

## ESTIMATES COMMITTEE

## HUNDRED AND FIFTEENS RUPPES

SHRI THIRUMALA RAO (Kakinada) : I beg to present the Hundred and fifteenth Report of the Estimates Committee on action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in their Eightysixth Report on the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals and Mines and Metals (Department of Petroleum and Chemicals) Purchase of oil barrels by the Indian Oil Corporation Limited, during 1966-67 against Tender No. OP/TEN-7/65.

15.14½ hrs.

## GENERAL BUDGET 1970-71-GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI (Krishnagar) : Mr. Deputy-speaker, Sir when I heard the Opposition speaking here for the past two days, I was really surprised, because I wondered if I was hearing a buget debater or I was hearing a commentary on a fashion show, because, what has a Max Factor, miniskirts and maxi-coat and so on got to do with the budget. I thought it was a commentary on a fashion show I am really surprised.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Gothra) : Sense of humour.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOUDHURI : Well, it sounded as it was a fashion show-miniskirts, mini-bikinis and maxi-coat werementioned.

Mr. Asoka Mehta said about the treasury benches having put forth a Max-Factoring facade. I think he has completely changed his complexion once he walked over from this side to the other side. I did not know that Max Factor caters for men as well. Anyway, Max Factor has done a very good job on him, it has completely changad his complexion.

Mr. Masani said that each rupee spent in the private sector gives back 7 paise whereas each rupee spent in the public sector gives back only 2 paise. But he has forgotten to use his own simile, the underwear behind that maxi-coat; he has forgotten that the private sector is able to

earn that 7 paise because of the various infra-structures that the public sector has already built into the entire country. Without the inputs, by the public sector today, the private sector would not be able to earn 7 paise on every rupee.

Mr. Madhok said that we do not want either capitalism or communism, but we want only Indianism. What kind of Indianism is this ? What variety of Indianism does he want ? In a letter to the *Hindustan Times* on 16th February, Mr. Madhok said :

“Riots will continue to rule till Islam is Indianise.” Guru Golwalkar in his book say— . . . .

“The way Hitler has built the German nation by weakening race pride has a great lesson for us to learn in Hindustan.”

Do you want to be guided by principles like this ? Do we not consider the minorities in this country to be our brother Have they not worked with us and fought for the freedom of India ? Guru Golwalkar's party not only condemns Muslims but they do not like Christians or any other minority community.

AN HON. MEMBER : They like Parsis!

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHODHURI : It is a fact that democracy functions only inasmuch as minorties in that country feel secure. That is where we have certainly won in India, because the minorities in India do feel secure and the position is not as in Pakistan. thank God !

I would make an appeal to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. Many of the minorities here have asks for Indian citizenship, which has been unduly delayed. This creates a sense of insecurity in their minds. I hope this matter will be looked into. I cannot go into the details, as time is short, but I hope to bring it to the notice of the hon. Home Minister. Also, under the Defence of India Rules, large tracts of land belonging to the minorities had been acquired by the Government and nothing has been done about it. I hope this question will be fully gone into and our minorities will never feel that they

are second-class citizens in India. They are our blood brothers. That is what I would like to affirm in this House. They are flesh of our flesh and blood, of our blood for India runs in all our veins.

Having said that, I would just like to point out that Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani said that the Prime Minister has kept with her Rs. 175 crores for distribution as she likes. I do not remember the exact words. Obviously, she was referring to the discretionary fund. After all, the Prime Minister is not going to distribute these Rs. 175 crores as bounty to the various Chief Ministers to buy whatever they like! This discretion in the hands of the Prime Minister is very necessary because the allocations by the Finance Commission are not at all satisfactory. So for as West Bengal is concerned, in the case of the Union Duties of Excise (Amendment) Bill 1969, just passed by Parliament we in West Bengal will now get 6.84 per cent as against 7.51 per cent previously. In the case of another tax (The Additional Duties of Excise Amendment Bill) we will now get 8.75 per cent, as against 11.93 per cent in the past, such allocations by the Finance Commission create imbalances in the economy of the State and allotment from the Prime Minister's discretionary fund comes in to set things somewhat right. Yet, some hon. Members complain that this is politically-motivated.

SHRI PILOO MODY : It is political money; not motivated.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : It is money to help the States.

SHRI PILOO MODY : It is corrupting the political life of every State.

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : Sir, these politically-motivated remarks and Shri Masani's Corny smiles like bikini, mini-skirts and maxi-coats are no substitute for arguments.

Having said this, I would like to say from what angle we should look at the budget. Here I could do no better than quote an eminent economist, Shri J. Bhandopadhyaya, who has expressed himself very well when he said :

“In an old society which is abysmally poor, grossly over-populated, practically illiterate and steeped in unchanging traditional mores, but has experienced a ‘revolution of expectations’ and is bent on telescoping into a few decades a process that took the advanced nations of today over a century, of necessity the State has to assume a major responsibility as the prime mover of change, as the innovator and the regulator in many diverse fields of national activity, including economic development.”

SHRI PILOO MODY : Can you clarify it a little ?

SHRIMATI ILA PALCHOU DHURI : Have patience. The hon. Prime Minister has not claimed any wonders by this budget. For example, income from investments like Unit Trust will not be taxed up to a higher limit. This will help diversification of investment in India.

“More than all this, our Prime Minister has thought of our children and I appreciate it greatly. She has provided Rs. 4 crores for the feeding of children from birth till three years. I have raised this question also at the Alcc in Bombay. Is this not something which this budget will bring to the homes, of the poor ? After all, it is not politics but economics which brings happiness to the poor people. I do not say that this will cover all the children but to the extent it does reach the people it is something in the right direction, and I hope at least all women members will agree with me here.”

I would like to make an appeal to the Prime Minister. When you are receiving a gift of 1,26,000 tonnes of milk powder and 42,000 tons of butter oil you should earmark it for the use of the children. Apart from this provision of Rs. 4 crores, if this is done also, it will benefit a larger number of children. Instead of restricting the supply of milk to the towns, where the plants for dealing with this milk will be put up, it should be spread all over the country to help the children. Because people are not able to feed their children there are so many cases of suicide.

[ Shrimati Ila Pal Choudhuri ]

In West Bengal alone, there have been cases of 16,582 suicides in three years. Some of them have been for other causes but quite a number of them have been because the mother has not known how to feed her child! This is a problem that touches the very heart of the people. We are very happy that the hon. Prime Minister has taken this into account.

Then, Mr. Masani quipped the Prime Minister saying that because she is a 'modern' Prime Minister, she has not taxed the sanitary-ware. The House is aware of the great number of houses that we have to build and surely they will need sanitary-ware. I may enlighten the House that in West Bengal alone there are 124 or more squatter's colonies in which 40 lakhs of refugees are living and there are 30,000 homeless people; 18,000 beggars swarm the streets and 90,000 hawkers who crowd the footpaths. 60 per cent of the people have no bath-rooms and 40 per cent live in one-room without any kitchen. There are 1, 26,000 open lavatories spread over the whole of Bengal near the city areas.

So, it is a huge problem and you can imagine how much sanitary-ware will be used. In *bustees* I have myself seen expectant mothers fainting while waiting to get their turn to go into the lavatory. It is their turn to go into the lavatory, it is undignified and inhuman it is no matter to quip the Prime Minister saying that because she is a modern Prime Minister she has not taxed sanitary-ware. I think, Mr. Masani should state that she has not taxed sanitary-ware because she is not only modern but because she is human and she knows the human problems.

Now, I would like to make one point about tea gardens in West Bengal. The tea gardens in West Bengal are in a very bad position where the tea excise duty will not help them and, certainly, Darjeeling tea gardens will feel it very badly; sir, Darjeeling tea gardens usually export most of their tea and the abolition of export duty is welcome but the excise duty will fall heavily on them because they fall in zone 4. There is also the plea of Bansola area tea gardens where they have

begged to be tagged on either to zone 1 or to zone 2 because they cannot pay the excise duty of Rs 1.15 p. If these 17 tea gardens which have asked for this are not tagged on to a lesser excise duty area, they will have to close down creating in West Bengal and India the problem of unemployment which is already there.

In India there were 34.61 million jobless in 1951-69 and, as everybody knows, West Bengal, Kerala and Maharashtra represent 21 per cent of the population whereas they represent 33 per cent of the people who are unemployed. If due to heavy excise duties tea gardens close down which employ at least 3 lakhs to 4 lakhs of people, and already there is a reduction, it will mean more jobless people and situation in West Bengal which is already like a volcano will, surely, erupt. It is no wonder we had 618 murders and 900 dacoities in 1969.

I would like to bring to the House one point more and I will finish. I would ask the hon. Members to open their hearts and listen to the walls of this House if they listen, even these walls will whisper to them, "When you go home, tell them of us and say, 'for your tomorrow, we gave our today.'" We have forgotten those patriots who gave their tomorrows for our today. Dr. Mascarenhas is rotting in a portugese jail. The film to be made on the great revolutionary Udham Singh by Balraj Tabi in London, has no support from the Central Government. The freedom fighters of West Bengal and all over India some whom have died of T. B. and other diseases do not get immediate help. Lastly, the men of the I. N. A. who had risked their lives for the freedom of India, have not yet been given their dues. The hon. Defence Minister very kindly wrote me about it. There is a lot to be done about them. They are yet to get Rs. 87 lakhs and odd to compensate them. They have not got the amount that is due to them.

I hope this will be gone into by the Defence Ministry and their dues will be given. We know that the INA has played a very important part in the freedom fight

of India, we can never forget Netaji Subhash Bose and his Azad Hind Fauj. Let us listen to the walls of this House— even these walls will speak to us and will tell us, "When you go home, tell them of us and say: for your tomorrow, we gave our today." Let us bear this in mind and do the most we can for the Azad Hind Fauj and give them their dues.

Whatever we may say about the Budget, whatever political colouring we may think the Budget deserves, let us not forget that this Budget has really tried to bring to life the old sloka: "*Bahujanahhtaya bahujana sukhaya, Lokanu Kampaya, Dharmachakra Pravartanaya*. It is no use writing *Dharmachakra Pravartanaya* in letters of fire over the seat of the Speaker. We must make them come to life. The sloka is there to touch the mind with fire, let it be written with fire and feeling for the people of India.

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY** (Kendrapara): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am glad that at least the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance is present when the Budget is being discussed. This is a new experience so far as this House is concerned. The Budget is the most important thing and it has been our experience all these years that whoever has been the Finance Minister set he has set through the whole debate when at least the General Budget Demands are being discussed. But I am really sorry to find that the Prime Minister, who holds the finance portfolio, is not only not here at the present moment but probably she has been absent throughout the debate.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI P. C. SETHI):** No; she was here.

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY:** This shows that the sooner she leaves this portfolio it is better for the country and for this Government.

**SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti):** Why do you support them?

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY:** Who is supporting? Shri Sheo Narain

will take some time to understand the politics of this country.

When the Prime Minister presented the Budget for the first time as Finance Minister, I was thinking that this Budget was that of a split Congress party and the speeches made in support of the Budget from the other side have been maintaining that this Budget is representing whatever decisions were taken at the Bombay Congress session. But after hearing my hon. friend, Shri Asoka Mehta, I am in a great difficulty because what Shri Mehta said has created the impression that at least this Budget is not of the split Congress Party and that it is the Budget of both ruling Congress Party and the Congress Party in Oppositions. That was the main argument that he was advancing while speaking on the Budget. He was trying to make out a case that whoever be the Finance Minister, even if Shri Morarji Desai had continued in that position, the Budget would have been the same as has been put forward by Shrimati Gandhi.

15.34 hrs.

[**SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI** in the Chair.]

If that is so, I would like to ask a counter question to what he was putting to Shrimati Gandhi, namely, why then is he in the Opposition; if the Budget is the same, if you agree with it, if you say that nothing better can be done, then what is the point in your sitting in the Opposition? Probably, now they are also thinking there is already talk of unity through Shri D. P. Mishra of uniting themselves; I do not know.

**SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA (Barh):** Shri D. P. Mishra is great hoax... (Interruption)

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY:** While speaking last time on the Budget presented by Shri Morarji Desai, I had these comments regarding the Budget and I can as well make those comments on this Budget also only two or three things. I said then, "If anything, the Finance Minister has been very timid".

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Timid ?

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY :  
yes.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA (Delhi  
Sadar): A lady is bound to be timid.  
Why do you bother ?

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY:  
Then I said, It will increase prices and it  
will be inflationary. That is so with regard  
to the present budget also. The fact remains  
that they have not shown any tendency  
whatsoever to deal with the problem  
of unemployment although this is a  
very great cause for instability in this  
country. All this I said last time. I think  
all this equally apply to the present budget.

At the same time, I said that the Finance  
Minister does not want to break new  
grounds. Here, Sir, I think there is a  
difference. She has not broken new  
grounds. She has broken what I cannot  
say, but it has to be admitted that there  
have been new departures so far as the  
present budget is concerned. As has been  
claimed, it is within the same frame work.  
Can anybody deny that ? So far as the  
present budget is concerned, it may be a  
clever political design, but she has proved  
to be shrewd.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Shrewd ?

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY:  
In a very clever and shrewd manner...  
(Interruptions) I am not going to be  
disturbed by Mr. Piloo Mody. He must  
keep silent if he wants to listen. He is  
hard of hearing. Sometimes he does not  
know what is going on in the House.

What I was pointing out was that in a  
shrewd manner she has produced by  
design—you may say—

SHRI PILOO MODY: Or jugglery.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY:  
... or by the exercise of the budgetary  
policy she has made some minor changes  
here and there. It has created an  
impression that even within the frame work  
of the present system something good can  
be done. At the same time we can hit the

higher sections, the richer sections of the  
community who are in a position to pay.  
This has been done by levying  
additional wealth tax, taxing the urban  
property and land, restriction on trust  
properties, withdrawal of concession  
regarding gift tax, higher rate of income  
tax on incomes beyond Rs. 40,000 and  
increased excise duty on luxury articles—  
I would like to ask my friends in the  
Congress (Opposition) as to what prevented  
them so far to bring such measures—  
these small concessions which are said to  
be minor, marginal, to the lower middle  
class. I think the split has been vindica-  
ted. Mrs. Gandhi whatever be the abuse  
heaped on her, has proved that there  
were some people who are a stumbling  
block and now that they are out, she has  
been able to bring forward these measures.  
I want to say let not anybody go with  
this impression. Let not anybody think  
that it is a socialistic budget and it is  
going to bring about socialism. Nothing  
like that. I shall presently show that  
actually this budget is going to give more  
scope to big business and create more and  
more monopoly than what was being  
done before. Madam, I say  
that I do not believe that budget  
is going to bring about economic equality.  
I don't believe that this budget will release  
forces which will break the present  
structure. Nothing like that.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA :  
Now you are in your form.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY :  
Now it suits you ? Nothing like that.  
I also feel, Madam Chairman that the  
relief provided to the weaker sections—it  
may be relief—is not really going to  
materially better their conditions.

When I say this I have certain reasons to  
advance. I am a little perturbed for this  
reason that in spite of the tall talk of curb-  
ing monopoly what is being done is that  
big business is being given a great handle  
to widen its scope in the economy of the  
country. Take for instance this Joint Sector  
business. The Prime Minister who is also  
the Finance Minister has mentioned certain

things in her speech. The Dutt Committee made certain recommendations. One recommendation was so very reactionary that I would say no socialist Government would ever accept it. But they have now accepted the proposal. Big business will enter into the Joint Sector; this is something in this country we have been fighting; we have always been saying that it is one of the cardinal principles of socialism that the public sector must possess the commanding heights of the economy of the country. The Prime Minister knows very well. Persons like Mr. Pilloo Mody and his ilk in this country are going about saying that public sector has failed, public sector should be scrapped; no more public sector industries should be set up. They are carrying on this propaganda in this country, against the public sector. I would only say that this Budget had given a handle to these elements in this country to malain the public sector further and further. But I would say this, that the Budget has not shown anywhere any indication to remove the difficulties and to remove the bottle necks and really to create better management and better personnel so that the public sector industries would be in a position to give us profits. Although the country is in favour of a public sector I don't think any new policy or any new direction has been shown. On the other hand the Prime Minister has in her budget agreed for the big business to enter into the public sector. It is an indication, an indirect admission, that you are not prepared, you are not capable of making the public sector a success. And, you want this big business to enter into the management in the industrial sector. You want them to enter into the core sector. The core sector is a real thing on which the entire economy of the country depends. It is not the small entrepreneur or the small industrialist who get help, but it is the big business monopoly which gets them. You have left the corporate sector unaltered. You have not taxed them. They are there, they could enter into this, they will get all the benefits, according to your scheme; they get financial benefits; tax benefits; they get priority for foreign exchange etc. What happens? Where stands your public sector? I want to know, when they talk of socialism, what has prevented them, and

what is preventing them even now, to go into consumer industries also? If they want to make profit, why not the public sector turn to consumer industries also? There is no indication, there is no direction in this regard. Therefore, as a result, what would happen? She is talking about monopolies, about this and that. Is this the way how you are going to curb monopoly in this country?

Therefore, I am not surprised, I was not surprised, when this Budget was announced, which tom-tommed as a big socialist budget. This support came from where? One Member here was asserting that the Stock Exchange was very glad at this Budget; there is general reaction in the country; socialist budget has been well-received, etc., by the businessmen and industrialists. It is the big business that gets all the scope in this country, that tries to prosper in this country. Tatas and the Birlas think that they could get everything from Mrs. Indira Gandhi and that is why even after her declaration of socialism, the Birlas were given a licence for the fertiliser factory. I do not think they want to bring about equality. If they really want to bring about equality there could be no budget like this.

What does this show? This only shows that their objective is not at all clear. It is a haphazard manner of approach. I do not blame her. As has been stated, the party has been split, but the elements are the same. What is the difference between the two? Nothing at all. The character has not changed. The personnel has not changed. So what is after all the difference? There is none. You find the same haphazard approach in this budget; This half-hearted mechanism in fiscal policy is likely to prove disastrous to the country. I do not think it will bring socialism. It may prove the reverse.

Let me illustrate by referring to what they have done in regard to taxation. We are all happy there has been a little thinking about taxation proposals. But there must be some integrated approach. They have raised the exemption limit of income-tax to Rs. 5,000. I do not know whether there has been any thinking behind it. In the corporate sector they

] Shri Surendra Nath Dwivedy ]

had exempted from income tax entertainment or guest house, which has been banned now. The big business, moneybags are not affected in any way personally. What Prof. Kaldor suggested was an integrated approach. The expenditure tax has not been reintroduced. When it was introduced, it was done halfheartedly; the incidence was so low. When Prof. Kaldor suggested it, he estimated that it would bring in Rs. 10-20 crores. But they made it in such a way that ultimately it was withdrawn. Even now they have not reintroduced the expenditure tax. I do not know what is the explanation for it.

To say that they are giving a relief by raising the exemption limit to Rs. 5,000 is meaningless. I will explain. Everybody knows there have been price fluctuations, price rises. Even during the last twelve months there has been an increase of 7 per cent in the price level. If we take Rs. 5,000—which is said to give great relief to the lower income groups with 1960 taken as the base (100), Rs. 5,000 today in 1970 would be only Rs. 2,596. In 1969, the food index was 193, general index 177. Even with the Rs. 4,000 exemption limit which we had before this budget, if we calculate in this way, the limit should now have come to Rs. 7,720.

So what prevented them from accepting the Bhoothalingam Committee's recommendation to raise the limit of exemption to at least Rs. 7,500? They have accepted many of their recommendations, but not this. What would have been the effect if this had been accepted? Out of 28 lakh assesses, the income tax authorities would not have had to bother about 17 lakhs. The loss would have been about Rs. 8 crores in income tax. This relief upto Rs. 7,500 sought now would, in real terms, have meant the Rs. 4,000 limit that was already there. Even that was not done.

As a result, what is happening? They say they are going to catch the tax-evaders. I concede that the the imposition of new restrictions on trust property is a method. But there are methods and methods. Even the income tax law provides methods to catch these elements. But why have they not been

used? It is because they are engaged in these small cases and have therefore, no time.

This matter was raised in this House many years ago. I think I first raised it in 1963. There is the case of the firm, Shri Ram Durga Prasad Saraf of Nagpur. This was raised in 1963. We are told investigation is going on. This is a big racket. This firm exports mineral ores and metals. They had made purchases of gold to the tune of lakhs of dollars.

There are several other charges against them like foreign exchange violation etc. We were promised investigation by Mr. Sachin Choudhury, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari and Mr. Morarji Desai. From 1963 we have been told that they were investigating. The party went to the court with a writ petition but failed. Still the investigation is not complete. He has been charged Rs. 2 crore which he has not paid to the Government. You will be surprised to know that although the tax is not being realised from him, no case is being started against him, on the contrary he is being given further licences. More than that, the income-tax authorities themselves are occupying his house and paying him a rent of Rs. 50,000 a year, while his arrears of Rs. 2 crores is not being realised. I think there is a big racket behind it because this has been going on for the last so many years.

AN HON. MEMBER : Who is he ?

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : I have named him already. He is Sriram Durga Prasad Saraf of Nagpur.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : Even Shri Jagjivan Ram has been rewarded.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : You want to protect these people also.

I want an enquiry committee to be set up to find out why this case has not been settled so far, because they say that they have now introduced new methods as a result of which the tax evader will not get any opportunity to thrive in this country.

It has been admitted in the Finance Minister's statement that the relief that is provided to the lower income group is only marginal. This little concession that is being given would necessarily be neutralised by the rise in prices. It is good that this small relief has been provided, I welcome it, it was not done before, it is a new departure, a new opening, there is no doubt, but at the same time I want to make it very clear that nobody can believe in the theory that this levy on sugar will not actually affect the common people. It is wrong to think so because we know that the quota system prevails and the free market depends on demand and supply and the rates vary. As a result of this new levy, naturally the price of sugar would increase and it will be a burden on the lower income group, nobody can deny that. The same is the case with kerosene and tea. Therefore, I warn this Government that if they are not going to withdraw this levy which is affecting the low income, common man, so far as we are concerned, we are going to vote against this proposal, whatever may be the Government's intention.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** I thought it was the job of an opposition leader.

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY :** I know on how many occasions the Swatantra Party extended its support to the Government.

I have said that small concessions are there.

**SHRI SHIVAJIRAO S. DESHMUKH (Parbhani) :** What about fertilisers?

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY :** Do not talk of fertilisers or giving relief to the rural population unless you really have a programme to rejuvenate rural life. Even in this Budget there is no programme. This programme for 35 districts is a very small thing. How many persons will actually be employed? The feudal system in rural areas still exists. This Government cannot get away from facts.

The agricultural wealth tax is now the burden of the Finance Minister to execute and implement; it was introduced last year

and there was so much opposition in the ruling party itself. Even now I have a statement of a socialist Chief Minister, Shri Brahmananda Reddi. He had come here when the Budget was introduced. I do not know with what purpose he came here. But he issued a statement from Hyderabad which says : Brahmananda Reddi specifically went to Delhi to plead with the Prime Minister not to levy this and requested the Prime Minister to think of some alternative to the agricultural wealth tax proposed in the Central Budget. He pleaded that the levy of agricultural tax should be raised from 1.5 lakhs to Rs. 2.5 lakhs. These are the socialists who want to protect the hegemony of the big landlords, the feudal elements in rural life. Zamindari might have been abolished. But the big land-lords are as good or as bad, as reactionary and anachronistic as the zamindars were. You have done nothing; there is not even mention in the budget. What prevented the Prime Minister from declaring that we are providing so much money in order to bring forward these measures, as they say that if somebody introduces prohibition, I shall give money? If there is any difficulty in giving compensation and other things, and if the Central Government had taken the liberty of giving a hint in the Budget and said : "we are going to provide money for distribution of lands, for land reforms and give rights to the tillers, whatever money is required by the State Governments we are prepared to give it," then I could understand that you are really serious in breaking the hegemony of the feudal elements in rural life and a new era is coming. That is not so. Therefore, I say that you are only tinkering with the problem; you have not actually solved the problems but you are creating more difficulties in the way.

Take the question of employment. I know the little things and the schemes; I welcome them. Yesterday Mr. Asoka Mehta was giving statistics to show how ridiculous the schemes are when you see the percentage of population that will be affected. All the same, it is a good beginning. More thought should have been given to get more money and push these things further. But there is no coherent thinking and the objective is hazy. In the confused thinking, in order to appear as if they are radical, they



[ Shri Surendranath Dwivedy ]

have brought measures like this. Still the new initiatives that they are taking would, to a very small extent though, engage the rural unemployed. At the same time I should say that we know the employment problem in this country. I do not know whether this difficulty has arisen on account of a planless budget. The Fourth Plan is still in an embryonic stage; it is being discussed. One year passed; now the second year has come. You can well imagine how a Finance Minister brings forward a budget without the Plan being finalised, which will be in conformity with the entire achievement of the Plan? One does not know.... (Interruptions.) Dada says that it will die in family planning; I do not know. We find the un-employment problem has assumed enormous proportions, Plan by Plan, year by year, from 1964 if you see the increase in population, and the effect of our schemes you will see that it has not made any difference. There is actually the age-group of 9—19 which, in the year 1961, according to the census of 1961, numbered 58 millions. These 58 millions in the year 1970 would like to get employment. The backlog is already there. In 1972, if all the programmes that you have enunciated are implemented, only about 11 million people will be engaged. What happens? How do you proceed? How do you provide any opportunity to these people? There is no indication that they are really going to tackle this stupendous problem, looking at it from all angles.

16 hrs.

There has been another discussion in this House, some controversy, about money provided for the States, for the non-Plan and other expenditure. There has been criticism; Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani and others have criticised, and others have ridiculed the idea. We are happy that for the first time some money is at least being provided for the deficit States, but there must be some criteria. On what criteria would this money be allotted and spent? Who can give the guarantee that this money will not be utilised for political purposes? You know how the State Plans are decided. It is always the political pressure that decides. It is not the criterion of the

State being backward or otherwise. As you may have seen, so far nine States have shown a deficit of about Rs. 90 crores. Will this money be automatically given to these nine States who have shown deficit? That means, you create a tendency in the States to create a deficit so that they can get the money from you. That will be then the end of budgeting in this country if there is no good system.

Take for instance, the fifth Finance Commission. I am sorry to say that the recommendations of the fifth Finance Commission are such as would create in this country richer States and undeveloped States and the gap will be further widened. It does not indicate anything by which the richer and the smaller or the backward States could be at par. It is not so. There has been a demand for another Finance Commission. I would suggest one thing, since there is a pool. The money is distributed through this pool. Now, let not this be decided by the Planning Commission and the Central Government because political pressure would work. It is not that the cardinal principles would work. So, let there be a permanent Finance Commission which will go into this question as to how this money will be disbursed, to which States and in what manner. They will take into account the conditions of the deficit State or the backwardness of the regions and then only this money can be utilised for the purpose for which it is meant. Otherwise, I am afraid that this will be another political weapon in the hands of the Central Government to browbeat the States.

'This is a minority Government. Let it not forget that if they are going to play this game of pressurizing the States in order to get political support and divide them, the federal structure of this country would be threatened. The States are demanding greater and more and more autonomy. Last time, I devoted about ten minutes of my speech to this question of doing away with regional imbalances, and at the same time, to introduce some new measures. I do not find any indication that there is any systematic effort to go in that direction. Rather, this new system is going to create

more difficulties. Politically also, this is not desirable; when people are talking that the States should be supreme, that the States should be autonomous and that the federal structure of the Government will not only be a coalition but that the representatives of the States will occupy the federal Government, there can be no other dangerous proposition than this.

When these tendencies are growing, when these trends are visible in the country, and when a minority Government is functioning at the Centre, it is their bounden duty to see if they love democracy, if they want to maintain the federal structure of the country and that the country should remain united, that their budget, their formulations and all their budgetary grants are such as would treat all the regions equally which alone will bring about a real, peaceful order of society in our country.

I am afraid this budget although it has given new openings, is not a socialistic budget. I do not think the Prime Minister would herself claim that it is a socialistic budget.

**SHRI SHIVAJIRAO S. DESHMUKH** (Parbhani) : Madam Chairman, with due apology to your ladyship, let me congratulate another distinguished lady the Leader of the House, on presenting a budget which attempts to see that the budget is no more the band-wagon of big business and which promises to be the blitzkrieg against black money. The devalued demagogues of the dust-bin of defeat seemed to desert even decency when they criticise the budget in terms which are not called for. The Mlax Factors, the Madison Avenue, the Mansoon, the Mehtas and Masanis, have become maids of monopolists in this country.

I am glad here is a Finance Minister who has given at least a hope for the betterment of the socialistic ideals for which we stand. (*Interruptions*). My hon. friends there, seem to declare that what was cheese yesterday has become suddenly chalk. But no attempt of theirs can succeed if really this budget gives succour to the commonest of the common man, the poorest of the poor. I hope, trust and pray that it would be so.

**SHRI PILLOO MODY** : You better pray; that is all that will work at this stage.

**SHRI SHIVAJIRAO S. DESHMUKH** : Not at the deity of Mody.

Mr. Asoka Mehta, for whom I have the greatest regard as a socialist, says, if that was chalk, this is chalk and it that was cheese, this is cheese. Mr. Mehta's long association with the treasury benches could not produce a single budget where there was raising of the income-tax limit. Was there any budget which provided for the feeding programme of children ? Was there ever a budget which attempted to levy tax on urban property and put a ceiling on urban property ? Has there been so far any attempt by any Finance Minister to raise the slab of the wealth tax so steeply ? Was there any Finance Minister who ever cared for dry farming practices and for the poor cultivators of the country ? Has there been any Finance Minister who even attempted window-dressing on the lines of rural housing and rural whater-supply ? Was there any budgetary measure so far which proclaimed to take some steps against black money ? In spite of all these, Mr. Mohta says that it is window-dressing. If this is window-dressing, it is window-dressing certainly of the commercial types as in London and New York and not of the type of obscenities in Hamburg.

Therefore, I feel it is an honest and sincere effort to herald an era of socialism and this budget has to be welcomed, come what may. If it fails to herald an era of socialism, the fault will lie on us on this side. I am prepared to concede. But those who sit opposite would be guilty, if they refuse to see light, reaching in voluntary blindness and they alone have to be blamed for that.

According to Mr. Masani, this budget is monsoon-oriented. The trouble with our country is that everything we think of is monsoon-oriented. Our culture is monsoon-oriented. Our agriculture is monsoon-oriented. Even our budget, I agree is Monsoon oriented. This monsoon is at least predictable; it is not unpredictable monsoon which promises only floods or scarcities. Let us hope that this monsoon would spread bounty and plenty throughout the country side and would at least kindle the hopes in the poorest of the poor.

[ Shri Shivaji rao S. Deshmukh ]

If we look at the tax-structure I readily confess the need for enlarging resources. Resource mobilisation is the only means of achieving development. But, then when you look at the resource mobilisation what is the picture? Those who claim that India is the highest taxed country in the world should remember that India is the highest taxed only in the case of indirect taxatives. Indirect taxes in our country are certainly the highest in the world. But, so far as direct taxes are concerned, they are the lowest in the world. If there has to be a resource mobilisation then there has to be a sincere attempt to see that there is increased collection of direct taxes and that there is no evasion of taxes. If you look at this budget, there is not sufficient venture at the governmental level for resource mobilisation by resorting to direct taxation.

When we speak of direct taxes we cannot ignore the corporate taxes. The previous Finance Minister stated that it is one of the highest taxed sectors. In this sector we have the most artificial division which is not prevalent anywhere in the world. We have got two slabs of corporate taxes—one for companies whose shares are quoted in the share market or stock exchange and another for companies whose shares are not quoted in the market. The government is not bold enough to say that henceforth this artificial distinction will not be there. If there has to be resource mobilisation, it has to be by direct taxes, by taxing those who can afford to pay. As long as we are not doing that, I afraid there will be no resource mobilisation and our talk of socialism will end in a whimper.

If we look at the rural countryside what is the picture? All the economists are of the opinion that the Central and State Governments and local bodies put together levy 40 per cent of the total tax on the rural areas. Here is our country where 80 per cent of our people reside in the rural side, where 80 per cent of the people are very poor. Yet they contribute 50 per cent of the gross national income of the country and 50 per cent of the export earnings of the country. Even though we tax the rural areas to the extent of 40 per

cent, what is *per capita* investment in the rural side? It is hardly five per cent.

I am going to make this charge and I am going to prove it to the hilt, and I am sure that no economist worth the name could disprove it. That whenever there is any attempt at resource mobilisation it is always from the rural side or at the cost of the rural side for the benefit of the urban areas. It is in this context that we have to view the feeble attempt of our finance Minister to tax the urban property and I am sure it will be welcomed from this angle. It discloses at least an urge, a desire to tax the urban area where there is definitely the capacity to pay. Viewed from this angle, I am sure that even those who sit opposite to us, whatever may be their viewpoints on other problems, they will join hands with us on this issue that henceforth the rural countryside will not be taxed unless there is going to be a corresponding investment in the same area.

Those who speak of socialism forget that socialism cannot be brought about by slogans. The commercial operation of the economy is such, the cost structure of the agricultural produce is such that there has been a century old exploitation of the rural areas by the urban areas and this is continuing even today. In the name of democracy, in the name of budgetary and economic policy, in the name of rapid economic development, policies are being pursued in such a way that the gap between the rural side and the urban area is ever widening.

From this point of view, if we want to narrow the gap we should have increasing funds for the rural works programme. Let us declare here and now that every inch of Indian soil would be properly served by soil conservation measures, that every inch of our agricultural soil would be irrigated by the best possible means and that every village shall be provided with electricity. Given this incentive to our cultivators, I am sure, our cultivators who are second to none will produce a record harvest in respect of every crop and

in every part and I am sure, the so-called poverty of the country, on which we have so far been shedding crocodile tears, will be a thing of past. That determination, I hope and I am even prepared to pray, will come from the Government.

**SHRI PILOO MODY :** Yes but you will have to scrap Bokaro in order to do that.

**SHRI SHIVAJIRAO S. DESHMUKH :** It is common knowledge that the rural countryside contributes 80 per cent of the jawans to the front who sacrifice everything that they possess including their life for the betterment and security of the country. Is it not just and proper for us that in lieu of the service which our jawans, who come from the peasantry, render to the army and the country, we should be in a position to do something on the rural side ?

When we speak of tax on fertilisers, we are brushed aside as if we are demagogues. It is not so. Fertiliser tax is going to be used by the private sector fertiliser industry again as a case to make as artificial rise in the price of fertilisers. Already the price *per capita* and per pound of fertiliser in the fields of India are thrice those in the international markets. In technological journals the price of fertiliser plants is quoted as \$20 million but our wise men from the civil services employ the same type of plant of the same concern with the same type of processes and with the same capacity for \$80 million. This results in boosting up fertiliser prices.

It is common knowledge that wherever there has been economic way of producing fertilisers, they employ a simple technique known as a continuous process. When we produce ammonia, it is straightway converted into urea or nitrogenous fertilisers as the case may be. Here we may spend millions of dollars or pounds for liquefying ammonia, for storing it, for converting it into gaseous form and for using it for the manufacture of fertilisers. These antiquated methods that we are using are at the bidding of big international capital. Therefore I urge upon the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister to see to it that not only the fertiliser levy is scrapped but to see—if possible, by necessary legislation

and debar fertiliser prices in India being in any way higher than the comparable fertiliser prices anywhere in the world. As long as we are not able to do that, we cannot boast of any increase in production in the rural side.

If you look at the so-called levelling up or levelling down, which is supposed to be a socialist measure, you will find that on the higher slabs income-tax rates have been raised very steeply but on a brief calculation it is revealed that our so-called exemption of income tax up to Rs. 5,000, if translated into practical terms, means a net benefit of Rs. 11 to a man who used to pay income-tax but for an officer, a superannuation grade civil servant of a very senior pay scale, whose income may be about Rs. 48,000 from salary and Rs. 3,000 a year out of investment of small savings or dividends on shares which he may have dubiously acquired, or for a businessman or an individual, for that matter, with Rs. 5,1000 of income a year, of which Rs. 3,000 may be from investment actually concession has been given to the tune of Rs. 350 in this Budget. So, in the garb of enhancement of income-tax levy, we are actually giving concessions to those who can afford to pay.

In the grab of giving concession to dry farming we are giving encouragement at a flat rate of 25 paise an acre. If this is the way dry farming has to be encouraged, I am sure, it will take a millennium for dry farming to stand any comparison with irrigation practices in our own country.

Therefore I wish that some concrete measures would fall from the lips of the Prime Minister when she replies to the debate and that she would withdraw levies on fertilisers, kerosene and certain other things which certainly affect the poorest of the poor. With this request I again welcome the Budget proposals and support them wholeheartedly.

**SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna):** Madam Chairman, I was not a little surprised at the speech that was made yesterday by my hon. friend, Shri Tanneti Viswanatham. He said that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was a very good, efficient person but he was misguided by the bureaucrats.

[ Shri J.B. Kripalani ]

Of course, he knows very well, as he was a Minister, about the tricks of the bureaucrats. I Say, unless a man is a fool, he cannot be made a fool of by the bureaucrats. I remember, there were Ministers like Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and Sardar Patel whom nobody could make a fool of. When people are made fools of, they must have been created little fools in by themselves.

Another thing that I have been here is the denigration of our first Prime Minister, beginning with his daughter who says nothing was done in these 21 years or so except what she has brought about this revolution in which the poor are going to live happily for ever. I do not know how light will come to the people after 21 years. Pandit JawaharlalNehru was as good as a dictator, not a dictator in the physical sense, but that he was respected universally. And yet if he could not get things done and if he had left it for his daughter to do, I think, it does not speak very well of him.

Some people have considered this Budget as an entrance to socialism and others have considered it as an ordinary, humdrum, Budget. And the best part of it is that it has a great deal of make-up. What do you expect from ladies? Should they not make-up? That is but natural. Now-a-days, even gentlemen do so. How are Budgets made? Budgets are made on the pattern of economy? that you have settled for the country. Have you settled any pattern economy? Yes. After Independence, we settled upon a pattern of economy. What was that? It was a capital-intensive economy, having big, huge, plants, three steel plants costing about more than a thousand crores of rupees which give a loss at the rate of about Rs. 40 crores per year. And these big plants employ 1 person no a capital of Rs. 1 lakh or Rs. 1½ lakhs This is the pattern of our economy.

We thought that the people of India first needed steel. Before Independence,

we used to say that the people of this country, the poor ones, needed two square meals a day, as Gandhiji used to say, and that they required clean clothes, small neat houses, education and some medical aid. All these things were forgotten, We brought in the pattern which we thought was making Russia prosperous and we began to copy it methods and, in the process, we forget that there is something like agriculture and that industry depends on agriculture. Without agriculture industry cannot prosper. We forget that people were unemployed and semi-employed, They want employment. We thought that by these plants we would raise the standard of living of our people. How, Madam, is the standard of living of the people raised? It is only raised when you diminish unemployment. It is raised when you give people gainful employment. If our schemes are such that for an investment of 1½ lakhs one man gets employed. then I say that we are going the wrong way. Who told us to go the wrong way? We were going in the right royal way before Independence, Every Congress session was followed by an industrial conference and in that conference the same people participated. They always laid emphasis upon decentralisation of industry. They had no electricity. They had no machines. They had no capital to build big factories. They wanted to do what was possible in those days. They had no mechanical power. You could not produce factories from the air. As a matter of fact, I can say that Gandhiji brought no new programme for the country. But what was the programme of the country advocated by all the reformers from the beginning of the Congress and by all industrial conferences? It was that people should have gainful employment and employment should go on increasing. Here, after every Plan the backlog of unemployment has been increasing. How can the country go ahead under such condition? We have not the wherewithal to give the poor unemployed people, what we all, doles as in the West. We have to give them employment. We cannot give them employment by neglecting our agriculture and neglecting decentralisation of industry. Giving people employment is the only way by which the nation can progress. Th

principal ought to be accepted. We in the Congress, including Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and everybody else had accepted this method as the best method suited to our country.

Nowadays strange ideas have come into the economic field. Even Gandhiji's economics are considered to be reactionary. Did he want us to travel in bullock carts or he wanted us to live in villages, or he wanted us to forgo the advantages of technology and science? It is very difficult to talk of science in this House or in India. People seem to hear strange ideas about science. No what did Gandhiji say? Gandhiji proposed to liquidate the exploitation by the capitalist. He did not want any man to be exploited. He wanted to utilise the spare labour of the people. He wanted to utilise their spare time. It was said that Gandhiji was against machinery. He said 'I am not against machinery. This body of ours is a very delicate machine. How can I be against machinery ?

This is what Gandhiji said.

When Gandhiji was asked "Are you against large-scale production?" he replied: "I never said that. The belief is one of the many superstitions against me. Your question is based upon loose newspaper reports. What I am against is large scale production of things villagers can produce without difficulty." Again to a question about his being against machinery, he says "How can I, when know that even this body is the most delicate machine, What I object to is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such. The craze is for 'labour saving' machinery. Men go on saving labour till thousands are without work and thrown on open streets to die of starvation." Again he says "The supreme consideration is man. The machine should not make atrophied the limbs of man." Further he says: "I do visualise electricity, ship-building, iron-works, machine-making and the like existing side by side with village crafts."

We should particularly mark these words Gandhiji wanted electricity, ship-building, and iron-works..

Then he says :

"But the order of precedence will be reversed. Hitherto industrialisation has been so planned as to destroy the villages and the village handicrafts. In the state of future it will subserve the villages and their crafts. I do not believe in the socialist belief that the centralisation of the necessities of life will conduce to the common welfare, when centralised industries are planned and owned by the State."

This is a very clear exposition of the fundamental economic ideas of Gandhiji.—

Gandhiji was a humanist. For him men counted more than machines what happens in big industry? You put up machines. In 5 years new machines are in the market. Then you have rationalisation; 50 per cent of the workmen are thrown out of work. Then there is a greater and more dangerous process and this is what is called 'automation' by which you only press some button and all the manufacturing processes take place automatically, including packing and everything else, and ninety per cent of labour is eliminated while labour is being eliminated people are not provided work to absorb production. What happens in Europe? There they destroy production in order to keep up prices because there is no market. They cannot absorb all the goods. Goods are produced with more rapidity than people have the wherewithal to purchase and consume them. After all, man wants a little of cloth, a little of food, a little of everything, but you cannot overstuff your belly unless you want to injure yourself. So, this process itself will have to change. I do not want to quote from European authorities. I have seen philosophers and philanthropists advocating that there should be decentralised industries. Gandhiji wanted cottage and village industries. But he says 'I would like electricity to be produced why? Because electricity is not like steam for which big factories are needed, it can be divided into minute parts and it can be carried to bigger distances. we use electricity everyday. We even shave our beards with the use of electricity. Any big machine today has a standardised parts. And, these parts are not made in one section of the factory, they are made in different sections of the factory.

[ Shri J.B. Kripalani ]

Instead of being manufactured in different sections of the factory, if they are produced in village homes, provided with a lathe or machine and electricity, industry can be decentralised. This is being done in Japan. It is being done to some extent in Punjab. But we are so enamoured of gigantism. Where do we take our guests from outside? Not to the villages. We take them to the big dams we have put up. We have put up big dams, but we have not even put up the canals that will take the water to the fields. Sometimes the canals are made, but the dam is absent; sometimes the dam is ready, but the canals are not there. We take our guests to the big dams in Punjab.

Not being satisfied with three steel plants, we have today a fourth. I believe the three steel plants cost Rs. 1100 crores. I am not a great statistician; I have very little belief in these statistics. They can be thrown in the face of any body to disprove what he says. But even there our Government has no statistics at all. They are planning without statistics. You do that and you do not know what you are planning for.

This is very strange. As I was saying, Rs. 1100 crores have been spent on three steel plants. And what are the losses? Rs. 150 crores it all. Rs. 35-40 crores per year. So much capital, so much loss. Yet we are going to have another plant! And what is that plant called? Bokaro. It will perhaps come from Bokhara. On this steel plant we will spend Rs. 800 crores. While three plants have cost Rs. 1100 crores the fourth one alone will cost Rs. 800 crores. They could have increased the capacity of the existing plants. But no, they must have something showy.

What has happened in this plant? What has been done in three years? No machinery has come yet. But all the officers are appointed. All the bungalows, big palatial houses to put up foreign guests are ready. But no production for three years. I do not know what the cost is. The Economic Survey does not give the figures. If the figures were given, they would be considered enormous. We have been waiting on the Russians to give us the machines. I do

not know whether the machines are ready in Russia. Friends here sometimes wanted us to buy Russian aeroplanes. Our communist friends ask us: 'Why do you purchase from America when Russia is willing to give planes? Why do they say this? It is because it is their Fatherland.'

This is how our economy is being spoilt. Unless we give a direction to our economy, our budgets are not going to be pointed in any direction. It will be just an accounting budget, so much money on one side, so much on the other; both sides meet.

Then what would happen? Year after year, not only the backlog of unemployment is there, but every year there is increased inflation. The Budget will produce more inflation than is indicated in it because it has taken upon itself somethings which some people consider to be very good—for instance, Rs. 5 crores for feeding children. How many children I do not know, but Shri Asoka Mehta mentioned the figures and asked how Rs. 5 crores could help so many children. It may be remembered that Christ fed a crowd on five loaves and fishes. Christ blessed them and the whole crowd was fed. This Rs. 5 crores is just like those five loaves and fishes. But nowadays God does not work. It is science that works and the socialism that the Congress advocates is scientific socialism. If you have a headache and you pray to God, you may pray for your whole life but you will not be cured, but if you take one pill you will be cured. So, this scientific socialism will multiply this Rs. 5 crores into such a figure that it will cover the whole country.

And then, there is Rs. 5 crores for the cleansing of slums. This whole country is a slum. We are living every day in slums. We are getting water that is poisoned in this Capital and after 20 days we are told that we should do this, that and the other to save ourselves from its effects. In every bungalow there is a slum. The boss lives in the bungalow, but there are four or five servants quarters. Each servant has four children and twenty people live in a

small space. Then, they have their guests from the villages and they also live there. So, a slum is attached to every bungalow. This whole country is a slum and Rs. 5 crores also will multiply as the loaves and fishes of Christ.

**श्री कुशोक बाकुला (लहाख) :** प्रधान मंत्री जी ने 1970-71 के लिए जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया है, उसके अध्ययन से यह धारणा स्पष्ट हो गई है कि वह समाजवादी और कल्याणकारी राज्य की दिशा में संकेत करता है। किन्तु यह सन्देहप्रद है कि मौजूदा बजट कहां तक विकास की गति बढ़ाएगा। हमें यह आशा थी कि बम्बई कांग्रेस के पश्चात् शासन द्वारा कोई महत्वपूर्ण और क्रान्तिकारी कदम उठाए जाएंगे। बजट में देश के विभिन्न भागों में फंसे हुए आर्थिक पिछड़ेपन और घनी और निर्धन के बीच व्याप्त आर्थिक विषमता को दूर करने के लिए कोई ठोस और निश्चित मार्ग प्रशस्त नहीं किया गया है चतुर्थ पंच वर्षीय योजना में रकम बढ़ा दी गई है, किन्तु यह रुपया कहां से आएगा? क्या बजट में बताई गई आशा के अनुसार राज्यों की राजस्व वृद्धि होगी?

बच्चों के लिए पांशक तत्वों के लिए निर्धारित रकम पर्याप्त नहीं है। देश के बड़े बड़े नगरों में और विशेष रूप से दिल्ली में कुछ लोग जितनी शान शौकत से रहते हैं गांवों में रहने वाली जनता से उसकी कोई तुलना नहीं की जा सकती है। लहाखी तो इस प्रकार के जीवन की कल्पना भी नहीं कर सकते हैं। सरकारी उद्योगों में जितनी पूंजी लगी हुई है उसका कोई उत्साहवर्धक परिणाम नहीं निकला है। इस पूंजी पर निश्चित दर से लाभ प्राप्त करने के लिए कोई योजना नहीं बनाई गई है। कुछ राज्यों में पिछड़ापन दूर करने के लिए अलग रकम तय करने की बात भी बजट में कही गई है। क्या मैं आशा करूं कि लहाख को भी उसमें से कुछ अंश मिलेगा? किसी भी स्थान के पिछड़े होने का मापदण्ड क्या है? लहाखवासी स्वतंत्रता के 22 वर्ष बाद भी तनी खराब हालत में हैं कि उसका वर्णन

शब्दों में मली प्रकार नहीं किया जा सकता है। वह सत् खाते है, पट्टू पहनते हैं और टट्टू पर सवारी करते है। इसी वाक्य से लहाखवासियों के जीवन की झांकी आपको मिल जाएगी। वहां निर्धनता और निराशा का ताण्डव नृत्य हो रहा है। लोग अपने विच्छंद जीवन के परम्परागत कलापूर्ण नृत्यों को भूल चुके हैं। वहां जीवन स्तर इतना नीचा है कि लोगों को पोषक भोजन नसीब नहीं होता है, उसका वहां नितान्त अभाव है। अस्पतालों की समुचित व्यवस्था नहीं है। उनमें इतनी शारीरिक शक्ति भी नहीं है कि वे प्रदर्शन और आंदोलन जुटा सकें। प्रधान मंत्री देश की वर्णधार है। उन्हें प्राकृतिक सौन्दर्य स्थलों, सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों और बालकों से विशेष स्नेह है। किन्तु लहाख में प्राकृतिक सौन्दर्य सीमान्त स्थिति और वहां के कमजोर शिशुओं का संगम प्रधान मंत्री को कभी आकृष्ट कर सकेंगे?

देश के गांवों की मौजूदा पृष्ठभूमि में नगर विकास निगम का विचार कितना हास्यस्पद लगता है? बजट में कुछ आकर्षक बातें है। अकाल पीड़ित क्षेत्रों में निर्माण कार्यक्रम, सूखे से राहत, बच्चों को पोषक आहार, कर्मचारियों की पेंशन वृद्धि, खेती पर शोध कार्य, यह सब बड़े सुन्दर और आकर्षक कार्य हैं। भारत जैसे विशाल देश में विकास कार्य अनवरत प्रक्रिया है किन्तु इस कार्य को निष्ठा और न्याय से करने की आवश्यकता है। मेरा अनुभव तो यह है कि जहां विकास है वहां और विकास हो रहा है जहां निर्धनता है वहां यह अधिब: विस्तृत और व्यापक होती जा रही है। लहाख दिल्ली से 784 मील की दूरी पर स्थित है। दिल्ली और लहाख, दो अलग-अलग दुनियायें हैं। दिल्ली में समृद्धि है यह विविधताओं की नगरी है, यहां रोज नये किस्म होते हैं, यहां असामान्य व्यक्ति रहते हैं लेकिन लहाख इससे सर्वथा भिन्न है। वहां आपको वास्तविकता के दर्शन होंगे। वहां का जीवन अकृत्रिम है। आज सबसे बड़ी देशभक्ति, सब से उत्तम विकास सब से सुन्दर योजना रही है कि लहाख जैसे



[श्री कुशोक बाकुला]

दूर स्थित क्षेत्रों का विकास किया जाए। शरीर के एक हिस्से की उपेक्षा करने से सम्पूर्ण यंत्र बेकार हो जाता है। यदि हम देश को शक्तिशाली बनाना चाहते हैं तो हमें देश के सब भागों के समान विकास के लिए ठोस योजना बना कर उस पर अमल करना होगा। यह बहुत आवश्यक है। ऐसा करने पर ही देश शक्तिशाली बन सकता है। लद्दाख का विकास भारत का ही विकास है। सम्पूर्ण देश एक है, दृष्टिकोण अपनाने पर ही हम सही दिशा में आगे बढ़ सकते हैं।

गजेन्द्र गडकर कमिशन ने इन सब तथ्यों पर विस्तारपूर्वक प्रकाश डाला है। उस रिपोर्ट में यह तथ्य स्वीकार किया गया है कि जम्मू और काश्मिर राज्य का सन्तुलित विकास नहीं हुआ है। राज्य का नाम है "जम्मू और काश्मिर राज्य" शायद उसके क्रिया कलाप में लद्दाख की ओर उपयुक्त ध्यान देना शामिल नहीं है। कमिशन ने इस तथ्य को स्वीकार किया है कि लद्दाख के प्रति तर्क सम्मत और न्याय सम्मत व्यवहार नहीं हुआ है। वह जम्मू और काश्मिर राज्य का एक फूटनोट बन कर रह गया है लद्दाख के सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक और आर्थिक उत्थान के लिए कोई ठोस कदम नहीं उठाए गए हैं। राज्य के शेष भाग के प्रति उनमें आत्मीयता और अन्तर्व्यक्ति की भावना पैदा करने के लिए कोई प्रयत्न नहीं किए गए।

स्वतंत्र देश में जैसा उल्लास और आकांक्षाएँ होती हैं, वैसे लद्दाखवासियों में नहीं है और उसका कारण है उनकी निर्धनता, अधिका और पिछड़ापन। आज इस भेदभाव को मिटाने की आवश्यकता है। मौलिक एकता को व्यक्त करने की आवश्यकता है। लद्दाख के उदर में व्याकुल ज्वालकों को शान्त करने की आवश्यकता है।

आर्थिक विषमता देश की दुर्बलताओं का चित्रण है। अन्त में मेरा इस सभा से अनुरोध

है कि वह लद्दाख की पुकार सुने। यदि यह समा लद्दाख की व्यथा नहीं सुनेगी, तो सुनने वाले कहां से आयेगे। आज सभा के माननीय सदस्यों को अपनी बुद्धि, मानवता और उत्साह का प्रयोग करते हुए लद्दाख को भी शेष भारत के समान विकास मार्ग पर लाना है। ऐसा करने पर ही हमारे सिद्धान्त हमारी प्रतिज्ञायें और हमारे वचन सार्थक हो सकते हैं।

लद्दाख के विकास के सम्बन्ध में मैं अपने ठोस सुझाव इस समय नहीं देना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि मैं मिनिस्ट्रीज की मांगों पर भी बोलूंगा और उस समय अपने सुझाव इस सदन के सामने रखूंगा।

मेरा आग्रह है कि लद्दाख के लिये आवश्यक छोटे छोटे कामों को जल्दी पूरा किया जाये। इस वक्त लद्दाख में लेह से 300 आदमी चंडीगढ़ और नुब्रा से 200 आदमी पठानकोट आना चाहते थे। लद्दाख के लोग धर्म में बहुत विश्वास रखते हैं। धर्मशाला में दलाई लामा साहब का एक स्पेशल सेरेमन हो रहा है। वे लोग उसमें भाग लेने के लिए बाई एयर आना चाहते हैं। मैंने प्राइम मिनिस्टर और रक्षा मंत्री से अनुरोध किया है कि वे इस बारे में जल्दी व्यवस्था करें।

लद्दाख के लोगों ने 1947 और 1962 में देश की रक्षा के लिए सेनाओं की बहुत सह्यता की थी और एयरोड्रम आदि बनाने में पूरा योगदान किया था।

जैसा कि मैंने कहा है, मैं अपने सुझाव मांगों पर बहस के समय दूंगा। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से 90 परसेंट पैसा विकास कर्षों के लिये दिया जाता है। उसके लिए मैं बहुत आभारी हूँ। लेकिन वह सब काम जम्मू-काश्मीर गवर्नमेंट के द्वारा होता है। जम्मू-काश्मीर स्टेट की एक डेवलपमेंट कौंसिल बनी हुई

है, जिसका मैं मँम्बर हूँ। लद्दाख़ के लिए जो डेबेलपमेंट कौंसिल बनी हुई है, मैं लद्दाख़ के विकास के सम्बन्ध में अपने सुझाव उसमें दूंगा।

आप ने मुझे जो समय दिया है, उस के लिए मैं आप का आभारी हूँ।

SHRI S. A. DANGE (Bombay Central South): Madam, this budget is being criticised by some people because it is not, they say, a socialist budget. That criticism, in my opinion, is misplaced, because it is assumed that the present Government is wedded to socialism; it is assumed that it consists of socialist-minded or socialist people and that the capitalist system in this country has been overthrown. If you assume that, then you might express dissatisfaction that it is not a socialist budget. Therefore, from that point of view, it cannot be criticised, because the system in this country is the system of capitalism. The Government is a Government which is running a capitalist system. The Government is a Government which is still dominated by capitalist elements. But the difference between that part which split from the Congress party and went over to the Opposition side and the part which remains is this: that now a little more weightage is obtained by those elements who fought for democracy and for a people-oriented budget and economic policy. That is the essence of the change and because of that change, the democratic masses have acquired a new power to pressurise the Government in at least not carrying on the old type of attacks on the people, and if possible to give some relief to the people and open out new vistas, if it can be permitted by their own composition as well as outlook. Hence I am not one with those who say that the budget is unsatisfactory, because it is not socialist. Nor am I one with the gentlemen in the Opposition Congress or Swatantra or Jansangh, because no doubt they left that party, but the exit of Mr. Morarji Desai from that side was also accompanied by the fact that he left some of his bad habits in the other side and came over here. Therefore, those bad habits will mislead the policy-makers and budget-makers over there. If you take indirect taxes, this side that is the

Congress (Opposition) has no right to complain. Now indirect taxes have been levied on the same commodities which these gentlemen taxed long ago. They taxed tea, sugar, postal stationery and everything, including an attempt to take over the gold ornaments of the ladies. Those were the past exploits of the Congress Opposition in the matter of taxation. So, they have no right to complain now if some of their bad habits are repeated in this budget like taxing tea, kerosene, sugar, etc. So, I am disposing of their criticism thus, because having changed sides, they can appear to be ultra-revolutionaries, but I do not know of what colour. It is not red or pink, but black revolution in this country has no hope of succeeding, whether they produce artificial Hitlers or Mussolinis.

Let us come to brass tacks. Does the budget weaken the capitalists as a whole and strengthen the working people as a whole? Is the budget oriented in such a way that the monopolists are in some way weakened, their avenues of enriching and strengthening themselves are getting closed and the avenues for the working men for strengthening their own economy are being strengthened? This is the question which should be asked. If it is asked, the answer would be, there is a desire to do so, but also a failure to do so. There are plenty of promises in the field of agriculture and industry, but are they capable of being fulfilled? One might ask, can they be fulfilled through a budget? No. But budget plus administration plus other systems of laws have to combine together to bring about such a development. But unfortunately, the policy-makers are still embedded in the same old type of thinking, though they say that they want to assume a new type.

Take the railway budget and the general budget together. The railway budget opened with a frontal attack on the mighty millions of travellers of the metropolitan cities who have by compulsion to go to factories and offices to earn their meagre wages and to serve the bourgeoisie and the landlords. The opening financial policy statement of this Government, which claims to serve democracy in a better way, was an attack on that poor section

[ Shri S. A. Dange ]

of the working people, the travellers in the metropolitan cities. Why did it happen? For what? For a petty gain of Rs. 80 lakhs? What does it mean? It shows that there was somewhere a point, a centre, which wanted to put forward the most reactionary manifesto to the people in order to show what this government is, what this party is, even after expelling the most reactionary elements from it.

17 hrs.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (BSTI) : You are joining with them.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : You came from that side. So, do not talk. The birth marks are still there on you; don't worry.

That shows that there is as yet no grip on the new ideology that they wish to foster, on the new direction which they promised to the people. Otherwise, the railway budget would not have been like that.

But there is some hope, and that is the only hope that we can have, to see that some better times may come and that hope is due to the fact that the government yielded to the demands of the people and they have amended the proposals. The difference between the old party and this party is that the former one would never have yielded because it was led by the wonderful steel-frame man, the old Finance Minister who has left. During his time there was no yielding. With him if more demands are put forward the only reply would be firing. At present, the firings are not ruled out but there is some attempt to satisfy the democratic opinion and that is why the budget was amended. That is the difference. I hope that there would be more such pressurisation so that capitalist system is really shaken to its roots.

Coming to this budget now, I do not want to go into all the taxation proposals and so on and so forth. For example, why should kerosene be taxed? My friend, the Minister of Oil and Petroleum, negoti-

ated very firmly with the oil companies. He could not correct the past misdeeds of the Ministers and ICS people who knew that the oil companies which were licensed for 3 million tonnes had established a capacity of 8 million tonnes and still did nothing. Even international oil companies can stealthily go from 3 million to 8 million tonnes without the knowledge of the Government, but with the consent of the officers, and they are allowed to go scotfree and make as much profits as they like. But if a poor peasant occupies stealthily half an acre of land of the landlord he would be shot on the spot or sent to prison. This is the difference in treatment of international cartels who rob the wealth of this country and the ordinary rank and file people who commit small crimes.

The Minister of Oil and Petroleum negotiated very firmly with the oil companies and got a concession, much to the discomfort of some of my friends on this side. In order to get that concession he had to make commitment for advance supply from the Socialist countries. The socialist countries are always willing to help this country in advancing its own interests. In this context, I cannot help referring to Bokaro because it was mentioned by some others. In the case of Bokaro, they seem to forget one thing, for full three years they stood waiting at the doors of the Americans and asked them to build Bokaro. After three years of waiting, the Americans kicked them out. Then the Soviet side said: "all right, if you wish us to help you, we are prepared to help you". The Soviet side did not make any offer in the beginning to build Bokaro. You first begged your masters in America and they kicked you out. Therefore, any shouting about the role of Russia in the construction of Bhilai is out of place. In fact, the Russian-aided Bokaro plant is giving full production while Durgapur is wobbling, which shows the efficiency of the Soviet system.

Coming back to the oil companies, the Minister was able to get ten cents off per barrel. I do not know who is taking those ten cents now. The Minister thought

that having got those ten cents a barrel, he could own it and pass it on to the consumers, or to the treasury so that government could appropriate it and give relief by whatever means possible. Instead of that, I am asked to pay more tax on petrol and kerosene. You are getting 10 cent per barrel from the oil companies; in fact, you can get much more. Having got that concession, instead of giving some relief to the consumers, you are asking them to pay more for their kerosene and petrol.

I do not understand this contradiction. You fight for the 10 cents price reduction, you get that but I do not know who owns those 10 cents and where they are. I asked some of the oil people who handle these affairs and they said, "We do not know where it is; at present they are in the pockets of the oil companies." Why should we, who pay the tax not get the relief of 10 cents a barrel, I would like to know.

Similarly, sugar. Everybody knows that the free sugar in the market has enabled the big *bagayatdars*, big sugarcane growers and the factory directors even in the co-operative sector, to mint millions. That profit has not been passed on to the poor cultivator of sugarcane or to the consumer. When the Government of India and some others in UP proposed that the extra profits made by the sugar factories in UP should be given, partly at least, as a bonus to the sugarcane growers, Maharashtra the home of co-operatives, the co-operative capitalism that is growing there refused to part even with a paisa. It is called co-operation. This is the democratic picture of the democratic economy based on co-operation where they mint millions at the cost of the consumer and refuse to pass the benefit on to the sugarcane grower. Why should sugar be taxed in this way even on the free side? I know that 70 per cent is levy and 30 per cent is free.

May I tell you that it is the poor sugarcane peasants, who finance the sugar mill companies? They give them sugarcane on credit; they do not get the due price for the sugarcane; they do not get bonus; they are all kept in arrears

and the sugarcane factories are making millions and paying donations, to whom I do not know. Yet, now here we have the proposal that sugar should be taxed. Why? Take them over and tax them. If you cannot take them over because the Supreme Court intervenes, take them over in a different way. Tax them to such an extent that their activity becomes so unprofitable that they come and tell Government, "Please take over." It is the simplest way to avoid the property clause and the defenders of property sitting in the Supreme Court and here on this side or that. But that is not done; instead, they come with an excise duty on sugar!

Then comes tea. They say, dust tea is not taxed. Who says that leaf tea is not drunk by ordinary poor middle-class and working-class? What assumption is there? Do these people know who drinks what kind of tea, how tea is packed and how it is made? They say, dust tea taken by the common man is not taxed, only export tea is taxed. What is export tea? Leaf tea which is sold in this country at Rs.18 to Rs.5 a pound is exported but tea sold at Rs.5, Rs.4 or Rs.3 a pound is also leaf tea, which is consumed by ordinary consumers. What kind of description is it that they are not taxing tea drunk by the ordinary kind of people?

It seems that the tax-makers do not know exactly what kind of things are being consumed by what kind of people. They do not know what kind of economy they are running wherein the profitmakers are still going unchecked in very vital spheres like textiles, sugar, kerosene, oil and so on.

So, the taxation that is proposed in this Budget is not at all conducive to the development of the normal man to build a self-sufficient economic unit of his family. There are certain concessions, like exemption from income-tax up to Rs. 5,000; but that is not done in order to oblige those 5 lakh people. The credit taken that they are obliging those 5 lakh people by exempting them from tax is all misplaced. It is done on the ground that the expenses of collecting tax from them are more than the realisation. So, it is to save the expenditure on taxing these

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500,000 and not to benefit these 500,000 that this has been done. That benefit every indirect, is an incidental thing and has nothing to do with good intentions or bad intentions.

Coming to the relief given to peasants, it is a fictitious relief. A lot of emphasis is put in the memorandum on middle peasant, poor peasant, dry farming, wells, and all that. But today the power in the villages is the rich peasant and banker, the money-lender and the remnants of landlords. Even if you write in your Budgets and order that this is meant for the poor farmer, half the gain is cornered by the rich farmers. Writing is not going to help. Therefore unless the organised power of the poor peasantry and the landless labour is given protection by the State and is patronised by the State in the sense that whenever the rich interests attack them the richer shall be defeated and the poor shall be protected, till then the benefits of these financial measures will not reach the poor peasantry. You know what is happening in the villages. You all know, and you all come from the villages, what happens when loans are sanctioned—how commissions are taken away by the man, who gets the sanction, how percentages vanish and, ultimately, the man gets only 25 to 30 per cent of the loan. I am not quarreling with the provision made herein. I am quarreling with the whole system of administration which is based upon the exploiting class whom they dare not anger, whom they dare not attack and whom they dare not demolish. Therefore, the good intentions in this Budget will not come to fruition unless the mobilisation of the masses, the mobilisation of the working people, the toiling people on the land and in factories, is carried out in order to carry out these proposals which are put forward with such good intentions in the Budget.

Coming to one or two more financial points, the financial point which I wish to put before you is already referred to in the Budget. But it is not possibly understood. It is no use talking about

taxes, finance and all that, until the credit machinery is under the control of that policy which wants to push forward the growth of productive forces and hamper the growth of exploiting speculative and other forces. Is the Finance Ministry capable of doing it? Neither the Finance Ministry nor others who assist it have shown any capacity to do that.

Do you know that there has been recently a complaint that Dalda prices have gone up, that oil prices have gone up, that groundnut prices have shot up? Everybody has started blaming everybody else except the right criminal who is the source of this mischief and of this crime of rising prices in this country in the last three or four months and that is the Reserve Bank of India and the bankers. The Reserve Bank of India which is a nationalised institution is the prime criminal in raising the prices in this country and giving credit to speculative houses in the cities of Bombay and Calcutta. Does the Ministry of Finance follow it? Do the other gentlemen follow it? Let me tell you. When the prices had shot up, when Dalda was going out of the market, when even the people like Lever Brothers had to complain, as to where is groundnut oil, what is happening to it, then the Reserve Bank wakes up and the Reserve Bank Governor writes a letter saying that after the period of recession, when a period of growth of crops and buoyancy of the market has set in, an increase in credit is, certainly, necessary, but then, he says, that credit is being given in such a way that it is not warranted by "genuine productive and marketing needs". These are the words from the letter of the Reserve Bank Governor, Mr. L. K. Jha. Then, he says, he was going to take steps to tighten up the credit. And after writing this letter at the end of January, at the middle of February, what was found was that the Reserve Bank itself had granted more credit, that the other banks had granted more credit and that speculation was running wild in the markets of Bombay and Calcutta. Who was looking into it? Were the ICS officers or the Secretary of the Finance Ministry or others looking into the source of this crime committed against

the people—the price of Dalda shooting up, the price of groundnut oil shooting up? The groundnut prices are speculative market prices and these are determined in the market by the export of groundnut meal to European countries. Did they take any measures to stop credit going into the hands of speculators? One man walks into the bank and takes away a crore of rupees credit in one day without security. They tell us that the Reserve bank of India watches and only gives security for genuine needs of trade on hypothecation of shares or genuine goods in bonded warehouses. There are a number of cases where bonded warehouses are mortgaged to banks and when the bankers go to find what is in the warehouse, the warehouse is found completely empty. There, they finance to the tune of Rs. 30 lakhs to Rs. 40 lakhs and lose them. If the Finance Ministry administrators do not know the cases, I am prepared to give them the cases.

Are they watching the finances? What are these gentlemen of the Reserve Bank doing? Now Mr. Jha is going to America. But that does not help. Transferring one man from this place to that place is not going to help. What does happen? Here is a financial journal. I will read a paragraph from it.

“It is clear that the squeeze of February 5, is.....”

The intention is : we are going to stop squeeze now. We know too much credit has gone. It has affected the prices, it is spoiling the market. So we are squeezing. A wonderful statement came from the Reserve Bank of India. The Reserve Bank Directors are telling perfectly finished lies to the country and to the people in this country. They tell anything. They promise anything and act exactly the reverse because nobody knows what is happening in their secret files. Nobody knows what is happening in the Board meetings.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I would like to know how far would it be correct to say something against officers who are not in a position to defend themselves. It is not fair to say that they are liars.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : We have heard that long ago. If the officers run this country, they must get the blame of it. It is in the newspapers. Mr. L. K. Jha's name is mentioned. The Minister can defend him, I have no objection.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobbili) : Madam, how far is it correct to bring in names of officers who are not here to defend themselves?

MR. CHAIRMAN : I have already said that.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO : But he has reiterated it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He will understand and I am sure he will not repeat it.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : I was reading from a financial journal. It says :

“It is clear that the squeeze of February 5 was a perfunctory affair in so far as it attempted to check bank's ability to rapidly expand credit.”

Then the next paragraph is :

“The question is : why the banks including the big 14 which enjoyed a four day spell of denationalisation chose to ignore the Reserve Bank's measure designed to reduce the pressure of bank credit on the price level.”

So, one can understand what has happened. During that four day denationalisation period credit had gone up. Prior to nationalisation credit went up. After the nationalisation of 14 banks also the credit was going up. We read in the papers that the Reserve Bank Governor was called here for consultation by the Finance Ministry and he announced, ‘There will be very little change in the matter of credit’. For what is the credit being used? I cannot spend the time of the House by reading all these reports of various Commissions and Committees. But one Committee I would like to mention. There is a Committee which was appointed by the National Credit Council in October 1968 under an able

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officer who served under Mr. Morarji Desai, an able financial philosopher. That was Mr. V. T. Dehejia.

They submitted a report. What does that report say? It says that "On short term credit given by the banks long term investments are being made and bank advances are being used for speculative purposes."

I would like to mention a word about the stock exchanges. There are gentlemen who plead that forward trading should be included in the stock exchanges. It has been stopped for some time. Even eminent socialists plead that forward trading should be allowed. If the intention is that those who were unemployed on account of ban on forward trading should get employment, you cannot ruin the financial system of this country by allowing forward trading to go ahead. Forward trading is the biggest instrument of speculation or spoiling the price mechanism in this country whether you wanted the price to go down or you wanted the price to go up. For example, the budget reaction, I am told led to buoyancy in the share market. If anybody knows the market, you know, if there had been taxes, the market would have done *mandi* business. If there are no taxes, it will be *tezi* business. Speculators are not worried what the budget is. When a man comes in the morning in the stock exchange and sells Century rayon shares for 'X' value and if the price goes up to 'X' plus 1' value—has any change taken place in the Century Mills or in the workers' condition or in the quality of the cloth? Nothing. The share may fall by Rs. 100 or Rs. 200 in one day. What happens to production? What happens to the men? Nothing.

Then why are they rising and falling? Because, it suits the speculators. It suits them to make fortunes those by defrauding these normal investors who come in the market and in this process I would say the Life Insurance Corporation is also a guilty party. LIC ought to stop investment on the share market and straightway purchase, if they want to invest in profitable industries, on spot delivery, shares of

whoever is prepared to sell. If the idea is to hold the price line, please stop that Forward Market Commission from recommending opening for forward market. Trade is conducted in many countries without any forward market's. That only disturbs the price mechanism of the country and that only disturbs the economic plans in the country. The Study Group has found that bank credit expanded at a higher rate between 1964-65 and 1966-67 than industrial output valued at current prices. That is the main thing you have to note. The bank credit expanded, more than warranted by production. That means, bank credit had expanded, in order to benefit speculative activities in this country, those who wanted to hoard commodities, instead of releasing them on the market. Even if you increase your cotton production or your groundnut production you are not going to get relief if this banking control is in the hands of speculators. Even though they are nationalised, they are advised to speculators. If the Government wants to carry out really its own intentions in practice, what they should do is this, they must deal with those officials who do not want to be the line of the Government. If the line is to give relief to consumers, if anybody does not carry out that advice, they must be controlled or dismissed or disciplines in some other way. Who they are, I don't know. The Governor of the Reserve Bank is one name and he is one man in the picture; I do not know the others.

The Budget will not have much of a future for those sections which it has really in mind; it will not achieve those objectives, unless investments of finances are controlled. You find one item, urban property tax—it is a very petty item of tax you have imposed. It is a very small tax. You do not know at what rate urban property is rising and what values are there. Property valued at Rs. 25,000 actually fetches Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 25,000 are paid in the black. Valuation registered in the document is not the real value. You say your tax property at Rs. 1.5 lakhs, but that is not the real value at the rate that you are giving.

If you want to carry out housing, which you propose to do, for which you have a scheme—it is a good one so far as intentions are concerned,—please nationalise or municipalise the housing land. Otherwise some one sells at low price and the intermediary gets the real benefit. If a peasant sells land at 6 rupees per yard the intermediary who comes in, sells it to the Housing Society at Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 or Rs. 40 per yard. You know all that : I need not explain.

The only way to control that is to nationalise the urban housing land. After 8 kilometre distance is no tax. Here in Delhi beyond 15 kilometres there are bungalows worth Rs. 2 lakhs or Rs. 3 lakhs. There are so many millowners etc. in this city of Delhi they will all escape because they are not within 8 kilometres. I don't want to say as some wag might say that 8 kilometers was imposed in order to allow them to escape taxation. That is not what I want to suggest. Whose advice is this 8 kilometres? Everybody who lives in this city could have known that you can safely go up to 30kms. or 40Kms. limit. Everybody knows that. But it is only timidity which is holding back these people from carrying out measures which they should have done if they really wanted to serve the common man.

Now what I suggest—and this is my last point is this. No doubt, you cannot buy capitalism into socialism. Let us have no illusions about it. If we think we can buy over the princes, monopolists, bankers, textile mill owners and all of them, we shall be bankrupt before we have reached the third or fourth man. That is as much as saying that even after buying them over, you go on labouring and paying them the surplus and remain as poor as before. Instead of that, let them do what they do; let us do what we are doing even as we are.

So this buying-over philosophy, taking over with full compensation, cannot be done. But this is enjoined by the Supreme Court. Therefore, you cannot carry out changes, fundamental changes, in your policy, unless you amend the Constitution and abolish the property article. No budget will be planned, no budget will be in defence of the people, no budget will be

solvent in this country until the property clause is abolished and the larger sectors of production are taken over in the state sector and managed democratically; otherwise, they will go the way of the Reserve Bank in the service of speculators. Not only nationalisation but control by the workers, employees and democratic people is a necessity, not leaving them in the hands of the old gentlemen who ran the policies for the *bourgeoisie*.

Therefore, my suggestion is: enter the consumers' section. At one time when Shri Ashoka Mehta had some balance left in him, he really proposed that consumer industries should be run and sponsored by the state sector. But after devaluation, he devalued his own proposal and devalued himself. Can't help it. That is what happens to people who desert socialism in the end.

My proposal is that the Government of India should enter sugar production. If they cannot take over the present sugar mills with full compensation, let them float ten sugar mills with huge plantation areas run by the working class and beat the sugar millowners in their own game.

As regards taking over the closed textile mills, they are taking over all the losing mills; some they do not take over are very fine units. In Bombay city, I know from personal experience that for two years a good textile unit is closed because of the obstructive tactics of some four or five bankers in the city of Kanpur. And nobody, neither this Ministry nor that, can shake them out of it. Result : the mills are lying idle, Four thousand workers are idle. This is the case of the Seksaria Mills. I took it up with every Ministry. But no result. They are all sleeping over the whole thing, but all the time saying 'production must increase'. The damn thing is in that wonderful mill production is increasing by a mill being closed down by four or five Marwaris of Kanpur; and you cannot deal with them.

So in textile mills, the profitable ones must be taken over or new ones should be started. Why not float 10 spinning mills with the best machinery which can be pro-



[ Shri S.A. Dange ]

duced in this country without foreign collaboration and supply nice good yarn to all the handlooms to bring down the prices and give them higher wages? Why can it not be done? This is a very easy thing to do. Some State Governments are thinking of doing it. But we know how they are run. Therefore, the main problem is of running them.

So far as housing is concerned, I think the state sector should be there on a big scale in the cement industry. After nationalising some of the housing land, you will be able to construct really cheap houses for the middle class. Unless the state sector enters these productive spheres, there will be no relief for the common man.

Therefore, the intentions might be very good. But this budget cannot certainly give effect to them because the budget cannot do all the things it has to. Secondly, it is bound down by the previous traditions in the matter of taxing consumer goods. So I would request the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister and those concerned with it that these taxes which affect the poor man and the common consumer should go.

I do not like this phraseology. Is this socialist phraseology?—

“that such growth and increase in wealth cannot be sustained without due regard to the welfare of the weaker sections of society.”

Somebody objected to the mention of productive forces. They think that “productive forces” is a Communist terminology. What terminology is this “weaker sections of the people”? Are the working class and peasantry the weaker sections of society? This is the talk of the gentry living on our labour, on our strength, on our land, on our factories, that we are the weaker section of the community. The moment we go on strike even Tatas and Birlas tremble and want to run away from Calcutta or Jamshedpur to some where else. Where can they run? The working class is going to surround them in every State wherever they go. They have no safe haven for their speculative tactics and exploiting tactics against

the common man of this country. So, it is better that those who are socialists do not talk about the weaker sections of the community. We are not weaker and we do not want favours from the stronger community or the stronger Finance Minister and Prime Minister.

SHRI PILOO MODY : The reference is not to you.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : I wonder if you want to take it on to you with your size.

So, what I want to submit is this. Please recast the taxation measures. Please recast the Constitution in a proper way. It cannot be done, of course, through the Budget but it is a proposal of policy to the Government. Recast your objectives. There is certainly no idea today of socialism in the true sense of that word. I do not know what socialism is when even my friends of the Swatantra Party are supposed to be moving towards socialism according to the authority of Shri Morarji Desai and when even the Jana Sangh is also moving towards socialism. So, I am worried what socialism is.

Let us be very clear about socialism. Socialism is only that where the major means of production are taken over by the State, and secondly, the State is taken over by the working people and not by the allies of the capitalists. Only then, real democracy will be instituted. Now, there are varieties of socialism, but let me tell you for your benefit that we only admit the socialism based upon the philosophy and economics of Marx and Lenin. We are very clear about it. Just as you are wedded to the socialism of Reserve Bank, we are wedded to the socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Therefore, I propose that all the honest socialist-minded people or socialist parties should sit together and evolve a common platform of the ideology of socialism. I am not saying that they are not socialists in the sense that they do not want to bring in socialism. What I want to suggest is that the scientific norms of socialism should be defined in this country by all those who want to really bring in socialism. We will hold the position that

ours is the correct one; you can hold to your amendment or your proposals; but what I say is this that the time has come in this country when all socialist-minded people, all those who think in terms of socialism from all parties, should once sit together and really define what kind of socialism they want for this country.

**श्री बलबीर सिंह (मिरसा) :** सभापति महोदय, मुझे खुशी है कि सरकार ने जो बजट पेश किया है उसके अन्दर कुछ आशा नजर आती है, गरीब आदमियों के लिये उसमें कुछ प्रोग्राम नजर आता है। मैं सरकार को इसके लिये बधाई देता हूँ। हमारे देश को आजाद हुए बीस साल से ज्यादा का अर्सा हो गया और इन बीस सालों के अन्दर जो हमारी आर्थिक नीति रही उस में मैं यह महसूस करता हूँ कि गरीब आदमी पिस्तता रहा है; यहां के हालात का तकाजा यह रहा है कि कुछ अमीर लोग, खाते-पीते लोग, जिनके पास सरमाया था, जिनके पास शक्ति रही है, इस किस्म के लोगों ने सब चीजों पर कब्जा कर लिया था। यहां तक कि जितनी मयासी जमाते रही है, चाहे वह कम्युनिस्ट हों चाहे कांग्रेस हों, जिसके अन्दर मैंने अपना बहुत सा जीवन गुजारा है, चाहे और पार्टियां हों, या जन संघ, स्वतन्त्र हों, जो कि उधर की रोजिमेंट से ताल्लुक रखते हैं, सबके अन्दर उन शक्तिशाली लोगों ने कब्जा जमा रक्खा है। नतीजा यह हुआ है कि इतने सालों के बाद भी गरीब आदमी उठ नहीं पाया है।

मुझे खुशी है कि इस युग के अन्दर आज एक नई करवट आई है, एक नया जमाना आया है, एक नया आन्दोलन आया है, एक नई क्रांति आई है, इस पार्टी की हिस्ट्री के अन्दर, जिसका नतीजा है कि यह थोड़ा बहुत उलट पेर हुआ है, और यह जरूरी था। कोई भी आदमी हों, कोई भी प्राइम मिनिस्टर हों, जो इन पार्लिसीज को लेकर आगे बढ़ेगा, उसके लिये यह जरूरी था कि आज के समय में ठीक हालात पैदा करता।

17.36 hrs.

[ SHRI VASUDEVAN NEAR in the chair ]

इन हालात को पैदा किये बगैर यह हंगामी काम, यह क्रांति, यह आर्थिक सधार मुल्क में नजर नहीं आ सकते थे। इसलिये मैं बधाई देता हूँ आज की सरकार को कि उसने कम से कम वह नीति अपनाई जिसके अन्दर गरीब सोचता है, गरीब देखता है कि उसके लिये आशा की किरण नजर आयेगी।

क्या होता रहा है पिछले जमाने में? हम ने इस आजादी के अन्दर मुजारों को आश्वासन दिया कि देश के अन्दर जो मुजारे हैं उनको कुछ सेफगार्ड मिलेंगे, वह जमीनों के मालिक होंगे, टिलर जो है उसका पास जमीन होगी, हमने गरीब मजदूर को आश्वासन दिया कि गरीब आदमी का जीवन जो है उसके अन्दर तब्दीली आयेगी।

17.37 hrs,

[ MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair ]

हम ने हरिजनों को इतने दिनों तक आश्वासन दिया कि उनके आर्थिक जीवन के अन्दर बहुत बड़ी क्रांति आयेगी। लेकिन वही हालात चलते रहे। इसी तरह से मेरे जैसे आदमी को जो कमजोर तबके से ताल्लुक रखता है, जो गरीब तबके से आता है, यह महसूस होता रहा कि पार्टी के अन्दर ऐसे हालात पैदा होंगे जिनके अन्दर गरीबों के लिये कोई प्रोग्राम बनेगा। आज जो यह उथल-पुथल हुई है उसके अन्दर हम उसकी झलक पाते हैं, कम से कम हम लोगों को आशा जरूर बंधती है कि कुछ अर्से के बाद ऐसे हासाम मुल्क अन्दर होंगे जिनमें गरीब आदमी की हालत सुधरेगी। मैं जब शुरू में पढ़ता था तब यह सोचा करता था कि एक चपरासी के जीवन में, जिसकी तन्खवाह में एक साल सेवा करने के बाद 8 आने का इन्कीमेंट होता है, कितनी ही वह सेवा करता हो, कमी तब्दीली आयेगी। लेकिन अफसास है अपने आप पर भी और पार्टी पर भी कि इतने सालों

[ श्री दलवीरसिंह ]

के बाद बावजूद मेरी अपनी कांशिशों के और मेरे जैसे बहुत से मजबूर आदमियों की कांशिशों के, कुछ नहीं बन सका। आज वह चपरासी उसी मामूली तन्ख्वाह के अन्दर गुजारा करता है, आज वह सिपाही उसी मामूली तन्ख्वाह के अन्दर रहता है और हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर डिफेंस के ऊपर बैठा हुआ सिपाही। एक गरीब बाप का बेटा थोड़े से पैसे लेकर गुजारा करता है। कोई तबदीली उनके अन्दर नहीं आई है।

आज इस देश के अन्दर एक आर्थिक इन्कलाब की जरूरत है, और उस आर्थिक इन्कलाब के लिये हमको बड़ी-बड़ी चीजें करनी होंगी। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि एक गरीब आदमी, जिसके लिये इस राज्य ने डिमाँक्रेसी का सहारा लेकर कुछ करना चाहा है, यह सोचता था कि गरीब आदमी को समाज के अन्दर समानता मिलेगी, उसे सामाजिक आधार मिलेगा। लेकिन होता क्या है? आपने देखा कि एलेक्शन के अन्दर किस तरह से माइनोरिटीज के साथ जुल्म होता है। डिमाँक्रेसी के नाम पर हमारे यहां एलेक्शन होते हैं। लेकिन उनमें काम्युनिज्म के नाम पर बुरी-बुरी बातें चलती हैं और उन इलाकों के अन्दर जब पोलिंग होती है तो उसमें वह मजबूर लोग, वह गरीब लोग छोटी-छोटी कामों से ताल्लुक रखने वाले लोग अपना वोट नहीं डाल सकते हैं। पोलिंग बूथ्स पर जा नहीं सकते हैं, आफिसर्स द्वारा ऐसा डाँचा बना दिया जाता है, एक एटमांसफीयर क्रियेट कर दिया जाता है और एक जात वाले लोगों द्वारा ऐसे हालात पैदा कर दिये जाते हैं कि वहां पर आजादाना एलैक्शन नहीं हो पाते हैं। आपने वाले जमाने में आपको इसमें सुधार करना होगा और इस बात का खास ब्याल रखना होगा कि माइनोरिटी कम्युनिटी के लोग मजबूरी की हालत में न रहें, वे आजादी से अपना वोट दे सकें, उनको प्रोटेक्शन मिले।

हरिजनों के वास्ते रिजर्वेशन चलता रहा है। रिपोर्ट्स वगैरह आ जाती हैं उनमें रिजर्वेशन

का खास दौर पर जिक्र रहता है। जितने हरिजनों के प्रावलैम है उनका उनमें जिक्र रहता है। मैं विस्तार में जाना नहीं चाहता हूँ। इतना मैं अवश्य कहना चाहता हूँ कि बावजूद इन रिपोर्ट्स के और बावजूद इस बात के कि सीटें उनके लिए रिजर्व्ड हैं, ज्यादा से ज्यादा एक दां परसेन्ट ही का कोटा उनको मिल पाता है। बाकी कोटा उनको नहीं मिलता है। यह बहुत शर्मनाक बात है। गवर्नमेंट इस बारे में कोई स्टेप नहीं लेती है, न सेन्टर में और न ही राज्य सरकारें कोई खास स्टेप लेती हैं कि उनको कोटा मिले। इस में खास तौर पर सुधार लाने की आवश्यकता है। गरीब आदमियों के साथ जो वादे किए गए हैं, संविधान में उनके वास्ते जिन सेफ गार्डज का जिक्र किया गया है, उनके लिए जितने कानून बने हुए हैं, उनको लागू किया जाए, और जो उनका हक है, उनको दिलाया जाए। जो सुविधायें पाने के वे हकदार हैं उनको दी जाए।

हरियाणा की भी में कुछ बात करना चाहता हूँ। हरियाणा अभी अस्तित्व में आया है। पंजाब के कुछ भाग को काटकर हरियाणा राज्य बनाया गया है। मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हरियाणा के साथ बहुत ज्यादाती हो रही है और होती रही है। हरियाणा के अन्दर कोई ऐसी पब्लिक प्रोपिनियन नहीं थी कि यह स्टेट बने। दो विचार वहां थे। कुछ लोग चाहते थे कि बन जाए और कुछ चाहते थे कि न बने। और हम जैसे लोगों का विचार था कि पंजाब स्टेट अगर एक रहे तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा। लेकिन हालात ऐसे पैदा हो गए कि इस स्टेट को बनाना पड़ गया। किसने स्टेट मांगी थी, पंजाब वालों ने मांगी थी किसने कमीशन मांगा था, पंजाब वालों ने मांगा था, किसने इकरार किया था कि कमिशन के फैसले को मान लिया जाएगा, पंजाब के लोगों ने वादा किया था, उन्होंने इकरार किया था। लेकिन हुआ क्या? कमिशन मुकर्रर हुआ। जो फैसला उसने

दिया उसका उल्लंघन पंजाब ने किया। पंजाब ने उसका खून किया। आज फिर नए कमीशन की बात चल रही है। मेरे मन में एक शंका पैदा होती है। इस तरह से अगर कमीशन मुल्क में बनते रहे और इस तरह के उनके फैसलों को टुकराया जाता रहा तो आइन्दा कमीशन कोई भी इस तरह की बात नहीं कहेंगे, न कोई कमीशन में ही आना पसन्द करेगा और न ही कमीशन के फैसलों को कोई स्टेट मान्य करेगी। इस वास्ते इस पर गम्भीरता से सोचने की जरूरत है।

आप देखें कि पंजाब के अन्दर कभी-कभी बड़ी अजीब बातें होती हैं, अजीब ड्रामे खेले जाते हैं। आपने देखा होगा कि ऐसी स्पीचिंग वहाँ के मिनिस्टर लोग करते रहे हैं जिनका न तो कोई सिर होता है और न ही पैर। भड़काने वाली वे तकरीरें होती हैं, अलहदगी की भावना पैदा करने वाली वे तकरीरें होती हैं। जो बातें वे कहते हैं उनको मेरी जुबान कह भी नहीं सकती है। लेकिन बाद में क्या होता है? एक तरफ तो स्पीच हांती है और दूसरी तरफ चीफ मिनिस्टर पंजाब के, श्री गुरनाम सिंह आकर उसका कंट्रिडिक्शन करके चले जाते हैं। काफी असें तक एक तमाशा चलता रहा है। आजकल भी अखबारों में जो कुछ छप रहा है, वह आपको मालूम ही है। मैं हिन्दू सिख के झगड़े में नहीं पड़ता हूँ, मजहबी झगड़े में नहीं पड़ता हूँ। मैं धार्मिक विचारों का आदमी भी नहीं हूँ। मुझे धर्म से प्रेम नहीं है। नफरत हो सकती है। लेकिन इस किस्म की बात एक मुख्य मन्त्री करे, जिसके हाथ में एक प्रान्त की बागडोर है वह करे तो शोभा नहीं देता है। हिन्दुओं के बारे में यह कहें कि वह पंजाब छोड़ कर चले जायें, हरिजन पंजाब छोड़ कर चले जायें, निहायत ही शर्मनाक बात है। इस तरह की बातों को ज्यादा देर तक अगर बरदाश्त किया गया तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान का भविष्य खतरे में पड़ जाएगा। हमारा

प्रजातन्त्र खतरे में पड़ जाएगा। इस तरह की बातों पर आपको प्रतिबन्ध लगाना होगा। जो लोग इस तरह की नीति अपनाते हैं, चाहे वे किसी भी दल से सम्बन्धित हों, उनके खिलाफ आपको कार्रवाई करनी चाहिये। पोलिटिकल कनवीनियेंस के आधार पर अगर मुल्क की पालिसी चलती रही तो एक दिन ऐसा आएगा जब हमारे सामने खतरे पैदा होंगे और डेमाक्रेसी ठहर नहीं सकेगी।

मैं देख रहा हूँ कि पार्टियों के अन्दर पतन आ चुका है। पार्टियों का केवल एक मात्र उद्देश्य रह गया है कि किसी तरह वजारत मिल जाए। पंजाब में जनसंघ बड़ी-बड़ी शौंगे मारा करता था। बड़ी शुद्ध हिन्दी में और बहुत सुन्दर तरीके से, आर्टिस्टों की तरह हमारे वाजपेयी जी स्पीचिंग करते हैं। कंबरलाल और उनकी पार्टी के दूसरे लोग भी करते हैं। हिन्दी का राष्ट्र भाषा स्वीकार किया गया है और हिन्दी के वे लोग बड़े पक्षपाती बनते हैं। लेकिन पंजाब में क्या हुआ है। पंजाब के अन्दर दो वजारतों के लिए जनसंघ ने हिन्दी का खून किया है। हिन्दी को लेकर वहाँ इतने आन्दोलन हुए लेकिन आज वहाँ हिन्दी का खून किया गया है। जो हमारे यहाँ स्पीकर साहब हैं वह आठ साल तक वहाँ स्पीकर रहे हैं। वह देखते रहे हैं कि पंजाब के अन्दर हिन्दुओं और सिखों के अन्दर जो नफरत पैदा की थी वह अकालियों और जनसंघियों ने की थी। लेकिन आज वे दोनों मिलकर वहाँ की हकूमत को चला रहे हैं। जोश में आकर इसको झुठलाया नहीं जा सकता है। दो वजारतें जनसंघ को मिली है और उनका गाय का नारा भी खत्म और हिन्दी भाषा का भी खत्म। सब कुछ जहन्नुम में जाए, उनको इससे कोई मतलब नहीं। लेकिन वे लोग याद रखें कि जनता नजर रखती है। जनता इलैक्शन में उनको छाड़ेगी नहीं। वह उनको घरों में से निकाल लेगी। वायदे करके जिन लोगों ने हिन्दी को वहाँ मिटाया है, वक्त आएगा, इलैक्शन आएंगे,

[ श्री दलबीर सिंह ]

जनता उनसे निपट लेगी। वह उनको छोड़गी नहीं।

देश में बड़े-बड़े लोग हैं उन्होंने ही तरक्की की है। इग्नीकल्चर फील्ड में भी जो बड़ा आदमी था वही ऊपर जाता रहा है। यह एक तरीका हां गया है कि बड़े-बड़े आदमी बड़े-बड़े फार्म बनायें। अफसर भी अपना इनफ्लुएंस इस्तेमाल करके उनकी इस काम में मदद करते हैं। इसकी साक्षात् मिसाल देखनी हो तो हमारे यहां हरियाणा में आप देख सकते हैं। फरीदाबाद, गुड़गांव आदि के आसपास का जितना एरिया है वहां बड़े-बड़े अफसरों ने फार्म बना रखे हैं, अपना आफिशल इनफ्लुएंस और आफिशल मशीनरी का इस्तेमाल करके। गरीब आदमी पिस्ता रहा है। फटिलाइजर की बात करते हैं, तो इनको ही उसका लाभ मिला है, इनके फार्मज को ही यह उपलब्ध होता है। अच्छे बीज जो होते हैं वे भी बड़े फार्मज वालों का जाते हैं। कोई मिनिस्टर जाता है तो इनके यहां चाय पार्टी होती है और वहीं वह भी जाता है। जो कुछ प्रदर्शन होते हैं, अफसर के यहां होते हैं, बड़े-बड़े फार्म वालों के यहां होते हैं। जिनके पास पांच दस या पन्द्रह बीस एकड़ जमीन है, उसकी आवाज को सुना नहीं जाता है। जरूरत इस बात की है कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो छोटे किसान हैं, जो थोड़ी जमीन के मालिक हैं, जिनका सारा कुनबा मिल कर, बच्चे, लड़कियां, बीबियां आदि सब मिलकर खेत में काम करते हैं, देश की इकॉनॉमी को सुधारते हैं, सुबह से शाम तक पसीना-पसीना होकर खेत के अन्दर अन्न पैदा करते हैं, उनकी हालत को सुधारा जाए। खेती करने वालों में इनकी तादाद 99 परसेंट है। एग्रिकलचरल फील्ड के अन्दर 99 परसेंट जो लोग हैं, उनके लिए कोई नीति ऐसी निर्धारित की जाए, जिससे उनको लाभ हो। बड़े-बड़े फार्मज के लिए तो

बहुत डिवेलपमेंट का काम हुआ है, रिसर्च से लाभ भी उनको ही मिला है, एग्रिकलचरल एक्सपर्ट्स से लाभ भी उनको ही मिला है, डाक्टरों का लाभ भी उनको ही प्राप्त हुआ है। लेकिन अगर कोई नीति हो तो इन गरीब आदमियों के लिए हानी चाहिए। जिसके पास जमीन नहीं है उसको जमीन मिलने की बात हानी चाहिये। उसकी पैदावार कैसे बढ़े, उसको फटिलाइजर कैसे मिले, इसकी बात हानी चाहिये। मैं चाहता हूं कि जो गरीब आदमी है, उसका पहिले ध्यान रखा जाए।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं बजट प्रोपोजलज का समर्थन करता हूं और आशा करता हूं कि सरकार मेरी बातों और मेरे सेंटिमेंट्स का ख्याल कर के कुछ सुधार करेगी।

श्री गुरचरण सिंह (फिरोजपुर) : डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, आनरेबल मेम्बर ने पंजाब के चीफ मिनिस्टर के मुतालिक जो कुछ कहा है, वह बिल्कुल गलत है। चीफ मिनिस्टर ने हिन्दुओं और हरिजनों के खिलाफ कभी कुछ नहीं कहा है।

\*\*SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI (Dharapuram): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am happy for the opportunity given to me to speak on the Budget proposals for 1970-71. This Budget has been presented for the first time by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The people of India were expecting that the Budget would be framed on the basis of socialistic objectives. One reason for this kind of an expectation on their part was the recent political conflict between the progressive and the reactionary elements of the premier political parties on an ideological issue. That issue was the nationalisation of 14 major banks. All the progressive elements united together under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and gave their unstinted support to her

progressive measures. The middle class people, the people who accepted the socialistic philosophy as a way of life and the workers expected that this Budget would us her in an era of egalitarianism in the country. But, contrary to their expectations, except for a few progressive features here and there this Budget does not look like pursuing the socialistic objectives.

As was pointed out by Shri Dwivedy, the leader of the Praja Socialist Party, we expected that this Budget would be based on socialistic principles. But the Congress Government has come out with a kind of socialism that was propounded at the Avadi Session of the Congress Party. What was propounded at Avadi was only a 'model' socialism; model socialism does not mean real socialism. This Budget seems to follow that model socialism.

I would like to say that some assurances have no doubt been given in this Budget. In India, the people are tired of listening to the slogans and the shibboleths raised by the political parties. These slogans will command respect and regard from the people only when they are actually implemented. Therefore, I request that the Congress Government here in power should implement all the assurances given in this Budget.

When you go through the Budget proposals, you will find some good features. The basic tenet of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam is to welcome good measures, no matter who is in power, and to oppose policies and programmes which run counter to the interests of the public, the poor people and the toiling workers. With this approach, we welcome the provisions made in this Budget, presented by Shrimati Gandhi, for the supply of drinking water, for special schemes in regard to dry farming, for more comprehensive benefits of Provident Fund to industrial workers and for raising the income-tax exemption limit for the middle income group people. It is also welcome that taxes have been imposed on private religious trusts, that wealth tax has been raised and that the rate of income-tax has been increased to the maximum of 93.5% in the case of

those people having an income of over Rs.2 lakhs. We are happy and welcome these proposals. But when we turn to other pages of the Budget, we find that the state of affairs is frightening. It is frightening because there is no provision in this Budget for the eradication of growing unemployment in the country and some harmful proposals have been incorporated in this Budget. One of them is the proposal for the increase in the price of sugar. In her budget speech, Shrimati Gandhi said that the Government were imposing this tax on sugar because in the open market the price of sugar has gone down considerably. But, I would like to point out here that there is no stability of prices and prices are always subject to violent fluctuations. The traders, if they so like, could raise the prices and the Reserve Bank of India is there to aid and 'abet' them in their efforts. So also are the nationalised banks and other financial institutions. It is not therefore desirable, merely on this basis to impose additional tax on sugar. I request that this should be withdrawn. Khandsari sugar, known as country sugar in our parts, which is being used in rural areas, has also been taxed. I request that this also should be withdrawn. Petrol and Kerosene have also been taxed which would naturally hit the common men. Oh behalf of my party, I request the Government to withdraw all these taxation proposals.

If my memory serves me right, the hon. Food Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram, had once assured us on the floor of this House that the imposts on the pumpsets and fertilisers would be reduced. I would appeal to him that he should, in this socialistic climate, implement that assurance given in this House.

I would like to refer to a statement made by the Prime Minister in her Budget speech. I quote:

"It has also been decided that Government as well as financial institutions should assume special responsibility to promote industrial development in selected backward areas".

In this respect, we have to identify first the backward areas in the country.

[ Shri C. T. Dhandepani ]

So far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, merely because a few towns have developed—even in these towns only certain parts have developed—we cannot accept the argument that the whole State of Tamil Nadu has progressed. You can, if you like, send an Expert Committee to verify the position. Under the misconception that Tamil Nadu is a developed State, facilities for setting up industries there are not being offered. It is difficult for the entrepreneurs and industrialists of Tamil Nadu to obtain licences from the Central Government. There is inordinate delay in the disposal of their applications and in the issue of licences. At the same time, if someone from Bihar applies for a licence, it is immediately granted. This sort of discrimination should be immediately done away with. It is only just and proper for me to say that industries should be set up in Tamil Nadu, a backward State by any standard. I cannot say that the Central Government is not aware of all these things. But, for reasons known only to them they are niggardly in extending the necessary assistance for the industrial development of Tamil Nadu.

We have taken up steps to set up a petro-chemical complex in our area with an investment of Rs. 90 to 100 crores. Our Government have forwarded the necessary proposals in this regard to the Central Government and I request that the Central Government should accord sanction to the project early. I also request the Central Government to issue the necessary sanction for the establishment of Nylon plant, Tyre-cord plant, Carbon-block plant etc. for which there is great scope in Tamil Nadu. I wish to reiterate that there is plenty of scope for establishing industries in Tamil Nadu and the Central Government should come forward to assist us. For the past 20 years we have been fighting for the setting up of a steel plant at Salem in Tamil Nadu. I hope the Government would take expeditious action in assisting us to have this Steel plant. Nobody need misconstrue our request for assistance as a request for alms from the Central Government. This is our fundamental right. When you are spending Rs. 800 crores on Bokaro Steel Plant, why cannot you spend Rs. 100 crores on Salem Steel Plant? All

the three steel plants have been set up in the North. How far will it be in consonance with democratic principles to set up the fourth steel plant also in the North?

We do not have any chemical industries in Tamil Nadu. I would like to stress the need for chemical industries in our State. Salt is available in plenty in Tamil Nadu; Tamil Nadu is next only to Gujarat in the availability of salt. We can set up a profitable chemical plant with the help of potassium chloride, magnesium chloride and magnesium sulphate. In the field of pharmaceutical industry India has progressed to some extent. But there is not a single pharmaceutical industry in the South. I request the Government to consider seriously the feasibility of establishing pharmaceutical industry in the southern part of the country.

18 hrs.

I would also refer to another statement which our Prime Minister has made in her Budget speech. I quote :

“The Central Budget has provided adequately for the plans of the States not only by increasing plan assistance and by providing for substation non-plan assistance but also by raising additional resources in a manner which would bring considerably gains to the revenues of State Governments. I hope that against this background the States will be able to look after their plan and non-plan needs without recourse to unauthorised overdrafts from the Reserve Bank.”

I am not able to understand how this would be possible. Neither is it possible for the Government of Tamil Nadu to impose additional taxes on the people nor they are prepared to take recourse to further taxation. The financial condition of the State is worsening. Shri Dwivedy referred to the recommendations of the Fifth Finance Commission. When the Prime Minister was on a visit to Coimbatore, I presented a memorandum to her. To this memorandum, Shri Sethi gave a reply. He said in that letter that the Finance

Commission was an independent body; that the Government would accept most of the recommendations made by that Commission; and that he could not say anything further in the matter. His contention, according to me, is untenable, unfair and unjust. We know that certain things are done with ulterior political motives. I can enumerate the reasons for the reduction in the quantum of central assistance to Tamil Nadu. In comparison with the recommendations of the Fourth Finance Commission. I would like to state the position which obtains as a result of the recommendations of the Fifth Finance Commission. The share of our State in Central revenues has gone down from 7.2% to 6.9%. Similarly, the share of excise duty has gone down from 8.18% to 6.5%; the income-tax from 8.34% to 8.18%; the additional excise duty from 11% to 9.63%. The amount to be allocated during the period 1969-74 to cover the deficit of the State has come down from Rs. 34 crores to Rs. 23 crores. It should have been made applicable to other States as well; but that is not the position. For Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, Rs. 1300 crores have been earmarked. This indeed is a strange example of impartiality.

Besides, the loan burden of the States is steadily increasing. In 1968-69 the total amount of loan disbursed to the States was Rs. 711 crores. But the amount of loan returned together with the interest to the Centre was Rs. 625 crores, leaving a paltry balance of Rs. 86 crores. These are the gimmicks which go under the guise of financial assistance to the States.

I would like to refer to another thing in so far as Tamil Nadu is concerned. The Fourth Plan financial assistance from the Centre to Tamil Nadu amounts to Rs. 140 crores. But the Centre has demanded the repayment of Rs. 160 crores by way of capital and interest. In this, the Government appears to be acting like the fleeing money-lender and the Shakespeare's Shylock and definitely not like a responsible Government. As suggested by Shri Dwivedy, the Central Government should ponder over this matter and constitute a new Finance Commission which alone can safeguard the financial needs and interests of the States.

In the budget proposals a sum of Rs. 175 crores has been provided to cover the gaps in the resources of certain States. The Members belonging to Opposition Congress decried this special appropriation at the discretion of the Prime Minister on the ground that she could utilise this amount according to her likes and dislikes. Probably they know better the mind of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Government; we are not so familiar with all these things. The benefit that would accrue to Tamil Nadu from this appropriation would be definitely much less; it cannot be more than Rs. 7 or 8 crores.

Tamil Nadu, as you are aware, has recently been ravaged by drought and famine. The Government of Tamil Nadu have taken certain concrete steps to face the serious drought situation. No doubt there has been some rainfall. But that does not mean that all the 3 or 4 crores of people have been benefitted by this rainfall. The drought conditions still continue to afflict a greater part of Tamil Nadu. If we are to tackle the situation successfully, we need at least Rs. 25 crores. I hope that this amount will be given to Tamil Nadu from this sum of Rs. 175 crores.

A provision has also been made to the tune of Rs. 25 crores for the development of dry lands. So far as my district and my constituency is concerned, Dharapuram, Moolanur, Vellakoil, Palani and Palladam are dry areas; so also the Ramanathapuram District in Tamil Nadu. We request the Government to give us substantial financial assistance from this provision. In Moolanur area, the Kannadiputhur scheme is a good scheme which requires an investment of Rs. 2.5 crores, I request the Government of India to extend the financial assistance required for this scheme.

The Central Government are proposing to allocate Rs. 800 crores to the States towards re-scheduling of debts. At least an amount of Rs. 50 crores should go to Tamil Nadu. The Government of India have also stipulated that this money should be returned in a period of 10 years. I would suggest that this time should be extended at least to 25 years.



[ Shri C.T. Dhandapani ]

Now there is so much talk about the Fourth Five Year Plan. In 1966 the Tamil Nadu Government proposed a financial outlay of Rs.564 crores for the Fourth Plan. In 1970 the amount that has been assured to is only Rs.502 crores. The Tamil Nadu Government need a minimum of Rs.575 crores. The Central assistance assured to us is Rs. 202 crores, which means that the State Government has to raise additional resources to the tune of Rs.300 crores. What is the course open to us? We have only to levy more taxes on the people. The D.M.K. Government is not prepared to impose any new taxes on the poor people. The reason is that the Central Government has already exploited all the possible avenues of taxation and reduced the people to the level of beggars. Therefore we are not ready to go in for fresh taxation measures. Not only we have to meet this gap of Rs.300 crores, but the State Government may have to increase the salaries of their employees as a result of the recommendation of the Pay Commission which has been recently constituted. The Central Government should realise all these difficulties faced by Tamil Nadu and increase the financial assistance to the state. I referred to the letter of Shri Sethi in which he had said that the Government would accept most of the recommendations of the Finance Commission. But, in fact, they are not willing to account all the good proposals of the Finance Commission to give one example, the second Finance Commission made recommendation in regard to the State's share of Railway passenger fare earnings on the basis of 1957 Act. But the then Congress Government did not accept that recommendation. The recommendation favourable to the States are not accepted while the unfavourable ones are readily accepted. No body can believe that is a good gesture on the part of Central Government.

Finally inside and outside this House it is repeated ad nauseum that the Central Government should impose the unwanted language, namely Hindi, on the people of Tamil Nadu. I would apprise the enlightened and intelligent sections here that the employees of the Central

Government who hail from South are subjected to many handicaps and hardships on account of Hindi. The South Indians who are in the Central Services are being discriminated against either on the ground of their belonging to southern parts of India or on account of the language of Hindi. Their promotions are hampered. I make bold to say that it is not merely discrimination but in fact a well planned conspiracy. In the Army also there is not much opportunity for the southerners. The Selection examinations are all being conducted in Hindi. They find it difficult to take the examinations and get through. Taking advantage of their knowledge of Hindi, the northerners are able to progress. Just because two or three men of eminence like Gen. Cariappa, Gen. Thimmayya and Gen. Kumarmangalam could come up, it cannot be said that all the people from the South have equal chances and equal opportunities.

There is a lot of talk about national integration in this House and even our Jan Sangh friends propound the theory of Indianisation of Indians. The D.M.K. Party has got real and full faith in national integration. We also propagate this ideal of national integration among the public. When we go back to Tamil Nadu, the man in the street and the worker in the factory confront us after reading newspapers with this question. Along with Congressmen you are talking of national integration. Is it a fact that the Tamilian does not command any respect in Delhi? Is it true that even the Officers from Tamil Nadu do not command respect there? Is it a fact that there is discrimination against South Indians in Delhi? If we require industrial projects in Tamil Nadu, the Central Government do not sanction them. They try to impose Hindi on us. When these things are happening, how can you play the second fiddle to the Congressmen in their chorus of national integration? In fact, we do not have ready answers. We hang our heads in shame. We may try to pacify the students, the employees, the workers and the common people that national integration is very essential. But the young and the workers will not accept our explanations for all the time. A day may come when their emotions may go out of Control. I would like to pose this issue before the

Central Government, whether it is headed by Shrimati Indira Gandhi or anyone else: You are doing injustice to the people of Tamil Nadu and you may have to face enemies one day. We talk of national integration day in and day out, but in the Central Hall of Parliament House there is not a single portrait of any leader of Tamil Nadu. In the Congress there were many valiant freedom fighters who sacrificed their everything Shri Satyāmurthi, Shri V. O. Chidambaranar and for that matter Shri Kamaraj too. But the portrait of none of them is exhibited here. With all this, if you still try to instil in minds of southerners a sense of national integration, it can only be an eye-wash effort and not born out of your genuine desire for national integration.

On behalf of the D. M. K. Party, I welcome the good features contained in this Budget and at the same time I would like to emphasize that unless the proposals that hit the common man are withdrawn we will not be able to achieve the socialism which Shrimati Indira Gandhi is trying to bring about in our country.

श्री हेम राज (कांगड़ा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो बजट हमारी प्रधानमंत्री तथा वित्त मंत्री जी ने पेश किया है, उसके लिये मैं आज उनको बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। आज देश एक मोड़ पर खड़ा हुआ है और जो बजट उन्होंने पेश किया है उसको भी उन्होंने एक नया मोड़ दिया है। उस मोड़ में जैसा अभी आचार्य कृपालानी जी कह रहे थे महात्मा जी का एक स्वप्न था कि देहात की तरफ तबज्जह दी जाय, इस बजट द्वारा पहली भर्तबा इस बात की तरफ ध्यान दिया गया है कि देहात को भी उठाना चाहिये। जिस वक्त हमारे दो प्लान बन चुके थे, उस वक्त एक सवाल पैदा हुआ था कि क्या यहाँ कि जो गरीब जनता है उसको इन योजनाओं से किसी किसम का कोई आराम मिला है, उसकी हालत बँट्टर हुई है या नहीं। उस वक्त हमारे स्वर्गीय नेता पं. जवाहरलाल नेहरू हमारे प्रधान मंत्री थे। उन्होंने एक कमेटी बैठाई और उस कमेटी ने जिसके अध्यक्ष प्रो० महालोबोनिस् थे, यहाँ पर एक रिपोर्ट की। उसमें जो निष्कर्ष निकाला गया था,

वह यह था कि जो अमीर हैं, वे अमीर होते जा रहे हैं और जो गरीब है, वे गरीब होते जा रहे हैं। लेकिन आज पहली दफा जो बजट हमारे सामने पेश हुआ है, उसमें एक झलक सी नजर आती है कि आज का जो समाज है, उसको बदलने की जरूरत है और उसको बदलने के लिये हमारी फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहबा ने एक कदम उठाया है जिसमें हमारे देहातों की समस्याओं को लेकर—चाहे पीने के पानी का सवाल हो, चाहे हाउसिंग का सवाल हो, गरीबों के लिये मकानों का सवाल हो, चाहे बच्चों की परवरिश का सवाल हो, चाहे हमारे मजदूरों की हालत को बेहतर बनाने का सवाल हो, उनकी शिक्षा का सवाल हो, इन सारे मुआमलात को हल करने के लिये एक कदम उठाने की कोशिश उन्होंने इस बजट में की है।

एक तरफ से यह आवाज उठई जा रही है कि इसमें कोई नई चीज नहीं है। अगर नई चीज न होती तो आज हमारे इन साथियों को क्रिटिसाइज करने की जरूरत न पड़ती। आज वह इसी लिये क्रिटिसाइज कर रहे हैं कि इसमें एक नई चीज आई है। इस बजट में एक नया मोड़ दिया है। हालांकि यहाँ पर नुकताचीनी चल रही है कि इस में कोई नई चीज नहीं है, लेकिन आज जनता में एक विश्वास पैदा हुआ है। इस लिये पैदा हुआ है कि जहाँ गरीब किसानों को, गरीब दुकानदारों को, देहात में काम करनेवालों को कोई पैसा मयस्सर नहीं होता था, लेकिन आज बैंकों के नेशलाइजेशन के बाद उसको वहाँ से कर्जा मिलना शुरू हो गया है। जो हाथ का काम करने वाले कारीगर हैं, उनको अपने हुनर से रोजी कमाने के लिये पैसा मिलना शुरू हो गया है, उसको अपना रोजगार चलाने में मदद मिलने लगी है। आज पहली भर्तबा जो हमारे छोटे छोटे किसान है, जिनकी तरफ आज तक गवर्नमेंट ने ध्यान नहीं दिया था, जो इलाके खुशक इलाके हैं, जहाँ बारिश पर मुनहसिर रहना पड़ता था, उनकी तरफ भी ध्यान दिया गया है, उनको इस बजट के जरिये एक नई रोशनी दी गई है—यानी अब स्थाल इरिगेशन पर भी रुपया खर्च किया जायगा। इस

## [ श्री हेमराज ]

वास्ते मैं आज उनको धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने देश को एक नया मोड़ दिखा है जिससे जनता में उत्साह पैदा हुआ है ।

इसका अन्दाजा दो तरह से लगा सकते हैं । जो अमर तबका है वह यह सोचना है कि कहीं मेरे ऊपर इतना बोझ तो नहीं लद रहा है कि मेरी सारी दौलत ही चली जाय और गरीब आदमी यह सोचता है कि कहीं मेरे ऊपर इतना बोझ तो नहीं पड़ रहा है कि मैं हमेशा के लिये दबता चला जाऊँ, अपने रोजाना के खर्चों को भी न चला सकूँ । इस लिहाज से अगर देखा जाय तो जो ऊपर का तबका है उसने भी इसका स्वागत किया है और जो निचला तबका है उसने भी इसका स्वागत किया है, जिससे पता चलता है कि देश की हवा आज इसके हक में है । जो बजट आज संसद में पेश हुआ है, उसकी हर तरफ से सराहना हुई है । इसमें किसी किस्म का विरोध जनता की तरफ से नहीं आया है । लेकिन जहाँ देहाती माइनों के लिये किसानों के लिए आपने कुछ राहतें दी हैं, डेवलपमेंट के लिए कुछ पैसा रखा है उसके साथ साथ इनडायरेक्ट टैक्स के जरिए से उनपर बोझ भी जल दिया है जिससे गरीब तबका परेशानी महसूस करता है । आज के जमाने में रुपए की कीमत, जोकि पहले 16 आने थी, अब तीन आने रह गई है । वह तबका महसूस करता है कि उसका गुजारा उसमें नहीं चल सकता है । छोटी-छोटी चीजें जो हैं उनपर एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगाई गई है जैसे कि मिट्टी का तेल है, पेट्रोल है । हर एक जगह अभी बिजली नहीं पहुंची है । देहातों में आज भी लालटेन जलती है जिसके लिए उसे मिट्टी के तेल की जरूरत पड़ती है । इसी तरह से पेट्रोल का सवाल है । देहातों में हर एक जगह पर रेल नहीं है । ज्यादातर बसें ही चलती है । जहाँ से मैं आता हूँ वहाँ पर सिवाय बस के रेल का कोई जरिया ही नहीं है । इसलिए जहाँ तक पेट्रोल का सवाल है, मिट्टी के तेल का सवाल है उसके जरिए से उस तबके पर बोझ पड़ने वाला है । मैं समझता यह जो चीजें

जिनसे देहातों पर बोझ पड़ने वाला है, जो एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगाई गई हैं चाहे वह मिट्टी के तेल पर, पेट्रोल पर या सोडा ऐश पर मुनासिब नहीं है । देहात में अगर किसी को साबुन लेना है तो उस साबुन में सोडा ऐश, सोडा कास्टिक काम में आता है । जिस वक्त यहाँ पर आपका बजट पेश होता है उसके साथ ही जो कीमतें होती हैं वह चढ़ जाती हैं । आपके पास कोई मशीनरी नहीं है जिसके जरिए से उन कीमतों को आप चढ़ने से रोक सकें । यह ठीक है कि आपकी तरफ से कहा जाता है कि इसका असर डेसीमल कुछ पड़ेगा लेकिन जो रिटेलर होते हैं, उनके पास जब चीज होती है तो वे उसका पूरा दाम ले लेते हैं — खूब बढ़ा चढ़ा कर ले लेते हैं । इसलिए यहाँ पर इस किस्म की बात कहने से देहात वालों की कोई रक्षा नहीं होती है । इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि यह जो एक्साइज ड्यूटी खाम तौर पर शुगर, केरोसिन आयल, पेट्रोल, सोडा ऐश, सोडासलफेट वगैरह पर बढ़ाई गई है उसको कम से कम हटा देना चाहिए ताकि जो गरीब तबका है उसको कुछ राहत मिल सके ।

इसके साथ साथ मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आपकी जितनी सौसायटी है, जितने लोग हम यहाँ पर बैठे हैं वे सारे लोग इनकम ग्रुप या मिडिल इनकम ग्रुप से आते हैं । अब इस ग्रुप को जो राहत दी गई है वह सिर्फ दो सौ रुपए की दी गई है । यानी इनकम टैक्स की जो शरह रखी गई है वह बजाय 4800 के (जिसके दो बच्चे हों) पांच हजार रखी गई है । इससे पहले मूर्तलिंगम कमेटी ने साढ़े सात हजार की लिमिट की सिफारिश की थी । उसके अलावा मैं समझता हूँ अगर बजाय 5 हजार के उसकी लिमिट 6 हजार कर दी जाये तो भी काफी राहत मिल सकती है । इस समय साढ़े सात हजार की इनकम वाले जो हैं उनकी तादाद 20 लाख है । ये जो 20 लाख हैं उनमें कुछ ऐसे लोग भी आते हैं जो रिफंड लेते हैं..... (व्यवधान)..... मैं चाहता हूँ कि 6 हजार की

लिमिट रहनी चाहिए ! .... (व्यवधान) .... मैं समझता हूँ कि मेरी जो यह तजवीज है उसको सरकार मंजूर कर लेगी ।

इसके साथ साथ मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा जो पब्लिक सेक्टर है उसके मुताबिक रोज नुकताचीनी होती है । इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि जो हमारी पब्लिक सेक्टर एन्टरप्राइजेज हैं उनमें हर एक में घाटा नहीं है । यह ठीक है कि हिन्दुस्तान स्टील में घाटा है । मैं जब यूगोस्लाविया गया था तो वहाँ पर मैंने उनके सेल्फ मैनेजमेंट एन्टरप्राइजेज देखे । वहाँ की सरकार, चाहे कम्पून लेविल पर, चाहे रिपब्लिक लेविल पर या फेडरल लेविल पर, जो कारखाने बनते हैं उनका इन्तजाम जो उसमें काम करने वाले होते हैं उनके सुधर कर देती है । वहाँ पर लाजिमी होता है कि उसी से सूद निकालेंगे, डेप्रिसिएशन और सारी चीजें निकालेंगे । अगर उसमें वे मुनाफा कमाते हैं तो उनकी पे में बढ़ती जाती है लेकिन अगर घाटा हो जाये तो उनकी पे भी कम हो जाती है । इस तरह से उनको इंसेन्टिव भी रहता है कि अगर कारखाने में घाटा हुआ तो लाजिमी तौर पर उनकी मजदूरी भी कम हो जायेगी । उसी तरह से यहां पर भी मजदूरों का कारखाने में साक्षीदार बनाना चाहिये ताकि वे इस बात को महसूस करें कि कारखाने को घाटे में नहीं चलाना है । लेकिन यहां पर आज हालत यह है जैसे कि दुर्गापुर का कारखाना है, उसमें हड़ताल हो जाती है, आफिसर्स काम नहीं कर सकते हैं । तो यह हमारी कमजोरी है जिसको रफा किया जाना चाहिए । अगर हम इसको रफा नहीं करते तो हमारी पब्लिक अन्डरटेकिंग हमेशा घाटे में चलेगी । इस तरफ हमें जरूर ध्यान देना चाहिये । हमारी जो पालिसी होनी चाहिए वह प्रोडक्शन ओरिएन्टेड होनी चाहिए, लिविंग बेज ओरिएन्टेड नहीं होनी चाहिए । लिविंग बेज ओरिएन्टेड होने से मजदूर काम नहीं करते और फिर उस हालत में प्रोडक्शन बढ़ नहीं सकता । अगर प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़ता

है तो सोशलिज्म की तरफ आप अच्छा कदम जबकि डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन का सवाल आयेगा—आप उठा नहीं सकते ।

इसके साथ साथ एक चीज और अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ । यहां पर सेठी साइब बैठे हुए हैं । हमारे यहां हर तीसरे साल फाइनंस कमीशन बैठता है लेकिन उसके टर्म्स आफ रेफ्रेन्स में यूनियन टेरिटरीज का कोई भी जिक्र नहीं होता । जितनी स्टेट्स हैं उनके सम्बन्ध में तो फाइनेंस कमीशन से कह दिया जाता है कि कितना कितना हिस्सा किस स्टेट का बनता है, उसको निकाल दीजिए लेकिन जहां तक यूनियन टेरिटरीज का सवाल है उनका उसमें भी कोई भी रेफ्रेन्स नहीं होता । और जिस समय कोई यूनियन टेरिटरी स्टेटहुड मांगती है तो यह कह दिया जाता है कि आप फाइनैशिली बायबिल नहीं हैं इसलिए स्टेटहुड नहीं मिल सकता । मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस वक्त फाइनेंस कमीशन बैठता है तो उस वक्त यूनियन टेरिटरीज के सम्बन्ध में भी कमेटी बैठ जानी चाहिए ताकि वह इस बात को देख सके कि यूनियन टेरिटरीज का सेन्ट्रल एक्साइज, एक्साइज ड्यूटी, कस्टम्स या इनकम टैक्स में से किस कदर हिस्सा मिल सकता है । जहां तक हिमाचल प्रदेश का सवाल है इस सदन ने और राज्य सभा ने भी सपोर्ट किया है कि असकां स्टेटहुड मिलना चाहिये लेकिन आज इस बात पर मामला भ्रटका पड़ा है कि फाइनेंस बायबिलिटी नहीं है । पिछले साल रेव्वेन्यू और एक्सपेंडीचर बराबर हो गये थे लेकिन उससे साथ फिर यह शर्त जोड़ दी गई कि यह जो है वह नान-प्लान एक्सपेंडीचर है इसलिए घाटा है । लेकिन अगर आप आसाम जम्मू कश्मीर को स्ट्रैटेजिक स्टेट्स मानकर उनका घाटा उठाने के लिए तैयार हैं तो फिर मैं नहीं समझता कि हिमाचल प्रदेश के लिए क्या रकाम वट हां सकती है । सन 62 में चीन की लड़ाई और सन 65 में पाकिस्तान की लड़ाई में अगर भारत वर्ष में सबसे ज्यादा कोई शहीद हुए हैं तो वे हिमाचल प्रदेश के डोंगरा नौजवान ही थे । उन्हीं बहादुर नौजवानों को यह कीमत

[ श्री हेमराज ]

उठानी पड़ रही है कि उनसे यह कहा जा रहा है कि जबतक आपकी फाइनेंशियल बायबिलिटी नहीं होती तबतक हम आपको स्टेटहुड देने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। हमारी कुर्बानियों का यह फल हमें दिया जा रहा है। इसके साथ साथ आपने पंजाब और हरियाणा के सम्बन्ध में एक कमीशन बिठाने का फैसला किया है—कमीशन इससे पहले भी बैठे थे। शाह कमीशन पंजाब रिआर्गनाइजेशन के सम्बन्ध में बैठा था। उसकी जो सिफारिश हुई उसमें हिली एरियाज हिमाचल प्रदेश का मिलने की सिफारिश की थी लेकिन वह नहीं दिये गए। कालका के सम्बन्ध में उसकी सिफारिश थी लेकिन यह भी हमें नहीं दिया गया।

जो इलाके पंजाब से हिमाचल में गये हैं उनका भी चण्डागढ़ में सातवां हिस्सा था। लेकिन उसके बारे में हमका नजरअन्दाज कर दिया गया। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जिस वक्त आपका कमीशन बैठे उस वक्त यह चीजें भी उसके सामने हों।

साथ ही मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो चार प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं यानी सतलज—व्यास लिंक, भाखरा डैम, पांग डैम और जामेन्द्रनगर पावर-हाउस, वह सारी की सारी हिमाचल प्रदेश के इलाके में हैं, लेकिन इस चीज को भी नजर-अन्दाज कर दिया गया है और उनका सारा इन्तजाम पंजाब के पास रक्खा गया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इनका इन्तजाम पंजाब से लेकर हिमाचल प्रदेश के सुपुर्द करना चाहिए।

कल भी मैंने एक सवाल आपके सामने रक्खा था और वह था जो हिमाचल के नान-गजेटेड एम्प्लॉयर्स है उनके सम्बन्ध में। वहाँ पर आपने दिल्ली की स्केल्स ही दी है। उस इलाके में आज बीस सालों से पंजाब के स्केल्स दिये जा रहे थे, लेकिन आपने उनके बारे में फैसला कर दिया कि दिल्ली के स्केल्स दिये जायेंगे। लेफ्टिनेंट गवर्नर को भी जो पावर्स थी उन्हें रद्द करके आपने यह स्केल लागू किये हैं। इसका नतीजा यह हो रहा

है कि वहाँ के एक लाख एम्प्लॉइज स्ट्राइक पर जाने वाले हैं। वहाँ के जो सफ्टेयरिस्ट के एम्प्लॉइज हैं उन पर भी आपने वही स्केल लागू कर दिये हैं। नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि वहाँ का सारा काम टप हाने वाला है। आप इसकी जिम्मेदारी लेने के लिये भी तैयार नहीं हैं और हमको स्टेट का दर्जा भी देने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं अगर आप हमको स्टेट का दर्जा दें तो हम अपना जिम्मेदारियों को सम्भालने के लिये तैयार हैं और यह आपका सिर दर्द न बने। इसलिए मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि जो स्केल्स पंजाब में मिलते हैं वहाँ उनको दिलवाये जायें। साथ ही जो कमीशन बन रहा है उसके टर्म्स आफ रिफरंस क्लियर तौर पर दिये जायें और जो हिल एरियाज है वह हिमाचल प्रदेश के साथ मिलना चाहिले।

इन शब्दों के साथ जो बजट हमारे वित्त मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री ने रक्खा है, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal) : Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am glad that I could get this chance at last. I was carefully listening to the speeches made, especially by two hon. Members, the leader of the Communist party and the leader of the PSP. Mr. Dange has characterised us as having become black on coming over this side.

AN HON. MEMBER: Black revolutionaries.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : Black revolutionaries or whatever it is. We cannot compete with Mr. Dange on the blackest record of his party during the freedom struggle. (Interruption.) We cannot come anywhere near him—(Interruptions.) When Mr. Dange was speaking, I was listening; so, they must hear me. Now I would advise Mr. Dange to prove his bonafides to his Marxist colleagues who have characterised him as the agent of British imperialism, and that was the cause of the break of that party. Sir, the memory of

the people is very short, and the leader of the party. . . .

**SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA (Begusarai):** Sir, a point of order. (*Interruptions*) You are not the Speaker: learn manners.

**SHRI SHEO NARAIN:** You learn manners.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** What is the point of order ?

**SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA:** My point of order is that just now Mr Venkatasubbaiah, while speaking on the budget, made a personal allegation against Mr. Dange.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Mr. Dange is a Member of this House; he will take care of it. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH:** Mr. Dange had made a personal attack on Mr. Morarji Desai here.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** What is the point of order ?

**SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA:** My point of order is that Mr. Venkatasubbaiah made a personal attack against Mr. Dange. (*Interruptions*)

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** What is the point of order ?

**SHRI YOGENDRA SHARMA:** To say that he is a British agent is impermissible. All the members of this House are hon. members and patriotic citizens of India. To call them foreign agents is a dishonour to the House. (*Interruptions*)

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Everything is on the record of the House. All are hon. Members of this House and they can defend themselves. There is no point of order. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH:** The splitting of the Congress and our sitting in the opposition has immensely pleased Mr. Dange. His timely interventions and statements have gone into history. I am glad he is taking credit for splitting the

party. I wish him well in taking this country still further towards totalitarianism by bullying and blackmailing, which he and his party are adopting.

Mr. Dwivedy made good tight-rope-walking, in the true PSP way, in speaking on the budget. He wants to hunt with the hounds and run with here. He was the greatest beneficiary of this splitting of the Congress. That is obvious when we see the recent developments.

The Prime Minister has stated that this budget is going to bring millennium and socialism to this country. But I do not find any socialist content in it. We are thoroughly disappointed at this budget. In today's *Times of India* there is a cartoon where it is written:

“Yes, prices are going up. Luckily we have his salary, some money in the post office savings bank and an insurance policy is maturing next month”.

That is the result of the budget proposals brought forward by the Prime Minister.

Several hon. members have criticised the budget for various reasons. They have criticised the social content, the employment orientation production orientation, etc. in the budget. I ask whether all these objectives are being achieved by this budget. When the budget was presented, there were comments everywhere and even in the Press. Big industrialists like Mr. R.P. Goenka said, it is an excellent budget. It has also won acclamation from the capitalist classes, more than the ordinary classes of people.

I would now deal with another aspect of the matter. The rural works programme is being designed to give assistance to the weaker sections of the society, people who are under-privileged and who could not get the bare minimum necessities of life in spite of the fact that we have freedom for the last 22 years. While this budget talks of such objectives, we have to go through the figures carefully to really know whether it fulfils those objectives. If we carefully go through the figures of funds provided in this budget we find that it is the same allocation that used to be made from time

[ Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah ]

to time for the community development programme and national extension service schemes of the various State Governments. The only change that the government has made is to put all such separate allotments under one head to give the impression that it has given a booster to the rural works programme which is going to provide employment to thousands and lakhs of unemployed people in the villages. In spite of the various measures undertaken by the government so far it is a sad commentary that the agriculturist, the labourer, the common man could not get the bare necessities of life.

Another factor which contributes to the economic growth is the maintenance of law and order. Neither in the Economic Survey nor in the budget is there any reference to the law and order situation. If we look at the law and order situation in various parts of the country we notice that law is violated with impunity, there is no rule of law but only the law of the jungle and yet no action is taken by the government. We also see the strange spectacle of the constituent parties of the government fighting with each other and the Chief Minister of a State characterising his own Government as barbarous. All this go to show that the law and order situation in some of the States is very bad. And yet the government does not want to interfere or afford security to the peaceful citizens of this country, because it fears that if it interferes in certain States it may lose the support of certain parties here and this government, which is a minority government, may run into difficulties.

Another factor which comes in the way of economic growth is the instability of this government and the State Governments. Apart from the instability of governments in various States because of other reasons the Central Government is deliberately creating instability in the States. The Prime Minister with all the power of patronage at her command creates conditions for pulling down State Ministries which do not toe her line and encourages those which support her. This is a dangerous trend and a bad sign for the development of democracy in this country.

The separate provision of Rs. 175 crores for assistance to the States by the Prime Minister at her discretion is only meant to purchase the amenability of such States which are opposed to her and to topple those governments which do not toe her line.

If the Government is sincere about according financial assistance to States which are really in need, it should be governed by a commission which will go into the merits of each case and apportion the amount that is needed.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Not the Prime Minister's discretion.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : As long as it is not done, we can only come to the conclusion that this huge amount has been kept to do certain things that will go against the very principles of democracy in this country.

About regional imbalance nothing has been said in this Budget. Regional imbalance is a matter that requires the urgent attention of Government. For drought relief, development of backward areas, drinking water and basic amenities, only high sounding phrases of socialism and high sounding words of catering to the needs of the poor will not satisfy the millions of the population in this country. It is necessary that regional imbalance is corrected.

Recently a deputation was led by the Chief Minister of Andhra with regard to providing certain funds outside the Plan for the development of Rayalaseema. It is a peculiar phenomenon where a Chief Minister waits in deputation on the Prime Minister. I do not know what was the motive behind the Chief Minister waiting in deputation and trying to get the widest publicity without doing anything for the development of this area.

If it has to be implemented sincerely and honestly, it is high time that Government sets up a statutory board for drought-affected areas, as the Desert Area Development Board has been set up for desert areas

and try to correct backwardness, drought and regional imbalance. Unless that is done, it is no use saying that everything is being done and the agricultural class or the middle class peasantry and labourers are going to be benefited by this Budget.

Another important point which I want to stress upon is about leaving the corporate sector from being taxed. Some hon. Members tried to defend the Government by saying that the tax on corporate sector has reached the saturation point and it must be left out so that there must be enough capital formation. If you go into the tax structure, specially with regard to the corporate sector, you will find that there is no method in the haphazard manner in which the slab system is introduced and the corporate sector is functioning today. It is necessary that the taxation system for the corporate sector must be rationalised so that people who really are to be taxed are taxed.

A point was made that with regard to taxation we have reached the maximum point. Measures have been taken to remove the exemption of expenditure incurred on guest houses, entertainment and all that. If it is not properly checked and implemented, it will lead to further blackmarketing and people will take recourse to all sorts of things to have more money in the black market and in that manner try to harm the economy of this country. So, the rationalisation of our tax structure is the most important thing that has to be attempted. It is no use increasing taxation on certain quarters and, at the same time, making it easy for such sections by having many loopholes to evade taxes and have the benefit of this tax evasion.

No mention has been made with regard to tax evasion and what measures are being taken to check this tax evasion. A colossal amount has been referred to which has been going into black-market by way of tax evasion in this country. I would like to know whether any attempts are being made to rationalise, re-orient, the system by which we can check this tax evasion. Whenever the Finance Minister or any other Minister replies, he only says that tax evasion is there and that they are trying to

take some effective measures to collect taxes. But when we see the comparative figures from year to year, we do not find any marked improvement with regard to collection of taxes. If tax evasion is effectively checked, it will bring in more revenue to our coffers.

Another important point that I want to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister is with regard to indirect taxation. Indirect taxation has been on increase. Time and again, it has been criticised on the floor of the House as to how indirect taxes are responsible for rise in prices of consumer goods. Today, the prices of basic necessities of life have shot up. But we are still going in for these indirect taxes.

Another point is about deficit financing. There should be some limit to this deficit financing. As has been stated, an amount of Rs. 230 crores or so has been left as a gap. But I think, as usual, when the Finance Minister comes with his Budget next year, he will say that the estimated revenue receipts could not be realised as were anticipated because of various reasons and that gap will increase the deficit financing increase and more inflationary trends will be seen in the economy with the result that the middle-class and the ordinary people will be hard hit. So, there should be a realistic estimate and an attempt to see in what manner the deficit financing can be checked.

In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister with regard to the counterfeit, forged, currency that is very much in circulation. I do not know what measures have been taken and whether any intelligence department is at work. We have been hearing a good number of such things where forged currency is very much in circulation. It is very dangerous to the economy and it will add further to inflationary trends in the economy. That will ruin the country. I want the hon. Minister to take notice of this fact also.

As regards certain water and boundary disputes, I hope, that the Government of India will refrain from doing anything that will lead to the growth of tension between State and State, which will lead



[ Shri P. Venkatasubbeiah ]

to a sort of security in the Government. Situated as we are with the federd. Constitution, it is the duty of the Prime Minister, as the federal Prime Minister, to preserve and protect the federal structure of the Constitution and see that the States, economy and the States' stability are not disturbed and any advantage of being in power should not be taken to disturb the stability of the Ministries and she should see that all these outstanding disputes are settled amicably and also to the satisfaction of the States involved.

With these few remarks, I would say that the Budget does not have any social content for the common man.

**श्री रघुवीर सिंह शास्त्री (बागपत) :**  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बजट को देखने से पता चलता है कि इसका ढांचा और ढर्रा पहले की तरह पुराना है। साथ ही जहाँ यह झलक आती है कि गत्यावरोध है, वहाँ यह जरूर मालूम पड़ता है कि बजट बनाने वालों ने कुछ करने की बात सोची, कुछ कहना चाहा, कोई रास्ता ढूँढना चाहा। लेकिन यह भी मालूम पड़ता है कि वे करना चाह रहे हैं, लेकिन कर नहीं पा रहे हैं, कुछ कहना चाह रहे हैं, लेकिन कह नहीं पा रहे हैं, रास्ता खोज रहे हैं, लेकिन रास्ता नहीं मिल रहा है। आशा है कि अगले वर्ष तक इसी दृष्टि और इसी भावना से वे अगले वर्ष के बजट में कोई रास्ता ढूँढ पायेंगे।

इन बजट में यह बात अच्छी है कि देश के कमजोर वर्ग पर कम से कम टैक्स लगाने का यत्न किया गया है। मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूँ। यह पहला बजट हमारे सामने है, जिसमें कमजोर वर्ग पर कम से कम टैक्स लगाने की बात की गई है। परन्तु यह देख कर जरूर खेद होता है कि जिसे समाज का कमजोर वर्ग कहा जाता है, और जो बहुमत का वर्ग है, उस वर्ग को कोई राहत देने के लिए इस बजट में कोई ठोस प्रस्ताव या ठोस कार्यक्रम की झलक नहीं आती है।

ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि हमारे देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था और हमारा आर्थिक ढांचा एक जगह पर आकर टिक गये हैं। 1960-61 से हमारी प्रति-व्यक्ति भ्रामदनी 300 रुपये के आस-पास चक्कर काट रही है। हम बहुत प्रगती नहीं कर पाये हैं। नेशनल सैम्पल सरवे ने उपभोक्ताओं के व्यय के सम्बन्ध में जो सर्वे किया है उसके अनुसार आज भी इस देश में 80 फीसदी आदमी ऐसे हैं जो 1 रुपये से कम खर्च कर पाते हैं और उनमें भी आठ, नौ करोड़ आदमी ऐसे हैं, जिनको 8 आने से भी कम खर्च करने को मिलता है। ऐसी स्थिति में यह आवश्यक है कि बजट में यह बात झलके, कि उसमें यह गन्ध आती हो कि देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था की प्रगती अधिक से अधिक तीव्र हो।

यह बजट हमारे जनतंत्र का बजट है, जिस का मतलब है जनता का बजट। इस देश की 83 फीसदी जनता गांवों में रहती है। इस देश के राष्ट्रीय कोष का 50 प्रतिशत गांव का भ्रामदनी कृषि व्यवसाय में लगा हुआ आदमी भरता है। इस बजट को जनता का बजट कहना तभी सार्थक हो सकेगा, जबकि इसमें ग्राम की जनता ग्राम में रहने वाले कृषक और दूसरे भूमिहीन लोगों को प्रधानता दी गई हो, उनके हितों का संरक्षण और पोषण इसमें स्पष्ट रूप से झलकता हो।

लेकिन यह देखकर खेद होता है कि ग्रामीण अर्थ-व्यवस्था, कृषि, ग्रामीणोग और गांवों के विकास कार्यों के लिए कोई भी ठोस प्रस्ताव और कार्यक्रम इस बजट में नहीं है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश में चाहे सबकों की बात हो या बिजली की, संचार-साधनों की बात हो या शिक्षा अथवा स्वास्थ्य-सेवा की, इन सबके प्रसार के लिए हमें सबसे पहले ग्रामों को मुख्यता देनी चाहिए। अगर हम अपने ग्रामों को समृद्ध कर सकेंगे, अगर हम उनकी अर्थ-व्यवस्था को सुधार सकेंगे, यदि हम वहाँ के लोगों का कल्याण कर सकेंगे, तो देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था सुधरेगी, देश

का कल्याण होगा और देश की आर्थिक प्रगति होगी। अगर हम ऐसा नहीं कर पाये, तो फिर यह कहना बड़ा मुश्किल हो जायेगा कि यह देश की जनता का बजट है।

सभी मानते हैं कि अभी तक हमारे देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था कृषि पर आधारित है और हमारी कृषि अभी तक प्रकृति और मौसम की कृपा पर आधारित है। छेद की बात है कि हम अभी तक कृषि को अपने विकास की गति पर आधारित नहीं कर पाये हैं। यदि हम इसी प्रकार प्रकृति और मौसम पर आधारित रहेंगे और कृषि को उस पर आधारित रखेंगे और यह सोचेंगे कि हमारा अर्थ-तन्त्र इसी प्रकार प्रगति करेगा, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हम कभी भी निश्चित अवस्था में नहीं जा सकेंगे।

अगर देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था की दृष्टि से निश्चित होना है तो हम मौसम और प्रकृति की कृपा पर निश्चित नहीं हो सकते। फिर तो हमें अपना बजट भी और अपने आंकड़े भी और अपनी सारी जो विचारधारा है वह प्रकृति के ही भरोसे करनी पड़ेगी। उसमें मानव की सरकार की ओर हमारे समाज की जो कर्तव्यता है उसका कितना भाग हो उसके लिये आवश्यक है कि हम यह देखें कि प्रकृति क्या करती है, मौसम क्या करता है और हम

क्या कर रहे हैं? जब हम यह सोच पाएंगे हम यह तय कर पाएंगे कि हम क्या कर रहे हैं तब हम यह समझ सकेंगे कि हम उत्पादन की दिशा में निश्चित प्रगति कर रहे हैं और उत्पादन की दृष्टि से हम निश्चित हो सकते हैं। इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि कृषि के संबंध में हमें यह सोचना होगा कि हम कृषि को विकास पर आधारित करें और कृषि पर आधारित जो व्यवस्था है अगर विकास पर कृषि आधारित होगी.....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Hon. Member may continue his speech tomorrow.

#### BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

#### FORTY-SIXTH REPORT

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAGHU RAMAIAH) : Sir, I beg to present the Forty-Sixth Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

19.02 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, March 13, 1970/Phalguna 22, 1891 (Saka).*