

the Table a copy of Report of the Committee on Utilisation of External Assistance together with a statement containing Government's decisions on the recommendations of the Committee. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-2728/64].

MONOPOLIES COMMISSION

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Government Notification dated 16th April, 1964 regarding the appointment of Monopolies Commission. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-2729/64].

ANNUAL REPORT OF DVC

The Minister of Irrigation and Power (Dr. K. L. Rao): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of Annual Report of the Damodar Valley Corporation and Audit Report for the year 1962-63 under sub-section (5) of section 45 of the Damodar Valley Corporation Act, 1948. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-2730/64].

ANNUAL ACCOUNTS & AUDIT REPORT OF ALL INDIA INSTITUTE OF MEDICAL SCIENCES

The Minister of Health (Dr. Sushila Nayar): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of Annual Accounts of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi, for the year 1962-63 along with the Audit Report thereon, under sub-section (4) of section 18 of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences Act, 1956. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-2731/64].

NOTIFICATIONS UNDER CUSTOMS ACT AND CENTRAL EXCISE AND SALT ACT

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Finance (Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha): I beg to lay on the Table—
(1) a copy each of the following

Notification under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962:—

- (i) G.S.R. 528 dated the 4th April, 1964.
- (ii) G.S.R. 529 dated the 4th April, 1964.
- (iii) G.S.R. 530 dated the 4th April, 1964.
- (iv) G.S.R. 531 dated the 4th April, 1964.
- (v) G.S.R. 532 dated the 4th April, 1964.
- (vi) G.S.R. 533 dated the 4th April, 1964.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2732/64].

(2) a copy each of the following Notifications under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962 and section 38 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944, making certain further amendments to the Customs and Central Excise Duties Export Drawback (General) Rules, 1960:—

- (i) G.S.R. 534 dated the 4th April, 1964.
- (ii) G.S.R. 535 dated the 4th April, 1964.
- (iii) G.S.R. 536 dated the 4th April, 1964.
- (iv) G.S.R. 537 dated the 4th April, 1964.
- (v) G.S.R. 538 dated the 4th April, 1964.
- (vi) G.S.R. 539 dated the 4th April, 1964.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2733/64].

12.12 hrs.

*DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—contd. MINISTRY OF FINANCE

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Finance.

*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

DEMAND NO. 19—MINISTRY OF FINANCE**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,03,75,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Ministry of Finance'."

DEMAND NO. 20—CUSTOMS**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,25,10,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Customs'."

DEMAND NO. 21—UNION EXCISE DUTIES**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,21,41,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Union Excise Duties'."

DEMAND NO. 22—TAXES ON INCOME INCLUDING CORPORATION TAX ETC.**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,22,00,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Taxes on Income including Corporation Tax, etc.'"

DEMAND NO. 23—STAMPS**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,91,94,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Stamps'."

DEMAND NO. 24—AUDIT**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,79,55,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Audit'."

DEMAND NO. 25—CURRENCY AND COINAGE**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,90,92,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Currency and Coinage'."

DEMAND NO. 26—MINT**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,42,63,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Mint'."

DEMAND NO. 27—KOLAR GOLD MINES**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,72,44,000 be granted to the

President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Kolar Gold Mines'."

DEMAND No. 28—PENSIONS AND OTHER RETIREMENT BENEFITS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,90,50,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Pensions and Other Retirement Benefits'."

DEMAND No. 29—TERRITORIAL AND POLITICAL PENSIONS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,98,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Territorial and Political Pensions'."

DEMAND No. 30—OPIUM

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 52,37,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Opium'."

DEMAND No. 31—OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,48,31,59,000 be granted to the

President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Finance'."

DEMAND No. 32—PLANNING COMMISSION

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,01,41,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Planning Commission'."

DEMAND No. 33—GRANTS-IN-AID TO STATE AND UNION TERRITORY GOVERNMENTS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,00,66,30,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Grants-in-aid to State and Union Territory Governments'."

DEMAND No. 34—MISCELLANEOUS ADJUSTMENTS BETWEEN THE CENTRAL AND STATE AND UNION TERRITORY GOVERNMENTS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 25,83,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Miscellaneous adjustments between the Central and

State and Union Territory Governments'."

DEMAND NO. 35—PRE-PARTITION PAYMENTS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,68,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1963, in respect of 'Pre-partition payments'."

DEMAND NO. 116—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON THE INDIA SECURITY PRESS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,93,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Capital outlay on the India Security Press'."

DEMAND NO. 117—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON CURRENCY AND COINAGE

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,64,00,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on currency and coinage'."

DEMAND NO. 118—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON MINTS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 30,33,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum

necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Mints'."

DEMAND NO. 119—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON KOLAR GOLD MINES

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,13,48,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Kolar Gold Mines'."

DEMAND NO. 120—COMMUTED VALUE OF PENSIONS

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,13,48,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Commuted value of Pensions'."

DEMAND NO. 121—OTHER CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,63,41,79,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Finance'."

DEMAND NO. 122—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON GRANTS TO STATE AND UNION TERRITORY GOVERNMENTS FOR DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 25,86,88,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Grants to State and Union Territory Governments for Development'."

DEMAND NO. 123—LOANS AND ADVANCES BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,27,95,03,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Loans and Advances by the Central Government'."

Mr. Speaker: Those who want to move their cut motions may kindly send slips indicating the numbers of their cut motions.

Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to speak on cut motions Nos. 10, 11 and 12 which I have moved. These are matters of not the gravest importance, but they do concern the operation of various activities of the Finance Ministry and I would appreciate the Minister of Finance considering the matters which are covered in these three cut motions.

The first of these cut motions arises out of a great amount of discontent among Central Government employees that has been caused in my constituency. Rajkot happens to be classified as a C class city along with many others.

It is done on the basis of population. I have no quarrel at all with the classification of the cities beca-

use it is done on the basis of population. Among other C class cities in our country are Guntur and Vijawada in Andhra, Jamshedpur and Ranchi in Bihar, Baroda in Gujarat, Cochin and Trivandrum in Kerala, Bhopal, Gwalior and Indore in Madhya Pradesh, Belgaum and Hubli in Mysore, and so on.

Now, Sir, recently some cities were upgraded into A and B categories on the basis of population, and those that fell below the B level remained as C Class cities. That is perfectly fair. But, Sir, when it came to laying down the scales of house rent and compensatory allowances, I feel that the Central Government servants in C Class cities have a legitimate grievance in that the application of certain principles does not seem to have been properly made. For instance in regard to house rent, there is a sliding scale of 15 per cent with a minimum of Rs. 20 for A Class cities and 7½ per cent with a minimum of Rs. 15 for B Class cities. One would have imagined, therefore, that there would be a smaller percentage for C Class cities with a floor. But in this case there is flat rate of Rs. 7½. Instead of there being a floor, there is a ceiling. Instead of the minimum being set, it is said that no Central Government employee of a C Class city would get house rent allowance if his salary is over Rs. 143. If there are floors laid down for classes A and B with regard to house rent allowance, why should there be a ceiling of a very low nature in regard to C Class cities? I am pleading for uniformity of treatment though with a lower percentage. In two cases there are floors and in the other case there is a ceiling. I feel this is a hardship to government employees in C Class cities.

In the case of compensatory allowance the position is a little worse. While 10 per cent with a minimum of Rs. 7½ is laid down for A Class cities and 5 per cent for B Class cities, there is no compensatory allowance

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at all for C Class cities. I do feel that while it may be $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent or 3 per cent, there should be some compensatory allowance even for employees in C Class cities. This, Sir, may be a small matter, but it does affect a large number of humble government employees employed by the Government of India in different parts of the country including, as I said, in my own constituency. I would appreciate it if the Finance Minister would consider whether there is not any justification in the grievances that these employees entertain.

My next cut motion No. 11 is in regard to the grievances of agents and employees of the Life Insurance Corporation. These employees were all out for nationalisation before it took place. Now, unfortunately, they are entertaining second thoughts, because they feel that the management of the Life Insurance Corporation is much more bureaucratic, much more heartless and much more exploitative than any private insurance company had shown itself before. In the last few days I have received representations and complaints from life insurance employees in various parts of the country who all complain bitterly about the treatment given by the management of the LIC to different classes of employees. Here is a letter from the Association of LIC Agents based at Bombay. I will read a few sentences from it. It says:

"My association regrets to state that whatever communications we have addressed to the Chairman or the Managing Director of the LIC, in a majority of cases, no reply has been forthcoming from the former and replies of the latter are always evasive. In fact, two memoranda submitted in 1960 and 1963 to the Chairman putting forward our grievances and constructive demands have been totally ignored. The second memorandum has not been even acknowledged by the Chairman.

My Association has, therefore, now decided to ventilate our grievances with the Members of the Parliament....."

Another letter comes from the Bombay LIC Employees' Co-operative Canteen Ltd. Here is one sentence from that letter:

"The meeting also unanimously passed a resolution condemning the retrograde and anti-employee attitude adopted by the bureaucratic officials of this premier life insurance institution."

A third letter comes from Calcutta which says:

"I solicit the favour of your attention to an extremely unfair practice followed by LIC in the matter of forwarding applications of its technical staff like chartered accountants, engineers etc."

I am drawing attention to this not with a view to pointing to any specific grievance but with a view to suggesting to the hon. Minister that he might impress on the LIC the desirability of better channels of communications and quicker redress to whatever representations are sent by employees to this institution. As I said, the employees of the LIC, like employees of other nationalised concerns in other parts of the world, have now realised that nationalisation does not pay where the employees are concerned. That is another matter, but while this corporation remains nationalised, let us see that justice is done to them.

My third cut motion is No. 12 about the intended move to shift the divisional headquarters of the LIC from Rajkot. Here again, a large number of my constituents are up in arms. They claim that when the divisional offices in Rajkot and, of course, in many other cities in India, are closed, the LIC will become even more remote from the policy holders and the employees than it is at present. The

close contact that there should be between customer and the employee, on the one side, and the management of an insuring body, on the other, will become more remote. Already there are signs of bureaucracy and they feel that this centralisation will make things worse.

The hon. Finance Minister has more than once made statements that he would like to see the LIC decentralised and we have welcomed that thought. But here is a contrary trend, namely, that the divisional offices throughout the country at district headquarters are being shut down for most purposes and centralisation is proceeding. It seems that the hon. Minister's intentions are not being carried out in practice. I would like him to tell us how he explains this contradiction between the very legitimate aspirations that he has voiced and the implementation. From throughout the country I have received letters—from Madras and other quarters also—bitterly complaining that the LIC is getting further and further away from its customers and its staff.

Having mentioned these three cut motions, I would like to refer to the efforts of the Finance Ministry to attract foreign capital into this country. This is a step on which I am deep and profound sympathy with the efforts of the Finance Ministry and I would like to congratulate the hon. Finance Minister and his staff on various actions that they are taking to create a better climate and a better image of India abroad. I am sure the hon. Finance Minister will agree that just giving tax reliefs or a higher rate of return is not the basic way of attracting foreign capital and investment to this country. The image of the country as a whole also has a big role to play. If the image of the country is bad, no amount of bribing by giving a higher rate of return will attract investment to our country.

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I would like to share with the hon. Finance Minister a very unpleasant experience that some fellow Members of the House and I had yesterday evening and which we, all of us, felt would do a great harm to the image of our country in the eyes of investors from abroad. We went to attend a diplomatic reception organised by the Consulate-General of Israel to which we were invited because it was their independence day. When we got there, we were met by the Consul-General looking very unhappy at the door, who apologised to us for the fact that the reception had been cancelled at the last moment. When we asked why the reception was cancelled, we were told that the Asoka Hotel, which had rented its lounge and a bedroom for the Consul and his wife weeks ahead in writing had suddenly, at the last moment, cancelled both the lounge and even the living accommodation for the Consul and his wife.

An. Hon. Member: Shame!

Shri M. R. Masani: We did not know where to look. It was obvious that the Government of India through the Ministry of External Affairs had misused its position as the owner of the Hotel to make cancellations which were unconscionable and unwarranted. We apologised in return to the Consul for our Government's inept handling of this issue and we came away. Other foreign diplomats who were there at the same time looked aghast. Among the invitees were the members of the American Businessmen's Delegation whom the Finance Minister has been quite rightly, and assiduously, cultivating during the last four days and explaining incentives for coming to India.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): What is the good?

Shri M. R. Masani: I ask him as to what impression this incident will make on these friends of ours who are here to invest in our country. This was an act of gross discourtesy to the Government of a friendly

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country. It was not fair dealing as between a hotel and a customer who has booked a room. No doubt, the Consul made the mistake of going to a Government-owned hotel; otherwise, this would not have happened. But is this the way our Government behaves towards foreign countries and foreign visitors?

This morning, the Ministry of External Affairs gave an explanation. The explanation is worse than the act. It says that "the Indian Government's action is also intended to be a demonstration of solidarity with the Arab countries." Can we think of a more inept, more pathetic way of showing solidarity with Arab countries, by insulting a guest of our, by cancelling his written registration on the basis of which he had invited foreigners and Indians to attend this party?

I do feel that nothing short of an apology is called for on the part of the Ministry of External Affairs and the Ashoka Hotel to the Government of Israel. That is a country whose hospitality my hon. friend, Shri Raghunath Singh, and I have enjoyed. I enjoyed the hospitality of the Liberal Party of Israel only a year ago. When they come to our country, we expect our Israeli guests to be treated with the same courtesy which my hon. friend Shri Raghunath Singh, I and many other Indians, including Acharaya Kripalani, have received when we visited Israel. This Churlish behaviour of the Ashoka Hotels and the Ministry of External Affairs deserves to be condemned, quite apart from other things, because of the horrible effect it will have on the role of the Finance Minister and the Ministry in trying to build up a better image of our country abroad. It is in these ways, many times, that while doing good with one hand we undo all our efforts with the other.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): I am sorry to interrupt. It is an egregious blunder, and if the hon. Finance Minister does not reply to this point, the hon. Prime Minister or some other Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs may reply.

Shri Ranga: The hon. Minister without Portfolio is here.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: It is an egregious blunder.

Shri M. R. Masani: I shall finish by requesting the hon. Finance Minister to consider the implications of such acts and to exercise his influence in seeing, now that the mistake has been made, that due apology and amends are made to those concerned.

Dr. U. Misra (Jamshedpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sorry to mention that the Finance Bill introduced by the hon. Finance Minister has indeed gone one better than his Budget proposals themselves in patronising the monied classes in this country. There is no use quarrelling with the Finance Minister on this question. Despite all talk of socialism and the spirit of Bhubaneshwar Resolution, the Government in this country is more allergic to stock exchange fluctuations and the swings in the fortunes of the speculators than about the plight of the common man.

Any amount of criticism in this House about the complete apathy of the Government to the question of immediate relief to the toiling people has not made much of an impression on the Government. It seems these are only to be uttered as some sort of ritual, to let off steam, so to say. This has been our experience with regard to the debates we had here on the General-Budget.

During the Budget debate, some of our friends on the other side also spoke feelingly about the plight of the common man, about the need to give

relief to him and to protect him price rises as vehemently as some of us on this side had demanded. They also suggested bold measures of nationalisation of banking etc. to make our planning more real to strengthen our resources position. To all these suggestions the Finance Minister only emitted scorn and extreme annoyance and sometimes he admonished them for their bold stand.

All these criticisms and suggestions we made during the general debate on the Budget have no effect on the Finance Minister. I had at least expected that the Finance Minister would announce the Government's readiness to revise the dearness allowance of their own employees, since now the average of the index has reached 135. Calculating the average of the months from February 1963 to January 1964, there is a clear rise of 10 points in the index and as per the Pay Commission's recommendations, the dearness allowance of the employees should be increased. Even this has not been done.

Perhaps, this is not so surprising. In the remarkable kind of planning that has developed in this country under the guidance of the Finance Minister, there is no need for any control over prices. In fact, de-control has become the slogan. But he is all for control on wages, that is, a wage freeze and he has very frankly stated that the wage-earners cannot expect any compensation for the rise in prices. This he justifies from the standpoint of an income policy. In fact, what does it amount to? If money wages remain static and prices are allowed to rise freely, the real income of the working people are drastically cut and this huge amount is being safely appropriated by the monopolists. The Finance Minister has won laurels for such a policy from certain financial journals like the *London Economist* for such a bold policy he has pursued for the benefit of the monopolists. They admire his political courage to impose such a

policy which even the Tory Government in Britain hesitates to pursue so blantly.

For the enlightenment of us, the Members of Parliament, the Finance Ministry has supplied us very kindly a book called "The Rationale of the Tax Proposals". The marked preferences of the Finance Minister are clearly spelt out in this publication. In the name of so-called 'incentives' for greater savings in the corporate sector, the big business interests have been given big concessions. After nurturing the monopolists and giving them all sorts of concessions, the Finance Minister has now proposed that he would appoint a monopoly commission. The Finance Minister should not take the public at large as a whole lot of ignorant people. It does not require a Monopoly Commission for us in Jamshedpur to understand the monopolists and the extensive monopoly grip of the Tatas. It was not enough for the Tatas to go from the steel to the soap and now they have entered into even the marketing of tea. Some of the monopolists specially the Tatas, have built up empires in so many *nagars* and *puras* and the zamindari that was abolished throughout the country has been given back to Tatas. Recently, while we are engaged in rehabilitating people, in Tatanagar the *basties* are being evicted by a sort of a private army retained by the Tatas without resorting to any judicial or procedure of law. Even recently in the communal disturbances at Jamshedpur weapons were made in the factories belonging to these monopolists. I will read out what one of the observers who has visited Tatanagar says:

"The management of these two companies (one is Tata-owned and the other British) failed to present the workers from making these weapons but remained silent spectators as they were being taken out... I was told by an Adivasi legislator that some of the Marwari businessmen of

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Mosabani had distributed rice upto 15 maunds for each Adivasi village to induce the villagers to attack the minorities. Some of the contractors engaged in the construction of the national highway and doubling of rail track provided their Adivasi labourers with trucks and may be other things to clear Chotanagpur of the minorities."

These are the things happening in these private empires inside free India.

I will mentioned one more thing. These monopolists have been given an opportunity to concentrate wealth. They even defy the local Government. I will tell you one instance. The whole town of Tatanagar is owned by Tatas and every aspects of public life is controlled by them. Even the legislators have not got telephones. The telephone connection is given by the Tatas only. Even the Speaker of the Bihar Assembly requested the Tatas to give telephone connections to legislators and that was not respected. So, not only the representatives of the Tatanagar or Jamshedpur constituency have no house to live in but they have also no telephone and no communication. Even the request from such a person of high position, the speaker of the Bihar Assembly, was ignored by the Tatas.

Then, Sir, according to the Finance Minister, the inter-corporate investments may be one form in which dominant groups extend their sphere of control but such investments, in the main, provide investment opportunities or corporate savings and the thinks that these serve "socially useful purposes". The socially useful purpose may possibly be the extensive donations to political parties which the monopolies are allowed to give and which now the Corruption Inquiry Committee has had to nail down as the worst form of political corruption.

In the rationale of the proposals explained to us by the Ministry, there is a mention of what is called the "selective support to important industries". This is supposed to help investment in basic industries, such as, iron and steel, ferro-alloys, coal machine tools, fertilisers, etc. Most of these, under the Government's own Industrial Policy Resolution, should be in the public sector. There is evidently no need to provide such incentive to the public sector and it is clear that these are meant for the private sector and thereby for the monopolists. In other words, the Finance Minister wants to give the private sector monopolists a free run on these strategic lines of industry.

Then, again, if that is not enough, the Finance Minister has some additional incentives for private foreign capital. The reasons advanced by the Finance Minister to justify his . . .

Shri Karuthiruman (Gobichettipalayam): I raise a point of order, Sir. Is the hon. Member allowed to read a prepared speech?

Mr. Speaker: He may look up more occasionally.

Dr. U. Misra: The reasons advanced by the Finance Minister to justify his invitation to foreign private capital can convince no one. Socialism has never been built with private capital from foreign countries. The Soviet Union which has now come to the position of giving aid to other countries to build up industries did not reach that position with foreign capital.

The Finance Minister can also notice that his foreign friends are vying with one another to supply capital goods on very favourable terms to China without in any way insisting on investment opportunities there. In fact, the West Germans have given to China better terms with lower rate of interest, than what they have given to us in relation to Rourkela. This is not only the one thing. As regards the technicians, it is good

that we are getting them and we are grateful to them that they supply technicians while we are under-developed. But is it necessary to get the technicians on the terms that we are getting now? The terms on which the technicians have come here have annoyed our own technicians. It has created a vested interest in this country, because they are earning much more here in our country than what they had been earning in their own country, and therefore they do not want to part with the technical know-how so soon. Sometimes, they are no better than our own technicians, and in many of our public undertakings, I have observed that our technicians are annoyed at this. Sometimes, we get as experts only people who call themselves as experts but who are not really experts. In this connection, I am reminded of the satire of Shri Krishan Chander that the experts from foreign countries who come here are persons who can only write these on the Qutab Miner *jelabi and sari*. It is such experts who are coming from foreign countries, and even if they know something, they do not want to part with their technical know-how because they want to remain here for a longer time and earn their fat income.

Recently, even the Estimates Committee have criticised the lavish treatment being given to the foreign technicians associated with the Heavy Electricals at Bhopal. This has become absolutely scandalous, and I would suggest that Government should look into it.

With regard to the concessions the Finance Minister has generously given to the business community, what do we get in return? Even the mild form of control on foodgrain prices has been totally resisted by the dealers, and they had almost driven our country to a famine. Such blackmail is wholly permissible under the benign dispensation of the Finance Minister. After all, if they do not

make money by charging high prices, how will they find resources for investment in the newer and newer industries?—Such is the logic of the Finance Minister. We in this country are facing very difficult times: Last year, we had a difficult time due to the Chinese aggression. This year, the Chinese aggression still remains, but added to that, we have got also troubles from Pakistan on our border. Further, we have got the refugees coming from East Pakistan. We have also got the problems arising out of the communal disturbances in our country and the social problems arising therefrom. I realise that Government need money for these things. But Government should not always think of finding money from the common man who is on the verge of starvation now.

Regarding planning and production, take, for instance, coal. In the context of the emergency, the coal-miners worked overtime. And what was the result? They produced a good deal of coal, but now they are being laid off. Similarly, our engineering industry is also working to not more than 50 per cent of its capacity. It is difficult for a layman like me to accept all this as a part of national planning. In the popular language, the planning that is being done has become a tragedy and a farce and this illustrated by the mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan.

Government have been talking hoarse about land reforms for years and yet the land is not actually in the hands of the tillers. The result is that agriculture is stagnating and all the money spent on our development blocks is mostly either misspent or wasted. The same is also true of the primary health centres for which the Central Government sometimes provide money.

As regards the employment position of course, the employment potential has increased, but unemployment has increased more than the employment opportunities. One-third of the registered unemployed belong to the

[Dr. U. Misra]

category of educated unemployed. The total wastage of man-power like this is unheard of anywhere.

Moreover, there is no proper control over the administration of the plan programmes to see whether the sums allocated are properly spent or not. I do not want to give the whole catalogue of all the complaints in this regard. What we need in this serious situation now is action, and that is action on the part of Government to strengthen our economy and to improve the planning in such a way that it will really help development and improve the living standard of our people. Many of us have raised these slogans for immediate action, namely nationalisation of banks, oil the export-import trade and the sugar industry, and the priority task of state trading in foodgrains. As regards the last one, I notice that after the nation-wide campaigns and agitations realisation is slowly dawning upon Government, though very haltingly. But the vested interests have resisted it so much that I fear that Government may go back upon it.

The question before us now is not whether the socialism as contemplated in the Bhubaneswar resolution will be implemented as a result of this year's budget. The question now is whether the ruling party has the political courage to fight these vested interests. That is the immediate question now. I know that this is something which my hon. friends on the other side would also realise, because I feel that these vested interests have become so strong as to defy any good move that Government may make. At least Government should realise their position from this threatened strike by the speculative foodgrains hoarders.

The rationale of the tax proposals has been well understood by us, and we, therefore, demand a radical revision

of the policy. There should be immediate relief in the duties on essential articles like kerosene, cloth, sugar, tobacco etc. Such a gesture would also help bring down the prices. And stern action should be taken against the speculative elements. It is for this and for a change in the economic policies that the millions in this country have been campaigning for.

Seven months back, over a lakh of people had come and staged a demonstration in Delhi, and then we had the announcement regarding concessions about the compulsory deposit scheme and the Gold Control Order etc. It is no good on the part of the Government to force the people to resort to such demonstrations and agitations. I want that Government should appreciate the gestures shown by the trade unions, both the AITUC and HMS, by postponing their agitation on account of the communal disturbances.

There is one more thing to which I wish to draw attention. Though the Auditor-General cannot be criticised in Parliament, there should be some forum where the employees of the Auditor General's department can ventilate their grievances. According to my understanding, article 148(5) of the Constitution does not preclude discussion of the relationship between the employees and the Auditor General in this Parliament. The Finance Minister should look into the grievances of these employees. This is a matter which is long-standing. 51 of the employees dismissed in 1960 have still not been reinstated. Many of them have gone to the courts. I will just read out only the relevant portions from one of the High Court judgments:—

"Obviously, none of the officers attempted to take any explanations given by the petitioner. It is apparent to me that the Inquiry Officer was completely biased

against the petitioner from before the commencement of the inquiry proceedings . . . I am shocked to find that the whole of the assumption is entirely false...I have no doubt that in this case, the findings of the Inquiry Officer are made by a biased officer and that the principles of natural justice were completely violated in the inquiry proceedings held by him".

Lakhs of rupees have been spent by the department in this litigation. The Finance Minister should look into the grievances of the employees of this department and also the wastage of money involved in such unlawful dismissals.

Shri Osman Ali Khan (Anantapur): Mr. Speaker, while I participate in this debate, I shall refer to certain aspects of our planning. The opening sentence of the Third Five Year Plan refers to the basic development aspect of our planning and as we proceed further, the document points out the more immediate problems before the country in the following words:

"The more immediate problem is to combat the curse of poverty with all the ills that it produces".

The extent of poverty in the country is reflected in the statement of the hon. Minister of Planning made on the floor of the House last year. According to this, 70 per cent of our rural population live on less than 50 nP. a day. How is this poverty to be combated? If poverty is to be removed, it is natural that more wealth has to be produced, more wealth in terms of the basic necessities of life like food, clothing, shelter and medicine. Production of more wealth would naturally mean more work on the part of our people because work alone produces wealth. Work has to be provided for those who are without work; employment has to be provided for those who are unemployed, and full employment has to be provided for those

who are under-employed. The low standard of 50 nP a day is because of the lack of adequate employment and lack of adequate work for the millions of our people who live in this country. —

The Fourth Five Year Plan that is being formulated has to be a village-oriented plan. I may explain what I mean. A village-oriented plan will naturally mean the basic recognition of the fact that 5½ lakh villages constitute this land. It will mean recognition of the fact that 80 per cent of the people of this country live in these villages. With this basic recognition, the Fourth Plan has to be formulated. The policies and programmes in the Plan have to be directed towards improving the standard of living of our people in the rural areas. Our villages have to be provided with work so that there will be activity in our villages like the beehives, our villages will be beginning to hum with activity producing more wealth for the country, more wealth from the village level upwards.

A village-oriented Plan will naturally mean an agriculture-oriented Plan. In our rural areas, 7 out of 8 people live on agriculture. The development of agriculture has to be viewed not merely from the point of increasing the overall food production in the country in order to wipe out the deficit, in order to avoid the necessity for imports. But the problem of agriculture, the development of agriculture, has to be viewed from the point of view of increasing the earnings of those engaged in agriculture and this is possible by increasing the per acre production. This increase in the earnings of those engaged in agriculture is very necessary because we have to remove the disparity that today exists between the earnings of those who live on agriculture and the earnings of those living in the urban areas engaged in industry, trade and commerce.

[Shri Osman Ali Khan]

I will not dwell here on the several measures that have to be taken to develop agriculture from this point of view of increasing the earnings of those engaged in agriculture. However, I have to point out the priority aspect of agriculture. Our planning has given priority for agriculture. This is as it should be. However, this high priority given to agriculture in our plan is not being translated into action at the various levels, both politically and administratively. It is very necessary that the Government should ensure that this high priority is observed at the various levels in order that agriculture develops on the lines contemplated in the Plan.

Here I cannot do better than quote the well-known economist, Barbara Ward, on this subject:

"On the side of administration proper, from the highest level downwards, agriculture gets priority in rhetoric but rarely in fact. No Chief Minister in a State has taken over the portfolio of agriculture. The bright entrants to the civil service head for the old levers of power—finance—or for the new prestige areas like industry. No young collector is likely to feel that his promotion will depend absolutely on raising productivity per acre in his district. The urgency and interest are simply not there. So the known solutions do not receive that charge of administrative drive and follow-through which would get them to get off the ground".

13 hrs.

The village-oriented plan will aim at drawing the surplus labour force in the villages to village—and agro-based industries. As I pointed out a little while ago, 7 out of 8 people in our rural areas live on agriculture. As it is, there is too much dependence on agriculture. This is also reflected in

our national wealth. Nearly fifty per cent of our national wealth is derived from agriculture as compared to 9 per cent in United States and 18 per cent in Japan. The development of khadi and village industries, animal husbandry, dairying is very necessary in order to divert the surplus agriculture labour to the village industries. It will also help in reducing the migration of labour force to cities creating fresh problems of slums and unwieldy growth of cities in our country.

From the point of view of employment, the recent development of the ambar charkha—the latest model has not, I believe, come into the market—is an improvement over the previous model and would mean an earning of a rupee per day for those who are engaged on ambar charkha for eight hours in a day. I hope this programme of ambar charkha will be properly organised so that it will provide employment for those in the rural areas. I should point out that some of the criticism and comments made by the Public Accounts Committee will be taken into account in organising this programme, eliminating the defects and drawbacks of the programme.

13.02 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

The Khadi and Village Industries Commission have introduced a new subsidy scheme which, it is hoped, will provide great impetus for those who have engaged in the khadi industry and it should be possible to get cloth in the rural areas at the cost of the yarn and it will also compare favourably with the cost of the mill cloth. It is expected to be even cheaper than the mill cloth since it is produced at the cost of the yarn.

I congratulate the Planning Commission for setting up the high level rural industries planning committee and I believe this is doing very useful

work in the development of rural industries in our country and I hope it will help in improving the standards of techniques of these industries so that those engaged in the rural industries will be able to earn an economic wage.

I have a little apprehension. Our Planners might say that this is exactly what we have been doing. Our plan has provided priority for agriculture; and key industries are being developed and this would mean rapid economic growth; poverty cannot be eliminated into few years and planning is taking good care of our problems. I have great respect for our planners and the Planning Commission. But there is the question of emphasis and direction of our planning.

From the figures of employment, we find that at the end of the First Plan period we had 5.3 million persons unemployed, at the end of the Second Plan, the figures had gone up to 9 million and at the end of the Third Plan it is expected to go up to 15 million. These are unemployment figures. The figures for under-employment are more—15-18 million people are under employed in rural areas. From the 9th round of national sample survey conducted in 1955, 20 crores of people were said to have had an income of less than eight annas a day. The last year's statement of the Planning Minister is based on the 17th round of survey in 1961-62 and it says that the number of people whose income is less than 50 p is 25 crores. Between 1954 and 1962, the number had increased by five crores. Is our planning proceeding in the right direction? While applying the yardstick of development, it should not be judged from the point of view of the bigness of our plans or the largeness of our projects. The criterion should be: how much the standard of living of the people in the rural areas has improved.

It is widely recognised that agriculture, animal husbandry, dairying and other rural industries have higher potentiality for employment. However, the allocations made in our plan for rural industries and for the other industries, agro-based industries such as dairying, animal husbandry, etc. are rather low. For the three plans together only Rs. 191 crores had been provided and this works out to less than one per cent of the total plan allocations. With this small allocation for cottage and rural industries, 20 million people are getting employment and with more provision in the Fourth Plan and better organisation, it should be possible for us to provide much larger employment opportunities for our people in the rural areas.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that in a developing economy, the planners will have to strike a balance between emphasis of increased productivity and increased employment. While there was sufficient emphasis on the former aspect, in all these Plans, it is necessary that there should be more emphasis on the employment aspect in the Fourth Plan, on the aspect of the development of rural industries in order to provide employment and in that way producing more wealth and improving the standard of living of our people and driving away poverty in keeping with the basic objectives of our Plan.

Shri K. C. Pant (Naini Tal): Sir, I should like to follow the example of the hon. Member who has just spoken by devoting the few minutes at my disposal entirely to planning, in particular to agriculture. It is not necessary for me to emphasise the key role of agriculture in our economy. It has so dominant a role that the national income curve dances to the tune of agriculture. If the harvest is a good one, it soars; if the harvest is bad, then it takes a dive. In agriculture we have got to make allowances for fluctuations in production for good years and lean years, but under a planned economy, surely, even agricultural production must conform to a broad pattern of growth, to

[Shri K. C. Pant]

an overall blueprint. Otherwise planning cannot succeed. If we have an overall look from the beginning of the First Plan, I am sorry to say that no broad pattern of growth of the kind which I mentioned is discernible. Production goes up in one year it comes down the next year; it goes up in one crop; it comes down in another crop; it goes up in one State; it comes down in another State. There is no regularity, no consistency, no predictability. All these things have made agriculture a kind of a loose brick in the foundational structure of our planning.

There are many reasons for this fitful behaviour on the part of our agriculture; some of these are inherent in the situation like the vulnerability of our agriculture to the vagaries of weather, the impoverished state of our soils etc. But there are others which it is within our power to control provided we know precisely and clearly what requires to be done and we are determined to do it. I do not know if the required clarity and determination are very much in evidence in our handling of agriculture in the past. It has taken us so many years to realise the necessity for having some kind of a machinery to co-ordinate the activities of Ministries dealing with agriculture at the policy level. Then again, it has taken us so many years to decide to constitute an All-India Agricultural Service. At least that is my impression, that it has been decided. But even now we are not clear whether the important work of extension will be entrusted to a separate agency or will continue to be handled by that multi-talented marvel, the village level worker, who is supposed to have an answer for everything.

Then, I should like to refer to certain fundamental matters on which the Government has got to make up its mind. Firstly, does the Government consider agriculture as belonging purely to the private sector or

to some kind of a semi-public sector? Many countries in the world hold the latter view, and they give liberal subsidies to agriculture. What is our position in this matter? Secondly, do we propose to assure a fair return to the farmer through the medium of subsidies or the price mechanism? How do we determine the fairness or otherwise of the return, in relation to the cost of production of agricultural commodities or by arbitrarily fixing the price at some level in order to keep a check on inflation and keep control of the price structure? That is a fundamental question which has got to be answered.

The third point is, do we want to mechanise our agriculture or not. If we do, then we must persuade farmers to pool their holdings. Mechanisation is impossible with the present tiny holdings. But then if we want to do that, have we made any worthwhile progress in this direction in all the years gone by? I cannot say honestly that we have. What is our policy? What is the implementation? That has got to be answered. Then again there is the allied question of reconciling the policy of mechanisation with the need for reducing unemployment and under-employment in rural areas to which my hon. friend just referred. Which of these objectives takes precedence in our order of priorities?

What has happened to the rural works programme? Up to the end of March, 1963, only 78,000 persons were employed. Up to the end of June, 100,000 persons were given employment for 100 days in the year. Have we any other scheme in mind? Do we have any blueprint at all to harness the surplus man-power in this country to maximise its wealth? Finally, if we take to tractorisation, what will happen to our surplus cattle? These are some of the basic questions which have got to be answered and answered with clarity, before a viable, comprehensive agricultural policy can emerge.

Indian agriculture has become notorious for its appallingly low yields. The yields were not always low but owing to centuries of continuous cultivation and unscientific cultural practices, the soils have become exhausted. Every crop harvested takes some plant food out of the soil. Erosion and leaching, etc., add to these losses. Nature restores part of the balance but not the whole of it. One expert estimated that every year the loss of plant nutrients to the soil owing to cropping alone is of the order of 8 million tons: 2.8 million tons of nitrogen, 1.6 million tons of P205 and 3.6 million tons of K2O. As against this, his estimate of plant nutrients restored to the soil by manures, fertilisers, oil-cakes, etc. is 1.66 million tons. I will not go into the detailed figures. What it means is, year after year, we go on taking from the soil several times more than what we give back to it. Is it any wonder that our soil fertility is among the lowest in the world? I wish I could say the same for human fertility. Anyway, the great pity and the great tragedy of the situation is that the one substance which could reduce this net loss of plant nutrient to the soil by over 40 per cent is today allowed to be used as fuel, or rather misused as fuel. I am referring to cow-dung, which can not only supply plant nutrients to the soil but is an organic manure which gives humus to the soil. I would like to ask the Government, can they tell us if they have any plan to check this colossal national waste? Do they think that the gobar-gas plant is the final answer to this problem, particularly since fermentation is very low in this plant in North India during winter? If not, have they any other scheme in mind? Do they think that quick-growing trees like the Mysore hybrid eucalyptus can provide the fuel needs of the rural areas within a foreseeable future? If so, within how many years? This is one of the questions that must be answered because I consider this point which I have raised to be the most fundamental in raising the level of our agriculture.

I now come to credit. The point to consider here is not merely how much is distributed but to whom it goes and whether it reaches him in time or not. Like many of our schemes, this too is outlay-oriented rather than result-oriented, and the person who stands in greatest need of credit, namely, the poorest farmer, is the one who most often does not get it. In Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and some other States, the criterion for determining the credit worthiness of the farmer is the land revenue he pays; in some other States it is the landholdings. In either of these cases, over 50 per cent of the farmers are denied the advantage straightway. In yet some other States cash and credit facilities are available on security of crops as well as fixed assets. In Maharashtra and Gujarat, trial is being given to the crop-loan system based on a farm production scheme. This seems to me to be the best scheme, the one in Maharashtra and Gujarat.

The point I want to make is that so many different criteria have been adopted in the different States to determine the credit limit for an individual farmer that it has introduced an element of arbitrariness in the co-operative credit structure. In order to prevent what amounts to discrimination against the farmers of some of the States, it is essential that the pattern of co-operative credit institutions should be uniform throughout the country. Credit should reach the smallest farmer, and there should be some effective form of linking between credit and marketing of agricultural produce.

Before I leave this subject, I would like to offer one last suggestion. A large number of cultivators are not owners but tenants or lessees of the owners or of the Government. They stand in urgent need of credit, but because they are not the owners, they cannot get any loan from institutions like land mortgage banks. I would suggest that identity cards should be issued to them, giving the area under cultivation which they manage. These

[Shri K. C. Pant]

identity cards should be taken as the basis on which they should be given credit. If this card system is extended to the rest of the cultivators it would not only make them less vulnerable to the whims of the revenue officers but it would help in curbing litigation on land and would facilitate land record operations.

I now come to the Government's policy with regard to the manufacture of tractors. At present, there are three plants in this country producing tractors, and the fourth is going to come into production very soon. What is more, the Government's policy is that we will go on giving more licences. I am all for increasing production, but I am dead opposed to having more plants and more models. At the present stage of our development, the demand for tractors is rather limited and the most important factor in expanding this demand will be the price of the tractor. What is the price today? I give you one example. A Massey-Fergusson tractor, assembled in India, costs more than Rs. 17,000, while the landed cost of the same tractor in Ceylon is less than Rs. 9,000. What is the reason? The reason is that the assembling plant is not utilising even 25 per cent of its installed capacity.

In view of this, the sensible thing would have been to have no more than two or three plants so that there is no surplus capacity and no idle capacity and the productive capacity of each plant is so large that the cost of production of the tractor goes down. The number of models also should not be more than one or two at this stage. When we have a network of service stations and a larger market, other models can follow. But even there every care will have to be taken to see that the spare parts of the different models are standardised and as far as possible, they are interchangeable. Let us not repeat in the case of tractors the mistake made in the case of motor cars.

Another point I would submit is that we should import tractors only of a make which we are going to manufacture in this country. At present, the policy is that we import tractors and we assume that the life of a tractor is 10,000 hours, which comes to about 5 years of working and the import licences for spare parts are given accordingly. Now as a matter of fact, in India, tractors are pressed into service for as many as 15 to 20 years. If the supply of spare parts stops after 5 years, the tractors are stranded. They cannot work. The problem will become much more manageable if we supplement the indigenous capacity with import of the same makes till production can take care of the entire demand.

Only a farmer-oriented policy can boost agricultural production. When we admit that the results of the efforts of the last 12 years have not been exactly satisfying, then we should ask ourselves whether the fault does not lie perhaps in our approach. Land reforms, for instance, have yet to be implemented throughout the country. Unless the tiller has security of tenure and unless consolidation of holdings has been effected, how can we expect quicker results? Then there is the question of prices. Why should we always get alarmed whenever the prices of agricultural commodities tend to rise? Tampering with the price-production mechanism often tends to perpetuate the very scarcities and high prices which they are intended to remove. Production will not go up if the farmer does not find the price attractive to him. Even if the price is a little high, we should not grudge the farmer gaining a little extra purchasing power in the process. Price is the key incentive, but if the Government wants its price policy to have an impact on production, it must announce these prices in advance of the sowing season. By waiting till the harvesting season, the Government's price policy can at best respond to a given situation, instead of exerting its due influence in shaping it.

Of late, the Government appears to be pinning its faith on the "package programme". Sir, I am a supporter of this programme, because it is aimed at maximising production in the shortest possible time, but I feel we have to guard against its being debunked owing to faulty execution. We must remember that the agricultural officers in the States are not fond of this programme, because they feel that it has been imposed on them from outside. Besides, it is encountering political resistance as well, because it means that those very districts which are already favoured by nature in the matter of agricultural production will also get preferential and concentrated attention and help from the Government. So, the other districts instinctively react against this. The position is not too bad now, but when the ambit of the package programme is extended, the resistance will increase. So, the Government should give thought to this matter and if it could hold out some assurance that non-package districts would be given preference in the matter of non-agricultural programmes, much of the resistance to the package programme would go.

Finally, I shall briefly touch upon a very vital subject i.e., family planning. In spite of the advance in science and technology, we would be ill-advised to ignore the fact that the land is not inexhaustible, and if the population keeps growing at the present rate, we may soon reach a point of no return in so far as food production is concerned.

Our policy on family planning appears to be to wait till industrialisation brings about the desired change in the attitude of the population towards producing children. This has happened in the west. Prior to the industrial revolution, the countries of the west too had high birth and death-rates. Industrialisation led to a reduction in death-rates, but the point to note is that birth-rates did not come

down to near-about the death-rates for 100 years. In India, we are today in the second phase of low death-rates and high birth-rates.

If India is to follow the trend of Europe, it has been estimated by experts that there will no significant reduction in the birth-rate for another 20 to 25 years followed by a gradual decrease. This means that we shall pass the 1000 million mark during this century. I ask our planners: don't your hearts quake at this figure? If any one single factor can materially change the entire picture of our economic development and increase the levels of living, it is reduction in birth rates. At present we are doing no more than tinkering with the fringes of the problem. We cannot wait for a natural decline to take place. It would swamp us. I would ask the planners: How are you going to force the pace? What is your policy in this matter? Why do you always shy away from it? We must come to grips with the problem, without sentiment and superstition. There is no time to lose.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members may now move their cut motions relating to the Demands under the Ministry of Finance subject to their being otherwise admissible.

श्री किशन पटनायक (सम्बलपुर) : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :

“कि वित्त मन्त्रालय शीर्ष के अन्तर्गत मांग को घटा कर १ रुपया कर दिया जाये।”

[न्यूनतम तथा अधिकतम आय और व्यय के बीच १ : १० का अनुपात नियत करने का प्रयत्न करने में असफलता (२)]

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy (Koppal):
I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Finance be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[Shri Sivamurthi Swamy]

[Need to reduce custom duty on agricultural machinery and implements (5)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Finance be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to export handloom and cottage industry products without custom duties on such goods (6)].

Shri M. R. Masani: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Finance be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Injustice done to Central Government employees in 'C' class cities in regard to the grant of house rent allowance and compensatory allowances (10)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Finance be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Grievances of agents and employees of the Life Insurance Corporation (11)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Finance be reduced by Rs. 100."

[The intended move to shift the Divisional Headquarters of the Life Insurance Corporation from Rajkot (12)].

श्री किशन पटनायक : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :

"कि अफीम शीर्ष के अन्तर्गत मांग में १०० रुपये की कटौती की जाये।"

[किसानों का शोषण और अफीम का तस्करो-व्यापार (१६)]

"कि योजना आयोग शीर्ष के अन्तर्गत मांग को बढ़ा कर १ लाख कर दिया जाये।"

[जनता की आर्थिक दशा सुधारने में असफलता (१७)]

Dr. M. S. Amey (Nagpur): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Other Revenue Expenditure of the Ministry of Finance be reduced by Rs. 100."

[The problem of declaring bonus to the policy holders of the Life Insurance Companies under two different schemes—provisional and final (18)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Finance be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Lumpsum provision for city compensatory and house rent allowances as a result of re-classification of cities (19)].

Shri Sivamurthi Swamy: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Finance be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for change in the policy of indirect taxation on essential provisions of life (28)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Finance be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Increase in budget provision for non-productive and administrative purposes (29)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Finance be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for allocation of more than 50 per cent. of total budget provision for nation building activities (30)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Finance be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for removal of indirect taxes on yarn, cloth sugar, kerosene oil and other necessities of life (31)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Finance be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for sufficient provision for loans to agricultural people (32)].

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Finance be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for change in budget policy to provide more amount for development plans for agriculture and village economy (33)].

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: These Cut Motions are now before the House.

श्री शिवूति स्वामी: उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्लानिंग और फिनांस के अन्तर्गत शायद हमारे राष्ट्र के बहुत से क्षेत्र आ जाते हैं। मैं अपने कट-मोशन को पेश करते हुए इस थोड़े से अरसे में अपने चन्द विचार रखना चाहता हूँ।

जब तक हमारे मुल्क के साधारण व्यक्ति को प्लानिंग के बारे में जानकारी नहीं होगी, जब तक हमारे मुल्क के साधारण व्यक्ति को प्लानिंग का लाभ नहीं पहुँचेगा, तब तक हमारा प्लानिंग वास्तव में देश या राष्ट्र का प्लानिंग नहीं कहलायेगा। हमारे राष्ट्र में आय और व्यय का प्लानिंग १९५२ से चल रहा है और अब हम तीसरे प्लान के अन्तर्गत अपने देश को बढ़ावा देने का स्वाब देख रहे हैं। हर साल जो बजट पेश किया जाता है, उसका एनलाइज करने से हम इस बात का ठीक अन्दाज़ा लगा सकते हैं कि हमारे राष्ट्र में नेशन-बिल्डिंग एक्टिविटीज़ और सोशल सर्विसिज़ पर कितना खर्च किया जाता

है। मेरे हाथ में "सेंट्रल बजट इन ब्रीफ, १९६२-६३" और "सेंट्रल बजट इन ब्रीफ, १९६३-६४" की प्रतियाँ हैं, जिनको खुद फिनांस मिनिस्टर ने इस सदन के पटल पर रखा था और जिन में इन दो सालों के बजट का एनालाइज किया गया है। मालूम नहीं कि इस साल के बजट के बारे में रिसर्च कर के ऐसी पुस्तिका इस सदन के सामने क्यों नहीं रखी गई है। इस प्रकार की रिसर्च से हम इस बात का ठीक अन्दाज़ा लगा सकते हैं कि हम अपने बजट में देश के हर एक काम पर, हर एक क्षेत्र पर, कितना खर्च कर रहे हैं। मैं यहाँ पर यह बता दूँ कि नेशन-बिल्डिंग एक्टिविटीज़ और सोशल सर्विसिज़ पर जो रुपया खर्च किया जाता है, वह प्लानिंग और डेवेलपमेंट्स इकॉनॉमिक और प्राइवेट परपज के अन्तर्गत आता है और बाकी रुपया एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन और नान-प्राइवेट परपज के लिए खर्च किया जाता है।

१९६२-६३ में जहाँ कुल १४८० करोड़ रुपये का बजट था उसमें नेशन बिल्डिंग, इकॉनॉमिक एण्ड सोशल सर्विसिज़ के लिए आपने ३५६.४ करोड़ ही रखा था। प्लान के नाम पर, डेवेलपमेंट के नाम पर, आर्थिक तौर पर देश को उन्नत करने के नाम पर आप टैक्स तो लगाते हैं लेकिन जितनी कुल आय आपको होती है उसका २४ परसेंट ही आप नेशन बिल्डिंग एण्ड सोशल सर्विसिज़ पर खर्च करते हैं।

मैं पुरजोर शब्दों में अपील करना चाहता हूँ, जितनी ताकत मुझ में है, सारी ताकत

[श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी]

लगा कर आप से अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि आप पचास परसेंट से ज्यादा पैसा नेशन बिल्डिंग के कामों पर खर्च करें। राष्ट्र के निर्माण कार्यों पर, समाज के सेवा कार्यों पर पचास परसेंट से ज्यादा पैसा जब तक आप खर्च नहीं करेंगे तब तक न तो यह प्लानिंग का बजट होगा, न देश को बढ़ावा देने का बजट होगा, न डिब्रेनेमेंट करने का बजट समझा जाएगा। उस सूरत में यह बजट नान-प्रोडक्टिव या सिर्फ एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के ऊपर खर्च किये जाने का बजट ही कहना होगा।

१९६३-६४ में जो खर्च किया गया है, उसको भी आप देखें। इसमें और भी कम खर्च नेशन बिल्डिंग के कामों पर, सोशल सर्विस के कामों पर खर्च किया जा रहा था। इसके लिए केवल ३५८.५ करोड़ ही रखे गये थे यानी १८ परसेंट ही इन कामों के लिए कुल बजट का रखा गया था। २४ परसेंट से यह खर्च कम हो कर १८ परसेंट ही रह गया। इस तरह से अगर आप चलेंगे तो कैसे काम चल सकेगा, किस तरह से प्लानिंग कामयाब समझा जा सकेगा, किस तरह से देश को ऊंचा उठाया जा सकेगा, किस तरह से देश को बढ़ावा दिया जा सकेगा? आप गरीब जनता से टैक्सों के रूप में पैसा वसूलें तो कर लेते हैं और इस आधार पर कर लेते हैं कि आप मुक्त का बढ़ावा देना चाहते हैं, मुक्त का डिब्रेनेमेंट करना चाहते हैं, आर्थिक दृष्टि से मुक्त का उन्नत करना चाहते हैं लेकिन जो काम आपका है वे इन सभी दृष्टियों से उलटे हो जाते हैं। नेशन बिल्डिंग के कामों में निरन्तर आप खर्च का कम करते गये हैं।

नेशन बिल्डिंग एक्टिविटीज हैं क्या? इसमें कितनी ही चीजें आ जाती हैं और कितनी ही और चीजें शामिल आप करते जा रहे हैं। मैं आपको इनके नाम भी बता देना

चाहता हूँ ताकि आपको अन्दाजा लग सके कि इतने ज्यादा डिपार्टमेंट्स पर इतना कम खर्चा रखने से एक के हिस्से में कितना आ सकता है। इरीगेशन, डिब्रेनेमेंट के दूसरे काम, एग्रीकल्चर, इण्डस्ट्री आदि कितने ही काम इसके अन्तर्गत आते हैं। आप लोगों को तथा निया को बता रहे हैं कि प्लानिंग के नाम पर, देश को ऊंचा उठाने के नाम पर, आप टैक्सेशन बढ़ा रहे हैं, लोगों पर टैक्सों का बोझ ल दते जा रहे हैं लेकिन असल में बात ऐसी नहीं है। जो खर्चा आप कर रहे हैं वह डिब्रेनेमेंट के लिए ज्यादा नहीं कर रहे हैं। जब तक आप प्रोडक्टिव कामों के लिए ज्यादा खर्च नहीं करेंगे, तब तक किसी भी तरीके से आप अपने प्लांस के जरिये से देश की उन्नति नहीं कर सकेंगे आपका प्लान कामयाब नहीं समझा जा सकेगा।

नेशन बिल्डिंग, इकोनॉमिक एण्ड सोशल सर्विस क्या है:—

“This head accommodates expenditure (including grants-in-aid) on the various nation building economic and social services, such as, Forests, Ports and Pilotage, Mercantile Marine, Lighthouses and Lightships, Scientific Departments, Education, Medical, Public Health, Agriculture, Rural Development, Animal Husbandry, Co-operation, Industries, Aviation, Broadcasting Labour and Employment, Community Development Projects and National Extension Service including Local Development Works, Multi-purpose River Schemes, Electricity, grants to social welfare organisations, welfare of backward classes, assistance for scarcity affected areas and for natural calamities, rehabilitation of displaced persons, welfare of scheduled tribes and development of scheduled areas, economic rehabilitation of Tribal Areas in Assam, and Industrial Housing.”

The trend of expenditure on Nation Building—Economic and Social Services since 1956-57 is as shown in this Table.”

नीचे बताया गया है कि १९५६-५७ में १२९ करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया जा रहा था और १९६२-६३ में ३५९ करोड़ खर्च किया जा रहा था। इसके बाद परसेंटेज खर्च में आपने और भी कमी कर दी। सिर्फ १८ परसेंट आप प्लानिंग के लिए खर्च कर रहे हैं और बाकी का जो ८२ परसेंट है, वह आप एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव परपजिज पर खर्च कर रहे हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब तक आप ये जो काम हैं, इन पर पचास परसेंट से ज्यादा खर्च नहीं करते हैं या एटलीस्ट पचास परसेंट नहीं करते हैं, तब तक देश का भला नहीं हो सकता है। मैं जोरदार शब्दों में कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस एग्रीकल्चरिस्ट से आप पचास परसेंट नेशनल इनकम में लेते हैं, जो एग्रीकल्चरिस्ट नेशनल इनकम में पचास परसेंट कांटीब्यूट करते हैं, जिनकी वजह से पचास परसेंट आपको मिल रहा है, उन पर आप अगर पचास परसेंट भी खर्च नहीं करते हैं, तो उसे किसी भी तरह से बांध नहीं कहा जा सकता है। १८ परसेंट इन सर्विसेस पर खर्च करना एक मखौल है, प्लानिंग के नाम पर अपने आपको तथा जनता को धोखा देना है, देश का मखौल उड़ाना है।

महात्मा गांधी के कुछ शब्द मैं यहां पर कोट करना चाहता हूँ। ये “लास्ट फेज आफ महात्मा गांधी” किताब में से हैं। जिस दिन यहां पर इंटरिम गवर्नमेंट कायम हो रही थी थी १९४६ में, वह सितम्बर का दूसरा दिन था और वह दिन स मवार था। सोमवार को वह मौन रखा करते थे। उस दिन वह किसी से बात नहीं किया करते थे। उस दिन मन्त्रीगण प्रधान मन्त्री के नेतृत्व में उनसे आशीर्वाद लेने पहुंचे। गांधीजी को पहले से मालम था कि वे उनके पास आयेंगे। उन्होंने पहले ही एक बच्ची के पास एक कागज पर कुछ लिख

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कर दे दिया था। वह सेटेंस क्या था, यह मैं आपको सुनाना चाहता हूँ :

“At the appointed time in the morning the Ministers arrived. They were received by the lady members of Gandhiji's entourage with garlands of handspun yarn. The message which Gandhiji had written out for them in the morning, it being Monday his day of weekly silence, was read out to them. It was his 'instrument of instructions'. Brief to the point of baldness, it ran thus:

“You have been in my thoughts since the prayer. Abolish the Salt Tax”.

कोई बहुत बड़ी लम्बी चौड़ी बात उन्होंने नहीं कही, कोई बड़ी किताब से उन्होंने नहीं कहा। चार ही शब्द उन्होंने थे “एबालिश दी साल्ट टैक्स”। इसके माने क्या हैं? इसके भा। मैं तो यह लेता हूँ कि उनके दिल और उनका दिमाग में यह था कि एबालिश एक्साइज ड्यूटीज आन नेसेसटीज आफ लाइफ। जनता की आवश्यकता की जो वस्तुयें हैं, जो जीवनोपयोगी वस्तुयें हैं उन सब पर जितना भी एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगा रही है, वह जनता के राज्य में नहीं लगनी चाहिये, हां जनता का शोषण करने वाला जो राज्य होता है, उसमें वे लग सकती हैं। आपका रिकार्ड बताता है कि ५२ परसेंट आपको एक्साइज ड्यूटी से अपने तमाम बजट का प्राप्त होता है, इंडायरेक्ट टैक्सिस से प्राप्त होता है, जो आपने गरीब जनता पर लाद रखा है और जो जीवनोपयोगी वस्तुओं पर आपने लगा रखा है।

आपने इस साल क्या किया है? ग्रामो-फोन रिकार्ड पर मैं आपने टैक्स हटा दिया है या कम कर दिया है लेकिन मिट्टी के तेल पर से नहीं हटाया था है शक्कर पर से नहीं हटाया गया है कपड़े पर से नहीं हटाया गया है। इतना ही नहीं यान पर और टैक्स लगा दिया गया है। ऐसा क्या किया गया है? मुझे मालूम

[श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी]

नहीं। इससे मालूम होता है कि जितनी भी जरूरी चीजें हैं जिनका इस्तेमाल गरीब आदमी करता है, और हैंडलम आदि का धंधा करने लग अपना पेट भरते हैं और काम चलाते हैं उन सबके खिलाफ आपने ये काम किये हैं। कांग्रेस के झण्डे में चर्खा लगा करके एक झूठे तरीके से उल्लाप चला रहे हैं, रिमैम्बर दी डांडी मार्च। नमक पर कर आपने थोड़ा बहुत कम कर दिया होगा। लेकिन जो इंडायरेक्ट टैक्सिस हैं, जो एक्साइज ड्यूटी हैं, ऐंसेशियल गुड्स पर जो टैक्स हैं, वे खत्म किये जाने चाहिये थे। जहां तक मैं समझता हूं डांडी मार्च का उद्देश्य यही था कि जीवन के लिए जो आवश्यक वस्तुयें हैं, उन पर टैक्स न लगें। यह मार्च उस वक्त हुआ था जबकि एक रुपये का बारह सेर गेहूं मिलता था, उस वक्त हुआ था जबकि गरीब आदमी दस रुपये में अपना निर्वाह कर लिया करता था, चपरासी तक भी अच्युती तरह से अपना जीवन बिता लिया करता था। उस वक्त तीन आने मन भी अगर टैक्स लगाने की बात हुई या थोड़ा बहुत अंग्रेजों ने टैक्स लगाया तो डांडी मार्च करके उसका हट-इसवाने का लोगों ने कष्ट क्यों किया? क्या वह लिए नहीं आन्दोलन चला था कि कपड़े और खाने पीने की चीजों पर किसी तरह का टैक्स था एक्साइज ड्यूटी नहीं लगनी चाहिये और अगर वह लगती है तो डिक्टेटर के राज्य में ही लग सकती है, शोषण करना ही जिस राज्य का उद्देश्य होता है, उसी में लग सकती है, समाजवादी राज्य स्थापित करने का जिस राज्य का उद्देश्य होता है, वहां नहीं लग सकती है, जो समाजवाद की द्रोही सरकार होती है, वही लग सकती है समाजवाद की पक्षपाती सरकार नहीं लग सकती है। गांधीजी की कल्पना की जो सरकार है, उसमें तो इस तरह की चीज होनी ही नहीं चाहिये जो सरकार चाहती है कि यहां पर राम राज्य स्थापित हो, उसको तो इस तरह के काम करने ही नहीं चाहिये।

दूसरी बात गांधी जी ने यह कही "यूनाइट हिन्दूज एण्ड मुस्लिम्स।" रिमूव अनटचेबिलिटी। टेक टू खादी। खादी से अभिप्राय उनके 'द' और उनके दिमाग में था कि हम स्वदेशी मूवमेंट को बढ़ावा दें। हमारे मुल्क के जो भी कार्यकर्ता हैं, नौकरी पशा है, कारकुन हैं, वे कारगुजार हैं उन लोगों को मुहैया किया जाने वाला जो उद्योग है उसमें बढ़ावा किया जाये। अभी तक राज्यों में जुलाहे लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं। जो सूतार लोग थे वे भूखों मर रहे हैं। सरकार ने उन लोगों पर जो गोल्ड कंट्रोल कानून लगाया है वैसा रिएक्शनरी कानून ने दुनिया में नहीं देखा। आपने कहा था कि चूंकि गोल्ड का स्मग्लिंग होता है इसलिये इसको बन्द करने के लिये यह कानून लगाया गया है, लेकिन वहां बन्द किया आपने उस की स्मग्लिंग को। आप किसी भी सर्राफ के पास जाकर देख लीजिये। आज खुले तरीके से तो शायद सोना न मिले लेकिन १०, २० रुपया ज्यादा देकर जितना चाहें आप उसे खरीद लें। इसको चूक करने के लिये जो आपके एक्साइज इन्स्पेक्टर जाते हैं, हर जगह उनके खिलाफ शिकायत जाती है कि वे हर दूकान से १००, २०० रु० लेकर रिश्वत और घूसखोरी का बाजार सने के सम्बन्ध में चलाते हैं। जो सोना आपके बैंकों में जमा किया गया था उसके खाते को तो आप जाकर देख सकते हैं, लेकिन जो वहां जमा नहीं हुआ था उस सोने को लोगों ने बिदइ कर लिया। पूंजीपतियों ने आप के हाथ में अपने सोने को नहीं दिया और उससे आज भी सोने का व्यापार चलता है। सोने का स्मग्लिंग आज भी नहीं रुका है। उसके खिलाफ मुल्क का ज्यादा से ज्यादा नुक्सान करने के लिये यह रिएक्शनरी कानून बनाया गया जिसको मैं ब्लैक एक्ट कहता हूं। अगर आप उस कानून को असल में अमल में लाना चाहते हैं तो आपको चाहिये कि १०, ५, ५, ३ तोला जितना भी चाहें, सोने को रखने,

की फ्रीडम देकर बाकी सोने पर कब्जा कर लें। ऐसा करके आप पूँजीपतियों के हाथों से सोना ले सकते थे, न कि इस तरह से कि जो छठे मंटे लागू होने का काम करते थे उनको भूखों मार कर। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपने जो गलतफहमी या गलत उमूलों पर इस तरह का कानून बना दिया है उस को जल्दी से जल्दी बदल दीजिये।

आज प्लैनिंग के लिये जो नानप्रॉडक्टिव परपजेज के लिये पैसे का वंटवारा किया गया है जैसे कि फैमिली प्लैनिंग के लिये इतने करोड़ रुपया। सोशल वेलफेयर के लिये इतने करोड़ रुपया। आपने दस्तकारी सिखाने के लिये रुपया अलग किया है, यह गलत है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या किसी महिला ने गांवों में दस्तकारी सीख कर कुछ काम किया है, क्या वे दस्तकारी सीख कर अपना जीवन बिताने के योग्य हो गई हैं। क्या मैं यह सुझाव आप को नहीं दे सकता कि फैमिली प्लैनिंग के लिये बड़े बड़े दवाखाने कायम करने और डाक्टरों को उनमें रखने के बजाय जो डिलिवरी हाउसेज हैं, डिलिवरी सेन्टर्स हैं उन में आप यह काम करवाते। उनको अपनी दवायें तकसीम करके क्या आप यह काम नहीं करवा सकते थे। इस तरह से पैसा उठाना, ऐसे देश में एक आदमी को ४ आठ रोज की भी आभदनी, नहीं है, जिनको रूटी मिलनी मुश्किल है शलत है। आप हमारे देश में अमरीका, इंग्लैंड और रशिया जैसे बड़े बड़े देशों के सिस्टम को हमारे ऊपर लादने की जो कोशिश कर रहे हैं मैं उसका पुरजोर विरोध करता हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि देश का जो बड़ा भारी भाग गांवों का है उसकी दृष्टि से प्लैनिंग की जाय, ग्राम जनता की दृष्टि से, साधारण इन्सान की आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने की दृष्टि से प्लैनिंग की जाये। जब तक आप ५० प्रतिशत भाग प्लैनिंग का गांवों के लिये रिजर्व नहीं रखेंगे, नेशनल डेवेलपमेंट सर्विसेज के लिये, तब तक आपकी प्लैनिंग सबसेसफुल होने वाली नहीं है। इसलिये जो नान-प्रॉडक्टिव

परपजेज के लिये आप खर्च करते हैं उस को बन्द किया जाये।

Shri Karuthiruman: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in supporting the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Finance, I congratulate the hon. Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, for having come forward with very good tax proposals. This portfolio, Sir, is now in the best hands. Even in the event of a world government, he is the fit person to be the world Finance Minister. I congratulate him for being the best to handle this portfolio.

Sir, as my hon. friend, Shri Morarka, mentioned the other day in one of his speeches, there is tax all round: if I save there is wealth tax, if I give there is gift tax, if I spend there is expenditure tax, if I earn there is income-tax and if I die there is death tax. In spite of all these taxes, we are prepared to pay the tax willingly and happily provided every naya paisa collected through the taxes is put to the best use with the least wastage. The Government should see to the best utilisation of the money collected through these taxes for the good of the nation and the people. They should not waste any money.

Tax evasion is a thing which should be taken note of seriously. At least 25 per cent of the new taxes could have been avoided if there had been no tax evasion. Only the innocent people suffer. Ever so many charges are brought against innocent people, but those who actually evade do it in a nice way and get away as gentlemen. The Government should see that tax evasion is stopped once for all. They should put an end to tax evasion. I hope Shri T. T. Krishnamachari will be successful in seeing to it that there is no tax evasion in this country.

I will now confine my remarks only to planning and agriculture. In spite of our three Five Year Plans, in spite of spending several crores of rupees up till now we have not achieved

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the target set for production in food-grains. What is it due to? It is because there is something wrong somewhere. The members of the Planning Commission with all due respect to them, I must say, have not realised where they have gone wrong.

They talk about the establishment of a socialist pattern of society. They have fixed a ceiling on land. They have fixed a ceiling of Rs. 3,600 gross income from land. While the members of the Planning Commission themselves get a salary of about Rs. 40,000 per annum, is it justifiable to fix only Rs. 3,600 in the rural sector. When people get Rs. 40,000 and Rs. 30,000 as emoluments, they fix a ceiling of Rs. 3,600 for the rural sector. That is why there is no parity between the urban sector and the rural sector. It is because the rural sector is not properly represented here, there is no agricultural lobby here. They can do anything and the rural sector people simply obey. The members of the Planning Commission even fix the prices for foodgrains to the producers. The Communist Members say here that the prices are rising, the prices of commodities are going up. May I quote from the book recently written by Shri C. Subramaniam. In that book he says that in Russia one seer of tomato is selling for Rs. 40 one seer of cucumber for Rs. 28 and one dozen of eggs for Rs. 25. In America for an ordinary meal people have to pay two to three dollars. In India for one rupee we can get a good meal. It may not be a meal in Ashoka Hotel or some other big hotel; but an ordinary man can have a good square meal for a rupee.

But there is no incentive for the agriculturists. They only show lip sympathy. Everybody shows lip sympathy to the agriculturists. But what practical step has been taken to improve the lot of the agriculturists? As far as the industrial sector is concerned, it has been growing. Cities are going up like anything. They have built multi-storeyed buildings. There is no ceiling on urban income. A man

can own hundred houses and earn one lakh of rupees. When they say that there should be a ceiling on the income of the poor agriculturists in the rural sector, is it not proper that they should fix a ceiling on the urban income also? There is disparity in everything. It is high time that they realised it. They simply say that they will do this and they will do that. But they do not do anything because they think that if they satisfy the urban people who are politically conscious, it is enough. They should realise that agriculture is the backbone of the country's economy. If that is neglected the nation will have to suffer. But their policies are such that they give benefit to the urban people, the rich people and not to the people in the agricultural sector.

For agricultural sector, they say they have spent Rs. 150 crores, for Bhakra Nangal project. They have spent Rs. 170 crores. There is a cement industry growing; it gives employment opportunities to the labourers. Only 10 per cent of the capital expenditure will go to the benefit of the agriculturists. If they do not spend so much on Bhakra-Nangal Project, what would have happened to the Cement Industry; what would have happened to the engineers and so on?

They should see that they establish an Agricultural University for each State. There should be education for the people who wish to take up to agriculture. Sir, I am a farmer of this country who lives on agriculture and I do not have more than 25 acres for the entire family. After my graduation, I had to go to agriculture. I advised my son not to take to agriculture. It is better to be a labourer in a mill than to be an agriculturist. There is no parity at all even after the land ceiling. The maximum has been reduced to the level of an Upper Division Clerk in the Secretariat. Our poor peasants are reduced to the position of the poor chaprasis in the Secretariat.

An hon. Member: Worse than a chaprasi!

Shri Karuthiruman: I stand corrected. They are reduced to a position worse than that of chaprasi. This is the situation. The Planning Commission members do not know the A, B, C, D of agriculture at all. They do not own a single acre of land. Are they to dictate to us when they really do not know what an agriculture means?

Now I come to rise in prices. What is the rise in prices? What was the budget proposal in 1940? It was only Rs. 150 crores or so. Now it is Rs. 2000 crores. The tax-paying capacity has been increased ten to fifteen times. What was the price of the foodgrains in 1940? Now has it been increased by 20 times? What is the purchasing power? That also has been increased? Of course, in certain sectors, there is a suffering. It is the duty of the Government to see that they subsidise for the foodgrains. They have not taken into consideration the cost of cultivation at all. It has increased by ten times. It has been repeatedly mentioned that the industrial sector top most priority should be given. Of the total generation of electricity, 60 per cent is given to the industrial sector while only 30 per cent is given to agricultural sector. Industrial sector pays 4 nP. per unit for the electricity consumption while the agricultural sector pays 8 nP. per unit.

Shri Ranga: They pay 14 nP. per unit.

Shri Karuthiruman: The hon. Finance Minister said that the electricity for rural sector was subsidised. In spite of the subsidies having been given to the agricultural sector, we have not yet achieved the target. What is it due to? Unless and until you give a fair price—a remunerative price—for the poor peasants, we are

not going to achieve the target of production of foodgrains. Have they compared these things or referred the matter to the Government Agricultural Farming Institutes? The Planning Commission say that the cost of production of rice to a peasant is Rs. 16 per maund. Production of foodgrains cannot be improved upon with this Rs. 16 per maund of rice. They also say that they have increased it now by about Rs. 2. With this Rs. 2 increase they say they can achieve the target. What is this Rs. 2 for? They have given this Rs. 2 profit for the traders. The price policy of this Government is neither consumer-oriented nor producer-oriented but it is trader-oriented! They are afraid of the traders because they threaten that they will strike. They want to adjust these things. When they say that they have increased the price by Rs. 2 they think that they will purchase from the producers. If that is the case, why don't you categorically say that this is the price for the producers! When the Planning Commission fixes the ceilings, they have to see that proper price is given to the producers. But, it is not so. Take for example Rs. 3,600 per annum as the maximum ceiling for a farmer, while the Planning Commission members get with their salaries and emoluments Rs. 30,000 per annum. They can even send them to foreign countries. But what can poor people do? I am a father of six children. How can I educate my sons? It is necessary that they should fix a ceiling on agricultural income. But they should see that the poor peasants' sons are given free education throughout from the beginning to the end.

Shri Ranga: But they won't do.

Shri Karuthiruman: They should plan well. I am prepared to accept the ceiling of even Rs. 1,000 on agricultural income. But they should see, that after fixation of the ceiling of income in the agricultural sector, all people irrespective of rich or the poor

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should be given free education, free boarding and lodging, etc. Let them tax the urban people and let them give the tax for the benefit of the peasants. Here they say that they have taxed the urban people. On the industrial sector, do they make a profit of Rs. 3,000 after deducting all these taxes? They are changing the models of the cars every year. We see with our own eyes highly placed people enjoying all these things but, yet, we have not put a ceiling on urban people in planning. There should be parity in all these things. It is high time that we plan in such a way that there is no difference between the agricultural sector and the industrial sector. We should see that in a socialistic pattern of society everybody should be given equal opportunities in the matter of education etc. Even the great poet 'Kambar' had said the following and I quote:

"Ellarum Ella perun chelvam eithadale.

Ilarum Illai Udaiyaram Illai."

Everybody should be given equal opportunities and everybody should be educated and should be given full scope in this regard. With these Plans we shall improve the country. The Finance Minister is a very able man. It should be categorically made clear as to what price is to be given to the poor agriculturists. The Planning Commission say that there is an open market price; there is a controlled price; there is a procurement price and there is a price support for the foodgrains. They have given the full price for development of animal husbandry, poultry farming etc., for Community Development, such and such funds should be given. I would submit in this connection that there is waste going on in the Community Development. We have given employment opportunities for some people. It is a good thing that these people are enjoying the employment opportunities thereby making the rural

people's life more expensive and more discontented. Here we should see that we utilise the tax payers' money to the best possible manner. We should see that there is a parity in every sector of life. Technical and other education should be given to all the people. What have you done for the educated agricultural people who have taken to agriculture? They should be given all facilities such as providing of tractors, supplying of fertilisers etc. Fertiliser price should go down. We are prepared to pay the price for that provided we are given a fair price for the produce. Unless and until you give Rs. 15 per maund of paddy, it is impossible to achieve the target in the foodgrains production. Peasantry is the pride of this country. Hence we should develop the growth of peasantry rather than destroy it. As far as this is concerned, the Planning Commission should see that for the betterment of the peasantry, they evolve the best policies.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Shri R. C. Mallick.—Not here. Shri P. G. Sen.

Shri P. G. Sen (Purnea): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am glad that you have found time to call me. Sufficient emphasis has been given here times without number to the agricultural sector. There is no doubt that it is of the utmost importance so far as our rural economy is concerned. What has government done in this regard in so far as schemes and other things are concerned? My predecessor has said that this sector has not been touched as it ought to have been done. From what I could gather from him it seems to me that industry has become a burden upon the agriculture. It may be argued as to why is it so. I find that the agricultural people have remained almost the same while all others have gone up. A radio, a watch and a cycle he must purchase as he

has to come up to the standards of time, no doubt. These and other things are being manufactured here. considerable progress has been made in regard to steel and fuel and they are to be congratulated.

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There is a drainage, an outlet for their incomes; but there is no filling of their pockets. We also stressed upon this point that there is no industry, so far as I know, for agricultural implements. So far as planning is concerned, my point is that though our Home Minister now, who was the Planning Minister then, is successful in sending a cycle to the villages, he has not been able to give the improved implements of agriculture to the villagers. Even in regard to tractors, our hon. friend, Shri Pant, was telling us that in Ceylon the cost comes to Rs. 9,000 and here it is Rs. 17,000.

So, from whatever angle we direct our vision, we find that these things are going out of our reach. Then, when we cast our eyes towards our States, so far as the Plan is concerned, whether it is industry, agriculture, irrigation, power, panchayati raj or community development, we find a very said figure at the lower levels. When the plans are put before us they are all right, in actual implementation we find they remain only on paper. The other day we had a conference on rural electrification which was convened by Dr. K. L. Rao. Hon. Members of Parliament were there. There I found our hon. Minister of Irrigation and Power, Bihar saying that he has been able to create a huge amount of power a giant but he has no means for an outlet, that is, he cannot reach this power, to the homes. If this has to be the trend of our planning, everything becomes null and void at the bottom. You are successful in generating power. In Barauni you have been able to generate power; but then there is shortage of equipment, transformers and other things, and the power cannot be given to the homes. We find the wiring is going through the villages but it is said that there is shortage of transformers. This is

the pitiable plight in which we find ourselves, though much can be said about performance and achievements.

We find certain roads are there; buses ply on them and the villagers who were long accustomed to walking to the courts can now avail of the buses for going to the courts. That much is there; but then their pockets are being touched. Again that is why the court affairs and litigation have become a costly affair. At least Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 it costs them to and fro. If a day is gone, Rs. 5 are gone out of his pocket. If the case is adjourned for that day, Rs. 5 plus the pleader's fees and everything is gone. So, I find that the day-to-day life of this section of the people is becoming miserable. That is what I want to emphasise.

I come from a very backward district, the District of Purnea in Bihar. Bihar itself is a backward province and Purnea has been declared to be backward by the Government. In 1955-56 a plant for a co-operative sugar mill was given to Bihar and that was in my constituency at Banmanki. But then, up till now I do not know what is going to happen. Nothing has come out. I learn that they have acquired the land and they want to purchase the plant. But I do not know what happened thereafter. It is said an expert committee went there. Some remarks and notes were circulated to the effect that this area would not be able to produce sugarcane; the expert committee went there, probed into it and gave a report that there is sugarcane cultivation there existing to the tune of 4,000 to 5,000 maunds. I again hear that there are two opinions—one saying that it is 4,000 maunds and another saying that it is 5,000 maunds, or it is 3,000 maunds and 5,000 maunds. But what does it matter? There was a mill there in Purnea. That mill was being fed with sugarcane by the local people. Now the mill is not there. That mill belonged to the Darbhanga Maharaja and Jessop and Company; most probably, they were co-sharers. Then,

[Shri P. G. Sen]

that mill was sold and, naturally, people switched over to jute and other crops because they could not sell their sugarcane to the mill. So, why this suspicion that that area will not be able to produce sufficient amount of sugarcane for that mill? For that we can take a guarantee that this will be done. Even the expert committee says that sugarcane will be available and at present we have 5,000 maunds of sugarcane planted there. So, like this even the co-operative sugar mill is hanging in the balance.

In respect of agriculture I have already said. I find that the allocation from the Centre to the States is very meagre. The States' finances are at a saturation point. They have tapped all their resources. As I have already told you, the hon. Minister of Irrigation and Power was here. The main purport of his presence, what I could gauge, was that the Centre should come to his assistance only because he has generated a huge amount of power. So, in respect of agriculture and power there is shortage. For 1964-65 the demand is Rs. 26 crores. There is shortage of funds which the State cannot make up. In major, minor and medium irrigation and in community development and co-operation the same thing happens. Community development and co-operation is doing practically nothing. They have come to a standstill because there is no allocation of funds. What are they to do? So far as the industries are concerned, the same thing is there. Transport and communications are also complaining that they are out of funds. There is paucity there. Even in regard to education I found Shri Chagla saying that the Central fund for education was made available to them but the States' funds were not made available and that portion of the money could not be paid. So, whatever is being thought out and well planned, so far as implementation is concerned, I find, falls short of the actual amount required for achieving the Plan targets. The States' re-

sources have been stressed to the hilt and if the Centre does not come to the assistance of the States, I think, the picture which is presented to us and which we find from our impressions of the areas where we go, is very dismal. So, I would request our Finance Minister to see that all these pitiable affairs are removed so far as these complaints of paucity of funds from the States are concerned. He is the custodian of Indian pockets, whether it is the States' or it is ours, and we look to him. So, I would request him to see that the Central assistance to the State of Bihar is increased at least to the tune to which the demand has been made. Otherwise, there is no prospect of these plans being implemented.

In regard to jute, that is the only foreign exchange earner. My constituency or my district is a jute-growing area. The rural population, the cultivators, are subjected to sell their commodities at below the market price. Unless and until the transport facility is provided, the roads are developed, the cultivators will be getting very low rates at the hands of the traders. Then there are also other middlemen. Though the Government has fixed the price at Rs. 30 a maund—and that is exclusive of the charges—at the primary markets we find that jute is being sold at Rs. 17 or Rs. 18 a maund.

Then, Sir, the retting facility for the jute crop is of utmost importance. I once suggested that in the Kosi project area, there should be facilities of retting so that the high class jute that is being produced in Pakistan and elsewhere can be produced here. The retting facility is of the utmost importance for jute crop and its quality.

Lastly, I would again request the Finance Minister to consider the case of Bihar State in respect of allocations of funds for 1964-65 in so far as the implementation of the Plan is concerned. I would request the Finance Minister to make up the deficit that the State is facing.

श्री बालकृष्ण सिंह (चन्दीली) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका बड़ा आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे भी समय दिया। मैं अपना भाषण योजना तक ही सीमित रखूंगा।

देश के विकास और प्रगति के लिये योजना बना लेना तो एक बात है, लेकिन उस योजना को कार्यान्वित कैसे किया जाये, यही मुख्य और महत्वपूर्ण बात है। यदि योजना का कार्यान्वय ठीक ढंग से न हुआ, तो उससे कोई लाभ नहीं होगा। योजना के सम्बन्ध में तीन मुख्य बातों का ध्यान रखना आवश्यक है। एक तो योजना अपने देश के अनुरूप और बल्यणकारी हो। दूसरे, योजना कैसे कार्यान्वित की जाये, स्पष्ट मस्तिष्क से इसकी स्पष्ट व्याख्या होनी चाहिए और तीसरे, योजना को कार्यान्वित करने के लिए देश में उसके अनुकूल वातावरण तैयार किया जाये। ये तीनों बातें जरूरी हैं।

मैं समझता हूँ कि देश में योजना को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये अनुकूल वातावरण बनाने में योजना आयोग असमर्थ रहा है। इसके साथ ही योजना से जितना लाभ देशवासियों को होना चाहिये, उस हद तक उनको लाभ भी नहीं हुआ है। इस देश में योजना बनाते समय किसान को केन्द्र-बिन्दु मान कर चलना चाहिए, क्योंकि देश के अस्सी फी सदी आदमी किसान हैं और गांवों में रहते हैं। यदि योजना किसान को केन्द्र-बिन्दु मान कर नहीं बनाई जाती और किसानों की आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार नहीं किया जाता, तो इस देश में औद्योगीकरण से कोई लाभ नहीं होगा।

औद्योगीकरण से तभी लाभ हो सकता है, जब कि देश के निवासियों की ऋण-शक्ति बढ़े। यदि उनकी ऋण-शक्ति नहीं बढ़ती है, तो फिर औद्योगीकरण से कोई फायदा नहीं होगा और एक समय आयेगा जब कि हमारे उद्योगों द्वारा पैदा किये

खरीदने वाला कोई नहीं रहेगा। मैंने यह बात इसलिये कही है कि इस देश के अस्सी फी सदी आदमी गरीब हैं और देहात में खेती करते हैं। यदि उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार नहीं किया गया, तो हमारे उद्योगों से उत्पादित वस्तुओं को खरीदने की शक्ति—ऋण-शक्ति—उनके पास नहीं होगी।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यदि देश के निवासियों की आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार करना है और किसानों के जीवन स्तर को ऊंचा उठाना है, तो यह जरूरी है कि उनका उत्पादित वस्तुओं का मुख्य केन्द्र पर ले जाने के लिए आयोगन की सुविधा हो। यदि आयोगन की सुविधा नहीं होती है, तो उनके द्वारा उत्पादित वस्तुओं पर खर्चा अधिक पड़ेगा, खर्चा अधिक पड़ने से उनका लाभ कम होगा और इस प्रकार खेती लाभप्रद नहीं होगी।

किसान और खेती पर काम करने वाले आदमी पार्ट-टाइम काम करने वाले होते हैं। उनका पूरा समय तक खेती में काम नहीं मिलता है। इसलिए जरूरी है कि किसी क्षेत्र में जो पुराने उद्योग धंधे चलते रहे हों, उनको योजना आयोग जोड़ित करे और नये नये उद्योग-धंधों का समावेश करे।

देहात की उन्नति के लिए यह भी जरूरी है कि गांवों का विद्युत्करण हो। अगर देहात का विद्युत्करण हो जाये तो किसान और खेती पर काम करने वाले मजदूर खाली समय में दूसरे उद्योग धंधे कर सकते हैं। नये और पुराने उद्योग धंधों को चलाने के लिए कॉम्प्लेक्स संसाधनों सबसे अच्छा माध्यम हो सकते हैं। उनको इस दिशा में मंड देना चाहिये कि वे देश में ऐसे छंटे छंटे उद्योग-धंधों को आरम्भ करें, जिनमें उत्पादन अधिक हो और अधिक से अधिक आदमियों को काम मिल सके।

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जिस स्टेट् से मैं आया हूँ, जनसंख्या की दृष्टि से देश में उसका प्रथम स्थान है, लेकिन उसमें बेकारी सबसे अधिक है। हाल ही में योजना आयोग के उपाध्यक्ष ने उत्तर प्रदेश को सिक मैन आफ इंडिया कहा है। इसके साथ ही उन्होंने यह भी कहा है कि योजना के संबंध में लोगों की आलोचना स्वस्थ होती चाहिए। मैं भी चाहता हूँ कि लोगों की आलोचना स्वस्थ हो और हम स्वस्थ आलोचना करने के लिये तैयार हैं। लेकिन जो आदमी हमको स्वस्थ आलोचना करने को नताना देता है और आशा करता है कि हम स्वस्थ आलोचना करें, उसको स्वयं भी स्वस्थ आलोचना करना चाहिए। जैसा कि मैंने अभी कहा है, योजना आयोग के उपाध्यक्ष, श्री मेहता, ने उत्तर प्रदेश को सिक मैन आफ इंडिया कहा है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने उत्तर प्रदेश के संबंध में अच्छी तरह अध्ययन नहीं किया है।

वहाँ पर बड़े बड़े उद्योग घरों की जड़रत नहीं है। वहाँ मैन पावर, जनबन, अधिक है, लिहाजा वहाँ छोटे छोटे उद्योग-वृत्त आरम्भ करने चाहिए। मैं स्वयं पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश से आया हूँ। यदि मैं कहूँ कि योजना आयोग स्वतः तमाम राज्यों में भेदभाव पैदा करता है, गरीब इलाकों को परवाह नहीं करता है और उनको गरीबों के साथ खिलवाड़ करता है, तो यह अत्यन्त नहीं होगा। जहाँ जहाँ राम गये, वहाँ तंत्र-स्थान हो गया। क्या वहाँ परिपाटी योजना आयोग भी कायम करना चाहता है? पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के जिन जिलों में योजना आया गया, उनका उत्थान करने की योजना तो वह बना रहा है, लेकिन जहाँ वह नहीं गया, वे बिले गरीबों से कराहते रहेंगे।

योजना आयोग ने पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के जिन चार जिलों को चुना है, उनमें जो स्थिति है, वही स्थिति पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश की

बाकी जिलों में भी है। इसलिए पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के सभी जिलों के उत्थान और विकास के लिए योजना बनाई जानी चाहिए।

जहाँ तक योजना को कार्यान्वित करने का सवाल है, इस सम्बन्ध में स्पष्ट व्याख्या नहीं हुई है। क्या योजना को कार्यान्वित करने की जिम्मेदारी पंचायत और विकास क्षेत्र को है? अगर यह जिम्मेदारी पंचायत और विकास-क्षेत्र की है, तो क्या यह शासन की सत्ता का विकेन्द्रिकरण है। अगर विकेन्द्रिकरण है, तो पंचायत और विकास क्षेत्र स्तर तक जो उनके आदेश होते हैं, उनका पालन करने की जिम्मेदारी विभागीय अधिकारियों पर किस हद तक है? यदि वह शासन का विकेन्द्रिकरण नहीं, सरकारी एजेंसी है, तो उस एजेंसी की राय का क्या मूल्य है। सरकारी कर्मचारियों को किस हद तक इसको पाबन्दी करना है। इसको आज तक व्याख्या नहीं हो पाई है। पंचायत और विकास-क्षेत्र का क्या अस्तित्व है, यह स्वतः कम्युनिटी डिवेलोपमेंट मिनिस्टर प्रदेशों के मुख्य मंत्री और श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण इत्यादि भी अभी तक किसी निष्कर्ष पर नहीं पहुँचते हैं। राजस्थान वाले सैनानार में भी तय नहीं कर पाये हैं। कोई भी इसको ठोक से बता नहीं पाया है कि उनका क्या स्थान है। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि चाहे जो कुछ हो, चाहे सत्ता का विकेन्द्रिकरण हो, चाहे सरकारी एजेंसी हो लेकिन पंचायत और विकास-क्षेत्र ही ऐसी संस्थाएँ हैं जो इस प्लान को गांव स्तर पर कार्यान्वित कर सकती हैं। उन्हीं के ऊपर यह जिम्मेदारी डाली जानी चाहिए कि सदियों से जो लोग गुलाम रहे हैं, जिनकी आत्मा दब गई है और जो अपने को हेय समझते हैं उनके अन्दर एक चेतना पैदा करें और इस देश की बिखरी हुई जनशक्ति को संगठित करके गांवों के उत्थान में लगायें। प्लान को कार्यान्वित

करने के लिए पंचायतों और विकास-क्षेत्रों का क्या उत्तरदायित्व है, इसकी अब स्पष्ट व्याख्या होनी चाहिये ।

जिनों में जिला परिषदें हैं, लेकिन उनके पास कोई प्रोग्राम नहीं है । उनको भी कुछ प्रोग्राम दिया जाना चाहिये जिसको वे कार्यान्वित कर सकें, जिले का विकास कर सकें । डिस्ट्रिक्ट बॉर्ड का नाम बदल करके अब जिला परिषद रख दिया गया है । ए०डी०एम० उसका सेक्रेटरी होगा है । लेकिन उस परिषद के पास कोई प्रोग्राम नहीं है । इन सारी बातों को स्पष्ट व्याख्या होनी चाहिये । पंचायतों और विकास क्षेत्रों व जिला परिषदों के प्रस्तावों का सरकारी कर्मचारियों को निगाह में क्या मूल्य है, इसको मैं निर्भीकता से आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ । मैं स्वतः भी इन संस्थाओं का मेम्बर रह चुका हूँ मैं बनारस जिले का एक उदाहरण आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ जिससे सिद्ध हो जाएगा कि इन संस्थाओं के साथ सरकारी कर्मचारियों का कितना बड़ा असहयोग होता है । बनारस जिले में शिकायत आई कि ट्यूबवेल ठीक से काम नहीं करते हैं और किसानों को बहुत बड़ा नुकसान उठाना पड़ता है । जिला परिषद् ने एक कमेटी गठित की और सदस्यों के अलावा उस कमेटी में डी० एम०बे, डिप्टी मिनिस्टर ऑफ़ प्रोपर्टी एंड पंचायत राज और इयामघर जॉं थे, मैं भी था और एक जो आज उत्तर प्रदेश के एक पार्लियामेंटरी सैक्रेटरी हैं हम सभी उस कमेटी के सदस्य थे । उस कमेटी ने सारे मामले को जांच की और उसको रिपोर्ट सरकार तथा विभागीय अधिकारियों को भेज दो । छः सात साल हो गए हैं उस रिपोर्ट को भेजे हुए लेकिन विभागीय अधिकारियों के पास से तथा सरकार के पास उस रिपोर्ट को स्वीकृति का पत्र तक भी जिला परिषद् के पास नहीं आया है । इस छोटे से उदाहरण से ही स्पष्ट हो जाना चाहिये कि सरकारी कर्मचारियों का विकास-क्षेत्र, पंचायत, जिला परिषद् आदि से कितना बड़ा असहयोग है । मैंने

यह बात इसलिए कही है कि अभी राजस्थान के समानार में कम्युनिटी डिवेलपमेंट के मंत्री महोदय ने कहा था कि हमारे सरकारी कर्मचारी कम्युनिटी डिवेलपमेंट के प्रोग्राम को चलाने में बड़े सफल हुए हैं । सरकारी कर्मचारी उसी चीज को तुरन्त कार्यान्वित करते हैं जिसको वे समझते हैं कि उनके बास चाहते हैं । क्या अभी तक उनसे नहीं कहा गया है कि तुम पंचायत और विकास-क्षेत्र के साथ सहयोग करो या यह तुम्हारी जिम्मेदारी है कि गांव के निवासियों का तुम जीवन स्तर ऊंचा करो । मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह वह आज कह दें । बास के कहने पर सरकारी कर्मचारी स्वयं इस तरह के कामों को कर दे तो बड़ी खुशी है ।

हमारे देश में कुछ ऐसी स्थिति आ गई है कि जिसके कारण लोगों के दिमागों का झुकाव कभी कभी दूसरी तरफ चला जाता है जिसके फलस्वरूप योजना को कार्यान्वित करने में उनकी एकाग्रता भंग हो जाती है । उदाहरणस्वरूप चीनी आक्रमण ही है या पाकिस्तान से हिन्दूओं का भगाया जाना है, उनके साथ जुलम और अत्याचार का होना है या यहां पर उनको बसाने की समस्या का उत्पन्न हो जाना है, आदि । ये सारी बातें योजना को सफलतापूर्वक कार्यान्वित करने के रास्ते में बाधाएँ सी बन कर हमारे सामने उपस्थित हो जाती हैं । मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की बातें न हों जिन से विकास कार्यों में कोई बाधा उत्पन्न हो । विकास-कार्य निर्बाध गति से चलते रहने चाहियें । जहां तक चीनी आक्रमण का सम्बंध है समय की कमी से इस पर मैं जाना नहीं चाहता हूँ । लेकिन पाकिस्तान से आए हुए हिन्दुओं के सम्बंध में मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ । जॉं यहां आए हैं वे शरणार्थी नहीं हैं बल्कि हमारे भाई हैं । वहां पर वे यात्ना और दुःख सहन करने के बाद अपनी मां की गोद में वापिस आ गए हैं और वे हमारे

[श्री बालकृष्ण सिंह]

भाई हैं। उनको बसाने का काम भी प्लानिंग कमिशन को बड़े उचित ढंग से करना चाहिए। लेकिन कुछ ऐसे भी तत्व यहां हैं जो यहां के निवासियों में फूट पैदा करके देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को छिन्न भिन्न कर देना चाहते हैं, उनके दिमाग का झुकाव दूसरी तरफ करके प्लान के रास्ते में, योजना के रास्ते में बाधा उपस्थित करना चाहते हैं। जब अंग्रेज यहां थे तो उनका तो काम ही यह था कि हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों को लड़ा कर राज्य किया जाए। लेकिन मुझे बड़े दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आज भी अंग्रेजों के नकली वरिस यहां हैं जो हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों में फूट डाल कर के मुसलमानों को यह कह कर उभाड़ते हैं कि तुम तो यहां पर मौत की छाया में रह रहे हो। यह बहुत ही खेद का विषय है। मैं ऐसे लोगों को बतलाना चाहता हूं कि हमारे देश में शिक्षा मंत्री और उपराष्ट्रपति महोदय मुसलमान हैं और इन दोनों व्यक्तियों पर देशवासियों को तथा हमें गर्व है। यहां इस देश में इसलामिया स्कूल भी चलते हैं, मकतब भी चलते हैं। बनारस में तथा दूसरे जिलों में इस तरह के स्कूल अब भी चल रहे हैं। मुसलमानों के साथ हमारे देश में कोई भेदभाव नहीं बरता जाता है। मुसलमान तथा तमाम जो दूसरी कौनें हैं, वे सब आपस में भाई भाई हैं। मैं नहीं चाहता कि कोई भी आदमी इस देश के हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों या और किसी मजहब के मानने वालों के बीच फूट डाल करके इस देश को एकता का भंग करे। हमारा धर्म निरपेक्ष राज्य है। लेकिन हमारा सब से बड़ा धर्म क्या है, इसको हमें देखना चाहिये। हमारा सबसे बड़ा धर्म यह है कि भारत माता की सीमा में रहने वाला प्रत्येक व्यक्ति मां की सन्तान है और भाई है चाहे वह किसी कोम का हो, किसी मजहब का हो, किसी धर्म का मानने वाला हो। जो अपने आपको भारत माता की सन्तान नहीं मानता, यहां के निवासियों को भाई नहीं मानता, इसकी

अखण्डता को नहीं मानता, इसकी सीमा पर हुए किसी आक्रमण को अपने पर हुआ आक्रमण नहीं मानता, यहां के किसी निवासी पर हुए अत्याचार को अपने पर हुआ अत्याचार नहीं मानता उसे मां की गोद में बैठने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है। ये तमाम बातें मैंने इसलिए कही हैं कि योजना को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये अनुकूल वातावरण भी तैयार हमको करना है।

अब अपने क्षेत्र के सम्बंध में मैं योजना आयोग को एक दो बातें कहना चाहता हूं। चकिया एक पहाड़ी इलाका है जहां पर दो दो और तीन तीन मील दूर जा कर लोगों को पानी पीने के लिए लाना पड़ता है। ऐसे इलाके दूसरी जगहों पर भी हैं। कम से कम ऐसे जो पहाड़ी इलाके हैं, उनका सर्वेक्षण करके वहां पीने के पानी की सुविधा उपलब्ध कर दी जाए। जहां पीने के पानी की सुविधा नहीं है, वहां योजना बना कर पीने का पानी तो उपलब्ध किया जाना चाहिये।

माहेश्वर परगना, राहपुर, महुआरी, घूस, बरह, कटेहर, जाल्ईपुर, सुल्तानीपुर आदि कुछ इलाके ऐसे हैं जो गंगा के किनारे बसे हुए हैं। इन परगनों में सिंचाई की सुविधा भी नहीं है और बाढ़ का प्रकोप भी प्रायः हो जाया करता है। मैं निवेदन करता हूं कि ऐसे बाढ़ वाले क्षेत्रों में जहां बाढ़ से किसान तबाह होते हैं, और उनकी खेती पर इसका बुरा असर पड़ता है, उस बाढ़ के प्रकोप को दूर करने की व्यवस्था कर दी जानी चाहिये। सिंचाई की भी समुचित व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये।

Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur): In the short time at my disposal I propose to deal only with a few problems concerning the functioning of the Ministry of Finance and the operation of planning in our country.

In the first place, I should like to congratulate the hon. Minister for the two statements that he has laid on

the Table of the House only this afternoon. They give us an earnest of the Government's effort to secure better utilisation of foreign assistance made available to this country and also give us an indication that Government are willing and determined to make a sincere effort at pursuing the problem of monopolies which is alleged to exist in our country.

I should like to draw the attention of the House to a pivotal observation made in the report of the Committee on utilisation of External Assistance, 1964. In concluding their report, the committee made an observation, which I think is of central importance. The committee have said:

"We would like to stress that improved aid utilisation depends not only on streamlining the procedures but on raising the level of efficiency of plan implementation."

I am happy that in the statement laid on the Table of the House this afternoon, Government have indicated that they have accepted most of the recommendations made by the Excise Reorganisation Committee, and those recommendations which have not been accepted are being noted by Government, and Government have indicated that they would be studying them further. However, as the report has itself said in its conclusion it is not only by streamlining the existing procedures of utilising external assistance but also by securing more efficient and better implementation of the Plan that the utilisation of external assistance could really be improved.

It is in this respect that I would like the hon. Minister to tell us how he hopes to secure better utilisation of external assistance by securing a more efficient and better implementation of the plans. It seems there is not enough co-ordination between the Planning Commission and the various departments of Government. It seems that the Planning Commission, which

has grown into a sort of parallel government organisation, has not been able to forge links of integrated working with the Government and that it is in this deficiency that our plans have suffered in their implementation. If there is anything of real importance to this country, it is the proper and speedy implementation of the plans. It is, therefore, necessary that the hon. Minister is able to indicate to this House as to how he hopes to secure better utilisation of external assistance by making the implementation of our plans more efficient and more speedy.

In this connection, I should also like to refer to some of the recommendations made by the Committee and the approach of the Government to them. One of the recommendations is that a major cause of delay has been the change in the scope of projects at a late stage. Such changes should be avoided. To this, the Government have indicated that they have 'noted' this recommendation. We would like to know in detail as to why this cause of delay and various other causes of delay such as acquisition of land, erection of townships etc. etc. are not taken care of well in advance, so that there is no delay in utilising external assistance made available to our country.

It has been indicated in respect of the second part of the causes of delay that the Government require detailed examination which is being undertaken in respect of this cause of delay which arises from not drawing up plans for acquisition of land and for erection of machinery. I would like to know why it is that the Government have not had occasion already to deal with this particular aspect of the problem, and in what manner and how the Government propose to deal with it now.

I shall pass on to another very important matter touched upon by the hon. Finance Minister in a statement laid on the Table, in respect of the Monopolies Commission. I hope that the Monopolies Commission would be

[Dr. L. M. Singhvi]

an impartial, non-partisan, uncommitted body. I hope that those who man the Commission would be able to study the problem without any partisan zeal or passion. I hope that the large number of officials who appear to have been placed on the Commission would be able to steer clear of the predilections of agreeing readily with the Government's position in this respect, if there is a government's position in this respect.

I am glad that the Monopolies Commission has been appointed. But it would be unfair to the private sector in this country if the Commission is not able to proceed in an atmosphere of non-partisanship and if it is not able to attempt a really scholarly analysis of the problem of monopolies, if they do exist, and in what form they do exist.

I would like to refer to another important part of the Finance Minister's functions, that is in respect of excise organisation. I have had occasion earlier also to refer to certain anomalies in respect of our excise organisation. I know that the hon. Finance Minister is an erudite scholar of matters financial, and he certainly knows the various ramifications, administrative, constitutional and financial, of the existing structure of excise organisation in our country. But I should like to draw attention to a statement found in paragraph 23 of the Report of the Central Excise Reorganisation Committee wherein it is stated:

"It has been contended that the practical application of section 4 of the Act relating to levy of duties *ad valorem* as it is now framed is itself repugnant to the Constitution. Though Central Excise is a duty levied on goods produced and manufactured, assessment is based on value at the time of sale. This by itself, and more so when collection is made at the point of sale, makes the levy a disguised form of sales tax which is essentially within the

province of the State governments. For more reasons than one, we content ourselves here with a mere statement of the criticism".

As a matter of fact, if one would be permitted to read between the lines, this statement is indicative of the fact that the Committee were inclined to concede the force of the contention relating to the constitutionality of our present excise organisation. I hope that the hon. Minister would not consider it adequate merely to say that since this is a mere observation of the Committee, since the Committee have themselves said that they would content themselves merely by stating the contention raised before them, it is not necessary to deal with this aspect of the problem.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath. On a point of order. I think you will agree that there must be quorum in the House at this stage. My hon. friend, Dr. Singhvi, is making an interesting speech.

Mr Deputy-Speaker: The bell is being rung—Now there is quorum.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I was referring to the constitutional aspects of our existing organisation in the country and I had cited the statement found in the Report of the Commission on Central Excise Reorganisation. I would like the hon. Minister to tell us whether this problem has been gone into seriously at government level, and if so, what do the Government propose to do about it. Is it proposed to bring about a constitutional amendment or is it proposed to bring about a far-reaching reorganisation of excise in the country?

In this connection, I would like to refer to a problem which is highly germane to this discussion. I would invite attention to some of the observations made in the Report of the Excise Reorganisation Committee.

"As before the Taxation Inquiry Commission, so before us representations have been made that the Centre should levy and administer sales tax on all excisable goods and this should be collected in the same manner as and along with central excise duties. While the right to levy sales tax vests under the Constitution with the States, there is no bar to the levy and its administration being centralised with the consent of the States."

This question, of course, was examined at considerable length by the Taxation Inquiry Commission, but the Commission had expressed themselves strongly against centralising the collection of sales tax. Only this morning I put a question to the Finance Minister for which there is a written answer—starred question 1084. The question was: whether there is a proposal to have a uniform sales tax in all the States of Northern Zone; whether there is also a proposal to remove sales tax and instead levy excise duty; whether such recommendations have been made by the States in the Northern Zone and if so the action being taken by Government. The answer to the first part was in the affirmative and it was stated that the proposal was before the Northern zonal council. But the answer to the second part of the question is a bare negative. By second part, I refer to this portion:

"whether there is also a proposal to remove sales tax and instead levy excise duty."

Government cannot get away merely by giving a bare negative reply to this question which has been assuming an increasing importance in our own country. It is a question which pertains to procedures in respect of tax collection at the local level. Sales tax is a source of great harassment to our traders and hinders our business. The States have been losing large amounts of sales tax because of the difficulties in procedures of collection and there are many points

of leakages. It does not stand to reason why the Union Government in consultation with the various State Governments are not willing to undertake a comprehensive examination of the possibility of introducing central excise duty in respect of sales tax. This is actually suggested by a scholarly study undertaken by the Indian Law Institute. It also felt that this would perhaps be the best solution of the present problem of harassment and tax evasion.

I feel, Sir, that generally there is not adequate discussion of matters economic and financial in this House. It is partly because not all of us are interested in the complexities of finance or economics; it is partly because of the fact that the House as it is constituted now is too large to discuss these matters. It has been felt increasingly that the Planning Commission has been playing a role which is far bigger than is permissible under a system of parliamentary democracy. I make bold to make a suggestion here that we should devise an institutional method whereby there would be a more detailed and comprehensive discussion of economic and financial matters pertaining to planning and for this I suggest that the Government should give earnest consideration to the possibility of establishing a little parliament, a small economic parliament which would be the delegate of the two Houses of Parliament and which would plunge itself into a detailed discussion on matters economic and financial. Unless that is done there can neither be a real discharge of ministerial responsibility in the field of economics and finance nor can there be an effective and efficient control in this field.

I would conclude by expressing the hope that these few important observations in my short speech would be considered by the Finance Minister and that we would have some indications how the Government is going to deal with these matters.

Shri P. N. Kayal (Joynagar): Sir, after the Britishers left this nation:

[Shri P. N. Kayal]

which was immersed in poverty, and illiteracy and which was a slave nation for hundreds of years, the people of this country wanted to taste what freedom was like. Therefore, the leaders of this country decided to give the people of this country democracy. Then it was felt that this country could not afford to go to the capitalist system of economy, nor to the communist system of economy. It is a poor country and so the means of production and the means of distribution should not rest in the hands of the few. On the other hand it was found that it was not also feasible to have State control of all means of production and distribution. That means, it was found desirable not to accept the communist system of economy. We wanted to have the socialist system, in between capitalism and communism, a compromise between two extremes. Then we had to take up planning. The defect of the planners of this country, is that they are planning only how to collect money and how to distribute it, not knowing whether it is reaching the proper hands or not. Planners were planning to collect money by taxation. Whenever they want some money, they tax some people, poor or middle-class or rich class and they get the money. Anybody in a similar position can do it. But what about the tax evasion? Why don't you put your mind to that? Then you can avoid taxing so many people. Crores of rupees are being evaded by some people who were supposed to pay taxes. The planners are not putting in their minds to that. They always spread up their hands indiscriminately for more money and more and more money.

On the implementation front, they allot money indiscriminately, for instance, to Bengal, without knowing what is the actual problem and need of West Bengal. As this House should know, West Bengal is a problem State and so it should get more money. There should not be any prescribed formula saying that there are twelve States; that therefore each

should get Rs. 100 crores. So many outsiders come to Bengal. Why should West Bengal get money according to the number of population there? They must feel the need and necessity of West Bengal. Why are the planners not doing that? The other aspect of this is 'distribution.' Where is the machinery for this? Have the planners any proper planning of Administrative Machinery? Of course the administrative machinery is one of the most important factor. Have they ever thought about any planning for the administrative machinery? Speaking about administration, everybody knows that I can just express it in one word: *yahan karo, tho vahan karen*; which means, unless you give me some money I will not just issue orders. Well, a person wants to take a loan or he wants a permit to be issued to him, or he wants help in some way. The people go to the administration, the officer concerned. But just in a few words, they say: "If you give me some money, then I will do the job for you." This is very bad. We are not having any planning for what you call the perfection of the administrative machinery which has to distribute the money among the people. Unless the perfection is attained, how can things improve? That money goes out and again it will come back. So, they have not got the machinery to give it back to the people who are paying the taxes. So, the people are getting poorer and poorer. For what is called the perfection of the administrative machinery, I would suggest a very big thing. I do not know whether it is within the competence of the Planning Ministry or not, but it is within the competence of the leaders of the country. In one word, I should say that there must be a respectful relationship with the people on the one hand and the administration on the other. That is to say, that respectful relationship between the administration and the people, at large should be established.

Here, what do you do? We write to the Minister for getting some information or about some grievance of the people that is put through us. The Minister says it is "under consideration", or "thanks for your letter." We do not get the reply, and if we get it, at all, it is very late or never. You disrespect us. You think that in Parliament only we have got some relations with the Ministers. Only in Parliament you have got some relation with the MPs, and outside Parliament, you do not have any relation. If you behave with the MPs like this; how will the officers like the SDOs and Collectors behave with MPs? You think about it. How could we have that grip over the administration? We must have that respectful grip. I do not say that we must have powers to issue orders to the officers. We must have the grip over the administration which must respect us. That is what we want, and then only we can do something about this corruption. Please seriously think about it. I am really getting fed up about the state of affairs which are going on in this country.

You are planning; planning for what? You say, "You give me some money and we will distribute it" Who are those people that will give money, and where will you distribute it? You never know that. So anybody can just plan and distribute this way. Anybody can do that job.

I do not want to go into the details, but one thing is sure. This country must have socialism and must have democracy. We cannot get out of that. That is clear.

An Hon. Member: How?

Shri P. N. Kayal: In your mind, it may not be, but you are not a socialist yourself. You should know that after Independence this country had every possible chance to have a dictator who could do whatever he wanted to do or liked to do, but our leaders did not do that. If they had anything like that which the capitalists or others have in their mind, de-

finately, they would have sided with America or the western blocs. No. And that is why we are adhering to the non-alignment policy. Because you want to keep the balance of the scales in proper order. Neither we want to side with the communists nor with others.

What happened in the last few years before Independence. The first world war was over and the second world war came and it was over. The whole world was trembling as to whether a third world war would come. If the third world war would have come, the whole world would have been destroyed. Definitely, we had our duty to avoid war and to save the world. If the world is not saved, how could our country have been saved? So, taking all these things into consideration, I say that you need not shout about things or cry about things. After all, we all started as a poor country. Pandit Nehru made a beginning; he started from the beginning. What were we? We were just slaves; a poor country, the poorest of the poor. He was the beginner beginning the beginning.

An Hon. Member: Still beginning.

Shri P. N. Kayal: You might say so. You do not represent all. And you will never be satisfied. You can indulge in your extravagant nature; you want transistors, radios, houses and carpets in a day, immediately after the date of Independence. How can you get everything immediately after Independence?

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav (Bara Banki): We only want food and cloth.

Shri P. N. Kayal: You must balance your requirements and plan your minds. You cannot get everything the day after Independence.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member must address the Chair.

Shri P. N. Kayal: I do not want to say more. What I wanted to say

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is, this country is moving in proper direction. But I would like to tell you only one thing. Please be careful about the administrative machinery. I am giving you one tip. Be honest to the honest officers. If you give the Vir Chakra to the heroes of this country, you must give Sadhu Chakra to the sadhu officers, and then only you can bring some incentive among the officers of this country. They are suffering from injustice. So, you must also take care of the administration from that point of view.

Shri K. D. Malaviya (Basti): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I do not propose to deal with the technical and administrative details of the two Demands that are under discussion,—Planning and Finance. But I would like to deal with some general aspects and certain features about which I have been talking recently both outside and inside the House. But for the fact that I feel very strongly about it and also feel that the industrial policy resolution that is the guiding factor for the entire economic activity of the Government of India is under test today, and under special conditions of stress and strain, I would not have bothered to offer certain comments for the consideration of my dear friend, the Finance Minister.

I said on a previous occasion and I repeat again that this phenomenon of economic concentration of power, under our commitments of a socialist society, is not a very happy affair and that in our efforts to build up a production programme quickly, we are ignoring certain very fundamental social and other aspects of the features that face the nation, and we shall be doing it at our peril.

I would like the Prime Minister also, of our Government, who is the leader of the Congress Party and the leader of the nation, to seriously think whether the time has come or

not, when we have to do a little more serious thinking, whether the mad race, and the restlessness to go forward fast towards increasing our production in such a manner, is going to bring socialism or to build that society which we really need in this country. From that point of view, I would like to re-emphasise certain points which have been occurring to me.

Firstly, speaking on economic concentration, I am afraid I do not agree with my hon. friend Shri T. T. Krishnamachari who under-rated the gravity of the situation when these few dynasties were built up, not during the last 12 to 13 years, but even before that. It is a heritage that has been handed down to us, and it is an evil which we must destroy; namely this evil of letting dynasties grow in the name of private companies and which are now being called the people's organisation. I say people's organisations, because the shareholders are there. I do not mean to say that the Government do not realise these things. They do realise these things, but they ignore the consequences in their enthusiasm. Even by our friends, the United States of America, who are earnestly interested in building up our economy and helping us are gravely concerned. I would refer to that friend of India, Mr. John P. Lewis, well-known to Government circles. He has been coming here off and on and he has drawn the attention of the Government of India and our people to the gravity of the situation so far as growing economic concentration is concerned. I will quote him:

"I have heard one particularly gifted head of an American firm that is conducting a major manufacturing operation in India say that there are few things India needs more than a strong anti-monopoly law. In this case, I think the American businessman is right."

In conclusion, he says:

"My hunch is that American antitrust law may have more relevance to the Indian situation than most Indian lawyers, political scientists, and economic policy-makers suspect; that, nevertheless, the appropriate prescription in the last analysis will have to be very largely indigenous. I am firmly convinced, however, that the whole issue is being dangerously neglected at present."

He is not a communist nor is he a fellow-traveller. He is an honest friend of India who wishes us well, who wants to help us in every possible way within the framework of his own belief.

Our problem, as a matter of fact, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, of economic power concentration is not merely a passing phase of a newly industry-developing economy, as is being thought of. What is happening now is something more than this. Our private sector capabilities for power concentration are unusually strong and the system has been handed down to us from the British business practice carried on during our days of slavery. The managing agency system was invented under British traditions. It was like the American holding company which was meant for greater control of managements over productive activities. The Indian business houses have become adept, in several generations for building up industrial empires. I can refer to all those concentrations of large houses controlling not only through solo positions, but by majority control of shares and such intricacies about which now an earnest effort is being made to restrain them. But I am quite sure that we cannot do it. Time alone will prove that in spite of all the exercises that we would like to do in order to make radical changes in our rules, we cannot control them, because the difficulty is fundamental and basic.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Lewis also says that:

"Indian law provides no real effective restraints on industrial concentration and anti-competitive practices."

The proposal of appointing a commission to examine the conditions of monopolies, I am afraid, can be avoided and still we can go ahead, because there is enough data before us to come to certain decisions. I said then, and I am saying it now. What is the necessity of appointing a commission? Government know too well where the mistake lies and what is happening, and what important decisions can be taken to prevent these monopolies from growing. But we perhaps hesitate.

This policy of industrialisation, which has given us a pattern of mixed economy, is also working in a lopsided way. That is what my fear is. As I said, I am not against invitation of equity capital from abroad on principle. Perhaps the peculiar situation in which we are existing these days demands that our pattern of invitation of foreign capital should, from time to time, be examined and there ought to be certain elasticity about it. But the way in which this thing is being interpreted is making me afraid. I hope, therefore, that the Government will not make it a general practice and it will be done only on such occasions where special know-hows are really needed in this country, where a particular industry is unavoidable in this country under the present circumstances, where we have to convert or modify our industry-oriented programme to an agriculture-oriented programme. Unless it is absolutely necessary, we should not throw open the doors to invite foreign capital in the way we have been thinking because, as I see, our emphasis is not to be only on production. It must be a production and distribution oriented economy to which we should

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pay our attention. If we ignore the distribution aspect, then we cannot build socialism. If we look at only the production aspect of it, we will go astray and after some time we shall see that we are far, far away from the conscience and spirit of the industrial policy resolution to which I and my hon. friend, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari and every Minister of this Government are committed.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: How can you bring about socialism by ignoring the production aspect?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: I have not said that we should ignore the production aspect of it. What I have said is, the great necessity to increase food production. In order to increase food production, we have to give a new look to the entire planning. The present planning programme is based on rapid industrialisation and not on rapid agricultural production. We know that our bullock power is wholly inadequate. We can therefore never cope up with the requirements for ploughing power for 10, 15 or 20 years. We will have to go on importing foodgrains to avoid starvation deaths.

Therefore, the entire shifting has to be thought of. From that point of view the entire plans have to be revised. I am glad that our present Deputy Chairman, Shri Mehta once said somewhere in Calcutta—that day I was also present—that we cannot tinker with the problems today, we must think of radically changing the entire concept of planning or something like that. I agree with him. Therefore, in that spirit I said that the entire approach, lopsided, emphasis on production, running mad after getting money from abroad, trying to ignore certain dangerous aspects which are implicit in our mad race for getting money from abroad in order to take our production ahead, all these are wrong. In that process we are ignoring other aspects of it like the social aspect, the human aspect and

the administrative aspect, other aspects where we can give impetus and create incentives in our own country. They are all being ignored.

Let us take the administrative aspect of it. I have been times without number making my humble suggestion to the Prime Minister, to the Government, to the Members of Parliament, to my colleagues, that unless you radically change this administration you cannot do a thing. You may get Rs. 10,000 crores, you may go in for dozens more factories and get 3000 more specialists from abroad, but that will not do the trick because administrative reforms are lacking (*Interruption*). Administrative reforms are needed on a political level. We have to consider it on a political level. Yesterday, I was not happy to hear what my senior colleague Shri Nanda said. He said that the question is under serious consideration and certain committees have been formed. Of course, many committees may come up as you want. But what is needed is the political aspect of this question. Senior seasoned politicians who have experience of administrative defects must sit down and see where the imbalance is. Both in the Finance Ministry and in the Planning Commission especially, and also elsewhere we get stuck up and delayed. These aspects must be examined now without delay.

Sir, I will refer only to one other aspect. The Finance Minister reprimanded that there ought to be adequate profit for public sector undertakings. Let us examine it. The Third Plan has envisaged a return of a surplus of Rs. 550 crores by the end of the Third Five Year Plan from all public sector enterprises which are, perhaps about 49. Out of them about 7 or 8 are still in the incomplete stage and the rest have been completed. They have all been put into one complex—Railways and all that. This Rs. 550 crores includes Rs. 100 crores from Railways, Rs. 150 crores from State enterprises and about Rs. 300

crores from the public sector enterprises of the Centre. They have all been bracketed in such a loose way that the expectation is to get Rs. 300 crores from the central public sector undertakings, Rs. 100 crores from the Railways and Rs. 150 crores from the States. There is the condition of heterogeneity which exists in every State. Why should this be forgotten? In the Railways, new railways are being built and we are not going to realise adequate freight because of lack of traffic. Therefore, the entire concept of profitability should not be based merely on rupees, annas and pies. There is the social aspect of profits also. When we get into this programme of public sector, we want to develop backward regions. We want new areas to be developed in a particular way. We invest money in a long-term way so that profits may accrue not in ten but thirty years. Even experts have confessed that this Rs. 550 crores is a very big overestimate and that it should not have been bracketed together into one where some of the industries are not yet completed in their finalities. The mistakes of Planning Commission should be carefully gone into.

The fact is that these public sector industries must come into existence. If the Government would not have undertaken this programme they would never have come. Whether it be steel, oil, heavy machinery or anything, they would never have come if the Government had not undertaken this programme. The fact is that a large number of them have now come into existence and after some time we are bound to make profit out of them. My only submission is that if we emphasise in the way that we have done without caring for the various factors and other elements of profit which are inherent in it—the social aspect also—we shall be doing injustice to the entire programme of public sector. That is why I said that the industrial policy resolution should be adhered to, administrative reforms should be undertaken in a radical

way and the entire programme in which economic power is being concentrated at a few places must be cut to size. It has got to be cut to size so that the entire progress of the country may be assured.

For doing this, long periods, long investigations and great exercises are perhaps not required. There are enough experienced and able people who are assisting the Government both in the Secretariat and in the Government as a whole. They can sit down and make a time-table. They can come to certain decisions.

Therefore, again, in the end, I wish to appeal to my hon. friend and to the Government that the whole question should be taken into consideration i.e., the social objectives before us. That objective is to build an economy to which we are all wedded and that cannot be done if in a lopsided way we only concentrate on certain physical targets of production without looking to the dangerous aspects of concentration of wealth. This is all, Sir, that want to say.

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द (करनाल) :

असूयानाम् ते लोका अन्धेन तमसावृता : ।

तांस्ते प्रेत्यापि गच्छन्ति ये केच आत्महनोजना : ॥

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस मंत्र में यह बताया गया है कि जो मनुष्य अपनी आत्मा के विपरीत काम करता है उसकी दुर्दशा न केवल इसी जन्म में होती है बल्कि मरने के पश्चात् भी उसकी दुर्दशा होती है ।

मैंने इस सदन में आज जितने भी भाषण सुने हैं, सभी भाषणों में कहा गया है कि योजना होनी चाहिये लेकिन योजना जो है, वह बिखर रही है, इस पर भी सभी ने अपने अपने विचार व्यक्त किए हैं । योजना कब सफल हो सकती है ? जो व्यक्ति योजना को जानता है, वह योजना बनाये तब योजना सफल होती है । आज कौन व्यक्ति योजना बनाते हैं ? कृषि को आप

[श्री रामेश्वरानन्द]

ले लें। जिसके बाप दादा ने भी जंगल में जा कर नहीं देखा है, वे यहां कृषि भवन में बैठ कर योजना बनाते हैं। दूसरों के कंधों पर बंदूक रख कर कब तक आप बन्दूक चला सकते हैं? मैं मानता हूं कि वे कुछ अक्षर अधिक पढ़े हुए होंगे और वे भी अंग्रेजी के। लेकिन जो विद्या है, उसको सर्वथा वे नहीं जानते हैं। इसलिये योजना बनाने वाले जो व्यक्ति हैं, वे अयोग्य व्यक्ति हैं, केवल मालदारों के, कालेजों में पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं, सिफारिशी लोग ले लिये जाते हैं और उनका इस काम पर लगा दिया जाता है। इसलिये सारी जो योजना है, वह असफल हो रही है।

योजना कहां बने? इस कृषि भवन में तो गेहूं का दाना भी पैदा नहीं होगा। यहां क्यों योजना बनाई जा रही है? योजना तो मोके पर बनाई जानी चाहिये। जब तक जहां जो वस्तु उत्पन्न होती है वहां उन लोगों के सहयोग से उन से पूछ पूछ कर योजना नहीं बनेगी तब तक योजना सफल नहीं हो सकती है। भव्य भवन खड़े कर दिये गये हैं। कृषि भवन खड़ा कर दिया गया है। लेकिन देखो जा कर कृषक की क्या आज हालत है। ये तो शीतल कमरे हैं। पूछो आप वहां के लोगों से जहां अंगारे बरसते हैं, सूर्य अंगारे बरसाता है जहां की हवा, धरती, पानी सभी गर्म है। उन से पूछो कि सर्द कमरे की बनी योजना को कैसे लागू करें।

बी०डी०ओ० आपने रख लिये हैं, ग्राम सेवक आपने रख लिये हैं, पंचायत वाले आपने रख लिये हैं। वह यों कहते हैं कि जापानी प्रकार से चावल पैदा करो। इस वर्ष तो ऐसा नहीं कहा लेकिन पहले कहा करते थे। मैंने बुलाया एक बी०डी०ओ० को। गुरुकुल में भूमि है। मैंने कहा बी०डी०ओ० साहब जापानी प्रकार से चवाल कैसे होगा जरा बतलाइये। आ तो गये मेरे कहने सुनने पर। पानी भरा खड़ा था। कहने लगे कि एक लाइन

बनाओ। पानी में लाइन कैसे बने, इस में घुस कर तो देख। हल चलाया जाता है बहुत सा गारा होता है, घुटने घुटने तक पानी होता है, बताओ लाइन कैसे निकालें। उन्होंने कहा कि एक एक जगह पर तीन तीन पेड़ लगाओ जिस में अगर दो मर जायें तो एक तो रह जायेगा। यह तो पहले ही से मरने की आशा करता है, बाद में क्या करेगा। भले आदमी इस तरह से काम कैसे चल सकता है। इस तरह के व्यक्तियों को इस विभाग में लगाया गया है। आज कृषक के सामने जो विपत्ति है उस को कृषक ही समझ सकता है, दूसरा नहीं। मैं दुःख से कहता हूं कि अंग्रेज सरकार के वक्त में सरकार की तरफ से कृषकों को कुछ बनाने के लिये रुपया मिला करता था सहायता में। मैं पंजाब की बात कहता हूं। लेकिन आज वह प्रथा समाप्त हो गई। अब जो रुपया मिलता है सरकार की तरफ से वह कर्ज में, ऋण में, मिलता है। जो आप के बी०डी०ओ० बैठे हुए हैं और उनके सहयोगी बैठे हुए हैं उन के यहां छः छः महीने कहीं कहीं लग जाते हैं और कृषक बेचारे को कर्ज का रुपया नहीं मिल पाता। मैं आप को धरौंदा, करनाल का उदाहरण दे सकता हूं। मैं कहता हूं कि सरकार के लोग इस तरह के लगाये गये हुए हैं कि यदि कोई कुछ कहता है तो वे कहते हैं कि कौन क्या कर सकता है, डी० सी० क्या कर सकता है, हम केन्द्र के आदमी हैं, और केन्द्र हमारा क्या कर सकता है। इस प्रकार की बातें वे कहते हैं। इसलिये उन को हटा कर उन जगहों पर कृषकों को लगाओ यदि कृषकों की योजना बनानी है।

आज किसान के सामने अब न होने के अनेक कारण हैं। उन में सब से बड़ा कारण जो है वह यह है कि कृषकों की भूमि कृषि के योग्य नहीं है बहुत से स्थानों पर। कहीं तो ऐसी है कि वह पानी से भर जाती है। आज मैं आपको दिखला सकता हूं कि लाखों एकड़

भूमि इस समय पानी में डूबी हुई है। आप पंजाब और हरियाना के गांव लें। आप गुड़गांव में जा कर देखिये कि कितना पानी भरा हुआ है। वहां के कृषकों के सामने समस्याएँ हैं। पानी समय समय पर नहीं मिलता है, खाद नहीं मिलती है, अच्छा बीज नहीं मिलता है। वह किस तरह से कृषि के काम को करे। वर्षाकालीन अधिवेशन में मैं ने एक प्रश्न किया था। मैंने कहा था कि मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब के किस जिले में किस श्रेणी का गेहूँ अच्छा हो सकता है, मुझे इस का उत्तर दिया जाये। लेकिन यहाँ जो लोग बैठे थे उन्होंने उस को काट कर फेंक दिया इसलिये कि सरकार की नीति पर उस का प्रभाव पड़ेगा। मैं नहीं जानता कि सरकार की कौन सी नीति की पोल उस से खुलेगी। फेंक दिया उठा कर। जब तक कृषि के सम्बन्ध में आप इस प्रकार के व्यक्तियों को नहीं लगायेंगे जो कृषि को जानते हों तब तक कृषकों का काम नहीं चल सकता है। उन बेचारों को अच्छी खाद नहीं मिलती, उन बेचारों को मौके पर जमीन की कृषि के योग्य जो कर्मचारी हैं वे नहीं मिलते।

आप बिजली को देख लीजिये। नहरें चलती हैं। चकबन्दी हो चुकी है। लेकिन जिन मोंगों को पहली जगह से उखाड़ कर फेंक दिया था और दूसरी जगह जिन को लगाया जाना चाहिये था वहाँ वे आज तक नहीं लगाये गये हैं। आप के ओवरसिअर और एस० डी० ओ० भी इधर उधर घूमते फिरते हैं। दुर्भाग्य देश का है कि कृषि होती है अम्बाला, करनाल और रोहतास वगैरह में और कृषि के काम की देखभाल करने वाले बैठे हुए हैं दिल्ली में। किसान बेचारे को उन के दर्शन करने दिल्ली में मुश्किल हो जाते हैं। आप बतलायें कि इस सरकार के द्वारा कैसे अधिक अन्न उत्पन्न होने में

सहायता मिल सकेगी। वेदों में लिखा हुआ है।

“सीरायंजन्ति वियुगा तनुध्वम्
कृते योनौ वपतेह वीजम्”

राजा तक के लिये विधान है कि वह स्वयम् हल चला कर भूमि गर्भ में बीज बोये और उस के लिए उपयोगी खाद दे। ऐसा होता रहा है। राजा जनक आदि हुए, हर एक राजा जो हुआ वह कृषि का काम करता था। किन्तु आज हमारे मंत्री महोदय प्रोफेसर तो हो सकते हैं, वे प्रोफेसरी कर सकते हैं, यह मैं मानता हूँ, किन्तु शासन के योग्य नहीं हैं। उन को हाथ से कुछ करना नहीं आता। मैं मानता हूँ कि वे भाषण दे सकते हैं लेकिन भाषण से ही क्या काम चल सकेगा। जितने आप के विभाग हैं उन में हाथ से काम करने वाले व्यक्ति नहीं हैं, इसलिये आप की योजनाएँ सफल नहीं होती।

मैं देखता हूँ और आप भी देखते हैं, आप से छिपी हुई कौन सी बात है, कि यह भारत सब प्रकार से धनवान है। लोहा हमारे देश में कितना उत्पन्न होता है। हमारे यहाँ २१ करोड़ टन लोहे का उत्पादन होता है। इस संसार में चौथी श्रेणी का उत्पादन यहाँ होता है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : करोड़ नहीं, लाख।

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द : ठीक है। सारे संसार में हमारे देश का स्थान चौथा है किन्तु यहाँ लोहे का अभाव है, यहाँ महंगाई है। इस के उपरान्त आप देखिये कि अबरख यहाँ सारी दुनिया से सर्वाधिक है। हम सर्वसम्पन्न हैं। उस के उपरान्त हम इतनी बिजली यहाँ उत्पन्न कर सकते हैं कि एक एक गांव में चूल्हों के और भट्टों में उपयोग में आ सकती है लेकिन २ या ३ प्रतिशत बिजली ही हम यहाँ पैदा कर सके हैं। क्या

[श्री रामेश्वरानन्द]

कारण है कि आप ऐसा नहीं कर सकते । कारण यह है कि जो आदमी इस चीज को जानते नहीं हैं उन को काम पर लगाया गया है । आप इस के वितरण को देखिये । दिल्ली ही को ले लीजिये । रात भर चांदनी होती है लेकिन मंत्रियों की कोठियों में, राष्ट्रपति की कोठी में, मेम्बर पार्लियामेंट की कोठियों में बिजली जलती रहती है । मैं कहता हूं कि इस की बचत करो । श्रीरों से आप कहिये कि वे बचत करें । यह क्यों जलती है । इस की बचत कर के किसी और काम में लगाई जा सकती है । किन्तु ऐसा नहीं किया जाता । आप ज्यादा से ज्यादा बिजली पैदा कर सकते हैं और उस को कृषकों के काम में ला सकते हैं । किसानों ने ट्यूबवैल लगा रखे हैं, बोरिंग कर ली है, मशीनरी फिट कर दी है, लेकिन आप की बिजली विभाग के एस० डी० ओ० के पीछे भागते फिरते हैं । वे चकमे देते हैं उन को । जो नकद नहीं देते, कछिया कछिया नोट नहीं देते, उन की बिजली वे मंजूर नहीं करते । मैं अपने क्षेत्र की कितनी ही बातें आप को बतला सकता हूं । अगर उन से कहा जाय कि व्यक्ति विशेष की सिफारिश है, मिनिस्टर साहब की सिफारिश है, तो कहते हैं कि मिनिस्टर साहब से जा कर ले लो बिजली । मुझ से क्यों मांगते हो । बड़े स्पष्ट शब्दों में वे इस प्रकार की बातें करते हैं ।

भोजन के सम्बन्ध में आज स्थिति यह है कि हमारे देश के लोगों को पूरा भोजन नहीं मिलता । जितना मिलता है यदि उस का औसत लगाया जाये तो जितना एक व्यक्ति को मिलना चाहिये उस का आधा भी नहीं मिलता । कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो आवश्यकता से अधिक खा जाते हैं और उनको डाक्टरों और वैद्यों के पास भगना पड़ता है कि मुझे दवा दे दो, खाना पचता नहीं है । अरे भाई, थोड़ा

खाया करो । कौन सी बीमारी है तुमको जो इतना खाते हो ।

श्रीमती जमुना बेबी (शाबुआ) : आप कितना खाते हैं ?

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द : आप कोई मेरा मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते । कोई है यहां जो मेरा मुकाबला कर सके । वहन, कोई नहीं कर सकता ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : आप इधर आ जाइये, जिसमें आपको ज्यादा ताकत आ जाये ।

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द : मैं कहना चाहता हूं भाई साहब, कि आज भी मैं ६ बजे तक गुरुकुल में कसौला चला कर आया हूं, साग वो कर आया हूं । आप सारी उम्र ऐसा नहीं कर सकेंगे । चल कर देख लें ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : ले क्यों नहीं आये ।

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द : क्या वह मुफ्त का है । मेहनत का है । भोजन की समस्या का समाधान आपको करना होगा । आज देश में लोग भूखे हैं जिसका लाभ उठाती है मेरे पाम की यह पार्टी । कहते हैं कि कृषक आज भूखा है । अगर आज वह भूखा मरता है तो कम्युनिस्ट नहीं बनेगा तो क्या होगा । जब आप उनको भोजन नहीं दे सकेंगे, कपड़ नहीं दे सकेंगे, तो वह करेगा क्या । एक व्यक्ति को ३२ गज कपड़ा मिलना चाहिये लेकिन १६ गज मिलता है । फिर १६ गज सब को नहीं मिलता । यहां पर लोग बैठे हुए हैं जिनके पास इतना कपड़ा है कि ट्रकों में पड़ा सड़ता है और कृषक बेचारा नंगा फिरता है । इस तरह की जो योजना यहां बनती है उससे काम नहीं चल सकता । देश दरिद्र है । मालदार होते हुए भी आज हमारा देश दरिद्र है । लेकिन इस दरिद्रता का कारण क्या

है। आज आप करते क्या हैं। अधिक मे अधिक नोट छाप रहे हैं। मैं मुन्ता हूँ कि अंग्रेज के वक्त में जितने नोट छपते थे उतने रुपयों का सोना वह जमा करते थे। लेकिन अब कोई हिमाब ही नहीं है। रोज नोट ही नोट निकलते रहते हैं। इस तरह से महंगाई और बढ़ेगी। कहीं इस स्थिति में महंगाई खत्म हो सकती है। अगर महंगाई को खत्म करना है तो उसके लिये प्रबन्ध करना पड़ेगा। आपको अगर जूते मम्ते करने हैं तो एक व्यक्ति एक ही जोड़ा जूता पहने। आज एक एक व्यक्ति के पास पांच पांच जोड़े जूते होते हैं। कोई पहनने का है, कोई धरने का है, कोई चलने का है। एक एक घर में जाकर देख लीजिये। बेचारे चमार की एक दूकान के बराबर मामूली घर में जूते रक्खे होते हैं। अगर आपको महंगाई को दूर करना है तो उसके लिये आपको बरतार की तरफ ध्यान देना पड़ेगा। आज तो माल उठा कर सरकार बाहर भेज देती है। जूते तक बाहर भेज देती है। हर चीज को आप बाहर भेज रहे हैं। चीनी को बाहर भेज रहे हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : मंत्री जी सो रहे हैं।

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द : मंत्री जी को सोने दो। यदि इस तरह काम चलता है तो चलने दो। मंत्रियों ने ही तो डुबाया है। अगर एक पटवारी को भी रक्खा जाता है तो पढ़ा लिखा देख कर रखा जाता है, पर इन बेचारों को तो चाहे जैसे हों जोड़ दिया जाता है। सोने दो। यह सब से अच्छा मौका है। इससे बढ़िया मौका कौन हो सकता है। यह महात्मा गांधी के नाम पर ही हो रहा है। महात्मा गांधी ने जो कुछ हमारे देश के लिये किया वह किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है। पर जैसे ब्राह्मणों के नाम पर कुछ ब्राह्मण लोग खाते पीते रहते हैं वैसे ही यह जमात महात्मा गांधी के नाम पर खाने पीने लग रही है। लेकिन

इस तरह से कब तक चल सकता है। नहीं चल सकता।

मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ जिनकी ओर ध्यान दिया जाये। आज आप के उद्योग की पैदावार ६ प्रतिशत बढ़ गयी है, लेकिन खेतों की उपज ७ प्रतिशत घट गई है। यदि आपको खेतों की पैदावार बढ़ानी है तो नहरों द्वारा सिंचाई का प्रबन्ध कीजिये। अभी हाल में मैं बिहार में घूम कर आया हूँ। वहाँ सिंचाई का बड़ा अभाव है। वहाँ किसानों के छोटे छोटे खेत हैं पर उनसे कहा जाता है कि तुम इनमें ट्रैक्टर चलाओ। वे कैसे ट्रैक्टर चलायें, उनमें ट्रैक्टर नहीं चल सकता। एक सज्जन कहते थे कि ट्रैक्टर में नौ हजार रुपया लगता है, लेकिन मैं उनको बनाना चाहता हूँ कि नौ नहीं १६ हजार रुपया किसान को एक ट्रैक्टर का देना पड़ता है और हमारी दयालु सरकार ने जो ट्रैक्टर बी० डी० ओ० लोगों को दिये हैं वे तो बेकार पड़े रहते हैं। मेरे करनाल जिले में बीना गांव में इसी तरह एक ट्रैक्टर बेकार पड़ा है। किसानों के खेत छोटे छोटे हैं। उनमें ट्रैक्टर नहीं चल सकता। आज सरकार ने अधाधुंध काम उठा रखा है लेकिन ठीक से ही नहीं पाता है।

आपने योजना बनायी है कि जनवृद्धि न हो और लोगों से कहा जाता है कि इसके लिए सुझावों लगवाओ। यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। एक तरफ तो आप चीन से लड़ने के लिए जवान मांगते हैं और दूसरी तरफ कहते हैं कि भाइयो सुझावों लगवाओ। यह खत्री लोग कैसे जाकर लड़ेंगे। यदि आपको जनवृद्धि को रोकना है, तो जैसा मैंने कहा था, ब्रह्मचर्य की शिक्षा दो, लेकिन आज तो जनवृद्धि को रोकने की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

आप अनाज के लिए अरबों रुपया विदेशों को देते हैं लेकिन अगर इतनी सहायता किसान को सीधी दे दें तो वह आपके लिए ज्यादा है

[श्री रामेश्वरानन्द]

ज्यादा उत्पादन कर के दे सकता है। लेकिन आप ऐसा नहीं करते। मेरा सुझाव है कि आप दूसरे देशों की तरह किसान को सीधी सहायता दें और उस पर यह प्रतिबन्ध लगावें कि यदि इतने प्रति एकड़ उत्पादन नहीं करोगे तो सहायता बन्द कर दी जाएगी और जमीन भी ले ली जाएगी। ऐसा आप करें तो किसान ज्यादा से ज्यादा उत्पादन करके दे सकता है। मैं कहता हूँ कि किसान की सीधी सहायता करो। आज आप किसान से चाहते हैं कि वह ज्यादा से ज्यादा उत्पादन करके दे। लेकिन उसको सहायता नहीं दी जाती।

मैं आपको पिछले दिनों की एक बात बताना चाहता हूँ। किसान बेचारा चीनी नहीं खाता था, वह गुड़ और शक्कर बना कर खाता था, लेकिन पंजाब सरकार के अधिकारियों ने उसके कोल्हू नहीं चलने दिए। क्या ऐसी स्थिति में वह आगे ईख बोएगा? आप लोगों को कोई सुविधा नहीं देना चाहते, वे किस तरह से काम कर सकेंगे। वेद में साफ लिखा है :

कस्त्वा भुनक्ति सत्त्वा भुनक्ति, कस्मैत्त्वा भुनक्ति,
तस्मैत्त्वा भुनक्ति, कर्मणे वाम् वेषापवाम् ॥

हमारे एक चौकीदार से लेकर राष्ट्रपति तक को हाथ से काम करना चाहिए, केवल कागज काले करना ही नहीं जानना चाहिए। लेकिन आज देश में यह प्रथा बन गयी है कि जो हाथ से काम करते हैं उनको पेट भर भोजन भी नहीं मिलता और जो कागज काले करते हैं उनको ज्यादा से ज्यादा मिलता है।

आप योजनाएं बनाते हैं। आपकी योजनाएं प्रति दिन बनती हैं। लेकिन ये योजनाएं आप किस के लिए बनाते हैं? ये मनुष्य के लिए हैं। लेकिन क्या मैं पूछ सकता हूँ कि वह मनुष्य कैसा होना चाहिए क्या इसके लिए आपकी योजना में कोई नियम है। कैसे आदमी के लिए आप योजनाएं बना रहे हैं? किसी गधे को भव्य भवन में रोप देने से वह श्रीमान्

नहीं बन सकता। यदि आपने योजना को सफल करना है तो जो आदमी हाथ से काम कर सकता है उसे आपको आगे लाना पड़ेगा।

15.36 hrs.

[SHRI THIRUMALA RAO in the Chair]

ऐसे व्यक्ति को आपको काम सौंपना पड़ेगा। आपकी योजनाएं इसीलिए अफसल होती हैं कि उनको आपने अयोग्य हाथों में सौंप रखा है। जिन लोगों को आपने योजनाओं का काम सौंपा है वे बैठ कर केवल कागज काला करना जानते हैं। इस तरह से योजना सफल होने वाली नहीं।

आप आवश्यकता से अधिक नोट छाप रहे हैं, इससे महंगाई बढ़ती है। और उन नोटों को आप कुछ लोगों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा दे देते हैं और कुछ को बहुत कम देते हैं। जिसको ज्यादा से ज्यादा मिलते हैं वह बाजार में जाकर अधिक से अधिक सामान खरीद लेता है। इसीलिए चीजें सस्ती नहीं होतीं। अगर आप इतना उत्पादन करो जो कि बाजार में उठाना न जा सके तो माल सस्ता हो सकता है। इस समय आपको ऐसी व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए कि लोग अपनी आवश्यकता से अधिक माल न लें। इस तरह से महंगाई हट सकती है। लेकिन आप तो आज हर चीज बाहर भेज रहे हैं, केले बाहर भेज रहे हैं, मेवा और मसाला तक बाहर भेज रहे हैं। फिर देश में माल सस्ता कैसे होगा।

तो मैं आपसे कह रहा था कि आपको योजना को सफल बनाने के लिए सक्रिय आदमियों को आगे लाना चाहिए। जब तक आप सक्रिय लोगों को इस काम पर नहीं लगायेंगे तब तक आपकी योजनाएं सफल नहीं हो सकतीं। इसलिए मैं आपका अधिक समय न लेते हुए यही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आप हाथ से काम करने वाले व्यक्तियों को अधिक महत्व दें। मैं कहता हूँ कि यदि आप अपने कल कारखानों में विश्वकर्माओं को लगावें बजाय

उन लोगों के जो बालों में लकीर डाल कर काम पर आते हैं, तो वे विश्वकर्मा उसी काम को सी रुपए में करके दिखा सकेंगे जिसको आप के वर्तमान लोग एक हजार में करते हैं। ऐसे आदमियों को आपको आगे लाना चाहिए, यही मेरा निवेदन है।

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): Mr. Chairman, Sir, within the very limited time at my disposal. I would like to touch only one or two points. Recently, we came across a news item that the Ford Foundation team that recently visited this country found out that there is tax evasion specially in professional classes, like, lawyers, etc. The hon. Finance Minister also seems to have admitted that there is tax evasion to the extent of about 40 per cent in this country and he is trying his best to see how the taxes are collect properly and what remedial measures could be taken. Several times this question has been raised and, I think, by and large there have been some attempts to remove this difficulty. But with what success? Probably, the success is not as can be noted. The whole question is this. It is not that we do not know where the tax evasion takes place. But unfortunately this Government do not want to take action against the companies or persons who, according to the very material in their possession, have violated either the foreign exchange regulations or income-tax law or all laws that are prevalent on this financial matter.

Sir, in this connection I want to bring to your notice certain things. We have been raising in this House very often about Bird & Co. This matter has been engaging the attention of the House for the last two years. Last time when we raised this question, the Finance Minister said: "Do not think that some pressure is being exerted. If there is anybody who is not amenable to pressure, it is my humble self. I shall see that nothing is done under pressure, and

everything will be done according to the process of law." But what has happened so far? Some execution proceedings are going on. On an earlier occasion when this question was put to Shri Bhagat, he just evaded the question by saying that the books seized from Bird & Co. did not contain the names of any Ministers or ex-Ministers.

The Minister of Planning Shri B. R. Bhagat: It is not evasion. It is a clear answer.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: It is a categorical answer, and very clearly done saying that it is not in the book. Actually letters are in their possession. It is one about thirty lakhs of rupees and some of them in foreign exchange. The letters are, I say, in the possession of the Customs Intelligence. These are letters exchanged between the chairman and the General Manager of Bird & Co. Stories go round that they implicate even the names of the ex-Auditor-General, ex-Chief Minister, and so many names. These letters are in the possession of the Customs Intelligence. Why did they not give them to the SPE. or hand over them to the Police to make enquiries about it? Is there any such letter? Where from has this money come? I want to know that.

There are so many instances. We have been pressing about some other companies also. It will be ultimately found that all these companies are involved in great conspiracies to cheat the Government and make money. I do not know why Government is so soft in the matter of taking action against them.

Then there is the case of the Bank of China. Shri Bhagat would remember; Shri Krishnamachari may not. This question has been hanging fire since April 1962. The Reserve Bank made some enquiries. It was found that there had been some shady transactions. From the Bank of China money was advanced to some persons and institutions in Tangra in Calcutta,

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]

which did not exist at all. Now it has been found that lakhs of money were withdrawn before the general elections in 1962. The names of persons have been given and they are in the possession of the Reserve Bank. The names of some Communist leaders are there. If I am permitted to read out these, the names are those of Shri Jyoti Basu, Shri Snehansu Acharya Biren Roy, now a congressman, and also the National Book Agency and the company which brings out BLITZ. All these names are there. One Promod Das Gupta has taken money. It was even stated once in the Bengal Legislative Council by no less a person than the Finance Minister himself of the Bengal Government. He said: "If we have arrested some persons it is not because we have some grouse against them, but because of positive proof against them." I want to know whether that inquiry is over. If so, let us know whether they have come to any conclusion, or whether these facts are in their possession. What are they doing? They are doing nothing. This would show how money is passing in this country which possibly does not belong to these persons.

Now, another instance. In this city of Delhi there are two publications. One is 'Link' and the other is 'Patriot'. One is United India Periodicals publication and the other Raisina publication. They say 'Patriot' is a people's paper. I have got this from the records of the Registrar's office. It will be funny if you go through this. It is really a people's paper because it is a limited company in which even the Nizam of Hyderabad has taken 1,000 shares. And the Chairman of the Communist Party also could take shares worth about Rs. 30,000[-].

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: It is an assumed name.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: At the Party meeting he said: "I have done it". But here they have put this pseudonym—S. Amrit. The address is

all right—9, Kohinoor Road, Bombay-14. It is funny.

If you go into it, you will find that the United India Periodicals Private Ltd., which has a paid-up capital of Rs. 8 lakhs, has been given a loan by the Central Bank of India to the tune of Rs. 15 lakhs. On what security, or on what assets did they advance this money? What is the cost of that great building that is standing there? Where has that money come from? Is it only Rs. 8 lakhs or Rs. 15 lakhs?

Shri Bade (Khargone): Have they taken any security?

Mr. Chairman: How is this relevant to the discussion?

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: It is relevant because when black money is passing and banks are advancing money, these people are not taking note of it. I am again pointing this out to them. I want them to enquire into the financial aspect of this matter.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: If he gives notice I shall enquire about it from the Bank. I cannot give a ready answer.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: He can place a statement on the Table of the House. If you go through the names of the shareholders of these companies such as the Raisina publications, it will be interesting. There are some monopolies. And we are against monopolies. We are accusing the private sector because the transactions there are almost like family transactions and they have their own directors. But here you will find that there are relations or own men or even employees who draw very small salary; yet they have been able to purchase shares worth about Rs. 10,000, Rs. 15,000 and like that. This Promod Bannerjee, according to this statement, has purchased shares worth about Rs. 2 lakhs. I want to know how much

income-tax he is paying. I want to know whether all these persons whose names appear in this list of shareholders are paying income-tax. Are they being taxed? Or, are they left scot-free? Wherefrom do they get this money? Therefore, it is not only in the private sector, but here also in the name of progressive leftism, doling out every day sermons to everybody, shady deals are going on. Same dishonest tactics.

Dr. M. S. Aney: Worse than that.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Worse than that, as Dr. Aney says. This is happening under the very nose of this Government. The Central Government take no notice of that. I want them to go through the entire thing and expose it. Whatever you may say, Government are not making any sincere attempt to locate tax evasion.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: They are insensitive to certain odours.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: That is so. I want to speak about one more important matter. The Finance Minister announced sometime back, in the course of his budget speech, that he is going to appoint a fourth Finance Commission. What is the commission for? What is the purpose of having this commission? The hon. Minister has said that in spite of the grants that are given from the Central finances, and in spite of the borrowings that the States are resorting to, still, it is a matter of concern that the State finances are not in a position. Why is that so? Have we evolved any machinery to check whether the money that we are advancing to the States is being utilised for the purpose for which it is meant? I would submit that that is not so. In many cases, the money is being diverted for other purposes. What check is the Centre applying in this regard?

We have already had three Finance Commissions, and even if we have the fourth Finance Commission, I do not think that it is going to solve the problem unless the Finance Commission

takes into consideration the financial capabilities and needs of the States concerned from the point of view of regional development and on that basis they decide how much money will be spent in a particular State during a five-year period. If that is done, then all this rushing and manoeuvring to get finances somehow or other from the Centre, in order to project some schemes will not arise. As I have pointed out earlier, some projects are being worked out in the different States. But the Government here say that they know nothing about those projects. But the money that they give to the States is utilised for projects which ultimately would appear to be useless. Who is going to pay all this money? Who is going to stand all this expenditure? It is the poor tax-payer's money which is diverted for whims, which have no relation to facts.

I am glad that since the new Finance Minister has taken charge, there is some re-thinking going on. I do not know whether this process of re-thinking is limited only to procedural matters or extends also to policy matters. Of course, as soon as he took charge, he was bold enough to drop certain unpopular policies, and that was all right.

But I hear so many other things. There is the question of the Planning Commission and the Finance Ministry, the discussions on the Demands of both of which are taken together now. There is a lot of report in the press indicating as if they are thinking that all the executive functions which the Planning Commission is having at the present moment would be withdrawn and the Planning Commission should be made an advisory body. I would welcome if any such thing is done, because the Planning Commission itself has become a great bureaucratic machinery now; in fact, even the hon. Prime Minister, the Chairman of the

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]

Planning Commission, himself has criticised that. At the same time, I cannot understand why the hon. Finance Minister has rejected the suggestion that the Planning Commission should be a statutory body. If at all in this country we want to get expert advice, the execution and implementation being in the hands of Government entirely, then it should be a statutory body which can invite to its fold all talents that, of course, broadly speaking, agree to the general principles of our economic policy and political development. Unless that is done, there will be no improvement in the present position. Today, the Planning Commission is nothing but an adjunct body of the Finance Ministry. The Estimates Committee, not today, but in 1954 or 1953 or even before that, had asked why the Prime Minister should be there as the chairman of the Planning Commission, and why there should be so many Ministers in it; they had suggested that all the Ministers might resign from the Planning Commission and it can be an independent body. Today, what do we find? We find that Ministers are there as members. And it is not that the members are selected according to their ability or specialised knowledge on any specialised matter, but as Government think fit, they appoint members. This necessarily results in the present unhappy position. Again, as has been pointed out in the report of the Estimates Committee presented only yesterday, the rural works programme also was being carried out by the Planning Commission, as a result of which even the money that was provided could not be spent.

So, let us decide first of all what the function of the Planning Commission is, and what control Government will have over the Planning Commission. Again, will it be an independent body or will it be just a department of the Government of India? That is the main question that has to be decided. If it is to remain an expert body, then it must necessarily be a statutory body which

will have the freedom and independence to judge matters on merits and then give its opinion, it being left to the Government to see within their capacities whether the machinery at their disposal is in a position to carry out those programmes. This independent body may also decide on the priorities, but which priorities Government will be able to take up ultimately is a different question altogether. If these things are decided first of all, then you can have more co-operation and more unprejudiced thinking about this matter.

In conclusion I would like to refer to one local matter, because I understand that that is now being done all over the country. The LIC is an autonomous body, but yet the Minister has some control over it. The LIC has done very good work and very creditable work at that, and there is no doubt about that. But it seems that it has gone into their head now that they must centralise everything. There is a proposal now to shift the divisional offices from the district headquarters to one big city where probably all the *babus* want to be.

Shri Ranga: Multi-storeyed building.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Shri M. R. Masani was referring to the position in Rajkot. I may point out that now the office from Cuttack is being shifted to Calcutta. I am told that in Orissa, the business is about Rs. 8 to 10 crores a year, and even the investment is about Rs. 407 lakhs. It is in the admission of the LIC itself that 70 per cent of the policies are new policies, and about 38 per cent out of them are policies in the rural sector. If the rural people have come nearer to the insurance business it is because the offices are nearer to them, so that they can go and pay their premia and attend to other things relating to their policies without much difficulty. Then the question of language is also there. I have often

received complaints that even in the small divisional offices, if the officers who are posted do not know the local language, the policy holders find it difficult to deposit their money and get the receipts. So, more and more attempts should have been made to see that the local people are drafted to this organisation and more and more branches are opened so as to facilitate more people taking to insurance. But they are now following a policy of concentrating the whole thing at one place as a result of which, I think, insurance business will not prosper; but I am afraid that it will hamper the further progress of the insurance business. I hope that the hon. Minister will impress upon the LIC not to go ahead with this mad new venture but rather open new offices in more places than at present.

Mr. Chairman: Is the hon. Finance Minister replying to the debate just now?

The Minister of Finance (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): I would not take more than about 30 minutes unless some new issues are raised. I think one or two more Members could be called.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: At least we could have got a little more time. We were racing against time.

Mr. Chairman: Since there is some more time, I shall give opportunity to one or two more hon. Members.

Shri P. R. Chakraverti (Dhanbad): It is an upheaval, an upsurge of humanity and the emergence of social forces that are coming to the fore and are making themselves manifest, and in that context, the Plan and the financial set-up have all to be worked out. Today, if we consider those factors we find that we have to tackle with very serious problems. The other day, you know, a learned person as you are, Mr. Julian Huxley remarked that it was a revolution of rising expectations; a hungry man says 'I ought to be and can be fed'; the illiterate man feels that he ought to be and could be made a literate man.

16 hrs.

Similarly, anybody who is in the lowest rung of the ladder feels that in this new set-up, he must have the conditions favourably in the process of development of the society. We have accepted that; we are working for a democratic socialism. We have accepted a certain way of life. Through socialism, people have achieved progress, but there are so many countries which are not socialistic but still they have achieved progress. Again, countries avowing socialism but not democracy have made progress. We work for an integrated form of society and at the same time we have to achieve certain objectives in terms of democratic socialism.

So, in that context, I would say that the picture that is presented before us, the social set-up in the economic hierarchy is not so happy. 17 per cent of the population are landless people. 48 millions of people are equally suffering. These 48 million people have been shown as agriculturists, both scheduled castes and scheduled tribes with very small holdings. What is the total amount of land available to each one of them? He is not a landless but a land-owning man. One *bigha* of land is as good as nil. They are in a miserable condition. In reply to my question, the Minister of Rehabilitation when I definitely asked, when in the Third Plan indications have been positively given that the weaker section must have some facilities for housing, what was the amount spent on housing, he said, "My experience is very sad—that the attitude of the States was somewhat different; we can only offer them grants and it is for the States to work out schemes".

Sir, when the Planning Commission is there, it is for it to take into account all these factors and to persuade the States to go in for the schemes so that the weaker sections too might be placed well in a developed society. This is the only role that the Planning Commission has to play.

[Shri P. R. Chakraverti]

Similarly, when the financial aspect of the matter is taken up, a question poses itself. Attempts are made to assess the revenue and expenditure. Then the tax structure is worked out. It is not so easy as public finance. In that context, we have to see whether the lowest man gets some kind of consideration. When I was analysing that factor which is called in technical term as L.I.G. term—(Low Income Group), I asked the officers and the Ministers as to whether the public have heard the term L.I.G. Even Mr. Bhattacharyya and other learned friends could only say that there was a term 'L.I.C.' and not 'L.I.G.'. While there is provision for houses for the low income group (drawing Rs. 6,000 per annum) no such provision is made for the middle-income group.

16.05 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Principally, no houses have been built for this group in the State from which I come. I have got a chart with me. There is building scheme in Bihar. It did not get its due share from the Centre and there is no specific allocation. There is MIG scheme for those whose income is above Rs. 6000 and reaching Rs. 15,000 per annum. It is the duty—bounden duty—an inescapable must—of the Planning Commission to study these social factors and see how these schemes are worked out. The man getting Rs. 6,000 per annum finds it impossible to face the existing cost of living. Fixed income group too has to face the price structure as others do. Then some ways have to be found out. There is a technical word which I would try to use to-day—perhaps Prof. Ranga is well-versed with that word—and that is this. In Bengali, it is called 'upri' meaning stealing (*churi*). In Bengal it is often asked as to what is one's income and how much *upri* does he get and what is his extra income? Would you allow a man in a society

which is working for achieving socialistic objectives, which is working for democratic socialism etc., to count his richness in terms of this extra income? So, to-day, the fixed income group with Rs. 6,000 per year finds it difficult to face with the present price structure.

The other day, the then Planning Minister—now fortunately he is the Minister of Home Affairs—made a very nice statement while he was in Bombay "we have fulfilled the target of planning in one sector namely the population sector. In this one particular sector we have overfulfilled our target, while in all the other sectors, there is a shortfall." Now, there has been an integration of departments of Community Development and Co-operation with the Ministry of Agriculture to boost up the agricultural production. Now the Ministry of Agriculture has come forward with a suggestion that we are trying to boost up the production. At the same time they should see as to how far India can be self-supporting. Now we have P.L. 480 loans. You know we have to pay it back with interest. What should we suggest then? The Finance Minister is supposed to be a very learned man. I would suggest the following:—

- (i) whether it is necessary for India to import foodgrains at all or whether India should import fertilisers rather than foodgrains? and
- (ii) whether India should encourage the use of traditional manures *viz.*, cow-dung and other things.

There is a positive suggestion. There is production of low grade coal in my constituency and it is largest in India. I think the low-grade coal should be used for domestic consumption. By giving transport facilities, it can be used in Delhi, U.P. and Punjab and

other places in place of cow-dung and other things which are now used as domestic fuel. This should be used as fertiliser. There are three alternatives viz., either we should use traditional fertilisers or we should import fertilisers or foodgrains. The best alternative is to use cow-dung and other things as manure so that P.L. 480 assistance may be eliminated.

These things do not find a place when we find from the statement before the House that India has imported 18 million tons of wheat or rice, people are very happy to feel that they shall now get so much of foodgrains. The Prime Minister said: "I shall prefer to allow my people to die of starvation rather than importing a large quantity of foodgrains". The then Agriculture Minister Mr. S. K. Patil weighing 300 lbs also strongly said, 'I shall not remain to be the Agriculture Minister if we continue to import food after the Third Plan. But, unfortunately, he resigned before he could carry out his policy. It is good that the Planning Commission has a remarkable scholar and a learned man at its head. I place my proposal before him through you and I say that the Planning Commission cannot absolve itself of its responsibilities by quoting the pet words which we are accustomed to hear everyday, that this is a matter left to the State Governments.

Sardar Swaran Singh, who is a top-most man, 6 ft. 2 inches high.....,

Mr. Speaker: Order, order, now. That is not fair. He already referred to another Minister, if I could follow him, in terms of weight. Now he is talking in terms of height. That is not proper.

Shri P. R. Chakraverti: I meant top-most men.

Shri Ramanathan Chettiar (Karur): On a point of order. Can an hon. Member refer to another hon. Member and say how high he is and what is his weight?

Mr. Speaker: That is what I am saying. He referred to one Minister, saying that he had a weight of 300 lbs.

Shri P. R. Chakraverti: I meant the importance of the Man.

Mr. Speaker: That is not the importance. A man is not judged by his size or his weight. That is not fair. I will not allow that. He should withdraw it.

Shri P. R. Chakraverti: I withdraw it.

Sardar Swaran Singh said the other day on the question of State trading in foodgrains that the element of profit could as well be introduced, and that it is up to the States to say whether in such trading they will have some profits. I say that States should not have that right to make profit while dealing in grains, in inter-State movement. If the States ever attempt such a thing, the Planning Commission should butt in and say 'No. Here is an integrated scheme. In the context of that, you are all entitled to deal in grains, but because it is an essential commodity, and you cannot deny the people the supply of these foodgrains at reasonable prices. Here the question of profit does, not come in'.

All these factors have to be taken into account. They have to make them realise these things and persuade them to understand their responsibilities and see that they fall in line with this integrated way of development. That is the function that the Planning Commission is expected to discharge.

So today the Planning Commission has a very important role to play because India is a country which is growing, which is aspiring to reach a higher standard of living. Now the lowest man, the last man, is denied the pre-requisites of life. If you want that his standard of living should be raised to a higher level, that can be

[Shri P. R. Chakraverti]

done by the utilisation of the constructive potentialities of the whole country at large. In that set-up, the financial question, the taxation question and all these factors arise. These must be assessed within the context of that growth. That growth is conditioned by the acceptance of a definite objective, namely, the achievement of democratic socialism.

So, it is a very serious responsibility. I regret to say that in the general analysis, in the overall picture, it presents a very dismal picture where the lowest man is now burdened with a heavy form of taxation. Take the employees who have got an income of Rs. 6,000 per year, without any extra earnings. With these Rs. 6,000, how can they afford to pay all these heavy taxes today, which they have to pay after meeting all the essential requirements? So far as the other sectors, the topmost people, who have got a very high income, are concerned, they can be taxed to see that the national exchequer does not dwindle. But at the same time, the man who is suffering due to soaring prices must get some relief. In this context, the Finance Ministry and the Planning Commission have to play a definite part. They must be objective and analytical; they must also keep themselves within the structure of the objectives which we have kept in view.

Today, the Planning Minister has come forward with his Demands for Grants. It is undoubtedly true that in the discharge of his duties, he is saddled with certain responsibilities and at the same time, he must have adequate resources at his disposal. But the factors should not be by-passed or overlooked. If we can do that much with serious earnestness, we are sure to take this country, despite its burden of population, increasing every year by 8 million or more, to a higher standard of life for which we have taken the vow, and made the promise

unreservedly to the people at large, undoubtedly, we are determined to carry the country forward on the path to progress and prosperity.

Shri Liladhar Kotoki (Nowgong): The Planning Commission brought out a document, the Third Plan Midterm Appraisal, in November 1963. On the 6th April, we got a statement of the steps taken thereon. Within the limited time at my disposal, I wish to make one humble suggestion to you and to the Minister of Planning. This subject is of such vital importance that there should be at least a two-day debate arranged in this House to discuss the appraisal and also the steps taken thereon.

Then I would refer to Chapter IX of the Third Plan dealing with balanced regional development. I will read only a part of section "General Approach" right at the beginning.

"Balanced development of different parts of the country, extension of the benefits of economic progress to the less-developed regions and widespread diffusion of industry are among the major aims of planned development".

Then I would refer to another publication of the Planning Commission, that is, *Economic Development in Different Regions in India*, published in August 1962. I have no time to make my observations on this. I only want to make a submission, that similar publications ought to be supplied every year so that the House could know the steps taken towards the removal of these disparities in different regions.

Now, I come to one very important factor, the factor of balanced planning. That is the policy that has been adopted after the emergency, namely, defence and development. That has

been laid down in the mid-term appraisal. In that context, I would refer to the needs of defence and development in the north-eastern region. There an additional problem has now arisen, the problem of rehabilitation of about one lakh of new refugees who have come from East Pakistan. That has also now to be planned. Merely looking after them in camps is not enough; we will have to plan for their permanent rehabilitation.

I would refer the hon. Finance Minister to a memorandum submitted to him in January 1963 when he was in charge of economic and defence co-ordination, by the Government of Assam. I will refer only to the paras 1.1 to 1.4 therein. The memorandum says that Assam is the core of the entire north-eastern region comprising Assam, NEFA, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura. Therefore, the core, Assam, must be developed because that has to cater for the other portions of the entire region. In that context, various suggestions have been made in the memorandum. I request the Planning Minister and also the Finance Minister to whom the memorandum was originally submitted, to look into it.

I have to cut short and make a very brief submission pertaining to the State of Assam. So far as this year's, 1964-65, annual plan is concerned, the Planning Commission initially approved of a plan for Rs. 34.2 crores. Then at a later stage, it was cut down by Rs. 3 crores. A little thereafter, it was brought down to Rs. 27.7 crores. That means that the original plan that was approved has been reduced by Rs. 6.5 crores. This cut will fall mainly on power and flood control. I have urged in this House over and over again how colossal this problem is, the problem of flood control. There is shortage of power. Unless you have power you cannot industrialise and develop; unless you develop you cannot defend.

Now, so far as power is concerned, the original demand for plans for power made by the State Government was for Rs. 42 crores. The Planning Commission said: You cannot spend all this amount and we sanctioned only 27.5 crores. By 31-3-1963 Assam has spent all this Rs. 27.5 crores and they have asked for an additional allocation Rs. 19.2 crores. If this amount is not sanctioned, there will be no power development for the next two years and consequently no industrial development. There is another thing arising out of the emergency. Industrial licences were given to several private parties to set up paper pulp industry. They took out the licence but because of the emergency they have backed out. The Planning Commission, the Central and the State Governments should consider seriously whether they should not take up these industries in Assam in the public sector. There is enough raw material in Assam: there is shortage of newsprint and paper in the country. There is a large quantity of natural gas which is wasted in Assam Oil fields. Therefore, they should take up at least these two industries: paper, paper pulp and Rayon pulp based on bamboo and forest raw materials; and a petro-chemical industry based on the natural gas produced in the Assam oil fields, in the public sector.

Lastly, the Assam Government have to expand their police force to guard against the Naga hostile activities and also guard the entire border of the State. I understand that they have got a claim on the Government of India to the extent of Rs. 7-8 crores because these problems are not ordinary law and order problems of Assam. Therefore, the Central Government must pay this amount to the Assam Government. The entire economy of the State is in a state of stagnancy. I need not elaborate it nor have I got the time. This year's budget speech of the Finance Minister of Assam has made it eloquently clear that the budget is deficit to the tune of Rs. 5.88 crores and although the State has been taxed

[Shri Liladhar Kotoki]

to the saturation point, he had to levy additional taxation of nearly one crore.

Therefore, Government of India must take special interest to salvage the position of the north-eastern region if we want to develop it and defend it.

Mr. Speaker: Shri S. M. Banerjee—five minutes.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wanted to say something about planning also but unfortunately the time at my disposal is short. I should say to our Planning Minister that the starving man cannot possibly bear the entire burden of the Planning. After all these Plans and the planners, the common man remains starving. I request the hon. Minister to see that the man for whom we are planning, the common man, that particular person does not face starvation. The line that divides hunger and anger is becoming thinner and I am apprehensive that the moment these two lines meet there is going to be chaos in the country and the present Government will not have at that time the confidence of the people and will be thrown out of office.

Much can be said about taxation. The criticism of the Public Accounts Committee and the observations of the US team which visited India recently should be an eye-opener to the hon. Minister. We have been told in this House that every step will be taken to realise the income-tax arrears. The more it is tightened, the bigger become the arrears. According to this team, there is tax evasion to the tune of Rs. 200—300 crores. The Kaldor theory was exploded by the hon. Minister by saying that it has become too old and that since then we have improved a lot. But newspaper reports say that the US observers still maintain that tax evasions are going on merrily.

Another point about the Monopoly Commission. I am not happy about this because after the Dalmia Jain enquiry report by Mr. Vivian Bose and various reports, it was open to this Government to appoint inspectors to make enquiries against the other houses. For instance, when I was speaking on the Dalmia-Jain enquiry report I did mention the report of Mr. R. K. Hazari which mentions clearly the chains of Birla group. I am sorry nothing has been done and no enquiry has been instituted against Birla House. I have constantly requested and I shall go on doing so that the auditors' report of the Ruby Insurance and the New Asiatic Assurance should be laid on the Table of the House. With all my eloquence I was unable to impress upon the Prime Minister or the Finance Minister or even the Planning Minister and so the report has not been laid on the Table. I feel that there is Birla influence too much of it on the Government; it is all powerful. Therefore this report was never laid on the Table and it is not going to be on the Table of the House.

I shall take only two minutes more, Sir. I would request the Finance Minister to look at the cost of living index for the purpose of dearness allowance. If we consider the whole year 1963, upto February 1964, there is a strong case. It was on an average more than 10 points and according to the Pay Commission the rates of dearness allowance will have to be revised. Rs. 2 and Rs. 5 granted from 1-7-63 should have been granted from 1-11-1961. It was never granted at that time. This should be considered at length and some announcement be made by the hon. Finance Minister that the dearness allowance will be reviewed immediately because the index has gone upto 135.

One word more and I have done. I am happy that the hon. Finance Minister appreciated the lacuna in the Pay Commission report about the

educational allowance. Anybody whose boy is with him and is going to school does not get education allowance. If I want to get Rs. 10 as education allowance for my son, I have to send him to a school ten miles away, say to Ghaziabad. The hon. Finance Minister should see that this lacuna is removed.

In conclusion I request the Finance Minister to touch some of the points raised and especially the dearness allowance, particularly at a time when the prices could not be brought down, when this Government has miserably failed to bring the prices down. The question of dearness allowance will have to be considered in all earnestness. I hope the Finance Minister will consider this.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Mr. Speaker, Sir, as Finance Minister I think I have to express some disappointment and even give vent to a measure of sadness at the somewhat tame reception that these Demands have had in the House. It is something like a poor man having a wedding before the rich man's wedding, and everybody is waiting for the rich man's wedding. I hope they are going to show much more interest in the Finance Bill tomorrow than they have done today in respect of the Finance Ministry's Demands.

At the same time, I feel happy that hon. Members had nothing much to say about the Finance Ministry. If I may humbly submit, this is one of those Ministries which has to work in anonymity; its work cannot be visibly demonstrated by putting up plants, or laying railway tracks or building dams. It has the unpleasant task of collecting money; and money means, in the eyes of the common man, corruption, and therefore, the officers of this Ministry are constantly accused of harassment of the public and corruption. I should say that the work of the Ministry during last year is something of which my predecessor and myself could be legitimately proud.

Shri Ranga: Question.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari. The hon. Member who spoke just before me mentioned about income-tax arrears, the lack of diligence on the part of the income-tax machinery in respect of collection. The income-tax law, which I seek permission of the House to amend to a considerable degree in order to make it more effective, in order to make collections easier and effective and in order to punish the wrong-doer, is something which is in a very parlous state at the moment. I do propose sometime, even before the end of this session, to ask leave of the House to help me with some minor amendments in the law in order to get over some legal difficulties. Only the other day, the Supreme Court of the land held on a very minor matter of procedure, that if any alterations are made in any assessment on appeal, the procedure for recovery of tax has got to be done through *de novo*; not when it is made to the detriment of the assessee but even if it is in his favour, the whole procedure has got to be gone through *de novo*. And we are now therefore having the risk of having to send fresh notices, fresh demands, more time for collection for nearly 6 lakhs of assessments. I propose to seek the leave of the House to help me out of that difficulty. Therefore, the question of collecting taxes in a system of law which is rightly heavily loaded in favour of the individuals is not easy.

To come to my original point, I said my predecessor and myself should feel proud of the work of this Ministry during last year. My predecessor had budgeted for an income of Rs. 440 crores from corporate and income taxes for the year that has gone by. My revised estimates were Rs. 510 crores. I thought I had made a very accurate estimate. I am happy to find that I am wrong; the final figures as they emerge now are Rs. 521 crores, may be a little more. It is hard work on the part of these officers who are maligned and abused for harassment and corruption that has produced to the exchequer and to the people of this country Rs. 81 crores more than what we budgeted. I

[Shri T. T. Krishnamachari]

think the House will certainly agree with me that those people do need some recognition so that they may have some cheer. But this Rs. 291 crores of arrears is nothing. Much of it hangs round certain proceedings before courts. I will not name the particular high court, but in one high court there are 552 writ applications pending, holding up assessments. Tax has got to be collected against the law, and the law has got to be progressively changed, while the rights of the individual must also be preserved. It is this synthesis that we are trying; myself and my colleagues, I hope at any rate before the end of the term of the present Parliament, we shall be able to arrive at a synthesis of this relationship between the needs of the exchequer and the rights of the individual and a measure of security for the individual by transference of the administrative power of the executive to the judiciary so that collection can be made stricter and be enforced more strictly.

When I said that the debate was stale, I knew of one exception, but the hon. Member who spoke was not here; he came in leisurely a little after I started speaking. My hon. friend Shri Surendranath Dwivedy from Orissa probably made up for the lack of vehemence on the part of even my hon. friend Shri Malaviya from whom I expected fire and brimstone but did not get it. The hon. Member Shri Dwivedy thinks that everything in the Finance Ministry is black, that we do not have one black curtain but several black curtains to hide the delinquencies of the officers, of the ex-officers, of the Ministers and would be Ministers perhaps.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Did I make such sweeping remarks?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: No, no. I merely said . . .

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I only pointed out two or three things. I wanted that you should take prompt steps, and I have been pointing out this matter here in the Question Hour

and at other times, I only pointed out two or three things.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Anyway, I might probably have, having perhaps some kind of preference for dramatics, highlighted my hon. friend's remarks. I cause no offence; on the other hand, I welcome some vehemence in an otherwise dull and arid atmosphere. I am afraid I have to disappoint my hon. friend, I cannot say, and it would be wrong for me to say, anything about Bird and Co's alleged offences. They are the subject-matter of adjudication. When the adjudication is complete, I think we will place before the House, since it has attracted so much of attention and notoriety, the results of that adjudication.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I would just beg of him to be interrupted for a minute. I would not have raised this matter, but they have in their possession letters which indicate how money has been transacted between this company and certain individuals, which is black money; because it has been stated by his own Minister; he has said here in this House; no names appear in the books. The only information that I want from you, before you take any action after the cases are decided upon, is whether the letters are in your possession or not. You could divulge this much; this is giving out no secret.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: He has promised to give it in the House.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I said this is the subject-matter of adjudication. It is wrong for me to say anything about it. But I can say this much. I do not think the name of any Minister is associated, nor that of any ex-high official. This matter was raised in this House. I was asked if any sons of any Ministers were employed by Bird and Co. I suppose not all Ministers are sterile, or rather not all their wives are sterile. I think they have children and those children have to live, and they are employed somewhere or other.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Bird & Co.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Therefore, it may be that, they are employed. I could not go about saying which are the firms which employ sons or relations of Ministers. It is not possible. I know of one absurdity that we have perpetrated by statute, namely, defining relationship in the Company Law, in which hardly anybody could be unrelated to anybody else. But I do not propose, nor should I, nor could I depart, to find out who are being employed by Bird & Co, who have some kind of remote relationship even as the Company Law defines it. But I had a letter from a young man who said, "I saw in the papers references made to sons of Ministers." This young man wrote and said that he became an employee of this firm in a branch, in a subsidiary of the firm, long before his father ever thought of becoming a Minister. Surely I think it is not suggested that that young man should resign. He happens to be the son of my colleague, Shri Kanungo. I did not feel that I should tell him that he should resign. But I feel I should tell the House that at least one person has volunteered information that he is the son of a Minister and he is employed there.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Was he employed there when Mr. Kanungo was not a Minister?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The second fact he mentioned is the Bank of China. He is very charitable and friendly not only to me but to everybody else and I hope he will not accuse me of any wilful attempt to shield any possible mistake of the Bank of China. I am told the Chinese call me hawk, as against some of my colleagues who are called dogs. That matter is still going on. Even the other day, I had a talk with the police people who are doing the work. They said, the Reserve Bank officials that have been sent are not adequate and they want some more assistance of an accountant. The language in which the accounts are kept is Chinese and to decipher it takes a long time. We are trying our best to expedite the

research into those accounts. Maybe if anything is worth-while, Parliament would be told about it.

My hon. friend, Mr. Masani raised a number of questions in regard to the LIC employees. I would like hon. Members in this House to assist me in this matter. I have once before mentioned that I have a particular allergy to the LIC. Once bitten, twice shy. I do not want to intervene in the affairs of LIC. But then there is this question that crops up now and again: What is the relationship of Government to the autonomous bodies in regard to its employees—policy is all right—but in regard to employees, salaries that they are to pay, their working and so on, excepting in a broad way when we discuss the annual statements? Is it possible or right for a Minister to enquire into the grievances of every employee? Is it right for a Minister to say this branch should not be closed or this branch should be opened? Of course, some interests are affected. If a branch is closed and if it happens to be in my constituency, my constituents write to me. Speaking for myself, am I to take it up with the LIC that this should not be done, except perhaps say "Please be considerate in this matter." (*Interruption*). I am not accusing Mr. Masani; I do not think Mr. Ranga need try to defend him at all.

Shri Ranga: It is not only the regional office in Rajkot, but in other places also.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: If the hon. Member suggests that we should dissolve the LIC and make insurance a department of Government, I think probably it will be easier. Perhaps then there might be greater control. At any rate, there will not be any question of expense ratio, because Government's expenses are not measured by any standard, and efficiency certainly cannot be adjudged, because it is a departmental undertaking. Therefore, it is rather difficult for me. I am not blaming or accusing anybody. I think it is very natural

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for any hon. Member, if a constituent or a relation of a constituent says, "I have got a grievance; Will you write to the Minister?" Invariably I try to send a reply. Sometimes I find it difficult to do so. Sometimes I have to put off these replies for 20 or 25 days, in the same way I have to put off my magazines and papers for sometimes a month, because I have no time.

This is a question which we have to decide sometime or other. How far can we intervene in the working of these institutions; which, if they are to be successful, have to be autonomous? May I submit in all humility to you, Sir, as the ultimate determinant of the relationship between Parliament and its committees and the administration—is the Estimates Committee to go into the estimates, the working or to go into the policy questions, or to go into the question of building or something of that sort? Where shall we draw the line? Some line has to be drawn.

Shri Ranga: The Estimates Committee will decide it; not the Minister.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Mr. Ranga may be an old man, may know many parties, but I do not think he knows administration.

Shri Ranga: Many things I know, which I do not wish to fling at his face now.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The point at issue is, where shall we draw the line? I think it is very necessary. As Finance Minister, I am the custodian of the moneys of this Government and therefore answerable to Parliament for the expenditure of every penny. The other day, I did not offer to become a member of the Swatantra Party; I merely told my friend Mr. Ranga . . .

Shri Ranga: We did not invite you.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: You need not. I suggested to him that the

Finance Ministry was a door-mat. That is what I said.

Shri Ranga: You said, you sold yourself to them.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Door-mat does not sell itself away; it is trampled upon.

Sir, I find it increasingly difficult how to adjust my responsibilities. I seek the guidance of the Members as to how far shall I call the public sector industries and organisations to account or interfere with them? Where shall we draw the line? What is the rule to be made? There should also be a rule to the Estimates Committee. I think sometime we have to discuss this matter. I will say no more. So far as these complaints are concerned, I can draw the attention of the Chairman of the LIC to these things. I can offer no solution.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: In the name of autonomy, certainly the Minister cannot claim that there is no accountability of these Corporations. The doctrine of accountability cannot be watered down in the name of autonomy.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: If my friend equates responsibility to transferring an employee or paying Rs. 5 more to the employees in general, of one particular class all of which ultimately take up the expense ratio, for which the company is to be called to account, I do not know what I am to do. I have merely stated a general proposition. Even in the other corporate bodies with which I am intimately connected like the Reserve Bank and the State Bank, there are certain difficulties. Sometimes they do certain things. Am I to call them to account or give them advice? The process of adjusting the relationship of the administration with the public sector undertakings is becoming increasingly difficult, though the relationship varies. Of course, the Reserve Bank stands on a footing of its

own. I for one would not seek to call them to account. I would rather argue and try to persuade them, because they have to be built up as the supreme economic adviser of Government, able to give independent advice, unfettered by any ties. So, the relationship between these institutions and the Parliament has got to be studied sometime and I am making this suggestion to you, Sir, in all humility that we will have to undertake it sometime.

My hon. friend, Mr. Malaviya, returned to the battle that public sectors must lose, progress should not become a religion, and we should not get moneys from other countries for the purpose of progress. But I fail to see any dichotomy or even any spirit of contrariness between moneys being got, progress being made and social objectives being subserved at the same time. Foreign money does not destroy the base of any social objectives that we have. It might perhaps happen that if certain concessions are given locally, those social objectives might be eroded. I think progress is certainly inevitable and necessary, because that is the first objective. Without progress, you cannot have an increased standard of living. Without an increased standard of living, it is not possible to have these disparities being wiped out progressively. Therefore, in this century, while we are not atheists, we are all believers—I am myself a believer—but still, next to God, we have to place progress. Therefore, anything that stands in the way of progress, I do not say should be wiped out, but will have to be dealt with very carefully and should not be made to stop progress. In fact, my main concern is that there is no progress; the progress is slow. My friends, the industrialists, tell me: "You have taken so much of your time in producing a Budget but that would not give you what you want; you hand over yourself to us and then we will give you what you want."

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Shri J. P. Jyotishi (Sagar): Arrangements for proper distribution should also be there.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I do not know. As a matter of fact, if the hon. Member has any money in his pocket I can take it and give to the hon. Members here, but I will only give half a rupee and nothing more.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur): If that is your conception of distribution, well, God save this country.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: My hon. friend is a good friend of mine, but I will tell him one thing. There is a saying in English, one does not teach his grandmother to suck eggs.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: If the grandmother becomes so bad, then we have to teach her.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I do not know whether the grandson has become bad or the grandmother has become bad.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: That should be found out.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): The complaint is about the grandfather, not about the grandmother or grandson.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Grandfather need not object.

Shri K. D. Malaviya: I said that progress is a composite concept where you cannot think only in an isolated way of getting some money, producing something and handing it over to a small group of people. Progress is all pervading. It has many aspects. I submitted that idea for his consideration, that is all.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Anyway, I do not go into the metaphysics of my hon. friend, Shri Malaviya's argument. We leave it at that.

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My hon. friend Shri Pant made a very good speech. He has now turned to agriculture (*Interruption*). I do not say it in any spirit of sarcasm. I think what he said today is extremely valuable, and I think we all should take note of it. But there is only one fact. I do not think in regard to tractors—I will not speak about anything else—we have made much progress. Well, we have not made much progress, but we cannot say we have done nothing.

Shri K. D. Malaviya: Practically nothing.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I think there are about four firms manufacturing tractors out of which three are in production and between them they make about 11,000 tractors a year. When the fourth comes into production it will add 3,500. But that is not enough. I quite agree with him. What we need is not in tens or thousands; we need 50,000 or probably a lakh. The other points that he raised with regard to agriculture will be noted and I am sure the Planning Commission will take cognizance of whatever he has said.

Shri K. C. Pant: I said I am for increased production but not for increased number of plants or models.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: He also mentioned about the proliferation of models, and I think I agree with him. In a country like ours and in a matter like tractors which needs spares we cannot have a proliferation of models. We are again at the cross-roads. He mentioned about the automobile industry. I would not like to poach upon the preserve of my hon. friend the Minister for Heavy Industries in this matter. I have my own views on this matter. I do agree that we neither have a satisfactory car in this country nor is it available at a reasonable price. Even the spares are not available in plenty. The only thing seems to be that the cars that we produce seem to have a particular fond-

ness to the seller of the car because they go back to the workshop very often.

Dr. Singhvi is apparently a vociferous reader. Within the short time between my placing on the Table the Rau Committee Report and the time that he spoke he had looked into it and made some valuable comments. He raised one question this morning, which was not reached, about the uniformity in the collection of sales tax by States. I must say one thing, that I have no responsibility at all. My colleague the Home Minister in the group meeting, so far as the northern States are concerned, had this matter discussed. I placed it before the Finance Ministers of various States who met here. But nobody is willing to surrender any power. I agree with my hon. friend that uniformity in regard to sales tax, even with a downward trend, would produce higher revenue, which is the main thing that we need. But it is very difficult for people to agree that a lower rate of tax means a higher rate of return. It is a fact, but it is not always recognised. People always think that a high rate of tax means a high rate of return. I think we have to go on trying to convince them of this fundamental fact in tax collection and tax regulation before we can get the States to agree.

Shri Ranga: The Centre should implement it first.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Nominated—Jammu and Kashmir): Have a broader base.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I am afraid, I have more or less covered the bulk of the criticisms made by hon. Members.

Some reference has been made to planning. I am not going to reply at length. But I would like to say one thing. My hon. friend, Shri Mathur, is not here. He raised the question of some fundamental differences between

myself and the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. In fact, what the world seems to tell me is the fundamental similarities in the approach between the two people. We do not compare notes. I do not send my speeches to him nor does he send his speeches to me. But there seems to be a fundamental similarity according to the people outside. But I can say this, it is true that I wrote to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission in regard to the strategy of the Fourth Plan. In fact, it was a letter that was preceded by a letter to the Prime Minister some months ago. If hon. Members want I can circulate it. There is no secret about it. It is merely a question of discussion of the relative strategies available about what shall we do for the Fourth Plan. I wish hon. Members to think about it. In the First Plan the Centre normally provided 30 per cent., the States provided 70 per cent. for planned effort. In the Second Plan the average was 50:50. In the Third Plan it ranges from 65 to 80, 83, 84 and 85. In the Fourth Plan it will be a hundred per cent to be provided by the Centre (*Interruption*).

The question really is, shall we in the Fourth Plan take up certain responsibilities like power or big schemes as a central effort in which the States also will be associated; the States will share the profit, the capital will be identifiable, the interest need not be added, as we do now, to the State loans and allow the States to plan which will match so that we give only 50 per cent of what they put in? This is basically a strategy which we are thinking of. Besides, Sir, the fact is that the States owe us roughly about Rs 3000 crores, which I mentioned in my Budget Speech. What we do is an infantile method of accounting. Every year the States do not pay the interest. We add the interest to the capital so that it becomes something like a creditor going on adding the interest to the capital with the result that there is no chance of the debtor ever repaying it. What I have been suggesting is, let us put

it on to identifiable projects, add the interest if necessary or keep it as interest, make the States accept the working charges from and out of their revenue and when they start yielding collect the interest or something to amortise the capital. This is one of the strategies we have been discussing. On this there is bound to be a certain amount of room for difference, but not a matter of quarrel. Yesterday I spent two hours with the members of the Planning Commission discussing this matter.

Another matter mentioned by somebody here was that the Planning Commission is conducting the rural works programme. It is not. It is the State that is having it. The Planning Commission keeps in direct touch with the State. Should the Planning Commission do it or should it be done by a Ministry? I can tell you, originally, when we started a local development programme in 1957, the Finance Ministry kept direct touch with the State with the help of the Planning Commission. I think the results were very good. These are matters of strategy, of method, rather than one of fundamental differences. I can tell you that there is no fundamental difference either with my colleagues or with the Planning Commission, in which case either they should go or I should leave.

17.00 hrs.

This is a matter in which, I think, all of us have to take serious interest. Before we formulate our Fourth Plan finally let us know what we are going to do in regard to the strategy of the Fourth Plan. It has got to be very big, probably Rs. 18,000 crores or Rs. 20,000 crores as some people say. We have to look to our resources, to the foreign aid that we get and to the machinery that we will have for implementing the Plan. Some hon. Member mentioned about the administration. I know, the administrative apparatus is one of the black-legs in this question. So,

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these are matters which I would like the House to consider. I have told the Planning Commission that we should probably take up one subject and discuss it for a day and not discuss things discursively as we do now.

I am very grateful to hon. Members who have raised this point and, I hope, the Demands will be passed.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf: I have one very important question.

Mr. Speaker: Now there is no time. Have I to put any cut motion to the vote of the House separately?

Some Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Speaker: Then I will put all the cut motions, that have been moved, together.

All the cut motions were put and negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the fourth column of the order paper, be granted to the President, to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of the heads of demands entered in second column thereof against demands Nos. 19 to 35 and 116 to 123 relating to the Ministry of Finance."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the fourth column of the order paper, be granted to the president, to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of the heads of demands entered in

the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 95, 96 and 144 relating to the Department of Atomic Energy, Demand No. 97 relating to the Department of Parliamentary Affairs, Demand No. 108 relating to Lok Sabha, Demand No. 110 relating to Rajya Sabha, and Demand No. 111 relating to the Secretariat of the Vice-President."

The motion was adopted.

[The motion for Demands for Grants in respect of the Departments of Atomic Energy and Parliamentary Affairs, Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and the Secretariat of the Vice-President, which were adopted by the Lok Sabha, are reproduced below.]

DEMAND NO. 95—DEPARTMENT OF ATOMIC ENERGY

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,67,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Department of Atomic Energy'."

DEMAND NO. 96—ATOMIC ENERGY RESEARCH

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,14,18,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Atomic Energy Research'."

DEMAND NO. 144—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 18,16,56,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965,

in respect of 'Capital outlay of the Department of Atomic Energy'."

DEMAND No. 97—DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,35,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Department of Parliamentary Affairs'."

DEMAND No. 108—LOK SABHA

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 97,25,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Lok Sabha'."

DEMAND No. 110—RAJYA SABHA

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 41,50,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Rajya Sabha'."

DEMAND No. 111—SECRETARIAT OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,99,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Secretariat of the Vice-President'."

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, April 17, 1964/Chaitra 28, 1886 (Saka).