

[Shri Parashar]

Secondly, my submission is that the hon. Member is a member of the Privileges Committee. As long as he is a member of the Privileges Committee, he has got to approach the Privileges Committee first and raise the statement there first, and after that, he could approach the chairman for making any submissions. He has not adopted that course or taken advantage of that procedure. Now, over and above the head of the Privileges Committee, he has come before the House. This is a breach of privilege of the committee and this is an insult to the Privileges Committee. Therefore, I raise this question that the statement should not be allowed to go into the proceedings of the House.

Mr. Speaker: Any statement under rule 377 can be made with the consent of the Speaker. Shri Kapur Singh had written to me saying that he wanted to raise it. I had told him that this was not the appropriate time. But then he persisted, and, therefore, I allowed him.

This is not the correct procedure. If he had not been present in the committee, then that was not the fault of the committee and the committee could take any decision that it wanted to take and which at that time it thought proper....

Shri Kapur Singh: It cannot be any decision, but it has to be a decision under the Rules of the House.

Mr. Speaker: The only remedy lies by way of an appeal to the speaker saying that this has not been done. It is not the right procedure to stand up and criticise the committee in the House that they have not done this thing in a fair manner or that thing in a fair manner and so on, unless the report of the committee is brought before the House for discussion. There is no other way in which that can be criticised, and this ought not to have been done, and I quite agree in regard to that.

11:50 hrs.

FINANCE BILL, 1966—contd.

Mr. Speaker: Further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri on the 29th April 1966, namely:—

“That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1966-67, be taken into consideration”.

Shri Dandekar might continue.

Shri N. Dandekar (Gonda): Mr. Speaker, I was explaining yesterday a somewhat complicated point as regards the mode of assessing the incidence of taxation, and I would like to explain the same thing now in simpler terms.

For a country like ours, with a low level of national income and a subsistence level of income per capita, the incidence of additional burdens imposed during the Third Plan compared with the Second Plan must be assessed on the “slab system” and not on the “step system” of computation. When so considered, it will be found, firstly, that the additional drafts of all kinds on national income made by the Central and State Governments taken together, in 1965-66, the last year of the Third Plan, compared with 1960-61, the last year of the Second Plan, was 42 per cent of the additional national income in 1965-66 over 1960-61. Secondly, the additional drafts on national income by way of taxation alone made by the Central and State Governments taken together in 1965-66 compared with 1960-61 was as high as 26 per cent of the additional income in 1965-66 over 1960-61. Thirdly, since taxes are paid by human beings and not by national income, one must consider this matter by reference to per capita income rather than....

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): There is no one representing the

Finance Ministry in the Treasury Benches, neither the Minister nor any Deputy Minister.

The Minister of State in the Departments of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Shri Jagannatha Rao): Shri L. N. Mishra is here.

An hon. Member: He is in Planning.

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Finance (Shri L. N. Mishra): I am in Finance.

Shri Hanumanthaiya (Bangalore City): When a senior Member like Shri Dandekar is speaking, I should think the Cabinet Minister should be present. These discussions must gather seriousness to them when they are being made; it is that that is lacking. I think we must go on a kind of satyagraha and not speak when the concerned Minister is not here.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): It is not just a question of senior or junior Member. We are in the last stage of the financial business with the consideration of the Finance Bill. At such a stage of the discussion, the Finance Minister should be present here.

Shri N. Dandekar: If you will agree, I am prepared to wait until the Finance Minister comes here.

Mr. Speaker: He might continue. I will ask them to bring the Minister.

Shri Nath Pal (Rajapur): Shri Dandekar must be given additional time during which the Minister is absent.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): Nobody has gone to fetch him.

Shri Nath Pal: The Marshal should be sent.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order now.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Your directive is not being carried out. It has been ignored.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Burdwan): He wants the Marshal to be sent.

Shri Sezhiyan (Perambalur): He can be brought under DIR.

Shri N. Dandekar: Assessing the matter in relation to income per capita the incidence of additional drafts of all kinds on income made by the Central and State Governments taken together in 1965-66 compared with 1960-61 was as high as 50 per cent of the additional per capita income in 1965-66 over 1960-61; and the burden of additional taxation alone on per capita income, imposed by the Central and State Governments, taken together, was 30 per cent of the additional per capita income in 1965-66 over 1960-61.

Therefore, the point I wish to emphasise is that the Finance Minister was totally beside the point when he said that the burden of taxation in this country was only 15 per cent of the national income now, compared with 9.6 per cent five years ago. I suggest these are utterly misleading averages. The real figures are the ones I have just mentioned.

On top of it, there has been such enormous increase in wholesale prices and in the cost of living by as much as over 30 per cent over the past five years and there is of course the additional burden of annuity deposits, and the result of all this has been a tremendous diminution in the disposable income of people, and that is why at whatever level of the population one would like to consider this matter, there has been a great diminution in the volume of savings, a very serious diminution in the flow of savings into private sector investment, and consequently in the tempo of capital formation. I will leave it there. I think I should now come down from the general to the particular.

[Shri Dandekar]

Coming to the particular, I asked myself what, in fact, has been the burden of additional taxation imposed during the last 12 to 13 months; and I find the list is a formidable one. There was, in the first place, on 17th February, 1965 the imposition of Regulatory Duties of Customs and of Excise, and counter-vailing duties of customs. Then there was the main Finance Act of 1965, which enacted the annual Finance Bill. In August, 1965, there was a second Finance Bill; and now within 12 months of these three major operations, we have yet another Finance Bill that imposes a formidable array of new taxes, both direct and indirect. And in case Members are interested, as I am sure they will be, as to what is the total aggregate Central taxation bill imposed, in a period of 12 months, on the population of this country, the total is of the order of Rs. 682 crores, all within a space of 12 months.

The Finance Minister, both in his main budget speech as well as in the reply, said with considerable appearance of candour that there was no alternative; the he was on the horns of a dilemma, the dilemma being that either one had to go forward with the development plans as they were, in which case one must impose this formidable bill of taxation, or one must call a halt to development. If that argument had been valid, I would have been the first to accept it, because if there is that kind of dilemma, one cannot but accept an additional burden of taxation if that is the cost that has to be truly paid for development purposes. But I suggest this is totally a false dilemma. There is a third alternative. And the third alternative consists in taking a look at our expenditure, both as it has grown over the years and as it was in the year 1965-66, to realise the enormous degree to which there is scope for considerable economies of various kinds.

First of all, let us take a look at the growth of Central and State expendi-

ture over the last 15 years. In 1950-51, the total Central Government expenditure was Rs. 510 crores and the total State Government expenditure was nearly Rs. 400 crores, making a total of Rs. 900 crores. Over the last five years, here are the figures of a mounting rate of growth of Central expenditure:

1960-61	Rs. 1,700 crores
1961-62	Rs. 1,866 crores.
1962-63	Rs. 2,377 crores.
1963-64	very nearly Rs. 3,000 crores.
1964-65	Rs. 3,200 crores.
1965-66	very nearly Rs. 3,500 crores.

To which for 1965-66, if you add Rs. 1,840 crores approximately which was the expenditure of State Governments, you get the enormous figure of something of the order of Rs. 5,300 crores as the aggregate volume of Central and State expenditure compared with Rs. 900 crores 15 years ago.

12 hrs.

Unless I had been wasting my time for 21 years in the public service, most of it in the Finance Department or connected departments, and unless I have been wasting my time in industry over the last 15 years,—when I see expenditure figures of this magnitude, I would be astonished if anybody tells me that there was here no scope for economies of a very considerable size. In order to indicate where such economies could be made, I would like to draw attention of the House to a very excellent little analysis published in the Economic times of 22 April. All the expenditure of the state and central governments of the year 1965-66 totalling Rs. 5339 crores, is broken up into four main headings. Defence is Rs. 879 crores. I would leave that without comment for the moment as being capable of only minor economies and nothing was a major consequence. Secondly, planned development expenditure of Rs. 2225 crores. I suggest here that in 1966-67 there is a white elephant here which,

if we do not cut it out, is going to bleed this country white. I refer to the Bokaro steel project. I do not quite know how many crores have been provided for the Bokaro steel project in 1966-67 but I imagine it is well over Rs. 100 crores. I suggest that Bokaro is going to be for this country, as all the major industrial Tajmahals in the public sector have been for the last ten years, the breaking point of the national economy by a burden which the economy could not stand, because of the fact that a major part of the burden ought to be connected with productive matters such as agricultural development. Therefore, just to take one item in the planned development expenditure of the current year there is, I suggest, a case for eliminating altogether at this stage the white elephant, the Bokaro steel project. The third group is "non-plan" development expenditure, that represents the tail-end or hang-over of projects of the Third Plan to be finished this year. There will be another bill next year and perhaps some more in the following years. I do not suggest any cut in that of any magnitude. Whatever be the shortcomings of the Third Plan, I agree that once we have started on that exercise we ought to spend whatever money is necessary and complete the plan so that we may get the benefits of the expenditure that has already been incurred. The most significant is the fourth group called the non-plan non-development expenditure. The only brief description of this is non-sensical expenditure. That aggregates to Rs. 1083 crores. I can understand, I suppose there is a certain amount of legitimate non-development non-plan expenditure that has to be incurred, but when I see something like one-fifth of the aggregate national budget of the state and central governments being expended on non-plan non-development expenditure, I am aghast and without hesitation I would like to say that there is no question about it that in the aggregate budget of the central and state governments for the following year—these are figures of the last year there is unquestionably

tremendous scope for cutting down expenditure of the order of Rs. 300—500 crores. If anybody thinks that this is a little bit of an exaggeration, all I can say is this. I am prepared to name persons in the government service, competent people of the accounts department, finance department, of any department connected with accounting and finance, and if they were given as their terms of reference: look, boys, let us hack out of this stuff expenditure that does not build income-yielding assets; let us hack out of this the expenditure that merely build up support for next year's elections you can see the result. I shall be quite blunt about it that the State Governments expenditure involve considerable amount of "non-plan non-development expenditure" concerned with practically buying the next five years' office in Government. I suggest the time has come when we have to view this very seriously and the Congress party has to consider the country rather than the party. I believe this thing has gone far enough in terms of the expenditure of the kind that requires these financial bills one after another, three last year, one this year; and heaven knows how many more this year; Bills that go on imposing more and more direct and indirect taxes of a magnitude that is staggering.

Finally, Sir, on this particular Finance Bill; in so far as the technical provisions are concerned, I would like to say three things. I am going to oppose, in the amendments that I am putting down, the increases in the indirect taxes that were made for bogus reasons last year, namely, the regulatory duties of customs and excise that were imposed by an ordinance on the 17th February, 1965, and the additional duties of customs and excise and the countervailing duties that were imposed by the second Finance Bill. All of them were imposed with two specific promises which have not been fulfilled. The first promise was that these were necessary as temporary measures but meanwhile the Government appreciate the urgent need for drastic economies in public

[Shri Dandekar]

expenditure both at the Central level and at the State level. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari in his letter to the late Prime Minister said that he was not getting any support for this,—these are facts from the then Finance Minister himself and not my facts— from the Prime Minister, not getting support from his Cabinet colleagues and not getting support from the State Governments for any kind of major, effective economies. Now, that was one promise on the basis of which the House approved those two sets of duties.

The other promise was that they were necessary for defending the rupee, so that the rupee might once again reach such value in terms of its national purchasing power as would be somewhere near its supposed value at the controlled rate of exchange; there too nothing has been done. We have gone down in our fiscal management down and down, until the rupee today is disgraceful bit of paper; you can buy it like any odd bit of paper all over the world. These two promises, these two undertakings, on the basis of which this country and this House accepted last year enormous increases in the customs duties and excise duties and the countervailing duties, and a whole lot of other burdens—those promises have not been kept.

I therefore propose to move several amendments; and one of my major amendments is going to oppose those amendments which seek the continuance of those regulatory and special customs duties and also the continuance of those regulatory and special excise duties.

The second thing is again dependent on what I have suggested, about the staggering burden of taxation, not on the national income—I repeat national income does not pay tax, but it is human beings who pay tax—the staggering and steadily increasing burden on the per capita income of this country. Look at the situation today

of industrial units, who are unable to generate enough resources for their expansion, not even for working capital. Every concern that I know, and I am connected with quite a few large and small,—everyone of them has to borrow money for expansion, has to borrow money even for working capital, because increasing taxation takes away so much, the rising prices take away so much and the credit squeeze makes it impossible to proceed otherwise than by utilising the internal resources for working capital. They are short of Capital resources and working capital, and there is nothing left for Capital formation. In view of that, I am going to oppose both in detail as well as in general, those increase in the rates of income tax as well as corporation tax which this Bill contains.

Finally, I have to make one last comment. I have referred very often in this House to the jungle of laws in this country. In that jungle, there is this dense jungle of income-tax and other direct taxation laws. There have been amendments after amendments. I am unable really to follow them, because in the 1961 Act, there have been numerous amendments. In the 1961 Finance Act, there were some amendments; so also in 1963 Finance Act also. Again there have been two or three sets of amendments in 1964; and yet again two or three sets of amendments in 1965. Now, there comes yet another bunch of amendments. Have we really gone completely crazy? I am sure the Finance Minister is personally aware, over a number of years that he has been in practice as an eminent lawyer, that there was a time when the amendments to the Income-Tax Act were few and far between and well considered; and they use to come as a separate Bill for the consideration of the House. Today,—if you want, Sir, I will really and truly ask you to do this exercise,—take any one of these amendments, and look at any Income-tax Act you like. The chances are

that you will find that it is not that Act that is being amended, because that Act has already been amended and further amended, and there is no point of finality to the amendments.

I do, Sir, take strong exception to this kind of procedure, of making massive annual amendments to basic statutes by the Finance Bill. The Finance Bill ought to be concerned strictly with financial provisions, fiscal provisions; and only in so far as those fiscal provisions having a direct bearing upon particular provisions of other Acts are concerned, need there be any amendments to those Acts. It has been a nightmare to study all these amendments, and to study all these Acts as amended. I once wrote to the Central Board of Revenue asking them whether they will publish every year, in the month of July or August, one book in which I can see the Taxation Acts as amended. I have not had a reply to that letter. I wrote that letter, I think, last year. I say, Sir, it is a serious blemish on this Finance Bill, that it contains these massive amendments which it is very difficult to follow, because one does not know what is being amended.

Some hon. Members rose—

Shri Sheo Narain (Bansi): Sir, before you call the next speaker, I would like to say, for the information of Shri Hanumanthaiya, that we are senior to Shri Dandekar as Members in this House. He has come to this House in a by-election.

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): It is all irrelevant.

Shri Dandekar: I did not win a by-election; I won the main election.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: It is true he was not elected in the General Election, but he won his election petition and was declared elected.

Mr. Speaker: That is not in dispute just at this moment.

श्री श्रीनारायण दास (दरभंगा) :
 अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने केन्द्रीय सरकार के 1966-67 के वित्तीय वर्ष के लिये जो कर प्रस्तावों को मूर्त रूप देने का विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया है मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। कब्ल इसके कि मैं अपने विचार प्रकट करूँ, मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि अभी इस वाद-विवाद को प्रारम्भ करते हुए स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के माननीय सदस्य श्री डांडेकर ने जो भाषण दिया है, उसका सारांश यह है कि पिछले पन्द्रह, सोलह वर्षों में सरकार ने हिन्दुस्तान की जनता पर कर का बहुत भारी बोझ लाद दिया है। उन्होंने झांकड़े दे कर यह बतलाने की कोशिश की है कि राष्ट्रीय आमदनी का बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा 4.र के रूप में ले लिया जाता है। उन्होंने यह भी बतलाया है कि हिन्दुस्तान में प्रति व्यक्ति प्रति साल की जो आमदनी है उसका भी बहुत सा हिस्सा कर के रूप में ले लिया जाता है। मैं झांकड़ों में नहीं जाऊँगा, मैं भी इस बात को जानता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में आजादी के बाद एक के बाद दूसरे जो प्लान हुए और एक के बाद दूसरे जो हर साल के बजट इस सदन के सामने उपस्थित किये गये उन में करों की मात्रा बहुत अधिक रही। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान एक पिछड़ा हुआ देश है, विज्ञान क्षेत्र में, टेकनालोजी के क्षेत्र में, उद्योगों के विकास के क्षेत्र में और देशों के मुकाबले हम सैकड़ों वर्ष पीछे हैं। ऐसी हालत में हिन्दुस्तान जैसा देश सचमुच बहुत गरीब है। लेकिन अगर कष्ट उठा कर, कठिनाइयों को झेल कर हम करों की मात्रा में बृद्धि न करें तो हिन्दुस्तान का विकास प्रागे के लिये भी प्रवृद्ध ही रह जायेगा और देश का आर्थिक तथा औद्योगिक विकास नहीं हो सकेगा। इसलिये जो भी कर हम लोगों ने इस संसद् के जरिये से हिन्दुस्तान की जनता पर लगाये हैं, और बहुत कष्ट के साथ लगाये हैं, वह आवश्यक हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की साधारण

[श्री श्रीनारायण दास]

जनता, अधिकतर जनता, बहुत गरीब है और जो कर हम साल ब साल यहां लगाते हैं उनका गहरा प्रभाव उसके जीवन पर पड़ता है। लेकिन अगर इस समय कर लगाने का उत्तरदायित्व कांग्रेस की सरकार अपने ऊपर न लेती तो जो कुछ भी विकास आज हिन्दुस्तान का हुआ है, चाहे शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में, चाहे उद्योग के क्षेत्र में, चाहे खेती के क्षेत्र में, वह न हुआ होता। इसलिये धारम्भ में तो तकलीफ उठानी ही होगी यह जान कर कांग्रेस की सरकार ने इस साल नये करों का बोझ हिन्दुस्तान की जनता पर लादा है।

लेकिन मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस कर के बोझ का जनता ने भी समर्थन किया है। अगर जनता ने समर्थन इस कर का न किया होता तो पिछले तीन आम चुनावों में इतनी बड़ी तादाद में हम विधान सभाओं में या संसद् में न आये होते जितनी तादाद में आते रहे हैं। इसलिये स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के माननीय प्रवक्ता ने जो कुछ कहा उस बात को सही समझते हुए भी इस बात का समर्थन करता हूँ कि धारम्भ में हिन्दुस्तान की गरीब जनता को अपने देश के विकास के लिये या भावी उत्तान के सुख के लिये यह दुःख उठाना ही पड़ेगा, और यहां की जनता उसे उठा रही है।

दूसरी बात उन्होंने अपने भाषण के सिलसिले में कही कि जहां कर लगाने का काम हो रहा है उसके साथ साथ सरकारी खर्च में भी कमी होनी चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस में दो मत नहीं हो सकते। भारत सरकार का जो यन्त्र है शासन का उस शासन यन्त्र का खर्च भी बढ़ता चला जाता है, और मैं भी इस बात का समर्थन करता हूँ। बावजूद इस बात के कि सरकार ने इस वर्ष कहा है कि वह खर्च में कमी करने की कोशिश करती है, और इस साल खर्च में कमी की भी है, लेकिन जो उसका प्रयत्न रहा है वह प्रयत्न सफल नहीं हुआ है। इस बात के स्पष्ट प्रमाण हैं।

मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री से अनुरोध करूंगा, जब उनके हाथ में इस विभाग के संचालन का भार आया है, कि जहां हिन्दुस्तान की जनता अधिक से अधिक कर देने के लिए तैयार है वहां इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के शासन के खर्च में कमी की जाये। जो अनावश्यक खर्च है या ऐसा खर्च है जोकि आवश्यक है लेकिन जिस खर्च का प्रभाव विकास पर नहीं पड़ता है वह नहीं होना चाहिये।

इसके बाद मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान खींचना चाहूंगा कि उन्होंने करों के सम्बन्ध में प्रस्ताव करते हुए कहा कि हमारे देश की कर प्रणाली को एक सम्बद्ध प्रणाली बनाया गया है दान कर लगा कर, एस्टेट ड्यूटी लगा कर, एक्स्पेन्डिचर टैक्स लगा कर। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी कर प्रणाली अब ज्यादा वैज्ञानिक ढंग पर निरूपित की गई है। लेकिन माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने जो अपना बजट भाषण दिया उस में उन्होंने व्यय पर टैक्स लगाने का जो कानून था अर्थात् एक्स्पेन्डिचर टैक्स, उस को हटा दिया है। यद्यपि माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने इस बात को कबूल किया है, और उसे मैं उनके शब्दों में ही बतलाना चाहता हूँ, उनके अंग्रेजी भाषण के पृष्ठ चार पर कहा गया है कि :

"I recognise that on purely economic grounds it would be a very sound principle to replace income-tax increasingly by a tax on expenditure so that the maximum incentive is provided for savings."

लेकिन इतना कहने के बाद उन्होंने प्रशानिक कठिनाई बतला कर कहा है कि इस में आमदनी कम होती है और प्रशानिक खर्च या कठिनाई ज्यादा होती है इसलिये इस कर प्रणाली से वह एक्स्पेन्डिचर टैक्स को हटाना चाहते हैं। जब हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश में बचत हो, तो जब तक खर्च पर पूरा नियन्त्रण नहीं होगा तब तक

हमारे देश में बचत हो नहीं सकती है। जब हम यह जानते हैं कि जब तक हम खर्च पर नियन्त्रण नहीं रखेंगे तब तक बचत नहीं हो सकती है तब फिर हलाकि एक्सपेन्डिचर टैक्स से हमें कठिनाई होती है या प्रशासन में कठिनाई होती है, उस के नाम पर इस को हटा देना, जो कि वैज्ञानिक कल प्रणाली का अंग है, मैं उचित नहीं समझता।

साथ ही साथ कर के सम्बन्ध में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमारे देश में मुख्यतया दो तरह के कर हैं। एक डाइरेक्ट टैक्स और दूसरा इन्डाइरेक्ट टैक्स। इस बात को तो मानना पड़ेगा कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता के ऊपर इन्डाइरेक्ट टैक्स जो लगता है उस का बहुत हिस्सा गरीब और साधारण जनता के ऊपर पड़ता है। हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी बहुत ज्यादा है। यहां धनी लोग बहुत कम हैं। इसलिये जो उत्पादन शुल्क विभिन्न सामानों पर लगता है उस का असर देश की साधारण जनता पर ही पड़ता है। पहले के वर्षों में जो उत्पादन शुल्क लगा उस में बराबर वह उत्पादन शुल्क बढ़ता ही गया है और उसका नतीजा यह भी हुआ है कि जहां पर मन्त्री जी बराबर कहते रहे हैं कि जो उत्पादन शुल्क हम लगाते हैं उसका असर चीजों के दाम पर नहीं जाने वाला है लेकिन जब भी उत्पादन शुल्क लगाया जाता गया उस उत्पादन शुल्क का असर दाम बढ़ने पर हुआ और आज की हालत में हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था में जो सबसे महत्वपूर्ण सवाल है वह है बढ़ता हुआ दाम। यह दिन दिन बढ़ता जा रहा है बावजूद इसके कि सरकार कई प्रकार के मेजर्स मुद्रा की दिशा में तथा और तरह के मेजर्स लेती है लेकिन उसका असर यही होता है कि दाम घटने के बजाय बढ़ता ही जाता है। ऐसी हालत में मैं समझता हूँ कि चीनी पर जो उत्पादन शुल्क लगाया गया है भेरे ख्याल से यह न लगाया जाता तो अच्छा होता। इसके

साथ साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में सचमुच में बहुत थोड़े लोग धनी हैं। लेकिन उन थोड़े धनी लोगों में भी देखा यह गया है जैसा कि साधारणतया लोग कहते हैं कि गरीब लोग गरीब होते जा रहे हैं, यद्यपि मैं इस बात को पूरी तरह से नहीं मानता हूँ, मैं मानता हूँ कि गरीबों की दशा में भी कुछ सुधार हुआ है लेकिन धनी लोग जिनके ऊपर हमने नाना प्रकार के टैक्स लगा रखे हैं वह उन टैक्सों को न देकर उनसे बचने का सहारा लेकर, उन्होंने अपने धन को बहुत बढ़ा लिया है। साधारण जनता की दृष्टि से यह बात छिपी नहीं है कि जो लोग पहले धनी थे वह और भी धनी हो गये हैं। ऐसी हालत में मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि वह कुछ थोड़ा सा इस दिशा में और ध्यान दें और जो स्टेट ड्यूटी है उसके स्तर को बढ़ाना चाहिए, उसकी जो अमर की लेबल की धामदानी है उसको बढ़ाना चाहिए और इस तबके से अधिक से अधिक कर संग्रह करने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। इसी तरह से जो सम्पत्ति कर है वह भी ठीक से बसूल किया जाय, तो कोई धन बढ़ता नहीं तो हम ने अपने देश में जो सामाजिक सिद्धान्त रखा है कि हम विषमता को धीरे-धीरे दूर करेंगे, वह कैसे दूर हो सकती है? वह तभी दूर हो सकती है जब कि हम स्टेट ड्यूटी, वेल्य टैक्स, गिफ्ट टैक्स आदि जो लगाते हैं, उसकी दर बढ़ा दी जाय। इसलिए मेरा तो मुभाव है कि एक तरफ जहां हम जनता की उपभोग की जो चीजें हैं उनके ऊपर उत्पादन शुल्क घटा दें, वहां दूसरी तरफ जो ऐसे टैक्स हैं स्टेट ड्यूटी, वेल्य टैक्स आदि उसमें वृद्धि करनी चाहिए।

इसके साथ साथ मैं बनाना चाहता हूँ कि अभी जो उत्पादन शुल्क लगाया गया है उस उत्पादन शुल्क में छोटे छोटे उद्योगों में काम करने वाली कुछ चीजों पर कुछ ज्यादा असर पड़ा है। मैं इस बात के लिए माननीय वित्त मंत्री

[श्री श्रीनारायण दास]

को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने कुछ हैबलूम के जो उद्योग हैं या और दूसरे प्रकार के उद्योग हैं छोटे छोटे, उनको कुछ राहत देने की कोशिश की है। मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूँ और समर्थन करता हूँ। साथ साथ मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यद्यपि मैं इस बात को समझता हूँ कि अभी हमारे देश में जैसे स्थिति है उस स्थिति में आयात पर जितना नियंत्रण किया जा सके वह करना चाहिए। लेकिन यह बात प्रत्यक्ष है कि जब पाकिस्तान से और हिन्दुस्तान से संघर्ष हुआ तो दूसरे देशों ने हमको आर्थिक सहायता जो देने का वायदा किया था उसमें उन्होंने रूकावट डाल दी और हमारे देश के बहुत सारे कारखाने, जो विदेशी कल-पुरजे पर निर्भर रहते हैं या कच्चा माल जो बाहर से आता है उस पर निर्भर रहते हैं, उनका उत्पादन कम हो गया। आज हमारी यह भी कठिनाई है कि हमारे देश में उद्योग के क्षेत्र का उत्पादन बहुत घट गया क्योंकि हम अभी भी हर एक मामले में पर्याप्त उत्पादन नहीं करते हैं। इसका कारण क्या है कि इधर एक प्रवृत्ति हमारे देश में हो रही है कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा टेकनालाजी या अच्छी से अच्छी टेकनालाजी दूसरे मुल्क की जो है वह जल्दी से जल्दी अपने यहां चालू हो जाये। अध्यक्ष महोदय, हर एक देश में जो टेकनालाजी है वह वहां की मौजूदा हालत, वहां की जनता की हालत को देखकर ही टेकनालाजी का विकास होता है। किसी देश में लेबर का अभाव रहता है, श्रम का अभाव रहता है तो वहां कारखाने चलाने के लिए अच्छी से अच्छी टेकनालाजी की जरूरत होती है जिसमें कम से कम आदमी काम करें। और हमारे देश में श्रम-शक्ति की बहुतायत है। ऐसी स्थिति में दूसरे देश में जहां श्रम शक्ति की कमी है वहां जिरा टेकनालाजी की आवश्यकता है उस टेकनालाजी को अगर हम पूरे तौर से अपनाते हैं तो कोशिश करेंगे तो हमारे देश में बेकारी बढ़ती जायेगी और जो अभी-जा हमने बताया कि पाकिस्तान हिन्दुस्तान

के संघर्ष के समय जो बाहर से कच्चा माल आना बन्द हुआ या कारखाने के कल पुरजे जो बाहर से आते थे, उनका आना बन्द हुआ, उनके आने में देर हुई तो हमारे कारखाने बन्द हो गए। तो अगर हम अपने देश में अनुसंधान करके अपने देश के अनुकूल मशीनरी कायम करें, ऐसी टेकनालाजी कायम करें जो हमारे देश के श्रम का उपयोगी अच्छी तरह से कर सके तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे देश में उद्योग धंधों का अच्छा विकास होगा। हमें नकल करने के लिए कि जल्दी से जल्दी अच्छी से अच्छी मशीनरी मंगायें ताकि हमारा प्रोडक्शन का काम आगे हो जाये, कोशिश नहीं करनी चाहिए। हमारे देश की जो मशीनरी है वह हमारे देश की हालत के अनुकूल होनी चाहिए। मशीनरी का या टेकनालाजी का इस्तेमाल हम न करें यह मेरा कहना नहीं है। लेकिन हम उसे हद तक उसका इस्तेमाल करें जिससे कि अपने यहां के श्रम का अच्छा से अच्छा उपयोग कर सकें। यही हमारे लिए उचित होगा। अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने घंटी बजा दी।

मैं एक बात यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो सबसे बड़ा सवाल है वह बढ़ते हुए मूल्य का है। मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि सरकार ने इस दिशा में बहुत प्रयत्न किया है। लेकिन अभी बहुत प्रयत्न करने की जरूरत है। जिस प्रकार से मुद्रा-स्फीति हो रही है और चीजों के दाम बढ़ते जा रहे हैं उसमें कमी नहीं करेंगे तो देश में एक विषम परिस्थिति पैदा होगी जिसका बुकाबिला करना हमारे लिए मुश्किल होगा।

एक दूसरा विषय जो इस विधेयक से तो सम्बन्ध नहीं रखता है, लेकिन चूंकि इस विधेयक पर या मौजूदा जो सवाल है उस पर कुछ विचार करने का मौका मिला है तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह अमेरिका से या बाहर से जो सहायता लेने का प्रयत्न हम करते हैं यह गैरमुनासिब नहीं है लेकिन इस बात का ख्याल हमको रखना चाहिए कि जैसा कि हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के संघर्ष से स्पष्ट हो गया कि

बाहर की सहायता पर अगर हम सुरक्षा के लिए या अपने देश के विकास के लिए निर्भर रहेंगे तो किसी किसी समय में खतरा भ्रा सकता है। चीन का खतरा बना हुआ है। पाकिस्तान का खतरा बना हुआ है। किस समय लड़ाई छिड़ जाये, इसका कोई ठिकाना नहीं। ऐसी हालत में अगर हम अपने उद्योग धन्धे को दूसरे की सहायता पर निर्भर करेंगे या अपनी नीति का निर्धारण दूसरे देश की बात को सामने रख कर करेंगे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमको अपने देश के औद्योगिक विकास में भी और हमारी जो प्रतिष्ठा है उसमें भी हमको पीछे हटना पड़ेगा। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि अधिक से अधिक प्रयत्न किया जाये कि दूसरे देश के कच्चे माल, दूसरे देश की मशीनरी, दूसरे देश की टेकनालाजी पर निर्भर न रहकर हम अपने अन्दर आत्मविश्वास को पैदा करें। हमारे देश में वैज्ञानिक नहीं हैं, टेकनिसियंस नहीं हैं, ऐसी बात नहीं है। लेकिन हमारे मन में क्या हो गया है कि जब तक बाहर से टेकनालाजी में या बाहर के टेकनोलॉजी नो ह्राउ से हम मदद नहीं लेंगे तब तक हमारा विकास नहीं हो सकेगा? मैं समझता हूँ कि राष्ट्र के हित के लिए और राष्ट्र के सम्मान के लिए यह बहुत ही बुरी बात है। जैसा कि अभी माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि जो हमारा अन्दरूनी कर्ज है वह बढ़े तो कोई गलत बात नहीं है, कर्ज लेकर विकास का काम करना बुरा बात नहीं है। लेकिन जैसा कि वित्त मंत्री के माषण से भी और जो दूसरे कागज दिये गए उनसे भी जाहिर होता है, प्राकड़े मेरे पास नहीं हैं लेकिन मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि विदेशी कर्ज का भार इतना बढ़ गया है हमारे ऊपर कि आज मुश्किल हो गया है उस कर्ज का सूद और मूल अदा करना और ऐसी कोशिश हमारी सरकार को करनी पड़ रही है कि जो विदेशी कर्ज लेंगे उसका बहुत हिस्सा पहले जो लिया हुआ कर्ज है उसके सूद में अदा करना पड़ेगा, ऐसी स्थिति अर्थ-व्यवस्था में आ जाये, यह तो बहुत ही दुखजनक बात है।

मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह कि हमारे देश में बराबर यह सबाल उठा करता है पब्लिक सेक्टर और प्राइवेट सेक्टर का। जो आज हमारे देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था है और जैसी कि सरकार की नीति है हमने एक मिश्रित अर्थ-व्यवस्था को स्वीकार किया है। इसमें कोशिश यह होनी चाहिए कि सामाजिक नियन्त्रण में जितने अधिक से अधिक उद्योग धन्धे खोल सकें और जितनी अधिक से अधिक उप्रति हम कर सकें, जितने अधिक से अधिक कारखाने और कारोबार सामाजिक क्षेत्रों में लगा सकें वह हमारे देश के लिए हितकर है। जैसा कि हमने अपने सामने सिद्धांत रक्खा है हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश में समाजवादी व्यवस्था कायम हो उस के लिए यह आवश्यक है। लेकिन अभी जो हमारी वर्तमान व्यवस्था है उस व्यवस्था में हम प्राइवेट सेक्टर को भी उपेक्षा की नजर से नहीं देख सकते हैं। हमारा जो यह सारा कृषि का क्षेत्र है वह सब प्राइवेट क्षेत्र में आता है। हमारे देश में जो बड़े बड़े उद्योग हैं वह प्राइवेट क्षेत्र में आते हैं। प्राइवेट क्षेत्र वाले बराबर इस बात की मांग करते हैं कि हमारी जो टैक्स की प्रणाली है यह जो नीति सरकार की है उस नीति से प्राइवेट क्षेत्र में जो उद्योग धन्धे चलते हैं उन का विकास नहीं होता है। कहा जाता है कि पूंजी भी हमारे देश में इन्वेस्ट होनी चाहिए क्योंकि पूंजी के इन्वेस्ट हुए बिना हमारी उप्रति नहीं हो सकती है। यह एक ऐसा विषय है जिस पर साधारणतः विचार करना कठिन हो जाता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक कमिशन को नियुक्ति की जाये जो इस बात की बिलकुल अच्छे तरीके से जांच करे कि हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था में किस हद तक हम अपने औद्योगिक विकास को पब्लिक सेक्टर में ला सकते हैं और किस हद तक हम प्राइवेट सेक्टर में उस को बाल सकते हैं? यह बात मैं जानता हूँ कि हमारे देश में औद्योगिक नीति है जिस नीति के आधार पर हम चलते हैं लेकिन जो हमारी हालत है जो हमारे देश में अन्न की कमी है, हमारे देश में औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में विकास होना चाहिए

[श्री श्रीनारायण दास]

और जो वृद्धि होनी चाहिए उस में भी कमी आ गयी है। खेती के क्षेत्र में उद्योग धंधों के क्षेत्र में जो कमी आ गयी है उस कमी को जल्द से जल्द हम पूरा नहीं करेंगे तो हमारे देश में जैसा कि मैंने आप को बताया कि वह एक तरफ़ उत्पादन का अभाव है एक तरफ़ खपत की वृद्धि है, उत्पादन का अभाव और खपत की वृद्धि दोनों साथ साथ चलती जा रही हैं। जनसंख्या देश की बढ़ती जा रही है। इस हालत में अगर हम अपने देश में हर क्षेत्र में उत्पादन को बढ़ाने का, चाहे वह प्राइवेट सैक्टर से हो चाहे पब्लिक सैक्टर से हो प्रयत्न नहीं करेंगे तो हमारा जो आर्थिक विकास है, औद्योगिक विकास है वह रुक जायेगा . . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं माननीय सदस्य को भाषण समाप्त करने के लिए कई बार घंटी बजा चुका हूँ लेकिन वह समाप्त न करके बोले ही चले जा रहे हैं।

श्री श्रीनारायण दास : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आप ने मुझे बोलने का यह समय दिया। मैं माननीय मंत्री से अनुरोध करूँगा कि वह इस बात पर विचार करें कि उत्पादन शुल्क या ऐसा शुल्क जो सीधे साधारण जनता पर जिस का असर पड़ता है, ऐसी कुछ चीजों पर उत्पादन शुल्क घटा कर वित्तिक क्षेत्र में जो वैल्यू टैक्स धन कर आदि के कर हैं उन करों में वृद्धि करें और एसा करके जनता को आप राहत दे सकेंगे और जनता इस के लिए उन की अनुगृहीत होगी। इन शब्दों के साथ माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने जो वित्त विधेयक रक्खा है उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ।

Shri Hanumanthaiya : I am grateful to you for giving me a chance to speak. When this discussion began to day, the point made was that the speeches made on the floor of this House are falling flat. The reasons are many. I have been in this House for quite a long time. Lately I see that the Treasury Benches, particularly the Ministers, are not taking the Parliamentary proceedings seri-

ously. I speak so not because I want to criticise the Ministers but I want to see that Parliamentary institutions gain in stature and strength in this country. Everywhere you see that the Opposition parties are staging demonstrations; they are staging demonstrations even on the floor of this House. Many a time all the resources of the Speaker are put to hard test in this House as well as in the other Houses. Some of us, who fought for this democratic way of life for nearly half a century, feel very much pained that, after such a long time, democracy should be attacked, democratic institutions should be attacked, from both the sides. The life of democracy is oscillating between quorum and decorum. Nobody comes to protect the life of these Parliamentary institutions. At no time did any of us, when we were Ministers, felt that it was good enough for some of our representative to listen to the speeches made by the Opposition members or the speeches made by our own Party members. The only result that will flow from this kind of new tradition being built by the Treasury Benches and the Opposition Benches is that democracy will become extinct in India. The people will develop a sort of contempt towards democratic institutions and their representatives. That is happening. Now, it is a matter of joke in the papers and in private conversation whenever Ministers or Members of Parliament or Members of the State Legislatures are mentioned, the people take a pleasure at cutting jokes against them. These things are not taken seriously. I hold the leadership responsible for this state of affairs. Let the leaders continue in office. Most of us are not their rivals, and we want them to thrive and we want them to do good things. But they must see that these democratic institutions get more momentum to meet the new situations and the new crises.

There is a famous book written by Mr. Herbert Morrison who was Deputy Prime Minister in UK for a very

long time, and he has written that the Prime Minister and the Ministers, when they come to the House, must do so with a sort of affection and with pleasure and with elation. But, here I feel that most of the Ministers who come into this House come as though they have committed some mistake and they would be very happy to go away as soon as possible. They come with some kind of hesitation, and I do not feel that that kind of happy atmosphere is there.

Shri K. C. Sharma (Sardhana): It is a case of malnutrition.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: If there is misrule in the country, who is responsible? If there is maladministration in the country, who is responsible? It is not as though the Members of Parliament, whether senior members or junior members, do not know the problems of the country. They know the problems of the country but they go on getting an impression that whatever suggestions they make are not worth making because they are not taken seriously. The party machinery has so grown that the importance of Parliament has deteriorated. This is a very alarming sign that I see. All that I can do, and all that we can do in this House is to make a public confession of it and leave it to the judgment of the people.

I now come to the only one topic that I wish to touch. The other day I read in the papers that the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance was very categorical that the Gold Control Act could not be withdrawn. This order was passed with three ideas or three objectives. I was in Parliament at that time and I was one of those people who gave support with a lot of misgivings. First of all, they wanted to bring down the price of gold. Secondly, they wanted to see that smuggling was stopped. Thirdly, they wanted that the price of gold should come down from the Indian level to the international level. All

these three intents have been frustrated admittedly. The difference in price of gold as between the international price and the official controlled price varies from 50 to 100 per cent.

As regards smuggling, statistics have been given in the report indicating the number of cases that were detected. If the success of prohibition policy and the gold control policy is to be measured by the number of cases detected, then I would submit that they are completely off the track. I have not got the time to show bogus some of these figures are. They do not represent the effectiveness of the policy as such or its effective implementation.

It is everybody's opinion that the Gold Control Act is not sound, is not doing good to our economy and is not doing good to our morale. Laws, when they are passed, must be enforceable. It is not enough that laws are desirable, and it is not enough that any of us thinks that they are desirable. People in a democracy must accept it as good; otherwise, the difference between intention and practice will be so great that there will be demoralisation in the body-politic. That is exactly what is happening in this case. Nobody is taking this Gold Control Order seriously. Everybody is manufacturing gold ornaments or bring them in the old way. Gold is being smuggled. It is available in plenty.

We are supposed to accept Mahatma Gandhi as the Father of the Nation and follow his principles. The first tenet he asked everyone of us to follow was, not to leave any gap between what we say and what we do. If that tenet is applied to the implementation of the Gold Control Order, we are far away from the good tenet preached either by Gandhiji or any one of our other great men. Today the governmental machinery, from top to bottom, has earned more contempt than approbation for its

[Shri Hanumanthaiya]

policy. The other day—I make no secret of this; I had a long discussion with the author of this Gold Control, Shri Morarji Desai, who was formerly our Finance Minister and who is still a Member of this House. He does not speak in this House; he has made it his principle. Two or three weeks ago, I argued at great length with him. I am free to tell this House that he also feels that the way the Gold Control Order is being implemented today serves no purpose, much less any purpose he had in mind. He is completely in favour of abolishing this Gold Control Order as it is being implemented today.

Shri Shashi Ranjan (Pupri): Why should he not speak in the Party at least? That will help.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Yes, what my hon. friend says is correct. He has already made statements of this kind in the press and in several meetings, and I am sure that in a party meeting he will not hesitate to make statements of this kind.

Shri Bade (Kharagone): In the Party, he is afraid of Shri Kamaraj (*Interruptions*).

Shri J. P. Jyotishi (Sagar): On a point of information . . .

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: I was quoting Shri Morarji Desai in order to show that untenability of this Order. I was making the point that even its author is of the opinion that it is time it is scrapped.

Shri J. P. Jyotishi: Does he give any reasons for saying that it has not worked and must be scrapped?

Mr. Speaker: Others may argue when they get an opportunity.

Shri R. Ramanathan Chettiar (Karur): Since he is quoting the author of the Gold Control Order, we suggest that the author should speak

in the Party at least if not in Parliament.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. When the party meets next, they may enquire from him.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: My hon. friend will appreciate that party matters cannot be raised here.

Mr. Speaker: Was the hon. Member authorised by the author of the Gold Control Order that he should disclose his opinion also?

Shri Sezhiyan: He is speaking on his own responsibility.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Before I reply, my hon. friends are replying for me, which I do not accept. Your query is correct. I am in a position to say that I have said this with his previous approval.

Mr. Speaker: All right.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Raiganj): Reply to the question of the Speaker. Has he authorised Shri Hanumanthaiya to say this on his behalf?

Shri Hanumanthaiya: He did not listen; that is why he is asking that question.

Mr. Speaker: He might proceed further.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: I listened to him all right.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: I answered that question unequivocally.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri A. M. Thomas): It is hearsay, not admissible.

Mr. Speaker: He is losing his own time.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: They are interrupting me. You have to grant me more time.

I may also say that it is not merely a case of his opinion or my opinion that ought to matter. If this Gold

Control Order is left to the free vote of the House, I am sure this House will vote in favour of its scrapping.

The Ministries nowadays are working for some reason, which I cannot disclose now, unrelated many a time to public opinion, to opinion existing even within their own party. I am saying all this in order to see that democratic institutions function properly and effectively. Take the U.K. Its Parliament is being called the Mother of Parliaments because of its ancient heritage, traditions and conventions and various other good things they have done. It must be said that in Afro-Asian countries this House is being looked up to as a model in the light of democratic institutions collapsing in so many countries in Asia and Africa. So here we have to build good traditions. It is a good responsibility that we have been called upon to discharge with, as I said, not only quorum but decorum. However much we may blame the Opposition, for quorum the Government is responsible. However much the Opposition may claim its rights and privileges, for decorum they are responsible.

Shri Manoharan (Madras South): Government is responsible.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Opposition is responsible.

Shri Sezhiyan: Government is equally responsible for decorum.

Mr. Speaker: They are responsible for decorum or want of it?

Shri Hanumanthaiya: I am making one more point before closing my speech.

One of the drawbacks of the Treasury Benches is that I do not find new ideas, thinking propensity in their mental make-up, either in the speeches they make here or their pronouncements outside. They are of routine type. Take specially in the financial policy.

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalapuzha): It is your Government.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: It is your Government also, Government of all of us.

Shri Vasudevan Nair: Not at all.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Now, in the international financial world, monetary reform is the topic of the day. Experts in America and in Europe are thinking how to reform the monetary system as applicable to the whole world. In fact, they want to see that there is a common currency for the whole world. France is making a proposal to revert to the gold standard so far as international currency is concerned. The UK and USA are not accepting the idea readily, because, I am told, they have a vested interest. In any case, I am coming to the point that when in international discussions, gold is again coming to the fore, and it is again being considered as the basis of international currency, it is wisdom on our part to gather as much gold as possible in this country. In fact, this gold stock, either in the vaults of the Reserve Bank or with private people will be a national asset. Instead of allowing this artificial rate, the official rate, as opposed to the international rate, I advise the Finance Ministry to work out some ways, some policies whereby we attract as much gold as possible into the Indian market. It may be that we have to revise the rate. After all, the purchasing capacity of any individual, however high it might be, is limited. Therefore, if we devise a policy of attracting gold into this country officially and openly, we will not only be able to get gold reserves as such in this country, but also make it unnecessary for people to resort to smuggling. That is the effective way. These are matters for the Finance Minister and the Cabinet to think. I hope they will be able to think.

Shri Bade: The Minister is busy in conversation. That is the decorum of the House.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta South West): That is why he is complaining that Ministers do not take Members seriously.

Shri Hanumanthalya: Probably they are talking about Bihar matters. They can do so.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance (Shri B. R. Bhagat): Gold control.

Shri Hanumanthalya: The most important aspect of our national economy today is soaring prices. However earnestly we may be making efforts to bring down prices, it has not been possible. We are going the way Indonesia went, where money will be worth almost nothing. The one principle that the Finance Ministry or the Government has to follow, that is the crux of the matter, is that all expenditure in Government must be scrutinised by this test, whether it is going to produce something in the field or in the factory. All expenditure unrelated to production either in the field or the factory for the time being, at least for one or two years, must be completely stopped. Otherwise, inflation will gallop in such a way that all our efforts will end in mere whitewashing the picture. Maybe, with this kind of our attitude and respect towards democratic institutions and the worsening of the economic situation, the set of people who brought independence and this Constitution into existence, some of them may also be the people who preside over the liquidation of democracy.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: The Finance Bill, which is before the House for its approval, embodies the same budget proposals which were submitted by the hon. Finance Minister approximately two months ago.

It is because of certain very serious and very alarming developments which have taken place in the course of those last two months that I wish to dwell upon the general state of the economy and the general direction in which the country seems to be going rather than involve myself in the detailed provisions of this Bill at this stage.

12.55 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

After all, when we claim to be functioning in a planned economy, guided economy, the annual budgets of the Finance Ministry have to be viewed not merely as an isolated set of financial, fiscal proposals, but as an instrument, as a tool which is supposed to help the country and help the economy towards the realisation of certain planned objectives. Certain developments which have taken place during the last two months while we have been debating the grants of the different ministries have caused great alarm in this country, and I think that alarm is not confined to any one particular school of political opinion or any one party. That is quite obvious from the news which is appearing daily in the press and the statements of opinion which are being publicly expressed in different quarters.

The first thing is a point which, in my opinion, stands out in an unprecedented fashion, and which this House, I am sure, has taken note of already. For the first time after 15 years of planning, for the first time after three five years plans have been gone through, we have today reached a point where the shape of our next plan and the content of our next plan is to be okayed first not in this sovereign Parliament of India, but abroad in Washington. This has never happened before. What is the use of discussing detailed fiscal proposals for certain concrete measures of raising some particular tax or lowering some

particular tax or even discussing those marginal concessions which were announced here yesterday. The point which stands out is: what is the relation of these fiscal proposals to the whole gamut of planning, to the whole objective which this country set before itself 15 or 20 years ago.

The thing that disturbs us most of all is the fact that procedure is being given for the first time not to the honourable elected Members of this House in determining the shape of the next plan, but precedence is being given to the Congressmen of the United States, the Members of Senate and House of Representatives there.

An hon. Member: No, no.

Shri K. C. Sharma: That is his opinion.

Shri Bade: The fact is there.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: The Planning Minister who is considered to be the economic pandit of the Treasury Benches has been sent there first. Today's newspaper reports from Washington indicate that Vice-President Humphrey has asked him to explain—he has been asked to explain—the reasons why India should be committed to any sort of planned or guided economy. He has been served with a show cause notice, he has to explain.

The *Economist* of London—I was seeing recent issues—has a headline *Waiting on Washington*, which very aptly describes the present pathetic plight of Mr. Asoka Mehta. He is, in fact, being kept waiting day after day in the ante-room. He reminds me of a nervous candidate waiting to appear for his viva voce examination before the Board of Examiners waiting in the other room, and the whole country is waiting to see whether he will pass this test or he will fail.

An hon. Member: No.

Another hon. Member: What no? He will not pass?

Shri Indrajit Gupta: If he fails, the No.2 economic pundit, the Finance

Minister, is going to be sent, so we are told, in the next round. If he succeeds or if either or both succeed, the prize that we will get will be a pair of crutches made in the United States on which you can hobble like a lame man, instead of standing up on your own feet and being self-reliant. These developments I do not wish to discuss in detail, because they have been discussed in the country every day even by Members of the ruling party too.

The terms we all know. Certain terms are demanded by the World Bank and by the Agency for International Development. However much we may hide behind the constitutional and technical plea that these bodies, AID and the World Bank, are not the agencies of the U.S. Government, everybody knows that they are completely controlled by the United States.

These demands are fairly well known now. They are not kept secret. They are fairly well publicised both abroad and in this country. First of all, liberalisation of all imports is being demanded; decontrol of all essential commodities is being demanded; devaluation of the rupee is being demanded; it is being demanded that whatever aid money is given to us should be put more and more to non-project uses and less and less to capital projects.

13 hrs.

It is demanded that priorities of our plan should be revised. It is also being demanded that what is described as the dogma of industrialisation through the public sector should be given up. These are the demands couched in various forms, in polite terms which are being mooted every day and which Mr. Asoka Mehta is having to face there also while he waits. I am reminded of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari once saying somewhere, I do not know whether I am quoting his exact words but it was something to this effect, that this country has to fight on three fronts, against China, against Pakistan and

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

against the world bank. I do not know whether this type of indiscreet utterance by him had anything whatever to do with the inspiration to remove him from office. Now it is quite clear what type of pressure is being sought to be put upon us in the most blatant manner, more blatantly than ever before. There is the question that henceforth all US aid must be routed through the world bank. All that means is that instead of being given the freedom to enter into bilateral agreements with countries, we would be compelled to resort for aid to the consortium which channels its aid through the world bank. The *New York Times* of the 15th April said that "now the US can turn to the world bank for advice on economic plans of India and presumably such advice coming from an international organisation to which both nations belong will be politically more palatable and more readily accepted than aid coming directly from the US." This is what the *New York Times* says. It is like the US carrying out many of its military adventures under the cover of the UN flag. They think that it makes it more palatable. Now, Sir, we have recently had a concrete example of the sort of pattern of development which is in store for us if the world bank and the US have their way. That is the fertiliser deal which is also being discussed in such details that I do not want to take the time of the House. The terms which have been laid down and which have been accepted in these fertiliser concerns are that they will be set up with majority participation of foreign private capital, American private capital; seventy per cent of the output of these companies, fertiliser output, will be allowed to be sold at the price fixed by these companies; only thirty per cent will be taken up by the state or government; certain areas will have to be demarcated where these companies will have a monopoly of supply. Majority shareholding, of course, has been accepted already and the imported raw material of liquid

ammonia will have to be brought from the Persian gulf. The point is: was there no alternative? There is no point in discussing these terms; they are so humiliating. I am told—if it is contradicted of course I would be quite interested to know—that some time ago, one of the leading dailies, the *Indian Express*, published a report from the ministry of petroleum and chemicals that over a year ago that ministry had put up a paper to the Cabinet asking for an annual allotment of Rs. 25 crores of foreign exchange with which it was confident of putting up four or five public sector fertiliser plants aggregating to a capacity of one million tonnes during the Fourth plan itself. All that we would have required was some know-how perhaps. We have got sufficient quantity of naphtha inside the country. I want to know whether it is a fact, whether such a plan was put up by the ministry itself and why it had been turned down. If so, why is everybody from the lowest to the highest in the ruling party, including the prime minister in her person-to-person broadcast the other day are at great pains to explain that we are having to accept it because there is no alternative? I say there was an alternative; there is an alternative. We can spare sufficient quantity of foreign exchange to build public sector fertiliser projects with our own raw materials, without having to accept these things which cut at the very root of our industrial policy resolution. I may also ask, if it is economic necessity which was what compels us to do sometimes undesirable or unhappy things, the economic necessity which has compelled us to enter into this Indo-US educational foundation agreement? Had it anything to do with economic necessities? Surely not—unless it be that we want to help the United States to find some outlet for spending their accumulated PL 480 funds which have reached quite astronomical figures and they do not know what to do with it. They cannot spend more than a certain

amount under the Cooley Fund rules to help investors in this country and they do not know what to do with the balance. So, we come to their aid. Is that it? Why have we willingly gone out of our way to swallow this scheme for a foundation which has all sorts of sinister implications which have been sufficiently aired and ventilated for the last few days in this country? Why do we go out of the way to provide them with an additional vehicle by which all sorts of dangerous and most undesirable and anti-national ideas can be percolated into our cultural and educational field? I do not understand it. The *New York Times* itself day after day has been publishing in recent weeks the most damning exposures and indictments of the way the central intelligence agency has been functioning in the educational and cultural world. This CIA is quite efficient, not like our CBI of Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda; it functions quite efficiently and they know what they are about. It is no use Mr. Chagla telling us that we will take all possible precautions to see that nothing anti-national happens. Is he cleverer than the CIA? I do not think so. He will not even know what they are doing. That is the whole point of it. They do not know who is a disguised CIA agent and in what set-up. No body has been able to catch them out yet except in one or two cases here and there. Therefore, there is this policy without reference to which it is impossible to consider any Financial Bill in the abstract. What is the finance bill? It has some relation to all these developments. There is another point. Mrs. Gandhi, in a number of recent speeches and statements, and I believe in the meetings of the congress party also so far as they are reported in the press, had been challenging the allegation that anything is being done which goes contrary to the industrial policy resolution. She says: You please show me what is there in the industrial policy resolution which we have gone against? I shall deal very briefly with this question because something

is happening in this country which is the counterpart of these developments abroad to which I had referred so long. The industrial policy resolution says that "it is urgent to reduce disparities in income and wealth which exist today, to prevent private monopolies and the concentration of economic power in different fields in the hands of a small number of individuals". It also says that "the adoption of the socialist pattern as a national objective as well as the need for planned and rapid development require that all industries of basic and strategic importance or in the nature of public utility services should be in the public sector." As far as this second contention goes, I do not know whether government considers in today's context basic fertilisers to come within this definition or not. If in the context of agrarian crisis, food crisis, fertilisers are not to be considered as an industry of basic and strategic importance, I do not know what is. However, with reference to the clear cut declaration in the industrial policy resolution about the need to prevent private monopolies and concentration of economic power in a few hands, what is happening? Many in this House have been demanding over and over again that the report of the monopolies enquiry commission should be discussed. It has not been discussed yet, though we are promised it may be discussed sometime in the future.

May I just refer to one of the findings of the Monopolies Inquiry Commission's report? It has highlighted something. There are 75 big groups in this country. Those groups are listed in the pages of the report, with their names, details and their holdings and other things. These 75 groups are controlling 1,536 companies only. When you remember that the total number of non-government and non-banking companies in India today comes to 25,661, out of that, only 1,536 companies are controlled by these 75 groups. But what are the total assets of these

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groups? These are the figures of the Monopolies Inquiry Commission. The total assets are, Rs. 2,606 crores which is 46.9 per cent of the total assets in the country in the private corporate sector, and the total paid-up capital of these 75 groups is Rs. 646.32 crores, which is 44.1 per cent of the total paid-up capital of all these 25,000 odd companies in India. Without going into it any further, may I know, at this stage, how this thing squares up with the objectives? This has not happened overnight. This position has been attained by these 75 groups over a long period of 15 to 18 years. How does this square with those objectives laid down in black and white in the industrial policy resolution, and incidentally also in the directive principles of State policy which are enshrined in our Constitution? I do not know.

A leading economist has put it somewhere that the general approach and recommendations of the Monopolies Inquiry Commission have proved unequal to the task—it is really an insuperable task—of reconciling the opposing logic of capitalism and socialism. It cannot be done. Nobody has yet been born in this world who has done it. I do not know whether our new pandits on that side can do it.

This report has given five reasons—which I will just briefly tabulate—for this increase in the concentration of economic power in fewer and fewer hands, despite the fact that during this period we have been passing through one Five Year Plan after the other. What are the five reasons they give? These are not their own words; I am paraphrasing. (1) Big business could raise capital easily and obtain licences easily, even though, of course, as we know, many of these licences remain unutilised. (2) Licensing authorities and licensing methods favour the larger groups and prevent smaller men from taking up bigger projects. (3) Assistance from banks and financial institutions give big business an

advantage over smaller interests. (4) Import restrictions and exchange have played their part in creating a protected market. Fifthly, foreign collaborators favour the larger groups. These are the Monopolies Inquiry Commission's five reasons for this process of concentration which has gone on, and the growth of monopoly.

My contention is that this growth is a decisive factor inside this country. It is today operating not only to swallow up the bulk of national income, not only to bring about this polarizations of wealth in the country which is leading to so much suffering of the ordinary people, but this is a decisive factor which acts as a lever for bringing in private foreign capital, because the Commission has said that foreign collaborators only want to hobnob with people like these; they do not want to hobnob, Sir, with people like you and me. They want to hobnob with people who own something. Incidentally, I think Shri Bhagat knows very well—there is no time to refer to all that—that if a study is also made of the agricultural sector, the rural sector, the same process of concentration will be found there too. Both in the question of landholding as well as in the question even of co-operative credit, you will find that a large number of smaller holders do not get their due share of the credit which is supplied through co-operatives or other means, whereas a small, handful of people with holdings, with a total asset of at least Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 are taking away the bulk of of this credit.

An hon. Member: Shri Kamaraaj also says it.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: He can join my party if he likes. I do not mind. This is one aspect. The other aspect is, we are sick of being told by Shri Subramaniam particularly that we have no alternative also; just as we have no alternative in the other matter, so we have no alternative in

the matter of going abroad for assistance in respect of food imports. He is referring, of course, constantly to the exceptional drought conditions of this year, as though this is the only year when we are relying on PL 480. That is not so. The only point I wish to make is,—and I want a definite reply to this—all your government figures themselves show that the crux of the matter is not the alleged shortage in output of foodgrains for which the statistics are most unreliable; the fact is that the actual marketable surplus, the market arrivals of foodgrains, are showing a constant decline in trend. What is the reason for it? Your report—the Ministry's own report,—says at page 8 that the market arrivals of rice in selected reporting markets recorded a decline during 1964-65—and that is the season in which Shri Subramaniam was telling us there was a bumper crop of rice—and the market arrivals recorded a decline in Bihar, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Gujarat and Maharashtra, despite an increase in production in most of these States. I have found other figures elsewhere, and I have worked them out. The market arrivals were 9.7 per cent lower in 1964-65 than they had been in 1963-64. In the current marketing season—now it is ascribed to drought—this trend has got further aggravated. As far as wheat is concerned, this report says that the market arrivals have been substantially lower than last year in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan, despite a higher production of wheat in these States. It is calculated elsewhere that these market arrivals have been about 25 per cent lower than in 1963-64. I submit that this is clear evidence, however much the Government might try to conceal it, that what is happening actually is that there has been a growth in hoarding of foodgrains. Foodgrains are being held back; the marketable surplus is not coming to the market, and we are juggling with figures to prove that there is an absolute food deficit in the country, al-

though their own figures show that whereas food production has been increasing at an average of three to four per cent, the population has been increasing by about 2 to 2.5 per cent. Then, what is the explanation for it?

The fact of the matter is that due to the increasing grip on the wholesale market of big traders, big speculators, who are also aided very often by bank capital, the market arrivals are going down steadily and the so-called deficit is an artificial, man-made deficit. It has nothing to do only with the drought of this year. It is something which has been going on year after year.

Shri Dandekar referred to a dilemma; that they are faced with a dilemma. What is the dilemma? The dilemma is precisely this: that either you take measures against these hoarders to bring out all the marketable surplus and put it on the market and distribute it, or, you go to PL 480. There is no other way. The Government does not want to take steps for a variety of political and other reasons against these big vested interests and the hoarders and cornerers of grain, for obvious political reasons; and sometimes, of course, they say that it would not be democracy, and that only a government which is not democratic, which is totalitarian, can think of doing something like that. So, because of that, the people have to starve, and because of that, we have to rely on PL 480. This fictitious gap is to be filled in.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Members's time is up.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Is my Group's time over, Sir?—Don't worry; we will adjust our time.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is one more speaker.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: We will adjust our time. So, the Government have chosen this latter alternative with all the disastrous consequences

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which are flowing from it. And the saddest part of it is this: hoarding has reached a new level, high level precisely in a period when you have an emergency in this country. The emergency is still on; why should people starve and tolerate this? I say this because I find the Prime Minister, in her person-to-person broadcast, very condescendingly, if I may say so, and with an air of great superiority, has said:

"I am certainly not proud of the fact that we have had some unseemly agitations and violent outbursts."

She says that these are social and group tensions which are the result of development and changes. Well, of course, there will be violent outbursts and unseemly agitations, that shocked her, if this kind of thing is allowed to go on. Why should the people tolerate it? For what reasons should the people tolerate it?

Sir, one or two points more and I have done. Have you considered the measures that are being taken and the overall impact that will accrue as far as industrial peace in this country is concerned which is very necessary for industrial development and production? Let me mention a few things. Rupee finance is to be guaranteed by the financial institutions including the LIC, I presume, to those junior Indian collaborators who cannot raise rupee finance to enable them to enter into minority participation with these foreign collaborators who are going to have majority shareholdings. They have been guaranteed in Washington, do not worry, we the Government through our financial institutions will find the money to finance your junior Indian partners. This new thing has now come on the scene. It was not there before. At the same time, these employees of the LIC are being told that already in their office in Bombay the electronic computer which has been installed, Model IBM 1410, is

calculated ultimately to do the work of 14,000 employees. I have got the details worked out. The Minister said that he does not know. When a question was asked here in this House, he said: "I do not know, while he went about giving the guarantee that nobody would be retrenched.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: Later on I got a study made and I said that it was not true.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I will show you the result of the study. Also, this automation is going to be practised, following the LIC, in so many other places.

Then, Sir, there is the question of inflation which was referred to by so many speakers. Now, if we go in for more sweeping measures of de-control and liberalisation of imports, injection of more PL 480 accumulated funds into the economy, whether it be via the Foundation or any other way, is it not going to increase the inflationary pressures? Just at that time the hon. Finance Minister has told 26 lakhs of Central Government employees that in spite of all future inflation and rise in prices they should remember that they have had their last dose of dearness allowance and they are not going to be given any more dearness allowance. This he tells to the Government employees in many of whose cases even the Control Pay Commission's recommendation itself regarding pay scales has not been implemented to this day.

Thirdly, very cleverly, in this Budget, in this Finance Bill, the tax on bonus shares has been withdrawn. Every day you cannot open the finance-page of the newspapers without reading columns after columns of issue of bonus shares, the companies falling over each other to issue bonus shares, because there is no tax on them now. The impact of this is going to be on another piece of legislation,

the Payment of Bonus Act, where a formula is laid down how the distributable surplus to employees is to be calculated. The effect of abolition of this tax is going to be that the allocation of surplus for bonus to employees is going to be drastically cut down. What has been given with one hand has been taken away by the Finance Minister.

Then there are these concessions in fertilisers which I have already mentioned. I want to know, what is there to prevent these majority participants, these foreign, American majority shareholders, after they have demanded an area where they must have monopoly in supply, where they must fix the prices, where they must bring their own raw materials, ultimately saying that in these areas of their operation the existing labour laws of this Government will not do, they must be tightened up? Why not? This is like an octopus. It breeds like an octopus with a hundred arms once you allow it to come in. Once you allow it to enter into the field of food, industry, education, culture and so on, tomorrow they will demand that Acts like the Taft-Hartley Act and McCarran Act of the United States will have to be brought into this country too to discipline labour, to prevent strikes and to ban strikes, and this Government will have to act as an obedient policeman of those people whom they allowed to come in here. There is a charming habit of the Americans, naming unpleasant Acts after the names of individuals like the Taft-Hartley Act and McCarran Act. Tomorrow we may be faced with Nanda Act or a Bhagat Act or a Jagjivan Ram Act or something like that. I do not know. We seem to be developing along that pattern. What I mean to say is, you are deliberately throwing the working class to the wolves and you are risking widespread labour unrest in the country. All this is being done in the name of socialism, that is, the beauty of it.

Finally, I would just say one or two things. The Prime Minister in

her broadcast, to which I have already referred, said that there are two thoughts underlying this annual plan. We have no more Five Year Plans, those days have gone. Now we have one year plans. She said that two thoughts are behind this one year plan. She said: "The first is to lay the groundwork for a break through in agriculture". How? Through this fertiliser deal. The second thought she said: "a judicious easing of imports and the removal of unnecessary controls". Both these are the demands of the World Bank. So, Sir, this is what she has said. She has said, do not worry, the commanding heights will always be with us. That means the public sector, I presume. Does the public sector hold commanding heights today? In trade, in the export and import trade, does it hold commanding heights? In banking does it hold commanding heights? In oil does it hold commanding heights? Where are those commanding heights? Let us get up to them first and then we will see whether we can hold on to them or not.

We are in a mixed economy. That is what the whole objective of our industrial policy etc., has been stated to be. But what about this mixture? That is the whole trouble. The patient is now dying with the mixture that is being given to him of mixed economy. What are the ingredients of it? What is the prescription? Please tell us. There is the private sector, the public sector, the foreign private sector and the domestic private sector and the public sector. All these ingredients are there. How are the ratios being changed? That is what we want to know. That will determine whether this patient will live or not.

An hon. Member: He will die.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Nationalisation is not a dogma, it is not a shibboleth. I agree. But nationalisation was also visualised in the growth of the public sector. So far as I can recall, the last major step of nationali-

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sation taken in this country was in respect of the life insurance companies in 1955. Since then 11 years have passed and except for one or two individual concerns here and there, I think nationalisation has practically been given up. It has acquired a new definition. Whenever there is a sick unit which has been reduced to a state of practically collapsing due to embezzlement or mis-management or something by the private owner, like a number of textile units, we should step in, take it over, tell the workers that they must accept lower wages and lower dearness allowance, we will run the mill, nurse it back to health and then hand it back to the original owner. This is the new definition of nationalisation. So, what is the prescribed mixture, that is what I would like to know.

Finally, I will just say that in even this present Finance Bill the basic direction is simply to strengthen all these trends which are leading us farther and farther away from the declared objectives to which this House and the Government are committed. The concessions which are made here and which have been referred to by hon. friends over there also, the concessions in relations to the Gift Tax or the Expenditure Tax, the abolition of tax on bonus shares, the ratio which has been increased and the margin on the dividend tax, all these are concessions given to allow those 75 groups which have been referred to in the Monopolies Enquiry Report to consolidate themselves more and to develop themselves at the expense of others, whatever Shri Dandekar and his friends might say here. Yesterday, I believe, he gave some qualified support to the proposals—he has to do it, that is his job here. The Planning Commission itself has stated in a recent report that Indian economy remains predominantly a private sector economy; the entire agriculture, practically all trading activities and major part of industrial production remain in the

hands of private enterprise. They were allaying the fears of people like Shri Dandekar reminding him that you are still ruling the roost, do not worry. This is the position and this is the direction in which the Finance Minister's proposals are taking us.

Then there is the question of black money. This is a battle for resources. After all, the whole thing is a life and death battle for resources. The people will not accept the proposals unless they are sure there is no other alternative. What about the crores of black money? We have not been told anything about it. Have you made any recent assessment? Are there any proposals as to how you are going to get hold of them except by the voluntary disclosure? What about Haridas Mundhra who is reported to have been holding £1 million abroad, all black money from binami transactions. I want to know from the Government the action they have taken in this matter. They have all the evidence with them, they have all the papers. They have sent two officers to London who have brought back all the evidences. I want to know the steps that are going to be taken by Government. If no steps are being taken, why should people tolerate more and more burdens of excise duties and indirect taxes? Why? What for? To pay for Haridas Mundhra's crimes? They will never do it, come what may, and there will be a struggle against that.

Finally, I wish to say that the whole crisis of resources which the country is faced with today, on which the future depends largely, is man-made and man-perpetuated; it is not caused by supernatural forces like drought and so on. Therefore, all I wish to say in conclusion is that it is no use just making a minor amendment or two to some particular measure. That can be done, that is being done and that will be discussed later on, at a later stage. But today it is necessary to know this. When we are facing the

most serious crisis, I think, of the last sixteen years, they have to tell us what they propose to do. The whole country is alarmed and distressed that the whole process by which we have advanced all these years, despite all the shortcomings, weaknesses, defects and vacillations, is sought to be reversed radically in a different direction. If that is done, the country will go down; this Government will go out. I do not know what will come in its place. Shri Hanumanthaiya seems to have qualms that we may go the way of Indonesia; I do not know. But the people of this country will certainly fight against this development to the last. I am sure, they have the strength also to prevent this Government from carrying out any surrender or concession which is detrimental to our national interest and our national sovereignty.

Shri R. Ramanathan Chettiar: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, our country has been passing through very difficult times during the last year. Pakistan attacked us and we had a very difficult 22 days of hostilities. But, our brave jawans and officers have acquitted themselves in such a way that the whole country bows down to them. I will be failing in my duty if I do not pay my humble meed of tribute to those valiant jawans and officers of the armed forces who had played a noble part during the hostilities.

We have had drought in various parts of the country, shortage of food and other necessities of life. The opposition parties, taking advantage of the scarcities and shortages, have been organising bandhs, not realising their national duties and patriotic feelings of the people of this country. They have been aggravating the situation in such a way that they wanted to see that this Government does not function. But the people of this country are far wiser than some of the members of the political parties who are in the opposition today. They were not going to be cowed down by the pleadings of the opposition parties. In

certain parts of the country it turned out to be violence and a lot of distress resulted from this violence. But the people stood firm and did not allow this violence to take a very severe form, except in West Bengal and some other parts of the country.

The Economic Survey reflects various aspects of our economic life. Agricultural production has gone down. But we must not be disheartened by it. We should pay serious attention to this aspect and take whatever steps we can to improve agricultural production. We must increase the yield per acre by supplying improved seeds and fertilizers. The Finance Minister should not grudge allocating sufficient foreign exchange for the import of fertilizers before the fertilizer factories come into being. Agriculture should be given priority No. 1. How long can we depend on PL 480? We should stand on our own legs. Then alone will the world respect us. India is a vast country. If we have the will, we can do it. The people are patriotic-minded; only the guidance should be there. Proper utilisation of the land will improve agricultural production.

Industrial production has not shown any appreciable results. Added to that, strikes seem to be the order of the day. People working in the labour field should be more patriotic-minded and they should think of the nation and see that strikes are avoided and production is not affected. Then alone can the industrial capacity be fully utilized.

Coming to the sphere of taxation, let me first take indirect taxes. While I should thank the Finance Minister for the concessions he has announced in this hon. House yesterday, let me say a word or two about the cumulative effects of these excise duties on various commodities which are of daily use to the people like sugar, cloth, tobacco and one or two other items. He has declined to reduce the increased levy on sugar. There is not only shortage of sugar but on

[Shri R. Ramanathan Chettiar]

account of the low purchasing capacity of the people living in the rural parts, they are not able to buy sugar at these prices.

Then, there is the question of shortage of kerosene. Recently, I had been touring the villages in my constituency and I found that they are being starved of this commodity for the last two months or so and people are finding it difficult to run their homes. That is the plight of the people. I am glad that earlier in the day the hon. Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals has assured us that supplies have been rushed to such of those scarcity areas in the country where kerosene is in short supply. But assurances alone will not do. The oil companies have developed lately a link business, that is, the oil company is responsible for the distribution of kerosene and the dealers and the oil company have linked themselves. They rush kerosene to such of those areas where they could black-market it and starve other areas to create an artificial scarcity. The oil companies are as much responsible for the shortage of kerosene as the dealers themselves. Without the co-operation of the oil companies the dealers cannot create this artificial scarcity.

Two years ago when the then Finance Minister increased the excise duty on kerosene, he said that it was only on superior type of kerosene that he had increased it; but whether it is superior or inferior, the companies are clever enough to foist upon the people this commodity and say that the increase has been on this commodity, without distinguishing the superior or inferior part of it, with the result that the people have to pay a higher price for kerosene whether it is inferior quality or superior quality. The Finance Minister should take this aspect into consideration. I hope, at least in the next year he will realise the miseries of

the people in respect of kerosene and see that the excise duty is brought down to such a level that people can purchase this which is of vital importance for their daily use.

In respect of direct taxation, while the Finance Minister has announced one or two concessions in regard to the increase of the level for Hindu Undivided families, individuals and has also reduced the tax by 5 per cent in respect of closely held companies, I would still like to make this observation that today the taxation on personal incomes is at such a high level that it is impossible for the assessee to have any savings at all. Today our country has the highest forms of taxation. No doubt, the Finance Minister has given some concessions in respect of the corporate sector, which he thinks will stimulate investment, it remains to be seen. All the same, I would urge upon him to rationalise the tax structure both in respect of the corporate sector and personal incomes in such a way as to stimulate not only investment possibilities but also to enable individuals to save as far as possible; otherwise, it might result in diminished returns for the Income-tax Department which means diminished taxes for the Government.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri R. Ramanathan Chettiar: I have not spoken even for 10 minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has taken 15 minutes.

Shri R. Ramanathan Chettiar: No, only 12 minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He began at 1.30.

Shri R. Ramanathan Chettiar: I began at about 1.32. I hardly speak, only once a year; so, you should be indulgent in regard to me.

There is a lot of talk about banks in this country. All is not well in the State of Denmark. I can say it with authority having been a Director of the Reserve Bank for more than 17 years. I can speak with some responsibility and authority to say that banking in this country is not being conducted on right lines. I am sorry to say that the Banking Regulation Act, 1949, is not enough to control banking in the country. One view is the extreme view of friends on the other side, like Shri Banerjee, Shri Indrajit Gupta and Shri Prabhat Kar, who would like banks to be nationalised. I am not one of those who share that view, but I also feel that the present Reserve Bank of India Act, as it is constituted, is not sufficiently effective in controlling banks in this country. Those who are in charge of banks, taking advantage of the loopholes in the Act, are able to do a lot of harm not only to the shareholders but also to the depositors in those banks.

It was 35 years ago when Government had appointed a Central Banking Inquiry Committee to go into the whole structure of banking in this country. It is about time that the Finance Minister gave thought to this matter and appointed a Central Banking Inquiry Commission to go into the whole structure of banking in this country, both in the co-operative sector as also in the field of scheduled banks not excluding exchange banks. Even co-operative banking institutions should be within the orbit of this inquiry. I would earnestly urge upon the Finance Minister to give thought to this matter and have this banking inquiry commission appointed at the earliest opportunity.

Coming to some problems of my own constituency I would like to urge upon the Finance Minister as also the Planning Commission to take up one or two schemes in Trichinopoly District of Madras State where my constituency lies. Noyyal River Scheme has been pending for a long time and I have already brought this to the

notice of the Minister of Irrigation and Power that this should be included in the Fourth Five Year Plan. This is situated in Karur Taluk of Trichinopoly District in Madras State.

There is also the Kodaganar River Scheme which is in the Kulitalai Taluk of Trichinopoly District of Madras State. Both are in my constituency and both these river schemes are essential for bringing more land under irrigation. So, I would urge upon not only the Minister of Irrigation and Power but also the Planning Commission to see that these two river schemes are included in the Fourth Five Year Plan.

Then, a word about the Sethusamudram Scheme. This has been hanging fire for a long time. Investigations are going on and a special officer has been appointed for this. Government should treat this as a national scheme. They should not think that this only benefits Madras State. This is a national scheme because once the Sethusamudram Scheme is implemented, ships need not go round the island of Ceylon and they will save so much in freight and other port charges which they have to incur in Colombo. So, I would like this to be included in the Fourth Five Year Plan.

I would have liked to say one or two other matters but as the time at my disposal is near to an end, with these few words, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to participate in the debate on the Finance Bill.

श्री सुभत प्रसाद (मुजफ्फरनगर) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पाकिस्तान के हिन्दुस्तान पर आक्रमण करने से दो बालें अनुभव हुई, एक यह कि दूसरे देशों की सहायता से मुल्क अपनी मरहदों को बचा नहीं सकता। यू० एम० ए० ने और इंग्लैंड ने जो मिलिटरी सहायता हम को देने का वचन दिया था, वह बन्द कर दी। वह गिफ्ट की तरह ने नहीं की, उमके लिये पैसा दे कर देने की बात थी। दूसरे यह कि उन्होंने जो ऋण

[श्री सुमत प्रशाद]

देने का वचन दिया था तीसरी पंच वर्षीय योजना के लिये, वह मदद भी उन्होंने बन्द कर दी। आज यह हालत है कि अब हम चौथी पंच वर्षीय योजना नहीं बना सके और उसको बनाने का दारोमदार इस बात पर है कि हमें वर्ल्ड बैंक के जरिये से उतनी मात्रा में जितनी मात्रा में हमें फौरन एक्सचेंज की जरूरत है, अपनी मौजूदा इंस्टाल्ड कैपेसिटी को चलाने के लिये, रा-मैटीरियल के लिये, स्पेअर पार्ट्स खरीदने के लिये और अन्य उद्योगों के लिये, वह सहायता हमें मिलती है या नहीं मिलती।

हमारी प्राइम मिनिस्टर वहां पर गई, यू० एस० ए० गई, इंग्लैंड गई और अखबारों और दूसरे जरियों से ऐसा वातावरण पैदा हुआ कि मालूम होता था कि सहायता हमें मिलनी शुरू हो जायगी। लेकिन मुझे इस बात के लिये सन्देह है कि वह सहायता हमें पर्याप्त मात्रा में मिल सकेगी या नहीं।

तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना खत्म हुई, चौथी में हम प्रवेश कर रहे हैं। आज यह समय आ गया कि जब हम यह सोचें कि हमारी योजनाओं का क्या रुख रहेगा, इस में पालिसी में क्या परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा। गांधी जी कहा करते थे कि अपनी जीनियस के मुताबिक, अपनी परम्पराओं के मुताबिक इस देश में योजना चल सकेगी। आज यदि हम बाहर के देशों की मदद पर ही अपनी योजनाओं का दारोमदार करें, तो किसी वक्त में यह योजना हमारी खत्म हो सकती है। मार्जिनल सहायता ली जा सकती है, लेकिन अगर यह भादत बना लें कि बिना बाहर की सहायता के हमारा काम न चले, तो यह खतरे की बात है। आर्थिक स्वतन्त्रता जरूरी है डेमोक्रेसी को कायम रखने के लिये, वर्ना प्रत्यक्ष रूप से नहीं तो अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से जो

बड़े बड़े देश हैं, वे हमारी पालिसी में परिवर्तन जरूर करा सकते हैं।

दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, वह यह है कि इस सदन में बड़ी चर्चा चली इस बात की कि कारपोरेट सेक्टर पर टैक्सेशन का भार बहुत है। कारपोरेट सेक्टर आर्गो-नाइज्ड है, संगठित है, उनके पास साधन हैं, वे प्रेम को कंट्रोल करते हैं और दूसरे तरीके से भी उनके पास ऐसे साधन हैं कि गवर्नमेंट में उनकी मुन्वाई होती। लेकिन आज देखना यह पड़ेगा कि जो 69 प्रतिशत के करीब लोग गांवों के रहने वाले हैं, उनका क्या बने। अगर उनकी यही हालत रही, जो आज इन तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में रही है तो इस देश में निकट भविष्य में एक बड़ा जबरदस्त इन्कलाब हो जायेगा। आप देखें, एग््रीकल्चर स्लेवरी की बात नहीं, उसकी तो यह हालत है कि उन में ऐसे भी आदमी हैं कार्फा संख्या में, जिनको कि 25 या 27 पैसे रोजाना की आमदनी होती है। उसके साथ ही साथ जो ग्रामीण क्षेत्र से विद्यार्थी कालेजेज में और स्कूलज में विद्या ग्रहण करने आते हैं, उनको ऐसी शिक्षा नहीं मिलती कि जिस से वह अपना जीवन निर्वाह कर सकें। यदि कोई टेकनीकल एजुकेशन हो, साइन्टिफिक एजुकेशन हो तो उस में रोगों को दाखला नहीं मिलता। बड़ी भारी संख्या में लोग इस बात के इच्छुक हैं कि वे अपने पैरों पर खड़े हों। प्योरली जेनरल एजुकेशन के कालेजेज में वे लोग जाते हैं जिनके लिये दूसरे साधन नहीं हैं कि दूसरे किस्म की शिक्षा हासिल करें और जब कालेजेज और स्कूलज से वे निकलते हैं तो देखते हैं कि उनको 100 रुपये की या इस से भी कम की नौकरी पाने के लिये तरह तरह की ठोकें खानी पड़ती हैं। इस से उनको बड़ा भारी फ्रस्टेशन होता है। शिक्षा प्रणाली में आज तक कोई ऐसा सुधार नहीं हुआ कि जो बढ़ती हुई बेकारी को रोक सके।

अभी एस्टीमेट्स कमेटी ने इस प्रश्न पर विचार किया और उन्होंने यह लिखा है, यह सुझाव दिया है कि यदि वहां की बेकारी को दूर किया जाये, ग्रान-एम्पलायमेंट को दूर किया जाये तो एक ही तरीका है उसका, और वह यह कि ग्राम-उद्योगों और स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज को उनके ग्रामों में ही लगाया जाये। अगर वहां पर उनके लिये रोजगार के साधन नहीं होंगे तो वह शहरों की तरफ चलेंगे, जैसा कि आज हो रहा है। आपके सामने स्लम की हालत पर, स्लम के विषय पर इस सदन में ई मतंवा चर्चा हुई, दिल्ली की झुग्गी-झोपड़ी की चर्चा हुई, बेकार आकर रहते हैं, मड़कों पर सोते हैं, अगर उन्हें गांवों में कम नहीं मिलेगा तो वे शहरों की तरफ दौड़ेंगे। न यहां उनकी शिक्षा का उचित बन्दोबस्त हो सकता है, न रहने का बन्दोबस्त हो सकता है, न खाने का बन्दोबस्त हो सकता है। या तो यह कि जो मौजूदा तरीका प्लानिंग का है उस तरीके में वे यहां आयें और यहां एक नई समस्या खड़ी हो, एक नया संघर्ष कैपिटल और लेबर में हो, या दूसरा तरीका है गांधी जी का बतलाया हुआ कि गांवों में सब चीजें लगाई जायें और गांवों में ऐसे साधन किये जायें जिससे वहां समृद्धि हो, खुशहाली हो, वहां एजुकेशन हो, रोजगार हो, ताकि वहीं पर वे अपना जीवन निर्वाह कर सकें। 69 प्रतिशत को इग्नोर कर के इस देश में डेमोक्रेसी कभी कायम नहीं रह सकती।

एक बात जिसकी मैं और चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ—वह है इन्फ्लेशन। आज भी इन सदन में चर्चा हुई कि खेत की उपज सन् 1964-65 में 88 मिलियन टन के करीब हुई लेकिन मार्केट एराइवल कम हुआ। इस बात के अन्दर महाराई में जाने की जरूरत है कि मार्केट एराइवल क्यों कम हुआ। कुछ लोगों का

ख्याल है कि यह होडिंग है बड़े बड़े ट्रेडर्स के पास। मेरा यह कहना है कि ट्रेडर्स के पास चाहे होडिंग हो, लेकिन यदि फार्मर को उसके गल्ले की इकानामिक प्राइस नहीं मिलेगी तो वह अपने गल्ले को बाहर नहीं भेजेगा, यह खुशी की बात है कि उसकी हालत पहले से कुछ सम्भली है, लेकिन जब तक प्राप उचित दाम मुकरर नहीं करेंगे, उसके लिये ऐसे साधन नहीं जुटायेंगे कि उसके खेत की पैदावार बढ़े, तब तक मार्केट एराइवल बढ़ने वाले नहीं हैं।

14 hrs.

जहां तक मिल मजदूरों का तात्लुक है, वे भी संगठित हैं। ट्रेड यूनियन्ज उनकी तरफ देखते हैं और उनके लिये गवर्नमेंट से लड़ते हैं, उनके लिये डियरनेस एलाउन्स, बोनस वगैरह के लिये प्रयत्न होते हैं। गवर्नमेंट सर्वेन्ट्स का भी बड़ा जबरदस्त आर्गनाइज्ड संक्टर है। 25 करोड़ रुपया श्री टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी ने पिछले वर्ष इनको डियरनेस एलाउन्स में और सेलरी के रिवाइज्ड करने में लगाया। यह रुपया कहां से आता है। तीन योजनायें हमने बनाई। इन योजनाओं से साधारण मनुष्य को कितना फायदा पहुंचा। सैकिन्ड लेबर इनक्वायरी कमेटी की रिपोर्ट को अगर आप देखें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि जितनी एग्रिकल्चर लेबर है, जितने पैटी फार्मर हैं, उनकी हालत पहले से भी खराब हो गई है। अगर आप सर्वेन पापुलेशन को लें तो जो ट्रेडर्स हैं या जो इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स हैं उनकी हालत बड़ी है, अच्छी हुई है। लेकिन जो साधारण मजदूर उनकी हालत कम अच्छी हुई है, कम हुई है इंडायरेक्ट टैक्सिस की फिगरज को मैं देख रहा था, एक्साइज इयूटीज की फिगरज को मैं आज देख रहा था। अगर आप इन फिगरज का 1950 की जो फिगरज थीं उन से मुकाबला करें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि छः गुना इन में

[श्री सुमत प्रसाद]

वृद्धि हुई है। इनका भार जो गरीब से गरीब लोग हैं उन पर पड़ा है। जितने उद्योगपति हैं, जितने ट्रेडर्स हैं वे इस इयूटी को कंज्यूमर को पास भ्रान कर देते हैं। यही कारण है कि रहन सहन का रोजमर्रा का खर्चा बढ़ रहा है और भ्रामदनी कम हो रही है। उनके पास कोई ऐसे साधन नहीं रहे हैं जिन से वे भ्रामदनी और ज्यादा कर सकें। सरकारी कर्मचारियों का काफी प्रभाव है। वे अपने वेतन बढ़वा लेते हैं, भत्ते बढ़वा लेते हैं। मिल मजदूरों के भी साधन हैं, वे अपना बोनस बढ़वा लेते हैं, अपनी मजदूरी बढ़वा लेते हैं। मैं ममझता हूँ कि अगर यही परिस्थिति चलती रही तो इसके जो नतीजे हैं, वे भयंकर होंगे।

आज देश में खाली गल्ले की ही कमी नहीं है बल्कि रुपये की भी कमी है। एक वगं ऐसा है कि जिस के पास रुपया बहुत ज्यादा है और उसकी समझ में नहीं आ रहा है कि किम तरह से उसकी इस्तेमाल करे, किम तरह से उसको खर्च करे। वह उस रुपये का दुरुपयोग करता है। मेरे पास समय नहीं है कि इस सवाल में मैं जाऊँ। लेकिन गवर्नमेंट को चाहिये कि इस सवाल के अन्दर वह जाए और देखे कि रुपये की बेशी कैसे हुई है। जो अनएकाउंटिड मनी है, जो ब्लैक का मनी है, जिस पर न इनकम टैक्स लिया जाता है और न ही कोई दूसरा टैक्स लिया जाता है, वह उनके पास कहां से इकट्ठा हो गया है और कितना हो गया है और उसको निकालने के क्या उपाय किये जायें। अगर आप इसकी खोज करेंगे तो आपको पता चलेगा कि गवर्नमेंट को साठ परसेंट भी टैक्स वसूल नहीं हो रहा है, जो वसूल होना चाहिये उसका साठ परसेंट भी वसूल नहीं हो रहा है। न तो प्रापर एसेसमेंट होता है और न ही उसका प्रापर रियालाइजेशन होता है। उन लोगों की वजह से चीजों के दाम बढ़ रहे हैं। जब चीजों के दाम बढ़

रहे हैं तो गरीब जनता के ऊपर ज्यादा इसका बोझ पड़ रहा है। ये सब चीजें एक दूसरे से मिली हुई हैं, इंटेग्रेटेड हैं। भाइसोलेशन में एक प्राबलैम को आप हल नहीं कर सकते हैं। इन सब चीजों का आपको हल निकालना होगा।

इसी सदन में उड़ीसा में भूखमरी की कल चर्चा हुई थी। कहा गया था कि भूख से कुछ बच्चे मरे हैं, कुछ-आदमियों की भूख के कारण मौत हुई है। इसका कारण क्या है? गल्ला तो गवर्नमेंट ने पर्याप्त मात्रा में वहां भेजा है। लेकिन जिम मात्रा में गल्ला भेजा है उस गल्ले को बाजार भाव पर खरीदने की ताकत वहां लोगों के अन्दर नहीं है और इसी कारण से इनकी मौत भूख से हो सकती है।

इस सदन में कंट्रोल और रेग्युलेशन का भी चर्चा होती है। अमरीका ने भी कहा है कि यहां कंट्रोल ढीले करने की जरूरत है। इन में दो रायें नहीं हो सकती हैं कि जब स्केरसिटी कंडीशज होती है और लोगों की मांग पूरी नहीं हो सकती है तो उस वस्तु का मुनासिब वितरण करने के लिए कंट्रोल लागू करना जरूरी होता है। इसके बगैर तब इकोनोमी चल नहीं सकती है। हम ने प्लांड इकोनोमी इसीलिए अख्तियार की है। इसी वास्ते अख्तियार की है कि गरीब से गरीब जो आदमी है उसकी जो आवश्यकतायें हैं, उनको हम पूरा कर सकें। लेकिन अगर देखें कि अगर कंट्रोल का दुरुपयोग होता है, अगर डिस्ट्रीब्यूटिंग मशीनरी ठीक नहीं होती है तो बजाय इसके कि लोगों को राहत पहुंचे, लोगों को तकलीफ में ही इजाफा होता है। मैं एक मिसाल देना चाहता हूँ। साल भर पहले सीमेंट पर कंट्रोल था। तब की बात मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ। उस वक्त इस की बड़ी मुखालिफत हुई थी। तब हाल

यह हो गई थी कि मेरे यहां यू० पी० के शहरों में सीमेंट का बोरा 24 रुपये में बिकता था। लेकिन अब जब से कंट्रोल हटा है तो वही बोरा दस ग्यारह रुपये में बिकता है। इस तरह से देखा गया है कि जिस चीज पर आप कंट्रोल लगाते हैं उस चीज के दाम बढ़ते हैं। व्यापारी वर्ग और जो उद्योगपति वर्ग है वह इस कंट्रोल से नाराज नहीं है। कहने के लिए वह लोगों के साथ हां में हां मिला देता है और कह देता है कि यह बड़ी खराबी की बात है। कंट्रोल से लाभ इसको ही मिलता है यह बात दूसरी है कि इनके मुनाफे में कोई दूसरा भी थोड़ा बहुत साझीदार हो जाता है। कब तक ये स्केरिस्टी कडीशनज यहां रहेंगी? ये उस वक्त तक रहेंगे तब तक इनफ्लेशन रहेगा। इनफ्लेशन और ये दोनों साथ साथ चलने वाली हैं। इस वास्ते इन दोनों में आपको बहुत गहराई से जाना होगा और देखना होगा कि इस इनफ्लेशन पर कैसे हम काबू पा सकते हैं। इनफ्लेशन बढ़ता रहेगा तो वेतन एलाउंसिस वगैरह बढ़ते रहेंगे, टैक्सेशन बढ़ता रहेगा और टैक्सेशन बढ़ता रहेगा तो नानप्रोडक्टिव चैनल में रुखा इस्तेमाल होता रहेगा। इस वास्ते इस सब की तह में आपको जाना होगा।

खुशी की बात है कि एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव रिफार्म्स कमिशन की स्थापना आपने की है। हमें इसकी रिपोर्ट की प्रतीक्षा करनी होगी। मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि बीम पंचवीस परसेंट तक सरकारी कर्मचारियों फालतू निकलेंगे सेंटर में भी और स्टेट्स में भी। आप चौथा प्लान बनाने वाले हैं। उम में आप इन लोगों को खपाने की कोशिश करें। उस में आपको इनकी केयर करनी चाहिए। खामख्याह आपको सरपलस स्टाफ नहीं रखना चाहिए। मैं इसके हक में नहीं हूँ कि सरपलस स्टाफ को आप रिट्रैब कर दें। लेकिन इनका आपको पूल बना देना चाहिए ताकि चौथे प्लान में जरूरत पड़े

तो उस में से इन लोगों को ले कर लगाया जा सके।

आज हमने समझ लिया है कि प्राई० ए० एस० के प्रादमी हर चीज के लिए मीजूर हैं। जिस को एप्रिकलबल की जानकारी नहीं होती है, जिस ने कभी बिजिनेस नहीं चलाया होता है, जिस ने बिजिनेस मीनेजमेंट में तालीम नहीं पाई होती है, जो इंजीनियरिंग से बाकिफ नहीं होता है, उसके सुपुर्द आप करोड़ों रुपये के कारखाने कर देते हैं। नतःजा क्या होता है? आप तीसरे प्लान की प्रचीवमेंट्स को देखें। जहां तक फाइनेंशल टारगेट्स का सवाल है, खर्च का सवाल है, उसको तो हमने एक्सीड कर दिया है लेकिन जहां तक फिजिकल टारगेट्स का सवाल है उन में बहुत कमी रह गई है। पब्लिक सैक्टर किस लिए होता है? वह जनता को राहत पहुंचाने के लिए होता है, इसलिये होता है कि इससे साधन उपलब्ध हों उन लोगों को जो साधनहीन हैं ताकि वे अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो सकें और यहां की इंडस्ट्रीज बढ़े ताकि हम प्राइवेट सैक्टर पर निर्भर न रहे, उसकी मर्सी पर न रहें। लेकिन अगर हमका मीनेजमेंट हमने इम्प्रूव नहीं किया, टैक्नीकल स्किल हमने नहीं बढ़ाई और ऐसे प्रादमी उम जगह न रखे जो कि इसको ठीक तरह से चला सकें तो एक तो पब्लिक सैक्टर घालोचना का विषय बन जाएगा और दूसरे लोगों में फ्रस्ट्रेशन बढ़ेगा। मैं नहीं चाहता हूँ कि पब्लिक सैक्टर को हटाया जाए। लेकिन मैं यह अवश्य चाहता हूँ कि पब्लिक सैक्टर का हम सही मानों में और मुनाफिव ढंग से इन्जाम करें। आज हम किस जगह हैं? कहां तक हमारा इकोनॉमिक डिवेलपमेंट हो पाया है, इसको हम देखें। हम देखें कि हमारी पालिमी कहां गामयाब हुई है और कहां नाकामयाब हुई है और किस जगह हम को अपनी पालिमी में बेंच लाना है। जहां जरूरत हो वहां बेंच हम लायें। बेंच ला कर हम यह देखें

[श्री सुमत प्रसाद]

कि उमका इम्प्लेमेंटेशन ठीक ढंग से हो । अगर ऐसा हुआ तब तो देश चल सकेगा, तब तो यहाँ डेमोक्रेसी भी सफसफुल होगी और हमारा इकोनॉमिक स्ट्रक्चर भी ठीक होगा, नहीं तो जो गांधी जी ने एक स्वप्न देखा था राम राज्य का या जो जवाहरलाल जी कहा करते थे कि हम यहाँ सोशलिस्ट समाज चाहते हैं, वह राम राज्य और सोशलिस्ट समाज का हमारा स्वप्न पूरा नहीं हो सकेगा । तब न बेकारी दूर होगी, न ऐसी झलक देखने को मिलेगी कि कार्य क्षमता बढ़ गई है और न यहाँ से भ्रष्टाचार दूर होगी । मैं समझता हूँ कि लोगों में खुशहाली लाने के लिए प्राइवेट सैक्टर और पब्लिक सैक्टर दोनों को मिल कर काम करना है । प्राइवेट सैक्टर को अपने आपको एक ट्रस्टी समझना चाहिए । इसका कारण यह है कि जितने माधन हैं, वे सब गवर्नमेंट उपलब्ध करती है, गवर्नमेंट से वह फाइनेंस लेता है, गवर्नमेंट से वह वारो करता है, फारेन एक्सचेंज वहाँ से लेता है, लाइसेंस वहाँ से लेता है, उसी की गारंटी से उसको कोल्लेक्टिव मिलते हैं और उसको यह नहीं समझना चाहिए कि यह उनकी प्राइवेट सम्पत्ति है बल्कि यह समझना चाहिए कि जनहित के लिए उसको काम करना है । अगर उसने ऐसा किया तो समाज का भी कल्याण होगा और उनको खुद मुनाफा भी होगा ।

मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का समय दिया ।

Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, my predecessor spoke of the dreams of Gandhiji, of the vision of India that he entertained, of Ramrajya. The fundamental or the quintessence of that dream which has been the cherished goal of Indian civilisation and culture is contained in the value of *abhaya*, free-

dom from fear. It is this value which is, I think, basic to our culture and basic to the future of our democracy and of our nation. I feel that there is cause for concern today on account of the pervasive challenges to the very fundamental tenet and value of *abhaya* in our culture and in our society. The very foundation or framework of the value of *abhaya* is being undermined today by forces which are either alien or which are antithetic to this precept and to this value.

It is in this context that I should like to emphasise that fear and violence have for some time past begun to corrode the conscience of our democracy and the conscience of our society. It has begun to sap the vitality of our democratic foundations. It is this fear and hate that we must overcome, if we have to surmount the crisis of confidence which we face today. Our horizons are today overcast by various kinds of fears, fears which are pervasive, intrinsic and innermost, fears which are often articulated on the floor of the House but countless myriad fears which are inarticulate and voiceless in our Republic; it is these fears which must be eradicated. It is these fears the sources of which we must see and examine very critically if we are to salvage our democratic conception, the vision of India which Gandhiji gave to us.

We are afraid today of the failure of Shri Asoka Mehta's mission to Washington. We are afraid of the uncertainty of the monsoon. We are afraid of the uncertainty of the American assistance just as we are afraid of the failure or the uncertainty of the monsoon. We are afraid today of carrying to logical conclusions the foundations and the precepts of the rule of law which are enshrined in our great Constitution.

In a country which is led by as great a party as the Congress Party

with the great tradition which it has behind it, with the years of struggle for liberal ideals and objectives, it is a matter of great concern, and it should be a matter of great concern that fear, sycophancy and flattery are taking the place of our cherished goals of fearlessness, of establishing freedom from fear.

It is in this context that I should like to place before the House the concern and the alarm and the anguish I have felt at what is happening today in Bastar. It is not my purpose to refer to the factors and the forces which led to the tragedy at Bastar. That was discussed at length in this House. But when the debate was concluded, assurances were promptly forthcoming that the commission of inquiry which had been appointed would naturally go into all these matters and would give its findings. The question that arises is this. From the various facts that have come to me, as a man in public life, and as also the convener of the Bastar Inquiry Aid Committee of Members of Parliament, and facts which cause the deepest concern—and I say this not in a spirit of partisanship; I say it not because I would like to make any political capital out of it—it appears that objective conditions for a full and fair inquiry simply do not obtain in Bastar today.

I have met a number of lawyers from Bastar, from Jagdalpur and from Raipur. I have talked to people who are objective and detached, impartial and independent, and whose only concern is to see that this tragedy is unravelled for our future edification.

I have learnt that there exists today a very large armed SAF patrolling force in the district of Bastar, which goes about in the name of patrolling, which goes about terrorising the people in Bastar, which goes about harassing and committing excesses and inflicting untold miseries on the people of Bastar, which goes about collecting, exacting and extracting all kinds of bribes from the people, which goes about coercing and forcing peo-

ple not to enter the town of Jagdalpur to give any kind of evidence, which tells the people that they must disclaim all connection or knowledge of what happened at the Palace firing.

I should like to know whether the Government of India considers it at all necessary for itself, the federal framework notwithstanding, to keep itself informed of what goes on in Bastar. I would have thought that at least after what happened in Bastar and after the indignant debate that took place on the floor of this House, the Government of India would not relapse into its routine attitude of complacency and of unconcern.

I have come to know that the accused officers against whom the charge directly is that they exceeded their authority and abused it, continue to remain in charge of the affairs in Bastar. They continue to unleash what I am sorry to call a kind of a reign of terror by their very presence. They continue to give dire warnings to the people in that area to foil and to bring to nought the inquiry that has been instituted. And what is more, section 144 continues to be clamped, according to the information available to me, in that whole area, so that there is no freedom of assembly or of association, so that people cannot discuss, so that people must hide and conceal their feelings and their thoughts and what they know about the tragedy in the palace firing. I am told that whoever happens to visit that area is assiduously shadowed by the authorities. My telegrams, which I sent as convener of the Bastar Inquiry Aid Committee, to various lawyers who professionally—I am sure the hon. Finance Minister who is himself a distinguished lawyer would share that—have the social responsibility for the maintenance of the rule of law, without partisanship, without partiality, but with fearlessness, were delivered as late as after a lapse of five or six days. Ordinarily, my enquiries reveal that these telegrams should take no more than a day. I would crave your indulgence to lay these telegrams in original as

[Dr. L. M. Singhvi]

delivered to the recipients on the Table* of this House, to show that a telegram sent on the 21st was delivered as late as the 26th afternoon. And what is more, these telegrams have been delivered, since the firing, without covers. I do not know whether the Posts and Telegraphs Department have adopted the practice of purveying telegrams and distributing them without covers in the whole of the country, but it sounds very suspicious, to say the least.

I should like, in this context, to cite certain instances which have come to my notice, and these instances are complaints by one Thakur Krishna Singh Bhadauria who was beaten because he resisted the molestation of a local woman by these men of the SAF patrolling force.

There is a complaint by one Phula Devi who was being sought to be molested. But what really causes concern in my heart are two statements made by men in public life. The first statement is by one Shri Prem Das, and I would read an extract from the news item appearing in *Dandakaranya Samachar* of Jagdalpur, of Sunday, April 24, 1966. It says:

"होशंगाबाद के संसोपा नेता श्री प्रेमदास महोदया 'समाचार' को, एक प्रेस भेंट में कहा कि बस्तर जिले में दो रोज भ्रमण के पश्चात् उनको यह पता चला कि यहां हजारों की तादाद में लोह टोपधारी मशस्त्र पुलिस मय संगीन बन्दूक के बाजारों तथा गलियों में घूमते फिरते हैं। महल में भी पुलिस का तारों तरफ कड़ा पहसा है। इससे प्रतीत होता है पुलिस अपना अतंक इसलिए जमाये हुए है कि जांच कमीशन के सामने पुलिस के विरुद्ध कोई बोल न सके। मशस्त्र पुलिस ने ऐसा वातावरण जनता तथा आदिवासियों में चला रखा है कि कोई भी व्यक्ति पुलिस तथा सरकार के विरोध में बोलेगा

या गोलीकाण्ड की बात करेगा तो उसे गोली मार देंगे या गिरफ्तार कर लेंगे। गोली कांड से भयभीत जनता तथा आदिवासी भी डर की वजह से मायूस हैं। समूचे बस्तर जिले में पुलिस का अधिपत्य है। जब तक यहां से मशस्त्र पुलिस नहीं हटती तब तक जांच कमीशन को सत्यता का पता लगाना सम्भव नहीं।"

Another statement comes from an MP who visited Jagdalpur, and this statement is a most telling story of shame in the matter of prostituting administration for its abuse. Dr. Khubchand Baghel, Member of Parliament belonging to the Congress Party in the Rajya Sabha has this to say:

"...that in two days he had visited certain villages to apprise himself of the condition prevailing in the district after Palace firing and from what he could observe, he felt distressed that there was no normal functioning of life in villages because of police *joolum*. Dr. Baghel said there were recent instances of police atrocity, for example, at Kukanar, one Thakur Krishnapal Singh was manhandled by three SAF men because while they were teasing and cutting dirty jokes with a young woman, he intervened. At Tokapal, one agriculture extension officer and his clerk were manhandled without any palpable reason. In the course of his visit here, he had received many such complaints and it seemed to him that in the hands of the local authority, there was a mockery of democracy in this district, he said".

Further:

"Dr. Baghel said the police force employed in the villages had been creating lawlessness instead of maintaining law and order situation. In fact, there was no need for retaining the police patrol in

*The Speaker not having subsequently accorded the necessary permission, the documents were not treated as laid on the Table.

the villages, their withdrawal at once only would create confidence of the people, he said".

This is a statement by a Congress Member of Parliament, a person who is esteemed for his record of selfless public service, and here is a fearless articulation of what he saw. This makes very distressing reading, to say the least. I would like, therefore, that either the Prime Minister or the Home Minister visit this place, that objective conditions are created for the inquiry to be held properly, that sec. 144 should be lifted and that this much-hated SAF patrol force which terrorises people is expelled and alternative arrangements made. This is the least we must do because we are concerned about the rule of law.

I have been told that Shri Morarji Desai is supposed to visit Bastar on account of his concern for Adivasis. The Adivasis Sammelan at which he presided was inaugurated by Shrimati Indira Gandhi and she also gave expression to noble sentiments, sentiments which are most welcome. I hope that this matter is not treated as an isolated incident in a far-away inaccessible place, that it is treated with the concern that our nation's conscience must necessarily feel, and the concern and alarm which statements such as that of Dr. Baghel must necessarily create in our hearts.

In this context, before I conclude, I would like to mention that a considerable campaign has been unleashed in the district of Bastar for showing the greatest of the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. I have nothing against him. I do not know him. I knew earlier that he had a reputation for being a strong man for being an iron man. It is a tragedy that iron men take too much upon themselves; it is a tragedy that iron men must take it upon themselves the function of violating and transgressing the rule of law. But whatever be his personal involvement or lack of it, the point is that books like

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"बस्तर की कहानी", like "लोह पुरुष पंडित द्वारका प्रसाद मिश्र की कहानी", books like *The Man of Destiny: Pandit Dwarkaprasad Mishra*, are being distributed at this point of time when this inquiry is going to be held in large numbers by certain sycophants in the whole district of Bastar to mislead public opinion, to frighten public opinion and to create a situation in which the inquiry that has been instituted cannot be carried on in a fair, impartial and full measure.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: To make it abortive.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: Before I conclude on this subject, I would like particularly to cite what Rabindranath Tagore said once, because I think that this concerns the duality which characterises our democratic functioning. We are a democratic nation deeply committed. I think, to democratic values. The Congress Party itself has traditions of adherence to democratic ideals during the independence struggle. But it seems that

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: That Congress Party died long ago.

Shri K. C. Sharma: You have not buried it. It is very much alive.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: Unfortunately, there has crept into our democratic functioning a certain duality which, I hope, is only an element of duality and not an element of a split personality or schizophrenia. I do not want this Government or this country to pay mere lip service to democratic ideals without actually adhering to them, without being prepared to go through the red hot trials and tests for maintaining the rule of law and democracy which any great nation should be prepared to do. This is what our great national poet said, and this, I think, has great relevance. He said:

"I come out alone on my way to my tryst. But who is this that follows me in the silent dark. I move

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aside to avoid his presence but I escape him not. He makes the dust rise from the earth with his swagger; he adds his loud voice to every word that I utter. He is my own little self, my Lord, he knows no shame; but I am ashamed to come to thy door in his company".

These lapses are that aspect of our self, this evil, in the company of which, I think, any democratic Indian would be ashamed to come to the altar of the ideals enshrined in our Constitution.

It is in this perspective that I should like briefly to touch upon the question of the continuance of the emergency. I am afraid that Shri Nanda, when he replied to the debate on the Home Ministry's Demands, did not touch upon the constitutional position and did not say a word in defence of the very specious argument he adduced earlier for continuing the emergency because an emergency could not be proclaimed under the Constitution.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: The Opposition left no time for him. In fact only 20 minutes time was available to him.

श्री लक्ष्म भवानी (बस्तर) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे एक मिनट टाइम दिया जाये, मैं बस्तर जिले का आदिवासी एम० पी० हूँ ।

उपस्थित महोदय : वह बोल रहे हैं, प्राय बैठिए ।

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I want only to reiterate one point. I think the Government of India would have to read its Constitution again. I think they would have to re-educate themselves in respect of what the Constitution contains. As a matter of fact, I was sorry that even my distinguished friend, Shri Asoke Sen spoke, he also

spoke of the possibility, of the need, of making a constitutional amendment. What I wish to submit for the consideration of the Government and for the consideration of my friend such as Mr. Asoke Sen, about whose interest in the matter I have no doubt whatever, is that the Constitution sanctions as of now the proclamation of emergency confined to any part of India. Read article 352. As I said on that day, read article 359, and you get a clear picture that an emergency which can be proclaimed throughout the country can also be proclaimed in a specific part of the country. I have not the time to go into the constitutional provisions like articles 352, 356, 358 and 359, but it is crystal clear for any one who is willing to read them impartially, who is willing to read them with a view to interpret them liberally and harmoniously, that there is absolutely no bar or ban to proclaiming the emergency or to confining the emergency to certain areas of the country only. If an emergency cannot be proclaimed except in the whole of the country, then to proclaim an emergency because it is needed admittedly only in some parts of the country is another sillogistic contradiction in my opinion.

I, however, welcome the assurance that the Home Minister gave that in actual fact the emergency would be confined only to border areas, but I feel that in accepting the advice of the civil servants in this respect, he has done himself a grievous wrong. The graceless way in which the emergency was sought to be revoked has not done any credit to this Government. I can only say that perhaps Mr. Nanda is more sinned against than sinning in this respect because he had accepted somebody else's constitutional advice, and I hope that the ouster of courts and the suspension of fundamental rights which obtains today under the emergency would be removed before too long, and that this state of affairs would not be allowed to continue for a day longer, as the hon. Prime Minister somewhat euphemistically put it.

I hope that the intention underlying the Prime Minister's statement would be implemented in letter as well as spirit.

I would like very briefly to draw the attention of this august House to the dimensions of the threat, nuclear threat, posed by China. We hear now that China is on the threshold of exploding a hydrogen bomb. We know now that China would have the capacity to deliver, within 200 miles of its borders in Tibet, an atomic or a hydrogen bomb device on any of its neighbours. I would like to know as to how the Government wishes to deal with this threat.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: By removing the emergency.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: Silence is not enough. Government thinks that the argument is so sufficient that it is superfluous to make a reasoned reply, but the country is waiting for such a reasoned reply which has not yet come forward. I do not advocate nuclear promiscuity, nor do I think that nuclear brahmacharya is the answer. The answer to this is a hardheaded re-appraisal and rethinking by the nation and an adequate and satisfactory answer by the Government to the people, because they are answerable for the security of the nation to the people as a whole and to Parliament.

Before I conclude, like to touch on two aspects of the financial management of the operations of the Government. I would like very much to say that it is fortunate for the country to have a practical man, a man with experience in the field of law, which I think entitles him to deal with the thorniest and the most complex problems, but what I do not understand is this. How does he claim that there is no more than Rs.25 crores or slightly enhanced element of deficit financing in our budget? If a proper assessment is made, if a correct calculation is made, I think it would reveal that there is an element of not less than Rs.400 crores of deficit financing even

in the budget of 1966-67. After all, he must tell us as to how he calculates the element of deficit financing, whether it is merely on treasury bills that he bases his figures of deficit financing or is it many more items, including P.L.-480 injections into our economy, which are also a part of the pattern of deficit financing and this inflationary pressure. In 1963-64 there was an over-all deficit of Rs. 280 crores. On the basis of my computing, the money supply rose by as much as Rs.440 crores. Prices rose by as much as 9 per cent. I do not see how the hon. Finance Minister can convince this House or even convince himself that with a dose of as much as about Rs.400 crores of deficit financing, the inflationary pressures could really not be runaway.

I would conclude by referring to our foreign exchange crisis which, it must be admitted, has reached the nadir of distress in the words of Mr. S. G. Barve, a Member of the Planning Commission. He says himself in a recent speech he has delivered, that it would be extremely thoughtless for anyone to plan the way we have planned. He says: "What would you think of a housewife who spent away all the family's monthly budget on the purchase of a fridgaire, meat box, kitchen range and other useful aids and gadgets, leaving nothing in hand for the next day's milk for the children and vegetables for the family?" This, of course, is a very severe indictment of the policy of the Government by a man who function as part of the Government. He has said that foreign exchange budgeting is extremely poor, extremely inadequate and extremely unsatisfactory. I would like the hon. Minister to reply also in this respect.

I have certain other points to deal with, but as the time is limited, I would conclude by hoping that the hon. Home Minister or whoever intervenes is able to reply in respect of the points I have raised about the incursions, distressing incursions made in the rule of law in our country, particularly the fact that objective conditions do not exist today in the District

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of Baster for holding a proper and fair and impartial enquiry, and also hoping that the hon. Finance Minister would reflect on the economics of nuclear experimentation and nuclear arms for India as also on the consequences of deficit financing and on foreign exchange budgeting with which this country has been afflicted for a number of years.

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : श्री रघुनाथ सिंह ।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय...

श्री लक्ष्म भवारी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बस्तर जिले में चुन कर यहां आदिवासी मेंबर आया हूं और...

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अभी तो मैंने श्री रघुनाथ सिंह को बुलाया है। आप अभी बैठिये बाद में आप को भी बुला लूंगा।

श्री लक्ष्म भवारी : एक मिनट की बात है कोर्ट लम्बी बात नहीं कहती है...

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं बाद में बुला लूंगा।

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: He rarely speaks. Please give him a minute.

श्री लक्ष्म भवानी : मैं बस्तर जिले में चुन कर आया आदिवासी एम० पी० हूँ। वहां प्रतिन कांड और गडबडियों को सुन कर तीन बार मैं बस्तर गया। पहली बार जब मैं 1 तारीख को गया तो वहां पर 144 धारा 9 अप्रैल, तक चल रही थी जब आदिवासियों ने वहां की गडबडियों और गोलियों के बाबत पता लगाना शुरू किया तो उस 144 धारा को 23 तारीख तक बढ़ा दिया। 23 तारीख के बाद जब अपीलीशन पार्टीज वाले वहां के हालात मालम करने के लिए गये तो फिर 23 तारीख

के बाद भी 144 धारा बढ़ा दी और हालत यह है कि अभी भी वहां 144 दफा चल रही है। अगर यह 144 धारा हटा दी जाये तो मैं उम क्षेत्र से यहां आदिवासी एम० पी० हूँ और मैं वहां पर जा कर जनता में मिल कर बस्तर जिले में पुलिस की गोलियों में मरने वालों की ठीक ठीक तादाद गिन कर यहां पार्लियामेंट को बता सकूंगा।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे अर्थ शास्त्र की नीति है कि योग और श्रेम होना चाहिए।—“योगश्रेम वहाम्यहम्”।

हमने संस्कृत के इन शब्दों को अपने प्रतीक के रूप में स्वीकार कर लिया है। जहां तक इस बजट का सम्बन्ध है, इसमें योग तो दिखाई नहीं देता है। श्रेम का कुछ अंश दिखाई देता है। हमारी आर्थिक नीतियां कुछ रुढ़िवादी हैं। इनमें कुछ परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता है। इनके बारे में फिर से सोचने की आवश्यकता है। केवल कर बढ़ाने से हमारी समस्या का हल नहीं होने वाला है। कर न बढ़ा कर भी हम धन का अर्जन कर सकते हैं। अपने बजट का संतुलन कर सकते हैं।

आज हमारे आयात और निर्यात, इम्पोर्ट और एक्सपोर्ट, में 450 करोड़ रुपये में ले कर 500 करोड़ रुपये का अन्तर है। यह अन्तर आज ही नहीं हुआ है। बल्कि विगत तीन चार सालों में चला आ रहा है। इसका अर्थ यह है कि हम 400-500 करोड़ रुपया फारेम एक्सचेंज में विदेशों को देते हैं। जब तक हम विदेशों को यह 400-500 करोड़ रुपया विदेशी मुद्रा में देते रहेंगे तब तक हमारे बजट का संतुलन नहीं हो सकता है।

हम देखते हैं कि हमारे यहां की ब 450 करोड़ रुपये की केवल मशीनरी

इम्पोर्ट होती है। मैंने जापान के बजट को देखने की कोशिश की और यह मालूम करने का प्रयत्न किया कि आखिरकार जापान ने तरक्की क्यों की। जापान ने तरक्की इस लिये की कि उस ने यह क़ल बनाया कि जब वह नवीन मशीनरी इम्पोर्ट करेगा, तब वह दोबारा उस प्रकार की मशीनरी को इम्पोर्ट नहीं करेगा। हमारे यहां क्या स्थिति है? हम एक ही टाछप की मशीनरी पर मशीनरी इम्पोर्ट करते चले जाते हैं। उस पर कोई बन्धन नहीं है। इस की तुलना में अगर जापान कोई मशीनरी इम्पोर्ट करता है, तो वह अपने यहां के इंजीनियरों और टेकनीशनों के द्वारा उस प्रकार की मशीनरी को बंधाने का प्रयास करता है। हम ने इस दिशा में कोई कदम नहीं उठाया है। जिसके परिणाम स्वरूप हमारे बजट का करीब करीब 450 करोड़ रुपया फ़ारेन एक्सचेंज के रूप में विदेशी कम्पनियों को जाता है। फ़ारेन एक्सचेंज का यह डेनेज हमारे विदेशी व्यापार, आयात निर्यात का 32 प्रतिशत है, जो प्रतिवर्ष हम मशीनों के इम्पोर्ट के लिए देते हैं। निहाजा मेरा कहना है कि अब इस बारे में हमें एक नई नीति का निर्धारण करना चाहिए। जापान की तरह हमें भी यह प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। जो मशीनरी हम एक बार इम्पोर्ट करते हैं, उस प्रकार की मशीनरी को हम दूसरी बार इम्पोर्ट न करें। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया जाता है, तो फिर हमारे इतने बड़े स्टील प्लांट्स, आई० टी० आई०, इंजीनियरिंग कालेज और मशीन टूल फैक्टरियों से क्या लाभ है? मशीनरी के इम्पोर्ट पर जो 400-500 करोड़ रुपया प्रतिवर्ष बाहर जाता है, जो हमारे इम्पोर्ट एक्सपोर्ट व्यापार का 32 प्रतिशत है, अगर हम इस का जाना बन्द कर दें, तो हमारे बजट का संतुलन हो सकता है।

जैसा कि मैंने कहा है, हमारे इम्पोर्ट और एक्सपोर्ट में करीब 400-500 करोड़

रुपये का अन्तर है। यह अन्तर किस चीज का है? ऐसा नियम है कि अगर हम 200 करोड़ रुपये का एक्सपोर्ट इम्पोर्ट करें, तो हम परसेंट फ़ेट का चार्ज हुता है। आप देखें कि जो हम एक्सपोर्ट इम्पोर्ट करते हैं, उस में केवल 11 परसेंट फ़ेट तो भारतीय शिपिंग कम्पनियों को मिलता है और 89 परसेंट विदेशी जहाजी कम्पनियों को हम विदेशी मुद्रा में देते हैं। अर्थात् हमें 180 करोड़ रुपया फ़ेट के रूप में देना पड़ता है, जिस में से केवल 40 करोड़ रुपया तो हम हिन्दुस्तान की शिपिंग कम्पनियों को देते हैं। है और 140 करोड़ हम हर माल विदेशी मुद्रा के रूप में विदेशी शिपिंग कम्पनियों को देते जा रहे हैं। इस प्रकार आप देखेंगे कि इम्पोर्ट एक्सपोर्ट में जो 450-500 करोड़ रुपये का फ़ारेन एक्सचेंज का अन्तर है, उस में से करीब 40 परसेंट धन हम फ़ारेन शिपिंग कम्पनियों को फ़ारेन एक्सचेंज के रूप में प्रतिवर्ष देते हैं।

श्री रघुनी (देहरादून) : जहाज किनने का घाना है ?

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : जहाज तो बहुत है।

मैं इस सम्बन्ध में आप के सामने कुछ आकड़े रखना चाहता हूँ। 1964-65 के दौरान हम ने 4,08,60,064 टन माल का आयात-निर्यात किया था, जिस में से विदेशी जहाजों ने 3,62,16,189 टन माल ढोया और हिन्दुस्तानी जहाजों ने केवल 46,43,775 टन माल ढोया, अर्थात् 88.7 परसेंट माल तो विदेशी शिपिंग कम्पनियों ने ढोया और हिन्दुस्तानी शिपिंग कम्पनियों के हाथ में सिर्फ 11.3 परसेंट माल आया। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मरचेंट शिपिंग एक्ट, 1929 के द्वारा कोस्टल ट्रेड केवल हिन्दुस्तानी शिपिंग कम्पनियों के लिए रिजर्व की गई है। मैं फ़िनांस मिनिस्टर से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि विदेशी शिपिंग कम्पनियां जो टैकर ने कर कोस्ट पर आती हैं, क्या

[श्री रघुनाथ सिंह]

यह हमारे उस एक्ट का वायलेशन नहीं है। जब उस एक्ट के अन्तर्गत कोस्टल ट्रेड को केवल हिन्दुस्तानी शिपिंग कम्पनियों के लिए रिजर्व किया गया है, तो क्या कारण है कि आज विदेशी जहाजी कम्पनियां अपने टैकर ले कर कोस्ट पर आती हैं और हम से फारेन एक्सचेंज में रुपया लेती हैं? मैं कहता हूँ कि यह हमारे एक्ट का दिन-प्रति-दिन वायलेशन हो रहा है। मैं फ्रिनाम मिनिस्टर साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उन के डिपार्टमेंट की निगाह इस तरफ मुड़ी है, क्या उन का ध्यान इस तरफ गया है

इस को आप छोड़िये। आप गवर्नमेंट के अपने कारगो को लीजिए। गवर्नमेंट उम कारगो को तो हिन्दुस्तानी शिपिंग कम्पनियों को दे सकती है। लेकिन वह क्या करती है? 1964-65 में गवर्नमेंट का कारगो 1,49,85,560 टन था, जिस में से उम ने विदेशी शिपिंग कम्पनियों को 1,34,67,136 टन दिया और हिन्दुस्तानी शिपिंग कम्पनियों को केवल 12,69,824 टन दिया। जो गवर्नमेंट का अपना कारगो है, जो प्राइवेट कारगो नहीं है, जो कि यहां की शिपिंग कम्पनियों को ही मिलना चाहिए, उन में से एक करोड़ टन से ऊपर तो विदेशी शिपिंग कम्पनियों को दे दिया गया और हिन्दुस्तानी शिपिंग कम्पनियों के हिस्से में सिर्फ बारह लाख टन, अर्थात् केवल 9 परसेंट, आया।

जहां तक खाद्यान्नों का सम्बन्ध है, अमरीका से 66,87,189 टन अनाज इम्पोर्ट किया गया, जिस में से विदेशी शिपिंग कम्पनियों ने करीब 65 लाख टन डोया और हिन्दुस्तानी शिपिंग कम्पनियों ने केवल एक लाख टन डोया। इस प्रकार आप देखेंगे कि करीब 140 करोड़ रुपया प्रतिवर्ष विदेशी मुद्रा में हम विदेशी शिपिंग कम्पनियों को दे रहे हैं।

श्री विश्वाम प्रसाद (लालगंज)
सरकार से जबाब तलब कीजिए।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : जवाब तलब तो माननीय सदस्य ही करेंगे—हम क्या करेंगे।

1921 से लेकर 1965 तक शिपिंग इंडस्ट्री में कुल 147 करोड़ रुपया इन्वेस्ट किया गया है, जब कि प्रति वर्ष 140 करोड़ रुपया विदेशी शिपिंग कम्पनियों को भारत देता है। समझ में नहीं आता कि यह कैसी अर्थ-नीति है। क्यों न हम और जहाज बनायें और जो 140 करोड़ रुपये प्रति वर्ष विदेशों को जाते हैं, उन को रोकें? विदेशी शिपिंग कम्पनियों को हम जो फ्रंट देते हैं, उस के अलावा 1956 से लेकर 1966 तक, इन दस बरसों में, हम लोगों ने जहाज खरीदने के लिए 62,51,76,442 रुपये खर्च किये हैं, जब कि हम को अपने शिपिंग का टनेज बढ़ाने पर रुपया खर्च करना चाहिए था। मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि इस हालत में हमारी इकानौमी कैसे ठीक रह सकती है। विशाखापटनम में हमारा एक छोटा सा शिपयार्ड है। वह शिपयार्ड क्या बनाता है? दुनिया में प्रति वर्ष करीब तीन करोड़ टन के करीब के जहाज बनते हैं, लेकिन विशाखापटनम में केवल बीस हजार टन के जहाज प्रतिवर्ष बनते हैं। क्या सरकार के दिमाग में कभी यह बात नहीं आई कि हम दस करोड़ रुपया इन्वेस्ट कर के विशाखापटनम में और जहाज बनायें और जो विदेशी, मुद्रा बाहर जाती है, उस को रोकने की कोशिश करें? आज तक इस का कोई प्रयास नहीं किया गया है। अतएव मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारे पास इतने स्टील प्लांट हैं, इतनी सब चीजें हैं, इन सबों के होते हुए भी हम जहाज नहीं बना सकते। हम से जो आयरन-और जापान लेता है, वह जहाज बना कर विश्व के मार्केट में बेचता है। इस वास्ते मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज हम को दूसरे ढंग से सोचना है कि अगर हम विदेशी मुद्रा को नहीं बनायेंगे तो

हमारी आर्थिक व्यवस्था ठीक नहीं हो सकती ।

अब मरम्मत की बात लीजिये । मरम्मत के लिये सन् 1964-65 में एक करोड़ आठ लाख रुपया हम ने विदेशों को दिया । हमारे पास आज तक अपना एक भी ड्राई-डाक नहीं बन सका । अगर हमको शिप रियेयर कराना है तो सिगापुर जायेगा, अर्बन जायेगा, यू० के० जायेगा, टोकियो जायेगा, उसकी मरम्मत का हमारे पास कोई इन्तजाम नहीं है । एक करोड़ आठ लाख रुपया मरम्मत के वास्ते हम ने एक वर्ष में विदेशी शिपिंग कम्पनी को, विदेशी यादों को दिया है । सरकार तीन करोड़ रुपये में एक अपना अच्छा याड बना सकती है, ड्राई-डाक बना सकती है और विदेशों से जहाज आते हैं उन से आप रुपया भी पैदा कर सकते हैं और अपने जहाजों की मरम्मत भी करा सकते हैं । लेकिन आज तक इस तरफ ध्यान नहीं गया । लिहाजा मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ड्राई-डाक का बनाना निहायत आवश्यक है । अगर यह नहीं बनेगा तो हमारी विदेशी मुद्रा का जो बहिर्प्रवाह है वह होता रहेगा ।

मैं कोस्टल शिपिंग के बारे में भी दो बातें कहना चाहता हूँ । कोस्टल शिपिंग आज मर रही है । आपने लास्ट-ईयर फर्नेस प्रायल 32 से बढ़ाकर 70 कर दिया । उस के बाद जब रिप्रेजेंटेशन किया गया तो 40 किया । अर्थात् एक तरफ तो कोस्टल शिपिंग का फ्रेट नहीं बढ़ा, लेकिन फर्नेस प्रायल के दाम बढ़ गये । इस प्रकार से आप देखें कि कोस्टल शिपिंग हमारी मर रही है, उसको जिन्दा रखना है तो आपको यह कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि उसका फ्रेट ठीक हो ।

उपाध्यक्ष श्रीबोध : आपका समय समाप्त हो गया है ।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रेजिडेंट के एड्रेस पर हम नहीं बोले, बजट पर हम नहीं बोले, रेलवे बजट पर नहीं बोले, एक बार तीन महीने में डिमांड पर बोला हूँ, आखिर हमें कुछ समय और मिलना चाहिये ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : शिपिंग इनका खास सब्जेक्ट है ।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : शिपिंग पर भी नहीं बोला, उस में भी टाइम नहीं मिला ।

फर्नेस प्रायल का दाम 32.33 से बढ़ाकर आपने 72.85 कर दिया, बड़ा रिप्रेजेंटेशन करने के बाद आपने 40.75 किया, अर्थात् फ्रेट नहीं बढ़ा, फर्नेस प्रायल का दाम बढ़ गया । दुनिया में कोई ऐसा व्यापारी नहीं है जो अर्बनडकानोमिकली बिजनेस करे, इस वास्ते मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कोस्टल शिपिंग को यदि जीवित रखना है तो उसका फ्रेट स्ट्रक्चर ठीक होना ही चाहिये ।

आखिर में एक बात और पूछना चाहता हूँ सरकार से, कि जो फारेन एग्जिमेन्ट्स होते हैं क्या उन को आप देखते हैं ? कोचीन की रिफाइनरी का एग्जिमेन्ट हुआ, मद्रास की रिफाइनरी का एग्जिमेन्ट हुआ, मेहरवानी कर के एक क्लाइ तौ उम में रख दिया होना कि पांच, दस या बाम परमेन्ट तेल हिन्दुस्तानी टैक्स को लाना होगा । फारेन शिपिंग से लायेंगे, यह क्लाइ तौ रखा गया है । लेकिन यह तेल हिन्दुस्तान में इम्पोर्ट होता है । इसका कुछ भाग हिन्दुस्तानी टैकरो में लाना होगा । क्यों इस क्लाइ को नहीं रखा गया । इस में कौन सी दिक्कत थी ? आपकी मिनिस्ट्री में कोर्पोरिजेशन होना चाहिये, अगर कोर्पोरिजेशन नहीं होगा तो इसी तरह से रुपया आप देने चले जायेंगे ।

[श्री रघुनाथ सिंह]

मैं एक बात मैलिंग वेसल के लिये कहना चाहता हूँ। कलकत्ता से कांडला तक 3,416 मैलिंग वेसल चलते हैं। इन में 30,000 सी-मेन काम करते हैं और ईस्ट-पाकिस्तानी भी उन में हैं। उन में 3,500 टिण्डल भी हैं। आप देखेंगे कि 1963-64 में 16 लाख 94 हजार 927 टन कारगो हमने मैलिंग वेसल में डोया। लेकिन 1964-65 में यह भार 14 लाख 24 हजार टन रह गया। एक वर्ष में दो लाख टन कम हो गया। इसका कारण क्या है? इस के कारण है अरब और परशिया के मैलिंग वेसल। आप बम्बई और कलकत्ता में जाकर देखें, परशिया और अरब के मैलिंग वेसल सब के सब मेकेना-इज्ड हो गये हैं। आपके 3416 मैलिंग वेसल में से सिर्फ 103 मैलिंग वेसल ऐसे हैं, जिनको मेकेनाइज्ड किया गया है। ऐसी स्थिति में आप अरब, परशिया और इराक से कैसे कम्पटीशन कर सकते हैं। आज जितना हमारे यहां खजूर आता है, सब अरब वेसल लेकर आते हैं। हमारे 32 बैसलज इराक में पड़े हुए हैं उन के पास कोई सामान नहीं है, हमारी यह ट्रेड भर रही है। इस लिध मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप मेहरबानी कर के इस बात का प्रयास करें, यह जो मैलिंग वेसल की हमारी पुरानी इण्डस्ट्री कोस्ट की है। यह मरने न पावे। यह कैसे हो? इसको मेकेनाइज्ड कीजिये, इसको इन्जिन दीजिये।

आप पूछेंगे कि इन्जिन कहाँ है। मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आपके जो इन्जिन इम्पोर्ट हों, उन पर आप ड्यूटी मत लीजिये। मैं आपको यू०के० की एक्जाम्पल देता हूँ, बड़ी डबेलपॉपिंग कन्ट्री है, यू०के० शिपिंग पर 20 परसेन्ट सर्वासिडी देता है, लेकिन आप एक पैसा नहीं देते। अमरीका क्या देता है? अमरीका का अगर एक जहाज चलना है, तो एक दिन का अमरीका पांच

हजार में दस हजार रुपया रोज तक सबमिडी देता है। आप एक पैसा नहीं देते। जापान डेढ़ परसेन्ट पर लोन देता है शिपिंग कम्पनियों को। आप टाई परसेन्ट पर लोन देते हैं और फिर भी कहते हैं कि वलंड मार्केट में कम्पटीशन की जाये। इन हालत में हम कैसे कम्पटीशन करेंगे।

श्री सुरेश नाथ टिब्बेबी: आप तीन करांड दे रहे हैं जयन्ती शिपिंग कम्पनी को।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह: कुछ आप भी लीजिये।

इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जापान, में, यू०के० में, स्वीडन में, शिपिंग के सम्बन्ध में, जितना सामान इम्पोर्ट होता है, किमी पर ड्यूटी नहीं लेते, इन्कम टैक्स फ्री। जापान ने तो यहां तक तय कर दिया है कि यदि शिपिंग में हम रुपया इन्वेस्ट करना चाहते हैं तो उतने रुपये पर इन्कम टैक्स नहीं लगेगा। जर्मनी ने इन्कम टैक्स फ्री किया और जितने टैक्सेशन है उन में राहत दी। इस वास्ते मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि शिपिंग आपकी मेकेण्ड लाइन आफ डिफेंस है। वार टाइम में, आपका हर शिप आपके फ्रान्टियर का फोर्ट है। इस को इस तरह से न सोचें कि यह एक इण्डस्ट्री है। बल्कि इस के लिये आपको दूसरे ढंग से मोचना चाहिये।

अन्त में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ—शिप-बिल्डिंग के बारे में नहीं कहूंगा।

एक माननीय सदस्य : ताशकंद एग्ग्रीमेंट के बाद जो पकड़े हुए जहाज हैं, उनको तो छोड़बाइये।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : 105 जहाज पकड़े गये हैं। स्वर्ण सिंह जी की मेहरबानी से जहाज कराची में बन्द पड़े हैं। अब स्वर्ण

मिह जी की मेहरबानी होगी तो स्वर्ण मिलेगा नहीं तो डूब गया ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : मामान भी गया तथा जहाज भी गये ।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि हिन्दुस्तान में इन्जिन नहीं मिलते हैं, तो इन्जिन को इयूटी. फ्री कर दीजिये ताकि वे जो 3000 करोड़ सेलिंग वेसलज हैं, कम से कम इन्जिन खरीद कर लगा लें । आप में पैसा नहीं मांगते, इन्जिन मांगते हैं, पांच, दस हासं पावर का, ताकि हम ईराक, ईरान से कम्प्रीट कर सकें ।

दूसरी बात हम यह चाहते हैं कि अगर आप शिपिंग इण्डस्ट्री का बढ़ाना चाहते हैं तो इसको हायेस्ट प्रायोरिटी दीजिये, जिम तरह से आप और लोगों को इन्कम टैक्स में छूट देने हैं, करीब-करीब वह हमको भी देने की मेहरबानी कीजिये, हमलिय कि शिपिंग आपकी सेक्रेण्ड लाइन आफ डिफेन्स है । इंग्लैण्ड और जापान में इन्कम टैक्स और दूसरे टैक्सों में जिम तरह से एक्जेम्प्ट किया जाता है, उसी लाइन पर इसको भी एक्जेम्प्ट कीजिये । अमरीका की तरह से हज़ारों रुपया रोज़ की सबमिडी हम नहीं मांगते । यू० के० की तरह से 20 परसेन्ट सबमिडी नहीं मांगते, जर्मनी की तरह से टैक्सेशन में छूट नहीं मांगते, लेकिन हम इतना चाहते हैं कि कम से कम सूखी रोटी दीजिये ताकि हम खा सकें और जी सकें ।

15.00 hrs.

Shri A. K. Sen (Calcutta North West): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I was very encouraged when the Finance Minister in opening his Budget acknowledged the golden principle which must underlie all our fiscal policies and measures, namely—I cannot quote his exact words, but I can give the substance of it—that our fiscal measures must be handmaids for the purpose of developing the

country and ending our poverty and degradation. So far as the statement of the principle is concerned, there cannot be any dispute about it. In fact, we have been agreed upon this principle for the last two decades. The dispute has been with regard to the performance. Year after year our policies have been framed, our measures have been devised, but the results have not been according to the forecasts.

Let us see a few figures for the purpose of understanding the rate of development in our country compared with others. I have taken the figures from a United Nations publication and I find, taking several countries in Asia including Japan, during the period 1952—54 to 1961—63, our development has been only more than Indonesia, otherwise we are at the bottom. The only consolation is that we have got Indonesia below us, all the other countries appear to be above us.

An hon. Member: What about Pakistan?

Shri A. K. Sen: Even Pakistan is above us. Now, let us take these countries. Japan, in the agricultural sector had a development of 4.2 per cent every year during this period, in the manufacturing industries 13.2 per cent every year and in the non-agricultural sector 11.4 with a net increase of 10 per cent in the gross national product every year during this period. Taiwan, in the agricultural sector had 4.4 per cent every year, 10.2 in the manufacturing sector and an overall of 7 per cent. Thailand had an overall increase of 6 per cent—I am not giving the agricultural and non-agricultural sector, but in every country the manufacturing sector has progressed more. Burma had an overall increase of 5 per cent, Malaysia nearly 5 per cent, Korea 4.5 per cent, Pakistan 4.4 per cent, Ceylon 3.7 per cent. Australia 3.6 per cent, India 3.3 per cent and Indonesia 2.8 per cent.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: A very great achievement!

Shri A. K. Sen: This is the rate of development which we have achieved during this whole decade starting from 1952—54 ending with 1961—63. And, in fact, so far as the prices are concerned, it seems we have been at the top.

Shri Yallamanda Reddy (Markapur): Congratulations to the Government.

Shri A. K. Sen: If we take the base year as 1958, comparison with a few advanced countries will show that though in those countries the development has been phenomenal during the years 1958 to 1964, so far as the prices are concerned our prices have soared up much higher whereas the prices in those countries have progressed either not at all or at a very slow pace. If we take the figure for the base year as 100, in India the wholesale prices were 95 in 1950 whereas in 1961 it went up to 113, in 1963 to 119 and in 1964 to 134. I take it that in 1965 it has gone up much more because we have had to increase the dearness allowance in every sector. This is the position in our country, whereas in the United States the prices have remained at 100 up to 1964 with no rise and we know the development has been phenomenal there during the last few years. In the United Kingdom the prices have gone up only up to 112, very much less than ours, and in 1965, due to various measures, it has again been brought down. In Japan it has gone from 100 in 1958 to 103 in 1964—almost no rise at all—whereas the development has been phenomenal and production has risen tremendously during this period in Japan. In France the rise has been much less than ours. In West Germany, where again the development has been very great, the rise has been only from 100 to 104, only four points during these years compared to 34 points, from 100 to 134, in our country.

So far as consumers' price index is concerned, the results are the same. We have gone up from 100 to 131 during these years whereas in the other countries the rise has been very much less. Take, for instance, the United States of America. It is only 107, in France 108, in West Germany 114 and so on. That shows that the real income must have gone very much less during these years. Therefore, it is difficult to imagine that in such a state of affairs, where development proceeds at such a slow pace and prices soar up at such a rapid pace, development is possible. It is axiomatic to conclude that development will be completely impeded if not stultified.

This problem, therefore, has to be attended to, and it can only be attended to by framing suitable measures which will induce development and at the same time control prices. The answer could not be by increasing our level of taxation, the incidence of taxation every year, but the answer must be found in increasing the net earnings, the total earnings from our taxation and, at the same time, framing the incidence in such a way that it falls on everybody in such a manner that it produces the least repercussion in our process of development. It is not for me to advise the Finance Ministry nor is it proper to do so because this is a matter which must be solved by continuous and careful study of the processes of development and the factors which create a healthy production structure, of the conditions which lead to capital formation and development and formulating a fiscal policy which will take note of these deficiencies and these vices from which our economy at the present moment seems to suffer and suffer very grievously. Year after year the question has been posed but the answer has not been found. And, if I may say so, during the last two decades it has been a search aimlessly for the desired goal or for the desired

ed remedy, and he will be a very fortunate Finance Minister who will be able to give the country at a stroke the proper remedy which will find a proper solution for these vices from which the economy at the present moment suffers.

I can only throw a few suggestions for the purpose of indicating why it is that capital formation and development have not caught up as the rest of the world. Compare it to a country like Spain which was as badly developed as our country or, in fact, one of the worst developed countries in Europe even up to 1950. Let us see how our level of taxation compares with other countries. I have prepared a chart to show how we are left with very little surplus after our taxation. Let us take the direct taxation first, because it is very difficult to estimate the results of indirect taxation and we can only guess what incidence indirect taxes may have at different levels of income. In India a person having an income between Rs. 70,000 to Rs. 1 lakh—and I take these are the persons who primarily create capital, apart from the combined effect of small investors whose small savings may be mopped up for the purpose of canalising them into developmental projects—before the surcharge was again introduced this year, was charged or levied up to last year a direct tax of 77.4 per cent, compared with 58 per cent in Australia for the same income, 30 per cent in the United States, 27 per cent in West Germany, 45 per cent in Japan and 32.5 per cent in the United Kingdom. So that, from these figures alone it is reasonable to conclude that this group of people will have a large surplus for capital development, in those countries.

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah (Adoni): What about tax evasion?

Shri A. K. Sen: I am coming to that.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): We have to keep our social objectives in view while making this comparison.

Shri A. K. Sen: Now at the same time, this incidence is not able to mop up, as one hon. Member has rightly pointed out, large amounts of evaded income which do not suffer taxation. And the reason is to be found out why it is that there is such a widespread practice of tax evasion and thereby deprivation of large revenues to the State. If all that was not evaded perhaps the incidence on the poor man would have been very much less, because the total revenue would have been very much more. Therefore, these are all interlinked action and if you possibly reduce the personal level of taxation there will be less of tax evasion and if there is less of taxation the burden will be less on the poor man. I am very glad that the hon. Finance Minister has relieved a part of the burden to which the lower income groups were subjected to as a result of the limit of exemption being fixed at a rather low figure. I have got charts prepared even for the middle classes. It will appear from a study of these various income-groups, starting from Rs. 26,000 to Rs. 1,20,000 that in India we leave them with such a small surplus compared with other countries that the total capital formation naturally gets impeded and, at the same time, the large-scale practice of tax evasion has made the burden of the honest tax-payer much more heavy.

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: Tax evasion is confined to rich people.

Shri A. K. Sen: Possibly. It is very difficult to say.

So, what I say is that the problem has to be faced, and the problem cannot be faced or solved by mere change in the structure of taxation or in the level of taxation. It has to be found what measures are to be designed to produce a better commercial morality, a better atmosphere which

[Shri A. K. Sen]

will induce a sense of responsibility in the tax-payer, which rights give to the State what is due to the State and, at the same time, a reasonable system of taxation which allows the honest tax-payer to retain a little surplus for himself for his old age. These are matters which have to be studied, and studied with the help of very great experts, representative of the commercial public and tax-paying public and income-groups of every level. As it is, every year the problems are acknowledged, they are discussed and yet we seem to fail to grasp at the real remedy which will allow us that relief which comes from a solution of a chronic evil, which seems to paralyse our economy. Year after year, this vicious circle is going on—high level of taxation, great burden on the honest tax-payer, evasion of tax by the dishonest tax-payer.

Shri Yallamanda Reddy: It is not correct.

Shri A. K. Sen: My hon. friend will correct the impression when he rises, I have no doubt, but he need not take the trouble to correct me now.

Now, these are matters which I would appeal to the hon. Finance Minister to consider. Fortunately, he is a person who has great experience himself, both as an assessee of a high income, as also as a counsel for many assessees. So, he can take cognizance of the problems which create evasion and also problems which allow these evasions to continue. At the same time, possibly he will know as a practical person what remedies should be devised for the purpose of completely destroying this evil of tax evasion so that it will bring real relief to the honest tax-payer.

Shri Tyagi: How much has the Exchequer suffered on account of this?

Shri A. K. Sen: It is very difficult to say. If the Finance Minister can hazard a guess, I shall be very much obliged.

As I said, if we compare ourselves with Spain, it will be a very illustrative study. In 1950 the condition of Spain was so bad that they had to devalue their Piesta, which is their currency. There was not a single motor car produced in Spain up to 1955. The level of wages was very low. Very few people there had even, what is considered today a necessity in Europe, namely, a television set or a refrigerator. It is well-known that under the Franco regime the agricultural population was very badly treated and the ordinary worker knew hardly anything of the amenities of modern life. In the year 1959, when conditions were so bad in Spain, the entire matter was handed over to a very able Finance Minister, Mr. Alberto Ullagretex.

Shri P. Venkatasubbalah: As we have handed over to the Finance Minister here.

Shri A. K. Sen: Within a few years, Spain had such a striking revival,— revival is not the word; I would say such striking development, because Spain was never advanced either in industry or in agriculture in Europe. Today there are 7 automobile factories producing 1,75,000 automobiles a year in a small country which did not produce even a single automobile in 1955. Hundreds of factories have been set up. The development has been 60 per cent during the last seven years—80 per cent in the gross national product and activity is really buzzing every year, there is boom unprecedented in any country anywhere in the world, as we notice in Spain today, and yet it was considered to be a semi-medieval government under an unimaginative dictatorship, which certainly knew nothing of Socialism. One man's imagination has brought about such a change, and today it has a huge surplus in its export earnings. Though it had to devalue its currency only 7 or 8 years ago, today its foreign exchange resources have soared up to unprecedented quantities.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): Because they believe in bull fighting; you believe in bulls only. They had matadors.

Shri A. K. Sen: You can have bull fighting here also. If that is the secret, we should not mind adopting bull fighting, if that gives us prosperity.

But I have no doubt that the solution is not so easy. I am not one who is so much enamoured of the regime in Spain. In fact, it is a hated regime where individual liberty and freedom have been crushed ever since the Spanish Revolution of 1936. I am not at all enamoured of what has happened in Spain, so far as the political rights and liberties of the people are concerned. But what I say is that it must be said in fairness that in 5 or 6 years the prosperity which they have achieved on account of one man, because the credit does not go to Franco or his regime at all...

An hon. Member: Who was that?

Shri A. K. Sen: Mr. Alberto Ullagretex, the Finance Minister. I do not know him, but from reports I find that his policies have achieved success in the sense that export earnings have gone up, industry has started booming up, agriculture has improved, wages have gone up and everything seems to be prosperous except... (Interruption).

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Why not borrow him instead of loans?

Shri A. K. Sen: I think, the appeal should be to someone else; it is not for me to borrow.

This is the way in which we should start thinking on this matter because unless we succeed in putting a stop to the spiralling of prices, wholesale and consumer prices going up, the rate of development proceeding at a snail's pace, unless we can really find a perfect and complete remedy for this

very chronic evil which has been hunting us for the last two years, I have no doubt that changes here and changes there, a few changes made either for one income group or for another group, either increasing it in one place or decreasing it in another, would not be able to bring about any permanent remedy for this most chronic disease from which we have been suffering.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Chatterjee.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I think, I should have got a chance now.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have called Shri Chatterjee.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: How do you decide this? When we want precedence, you tell us that our turn comes after this and that. But whenever you desire, you do as you like.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He represents a bigger party.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I concede. Let him speak, but this is not the way.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I told him that I was not well.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: That is all right. He should have told that to us.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Sir, when Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri, my colleague and friend at the Bar and in the profession of law, was appointed the Finance Minister, I was possibly the first to congratulate him and I expected that he would not be troubled by the old doctrine of rigidity which was the evil associated with the regime of Morarjibhai Desai. One day Shri Desai was asking me, "What is wrong with me that you people are after me?" I told him, "Frankly, it is not only the Gold Control Order but something worse." "What is it?"

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

he asked and I said, "Your obduracy, your rigidity". Then he told me, "Frankly speaking, I am always open to conviction; you convince me that the Gold Control thing is wrong and I will revise it." "How will you revise it?" I asked and he said, "I will make it stricter". That is Morarji Desai.

I was expecting that when Shri Chaudhuri became the Finance Minister, he would be the first man to respond to the national demand and remove this hated thing which is not wanted in any part of India. Shri Hanumanthaiya, a senior Congress Member, voiced the opinion of large sections of our people and I wholeheartedly support it. All the three professed objective have failed. First of all, the objective was that the price would go down to the international level. You know, Sir, that it has not gone down. The disparity between the international level and the present price is simply staggering and the gap is widening every day. Therefore that has failed.

Secondly, they thought that there would be no smuggling, that smuggling would be stopped completely by this wonderful Gold Control Order. You know, Sir, smuggling has not stopped. It is on the increase and everybody knows in this country that it is a complete failure from that point.

The third thing was that the old habit of the people would change and there would be no craving for gold storage and so on. That also has completely failed. I know, in the city of Calcutta and, I am reliably told, also in other cities in this country, throughout India the old thing is going on. There has been deliberate, persistent, continued violation of the Gold Control Order. It is going on with immunity. Only the rates for appeasing the anti-corruption people

have gone up. But the poor people have got to pay. Really, the jewellers are going on merrily with the old thing.

I am, therefore, appealing and supporting Shri Hanumanthaiya's demand and strongly urging the Finance Minister to remove this thing which is a blot. Hundreds of thousands of families are starving because of this—honest people who were making with difficulty two ends meet. They are still in great distress in these days of soaring prices when you have not been able to control prices and it is difficult with regard to food and other things. You should remove this and that would be a good response.

I am also supporting my hon. friend, Dr. Singhvi's demand with regard to this Bastar business. Bastar is not merely a question of law and order; it is something more serious. That is why the whole country is perturbed and why all sections in Parliament are distressed over it. The question is: Does law and order mean physical liquidation of inconvenient opposition people who are pitted against the Government? That is the main problem.

I ought to tell you, Sir, that this morning I had the privilege of meeting the President of the Bar Association of Jagdalpur and some of the most prominent leaders of that Bar. You will be amazed to know—I am quite sure that they were not telling me something which is untrue. They told me that there is absolutely no separation between the executive and the judiciary. That means, the magistracy is completely under the thumb of the executive. The so-called judicial magistrate cannot function as we expect the judiciary to function in other parts of India. Not only that, 300 people were rounded up and kept in jail. Over 50 of them have been brought out and have been told, "You will be granted bail, provided you

sign this kind of declaration confessing your guilt, that you had taken bows and arrows and you were bound by the Maharaja to do certain things." They were made to make certain statements. I want to know if that is true or not. If that is true . . .

Shri Tyagi: This cannot be possible.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Actually, 50 people have been brought out. They were granted bail while others have not been granted bail simply because they refused to sign this.

Shri Tyagi: This cannot be.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: You do not know. It ought not to be possible but it has been made possible. The President of the Bar Association has told me that the poor Adivasis had been brought out on this kind of an assurance.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: If killing inside the palace is possible, this also is possible.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: The President of the Bar Association and other leaders said that those who had the courage to say that they would not sign that kind of statements were not granted bail and were not brought out.

What is the good of appointing a High Court Judge and asking him to make an independent inquiry or investigation if these people are treated in this manner? Further, section 144 goes on and the atmosphere of terrorism persists. I am very happy that Acharya Kripalani, a very respected Member, is taking a very keen interest in organising defence. I hope, he will succeed and these poor people will get legal assistance to represent their case properly. But these impediments should be removed; otherwise, democracy will be a farce and legal processes will be thrown away completely.

Then, I am making an appeal to the Finance Minister on one point. I will take a few minutes of the Parliament's time on this. I want to tell you that organised labour throughout India today is very deeply distressed over this computer business. You know, Sir, this automation has been a great menace. I had the privilege to lead a deputation of some Members of Parliament to Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, who was the Finance Minister then. The LIC people are in great distress because one computer has come and it is being installed in Bombay and when another computer comes and is installed in Calcutta, God knows what will happen. Generally, one machine does the work of 14,000 people; therefore, to instal two will mean that at least 20,000 people or more will be rendered surplus. In these days of difficult economic situation if 20,000 men are rendered surplus, dismissed or retrenched, what will happen?

I told Shri Krishnamachari to give us some assurance. We do not know exactly what is the position. In Parliament a question was asked, I think, by Shri Banerjee whether it is correct that one automatic machine or computer will do the work of 14,000 people, the Deputy Minister or the Minister of State said, "I cannot say anything." But we have got figures from other countries. As a matter of fact, as you know, millions of people were rendered jobless in America because a large number of computers were being made available in American industry. The position was so bad that although with the expanding industry in America they could be absorbed—they had the capacity and the will to absorb and they did their best to absorb—that President Kennedy had to appoint a commission to look into the matter because this is a serious menace. This is a serious matter. One computer machine has been installed. When the decision was taken, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari told

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

me—I shall be fair to him—“Mr. Chatterjee, tell them I am not like the rider who hates the horse which threw him over-board.” The L.I.C., you know, in the Mundhra case, threw him over-board from the Finance Ministry. He said, “I do not have any grudge against them.”

Look at the figures. I have got the figures and I would take a few minutes of Parliament's time on this. It was decided in 1963 to have a computer. One computer means payment of Rs. 5 lakhs as rent per month. For one computer they are paying Rs. 60 lakhs as rent.

Shri Priya Gupta (Katihar): How much will be the foreign exchange involved?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: It means over Rs. 1 crore. Before the decision was taken that year, 2,819 men were taken because the staff had to be increased as there was an increase in the number of policies. The increase in the number of policies was quite a large one, 9.25 lakhs, and the number of additional people taken was 2,819. Then, the next year, although the number of policies almost equally increased, the number of people taken was only 912, that is, from 3000, it dropped to 1000. What is the latest figure? The increase in the number of policies during the next year, was about 8 lakhs. Do you know the number of people taken? It was only 900. That means, while they knew that every year 2000 or 3000 additional staff was being taken, immediately when they had a computer, they stopped recruiting them and they brought down recruitment to 30 per cent of the average annual recruitment.

I want a declaration of the Government's policy in this matter. As a matter of fact, the Chairman of the L.I.C. had made some statements saying that there would be no real retrenchment. But we want an assurance from the Government. The Finance Minister should look into this

and he should make a declaration as to what is the type of computer he is bringing in. Are they going to instal another computer at Calcutta? What is the threat to the employment of these poor people? They have been working for years together. The employment potential is being circumscribed because of the computer and the decision to have more computers. That is the point on which I want a clear declaration of policy. Are they going to be persistent in this or are they going to stick to Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari's definite statement to Members of Parliament saying, “I give you my word of honour, so long as I am the Finance Minister, computer or no computer, there shall be absolutely no retrenchment on this score.”? But I do not know what will happen because they are now speeding up with it. They have already brought one and they are going to instal another. Let us know whether they are going to instal one in Calcutta. Let us know how many thousands of people are going to be rendered surplus. Our information is that 14,000 people are going to be affected.

I have seen the computer manual. It gives wonderful figures. It says that in one second, the 1401 computer makes 41 Loan quotations; it can give Surrender Value of 43 Policies and Paid Up Value of 60 Policies. The 1410 computer can solve 900 Loan Quotations in one second and 1028 Surrender Valuations and 1200 Paid-Up Valuations can be done within a second.

This is a very serious matter. I want to know what kind of computer they are bringing in. Are you going to be persistent in this or are you going to stick to the policy of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari or are you going to have a new policy? Let us know how many thousands of people will be retrenched and how you will absorb them or what will happen to these poor people.

श्री पाराशर (शिवपुरी): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि आप ने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया। इस देश के वर्तमान आर्थिक संकट के समय में और खास तौर पर उस समय जबकि हम युद्ध से अभी फारिग हुए हैं और अवकाश में युद्ध के बादल दूसरी तरफ से उमड़ना शुरू हुए हैं हमारे अर्थ मंत्री ने जो बजट पेश किया है वह हम के लिए बधाई के पात्र है।

यद्यपि भिन्न भिन्न पहलुओं को लेकर आलोचनाएं की गई हैं लेकिन यदि उन की मुश्किलों को भी देखा जाता कि राष्ट्र को किन किन संकटों का सामना करना पड़ रहा है इस बात पर भी अगर मेरे से पहले बोलने वाले वक्ताओं ने विचार किया होता तो मेरा विश्वास है कि उन की आलोचनाओं का आधार कुछ दृमरा होता।

उन्होंने ऐसे कठिन अवसर पर यह एक मनुष्य बजट पेश किया है उस के लिए मैं उन्हें बार बार बधाई देता हूँ लेकिन साथ ही साथ मैं अपना यह कर्तव्य समझता हूँ कि कुछ ऐसे सुझाव भी उन के सामने पेश करें जिससे उन की कठिनाइयां कुछ हल हो जाय। उदाहरण के तौर पर विगत दो वर्षों में लेखाजोखा कमेटी में बैठने के समय मुझे ऐसा अनुभव हुआ है कि हम देश में दो, तीन हम प्रकार की वृष्टियां मौजूद हैं जिनको दूर करने के लिए जिनकी कि जांच करने के लिए यदि कोई एक हाई पावर कमिशन बैठा दिया जाय तो राष्ट्र को, राष्ट्र की सरकार को, राष्ट्र के विकास कार्यों को और राष्ट्र की रक्षा व्यवस्था के लिए कराड़ों नहीं घरबों की व्यवस्था फौरन हो सकती है। सिर्फ शासन को जागरूक होकर कुछ कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता है।

अभी कुछ छिपे हुए धन का जिक्र किया गया। सरकार ने भी समय समय पर ऐसा आवास दिया है कि इस मुल्क में लगभग 3000 करोड़ रुपये का छिपा धन मौजूद है। स्वयं मैं समझ नहीं पाता हूँ कि जब सरकार

ऐसा महसूस करती है तो हम की व्यवस्था करने में उस को दिक्कत क्या आ रही है? ऐसा मामूली होता है कि कहीं इच्छा शक्ति की कमी है अथवा शक्ति की कमी तो है नहीं। भारत की जनता ने हम सरकार को इतना शक्तिशाली बनाया है इतनी शक्ति दी है कि उस ने संकट की घड़ी में उस दुश्मन के दाँत खट्टे किये जिसके कि ऊपर अमरीका और इंग्लैंड जैसी महाशक्तियों का बरद हमन था और जिस को कि उन्होंने हमारे विरुद्ध उभरा उभसा कर खड़ा किया था। जब सरकार हम काले धन पर हाथ लगायेगी तो क्या सरकार यह समझती है कि वह भारत की जनता सरकार की बात को उलट देगी? मेरा विश्वास है कि भारत की जनता ऐसा नहीं करने वाली है। सरकार को उग्रा माहम के साथ कदम उठाना चाहिए। सरकार के पास अर्थ शक्तियों की कमी नहीं है जोकि सरकार को यह बतला सकते हैं कि वह काला धन किस प्रकार से दूमंतर होकर जैसे सूर्य के सामने भाप उड़ जाती है, सूर्य के सामने धोम उड़ जाती है, जैसे बरफ की डली गल जाया करती है उमी तरह से यह 3000 करोड़ का कालाधन तीन महीने के अन्दर काफूर हो जायगा, काले नोट कागज के टुकड़े बन जायेंगे जिन्हें वि. नोग सिगडी जलाने में काम में लायेंगे। अगर आप उस पर नियंत्रण कर लेंगे तो अर्थ व्यवस्था को विकृत करने के काम में उस रुपये को नहीं ले सकेंगे। मेरे पास समय नहीं है कि मैं उस सम्बन्ध में एक पूरी योजना पेश करता। मैंने उस पर विचार किया है और वह योजना भी पेश कर सकता था लेकिन मारा समय उमी में चला जायगा। अवसर आने पर मैं वह भी आप के सामने रखगा। लेकिन एक आतिशायी कदम अगर आप न उठाया तो आज में तीन महीने के बाद वह 3000 करोड़ रुपया काफूर की तरह गायब हो जायगा और इतना रुपया भारत देश में रह जायगा जोकि सफेद रुपया कहलायेगा और जिससे न भकावटें होंगी और न किसी को कोई परेशानी होगी, न कीमतें बढ़ेंगी

[श्री पाराशर]

श्रीर न काले धन की समस्या रहेगी। इसलिए मैं अपने प्रथम मंत्री महोदय से श्रीर उन के जरिए सरकार को यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यदि वह हम भारत की जनता की विश्वासपात्र रहना चाहती है यदि वह हम देश के प्रति न्याय करना चाहती है यदि वह अपनी जिम्मेदारी को इस देश के प्रति निभाना चाहती है श्रीर वह चाहती है कि इतिहास में लिखा जाय कि संकट की घड़ी में इस देश की सरकार ने अपने देश की जनता की सच्ची सेवा की तो सब से पहले उन को इस का प्रबंध करना चाहिए। मैं केवल इस समय इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक हाई पावर कमिशन बंठा कर जांच करके तत्काल योजना बनाई जाय कि कैसे उस को रोका जा सकता है श्रीर उस को फीरन लागू किया जाय।

इसी प्रकार से श्रीमन्, कमेटी के काम के सिलसिले में मालूम हुआ कि घरबों रुपया अभी उन लोगों के पास पड़ा हुआ है जिसको कि कर के रूप में वसूल करना है जोकि कोठियों में रह रहे हैं, बंगलों में रहते हैं श्रीर कारों में चलते हैं श्रीर जिनके कि पास बैंक बैलेंस है। कागजी घोड़े सरकार दौड़ा रही है। कागजी जवाब पेश कर दिये जाते हैं मगर रुपये के दर्शन नहीं होते हैं। सरकार एक कमीशन बिठाए श्रीर जांच करवाए। इस प्रकार करोड़ों नहीं, घरबों की व्यवस्था होगी। इस बारे में आकड़े मौजूद हैं। सरकार पब्लिक एकाउंट्स कमेटी की रिपोर्ट को देख ले—श्रीर कुछ देखने की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

इसके अलावा कई ऐसी संस्थाएँ भी हैं, जो कि सफ़ेद हाथी की तरह हैं। सरकार ने उन को घनाप-घनाप तरीके से न जाने कितना रुपया दे रखा है। मैं इस वक्त इस सम्बन्ध में व्योरे में नहीं जा सकता हूँ। कितनी ही ऐसी संस्थाएँ हैं, जिन को सरकार ने करोड़ों नहीं, घरबों रुपया दिया हुआ है, लेकिन देश की सेवा में श्रीर देश के विकास तथा उन्नति के

लिए उन का जो उपयोग हुआ है, वह लाखों के बराबर भी नहीं है। इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि सरकार इस बात की जांच करवाए कि किस किस संस्था को ग्रांट श्रीर लोन वगैरह के रूप में रुपया दिया गया है, उस रुपये का उपयोग कैसे हो रहा है श्रीर आगे उस की व्यवस्था कैसे की जानी चाहिए। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया जा सकता है, तो उन को बन्द कर दिया जाये।

आश्चर्य यह हो रहा है कि सरकार ने देश में इमर्जेंसी डिक्लेयर की हुई है, देश में आपात्काल श्रीर संकट-काल की घड़ी है जब कि हमारे योजना मंत्री पराये दरवाज़े को छटखटाने के लिए गए हुए हैं कि रुपये की व्यवस्था कैसे हो, लेकिन हमारे घर में ही रुपये की व्यवस्था हो सकती है, इस तरफ़ सरकार ने अपनी आंख बन्द कर रखी है। समझ में नहीं आता कि आखिर इस देश का क्या होगा।

हमें आज वह दिन याद आता है, जब साइमन कमीशन यह जांच करने भारत आया कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता स्वराज्य चलाने के योग्य है या नहीं। उस समय लाला लाजपतराय श्रीर उन के साथियों ने छाती खोल कर कहा था, "ऐ विदेशियों, हम राज्य चला सकते हैं या नहीं, इस की जांच करने वाले तुम होते कौन हो। तुम इस सीने पर लाठी श्रीर गोली चला सकते हो, लेकिन हमारी जांच नहीं कर सकते।" आज भी हम को यही नीति अपनानी चाहिए थी। हमें अपना प्लान उमी तरह बनाना चाहिए था, जिस तरह कि हम अपने आदरणीय राष्ट्र-नायक, पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू, के समय बनाया करते थे। अगर हम चाहते, तो हम दो प्रकार के प्लान बना सकते थे, एक रीमो-सिज़ बेस्ड प्लान, जो हम अपने रीमोसिज़ के आधार पर चला सकते हैं श्रीर दूसरा एड बेस्ड प्लान, जो कि एड मिलने पर चलाया जाये श्रीर एड न मिलने पर न चलाया जाये।

मुझ से पहले श्रीमाननीय सदस्य ने जो वह कहा है कि उन को कुछ है कि प्रशोक मेहता साहब हमारे प्लान के बारे में चर्चा करने के लिए बाहर गए हैं और उन को नहीं जाना चाहिए था, मैं उस से पूरी तरह से सहमत हूँ। अपनी योजना को डिस्कम करने के लिए उन को हरगिज प्रमरीका नहीं जाना चाहिए था। आज समय घा गया है कि जिस प्रकार श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ने हिम्मत के साथ प्रमरीका के प्रेसिडेंट से कह दिया था कि उन से मिलने के लिए समय नहीं है, उसी प्रकार फोरन यहाँ से श्री प्रशोक मेहता को यह मैसेज भेज दिया जाये कि वापिस चले आओ, अगर हिन्दुस्तान में ताकत होगी, तो वह अपनी योजना बना लेगा और उन देशों में सहायता भी ले लेगा। दूसरे देश यह याद रखें कि वे हम को खैरात में सहायता नहीं दे रहे हैं, बल्कि वे अपनी इज्जत और अपनी जिन्दगी को बचाने के लिए अपनी मौत की घड़ी को टालने के लिए हमें सहायता दे रहे हैं—वे हमारी मोती में खैरात नहीं डाल रहे हैं। हिन्दुस्तान शताब्दियों से अमर रहा है और अमर रहेगा। इस का कुछ भी बिगड़ नहीं सकता है। लेकिन विदेशियों के सामने झोली फेंका कर हम अपनी इज्जत भी गंवायेंगे अपनी शक्ति और अपनी योजना भी गंवायेंगे और हमारे पल्ले भी कुछ नहीं पड़ने वाला है।

विकास की व्यवस्था के सम्बन्ध में मैं एक निवेदन और भी करना चाहता हूँ। जब हम ने स्वराज्य लिया, तो देश के करोड़ों व्यक्तियों ने उम्मीद की थी, की है और वे कर रहे हैं कि जनता के साथ न्याय होगा और प्रत्येक क्षेत्र का विकास न्याय और मंतुलन के आधार पर किया जायेगा। मैं आप के सामने एक दृष्टान्त पेश करता हूँ। यह न समझा जाये कि मैं केवल अपनी स्टेट के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। चूँकि मुझे इस बारे में जानकारी है, इसलिए मैं अधिकृत रूप से कहने का साहस करता हूँ।

मध्य प्रदेश से लाखों मन अन्न प्रायः हर साल देश के भिन्न भिन्न भागों में भेजा जाता रहा है। चूँकि इस वर्ष दैवी प्रकोप के कारण वहाँ पर अकाल की स्थिति हो गई है, इसलिए वहाँ अन्न कुछ कम हुआ है। किसान सहकारी बैंकों से जो कर्जा लेता था, वह उस को भ्रदा नहीं कर सका। यह मोटी सी बात है देखने और समझने की। इस में सबूत की आवश्यकता नहीं है। इस स्थिति में मध्य प्रदेश की सरकार और वहाँ के एपेक्स बैंक ने रिजर्व बैंक से निवेदन किया कि उस के पास फ्रेडिट स्टेबिलाइजेशन फंड होता है, उस में से वह कुछ ऋण उन को दे दे, क्योंकि अकाल की वजह से उस को भ्रदा नहीं कर सकते हैं। हर एक छोटी से छोटी सोसायटी में इसी काम के लिए फ्रेडिट स्टेबिलाइजेशन फंड होता है। रिजर्व बैंक ने कुछ मदद करने के वजाये इस प्रकार का रुख अक्षर्यार किया, जिस को देख कर हमें कुछ होता है। आखिर हमारे साथ यह सीतेला व्यवहार क्यों है ?

हम भी बताना चाहते हैं कि रिजर्व बैंक ने इतनी अनियमिततायें की हैं, दूसरी रियामनों के साथ पक्षपात कर के करोड़ों रुपये दिये हैं कि अगर हम फ्रीड करेंगे, तो बदनामी हो जायेगी। आखिर हम मांगते हैं इसलिए कि हमारे यहाँ अकाल पड़ा हुआ है। क्या वजह है कि हम को सहायता नहीं दी जाती है ? एक तरफ सरकार किसानों को कहती है कि वे ज्यादा अन्न पैदा करे और दूसरी तरफ जब किसानों के पास वास्तव में कुछ पैदा नहीं हुआ है और वे ऋण की व्यवस्था नहीं कर सकते हैं, तो सरकार कहती है कि उस के पास पैसा नहीं है, वे लोंग क्ली और जा कर पैसे का इन्तजाम कर लें। इस अवस्था में यह सरकार और रिजर्व बैंक किम काम के लिए है ? क्या इसलिए कि चाहे जिस प्रकार में मनमानी कर के अपनी जहजाही दिखाई जाये ? हम बना देना चाहते हैं कि यदि इस प्रकार का व्यवहार हुआ, तो हम का परिणाम अच्छा नहीं होगा, देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था खूब खूब हो जायेगी, बिगड़ जायेगी।

[श्री पाराशर]

ग्राज हमारे यहां हो यह रहा है कि सरकार लैबी लेती है और सहकारी समितियों को लैबी लेने का अधिकार दिया गया है। किसानों को कह दिया गया है कि जो कीमत होगी, वह उन को दे दी जायेगी और इस के अलावा अगर बिकने पर कुछ मुनाफा हुआ, तो पचास प्रतिशत मुनाफा किसानों को वापस किया जायेगा। यह योजना सुन्दर है, लेकिन रुपये के अभाव में क्या होता है कि सहकारी समिति किसानों को अनाज की कीमत तत्काल नहीं चुका सकती है। अगर सरकार यह योजना चलाती है, तो उस की व्यवस्था उस को करनी चाहिए। नतीजा क्या होता है कि किसान एक अजीब परेशानी में पड़ जाता है। दूसरे को वह बेच नहीं सकता है। प्राइवेटली कोई खरीद नहीं सकता है एक दाना भी। सहकारी समिति के पास पैसा नहीं है। अगर रिजर्व बैंक के पास जाते हैं, तो वह पैसा नहीं देता है। अगर भारत सरकार के पास जाते हैं, तो भारत सरकार रिजर्व बैंक का दरवाजा बताने देती है। इन सब बातों को बारीकी से देखना पड़ेगा।

ऐसी और भी अनेक बातें हैं, जिन को ब्योरेवार पेश कर के मैं सदन का समय नहीं लूंगा। लेकिन एक दो आवश्यक बातों का मैं उल्लेख करना उचित समझता हूँ। उत्तर मध्य प्रदेश में 150 मील लम्बा और 150 मील चौड़ा ग्वालियर से ले कर गुना तक का एक क्षेत्र है, जहां लोहा भरा पड़ा है। मैंने सब से पहले उस लोहे को निकालने के सम्बन्ध में सवाल उठाया। हमारे मिनिस्टर जवाब देते हैं कि वहां लोहा है ही नहीं। जब मैंने बार-बार कनसल्टेटिव कमेटी में और हर एक कमेटी में यह सवाल उठाया, तो उत्तर प्राया कि जांच करवाने के लिए हमारे पास बजट नहीं है। जब मैंने जोर दिया कि कुछ थोड़ी जांच कराई जाये, तो उत्तर धाता है कि कुछ लोहा है। तब मैंने कहा कि थोड़े का सवाल नहीं है, आंकड़ों से बात कीजिए। मैंने

गांवों के नाम बताए, तो मुझ से पूछा गया कि वे गांव सड़क से कितनी दूर हैं, वे गांव हैं कहाँ, उन का भूगोल क्या है आदि। क्या ये बातें मुझे बतानी चाहिए? मैं एक शरीब आदमी हूँ। जनता ने मुझे चुन कर भेजा है। मेरे पास साधन नहीं है। फिर भी मैंने उन गांवों और उस क्षेत्र की पूरी जानकारी भेजी।

श्री त्यागी : क्वान्टिटी कितनी है ?

श्री पाराशर : क्वान्टिटी बहुत है। कम से कम उस प्रायरन और को निकाला तो जाये। बाद में उस का कारखाना चाहे उत्तर प्रदेश में लगा दिया जाये। वहां पर प्रायरन और 72 परसेंट से 92 परसेंट है। क्वान्टिटी की बात करने से कोई फ़र्क नहीं पड़ेगा।

सरकार को देश के हर एक भाग और क्षेत्र के साथ न्याय करना पड़ेगा, वर्ना न्याय करवाया जायेगा। यह भी ताकत जनता रखती है।

जहां तक जन कष्ट का सम्बन्ध है, मैंने 1962 में दबंभरी आवाज में कहा था कि जिस क्षेत्र से मैं धाता हूँ, वहां पर स्त्रियां बगल में बच्चे को दबा कर, सिर पर बड़ा रख कर, गर्मियों में घाठ घाठ मील पैदल पानी लेने के लिए जाती हैं। मैंने हर एक कनसल्टेटिव कमेटी में यह सवाल उठाया। ग्राज भी 1966 में, जवाब दिया जाता है कि योजना बन रही है। हम अंग्रेज को लालकारा करते थे कि वे देश का शासन जनता के हित में नहीं चलाते, इसलिए वे चले जायें। इस सरकार की भी वही हालत है। चार वर्ष के बाद भी यही जवाब दिया जाता है कि योजना बन रही है। अगर यह सरकार चार वर्ष में एक क्षेत्र में पानी की समस्या को भी हल नहीं कर सकती है, तो वह किस मर्ज की दबा है ?

जैसा कि प्राप जानते हैं, चम्बल घाटी में डाकुओं ने बड़ा हल्ला और उत्पात मचा रखा है। यह समस्या बहुत पुराने जमाने से

बली धा रही है। इस समस्या को हल करने के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि वहां पर एक सैनिक विद्यालय की स्थापना की जाये, जिस में वहां के झुंझ-झुंझ युवक प्रवेश पा सकें। फिर सरकार देखे कि वहां पर एक भी डाकू रहता है या नहीं। पचास साल पहले भी वहां पर डाकूओं की समस्या उत्पन्न हुई थी। उस जमाने के शासक ने तमाम होशियार लड़कों को अपनी धार्मी में भर्ती कर लिया, जिस का परिणाम यह हुआ कि डाकूओं की कोई समस्या नहीं रही।

यह सरकार कोई काम नहीं करती है और समस्याओं को ले कर रोने बैठ जाती है। जब तक वह कोई कदम नहीं उठायेगी, तब तक उस की कोई समस्या हल नहीं होगी।

दूरदर्शिता की दृष्टि से बार-बार मैं आपको कहता हूँ कि आप उत्तर प्रदेश की कानपुर, झांसी, और बबीना की फौजी छावनियों को फौरन रेलवे स्टेशनों से मिलाइये। संकट के समय में चाहे व. पंजाब की तरफ से हो या राजस्थान की तरफ से आपको सैनिकों को धर उधर भेजने में इससे बहुत असानी हो जाएगी और जबलपुर वगैरह के जो शस्त्रागार हैं, उनको आप फौरन फंट पर भेज सकते। किसी भी वकन जब खतरा पैदा हुआ तो इससे आताधात की व्यवस्था बन जाएगी। अगर आपने ऐसा नहीं किया तो आप मुश्किल में पड़ जायेंगे। मैं चार बर्य से इस बात को कहता आ रहा हूँ। आपको देखना चाहिये कि इस ओर ध्यान देने की जरूरत है या नहीं है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप समाज करें। आपने पन्द्रह मिनट ले लिये हैं।

श्री पाराशर : रेलवे बजट पर मैंने ध्यान नहीं लिया, किसी घांट पर मैं नहीं बोलता हूँ। इस बास्ते बोड़ा ना सबय तो मुझे आप और दें।

पाली (सवाई माधोपुर) पर राजस्थान से मिलने वाला जो एरिया है आपने एक पुल बनाने की व्यवस्था की है। इसके लिए मैं आपको बहुत बहुत बधाई देता हूँ। लेकिन यह पुल अभी तक कागजों पर अधिक बना हुआ है। अभी तक इस पर काम चालू नहीं हुआ है। ऐसा ही अगर रहा तो आपकी जो घांट है वह लॉस हो जाएगी और आपको दुबारा घांट लेनी पड़ेगी। वह बीच फाइलों में ही दब कर रह जाएगी। मुझे डर इसी बात का है कि जिस तरह से पुल टूट कर पानी में डूब जाता है वैसे ही फाइलों में ही यह पुल बन कर न रह जाए। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जल्दी से इस पुल को बना दिया जाए।

अब मैं राष्ट्रीय नीतियों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। चाहे आप इस कान से सुनें या उस कान से सुनें लेकिन इस पर आप को ध्यान देना ही होगा। नीति के तौर पर इसे आप मंजूर कर रहे हैं या न कर रहे हैं, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की गति ही नहीं जब तक कि व. अपना परमाणु बम नहीं बना लेता है। यह मैंने पार साल भी निवेदन किया था, एक वर्ष पहले भी कहा था और अब भी कहता हूँ। चीनी हमले के बाद इस बारे में अनेक सदस्यों ने हस्ताक्षर करके भी इस बारे में दिये हैं। आज मैं फिर इस बात को दोहरा देना चाहता हूँ। अगर आप परमाणु बम बना रहे हैं और कहते नहीं हैं तो बात अलग है। नीति के तौर पर अगर आप ऐसा करते नहीं हैं तो इस पर मैं कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता हूँ। लेकिन अपनी तुच्छ बुद्धि से मैं समझता हूँ कि आपको बोधना भी करनी चाहिये और बनाना भी चाहिये। इस में किसी प्रकार से अन्तराष्ट्रीय समस्याओं को ले कर उलझने के डर से आप अपनी नीति को किसी प्रकार से न तो कमजोर करें और न इसको आप छिपायें।

एक बात और मैं आपके ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूँ। राष्ट्र में अनेक प्रकार की समस्याएँ

[श्री पाराशर]

उठ खड़ी हुई हैं। जब तक आप अपनी नीति को निर्भीकता के साथ नहीं चलाते हैं, शक्ति के आधार पर आधारित करके इस देश की व्यवस्था का संचालन नहीं करते हैं, तब तक समस्याएँ हल नहीं होंगी। तब तक समस्याओं के पहाड़ उठते ही रहेंगे और आप उनको कभी हल नहीं कर पायेंगे। पंडोरा के वाक्स में से जैसे अनेक बीमारियाँ निकलती हैं, उसी तरह से इस देश में समस्याएँ निकल रही हैं, निकलती रहेंगी और निकलती जायेंगी। आप उनको हल नहीं कर सकेंगे। गांधी जी ने जैसे हिम्मत के साथ कह दिया था "क्विट इंडिया" हिन्दुस्तान को छोड़ कर चले जाओ, जिस तरह का साहस प्रदर्शित किया था और देश के लोगों का आह्वान किया था "करो या मरो" ठीक उसी प्रकार से, अत्यन्त आदर का भाव रखते हुए, अत्यन्त सम्मान का भाव रखते हुए अपने देश के नेताओं से, अपने देश के वर्तमान नेतृत्व से मैं निवेदन करना अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ कि डिप्लोमेसी की नीति जिस को हम अंग्रेजी में कहते हैं और हिन्दी में तिकड़म की नीति कहा करते हैं, उस नीति को छोड़ कर आप आइये शक्ति की नीति पर, दुड़ता की नीति पर, साहस की नीति पर और देश को आप महान बनाइये। देश को महान बनाने के स्वप्न हम अपने बालकपन से देखते आ रहे हैं। यही हमारा आज ध्येय भी होना चाहिये। देश के लिये हमारे पूर्वज अपने जीवन कुर्बान कर गए हैं। वे आशा लगाये हुए हैं कि हमारे देश के ये नीजवान, ये नीनिहाल जिन के हाथों में देश की बागडोर वे छोड़ कर गए हैं, वे इस देश के लिए क्या करते हैं। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ, मैं आशा करता हूँ कि देश का नेतृत्व इस मोके पर फेल नहीं होगा। वह अपना कर्तव्य निभायेगा और अपनी उच्च परम्पराओं को कायम रखेगा। इस देश को महान बनाने के लिए जिन्होंने कुर्बानियाँ दी हैं, जिन्होंने अपने जीवन का बलिदान दिया है, उनकी कुर्बानियों को हमारा यह देश व्यर्थ जाने नहीं देगा, ऐसी मैं आशा करता हूँ।

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Are we sitting up to 5 P.M. or 6 P.M. today?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Up to 6 p.m.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: My hon. friend the Finance Minister is an astute lawyer. He has vast experience of taxation and financial laws. I think this is an advantage so far as this country is concerned, because a man having such experience of financial laws is in charge of the Ministry, of course he has not got that political background which his predecessors had. His predecessors also had presented budgets but those budgets were camouflaged budgets which concealed the realities. Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri, lawyer as he is, when he scanned the papers probably came to the inevitable conclusion that this country's economy was going in a wrong way and it needed a change, and when he went through the vast documents at his disposal before he presented this budget and the Finance Bill, he must have come to the conclusion that no longer was this slogan of socialism or social welfare State or that sort of economy has any real basis in this country under present economic realities. Sir, as a realist, therefore, in his speech he has made it perfectly clear that he is presenting a production-oriented budget, not inhabited by any dogma, and he says that production is his foremost consideration and for this purpose, he attaches importance to strengthening and maintaining the confidence of the private sector. I do not blame him for this. After all, we have come to this state of affairs not in a day: this is a result of the policies that we have followed for so many years. As a result of the planning during the last fifteen years in the garb of socialism, our economy had actually been moulded in an altogether different way, we are more and more depending on the private sector and foreign aid.

There is also another aspect of it where I have an apprehension. I am glad that the cat has come out of the bag and the real purpose has been enumerated. We were accusing the Government like that for so many years. It is really interesting that this is happening when Shrimati Indira Gandhi is the Prime Minister of this country, the daughter of Pandit Nehru who was boasting of and who was responsible for whatever little tinge of socialist policies we had in this country, and it seems she is determined—as it appears from her speeches and talks to the industrialists—that she is going to do away with this rigidity and the past mistakes, in the name of realism and flexibility. Our Swatantra friends must be very happy at this development. The pressure of the private sector has worked. The pressure that 'Capital is shy', 'There is no money in the people's hands', 'Who can really contribute to the national economy?' 'No taxation then 'More relief to them' and so on has worked, and it will work still further because Government have no consideration for the real people who have put them into power. They are thinking in terms of the big capitalists of this country.

It is no wonder, therefore, that although the Finance Minister has painted a grim picture of the economy in his *Economic Survey* and although he has issued the warning that defence expenditure would go up, in his proposals in the Finance Bill, he has shown no appreciation of these challenges. On the other hand, he has provided relief to the corporate sector and industrialists hoping that this would help raise production.

Apart from expressing concern for raising production, the Finance Minister has said that cut in Government spending is necessary; yet, the cut has been effected not in the non-developmental expenditure but in the Plan and the developmental expenditure. In the course of the last fifteen years, for the first time, capital expenditure has fallen by Rs. 296 crores from the

current year; the plan outlay of the Centre and the States would be less by Rs. 144 crores. Revenue expenditure which is non-productive would rise by Rs. 220 crores and the only item to be affected is the Plan expenditure which will be less by Rs. 36 crores in comparison in the current year. Actually, it is not a fact that the defence expenditure has gone up in terms of percentage; although we have provided more money in terms of percentage of revenue receipts, the defence expenditure would fall by 2 per cent.

16 hrs.

There is also an increase in administrative expenditure by about Rs. 29 crores. When capital expenditure and the Plan outlay have been reduced, as a consequence—we may admit it or not—there is a pause, a plan holiday. That has come about because the private sector in this country was clamouring so long, 'let us have a pause, a consolidation of the Plan.' Therefore, we do not know what the picture of the Fourth Plan is. It has not yet been finalised, not even a regular draft has come from the Planning Commission, although we have already entered the Fourth Plan from 1 April.

Therefore, instead of making progress, we are halting, and we are entirely dependent for any progress in this country on the private sector and on foreign aid.

16.01 hrs.

[SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH in the Chair]

Our Planning Minister who is in the USA has in the course of a press conference made perfectly clear one thing. He has said:

"India was at this point in the position of a mountain climber nearing a top precipice who would fall if external support was not provided."

That is the position today, the position in which we have reached after so many years of planning.

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]

While there has been a cut of developmental expenditure, what has been done in other spheres? I think there is no justification for Government to withdraw the expenditure tax. The excuse is that there was low yield; the administrative machinery was put into great inconvenience, disadvantage. I do not think we make laws for the convenience of the administrative machinery in this country. When this expenditure tax was accepted during Pandit Nehru's time, it was on the recommendation of Prof. Kaldor who suggested that by introducing all these taxes, ultimately this country would be able to do away with income-tax altogether. With that end in view, we had introduced so many taxes. But as soon as my hon. friend came to the Ministry, he has seen to it that this tax is withdrawn.

Again I would ask him, when we are hankering for so much money, internal resources, why is it that charitable trusts which invest in industry and get profits have been exempted from taxation. My hon. friend, Shri Tyagi, would bear me out. He was Chairman of the Direct Taxes Enquiry Committee which recommended that monies of charitable trusts invested in industries which earn profit have to be taxed. I do not know whether the Finance Minister has experience personal or otherwise, of charitable trusts. But I am really surprised that at this moment these trusts should have been exempted. Not only that; I am told that the heirs and others who get profit out of them have also been exempted.

The Finance Minister has therefore failed to meet the challenge. He has made no real modification of the tax structure. If he has done any, it is in favour of the well-to-do classes. He has indeed played the game of three cards, trying to give some concession, without giving them. He has proposed no improvement in the lot of the poor section as such, no scheme to reduce or stabilise prices is indicated. This question of

prices is a great hurdle. The Finance Minister has expressed concern naturally, and so many Members in this House have referred to it, but the proposed financial measures, I hold, would really lead to more inflation, they will not check inflation. The actual position regarding prices today is alarming. During the third plan the wholesale prices had risen by nearly 32 per cent, and foodgrain prices by 50 per cent. It is almost a regular feature. Here is an analysis from the official records where it is said that in the Second Plan alone prices rose by more than 35 per cent; they rose further by 32 per cent in the Third Plan. The average index for all commodities taken at 100 in the base year 1952-53, rose from 92.3 in 1955-56, the last year of the First Plan, to 124.8 in 1960-61, the final year of the Second Plan. It rose further to 165 in 1965-66, the closing year of the Third Plan. In the First Plan prices remained steady on the whole, with the general index returning to 100 at its end. In 1965-66 the general level of prices rose by about 12 per cent the index having gone up from 151.5 in March 1965 to 172.3 in March 1966.

So, it will be seen that instead of even stabilisation, there is regular increase in prices. I could have understood if any measures had been taken to check this trend. The measures that would actually check this trend would have been more direct taxation, more borrowing or small savings, but what do we find? In this matter also, the Finance Minister has surrendered to the richer sections of society. There is no increase in direct taxes to the extent expected, whereas indirect taxes rise by Rs. 52.86 crores market borrowings, which is another factor for checking inflationary tendencies, all to Rs. 280 crores as against Rs. 331 crores in the current year. The increase in indirect taxes would not only result in a rise in prices, but also widen further the existing inequalities in society because more money would be left with the richer classes.

I find he has not suggested any new taxation measures. All that he has done is—there is no rationale behind it—to increase the existing taxation somewhere, and to give some relief somewhere else.

Before I go to other points such as devaluation and foreign aid, I would like to know from the Finance Minister, since we are so anxious to get money, what has been the result of the efforts at getting hold of black money. I would like to know from him whether on 6th January, after he assumed office, the Central Board of Revenue has issued a circular to its officers that there should be no further raids for these violations or for black money until they get further orders

I would like to know from him whether it is not a fact that in Calcutta the customs and foreign exchange sections have issued show cause notices to two parties to the tune of Rs. 3 crores and Rs. 6.36 crores, for which the Adjudicator has been appointed, and yet since 1960, and especially during this period, nothing is initiated. No work is done; the income-tax authorities are sitting tight over it. Is it a fact that as many as 21 cases have been brought to the notice of the authorities and yet no action is being taken. I would like to know from the Finance Minister about another matter. The matter was raised in the House. The Bird and Company affair was there; crores of money had been squandered by people. A fine was imposed. It was admitted by the Finance minister—he was not minister then—that there were documents which should be examined to implicate the persons and then some prosecutions would be started against them. I would like to know the position. Two months back a reply had been received that the matter was hanging fire and the enquiry and investigation are still continuing. I would like to know from the finance minister and I have written to him about it; it has been

admitted on the floor of this House itself. In Calcutta in December last some searches were made in House No. 3, Lord Sinha Road. I asked the Home Minister, Shri Hathi about it; I did not know whether he made enquiries or not.

An. hon. Member: Whose house was it

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: It was a relation of the ex-chief minister of Orissa whose house was searched and I asked whether Rs. 45 lakhs of black money and hundies were seized from there. He pleaded ignorance. Here on the 3rd of March, government has admitted that from that place after the searches this black money was seized. After that was seized, the natural process was to arrest the concerned persons and search the other places concerned... (Interruptions). Because of the present order of probably the 6th January or I do not know what are the reasons, nothing has been done. Again, when I put a question on 7th of April, they say still the investigation is continuing; they say the names of persons and premises involved cannot be disclosed in the public interest. What is the public interest involved in it? The public interest comes in to hide your own weaknesses; your own people are involved. I also wrote to the Prime minister. I warned her that I did not raise questions about which I do not possess facts. Whenever I have raised such questions, every one of them had been proved by enquiry if it has been done at the proper time. You are shielding persons who should have been in prison by this time. Forty lakhs worth of black money and hundis which in terms of real money may be crores of rupees were recovered. Can any government think of shielding persons and coming with this facile explanation: the investigation is continuing; we cannot disclose the names and the premises.

An. hon. Member: They want money for elections.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Are these real indications of the earnestness of the finance minister to earn resources for our country.

Shri Manoharan: All these happened at Calcutta

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Yes, in December, in Calcutta all these things happened. . . . (*Interruptions*). He is a member of the congress working committee and he was invited to the chief ministers' conference very recently although he is not a chief minister himself.

I would then come to the question of devaluation of the rupee. So much talk is going on about this. Even now our planning minister in Washington has stated: I have not discussed it; I shall not discuss it; it is no concern of others.

Mr. Chairman: Five minutes more. You began at 3.55. You get 21 minutes.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I am entitled to 35 minutes because twenty hours have been allotted.

Mr. Chairman: It is 17 hours.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: It is 20 hours, and we will have 35 minutes. We are not speaking on the amendments.

An hon. Member: It is 12½ hours.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Now, the rupee has become shaky. We have to admit that. We may say that we are not discussing it. But have we applied our mind to it? What is the position today? It is admitted that, officially also, in the exchange market, 100 rupees are equated to 160 rupees, and it has been confirmed that the value of the rupee in America has declined from 20 to 14 and then to just 10 cents. I am not in favour of the devaluation of the rupee. I want it to be strengthened. It is against our national interests to devalue it, and I do not support the

arguments advanced that by doing that our export earnings would go up and as a consequence we will have to pay more for service and other things, imports, etc. But this has happened because of the irresponsible talk and an unplanned foreign exchange balance. We cannot just react to what is happening, day-to-day what is going on. I want to say that this foreign exchange budget should have been planned much earlier.

Mr. Chairman: For the purpose of general discussion, 12½ hours have been allotted.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I won't be speaking on amendments. None from my party will be speaking on amendments.

Mr. Chairman: You had better confine yourself to the points, briefly. Otherwise, it will upset the programme of business.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Some more time may be given, as we will not be participating in the amendments. That is nothing new that I have suggested to you. Now, Sir, this House should have an opportunity to discuss the plan of foreign exchange. Here, we should have a separate budget of foreign exchange. I would also suggest that there must be some arrangement so that the remittances from other countries may be given a discount; there could be a substantial flow of remittances from Indian settlers and tourists if you give some discount which as they say in economic terms, invisible exports. I would like to know what is the real position. Where do we stand, and what is the stand of the Government so far as devaluation is concerned?

Since my time is limited, I will only refer to foreign aid and conclude. I need not go into the details. It is evident from the figures that I pos-

sess, it is very clear, that from Plan to Plan, year after year, we have become more dependent on foreign aid. We are all concerned about it. I do not oppose foreign aid. For any developing economy, foreign aid would be necessary, but, at the same time, let us not create a situation, let us not ourselves make the position such that we completely mortgage our political and other policies also just for the sake of foreign aid. I am surprised again, when they say that there are no strings attached. It can hardly be believed. They say they did not discuss political matters. Look at what Shri Asoka Mehta is doing in the United States of America. Although he says that no political discussion is taking place, here is a despatch published in the *Hindustan Times* which states that while discussing aid with Mr. Rusk, they discussed about Punjabi Suba, Naga problem and so on; on every little internal affair of ours, they want to have a say. This is very disgusting. The adverse effect of foreign aid must be removed by diplomatic, political and economic measures, and probably, since we have now become beggars, therefore, we have no choice in the matter.

In this connection, I want to refer to two burning questions that are very much before the public eye. One is about the fertiliser deal. I do not want to enter into the cheap chorus of my friends in our country for whom foreign aid is welcome, if it comes from a particular nation, and for whom foreign aid is a sin if it comes from some other nations. I do not think that such persons have the national interests uppermost in their mind.

My criticism is not from that point of view. But I would like to know something about this fertiliser deal. We need fertilisers. I would have liked if there was a long-term agreement. But they are probably compelled under the circumstances to have a short-term agreement. But even in the short-term agreement, are we in such a position that we have to ignore

our industrial policy? If we do not permit in our own country majority participation of private sector in any public undertaking, how is it that we are permitting majority shares in the case of fertiliser? If we are doing this for the sake of the present pitiable position, I would like to know whether we are having complete control over the market and the price. The indications are, not only they would have control over majority shares but they want to have their own say in the matter of market. They want to have 70 per cent of the distribution and they want to have a say in the matter of price also. I would not mind much if we had a strong Government here. We know what has happened in America. The steel barons defied the authority of the Government and wanted to raise the price. Mr. Kennedy took them to task and saw to it that they did not raise the price. The aluminium industry wanted to raise half a cent per pound but it was the strong hand of Johnson which prevented it. If our Government had not been a weakling, I would say there is no danger, they can cry a halt to it at any moment. But the situation suggests that we are completely helpless today and we are surrendering our own rights on matters on which others would normally have no say.

Secondly, there is much criticism, much controversy going on about the India-US Foundation. There are reports in the Press. I do not say only those who are prejudiced against America raise these questions. Some educationists in this country are also very much concerned about this, because they feel it will be an encroachment in the entire education policy of our country. There is nothing very wrong, nor is it a new thing that we are having US aid for our educational development. In many research and scientific matters we have their collaboration. But regarding this, or in other matters, what I would suggest is, this sort of project to project collaboration is not the thing that we would like. We

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]

would like that there should be aid, if it is available, which will leave scope for us to utilise it for other purposes also. Here what is objectionable is this. If the Prime Minister of the Government of India thought that it was an appropriate thing to do, instead of explaining this to the closed-door Congress Parliamentary Executive, if they had been honest enough to come before the Parliament, explain the position and make a statement here as to what is the purpose, what is the objective, what is the organisation, what is the directive, what is the control, what is the management and all that, it would have been better (*Interruptions*). We want to know what are the objectives, directions, control and management of the whole Foundation. I hope there will be an explanation about this. I would also like to make it clear that whatever may be the constitution or composition of this Foundation, at least the Chairman of the Foundation must not be somebody from the Government or a Minister as has been suggested in the Congress Party, but I think the proper person would be the Chairman of the University Grants Commission.

In conclusion, I want to thank you, Sir, for showing me this indulgence.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: Mr. Chairman, Sir, the note of the discussion today began with an emphasis on seniority; senior members must have senior Ministers to hear them; otherwise, they feel offended. But, after that they all leave the House, leaving no chance for the Ministers to make them hear what they may have to say in self-defence.

An hon. Member: But the Minister is not going to reply today.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: There is nothing more pitiable in this world than to see a Minister, just as the term of office ends, overnight changing into a critic of the Government.

There is nothing more pitiable than that, according to my estimation. As I was saying one ex-Minister was criticising the Finance Minister. I do not know what was the reaction in the mind of the Finance Minister, but I might summarise his answer in one sentence, and that sentence would be: "Sir, I admit that all these things are bad, but when all these bad things happened it is you who were in the Government and not I."

Shri Tyagi: Why am I being blamed? I have not spoken yet.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: I did not refer to Members who have not spoken; I referred to members who have spoken. Why does Shri Tyagi take it up as referring to himself?

Shri Manoharan: Mention the name specifically.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: For those who have followed the proceedings I need not mention the name.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Frustration, they name is ex-Minister!

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: Shri Dandekar was criticising the Government for high level of expenditure in administration for the last so many years and he gave a large number of facts and figures in support of his contention. What surprises me is this. I would request all the pandits on that side to explain it to me. On every occasion, they insist that the pay of the Government servants should go up, the dearness allowance of Government servants should go up. If you go through the cut motions that my hon. friends have moved on the demands of the Home Ministry, you will find that most of them relate to increased pay and allowances to Government servants. Dr. Ranen Sen, a Communist member, has devoted himself to that. So also Shri S. M. Banerjee. All of them have devoted themselves to this one subject, that the pay and allowances

of the Government servants should go up.

But, when as a result of this the total expenditure of the Government goes up, then they just stand in horror and ask why the expenditure of the Government is going up. So, we come to this paradox, that the Government must manage itself in such a way so that its expenditure may go up in parts, while the expenditure as a whole must come down. I do not know how the Finance Minister, for whom many compliments have been paid, as one of the leading lawyers, is going to solve this paradox that the expenditure must go up in parts but come down as a whole. My hon. friends over there have not given any indication as to how this could happen.

Shri Dandekar, Shri Indrajit Gupta and even Shri Hanumanthaiya have expressed their apprehension about the future of democracy in this country.

Shri Manoharan: Shri Hanumanthaiya is a Congress Member.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: I never said anything about Congress members or non-Congress members. I said that they have expressed apprehension about the future of democracy. They should know that after democracy has stabilised itself through all these years in spite of the croakings of all the apprehenders, democracy will stay, flourish and continue to flourish.

Shri Manoharan: In spite of you.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: My good fortune is that Krishnan Manoharan is not assisted by Ram Manohar. If the two Manohars were there, they would have made my task difficult.

Shri Hanumanthaiya seemed to appear as an advocate of Shri Morarji Desai. I have been knowing Shri Morarji Desai for long.

Shri Manoharan: He proposed his candidature.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: But I have not known him to be so shy as to require an advocate. But in spite of this Shri Hanumanthaiya says that Shri Morarji Desai conveyed something to him which Shri Morarji Desai does not say here but has requested Shri Hanumanthaiya to say. Maybe.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf: Apart from that, the point that he has made has to be answered.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: I shall reply to my hon. friend, Shri Saraf, that Shri Hanumanthaiya has made no points. He has only confused himself, confused the issue and tried to confuse the House. There is nothing more than confusion in his speech.

Shri Indrajit Gupta was speaking in a way as if he was making the discovery of all these good things—that money is being concentrated in few hands, that that required to be checked. Should I tell him that this accusation against the Government was made by my hon. friend, the late Feroze Gandhi, who was the first man to raise this question? That led to the appointment of a committee to inquire into it. That committee came to certain conclusions. So, it is not a fact that this Government or this party or this organisation is not conscious of the trends in the country or in our economy which require to be checked. They are making their best efforts to check them. That compliment be paid to them. Let that recognition be made. We are not just like mere machines carrying on the Government without any response to the people or without having response to the ideas which require to be worked out in practice to the good of the people.

To my hon. friend the Finance Minister, I wish to say just a quotation in Sanskrit. I know, he is a lover of Sanskrit and he will understand

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me. I shall only quote what he and I have learnt in our early childhood.

Shri Manoharan: Give the translation also.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: Bearing the name that he does, Krishnan Manoharan, why should he require a translation? He does not bear a Tamil name.

Shri Manoharan: I plead my ignorance.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: The quotation is: याचत्रा च मान-नाशय
That is one of the elementary instructions of Chanakya. In the movements that we are making to get aid all over all world we should keep this in mind that seeking for aid which indicates accepting any favour leads to the loss of respect.

That money is getting concentrated in fewer hands, it would be easier to find. He was himself a member of the governing body of the Reserve Bank. I believe, he can find it from the Reserve Bank's records. Let nobody try to carry coal to Newcastle. He will himself be able to find out. And he knows it. What my concern is that the money that we are borrowing or we are taking is not going to work out the plans or objects which we need to work out but those borrowings are leading to concentration and concentrations are leading to extravagance in the name of raising the standard of living. This raising of standard of living has become a slogan and a very hardboiled slogan, which covers now maladjustments and improprieties. That is what we should be careful about. Unless we do this, this will go on. On the one hand, there is inflation and rise in prices, on the other hand, you have this slogan. From this slogan we have got to get rid of ourselves and shake it off from our mind. This is

the consequence in which events are flowing leading to a social malady.

Sometime back I was in Washington and I had the occasion to meet a World Bank dignitary. The World Bank dignitary gave me some home-truth. He said, "We lend money both to India and Japan. But the way of spending that money is different. In Japan, what they do is, they spend 25 per cent in establishment and 75 per cent in actual work. What you do in India is, you spend 75 per cent in establishment and only 25 per cent in actual work."

Shri Tyagi: That is the pity. That has to be cured.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: I asked him whether I could bring out his name. He did not like that I should bring out his name. That is why I leave it there.

I would support the demand that was made by Mr. Chatterjee about checking of automation. On this also, I was asked in U.S.A., "Why don't you buy our machines?" and I replied, "The answer is very simple. In your place, you have more work than men and, therefore, you require machines but in our place, we have more men than work. Therefore, if we import machines, we only add to our distress. That is the only reason why we will not have machines."

Shri Manoharan: So, you are opposing the installing of electronic computer.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: I said, I support Mr. Chatterjee's demand. Why do you misunderstand me?

Shri Manoharan: Put some sense into the Government.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: There is one point more. The question of minorities was raised. My submission is, after the Constitution has enshrin-

ed adult franchise and fundamental rights, the problem of minorities has been solved for all times. The problem of minorities does not arise at all. Those who raise it, they raise it with a purpose. That should be taken care of. The other day we heard the type of speech that was made here. The constituency which is represented by Shri Badrudduja was being represented by Shri Khuda Baksh who was a Member of Congress Party and from his seat, I do not know whether you will remember, he repeatedly appealed to the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, at that time saying, "My constituency is being subverted by Pakistan. Please save my constituency." From the type of speech that I heard, I felt that the apprehensions of Shri Khuda Baksh had come true because he was defeated by Shri Badrudduja and he could not come. As a result this is the type of speeches we hear now.

Then, I would say two things to the Home Minister. One is that he is to be very careful about border infiltration. I myself represent a border constituency and in my constituency, the constant complaint of the residents of the border is, "We cannot sleep; we cannot do our work. There is constant raid from the other side of the border. Please give us peace; please give us rest so that we may do work." That requires particular attention of the Home Minister.

The other thing is that the Home Ministry should take particular care to check scurrilous writings. I believe, scurrilous writings are going on without any check in Delhi and also outside. I do not know how the Home Ministry is so weak that they cannot check it. I know of writings in very big papers. At the time Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was the Home Minister, the Home Minister frowned and the next day the report appeared in the papers that so and so had resigned and relinquished his post. When another thing appeared, again the Home Minister frowned and the next day the paper came out with

a long editorial offering apology that such a writing had appeared. I spoke on this in the Home Ministry debate also. I request them to accept that ideal. The Home Ministry should be so effective that they stop these things at a very short notice. But these things are going on.

Dr. L. M. Singhai: Should the Press Council not do it?

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: The Press Council has not yet come into being. Till it comes into being, these scurrilous writings will flood the country to the detriment of the young people, and to the detriment of social morals. So these things should be stopped.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member may conclude now.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: I shall finish in a minute.

There are two projects in West Bengal: one is Haldia and the other is Farakka. I was very much concerned to read in the Press that the plans are being changed or checked or curtailed in a way that the works in Haldia and Farakka are not going to be completed within the time that was expected of them. I only request the Government that they should not change the original plan and that they should allow them to continue and complete the works in proper time.

I shall say one sentence about the Indo-U.S. Foundation, which was being discussed now. It was our custom to keep the doors of our educational institutions open on all sides; that was the tradition of the Indian educational institutions all these years so that knowledge from all quarters could flow, but not money; they never expected money. The rule was:

“आगार्थो ज्ञत् स्वजेत् विद्या”।

If आग comes then विद्या goes. That is my apprehension. I recall Gandhiji's one warning that he

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gave us when he was in Calcutta to call us out of the educational institutions. I asked him, "what do you expect us to do". He said, "whatever else you may do, do not prostitute your intellect"; that was the guidance that Gandhiji gave us. One apprehension that comes in my mind about this huge amount of money finding its flow into our educational institutions is that it might lead to what Gandhiji had apprehended. On the other hand, what I shall ask, and pray to, these gentlemen or friends from outside is this: let them set up in this country laboratories for research of the highest type so that our students may not have to go out and roam about in all parts of the world for higher and post-graduate education in science and research; if that is done, we shall be grateful to all of them.

श्री बाल कृष्ण सिंह (चन्दौली) :
महापति महोदय, मैं आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे समय दिया। यह बजट और उससे सम्बन्धित वित्त विधेयक यह वह आह्वान हैं। वह वर्षण है, जिस में समूचा देश अपना भावी स्वरूप देखना है। समाज-वादी समाज की परिभाषा चाहे जो हो लेकिन देश चाहता है कि उसकी गरीबी दूर हो, चिकित्सा और शिक्षा की सुविधा प्राप्त हो, रोजगार मिले, रहने के लिए मकान और भोजन के लिए धान मिले, दैनिक उपयोग की वस्तुयें उचित मूल्य पर प्राप्तीय से मिलें और नागरिकों को सामाजिक, राजनीतिक और आर्थिक उन्नति करने का समान अवसर मिले। यह है हमारे देश के भावी स्वरूप की कल्पना। मैं नहीं समझता कि इस बजट से वित्त मंत्री जी वह समाज बना सकते हैं या नहीं, इसमें मुझे सन्देह है। यह तो प्रविष्य ही बता सकता है लेकिन इस के लिए मैं वित्त मंत्री जी को दोष भी नहीं दे सकता। चीन और पाकिस्तान के आक्रमण से जो असन्तुलित आर्थिक व्यवस्था इनको बरासत में मिली है उसने रहने हुए भी जिस तरीके से सर्व-साधा-

रण को सुविधायें देने, की दिशा में एक कदम बढ़ाया है वह स्वागत-योग्य है। लेकिन जो मूल बातें हैं जिनकी वजह से परेशानी है वह आंध्र से ओझल भी नहीं की जा सकती।

आज हर चीज की कीमत बढ़ रही है। कारण क्या है? मैं अर्थशास्त्री तो नहीं हूँ। लेकिन मेरी दृष्टि से एक बात बिल्कुल साफ समझ में आती है कि एक तरफ तो इस देश का सम्पूर्ण उत्पादन है और दूसरी तरफ इस देश की सम्पूर्ण मुद्रा है जिसका प्रसार हो रहा है। यह सीधी सी बात है कि अगर उत्पादन कम होगा तो कीमतें बढ़ेंगी और रुपये का मूल्य घटेगा और उत्पादन अगर बढ़ेगा तो चीज सस्ती होंगी और रुपये का मूल्य भी बढ़ेगा। आज जो रुपये का मूल्य घट रहा है और चीज महंगी हो रही है इसका प्रधान कारण यही है कि इस देश में उत्पादन कम हो रहा है। खास तरीके से ऐसे उद्योग के बढ़ाने की जरूरत है जिस पर मुद्रा का दबाव अधिक है, जो ज्यादा आवश्यक है, मसलन, ऐग्रीकल्चर। यदि कृषि का विकास नहीं करते और कृषि से सम्बन्धित उद्योगों को आप विकसित नहीं करते तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस आर्थिक व्यवस्था को आप सन्तुलित नहीं कर सकते। 70 प्रतिशत देश का आदमी ऐग्रीकल्चर पर लगा हुआ है। इसलिए बहुत गम्भीरता से हम पर सोचने की जरूरत है। हमारी जो राष्ट्रीय आय है जहाँ तक मैं समझता हूँ कि 46 परसेंट के ऊपर ऐग्रीकल्चर या ऐग्रीकल्चर पर आधारित जो उद्योग हैं उन से आती है। तो जब 70 परसेंट इस देश का आदमी इस पर लगा हुआ है और आज भी राष्ट्रीय आय आधे के करीब ऐग्रीकल्चर से आ रही है तो देश हित में यही उचित होगा कि ऐग्रीकल्चर को और उस पर आधारित उद्योगों को सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता दी जाय। यदि उसे सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता नहीं दी जाती तो मुझे सन्देह है कि आप इस बजट

से इस देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को सन्तुलित कर सकेंगे।

एक चीज और भी मैं निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ कि ऐग्रीकल्चर से ऐसी चीजें भी भी पैदा होती हैं जिन से आपको फारेन एक्सचेन्ज मिलता है — टी, काफी वगैरह। ऐग्रीकल्चर से काटन और जूट वगैरह मिलता है जिस से कि कपड़ा भी बनता है। ऐग्रीकल्चर से तेल भी आदि खाने की चीजें हैं वह सब भी मिलती हैं। और आज देश में इनकी कमी है और अन्न की भी कमी है। अगर अमेरिका अस्वीकार कर देता है पी०एल० 480 देना तो देश के सामने बड़ी गम्भीर समस्या हो जायगी। तो यह बहुत जरूरी है कि ऐग्रीकल्चर को प्राथमिकता दी जाय। यदि ऐग्रीकल्चर का प्राथमिकता नहीं दी जाती तो राष्ट्रीय आय पर भी इसका असर पड़ेगा और प्रति व्यक्ति आय जो है उस पर भी असर पड़ेगा और साथ ही सब से बड़ा जो खतरा है वह यह कि जैसे उड़ीसा वगैरह के केस को लेकर के इसी हाउस में तमाम हंगामा मचा तो ऐग्रीकल्चर को प्रोत्साहित नहीं किया जायेगा और खाद्यान्नों का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ता तो देश में उपद्रव होंगे और आपका जनतंत्र खतरे में पड़ सकता है। मैं यह महसूस करता हूँ कि यह सब से जरूरी है कि देश हित और भारतीय सम्मान की दृष्टि से तथा देश के आर्थिक विकास के लिए कृषि और उन से सम्बन्धित लघु उद्योगों को टाप प्रायरीटी दी जाय। लेकिन यह कैसे होगा? मैं मानता हूँ कि सरकार इस सम्बन्ध में बहुत कुछ कर रही है और करने जा रही है। लेकिन उसको उसका एक व्यवहारिक रूप देना होगा। ऐडवाइजर्स हर मिनिस्ट्री में हैं। इनकी कमेटियां बनी हुई हैं। उसके जाल में सरकार फंसी है उस से अगर बाहर निकल कर के इस को व्यावहारिक रूप नहीं देती तो यह होना सम्भव नहीं है। हम भी चाहते हैं कि उपज बढ़े और सरकार भी चाहती है कि उपज बढ़े। तो फिर हो क्यों नहीं रही है

उपज? मैं यह समझता हूँ कि आज उपयुक्त समय है कि हम सोचें कि उस में क्या परिवर्तन की जरूरत है? आज का नवयुवक परिवर्तन चाहता है। उस के रहन सहन में परिवर्तन हुआ है, सोचने के ढंग में परिवर्तन हुआ है, उसके काम करने की प्रणाली में परिवर्तन हुआ है। वह हल चलाना पसन्द नहीं करता लेकिन ट्रैक्टर से अपने खेत को जोत सकता है। वह बैलगाड़ी चलाना पसन्द नहीं करता लेकिन ट्रैक्टर के पीछे रेले में सामान ठोकर ले जा सकता है। वह पुरानी पद्धति से बैलों के जरिये कुएं से पानी निकालना पसन्द नहीं करता लेकिन वह बिजली से और डिजल प्रायल से पम्प चलाकर अपने खेत को सिंचाई कर सकता है। आज जरूरत है कि उस खेती में हम आकर्षण पैदा करें। अगर आकर्षण हम पैदा नहीं करते तो इन नवजवानों का रुझान उस खेती की तरफ नहीं होगा और खेती की तरफ अगर नवजवानों का रुझान नहीं होगा तो सब से बड़ा खतरा है कि देहात उजड़ जायगा और शहर में आपके लिए बसाने की समस्या हो जायगी और ऐग्रीकल्चर पर इसका गम्भीर असर पड़ेगा। सरकारी अधिकारियों एवं कर्मचारियों के दृष्टिकोण में भी परिवर्तन हो। उन को चाहिए कि वह अधिकार की भावना से अलग हो कर कर्तव्य की भावना से प्रेरित हों।

आज सरकार के विभिन्न विभागों में आपस में तालमेल नहीं है, कोऑर्डिनेशन नहीं है। ऐग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्ट्री कहती है कि फटिलाइजर्स आवश्यक हैं जबकि इरीगेशन मिनिस्ट्री कहती है कि नहीं सिंचाई की व्यवस्था बहुत जरूरी है। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि विभागों में परस्पर कोऑर्डिनेशन की बहुत जरूरत है। मैं अपने ही क्षेत्र की बात बनना चाहता हूँ। मूसाखांड रिजर्ववायर बन कर नैथार हो गया है। उससे जो नहर निकली है वह नहर चीड़ी हो चुकी है लेकिन वहाँ कई जगह रेनवे लाइन को क्रॉस करती है इसलिए रेनवे

[श्री बाल कृष्ण सिंह]

नहर के पुल को भी चौड़ा होना चाहिये लेकिन रेलवे ने पुलों को अभी तक चौड़ा नहीं किया है। परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि जो 400 मील लम्बी नहरों से ऐडीशनाल पानी देने की व्यवस्था है वह पुलों के न बनने से न हो पायेगी। आप सोचें कि बजट में रुपया रखा जाता है और भ्रमल भ्रमल मिनिस्ट्रीज की डिमांड्स हाउस ने मंजूर की हैं। लेकिन वह इसलिए मंजूर नहीं की है कि हर मिनिस्ट्री अपने मन से जो चाहे करती रहे। आपस में सहयोग कोभारडिनेशन विभिन्न मंत्रालयों में होना चाहिए। अगर आपस में सहयोग नहीं होता है तो कृषि का विकास सम्भव नहीं हो पायेगा।

बिजली की व्यवस्था बहुत आवश्यक है और मैं समझता हूँ कि बिजली के प्रसार के लिए विशेष कर गांवों में बिजली के प्रसार के लिए सरकार को बहुत दिलचस्पी के साथ एक ठोस कदम उठाना चाहिए। किसी किसी जगह यह बात कही जाती है कि खम्भे नहीं मिलते हैं तो मैं आप से निवेदन करूँगा कि अगर लोहे के खम्भे नहीं मिलते हैं तो लकड़ी के खम्भे ही लगा कर बिजली का विस्तार गांवों में किया जाय। कुओं में जो लोग पम्पिंग सैट लगाना चाहते हैं उनको आप बिजली दें। देहातों का विद्युतीकरण होना जरूरी है। अभी जैसा मैंने कहा एक आकर्षण पैदा करने की जरूरत है। देहात में जब तक आकर्षण नहीं होगा तब तक देहातों की उन्नति नहीं हो सकती है। बिजली देहातों में उपयोग के लिए और एग्रीकल्चर के विकास के लिए बढ़ी जरूरी है लिहाजा बिजली का प्रबन्ध भी हो।

प्लानिंग कमिशन ऐसी संस्था बनी हुई है लेकिन मैं यह समझता हूँ कि प्लानिंग कमिशन ने सही तरीके से इस देश की योजना बनाने के सम्बन्ध में कोई कदम नहीं उठाया है। अगर समूचे देश को एक ही योजना और

एक ही तरीके से ले चलेंगे तो स्वतंत्रता के पहले योजना कमिशन बनने के पहले जो देश पिछड़ा हुआ था वह पिछड़ा हुआ हमेशा रह जायेगा। जरूरत इस बात की है कि जो पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्र हैं उन की योजना अलग बनाई जाय।

अभी इस हाउस को मालूम है कि हमारे राज्य उत्तर प्रदेश में पूर्वी उत्तरप्रदेश की जांच के लिए एक कमेटी बनी पटेल आयोग के तम से। पटेल आयोग वहाँ गया, जांच की और जांच करने के बाद अपनी रिपोर्ट भी दी। सेंट्रल मन्मैट से उन सिफारिशों के आधार पर कोई सहायता नहीं मिली और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को कह दिया गया कि अपने फंड में से इस की व्यवस्था करे। मेरे कहने का अर्थ यह है कि जब स्टेट मन्मैट पर यह शिष्ट छोड़नी थी तो पटेल आयोग को वहाँ जांच करने के लिए भेजने की क्या जरूरत थी? क्या यह उचित नहीं होया कि पूर्वी उत्तरप्रदेश और जैसे ही पिछड़े क्षेत्र जो दूसरे प्रांतों में हैं उन की योजना अलग कर दी जाय। मैं बड़े इतमीनान के साथ यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे पूर्वी उत्तरप्रदेश के जहाँ से कि मैं भ्रमता हूँ इस की योजना अलग नहीं की जाती है तो उस क्षेत्र का विकास नहीं हो सकता है।

पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश हमेशा से एक देवभक्त इलाका रहा है और उस की उपेक्षा इसलिए की गई कि वह क्षेत्र बागी रहा है। वह अंग्रेजी हुकूमत के खिलाफ था और हमेशा उसने विदेशी हुकूमत के खिलाफ विद्रोह किया था। वह क्षेत्र यह उम्मीद करता था कि इस देश से अंग्रेजी हुकूमत के जाने के बाद जब हमारी सरकार आयेगी तो वह इधर ध्यान देगी और इस क्षेत्र का विकास होया। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि अंग्रेजों से तो हम इसकी उम्मीद नहीं कर सकते थे लेकिन अपनी सरकार से मैं यह आश्चर्य उम्मीद करता हूँ कि उस पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्र के विकास की ओर ध्यान देगी।

इसलिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि पूर्वी उत्तरप्रदेश की एक योजना उस के विकास के लिए, उस के डेवलपमेंट के लिए भ्रमण बनाई जाय ।

ताड़ीघाट पुल गंगा नदी पर बनाने के लिए, पटेल कमेटी ने सिफारिश की थी । उसकी योजना मंजूर भी हो चुकी है लेकिन आज तक वह नहीं बना ।

उपसभ्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य का समय समाप्त हो रहा है ।

श्री बाल कृष्ण सिंह : मुझे कृपया दो मिनट का समय प्रौर दिया जाय । शिक्षा मंत्रालय की बजट डिमांड्स पर बटुस का समय नहीं मिल पाया लिहाजा इस अवसर पर मैं शिक्षा के बारे में कुछ निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ । शिक्षा को नियोजित करने की आवश्यकता है और यह साफ हो जाना चाहिए कि कैसी शिक्षा इस देश में हो ? शिक्षण संस्थाओं का काम है कि देश को ऐसे नागरिक दें जैसे नर्वेस्को की आज हमारे देश को जरूरत है । शिक्षण भी एक उद्योग है । जैसे दूसरे उद्योग से कोई चीज निकलती है और इस देश के नगरिकों को उसकी जरूरत नहीं है तो वह उद्योग से निकला हुआ सामान बेकार हो जम्यगा ठीक वैसे ही इन शिक्षण संस्थाओं से प्रगर ऐसे नागरिक न निकलें जैसे नागरिकों की आज देश को जरूरत है तो देश में बेरोजगारी बढेगी और हमारे इस देश का विकास रुक जायगा । जरूरत इस बात की है कि इस के सम्बन्ध में एक निश्चिन्त नीति अपनाई जाय समूचे देश में । समूचे देश में शिक्षा का एक माध्यम हिन्दी हो । एक बंटवारा अच्छे तरीके से हो जाय कि स्टेट की जिम्मेदारी क्या है और सेंटर की जिम्मेदारी क्या है ? मैं यह आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज भी इस सरकार की हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा होने हुए भी हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में इन की नीति साफ नहीं हो सकी है । जिस तरीके से हिन्दी की उपेक्षा हो रही है उस से देश

का विकास नहीं हो सकता है । मैं एक उदाहरण आप को देना चाहता हूँ कि बनारस हिन्दू युनिवर्सिटी में संस्कृत की एम० एम० की प्रथम वर्ष की परीक्षा का जो पर्चा प्राया था तो कायदे के मुताबिक वह संस्कृत में लिखा हुआ होना चाहिए और उसमें जो संस्कृत के वाक्य लिखे हों उन के लिये नीचे लिखा होना चाहिए था कि ट्रान्सलेट इट इंटू इंग्लिश और हिन्दी लेकिन आप को यह सुन कर लज्जुक होगा कि वह संस्कृत का वाक्य संस्कृत में न लिखा जाकर रोमन लिपि में लिखा गया था और उस के नीचे लिख दिया गया था कि ट्रान्सलेट इट इंग्लिश जबकि कायदा है कि अंग्रेजी और हिन्दी दोनों में अनुवाद करने की सुविधा है । उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि हिन्दी के माध्यम से पढ़ने वाले उस परीक्षा में जो बैठने वाले लड़के थे वह उसे कतई भी नहीं कर सके ।

अधिक न करते हुए मैं इस विल विधेयक का म्यामत करता हूँ और मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि हमारे विल मंत्री जो अपने सरकारी प्रशासन के खर्च को घटाते हुए उसको अधिक से अधिक देश के उत्पादन में लगवेंगे ।

Mr. Chairman: Shri Yallamanda Reddy. You have got only 5 minutes. You must try to conclude your speech within the stipulated time.

श्री चन्द्रशेखर जाल चौधरी (मधुघा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी दरखास्त यह है कि खासतौर पर हमारे जैसे मध्यम जोकि यहां हाउस में लगातार बैठे रहते हैं और 6 बजे तक जब तक कि हाउस खत्म नहीं हो जाता है तब तक अपनी सीट्स में बैठे रहते हैं उन को बोलने का मौका दिया जाना चाहिए । आखिर हम लोग भी यहां पर अपने निर्वाचन क्षेत्रों में जनता के द्वारा चुन कर प्राये हैं और इसलिए हम लोगों की तरफ भी आप की तबज्जह जानी चाहिए जबकि हम एक दफे भी इस बजट के तमाम डिस्कशन में अभी तक बोले नहीं हैं ।

Mr. Chairman: Members are being called in order. Everybody will get a chance if his name is found in the list.

17 hrs.

Shri Yallamanda Reddy: Mr. Chairman, Sir, exactly at the same time when the Prime Minister was meeting with the representatives of the big business and tycoons of this country, the hon. finance minister made a statement on the eve of the finance bill reducing the tax on the corporate sector in the name of reduction in the tax rate in closely held companies amounting to about Rs. 4 crores. Why? Because this government pursues policies which really help the monopolists in this country and foreign monopolists and landlords in this country. When the conference was going on with the Prime Minister these people, according to press reports, made suggestions which were exactly the same that we hear here all along that there should be tax reduction in the corporate sector and personal taxation also and there should be allowance for participation even in majority shares by foreign companies and also concessions to the landlords. This conference of big business virtually made suggestions against the very policies of the government which the people had been demanding for this country. Because this government is pursuing such policies, we are now placed in a position where we cannot at all have our five year plan. We can only produce a plan for one year and after that we have to formulate our plan. Really this is the climax of the policies that are being pursued by this government. Everybody from this side and some people from the government side say that the rate of development is far below that of many

17.03 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

other countries. The prices of essential commodities are rising and the plight of the poor people is becoming

miserable day by day. The handful of big business people are making enormous profits. That has been revealed by the Mahalanobis commission of enquiry. This government however is not at all taking any steps to help the people, the toilers of this country because this government has no clear cut policy and has no policy which will be helpful to the country or to the people. For instance, take food production. The Prime Minister was saying that the crucial question is food production. This government failed to take into consideration the important projects. The planning commission, the sub-committees of the cabinet, the central water power commission and the cabinet, everybody gives so many plans. Till now they are not implemented. For instance, they want to take up advanced projects in the country, 9-10 projects and they say central assistance must be enhanced so that these projects could be completed immediately and food production increased. But we are thinking of import of fertilisers and this and that. For instance, there is the Nagarjunasagar project in Andhra Pradesh; about fifty per cent of the work of the dam had been completed and this government offered some assistance for completing this project at least by the end of 1966 and has asked the Andhra government to see that 6.79 lakh acres are brought under cultivation but this government offers only about Rs. 8 crores. The State Government was forced to spend the other Rs. 10 crores, and now the State Government has come to a position where they cannot proceed further. For this year, 1966-67, the Government has sanctioned only Rs. 8.2 crores. With this amount, they can only carry on the work up to June or July and then the work on this project will have to be stopped. Recently, a representative of the Government of Andhra Pradesh has said to the press that unless the Centre sanctions at least another Rs. 10 crores, it would be difficult to keep up the tempo of work. If no additional funds were sanctioned, the entire work on the project would

come to a standstill in June or July. So, I request this Government immediately to take note of this and sanction additional funds so that they may bring an additional area under irrigation for growing more foodcrops.

I saw yesterday in the newspapers that the Rajasthan canal has been sanctioned an additional fund. I do not see why this Government could not think about the Nagarjunasagar project which can bring about 25 lakhs to 34 lakh acres under irrigation. Because of callousness, because of vacillation, because of red-tapism, even if they have a Plan, the Government is not able to implement it, and the Government is unable to bring the plan to a fulfilment. Therefore, even in this project, while the ayacut can be brought immediately under irrigation, the State Government could not fulfil the task because of the attitude of the Central Government, especially that of the Finance Ministry. Therefore, I submit that this Government should immediately sanction at least Rs. 10 crores for the year 1966-67 for the completion of the Nagarjunasagar project at least to the extent of bringing 6 lakh to 7 lakh acres under irrigation immediately for the production of more foodcrops.

This Government have not sanctioned money even for the famine-stricken areas in Rayalaseema. There is famine there today, and the Andhra Government have been asking for a loan of about Rs. 2½ crores at least. This Government till now have not replied to them. I request the Government to look into the matter and at least sanction a loan of Rs. 2½ crores for the purpose of relief in the famine-stricken areas of Rayalaseema.

This Government are giving enormous concessions to the cement industrialists. By the de-control of cement, the cement producers can bring about Rs. 27 crores of profit. But at the same time, the cement industrialists are not giving proper care to the

workers who are working in the cement industry. For instance, there is a cement factory in Macherla in the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh from where the supply is being made to the Nagarjunasagar project. In this factory, the management has not implemented the recommendations of the Wage Board for cement. They have not even implemented the provisions regarding minimum wages. There are about 1,200 workers in this factory, but they have made permanent only about 450 workers. The remaining 750 workers are not made permanent. They are not being paid bonus nor regular wages.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Yallamanda Reddy: I may be given another 10 minutes, Sir. In the second reading, our party is not speaking.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Only five minutes were left for you, but you have taken 10 minutes. You must close now.

Shri Yallamanda Reddy: Yes, Sir. The workers' union in this factory has requested the State Government and the Central Government to look into this matter. The labour department or the industries department never cared to see to the demands of these workers, to the grievances of the workers, and fulfil their demands. Because of the callous attitude of the management and the Government, some workers are going on hunger-strike. I have written to the department of industries and also to the Labour Minister. They have not taken any action. I request that the Government, the Labour Department and the cement factory management should take necessary steps to see that the genuine demands of these workers are fulfilled so that any strike could be avoided.

Coming to Andhra Pradesh, recently our Chief Minister was making a statement about the Republic Forge Com-

[Shri Yallamanda Reddy]

pany. There was a regular demand in our State that this Republic Forge Company should be taken over by the Government. The Chief Minister made a statement that the State Government cannot take over this company. There was a request that the Central Government should take it over. If the Central Government are not going to take it over, it will go to the private sector, to Allwyns which is owned by Birlas. Already our State Government has denationalised the Rajahmundry Paper Mills and given it to Somanis. Birlas have got so many factories in Andhra Pradesh. I would, therefore, request the Central Government, through the Finance Minister, to take over this Republic Forge Company in the public sector, because it is a very important sector of industry, and see to it that it does not go to the Birlas.

About the steel factory in Vishakhapatnam, there was already a consortium report. Till now a decision has not been taken by the Government. Our State Government and the people of Andhra have been requesting the Central Government to take a decision in this regard, to have the fifth steel plant at Vishakhapatnam, which has been upheld by the consortium report and demanded by the people of Andhra Pradesh.

Shri Oza (Surendranagar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, hearing the speeches of hon. Members on this Finance Bill, one comes to know what problems, what acute problems are exercising the minds of not only the hon. Members but also the people outside. Our hon. friends have referred to what has happened in Bastar with great emotion. Some hon. friends have referred to the acute food crisis prevailing in some parts of the country and others have referred to so many other problems. Personally speaking, I do not feel, though I am concerned, perturbed about the cropping up of so many problems in this country. After all, for decades we were dependent,

we were not independent. Our national life had almost become stagnant, and now we have started moving in so many directions. So, however much heat may be generated over the solution of so many problems, as I said, I do not feel perturbed; we must face those problems squarely and with courage.

But I must also frankly admit that the solution of the problems must be brought about from considerations not other than merits. There is a feeling in this country that problems are looked at not only from the point of view of merits, not only on a policy level, but according to the pulls and pushes coming from various directions. This is not a healthy sign. I think it is high time that the Government should gather courage and start tackling every problem. Whether it is economic, whether it is about distribution of waters, whether it is about settling of boundaries between different States, whether it is the creation of a Suba here or, as I said, settling of boundaries between two States, whatever it may be, this Government should take firm decisions of policy after deep consideration and consultations and then we should stick to them.

Some hon. friends have referred to our Plans also. We have just finished our Third Five Year Plan under great stresses and strains. It is true that we have not been able to achieve so many targets which we laid before us during the Third Five Year Plan. We have failed in some sphere, there is no doubt about that, but look at the times through which we had to pass, both internally and internationally. So, I think we should not be so much alarmed or disheartened at our performance. There are certain sectors in which we have fared very well, about which we can be legitimately proud. So, these things should not deter us from going ahead.

We have adopted in this country a sort of perspective planning. It is not only a five-year plan, or that the first

year of the Fourth Plan will be only an annual plan. As our late Prime Minister has said, we have to accept it willy nilly, though some people may not agree with me, that we are riding a tiger. We have got to keep it running. If it stops, we know what will happen. I do not think there is any time to go back on the nature of planning that we have adopted in this country. There may be failings, there may be shortcomings here and there, but having traversed so much area, there is no use going back. If we go back then, I am afraid, we will lose all the benefits that are likely to accrue if we push the fulfilment of the perspective planning that we have undertaken in this country. We have got to undertake a Fourth Plan of the dimensions which we have envisaged and also a fifth plan. As our economists have pointed out, it is only at the end of the fifth plan that our economy will become self-generating, when we shall not have to worry very much about so many problems that are facing us today.

Shri Dandekar, for whom I have the greatest respect, referred to non-development expenditure and non-plan expenditure. It is true that it is increasing, and it is bound to increase. After all, what is plan today becomes non-plan tomorrow. We start so many schools, so many hospitals, so many dispensaries, we put up so many roads and bridges; all these have to be maintained after they come into existence. So, next year they go into non-development plan. If you do not plan at all, then your non-development expenditure will also be stagnant. But that is not the way in which we should look at things.

Coming to aid, some friends have bitterly criticised us. I wonder which under-developed country has gone ahead without receiving aid from foreign countries. We have got to go to foreign countries, very friendly developed countries and seek aid from them. I do not feel shy about it, provided those aids are without any

conditions and without any strings. As our late Prime Minister has said, we are very particular to see that we do not do anything which will affect our self-respect. We have to be vigilant about this condition. Once that condition is fulfilled, I do not think we should fight shy of seeking any aid from any country which is capable of giving us aid.

Having made these general observations about the Fourth Plan, I am sure the first year of the Fourth Plan gives certain directions to our thinking in the plan. We have, according to my humble opinion, corrected certain things which are not going all right and we are shifting emphasis where it is due. I am sure that the first year of the Fourth Plan and the remaining four years of the Plan will correct certain anomalies which are cropping up in our economy, consistent with our fundamental policies, underlined policies which we have accepted in our perspective planning. So, I think we owe it to the country and to the nation to see that all our plans, as envisaged, go ahead properly and lay the foundation for a very sound economy in this country. As I said a few minutes back, we cannot go back. We have got to go ahead. Otherwise, as our late Prime Minister said, once the tiger stops we know what happens.

Coming to the taxation proposals, I congratulate the Finance Minister for the courage, for the boldness and for the wisdom that he has shown in evolving these taxation proposals. For the first time in many years he has shifted the emphasis from indirect taxation to direct taxation.

Indirect taxation, we all know, is increasing. They all fall on poor people. Everybody wants to consume cloth, sugar and all the necessities of life. If the Government relies only on indirect taxes, it mostly falls on poor people. It may be necessary in underdeveloped countries where there are no savings that we have sometimes got to tax even the poor people

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beyond a limit we should not go. I think, as it is being pointed out; that in direct taxes we have reached the point of saturation. I would say that it is only the other way round. So far as indirect taxes are concerned, we have reached the saturation point. We should not tax the patience also of the poor people.

So, I congratulate the Finance Minister that he has shifted the emphasis this time from indirect taxes to direct taxes. In direct taxes also he has shown so much wisdom that he has relieved the lower income groups from the harassment of the Income-tax Department. After all, what are they giving? Looking to the intricacies of the income-tax law, as it is today, it is better that they were taken out by raising the limit of exemption and by raising the limit of those who can pay. Neither of these things is wrong. I think, he has done the correct thing. I have got a hunch that given sufficient time he will round-off all the corners of the income-tax statute which is irksome to the common people. In times to come, it will be as simple as it can be.

It was said about laws that they should be so simple that he who runs may read. We cannot in this complex and complicated structure of society make the law so simple that he who runs may read it, but we can certainly make it as simple as that he who wants to read may read it. Today, as was rightly pointed out by my hon. friend, Shri Dandekar, taxation laws are so complicated that they are like jigsaw puzzles. I am an advocate but still when I have to fill in my income-tax form—I am not earning practically except for what I am receiving from Parliament—I have to consult an income-tax expert. I do not know where we stay. This is the state of affairs. Therefore we must try to make the law as simple as possible and we should not bring so many amendments also. I think, the hon. Minister who is much more conversant with taxation laws than

I am will surely look into this. He has taken a step in the right direction. I wish, he gets sufficient time in this country to set all these things right.

Then I want to refer to certain questions which are worrying me in my constituency. One thing is about the Narmada River Project. We know that Narmada River is one of the biggest and the largest rivers in the country. It flows through three States. One engineer told me that it has got potentialities bigger than the Sutlej and the Bhakra-Nangal Project. It holds out so much possibility. And it is not a problem concerning only one State. I think, we should look at the project from the national point of view. The Government of India took a correct decision when the matter was entrusted to Khosla Committee. Shri Khosla is at present the Governor of Orissa. He is not a Gujarati. He does not belong to any State concerned. Some other technicians were also appointed along with him on that commission. This commission absolutely on whom no influence could be exercised went into this problem in great details. They toured the area. They examined all the data. They saw all the facts and heard all the parties concerned. The Khosla Commission has brought out a report and submitted it to the Government of India. Even after this, an impartial body giving out a report about the development of a national river from which advantages will grow not only to one State or two States but to the nation as a whole from the point of view of irrigation, generation of electricity, waterways, tourism and so many other things, still it has most unfortunately become a bone of contention. As I said in the beginning, these problems are bound to arise. After all, when the economy is developing, every area has an earnest desire, a legitimate desire, to develop itself, but when there is a conflict of views we must set up a machinery which should resolve it in time and not allow bitterness to grow.

Now, unfortunately, bitterness is growing round this project. I appeal to the hon. Minister and through him the Government to see that this project which has been examined by an impartial commission on which there are independent technicians and engineers, should not be allowed to languish simply because there are some misgivings in some quarters. I do not say that from our point of view but from a national point of view. You should take the report as it is and you should start implementing it immediately.

Then, there is one more point about which I had the talk with the hon. Minister also. In my area there are so many grey board factories. They are very small units employing local labourers. By a recent notification, the excise duty on this grey board has been increased by 300 per cent. I have read the speech of the Finance Minister that he made yesterday—unfortunately, I was not present here; I was away in a meeting—and he has announced some concessions. I have not been able to study those concessions but he has given some concessions. From 42 paise per kg., he has reduced the excise duty to 28 paise per kg. He has also said that some slab concession in the effective rate of duty will be given for the first 500 tonnes. I think, it does not go the whole way. If you examine the notification which is in force today, it has increased the duty on small units. For example, in the case of writing and printing paper, the ex-mill rate is Rs. 1610 per tonne and the duty per tonne is Rs. 420, that is, according to the new notification, it would be 25 per cent. Then, about the packing and wrapping paper, the ex-mill rate is Rs. 1,420 per tonne and there also the duty is Rs. 420—the rise in duty is 30 per cent. But in respect of grey boards and straw boards, it is 80 per cent and 95 per cent. Small units will go out of existence. As a matter of fact, I know two units in my area have closed down. They were using waste paper. Smallurchins were sweeping the streets and

moving the waste paper and these factories were manufacturing grey boards. I think, their case requires to be looked into sympathetically so that they do not go out of existence.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, when we are discussing the Finance Bill, what is the actual picture before our eyes of this country? After 18 years of freedom, this country has been reduced to what. It was a land of plenty; it has been converted into a land of poverty and the entire nation has been converted into a nation of beggars, dignified beggars, as far as our Ministers are concerned and they go on begging from country to country to save our people in the name of God or in the name of so-called socialism and democracy.

When we are discussing the Finance Bill in this House, there is a mass agitation going on in every State against high prices, against soaring prices, against starvation, against famine and last but not the least against non-payment of a proper wage by the employer both in the public sector and the private sector. And how is the Government going to check or suppress those people's movement? If it is the question of shedding tears, tears are being counteracted by tear-gas; discontentment is being counteracted by lathi and anger is being counteracted with bullet. This is how this Congress Government, after 18 years of misrule, is crushing and suppressing the fundamental rights of the people.

The other day, when the hon. Home Minister made the statement, we thought that after so many tall-talks, so many promises made by them, even by the Prime Minister, that there was a chance of revocation of Emergency and the end of D.I.R. What did we hear? About the D.I.R., he said, it will be used judiciously and that it will be used only in the border areas. About the revocation of Emergency, there was a clear 'No' from them. I would like to know how this Gov-

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ernment which did believe once upon a time in the democratic functioning of the country, in Parliamentary democracy, has converted Parliamentary democracy or constitutional dictatorship into unconstitutional dictatorship. This is a sad commentary on our democracy, and I assure the hon. members here who want the end of D.I.R. and the end of the Emergency that the people of this country will truly fight out the Nanda regime and the regime of D.L.R. The time is fast approaching when the D.I.R. and the Emergency are going to be shattered to pieces by the people of this country.

There are many problems which are confronting this country. The hon. Finance Minister has given some concession to the lower middle class **the low income group** and I congratulate him for that, but what is the concession actually given? It is said that we want resources; we want to mobilise resources for the implementation of the Five Year Plan. How are the prices going up? During the end of the Third Five Year Plan, the index of the cost of living went by 38 points. If there is going to be taxation, inflation and frustration in the country, I do not know what is going to happen to this country.

There is mass unemployment here. The number of unemployed goes on increasing from year to year. I was happy to hear the hon. Labour Minister when he spoke the other day; he clearly admitted that the figure of unemployed had gone up. When unemployment is going up like this, more textile mills are closed. In my constituency, Kanpur, about 8,000 employees are without any money; they are without any salary or allowance since the last ten months. I read in the newspapers today—I was not here to hear the hon. Minister of Commerce saying this—that the Cabinet has very kindly sanctioned a sum of Rs. 80 lakhs for the running of the Muir Mill. If that Mill does not start functioning from 1st May, the workers

have decided to go on a hunger strike in Kanpur. More mills are likely to be closed. Nearly 30 to 40 thousand textile workers are on the streets today because of the mismanagement of the private owners, the private companies, and Government has failed to take over those units. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to kindly consider this aspect and see that those mills are taken over by Government.

When there is growing unemployment, what do we see? Electronic computers are brought from America. My hon. friend, Mr. Chatterjee, has said enough about computers. I am extremely grateful to the Finance Minister for giving some assurances to me and to my friends belonging to the All India Insurance Employees Association that he would personally look into the whole matter. A question was put in this House to Shri Bhagat the other day and I said—it was a supplementary question put on the 17th February, 1966—that 14,000 employees were likely to be declared surplus or were likely to face retrenchment after the installation of one electronic computer. Today when this question was raised, hon. Shri Bhagat said that this was not true. May I mention for his information the following:—

“However, the House was completely in the dark as to the make and model of the computer installed in the Bombay Office of the LIC. According to a recent finding of the University of Chicago, the I.B.M. 7094 computer used there takes about an hour of computer time to do the equivalent of one million man hours of desk calculator work.”

I am not quoting from my own memory; this is from a document and I am told that, with the installation of two computers in the country—one in Bombay and the other in Calcutta—nearly 24,000 employees are going to be declared surplus.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: But how? Who has said that?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I know it is a matter for argument and it is a debatable point. I am glad that the hon. Finance Minister has very kindly agreed to see the computers himself and then discuss this problem. I would request Shri B. R. Bhagat to accompany the Finance Minister to Bombay or Calcutta and see those computers. They are termed as man-eaters even in the progressive countries, and even in the developed countries like the USA etc. Can this country afford to have these computers? Will efficiency increase? Has it increased in other countries? Has it not resulted in unemployment in many countries, even though the avenues of employment are much more in those countries? So, I would request the hon. Finance Minister that as soon as possible, after the expiry of the session, he should go himself and see these computers. I shall be convinced if he is convinced and he tells me that the introduction of the electronic computers in the LIC will not result in unemployment.

The Minister of Finance (Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri): I may tell my hon. friend Shri S. M. Banerjee, as I told him in private, that I shall myself go and see these computers. In the meanwhile, I have been studying the problem. I have got some literature about it which I would like the hon. Member to see some time, if you would permit me to tell him. It is from England. I have just got it; I have not got it myself but I have got it in the Department, and I am told that statistics were taken in 600 different institutions where computers had been introduced, and there had not been any diminution in employment as a result of it but rather the employment potential has gone up. But as I said, I have not myself seen this literature. I have to study it. And in any event, as I have said so many times in this House, I do not go by what happens in England or America; I want to go and see these myself.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I thank the hon. Minister very much, and I shall not touch this point any more after this assurance from him, and I am extremely thankful to him for enlightening this House with his observations.

I would request him to kindly consider not only the question of dearness allowance but also another point. So far as dearness allowance is concerned, I know that he is going to convene a meeting and discuss the matter in a bipartite or tripartite meeting under the chairmanship of the hon. Prime Minister. But what about a national wage? Today, when we are demanding a national wage, whether it be for the State Government employees or for the employees in the private sector or for the Central Government employees, what is happening in some of the Departments? There is one glaring instance that I want to refer to. I am referring to the case of nearly 4000 to 5000 employees of the Survey of India who are really engaged on a strategic job, and who did a wonderful job during the Chinese aggression and during the Pakistani aggression. What was their demand? They wanted implementation of the scales of pay for comparable grades and trades according to the Pay Commission's report. In 1962, Shri Humayun Kabir who was the Minister in charge said in this House that the matter of the revision of pay scales was pending consideration of Government. Five years have passed and nothing has happened.

Last year, I had referred to this question when Shri M. C. Chagla was here, and he also said that it was the Finance Ministry which was coming in the way. I may tell the hon. Minister that the Survey of India Karmachars, Class III and Class IV employees are being denied the concession which has been given to all employees, nearly 22 lakhs employees of the Central Government, only because it is said that the Finance Ministry did not agree. That is why I am putting this question to the hon. Finance Minister for whom I have the greatest regard.

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I would request him to kindly consider the demand of the Survey of India *karmacharis* or employees. They do not want revision of pay scales. They simply want that the comparable grades in the other Departments should be made applicable to the Survey of India people. I am sure the Finance Minister will kindly consider this matter and give a reply that the Finance Ministry is not responsible for the delay but it is the Education Ministry which is responsible for the non-finalisation of this matter, because every time we raise the question here before the Education Minister, we are told that it is the Finance Minister which is the watchdog of this Government which does not allow anything to come up.

There is also another aspect of the problem facing the Survey of India class III and class IV employees and also class II employees who are working at about 14,000 feet height; on the glaciers they work, and at Bomdila they worked; when the military people ran away, the Survey of India employees, about 14 or 15 of them stood there; they did not know that Bomdila had fallen to the Chinese, and they still worked there and worked with a full sense of responsibility. They deserve encouragement. But still they are retained as contingency staff, working for more than 8-10 years; they have not been made permanent; they have not been made regular. This is a sad commentary on our permanency and our tall talk of bringing in socialism in this country. I would request the hon. Minister to kindly consider these two points because the Education Ministry definitely feels that it is Finance which is standing in the way.

Then I shall refer to the question of the pensioners. The Bharat Pensioners Samaj or Pensioners throughout the country, whether belonging to the Central Government service or State Government service, have made fervent appeals to the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister. Their de-

mand is that when the prices are rising, they should be given a fair deal; they should be given dearness allowance, they should be given some more benefit, or the quantum of pension should be increased.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: His time is up.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I have 21 minutes. I did not speak in the Demands.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You have taken 15 minutes....

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I was told by the office that I would get 8 minutes because of that. I do not want 8; at least give me 5 minutes. I sacrifice 3 minutes.

So, I request that the pensioners should be given some benefit. I know the Finance Minister has got a soft corner for them. After all, they are at the fag end of their lives. They have served the country and they should be given some monetary benefit to compensate for the rise in prices.

Coming to the difficulties of the teachers, what is happening? Some concession was given to the university and college teachers. But what about the primary teachers? Government generally say that they are the builders of the nation. But these builders of the nation are on the streets in Calcutta, UP and so on. The primary and secondary school teachers are on the streets, whether it is Kerala, Bengal, UP or any other State. What should they teach the boys, the future of our nation, if they are under-fed, under-nourished, inadequately clothed? Naturally, I feel that they should be given a proper place in the society. The primary teachers should be given at least something more, if not something more, at least the same as what the class IV employees of the Central Government are getting. They are getting less than what chaprasis are getting. How do we say that these teachers are the builders of our nation

and they will build the character and morale of our students who are going to be the pride of our country?

Coming to other points, there is the question of constitution of wage boards. The railway employees have demanded a wage board, the Defence employees have demanded one for themselves. It is not being given on the ground that the time is not ripe. When will it be ripe? When there is a mass agitation throughout the country when the workers in Defence or railways or in P & T unite under a banner and start a country-wide agitation? I hope the hon. Finance Minister will agree that there should be industrial peace, and if there is going to be industrial peace, it is only on the basis of mutual understanding, on the basis of give and take. The workers gave their unconditional support during the emergency, during the Chinese and Pakistani aggressions. I plead that they should be given their share. During those critical times we never demanded anything from the Government. We said, "Let us work, let us shed the last drop of blood for protecting our land, and then after that, when the situation is normal, we shall definitely put up our demand either for a wage board or a pay commission." Unfortunately, this is being denied. So, I would request the hon. Minister to kindly consider this point.

It has been said in the other House, and I want to know from the hon. Finance Minister whether it is a fact that Rs. 31 lakh as income-tax has been written off in the case of an industrialist of Kanpur, whether it is the same person who fought the Gonda election, whether it is the same person who was a Member of this House, whether it was the same person who compelled this Government to issue an ordinance and acquire a piece of land. Is he so strong that in this case Rs. 31 lakhs have been written off? Under what law? The Finance Minister must institute an impartial high-power enquiry into this, and if it is true that Rs. 31 lakhs have been written off in the case of this industrialist who own shares to the tune of more

than Rs. 1 crore in one unit in Kanpur and Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 lakhs in another unit, and this has been done by the Central Board of Revenue or by any Minister, then that Minister and the Chairman of the Central Board of Revenue must resign. This is most unfortunate. This has become a scandal in Kanpur. That is why I request the hon. Finance Minister to institute an enquiry himself I shall be satisfied, because he was not a party to the whole thing, if he comes to this House and says this was normal. The man exists, lives here, he has not shifted to Pakistan or London. He is in Kanpur enjoying the support of a section of the Congressmen and is donating to the congress coffers I want an enquiry because every citizen of Kanpur, not only Kanpur but the whole country, wants to know from the Government why this Rs. 31 lakhs has been written off.

Shri Arunachalam (Ramanathapuram): I rise to support generally the provisions of the Finance Bill. The Finance Minister has done well to keep the burden of additional taxation evenly distributed. There again, he has taken care to see that the vulnerable sections of the community, especially the low income groups, have been given substantial relief in the prevailing situation of rising prices.

The enhancement of the exemption limit for income-tax by another Rs. 500 per annum is a welcome relief to this low income group. Although this by itself might not provide the necessary and full relief, one cannot escape additional burdens in a developing economy, with all the stresses and strains in the process of building up the desired better standards of life for posterity.

The present need is universally realised as a favourable climate for creating conditions for greater investment in the interest of the growth of the development rate. This idea is unexceptionable. The experience of other countries which had passed through this process of development should be an eye-opener to India. It is not without sacrifices that a nation

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had progressed. And, therefore, the Indian people should be prepared to incur hardships for the present with an eye on the future. And people in general would be willing to put up with these temporary hardship and I have no doubt that the Finance Minister has provided the much needed cheer among the people even in the midst of hardships.

Coming to specific points, I should like to point out that the need for improvement of agriculture cannot be over-emphasized. India should strive to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains in the shortest time possible. And our policies for giving agricultural production the highest priority almost equal to building up defence is welcome. If everything goes on well, the target of achieving 97 million tons of foodgrains by the next year and an overall achievement of a target of 125 million tonnes of foodgrains by the end of the fourth plan is a laudable objective. The necessary confidence has been created by the government for this purpose. The need for providing the necessary facilities for this, namely, completion of minor and medium irrigation projects, so that the primary need of irrigation is provided is fully realised. Although it is a welcome thing, much however depends on favourable monsoons. The unprecedented failure of rains all over the country last year is a lesson that we have not been able to conquer nature. Drought conditions are a cyclic change and it is to be hoped that in the next few years, we would be given a favourable climate for achieving a break-through in the process of agricultural development. In this connection, I would urge the government to pay prompt attention to the utilisation of all available resources of water on a war footing. There is a considerable volume of water in Kerala which is going waste. If only the government could bring about an understanding that the surplus waters of Kerala were diverted to the arid regions of Madras, Madras could well be depended upon to produce

enough grains to supply to Kerala. Some fresh thinking on this subject is to be undertaken so that the long drawn out disputes over the sharing of waters are brought to an early end to the benefit of the country as a whole.

Another aspect of the matter that I have to stress, Sir, is the pitiable lot of the large number of repatriates coming to India from Burma and Ceylon. Most of them had been driven out of their former possessions in Burma and Ceylon because of the policies of those countries. They are very experienced cultivators and only if the government is imaginative to rehabilitate them on proper agricultural settlements, they could be a rich asset to the country. The steps so far taken by the government in providing them rehabilitation assistance by way of loans have not touched the fringe of the problem. It is true that most of these people have come to Madras, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. There is not much of surplus land in those states. On the other hand, there is plenty of cultivable land in states like Madhya Pradesh and Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Why not the government take an overall situation into account and permit the repatriates to go and settle down in those areas. Unfortunately much has not been done in this respect. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands has been treated as a close preserve for refugees from East Bengal. It could be possible for the government to open out these areas for the repatriates from Burma and Ceylon also so that they could cultivate those lands and provide the much needed foodgrains. There should be a rethinking on this matter and I urge that the government should keep these points in view and try to formulate an imaginative policy in the matter of rehabilitation of these unfortunate repatriates.

The problem of Ceylonese repatriates is a continuing one and as new waves of immigrants would

come in the near future, there should be also an integrated scheme to provide them with necessary facilities in a phased manner so that not only could they be properly rehabilitated, but by spreading them out in other areas, the national integration could also be achieved.

Much of the present talk is for providing fertilisers to the farmers and giving them improved seeds, farm implements, land to the tiller and pesticides and insecticides. While no objection could be taken to these laudable schemes the crying need of the hour is water. It has been our experience that wherever there had been plenty of irrigation, the result had been bumper crop. Therefore, I should once again stress the need for emphasising the irrigation aspect and urge upon the government to settle interstate disputes over sharing of waters so that the country is taken as a single unit instead of talking in terms of states and zones.

Now, I come to my constituency, rather to their crying needs which have long been overlooked. The majority of the population in Ramanathapuram constituency are devoted to agriculture as their sole occupation. The distresses under which they are groaning year after year owing to the failure of monsoons, particularly in that dry area, defy description. It has become a regular feature of the life of the peasants of the area to move in utter despair in search of some employment to the adjacent districts. This exodus can be stopped and the life of the poor cultivators can be bettered by assuring supply of water for irrigation by sinking tubewells in the thousands of tanks scattered over the whole area.

In addition to this, there is another possible source of supply of water—a project which I am sure is known to our hon. Minister of Irrigation and Power. This, if implemented, will make the arid area of Ramanathapuram bloom like anything. I mean

the canalising of the waters of the Idiki river of Kerala and diverting it.

Given the goodwill of the Government and chances of augmenting water facilities for irrigational purposes, I can assure the Centre that the two lakh acres of land in my constituency will, besides improving the lot of the agriculturists of the area, make no mean contribution of rice to the nation, particularly in the context of the food scarcity which is paralysing in the country.

In this context, I wish to invite the attention of the Centre that both the Government of Madras and the Planning Commission have declared East Ramanathapuram area as the most backward one in the whole of the Madras State. I understand that the Central Government has been generous enough to afford special concessions and treatment to such eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh as are backward. In the name of equity and justice, I plead for the same generous treatment being meted out to the people of East Ramanathapuram, a most backward area in Madras State, who have been tried again and again by Nature's fury and who, therefore, merit the benign consideration of the Government.

With these words, I resume my seat.

श्री लहटन चौधरी (महरसा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम ने तीन पंच-वर्षीय योजनाओं को समाप्त किया है और निस्संदेह इन योजनाओं के अन्तर्गत देश ने बहुत बड़ी तरक्की की है, बड़े-बड़े उद्योग खोले हैं और बहुत हद तक हम आत्म-निर्भर बने हैं। लेकिन देश का एक ऐसा हिस्सा भी है, जनसंख्या का एक ऐसा वर्ग भी है, जो नहीं जानता है कि देश में क्या उन्नति हुई है, जो इन तमाम उन्नति के साधनों और कार्यों में अछूता है और जो आज तक समझ नहीं सका है कि देश ने क्या कुछ किया है। वह वर्ग है बेनिह्र मजदूरों का वर्ग, जिस की संख्या लाखों में नहीं, बल्कि

[श्री लहटन चौधरी]

करोड़ों में है और जो सम्पूर्ण जनसंख्या का करीब एक तिहाई है। मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इन तीन पंच-वर्षीय योजनाओं के अन्तर्गत हम ने उस वर्ग के लिए क्या किया है। किस बात से उस के दिल में एहसास हो सकता है, उस के दिल में थोड़ी आशा जग सकती है और वह समझ सकता है कि यह देश हमारा भी है।

जहाँ तक मुझे मालूम है, आज तक एग्रीकल्चर लेबर के सम्बन्ध में दो रिपोर्टें 1951-52 की और 1956-57 की, निकली हुई हैं। उस के बाद कोई रिपोर्टें तो नहीं निकली है। जो रिपोर्टें अभी तक निकली हैं, उन के आधार पर मैं कुछ आंकड़े पेश करना चाहता हूँ। और हम समझ सकेंगे

कि दरअसल में कितनी बुरी हालत उन लोगों की आज भी मौजूद है। सन् 1956-57 की इन्वैयरी के मुताबिक इन एग्रीकल्चरल लेबरर्स में 57.1 प्रतिशत भूमिहीन हैं और जो 42.9 प्रतिशत बाकी बचते हैं, वे या तो बटाईदारी करते हैं या कुछ नाममात्र की जमीन उनके पास है। 73.4 प्रतिशत कैजुअल लेबर है और यह कैजुअल लेबर वरस में 128 दिन बेकार रहती है। एक तो वह कैजुअल लेबर है पूरा समय काम नहीं मिलता, जिनको मिलता भी है तो उन में 128 दिन बेकार रहते हैं।

18 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, May 3, 1966|Vaisakha 13, 1888 (Saka).