

cit of Rs. 74 lakhs on Capital account, which will be covered by the revenue surplus of Rs. 77 lakhs.

6. The State Plan Outlay this year is estimated at Rs. 150.96 crores to be financed to the extent of Rs. 87.50 crores by Central assistance and of Rs. 3.50 crores by the Electricity Board out of its own resources. Next year's Budget includes a provision of Rs. 143.54 crores for the State Plan Outlay, the Central assistance being Rs. 75.60 crores and the internal resources of the State Electricity Board, Rs. 7.35 crores. In addition, the centrally sponsored schemes account for a provision of Rs. 11.25 crores next year, as against Rs. 10.74 crores this year, thus giving a total Plan provision of Rs. 154.79 crores next year as against Rs. 161.70 crores this year. I might add that though the provision for loans for agricultural purposes will be Rs. 6.48 crores less next year, the overall investment in this vital sector will not be affected, because of the expanding rural credit programme of the Cooperative sector as well as the credit likely to be advanced by scheduled banks. The Land Mortgage Bank will extend its activities to 41 districts next year as against 25 this year. Nevertheless, it would be open to the State Government to consider the question of augmentation of outlays, if necessary, after ensuring that more resources are mobilised for covering the additional expenditure.

श्री रामसेवक यादव (बाराबंकी) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं उत्तर प्रदेश के वजट के बारे में वित्त मंत्री से एक सूचना, इनफार्मेशन, चाहता हूँ।

MR. SPEAKER : When the budget is placed before the House there will be discussion. Then he can discuss the whole of it and ask for any information he requires. After all, the discussion is only for eliciting information.

श्री रवि राय (पुरी) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी हमारे दल के एक सदस्य ने बोलना है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अगर टाइम होगा, तो वह बोल सकते हैं।

12.26 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai) : When is the Finance Minister replying?

MR. SPEAKER : I think it will be about 2.30 or 2.45 p.m. depending upon the time taken by hon. Members. Some of the parties have still some time left. The Congress Party has one hour. I think the Minister needs that time. Therefore, there will not be many speakers from that side. There are some other parties which have 9 minutes, 5 minutes etc. The Jan Sangh has got 16 minutes. The Communists have got 9 minutes and Shri Banerjee is speaking. SSP has 13 minutes and Shri Gunanand Thakur is speaking. Communist Marxists have got 16 minutes and Shri Ganesh Ghosh is speaking. Therefore, I will finish these and then call the Minister. Now, Shri Kunte may continue his speech. I think he has taken some time.

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE (Kolaba) : I have not taken even one minute.

MR. SPEAKER : Perhaps he was only called. Now let him continue.

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ rose.

MR. SPEAKER : There are 25 names from the Congress Party with me. His is the 10th or 11th.

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ (Wardha) : I have been waiting for the last three days.

MR. SPEAKER : I will have to give time to all the parties and regulate the business of the House. Now, Shri Kunte.

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE : By now many hon. Members have said what are the special features of the budget, if any or how featureless it is. Therefore, without saying anything in general, I would like to refer to certain broad points.

[Shri Dattatraya Kunte]
12.28 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

The Finance Minister has in one part, tried to raise certain additional revenues by raising the postal rates and other duties and, on the other side, he has left a gap of Rs. 290 crores uncovered. As far as the taxes that he is raising are concerned, the postal levies are of a type which is going to be very harmful to the poor village people in many respects. The increase in postal rates, especially so far as postcards are concerned, is really unnecessary and has been forced on us only because the postal and telegraph departments are not trying to bring about economies. Also, whenever they open new post offices excepting them to be self-supporting and not incurring any losses is also not quite correct. Therefore, instead of raising the levy on postcards, it is really necessary that he pulls up the postal department to economise and give the same service within the present schedule.

Then there is on levy which he has increased and that is with regard to newspapers that are being sent by post. As he knows very well, as far as big newspapers are concerned, they are distributed mainly by hand. Therefore, they are not going to be affected very much by this levy. It is the small newspapers, specially the district newspapers that are mainly sent by post to the subscribers. Under these circumstances, when he is trying to raise the levy on these newspapers he is causing harm to the process of democracy going deeper as well as to the local people trying to voice their viewpoints. Therefore, he ought to consider this levy from this angle rather than trying to raise a few lakhs out of this levy.

Then, he might think that tobacco is just a waste and, therefore, there is nothing wrong in it being taxed. The poor agriculturist or poor villager who usually goes to his field, when he has no occupation and sits in his house, he has nothing to fall back upon but to chew a little tobacco. One really does not know whether the Finance Minister wants to tax such people still further and

make it inconvenient for them to enjoy that little pleasure from this tobacco.

As regards the gap that is left, he has not indicated how he wants to fill it. Does he want to fill it by printing more notes at the Government of India press and thereby let loose more money in the market and then leave it to the market to raise the price on goods and other things as and when it suits people? Because, then the prices will not go up only to the tune of the additional notes that he will print but the price of every commodity will go up higher and higher and, therefore, there will be much more inflation. On the other hand, if he is going to come to this House for raising more taxation in November, than also he is going to touch the pocket of the poor tax-payer. If he is going to touch the pocket of the poor tax-payer for something good or essential, then the tax-payer would not be grudging. But the Finance Minister is trying to raise these taxes in order just to run the machine.

Yesterday we heard the Minister of State for Finance trying to tell us that the expenditure of running the Government has not gone up very much. As a matter of fact, he quoted figures, trying to show that the percentage has gone down. But when he was giving the percentages he was trying to delude or mislead the House, because the percentage has gone down only because the revenue has steeply gone up. If the percentage has come down only by 3, 4 or 6 per cent, then it has got to be accepted that the cost of running the Government today is much more than the State could afford or the poor agriculturist or villager could afford.

While on the question of administrative expenditure, he was trying to make out a case that nobody could be in favour of retrenchment. Well, if there are Government servants who are not doing their job properly, it is necessary that they ought to be retrenched. The productivity test has to be applied and it has got to be found out whether all the Government servants are gainfully employed all the time, 6 hours or 8 hours, whatever it is. In my view,

there is plenty of scope for retrenchment. If we look at the year by year rise in the number of Government employees, it will be very clear that not only in the categories of peons, class 3 and class 2 employees but even in the higher echelons, Secretaries, Additional Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries, there is scope for retrenchment or reduction. Really speaking, Government ought to be very keen in making retrenchment, not for the sake of retrenchment but so that the offices will function much better. As a matter of fact, if there could be no other remedy, he could as well fall on the remedy of the Madhya Pradesh Government, by bringing the age of retirement down to 55 and not fill up those vacancies. Really speaking, for five years there should be a plan for making reduction in employment at the rate of 10 per cent per annum.

When I am saying this, I do understand and appreciate the situation in the country, that there is already plenty of unemployment. But this is not the way of providing employment to people. If he wants to provide employment, he ought to provide employment in a manner whereby people would be doing good honest service and they will be gainfully employed. As a matter of fact, I am going to make a grievance that he is not providing sufficient employment.

The other day he was asked a question as to how he is utilising the finances that he is receiving from the LIC. He refused or declined to disclose how he was investing those funds. It is not very material whether he discloses it or not. But as long as he is only buying shares of certain concerns, what is he doing? By buying those shares he is releasing the money to those shareholders whose shares he has purchased to spend it any way they like. He is not using that money very gainfully. Government might be getting control over certain organisations and certain companies. But that is not the only objective. If he were to use this money more gainfully, for instance in building activity, when cities and even villages and slums require housing, when it is necessary that satellite towns are built, it will give em-

ployment for a number of people, including the engineers and others. Thereby, he will have increased and work potential in the country and there will be people who are gainfully employed and, therefore, they would be prepared to pay taxes which he wants to collect from them. The colossal unemployment in the country really requires that the State does not run merely by carrying on administration but by creating opportunities of labour for persons in different places. It has happened in other Western countries. For instance, when Hitler came to power, when the armament built-up was taken in hand, the armament built-up might be wrong, and was wrong, but all the same it was good in this respect it gave employment to many persons. Well, I am not asking him to build up armament of the country. But he ought to open new works where annually quite a few crores of rupees would be spent and it will enable people to be gainfully employed and about the L.I.C. funds which come to him to be invested, I should believe this is one of the good things on which the L.I.C. funds ought to be invested rather than try to control certain industries or industrial undertakings.

Coming to another question, we are in the 21st year of Independence and this is the 31st year since in the year 1937 the provisional autonomy came into force. Even today, in this country, there are thousands of villages which have not good drinking water. Is it not the responsibility of the Government to see that the Central Government or the State Government do provide sufficient drinking water to all the villages rather than make them wait for so long? He might argue that in the past there were occasions where even States like Rajasthan have returned the money allotted to them for this purpose. If he finds that the States are not discharging their responsibility, as he has done in the case of food, he should then directly take it upon himself to see that every village is supplied drinking water and the promise that was made as early as 1937-38 is fulfilled. I might cite an instance when the then chief Minister of the Bombay State, Mr. B. G. Kher, went round my constituency then made

[Shri Dattatraya Kunte]

a promise to my constituents that within three years, he will see that every village in the State of Bombay then would have sufficient drinking water. 30 years have passed, Mr. Kher is, unfortunately, no more and here we are in the 21st year of Independence and yet there are people, there are villages, who have not just sufficient drinking water. Is the Central Government not responsible for it? Does it not owe any responsibility to the common man? May I tell the House that the total expenditure for these plans, as the Planning Commission has shown, is not going to be more than what is going to be sunk down in the sink of Bokaro? Whether the Bokaro Steel Plant is required at this stage or not for producing a certain few steel flats, as the hon. Deputy Finance Minister pointed out yesterday, this country can afford to spend Rs. 1000 crores on Bokaro but, when it comes to provide millions of the dumb people in the country with drinking water, well, it is no concern of the Government. He wanted to save, according to him, annually foreign exchange worth Rs. 80 crores. They have thrown down all the foreign exchange that we had, all the reserve that we had, down the sink all these years. Now, he says that we will save foreign exchange rather than provide drinking water to these dumb teeming millions in the villages and the countryside.

Sir, these are the main aspects from which a Government is judged, not from the army which it maintains, not from the huge buildings that it builds. We are told that, at present, what is being done is flats are being built, residential accommodation is being built and all that. But these are the real aspects. It is the common man in this country who is demanding of this Government whether the Government is, at all, going to provide employment. Whenever this Government raises wages either through wage board or through dearness allowance, what is it doing? It is creating disparity between the village, the unemployed or the partially employed villager, and with his meagre income, he becomes poorer still. This is the question this Government has to decide

and I should really believe that the hon. Finance Minister ought to be bold enough to put these matters in the forefront of his effort.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, right in the beginning, after hearing from the other members—because I could not hear his budget speech; I went out—when somebody asked me as to what was my comment about the budget, I said, 'It is a bundle of hollow promises and a stinking birthday gift to the nation'. I purposely used the word 'stinking' because we expected that some relief would be given to the common man, but unfortunately so many taxes have been levied. He has levied a tax even on confectionaries, i.e., taxing the small baby; I have never heard of this; no country in the world has ever taxed chocolate or lozenge which is supposed to be baby's food. The hon. Finance Minister may be allergic to chocolates and lozenges, but that does not mean that these are not needed for the children. When sugar is being sold in the open market at Rs. 4 per kilo, and at some places even at Rs. 4.15 or Rs. 4.20 or even Rs. 4.25, naturally sweets like chocolates and lozenges have to be bought to be given to children.

Another tax that has been levied is on postcard. The price of postcard has been raised. The Education Minister is already trying his best to see that our countrymen become illiterate, and with the rise in the price of postcard, from 6 Paise to 10 Paise, I think, literacy will come to an end. Nobody would like to write a postcard except with the bearing 'Members of Parliament'.

Coming to deficit financing, Mr. K. C. Pant and Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao waxed eloquent defending the deficit financing and they said that unless we reduced the developmental expenses or levied more taxes, deficit financing was a 'must'. I remember, in this House, certain solemn promises were made by the hon. Finance Minister about two things: one was on devaluation; when there was a question whether there was going to be another devaluation, he replied that, as long as he was the Finance

Minister, that would not happen; and the other promise was about deficit financing; I remember his promise, his assurance, though it was not as categorical as it was in the case of devaluation, that he would not resort to deficit financing. Because of this, when in September 1967 we met him to discuss the question of dearness allowance, we entered into a compromise with him that the increase of dearness allowance for six months should be deposited in the Provident Fund—just to help him in mobilising the resources for the success of the various plans—and six months' allowance should be paid in cash. We told this to the Finance Minister and we appreciated his wishful thinking that he would be able to hold the price line or check it at a reasonable limit. But we knew the class character of this Government whom they represent and the tall talk of socialism but practising capitalism in the country. We knew that this was bound to be a failure. My apprehension was correct. I was not prophesying at that time, but now I feel that this country is also on the brink of liquidation.

We were aiming towards a welfare State, but to-day after this budget I have come to the conclusion that it is not a welfare State, it is going to be a farewell State. That is my conclusion.

How can we avoid deficit financing? Mr. Pant has not touched those Points : how the income-tax arrears which stood at Rs. 376 crores in 1965 to-day stand at Rs. 550 crores. Now what about nationalisation of banks? A prostitution of socialism is being practised in the name of having social control on banks. By this they can hoodwink their own Party and some men in the country but not all men; they know what social control means. This is a deviation from their tall talks, for their hollow promises made either to the nation or to the All India Congress Committee or in this particular House. We, therefore, demand that on the question of deficit financing when the Finance Minister has failed and is resorting to deficit financing despite the taxation, it clearly means, Sir, that the country can equally be run by the General Manager of Nasik

Printing Press. We do not need any Finance Minister in this country and he should resign peacefully and gracefully and cease to work. He has failed to mobilise the resources in the country and he is still taxing the poor and resorting to deficit financing. Sir, it is high time that a man of his character should resign peacefully and quit gracefully.

AN HON. MEMBER : Will the hon. Member accept that post?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I am not capable for that post.

Even about the nationalisation of general insurance and import and export trade we have not been able to do anything. Sir, I give a bright instance. A lot has been said about experimenting in the country to check the economy : Have retrenchment, sack the poor Class III employees, revert them, give defence orders to the private sector and there should be retrenchment in Defence. What is happening? Sir, I give a bright instance. A new factory is being set up by STC for manufacturing shoes for export at Rae Bareilly, the constituency of the hon. Prime Minister. You, know, Sir, Rae Bareilly is not a leather centre at all. It is being set up at the cost of the British India Corporation, at the cost of an established factory of 50 or 60 years standing in Kanpur, all just to please the Prime Minister. Is that economy? Rs. 24 crores will be spent in Rae Bareilly whereas by spending only Rs. 50 or 60 lakhs they can take it over and run it as their own concern. I put this question to the hon. Finance Minister : is this the economy? Prime Minister's constituency has to be nursed at the cost of us, at the cost of the nation. It is a shame, Sir, and it is a sad commentary of our socialism.

I demand as the first thing that there should be no increase in the prices of postcard. There should be no excise duty on confectionery and those taxes which have been levied and which result in more prices of the various commodities and hit the consumer should be withdrawn.

I have demanded of the Finance Minister his resignation, not because I

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

am allergic to him. I like him for his integrity, for his honesty, but we want a Finance Minister who can mobilise the resources not by taxing the poor but by taking money from others, those black-marketeers and hoarders who are actually ruining the country. I, therefore, demand, Sir, that he should beware of the man eater and if he is not able to tame the man-eater, it is better he resigned his post and quit gracefully.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Srinibas Misra. You have only 9 minutes.

SHRI SRINIBAS MISRA (Cuttack) : No, Sir. Just now the Speaker read out that I will have 15 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have got the record. No argument please. Only 9 minutes you can have.

SHRI SRINIBAS MISRA : After all this long discussion and after going through the Budget, it appears that it is equally unrealistic, equally in the air and without any direction. It appears that the Finance Minister is living in a world, is living in an India that is peopled by only businessmen and income-tax payers.

As in the story of the King's Sons, the Minister's sons and the businessman's sons getting all the benefits—all the relief that the Finance Minister has sought to give is given to these people and not to the common man. All the tax that is to be paid has to be borne by the common man in the shape of payment of excise duties and corporation taxes which are passed on to them. It is realistic in one sense only. The Finance Minister has been realistic in patching up the lacuna or the gaps in certain places. He has taken out some money from somewhere and put it in other places. That is the only realistic aspect for which the Finance Minister must have laboured very hard. My sympathies are with him. But that can give on credit to the Budget. It is of course another realistic aspect, that the Finance Minister has not claimed any socialistic pattern in this budget. It is neither socialistic nor capitalistic. It is just the budget of the type of a harassed budget in a dilapidated household when

one just pays his taxes, without trying to manage the expenses. No direction is given. It will be seen that a good proportion of the tax income is spent on our Defence expenditure, civil expenditure and miscellaneous. So far as improvement is concerned, nothing is left for improvement. For transport only half per cent of the tax revenue is spent. For public works it is 1.5 per cent and for River schemes it is 0.01 per cent. This is how the developmental expenditure is met from finance. I will come to this particular aspect later on. In this state of affairs regarding our income, for developmental expenditure we have only to depend upon every pie that is put into our begging bowl by others.

Coming to the defence expenditure, nobody can say that it is not necessary. It is better that our defence should be strengthened. But what have we done? It is most lopsided. We are talking of the proliferation or non-proliferation treaty. We have taken really a stand which is defeating our role as a non-aligned nation. We don't want to sign this non-proliferation treaty although it comes from both the big or super powers. It is alleged that they are pulling us to both sides. We have taken such a stand. But what steps have we taken to increase the possibility of our nuclear improvement? This Budget does not show any indication or any such attempt made by the Government. And it is to be admitted for the budget that there is much scope for economy in the defence expenditure, without affecting its effectiveness.

Regarding income, the Finance Minister has stated that the public sectors have not been able to do much and contribute much. Rather there is Rs. 41 crores loss which is being paid on that account. It is for the Finance Minister to think very seriously whether all the expenditure that has been incurred in the public sector is being well-utilised. I don't suggest it for a moment that public sector should be abandoned; that is fantastic; but I would say that necessary economy in the public sector expenditure must be enforced. Only recently the Annual Report of the Hindustan Photo-films Corporation re-

vealed that year after year deficits and losses are piling up. Similar is also the case with Hindustan Steel. In all these three big steel factories there is top-heavy administration. At the same time when the labourers come for an increase in wages the Finance Minister says 'No, I have no money'. When the question of improvement of service conditions of the labourers comes up, everybody in the management says that there is no money. But for appointing high-paid officials, somehow money is found, and the consequence is loss to the public sector undertakings.

So far as development expenditure is concerned, in the present state of our finances, it is natural that we have to depend upon others because we have no money for the purpose. For instance, there is PL-480, and there is also another PL with some other number, and there is aid or loan from other countries. A long list of these donors and creditors of this poor country is there.

I would submit that whatever economy we may effect in other spheres of expenditure, it is necessary that development expenditure in the matter of education and health must not be affected. If we neglect health and education, then the mental standard of the country deteriorate and it cannot be recouped within a generation it may take some generations to recoup it. These big projects may wait for five years or ten years, but when once the younger generation deteriorates and it is not looked after properly, it may take generations to make that up. The budget discloses no indication of any attempt on the part of Government to look to this aspect of the matter.

You will also find that education does not find any mention in the budget speech of the Finance Minister, nor does health. All attempts regarding health have been confined inside the loop and except the loop there is nothing else in regard to health.

Reference has been made in this House in the course of the budget discussion to the fact that drinking water has been a problem in this country and yet for the last twenty years nothing has

been done to fulfil this need of the people. There are places where there have been no wells for miles together. Would it not be in the interests of the country and would it not be the duty of the Government to start a crash programme for supplying drinking water to all the areas in this country even by construction of wells?

Regarding grants to the States, no uniform policy has been followed in this regard. A backward State like Orissa is not on a par with other developed States. And yet what has been done in the matter of grants? The grants to the States have been influenced by policies other than equity. The results is that the imbalance between State and State has increased. This imbalance has also increased due to the holiday in the Plan. Because of the Plan holiday, the States have gone their own way since the Centre has not financed them. Therefore, the imbalance has further increased.

Regarding irrigation, there have been proposals from the Government of Orissa for grant of money to finalise some major irrigation projects. If that money is sanctioned, the State of Orissa would be in a position at least to keep the eastern region of India free from famine. But that has not been done. The recent cyclone, floods and drought in Orissa have converted the State from a surplus State into a deficit State so far as food-grains are concerned. No permanent step has been sought to be taken in this regard.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Member was entitled only to 9 minutes. He has already taken about 10 minutes. Now he must conclude. When one party puts up two speakers, it is very difficult to give more time to both of them.

Now, Shri Shiva Chandika Prasad. He should conclude in just two minutes. After that, I want to adjourn the House.

श्री शक्तिप्रसाद (बलिया) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप ने जो मुझे दो मिनट बोलने का समय दिया है उस के लिए मैं आप का आभारी हूँ।

[श्री चन्द्रिका प्रसाद]

अभी आप के सामने यह जो जनरल बजट विचारार्थ प्रस्तुत है उस का मैं जोरदार शब्दों में स्वागत करता हूँ। उपप्रधान मंत्री तथा वित्त मंत्री श्री मोरारजी देसाई की मैं प्रशंसा करता हूँ जिन्होंने देश की सीमाओं की सुरक्षा के लिए और देश के डिफेंस के लिए 40 प्रतिशत बजट रक्खा है। यह व्यवस्था जो उन्होंने की है वह एक बहुत अच्छी व स्वागत योग्य बात है।

श्री मोरारजी देसाई भाई ने शराब और टोफी पर जो टैक्स लगाया है उस का भी स्वागत करता हूँ क्योंकि न तो किसान शराब पीते हैं और न ही किसान के लड़के टोफी खाते हैं बल्कि उन को तो गुड़ भी नहीं मिलता है।

इस बजट में खेलकूद पर जो कम पैसा रखा गया है मेरा निवेदन है कि उस पर वित्त मंत्री महोदय पुनर्विचार करें क्योंकि खेलकूद से शारीरिक गठन होता है और उस से ही हमारे लड़कों का शारीरिक गठन हो पायेगा। इसके अलावा पढ़ाई, लिखाई में व्यस्त रहने के बाद अगर हमारे बच्चे खेल, कूद में भाग लेंगे तो वह अनुशासन हीनता से भी बचेंगे।

उधर के बैठे हुए भाई जो कि बजट को कट्टरपंथी और कठोर कहते हैं उनका वह कथन वास्तविकता से परे है और वह असलियत पर परदा डालना है। माननीय सदस्यों को ज्ञातव्य है कि सन् 1947 में ब्रिटेन ने सत्ता हस्तांतरित नहीं की थी बल्कि उस ने अनेक समस्याओं और उलझनों को पैदा किया था और उन्होंने अपने 200 वर्षों के शासन में इस देश को लूट कर, खसोट कर, जर्जर और खोखला करके चले गये। हमारी सरकार और हमारे नेताओं की दूरदर्शिता ने एक, एक समस्याओं को सुलझाया। उन की सुदृढ़ नीति और पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं से देश प्रगति पथ के ऊपर अग्रसर हुआ। लेकिन दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमारा उत्तर प्रदेश जोकि भारतीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में अग्रणी

रहा है उस की उपेक्षा की गई है, विशेषकर उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिले, बलिया, आजमगढ़, गाजीपुर, देवरिया, जौनपुर और मिर्जापुर आदि जोकि स्वाधीनता संग्राम में बहुत आगे थे और जिन्होंने कि देश की रक्षा के लिए चीन, पाकिस्तान युद्ध में अपने प्राणों को शोक दिया था, अपनी जानें बलिदान कर दी थीं, उन जिलों की उपेक्षा हो रही है। वहां के निवासी महान् कष्ट में हैं और वहां पर जो गरीबी फैली हुई है उस पर विशिष्ट विवरण आप को पटल कमिशन की रिपोर्ट में देखने को मिलेगा।

चूंकि फिर घंटी बजा दी है इसलिए मैं बहुत जल्दी समाप्त कर रहा हूँ।

कच्छ के मामले में अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय न्यायाधिकरण ने जो फैसला किया है वह हम लोगों को मान्य है लेकिन मैं उसके साथ ही भारत सरकार से यह अवश्य चाहता हूँ कि वह पाकिस्तान पर अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर यह दबाव डालें कि वह भी ताशकंद समझौते को क्रियान्वित करें।

आज हमारे किमान और मजदूर पूर्वी जिले में गंगा, घाघरा और जो तीसरी टोंस नदी है, इन तीन नदियों की बाढ़ से हमारे जिले का दो तिहाई हिस्सा बर्बाद हो गया है और इस के कारण उन हिस्सों के अन्दर के जिला परिषद् स्कूल, इंटर कालिज और हाई स्कूल भी बर्बाद हो गये हैं, व्यस्त व टूट गये हैं इसलिए मैं सरकार से चाहूंगा कि उन की आर्थिक सहायता होनी चाहिए।

चूंकि समय नहीं है इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि बाकी स्पीच को सभा पटल पर रखने की अनुमति मुझे दी जाय।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : बस माननीय सदस्य समाप्त करें।

श्री चन्द्रिका प्रसाद : सिंचाई की व्यवस्था करने के लिए मैं ने गत पालियामेंट में अपनी स्पीच में मांग की थी कि गंगा से नहर निकाली जाय लेकिन अगर वह बड़ी योजना होने के

कारण कार्यान्वित नहीं हो सकी तो मैं चाहूंगा कि लघु सिंचाई योजना के अन्तर्गत ट्यूबवैल आर्गनाइजेशन से 1000 ट्यूबवैल वहां के लिए देने की कृपा करें ताकि हमारा क्षेत्र अभावग्रस्त स्थिति और भूख से बच सके। चूक और समय नहीं है इसलिए बाकी स्पीच को सभापटल पर रखने दिया जाय।

13.05 Hrs.

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

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

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—Concl'd.

श्री मुत्तानन्द ठाकुर (सहरसा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मुझे, आशा थी कि इस बार माननीय वित्त मंत्री अपने जन्म दिवस के उपलक्ष्य में कम से कम जिस पार्टी में वह है, अर्थात् कांग्रेस पार्टी जो कि बार बार जनता के बीच में यह वादा करती है कि समाजवाद लायेगी, समाजवाद लायेगी, उस के अनुरूप बजट में संशोधन करेंगे। यदि कम से कम जन्म दिवस के अवसर पर वह जनता का बजट लाते तो भारत की जनता शायद उनका आभार मानती। लेकिन वही पुराना नक्शा, वही पुरानी शराब नई बोतल में ले कर माननीय वित्त मंत्री आये हैं और भारत की 50 करोड़ जनता के साथ वही पुरानी व्यवस्था की है। जिस तरह से पहले पूँजीपतियों का बजट होता था, और जो शुरू से ही वह करते आये हैं, उसी तरह से इस बार भी पुरानी शराब की बोतल है। मैं उम्मीद करता था कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी, जो अपने को अब भी भारत के भावी कर्णधार कहलाने की स्थिति में रखना चाहते हैं, कम से कम इस बार के चुनावों के नतीजे को देखते हुए, जनता की मनोभावनाओं को देखते हुए, वह उन की स्थिति में सुधार की बात करेंगे। लेकिन उन्होंने 290 करोड़ रु० के घाटे की स्थिति को ला कर देश को

गुमराह कर दिया है। मेरा तो निश्चित विश्वास है कि आज नहीं तो कल यह 290 करोड़ रु० निश्चित रूप से जनता पर नये टैक्स के रूप में आयेंगे। वित्त मंत्री जी ने यह बहुत धोखा धड़ी का काम किया है।

भारतवर्ष किसानों का देश है और यहां खेती सब से प्रमुख साधन है। बजट में इस बात की चर्चा की गई है कि इस बार बम्पर क्राप्स होंगी, इस बार खाद्यान्न में वृद्धि होगी, लेकिन पता नहीं कि उस खाद्यान्न का बटवारा किस आधार पर होगा। इस चीज का कोई जिक्र नहीं किया गया है। माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने इस बात की चर्चा की है कि वह 53 करोड़ रुपया खेती के लिये देंगे। जिस देश में 85 प्रतिशत लोग खेती पर अपना जीवन निर्वाह करते हैं दूसरे मुल्कों में यदि आप देखें तो अफ्रीका में सिर्फ 10 या 15 प्रतिशत लोग खेती करते हैं और वहां से हम अनाज ला कर खाते हैं—जिस देश में 85 प्रतिशत लोग खेती पर जीवन निर्वाह करते हैं उस के लिये केवल 53 करोड़ रुपये खेती के लिये दिये जा रहे हैं। अपने जन्म दिवस के अवसर पर उन्होंने इसी तरह से खेती पर जोर दिया है। जब बारिश हो गई तो कह दिया कि हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ गया और जिस साल बारिश नहीं हुई उस बार कह दिया कि अकाल हो गया, यह तो इन की हालत है।

सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि एक समाजवादी बजट को जनता का बजट और गरीबों का बजट होना चाहिये स्वर्गीय डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया कहा करने थे कि इस देश में 27 करोड़ लोगों की आमदनी 3 आ० रोज है। नन्दा जी शायद कहते थे कि सात या साढ़े सात आने रोज है। जिस मुल्क में यह स्थिति है उस में हर साल नये टैक्स बढ़ाये जायें, यह कहां तक उचित है? एक तरफ माननीय रेलवे मंत्री रेल के किराये बढ़ा कर गरीबों को परेशान करते हैं और दूसरी तरफ पोस्ट कार्ड और लिफाफों का दाम बढ़ा

[श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर]

कर—जिस का उपयोग साधारण और गरीब जनता करती है—गरीबों को उस के उपयोग से वंचित किया जाता है और बड़ी बड़ी कम्पनियों को छूट दी जाती है। वित्त मंत्री जी कहते हैं कि हम को 290 करोड़ रु० का घाटा है, लेकिन आज 500 करोड़ रु० इस मुल्क के बड़े बड़े पूँजीपतियों के पास पड़ा हुआ है। वित्त मंत्री जी की सरकार में इतना दम नहीं कि इस रुपये को उन से वसूल कर सके।

आज इस देश में आजादी के वाद भी करोड़ों रुपये बड़े बड़े राजों महाराजों को प्रीवी पर्स के रूप में दिये जाते हैं। लगजरी का सारा सामान खरीदने और विदेशों में घूमने के लिये, जनता की गाड़ी कमाई से और दूसरी तरफ गरीबों पर टैक्स बढ़ाये जाते हैं। अगर वित्त मंत्री महोदय सिर्फ दो तीन बातों की ओर ध्यान देते तो मैं समझता हूँ कि उन को घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था का सहारा न लेना पड़ता। पिछले बजट में यह वादा किया गया था कि हम घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था नहीं होने देंगे। लेकिन इस बार भी उन्होंने ऐसा ही किया है। कैसे इस देश की जनता उन के ऊपर विश्वास करे? एक बहुत बड़े अर्थशास्त्र के पंडित, कैम्ब्रिज विश्वविद्यालय के डा० कालडोर ने कहा है कि सब से बड़ी कमी हिन्दुस्तान में यह है कि खर्च पर कोई सीमा नहीं बांधी जाती है। इसी सदन में हमारे देश के महान नेता डा० लोहिया ने एक प्रस्ताव रखा था और कहा था कि अगर खर्च पर सीमा बांधी जाए तो इससे एक हजार करोड़ रुपये की बचत हो सकती है। लेकिन उस ओर कैसे ध्यान दिया जाएगा? यहां तो समाजवाद के नाम पर देश को गरीब जनता को धोखा दिया जाता है, देश की गरीब जनता का शोषण किया जाता है।

जो असली काम है उनकी तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। इस देश में दो तरह के आज भी स्कूल चलते हैं। आजादी के बाद तो एक ही तरह के स्कूल आप रखते अगर

आप समाजवाद में विश्वास करते हैं। हमारे देश में जब सभी को एक वोट देने का अधिकार है, हमारे देश में जब आपके द्वारा समानता की बात की जाती है तो दो तरह के स्कूल रखने की क्या तुक है। गरीब का बच्चा तो टूटे फूटे हुए स्कूल में पढ़ता है और जमीर का बच्चा सेंट जेवियर और सेंट माइकल स्कूल में। एक तरफ एक पर एक रुपया भी खर्च नहीं होता है और दूसरी तरफ उस पर अस्सी नब्बे रुपये महीना खर्च कर दिया जाता है। देश में विषमता भी बहुत ज्यादा है। अगर सरकार अंग्रेजी स्कूलों को ही बन्द कर दे और एक ही तरह के स्कूल रखे तो मेरा अपना अंदाज़ है कि अस्सी करोड़ या सत्तर करोड़ की बचत हो सकती है। स्कूलों में एक तरफ तो एशो आराम पर बेपनाह रुपया खर्च हो रहा है और दूसरी तरफ स्थिति यह है कि उनके पास बच्चों को बिठाने के लिए टाट भी नहीं। आज यह सरकार विनोबा भावे जी की तरह से कहती है कि इस देश में अमीर भी जीयें और गरीब भी जीयें। ये दोनों बातें साथ-साथ चलने वाली नहीं हैं। अगर आप नए भारत का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं तो एक का मोह आपको छोड़ना होगा। एक तरफ पब्लिक सेक्टर है और दूसरी तरफ प्राइवेट सेक्टर है। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया के बहुत बड़े अर्थ शास्त्री मृडाल गुप्ता ने एशियन ड्रामा में ग्यारह देशों का सर्वे करके और खास तौर पर एशियाई और अफ्रीकी देशों का सर्वे करके हिन्दुस्तान के बारे में यह कहा है कि यहां सब से बड़ी कमी यह है कि यहां के बड़े चड़े नेताओं और अफसरों को पश्चिमी कम्पनियों और पश्चिमी राष्ट्रों के लोग कुर्रप्ट करते हैं अपने बिजिनेस के फैलाव के लिए, अपने काम के फैलाव के लिए। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि सरकारी साधनों का हमेशा दुरुपयोग होता है। मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वह मितव्ययता करना चाहते हैं तो इसका बहुत बड़ा स्कोप हमारे देश में है। जो फिजूलखर्ची देश में हो रही है,

हर विभाग में हो रही है, हर मामले में हो रही है उसको अगर रोका जा सके तो अरबों रुपये की बचत आप कर सकते हैं और अगर आपने इसको रोका होता तो 290 करोड़ रुपये का जो घाटे का बजट आपको पेश करना पड़ा है इसकी जरूरत न पड़ती।

समाजवादी देश का बजट बहुत स्पष्ट होता है, उसमें स्पष्ट दिशा का निर्देश होता है कि किधर हम देश को ले जायेंगे। इस बजट में अनुमान किया गया है कि ग्यारह प्रतिशत नेशनल इनकम में वृद्धि होगी। लेकिन इस में इस बात का कहीं कोई जिक्र नहीं किया गया है कि उस वृद्धि का डिस्ट्री-ब्यूशन कैसे होगा, उसका बटवारा कैसे होगा। वह वृद्धि बड़े बड़े लोगों की इनकम में ही सम्भव है वर्तमान परिस्थितियों में। हमारे वित्त मंत्री श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने अपने परिवार को देखा है, उसको बनाया है, उनके नेतृत्व में तो कम से कम गरीब लोगों की हालत सुधारनी चाहिए, उनके लिए भी इनको कुछ करना चाहिये। गरीबों के वोट से वित्त मंत्री चुन कर यहां आए हैं और हम भी तमाम जितने लोग इस सदन में आ सके हैं, वे इन्हीं गरीब लोगों के वोट के बल पर ही आ सके हैं।

मैं समझता हूं कि यह बजट स्पष्टतः पूंजीवादी वजट है, टाटा, बिड़ला का वजट है। यह बजट हिन्दुस्तान की गरीब जनता का वजट नहीं है। अब तो वित्त मंत्री जी से कुछ भी आशा करना बिल्कुल बेकार हो गया है। वित्त मंत्री जी ने बार बार वादा किया था कि हम आगे एक दूसरी ही प्रकार का वजट देंगे लेकिन आज तक वह ऐसा नहीं कर सके हैं। इसलिए मैं समझता हूं कि इस बजट को रद्दी की टोकरी में फेंक दिया जाना चाहिये।

आप बड़ी बड़ी योजनाओं की बात करते हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि जब तक सिंचाई की तरक्की नहीं होगी, जब तक किसान का खेत नहीं सिंचा जाएगा तब तक देश की तरक्की नहीं हो सकती। आपको यह सुन कर आश्चर्य

होगा कि गंडक योजना की कोई चिन्ता नहीं की जा रही है। पश्चिमी कोसी नहर की कोई चिन्ता नहीं की जा रही है। इससे देश की लाखों एकड़ भूमि की सिंचाई हो सकती है। बिहार अन्न का भंडार बन सकता है, उत्तर बिहार अन्न का भंडार बन सकता है अगर इसको पूरा कर दिया जाए। लेकिन अभी तक भी इस योजना को कार्यान्वित आप नहीं कर पाए हैं। वित्त मंत्री केवल पच्चीस करोड़ रुपया बड़ी योजनाओं की कार्यान्वित के लिए देने जा रहे हैं। यह कितने शर्म की बात है कि इतनी कम राशि इतने महत्वपूर्ण काम के लिए दी जा रही है। सिंचाई को सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता देने की आज आवश्यकता है।

वित्त मंत्री जी ने केन्द्रीय कर्मचारियों के लिए महंगाई भत्ते में काफी वृद्धि की है। अब वह प्राविडेंट फंड की योजना बाहर वालों के लिए भी लागू करने जा रहे हैं। पिछले दस बारह महीनों में केन्द्रीय कर्मचारियों का महंगाई भत्ता दो बार शायद बढ़ाया गया है। लेकिन लाखों कर्मचारी जो राज्यों में काम करते हैं, क्या उनके बारे में भी उन्होंने सोचा है? वहां रोज वे हड़तालों पर जा रहे हैं। क्या महंगाई उन के लिए नहीं है? जब उनके महंगाई भत्ते की बात की जाती है तो वित्त मंत्री जी चुप हो जाते हैं। उनका जो भार है वह राज्यों पर छोड़ देते हैं, उन पर डाल देते हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि उनके लिए भी वित्त मंत्रीजी को कुछ करना चाहिये।

यह कहा जाता है कि डिफेंस की मद पर हमारा खर्च बढ़ा है। देश की सुरक्षा के लिए इस खर्च को बढ़ाना जरूरी है, इसको मैं मानता हूं। लेकिन इसको मैं कैसे मान लूं कि इस वृद्धि के बावजूद भी आप रन आफ कच को पाकिस्तान को दें, कच्छाटिवू श्रीलंका को दें काश्मीर के अक्साई चिन के इलाके को चीन को दें। कोई अनुसंधान की बात नहीं की गई है, सैनिकों के बच्चों के पढ़ने की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है।

[श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर]

अन्त में मैं इतना कहूंगा कि यह बजट रद्दी की टोकरी में जाने लायक है और इस वास्ते मैं इस बजट का विरोध करता हूँ। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि मोरारजी देसाई साहब इस बजट को वापिस ले कर एक नया बजट हमारे सामने पेश करेंगे।

SHRI GANESH GHOSH (Calcutta South): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member, Shri P. Ramamurthi, day before yesterday, thoroughly exposed the real character of the Budget and the thinking or outlook underlying it. That thinking or outlook is that our national economy can only develop by whetting the greed of the big business for more and more profits. Gone are the days when the Congress Government used to pretend that the development of our public sector economy will gradually lead to socialism and therefore that should get priority treatment. But, Sir, our economy today is in such doldrums that the private sector or the big business thinks that only a shot in the arms by the Government will make it survive. That is why, Shri Morarji Desai, despite his reluctance for deficit financing has to reconcile with it. It is very difficult to say how much he is reluctant or opposed to deficit financing, because only he himself can say that and what he has done in the current year is exactly contrary to what he had said earlier. About Government expenditure for direct or indirect benefit of the big business houses Shri Morarji Desai said so in his Budget Speech in para 70:

"It would be shortsighted to retard the process of recovery by putting an undue curb on governmental spending."

That is why big business interests who were so long opposed to the public sector are now demanding more and more governmental expenditure even though it may mean deficit financing.

The Congress Government has been giving incentives after incentives to the big business all these years. Has it helped in the development of our economy? No. When cement was decontrolled it was stated that it would help

in the expansion of the industry. In reality it has helped only in the expansion of the profits of the ACC, the Dalmias etc., by 50 to 100 per cent and no real expansion of the industry has taken place. Decontrol of sugar has certainly helped to swell the profits of the sugar magnates, but no expansion of the industry will take place, I am sure.

Earlier, a former Finance Minister, Shri Sachin Chowdhury, had in 1965-66 abolished the tax on bonus shares as well as the Capital Gains Tax on the recipients of the bonus shares. What did it lead to? Did it lead to industrial development of our country? No, not at all. It only led to unheard of increase in bonus shares. What does the figures show? This is what the figures reveal: In 1964-65 bonus shares worth Rs. 4.1 crores were issued: in 1965-66 it went up to Rs. 4.9 crores. But, after the abolition of the taxes it went up to Rs. 147 crores in 1966-67. So, it only resulted in the Government being deprived of its revenues and the workers being deprived of their due share of bonus. I do not know how Shri Morarji Desai is going to defend this.

In a number of tea companies bonus shares were issued in the proportion of 1 to 3 and in Indian Irons in the proportion of 1 to 1. Shri Sachin Chowdhury had, of course, interest in these companies.

The Government talk of the wealth tax. But what is the use of imposing this tax when all those big business houses convert their wealth into private trusts, which are totally exempt from taxation? Incidentally, it may be pointed out that Shri Sachin Chowdhury helped this process by amending the Trust Act and providing that all trusts in which individuals have only 25 per cent share should be exempted from all taxation. It will also be interesting to know how much Shri Sachin Chowdhury himself has been benefited by these measures, if only we knew the number of trusts in which he has shares. I demand a complete investigation into all these manipulations of the finances of our country. I would like to know what Shri Morarji Desai thinks about such an investigation.

Even after the bitter experience of all these 20 years, and in spite of the experience of all the under-developed countries, including our own, in the hands of the imperialists in the UNCTAD Conference that is now going on in Delhi now, Shri Morarji Desai has a pathetic faith in their aid. He states in para 14 of his speech :

"It is our earnest hope that the deliberations of the Conference will help in promoting co-operation in trade and aid between the developed and the developing countries."

But co-operation is something which can take place only between equals. What co-operation could there be when we go in for aid ? This is like a beggar asking for co-operation from the tycoon.

The whole capitalist world is facing a crisis. The United States itself is facing a political and economic crisis as a result of the masive blows that the brave people of Vietnam are raining on them.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : Wishful thinking.

SHRI GANESH GHOSH : Britain had to devalue her pound sterling and still has not recovered her economy. Naturally, all the imperialist countries would like to intensify their loot of the under-developed countries if they give an opportunity to those sharks to do it. And it is precisely this that our Government is doing by continuing its dependence on them.

Is there no alternative ? Shri Morarji Desai says :

"The other alternative was to put up proposals for massive mobilisation of resources. It is my judgment that this would hurt the economy and retard the process of growth."

Let us look into this. How many thousands of crores of rupees are invested in speculation in the stock exchange, in the commodity market, in urban land and housing ? If this be stopped and this huge amount be mobilised for productive investment, why should it hit our economy ? Would Shri

Morarji Desai give an answer to this ? Of course, this will hit the friends of Shri Morarji Desai. Incidentally, the country will benefit if an investigation be made into the stock market dealings a week prior and after the budget was presented to this House—how many people were benefited and to the extent of how many crores and who are these people. I need not go into it in detail because it is talked about in the town. Then, how many crores of rupees are being invested in usurious money-lending in the villages ? If this be stopped and that colossal amount be invested in productive industries, how will it hit our economy ?

Faced with the biggest crisis the Government has the same old remedies which have been proved to be ineffective all these years. The budget reveals a total bankruptcy of economic thinking. This budget will not lead to recovery. It would only lead to greater attacks on the common people.

The gathering resistance of all sections of the working people against retrenchment, against automation, against attempts to attack their living standards—these are the only hopeful signs in an otherwise very bleak situation. I am sure there are people in this country who will come to realise more and more out of their own living experience the real meaning of the capitalist path of development and I am sure these people will get united and will try to unite others to meet the challenge that has been thrown by the Central Government through this budget.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, उप-प्रधान मंत्री के बजट भाषण से उनके व्यक्तित्व का एक नया पहलू हमारे सामने आया है। बजट-भाषण एक रूखी चीज़ है, लेकिन उप-प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने उसमें कहीं विनोद किया है, कहीं व्यंग्य किया है। ऐसा लगता है कि बजट-भाषण में कहीं रंग के छिटे हैं और कुछ गुलाल के कण भी हैं। उन्होंने अपने भाषण में अभिनेताओं और अभिनेत्रियों का उल्लेख किया है और उनकी चिरंजीवी रहने की कामना पर

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

छोटा कसा है। पति-पत्नी के सम्बन्धों की नज़ाकत को स्वीकार किया है और उसमें न पड़ने की कुशलता दिखाई है।

श्री बी० चं० शर्मा (गुरदासपुर) : माननीय सदस्य तो उसको कुछ भी नहीं समझते हैं।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : किन्तु उनका सबसे बड़ा विनोद प्लास्टिक सर्जरी के बारे में है। उन्होंने कहा है कि वह कोई बड़ा आपरेशन नहीं करना चाहते; छोटा सा आपरेशन कर रहे हैं, जो प्लास्टिक सर्जरी के ढंग का होगा, जिसमें थोड़ा सा चमड़ा यहां से हटा कर दूसरी जगह लगाया जायेगा। प्लास्टिक सर्जरी में चमड़ा ऐसी जगह से निकाला जाता है, जहां से निकल सके और जो दिखाई न दे और ऐसी जगह लगाया जाता है, जहां दिखाई दे और किसी कमी को पूरा करे।

वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने कारपोरेट करों के क्षेत्र में कुछ चमड़ा लगाया है।

उन्होंने उदारता से काम लिया है। कुछ मात्रा में कारपोरेट करों में राहत देना जरूरी था। देश जिस आर्थिक शिथिलता का शिकार है उसमें पूंजी का निर्माण बढ़े, पूंजी-बाजार में सजीवता आये, लोग अपनी बचत बढ़ा कर विकास की गति को बल प्रदान करें इस दृष्टि से जो कुछ सुविधाएं दी गई हैं वे उचित हैं और उन पर किसी को अधिक शिकायत नहीं होनी चाहिए। उदाहरण के लिए सामान्य शेयर के लाभांशों के अतिरिक्त वितरण पर लगने वाले लाभांश कर को समाप्त करना, कम्पनी के लाभांश पर लगने वाले अतिरिक्त प्रति कर को 35 प्रतिशत से घटा कर 25 प्रतिशत करना, बिना कमाई और कमाई हुई आमदनियों पर से अलग-अलग सरचार्ज हटाना और व्यक्तिगत आमदनियों के क्षेत्र में वार्षिक जमा-योजना समाप्त करना, यह ठीक कदम हैं और हमें आशा करनी चाहिए कि इन कदमों का उचित प्रभाव पड़ेगा, देश की आर्थिक मंदी को दूर करने में यह कदम

सहायक होंगे। लेकिन कारपोरेट क्षेत्र को इतनी सुविधाएं देने के लिए क्या यह आवश्यक था कि अप्रत्यक्ष करों में ऐसे करों की वृद्धि की जाती जिस का भार सीधे आम आदमी पर पड़ता है। अब यह कहा जा सकता है कि अगर अप्रत्यक्ष कर बिलकुल न लगाए जाते तो बजट का घाटा बढ़ जाता और बजट पर हुई चर्चा में बार बार वित्त मंत्री को उनके पुराने भाषणों का हवाला देकर यह याद दिलाया गया है कि आप घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था न करने के लिए वचनबद्ध थे। लेकिन इस बजट में 250 करोड़ का अनपूरित घाटा छोड़ दिया है। इस संबंध में मेरा निवेदन यह है कि घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था मुद्रा-स्फीति को बढ़ावा देती है; इससे इनकार नहीं किया जा सकता। लेकिन हम किसी भी स्थिति में कभी भी घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था नहीं करेंगे यह कठोर और गैर-लचीला दृष्टिकोण अपनाता भी ठीक नहीं होगा। अगर घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था पथ्य के तौर पर की जाती है तब वह समझ में आ सकती है। ध्यान इतना ही रखना होगा कि उससे मुद्रा-स्फीति एक सीमा के बाहर न जाने पाये और मूल्य-वृद्धि पर उसका दुष्परिणाम न हो।

सरकारी प्रवक्ता कह रहे हैं कि 290 करोड़ में से 140 करोड़ रुपया अन्न भंडार बनाने के लिए रखा गया है और सौ करोड़ रुपया पी० एल०-480 के अन्तर्गत जो हम गेहूं का आयात करते थे उसमें कमी होने के कारण उसके लिए प्रबन्ध नहीं किया गया है। मुझे विश्वास है कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय जब उत्तर देंगे तो इन बातों का स्पष्टीकरण करेंगे। अगर सरकारी प्रवक्ता के ये कथन ठीक हैं तो फिर जिसे घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था कहा जा रहा है वह एक हिसाब में से दूसरे हिसाब में धनराशि का लिखना हुआ। उसे एक खतरनाक स्थिति की घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था नहीं कह सकते।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे लगता है कि वित्त मंत्री का बजट समुद्र में तैरने वाले बरफ के

पहाड़ की तरह से है जो जितना दिखाई देता है उससे अधिक दिखाई नहीं देता है। मुझे भय है उप-प्रधान मंत्री महोदय पूरक बजट लाने की तैयारी कर रहे हैं। यही कारण है कि इस बजट में घाटा छोड़ा गया है। यही कारण है कि इस बार प्लास्टिक सर्जरी कर के वह संतोष कर रहे हैं। लेकिन वह एक बड़े आपरेशन की तैयारी कर रहे हैं। प्लास्टिक सर्जरी मरीज को टटोलने के लिए है कि उनकी प्रतिक्रिया क्या होती है? क्या वह प्लास्टिक सर्जरी को सहन कर सकता है? और अगर वित्त मंत्री महोदय इस परिणाम पर पहुंचे कि प्लास्टिक सर्जरी गले के नीचे उतर गई, अब बड़ा आपरेशन करना चाहिए तो वे उसकी तैयारी करेंगे। बड़ी स्पष्टवादिता से काम लेते हुए उन्होंने अपने भाषण में कहा है कि इतना बड़ा घाटा वित्त मंत्री से तकाजा करना है कि अतिरिक्त साधनों के वास्ते भारी आपरेशन करने के लिए अपनी छुरी तेज करें और वह छुरी तेज कर रहे हैं। इस बार जो बोक्षा जनता पर पड़ा है उसमें अगर हम राहत देने के लिए उनको मजबूर कर सके तो आगे आने वाले पूरक बजट में भी आम आदमी की रक्षा की जा सकेगी। अगर हम इस बार हार गए तो फिर बड़े आपरेशन में मांस का एक बड़ा टुकड़ा कटने का डर मुझे साफ दिखाई दे रहा है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, डाक और तार विभाग के राजस्व बजट में इस वर्ष 22 करोड़ रुपये के घाटे का अनुमान है। उसके लिए बजट में डाक शुल्क दरों में वृद्धि का प्रस्ताव रखा गया है। इस वृद्धि का कोई औचित्य नहीं है। वित्त मंत्री महोदय उस वृद्धि के समर्थन में महावीर त्यागी कमेटी की सिफारिशों का उल्लेख करेंगे। निश्चय ही श्री महावीर त्यागी बड़े सौभाग्यशाली व्यक्ति हैं। अनेक महत्वपूर्ण कमेटियों और कमीशनों की अध्यक्षता का उनको मौका मिलता है। लेकिन जो समिति बनी थी उसके टर्म्स आफ रेफरेंस को अगर हम देखें तो पता लग जायगा कि जब सरकार ने कमेटी बनाई उसका मंशा तभी डाक

और तार के शुल्क की दरों में वृद्धि करना था। और इस वृद्धि के लिए वह किसी कमेटी की सिफारिश चाहते थे और त्यागी कमेटी की सिफारिश सरकार की मनचाही है।

प्रश्न यह है कि डाक और तार सेवाएं व्यापारिक संस्थानों के अनुसार चलाई जायं जिनसे लाभ हो या उन्हें अनिवार्य सेवा माना जाय जिस व्यवस्था को नुकसान सह कर भी चलाना जरूरी होगा? दुनिया में दोनों तरह के उदाहरण मिल सकते हैं। लेकिन त्यागी कमेटी ने केवल अपने पक्ष के उदाहरणों का उल्लेख किया है। अन्य उदाहरणों की उपेक्षा कर दी है। मेरा निवेदन है कि रेलों या डाक या तार सेवा को हम टुकड़ों में बांट कर नहीं देख सकते। जब तक रेलें जनरल रेवेन्यू में अपना योगदान देती थीं तब रेलों में मुनाफा हो रहा है यह कह कर रेल मंत्री ने किराये और माल-भाड़े की दरों में वृद्धि करने के लोभ संवरण नहीं किया। जब डाक तार सेवा मुनाफे में चल रही थी तब भी दरें बढ़ाई गईं। आज घाटे के नाम पर जिन दरों को बढ़ाने का समर्थन किया जा रहा है, वह समस्या को टुकड़ों में देखने का प्रयत्न है जो कभी भी हमें एक सम्यक निर्णय पर पहुंचने में सहायक नहीं हो सकता। कटु सत्य यह है कि डाक और तार के शुल्क की दरों में बढ़ावा देना डाक और तार सेवा की अक्षमता को, उसमें होने वाले अपव्यय को, कुप्रबन्ध को प्रोत्साहन देना है और उसके लिए जनता को सजा देना है। त्यागी कमेटी ने कुछ चाँका देने वाले रहस्योद्घाटन किए हैं यद्यपि उनका संबंध छोटे कर्मचारियों से है। लेकिन डा० रामसुभग सिंह जिस साम्राज्य पर अपना अधिकार चला रहे हैं उनके सिंहासन के नीचे क्या घटित हो रहा है यह त्यागी कमेटी ने बताने की छोटी सी कोशिश की है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं उस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट से दो उदाहरण उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ। प्रथम, 75-95 के वेतन-मान में काम करने वालें एक डाकिये ने चिकित्सा खर्च की प्रतिपूर्ति के

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

रूप में सितम्बर 1967 में 2220 रुपये और अक्तूबर 1967 में 8460 रुपये वसूल किए। एक दूसरा उदाहरण है, एक क्लर्क ने जिसका वेतन प्रति माह 240 रुपया है, अक्तूबर 1967 में 975 रुपये 20 पैसे ओवरटाइम एलावंस के लिए और 1967 के पहले दस महीनों में इसी भत्ते के नाम पर 5552 रुपए लिए। त्यागी कमेटी ने और भी उदाहरण दिए हैं। छोटे कर्मचारी इस सीमा तक अगर सुविधाओं का दुरुपयोग कर रहे हैं तो अफसरों का क्या हाल होगा इसका सहज में ही अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है। डाक और तार सेवाओं में फिजूलखर्ची को कम करने की गुंजाइश है। सेवाओं को सक्षम बना कर जो घाटा हो रहा है उसको दूर किया जा सकता है, लेकिन दर बढ़ाने का कोई औचित्य नहीं है। और फिर दरें बढ़ायी जा रही हैं पोस्टकार्ड पर, अन्तर्देशीय पत्र पर। पोस्ट कार्ड आम आदमी के काम की चीज है। न तो पोस्ट कार्ड पर सरकार विरोध-पत्र भेजती है और न आदमी उस पर प्रेम-पत्र भेजते हैं। अपना दुखड़ा लिख कर, थोड़ा लिखा बहुत समझना, यह कह कर पोस्ट कार्ड समाप्त कर देते हैं। मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से अपील करूंगा कि पोस्ट कार्ड और इनलैंड लिफाफों को इस वृद्धि से बरी कर दीजिये, जिन्हें पूरा लिफाफा लिखना है, वे थोड़ा ज्यादा पैसा दें, तब हम इसकी शिकायत नहीं करेंगे।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री ने सभी किस्मों के अनिमित (अनमैन्डफैक्चर्ड) तम्बाकू शुल्कों की मौजूदा दरों में 10 फीसदी वृद्धि का प्रस्ताव रखा है और सभी धान 22 पैसे की नीति अपनाकर, सबको एक ही छड़ी से हांकने का दृष्टिकोण स्वीकार कर उन्होंने अपने बजट भाषण में बड़े गर्व के साथ कहा है— मैं उन्हीं के शब्दों से उद्धृत कर रहा हूँ— “इस मौके पर मैंने निकोटीन के विभिन्न प्रेमियों के प्रति निष्पक्ष रहने का फैसला किया है, भले ही वे मामूली बीड़ी, हुक्का या खाने की तम्बाकू के शौकीन हों या सिगरेट,

सिगार और पाइप के।” यह वित्त मंत्री का निष्पक्ष रवैया है—बीड़ी को और सिगार को एक ही श्रेणी में रखना और यह कहना कि हम निष्पक्ष हैं, सचमुच में दोनों के साथ अन्याय करना है। बीड़ी के साथ इसलिये अन्याय करना है कि बीड़ी इतना बोझ नहीं सह सकती और सिगार के साथ इसलिये अन्याय करना है कि सिगार इससे भी ज्यादा बोझ सह सकती है। अब अगर हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय अपने मंत्रालय के श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया और हमारे विरोधी दल के श्री पीलू मोदी को एक ही श्रेणी में रख दें और कहें कि हम दोनों के ऊपर बराबर बोझ डाल रहे हैं और हम बड़े निष्पक्ष हैं तो फिर श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया की कमर बिना टूटे नहीं रहेगी और श्री पीलू मोदी पर जितना बोझ पड़ना चाहिये, वह नहीं पड़ेगा। बीड़ी में काम आने वाली तम्बाकू और खाने के काम में आनेवाली तम्बाकू—ये नये भार से मुक्त रहनी चाहियें। मुझे विश्वास है कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करेंगे। जो सिगरेट पीते हैं, अच्छी सिगरेट पीते हैं, उन्हें अगर कुछ अधिक पैसा देना पड़े तो वह चिन्ता की बात नहीं होगी, लेकिन तम्बाकू खाकर जो अपना गम गलत करते हैं या बीड़ी के धुएं में अपने कपटों को भुलाना चाहते हैं, वे वित्त मंत्री की छड़ी से बच न सकें, यह अच्छा नहीं दिखाई देता।

SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirappalli) :
Also cigars, please, of Trichinopoly.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बजट पर जो चर्चा हुई है, उसमें पब्लिक सैक्टर और प्राइवेट सैक्टर का हवाला दिया गया है। ऐसा दिखाई देता है कि हमारे देश में दोनों सैक्टरों के बीच में एक शीत युद्ध चल रहा है। जब पब्लिक सैक्टर पर हमला करने वाले बोलते हैं तो उन्हें पब्लिक सैक्टर में कोई अच्छाई नहीं दिखाई देती और जब प्राइवेट सैक्टर की आलोचना करने वाले मुंह खोलते हैं तो उन्हें प्राइवेट सैक्टर सारी बुराइयों का भण्डार दिखाई

देता है। यह दृष्टिकोण स्वस्थ नहीं है, कुछ मात्रा में यह दृष्टिकोण दूषित है, विकृत है। हमें यह मान कर चलना होगा कि प्राइवेट सैक्टर और पब्लिक सैक्टर एक ही नैशनल सैक्टर के दो हिस्से हैं और आज देश की वर्तमान स्थिति में हर एक को अपनी क्षमता और शक्ति के अनुसार विकास करने का पूरा मौका मिलना चाहिये। दोनों के बीच में चलने वाला यह शीत-युद्ध समाप्त करने की जरूरत है। यह भी स्वाभाविक है कि जब पब्लिक सैक्टर और प्राइवेट सैक्टर का झगड़ा बढ़ता है तो जनता का जो सैक्टर है, पियुपिलज़ सैक्टर, सैल्फ-एम्प्लायमेंट का सैक्टर, जिसमें छोटे-छोटे धन्धे करनेवाले, अपने परिश्रम से कमाने वाले लोग आते हैं, उनकी उपेक्षा हो जाती है। मैं चाहूंगा कि इस बारे में हम स्वस्थ दृष्टिकोण अपना कर चलें।

एक बात कह कर मैं समाप्त कर दूंगा। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं उन लोगों में से नहीं हूँ जो यह समझते हैं कि राष्ट्रीयकरण ही सारी बीमारियों का रामबाण उपाय है। आवश्यकता होने पर सरकार अपने अधिकार क्षेत्र को बढ़ा सकती है, लेकिन आज की स्थिति में जो कल-कारखाने सरकार चला रही है, अगर उन्हें अच्छी तरह से चला कर दिखायें, उनमें उत्पादन तथा उत्पादकता बढ़ाये, जो क्षमता है उसके अनुसार काम हो और मजदूरों के बारे में पब्लिक सैक्टर एक आदर्श रख सके, तो पब्लिक सैक्टर की जो आलोचना होती है, वह बहुत कम हो जायगी और फिर विस्तार का काम हाथ में लिया जा सकता है। आज तो उस क्षेत्र को दृढ़ करने की आवश्यकता है। जब तक हम मैनजरों का कैंडर तैयार नहीं करते, तब तक पब्लिक सैक्टर का अनाप-शनाप विस्तार देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था के लिये हितकर नहीं हो सकता।

यह भी जरूरी है कि किसी उद्योग धन्धे का राष्ट्रीयकरण करते समय राजनीति बीच में न आने दी जाय। हमारा सुझाव है कि किसी उद्योग की स्थिति की जांच के लिये

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एक जूडीशियल कमीशन बनायें और सब पहलुओं पर विचार कर अगर वह सिफारिश करता है कि यह उद्योग सरकार को अपने हाथ में ले लेना चाहिये, तो उस पर निर्णय हो सकता है। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य की बात ऐसी है कि महत्वपूर्ण निर्णय राजनीतिक कारणों से प्रेरित हो कर लिये जाते हैं। जैसे कम्पनियों द्वारा राजनीतिक दलों को चन्दा देने का मवाल है—मेरे मित्र श्री मीनू मसानी यहां बैठे हैं, वे भी उस लोक सभा के सदस्य थे, जब वह पहले पहल यह बिल लाये कि कम्पनियों को राजनीतिक दलों को चन्दा देने की छूट नहीं देनी चाहिये। मैं भी उस समय राज्य सभा में इसी आशय का एक बिल लाया था, मगर उस समय के वित्त मंत्री श्री टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी ने मेरे विधेयक का जवाब देते हुए कहा—ऐसा नहीं हो सकता, इसकी आवश्यकता नहीं है। अब आप कम्पनियों को चन्दा देने से रोकने की बात कर रहे हैं—क्या यह राजनीतिक कारणों से प्रेरित होकर नहीं किया जा रहा है? चूंकि अब विरोधी दलों को भी थोड़ा चन्दा मिलने लगा है, इसलिये अब कानून की बात हो रही है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब तक राजा कांग्रेस का साथ देते थे, तब तक प्रीवी पर्स देना ठीक था, अब राजा थोड़ा सा मुंह मोड़ रहे हैं, तो प्रीवी पर्स बन्द करने की धमकी दी जा रही है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था को सुधारने का तरीका नहीं हो सकता। हमारा दृष्टिकोण वस्तुवादी, व्यवहारवादी होना चाहिये। देश के साधनों को, शक्तियों को मिला कर देश की आर्थिक प्रगति की गति को बढ़ानेवाला होना चाहिये। इस दृष्टि से वित्त मंत्री अगर अपने बजट में संशोधन करेंगे तो हम उनका स्वागत करेंगे।

DR. KARNI SINGH (Bikaner): I wish to say just a few words about the Kutch Tribunal Award. The Government has taken the stand that because of our pledge to Pakistan to refer the matter to the tribunal, any such award would

[Dr. Karni Singh]

be binding on our country. I am very happy to see that the Government at long last is placing some value on the pledged words and I only hope that similar pledged words of the Government of India will also carry the same value in respect of all the other loyal Indian citizens, too. But, Sir, the thing that I wish to maintain is this, that Pakistan, by an act of war has lost all rights to expecting India accept the tribunal award. I shall read out the legal position in International Law. It says :

"The effect of war on treaties particularly bilateral agreements of the *traite contra* type is to terminate them. It is true that treaties which are law-making known as *traite lois* type are not disturbed by the effect of war and remain binding on all parties. The same cannot be said of bilateral agreements particularly those in which one of the parties is a belligerent."

It is well known that the agreement between India and Pakistan to refer the boundary dispute on the Kutch border was concluded in the first half of 1965 and subsequent to its conclusion Pakistan committed an aggression on India. The entire dispute with Pakistan was on respect of the land boundary. This one aspect was referred to the Tribunal relating to the Kutch border and subsequently on the other sector where there was no such boundary dispute, Pakistan resorted to an act of war and the President of Pakistan declared that he was at war with India. Though India never technically declared war, the aggression of Pakistan and its declaration to the effect that war existed may be regarded as establishing that war had supervened and the contracts and treaties were duly affected by war. That is the obvious conclusion, and hence it could be said with strength that the agreement to refer the Kutch boundary dispute to a tribunal stood null and void after the aggression of Pakistan.

THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MORARJI DESAI) : I have listened with great interest and attention to the various speeches made in this general debate and also bore with some fortitude and a sense of humour some of the very sharp shafts hurled

at me,.....

SHRI D. C. SHARMA : He can stand them.

SHRI MORARJI DESAIwhich of course, has become a general habit with some hon. Members, but it has to be accepted by everybody, and I recognise it the most, that a budget, if it is to be a budget, can never be free from criticism. Any budget which is not criticised is no budget whatsoever. I am thankful for some of the approvals and I am also thankful for the very severe criticism that it has been subjected to. But it is also true that if I had framed this budget in an ideological manner as is expected by some sections of the House....

AN HON. MEMBER : By his own party.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI :I would have been called either a reactionary or....

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi) : A progressive.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: Any other adjective can be given. Why only that? But it was not a proper thing for me to do that, because it is not ideology alone which can direct everything in economic life or in any section of life. The purpose of the budget has been to see that the economy which has become to some extent sluggish becomes active again and in a manner which gives it a greater speed as soon as possible.

It is also necessary to see that the purposes which Government have before them also are served through the budget. They cannot be served by one budget but they can be served over a few years and one has to see whether the budget goes in that direction.

It is true that there are twenty years for which the Congress Government have laid the budget before this House. I also know, and I have heard with patience all the while, not only once but every time, when anything is discussed that this Government has missed its opportunities and has harmed the economy of this country, has harmed its security and has brought down things. This is what has been said by those who aspire to be in the Government but have not been able to do so.

SHRI D. C. SHARMA : They shall never be able to do so.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : None can make those who do not want to see anything. It is the highest form of aberration that when things have been done they are said not to have been done. Is it the argument of anybody that we are in the same condition in which we were in the year 1946?

SHRI PILOO MODY: Worse.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : My hon. friend Shri Piloo Mody says it is worse. Was he in the same condition in 1946?

SHRI PILOO MODY: Nor is the hon. Minister. We have both deteriorated and become older.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : If conditions have not become better for him, could he have prospered as he has done? In spite of the age he is going into, he is looking younger and very bright. Why is that so? That is because he is becoming happier day by day.

SHRI HEM BARUA: But you also look very young.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : I certainly do. I am thankful for it, but that is the secret of it, because I believe in being happy, not bitter and not frustrated, which my hon. friends want to be, and they went the whole of India to be like that. Is that the way to improve this country?

Even granting that the conditions are not good, is that a proper dose to be given to the people, that you cry, cry and cry and commit suicide? That will not be the way. I have no quarrel with my hon. friends making all the efforts that they can make to remove this Government and give a better Government, but that is for the people to accept. If the people do not accept it, it is no fault of this Government that my hon. friends are not able to fulfil their desires.

Therefore, what has got to be done is to see what is practical, what can be done and what cannot be done. If wishes were horses, everybody will ride them. If I can improve the conditions of this

country within a year, I would certainly do so. I am not a person who is so minded that I do not want to do any good. I hope even the worst critics will not say that. Nor do I want to say that my hon. friends do not want to do good to this country or as much good or perhaps even more good than I may be able to do. I would grant all that, even then, is that the way of looking at the budget that for 20 years nothing has been done? Then, how have things happened in this country which have happened?

I do not want to take the time of the House by recounting all that has been done, but when it is said that even in electricity we have not progressed, have we not seen that whereas in 1946 hardly any village had electricity only about 3,600 cities and towns had electricity, today more than 62,000 towns and villages have electricity, and one-third of the population today has electricity? 62,000 villages are not one-third of the villages because there are 560,000 villages, but bigger villages involving one-third of the rural population have got electricity today, but my hon. friends will not recognise it, and they will shake their heads, because they cannot deny the facts. Has this happened without doing anything? Is it bungling that has done it? Therefore, in this particular matter of making no progress, I do not think that whatever I say is going to convince hon. members, because they do not want to be convinced. They have only one view that unless this Congress Government goes, there will be no improvement. If that is their fixed view, I do not call it a conviction, which they have made up somehow or other, but if they want to hug it to their hearts, let them do so, I have no quarrel about it. If it gives them that pleasure, why should I grudge that? But in that way they could not solve any problem. Some of my hon. friends have said that this was a limping budget. The way they said it was perhaps more limping than the budget itself. I do not want to analyse all that. One hon. Member said that it was stinking budget. He always lives in stink. What can I do? Therefore, he hugs that to himself and applies that standard to everybody and he feels that it is stinking. This is not the

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way to offer any criticism which would be useful for me or for them or for the country. If there are useful things I can understand. Take, for instance, deficit financing. My hon. friend Shri Ramamurthi said that I had made a breach of promise. Therefore, he said that I must resign. Even my respected friend, elderly friend Kripalaniji said the same thing. They forget what I said....

15 Hrs.

SHRI NAMBIAR : You promised in the last budget.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: Please have some patience; if you do not have it, please learn it.

I shall read what I said last year so that you may refresh your memory:

"I am well aware that avoidance of deficit financing is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for price stability in all circumstances. Over a period, some expansion in money supply is necessary to accommodate the needs of growing production. Nevertheless, in the present circumstances, it is desirable that Government should not appropriate any part of the permissible limit of monetary expansion. This will allow a larger expansion of bank credit to agriculture and industry to facilitate higher production."

At the end I also said that some restraint on private credit, particularly for speculative and unproductive purposes will of course be necessary. But apart from its psychological impact, the avoidance of deficit financing by the Government would place the Reserve Bank and the banking system in general in a better position to meet the genuine credit requirements of agriculture and industry, whether public or private. That is what I said. I never made a blank promise that there would never be deficit financing. Of course I do not like deficit financing; I say that even now; I have not changed my view. That does not mean that I have not got to see the conditions and do what is necessary. I have also explained why there has been deficit financing in the last 12 months; I have no quarrel about it. In August last in the Rajya Sabha I referred to it and said

that I shall try my level best to see that there was no deficit at the end of the year but I added that I could not guarantee that there would not be any deficit and that there could be many unknown circumstances which might arise.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Was it accepted by the Rajya Sabha Members?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: It was not stated for the acceptance of any Member. If my hon. friends do not accept it, they are welcome to do so. I do not make wrong statements; I make correct statements with all honesty and if my hon. friends do not believe them, it does not matter to me. I am careful to see that I do not make mis-statements. Let them point out any mis-statement; I shall then certainly accept it and I shall apologise for it or make amends for it if it is necessary.

But it is no use certainly telling me that I have done something which is wrong or dishonest. I never did that. This time, I have left a deficit in this budget, a gap, which is uncovered. Why have I done so? What was the remedy open to me to see that this is not done? Yes, my hon. friend Shri Masani, as usual, always goes on, not on any ideology which he believes in: I do not know what he believes in, because, once, he believed in the Congress ideology, I know, but now he goes quite opposite. Now he dislikes everything that the Congress does. It is love turned into hatred. That is how it always happens, and I do not know who is responsible for that. But that is what has happened. He says that no taxes should be levied; no deficit financing should be there.

SHRI M. R. MASANI (Rajkot): No more additional taxation.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: No more additional taxation. I am not saying no tax should be levied absolutely. Nobody could say that. I do not think that Shri Masani has yet come to that level; that I know very well. He has too much intelligence to say that kind of a thing. But I could not understand all the while when he said that it is the consumers' party to which he belongs. Who are the other people in other parties? Are

they not consumers? I cannot understand this.

Then, when he says that he belongs to the consumers, the ordinary person—that is what he wanted to say—he also wants me to exempt Rs. 5,000 dividend income of anybody. Is that an ordinary man's income? I do not know. That is where it shows what he means. He also wants me to raise the income-tax exemption limits. All these are not consistent at all with what he said. But I saw at the end—this is what I am saying—(Interruption).

श्री पीलू मोदी : समझने की कोशिश करो ।

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : Well, my hon. friend develops only horizontally unfortunately, but he does not allow things to grow towards the head. He only grows on, on the sides, and therefore he is unable to understand it. What am I to do about it? Therefore, I would only tell him, 'Physician, please heal thyself first.' That is what I would say. Then he will understand it better and not go on putting in what he thinks is humorous. He has inherited it: that I also know. But after all, there are limits to it in a serious argument. That is what one must consider. Otherwise, it becomes completely out of place, and then one would call it something else: I do not want to indulge in those adjectives. It is not the proper way of dealing with this serious matter.

After all, are we able to have such economies in expenditure, as it is said, so that we can cover the gap of Rs. 300 crores? This is what I am trying now to place before the House and my hon. friend. One may or may not agree. After all, I think I would have full justification in placing before the hon. Members what I think is possible. How is it to be done? It was suggested that non-Plan expenditure should be cut; that non-developmental expenditure should be cut; that defence expenditure should be cut. These are the three things which were mentioned.

SHRI M. R. MASANI: And Bokaro.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: And Bokaro. These are the four things which were suggested. Now, take the case of non-Plan expenditure. What is non-Plan expenditure? All expenditure which is outside the Plan: that is, when the Plan is done, it goes on for five years and it is called Plan expenditure; then it becomes current expenditure, and therefore it becomes non-Plan expenditure. That goes on increasing from Plan to Plan. How is that to be reduced? If teachers have been engaged, more teachers are engaged, the earlier teachers engaged come into current expenditure and the Plan expenditure will be different. Then, what does the non-Plan expenditure include? I have explained it umpteen times before this hon. House, not once, and yet it is constantly thrown at me. After all, defence is in it; police is in it; education is in it. All these things are in it. Medical, health, social welfare activities—all these become the non-Plan expenditure when they do not form part of a Plan. What is there to be cut in these things? What is left is administrative expenditure. In administrative expenditure, how much can one reduce? We have appointed the Administrative Reforms Commission and they are going to suggest to us how best this should be done. Even then, the only way to do it is to reduce the staff by one-third, in which case one-third of the expenditure would be cut. Can I take that step today? When the economy is in that condition, when unemployment is there, about which so much complaint is made and rightly so, can I put more people in the unemployment list by taking them out and putting them on the street? How is it possible for me to do it? All this has got to be done in a phased and proper manner. That we are determined to do. But it will have to be done on some pattern. That pattern will be supplied by the Administrative Reforms Commission. That will be attended to as quickly as possible. But even then it will not be possible to put out all the people together without absorbing them.

Another thing is not seen. It is said that we have made no attempts at economy. We have constantly made

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attempts at economy. We have achieved economy to the extent of Rs. 62 crores in 1965-66 and in 1966-67 Rs. 90 crores. In 1967-68 also, we have cut down expenditure. All this is done. But some more staff has got to be engaged for particular things which come up in the course of development. It is that which results in 4 per cent annual increase, instead of 17 per cent, which was happening before. The administrative expenditure is not all on new staff. It is also on increments and D.A. D.A. has mounted up to Rs. 338 crores per year. These are areas where one cannot lessen anything. If it is sought to be done, my hon. friends themselves will be not only unhappy about it, but will be very angry and rightly so. Therefore, these are not areas where these things can be done.

An example was cited by Mr. Masani. It was also pointed out yesterday that he had forgotten to look at some figures. He said there is an increase in the Planning Commission personnel. It is not true. There is a decrease in the Planning Commission personnel. If he had seen all those three figures properly, he would have known it. I do not find fault with him. In a hurry it happens sometimes. The only thing is it must not be done in a hurry and with prejudice. This is all the result of an over-anxiety....

SHRI M. R. MASANI: In the demands for grants for the Planning Commission, there is a third obscure item called "additional staff" last year. It was not related to the figure for this year. If the figures are to be correctly understood, perhaps the tabulation should be better. There should be a footnote saying that this additional staff compensates for certain other staff which has been discharged. As you read it, it looks as if the number of peons and clerks has increased. Now that he has pointed out that there is a hidden figure which equates it, I accept it. But I suggest it should be better presented in future.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: Again the fault is Government's! It is not the

fault of the hon. member that he did not take sufficient care. There was additional staff mentioned there. This year it is not there. If he had looked at the figures, he would have seen that they are absorbed in the permanent staff.

SHRI M. R. MASANI: It does not say so.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: We are not in a Montessori class. The people here are highly intelligent, experienced people and politicians. If they also require to be treated in the Montessori method, the work of the Government will become impossible and I do not know what sort of budget I will have to present. The volume of the budget will grow ten-fold if I do it. If I was asked, I would have told him and I would not have mentioned it anywhere. If there was anything like that, he can afterwards reproduce it. My only request to him is, instead of getting into these mistakes and afterwards again defending them wrongly. I am pointing out a better method. The better method is this and not what he points out. (Interruption). My hon. friend will cease to be Mr. Masani if he does not persist in his mistakes, that is all I can say.

SHRI M. R. MASANI: Make it easier for us to understand.

SHRI NAMBIAR: Are we to derive that 'Masani' is equal to 'mistakes'?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: My hon. friend is even worse. I was on the subject of deficit financing. One has to look at it in the proper light. What was I to do in the Budget? Should I lessen the expenditure in such a manner that the economy goes backwards? I could not do that. Should I levy such taxes as would create worse conditions than they are today? I could not do that. I have got, therefore, to keep the economy going. I have got to see that activity increases. I could not, therefore, lessen any expenditure, especially, on continuing activities. Therefore, I have had to give a certain size to the Budget. And, if I cannot levy further taxes and if I cannot have that

kind of pruning as my hon. friends think they can, then I have got to use deficit financing there and specially at a time when prices are falling. If the prices were not falling and they were rising, I would have made a super-human effort, if necessary, to see that deficit financing is not there. Last time I was very particular about that because prices were not falling. At that time they were rising. Therefore, I did it. I have not succeeded in keeping it up. That is true. But why? It is not that expenditures have increased. The expenditures were kept within limits and they were not exceeded. But the revenues went down because of several factors. All of them were not in our hands. We were also, as I said, carried away by the constant criticism that we were under-estimating our revenues. So the Ministry perhaps became so sensitive about it and estimated in a manner they thought was exact and estimated properly, but which turned out to be an over-estimate because they thought there will be recovery but there was not that amount of recovery in the economic activity on account of several factors. That is why revenues went down. And, if some foreign loans were not utilised that also deteriorated the revenues. In this manner we had to reconcile ourselves to a deficit of about Rs. 300 crores.

But it has not raised prices. They must have seen that prices are going down, not because of any great stratagem which I have employed, I must admit, but because of the season that has taken place. The season has given us good crops. I would not call that bumper crops or abnormal crops. They are just normal crops because in some areas there are bumper crops, in some areas there are less than normal crops and, therefore, on the whole, one can say it is a normal year and a normal production. Because of that the prices are going down.

When prices go up they say the prices must go down. When prices go down several hon. Members begin to say that prices must go up. In this very debate I have heard the two contradictory things. It so happens that if

the prices are at very high level then that should be taken as the minimum and we should keep it at that level and go ahead. Now the prices in the open market are something which are much higher than the procurement prices. The procurement prices are high enough, they are not low. When they want that market prices should be maintained, they have to go down to the procurement prices. If they go below the procurement prices all foodgrains that are there available we will certainly buy up. In that connection it is asked, have you got enough godowns, warehouses and storing capacity. I have gone into the figures and I have come to the conclusion on the basis of which I can assure the House that there is a capacity of 5.6 million tonnes of storing capacity today. It is true that this capacity is not fairly and evenly distributed. We have got, therefore, to create more capacity in some areas where it is not there. But it is there. Therefore, if we are planning to have 3 million tons of buffer stock it is not without having that kind of capacity. Therefore, my hon. friends ought to give us some credit for these things and not merely say that everything that is done by this government is wrong. Well, they can say so. They are welcome to do so. But if their intention is to improve us, then that intention will not be carried out. If their intention is not to help us, that also will not happen because they get removed by making this false propaganda. You will see what is happening in several States. So, this is not the way to do it. If we have done something wrong, they should put it forward and educate the public about it. But when we have not done anything wrong, if the public are going to be misled, then certainly it will recoil against them and not against us. I do not welcome this kind of help to us, because it is ultimately a loss to the country. We want that the country should develop in a proper manner and everybody should be strong and everybody should be effective. It is, therefore, that I do not welcome this kind of attitude. But it is, of course, for my hon. friends to keep whatever attitude they want to keep.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Will he resign next year?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: If by my resigning the country will benefit and he will benefit, I will certainly consider that proposition. But do they know only one thing: resign, resign, resign? Has my hon. friend ever thought of resigning from anything even though he has gone wrong on many things that he has said? But, it again is there for other people and not for himself. Here he has a different language; outside he is very sweet.

SHRI NAMBIAR: It is only a humble request, he says.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: Then I come to agriculture, which is the most important subject. The food policy is also referred to here and my hon. friend, Shri Masani, asked us to see that all restrictions on zones go. This is constantly under examination. This also is not a matter where one can lay down as a fetish that only this should be done and not that. Therefore, we are trying to do what is profitable for the society as a whole.

Even my hon. friend suggested that we should not give up all rationing, we should provide rationing to some people. Now let us examine that proposition. He said: provide rationing to all those who are not paying income-tax. Has he realised what that number will be? The people who pay income-tax in this country are only about 2.5 million and the number of people in this country is more than 500 million. Now, if you take 2.5 million people as income-tax payers, taking into account their families, such population will come to 7 million to 8 million.

SHRI M. R. MASANI: I had also said that those who own land should be excluded.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: All right. Do that. The argument once made by several hon. Members was that 27 crores of people in this country have only an income of three annas. Now I believe they have to be included, according to my hon. friend. Has he

considered the cost of that kind of subsidy? What will it mean? So far our rationing has covered only 10 to 12 per cent of the population. Does he know how much it has cost us? That has cost us a subsidy of Rs. 106 crores. If we are to supply to 27 crores of people food at subsidised rates, it may go up to Rs. 1,000 crores; or even more than that. Who is going to bear it and how can it be done? Not only that. He says that there should be no procurement. How is one going to do it without procurement? Buying from the open market? That means that prices must go on rising, government must go on losing. And then taxing whom? I can tax only my hon. friends opposite, not those who are sitting on the other side, because they do not have anything whereas these people have everything.

SHRI PILOO MODY: The taxation system is faulty.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: Perhaps, he thought I was going to refer to this. Therefore, he is sitting in that corner. I must say that it is a brilliant anticipation. Therefore, this is again a suggestion which is not practicable.

In the matter of agriculture, it is said we have neglected agriculture from the very beginning. This again is not correct. We have spent on agriculture and programmes which help agricultural development Rs. 4602 crores in three Plans plus these two years. This is an outlay on agriculture, co-operation, irrigation and flood control. Besides that, the expenditure on electricity also has benefited and the rural population also to a very great deal. That expenditure is Rs. 3500 crores in these three Plans. Therefore to say that agriculture has been neglected is not a correct thing at all.

SHRI PILOO MODY: What is the percentage?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: Percentage of what?

SHRI PILOO MODY: Of expenditure.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: At any rate, in this year, the expenditure on agriculture is larger than the expenditure on industry. That is all I can say.

श्री राम सेवक यादव (बाराबंकी) :
उद्योग के मुकाबले में कितना है ?

SHRI LOBO PRABHU (Udipi) : It is Rs. 43 crores.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : My hon. friend is considering only Government of India's spending and he does not take into account the States' spending at all. After all, the States' spending is a major spending on agriculture. It is not the Government of India's direct spending which is the spending on agriculture because agriculture is a State subject. Whatever the Government of India does is in order to supplement the efforts of the States and that is what ought to be understood. This is how it is done.

Then, it is said that if PL 480 import is stopped, agriculture would go up immediately. This is a universal thing in many sections, both on this and that side.....

AN HON. MEMBER: That side also.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: This is universal.

SHRI NAMBIAR: You stop PL 480 imports and experiment it.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: All intelligent people work in the same manner as it is said in this particular matter. Let us see this. Did we import PL 480 foodgrains in order to increase our resources? This is entirely a wrong and far-fetched allegation by anybody. We had tried to stop PL 480 imports about 4 or 5 years ago. But then the seasons began to go bad and we had got to import from outside if the people were to live. That has, of course, certainly, incidentally, given more resources also. But it is not for resources that we are doing it. Why are we trying to be self-sufficient as soon as possible? It is because we want to see

that we are not dependent on anybody for food. To say that, because of that, we are going on begging, I think, is a very cheap way of abusing this Government and a very bad way of denigrating the self-respect of this country. There is no question of begging from anybody. If they do not give us, we are not going to starve or die. But if we can do it and keep our people more comfortably than otherwise, then, certainly, there is nothing wrong in taking the help when it is given to us. Well, we have taken the help in that spirit and in no other spirit. If PL 480 funds had not come, what would have happened last year and the year before last. We would not have been able to feed a lot of our population which was without any foodgrains in U.P., in Bihar, in Gujarat, in Rajasthan and in other parts of the country. All this would not have happened if we had not got PL 480 on that scale on which we got it. If we want to import this year, we do not want to import for any other purpose but to build a buffer stock. We might produce or it is likely that we will have 95 million tonnes of food. That is quite true. But 95 million tonnes will not all be used for this purpose. A part will be required for seed; a part for animal feed. Then, 2 or 3 million tonnes will also go into the pipeline because when the year is better, people will keep also some stocks. You cannot avoid it. All this will leave not more than 80 million tonnes of food for consumption. If that is so, we do require some food specially when we want to build a buffer stock of about 3 million tonnes and it is, therefore, that we want to import the foodgrains from outside.

It is not as if we have had only PL 480 food in this country from outside. We have also purchased from outside grain worth Rs. 180 crores in foreign exchange. We had got to do this because without that we would not have got even the PL 480 food to the extent we got. These are things which are necessary and it is from that point of view that this ought to be judged. Agriculture has been benefited by this and not deteriorating on

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account of it because agriculturists could not have been maintained without this kind of thing. That has got to be looked at in the proper perspective. That money also has been utilised for the purposes of agriculture and for seeing that agricultural development is going on. It is in this way that this ought to be looked at. If it is looked at by that way, I am quite sure that there will be a proper assessment of what is being done and not merely utilised as an argument against the Government, right or wrong, because that will not help matters. We do want to see that agricultural production goes up and that we become self-sufficient as quickly as it is possible to do. It is our hope that within three years, or at the most four years, we will become completely self-sufficient, and will even have a little surplus because the way in which the progress is going on and the way the results are now being utilised of all the efforts that were made during the last fifteen years and which are now coming to fruition, give us this hope and we are producing more....

श्री राम सेवक यादव : पी० एल० 480
का कितना पैसा खेती पर खर्च किया और
कितना अभी बचा है ?

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : कोई बचा नहीं है ।
सब उपयोग में आया है ।

If my hon. friends want to ask me anything, they can certainly ask me and I will supply them, but they should not expect that I should carry the figures in my head. They do not want to carry any figures; no figures are useful to them and, therefore, they have not to carry them. I cannot give them any figures at a moment's notice without having to verify them. If they ask me, I can certainly give them.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: We are unable to maintain the figure with this budget.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I do not know why my hon. friend wants to have a figure for himself. I did not know that he wanted to go again into the matrimonial market.

There is another thing which has been a perennial source of criticism, and this is the arrears of income-tax revenue. The income-tax arrears of revenue at the end of March, 1967, were about Rs. 547 crores, and at the end of January, they have come down to about Rs. 380 crores. The others have been recovered. Out of these Rs. 380 crores, more than a hundred crores of rupees are such as cannot be recovered for one reason or the other; some amount has to be written off because people are not here or have gone into liquidation or have gone bankrupt. There are some tax demands—they are not arrears—, there are some which are in dispute, there are some which are pending appeals, and in that manner, out of Rs. 380 crores, about Rs. 273 crores or so are for recovery for which processes have been issued to the States, and some, directly by Government of India itself, and I am quite sure that these will be recovered as soon as possible. We are getting at it and getting at it as best as we can. Next year I am quite sure that this kind of a picture will not be there. But it has to be understood that all do not become arrears. If there are tax demands income-tax assessments which are in appeal and if they are not to be recovered, they cannot be called arrears, but somehow or other, the figures as they have been shown have included all these figures in the past and, therefore, this thing has also come in. It is the fault of my Ministry; I do agree there. I do not say that all the fault lies with my hon. friends. The fault with my hon. friends lies in this that they are not prepared to hear the explanations which are given from year to year and they repeat the same things from time to time without being wiser by any efforts that are made to do so. They are not expected.. (Interruptions)

SHRI NAMBIAR: We do not want explanations. We want the money to be realised and our exchequer to be filled with money.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: I require it even more than what my hon. friend does. I thought, my hon. friend had

no relation to money, but he still thinks that money should be hugged to.

SHRI NAMBIAR: Postage on inland letters and letters can be saved. These could have been excluded.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: The public sector undertakings have always come under fire. I do agree that the public sector undertakings have not shown profits as expected and that there is a good deal of scope for improvement in the management of these undertakings. That has been also accepted. We are engaged presently in considering the measures that will put them on a better footing and make them more profitable... *(Interruptions)* My hon. friend may scoff at Mr. Malviya, but judging by results—why are you wanting to judge it now?... *(Interruptions)* My hon. friend does not want to become a good manager because he runs some mill.

SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH (Pali): His integrity has been doubted by this House itself.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: That is no ground.

SHRI PILOO MODY: This is the sort of mistakes which we would like you to admit.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: But these public sector undertakings, therefore, are being attended to and whatever changes are required in the matter of making changes in the management or in marketing assessments or marketing arrangements—all these things are being looked into and, therefore, as I said earlier, as soon as we are able to come to conclusions in this matter which should be effective, we shall certainly put them before this hon. House at the earliest opportunity, as soon as we are able to do this.

I agree with my hon. friend Shri Vajpayee that the controversy about public sector undertakings and private sector is not a very healthy controversy at all. It is not good for those who are advocates of private sector to abuse

public undertakings all the while. At the same time, it is not also good for those who are for the public sector to abuse all the while those who are in the private sector. This is not a healthy thing at all... *(Interruptions)*. I understand my hon. friends' competence because they do not believe in any private sector. Therefore, they will certainly go against them.

SHRI PILOO MODY: The controversy is not between public sector and private sector. It is between profit-making and no profit-making.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: Sir, I am not the only person who understands the Communists. I am one of the few persons who understand them thoroughly and that is their grievance... *(Interruptions)*.

Sir, the question of Bokaro was raised. The Bokaro scheme has been accepted three years ago. It is now being implemented since last year. Last year Rs. 65 crores were spent on it and if this expenditure is not to become infructuous, we have got to see that it is put up as early as possible. Even then, we are not putting all the money into it as required or as we can do within 3 years or 2 years. Like that it might take 4 or 5 years to come to fruition. We cannot say that there will be no expenditure on Bokaro to-day. Whatever may be the opinion about it, whether it is a useful thing or not a useful thing, it is a fact that has come into effect.

I do not agree with my friends when they say that the schemes of manufacture of steel which have been undertaken by this Government have been wrongly undertaken.

AN HON. MEMBER: No.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI: It is true that we have got to give the highest priority to agriculture which we are giving. But in order to see that agriculture also improves, industries also have to go up and if industries do not go up, there will not be any advancement in agriculture too. If fertilisers have to be made here, if electricity has to be expanded far more quickly than we are able to do to-day, then we have to

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manufacture all these things here. If we want to do that, the metals that are required for their manufacture, have got to be made here. And how much are we making? Compared to the advanced countries the production that we are making is very small and we will have to go on expanding it. But if we do not make a base like this, later on, I think, we will have to suffer far more and repent at leisure afterwards. So it is better to hear some of the criticisms and abuses, but not to make such kinds of blunders that they want us to make. It is, therefore, necessary that these things should go on.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna) : Does the Finance Minister know that 50% of the capacity of the already existing plants is unused?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : My hon. friend, an elder, is mistaken in his statement of 50 per cent. It may be in some sectors, in some plants, but not generally. My hon. friend should know that there are some areas where there is full production and even over-production. There may not be large areas, but there are areas. It is not true that 50 per cent is vacant generally on the whole. That is absolutely not true.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : I am talking only of steel.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : In steel also it is only in the last two or three years.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : It is all Government's figures.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : It is not quite true, because recession certainly had made this kind of a thing; recession has come in because of several factors which I have mentioned. (*Interruption*). My hon. friend can say what he likes. I am also entitled to give figures if my hon. friend is entitled to give figures.

AN HON. MEMBER : You may ask Shri Channa Reddy. He will give you the figures.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : His Ministry is going to come for discussion when this can be pointed out to him,

and you may also tell him that at that time. Figures can be given at that time. But does my hon. friend know that we have got to import steel even today, because we are not making all the steel that we require.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : We are also exporting.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : We are exporting some and we are importing also more. That also has to be seen.

SHRI PILOO MODY : There is difference between steel and steel.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : I don't know whether my hon. friend knows that industry and how that industry is to be worked. If he had known what exports and imports mean, I am quite sure that this sort of an argument will not be made. There is always necessity of exporting something and importing something. That will remain even when we become self-sufficient in many things and we do not require any aid from outside. We will have to import things from outside, but we will have to export more through which we will pay them. But it is necessary to remember that we cannot be self-sufficient in everything. It is not wise to do so. It is a philosophy in which one can believe, but not so in the modern world. There are bound to be some areas in which you have got to import something from outside.

SHRI PILOO MODY : We would like to know this for information. As Acharyaji has said, when three of our public sector steel plants are operating at only half capacity how can you justify spending Rs. 109 crores in putting up a steel mill in the same year?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : When this is put in, the extra steel will be available after four or five years. Till then we will be far short of steel; because this is a developing economy where more and more is being consumed. That is what happens with cement. That is what happens with steel. That is what happens with aluminium. At any rate Acharyaji can say one thing, but why has my hon. friend Shri Piloo Mody to say like that—only because he is sitting nearby?

SHRI PILOO MODY : You won't sit next to me, what can I do ?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : I know what will be the result if I sit near you.

SHRI PILOO MODY : If you want to sit next to me, first you have to start drinking. Then we could sit together and I would not take Acharya's side.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : Where do I grudge your sitting near Acharya ? I hope you improve by his company.

SHRI RAM SEWAK YADAV : He has already improved. You want much more improvement.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : He is beyond improvement now.

SHRI HEM BARUA : Shri Piloo Mody has made a very good suggestion.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : Then, Sir, in the matter of private sector, it is said that we are giving them more facilities and this is a budget which is taking notice of only the private sector. There, what have we done ? We have certainly given them certain concessions, but those concessions are very vital if the economy is to be activated and if more production is to take place and recession is to be fought successfully, and I think it is being done. When people say that it has no effect, I think that they are very much mistaken. Already I think that production is increasing in various fields. Even the textile production is going up.

SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH : Stocks are also rising.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : Stocks are not rising. This again is wrong talk. Stocks are not what had accumulated seven years ago; on the contrary they are not also three months' stocks. They are the usual stocks which are there.

SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH : 2½ months' stocks are there.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : It may be of some inefficient units and it is better that those inefficient units go out; we will put better units. That is what we

will do. But it is not my unit that I can scrap. It is for the owner to scrap it. How am I to scrap it ?

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Take it over.

SHRI NAMBIAR : 15 textile mills in Coimbatore are threatened to be closed down.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : They would not close down.

SHRI NAMBIAR : Let him give an assurance like that.

AN HON. MEMBER : This is not an assurance but only a suggestion.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : Then, it is said that the Centre-State relations are not proper or that we are not helping the States as we should help them. We have appointed now a Finance Commission, namely the Fifth Finance Commission, and I am quite sure that the Finance Commission will give all facts and figures and their suggestions which I hope will lay this controversy at rest for future. But even today what have we not done which we could have done ? And what have we not given which we could give ? Whatever have been our assets here, we do not say that these assets belong to the Centre and not to everybody. What is the Centre ? Centre means the whole of India, and all the States together mean the whole of India. The Centre lives in the States; the States will also be all right if the Centre is all right; the Centre will be all right if the States are all right. It is this philosophy which we have always believed in. We have not believed in any other philosophy.

If it is said that we are benefiting the Congress States more and the non-Congress States less. I should like to be pointed out one figure in one matter where we have made this discrimination and we shall pay any penalty that they want us to pay...

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA (Delhi Sadar) : What about Delhi ?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : Yes, even in regard to Delhi, let them point it out.

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I think Delhi also has been given more than it deserves. Therefore, let him not try to say that. Because it is the capital here, if he thinks that they should get more and they can put up more and more agitations so that more and more could be had, then I am afraid that is not possible...

SHRI S. KUNDU (Balasore) : Delhi is not a State, and also, Delhi does not represent India.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : Therefore, in the matter of Centre-State relations, it is some of the States which may not have behaved fairly with the Centre. But I am prepared to take up any challenge in which anybody can point out and prove to any impartial authority that the Centre has not been impartial in their dealing with all the States, or that they have not been as liberal as they could be.

The deficit has been cited by some of the States and especially by my hon. friend the Chief Minister of Madras, as hurting the States. How does it hurt the States? If I do not have Rs. 290 crores I shall not be able to give them Rs. 695 crores; Rs. 290 crores will go from the grants to them then. How am I to give them if I do not have it? As a matter of fact, much of this deficit financing is also due to the fact that they have drawn overdrafts in the past. Of course, we must help them, and we are ready to help them. Therefore, they are there. But there is no question of any overdrafts for anybody in the future. That will shatter the economy more than anything else.

The only argument advanced was in regard to the grant of dearness allowance to the States for their employees. But the States are autonomous, and if they are autonomous, their staff are also autonomous and they keep them for their own purposes and their own work, and if they are not to pay for them, who is to pay for them? If they do not pay for them and we pay for them, then we shall certainly have a voice in that, and that will not be a healthy state of affairs for anybody. We cannot go on doing things like that.

SHRI NAMBIAR : He is responsible for the price increase.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : They must look after them. I am not the only person responsible for it; my hon. friend is even more responsible for it, because the present conditions, as some hon. Members have said, are not due to the bungling of this Government. Let us examine all the causes and find out what they are due to. I do not say that this Government has made no faults. Can my hon. friend opposite say that the Government in his State has made no faults?

SHRI NAMBIAR : No, not at all.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : A person who claims perfection is the most stupid person on earth, because it only means that he does not want to be wiser. Who can claim that he knows everything?

I would even ask him : can he claim that he has made no wrong expenditure in his own house? Sometimes it must have been done. Does he not waste the food that he eats? If he did not waste the food that he eats, why should he have to use other places? I do not do that :

SHRI PILOO MODY : The only mistake he made is the bottle of whisky he bought.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : There, my hon. friend is in company with Mr. Piloo Mody. That is his only fault.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I have been making mistakes all my life.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : I am glad you accept it, but I hope you will remember it in future before telling me.

Let us come to the taxation that has been levied.

श्री रवी राय : क्या कुछ घटा रहे हैं ?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : No. What is the philosophy behind this? That ought to be understood. Is it merely to levy more taxes that this is done? That is not the idea with which these rates are increased. The Posts and Telegraphs

Departments have been incurring losses for the last few years,

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : On account of inefficiency.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : I am coming to that too. How is that to be remedied? There are two ways of doing it. One is the way of cutting down expenditure and so making both ends meet. The other way is to see that the rates are properly adjusted so that there is no loss. We do not consider these undertakings as those which should give us profits. We want them only to pay for themselves. Otherwise, even efficiency will not be considered. I do not say that it is working as efficiently as it should. Whose fault is it? Who starts those labour people who do not work, who do not do many of these things? Overtime is sought. Who is responsible for that? I hope my hon. friends help me in cutting down overtime, by cutting down the large amount of medical expenses which they have incurred. I am quite sure when these things are mentioned, my hon. friends will go at my throat and say; What are you doing? Give them more." Therefore, let us take a lesson. If you help me in cutting down expenditure, I will certainly reduce the rates, that I am prepared to do, because we do not want to earn any money out of this, we only want that they should pay their own way. Therefore, let us sit down and see that the whole thing becomes efficient, that expenditures are cut down, and rates are also cut down. The increase has been made only just to cover the losses, not even fully. There is still some loss which will be met by telephones or some other activities. The whole loss is not made up by the rise in rates at all, both telegraph and postal rates. After all, the rates elsewhere are higher in many places, except in one or two small places.

SHRI NAMBIAR : You said let us sit down. We accept, but meantime do not increase the rates.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : Certainly after this. My hon. friends will be in a better frame of mind if it is there.

Otherwise, they will ask for increased dearness allowance. Therefore, unless that is done, I cannot accept the position.

श्री कंवरलाल गुप्त : क्या मंत्री महोदय इस सब पर विचार करने के लिये कोई एक पार्लियामेंटरी कमेटी ब्रंटाने के लिए तैयार हैं जोकि इस चीज को देखे कि कहां गलती की जा रही है, कहां जरूरत से ज्यादा खर्च किया जा रहा है या कहां इनएफिशिएंसी हो रही है।

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : I have the greatest respect for parliamentary committees, but parliamentary committees cannot run the Government. Government has to be run by the executive, and parliamentary committees can certainly help in that.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : On a point of clarification. The Tyagi Committee report is incomplete. The proposals made in it are conditional in economy, that is clearly stated. You have accepted the proposals for increase but you have not considered or waited for their proposals for economy.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : I know what the attitude of my hon. friends will be when the economy proposals come.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : Not mine.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : After all, I have got to consider all my friends opposite, not only one section. Therefore, let us all sit down on some matters which are national. After all, let us consider even the postal rates. Is it going against the poor only? 75 per cent of the people are illiterate today. When figures speak to their disadvantage, my hon. friends do not want figures..... (Interruptions.)

AN HON. MEMBER : It is the record of the Congress.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : It is not the record of the Congress or non-Congress. It is not Government which teaches everybody. My hon. friends who wax eloquent also have a share in it.

[Shri Morarji Desai]

Have they gone to the agriculturists to help them take advantage of the new machinery? After all Government cannot do all these things; it is the people who have to do it. If the Government did not do its part, you can find fault with the Government. It is no use saying that the Government should educate everybody and my hon. friends have no responsibility at all in the matter. Adult education is the responsibility of all of us, not merely that of Government. My hon. friends should co-operate in this matter. Whosoever may be at fault, it is true that 75 per cent of our people are illiterate and only 25 per cent have become literate. It is only the poor who are illiterate; those who are well to do are not illiterate. Therefore, out of this 75 per cent, how many would write letters.

SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH : My servant writes four post cards a month.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : Because he is his servant. His servant does not live in the village. My hon. friend's servant has got all the habits of his master. He must be taking post cards from him; it is very natural. Why should he not do it; he should enable him to do that. My hon. friend is very keen on postcards because it is the business people who use these post cards for advertisements and for other purposes. The number of postcards used by poor people is very small. I have received representations from the business people saying that their costs will go up. (Interruptions.)

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ : That is allowed in income-tax under expenses; we are not worried about it.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : I shall say that you got worried. If your arms are long, my arms are longer. Do not forget. Still things are coming to me and we shall see to it properly; we shall see that you do not escape these things. Therefore, this will be done.

श्री रामसेवक यादव : अब देखना यह है कि बिना मंत्री जी के हाथ लम्बे हैं या उन मंत्र के हाथ लम्बे हैं ? यह एक चैलेंज दोनों के बीच में हो गया है। यह हो ही जाय।

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : सारी दुनिया को चैलेंज देने वालों को मैं क्या चैलेंज दूंगा ?

I am certainly a back number in this matter; I do not compete with my hon. friends.

श्री रबी राय : कम-से-कम वह चुनौती तो आप मंजूर कर लीजिये।

श्री कमलनयन बाजज : हमारी कोई चुनौती नहीं है। विजनैम में पोस्ट कार्ड वर्ग में मेजने पड़ने हो रहे और जैसा मैंने कहा है यह इनकम-टैक्स में एक्सपेंस के अंदर गेलाऊड होता है।

श्री रबी राय : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अब वह डर गये।

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : The rise in postal rates is not, therefore, harsh or hard and it has been done for reasons of efficiency and not merely for increasing revenue. Otherwise it will not be possible to expand the postal services to all people. We have got to extend the postal services and give the telegraph services also to all people. My hon. friends who can afford to pay should pay for the other people. That is how we are going to extend the services.

16 HRS.

It is argued that I have levied duty on chocolates and peppermints which are meant for the children. Whose children? Children of the rich, not of the poor. They have not to pay; it is the father who pays. And I am quite sure that the children will not be denied these things. Do poor children eat peppermints and chocolates and other things? Then, it is not that the confectionery items produced by small shopkeepers are being charged. It is only those items which are made in factories which are going to be charged and not items manufactured in small shops. Therefore, all this talk about these taxes being heavy, and then again to say that we must have a massive mobilisation of resources—I do not know from whom—are two things. Two things

are said : black money is one and the rich people being taxed is another thing. We are taking from the rich people as much as we can today. I do not think if you increase it you will get more and more return; you will get less and less return if you go on increasing it because things will go down and will not improve. It is no use trying to say that all the industries which are in private hands are no good for the country. They do also a lot of good to the country. They may do it with a profit motive, but they do give employment to the people. They are also a measure by which the industrial activities are judged. We can take money from them, and we are taking money from them. A man who earns Rs. 20 lakhs pays very nearly Rs. 17 lakhs to Government today; and wealth tax goes extra; gift tax goes extra. All this is paid. If I have levied a tax on refrigerators, who is going to pay for them? It is these people who will pay for them. Therefore, this time the taxes that are levied are not going only on the poor people. It is very little on the poor people. Some postal rates will go up; certainly I cannot deny that. But that is not done for that purpose. These things have had to be rationalised and therefore it has been done.

The task of the Finance Minister is never easy and it is never going to be easy at any time and under any circumstances; and the budget is going to be found fault with by somebody or the other. . . . (Interruption)

SHRI HUKAM CHAND KACHWAI (Ujjain) : *Beedi, tambako.*

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : On the question of *beedi* I do not know why my hon. friend is so fond of *beedies*. I do not know whether he is very fond of it himself or not, or whether his voters are fond of it. But he seems to be very exercised over *beedies*. It is not that *beedies* are going to be far more expensive than cigarettes or cigars. Cigarettes and cigar already bear a very heavy taxation which *beedies* do not to that extent. It is therefore a tax which the *beedi*-consumers will pay; one paise more for every hundred *beedies*. That

is all the tax that is levied now. Those people who are paying heavier tax will pay in addition. Therefore, it is not as if one is completely twitting Shri Pillo Mody, Shri Kachwai and myself all in the same manner. It is not a correct thing.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I object to my name being mentioned.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : My good friend does not give me his own instance. Otherwise it is still better. But that was not done. He only referred to me. I think he would have been a more proper representative than myself.

I hope, therefore, that the budget proposals will be viewed in this light. There will be further discussion on this, and there will be further opportunities for me to deal with some of the other points that have come to us. I do not want to take more time of the House today and it is not possible for me to deal with all the criticisms. But let me assure my hon. friends that just as I have been profited by the criticisms last year, I will be profited also by the criticism next year if I am here.

Thank you.

SHRI NAMBIAR : What about the concession about the postal rates?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : No questions please. We have to take up private Members' business.

SHRI NAMBIAR : He must promise some concessions. (Interruption)

*DEMANDS FOR GRANTS ON ACCOUNT, 1968-69

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : No questions. If I permit you one question, there would be several others rising. I will now put the motion to the vote : The question is :

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the third column of the order paper, be granted to the President, *on account*, for or towards defraying the charges

*Moved with the recommendation of the President.