of the Commission's advice in the case referred to in para 33 of the above Report. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-617/67].
- (2) A copy of the All India Services (Medical Attendance) Amendment Rules, 1967, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 824 in Gazette of India dated the 3rd June, 1967, under sub-section (2) of section 3 of the All India Services Act, 1951. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-618/67].

nical Education for the term ending on the 29th April, 1970, subject to the other provisions of the said Resolution".

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That in pursuance of clause i(f) of paragraph 3 of the Ministry of Education Resolution No. F. 16-10/44-E. III, dated the 30th November, 1945, as amended from time to time, the members of Lok Sabha do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Speaker may direct, two members from among themselves to serve as members of the All India Council for Technical Education for the term ending on the 29th April, 1970, subject to the other provisions of the said Resolution".

The motion was adopted.

12.23 hrs.

PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND
RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

FOURTH REPORT

Shri Khadilkar (Khed): Sir, I beg to present the Fourth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bill and Resolutions

ELECTION TO COMMITTEE

ALL INDIA COUNCIL FOR TECHNICAL
EDUCATION

The Minister of Education (Dr. Triguna Sen): Sir, I beg to move the following:—

"That in pursuance of clause i(f) of paragraph 3 of the Ministry of Education Resolution No. F. 16-10/44-E. III, dated the 30th November, 1945, as amended from time to time, the members of Lok Sabha do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Speaker may direct, two members from among themselves to serve as members of the All India Council for Tech-

12.24 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL
DISCUSSION—Contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume general discussion of the General Budget for 1967-68. All the parties have almost exhausted the time allotted to them, except the Congress, the Jana Sangh and the DMK. Jan Sangh has got 21 minutes; the D.M.K. has got 9 minutes and Independents Group also has got some time. Shri Himatsingka may continue his speech.

Shri Himatsingka (Godda): Sir yesterday, I gave facts and figures about food production and I said that the production that we have in the country, if it is properly procured and distributed, should be sufficient specially when we are importing certain quantities from America and other countries. If the zonal system and other difficulties in the matter of distribution are standing in the way and if you create the feeling of scarcity which makes the people to hoard more

than what they would have done otherwise, the matter should be considered as to whether or not the zonal system should be done away with as quickly as possible. We hope the monsoons this year will be much better and there will be bumper crops and the conditions will improve. The position may be reviewed then.

As regards the industrial development, in the first 15 or 20 years of the Congress Government, there have been very great improvements and there has been increase in the industrial production. Very many industries have come up in the country and a large number of small and medium-sized entrepreneurs have set up industries which, perhaps, they would never have been able to do but for the Government assistance that has been available to them. If you go round Delhi, Punjab, Fairdabad an Bahadurgarh, you will find that on every plot of land that is available, there is a factory established. So is the case roundabout Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and other places. Therefore, to say that there has been no improvement during the Congress regime or that only hundred families have monopolised the whole business is not correct, as put forward by Mr. Dange and others. The whole country is full of small scale and medium scale industries set up by new entrepreneurs and the country has become self-sufficient in a large number of commodities which used to be imported before. But during the last two or three years, there has been recession and there has been no capital formation on account of the heavy taxes that had to be imposed due to Chinese aggression and the conflict with Pakistan. Last two or three years have been bad years and there has been no improvement in investment climate and no capital formation. Therefore, is necessary that the Finance Minister should do something about it to improve the investment climate and create capital formation.

Certain concessions have also been promised in the Budget. I feel that they will not be sufficient for the pur-

pose. I feel that the Finance Minister wants to take careful steps and wants to watch how the monsoons behave this year and that, when it is time, he will consider the question.

If you look at the list of industries, the things that are being produced, as mentioned in the Monopolies Commission Report, you will know how many things have come up in the country.

I have a few suggestions regarding the proposals that have been made. One of them is the exemption of persons whose dividend income does not exceed Rs. 500. I feel it ought to be slightly modified. The limit may be raised to Rs. 7000 or so. Otherwise, there will be disincentive. If a person has an income of Rs. 510, he loses the benefit. Therefore, an attempt will always be to keep it less than Rs. 500 and instead of acting as an incentive, it will act as a disincentive. Therefore, I feel that the concession may be confined to Rs. 500 but it should also be available even if the income from dividend exceeds Rs. 500 but does not exceed a particular sum that may be fixed by the Finance Minister after considering the question. It may be that in that case, he may lose a few lakhs of rupees, but certainly it will act as an incentive.

The proposal to deduct a certain amount of tax from certain payments that have been suggested does not appear to be proper. Everybody has to make advance payments, and on the basis of last year's assessment. Therefore, the deposit is there. Over and above this, if deduction will be made, I feel that it will not be justified. Therefore, the matter needs consideration.

As regards exports, certain concessions are going to be given, certain allowance are going to be made, a certain reduction has been made in export duties. But I feel that so far as sackings are concerned, some change is required. The concessions or the reductions on jute packings and hessian appear to be quite sufficient.

[Shri Himatsingka]

But sackings will not be able to stand competition with the present reduction, and therefore, this matter needs reconsideration.

Another thing that I would suggest is this. A number of finished goods are at present being imported. This should be banned because the country is in a position to produce and in fact is producing more than what we need in many cases. Take the case of soda ash and caustic soda. The country is producing more than what it needs. But I understand that a large quantity of it had been permitted to be imported. Similarly, in regard to electric cables, the capacity in the country is 30 per cent more than what is actually needed here. But recently, Rs. 3 to 4 crores worth of electric cables have been permitted to be imported. This needs examination. I feel that unnecessarily foreign exchange is being spent on the import of these things. I feel that such imports should not be allowed.

Similarly, there are one or two other cases where certain finished articles are being imported, which could be manufactured here. Calcined anthracite coal which costs about \$80 per tonne is being imported; if we import raw anthracite coal it will cost us only about \$28 and it could be conveniently calcined here. Similarly, there are a number of other things like methonalamines. I feel that the Finance Minister should take steps and direct that if any party is willing to take up calcination and conversion of these things or the manufacture of these items, the finished goods should not be allowed to be imported; instead the raw material should be imported so that, we could save a lot of foreign exchange thereby.

There is one other small matter to which I want to invite the attention

of the Finance Minister. Tax credits were being given for exports, up till devaluation came in. Tax credits have been earned for more than 12 months since then, but I understand that in a large number of cases, the amount earned by the exporters has not been paid to them so far. Certainly, 12 months is much too long a period for the payment to be made. I would, therefore, suggest, that steps should be taken so that persons who are entitled to it could be got paid.

As regard public sector undertakings. Government are now aware of the defects and they are taking steps to remove them. The Bureau of Public Enterprises has been started for that purpose and they are looking into the defects. But still, in certain cases, there is criminal negligence and certainly steps should be taken in this regard. Take, for instance, what happened in the Durgapur complex. The ISC were doing very well and had earned Rs. 210 lakhs in 1964-65; but it went down to Rs. 49 lakhs in 1965-66. But I cannot understand why suddenly in 1966-67 they have lost Rs. 4.81 crores. Certainly, that needs looking into.

Another matter which needs consideration is this. When a project is started as a public sector undertaking, the cost is mentioned as a certain amount, but gradually it goes up, although there is not much change in the nature of the project. Take, for instance, the Khetri copper projects. Its estimated cost was about Rs. 10 crores; subsequently, it was revised to Rs. 24 crores, but now I understand that the final revised estimate has gone up to about Rs. 78 crores. It will produce about 25,000 tonnes of copper; if we take Rs. 2000 per tonne as the price, for 25,000 tonnes, it will come to about Rs. 5 crores. Even the depreciation will be more than Rs. 5 crores. Therefore, apart from the expenses, these things need looking into. I feel that Government should see that the estimates do not go up to

such an extent that they cannot control it or that it becomes unproductive.

Shri M. Muhammad Ismail (Manjeri): The treatment meted out to the two personnel of our Indian Embassy in China is an outrageous one. Government have, of course, taken some action. But in such matters, what I would urge is that they should ever be vigilant, particularly, with regard to the borders but also the behaviour of those countries which are capable of not only resorting to such treatment to our people. Of course, Government will tell us at the time when the adjournment motion is discussed in the evening, what they propose to do and what further steps they propose to take in the matter.

Again, in the recent West Asian crisis and conflict, a certain number of the Indian troops who were there for keeping peace under the auspices of the UN have been want only and deliberately killed by the Israelis. It is scandalous and it is a shameful affair that the country which has been responsible for this murder of the peaceful people has not expressed even as much as sympathy for the injustice and the great damage that has been done to the honour of India and to the Indian arms by that country. Therefore, I think that a firmer action has to be taken in this matter as well.

But hearty congratulations are due to the Government of India for the very firm and clear stand they took in reference to the crisis and conflict in West Asia. The stand taken by the Government of India has enhanced the prestige and reputation of our country. This policy is the result of the policy of non-alignment that has been followed by the Government of India. It is because of that policy that we are free to judge each case on its merits when it arises and we are able to take an independent stand. This policy which has been followed so far is in conformity with the policy followed by the leaders of our country even before Independence. Before

Independence, Mahatma Gandhi was always for a peaceful settlement of the question of the Jews. But he was against their being imposed on the Arabs. He was provoked into saying on one occasion that the attempt to carve out a State for Israelis in the midst of the Arabs was immoral.

Then again, Pandit Nehru declared more than 12 years ago at the Bandung Conference that what the world was concerned with was not Israel is really but the western powers and the imperialism who were behind them. His warning has been fully justified by recent events in West Asia.

श्री: रघुवीर सिंह शास्त्री (बागपत) :

अध्यक्ष महोदय व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। यह बजट पर बोल रहे हैं या विदेश नीति पर बोल रहे हैं ?

Mr. Speaker: Everything is relevant under the Budget.

Shri M. Muhammad Ismail: I am speaking on the foreign policy of the Government of India and I am within my rights.

As I said, it will be obvious now to anyone except those who have already made up their mind that it is not really Israel that was responsible for what happened in West Asia, but it was the imperialists who stood behind her. It is they, the imperialists, who in keeping with their own policy concerning the Middle East prepared the Israelis, armed them to the teeth with the latest and most modern weapons, deadly weapons, of war and made them fight their cause in West Asia.

12.42 hrs.

[**SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYA** in the Chair]

Otherwise, nobody can imagine such a small state being capable of doing

[Shri M. Muhammad Ismail]

what it has done and also perpetrating the crimes which it has committed in that region in the last week. This small country has had the audacity to defy every canon of international law and convention concerning warfare. It has bombed not only stationary hospitals, but mobile hospitals, having picked them up in the glare of searchlights. They attacked them not with ordinary bombs but with napalm bombs and even mortar. Hospitals which bore clear markings of the Red Cross have been attacked. The soldiers of Jordan say that they did not see the men with whom they were fighting at all. There were no men either before or behind them; all the time, day and night, they were being bombed from above and most frequently with napalm bombs which burn men and things over a radius of 150 feet. They have been emboldened to inflict all these atrocities upon the people of West Asia by their masters, the imperialists, who are at their back and who made Israelis their cat's-paw.

Now I have to congratulate Government on the stand they have taken in the UN during the war and after the cease fire. They have demanded that the belligerents must withdraw to the lines they held before the outbreak of the war. But the Israelis are making statements that they would not do anything of that sort; they are beginning to destroy the wall between the old and new Jerusalem; they also refuse to vacate even the headquarters of the UN in that part of the country. They are able to do all this because of the assurance of support of the western powers whose instrument of aggression they have been and are.

Coming to the internal policy of the Government, as a result of the last elections, some non-Congress Governments have come to power in the country. They have to carry on the government with many handicaps. They do not have all the facilities

which the Congress Governments had in those States when they began their rule 20 years ago. The people do not have the same capacity to pay taxes. Prices are higher now than they were before. People are tired of paying taxes and high prices. At this juncture, these new governments have come into being. In the interest of democracy, in the interest of the country, the Government at the Centre must do everything to help these governments in a special way to carry on and do good to their people.

With regard to Kerala, the foremost problem facing it is food. The undertaking of the Government of India to the State must be kept in reality. It is the duty of the Centre to feed equally the whole country. When this was put to the Food Minister a few days ago, he answered that it was not only the responsibility of the Centre but also of the States. I say it is really the Centre's responsibility. The States cannot have equal distribution effected throughout the country; it is not possible for them. When the Government of India have taken the responsibility, they must see that there is equal distribution of food throughout the country.

It is stated that the average per capita per day availability of food in 1966 was about 12 oz. and this is likely to be the case in 1967 also. When this is so, we do not understand how the Central Government can fail to give even 6 oz. of ration to the people of Kerala.

In this matter, the States are doing their best to meet the situation. For example, in Madras, they want to adopt a programme of minor irrigation. Minor irrigation schemes give quick and immediate results. This has been impressed upon the Central Government as well as the other Governments for the last 15 years. But they have been taking a lackadaisical and hapzahard view about this matter and have not done what

they ought to have done. Hence we are now suffering. If only the Kerala and Madras States are enabled by some grants from the Centre and also by a moratorium on the interest payments they have to make to the Centre, they can proceed with these minor irrigation schemes to the best advantage not only to themselves but also to other States. The Madras State assures the Central Government that with minor irrigation schemes in one year they will be able to make the State a surplus State. It is only a matter of Rs. 5 crores a year for five years.

Mr. Chairman: Now he will conclude.

Shri M. Muhammad Ismail: Therefore, the Government must be generous, must be just, in the matter of financial assistance to the States of Madras and Kerala.

There are Wakf properties which are being managed under the Central Act. Many of these properties have been alienated throughout the country, and the time given for filing suits for reclaiming those properties was fixed as 14th August, 1967. That date is approaching, but there are tens of thousands of properties which are yet to be reclaimed, and the time allowed is not sufficient. Therefore, I request that the Government may amend that Act to give, if not full period until all the properties are reclaimed, at least ten years time more for filing of suits with regard to those properties.

One word about Urdu. There were talks by the Central Government that they were going to do some justice to Urdu language before the elections, but nothing has come out of it. It is a crying need. Though it is one of the national languages, it is treated as a second class or third class language among the other national languages of India. Surely something must be done in that connection.

Mr. Chairman: Shri Kashi Nath Pande.

श्री यशवंत सिंह कुशावाह (भिड) :
सभापति महोदय, हमारे ग्रुप का समय हमको अभी तक नहीं मिला है, वह समय कब मिलेगा ; जो समय एलाट हुआ है वह हमारे ग्रुप को मिलेगा या नहीं ?

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Pande has been called. After lunch the Speaker or Deputy-Speaker will come, and he will decide it.

श्री काशी नाथ पांडेय (पदरौना) :
सभापति महोदय, बजट के मंत्रों में कई भ्रष्टाचार करने विचार प्रकट कर चुके हैं, लेकिन मेरे क्वाल में बहमत इस बात में रहा है कि आज की जो देश की हालत है, आज जिन दशा में हम लोग हैं, उसमें इससे बेहतर बजट नहीं आ सकता था और मैं भी इस से इतिहास करता हूँ। लेकिन इस के साथ साथ मझे एक बात कहनी है—मुझे यह विश्वास है कि हमारे वर्तमान फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर इस योग्य हैं कि इस बजट के जरिये वे इस प्रकार अपना कदम उठावेंगे, जिन से देश को एक आशा बन्धे—मैंने अच्छी तरह से उनको स्पीच को पढ़ा था जो उन्होंने बजट पेश करते समय सदन के सामने पढ़ी थी, लेकिन मैंने उस में एक लाइन भी ऐसी नहीं देखी जिसमें उन्होंने ग्रन-एम्प्लायमेंट के बारे में, बेरोजगारी के बारे में कोई चर्चा की हो।

बेरोजगारी ऐसी चीज है, जो इस देश के लिये एक अभिशाप है। अगर बेरोजगारी को मिटाने के लिये उचित कदम नहीं उठाया गया, ना क्या होगा—इसकी कल्पना भविष्य हो कर सकता है, इस वकन कुछ नहीं कह सकता हूँ। हमने कौनो खर्च किया है, करीब 10 हजार करोड़ रुपया इण्डस्ट्री में लगाया है। 6100 करोड़ रुपया पब्लिक सेक्टर में और 4300 करोड़ रुपया प्राइवेट सेक्टर में और

श्री काशी नाथ पांडेय]

करीब डेढ़ करोड़ आदमी उन में लगे हैं। 1 करोड़ 47 लाख आदमी उन में रोजगार पा सके हैं, जब कि इस समय 2 करोड़ आदमी बेकार हैं। पढ़े लिखे तथा बगैर पढ़े लिखे दोनों प्रकार के। अगर इन को काम नहीं मिला तो समस्या बढ़ती ही चली जायेगी। मैं इस बात को समझता हूँ कि आज देश की जो हालत है उसमें यह जरूरी है कि देश की खाद्य स्थिति को सुधारा जाय, लेकिन मैं आपको यह भी बतलाऊँ कि यदि खाद्य स्थिति सुधर भी गई तो जिन लोगों के पास पैसा नहीं होगा, वह खाद्य सामग्री को कैसे ले सकेंगे, कैसे उनकी गुजर हो सकेगी? यह बहुत जरूरी चीज है कि वे इस लायक हों कि अपनी रोजी कमाकर खाद्य सामग्री को खरीदने योग्य हो सकें। जिनके पास जमीन नहीं है, उनकी जमीनें मिलनी चाहियें। कुछ लोगों के पास जमीनें हैं, लेकिन बहुत ज्यादा ऐंभ लोग हैं जिनके पास जमीन नहीं है, अगर उनकी स्थिति ऐसी ही रही तो खाद्य सामग्री देश में ज्यादा पैदा हो या कम पैदा हो, उनको कोई फर्क पड़ने वाला नहीं है। इमलिये बेरोजगारी को हल करने की तरफ आपको कदम उठाना होगा जिससे अधिक से अधिक लोगों को काम मिल सके।

इस बजट स्पीच में मैंने यह भी देखा कि इकानमी के नाम पर कुछ लोग रिट्टेच होंगे, हटायें जायेंगे। ठीक बात है, लेकिन पब्लिक प्रण्डरटेकिंग कमेटी में रहते हुए मैंने इन बात का अनुभव किया कि अनुमान पब्लिक प्रण्डरटेकिंग में होता क्या है। गवर्नमेंट के पास कोई ऐसी मशीन नहीं है, जिसमें कि प्रण्डरटेकिंग के शुरू होने में पहले वह इस बात का अनुमान लगा सके कि अनुक प्रण्डरटेकिंग में कितने आदमियों की जरूरत है। वहाँ पर पहले से भरखो हो जाती है और मिस के तैयार होने पर जब कर्मचारियों का मामला अर्थात् मैन पावर का मामला एस्टीमेट्स कमेटी के सामने आता

है, जो कि यह बताती है कि इसमें कितने आदमियों की जरूरत है, तब वहाँ लोगों की छंटनिया शुरू हो जाती है, जब रिट्टेचमेंट होता है और वे बाहर निकल कर घाते हैं तो वे तमाम असन्तोष पैदा करते हैं। मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब देश के सामने बेकारी की एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या अभी पड़ी हुई है, ऐसी हालत में यह कहना कि हम इकानमी के नाम पर कुछ लोगों को रिट्टेच करेंगे यह शोभा और समय की आवश्यकता को सिद्ध नहीं करता है। जब फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर की इस किस्म की बात का प्राइवेट इण्डस्ट्रीयलिस्ट्स मुनते हैं, तो वे भी कहते हैं कि जब गवर्नमेंट इकानमी के नाम पर लोगों को हटा सकती है, तो वे भी हटा सकते हैं। आज आप किमी भी इण्डस्ट्री को ले लीजिये। इन्जीनियरिंग को ही ले लीजिये वहाँ भी छटाई हो रही है, क्लोजर हो रहा है। टेक्सटाइल इण्डस्ट्री साल भर से हर हफ्ते एक दिन बन्द होती थी, बकि रा-मॅटोरियल प्रवेलेबिल नहीं था। ह्यू दिनेश सिंह ने मुझसे दिया कि हफ्ते में एक दिन बन्द होने के बजाय, दो हफ्ते में एक दिन बन्द हो, लेकिन फिर भी वह कुछ समय के लिये बन्द होनी है।

इसी तरह मैं आप शुगर इण्डस्ट्री को ले लीजिये, जिनके लिये काम के 140 दिन रखे गये थे, मध्य प्रदेश में दो फॅक्टरीज ऐसी हैं जो केवल 25 दिन या 30 दिन चली। जरा सोचिये वहाँ के मजदूरों को क्या दशा हो रही होगी जो कि वहाँ शुगर फॅक्टरीज में काम करते हैं। 50 पी० में 90 और 60 दिन फॅक्टरीज चली हैं और फिर बन्द हो गई। कहा यह जाता है कि 50 पी० और बिहार में ट्राट है, सूखा है, इसलिये उत्पादन कम हुआ और फॅक्टरियों को यन्त्र कम मिला, लेकिन मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि बम्बई में क्या हुआ। वहाँ पर ट्राट नहीं था, लेकिन वहाँ भी कोआपरेटिव शुगर फॅक्टरी

में 9 परसेंट गन्ने की सप्लाय कम हुई और जो प्राइवेट फैक्टरीज हैं, उनमें 20 परसेंट गन्ने की सप्लाय कम हुई। इन सब बातों को दृष्टि में रखते हुए अब आप देखेंगे कि कहीं न कहीं शुगर के संबन्ध में पोलिटिक्स से आपकी नीति गलत है और मैं बड़ा सिद्ध करना चाहता हूँ कि आपकी पालिसी गलत है। मैं आपसे यह भी अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रश्न को प्रेस्टिज का प्रश्न नहीं बनाना चाहिये, बल्कि इसके लिये तैयार होना चाहिये कि अगर गलती हो गई है तो उसको सुझा जाय। यह प्रजातन्त्र है, जब हम इस में काम करेंगे तो गलतियाँ भी होंगी, इसीसे जब मन्त्री सामने आ जाय तो उसका सुधारने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। मैंने बहुत पहले कहा था कि आप गन्ने का दाम चाहे 4 ६० मन कर दें, फिर भी गन्ना शुगर फैक्टरीयों को मिलने वाला नहीं है।

Mr. Chairman: He may continue after lunch.

13 hrs.

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

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

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

श्री काशीनाथ वाणखेय : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज लंच पर हाउस के उठने के समय मैं चीनी के संबंध में बात कर रहा था। समयभाव के कारण मैं बहुत विस्तार से इस विषय में नहीं जाऊंगा। लेकिन एक बात का जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह कि एक दिन एक प्रश्न यहाँ पर उपस्थित हुआ जिसमें खाद्य मंत्री से यह प्रश्न हुआ कि क्या सरकार चीनी को डिक्स्ट्रोल करने के बारे में सोचेंगी तो उस पर बहुत झकड़ कर उन्होंने यह जवाब दिया कि मालिकों की तरफ से यह माँग है। मेरे ख्याल से शायद मंत्री जी को या तो इतमीनान है कि

उपभोक्ता उनसे बहुत खुश है या फिर शायद मार्केट की बाजार की हालत उन को मासूम नहीं है। आज चीनी की हालत यह है कि बाजार में चीनी तोत रुपये व चार रुपये किनो पर उपलब्ध नहीं है लेकिन वह बहुत झकड़ कर जवाब देते हैं कि चीनी का डिक्स्ट्रोल नहीं हो सकता। वह तो मालिकों की भाग है। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि गुड़ 165 रुपये क्विंटल बिक रहा है और खंडसारी 250 रुपये क्विंटल बिक रही है और चीनी की हालत यह है कि आप उसे कंट्रोल कर रहे हैं और रासन में उसमें कटौती कर के दे रहे हैं।

आज शुगर फैक्टरीज में गन्ने का केवल एक तिहाई भाग ही जाता है। उत्पन्न गन्ने का दो तिहाई भाग गुड़ और खंडसारी में जाता है। अब एक घादमी जिसको कि चीनी की जरूरत है तो उसका एक तिहाई भाग की तो पूर्ति शुगर फैक्टरीज से होती है और दो तिहाई शुगर का प्राप्ति के लिये उसको ब्लैकमार्केट में जाना पड़ता है। इसलिये यह चीनी के संबंध में आपको बहुत सोच समझ कर काम करना पड़ेगा। उपभोक्ता आपसे खुश नहीं, किसान आपसे खुश नहीं क्योंकि उसे उसके शुगरकेन के उचित दाम नहीं मिलते, ऊपर मजदूरों की बेजगारी बढ़ रही है। मालिक आपसे भयल खुश नहीं। सरकार को 40 करोड़ रुपये ऐक्साइज ड्यूटी का खोना पड़ा है। मैं नहीं जानता कि अगर लीजन में क्या हालत होगी? मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि शक्कर एक ऐसा विषय है जिसके ऊपर बहुत गम्भीरता से आप को विचार करना पड़ेगा। दो सौ मिले हैं इस देश में और दो लाख से ऊपर उन में काम करने वाले लोग हैं। करोड़ों किसान उस से संबंधित हैं। आज अगर शुगर इंडस्ट्री तबाह होती है तो उसका नतीजा करोड़ों घादमियों पर पड़ेगा। इस चीज से आप अपनी घाबों मूँद नहीं सकते। मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूँगा कि यह

[श्री काशी नाथ पांडेय]

विषय वित्त से संबंधित है इसलिए वह इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करे और जब कभी घाप मीका देंगे तब उन के सामने और विस्तार से निवेदन करूंगा और तमाम प्राकंडे प्रस्तुत कर दूंगा।

मुझे उन के बजट भाषण से एक चीज जान कर बड़ी खुशी हुई कि गवर्नमेंट प्राज पूरा खोर लगा रही है कि हमारे देश में खाद्यान्न का अधिक से अधिक उत्पादन हो और इसीलिए 225 करोड़ रुपये के फ़टिलाइजर्स वह बाहर से मंगाने हैं। पहली बात तो मैं घाप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह फ़टिलाइजर्स बाहर से घाप कब तक मंगायेंगे और यह तो 225 करोड़ रुपया घाप से बाहर इसे मंगाने पर खर्च करेंगे। अगर घाप प्लानिंग करके यहीं अपने देश में इसके वास्ते फ़ैक्टरीज लगा देते तो अच्छा होता। पेट्रोलियम और कैमिकल्स के मंत्री जी ने इस बात को कहा भी है कि हमारे यहां कुशलता इतनी घा गई है कि उस के लिए विदेशों से कुशल लोगों के मंगाने की जरूरत नहीं है और हम अपनी फ़ैक्टरीज खुद यहां पर लगा कर उसका उत्पादन कर सकते हैं। जब हमारे यहां इतनी कुशलता घा गई है तो उचित यह होगा कि हम उस के लिए इम्पोर्ट पर निर्भर न रह कर अपने ऊपर निर्भर रहने की कोशिश करे।

दूसरी बात यह है कि खाली फ़टिलाइजर्स से काम चलने वाला नहीं है। उस क्षेत्र में जहां पानी का पहले से इंतजाम है वहां तो फ़टिलाइजर्स से फ़ायदा होगा लेकिन अगर पानी नहीं है तो फ़टिलाइजर्स फसल जला देगा। इस बात को घाप समझ लीजिये। जो किसान हैं वह इस बात को समझते हैं। चूक मैं एक किसान हूँ इसलिए इस बात को मैं घाप के सामने रख रहा हूँ कि मछू फ़टिलाइजर्स के घाजाने से ही देश में खाद्यान्न का उत्पादन बढ़ जायेगा, मुझे इस बात में शक है।

प्लानिंग से मुझे कोई दुःमनी नहीं है। मैं तो जानता हूँ कि जिस देश में साधन की कमी है वगैर प्लानिंग के वहां पर कोई काम नहीं हो सकता। लेकिन प्लानिंग वह होनी चाहिए कि जो घाप एक लक्ष्य रखे उस की पूर्ति भी हो। मैं यह देख सकता हूँ कि प्लानिंग में एक टारगेट घाप फिक्स करते हैं लेकिन पूर्ति उस की नहीं होती है। 37 लाख टन चीनी का उत्पादन घाप का होना चाहिए था जबकि इस वक्त तक हुई है केवल 22 लाख टन। जब चीनी के बारे में यह हाल है तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि बाकी चीजों के बारे में घाप क्या प्लानिंग करेंगे? मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से यह निवेदन करूंगा कि जो बहुत उछल कूद कर चलते हैं गिरने का चांस उन्हीं का होता है। जो संभल कर चलते हैं वह अपनी मजिल पर पहुंच ही जाते हैं। इसलिए कोई उछल कूद करने की उनको जरूरत नहीं है और वित्त मंत्री जी संभल कर चलने की कोशिश करे। अपने साधनों पर ज्यादा निर्भर करने की कोशिश करे बजाय इस के कि इम्पोर्ट करे और उछलने कूदने की कोशिश करे।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इन घेरावों का जहा तक संबंध है, चूक मैं एक ट्रेड यूनियनिस्ट हूँ इसलिए मैं घेराव की ग्रहमियत को समझता हूँ। लेकिन प्राज के हालात में हमें इस बात की चिन्ता होती है कि घेराव क्यों घाया? यह अंतिम अस्त्र नहीं है बल्कि यह शुरुआत है। सन 1947 के पहले इस देश में बहुत लेबर स्ट्राइक्स होती थी। लेकिन देश के स्वतंत्र हो जाने के बाद देश को बनाने का सवाल था और आर्थिक रूप से उस को ऊंचा उठाना था इसलिए सभी पार्टियों ने यह महसूस किया कि देश में औद्योगिक शक्ति रहनी चाहिए ताकि हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ सके और हम आत्मनिर्भर बन सकें। मजदूर मालिकों के अम संबंधी झगड़ों का निबटारा करने के लिए हमने कंसिलिएशन

मशीनरी स्थापित की लेकिन आज वह वैधानिक मशीनरी फेल हो रही है, लोग कंसिर्लेशन में नहीं जाते, सुप्रीम कोर्ट में नहीं जाते क्योंकि उन्हें तीन साल घटकरना पड़ता है। इसलिये वह चाहते हैं चाहे घेराव हो या दूसरी कोई चीज हो, उसी जगह पर उस का निपटारा हो जाये। इसलिये घेराव उन्होंने किया है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस विषय को गंभीरता से सोचें कि आज औद्योगिक शान्ति खतरों में है। जब तक हम कोई सही उपाय नहीं निकालेंगे कि किम तरीके से देश में औद्योगिक शान्ति हो, तब तक कोई भी प्लैनिंग का काम नहीं चल सकता है। जब तक देश में शान्ति का वातावरण नहीं होगा तब तक जो आप का लक्ष्य है उस की पूर्ति नहीं होगी।

प्राध्वर में एक चीज कह कर मैं समान्त करना चाहूँगा। हम लोग अपने अधिकारों की रक्षा बहुत करते हैं। इसमें भी कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि आदमी प्रजातन्त्र में अपने अधिकारों को ज्यादा समझ भी गया है, साथ ही पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर से इस की आशा भी की जाती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हम में इतनी क्षमता है कि हम अपने अधिकारों की रक्षा कर सकें। परन्तु हम यह न भूलें कि दूसरों के अधिकारों की रक्षा की जिम्मेदारी भी जनता ने हमें दी है, जिन्होंने हमें चुन कर यहाँ भेजा है। "हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स" की टिप्पणी निम्नलिखित पर हम अपने अधिकार की रक्षा करने लगे। हम में इतना हिम्मत होनी चाहिये कि जब हम दूसरों को कहते हैं, दूसरों की नुक़्ता चीनी करते हैं, तब यदि हमारी दूरी लागू नुक़ता चीनी करते हैं तो हम उस का बदला लेंगे। इतना माह्र तो हम में होना चाहिए नहीं तो जनता आप को क्षमा नहीं करेगी। देश कहेगा कि आप के अन्दर डिक्टेटोरशिप की भावना है, प्रजातन्त्र की भावना नहीं है। अगर आप दूसरों को कहने की हिम्मत रखते हैं तो दूसरों की सुनने की भी हिम्मत रखिये। पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरों को केवल अपनी स्वतन्त्रता का जिक्र

नहीं करना चाहिये, बल्कि यह भी देखना चाहिये कि देश के और लोगों की स्वतन्त्रता भी खतरों में न पड़े।

श्री बलराज मधोक (दक्षिण दिल्ली) -
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय जिस समय मैंने माननीय वित्त मंत्री के बजट भाषण को सुना, उस समय मुझे प्रसन्नता हुई कि एक ऐसा व्यक्ति बोल रहा है जो यथार्थवादी दृष्टि रखता है और जो शायद ठीक निदान के बाद ठीक इलाज भी करेगा। परन्तु जब उन के प्रपोजन्स सामने आये, उन के सुझाव सामने आये, तो मुझे लगा कि यह तो एक ऊँची दुकान और पीका पक्वान की बात हो गई है। उन के ज.प्र.ज.स.स. अथवा सुझाव थे उन के विषय में बहुत कुछ कहा जा चुका है। श्री मसानी, श्री त्रोटारी और श्री शान्तिलास शाह प्रायः बन्धुओं ने जो कुछ कहा है, मैं उस में और बढ़ोतरी नहीं करना चाहता। यह प्रसन्नता का विषय है कि हाउस के दोनों ओर से बहुत से उन लोगों ने अपने सुझाव रखे जिन का दृष्टिकोण राष्ट्रवादी है, जो यथार्थवादी ढंग से सोचते हैं, जो बाहों और इज्जत से, सनकों से ऊपर हैं, जिन के सोचने का ढंग समान है और जिन के सुझाव भी समान हैं। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय उन के सुझावों पर ध्यान देंगे।

मैं उन में केवल एक बढ़ोतरी करना चाहता हूँ। जो कुछ नये कर लगाये गये हैं उन में से एक, अर्थात् जो छोटे समाचार पत्रों के ऊपर पोस्टल ड्यूटी की बढ़ोतरी हुई है, वह देश के लिये अच्छी नहीं, लोकतन्त्र के लिये अच्छी नहीं। छोटे समाचार पत्रों के ऊपर पोस्टल ड्यूटी नहीं लगनी चाहिये। साथ ही जो किताबों का डाक खर्च होता है उस में भी कमी होनी चाहिये। इस समय स्थिति यह है कि अगर आज मुझे एक रुपये की किताब मंगानी है तो 15 पैसे बी० पी० के, 11 पैसे बुक पोस्ट के और 55 पैसे रजिस्ट्री के लगते हैं। यानी एक रुपये की किताब 1६० 85 पैसे में हमारे गांव के आदमी को मिलती है। हमारा

[श्री बलराज मधोक]

देश गांवों में रहता है जहां पर कि किताबों को दूकानें नहीं हैं। इसलिये यदि हम चाहते हैं कि किताबों का प्रसार हो, देश में शिक्षा बढ़े तो उस के लिये आवश्यक है कि लोगों को किताबें समते दामों पर उपलब्ध हों। जो ग्राम की ही मुकर्रर की हुई कमेटी नेशनल बुक डेवेलपमेंट कमेटी की भी यही सिफारिश है। उस को मैं पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ। उन्होंने लिखा है :

"That the postal rates for registered book parcels be reasonably reduced in order to encourage the widest circulation of books in this country where book shops are few and the only means available for the rural population to get books is through the post; that the carriage of books from one library to another and to book clubs and their subscribers should be given concession rates immediately."

मैं समझता हूँ कि इस में कोई बड़ा फर्क पड़ने वाला नहीं है, परन्तु इस से इस देश के ग्राम शिक्षा के प्रसार में सहायता मिलेगी। मैं चाहता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री इस ओर ध्यान दें।

दूसरी चीज जिस की ओर मैं वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान खींचना चाहूंगा वह है हमारे अवकाश प्राप्त लोगों की मांग कि उन का डी० ए० भी बढ़ाया जाये, पेन्शन बढ़ाई जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि उन की यह मांग उचित है। हम सोशल मिक्वोरिटी की बात बहुत करते हैं। आज सोशल मिक्वोरिटी की ज़रूरत उन लोगों को है जो रिटायर हो चुके हैं। जब वे रिटायर हुए थे तब रुपये की कीमत अधिक थी, और कीमतें इतनी बड़ी हुई नहीं थी। उस समय वह लोग गुजारा कर सकते थे। लेकिन आज वह गुजारा नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। उन की इनकम, ग्रैंड इनकम है उन्होंने जीवन भर काम किया, इसलिये उन को पेन्शन मिली। जब आज कीमतें बढ़ गई हैं तब उन की पेन्शनों

की ओर हमें ध्यान देना होगा। मगर मैं देखता हूँ कि इस बजट के अन्दर उस का उस्ता किया गया है।

बजट में सुझाव है कि इनकम टैक्स ऐक्ट को प्राय 191 के अन्दर परिवर्तन किया जायेगा और जिन लोगों के डिपॉजिटस है उन के ऊपर जो सूद होगा उस में से 22 परसेन्ट काट लिया जायेगा। शायद व्यापारी वर्ग को इस की चिन्ता नहीं लेकिन जो वृद्ध लोग है, जो अपना कमाई का पया बैंकों में रखते हैं या फिक्स्ड डिपॉजिट में रखते हैं और उस में जो सूद मिलता है उस पर गुजारा करते है, उन लोगों पर यह एक कुठाराघात होगा। यह कहा जा सकता है कि वह रिफंड ले सकते हैं, मगर आप जानते है कि रिफंड लेने में कितनी कठिनाई का सामना करना पड़ता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री जी इस ओर भी ध्यान दें।

तीसरे जो सरकारी कर्मचारी है उन के सम्बन्ध में जो गजेन्डगडकर रिपोर्ट आर्ट है उस के ऊपर सरकार ने अभी तक कोई निर्णय नहीं किया है, लेकिन रिपोर्ट के पढ़ने से एक बात स्पष्ट हो जाती है कि उन्होंने डी० ए० बढ़ाने की बात कही है। सरकार ने यह माना हुआ है कि डी० ए० प्राइस राइज को न्यूड-लाइज करेगा। लेकिन जो प्रॉपोजन्स आये हैं उन के अनुसार जिनकी ग्रामदनी 70 रु० से ले कर 109 रु० तक है उन को प्राइस राइज में 90 प्रतिशत की राहत मिलेगी मगर ज्यों ज्यों वेतन बढ़ेगा राहत कम होती जायेगी। आखिरी स्लैब है 590 रु० तक। उन को डी० ए० द्वारा केवल 24 परसेन्ट की राहत मिलेगी। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आप समझते हैं कि जिन को 500 रु० तनखावाह मिलती है वह बहुत धमीर हैं, क्या आज जो मंहगाई बढ़ रही है वह उन को चुभती नहीं है। आज उन का जीवन दुभर हो रहा है। इसलिये

डी० ए० के जो प्रपोजल्स आये हैं उन पर विचार करते हुए हम देखें कि छोटी धामदनी वालों को कम से कम इनाम डी० ए० मिले जितना प्राइस राइज हुआ है। उस का पूरा न्यूट्रलाइजेशन हा तभी उन को पूरी राहत मिलेगी।

हो सकता है कि वित्त मंत्री कहेंगे कि हम क्या करें, हमारे पास साधन नहीं है। मैं कहता हूँ कि साधन हां सकते है और हैं। जब वित्त मंत्री आये थे तब उन्होंने मुझाव दिया था कि हम कुछ बचत करेंगे जो 5,000 करोड़ रुपये का बजट है अगर उसमें थोड़ा बहुत बचत की जाती तो बहुत कुछ बच सकता था। इस प्रकार बिना किसी प्रकार का टैक्स लगाये हुए हमारी धामदनी बढ़ सकती थी। इसका सुन्दर उदाहरण दिल्ली कारपोरेशन ने पेश किया है। जिस समय दिल्ली कारपोरेशन हमारे हाथ में आया उस समय इसमें 7 करोड़ २० का घाटा था। यहां की सरकार ने कहा कि चूंकि जन संघ वाले कहते हैं कि हम नये टैक्स नहीं लगायेंगे इसलिये इस कारपोरेशन को सुपरसीड कर दो। मगर हम लोगों ने कहा कि हम नया टैक्स नहीं लगायेंगे। हम घाटा पूरा करेंगे। और हम लोगों ने दो महीनों के अन्दर इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ करके दिखला दिया है।

जब हम आये थे उस समय के बाद से यहां की चुगी की आय लगभग 15,000 २० रोज बढ़ गई है, जब हमने डी० टी० यू० को अपने हाथ में लिया तब उसको 4,000 २० रोज का घाटा था। उसको हमने पूरा कर दिया है। इसी प्रकार कई मर्चे थीं जिनमें जो टैक्स लगाया जाता था वह पूरी तरह से वसूल नहीं होता था। आज उनको ठीक प्रकार वसूल कर हमने वहां पर धामदनी बढ़ाई है। हमारा निश्चय है कि हम पांच साल तक कोई नया टैक्स नहीं लगायेंगे। मौजूदा टैक्सों के साथ काम करके दिखायेंगे और घाटा पूरा करके दिखायेंगे। यह

भीज तो एक छोटे से क्षेत्र के अन्दर दिल्ली कारपोरेशन ने करके दिखलाया है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जहां का बजट 5,000 करोड़ रुपये का है, वहां क्यों नहीं किया जा सकता? लेकिन बचत की बात तो दूर रही, यहां क्या होता है कि प्रगोक होटल में बुन्द रेस्टोरां बनने वाला है जिस पर 85 लाख २० खर्च होगा। दिल्ली का प्रशासन मांग कर रहा है कि हमें रुपया दो। दिल्ली में ढाई लाख एकड़ भूमि है जहां खेती नहीं होती अगर वहां ट्यूब वेल लगा दिया जाय या सिंचने का गन्दा पानी दिया जाये तो इस ढाई लाख एकड़ भूमि से कम से कम 25 लाख मन अनाज पैदा हो सकता है। लेकिन इसके लिये जितने रुपयों की जरूरत है वह देने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं, हालांकि एक रेस्टोरां पर वह 85 लाख २० खर्च करने जा रहे हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यही ढंग इस देश की स्थिति को सुधारने का? आज यह प्रगोक होटल का रेस्टोरां एक सकता है, उस पर होने वाला खर्च एक सकता है, लेकिन खेती की उपज बढ़ाने के लिये, जो धाम धामदनी की जरूरत की चीज है, वह रुपया निकालना ही होगा। सोचने का ढंग बदलना ही होगा। जब तक सोचने का ढंग नहीं बदलता तब तक हमारा काम नहीं चल सकता।

आज हम बड़ी बड़ी बातों के बारे में चर्चा करते हैं। पूंजीपतियों के बारे में चर्चा करते हैं। कहने के लिये यह सरकार समाजवादी है, लेकिन वास्तव में वह पूंजीवादी है और सामन्तवादी है। जहां बेकार रुपया खर्च होता है वहां वह खर्च करती है लेकिन जहां गरीबों का सवाल होता है वहां पर वह धना नहीं निकालती है। कहती है कि बजट नहीं है। इसलिये मैं कहूंगा कि वित्त मंत्री इस पर विचार करे। उन्होंने कहा है कि हम क्या करें, हमारा खर्च बढ़ गया है। हमारे दो युद्ध हुए हैं। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वह क्यों हुए? हमारे ऊपर हमने क्यों हुए। पिछले बीस सालों में हम पर चार आक्रमण हुए। किसी और

[श्री बलराज मधोक]

देश में ऐसा नहीं हुआ। कारण स्पष्ट है कि हमारी नीतियां गलत हैं। अगर हमारी नीतियां इसी प्रकार गलत रूप में चलती रहेंगी तो भागे भी आक्रमण होंगे। इसलिए यह कहना कि युद्ध हुए इस कारण भारी कठिनाई हुई, इससे हमारा काम नहीं चलेगा। अगर इससे सबक सीखना है तो नीतियां बदलें। नीति बदलने के बारे में कुछ भी इंगित नहीं किया गया है, कुछ भी इशारा नहीं किया गया है। काश्मीर में क्या हो रहा है। मैं सुन रहा हूँ कि शेख अब्दुल्ला को छोड़ा जा रहा है। मैं नहीं चाहता हूँ कि कोई आधमी हुमेला जेल में रहे। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आपने उसको क्यों पकड़ा था और पकड़ने के बाद क्या शेख अब्दुल्ला का मन्तव्य बदल गया है, क्या उसने अपनी सत्तनत कायम करने का ख्वाब छोड़ दिया है, सैशन की बात को उसने छोड़ दिया है? अगर मन्तव्य बदला नहीं, विचार उसका बदला नहीं तो उसको पहले पकड़ना क्यों और अब छोड़ना क्यों? यह गलत ढंग है। काश्मीर में हमने भरबों रुपया खर्च किया। आज बाकी देश में फाकाकशी हो रही है, लेकिन वहां पर हम पांच भागे सेर चावल दे रहे हैं। इसके बावजूद वहां की स्थिति दिन-ब-दिन बिगड़ती जा रही है। इसका कारण स्पष्ट है। हमारी नीति गलत है। जहां शक्ति से हमें काम लेना चाहिये वहां हम नरमी बरतते हैं और जहां हमें नरमी बरतनी चाहिये वहां शक्ति से हम काम लेते हैं। हमने देशशक्ति को उभार दिया नहीं, हमने राष्ट्रीयता को उभार दिया नहीं। जो देश-द्रोही हैं, जो पाकिस्तानी एजेंट हैं उनको हम सहुलियतें देते हैं, उनको हम भ्रपीछ करते हैं, उनको हम उभार देते हैं। इस तरह से काम नहीं चलेगा।

हमारे वित्त मंत्री खाजी वित्त मंत्री नहीं हैं। वह कांग्रेस के एक वरिष्ठ नेता हैं और उप प्रधान मंत्री भी हैं। इस लिए मैं कहना

चाहता हूँ कि काश्मीर के बारे में नीति पर बहपुनविचार करे। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया गया तो स्थिति और बिगड़ जाएगी।

मैं एक चेतावनी भी देना चाहता हूँ। यह अच्छी बात है कि अरब पिट गए हैं इसलिए पाकिस्तान ने कुछ गड़बड़ नहीं की है। अगर अरब न पिटते तो पाकिस्तान इधर बॉर्डर पर गड़बड़ करता। वह बात अब कुछ देर के लिए टल गई है। लेकिन पाकिस्तान गड़बड़ करने की तैयारी कर रहा है सेना इकट्ठी कर रहा है। अगर आपने अन्दर की स्थिति ठीक नहीं की, काश्मीर के हालात ठीक नहीं किए तो मैं चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि फिर हमला होगा। तब आप कहेंगे हम क्या करे हमला हो गया है और हमारा बजट गड़बड़ा गया है।

कल पूर्वी क्षेत्र के बारे में चर्चा हुई है। नक्सलबाड़ी की यहां चर्चा हुई थी। वह बड़ा सेंसेटिव एरिया है बड़ा स्ट्रेटेजिक एरिया है। वहां पर गड़बड़ चली है। उसको रोकना नहीं गया है। नागालैंड के अन्दर, नेफा के अन्दर गड़बड़ चल रही है। उसे हम रोक नहीं पाते हैं। उधर चीन और पाकिस्तान हैं। दोनों मिल कर इस क्षेत्र के अन्दर गड़बड़ करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। चीन के बारे में कल यहां कुछ चर्चा हुई थी। हमने स्ट्रागली रिएक्ट किया था। हमने चीनी राजदूत को बुलाया और कहा कि डिप्लोमैटिक इम्पुनिटी हम छीन लेते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे काम नहीं चलेगा। यह एक रिएकशनरी स्टेप है। मेरा कहना यह है कि कांग्रेस सरकार भारत सरकार एक रिएकशनरी सरकार है। यह रिएक्ट करती है। कोई घटना घट जाती है तो उसका रिएकशन दे देती है। इसकी अपनी कोई पाजिटिव

नीति नहीं है। कोई विचार नहीं है, कोई दृष्टिकोण नहीं है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि चीन इस प्रकार का मुल्क है और इस प्रकार से वह व्यवहार करेगा इसका ज्ञान क्या आपको चीन के हाल के व्यवहार से हुआ है जो उसने हमारे राजदूत के साथ किया है, उससे हुआ है? चीन का इस प्रकार का व्यवहार रहा है। इसके होते हुए भी यदि चीन के प्रति हम अपनी नीति को बदले नहीं तो कुछ नहीं होगा। उसके साथ कूटनीतिक सम्बन्ध बनाये रखना क्या ठीक है? मैं समझता हूँ कि आज भी यू० एन० ओ० के अन्दर हम यह रट लगाते रहें कि उसको उस में शामिल किया जाए तो यह ठीक नहीं होगा। हमें अपनी नीतियां बदलनी होंगी। पाजिटिव नीति हमें बनानी होगी। केवल रिएक्ट करने से काम नहीं चल सकता है। रिएक्शनरी बनने से काम नहीं होगा। मैं अपील करूँगा कि रिएक्शनरी न बनिए, पाजिटिव तौर पर देश के हित में आप विचार करिये।

पश्चिम एशिया में जो स्थिति पैदा हुई है, उसको हमें देखना होगा। नहर स्वेज बन्द हो गई है। उसके कारण हमारे जहाज उस में से आना बन्द हो गए हैं। जो आये वे लम्बे रूट से हों कर आये, उसको लम्बा सफर तय करना होगा। उसके लिए हमें अधिः खर्च करना पड़ेगा। यह नहर स्वेज का मामला फिर खड़ा हो गया है। यह नहर मिश्र में है यह ठीक है। लेकिन स्वेज कनाल एक लाइफ लाइन है हमारे लिए भी और लाइफ लाइन है दुनिया के बहुत से देशों के लिए भी। अगर आज आप मिश्र के बादशाह को वहाँ के डिक्टेटर को यह अधिकार देते हैं कि वह इस नहर को अख़्तियार के जहाजों के लिए बन्द कर दे तो कल को वह हमारे जहाजों के लिए भी इसको बन्द कर सकता है। अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मामलों में यह कोई नहीं कह सकता कि आज जो हमारा दोस्त है वह कल को भी हमारा दोस्त

रहेगा। चीन कल तक हमारा दोस्त था— आज हमारा शत्रु है। मिश्र आज हमारा दोस्त है कल को हमारा दुश्मन हो सकता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जब आज उठें तो स्वेज नहर के बारे में कुछ फैसला करना होगा। मैं सरकार से कहूँगा कि वह इस बात की मांग करे सिक्वोरिटी वाउचिसल में कि स्वेज नहर रहे मिश्र के अन्दर, उसके ड्यूटी में को मिले, उससे जो आमदनी होती है वह मिश्र को मिले लेकिन इंटरनेशनल शारटी दी जाए कि मिश्र स्वेज कनाल को आगे में किसी भी देश के जहाजों के लिए बन्द नहीं करेगा, उसको किसी भी देश के जहाजों के लिए बन्द नहीं किया जाएगा। जहा तक जहाजों के गुजरन का ताल्लुक है उस दृष्टि से इसको इंटरनेशनल वाटर वे माना जाए और मिश्र को या किसी भी देश को यह अधिकार नहीं कि वह उस नहर को किसी मुल्क के लिए बन्द कर सके। यह बहुत ही आवश्यक है और यह हमारे देश के हित में भी है।

मे चाहिए कि हम इन सनकों और इन वादों के चक्कर से बचे अपने पुराने नारों की कैद से हम बाहर निकले और देश की समस्याओं के बारे में केवल यथार्थवादी और राष्ट्रवादी दृष्टि से चिन्तन करना सीखे। जब ऐसा हुआ तो आप देखेंगे कि इस हाउस में बहुत सारे मामलों में हम एक मत हो सकते हैं। पश्चिमी एशिया के मामले में भी आप ने देखा होगा कि कांग्रेस के अन्दर बहुत से लोग हैं और विरोधी पक्ष के अन्दर भी बहुत से लोग हैं जोकि एक-दूसरे से सोचते हैं। यह स्वाभाविक भी है। जहा राष्ट्रवाद होगा, जहा देश के हितों का विचार होगा वहाँ निष्कर्ष भी एक होंगे। वहा पर एक ढंग से सोचने का रास्ता निकलेगा। जनता के प्रति जिस के दिल में प्यार नहीं है जिन की प्रेरणा का स्रोत पिंडी या मोस्को या चीन है जिन की एक्सट्रा टैरिटोरियल लायल्टी है वहा आपने देखा होगा एक मत होना मुश्किल हो जाता

[श्री बलराज मधोक]

है। ऐसे जो तत्व थे वे ध्वस्त हो गए थे। अपने देखा होगा कि जब एक्सट्रा टैरिटोरियल वाले लोग इधर से बोलते थे तो उधर वाले सारे नहीं लेकिन कुछ तालियां बजाते थे और जब उधर से बोलते थे तो इधर कुछ बजाते थे। इससे यह क्लीयर हो गया कि घाप में भी दो कैम्प हैं, राष्ट्रवादी और राष्ट्रद्रोही और हमारे यहां भी दो कैम्प हैं, राष्ट्रवादी और राष्ट्रद्रोही। जो राष्ट्रवादी हैं जब वे इकट्ठे हो जायेंगे तब वे राष्ट्रवादी ढंग से विचार करेंगे। जब ऐसा होगा तब जा कर देश का कुछ कल्याण होगा, तब जा कर ठीक नीति अपनाई जा सकेगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि आज जिस संकट में हम हैं जिस ध्वायिक संकट में हम हैं, विदेशी हमले का जो संकट हमारे सामने है उस संकट काल में हम जरा विशाल हृदय से देश के जो बड़े हित हैं, उन पर हम विचार करें उनके बारे में हम सोचें। अगर हमने ऐसा किया तो हम कोई न कोई रास्तानिवाज सकते हैं और कोई ऐसी नीति खोज सकते हैं जिसमें देश का बचाव हम कर सकें।

अन्त में मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। आज मैं ने न्यूयार्क टाइम्स में जो एक रिपोर्ट छपी है उसको पढ़ा है। उस में कहा गया है कि कुछ विदेशी दूतावासों ने कुछ पार्टियों को चुनावों के दिनों में सहायता दी है। और पार्टियों के बारे में मैं नहीं कह सकता हूँ। लेकिन मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि जहां तक मेरी पार्टी का ताल्लुक है, हमने किसी भी विदेशी दूतावास से, किसी भी विदेशी सोर्स से एक घेला भी अपने चुनाव के लिए नहीं लिया और न लेगे। यह ठीक है कि उन लोगों की ओर से इस प्रकार की टोह ली गई होयी। जनसंघ का एक ही बल है, शक्ति का एक ही स्रोत है। और वह जानता है। उसका जनता की शक्ति में विश्वास है। जनसंघ राष्ट्रवादी है। वह न रूस का एजेंट है, न अमरीका का, न रूस का गुलाम है, न अमरीका का। वह किसी का गुलाम है तो

भारत की जनता का गुलाम है। हमारी प्रेरणा का स्रोत भारत है। हमने चुनाव लड़ना है हमने भारत के राज्य को सम्भालना है। उसके लिए हमें चीन जाने की या अमरीका जाने की जरूरत नहीं है, रूस जाने की जरूरत नहीं है। भारत की जनता मौजूद है। हम जनता के हैं जनता हमारी है। जनता में हमें भरपूर सहयोग दिया है। बोटो के द्वारा भी और रुपये के द्वारा भी। वह प्रागे भी मिलता रहेगा। मैं चैनैज करता हूँ सरकार को कि अगर हिम्मत है तो वह एक प्रायोग बिठाये जो इस बारे में पूरा विचार करने पूरी जानकारी करने कि चीन से किसको खपया मिला, रूस से किनको मिला, अमरीका से किनको मिला। अगर ऐसा किया गया तो पानी पानी हो जाएगा, वूध दूध हो जाएगा। मुझे आशा है कि सरकार उस पर ध्यान देगी।

श्री यशपाल सिंह (देहरादून) : यह इतना बड़ा बजट है और इस पर समय बहुत कम दिया गया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि समय दो घंटे बढ़ाया जाए। इसका भारत की पंचाम करोड़ जनता से सम्बन्ध है। इस वकत हम संकटकाल में से गुजर रहे हैं। मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि इस पर बहस के लिए दो घंटे का समय और बढ़ाया जाए।

श्री हुकम चन्द कलबाय (उज्जैन) : मैं इनके प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

श्री शिव नारायण (बस्ती) एक भी हरिजन मੈम्बर इस पर नहीं बोला है। आपके सिर पर घर्म चक्र प्रवर्तनाय लिखा हुआ है। क्या यही इन्साफ है आपका ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (वलरामपुर) कांग्रेस पार्टी आपकी पार्टी के नामों की लिस्ट देती है। आप कहें कि आपका नाम भी बहूँ है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Yesterday it was announced that the Deputy Prime Minister would reply at 3 P.M. today. At that time it would have been proper if such a motion would have been made. Now I am helpless. I do not think it would be possible for me to

extend the time. There are a number of speakers from this side. I cannot accommodate them. I would request them that they should take their opportunity during the discussion on the demands and on the Finance Bill.

श्री यशवन्त सिंह कुशवाह माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया है उससे देश की जनता को यह प्रपेक्षा थी कि यह बजट इस देश की जी भावश्यकतायें हैं उनकी पूर्ति में सहायक होगा और साथ ही साथ देश के सामने जो ज्वलंत समस्यायें हैं उनको हल करने में सहायक सिद्ध होगा। लेकिन बजट को देखने के बाद खेद के साथ यह कहना पड़ता है कि देश की जनता को घोर निराशा हुई है। सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि देश इस समय महंगाई के संकट में से गुजर रहा है। इस बजट ने इस महंगाई के जमाने में जनता के जेबों पर नमक छिड़कने का काम किया है। इससे महंगाई और बढ़ी है, हर क्षेत्र में बढ़ी है।

देश के सामने सब से ज्वलंत समस्या यह है कि हर कीमत पर हमारे देश की आजादी की रक्षा होनी चाहिये। हमें जो चुनौती दी गई है, हमारी जो आजादी गिरवी रखी हुई है, उसका कोई इलाज इस बजट के द्वारा नहीं किया गया है। चीन के द्वारा हमारी भूमि पर जो कब्जा किया गया है वह कब्जा आज भी बना हुआ है। काश्मीर का एक बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा आज भी पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में है। पिछले युद्ध के समय ताशकंद घोषणा के आधार पर हमें जो कुछ भुगतना पड़ा है उसका भी जवाब अब तक हमारे शासन के द्वारा इस इग से नहीं दिया जा सका है जिस से हम हिम्मत के साथ यह कह सकें कि हम भारत की एक इंच भूमि को भी विदेशियों के कब्जे में नहीं रहने देंगे। हम प्रपेक्षा करते थे कि इस बजट में हमारी सेना को अधिक शक्तिशाली बनाने के लिए उचित व्यवस्था की जायेगी, हमारे देश में धातुनिकतम शस्त्रास्त्रों और परमाणु अस्त्रों के निर्माण सम्बन्धी कोई व्यवस्था की जायेगी लेकिन देश की जनता को इस मामले में निराश होना पड़ा है। शायद यह सरकार नहीं

बाहती है कि हमारा देश इतना शक्तिशाली बने कि वह पाकिस्तान को मुंह-तोड़ जवाब दे सके, चीन से अपनी खोई हुई भूमि वापस ले सके और कोई भी विदेशी ताकत हमारे देश की तरफ देखने की हिम्मत न कर सकें। इस सम्बन्ध में ताजा उदाहरण इसराइल का है। इसराइल ने जो कुछ किया है, वह अपनी ताकत के बल पर ही किया है। हम स्पष्ट कहना चाहते हैं कि हमारा देश किसी दूसरे की भूमि नहीं चाहता है, लेकिन इस के साथ ही हम अपने देश की एक इंच भी भूमि एक क्षण के लिए भी किसी विदेशी ताकत के कब्जे में रहने देने के लिए तयार नहीं है। देश की इस आवाज को शासन को सुनना चाहिए था लेकिन खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इस आवाज को नहीं सुना गया है, बल्कि उल्टे डिफेंस के बजट में कटौती की गई है।

इस समय गल्ले की कमी बढ़ी गंभीर समस्या है, इस समय हमारे देश में जो अन्न-संकट है, उसको हल नहीं किया जा सकता है और न हल हो गकने योग्य उचित कदम उठाया गया है हमारे देश की जनता की मूल आवश्यकतायें ये हैं कि गरीब से गरीब व्यक्ति को भी अनाज, वस्त्र और रहने के लिए झोपड़ी मिले, बिल्कुल इन्टीरियर के गांवों में भी लोगों के लिए दवाई का इन्तजाम किया जाये, कम से कम मैट्रिक तक निःशुल्क शिक्षा की व्यवस्था की जाये लेकिन इन अत्यन्त अनिवार्य आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति की दिशा में भी हम आगे नहीं बढ़ पा रहे हैं। इस बजट में ऐसी कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है कि हमारा देश इन अनिवार्य आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने का अवसर पा सके।

सरकार की ओर से अनाज के उत्पादन में बढ़ि करने की बात कही जाती है, लेकिन शासन का व्यवहार इस के विपरीत है। मध्य प्रदेश में जो इननी प्रथिक कृषि-योग्य भूमि पड़ी है, उस के डेवेलपमेंट के लिए प्रदेश सरकार की ओर से फंड की माग की गई, लेकिन वे उपलब्ध नहीं किये गए। केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से मध्य प्रदेश के उत्तरी हिस्से, मुरैना जिले, में एक पाथ सट प्राजेक्ट चालू किया गया, जिस के अन्तर्गत

[श्री यशवंत सिंह कुसवाह]

चम्बल रेवाइन के क्षेत्र को ट्रेक्टरों द्वारा ठीक करने का प्रयत्न किया गया। उस प्राजेक्ट पर खर्च किया गया और उस में सफलता भी मिली, लेकिन सफलता की रिपोर्ट आने के बाद उस काम को छोड़ दिया गया, जब कि नीति यह होनी चाहिए थी कि उस पायलट प्राजेक्ट के अन्तर्गत मिंड और मुरेजा जिलों में नदियों के किनारे पड़ी हुई सारी भूमि को विकसित करने की दिशा में आगे बढ़ाया जाता। इस से हमारे यहां बहुत बड़ी मात्रा में अनाज पैदा हो सकता था और हमारे देश में—तथा मध्य प्रदेश में भी—अन्न मंडल की गम्भीर समस्या हूँ उसको काफी हद तक हल करने में सफलता मिल सकती थी।

पंच-वर्षीय योजनाओं के अन्तर्गत सामुदायिक विकास केन्द्र खोल कर जो काम हुए है, उनके परिणामों को देख कर यह कहना पड़ता है कि हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना सफल नहीं हुई है। हमारे गांव जहां थे, वे वहां के वहां हैं। गांधी जी ने तो यह कहा था कि गांवों की ओर चलो, लेकिन आज स्थिति यह है कि गांव बर्बाद होते जा रहे हैं और उन की बहुत बड़ी जनसंख्या शहरों की तरफ जा रही है, क्योंकि गांवों में जीवन सुरक्षा नहीं है, उन के विकास के लिए साधन नहीं दिये जा रहे हैं, उन में रास्तों की व्यवस्था नहीं है, दवाईयों का इन्तजाम नहीं है। गांवों के लोग जिन सड़कों को बनाने के लिए श्रमदान करते हैं, उन सड़कों को कूटने के लिए इंजिन टाइम पर नहीं पहुंचते हैं, जिस का परिणाम यह होता है कि उन का श्रमदान बरसात में बह जाता है। इस के अतिरिक्त अधिकांश गांवों में बिजली नहीं आई है और शिक्षा का विकास नहीं हुआ है। केवल बेकारों की संख्या बढ़ाने वाली शिक्षा जरूर कुछ हद तक दी जा रही है, लेकिन टेक्निकल शिक्षा की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है, जो लोगों की बेकारी दूर कर सके। गांवों में एक बहुत बड़ी संख्या प्रौढ़ लोगों की है, जो निरक्षर है। उन के लिए साक्षरता अभियान प्रारम्भ करने की तरफ कोई ध्यान

नहीं दिया गया है, जिस का परिणाम यह है कि गांवों से सारक्षता नहीं बढ़ पाई है।

केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से बलवंत राय मेहता कमेटी की रिपोर्ट के आधार पर एक त्रिसूत्री योजना के अन्तर्गत गांवों में पंचायती राज की स्थापना की ओर कदम उठाया गया था, लेकिन कुछ प्रदेशों ने उस रिपोर्ट को ठुकरा दिया है जिन में मध्य प्रदेश भी है। जहां बरसों से पंचायतों के चुनाव नहीं हुए हैं, न जिला परिषदें कायम हुई हैं और न केन्द्रीय पंचायतों कायम हुई हैं। इस कारण मध्य प्रदेश पंचायती राज की त्रिसूत्री योजना लंगड़ी पड़ी हुई है। मध्य प्रदेश की जनता की तरफ से इस बारे में केन्द्रीय शासन का ध्यान भी दिलाया गया, लेकिन चूंकि मध्य प्रदेश में एक तानाशाही ङंग की हुकूमत है, जिस के चीफ मिनिस्टर स्वयं को प्राइव-मिनिस्टर-मेकर कहते हैं, जो प्रेस कॉन्फरेंस में कई बार कह चुके हैं कि "हम श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी को दो बार प्राइम मिनिस्टर बना चुके हैं," शायद इसी लिए यह सरकार मध्य प्रदेश के चीफ मिनिस्टर को यह सलाह नहीं देती है कि मध्य प्रदेश में जो केन्द्र व जिला पंचायतों के चुनाव अनेक बरसों से नहीं हो रहे हैं, उन को कराया जाये।

अभी मध्य प्रदेश के उस गुना उपचुनाव में शासन द्वारा बरती गई निष्पक्षता का जिक्र किया गया था, जिस में श्री कृपालानी जीते थे। मैं श्री कृपालानी की तरफ से वहां पर चुनाव का संचालक था। मैं कहना चाहता हू कि निष्पक्षता की बात बिल्कुल गलत है। वहां पर और अन्याय व पक्षपात शासन द्वारा हुआ। कांग्रेसी उम्मीदवार को जिताने के लिए शासन द्वारा पूरी ताकत लगाई गई। अठारह मिनिस्टर्स लगभग पच्चीस दिन तक गुना के सारे डाक बंगलों को चुनाव कार्यालयों की तरह इस्तेमाल करते हुए वहां रहे। उन की ओर से सरकारी अधिकारियों का इस्तेमाल किया गया, मतदाताओं पर दबाव डाले गये,

बड़ी संख्या में तरादले किये गये, शासकीय मोटरों का इस्तेमाल किया गया, जिन के नम्बर भी मैं बता सकता हूँ ।

मध्य प्रदेश शासन मध्य भारत क्षेत्र साथ जो धन्याय कर रहा है, उसके बारे में सही सलाह देने का काम केन्द्रीय सरकार का है । अगर उन ने मध्य प्रदेश शासन को सही सलाह नहीं दी और मध्य भारत के साथ जो धन्याय हो रहा है, वह जारी रहा, तो इस देश के सामने हरियाणा जैसी दूसरी समस्या उपस्थित हो जायेगी, जो कि हम किसी तरह नहीं चाहते हैं ।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि देश की ज्वलन्त समस्याओं का कोई इलाज नहीं हुआ है । भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ा है, पक्षपात बढ़ा है, शासकीय संचालन का खर्चा बढ़ा है, जब कि उनकी दक्षता और काम की क्षमता गिरी है ।

वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो टैक्स लगाए हैं, उन की सूची को देख कर आम जनता यह चर्चा करती है कि शराब पर टैक्स क्यों नहीं लगाया गया है । वित्त मंत्री जी को लोग बड़ा साहसी मानते रहते हैं, लेकिन लोग अब यह कह रहे हैं कि वह डर गए हैं—पता नहीं डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर बनने की वजह से डर गए हैं या किसी और कारण से । जनता में यह चर्चा अवश्य है कि जो साहस उन में पहले था, डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर बनने के बाद वह साहस उन में नहीं रह गया है और इसी लिए शराब पर टैक्स लगाने की उनकी हिम्मत नहीं हुई ।

हम ने मसखारों में पढ़ा है कि शेख अब्दुल्ला को यहाँ लाया गया है और उन से कुछ चर्चाएँ चलाई जा रही हैं । मैं याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि शेख अब्दुल्ला को एक बार छोड़ा गया था, और उस का नतीजा यह सरकार और देश दोनों भुगत चुके हैं । अब उस एक्सपेरिमेंट को दोहराना नहीं चाहिए । सरकार जो कुछ कर रही है, उस से जम्मू की जनता को बहुत सफर करना पड़ रहा है । आप जो खर्च कर रहे हैं वह केवल एक क्षेत्र में हो रहा है । आप जम्मू के लोगों के साथ धन्याय करना सीखिए

और शेख अब्दुल्ला के अब तक के जीवन से उस सबक को सीख लीजिए कि जिस से हमें फिर से उस स्थिति की तरफ न जाना पड़े जिस से देश को नीचा देखना पड़ा था या नीचा देखना पड़ा ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं केवल एक प्वाइंट और कह कर के बन्द करूँगा कई बार यहाँ चर्चा हुई कौन पूँजीवादी प्रभाव में है, कौन पूँजीवादी प्रभाव में नहीं है, लेकिन मैं दो उदाहरण इस के मध्य में देना चाहता हूँ । उस पर से नतीजा निकाल लेना चाहिए कि कौन किस के प्रभाव में है कौन नहीं है । एक मवाल यह है कि वनस्पति घी को अभी तक रगान क्यों नहीं किया जा सका ? और दूसरा सवाल है छोटी कार के निर्माण का फैसला अभी तक क्यों नहीं लिया जा सका ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप ने मुझे समय दिया, इसके लिए धन्यवाद ।

Shri Narayanan (Pollachi): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I wish to oppose the Budget on certain grounds. Firstly this Budget has not taken into account the feelings of the people; secondly, it does not reflect the home which has no hearth and even which has no fire of the toiling millions of this country. Shri Morarji Desai, Finance Minister, has proved himself to be a fleecer and should come forward with counter proposals which could alleviate the difficulties placed before the common man, the backbone of the Indian economy.

Shri Morarji's budget according to me is a heavy dose, administered to the sick man of this land. The economic malady of the country demands immediate remedy. The present budget provided by our Finance Minister will never solve the complicated issues. On the contrary, it will accelerate inflation which has already demoralised the country's economy. Too much money has already started chasing too few goods. I am afraid, if this sort of situation is allowed to continue, our economy will come to a breaking point. Our economy is

[Shri Narayanan]

dwindling and regarding our planning we have met with complete failure. Three successive plans did not bring the desired results and fulfil the expected targets.

14.42 hrs.

[SHRI MANOHARAN in the Chair]

Normally, countries use to have plans. The bases of plans depend purely on natural resources of the country, taxable capacity of the nation and the human potential. It is really a tragedy that the bases of our plan purely depend on foreign assistance, foreign loans, foreign technical know-how and foreign green signal. What is needed today is the mobilisation of forces, the channelising of resources. The economy of our country is meddled with by the administration. The wheels of bureaucracy already slow are becoming slower. Redtapism, nepotism, inefficiency, insincerity, disloyalty are the basic virtues of our Government.

The performance of our public sector undertakings is shocking, misleading and a failure. Every year, the loss that we incur in the public sector has been exposed by reliable agencies. Very recently the attention of the country has been drawn towards the yearly loss of one crore of rupees in Durgapur steel plant. I accuse the Government for having created this sort of a situation. I accuse this Government as capitalistic. The Congress empire for its own survival depends on industrial emperors like Tata, Birla, Shanti Prasad Jain and a host of others. Is it not a fact that the Indian economy is controlled, dominated and guided by these men? The Government of India is at their feet for inspiration and financial assistance. By this time everybody would have understood the fact that sixty or seventy families are controlling our economic life. The sense of direction of this country is theirs. The deciding fac-

tors for the ultimate fate of this country are themselves in collaboration with foreign interests. Already the American financial interest has sprawled into the layers of the Indian economy. Our balance of payments position is very precarious. This great country after 20 years of Congress rule has to depend on foreign countries. The motto of self-reliance has been replaced by foreign dependence.

We have got a peculiar situation in our international relations. Our independent thinking very much depends on the responsive attitude of certain mighty countries. If we go against, we lose very much; if we toe in line with, we may gain something. The humiliating situation, I accuse, has been created by the Government which deserves to be toppled and the earlier the better.

Coming to the Budget proposals, I want to make a few observations. I do not know what harm the common man in this country has done to our Finance Minister. I do not know why he is after his life-blood. Is it because the Finance Minister is convinced that the common man is an inarticulate creature, a straw to be tossed about by the events of this country? Is it because the common man of this country is dumbfounded creature quite capable of carrying all sorts of burdens without any murmur till his graveyard. Here is my warning sounded. The common man is God Himself, is a man of patience. Everything has its limit. His patience is exhausted and reached the point of saturation, caught hold of by frustration. This is a stage fraught with dangerous potentialities. The anger and indignation of this common man tasting poverty and misery will create a situation as has been pointed out by Dr. Radhakrishnan, our ex-President:—

"Wherein the floodgates of revolution are opened that would destroy the foundation of our democratic institutions".

Taxes on tea, coffee, tobacco, aluminium and footwear all are common man's properties. To ride roughshod over his own frontier will be met with dire consequences. Our Finance Minister is a puritan by conviction and politician by accident. He has taxed tea, coffee but I want to ask our Finance Minister through you whether he has guts enough to tax liquor. Our Finance Minister is noted for his philosophical thinking and welfare of the human being. Then, why liquor is excluded from his items of taxation? The prohibition policy of this Government is a farce, failure and flop. I want to know the reasons for the exclusion of liquor from the items of taxation. It is an open confession or admission on the part of Minister of failure of the prohibition policy. I would have congratulated him from the bottom of my heart had his iron hand stiffly fallen on liquor, not on tea, coffee and tobacco.

The only alternative for this, for the people of this country is to shed tears. I would not be surprised if tears are on the increase, he would tax tears also I very much request him to see the agony of the people and see that they are helped by the lifting away of taxes he has proposed.

I belong to Tamilnad, specially to the district of Coimbatore, where I am the District Secretary of the DMK which was formerly the citadel of the Congress Party, the sweet home of our ex-Food Minister, Shri C. Subramaniam. There out of a total of 25 legislators we gave only 3 to the Congress Party. Out of four Parliament seats we refrained from giving one to the Congress. That shows the people of my district are frustrated over the omission and commission of the Congress. I admire and adore the people of Tamilnad, particularly people of my district, for having showered the flowers and fruits to the temple of Democracy. My district has a problem. It can be made a tourist paradise on so many counts. My district is being praised as the Manchester of South India.

It is being surrounded by sacred temples, the famous Palni is on one side, Perur on the other side, Vellingiri and Maruthamalai hill temples on some other sides. These temples used to draw hundreds and thousands of pilgrims every week. Very near to my district stands an alluring and enchanting Ootacamund which receives thousands of tourists from all over the world. Hence I request you to see that Coimbatore town is made a tourist centre with all facilities and again to consider the penetrating logic behind the proposal of upgrading Coimbatore as a B class city; the industrial complex and the ceaseless economic activities can be taken into consideration as a yardstick for this proposal.

My speech would be incomplete if I do not refer and say something about the Salem steel project which receives very bad and stepmotherly treatment. Having prepared a detailed project and having acquired thousands of acres, having spent initially lakhs of rupees this project could not be able to see the light of the day which is something unusually humiliating. I try to believe the sincerity of our Prime Minister and sweet adjustability of our Finance Minister in getting the dream of Salem plant realized.

Finally, Sir, let me say one word about my Government with reasonable pride. I declare that my Government in Tamilnad, a model government for the whole of India, is conducting a democratic experiment by our dynamic, revered leader, Arinjar Anna, who is noted for his calm, cool and dispassionate consideration and sound judgment. With the inspiring leadership of Arinjar Anna, we are developing an outlook more international. We are second to none in upholding and preserving national integration and sovereignty.

Before finishing, let me tell our Finance Minister that the common man should be the basic theme of the

[Shri Narayanan]

politico-socio-economic theories of this country. Anything we do here speak and perform, should be for the welfare of that unfortunate lot.

This Budget I am afraid has declared a war on him. This unilateral declaration of war is a sure sign of aggression. Let the country clamour for cease-fire and the 'Common Man' be protected.

श्री शिवनारायण : सभापति महोदय, मैं आपका अनग्रहोत हूँ कि आपने सब से अन्तिम मन्य में मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया। . . . व्यवधान . . . अरे अब हमारी बारी है, मुनने की कोशिश कीजिये।

मान्यवर, मैं आज मोरारजी भाई को बधाई देने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ क्योंकि he is one of the iron men of this country. हम को यह आशा नहीं थी कि इतना सिमल बजट वे हमको पेश करेंगे, इतना बैलेंस बजट पेश करेंगे। तमाम कांग्रेसवाले, नान-कांग्रेस वाले, सब लोग यह उम्मीद करते थे कि मोरारजी भाई का बजट बहुत सक्षम होगा, लेकिन बैलेंस बजट हमारे सामने आया, जिसके लिये मसानी जी ने भी कहा कि यह एक वैलेंस बजट है। इस बजट के आने से आम जनता पर कोई विशेष बोझ नहीं पड़ा, इसके लिये मैं उनको बधाई देना चाहता हूँ . . . व्यवधान . . .

मैं अपने विन मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं बहुत गरीब इलाके में आता हूँ। उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिले को पटेल कमिशन में लिया गया था, लेकिन पाकिस्तान की लड़ाई के बाद उस को ड्राप कर दिया गया। पटेल कमिशन ने बस्ती, बलिया और पूर्वी इलाके के लिये खास तौर से अपनी रिपोर्ट में कहा था, यहाँ पर फाइनान्स के बड़े बड़े पंडित बैठे हुए हैं, मैं उनसे कहा चाहता हूँ कि आप

ईमानदारी से वहाँ की हालत को देखें और और उन गरीब लोगों की मदद करें। हम को वहाँ पर फर्टिलाइजर फैक्टरी दें, हम को स्माल स्कूल इण्डस्ट्री दें। यह हमारी मांग है ताकि हमारे यहाँ की जनता कुछ उन्नति कर सके। व्यवधान

ये देखिये, ब्लक मनी वाले, सी०आई० ए० की मनी वाले बोल रहे हैं, मैं गरीबों की आवाज उठा रहा हूँ, लेकिन मुझे बोलने नहीं दे रहे हैं। इसका नमूना, हुजूर, आप देखें। सभापति महोदय, आपकी गवर्नमेंट, यात्रा की मद्दास की गवर्नमेंट वास्तव में एक क्लियर गवर्नमेंट है, लेकिन इन लोगों की जो सरकार बनी है, वे क्लियर नहीं हैं, खिचड़ी सरकारें हैं। इस लिये हम आपकी सरकार की इज्जत करते हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश में भी एक सरकार बनी है— खिचड़ी वाली सरकार। हमारे एक नेता को तोड़ कर ले गये, . . . व्यवधान . . . धबराइये नहीं, बहा भी हाय-तोबा होने वाली है। मैं अपने वित्त मंत्री महोदय से दरखास्त करना चाहता हूँ कि वे हमारे पूर्वी इलाके को मदद दें। आज दोपहर को यहाँ जो बड़े बड़े आयामजी बैठे हुए हैं, उन का मुँह नहीं खुला—जब यह सवाल आया कि हरिजन ईमाई बनाये जा रहे हैं। कम्युनिस्ट भाई बंगाल की बातें करते हैं . . . व्यवधान . . . मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने हरिजन अपलिफ्ट की नीति अपना रखी है, उस पर तेजी से अमल करना चाहिये, उन को खाना कपड़ा और रहने के लिये मकान देना चाहिये हम इस में ज्यादा कुछ नहीं चाहते हैं।

कल एक मित्रों साहब यहाँ कह रहे थे वह कम्युनिस्ट हैं, अपने आपकी सोशलिस्ट, समाजवादी और बड़ा गरीबों

का हमदर्द बताते हैं, कहते थे कि इस सरकार की धोर से एक कान्फ़ीडेन्सल लैटर ईशू हुआ है कि की-पोस्ट्स पर मुसलमानों को न रखा जाय। अरे, क्या कहते हो, हम ने तो कल अपना प्रेसिडेंट एक मुसलमान को चुना है, क्लैक्टर के पदों पर और दूसरे बड़े बड़े पदों पर आज मुसलमान नियुक्त हैं...

एक माननीय सदस्य हरिजन प्रेसिडेंट नहीं बना।

श्री शिक्षानारायण जरूर बनेगा। कल कलकत्ते के वारे में कम्यूनिस्ट लोग बात करते थे यह पापुल की लडाईं नहीं लड़ रहे हो तो और क्या है, गरीब के कैसे हमदर्द हो? मैं अपने फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ, होम मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि बंगाल की गवर्नमेंट बड़ी लापरवाही बरत रही है, अगर वहा की हालत को ठीक रखना है तो यह खिचड़ीवाली सरकार वहां पर नहीं चलेगी... व्यवधान...

अब हुजूर मैं अपने यहां की शिक्षा के वारे में प्रपील करना चाहता हूँ... (व्यवधान)

शिक्षक हो सिगरे जग को, अब ता-कह तू अब देती है शिक्षा। ससार को हमने शिक्षा दी है। नान-वायनेस का नमूना अगर कोई देखना चाहे तो मोरारजी भाई में आकर देखें जो यार्थियन फिलाम्फी पर चलने वाले हैं... व्यवधान... वह आज भी चर्खा चलाते हैं। आप को मालूम होगा जब पहले नेहरू जी जिन्दा थे उस समय एक नो-कान्फ़ीडेन्स मोशन नेहरू जी की सरकार के खिलाफ आया था, उस समय उस नो-कान्फ़ीडेन्स मोशन का जवाब, कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी और इन विरोधी दलों का जवाब हमारे दो आदरणीय नेता श्री मोरारजी वेसाई और श्री एस० के०

पाटिल ने दिया था। उसके बाद जब कामरा प्लान में ये दोनों नेता बाहर हो गये... व्यवधान...

देखियें, सभापति महोदय, यह डिस्प्लन का नमूना है, हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने एक लफ्ज भी इनके खिलाफ अपने मुंह से नहीं बोला, अपने फर्ज को किस जिम्मेदारी से निभाया। हम अपने वित्त मंत्री महोदय को विप्रवास दिलाते हैं कि हम जितने भी कांग्रेस के लोग हैं, आपके साथ हैं, सारा देश आपके साथ है। लेकिन हम आपसे अपील करना चाहते हैं... व्यवधान

बड़ा अच्छा नमूना पेश कर रहे हो, गैलरी के लोग भी देख रहे हैं। हुजूर, आपकी इजाजत से मैं फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम हरिजनों के लिये आप काफ़ी अप-लिफ्ट दे, हमारी गाड़ी काफ़ी पिछड़ी हुई है, उसको उठाने की कोशिश करें। गांधी और नेहरू ने प्रतिज्ञा की थी कि हम हरिजनों को ऊपर उठावेंगे... (व्यवधान) ...मालूम हो गया, कितने रेस्पॉन्सिबिल हो, हरिजनों से कितनी हमदर्दी रखते हो। इन को हिन्दोस्तान से वास्ता नहीं है, कोई रूस का दलाल है, कोई चाइना का दलाल है, हम को उपदेश देने आये हैं।

व्यवधान मन 1942 में जब हमारे लीडरम जेलों में मड़ रहे थे, तब पियुपिन्ज-वार का डिक्लेरेशन किया था। जरा अपने पल्लव पर हाथ रख कर सोचो, कहा गये हीरेन मुखर्जी साहब। मैं उनसे मवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ, कहा है हमारे डायरे साहब, उनकी डायरी हमारे पास है और क्या क्या आप मुनना चाहते हैं।

सभापति महोदय, मैं इस कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट का मजबूत सिपाही हूँ, एक पक्का सिपाही हूँ और अपने फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर का समर्थन करता हूँ। मैं श्री एस० म० बनर्जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ, वे यहां पर नहीं हैं, वह सितारा बजाया करते हैं, कभी सोशलिस्ट

[श्री शिव जारापण]

राग अलापते हैं, कमी कम्प्यूनिस्ट राग अलापते हैं ।

14.56 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

डा० लोहिया साहब भी यहां नहीं हैं—जर्मनी से पी० एच० डी० कर के आये हैं, नाजीवाद दिमाग में धूम रहा है, लेकिन हम नान-वायलेंस में विश्वास करते हैं, माघीवाद में विश्वास करते हैं । इंग्लिये में अपने फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर को विश्वास दिलाता हूं कि हम आपके साथ हैं, आज जनता आपके साथ है, कांग्रेस आपके साथ है, कांग्रेस की शक्ति गरीबों की मोपडी में है, इसलिये हम सब गरीब आपके साथ हैं । . . (व्यवधान) . .

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी कास्टीचून्सी में कल्ल हुए हैं, कई लोगों को जान से मार दिया गया, ये लो।। क्या ब्राने करने हैं, लेकिन फिर भी जनता हमारे साथ है, कांग्रेस के साथ है . . (व्यवधान) . .

मैं अन्त में यह मुझसे देना चाहता हू कि आप प्राइमरी को कम करने के लिए कुछ खास कदम उठायें । मेहरबानी करके जोनल सिस्टम को खत्म कर दें । फूट डिपार्टमेंट के जिनने अफमगन हैं, इनको तोटिम दे दो कि अगर एक महीने में तुमने खाने-कपड़े का इन्तजाम नहीं किया, तो नौकरी से हटा दिये जाओगे. (व्यवधान) . .

ये जितने बोल रहे हैं—ये ब्लैक मनी वाले हैं, ब्लैक मार्केट वाले हैं । मैं अन्त में कहूंगा—“गरीबों को मिने रोटी तो मेरी जान मस्ती है”—यह तारा हम ने कल लगाया था, आज भी लगा रहा है और परमों भी लगाऊंगा । हम गांधी जी की फिलोस्फी को मानने वाले हैं और उसी पर चलेंगे ।

अन्त में एक बात डिबैल्यूएशन की और कहना चाहता हू । यह क्यों हुआ ? यह

इसलिए हुआ था कि विदेशी माल मंगाना बन्द किया जाय, यह नकटाई पहनना बन्द करो, यह सूट-बूट पहनना बन्द करो, ताकि जूते, टी और काफी को हम दूसरे देशों को भेज सकें । डिबैल्यूएशन इस लिये हुआ था, हज़ूर, कि मेरा माल बाहर जाय, बर्दिया माल बाहर जाय ताकि उससे हमारे देश का कल्याण हो । किन कोई चीन की दलाली करते हैं, कोई रूस की दलाली करते हैं । हम इस देश के दलाल हैं, हम मोरारजी भाई के दलाल हैं, इन्दिरा गांधी के दलाल हैं । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इमका समर्थन करता हू ।

15 hrs.

श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर)

इससे पहले कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब जवाब दें मैं यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वह इस बात का ज़रूर जवाब दे कि लिबर के ऊपर उन्होंने टैक क्यों नहीं लगाया ?

Shri Pilloo Mody: (Godhra) Shame on you, Mr. Gupta.

The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai): I am very happy that the House is in a light mood just now. That makes my task a bit easier.

Shri Pilloo Mody: I hope he will continue that light mood.

Shri Morarji Desai: I hope so

I have heard probably the longest debate on the budget with great respect and attention. I believe I can claim that I was one of the few who must have heard the debate throughout, and it benefited me very much. A budget is not a budget, if it is not criticised. Nobody can produce a budget which will ever be free from any criticism.

I would not also like to claim that this is the best budget that could ever be produced by anybody. I would have no hesitation in accepting that somebody could have produced a better budget. But I can only claim this

much that under the circumstances in which one had to work and the circumstances in which we have to live just now, and the capacity which I have, I have done my best. That is all that I can claim. If it has not satisfied several friends, I can only assure them that I hope to benefit by their suggestions I shall certainly give them respectful consideration and utilise them for next year, if as one hon. Member suggested, I am going to be here next year. I do not think of tomorrow. I think only of today. Therefore, next year is far off.

एक माननीय सदस्य : वही तो दिक्कत है ।

Shri Morarji Desai: There are many difficulties for my hon. friend but I cannot remove them, and he goes on creating them and he expects that I should go on removing them. That is a task in which I cannot engage myself.

This is a budget which is described as a *status quo* budget, as a stand-still budget, as an anti-national budget and as an anti-people budget. Several names have been given to it. I have no difficulty in accepting all the descriptions, because the descriptions have been given according to the views that hon. Members hold, and they have a right to hold their views. I only hope that the views that were given were given objectively and not as dictated by some prejudices either of the person or of the Government. Unfortunately, in human life, prejudices cannot be avoided, and I would not be wrong, therefore, in holding that some of the epithets given were the result of prejudices and not of good sense.

My hon. friend Shri Manoharan said that this was an anti-people budget or an anti-national budget. If I agreed with him, he would say or others might say that I am alone holding against the whole country

and holding out successfully. That is what he would say. If I did not agree with him, he will say that I am obstinate and I do not want to benefit by his opinion. I am afraid it is impossible to satisfy the hon. Member in the matter of the epithets that he has used. But I should like to consider some of the aspects of the budget a little later as regards the taxation levied. But before that, I should like to point out that I tried to put before the House as frank an assessment of the economic situation as it obtains today in this country as I could honestly do, and also give an indication of the economic policy of this Government which we want to follow. The question is not whether it cannot be improved upon. The question is whether I could improve upon it. I should certainly like to improve upon it, if I can, and it is from that sense that I view all the criticism that has been offered to me by several hon. Members who spoke on this budget and to whom I am very grateful for having enabled me to think differently about this budget.

But a few things are forgotten perhaps in the heat of attacking the Government or ventilating one's grievances, and they are the circumstances in which we are today and the history of the last twenty years. It has been said that we have made no progress. The reason given by my hon. friend Shri M. R. Masani was that it was all on account of the licence-permit-raj or the economic folly or unwisdom of the present Government or the Government which has continued for twenty years. He spoke more in sorrow and disappointment than in anger, as he said. I do not know whether I gave him any cause for anger.

15.07 hrs

[MR SPEAKER in the Chair]

But with the views that he holds, I am afraid, sorrow and disappointment are going to be his permanent

[Shri Morarji Desai]

companions. I should like to deprive him of those two because they are sapping his great intellect and vitality.

Shri N. Nreekantan Nair (Quilon):
Thank you.

Shri Morarji Desai: Whatever may be the strength of one, when one is in the grip of disappointment and frustration, one loses the capacity to think objectively. That is why I should like, as a friend, to persuade him to give up sorrow and disappointment both, whatever may be the circumstances. And it is given to every human person to give it up. After all, a human person is not worth being a human person if he does not utilise his intellect to rise above all circumstances and keep smiling, whatever may be the difficulties. That is the only spirit in which we can go on and raise this country. All others who try to bring in frustration and to add to it will only help in bringing chaos which perhaps may be the desire of some political parties, but I am sure that this country has sufficient vitality and sufficient good sense and abundant inheritance of culture which will save it from chaos of any kind at any time. We have passed through all kinds of vicissitudes in this country during thousands of years and have survived. We have survived not merely to survive, but to rise and become one of the greatest countries in the world, not in the matter of mere strength, of money or of army, but in the matter of culture, so that we can regain the past culture that is lying dormant today and is in a weak condition, so that we help in establishing a happy human society throughout the world. That is the purpose for which we have won freedom and that is the purpose why we are trying to develop our country—at least that is the goal which this Party has before it, this Government has before it.

It is said that there is nothing of socialism in this Budget. Would this Budget have become more socialistic if I had used several phrases of socialism in it? There are some who think that by talking of socialism, it will come in. We are taunted by saying that in this welfare government this is what is happening. We have not yet claimed that a welfare State has come into existence. We are only trying to create a welfare State, and it will take quite a few years before it can be established in this country.

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon):
Centuries before socialism.

Shri Morarji Desai: By shouting, my hon. friends are not going to bring it in; nor are they going to deter me from what I am trying to do; nor will they hinder me from understanding them also. I know, some of them do not want to understand me. I had an indication of it when I was about to present the Budget. Before I had uttered one word, some of my hon. friends cried 'shame, shame'. Well, what else could they cry if they have only that in them? I cannot help it. Otherwise, what could be the purpose of crying 'shame, shame' before I had uttered even one word?

An hon. Member: No.

Shri Morarji Desai: Some of my hon. friends did not mark it, I am afraid they had other thoughts in their mind and they were not distracted by it. But it was there, not one voice, but more than half a dozen.

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Peermade):
You are already so well known.

Shri Morarji Desai: I know they are all well known and I know they will not learn better. Yet I consider them my hon. friends because they are citizens of my country and I have not lost hopes for them.

Shri Umanath (Pudukkottai): God save us from him.

Shri Morarji Desai: Experience comes, and they are getting more and more experienced now.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): You are a great yogi.

Shri Morarji Desai: They will realise that the methods they are following will not be of any avail to them I know they have a desire for the common people's good. That is a common desire between them and me. That is what binds us. That is what bound me and some of them—not all of them—together when we were fighting for freedom. I very much remember those days and I remembered them when I heard Dr. Lohia and Shri Ramamurti. But those days are now changed. All days change; there is nothing new in it.

Shri D. C. Sharma: It should change for the better.

Shri Morarji Desai: But while some of us here have maintained our ideals and believe in them—even now we believe in them—those friends who were with us at that time somehow got deflected from that path and have gone to other methods and other ideals. That also may be for good. After all, it is not one idea alone which is going to help us. I believe in collective wisdom. But while I believe in collective wisdom, it does not mean that I or this Government can decide only on the advice of other people. We hear the advice of other people very respectfully, but ultimately we have to take the responsibility of doing things. Therefore, we will take a decision on our own, giving whatever respect we can to the advice offered by my hon. friends opposite. I may assure them, whether they appreciate it or not, that we on these benches shall continue to respect their views but not always to agree with them. That

depends upon whether we accept them as helping us in the task before us.

This is what I would like to remind my hon. friend because I believe that even if they would not want to be persuaded by me—I do not want to make any attempt to persuade them if they do not want to be persuaded; I cannot do it, it is not within my power to do so—I would certainly like to put some views before them for consideration. That is why I am putting these facts before them.

A few hon. Members appreciated the Budget too. It was curious that every section of the House talked in the name of the common people while condemning or appreciating it. The common people means the hon. Member concerned and his friends. I do not think anybody else was covered in it. Otherwise, how could everybody talk in the name of the common people?

Shri Manoharan (Madras North): Including you also.

Shri Morarji Desai: I am not claiming anything else. Therefore, when I say that, I mean it. But I hope the hon. Member also accepts it when he quotes me also with such approval.

We are forgetting that we have started with a very low base in this country. We expect great things in this country, all of us. But our expectations should not be allowed to run away with themselves, because then we will lose our capacity to do even the good that we can do. Therefore, it is that I want to remind them about this. When they say that nothing has happened, I do not want to confront them with all the progress that we have made in the last 20 years. But I should like to tell them what we had when we began our career as a free nation in this country. Our per capita national income had gone down over the previous 50 years. We had to get out of that pit and then build on it. and we have been building on it. While we were build-

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ing on it, difficulties have come in. The first two Plans did make the progress we had intended to make. But the Third met storms in several directions. I should like to give some figures to remind my hon. friends about what happened.

We are suffering today on account of several reasons, as I said. The major ones are the two aggressions against us and the two droughts, that have overtaken us during the last two years. That does not mean that there are no other reasons. I would not say that this Government during the last 20 years has not made any fault or mistake. I would not say that it has been cent per cent efficient. There is inefficiency. But can my hon. friends claim that they have all the efficiency? Can anybody in this country claim that there is complete efficiency in this country or that we are not having inefficiency? It is not the fault of anyone of us, it is the fault of the legacy we have had, and the conditions of several centuries through which we passed cannot be wiped out in 20 years. We will have to have some time to bring in efficiency, discipline and organisation. All these things will require dedicated time and energy and services from all of us. In that task, we have all got to combine. And we have combined in times of crisis. That we saw. That is a very happy sign that the country is advancing. I am not one of those who think that the country is going down. The person who is given to crying will always cry. Nobody can help him. Ultimately he will end by committing suicide. That is what happens. Therefore, we should not do that.

It is only in normal times that we fall apart. That is also not wrong.

Shri Hem Barua (Mangaldai): He is encouraging suicides.

Shri Morarji Desai: But when we fall apart, let us not condemn each

other; let us respect each other, even if we differ completely.

I could not understand my hon. friend—revered friend, because he is my elder—Shri Kripalani when he said that I said that rising prices are not due to deficit financing or inflation. I do not understand what he was talking about. How could I ever say that rising prices are not due to deficit financing? Why should I then stop deficit financing, if I thought otherwise? Rising prices mean inflation. What else does it mean? I do not therefore quite understand why he made that statement. Perhaps he had nothing better to do, therefore he did it. That is possible.

Shri J. B. Kripalani (Guna): I was not understood correctly.

Shri Morarji Desai: I did not interrupt him when he was speaking, but he has the privilege of doing so. I do not want to grudge that privilege, I do not want to stop him either, I respect him too much for it, but respect does not mean that I must accept whatever he tells me.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (कनौज) :
बोलने भी नहीं देते हो और कहते भी हो,
बोलो।

Shri Morarji Desai: Here is my hon. friend again. That is the difficulty of my hon. friend, Dr. Lohia. He is a great reformer and a revolutionary. I believe he is one. He has capacity also, but the only difficult part of it is that he considers he is the only one and nobody else.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : आज से
मापको दूधरे नम्बर पर मानने लग जायेंगे।

Shri Morarji Desai: I will be considering it a dishonour to be number two to him. I do not want to be considered to have the monopoly of being a revolutionary or a reformer, I do not want it. I would plead with

my hon. friend: let him not have contempt for everybody. If he wants to improve us, let him have some sympathy and not condemnation. That is the only way a reformer can work, or even a revolutionary can work. By condemnation one alienates everybody, as he is doing, though I see he has some staunch followers, but they all go to him perhaps because they are of the same mind. Otherwise, how else can it happen?

श्री मधु लिये (मुंगेर) : बिस्कुल मही है ।

Shri Morarji Desai: I said that we suffered from two droughts. Let us see what the actual facts are. I have taken them out only to put before my hon. friends, because they seem to have forgotten this.

At the end of the second plan, in 1960-61, we had claimed, while framing the second plan, we would have a target of 76 million tonnes and we improved on it, and said it would be 81.8 million tonnes of production of foodgrains by the end of the second plan, and we actually produced 82 million tonnes of food in 1960-61. That is how we fulfilled the second plan.

But what happened after that? Then in the first year of the third plan, we did get 82 million tonnes—82.7—but nothing more. And after that for two years we got less than that, one year we got 78 million, and another 80 million. That is how food production went down in those two years, and therefore it was a loss of three to four million tonnes of food in those two years. Therefore, the stocks went away. Then, the year after that we produced 88.9 millions tonnes, i.e. nearly 89 million tonnes, it was a good year, but because the stocks had disappeared, that did not by itself give us all the encouragement that it should have given us in the matter of foodgrains. But soon after that, for two years, one after the other, we had droughts as have not happened during the last hundred years in this country. We produced only 72 million tonnes of food in the

year 1965-66, and in 1966-67 produced perhaps only 76 million tonnes of food. This is what has created the difficulty in the matter of agriculture, and that is why also our national income went down.

Now it is said that we are responsible, our policies are responsible, and one hon. Member had the great wisdom even to say that it was our policies which brought aggressions also against us. A very great flight of imagination. What else can I say? I cannot say anything else. But there cannot be anything farther from the truth than to say that the aggression of China was due to our own actions, or the aggression of Pakistan was due to our own actions.

श्री मधु लिये दुर्बलता और कमजोरी के कारण ।

Shri Morarji Desai: Kamzori, weakness cannot be removed by shouting and only those shout who have no strength in them. Those who have strength do not shout. That is the experience, and the experienced wisdom of all the sages. Therefore, let us learn a lesson. I do not deny we are. . .

श्री अब्दुल गनी बार (गुडगाव) : बेवकूफी की वजह से भी हो सकता है । आप उनको निकाल बाहर कर सकते थे ।

[شہری وجد الغلی دار : بہوقوفی کی وجہ سے بھی ہو سکتا ہے - آپ ہی کو نکال باہر کر سکتے تھے م]

Shri Morarji Desai: What else can one say when one is like that. I would not say.

बेवकूफी से अगर किसी चीज को देखा जाये तो कोई बात नहीं बनती है । बेवकूफी को छोड़कर देखे तब ही अबलमन्द हो सकते हैं । अबलमन्दी से देखें और शान्ति रखेंगे तो अबलमन्दी आयेगी, इस तरह से अबलमन्दी नहीं आयेगी । आप मुझे दोस्त मानते हैं, इसलिए मैं कहना हूँ । नहीं तो कहता भी नहीं ।

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It is also said that the planning was wrong, we have not concentrated on agriculture, therefore this has happened. How is that right? Can agriculture be set right by merely giving money to it? It can only be brought in by hard work, co-operation, co-ordinated effort by all people. Have we done that? Have all the parties done this? We have not done it. It may be our fault, I am prepared to accept that fault, but why are not other hon. Members accepting their fault also? But they think they are faultless. They are welcome to be saints if they want to be. I have no desire to take away that idea from them. I do not want to claim any sainthood.

Therefore, let us see the facts as they are. Because of this want of rains or scarcity of rains in some parts, this is the condition that has arrived. And what is the condition of this country? We depend for 50 to 60 per cent of our national income on agriculture, and if you lose 15 per cent of our agricultural production, then what happens to the national income? That takes away the buying power of people. And yet we find in this country prices going high. That is the contradiction. If people could not buy, prices should have gone down, but that also is a contradictory feature.

Mere statistics are not going to make us wiser. We have also to use our eyes and ears, and if we use our eyes and ears, I would not want to say that the rich men have not become richer, some people who were not rich may have become rich also, but the poor have not become poorer, I have no hesitation in saying that.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Question.

Shri Morarji Desai: The poor have certainly become a little better than what they were, but not as much better off as we want them to do. If that had not been so, people would have died like flies in the country in the conditions in which we are living

That is not what happens. That is what happened in Bengal. Thirty lakhs died in 1943. That was the condition of this country, and before, it had always happened, though now some of my hon. friends raise cries that so many people died, but that is only imagination and nothing else, it does not require to be proved.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मूँहूँ प्राँख कती कोऊ नाहि ।

Shri Morarji Desai: That is all right, I do not compete with my hon. friend in Urdu sher.

वह अंग्रेजी भी बोलते हैं । और मुझ से बेहतर अंग्रेजी बोलते हैं और जानते हैं ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : कभी किसी सावजनिक जगह मे नहीं बोलता हू ।

अं० मोरारजी देसाई : मैं कहां कहता हूँ कि बोलते हैं । कभी कभी बोल जाते हैं । लोग भी यही करते हैं । जब जरूरत होती है तो बोलते हैं । उनको जरूरत है और हमारी जरूरत नहीं है, यह कहा की पालिसी है ।

Therefore, I am pleading with my hon. friend, I am not trying to advise, who am I to advise, he is the adviser of everybody, how can I advise him, but I can plead with him—

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मापको छोड़ कर बाकी सब को ।

Shri Morarji Desai: ...that his advice will be more readily accepted if he keeps a little sympathy for smaller men like me as he thinks. Under these conditions, it did not merely give us less foodgrains but it gave us also less cash crops and raw materials for our industries. There were two aggressions against us and to that extent our military expenditure had to go up. We had to treble our military expenditure. In the international world, there are all kinds of

atmosphere and we did not get the foreign exchange that we expected to get. That also put the industry out of gear. You can say that the Government should have forestalled all this and that it did not forestall and that was the mistake. If that is so, I certainly accept the mistake. But did any of my hon. friends advise us at that time in this way? No, They gave us the same kind of desperate advice which they are giving today, and if we had followed their advice at that time, this country would have been sold. Nothing else would have happened.

They say that we are taking loans from others and we are mortgaging ourselves. That is what he said. Let me make one thing clear. We have won our independence, not to lose it but to strengthen our country and to see that we do not bow before anybody except in courtesy. In courtesy we are bound to do that, but not for any gain. I can say that I have never extended my hand to anybody for help except on equal terms. Let anybody prove otherwise and I am prepared to pay whatever penalty they ask from me. It is no use merely saying that foreign loans are crippling us and doing this and that. A country has got to take loans in order to advance faster. We had very few resources. If we want to grow faster, as all of us want, how are we to do so without taking foreign help? We have got to return those loans. We did not know that these sorts of years would come or that two aggressions would come. If we had got militarily prepared from the beginning, perhaps this may not have happened. That can be argued. But if we had got militarily prepared from the very first year, 1946-47, how many crores might we have had to spend? Perhaps for fifteen years, we would have spent Rs. 15,000 crores. From where would we have spent it? I do not think that it would have been justified by anybody. On the contrary, I remember very well in the earlier years, in the first ten or 12 years, until the Chinese menace, most of my

hon. friends opposite asked us to reduce our military expenditure. That was also the view of the Congress Government. I do not say that it was not the view of the Congress Government, because we had no designs against anybody. Therefore, we reduced our military expenditure. But today we cannot do that; today we will have to keep our defence expenditure. Some friends say that we should have economy in defence. I would certainly not want any wasteful expenditure in any department, let alone defence. But may I plead with my hon. friends, see that our army does not get the feeling that we are constantly criticising them for wasteful expenditure. We are constantly aware of this and we are trying to see that economies are effected. My hon. friends perhaps did not know that in this year according to the plan the military expenditure should have been Rs. 1,150 crores. But we have made it Rs. 150 crores less and we are also trying to lessen the expenditure without lessening efficiency, but, on the contrary improving the efficiency.

Defence is the first charge in this country. Whatever may be our condition, even if we have to spend every thing for defence, we should do so in order to save our independence and in order to fight any aggressor against us. I am equally sure that we should not have any foreign loans from any country if we are not able to hold our head high before them or if there is any interference. Let me assure my hon. friends that we do not want to accept a single paise from anybody, if it comes to the question of our being dictated to by anybody because we are taking loans from somebody. I can make this promise to my hon. friends that we are determined on that. If that stage comes—it may come, we are not living in a world which is good and which has got stabilised, and there are all sorts of pressures taking place, and so conditions may arise when there may be pressures applied,

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though I hope they will not be applied—we have to go without those loans. All of us will have to forget all our differences and come together and see that we lift ourselves by our own strength whatever may be the cost. I have no doubt that at that time the hon. friends will forget the differences and will help the Government, whatever it may be, in seeing that this country rises on its own strength and on no body else's.

Shri Samar Guha (Contai): Not the Government but the nation.

Shri Morarji Desai: Government represents the nation, whatever our friends here may say; otherwise it is not a democratic country. In a democracy, Government represents the nation. Whatever other people might say, we may have differences with the Government, but that does not mean that the Government does not represent the nation. You can say that the Congress does not represent the nation. I accept it but you cannot say that the Government does not represent the nation. But the Opposition can never represent the nation. It is only the Government that represents the nation. It is therefore that the Prime Minister is the Leader of the House and nobody else is the leader of the House. In a democratic country these things are accepted all over the world. Let that not be forgotten.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : इन तरह से गह्रांग मांग रहे हो !

Shri Morarji Desai: We are coming to a condition where we have got two contradictory pulls. Firstly, prices are rising because of agricultural conditions. On the other side, industry which was lagging behind because of lack of raw materials and lack of adequate loans in time is having insufficient demand now. That is why we got into difficulties at a particular time. It is in those conditions that this budget had to be presented. I cannot

say that I am myself satisfied with the budget I should like to have something else. But liking is one thing and to be able to do it is another thing. Anybody who wants to act prudently must not think of his desires and his expectations. He must think of what can be done and see that he is not frustrated or disappointed but that he goes on with greater vigour as time goes on. This budget has been brought in in order to stabilise things and if it is called the status quo budget, I would have no quarrel with it. Let it be called so. What does it matter? When we are in a whirlpool while we are swimming, if we try to use the hands and feet violently, we will sink. If at that time you lie flat on your back, you will get out of the whirlpool, you will live. When a sick person has got to become better, he should not shout; he has got to lie low and take medicines which the doctor gives him and not to ask for foods of more vitality and nourishing foods. Once he is all right, he can become strong and stronger. That is what we hope to be after this budget and that is the consideration with which this budget has been brought.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : तीन वर्ष तक वाइटीलिटो के फुड खा खा कर आज मज्जदार बातें बोल रहे हैं।

Shri Hem Barua: Sir, he is giving us lessons in swimming and on medicines also.

Shri Morarji Desai: If my hon. friends are now satisfied with their remarks, I should like to go ahead. It is not possible for me to touch all the points that had been raised. Budget is an occasion when every issue can be raised. But it is not possible to reply to every issue. I have got materials before me to which, if I refer, I will take the whole day and even more. Therefore, I can only say that I have noted all the points which were made and I shall try to

benefit by them; wherever any rectification has to be done, it will be done. And wherever anything has to be accepted it will be accepted. But it will be for the next budget and not for this Budget. In this budget, too as regards the taxes which have been levied, there have been criticisms, and I have patiently heard all those criticisms. I have received many more criticisms and suggestions from my side too. If it had been possible for me to discuss, consider them and come to a conclusion before today, I would have given my considered view today, but the matter is not so easy. It is a bit complex and, as I said, it must be a balanced budget. If it is not a balanced budget and if it leads itself to a deficit, then it would harm everybody and that is not the intention of anybody. I only hope that the balanced budget does not make anybody unbalanced. That is what one has got to be careful about, and that is why I am trying to explain this. Therefore, the matter is not easy and I have therefore to pay more attention to it and I am attending to it and by the time the Finance Bill comes, I will have come to conclusions and I will tell the hon. House what conclusions I have come to.

But I should like to refer to some of these matters, specially the matter about public sector. It is said that the public sector has been a great drag on this country.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: Government sector.

Shri Morarji Desai: You can call it so. I have no quarrel with that. But as I said, Government represents the nation, and therefore it is the national sector. You cannot deny that because it belongs to the whole nation. It does not belong to anyone party. Whatever my hon. friends may say, they are also going to profit by it or lose by it. Whatever happens, we have to be sharers in it, that is what the public sector is. And that sector

if it has not yielded profit which it is supposed to have yielded, there are several reasons for it. In the first place, all that is said is not right, as I pointed out the other day. When it was said that all the 40 public sector factories are losing, it was all wrong. I gave the figures, and I have written to my hon. friend when he asked me for a statement about it. I have said in the statement—I do not want to take the time of the House, otherwise, I would have read out the list also—that out of the 40 projects of Government which are working, in actual operation, 31 of them are making profits; the profits may not be huge,—

An Hon. Member: Return?

Shri Morarji Desai: Return also is there. The figures were given by my colleague, and then I will give them some other time also if it is required. I do not say they are all high profits. Nine of them are losing, but they are losing because of several causes. They are also being looked into. There is a Bureau of Public Undertaking established in the Finance Ministry itself, and it will be my endeavour in the coming months to see that the public sector undertakings are so properly organised, or rather reorganised—they are organised, but they have to be reorganised in their personnel, in their management, in their working and in their autonomy—that they will go ahead, and we will make up for the lapses that may have been there in the past.

There has been one significant lapse in the Durgapur steel factory. It has come to notice; that happened only during one or two years, because of the lapse of the manager. The manager did produce, but he did not look at the management, and therefore this happened. Of course, he is not there and therefore we cannot deal with him; he has gone away. But we will see to it that this is not repeated. That is what one can see. Not only that; we will also try to profit by it and see that we make better profits as

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a result even of those losses and we do not lose in future. That is what we will try to see.

The public sector factories have done a lot of good to this country. It is no use saying that we attended to them and neglected agriculture. We have not neglected agriculture. Food-grains output also has gone up from 51 million or 52 million tons in 1950-51 to 89 million tons, which happened two years back and it will be more this year. I hope so; and also next year. But it depends more on the monsoon.

It was said by some hon. Member very uncharitably that in 20 years we have not provided water for all the lands in this country. I think it is only a man of imagination who writes poetry who might say that all land can be provided with water even at any time. I do not think it is possible to irrigate all the land anywhere in the world. We shall be fortunate if we are able to irrigate 50 per cent of the land and bring it under cultivation. That is the aim which we have immediately. After that we can go further if we are able to do so. But if we can bring 50 per cent of the land under agriculture, there can be no question of scarcity afterwards in this country. But that will require a great deal of effort. It will require major irrigation works; minor irrigation works and small irrigation works; all kinds of works, it will require. Some people swear only by major irrigation works. Some people swear only by minor irrigation works. All this is having a lopsided view. Without major irrigation works, only minor irrigation works are not going to work and without minor irrigation works only major irrigation works are not going to benefit every State, because there are some States where major irrigation works may not be very possible. There, minor irrigation works only will be useful; and therefore we have got all these three, and we are spending more and more money on it.

Somebody said that no electricity has yet come to the villages. Sir, they are forgetting that we were giving electricity only to 3,600 cities and towns, not villagers, when we became free. Today, more than 50,000 villages have got electricity and every year more and more villages are getting it. In our Plan period we are doubling the supply of electricity; in that we have succeeded, and we will even have greater development in electricity as time goes on. The progress was not much better because we had to import also the machinery for producing electricity. Now, today, we are producing all these things in this country, and there too, the public sector factories have done a lot of good. If they had not come, we would not have been able to do this much. If the steel factories had not come, the private sector could not have put up all these factories. We were producing only 1.5 million tons of steel. Today, we are producing 6.5 million tons of steel, and we will be doubling it in the course of five to seven years. This is how we are going about steel. And if all that steel had not come, how would the private sector factories have flourished? The private sector factories have grown up five times or more during the last 10 years. They have grown up only because of the public sector factories. They would never have been able to come up but for that. Would we have had all the irrigation if the Government had not undertaken it? Would we have had all the railways if the Government had not undertaken it? All this has to be done by Government but the railways also require a lot of money. It is only in this country that the railways have been paying. This year we have again got into difficulties in the railways because we got into losses, but we have got to make up for them. And that is what we are trying to do.

But all these things require more and more co-operation and attention and co-ordinated work in such a manner

that we do better in these directions and not merely do fault-finding. Fault-finding is useful; it is good because without that, those who are doing it will not know where the fault lies. It is therefore that we are grateful to all those who point out the faults to us, but merely finding fault and deprecating everything and saying that we are not going anywhere, that we are frustrated, that nothing is being done, is the royal road to ruin and not the royal road to prosperity. Because it saps all our energies; it saps all our desires to co-operate together and co-ordinate our efforts. It is therefore that I am begging of my hon. friends to criticise as much as they like but not to run down people. I would not like to do that for anybody. That is why I have said I have the greatest respect for hon. friends with whom even I differ. I differ with my hon. friends, the communist party people, but that does not mean I have no respect for them. If they have no respect for me it does not matter.

Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirappalli): We have every respect for you.

Shri Morarji Desai: But I have respect for them.

If I lack in that, I would be failing in my duty. That is what I say. Therefore, that is how we should deal with it, and not in a manner of merely crying down each other's efforts and saying, "you are useless, you are worthless and you are all folly".

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : बजट पर तो यह कुछ बोलते नहीं ।

Shri Morarji Desai: What else is this, if it is not the budget and the expalnation of it? If my hon. friend does not even understand this much, it is only because he is pre-occupied with that notion of reforming and his notion of reforming not only of the country but of myself and

all others; I only hope that he reforms himself. That is all I hope.

I would now turn to the criticism of the taxes that have been levied. It is said that the taxes could have been avoided and more money could have been brought in by saving Rs. 150 crores in various ways. I do not know how my hon. friend says that Rs. 100 crores or Rs. 50 crores could have been saved on defence. It is easily said. As I just now explained, we have got to watch two frontiers. We have got to keep our armies ready and in trim. Therefore, we have got to see that we spend all the money that is required for it. We were to spend Rs. 1150 crores on defence, but we are spending only Rs. 960. crores. That shows how we are mindful about having economy with efficiency in what we do on the frontiers. Those two neighbours are making more and more preparations. They are increasing their divisions and their fighting power. We have no intention of making any aggression at any time, but we certainly will not desist from defending ourselves successfully.

It is to that end that we are keeping ourselves prepared. It is, therefore, that I beg of my friend not to constantly harp on this question and give a feeling to our very fine fighting material that they are people who are always charged with extravagance and things like that. Whatever we have to do, we should do. I can assure my hon. friend that the Commanders, the Generals, the Defence Minister, my colleague all of them are very conscious of this and they are looking at it constantly, trying to see that we keep to the minimum expenditure consistent with our primary duty and the greatest duty of keeping ourselves fit to defend ourselves against all aggressors successfully. This is the criterion which we have kept before us for our defence.

My hon. friend said, we can make economies in our administration. We can; I would not say there is no scope for economy. But economies are

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constantly being looked into and they are being made. If you look at the figures you will find that expenditure on administration was 15 per cent. of the total revenue expenditure, excluding Defence. It rose to 17 per cent in 1954-55. It has come down to 10 per cent. That is what has happened.

Coming to collection of taxes, there also the figures are very significant. In the matter of tax revenue, we had 3.75 per cent expenditure in 1946-49. Today it is 1.4 per cent for all tax revenues together. In some sectors, it has gone down much. In customs, it has gone down to 0.9 from 1.5. That is how we are keeping track of it. We still want to make a saving in this. One hon. member suggested that if I accepted his scheme of exempting all incomes upto the level of Rs. 12,500, 5,800 and odd income-tax officers could be saved. But he does not know that I have no more than 2,500 income-tax officers. How was I going to save 5800? He perhaps does not have the figures I do not know from where he got his figures. Some of his figures are correct. I am referring to the young man from Goa. He has taken great pains and several of his figures are correct. But when he goes into deeper waters, he gets into trouble. But his effort has been very good and I congratulate him for his study. He said, if he were I; I think it would take quite a few years for him to be in this place.

I would turn to the criticism that I have become liberal after I have become Deputy Prime Minister, because I have not taxed liquor. Certainly it is a very amusing irony that people who do not believe in prohibition tell me that I should do so. It is not a question of my losing grit. I would like to have prohibition as early as possible and I do not agree with all those who say that prohibition has done harm. I do not want to go into that subject, because that is not a Central subject. It is a State subject. In the matter of taxation, only foreign

liquor can be taxed by me, not locally-produced liquor. That is a State subject, not my subject. In the matter of foreign liquor, I had raised the duties in 1963 to Rs. 40 a litre. Where do you want me to take it? If it is taken up further, it will have diminishing returns. There will be far more smuggling and nothing else. One has to keep track of that also. They do not realise that. They say, you tax the luxury items. Certainly; luxury items have been taxed 30 to 35 per cent. How much more do you want? Today the trucks and cars are not in demand. There was a black-market premium of Rs. 5000 to Rs. 10,000 for Fiat and Ambassador. But the other day I found a dealer had to pay Rs. 500 puggree to the man who bought it. This is what is happening, because they are not selling.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Will you give me the name of that dealer?

Shri Morarji Desai: I know the dealer, but I do not want my hon. friend to raise the market again by going into it in the wrong manner, because that is what he will do. This is what is happening. It is not that I am unmindful of that. I should like to tax as much as I can, but one has to see that the taxation is fruitful and not unfruitful.

Dr. Lohia said, if you curtail all salaries and all expenditure to Rs. 1500 per month, Rs. 1000 crores will be saved. I do not know wherefrom he got his figures. If you do that, you will be saving only Rs. 25 crores and nothing more.

डा० राज मनोहर लोहिया यह बिलकुल गलत बात है, नंगर जी भई। इनके ऊपर बहस कर ली।

Shri Morarji Desai: I am prepared to be with him whenever he wants it. I am prepared to learn from him. If he shows me where I am wrong, I will certainly benefit by it.

श्री० राम मनोहर लोहिया : कभी कहीं पर बहस कर लो।

Shri Morarji Desai: Whenever my hon. friend is free, I am free. That is all I can say.

श्री० राम मनोहर लोहिया : ऐसे नहीं, खाली प्राप से करने में क्या फायदा है, यहाँ पर बहस कर लो।

Shri Morarji Desai: He believes more in playing to the public gallery than in fruitful discussion. I am not interested in that kind of thing. I am interested in learning from him. But I cannot learn from him in that kind of controversy. If he does not want to teach me, he is welcome not to, but I am ready to learn from him in the manner in which I can learn, not in the manner in which he wants.

श्री० राम सेवरु यदव (बागबंकी) : पाठ जा पढ़ना चाहेंगे, वहीं जा पढ़ाएँगे।

श्री० राम मनोहर लोहिया : इन को पढ़ने की प्राज्ञ में पढ़ाना होगा।

Shri Morarji Desai: My hon. friend knows purdah very much, because he was in purdah for quite a few years. He knows that I have never gone into purdah. That is all given to him; he is an expert in it, I grant. I do not want to learn that from him.

He said that I have taxed the poor by taxing footwear. There was taxation on footwear before. It was taken away for 2 years. But is it realised that factories supply only 15 per cent of the total footwear? Whatever is done by the small men, they are all untouched. I am considering what steps have to be taken to see that footwear which is of a certain minimum value does not increase in price. That is what I am going to see. Which way I can do that, I am examining and when I come to the Finance Bill, I will be able to say what can be done. The

same thing was said about aluminium also. For synthetic fibres, rayon and other things also some had to say. For anything that tax is levied on they will say, do not levy this and levy what is not to be levied. When that is levied they will say, do not levy that and levy something else. This will be a constant exercise at budget time with which I have no quarrel. But I would like to say this that, as I have said, in the matter of these two taxes, on synthetic fibres and on aluminium, I want to see that prices do not rise. If I find that the taxation is high, that it cannot be absorbed without detriment to the ordinary consumer, I will have to consider what changes I can make. But I can also see that it is all absorbed or a part of it is absorbed. But, at any rate, I want to see that, as far as possible, the prices of utensils are not raised. But all this requires to be very carefully worked out.

16 hrs.

There is another thing, which was about the 22 per cent tax being deducted at source in the matter of interest, in the matter of commissions, in the matter of fees and all those items. This has been brought in in order to plug the loopholes through which unaccounted money is earned in several ways. But I also want to see that it does not become a hardship. We have already seen to it that those people who do not pay any income-tax from their income are not affected, nothing will be deducted. They have only to give an affidavit to the place from where they get their income that they are not paying any income-tax, and nothing will be deducted from them. They are not to go and ask for certificates, they are only to give an affidavit and it will not be deducted from them. For other sources also, whether it should be 22 per cent or whether it should be anything less is very carefully being worked out, and there too I will come before this House when I am ready with my conclusions.

I would now come, Sir, to the vexatious question of tea and coffee. Well, here I would not like to say that I

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want to save people from the habit of tea and coffee. Why should I have to do that? I have no such desire except in the matter of liquor. In the matter of tea and coffee I have no desire to prohibit it at any time or to say that somebody should drink less tea or coffee.

Shri Hem Barua: You do not take tea or coffee.

Shri Morarji Desai: That does not mean I should take it. Because my hon. friend shouts, it does not mean that I should shout. It does not follow. In order to remain friends this need not be done. But in the matter of tea and coffee we have to consider our export requirements. It is argued by hon. friends here that we are not making maximum efforts for exports. If we want to make exports more and more we will have to see that our traditional exports do not lessen, and tea and coffee give us one of the best instruments of exports. What is happening? More and more tea and coffee is being consumed in this country and it is a habit which grows. Well, those who want to keep the habit, let them keep it but let them also pay to the country. Why should they have the habit and not benefit the country also? If we want to put a curb on consumption, tax is the only method by which it can be done.

An hon. Member: Produce more.

Shri Morarji Desai: More cannot be produced than what can be produced. It is all easily said. Dr. Lohia said produce water, we will produce volunteers and water will be produced. I wish it is as easy as that. Let him organise and do that. Let him show results in an area of hundred square miles and I will be satisfied. Then I will follow him in that particular work, not in everything else. Then I will try to do that and I will help him in that.

डॉ० राज मनोहर लोहिया : बड़े कंजूस हो, थोड़ा तो उदार बनो। एक मर्तबा जब

मेरे पीछे घाने को तैयार हो तो दिल से पीछे घाघो।

Shri Morarji Desai: Why does the hon. Member not be liberal when he preaches to me and follow me. Why does he want me to follow him? Why is he so very egoistic and thinks that he has all the monopoly of wisdom and nobody else. He will benefit better. A wise man is he who learns from everybody and not one who teaches everybody. That is what he has to realise.

Therefore, in the matter of tea and coffee we have to see that we lessen our consumption and there is no other method but this. When I said that for a hundred cups of tea the price will increase only by five paise or ten paise I meant it. That is the incidence of this taxation, because in the lower quality tea the taxation is less. But if that is also not to be considered what am I to do? I have to see that we spare some of the teas for export, if we want to move forward faster. That is why tea and coffee will have to be curtailed in consumption and there is no other way beyond it; that is all I have to say. Those people who want not to suffer from heavier expenditure can lessen the use of tea per cup, use a lesser quantity of tea leaves per cup and they will not have to pay more. It will do them good also. It is hard tea which makes you hard, it is soft tea which makes you better. It is better to take soft tea than hard tea.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Please remove them from the Parliament House

Shri Morarji Desai: The same was said about petrol and diesel oil. It was said that this will also go to the common man. Well, so far the transport fares have not increased in the buses. I do not think they will increase; it has not that great incidence per ticket that they have to increase the fare. Therefore, it is only a part of the profits that we are taking. In several places they are running through gov-

ernment and government when it runs does not pay any income-tax. Therefore, it is better I get something like this. All this has to be obtained even from them, I do not think they are going to raise taxes in this manner themselves. If it is looked at in this way, I am sure my hon. friends will see that whatever was to be done, we have to do this.

I was charged, on the one hand, that I am not giving sufficient to the States. If I have to give to the States I have to tax, and if I have to tax I have to tax in such a manner that the poor are not affected. My hon. friend, Shri Dandekar, did admit that this does not affect the living index of the working class. That is what he said, although my hon. friend, Shri Masani says otherwise. But I would rather like that in this matter he has a better accountant and when he has seen the figures he will find that this does not affect them though it may affect the other people. It will affect the other people, I cannot help it. They think that I am not going to help the States. The States have been helped to the extent of Rs. 98 crores. I could not have done that if I had not done this. Therefore, this has got to be done. This is my only justification for doing this kind of work.

श्री अब्दुल गनी दार . लेकिन यह कर लगा कर भी हरितावा को कुछ नहीं दिया।

[شری عبدالغنی دار : لیکن یہ کوئی کار بھی کرنا نہیں دیا۔]

Shri Morarji Desai: If I have not taken account of economies in government expenditure it is only because I do not know how much I can do within one year, but whatever is done is going to be useful next year. It is therefore that I am going to persist in this matter and see that more and more economies are effected.

My friend, Shri Dandekar called it a bad budget. Well, Sir, he could not give it any other name and therefore

he called it a bad budget. He could not call it good because it will then be giving a compliment to the Congress. But I do not think, when they say that the common people do not like it, it is correct. I have received letters from all sorts of people. There are letters of criticism and there are letters of approval. I have also in my own way talked to some unknown people in the street and I found that they were not bothered about it. Because they are not bothered about it, these people want them to bother about it. I would only request these people to keep their silence and not to bother them about it. That is all, Sir, that I have to say.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : हारू प्रल म्जीद मंतरार जी भाई देसाई।

16.10 hrs.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT—
Contd.

ALLEGED FAILURE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO PROTECT THE INDIAN DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL IN CHINA
contd.

Mr. Speaker: Now we will take up the adjournment motion. But there will be no half-an-hour discussion today because we are already short of time and it is already 4 o'clock.

श्री मधु लिये (मो.) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, अब मैं बयान करता हूँ कि।

'सदन की तारकई रजिस्ट्रि की जाई'

सदन का समय बचाने के लिये इस के जो नए प्रस्ताव है, उसे उक्त प्राथमिक भाग देने का मौका देता हूँ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (वर्त.ज) . अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं समझ में नहीं आता कि ये इस सदन पर बंधू या मोरारजी भाई पर बोलूँ।

Mr Speaker: No, now we are on a different subject.

Motion moved:

"That the House do now adjourn".