

श्री जार्ज फरनेन्डीज (बम्बई दक्षिण) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपसे जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आप एक संसदीय समिति के गठन करने की स्वीकृति देंगे जो कि,

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यह मैं आपसे जानना चाहता हूँ ।

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MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Is he referring to what happened in the morning during the question hour ?

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE : He is not repeating what happened in the morning. He is asking a question.

श्री जार्ज फरनेन्डीज : मैं आपसे प्रश्न पूछ रहा हूँ कि आज सुबह यहाँ कई आरोप उन पर लगाए गए कि उनका तस्कर व्यापार से कैसे सम्बन्ध है, कुली मस्ताना से कैसे सम्बन्ध है तो मेरा इतना ही प्रश्न है कि * * *

जांच करने के लिए आप एक संसदीय समिति बनाएंगे ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I cannot give any answer to that.

श्री मधु लिमये : फिर रास्ता क्या है ? इसका जवाब कौन देगा ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You are all well versed in the rules. You may find out how to raise it.

14.3 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET 1970-71—
GENERAL DISCUSSION—concl.

श्री शिबू पूजन शास्त्री (विक्रमगंज) : माननीया प्रधान मंत्री एवं वित्त मंत्री ने अपने बजट माषण तथा कर प्रस्तावों में चार पहलुओं की तरफ इस माननीय सदन और देश का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है । वे चार पहलू हैं—

(1) सरकारी नीति के प्रमुख तत्व, (2) देश

की आर्थिक स्थिति, (3) कर दरों में परिवर्तन तथा (4) प्रगति के नये चरण । मैं इन चारों पहलुओं की तरफ इस सम्मानित सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ । सरकारी नीति के प्रमुख तत्वों में तीन तत्वों को गिनाया गया है । पहला तत्व है सामाजिक, आर्थिक और राजनीतिक स्थिरता । दूसरा, उत्पादन शक्ति का विकास और तीसरा है, समाज के कमजोर वर्गों की भलाई का उचित ध्यान ।

सबसे पहले मैं समाज के कमजोर वर्गों की भलाई पर उचित ध्यान के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ । मैंने अपनी शास्त्रीय परीक्षा के निबन्ध पुस्तक पर भारत की कर शक्ति के बारे में भारत के इतिहास को टटोला, आर्थिक इतिहास को और खास करके पारिवारिक बजट और जेल में रहने वाले कैदियों को जो प्रति दिन भोजन मिलता है, उन दोनों की तुलना करने पर यह निष्कर्ष निकला कि भारत के जनसाधारण की हालत में रोज बरोज उनका भोजन भी वैसा नहीं है जैसा कि जेलों में कैदियों को मिलता है । कहने का मतलब यह है कि भारत का जन-साधारण पराकाष्ठा से भी अधिक गरीब है । उसकी क्रय-शक्ति बहुत ही गिरी हुई है । अगर दूसरी तरह से हम सोचें और आज की ही बात ले तो आर्थिक समीक्षा में जो प्रति वर्ष प्रति व्यक्ति आय दिखाई गई है उसमें बतलाया गया है कि आज भी 1969-70 में सिर्फ 390 रु. साल भर में एक आदमी की आय है यानी एक रोज में एक रुपए से कुछ अधिक । और आप भी भ्रमात्मक हैं क्योंकि पूरी जनसंख्या में पूर्ण आय का बराबर बंटवारा है लेकिन भारत की सम्पत्ति भारत की दौलत उचित ढंग से समाज में बाँटी नहीं जाती है । आज भी वहाँ एक या सौ में पांच छः प्रतिशत ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं जिनकी प्रति दिन की आय अगर लाखों नहीं तो हजारों जरूर ही है । ऐसी हालत में यह एक रुपया घ्रास्त आय जो निकलती है वह भी कंगेडों

हिन्दुस्तानियों की आय नहीं होती है। मतलब साफ है कि आज भी भारतवर्ष में ऐसे करोड़ों हिन्दुस्तानी हैं जिनको प्रति दिन दोनों समय के भोजन की आय नहीं है। आर्थिक समीक्षा में इसका सही चित्रण होना चाहिए था लेकिन अभी तक हमारे यहां जो आंकड़े निकाले जा रहे हैं वे दोषपूर्ण हैं।

सबसे पहले आंकड़े जो कि कृषि उत्पादन खाद्यान्न के हैं उसमें बताया गया है कि इस साल 9 करोड़ 40 लाख मीट्रिक टन कृषि उत्पादन हुआ है, खाद्यान्न उत्पादन हुआ है लेकिन सवाल है कि हर गांव में कितनी उपज होती है इसका हिसाब आप कैसे निकालते हैं। अभी मैं अपने इलाके में गया था, कई प्रखंड विकास समितियों में भाग लेने का मौका मिला, कई में विकास पदाधिकारी भी शामिल थे, वहां पर इस बात में मतभेद था कि इस वर्ष जिले भर में धान की उपज कितनी हुई है। पंचायतों की रिपोर्टों के अनुसार धान की उपज सिर्फ सैकड़ों दस हुई है क्योंकि एक बड़ी भारी बीमारी इस साल धान में आय की लगी। बीज मिला, कीटनाशक दवाई भी मिली, खाद भी मिली, पानी भी मिला, फसल भी खूब अच्छी लगी लेकिन आय की बीमारी लग जाने की वजह से धान का पौधा और उसकी बाल एकदम सूख गईं, फसल कुछ भी नहीं हुई। मैंने खुद खेतों में देखा, कहीं बीघे में एक मन, कहीं बीघे में दो मन लेकिन जिला मजिस्ट्रेट ने एलान कर दिया प्रेस सम्मेलन करके कि शाहाबाद जिले में धान की उपज सैकड़ों 60 हुई है। अगर यही आधार है आंकड़े इकट्ठे करने का तो कोई भी आदमी आसानी से कह सकता है कि वह बिलकुल गलत है। इसलिये मैं इस सम्मानित सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि देश की गरीबी को असली तस्वीर का पता लगाने के लिये आंकड़ों को वैज्ञानिक बनाना बहुत जरूरी है। नहीं तो आंकड़ों के आधार पर हम गलत निष्कर्ष निकालेंगे और जब मुसीबत आयेगी तब हम लोगों को उसे भुगतना पड़ेगा। हम कह तो

देते हैं कि इतना गल्ला पैदा होगा, लेकिन जब गल्ला खोजते हैं तो वह मिलता नहीं है। मिलता इसलिये नहीं है कि उसकी उपज उतनी हुई नहीं है।

मेरा एक सुझाव है। देश भर में दो लाख पंचायतों कायम हो चुकी हैं। अगर इन पंचायतों से गांवों की उपज के आंकड़े निकलवाये जाएं बी० एल० डबल्यू० से निकलवाने के बदले तो अधिक वास्तविक आंकड़े मिल सकते हैं। सम्पन्न सर्वे करने का जो तरीका है कि किसी एक प्लाट अर्थात् खेत का टुकड़ा ले लिया और वहां सब चीजें भी गई तथा उसकी उपज को लेकर त्रै-राशिक करों निकाल दिया कि इतना उपज हा गई, यह आंकड़े निकालने की रीति भी गलत है। इस तरह के हम लोग देश की आर्थिक स्थिति का सही पता लगा सकते और उनमें आधार पर हम लोग अपने देश की गरीबी नहीं मिटा सकते। इस तरह मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं।

दूसरी बात यह है कि इस देश में आज भी भूमि व्यवस्था सबसे खराब है, प्राउट-डेटेड है, बहुत पुरानी प्रथा है। आज भूमि व्यवस्था क्या है? एक हिसाब के मुताबिक 100 में से 47 किसान ऐसे हैं जिनके पास सिर्फ एक एकड़ जमीन है, २२ ऐसे हैं जो बेजमीन हैं। इस तरह से 69 प्रतिशत गांवों में रहने वाले ऐसे हैं जिनकी हालत बहुत ही खराब है, इस भूमि व्यवस्था के कारण। लेकिन नियम क्या है? जैसी कहावत है कि एक मुर्गी कई जगह जबा होंगी उसी तरह से किसान के पास एक एकड़ जमीन है, और वह उसकी आय का एक मात्र जरिया है, लेकिन उस पर आप माल-गुजारी भी वसूल करते हैं, उस पर आप सिंचाई कर भी वसूल करते हैं उस पर आप रोड सैस भी वसूल करते हैं, शिक्षा कर भी वसूल करते हैं और बीकीदारी टैक्स भी वसूल करते हैं। यह कौन सा न्याय है? यह कर लगाने का कौन सा सिद्धान्त है? अगर अंग्रेजों ने यह सिद्धान्त बनाया था तो गलत बनाया था। आज हम लोगों को प्राजाद हुए 22 वर्ष हो गये, हमको चाहिए था कि इस भूमि व्यवस्था को बदलते, नये कानून बनाते

(श्री शिबपूजन शास्त्री)

जिस में जमीन को जोतने वाला है वह उसका मालिक होता और यूनिटरी लैंड टैक्स होता, जमीन पर कोई एक ही टैक्स लगता। साथ ही उस टैक्स को आप वैज्ञानिक बनाते तथा उसकी प्रामदनी पर लगाते।

ऐसा न होने से होता क्या है? मैंने देखा है कि एक मीटिंग में श्री भगत भी उपस्थित थे, वहाँ पर मुखिया लोग जुटे थे। एक मुखिया ने कहा कि मेरे पास 200 बीघे जमीन है, लेकिन वह मेरी 200 बीघे जमीन सूख गई है, उसमें कुछ उपज नहीं हुई है। एक तो उसकी उपज सूख गई, फिर भी आपकी मालगुजारी सूखती नहीं, सिंचाई सूखती नहीं। मैं चाहूँगा कि इस पर ध्यान दिया जाये और इसको सुधारने की कोशिश की जाय। मुझे इस बात की जानकारी है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार भी चाहती है कि भूमि व्यवस्था सुधारी जाय....

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आपका समय खत्म हो गया।

श्री शिबपूजन शास्त्री : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मुझे कहना तो बहुत कुछ था लेकिन चूँकि आपने कहा है कि समाप्त हो गया इसलिए मैं अधिक कुछ नहीं कह सकूँगा। मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI DEVINDER SINGH (Ludhiana) : Sir, at the end of the debate in which very eminent parliamentarians have spoken, as I stand, it will be disconcerting for anybody, and for a person like me who is neither an original nor a rapid-thinking person, it will be more so. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you are partly responsible for my dilemma because thursday last you were following a certain order of calling upon the speakers. When my turn came, you deviated from that order and called upon another member and put me right at the end of the debate.

Sir, I will not concern myself with the details of the Budget singly because that has already been done very competently

before me by various speakers. I will concern myself basically with the rationale of the Budget. But, before doing that are a few things about which I must say something, as I have stirred up too much indignation about them to be continued in silence. Last year we enforced the wealth tax rather a meaningless wealth tax on agricultural holdings. People have talked about this earlier, but I would certainly like to repeat this though it may be a little tedious to the House. The total return from the so-called wealth tax is no more than Rs. 4.5 crores but I am very confident and fairly conservative in my estimate that from the base of this Rs. 4.5 crores to the national exchequers Rs. 12.5 crores will accrue to the lawyer, to the evaluator and to the income-tax inspector. One point might be made out that it will be better to simplify the collection of this tax. But no number of Acts and no number of rules under the Act can do away with the ignorance and the gullibility of the farmer. The only sensible thing to do with this tax is to remove it and levy an enhanced progressive slab rate of taxation in the form of land revenue on the land of the agriculturists. Is there any other way of taxing a farmer except the traditional methods he understands? He cannot understand the new procedure. I would like to point one startling from my own State of Punjab. The hon. Chief Minister of Punjab only the other day made a speech in Ludhiana in which he said that the Punjab Government will not be a party to collection of wealth tax for the Central Government. I hope it is clear to the hon. Members of the House. What does it mean? It means that you have a right to assess the farmer for taxes but you will not be able to get hold of that money in your own right for the simple reason that all the arrears of your taxes are collected as of land revenue by the revenue authorities of the States. If the States do not co-operate, it will be really a tough job to get this money and there will be large amount of unpleasantness between the States and Centre.

Secondly, Sir, there is a ghoulish measure in the Budget proposals which somehow has escaped the attention of practically everybody. It is the extension

of capital gains tax to agricultural properties in urban and suburban areas. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, as I understand it, the base year for the calculation of the capital gains tax is 1954. If in connection with the urban and suburban land you take this year 1954 as the basic year and calculate your gains in capital it would mean that you will be discriminating against the urban and suburban farmer even in relation to farmers who will be away from the towns. Now, Sir, the ugliness of the measure is manifest: if I own land 30 k. Ms. away from the town, I am not subject to taxation the capital gains that accrue to me on account of inflation, number one; population pressure, number two, and agricultural reasons, number three. But the agriculturist, if he is a suburban farmer, has to pay the tax on all these gains. Now, Sir, the Planning Commission, in their Draft Report on the Fourth Five-year Plan had recommended rather heartlessly and rather callously—that the capital gains in urban and suburban areas on agriculture land should be 'mopped up'. The bright boys of the Finance Ministry stuck to the suggestion and they are to mop up even what is given to the farmer by way of agricultural increase, by way of inflationary increase, and by way of increase due to population pressure on land. Not merely the gains that have accrued to the farmer due to urbanisation, but all the gains that have accrued to urban farmer. Now the condition of the suburban farmer and the urban farmer is this. Every year hundreds and thousands of them are dislocated from their social life, from their social background, because the lands are acquired by the State Governments, local bodies and by Central Departments. The Land Acquisition Act in its wisdom provides 15% over and above the total compensation due to the farmer for loss of property, for loss of social background. But then, the land is taken away and they don't have any other source of income. They are reduced to the status of what should I call them unskilled city labourers. And we pay them 15% over and above the actual cost of land to us, so that, they may have some kind of compensation for this dislocation. But the current measure, in its stupidity, and vulgarity, seeks to take away not merely that 15% but also a substantial part of what was originally and actually due. Let me point out, the Capital Gains Tax makes a happy start at 15% of the

gains and it goes up, and if I am not very wrong, upto 13% of the total gains. That means you are taking away the land in 1970 but paying the farmer more or less the price he used to get in 1954. This is a cruel measure and it requires the attention of the Finance Minister and the Finance Minister of State immediately and it is something that must be withdrawn.

The Budget has been criticised by various kinds of socialists in this House, Mr. Masani, Mr. Mehta and Mrs. Kripalani. It has been supported by pro-socialist elements like Mr. Dwivedy, and Mr. Dange. These different kinds of socialists were unanimous in asking this question: What is different about this Budget? Mr. Desai in his reaction to the Budget published on 1st of March this year said, "this Budget will generate black-money and it will also send prices soaring up." But in the very next breath he said: 'This is not different from my budgets; I could have done better.' All right; he could have done better; but nevertheless it is lucky he did not get a chance to repeat that performance.

One honest opinion about the budget came from Mr. Minoo Masani in the sense that it emerged not from political illwill or jealousy but due to ideological convictions and reasons. He perpetrated a new kind of socialism on the House that day. He quoted Sweden, He said the Swedes were Socialists. Of course, Sweden is a welfare State and is blessed with the highest standard of living in the world, but at the same time, it also has the highest annual rate of suicides in the world.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : Is that a budgetary provision?

SHRI DEVINDER SINGH : When he spoke about it, the Member was quiet.

That kind of socialism probably its success generates too much pressure for the nerves of the ordinary individual.

I was saying that the difference between the previous Budget and this is this, There always existed a glaring contradiction between the economic growth of our country and social welfare. It was always there and every Finance Minister was called upon by history to make a choice. Unfortunately, so far every Finance Minister made a choice in favour of industrial growth and sacrificed social welfare at its altar. For

[Shri Devinder Singh]

the first time — I do not say this is a socialist budget, it is not a socialist budget this Budget makes a very happy departure from the previous routine in the sense that there is a new, refreshingly new, aura of social and political awareness about it. This Budget makes a compromise for the first time, a happy compromise, between social welfare and industrial growth, and while making this compromise, it treads that rather thin, hardline path between two kinds of chaos. You could have opted entirely for industrial growth and forgotten social welfare, and the consequence in the country, with its changing political values, would have been anarchy. Or, we could have dwelt entirely on social welfare and forgotten growth. Again, the result would have been the same, that is a kind of economic stagnation degenerating into anarchy. This Budget does not undertake to change the political system or the economic system. It only takes the best advantage of the elbow room that was available in the existing frame work. A mere annual budget could not undertake to rewrite the Constitution of the Republic.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA (Barh) : I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak on the Budget.

This Budget has come at a time when the Prime Minister claims herself to be the harbinger of progressivism and, as Mr. Chandra Jeet Yadav, one of the members of her party and as Mr. Tenneti Viswanatham said to my surprise when a new sunshine has come. One has only to see the newspaper reports as to the wonderful sunshine that has come on the eastern horizon of this country. This morning, apart from the newspaper reports, a photograph has appeared in the *Statesman* where you can see that people have come to attend a meeting with spears, lathis, *bhalas*, *barchis*, swords and all kinds of things. And what was inside their pockets one does not know. Probably most of them carried bombs. Why should people come with these kinds of instruments to attend a public meeting? But who is going to bother? (*Interruptions*)

Let hon. Member understand that the whole financial provision that this House

is making is for running this country in a proper manner. That is why it is relevant.

15 hrs.

What exactly is this new sunshine, is quite visible from the newspaper reports. The taxi drivers have to go on strike and if somebody asks them why they are going on strike they say it is because they are assaulted by every body, and no body is giving them protection. Cinema—house are destroyed; glass—panes are broken and the whole building is destroyed because some film is not liked by somebody. This is the kind of sunshine which the Prime Minister's prerogative has brought in this country. I find that some people can see with eyes, but some people cannot see even with their eyes open. This is the sunshine which has come on the eastern horizon....

SHRI P. GOPALAN (Tellicherry) : How many lives were burnt in Gujarat ?

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : I do not mind the credit for this being given to the Prime Minister. I do not mind my hon. friend Shri Tenneti Viswanatham giving the credit for this wonderful sunshine that is visible in this country, which will destroy democratic traditions and democratic establishments in this country, to the Prime Minister.

I am only witnessing the tragic spectacle of many people saying different things in private conversation, but somehow or the other, they want to keep the Prime Minister pleased, and therefore, they take all opportunities to pay her lip—sympathy and lip—appreciation. I would have understood if this would have been real appreciation of the Prime Minister. I would certainly have appreciated that a part of the people are appreciating her.

SHRI MANOHARAN (Madras North) : Let her come to the budget.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : He would not understand it. I am referring to this because every single penny of this country, the tax—payers' money is being used for destroying the country's democracy. That is why I am referring to this. Let him keep quiet.

SHRI MANOHARAN : We want to listen to her. Let her come to the budget.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : Stooges do not understand the language of democracy and the well-being of the people. Let him keep quiet.

I can understand such remarks, because we have started living in a permissive society of double-talk and double-deals...

SHRI DHIRSWAR KALITA (Ganhato): Belated wisdom.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : All the political parties have become parties with belated wisdom, because it is these parties that have made democratic life in this country very unstable. Therefore, it may be belated wisdom. When Shrimati Indira Gandhi was made the Prime Minister, we never expected that she would give this country on a platter to the Soviet Union. That is why it is belated wisdom surely. When Shrimati Indira Gandhi was made the Prime Minister, we never bargained that she would give this country on a platter to the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. That was not what we had bargained for. It is belated wisdom, but at least wisdom is there, and we shall fight for the democratic tradition to the best of our capacity. I do not wonder at this sorry spectacle that most of the Congress Members sitting on that side who claim themselves to be Congress Members have no words to say in defence of the Prime Minister. All the defence that the Prime Minister gets today is from these neo-friends, who are more interested in the defence of the Prime Minister and liquidation of democracy. And this is the most unfortunate spectacle in the House every day that the Congress Party is silent and the expression of that party looks as if it is like a cow and they are allowing themselves to be slaughtered, while the defence of the great Prime Minister comes only from these handful of people the Communists.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI P. C. SETHI) : The hon. Members is also with new friends.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : I do not at all feel concerned about the

defence of the Prime Minister by these friends, because it is ultimately for the public to judge today or tomorrow, and the people of India will judge.

AN HON. MEMBER : The public has judged already.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : Now, what is the budget which has come after all this persistent saying that a new area will be ushered in ? I shall not say anything on my own, but I shall just quote what the Prime Minister herself has been saying on her own. In all her speeches, the Prime Minister has been saying that this requires a change of psychology, an orientation of Government policy so as to bring a new horizon of socialism in this country. It is being said that the Planning Commission was asked to plan in such a way that socialist society would come. It is from the pronouncements of the Prime Minister herself that I would like to quote. She has said that the Congress has always championed the cause of the weaker sections, the minorities and the oppressed, and this would continue to be the policy of the Congress. In the first paragraph of the Prime Minister's famous stray, thoughts note we find :

"to impose ceilings on unproductive expenditure and conspicuous consumption of corporate bodies"...

Where is that sentence of the budget ? What has happened to that sentence of the Prime Minister". She started her stray thoughts with this connotation, but not a word is there against the conspicuous consumption of corporate bodies, and not a word is there against the unproductive expenditure in the public sector or in the private sector or in the government sector or the direct departmental sector.

Then, in one of her notes, the Prime Minister, in order to take advantage of the political gimmickry and she has been able to take lot of advantage of that, because the people of India are simple people, innocent people, and they can be fooled for some time, and it is a fact that they fooled for some time, have been it was Abraham Lincoln who said that all the people can be fooled for some time, and some people can be fooled for all time, but all the people cannot be fooled for all the time, and that is ex-

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ctly going to happen tomorrow. Now, what did the Prime Minister herself say?

The Prime Minister has said that a review of the agricultural wages is also called for in the light of the increased yields now obtaining.

AN. HON. MEMBER : How long was she fooled?

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : I was one of those people who never allowed ourselves to be fooled, but the majority of the Members were fooled, and, therefore, they voted for the Prime Minister. But I was never one of them.

Now, where is the review of the agricultural wages? There is not a word said against the big peasantry getting hold of the land, because we know that about one million acres of land is under either urbanisation or industrialisation or it is being transferred to some other proprietorial hand.

SHRI P. GOPALAN : That is a correct point. Hear, hear.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : Let him kindly listen to me. There is a lot of sense in what I am saying. Let him not talk nonsense here. Let him listen to my speech and then say, 'hear, hear'.

Nearly one million acres of land is being taken either for State purposes or for urbanisation or for industrialisation and so many other activities. For example, Bokaro required 5000 acres of land, that land has been taken, and most of the people have become landless; they had a little bit of land, but now they have lost it. What is going to be done about that? The Agricultural Labour Inquiry Committee gave a report. I am only pointing out what the Prime Minister herself said. She did not claim that she was a mediocre; she did not claim that was like one of the previous Finance Ministers; she said that she was the harbinger of a new dawn in this country, and that is why the Prime Minister is answerable if the new dawn is not visible except in the lathis and spears.

I would like to ask whether this budget reflects those sentiments. If this budget was going to reflect the sentiments and the growing desires of the people and the dawn that was visible, was it not obligatory on the part of the Prime Minister to reflect that kind of sentiment in the budget and to provide for agricultural labour which is being eroded as an institution considerably by not only urbanisation but by the price increase?

Now, I come to the taxes.

AN HON. MEMBER : She was also having a zamindari before.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : But the zamindars had the capacity to give up zamindari. They were not like him grabbing the Soviet Union's money also for personal use. We were zamindars but we surrendered the zamindari without any inhibition and without caring for the zamindari; but we do not survive on Soviet money. So, let him keep quiet. We surrendered it gracefully and with happiness and not with any pangs. But the new zamindars are not prepared to surrender their zamindari. The new zamindars opposite and the new zamindars on this side are surviving on Soviet money.

Now, I come to taxation. The Prime Minister herself has said that she has brought forward this budget for the people's good. I would like to give an example. Take the case of the exemption limit of Rs. 5000. The increase of the exemption limit is going to give a relief of Rs. 11 to those poor people who were coming within that income slab. What the Prime Minister has actually done is this. Actually, she has given relief by way of Rs. 11, but she has taken it back with interest. She has given a relief of Rs. 11 per year to those people who are in the income group of Rs. 5000, but by taking away the dependent parents' allowance of Rs. 20, she has taken away from the lowest income group people whatever relief she has given. She has withdrawn Rs. 20 allowance for dependent parent and thus she has taken away Rs. 9 from those very people whose cause she wants to champion. That is about the income group

below Rs. 5,000. If anybody had occasion to go to the market, he will find that the price of every item of the consumer goods have increased because of the excise duties levied on a number of components : These are invisible to the common man as they are not tax on a complete or finished item; they are taxes on component parts which go into the making of a complete item. There is a ten per cent duty on a number of such items which means that the price of the manufactured item will be definitely more. Prices have already gone up to by seven per cent in one year. The prices are going up in spite of what the Prime Minister may say about agricultural production. I am surprised how at a time when the price line has started becoming slippery she has taxed a large number of items at ten per cent excise duty. Ultimately these rises will fall on the consumer. Is it something that the House does not understand? The money that is collected from the industrialist or producer by way of tax at any stage of production ultimately has to be paid by the consumer of that item. The consumer in India is a voiceless entity and is not taken care of by anybody. Therefore, I consider this an immoral budget. I say so because of the nature of the proposals embodied in it; because it taxes people without manifestly telling them; it is done in such a way that the consumers do not even realise. But surely they will realise it some day, if not today. That is why I am surprised when leftists commend the budget.

When the price level is showing signs of instability there is deficit financing. The State budgets of nine States have come and the deficit is about Rs. 150 crores and the total deficit financing for the States is likely to be around Rs. 280 or Rs. 300 crores. The provision in the Central Budget is for a deficit financing of Rs. 225 crores. But it will be more as many hon. Members had already explained the receipts had been overestimated and this may well go beyond Rs. 300 crores. All these have an inflationary potentiality. These measures have come at this time. What about the money supply position? The Reserve Bank is calling for a credit squeeze. Why? The Prime Minister says that she wants industrial development and is giving lollypops to the country. The corporate

sector has been left untouched so that Birlas and Tatas may be created. But the Reserve Bank says : do not involve yourself in credit expansion programmes. It wants to put checks on the channels of credit flow because of the inflationary potential created by the huge investment programme. Apart from that, savings have dropped from 8 per cent to 5 or 5.5 per cent. Would the Prime Minister explain what will happen if the money supply is going to increase by ten per cent and the savings drop from 8 per cent to 5 per cent? There is a big vacuum. In such a situation the axiomatic truth is that the prices are going to rise more.

Then there is the question of unemployment. I read an article by the president of India, Mr. Giri. He says that unemployment in this country is from ten to fifty million. I was surprised at the nature of the brief that the president of India gets from this Government. It keeps even the president of India in the dark about the correct unemployment figures. I know that the president of India has made many good suggestions in the article which he had written on his own assessment of the unemployment problem. It says that the figure is any where between ten fifty million. If that is the connotation of the problem that we understand, the solution is far away, far from you. You are dreaming of the solution; you are not providing any solution, even if we take that figure anywhere near, because in crores the Government of India is functioning, without any sense of responsibility and obligation. If they function like that, if they can misinform the President who says that unemployment is anywhere from 10 million to 50 million, I think something must be done about this in an emergent manner. I do not see that in the budget. This budget was a people's budget, according to them. But I would like to ask, how this budget is going to solve the problem of unemployment, a problem which has become such an acute problem, that everybody says that this is number 1 problem in this country.

Apart from the fact that today there is also underemployment, with the tribals and the Harijans and so many other people having only half the work like agricultural

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labour. According to the President of India, under-employment is from 100 million to 150 million. Therefore, today, the problem of providing employment is not in respect of 15 million people but of 200 million people. This budget does not even scratch that problem, what to say about trying to solve that problem. That is why I made a remark about the budget saying that it was a political gimmickry and lollipop given to the country by the Prime Minister.

I now come to last point and that is about drug prices. The components of drugs have been taxed by the Finance Minister. Today we find that drug prices have soared skyhigh, and even the topmost negotiations that Dr. Triguna Sen had have not been able to do anything in this matter. The tragedy in this country is, that something has to be pointed out either by America or by the Soviet Union. The American Congress carried out a study about the spurious drug racket going on in India, and the Government of India is blind to that; it does not say anything about it. It is the American Congress' study which had really to expose this scandal of spurious drugs racket. I would like to read one sentence from there, which says, that the entitled companies have imported into India certain antibiotics worth about Rs. 8 crores and sold them for Rs. 80 crores. They were importing Rs. 8 crores worth of anti-biotics and selling them to the miserable people in this country for Rs. 80 crores. The Government was at that time wooing the American Government and the American vested interests. I do not know how the leftists also recall can have faith in the Prime Minister. We know when the Americans protested about the cultural centres were allowed to continue. But when this country protested about unauthorised structures, being put up by Soviet Union they said that all the cultural centres will be closed. This is what the Government does; sometimes going into the lap of the Americans and sometimes going into the lap of Soviet Russia. Never is this Government in the confidence of the people of this country, as it should be.

Therefore, I would like to submit that the Prime Minister should have shown

concern about this drug racket which is going on in this country and done something about it. I would suggest that a Parliamentary Committee be appointed to go into the entire question of drug pricing. This kind of eye-wash which Dr. Triguna Sen tries to bring about, through his statements, we are not reconciled to that. Let a Parliamentary Committee go into the entire question of drug pricing and let it settle the reasonable prices for drugs.

So much has been said that the Prime Minister has set apart some money for State assistance. It is just patronage, because the Prime Minister has lost all credentials about her bona fides in this country. She is regarded with suspicion by everybody in this country, even by those who are sitting there, who in private express what they cannot say here. I understand and I quite sympathise with them. I do sympathise with them; that is why a person like Shri Chandrajit Yadav, who is very vocal person, who made a speech defending everything undefensible, talked about this being a people's budget:

मालिब वजीफा खार हो, दो शाह को दुषा ।
वो दिन गए कहते थे, नौकर नहीं हूँ मैं ॥

I do understand the plight of the Ministers, the Members of Parliament, over there, who would like to guard their seats; their committees; would like to guard their delegations. I quite sympathise with everything. I have no grievance about it. But the point is, the Prime Minister has lost her credentials completely in this country. Even she has to say, "I hear rumours". Is it the job of the Prime Minister to make statements on the basis of hearsay and rumours? It is not becoming of a Prime Minister to do so. By marking such remarks she has reduced the position of Prime Minister to a laughing stock in the world. It is not the job of the Prime Minister to make remarks on hearsay. As the head of the Government, it is her responsibility to say something only after duly ascertaining the facts and not make remarks on the basis of hearsay.

The question is not that she will use this money as patronage or not; the question is, by the way she has been conduct-

ing herself, the country has lost faith in her; the federal structure has lost faith in her. Otherwise, why is it that when the DMK is supporting her Government here, their Chief Minister has been saying consistently that there should be complete decentralisation of economic resources? If they had so much faith in the propriety and justice of the Central Government, they would not make that demand. Why is Mr. Jyoti Basu demanding that more economic responsibility be given to the States?

I would, therefore, submit that the Finance Commission in the country may be made into a permanent commission. Let all the States feel that justice is being done to them. Let the membership of the Finance Commission consist of neutral, objective people, so that it may disburse the amount of Rs. 175 crores among the States with a certain sense of propriety and fairness. I am sure all the States and the Centre will be able to present their case to the Finance Commission and they will get a fair and objective treatment in the matter of disbursement of funds. That is why there is need to create a permanent Finance Commission. The Prime Minister does not have time to read the reports of the Administrative Reforms Commission. The inter-State committee of the ARC presided over by Mr. Setalvad recommended that there should be a permanent Finance Commission to look after the disbursement of aids and grants by the Government of India to the States, because the States are being reduced to the status of dole-accepting authorities. It does not become of the status and dignity of the States to seek doles and smiles from Mrs. Gandhi. They have to smile to seek doles. Many leaders in Rajasthan say, "What could be done? If we had not supported Mrs. Gandhi, our people in Barmer would have died." But what about the people of Banaskantha? They have been suffering from famine for more than 2 years. The Prime Minister went to Gujarat and when it was pointed out to her that famine relief has not flowed into Banaskantha for more than 2 years, she said, "Probably I had signed it; it must be lying somewhere". The people of Banaskantha who are dying of starvation can be made into a political instrument. They are being treated with a pathy and she says, "The famine relief must be lying in the files somewhere"

and in the meanwhile, how many people and cattle have died? Therefore, we demand a permanent Finance Commission, so that every State may get justice.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Mudrika Prasad Sinha.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : We have been waiting for the past 4 or 5 days for the second speaker from my party. How long will this discussion continue?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We had eight hours more at the time when we began this debat and, therefore, I suppose this debate will continue tomorrow also.

SHRI RANGA : The whole of tomorrow? In that case, we are entitled to two more speakers. Now, how long are going to wait?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am not going to allow this kind of discussion.

SHRI RANGA : If you want us to behave in a decent manner then the Chair has also to behave in a decent manner. How long are we to wait for our second speaker to be called?

15.25 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARI in the Chair]

श्री मुद्रिका सिंह (अरंगाबाद) : समापति महोदय, मैं अभी श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी जी के माषण को बड़े गौर से सुन रहा था।

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA : Sir, as desired by you, I have given the point I want to raise in writing to the Secretary. Please let me know when I will be allowed to raise it.

सभापति महोदय : आपने उन को लिख कर दिया था, जब वह आयेंगे तब आप उस प्वाइन्ट को उठाइयेंगे।

श्री मुद्रिका सिंह : समापति महोदय, मुझे अभी श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा जी के माषण को सुनने का अवसर मिला। मुझे उन की बात सुनकर

[श्री मुद्रिका सिंह]

काफी आश्चर्य हुआ। जहाँ साल भर पहले जब मॉरारजी भाई बजट पेश करते थे, तो उस में उनका बराबर रोशनी ही रोशनी दिखाई पड़ती थी.....

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : एसी बात नहीं थी, आप मेरा भावण निकाल कर पड़ लीजिये।

श्री मुद्रिका सिंह : हर बजट पर आप जरूर बोलती थी और मैं आपके बोलने के ढंग की प्रशंसा करता था—वाह, मॉरारजी भाई के बजट के एक-एक वाक्य में इन्हे प्रखर रोशनी दिखाई पड़ रही है, लेकिन आज जब हमारी प्रधान मंत्री तथा वित्त मंत्री जी ने बजट पेश किया तो न जाने क्यों, रोशनी की बात कौन कहे, चारों तरफ अंधेरा ही अंधेरा दिखाई देता है। इतना ही नहीं, समापति महोदय, शायद पहले के बजट में हर बात में नैतिकता दिखाई पड़ती थी। चाहे फटिलाइजर पर टैक्स लगे, चाहे इन्डाइरेंट टैक्सेज का बोझ गरीबों पर पड़े चाहे गरीबों का आर्थिक मेरूदण्ड ही टूट जाय, लेकिन आपके मुँह से मैंने कभी नहीं सुना कि वह इम्पोरल बजट है। लेकिन आज जब पहलें-पहल पुरानी रुढ़ीवादिता को तोड़ कर प्रधान मंत्री जी ने समाजवाद की ओर कदम उठाया, एक विकासोन्मुख बजट पेश किया, गरीबों के लिये राहत के उपाय जुड़ाये, तो आपने कहा कि यह इम्पोरल बजट है इन सारी बातों का सुन कर मुझे बहुत आश्चर्य हुआ इस लिए कि मैं और वह दोनों एक ही जगह से आ रहे हैं और एक ही पथ के पथिक हैं, इसलिये ज्यादा आश्चर्य हुआ।

फिर भी सच्चाई को मानना चाहिये मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि यह बजट नहीं पूर्ण रूपेण समाजवादी बजट नहीं है, लेकिन यह भी मानता हूँ कि समाजवाद की ओर यह पहला कदम है। यह बात ठीक है कि इस देश की सारी समस्याओं और गरीबी की समस्या दूर नहीं होगी, लेकिन यह भी

सच्चाई है कि जिस ईमानदारी और सच्चाई के साथ बहादुरी के साथ हमारे अर्थ मंत्री ने इस बार जो कदम उठाया है और जिस तरह से एक नई दिशा का दिग्दर्शन कराया है, यदि इसी मुस्तैद और उत्साह के साथ हमारे साधन बढ़ते जाय तो समाजवाद हम लायेंगे, जरूर लायेंगे और गरीबी दूर होगी। समाजवाद, समापति महोदय कोई पकी पकाई रोटी नहीं है, कोई भूखा हो, उस परस दें और वह खा ले। समाजवाद तो जीवन की एक पद्धति है और प्रजातान्त्रिक व्यवस्था में एक दिन में तो समाजवाद लाया नहीं जा सकता है शायद किसी व्यवस्था में भी नहीं लाया जा सकता है। हमारे नकनालईट दोस्त भी एक दिन में चाहें कि बम और गोले के साथ ले भावें और आज सारी सम्पत्ति का समान वितरण भी देश में गोली और बन्दूक के जोर से कर दें विधान को खत्म करके तब भी क्या गरीबी दूर हो जायेगी? नहीं, इसके लिए उत्पादन बढ़ाना पड़ेगा। देश में ज्यादा दौलत उत्पादन करनी पड़ेगी और साथ ही दौलत को नियोजित और समान वितरण करेगे, तभी सही माने में समाजवाद आयेगा। इसलिए सबसे जरूरी है कि देश में दौलत कैसे बढ़े, उत्पादन कैसे बढ़े। आज हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने जो बजट रखा है, मैं तो कहूँगा कि पहली बार यह प्राइडक्शन और एन्टेड बजट है और इस रास्ते पर हम आगे चल सकते हैं।

मैं एक दो बातें ही कहना चाहूँगा। बड़ा अच्छा होता अगर इस बजट में केरोसीन तेल चीनी या घल्ट्मूनियम जैसी चीजों पर हम कर न लगाते। आप कह सकते हैं कि एक तरफ तुम प्राइडक्शन और एन्टेड बजट कहते हो, देश में दौलत बढ़ाना चाहते हो तो पूँजी का निर्माण होना चाहिए पर दूसरी ओर तुम कर का विरोध करते हो यह तो विरोधाभास है। नहीं एसी बात नहीं है। इन चीजों पर, जैसे अलमूनियम पर कर बढ़ेगा तो आज सारी एलेट्रिक में अलमूनियम के तार लग रहें हैं

वहाँ पर उसकी प्राइम बड़ेगी तो एग्जीकलचर पर भी उसका बोझ पड़ेगा। इसी प्रकार भ्रगर केरोसीन तेल पर कर बड़ेगा तो झोपड़ीयों में तो मिट्टी का तेल ही जलाया जाता है उन्हीं पर इसका बोझ पड़ेगा क्योंकि अट्टालिकाओं में तो बिजली ही जगमगाती है। सभापति महाशय, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कारपोरेट सेक्टर को जो छोड़ दिया गया है उसपर भ्रगर एक परसन्ट भी कर बढ़ा दिया जाये या दो प्रसेन्ट बढ़ा दिया जाये तो उससे इस धार्तिपूर्ति की जा सकती है। केरोसिन तेल चीनी तथा एल्युमिनियम पर इन्डायरेक्ट टैक्स के द्वारा जो आपको आभर्नी होगी उस को आप कारपोरेट सेक्टर में पूरा कर सकते हैं। मुझे आशा है कि अर्थ-मंत्री मेरे सुझाव पर अवश्य ही ध्यान देंगी। उज्वल बजट रूपी चन्द्र में यह जो दो तीन गरीबों पर बोझ लादने वाले कलंक हैं इन को भ्रगर घोंदें तो यह बजट निष्कलंक बजट हों जायेगा। यही मुझे कहना है।

इस सिलसिले में एक चीज धीर कहना चाहता हूँ। बजट में यह जो वृद्ध कहा गया है कि समाज के कमजोर वर्गों के लिए हम बहुत कुछ उपाय करेंगे। ठीक है, करना चाहिये लेकिन हमारी समझ में नहीं आया कि बजट में जो रीजनल इम्बैलेसज हैं जो प्रादेशिक विषमता हैं उस की धीर इस में ध्यान क्यों नहीं गया? जहाँ पंजाब में पर कैपिटा इन्कम 14 सी रूपये है वहाँ बिहार में पर कैपिटा इन्कम 170 या 175 पर आ गई। जो बिहार प्राज से दो तीन साल पहले प्रति व्यक्ति, आय में नीचे में चौथे स्थान पर था वह प्राज खिसक कर लास्ट हो गया है, यह जो कमजोर पिछड़े हुए राज्य है इन को भी ऊपर उठाने के लिए कुछ करना चाहिए था और करना चाहिए। यह भी एक समाजवाद की मांग है जो बलित है, अपमानित हैं, ताड़ित है, नीचे है उन को हम उठाकर समान स्तर पर लाएँ। जब व्यक्ति के लिए यह सिद्धांत है तो जो राज्य पिछड़े हुए जैसे बिहार, बंगाल, आसाम, काश्मीर और उत्तर प्रदेश भी है, इन राज्यों को उचित

हिम्सा दे कर ऊपर उठाना चाहिये। उदाहरण के लिए मद्रास को लीजिये। स्वराज्य होने के बाद भ्रब तक 22 वर्षों में 35 करोड़ रूपया बिजली के लिए केन्द्र सरकार की धीर में मद्रास को मिला जब कि बिहार जो कि वहाँ से 4 गुना है उस को सत्रह घण्टारह करोड़ ही मिला। बिहार आबादी में चौगुना, एनीया में चौगुना।

श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा : मेरी ही बात तो आप कह रहे हैं लेकिन जरा खूब सूरती से कह रहे हैं।

श्री मुखिका सिंह : मैं कह रहा हूँ आप की बात। लेकिन कल तक जो आप कहती थी वह आज बदल दिया इमलिए मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ।

तो मैं कह रहा था कि इस तरह से जहाँ तक इरीगेशन का सवाल है, बिहार राज्य हमारा नदियों का राज्य है। उत्तर बिहार फुल आफ रिवर्स साउथ बिहार तो रत्नागर्मा बसुन्धरा है ही, अलूवियल सायल दुनिया की सब से बड़ी उपजाऊ भूमि है। लेकिन वहाँ के रहने वाले इस देश में सब से ज्यादा निर्धन हैं। घनधान्य से पूर्ण बिहार राज्य में इस देश के सब से निर्धन लोग रहते हैं। यहाँ की पर कैपिटा इनकम सब से कम है। क्या समाजवाद और न्याय की यह मांग नहीं है कि जो राज्य पीछे पड़े हुए हैं कमजोर हैं, पिछड़े हुए हैं उन को केन्द्र ज्यादा मदद करके आगे बढ़ाएँ? कोयला और लोहा हमारे यहाँ पैदा होता है लेकिन पंजाब के हर बाजार में फैक्ट्री चल रही है काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज जहाँ पर छड़े और कारुगेटड शीट्स बनते हैं कोयला हमारे यहाँ साँहा हमारे यहाँ लेकिन हमारे यहाँ काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज नहीं हैं।

किसान के बोझ को और अन एम्प्लायमेंट को हल करने की बात बजट में कही गई है। लेकिन वह कैसे हल होगा जब तक कि स्मान स्केल और काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज को यह बड़े पैमाने पर विकसित नहीं करेंगे? धरती पर जो बोझ बढ़ रहा गाँवों में, उस में हम पूर्ण बेकारों या अर्ध बेकारों को काम नहीं दे सकते हैं। बिहार में इंडस्ट्रियल

[श्री मृगिका सिंह]

डेवलपमेंट होना चाहिये था जिस के लिए वहां रिसोर्स उपलब्ध है लेकिन वह नहीं हो पा रहा है। मैं अर्थ मंत्री से दरखास्त करना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक कर्षण और कर्नी में समता न हो, तब तक उस को प्रतिक्रियावाद कहते हैं। जहां हम कमजोर संवर्षण को उठाने की बात करते हैं, समाजवाद का स्वप्न देखते हैं, समाजवाद की बात करते हैं। वह केवल व्यक्ति को ही उठाने से पूरा नहीं होगा, बल्कि पिछड़े राज्योंको भी इन्डस्ट्रीयली, एग्रीकल्चरली, सोशलली और हर तरह से उधर उठाना पड़ेगा। कम से कम जो पंजाब का आज आर्थिक स्तर है जब तक उस के बराबर हम पिछड़े हुए राज्य को नहीं लाएंगे तब तक सही समाजवाद नहीं आ सकता।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस लिए बजट का समर्थन कर रहा हूँ कि कम से कम सही दिशा में प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने एक सही कदम उठाया है। इस का समर्थन करते हुए मैं प्रधान मंत्री को धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI N.K. SOMANI (Nagaur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, before I proceed with the presentation of my views on the current Budget proposals. I would like to state, briefly, the theme of the presentation on which there is a great deal of misunderstanding and people are made to believe that there is an anti-thesis between economic progress and social progress.

I would like to begin by saying that economic progress and social progress go together given the right economic climate and there is absolutely no conflict. There is absolutely no anti-thesis at all except when the State like ours misdirects the economy as has been done for a large number of years. If the purpose of raising the standards of living as quickly and for as many as possible is to be mis-spelt as socialism or by any other word, then there are certain imperative steps that any Government will have to take as for as the economic progress is concerned. Then, the budget, as an instrument of fiscal and economic reforms, the industrial licensing

policies, the general environment for rapid industrialisation and the credit policies will all have to be attuned and will have to be in harmony so that the economic progress can be achieved at a quick pace. All these endeavours will have to be in the direction of creation and delivery of standards of living. This is my definition of socialism that the Government at the Centre will have not only to create but make it possible for a delivery of those standards of living to as many people as possible. In defining socialism they will have to realise that economic loss and systems and rules and regulations are ruthless in their operation and their performance have absolutely no respect for ideologies, either of the 'Young Turks' or of the old commies. Therefore, I want to quote from Prof. Northcote Parkinson who said the other day—it is timely and the cutting is just in my hand—and he has propounded a thesis that the people of India do not believe in a socialistic pattern of society. What they need are decent homes, sufficient food and a good wage and a hope for the future and this cumulative benefit can be offered by the private sector as has been done in Japan. Prof. Parkinson who spoke the other day in a meeting, continued to say that such benefit could also be offered by Communism as in China as probably some of my friends would like to be done in this country. But he says 'From what I have seen India. I am convinced that we have here enterprise, the energy and the ability to create a prosperous society if proper policies are followed in this country.' Let us for a moment reflect painfully on the fruits of the sterile stupid and inflationary bordering on brinkmanship policy followed in this country for the last 18 years and as far as the brinkwomanship is concerned, for the last few months—because some of you were there and influenced her policy. It seems that the hard realities of the economic disasters and the humiliating devaluation have not been realised by this Government and these economic monarchs have absolutely no regard or concern for either the unemployed or the poor in this country.

Mr. Chairman, it is a great pity to now that this Government has not yet become chastened and reformed. These ruling autocrats for whom the State monopolies,

conspicuous consumption, toppling of State Governments—and a new word has been coined this morning namely rationalising State Governments, as somebody said it—all these kinds of activities and infructuous investment in as-pawling 'Knmbakarna' of the public sector are absolutely holy and scrupulous as long as it suits their politics.

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA : It is not politics—it is 'politricks'.

SHRI N.K. SOMANI : Where is the concern for the poor people of India? It is all political manoeuvres for perpetuating one's own absolute power. Let me say some more home truths. It was the brilliance, the courage and the honesty of the late Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia here in this House, who shook the late Mr. Nehru from his ivory tower to the stark naked poverty of this country when he turned the searchlight on the massive poverty that was then prevailing in this country. Now to-day, after an outlay of Rs.30,000 crores in the last 18 years of absolutely infantile planning, nearly one-third of our population in quantitative terms and I hope some of the people facing us are at least human beings, 180 millions of people of this country languish below the line of poverty even to day whose pitiful monthly consumption of expenditure is Rs. 24 in urban areas and Rs.15 in rural areas. These are not my figures. I hope the Finance Minister has seen the Reserve Bank Bulletin occasionally and this is what the bulletin has to say in its January issue. As a result of the cumulative planning and wasteful expenditure that has been indulged in this country, it says, "compared to 1960-61, we notice that the nutritional deficiency in the rural areas has widened considerably. As compared to only 52% of the rural population in 1960-61, 70% of the total population in 1967-68 was found to be at poverty levels and extreme poverty levels." In terms of the total, the Reserve Bank bulletin total is 289 million people who are still suffering below this poverty line.

There are certain other observations that I would like to quote from *March of the Nation* which have been contributed by the famous economist Prof. Sheopy. This also should open up your eyes to a little extent, I hope, as far as the hardships of our masses are concerned, And this

article says, based on a report from this Parliament, that the *per capita* availability of foodgrains in 1968 has gone down by 3.7% compared to 1965 and further evidence of the hardship is provided by the fall in the consumption of cotton-cloth, edible oil and sugar by 11, 14 and 17 per cent respectively and this is the situation during these recent years when you thought socialism was ushered in the country to your teeming millions. If this is socialism, Mr. Chairman, that socialism should be hung by the nearest lamp post. At the same Mr. Chairman, from 1961 to 1966 under the patronage of this very Government the production of motorcars has risen by 27% under the same system of socialism as this is called, of airconditioners by 44%, of confectionary and chocklates, by 52%, of refrigerators by 292% and of art-silk fabrics by 51%. These are the directions of our economy that have been provided by such a closely purured socialism of this Government. (*Interruption*) You cannot blame me for whatever you have done. I don't know why I am wasting so much time. About the poverty, in this month of March, 1970, when a formal notice of 'quit poverty' was served by the ruling party in December, 69 at Bombay and I don't know whether I am wasting the time of the House by bringing in this exposure of poverty that still continues because that quit notice cannot even go to the Supreme Court for an appeal.

Let us take another look at our unemployment problem about which so many hon. Members have already spoken. According to my estimates today there is a total employment of 16 millions in the organised sectors in our country against which over 15 millions are still unemployed. And you have a further break-up of 8 million in the rural and 7 million in the urban areas in desperate search of job of any kind under your system of socialism. If you cannot find any remedy and if this budget provides an answer, I suppose to an average new employment of only one lakh of people per year, then, I am not surprised that by the end of 1975 under this very system; which has now further been accentuated, there are going to be 27 million people on the street of this country looking desperately for jobs. And even if this does not open their eyes, I don't know what will? And this, surely, Mr. Chairman, calls for a total reversal.

[Shri N. K. Somani]

a new system of our economic processes and investment policies than what has been adhered to so far. For whom is this Government, the Planning Commission and the Parliament working? Who should they be planning for except for these who are unemployed and poverty-stricken? If this is the result of Rs. 30,000 of massive investment undertaken in this country then I do not have a doubt. It is recognised the world over and the Prime Minister mentions it occasionally when it suits her purpose that the scarcest commodity to day is the entrepreneurial and managerial competence and initiative. She has said it often enough and it is this very vital stock of entrepreneurship that is now sought to be crushed and strangulated, and this will result in not only a total deadlock against any further economic and industrial progress but this will also bring under the false pretences of this Government which has such a distorted phobia not only about size and also technology. I think they don't have a clue about what professional management is. And, as far as I am concerned, I want that the economic and fiscal policies should be pursued in another way. I hope Mr. Bhagat is listening to me. In respect of average industrial production I would like the industrial production centres of my country and factories here and their output in terms of size to be at least as good and as large and complex and technologically as advanced as Japan is. It is Mr. Bhagat's job to see that his Ministry's export performance is not lagging behind either because of this distorted vision of the phobia of size and that we do not purposely keep back the country by denying the technology and by denying this economy of size. And as Mrs. Sinha rightly said even President Giri was sufficiently moved to contribute a syndicated article as far as this question of unemployment is concerned. But I would like to submit this very respectfully in regard to this question of entrepreneurial skill, managerial skill and initiative: you want to encourage all the rest of the sections of society; but this is not the climate in which you can usher it in. This certainly is not going to be transferred overnight.

Therefore, while you should, on the one side, encourage massively the transfe-

rence of the skills in the rural areas and amongst the unemployed, at the same time you will have to have a balanced economic growth not only in the interest of the consumer at home but for the purpose of facing perpetual competition in the international and world markets. And all your budgetary, fiscal monetary, foreign trade and industrial policies will have to define and form into an orchestra which is playing the same tune. You cannot have these components all pulling in different directions. Directions of red, purple and of all shades in between.

Therefore, as I said before, economic rules and laws are completely ruthless. They will not listen to these tunes and you will have to take stark lessons. I am so much surprised and pained sometimes that we as a poor country are even now, in the year 1970, not prepared to take any lessons from our neighbours and from other developed countries.

Take a look at our gross national product which is a barometer of which determines our stature in the international hierarchy. When we gave to ourselves our Republic 53 years ago, this country was 5th in the world in terms of GNP. But due to the socialistic policies of this Government, we have now sunk to the 9th place with countries like Japan, W. Germany, Italy and Canada overtaking us in terms of GNP, while this Government is still sleeping.

A cursory glance at our capital-output ratios would also highlight our failures not only in investments but management techniques which underscore gross waste, inefficiency, corruption and criminal misuse of our resources that have been created in the public sector and elsewhere.

One of the greatest objectives of what I would call socialism would be as I said to create and make available a better standard of living for our people but the plight will have to be removed from Indian development, which has so far lain between bad planning and ill-conceived radicalism.

Now I would like to take for a brief little while about the corporate sector which has been a patient emasculated and asphyxiated to such a degree that on this

particular budget everyone seems to think that gross injustice has done in not further overtaxing it. If our corporate growth has to be ensured, if their size and technological advancement have to be brought home, why can't you have investment policies that all savings ploughed back into industrial growth at least will have a tax incentive?

And what about your balanced developed of the various areas? I was reading the latest issue of the *States* of March 7 which has analysed both the Pandey Committee and Wanchoo Committee reports and has also given what the NDC thinks about it. They have also summarised what the Planning Commission's analysis about it is. But does this Government care? Have they provided even one single step in this Budget which will encourage massive and timely investment in the backward areas, in the backward most areas of our districts either in terms of depreciation or development rebate or, let us say, surrender of excise duty? Have they opened up any other practical programmes which will benefit the people of Rajasthan or the people of Bihar or of Assam or of several parts of Gujarat and Jammu and Kashmir which are all below the average of Indian *per capita* income and development? Unfortunately, I see absolutely no effort at all in that direction.

As I said before, if this is socialism, it needs to be hung

SHRI S. S. KOTHARI (Mandsaur) :
By the neck until dead.

SHRI N. K. SOMANI : Now, we come to savings, which is another vital component of the total corporate exercise of what you have to take as a nation. Yet it repeats the same sordid performance of 8 per cent of our GNP. Today Japan has an annual saving of 40 billion US dollar which exceeds our entire GNP. This is where Japan has completely outpaced you thus deserving to be called not only as an arch-reactionary belonging to the 19th century, but a nation of proved follies. Are you prepared to open your eyes and look and things beyond?

Having gone through this dismal picture of our destitution and distortion, I would

like to plead with this Government for a little while for certain sane and constructive considerations. First and foremost, the climate of mutual distrust, the climate of fear and hatred between the Government and industry has to go away if you need any economic growth as per the desires of our people. And I would like to quote briefly the late Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri who said:

"The importance of the role to be played by businessmen in the establishment of the new order in this country cannot be overemphasised. It is even greater . . . —mark these words, these are his words—"

"... than that of the economist and the politician, but too often the community thinks of the businessmen's action as selfish action rather than advancement of the general welfare."

What a fall from this noble and correct definition to the present state of affairs. thanks to the vicious and malicious propaganda of our Minister and their mouth-pieces and the horse-trading that goes on between one section of the business community and another section of those who are there to nationalise State Government.

The second necessary step that you will have to take for accelerated growth is to bring down corporate taxation if you want small scale industries also to grow, because you cannot grow anything in isolation. The largest nutrient for small scale industry— — and I want you to mark my words — — the environment in which the small scale industries can grow in this country is to see that the medium and large scale industries thrive in an equitable manner. Therefore, if you deny and choke one section, one very vital section of society, no amount of your distribution of Industrial licences and quotas and permits is going to bring about justice to the small scale people. And the retrograde step that you have taken in this very Budget is to reduce the developments rebate from 35 to 25 per cent which will have further effect on corporate growth, as well as the withdrawal of tax credit certificate which really means that this Government is not interested in increased production. Tax credit certificates were being awarded to those industrial units which were going into increased production from a given

[Shri N. K. Somani]

base year, and the textile industry, the poor thing which got this benefit for the first time only last year, all of a sudden from 1st April has lost all these advantages and incentives.

I would now leave the other portions of my presentation and only draw attention to two very vital aspects, housing on a massive scale and road building as an infra-structure of the entire rural area to the urban areas. I would like to draw the attention of the Housing Minister to the plan of Joseph Allen Stein the famous architect, who had brought out a comprehensive plan of a 500 sq. ft. tenements which is very suitable for this country. At an annual investment of Rs. 100 crores it will provide employment to two million people every year and have a much higher multiplier effect.

As far as the road programmes is concerned, an annual outlay of Rs. 250 crores would provide jobs to one million people directly and untold economic benefits not only to our peasants and farmers for whom Chaudhuri Randhir Singh is always so enthusiastic, but to the country as a whole.

These are the kinds of projects that you will have to undertake if the poverty of this country is to be attacked in a professional and serious manner.

Defence outlays are growing year after year. They have again gone up by Rs. 47 crores and Parliament would certainly like to be reassured that this Department is stretching the money, every rupee to the farthest extent,

I would like to quote briefly from a publication by the Economic and Scientific Research Foundation brought out recently, entitled *And Miles to Go*. In 1967 India was 20 years behind Brazil in terms of standards of living; while India and Japan had a time lag of 29 years when we gave ourselves the Republic, that distance is now 44 years and we are losing continuously and desperately. This is the kind of comparison which is meaningful to bring some sense into the desperate policies of socialism that these people have been

ruinously following all these years.

And then this thin end of the communist programme in terms of the urban taxation which will operate at 12 per cent which means that you are taking away one-eighth of the citizen's property without giving him any compensation at all. I do not think it is going to be a good revenue measure; as Mr. Masani and others said, it was going to generate not only massive black-marketing—all the other proposals and policies will do too—but this one will spell particularly more shortages and black-marketing as far as urban housing is concerned.

16 hrs.

I shall end up by making a humble suggestion, I request the Government to eliminate trials and errors in economic brinkmanship for the sake of sheer political survival and think of optimum investment of capital in terms of increase in employment, saving and growth. I should like the installation of a national computer and information center where you can feed all these intelligent correctly and get in terms of these meaningful answers as to whether a thousand or twelve hundred crores invested in Bokaro is likely to bring in optimum results of what kind of economic mix and programmes will give us more employment shorter gestation of projects. I hope the Government will have the courage to adopt modern economic technologies in its stupid decision-making processes to which they had been exposed so far.

SHRI GAJRAJ SINGH RAO (Mahendragarh) : At the outset, I thank the Prime Minister and Finance Minister for referring to rural India and the changing social order.

कुफ टूटा खुदा खुदा कर के ।

The provisions made may be nominal but the acceptance of the principle that rural India is part of the nation and its social order and it is likely to become more and more in the essence of the matter. My big economist friends, capitalist economists have been stating so many things,

I will not go by ankdas bankdas; I shall only say this :

सच कह दूँ ए क्राह्मण गर तू बुरा न माने ।
तेरे सनम कदों के बुत हों गए पुराने ॥

There are some lacunae, and what are they? They are very simple things. Funds should have been provided for injection of socialism in practice in bureaucracy, implementing authorities; only a few rupees injection would have done.

The next thing is checking of corruption. It is common knowledge that when one rupee is meant to reach the rural man from Delhi, it becomes only one anna on disbursement to him. If this corruption is eliminated, it will do something. Otherwise, not. It will not cost much to the exchequer, lent strict action only.

Then there is the hatred towards rural India and it is spread throughout, from the highest order to the lowest in the officialdom. There is a positive hatred for the people of rural India. That must be removed. Otherwise no socialism can come there would only be meaningless talk of socialism. That is not only my opinion but a universally admitted fact. I have worked among the people of rural India for more time than most of my friends. वरना तो मैं फिर वही मसल अर्ज करूंगा :

खुशबू आ नहीं सकती कभी कागज के फूलों से ।
सदाकत छिप नहीं सकती बनावट के उमूलों से ॥

AN HON. MEMBER : Self-realisation.

SHRI GAJRAJ SINGH RAO : Yes. Unless the benefit really goes to the rural people, unless their conditions are improved, I most humbly submit that these benefit are not real. It is just airy. I think my hon. friends should realise it.

What is India? Rural India consists of 80 per cent of Bharat and is anybody trying to help it? They are denying social order or social justice to the rural people. There is no socialism and no socialist government for them. I would certainly ask, can we, who deny the rights and social justice to 80 per cent of the people, call ourselves socialists? There is so much talk of socia-

lism, samajwadi and so many wadis. But the real wadi is ignored altogether. What is the present position? Frankly, I would say that they are treated not as human beings even, let alone as members of the society. This is the real state of affairs. Perhaps you may say that I am exaggerating things, but really if you want to see this, you will find that this is the state of affairs, in fact.

I would say only this much. What do the jawans, the kisans and the labourers say? Today, in this context, what do they say?

जमाँ तेरी जमाँ तेरा आसमाँ तेरा
बता तो दे कहां है आशियाँ मेरा ।

"They all belong to capitalists."

"Where is my place among these three"

Rural India produces food; it produces the jawans for defence. But what do they get in return? Blackmarketing, malpractices, looting, cheating; all these are practised against them. That is what is happening. Take the question of their land. Even their lands are taken away from the tillers, and they are getting no compensation for it even. If this is the state of things, I can say positively, there is no good which will come out. Anybody who is for rural India is also likely to be abused in the worst language. Sir Chhotu Ram was called chotu khan : *Angres ka pitu*. And what did Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru say about him? He said he was the man who had done real service to India. What did Mahatma Gandhi say about him? After that only, so many people said, *chup raho*. That is the State of affairs.

I can only say that our people have come to such a low level of thinking that unless there is a foreigner, or a foreign friend, who says to you, "Stop; this is not the correct thing to do," you would never admit that what you are doing is a mistake :

सभापति महोदय : आपके कुल दस मिनट हैं, अब छाप दो मिनट में समाप्त करें ।

SHRI GAJRAJ SINGH RAO : I was assured that I would get 15 minutes as the minimum. Otherwise, I would not have even stood up to speak. Anyway, I shall

[Shri Gajraj Singh Rao]

conclude now, F.L. Brayne, the world-famous rural uplift man, said, "I am atoning for the sins of the Britishers for having kept Haryana backward because of the 1857 movement." Is this not sufficient? So, I would say about Block Development, and the Zila Parishads, that they block the development and are *zoolum* parishads. I say so because they have taken away the only remaining rights from the rural people. Can you imagine this? The municipalities and townspeople have got so many civic rights. But their, the rural people's district boards have even been abolished altogether.

There is no power with the rural people. We would not have been beggars in this state of affairs if the district boards had been given real power; with 80 percent self help for development works, we would have contributed crores of rupees to the nation. I do not want to take credit for myself. Go to Gurgaon, which is just 18 miles away from here and you will see what we have been able to do there with self-help. The Britishers had completely suspended the advancement and development of the whole, but it has now been re-built with self-help.

सभापति महोदय : अब आप अपना भाषण खत्म कीजिए ।

SHRI GAJRAJ SINGH RAO : I will finish in five minutes. The original basis for the production of electricity is only 3 paise per unit, but it is supplied at 18, 20 or even 25 paise to the rural people, for irrigation and other agricultural purposes. While it is supplied at 3 paise to the big luxury industries in Delhi. They say, we want the nation not to be a beggar and we want to produce foodgrains. When I raised this question, it was said, the villagers are well-off; they can pay at this high rate. Would this Parliament accept this principle? I gladly welcome the suggestion that those who are rich should pay more for electric supply. I will put my *pugree* at the feet of the hon. members and accept this principle. But how can they say that the rural people are well off and they can pay 10 or 20 times more?

See the villagers near Delhi. They are so

much tired of these big capitalists that they say, "We want to be in Haryana even in worse condition." (*Interruptions*). Do not drive the villagers to the extremity.

यह जो लाल-पीले काले झण्डे दिखाई देते हैं, अगर उन का गांव वालों का, डण्डा उठ गया तो ये नज़र नहीं भ्रायेंगे। इस के लिये आप उन को मजबूर न करें। यह चीज बहुत दिनों तक नहीं चलेगी। आज हो यह रहा है—“कस्म गांधी की खाते हैं, कल गांधी को करते हैं।”

We are bent upon murdering everything in Gandhism. (*Interruptions*).

I call the anti-nationals as *Qaum-Nashts*. These *Qaum-Nashts* who are after the extinction of the nation are at the forefront of the country at the moment. (*Interruptions*).

मेरे एक दोस्त मेवाती ने एक घोर कहा है—म्हारो- तेरो संगठन भोड़का, रहे एक बल वहां कुर्सी पर मत डूबियो जैसे जाय कुटुम्ब की लाज।

Today the whole fight is for the *Kursi*, chair.

The sacred places of the 1857 freedom movement in Mahindragarh district were visited by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a walking tour of that area and he said or gave solemn assurances that Mahindragarh and Rewari should be treated and developed as areas of political sufferers for purposes of settlement grievances so that the injustice done to that area could be wiped out. Yet, what did we get? A very negligible sum—Rs. 10 a month for one person only, Rao Jainath Singh., as pension. Both the Central and Punjab Government have admitted that this area has been completely neglected and victimised. Serious attention should be paid to this question and this area should be brought on par with the rest of the State.

मैं आखरी बात यही अर्ज करूंगा कि मेरी कांस्टीट्यून्सी को 112 साल में सजा मिल रही है। बड़े-बड़े सूदखोर का ब्याज 5-6 या 8 फीसदी होता है, लेकिन मेरे यहां तो 12

फीसदी, सजा हो गया है। अब वह सजा माफ हो जानी चाहिये और उन को भी सोशलिस्ट पार्टी में शुमार किया जाय।

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai) : Mr. Chariman, Sir, I have been listening to the debate and I have gone through the speeches made by the leaders of the Congress (Organisations); the Swatantra Party and my hon. friend, Shri Dange, and a number of other people. My friend, Shri Dange, said that those people who want to judge this budget, whether it is a socialist piece of budget, they are mistaken and that we should not judge it on that ground, I also agree that we should not judge whether it is a socialistic budget. After all, we don't have a socialist society and so we cannot have a socialist budget; but that is not my criterion.

Ever since the split took place in the Congress Party my friend Shri Dange has been making pains to point out that as far as the faction represented by Shrimati Indira Gandhi is concerned, that is a faction which is opposed to the monopolists in this country, and the other faction, namely, the faction which is now known as Congress (O), represents the monopolists in this country. Therefore, while I do not want to judge this budget on the basis of whether it is a socialist piece of budget, I certainly want to consider the claims made by Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her people from the beginning and also the tall claims made by my friend, Shri Dange that this is a budget which is going to attack the position of the monopolists in this country, against whom they have been shouting so much in this country. We have to consider whether it really opposes the monopolists, whether in the raising of resources an attempt is being made to see that the burden of the resources falls, not on the weaker sections but on the richer sections of the country, whether even within the framework of the present capitalist society by attacking the positions of those vested interests monopolists, the big landlords and the foreign monopolists, you are able to render social justice in this country. This is the criterion by which I would judge this Budget.

Judging by these standards, I must say that this Budget exposes the tall claims made by the Congress headed by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. It totally exposes them. It also exposes the claim made by my hon. friend, Shri Dange, that the Congress (R) represents an anti-monopolist group and that the other people represent a monopolist group. This claim is also exposed.

SHRI J.M. BISWAS (Bankura) : That is not what Shri Dange said.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I can quote chapter and verse.

SHRI J.M. BISWAS : He has been misquoted. I protest against it.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : Look at the speech that he made before your party members in Andhra which has been reproduced in full in your own party paper in Andhra.

SHRI J.M. BISWAS : We have seen how during the party plenum Shri Jyoti Basu and others come to Shrimati Indira Gandhi to take her advice in order to decide the political line of your party. You should be ashamed of that. And you are talking about Shri Dange !

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I am judging this Budget on the basis whether it represents an attack in howsoever a small measure against the position of monopolists, landlords and foreign vested interests in this country. In the matter of resource mobilisation, spread of the weight on the common people, does it make any departure from the pattern that we are familiar with in the previous period ? I must say despite certain small doles, which have been meted out, say, for example, pensions to workers and Government servants, some housing scheme, some provision for water and that too very little, which are paraded as very big things, I do not find any basic departure from the pattern that has been followed ever since the Congress government came to power in 1947. I do not find any change whatsoever at all.

AN HON. MEMBER : Remove them.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : I do not want to remove them and put you in power.

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

If I had a better alternative than you and the Congress (Organisation), I would have done it. But unfortunately I do not find an alternative. This is my trouble.

I am now taking the question of taxation. What is it that is being done? It is now stated that we are attacking individual incomes, that income over Rs.2 lakhs are going to be taxed at 92½ per cent. We all know how this money is not going to come in. There was a time when 92 per cent taxation was there on personal incomes; yet, the money did not come in.

I will read out a piece—it is not a piece from a Communist journal; it is a piece from *Commerce*, a perfectly bourgeois journal. In the Editor's Notebook it says :—

"Even after a tax consultant explained with a grim face the implications of the new income-tax and wealth-tax proposals, a seasoned businessman did not lose his equanimity. This surprised the tax expert. He asked him whether he understood the implications. The businessman replied: "All what you say concerns No.1 account. Is there anything about No.2 account?" "As far as I see, nothing," said the tax expert. "Why worry then? Let the newspapers scream and chambers of commerce protest. Our business will go on as before," was the reply of the businessman."

Therefore you can tax them 92½ per cent; you can tax them 100 per cent but I know that that will not affect these people because they have not disclosed their incomes all these years. Therefore just saying that we have increased the rate of personal income-tax level does not constitute any attack on the position of monopolists. There is no attack whatsoever.

What is the position with regard to corporate tax? All along, whether at the time of Shri Morarji Desai or at the time of Shri T. T. Krishnamachari or previously, right from the beginning the philosophy underlying the entire Budget proposals and plans, the basic assumption was that the corporate sector will generate capital formation and, therefore, that

corporate sector must be given incentives. Therefore so many tax exemptions had been given year after year. It is true that today you have not given any more tax exemptions that were given before.

It is because sufficient tax exemptions had already been given and no more tax exemptions had to be given. Therefore, the corporate sector is left as it is.

I would like to give you some examples of industrial profits made by these big companies. Take, for instance, Dunlop; the net in 1968—69 were Rs.18 crores and the gross profits in 1967—68 were Rs.5.81 crores and in 1968—69, these Rs. 6.49 crores. In the case of Esso, the net profits in 1968—69 were Rs.21.6 crores and the gross profits in 1967—68 and 1968—69 were Rs.2.91 crores and Rs.3.32 crores. coming to Burmah Shell, the gross profits increased from Rs.5.28 crores in 1967 to Rs.7.39 crores in 1968—69. Again, you take Phillips, in 1967—68—Rs.4.94 crores and in 1968—69—Rs.5.16 crores. The profits have been rising. You are saying that there is a slump in country. But nonetheless, the profits go on increasing. If you take Goodyear, the gross profits have increased from Rs.1.79 crores in 1967—68 to Rs.2.87. in 1968-69. So is the case with Greaves Cotton and Pfizer. These are foreign monopolies. Then, you take Indian companies, like, Tata Steel: the gross profits in 1967—68—Rs.11.68 crores and in 1968—69—Rs.12.94 crores; Telco—1967 68—Rs.8.36 crores and 1968—69—Rs.10.16 crores; Scindia—1967—68—Rs. 2.27 crores and 1968—69— Rs. 4.22 crores; Imperial Tobacco—profits have increased from Rs.6.42 crores to Rs.7.80 crores. So is the case with Union Carbide, Century Spinning, etc. etc.

Here is the corporate sector which despite the fact of the existence of the so-called slump in the economy, despite all that, has been making more and more profits. This has been the position throughout. What is the attack on the corporate sector? There is attack whatsoever on the corporate sector. As a matter of fact, recently, the net profit after tax of 101 giant companies studied by the *Economic Times* shows a rise from

Rs.102.9 crores during 1967—68 to Rs.112.33 crores during 1968—69, that is, a rise of 10 per cent in one year. Therefore, the profits have been raising.

The policies of the Government have certainly helped my friends there whom Mr. Somani represents. It has certainly helped you. You should not have a grouse on that score.

On the question of resource mobilisation attack on the monopolists has not been there. The monopolists continue to be there.

Then, it is said that they are now giving incentives for savings, rural savings, and all that. Very well. I want to know what is the real source of wealth in the rural areas. Where does all this wealth go ? I will come to that later.

With regard to the question of resource mobilisation, you take the question of indirect taxation. Is there any new change with regard to indirect taxation ? Mrs. Gandhi will say that they have taxed only a few things, like, sugar, tea, kerosene and that other things have been left untouched, say, for example, cotton yarn and cotton cloth and so many other commodities which have been left and which are used by the common people. The question is not that you have left them. They have been already taxed so much all these years. The common man's cloth has already been over taxed. When Mr. Morarji Desai was there, there was so much tax on cloth. Where is the relief there ? Where is the relief for the common man with regard to so many commodities of daily consumption which have been over-taxed during all these things ? Is there any attempt to reverse the process ? I say, there is no attempt whatsoever to reverse the process. The process is being continued. That is why I say there is no changed.

Coming to deficit financing, the figure given is Rs. 225 crores of financing deficit I dare say that it will not be Rs. 225 crores but something more. The revenues for the next year are estimated at current rates to the tune of Rs.170 crores or Rs.180 crores. What is the trend all these years ? Is there any year during the last 20 years or so when the revenues at current rates

have been more than 5 per cent than what has been realised ? Being less than 5 per cent all these years, on what basis Mrs. Gandhi comes forward and says that the revenues at current rates are going to be $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent more than realised this year !

What is the basis ? Let the Parliament know.

SHRI P.C. SETHI : It had been 12% in one year and 10% in another year.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : During all these years it has not been more than 5% Generally, on the average, it has never been more than 5%. It has never been more than 5%. Therefore, to say that it is going to be Rs.170 crores, it is never going to take place. I am absolutely certain of that. That is one aspect of it.

The second question is : they say that in view of the fact that there is going to be a bumper crop and in view of the good season this year, Rs.225 crores of deficit financing is not something bad. Now I want to ask one thing. Last year also when Mr. Morarji Desai budgeted for Rs.230 crores of deficit financing, he also gave the same story and it is a fact that during the last three years there had been bumper crop according to your own statistics. Why, in spite of the bumper crop not in one year but in the last three years, during the last six months prices have risen as much as 7% in the country ? How are you going to account for it ? How is it that 7% is the average of price rise for the entire period of third Plan ? Even last year it has gone up. That means, within the course of six months it has risen by 7%. That means an average rate of 15% rise. Where is the guarantee that you will be able to control the inflationary prices ?

Therefore, with regard to deficit financing in the ultimate analysis, you are not able to control the prices. I want to know: what is the guarantee that prices will not rise ? Already prices are rising. Already 'Dalda' is not appearing in the market. They have to go to the blackmarket. Of course, I do not use 'Dalda', I use 'til' oil. (*Interruptions*) That is a different matter. But so many people come and ask me that prices have gone up. In Tamil Nadu rice prices have gone up already. In every place prices are going up. Therefore, I want to know what is the guarantee that prices will not go up ?

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

What is the mechanism that this Government has got for controlling the prices? When you are not able to fix the prices and have control over the distribution, you can, not control the prices. There is no State monopoly of foodgrains trade in the wholesale market. Then, how can you control the prices? Therefore, I want to point out that in the absence of these measures, it will certainly give rise to an increase in prices.

Now, take for example, the expenditure growth. I will just give you an example. The budget for the year 1969-70 provided for Rs. 74.07 crores for the Central Police. But the actual expenditure of the Government in that year was Rs. 86.30 crores. That is 12 crores of rupees more than what was budgeted for. The present budget provides for more than that—Rs. 88.04 crores on the Police alone. I want to tell you that just about 5 years ago the expenditure on the Police budget by the Central Government was Rs. 18.76 crores. From Rs. 18.76 crores in the year 1961-62, within the course of 5 years, the expenditure on the Central Police over which my friend, Mr. Chavan, presides has increased by five times. Is it a productive expenditure? What are they doing it? It is a simple question. (Interruptions) This is the biggest growth rate—an increase of five times. Similarly, more than 40% of our expenditure is spent on Defence. We cannot go into the whole question. Even now a higher percentage is put up with regard to defence.

So, Sir, more than 40% is spent on this Defence item. More than 75% is spent on non-developmental activities. What is then left for developmental activities, Sir? After all, when you say, too much rise in non-developmental activities, it is fundamentally connected with the fact that Government has not been able to hold the priceline all these years. They are not able to control the priceline and naturally the non-developmental activities consume more and more money and today also if this priceline cannot be checked, naturally your non-developmental expenditure will increase; prices will increase; and there will be therefore little money left for development expenditure. Therefore, Sir, from this point of view, I want to point out

that there is no fundamental departure from the basic policy that has been pursued earlier. I was really surprised when Mr. Somani was speaking. When he was speaking he was being applauded so much by the Members of the Congress Organisation. I was really surprised because the Congress Organisation should have no quarrel whatsoever with the Budget because it is a continuation of the same policy, even as expressed by Shri Asoka Mehta. Therefore they must be the enthusiastic supporters of this thing. What then is the quarrel? It is only this. When you follow the same policy which they follow, why did you divide? Why not you once again join together? This is all your quarrel. Nothing else. That was made clear by Shri Asoka Mehta himself. You have no other quarrel. Anyone who reads the entire speech of Shri Asoka Mehta will know this.

On this basic question there is no change; and I can very well understand the position of the prime Minister. The position of the Prime Minister is this: So long as you want to stick to this basic policy—and what is this basic policy?—of development of this country, but how?—You want development in this country without liquidating the traces of landlordism in this country. By landlordism I do not mean only the possession of land by people. If you want to mobilise the resources of the country, how can you mobilise the resources of the country? How can you do that? You can offer 7½ per cent in the post offices. You can offer 12% interest. The land lord and the money-lender in the village can get 24% and 48% and even 100% by usurious money-lending to the poor agricultural labourers and poor peasants? Why should they come and invest in your securities even if you offer 12%? The basic cause of your not being able to mobilise resources is the fact that today there exists in this country such people who are able to earn lot of money by means of usurious money-lending in villages; they make huge money by speculative activities. Take for example, a person who buys paddy at Rs. 20 and within 6 months he sells it at Rs. 40; and he gets 100% profit by speculative activities. Why should such person come and invest in your industrial securities? Why should they come and invest in your Governmental securities? These are all the basic

problems facing the country.

These speculative activities are going on in the share market. We heard, immediately the budget was presented, the share market become buoyant. There was a huge rise in price—upto Rs. 8 or Rs. 10—I don't know what it matters if the share market price rises. Is it any production increase? If I go and buy the shares of Tata's at Rs. 200 instead of at Rs. 100, does Tata's production go up? It is only transfer of the right to get dividend from one person to another person. This is the type of speculative activity that is going on in this country. So long as you are not able to attack this problem of speculation, you will not make much progress. I am not bothered about socialism unless you are able to attack monopoly capital in this country. This is the basic problem that I want to point out.

All the postulates, all the projections that next year the country's economy will jump up will flounder upon the question of foreign exchange. After all, what does your own Economic Survey say? It said that in 1968-69 there is a very big spurt in exports of 13% and they become so happy over that export. But then in the year 1969-70 when there was a bumper crop the rate of growth of exports fell from 13% to 1.2%. The Fourth Five year Plan says that there will be a 7% increase in export at compound rates. In the first year of the Fourth Five-year Plan your increase was 1.2%. Are you to make this up? On what basis are you going to make this up this year? You will say, 'we are going to have increased production in the industrial field'. Nobody knows what is going to happen to agriculture because you depend only on certain inputs and on these things. But with regard to what is going to happen to industrial output, there again the problem arises. Their own Economic Survey has this to say; despite the balance of payments position becoming good :

"The economy could manage with such low volumes of net assistance because of the slack in the economy and relatively low volume of investment activity during the recession and the immediate post-recession years. With the revival of industrial activity, the need for both maintenance imports as well as capital

goods imports would increase. Already, as pointed out above, select items of maintenance imports have gone up and scarcities are developing in some sectors".

Therefore, even for maintenance of the existing factories, you have got to import more. Last year that was not the position. When that question comes up, how are you going to meet it? The only way is to go once again to these foreigners and beg for more aid. Without that, you cannot go on.

Therefore, basically you are going round and round. There is no change in this basic position. Therefore, what are we to do? So long as we are not able to put an end to this dependence on foreign loans, there can be no escape from this predicament. I ask: why can you not put an end to these loans? Why not go to these Americans and other people and say : 'Look here, we have to pay you back Rs. 500 crores year after year. We cannot pay it for about ten years. Agree to a moratorium on that. We do not want any more aid from you'. After all, you are getting only Rs. 600 crores a year. This will be Rs. 100 crores less. With the foreign exchange available, you go and buy in the free markets of the world. Do not go in for any particular country's goods. If you do that, what happens is that your will cost will go up. Your cost is now 15 to 20 per cent more. This is because you are dependent on their loans. All your collaboration agreement lead to that. This has led to the capital base of our industries going up by at least 20-25 per cent. The result is that the production costs are going up. These things will go on. Are we today prepared to make a sacrifice and avoid some of these imports? May be some industries will be closed down. I do not mind. Some luxury industries will have to close down. For example, the air-conditioning industry. Heavens are not going to fall if some people who have got air-conditioners do not have them or the spare parts they need for maintaining them. Then there is fine mercerised cloth. We will not be able to have it. If some chemicals are not imported. Let us have a period of austerity. Let us tell our people that this country cannot afford these imports. Let us wear coarse cloth. It does not matter. I say the people will respond

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favourably. But the question is whether we have the will to do it. In order to do that, we have to put an end to this foreign aid and foreign collaboration and attack the positions of the monopolists. No Bill is necessary for that.

My hon. friend, Shri Somani, spoke eloquently about creating a climate for investment. Who has invested in industry? Not the big capitalists. After all, the bulk of the investments is by Governmental institutions, banks and institutional investors. After the nationalisation of banks, 43 per cent of the equities of all these big companies and houses has come under the control of the 14 major banks, LIC and other institutions, apart from the credit Government have given them.

SHRI VIRENDRAKUMAR SHAH (Junagadh) : Nobody asked LIC to buy those shares.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI : The fact remains that 43 per cent of the shares of the big companies and houses has come under the control of the banks. Even on this basis, what prevents Government under the existing company law from taking control of these companies and sending out the people who are now in the management? What is the difficulty? Therefore, so long as both these things co-exist your industry cannot thrive, so long as big business and monopolies co-exist with a public sector your public sector can never thrive. One has got to thrive at the expense of the other. Therefore, I ask whether you are going to attack the positions of the monopolists with the help of the control over the commanding position of the financial market that you have got today by bank nationalisation, or you are going to nibble at things by giving some relief here and some relief there. That is the criterion by which I would like to judge.

On the question of land I would point out one or two things. They have made a mockery of the concept of the co-operative movement. In the rural sphere a new project, namely the Indian Farmers Fertilisers Co-operative is being proposed and the Budget estimate provides for Rs. 16.75 crores during the year. What will be the total investment in this co-operative so-

ciety? As per the official record, it is estimated to be Rs. 90 crores. Is it a co-operative society? We know the fate of all these co-operative societies in the rural areas. Who has dominated these co-operative societies? It is the rich farmers who have dominated them. What are the sugar co-operative societies in Maharashtra, what are the other co-operative societies in any part of the country? It is these rich people the richer farmers, the richer sections of the villagers who have dominated these co-operative societies. They have now got sufficient money in their hands as the result of the developmental activities in past years to be able to invest in fertilisers, but you say how will form a co-operative society, that the World Bank will give some money, that the State will give Rs. 16.75 crores. Whose hands is it going to strengthen? The money that they have got in their hands is being released for non-productive purposes like speculative trading and usurious money lending. The State will help them to buy fertilisers through this co-operative society. We know that these co-operative societies which have been in existence in this country are in the hands of these big landlords. Government providing money for starting another co-operative society in order to distribute fertilisers is only going to help such sections of the people.

You are depending on tractorisation. On the one hand you talk of increasing opportunities for employment, and on the other hand you talk of importing tractors. Not being satisfied with the number of tractors that are made in this country, you have provided for the import of a lot of tractors. I want to ask some questions. Has it been proved anywhere that by means of this tractor cultivation your productivity has increased? Is it or is not a fact that the United Nations Organisation survey conducted in Japan, Taiwan and in certain other places has conclusively proved that intensive small farming is more productive of results than large scale mechanised farming? Is it not a fact that very recently the Delhi School of Economics of the Delhi University conducted an enquiry into the question of this tractorisation and that has also given a report that small scale intensified farming is more productive than large scale mecha-

nised farming? In the face of all that today when you are importing implements for this mechanised farming and wasting so much foreign exchange, I want to ask whom you are going to help except these big landlords to replace landless labour, to create a huge unemployment problem in the rural area. (*Interruption*).

We certainly will have tractors when the conditions for it are created. We have been opposing tractorisation and if the Jana Sangh says this now, it has taken a leaf out of our book.

Therefore, as far as the basic question is concerned, you are not looking at the problem of the small land holder, how to see that land is again to be redistributed. You are talking of providing house sites for the landless labourer. I want to ask you : during these 20 years why is it you were not able to provide house sites? Today, can you purchase those house sites? Is it possible for any Government to purchase them for millions and millions of labourers in this country? No Government is able to buy because you cannot have the money. Therefore, in Kerala when we introduced land legislation, we said that every land owner who has got one acre of land must set apart a certain percentage of that land compulsorily for the purpose of house site for the landless labourers. The price of the land will be 25 per cent of the market value; the State Government will give 12.5 per cent and the person concerned will give 12.5 per cent and that is sufficient. Without passing such laws, when they come and tell us that they are anxious to provide for more houses, I should take them a pinch of salt. I sympathise with her; she wants to do so many things. The way to hell is paved with good intentions. What is the use of having mere intentions? The basic question is this. Are you prepared to break away from these basic policies that had been pursued all these years? Am not asking you take socialist measures because I know that socialism means realignment of class forces in this country. With the existing class forces it is not possible. Therefore, I warn that despite all these good intentions, if the provisions are implemented as they are without any change in some of the basic policies, the country will face the same problems at the end of next year; the problems will

be intensified; social discontent will increase and social tensions will increase. The struggle of the people will also increase and she will be placed in a terrific dilemma. Even now, I should ask the Prime Minister and Finance Minister to rethink on the whole position. You cannot ride two horses and that is the trouble in which you are. You should get out of the grip of the monopolists; if you are not able to do that the consequences will be there, for which you alone will be responsible.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा (खम्मम) : समा-पति महोदय, कुछ दिन हुए, एक सुप्रसिद्ध ईसाई पादरी ने कहा था कि भगवान इस संसार की समस्या को सुलझाने के लिये अनोखे उपाय किया करते हैं। साधारण परिस्थिति में भगवान किसी पुरुष को नेतृत्व देते हैं, परन्तु जब असाधारण परिस्थिति का सामना करना होता है तब तुरन्त किसी महिला को नेतृत्व के स्थान पर ले आते हैं। मैं समझती हूँ कि भारत में भी यही हुआ है।

अभी-अभी जो राजनीतिक मंचन हुआ है और हो रहा है, उससे ध्रुव भी निकल रहा है और हालाहल भी। इस संदर्भ में मैं समझती हूँ कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी हालाहल को खुद पी कर देश की जनता को अमृत बांट रही हैं। मैं उन्हें आधुनिक नीलकण्ठ के रूप में देखती हूँ और देश की हार्दिक कृतज्ञता का पात्र मानती हूँ। यही कारण है कि आज इंदिरा और इंडिया को लाखों जनता अमिन्न पाती है। यह जो नया नेतृत्व देश को मिला है उसको बल देना मैं अपना परम कर्तव्य मानती हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस बजट के लिए प्रधान मंत्री को विशेष बधाई देती हूँ। यह कोई सरकारी कर्मचारियों के द्वारा बनाया हुआ धोपचारिक बजट नहीं है। पग-पग पर सन्देश और अन्त में संकोच से थक-थक कर देश को जहाँ का तहाँ खड़ा रखने में ही अपनी सफलता मानने वाले कायर राजनीतिज्ञों का

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा]

बनाया हुआ प्रगति निरोधक बजट नहीं है। कोरे सिद्धान्तों और नारों के कोलाहल में वास्तविक परिस्थिति को मुला कर घनाचरणीय बातों से खुद बहकने और जनता को बहकाने वाले जोशीले स्वप्नालु पंडितों का बनाया हुआ कल्पना प्रचुर बजट नहीं है। यह बजट है अपने आदर्श पर दृष्टि मड़ा कर, चरणों को दृढ़ धरती पर जमाए, विरोधी शक्तियों से निर्भीक, अपने गम्य की ओर निस्संकोच आगे बढ़ने वाली वीर नारी का बनाया हुआ सर्वांग पुष्ट और प्रगतिनिष्ठ बजट। आज की हमारी आर्थिक परिस्थिति में सामाजिक न्याय तथा प्रगति के दोहरे आधार पर बजट बनाना कोई आसान काम नहीं है। स्थिति यह है कि सामाजिक न्याय और प्रगति के तकाजे अक्सर परस्पर विरोधी बन जाते हैं। दोनों में सामंजस्य ले आना बहुधा कठिन हो जाता है। तब तो दोनों के मिले जुले आधार पर बजट बनाना और भी कठिन हो जाता है। इसीलिए मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि यह बजट वास्तववादी भी है और समाजवादी भी। सच तो यह है कि एक लम्बे समय के बाद भारत सरकार के बजट में समाजवाद एक हद तक झलकने लगा है। यह देश के लिए शुभ-सूचक है। जनता के लिए कल्याणप्रद है।

मैंने इस बजट के प्रति भिन्न-भिन्न व्यक्तियों की प्रतिक्रियाओं को गौर से पढ़ा है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि विरोधी दलों के नेताओं के पास बजट के विरोध में कहने के लिए कोई ठोस दलील नहीं थी, इसीलिए उन्होंने उड़ती-उड़ती बातों पर ही संतोष पाया है। भूतपूर्व वित्त-मंत्री ने तो परस्पर विरोधी वक्तव्यों का एक नमूना पेश किया है। एक तरफ बजट की आलोचना भी करते हैं और दूसरी तरफ कहते हैं कि यह बजट पिछले वर्षों में उनके बनाए हुए बजटों से भिन्न नहीं है। सिडीकट के एक और आधार-स्तम्भ श्री पाटिल कहते हैं यह बजट रेकलेस है और उसके कारण जनता की कठिनाई बढ़ेगी।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, सच तो यह है कि भ्रामक विलास की सामग्रियों का उपयोग करने वाले और शहरों में बड़ी-बड़ी जायदादें रखने वालों पर इस बजट में भवश्यक अधिक कर लगाए गए हैं जिससे उन्हें कठिनाई अवश्य होगी। पाटिल साहब की नजर में ये ही लोग जनता की कोटि में आते हैं। अतएव पाटिल साहब उनकी कठिनाई पर आपत्ति प्रकट करें, यह स्वाभाविक ही है।

आय-कर के मामले में मध्यम-वर्ग को लाभ होने वाला है और धनवान वर्गों पर अधिक भार पड़ने वाला है। इसी प्रकार जो वर्ग अधिक करों को सहन कर सकते हैं, उन्हीं पर अधिक मात्रा में कर लगाए गए हैं। स्पष्ट है कि जिन लोगों का आशय इन धनवान वर्गों के हितों की रक्षा करना है उन्हें इस बजट पर गुस्सा आने में कोई आश्चर्य नहीं। परन्तु जिस बजट पर पाटिल साहब गुस्सा करें, वह बजट जन-साधारण के हित में ही हो सकता है। यही इस बजट के लिए अप्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण-पत्र है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह बात किसी से छिपी नहीं है कि कुछ वर्ष हुए देश में विकास की योजनाएं धीमी पड़ गई हैं। इसका मुख्य कारण घनाभाव है। एक ऐसी स्थिति आ गई है कि हमारी प्रगति के लिए या तो अधिक साधन जुटाने होंगे या फिर प्रगति की योजनाओं का तिलांजलि देना होगा। हम देख चुके हैं कि विकास योजनाओं के धीमे पड़ने से जन-साधारण में कितना असन्तोष पैदा होता है, विशेषकर बेकारी की समस्या कितनी विकराल हो जाती है और बढ़ती हुई जनसंख्या के संदर्भ में विकास का अभाव सचमुच भवनाति की घोर कैसे देश को ले जाता है। मत कुछ वर्षों में यह सब अनुभव प्रत्यक्ष रूप में घ्रा चुके हैं। यदि उनसे थब भी हम शिक्षा नहीं लेंगे तो इस देश में लोकतन्त्र ही समाप्त हो जाने का खतरा है। जिस ढाँचे से लोगों का कल्याण नहीं होता, उस ढाँचे का

लोग टिकने नहीं देंगे, चाहे सिद्धांत की दृष्टि से वह कितना ही अच्छा ठाँचा क्यों न हो ? इसीलिए मैं इस बात पर सरकार को बधाई देती हूँ कि उन्होंने साहस बटोर कर अधिक वित्तीय साधन जुटाने का स्तुत्य प्रयत्न किया है। किसी भी धर्म पर कर लगाना कोई आसान काम नहीं है। परन्तु कर लगाना जब अनिवार्य हो जाता है तो इस बात की सावधानी लेनी चाहिए कि करों का भार धनवान् वर्गों पर ही अधिक पड़े। हर्ष की बात है कि बजट में इस बात का ध्यान रखा गया है और निचले वर्गों को एक हद तक सन्तोष मिलने की सम्भावना है। जहाँ निचले वर्गों पर भी भार पड़ा है, वहाँ वह भार कम से कम रखा गया है।

परन्तु अध्यक्ष महोदय, एक बात मैं अवश्य प्रधान मंत्री जी के ध्यान में लाना चाहती हूँ जिसका सम्बन्ध गरीब जनता से है। मिट्टी के तेल पर जो कर लगाया जा रहा है मैं सुझाव देती हूँ कि इस को वह हटाएँ।

17 hrs.

घाय कर के विषय में बजट में जो परिवर्तन किया गया, वह बहुत उपयोगी है, उससे कम से कम 5 लाख लोगों को छूट मिलेगी और बहुत बड़ी संख्या में इस वर्ग के लोगों को लाभ मिलेगा। साथ ही साथ चालीस हजार रुपए प्रतिवर्ष से अधिक की आय पाने वालों पर आयकर का रेट बढ़ाना भी उचित ही है, क्योंकि आर्थिक विषमता को दूर करने का हमने बीड़ा उठाया है। हर्ष की बात है कि हमारे भ्रमजवादी घाटणों का प्रतिबिम्ब बजट में स्पष्ट रूप से आया है, परन्तु घाय कर से बचने के जो उपाय आज पाये जाते हैं, उनकी पक्की रोकथाम होनी चाहिये।

इस बजट में विशेष रूप से सामाजिक न्याय के जो कदम उठाये गये हैं, वे अत्यन्त मंगलनीय हैं। औद्योगिक मजदूरों के लिये पारिवारिक पेन्शन की घोषणा करके प्रधान मंत्री

जी ने सरकार के कल्याणकारी रोल को स्पष्ट रूप से साबित किया है। नन्हें बच्चों के आहार को कर से मुक्त करके प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जनसाधारण की गहरी कृतज्ञता प्राप्त की है और माँ की ममता का दृष्टान्त प्रस्तुत किया है।

अन्य बातों को समय कम होने के कारण न लेते हुए चीनी और पेट्रोल के बारे में दो शब्द कहना चाहती हूँ। चीनी और पेट्रोल पर कर लगाने की यहाँ धारणा की गई है परन्तु मैं समझती हूँ कि यह भार इतना कठिन नहीं है जिसको न उठाया जा सके। विकास योजनाओं के लिये साधन जुटाने की आवश्यकता के संदर्भ में इतना भार मध्यम वर्ग को भी सहन करना पड़ेगा, यह अनिवार्य है।

एक दो बातें आन्ध्र प्रदेश के सम्बन्ध में कह कर मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करूँगी। आन्ध्र प्रदेश सरकार ने चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिये 650 करोड़ रुपये की योजना का प्रस्ताव किया था। सचमुच राज्य की आवश्यकता की दृष्टि से यह बहुत कम है। परन्तु समाचार-पत्रों से पता चला है कि केन्द्र सरकार ने आन्ध्र प्रदेश के लिये केवल 410 करोड़ रुपये की योजना सुझाई है—यह अत्यन्त चिन्ताजनक बात है। यदि योजना इतनी छोटी बनेगी तो आन्ध्र प्रदेश कई दिनों में पिछड़ जाएगा। हमारे तेलंगाना के सम्बन्ध में भार्गव कमेटी ने जो बकाया निकाला है, उतने से ही तेलंगाना का फायदा नहीं हो सकता। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि केन्द्र सरकार की ओर से तेलंगाना की उदारतापूर्वक महायत्ना की जाये।

एक बात मुझे ओपीनियन-पॉल के सम्बन्ध में कहनी है। कुछ माँग तेलंगाना में ओपी-निबन-पॉल का सुझाव प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं। मन्त्रालय महोदय, मैं इस सदन को बताना चाहती हूँ कि इस से बढ़कर खतरनाक सुझाव दूसरा नहीं हो सकता। भारत में

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा]

राज्यों का विभाजन संविधान के अनुसार पालियामेंट करता है और पालियामेंट को ही करना चाहिये। यदि ऐसा नहीं होगा और राज्यों का पुनर्गठन किसी ओर ढंग से किया जायेगा तो स्थानीय कारणों के परिणामस्वरूप देश में राज्यों का ढांचा ही बिगड़ जायेगा। यह केवल तेलंगाना या किसी और प्रान्त का प्रश्न नहीं है, यह प्रश्न है पालियामेंट के संवैधानिक उत्तरदायित्व का। जब गृह मंत्रालय की डिमाण्ड सदन के सामने आयेगी तब मैं इसके सम्बन्ध में और अधिक विस्तार से कहूंगी।

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री (हापुड़) : समा-पति महोदय, सिर मुँडाले ही भोले पड़े—यह कहावत हमारे देश में बहुत पुरानी है। लेकिन बजट पर चर्चा प्रारम्भ होते ही भोले पड़े—यह पहली बार ही दिल्ली वालों ने देखा है। इस ओला वृष्टि से, समाचारपत्रों का अनुमान है कि कई करोड़ रुपये की हानि हमारे कृषकों को उठानी पड़ी है। कारण भी स्पष्ट है—इस प्रकार की चर्चा प्रारम्भ होते ही ओले पड़ने की घटना के पीछे जो रहस्य है—यह जो बजट इस बार प्रस्तुत किया गया है और इसके साथ जो व्याख्यात्मक टिप्पणियां पढ़ने में आई हैं, उनके पीछे एक रहस्य है वह इस देश के हर निवासी को चिन्ता में डालने वाला है। इस बजट में विदेशी ऋण को एक स्थान पर चर्चा की गई है। मैं उस चर्चा के आंकड़े सुना कर आपके द्वारा इस सदन के सदस्यों को आगे के लिये सावधान करना चाहता हूँ। 1969 के अन्त तक हमारे देश पर दुनिया के दूसरे देशों का जो ऋण था—सरकारी आंकड़ों के अनुसार वह 61 अरब 40 करोड़ 62 लाख रुपये था, लेकिन इस बार प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया है और उसमें जो व्याख्यात्मक टिप्पणी दी है, उनके अपने ही आंकड़ों के अनुसार 1970 के अन्त तक यह विदेशी ऋण बढ़कर 66 अरब 59 करोड़ 37 लाख तक

पहुँच जायेगा।

इसके साथ-साथ इस ऋण का सूद हमको देना पड़ता है। वर्ष के अन्त में, उसके सम्बन्ध में उनका कहना है कि 1970 के अन्त तक हम को जो सूद देना पड़ेगा उसकी धनराशि 1 अरब 66 करोड़ 39 लाख रुपये हो जायेगी। इन आंकड़ों को सुनाकर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि 1970 के अन्त तक हमारे देश पर दुनिया के दूसरे देशों का जो ऋण भार हो जायेगा उसका दृष्टि में रखते हुए, यदि देश की आबादी 54 करोड़ मान ली जाये और प्रति व्यक्ति के हिसाब से इस ऋण को बराबर बांटा जाये तो आज भारत में माता की गोद में खेलने वाले बच्चे भी दुनिया के दूसरे देशों के 124 रुपये के कर्जदार हैं और 3 ६० के सूद के कर्जदार हैं। अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपके आसन से लेकर माता की गोदी में दूध पीने वाले बच्चे भी 127 ६ के दूसरे देशों के ऋणी हैं। सरकार ने इस स्थिति में इस देश को लाकर खड़ा कर दिया है।

लेकिन इसके अतिरिक्त पब्लिक एकाउंट्स कमिटी (लोक लेखा समिति) ने जो भ्रपन आंकड़े भी दिये हैं वे और भी चौंकाने वाले हैं। लोक लेखा समिति ने कहा है कि ज्यों-ज्यों समय बढ़ रहा है त्यों-त्यों सरकार की ऋण लेने की प्रवृत्ति भी बढ़ती जा रही है। पिछले दो-तीन वर्षों के अनुमानित आंकड़े उन्होंने दिये हैं। उनका कहना है कि 1966 में हमारे देश में ऋण लेने की जो प्रवृत्ति थी, वह 16 प्रतिशत थी लेकिन 1968 में हमारे देश में ऋण लेने की बहुत प्रवृत्ति ज्यादा बढ़ी और वह बढ़कर 21.6 प्रतिशत हो गई। इस हिसाब से लोक लेखा समिति का कहना है कि चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना जिस समय समाप्त होगी ब्याज और दूसरी अदायगी के रूप में उस समय हमारे देश पर जो देनदारी होगा, वह 15 अरब 59 करोड़ रुपये के लगभग होगा और जो ऋण होगा, जिसमें ब्याज आदि दूसरी अदायगी शामिल नहीं है—वह 12,030

करोड़ रुपये होगा—इतना ऋण भार उस समय तक हो जायेगा। मैं कोई प्रांकड़ा विशेषज्ञ नहीं हूँ, लेकिन अगर इन आंकड़ों को, उस समय की बड़ी हुई आबादी पर बांटा जाये—चौधरी रणधीर सिंह शायद गुप्त से प्रच्छेदा गणित जानते होंगे—तो प्रति व्यक्ति के: हिसाब से एक आदर्श को 200 रु० से अधिक का दूसरे देशों का ऋणदाता यह सरकार बना देगी। इसी से अब प्राप अनुमान लगाइये—हमारे देश में प्रति वर्ष जब बजट आता है तब बड़ी आशा और विश्वास के साथ देश देखता है— इस बार सरकार कोई नया चमत्कार करेगी, या फिर अगले साल सरकार कोई नया चमत्कार करेगी, पर यह चमत्कार तो हमारे देश को ऋणों के जाल में फंसाता जा रहा है ना फिर देश को ऋणों से मुक्त कराता जा रहा है। ये प्रश्नवाचक चिन्ह है जो देश के अर्थ शास्त्रियों के सम्मुख लग गया है।

दूसरी सबसे बड़ी चीज जो मैं यहां रखना चाहता हूँ वह है पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमिटी की रिपोर्ट का सिर्फ एक ही वाक्य मैं पढ़कर सुनाता हूँ। विदेशी देनदारियों को पूरा करने के लिये सरकार की योजना पर टिप्पणी करते हुए वे लिखते हैं कि चौथा पंचवर्षीय योजना में 8300 करोड़ रुपये की जिस विदेशी मुद्रा की प्राय की कल्पना की गई है यह निर्यात वृद्धि की 7 प्रतिशत प्रति वर्ष की चक्रवृद्धि की दर की आशा में की गई है कि जो कि एक नगण्य महत्वाकांक्षा है। यह लोक लेखा समिति की रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है—यानी विदेशों का जो ऋण हम उतारते हैं या उस पर जो भूद देते हैं, यहां से विदेशों को हम जितना निर्यात करते हैं उसमें से काट कर वह मूद बाकी देशों को चला जाता है। अर्थात् मैं भूल नहीं करता हूँ तो 1966 के अन्त में रिजर्व बैंक के गवर्नर ने एक वक्तव्य दिया था। इस देश के आर्थिक दिवालियेपन का हमसे बड़ा धीर क्या सबूत हो सकता है कि इस देश को दुनिया के दूसरे देशों के ऋण की मूद चुकाने के लिये भी दुनिया के दूसरे देशों से ऋण लेना पड़ता है—यह आर्थिक स्थिति

इस देश की हो गई है।

ऐसी स्थिति में वह सरकार जब बजट पेश करती है तो उसको देश के सामने कुछ ऐसी गंभीर समस्याएं रखनी चाहियें; और उनका समाधान रखना चाहिये। लेकिन हमारी निर्यात की स्थिति क्या है? निर्यात की स्थिति धीरे-धीरे गिर रही है। 1972 में, समापति जी, इंग्लैंड ने निर्णय किया है कि जो कपड़े का आयात होगा, उस पर 15 प्रतिशत कर लगाया जायेगा। हमारा कपड़ा सबसे अधिक ब्रिटेन का ही जाता है, अगर 15 प्रतिशत का आयात कर लग गया, तो उसके बाद हमारे कपड़े का आयात इंग्लैंड को कितना होगा, यह तो आने वाला समय ही ठीक बतायेगा।

इसके अतिरिक्त मैं धमी दक्षिण-पूर्वी एशियाई देशों की देखकर आया हूँ, वहां मैंने भारत के व्यापारियों से भी चर्चा की, दूसरे देशों के व्यापारियों से भी चर्चा की।

आज हमारे पास कई चीजें इस प्रकार की हैं जिनका हम बड़ी घासानी से निर्यात कर सकते हैं। चीनी बाहर को भेज सकते हैं, सीमेंट बाहर को भेज सकते हैं, कच्ची खोद बाहर को भेज सकते हैं, मोहा बाहर को भेज सकते हैं और इसी प्रकार की दूसरी कुछ और चीजें भी बाहर भेज सकते हैं। लेकिन स्थिति यह है कि कॉम्बोडिया की सरकार के साथ इस देश का एक एग्रीमेंट हुआ कि हमारे यहां की सीमेंट कॉम्बोडिया को भेजी जायेगी। कॉम्बोडिया की सरकार ने भारत सरकार को लिखा कि अर्थात् सीमेंट, आज पहले एक जहाज भेजी। उन्होंने कहा कि हम पहले जहाज से 6 हजार सीमेंट के बोरे भेज रहे हैं। उन्होंने इस आधार पर आर्डर बुक कर लिया और उनकी जो बिल्टिंग बनने वाली थी उसको कहा कि तीन महीने के बाद भारत की सीमेंट आ जायेगी। लेकिन जब सात महीने तक हिन्दुस्तान से सीमेंट का एक बोरा भी नहीं पहुंचा तो उन्होंने वह आर्डर कैंसिल किया और फिर

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

दूसरे देशों से सीमेंट मंगाकर अपने भवन का निर्माण कार्य प्रारम्भ कराया। इस आधार पर हम अपने देश का निर्यात व्यापार कैसे बढ़ा सकते हैं? भारतीय व्यापारियों और दूसरे देशों के व्यापारियों का यह कहना है कि भारत में पहली तो सबसे बड़ी कठिनाई यह है कि क्वालिटि कुछ दिखाई जाती है और सामान कुछ बेजा जाता है। दूसरे भारत के पास समय का कोई प्रतिबन्ध नहीं है। वे लोगों के आर्डर उस आधार पर ले लेते हैं। जब आर्डर ले लेते हैं तो उनको बीच में हानि उठानी पड़ती है। इसके लिए मेरा एक सुझाव है कि जापान आज एशिया के सब देशों की मार्केट कैम्पूर करता चला जा रहा है। जो पद्धति उसने अपनाई है वही भारत सरकार को भी अपनानी चाहिए। जापान में तीन एजेन्सीज काम करती हैं। एक तो वह जो कि माल सप्लाई करती है। दूसरी सरकार और तीसरी एक मध्य की एजेन्सी उन्होंने बना रखी है। जब भी कोई आर्डर बुक होगा तो उसकी तीन कापियों में एक कापी तो गवर्नमेंट को चली जायेगी, एक मध्यम एजेन्सी को चली जायेगी और एक कापी सम्बन्धित उस फैक्ट्री को चली जायेगी जिसको कि माल सप्लाई करना है। अगर फैक्ट्री समय पर माल सप्लाई नहीं कर सकी तो उसका पूरा मुआबिजा देगी। यदि फैक्ट्री ने आना-कानी की तो जो मध्य की एजेन्सी है वह मुआबिजा देगी। यदि दानों ने ही आना-कानी की तो जापान की गवर्नमेंट उसको मुआबिजा देगी। बहरहाल जिसके साथ में सौदा हुआ है उसको एक पैसे का भी नुकसान नहीं उठाना पड़ेगा। लेकिन हमारी सरकार को पता भी नहीं कि हमारे देश के व्यापारी कहां पर जाकर माल बुक करते हैं या नहीं करते हैं, समय पर भेजते हैं या नहीं भेजते हैं और क्वालिटि सेट्टेन करते हैं या नहीं करते हैं। यह सारी स्थिति है जिससे भारतवर्ष दूसरे देशों में अपने बाजार को खोता

चला जा रहा है। जब हमारा निर्यात व्यापार कम हो जायेगा तो हमारे देश पर जो विदेशों का ऋण और सूद है उसकी स्थिति और भी बिगड़ती चली जायेगी।

एक सबसे बड़ी हिला देने वाली समस्या जो हमारे सामने है वह है हमारे सरकारी कारखानों का उत्पादन। हमारे सरकारी कारखानों के सम्बन्ध में लोक लेखा समिति की अपनी रिपोर्ट है कि उनकी 50 प्रतिशत उत्पादन क्षमता का उपयोग नहीं किया जा रहा है। और एक तो इस प्रकार का भी संगठन है, जिसको हैवी इंजीनियरिंग कारपोरेशन कहते हैं उसने सम्बन्ध में लोक लेखा समिति के अपने आंकड़े हैं कि उसकी जितनी उत्पादन क्षमता है उसका केवल तीन प्रतिशत ही उपयोग किया जा रहा है, 97 प्रतिशत उत्पादन क्षमता बेकार पड़ी है। कैसे हम दुनिया की मार्केट को कैम्पूर करेंगे और कैसे हम दुनिया के बाजारों में अपना स्थान बनायेंगे? तो मेरा कहना यह है कि जब हम अपने देश की आर्थिक स्थिति पर विचार करें तो हमें इन तथ्यों को अपनी आंखों से ओझल नहीं करना है।

एक और सुझाव है। श्री पी० सी० सेठी यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं, उनके सामने उसे रखना चाहता हूं। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि हम जो दुनिया से ऋण लेते हैं, इस ऋण लेने की प्रवृत्ति को हम कम कर सकते हैं, कई बाहर के भारतीय व्यापारियों ने मेरे सामने एक सुझाव रखा था और मैं सरकार को वह सुझाव देना चाहता हूं। उनका कहना है कि जैसे भारत सरकार ने बीस साल के लिए गोल्ड बांड जारी किए हैं कि बीस साल में जो उनका सोना है वह वापिस कर दिया जायेगा और उसके उपर जो सूद की आय होती है, वह भी वापिस कर दी जायेगी। व्यापारियों का कहना है कि स्वर्ण बांड की तरह से आप डालर बांड जारी कीजिए और डालर बांड जारी करने उसमें यह कहिए कि बीस साल के लिये जो हमको आप डालर देंगे वह डालर

डालर की शक्ल में बीस साल बाद तुमको वापिस किये जायेंगे लेकिन जो उसका सूद है वह भारतीय मुद्रा में वापिस किया जायेगा। उनका कहना है कि इस प्रकार की योजना बाहर के भारतीय व्यापारियों को आकर्षित करेगी और वे लोग अधिक से अधिक डालर देंगे और फिर सरकार को दूसरे देशों से ऋण नहीं लेना पड़ेगा। उन डालरों का भ्राप करें क्या उसके लिए मेरे मस्तिष्क में एक मुझाव है। भ्राप जो डालर बांड जारी करें अथवा बाहर के व्यापारी विदेशी मुद्रा के अन्दर जो धन दें उसमें भ्राप अथवा और कुछ करें या न करें लेकिन एक काम अवश्य कर सकते हैं कि यह जो सोने की तस्करी है उसे रोकें हमारे देश में सोने का अभाव है इसीलिए सोने के रूप में करांडों रूपए की विदेशी मुद्रा चोर रास्ते से चली जाती है। यह भ्राप डालर बांड जारी करें और सरकार स्वयं सोना आयात करे इस देश में। ऐसी स्थिति यदि पैदा हो जाये कि सोने के तस्कर व्यापार की संभावना ही न रहे। बाहर जो हमारे व्यापारी बैठे हुए हैं वे सहयोग देने के लिए तैयार हैं लेकिन भारत सरकार ने कभी इस बात पर विचार ही नहीं किया।

एक बात काला धन के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। जो अनएकाउन्टेड मनी है उसका सम्बन्ध में आपको पता होगा कि हमारे देश में अब तक चार बार ऐसे प्रसंग आये जबकि यह जो काला धन है वह बाजार में आया। सरकारी धाँकड़ों के हिसाब से अब तक 4 अरब 11 करोड़ रुपया इस प्रकार से बाहर भ्रा चुका है। श्री टी. टी. कृष्णमाचारी जब वित्त मंत्री थे तब एक बार इसी सदन में उनसे पूछा गया था कि भ्रापके क्या अनुमानित आंकड़े हैं, कितना अनएकाउन्टेड मनी होगा। उन्होंने कहा कि विश्वास के साथ तो मैं कुछ नहीं कह सकता लेकिन मेरा अपना अनुमान यह है कि करीब एक हजार करोड़ रुपया काला धन का है जोकि छिपा हुआ है सन 1964 में यह उनके आंकड़े थे और उसी हिसाब से यदि धाँकड़ों को बढ़ाया जाये तो भ्राज निश्चित रूप से वह बढ़कर दुगुना हो जाता है। तो मेरा कहना है कि जिस

तरह से आपने कुछ इस प्रकार की योजनायें लागू की जिनसे 4 अरब 11 करोड़ रुपया बाजार में भ्राया और उसका उपयोग होने लगा तो कोई न कोई योजना उसी प्रकार से बनाई जाये जिससे काला धन जो शेष है वह भी बाजार में आ सके। वह इस प्रकार से बेकार पड़ा रहे, ऐसी स्थिति नहीं आनी चाहिए।

एक बात सिप्रेट उद्योग के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। आज हमारे देश में सिप्रेट उद्योग के अन्दर जितनी बड़ी बड़ी फैक्टरीज हैं उनमें अन्दर विदेशी धन लगा हुआ है। यहां से विदेशी मुद्रा में जो पैसा बाहर जाता है वह हमारे देश के लिए चिन्ता का विषय है। मैं तीन फैक्टरीज के नाम बताता हूँ जो कि देश की बड़ी बड़ी फैक्टरीज हैं। एक तो इम्पीरियल टोबैको कम्पनी है जिसके अन्दर 94 परसेन्ट शेयर विदेशों के हैं। उनका भारतीयकरण होना चाहिए। एक दूसरी बजीर सुल्तान फैक्टरी है जिसके अन्दर 67 परसेन्ट शेयर दूसरे देशों के हैं। इसी तरह से एक थॉड फेफिलिपस कम्पनी बाम्बे की है जिसमें 93 प्रतिशत शेयर बाहर के हैं। तो इस प्रकार की स्थिति को अगर सरकार सम्हालने की कोशिश करे और इन शेयरों का भारतीयकरण करे तो अरबों रुपए जोकि सिप्रेट कम्पनियों के माध्यम से विदेशों को जा रहे हैं उसकी बचत भी भारत सरकार को हो सकती है।

अन्त में एक बात कहकर बैठता हूँ। सरकार एक बात का निश्चय अवश्य करे। जब भी कोई बजट लाये तो समाजवादी बजट का यह नमूना नहीं है कि सरकार ऐसी सस्ती घोषणायें करे जिनके पीछे कोई वास्तविकता न हो। सरकार सबसे पहले अपने खर्च में बचत करे। जब तक सरकार अपने खर्च में बचत नहीं करती और देश के लिए बचत की बात करती है, तो यह समाजवादी बजट नहीं कहला सकता। मैं उदाहरण के लिए एक ही उपाय भ्रापको बताता हूँ जिससे सरकार करोड़ों रुपए बचा सकती है। मैंने देखा है कि सरकारी कार्यालयों से जितनी चिट्ठियाँ जाती हैं उनमें यदि एक लाइन की भी चिट्ठी

[श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री]

आती है कि आपका पत्र प्राप्त हुआ, उसपर विचार किया जा रहा है, वो वह भी शिट्टी क्लिफे में ही जाती है जिसपर 20 पैसे का टिकट लगाना पड़ता है। क्या वह चिट्ठी पोस्टकार्ड पर नहीं जा सकती? अगर इस तरह की बचत को भी सरकार स्वीकार करले तो कई करोड़ रुपए का नाम इस सरकार को हो सकता है। उसमें कोई गोपनीय बात भी नहीं होती लेकिन सरकार ने अब तक अपने यहां बचत करने का विचार ही नहीं किया है। इसी प्रकार से आज से 8 साल पहले कांट्रोलर एंड आडिटर जनरल ने पब्लिक एकाउन्ट्स कमेटी को एक पैराग्राफ भेजा था जोकि जान बूझ कर वहां से हटाया गया। उस पैराग्राफ में यह था कि जितने सरकार के मिनिस्टर हैं, कहने के लिए तो उनका 22 सौ या 25 सौ बेतन है लेकिन एक एक मिनिस्टर पर 10-12 हजार व्यय होता है। मेरा कहना यह है कि आप किसी को 22 सौ मत दीजिए, उसमें स्थान पर 5 हजार कर दीजिए या 6 हजार कर दीजिए लेकिन उनके लिए एक राशी मुकर्र कर दीजिए और कहिए कि आपको सारा व्यय इसी में चलाना पड़ेगा। कहने के लिए तो तनख्वाह 22 सौ लेकिन व्यय हो जाये 12 हजार या 15 हजार तो यह सरकार की बचत का नमूना नहीं हो सकता है। मेरा कहना है कि सरकार भ्रष्टाचार बचत प्रस्तुत करने के लिए और समाजवाद की दिशा में जाने के लिए सबसे पहले अपने से बचत को प्रारंभ करे और तभी देश को बचत का उपदेश दे।

मुझे विश्वास है कि जो सुझाव मैंने दिए हैं उनपर सरकार धन्यगीरता से निर्णय लेगी।

DR. A. G. SONAR (Bamtek): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Budget proposals for 1970-71.

Sometime back, the hon. Member, Shri Ramamurti, said that there is a lot of increase in the expenditure on Home Department and the Defence Department.

I would like to request him that he must create conditions in the country before he can say like that. It all depends on us. Today, we have increased expenditure on Home Department and Defence Department. But we have to create such conditions in the country so that we are able to reduce the expenditure on these Departments. Without that, to say of reduction in these Departments will be futile.

Coming to the Budget proposals, this year, there is positively a departure from the routine Budget. Most of the hon. Members from the opposition have said that any Finance Minister would have presented the same Budget. I honestly disagree with them.

There has been a positive changes in this year's Budget. This year, there is a departure from the routine Budget. Something has been intended to be done with sufficient provision in the Bengal about dry farming; something has been done about 45 districts and there is also a special scheme for these 45 districts. A sum of Rs. 25 crores has been allotted to selected rural works, especially in the areas which are prove to famine.

Some rural programmes have been taken up. There are some arrangements created for slum areas in the big cities to be cleared. Some arrangement has been made for drinking water supply also. Some relief has been given so far as industrial labour is also concerned. One very positive departure is that we are going to reduce import of foreign foodgrains because we expect that we will become self-sufficient in the near future. I would request the Government on this very issue to see that unless we give the proper incentives to the farmers and unless we create the proper conditions for the farmers, that will not be possible. We always talk of agriculture inputs. What do we see to-day? The farmers have to purchase the agricultural inputs at higher prices but they are compelled to sell their products at lower prices many times. To-day the Government have not fixed the prices for the farmers produce. If they produce in plenty, then the prices fall. If the production is less, the prices go up. So I would urge upon

the Government and request them that they should take particular care in fixing remunerative prices for the farmers.

So far as inputs are concerned, for instance take fertilisers. You must try to reduce the levy on them. 95% of our population live in rural areas. Their means of livelihood is agriculture. We all talk about strikes in industrial sector. Suppose, tomorrow, all our kisans go on strike what will happen to our country? Unless you give proper incentive to the farmers, he will not produce sufficient foodgrains. I would request the Government that the farmers should be given proper incentive and prices of agricultural products should be fixed so that the farmer can get the proper prices for then produce in the market, when they bring it for sale.

Then about the ceiling on urban property, we have said about it in our election manifesto and the Government are trying to find ways and means. Therefore, I would like to request the Government that unless this is done, there would not be any sort of satisfaction in the rural areas. The Government should take up more things into consideration and they should go ahead very rapidly.

So far as the increase in the rates of taxation on the personal income are concerned, I really welcome them. One thing I would like to say that Government could have avoided increase in excise duties on tea, sugar and kerosene. By these some burden will be falling on the lower classes also. It will have repercussions on other commodities also. Even though the Budget has not been passed, if you go to the market, you will find that the prices of everything have increased. Even petrol, kerosene, sugar you cannot get at the proper prices.

Sir, we are not going to bring socialism by merely slogans. To-day all Parties have to think of it. It is no use saying 'You ought to have done this and that'. Mr. Shastri has given a very good suggestion. To-day we send so many things to the foreign countries. When we send the samples we send them all right, But when the goods are actually exported, they are

not according to the samples. It regards the character of the nation and all of us are responsible for that.

All parties have to think about these things; it is not the duty of the ruling party alone. It is no use issuing sermons or giving advice; it is the duty of everybody and it is the duty of every political party also. Whatever political party may be functioning in this House, it is the duty of such parties, to co-operate in all these efforts, because this is a very fundamental issue.

What happens today, Sir? Everybody criticises from his own point of view. It is found in this House that the Extreme Right and the Extreme Left, both of them, have one thing in common, namely, that they both criticise the Budget. I have seen many such instances. But they have done it with different intentions and they have different reasons for that. Especially I want to emphasise this particular point before the House. If the country is to prosper, if the country is to go ahead, if the future of the country is to be bright under our democratic system, then every party has to shoulder its own responsibility and every party has to play its proper role for the welfare of the country. I am reminded of the hon. Member-Shrimati Sinha when she told us everybody went to the meetings with spears and swords in Calcutta. I was wondering how to do away with this situation, if democracy is to flourish in this country. We say, the expenditure on Defence and Home Departments should be reduce. But see the the conditions of law and order in this country and see the general condition of every State. How the situation should be? How can we reduce the expenses? Every party, whether it is right or left whether it is extreme right or extreme left, has to take a vow; not only take that vow, but they should strictly follow that vow; then only it is possible to march along the road of progress; otherwise it is not possible. Only slogans will not help us. Only saying things will not help us. We speak so many things, but we do not practice it. Our hon. friends in the Opposition said, it is only the Government which has to practice it; we are only to advise. I honestly differ from them.

[Dr. A. G. Sonar]

After saying all these things, I must say, the Government should really reconsider about some duties which they have levied on common mans articles which will increase the prices of certain things. I certainly approve of the Budget. I support the Budget as there is positively some departure from the previous two years' budgets. With these words I conclude.

SHRI A. SREEDHARAN (Badagara) : Mr Chairman, Sir, it is a sad commentary on our parliamentary democracy that when such an important discussion is going on in the House the Prime Minister who happens to be the Finance Minister has chosen to absent herself from the House. (An hon. Member Not even a Cabinet Minister.) My leader Mr. Surendranath Dwivedy pointed out this fact the other day; and I thought that his remarks—seasoned as they were—would have chastened the Prime Minister. But, Sir, the Prime Minister is beyond any chastening.

When we turn back to the pages of history, when we see in similar situations what happened in the Central Legislative Assembly, you will easily know. Sir, no Leader of the Opposition would have tolerated such indifference to the representatives of the people. I feel if the great Motilal Nehru, the illustrious grandfather of the Prime Minister was present in this House today, he would have fied this Prime Minister for showing this utter disrespect to the Parliament.

When Shri Vithalbhai Patel was the President of the Central Assembly on an occasion when the Defence Budget was being discussed, the Commander-in-Chief was absent in the House. The great Shri Vithalbhai Patel adjourned the Central Assembly and said: "This is disrespect and I will not preside over the Assembly unless the Commander-in-Chief came and attended the Assembly." Those were the great founding fathers of our Republic. They were great men, Sir; but today, we are small men and the smallness is inherent in this Budget.

Also, Sir, the Prime Minister told the country that with a split in the congress : we are at the cross-roads of socialism, that the dark and dreary night of capitalism is over, that she will blaze a new trail in the life of the country. She kicked up a lot of dust throughout the country by saying that socialism is at the cross-roads.

If I look at the budget; I would never call it a budget with socialist orientation. I do not think through a budget you can introduce socialism. I am not making that claim. Socialism requires a comprehensive approach to the entire gamut of human life, in all walks of life. But what is the crux of the problem?

Any socialist budget should fundamentally try to bring down the differences between the higher incomes and lower incomes. Any socialist Finance Minister would have come forward and said that anybody could earn as much as he can but nobody should spend more Rs. 1500 per month, that personal consumption should not exceed this amount

But today the story is different. May be the mechanics are very difficult to introduce. But I would like to point out one or two. Take, for example, those who use three or four cars. Government should heavily tax any person using more than one car. That would have been a socialist approach. There are countries in the world where luxuries are heavily taxed. Government could issue coupons for people using luxury articles. For any man who wants to have more than 3 suits will have to buy a coupon; anyone wanting to have more than 3 pairs of shoes should have to buy a coupon. While utilising the coupon; he should be called upon to pay a very heavy tax. Instead of introducing such measures, Government have gone in for taxing the common man's needs like sugar, kerosene tea and other articles. I do not think this is a socialist approach or socialist budget.

What is the story of the agricultural sector? All of us say that our country is facing a crisis. The population is increasing by 2 per cent per annum, Government and family planning notwithstanding. If we want to increase our national income by 6 per cent during the Fourth Plan, our income in the agricultural sector should increase from 5 to 6 per cent and that in the industrial sector should increase from 8 to 9 per cent. If today there is a green revolution in the country, it is primarily because of the weather. I do not say that human and economic engineering has not gone into it, but the basic factor is that when climatic conditions do not favour our agriculture, our agricultural economy collapses. Agriculture will not prosper unless the proper psychological environment is created for its development. Here land reforms are pivotal and most important. I know it is a State subject. But I would ask what incentives are given to those States which introduce land reforms. The Prime Minister has a discretionary grant fund of Rs. 170 crores. Will Government come forward and say that they will give more aid to those States which go in for land reforms? Without land reforms, our agricultural economy is not going to have the take-off. To say that fragmentation will affect is an outmoded theory. In countries like Japan, and even in capitalist countries like Taiwan, land reforms have been introduced. In Japan no one can own more than 10 acres of land; in Taiwan the limit is 7 acres. This agricultural approach is very necessary to put the country in proper perspective for agricultural expansion.

From agriculture to industry. What is the state of affairs in the industrial sector run by Government? I stand for the public undertakings. I believe that in the industrial and agricultural development, the co-operative sector should expand. In agriculture, 20 per cent of the production should be brought under co-operatives. Is any scheme initiated in the budget towards this end?

What is the story of public undertakings? My hon. friend over there talked

of socialism and said that wasteful expenditure should be curtailed. This is my third year in Parliament. In my State, there is a public undertaking, the Fertilisers and Chemicals (Travancore) Ltd. Repeatedly I have been bringing it to the notice of the Government, the Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals and the Minister of Finance. The Committee on Public Undertakings has administered 42 strictures on this firm.

This firm has been using public money as their own property. My first allegation was that this firm held a big party in Delhi during the UNCTAD conference and spent several lakhs on it, but not one delegate attended it.

For gearing up public undertakings to the new tasks what have you done to pull up such managing directors and officers who have been using public undertakings as their own personal property? If public undertakings are to develop, the socialist approach should be introduced in public undertakings also. I know that the Government have levied taxes on expenditure and entertainment, but what about the perquisites of the managers and managing directors of public undertakings and big firms, those who live in posh bungalows in Rani Bagh or other posh areas? When they built industries in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in the world, the people who built them lived in small sheds, they were dedicated men, men dedicated to a cause, but here the public undertakings chiefs are going about like Moghul Emperors. What has this Government done to teach them that the public undertakings have got to be run on a more scientific and economic basis?

The Prime Minister's speech talks about stability in this country, talks about an economic atmosphere to build up a new economy in this country. It cannot be built up as long as the regional imbalances in this country exist. A long time ago, Government said that the Cochin Shipyard was going to materialise. They said they had given something to Kerala. Six times the foundation stone of the shipyard was laid, but now the work is lying idle. What has Government done to generate the new forces that will

[Shri A. Sreedharan]

create a new atmosphere in my State by giving employment to thousands of people? I would like the Government to tell me whether the cochin Shipyard has been shelved and put in cold storage.

We talk of resources mobilisation. Ours is a very rich country, rich in resources, rich in human material, rich in culture and everything that a country can desire. But are you tapping them? Huge iron ore deposits are found in my constituency in Calicut District. We are told that the geological survey is going on, but till now the survey has not been completed. You must remember one fact that when we began this adventure of freedom, when we stood in the portals of freedom, when the great fathers of this country handed over freedom to us our future was bright and our eyes were glistening, but today after 22 years you say that you have failed to carry out this development and that China has stolen a march over you. If China has stolen a march over us, it is because of the wrong policies adopted by this Government. The Afro-Asian countries have greater development than us, it is because of the wrong policies adopted by this Government. I understand you are any day much better than those who sit on the right and this Budget is certainly an improvement on the previous Budgets, but the task is so momentous, the challenge is so gigantic, the horizon that we should see requires a lot of endeavour on our part. If for that endeavour the Government is prepared to go forward, if the actions of the Government are to be justified, they ought to have brought a genuinely socialist Budget, but this I do not think is a genuinely socialist Budget.

श्री० संकटा प्रसाद (भित्तूरिल) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रधान मंत्री ने जो बजट पेश किया है, उस ने देश को एक नयी दिशा दी है। जिन हालात में यह बजट पेश किया गया है, और जो हालात भूतपूर्व वित्त मंत्री से विरासत में मिले हैं, उन को देखते हुए प्रधान मंत्री ने जो बजट पेश को दिया है, वह देश की प्रगति की ओर लै आने वाला

है। चाहे लोक सभा में बैठे हुए हम में से कुछ लोग उस बजट का स्वागत न करें, परन्तु देश की जनता ने इस बजट का तहे-दिल से स्वागत किया है। इधर बैठे हुए हम लोग इस का स्वागत करते हैं, परन्तु जो लोग इधर से उधर चले गये हैं, वे इस को बहुत क्रिटिसाइज करते हैं। लेकिन साथ ही वे यह भी कहते हैं कि इस बजट में और पिछले बजट में, जो श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने रखा था, कोई विशेष फर्क नहीं है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर उन में कोई फर्क या डिफरेंस नहीं है, तो फिर वे इस बजट को क्रिटिसाइज क्यों करते हैं ?

अगर क्रिटिसाइज आप करते हैं तो इस का मतलब है कि आप उसे झूठा नहीं मानते। अगर झूठा आप नहीं मानते तो आप ने जो पिछले बजट लोक सभा में रखे हैं वह जानबूझ कर देश के हित में नहीं रखे, वह देश का अनहित करने के लिए रखे क्योंकि आप इसको क्रिटिसाइज करते हैं और वसा ही बताते हैं। पर ऐसी बात नहीं है। जो बजट हमारी प्रधान मंत्री और वित्त मंत्री ने रखा है वह बिल्कुल टोटली नॉन-सिंडीकेट और सोशलिस्टिक बजट है। यह नॉन-सिंडीकेट बजट है। फर्क इतना ही है कि इस में सिंडीकेट का भावना नहीं है, समाजवादी भावना है। इसलिए उधर के लोग परेशान हैं और तिलमिलाए हुए हैं। उस तिलमिलाहट की वजह से क्रिटिसाइज करते हैं। अगर बजट को देखें तो इस बजट में वह चीजें जो लज्जती की हैं उन पर ही टैक्स अधिक लगाए गए हैं। कामन मेन के इस्तेमाल की जो चीजें हैं उन पर टैक्स नहीं लगा है या अगर लगा भी है तो बहुत थोड़ा टैक्स लगा है और पूरे तौर से इस देश का वह वर्ग जो टैक्स देना बर्दास्त कर सकता है, जो देने के लायक है, उस पर ही उस का प्रभाव पड़ेगा। हिन्दुस्तान की कॉमन जनता

पर, मध्यम श्रेणी के आदमी पर इस बजट का कोई विशेष गलत प्रभाव नहीं पड़ने वाला है। बल्कि यह बजट देश को प्रगति की ओर, समाजवाद की ओर ले जाने वाला बजट है, मेरा ऐसा विचार है। पिछले जितने भी बजट रखे गए हैं, मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि हमारे मोरारजी भाई ने पिछले बजटों में खली से तेल निकालने की कोशिश की है। परन्तु इस बजट में जो हमारी प्रधान मंत्री और वित्त मंत्री ने रखा है, तिलों से तेल निकालने की कोशिश की है, खली से नहीं। पर पिछले बजटों में खली से तेल निकालने की कोशिश की गई है और देश की भ्राम और गरीब जनता को परेशान किया गया है। इसीलिए मैं इसको कहता हूँ कि यह नान-सिंडीकेट और समाजवादी बजट है। इस बजट को रख कर इस में कोई शक नहीं, हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने देश को नई दिशा दी है और इस नई दिशा से लोगों में बड़ा उत्साह आया है। पिछले बजटों के संबंध में मैं इतना ही कह सकता हूँ :

“Previous budgets were painful operation with a blunt knife or hard part of the body, not with good intentions. But this budget presented by the Prime Minister is a painless operation with a sharp knife with good intentions.” that is my thinking.

AN HON. MEMBER : And the patient has died.

डा. संकटा प्रसाद : यह इस तरह की मेरी, चिकित्सा है। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने हमारे बच्चों पर भी बड़ा रहम दिखाया है। उन्होंने बच्चों का विशेष ख्याल रखा है और 20 लाख रुपये उनके खाने के लिए, उन्हें पौष्टिक भोजन देने के लिए रखे हैं। और भी ऐसी ही अनेक बातें हैं।

शहरी सम्पत्ति पर जो प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कर लगाया है वह भी एक बड़ा साहसिक कदम है। शहरी सम्पत्ति पर कर जो लगा

है इस से देहात का आदमी, जो आज तक यह समझता था कि शहरों के लिए ही सरकार सब कुछ करती रही है, वह यह समझने लगा है कि सरकार अब देहातों के लिए भी कुछ करना चाहती है। यह प्रस्ताव रख कर, शहरी सम्पत्ति पर एक बन्धन लगा कर, उस पर टेक्स लगा कर देहात के आदमियों को प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह महसूस कराया है कि हम शहर के लिए ही नहीं, गाँवों के लिए भी बहुत कुछ करेंगे और प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह किया है। हमारे देश में यह एक अफसोसनाक बात रही है और परेशानी की बात रही है कि इस देश में कानून का पंजा हमेशा गरीब आदमियों के ऊपर पड़ा। अब कानून के पंजे में जरा तेजी आनी चाहिए और यह पूंजीपति जिन पर लाखों रुपया टेक्स बकाया होता है, जिन को बहुत कुछ गवर्नमेंट को देना चाहिए, वह कानून के पंजे से बहुत सफाई से निकल जाते हैं, वह न निकलने पाएँ उस के लिए इस कानून के पंजे को जरा तेज करना चाहिए और अभी तक तो वह केवल गरीबों की तरफ ही बढ़ा है, अब इन की तरफ जरा मजबूती के साथ उस कानून के पंजे को बढ़ना चाहिए।

मैं एक दो बातें और कहूँगा। खेती के लिए ग्रिन रेवोल्यूशन की बात कही गई है। ग्रिन रेवोल्यूशन देश में हुआ है। लेकिन इस संबंध में मैं बहुत विस्वास के साथ कहूँगा कि जहाँ कही देश में बारिश हो गई, गन्ना ज्यादा पैदा हो गया हम लोगों ने आंकड़ें लगाए कि बहुत ग्रिन रेवोल्यूशन हो गया। पर ऐसी बात नहीं है। ग्रिन रेवोल्यूशन लाने के लिए हमको यह चाहिए कि हम किसानों को बिजली दें, पानी दें, अन्यथा खाद चाहे जितना उत्पादन करें, चाहे जितना उन को समझावें, लेकिन देश में ग्रिन रेवोल्यूशन नहीं होने वाला है। गवर्नमेंट को चाहिए कि किसानों को पानी दे, बिजली दे, तभी देश में ग्रिन रेवोल्यूशन हो सकेगा और यह जो बढ़ती

[श. संकटा प्रसाद]

हुई पापुलेशन गांवों से शहर की तरफ आ रही है उस को हम तभी रोक सकते हैं जब देहात के लोगों को रोजगार दें और खेती में बास्तव में ग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन लाएं, तभी यह मुमकिन है।

अंत में मैं दो शब्द और कह कर बैठ जाता हूँ। यह बजट देश के लिए बहुत हितकर है और समाजवाद आएगा। लेकिन बड़ा अफसोस यह है कि हमारा मधु लिमये जी और हमारे मोरार जी भाई, जिन्होंने अपने समाजवाद की रखवाली अटल बिहारी जी और मीनू मसानी जी को दे रखी है, उन का क्या होगा ?

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU (Chittoor) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the budget presented by the Prime Minister is not a production-oriented budget but it is a production-obstructionist budget. I can give you some instances. They have fixed the income-tax limit. Up to Rs. 40,000 there is no increase. After Rs. 40,000 there is a terrible increase. Why should they do it? If you calculate the salaries of the bureaucrats in the finance department and the Ministers' salaries, it will not exceed Rs. 40,000. They wanted that up to Rs. 40,000 the income-tax should not be raised and after Rs. 40,000 they wanted to raise it. I can understand the logic: if they wanted to increase it, they should have started from Rs. 5,000 onwards. Why should they keep the limit at Rs. 40,000? It is to save these Ministers and these bureaucrats from paying taxes. It is unfortunate. They call it a socialist budget and they call themselves socialists, and this is the way they do things.

These Ministers get about Rs. 2,500 or Rs. 3,000 with so many free concessions as in the case of house-rent; free electricity, free water-supply, and they get dozens of servants and a free Government car. If all these amenities are calculated, it will be about Rs. 10,000 extra per month. If these Ministers are sincere

and if they are really socialists, they must pay tax on these amounts also; they must calculate it and must pay tax on these requisities also. Otherwise, it is only deceiving the public.

There is another point.

17.49 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

There is a tax on urban holdings I can understand if this tax is put on the corporate sector. If a person has crores of rupees of property, he goes scot-free. He does not pay any wealth-tax. If a man owns land to the extent of 1,000, 2,000 or 3,000 acres in the name of a sugar factory or some other item in the corporate sector, he is exempted from even land ceilings. But then when it comes to the poor agriculturists, they have to pay tax, and a land ceiling is imposed on them, and the taxes in their case have been doubled; the electricity charges have been increased. Water tax is doubled; and what not. After all this, they have to pay wealth-tax. Suppose, a man has built a house in his village, for Rs. 25,000. Now, thanks to the Government who have increased the rate of cement and steel, if you calculate the value of that building now, it will come to a lakh of rupees. They have imposed wealth-tax on agricultural land. In the same village, under one tank, with a better fertility and better facilities like water and irrigation, the land may cost Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 an acre. In the same village, with less water facilities and less of fertility of the soil, the cost comes to Rs. 1,000. They will appoint Income-tax Officers, who will say. "In this village, this land costs Rs. 20,000 per acre and therefore, all the lands in this village will cost Rs. 20,000 per acre." There will be more corruption and heart-burning and the poor peasants will be harassed. After all this, you will get a paltry sum of Rs. 4 crores! If you insist on collecting this wealth tax, in the next election, the agriculturists will vote against you and your socialism will be exploded.

85 per cent of the people live in the villages. What are you doing for them? You only pay lip sympathy. The budget has provided for slum development and for the industrial workers who gets some house facilities, etc. If he dies suddenly his family will get a lump sum. But what about the majority of the poor Harijans and agricultural labourers in the villages? You have not provided anything for them. You do not care for them. You care only for the organised labour in the cities and you want to pacify them. You beat your trumpet in the cities and you say that 95 per cent of the people are with you. I say that 95 per cent of the people in villages are against you. You are forgetting them. They will teach you a lesson in the next election.

You build houses only in cities for the urban people. In the villages and small towns, people build small houses for social security. A widow may build a small house with the money she got from her husband's provident fund. If she lets out that house and gets some money, you are going to tax it. You are deceiving the rural people.

When the budget was presented, who hailed the Prime Minister? Only the big business hailed her. The agriculturists did not hail her, because she has given tax-free income upto Rs. 3000 in the corporate sector on the investments. You want to encourage the industrialists. If a person goes to the agricultural sector, you will collect double or triple the tax. I cannot understand your socialism. You say you are against monopoly and you pass a resolution that you will not give licences to monopolists. But within a month, you give a licence worth so many lakhs of rupees to the Birlas for a fertilizer factory. Why don't you do what you say? You say one thing and do another thing. How can people believe you?

I want Government to come forward with legislation imposing ceiling on the lands belonging to the corporate sector. They have thousands and thousands of acres of land.

The government, if they are sincere, they must enforce the land ceiling on the corporate sector; they must impose wealth tax on the corporate sector. Is it a sin that an agriculturist is possessing agricultural land in the city? If an agriculturist sells or transfer his land to another agriculturist, he has to pay tax to the government. But if a big industrialist or businessman, in the name of the corporate sector, sells the same land no tax is to be paid by him. Is this socialism? What type of socialism is it? You cannot deceive the people in this way. They know it. Unfortunately, they cannot come and speak here in Parliament. Only some people could speak here and some Members of Parliament want to flatter the Prime Minister to become Ministers or please her to get something else. They will praise her policies. But there are people in the villages who are going to teach you a lesson in the next elections.

I now come to the sugar industry. Recently, government appointed a Tariff Commission to go into the price of sugar. Whenever the cost of production goes up, the Tariff Commission comes in to revise the prices or fix new prices. When the cost of production of everything is going up, when the cost of production of sugar is going up, instead of increasing the price of sugar, this wonderful Tariff Commission has reduced the price of sugar by Rs. 7 per quintal in Maharashtra and Rs. 15 per quintal in Andhra. In Andhra previously there were two zones with two different prices. In one of them they were getting more sucrose content. In Chittoor district, for instance, they were not getting that much of sucrose content. Now they have changed the price with the result that in Chittoor we are getting Rs. 20 less whereas in Madras, where also similar conditions obtain, they get Rs. 15 more. Is this the way the Tariff Commission and the Government should be have with the agriculturists? It is very unfortunate.

In the end I can only say that people will remember good and bad. We had Rama and Ravana and Pandavas and Kauravas. The coming generation will remember Mahatma Gandhi and Indira

[Shri. Chengalraya Naidu]

Gandhi. May God help this country from the clutches of Indira Gandhi.

श्री न० रा० बेबरे (नागपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, से माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी द्वारा प्रस्तुत बजट का अनुमानन करता हूँ। इस बजट में कमजोर वर्गों की भलाई की बात की गई है। इस बजट में अधिक से अधिक भूमि को सिंचाई के अंतर्गत लाने की व्यवस्था की गई है, बेरोजगारों को रोजगार देने की व्यवस्था की गई है। कृषि और छोटे उद्योगों को बढ़ावा देने का प्रयत्न किया गया है। बैंकों के राष्ट्रीकरण एकाधिकार अधिनियम तथा औद्योगिक लाइसेंस समिति की सिफारिशों को कार्यान्वित कर के सरकार ने आर्थिक शक्ति को कुछ हाथों तक केन्द्रित होने से रोकने का प्रयत्न किया है। इस बजट के द्वारा देहानों में जहां पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था नहीं है, वहां व्यवस्था करने का प्रयत्न किया गया है। साधारण तथा मंद देखता हूँ कि पिछड़े और कमजोर वर्गों की भलाई की बात भी इस बजट में पहली बार की गई है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बजट में जो क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन आज हम देखने को मिलता है, उसी का कारण है कि जो लोग कल तक इस सरकार का पक्ष लेते थे, या इस बजट का अनुमानन करते थे बैंक नेशनलाइजेशन की जो हवा देश में फैली और उस से जनता में जो जाप्रति और देश के प्रति जो आस्था और विश्वास का निर्माण हुआ उसी का कारण है कि आज जनसंघ या सिंडीकेट कांग्रेस जैसी पार्टियां बलबला उठी है उन में बोखलाहट पैदा हो गई है।

जैसा मैंने अभी कहा कि इस बजट में कमजोर वर्गों को बढ़ाने की बात की है लेकिन उपाध्यक्ष महोदय एक वर्ग अभी भी ऐसा रह गया है जिसको शापद हमारी प्रधानमंत्री भूल गई है और वह वर्ग है हथकड़ा बुनकर। इस देश में 25 लाख हथकड़ा बुनकर हैं जिन पर दो करोड़ लोग काम करते हैं।

18hrs

मुझे ऐसा विश्वास था कि उन बुनकरों को कम से कम इस बजट के द्वारा कुछ न कुछ राहत मिलेगी लेकिन इस बजट में सरकार ने उनको किसी प्रकार की कोई राहत नहीं दी है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि 40 नम्बर के मूत के उपर जो एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगी है उसका कम से कम इस बजट के द्वारा उठा लिया जायें। मैं इस बात की उम्मीद इस बजट में कर रहा था लेकिन वह नहीं किया गया इस धंधे में 25 लाख बुनकर अपनी रोजी रोटी कमाते हैं और इस काम को वे अकेले ही नहीं करते बल्कि उनके बीबी बच्चे भी उनके साथ ही काम करते हैं। अपने बीबी बच्चों के साथ काम करने के बाद उसकी आमदनी मुश्किल से 75 रु. प्रति मास होती है। आज के जमाने में 75 रुपये में तीन चार भादमियों का गुजारा किस प्रकार से हो सकता है जो दूसरे इंडस्ट्रियल वर्कर या सरकारी कर्मचारी है उनके लिए परिवारिक पेशन की व्यवस्था की गई है लेकिन इन लोगों के सपने में भी परिवारिक पेशन की बात नहीं आ सकती है और न ही मेडिकल फैसिलिटी की बात वे सोच सकते हैं इन बातों की ओर सरकार का कोई ध्यान नहीं गया है।

सरकार ने रिजर्व बैंक के द्वारा लूम पर कर्ज देने की जो योजना बनाई है उसके अन्तर्गत अभी तक जो कर्जा दिया गया है वह केवल 5 करोड़ ही है। अगर एक कर्षी को 500 रुपये दिया जाये तो इस देश में 25 लाख हथकड़ा हैं जिनमें से केवल एक लाख कर्षी को ही कर्जा मिल सकेगा। इस प्रकार ये 24 लाख कर्षी को सरकार की ओर से कोई भी सहायता नहीं दी जा रही है।

मैं सरकार का ध्यान एक बात की तरफ और दिलाना चाहता हूँ। खादी उद्योग से हमारा कोई भेदभाव नहीं है। मैं उसके सम्बन्ध में कोई भी टीका-टिप्पणी नहीं करना चाहता। लेकिन यहां पर जो आंकड़े दिए गए हैं उनमें यह कहा

गया है और जो रिपोर्ट है उसमें बताया गया है कि खादी में एक लाख लॉग बुनकरों का काम करते हैं और 15-16 लाख लोग पार्टटाइम काम करते हैं जिनके लिए 7 करोड़ 65 लाख रुपया रखा गया है। लेकिन कर्घा उद्योग में 25 लाख लॉग काम करते हैं जो कि दो करोड़ लोगों का पेट पालते हैं उनके लिए ग्रान्ट इन एड में सिर्फ सात लाख रुपए रखे गए हैं। तो क्या में यह समझ कि चूँकि खादी बोर्ड के पीछे बड़े-बड़े नेताओं और बड़ी-बड़ी शक्तियों का सहारा है इसलिये उसकी बात ज्यादा सोंबी जाती है और हैडलूम कर्घे वाले बुनकरों का चूँकि कोई संगठन नहीं है, वे कोई आन्दोलन नहीं करते हैं इसलिए उनकी तरफ कोई भी ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है? क्या सरकार की यही नीति है, यही हम समझें?

इतना ही नहीं, आप देखेंगे कि यह जो इतना पिछड़ा हुआ उद्योग है उसको पावरलूम के साथ घोर बड़ी-बड़ी मिलों के साथ कम्प्टीशन करना पड़ता है। सरकार ने जो अशोक मेहता कमेटी बनाई थी उसने सिफारिश की थी कि इस हथ-कर्घा उद्योग को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिए और कम्प्टीशन से बचाने के लिए पावरलूम पर रंगीन साड़ियों का बनाना बन्द किया जाना चाहिए। लेकिन आज हम देखते हैं कि उस आज्ञा का कोई भी पावरलूम वाला नहीं मानता है। रंगीन साड़ियाँ पावरलूम और मिलों में बनाई जा रही हैं। इसलिए मेरी प्रार्थना है कि इस उद्योग को राहत देने के लिए जो भी नियम आपने बनाये हैं उनपर कड़ाई के साथ अमल कराया जाना चाहिए।

इसके अतिरिक्त मैं सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर भी खींचना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार की ओर से जो कर्जा कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटीज को दिया जाता है उसमें भी बहुत सी खामियाँ और कमियाँ हैं। श्री राममूर्तिजी ने आज यहाँ पर कहा कि महाराष्ट्र में मुगर कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटीज में बड़े-बड़े जमींदार हैं लेकिन यह बात बिलकुल सत्य है। मैं जनता हूँ कि एक एकड़ से पाँच एकड़ वाले जो किसान हैं वही 80 प्रतिशत उन

सोसायटीज में हिस्सेदार हैं। क्या उनको भी आप बड़े-बड़े जमींदार कहेंगे? एक एकड़ से पाँच एकड़ वाले किसान जो उसके शेयरहोल्डर हैं वही उसका काम चलाते हैं और उस संस्था को बनाते हैं। क्या उन लोगों को भी आप पूँजीवादी और बहुत बड़े मालदार कहेंगे? हथकर्घा उद्योग में बुनकरों की जो छोटी-छोटी सोसायटियाँ हैं वह धनाभाव के कारण बन्द होती जा रही हैं। चौथी योजना में यह कहा गया है कि हैडलूम का उत्पादन दिन व दिन कम हो रहा है क्योंकि उसकी न कोई सुरक्षा है और न बाजार की गारंटी है। महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने यह तय किया है कि हैडलूम पर जो रिबेट दिया जा रहा है उसको भी समाप्त कर दिया जाये। हिन्दुस्तान के किसी प्रान्त से ज्यादा पावरलूम और मिलें महाराष्ट्र में हैं जिनका मुकाबका इस उद्योग को करना पड़ता है और उसके बावजूद वहाँ पर उस रिबेट का समाप्त की बात की जा रही है। हर प्रकार से इस वर्ग की उपेक्षा की जा रही है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि हम और सरकार ज्यादा से ज्यादा सोचे और जिन प्रकार से सरकार ने खादी बोर्ड का स्टैंड्यूटीरी बाडी बनाया है, मैं प्रन्-राध करूँगा कि हैडलूम बोर्ड का भी उसी प्रकार से एक स्टैंड्यूटीरी बाडी बनाया जाये और वैसे ही पाबस और अधिकारी, जैसे कि खादी बोर्ड के पास हैं, हैडलूम बोर्ड को भी दिए जाय और हैडलूम की तरक्की का काम उनको सौंपा जाये।

अन्त में मैं एक बात नागपुर के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। सेठी साहब वहाँ पर आये थे। नागपुर में सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेन्ट के कर्मचारियों का एक डेपुटेशन अबसे मिला था और यह माँग की थी कि नागपुर को बी-टू से बी-वन कर दिया जाय। सेठी साहब ने कहा था कि इसके बारे में सोच रहे हैं। सेठी साहब इन्दौर भी गए थे। मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह उनकी बहुत पुरानी माँग है कि बी-टू से बी-वन कर दिया जाय। इसके प्रतिरिक्त नागपुर शहर से मिला हुआ, 4-5 किलोमीटर पर एक उप-नगर कामटी है। उसके सम्बन्ध में मेरी प्रार्थना है कि उस कामटी उप-नगर को नागपुर में शामिल

[श्री न. रा. देवघरे

किया जाय तथा नागपुर में भत्त के मामले में या जो अन्य सहूलियतें मिलती हैं वह सारी सहूलियतें कामटी के लिए भी रखी जाय।

अन्त में मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इस बजट के द्वारा जो एक नयी दिशा देश के सामने रखी गई है उसका जनता ने स्वागत किया है और विरोध पक्ष भी उसका स्वागत करेगा, ऐसी आशा रखते हुए, आपने मुझे बोलने के लिए जो समय दिया उसके लिए आपको धन्द्वाद देता हूँ।

DR. MAITREYEE BASU (Darjeeling) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, there has been much discussion about this Budget, whether it is a socialist Budget or not. Much ground has been covered on that particular issue. I do not think I will repeat anything that has already been said to a very great length on that.

Of course, we had expected something socialistic in the Budget. But we have to find it. It may be called a very weak attempt towards a welfare budget but, certainly, not a socialist budget. About the good intentions of that party which has been split from the original party for having a socialist programme, an astounding statement by the chief of that party which came out in the papers that he will support the Swatantra Party in Gujarat takes the breath away and it takes the bottom out of the socialist approach. This is a thing which is most astonishing. On the one hand, in Orissa, the Swatantra coalition Government is being toppled—I do not know whether it is being actually toppled or not; I do not want to go to that length but there is some possibility of having another Government and, on the other hand, in Gujarat, the Swatantra party is going to be supported by the Congress (R) is most astounding. That makes us really rather doubtful about the real good intentions of ruling Congress party. Why I say that a weak attempt, a hesitant attempt has been made for a welfare State is that there are provisions for pen-

sions, contribution to provident fund and infant-feeding programmes and all that. I don't say that this is really a socialist budget. Actually speaking, those who have studied socialism a bit, would not take these things, these attempts as a socialistic approach. What 'socialism' is has never been discussed properly in our country. That day, Mr. Dange, a post-master of socialism, has tried to explain what 'socialism' is in very simple terms. But we also know, most of us in this House, know something about 'socialism' based on Marxism. As it is interpreted by Mr. Dange, it is the dictatorship of the proletariat and complete control over the means of production. But he has not mentioned that this particular approach to socialism means a belief, a trustfulness in the theology of violence. This theology of violence is being preached. whatever you may say.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI (Patna) : Not necessarily.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU : It may not be according to your ideas. He has also not mentioned anything about the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are all either taken to the fools to be not able to understand anything. He did not mention anything else. He said that means of production should be controlled by workmen. But he did not mention anything about the margin of profit, the margin in the industry and how it is going to be utilised and to my mind how this margin is going to be utilised is the main thing in socialist economy. That, of course, Mr. Dange certainly knows much more than I do, but that was not mentioned. The question of production I have already mentioned but the margin of profit and the utilisation of the profit and the margin is one of the most important things. We all know what we want from 'socialism'. It is not to have a theology of violence and without a human face. Then if socialism with a human face is acceptable to us, then how can we achieve it? Whether we can achieve it under these circumstances is quite another thing. Bukharin said that queuing should not be the way of life. And he paid

for it with his life. Dubcek said, let socialism have a human face and he has been eliminated by the heirs of Stalin. That is why we are so nervous about the meaning of 'socialism'. How is it going to be established and what is the means by which it is sought to be established?

Nothing has been really mentioned in the Budget about employment and we know that Government is thinking of automation. They are thinking of high-grade mechanisation. They are thinking of containerisation in shipping industry. All these things are going to affect the country which is already overburdened with over population. These things we have to take into consideration. When we think of the individual, it must be recognized that an employed man costs less than an unemployed one. Employed man produces something whereas the unemployed produces nothing and is costing the society more. This is a thing which must be understood by all. When you introduce automation, when you introduce highscale mechanisation and when you introduce containerisation, we have to think deeply of their economic impact. All this time we have been bringing in all the very big machines and equipments for mechanisation of the coal mines and spending so much money in the foreign exchange. Even forty-five per cent of that money is not utilised. It is lying idle. How can you have socialism? How can we think of socialism? How can we think of any growth in the country? But yet all these things are going on.

Mr. Asoka Mehta always speaks in a language which we common people cannot understand. But this time he has spoken in a language not so abstruse. We have been able to understand better. He has blamed the Prime Minister for splitting the party for a marginal gain in the Budget. He was formerly in the Congress and he went out of the Congress and with his comrades of the socialist party he formed the P. S. P. He split the P. S. P. and came to Congress again. And now he is splitting this party. He is a master-splitter. When he spoke of the Prime Minister splitting the party, I was wondering as

to how it is possible for Mr. Asoka Mehta to mention such things. He should also tell us how he has benefited the country by his devaluation. Calcutta port had a World Bank loan of Rs. 25 crores before devaluation. Well, after devaluation it immediately rose by Rs. 11 crores and today, after so many years of paying back loans, bit by bit, it is Rs. 29.6 crores and it began with Rs. 25 crores. And, after paying back for several years, it is now at Rs. 29.6 crores. So, this devaluation has been given to us; given to this country, as a present from the great economist, Mr. Asoka Mehta.

I would not like to take any more of the time of the House, as I have almost everything that I wanted to say. But there is one important thing that I must mention; and that is, about the border regions, about the security of the border regions of the country. So as for Bengal^{is} concerned, everybody is interested in Bengal excepting the Bengal Members who are sitting mostly silent. Perhaps, because the tragedy is too great, the situation is so tragic in Bengal that Bengal Members cannot take it lightly and cannot make a gallery-show of it. Therefore they are silent.

Now, these border regions, I must say, should be more well protected; more realistic view must be taken in regard to all these matters. I have given a programme or a plan to the Prime Minister and to the Home Minister saying that a considerable section of our people in Infantry especially is Nepalese-speaking. The border regions are full of Nepalese-speaking people. The *lingua-franca* of Sub-Himalayan region is Nepalese. So, why cannot we recognise Nepalese language and include it in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, so that, without spending much money this border security of our country can be enhanced? Thank you, Sir.

श्री चं. च. दीक्षित (खंडवा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे में यह प्रथम अवसर है जब एक महिला वित्त मंत्री ने द्वारा इस विभाजित देश का बजट प्रस्तुत हुआ है। बजट और सरकार इन दोनों का सम्बन्ध तो बहुत ही

[श्री गं० च० दीक्षित]

जुड़ा हुआ है। यह बात नहीं है कि सरकार ने यह प्रथम बजट पेश किया है। जिस समय हम गुलाम थे उस समय भी सरकार बजट प्रस्तुत किया करती थी, लेकिन उस बजट का मूल उद्देश्य यह होता था कि कर इकट्ठा किया जाय और उससे बकिंघम पैलिस की दीवारों और लंदन की भ्रष्टालिकाओं को भजवूत किया जाय। जन-कल्याण की भावना तो उस में छू भी नहीं जाती थी, लेकिन जब से हम आजाद हुए, इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि जन-कल्याण की भावना की तरफ हमारा खयाल गया। मगर उस समय स्वप्नशीलता ही बजट में मिलती रही, स्वप्नशीलता और कार्यशीलता का समन्वय उस समय बजट में नहीं हुआ करता था। इस बजट में हम देखते हैं कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने स्वप्नशीलता और कार्यशीलता का समन्वय प्रस्तुत किया है।

हम जब दूसरे विरोधी भाइयों की आलोचनाओं को सुनते हैं, और यह आलोचना कई वर्षों से चली आ रही है, तो उसमें प्रमुख आलोचना यह हुआ करती है कि केन्द्रीय शासन की कथनी और करनी में अन्तर हुआ करता है। लेकिन इस बजट में हम देखते हैं कि कथनी और करनी में कोई अन्तर नहीं है। हमारा जो स्लोगन, नारा, धा-दो वर्गों को मिलने वाली सुविधाओं की भिन्नता कम हो— उस को प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने अपने बजट में द्वारा देश के सामने प्रस्तुत किया है। औद्योगिक क्षेत्र हो या खाद्य का क्षेत्र, कृषि का क्षेत्र हो या सामाजिक व्यवस्था का क्षेत्र, कोई भी ऐसा क्षेत्र या कोना नहीं है, जिस को इस बजट ने न छुआ हो अथवा जिस में सम्बन्ध में जन-कल्याण की भावना न रखी गयी हो।

चूँकि हमारे पास समय कम है, इस लिए अब मैं सरकार का ध्यान मध्य-

प्रदेश की ओर अर्कषित करना चाहता हूँ। मध्य प्रदेश आजादी से पहले, और उसके बाद भी, काफी उपेक्षित रहा है। वहाँ की 1,76 हजार वर्ग-मील भूमि में से 66 हजार वर्ग-मील ऐसी है, जिमें वन-सम्पदा काफी मात्रा में पैदा होती है। संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के खाद्य और कृषि के विशेषज्ञ, प्रोफेसर क्विस्ट, ने कहा है कि मध्य प्रदेश में इतनी ज्यादा वन-योग्य भूमि है कि वहाँ पर 92 मिलियन घन-मीटर औद्योगिक लकड़ी उपलब्ध हो सकती है, लेकिन आज स्थिति यह है कि वहाँ केवल 9 मिलियन घन-मीटर लकड़ी पैदा हो रही है। यदि केन्द्रीय सरकार इस तरफ ध्यान दे, तो मध्य प्रदेश में काफी वन-सम्पदा उपलब्ध हो सकती है और देश के काम आ सकती है।

जहाँ तक यातायात का सम्बन्ध है, जम्मू-काश्मीर और राजस्थान को छोड़ कर मध्य प्रदेश को देश के सब राज्यों के मुकाबले में यातायात के मद में बिल्कुल कम पैसा मिलता है। अगर हिसाब लगा कर देखा जाय, तो मध्य प्रदेश को अभी तक सड़क निर्माण के लिए लगभग 75 लाख रुपये प्रति-जिला और राष्ट्रीय पथों को सुधारने के लिए केवल 45 लाख रुपये प्रति-जिला मिला है। अतः केन्द्रीय सरकार से मेरा निवेदन है कि मध्य प्रदेश में यातायात के साधनों के अभाव के कारण जो गंभीर परिस्थिति पैदा हो गई है उसे दूर करने की कृपा करें। हमारे यहाँ के आदिवासी खेतों सम्बन्ध; उन सुविधाओं को यातायात की असुविधा के कारण प्राप्त नहीं कर सकते हैं, जो कि केन्द्रीय सरकार देना चाहती है। इस लिए मध्य प्रदेश के यातायात-साधनों के विकास के लिए पर्याप्त पैसा मिलना चाहिए।

अभी महाराष्ट्र के माननीय सदस्य ने हाथकरवा उद्योग के सम्बन्ध में अपने बिचार

प्रकट किये। हाथकरघा उद्योग को तो कुछ बराबर मदद मिलती रही है, लेकिन देश में जो कई लाख लोग विद्युत-चालित करघों के द्वारा अपनी जीविका का उपाजन करते हैं, उनकी उपाधा की जा रही है। हम देखते हैं कि महाराष्ट्र में एक पावर-लूम के लिए 2250 रुपये का कर्ज मिलता है, लेकिन मध्य प्रदेश के बुरहानपुर नगर में राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों द्वारा एक पावर-लूम के लिए 750 रुपया दिया गया है और खूबी यह है कि उन बैंकों की ओर से कहा यह जाता है कि वहाँ की परिस्थिति ऐसी है कि 750 रुपये पर पावर-लूम से ज्यादा नहीं दिया जा सकता। इस के अतिरिक्त एक विशेष बात यह है कि मध्य प्रदेश में ही इन्दौर बैंक द्वारा बड़वानी और इन्दौर नगर में 1250 रुपया प्रति पावर-लूम दिया जाता है। और सरकार की ओर से यह कहा जाता है कि वह सब राज्यों का संतुलित विकास करना चाहती है, लेकिन यह बात समझ में नहीं आती है कि एक पावरलूम के लिए महाराष्ट्र में तो 2250 रुपया दिया जाय और पड़ोसी राज्य में 750 रुपया दिया जाय। आश्चर्य इस बात का भी है कि मध्य प्रदेश के एक नगर में प्रति पावरलूम 1250 रुपया और दूसरे नगर में 750 रुपया दिया जाता है। आखिर राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों द्वारा दो प्रदेशों में, और एक ही प्रदेश के दो नगरों में, इस प्रकार के भेदभाव का क्या कारण है? बरहानपुर में पांच हजार पावरलूम हैं— वहाँ पर मध्य प्रदेश में सब से ज्यादा यूनिट्स हैं। बरहानपुर के बेचारे गरीब लोगों को पूरा पैसा क्यों नहीं दिया जाता है— इस का निराकरण सरकार द्वारा होना चाहिये।

यद्यपि 1 अप्रैल, 1969 से चतुर्थ पंच-वर्षीय योजना शुरू हो गई है, लेकिन मध्य प्रदेश में अभी तक योजना का आकार ही तय नहीं हुआ है, जिसका मूल कारण यह है कि योजना आयोग ने मध्य प्रदेश के लिए जो रकम प्रस्तावित की है, वह बहुत कम है। सरकार की ओर से कहा जाता है कि वह पिछड़े हुए राज्यों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा सहायता देना चाहती है और इस प्रकार

देश के विभिन्न राज्यों में संतुलन लाना चाहती है। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि देश का संतुलित विकास नहीं हो पा रहा है, बल्कि असंतुलन बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। इस लिए मेरा निवेदन है कि मध्य प्रदेश जैसे पिछड़े राज्य को योजना के विकास हेतु ज्यादा पैसा दिया जाय और यातायात-साधनों के विकास और बैंकों द्वारा पावरलूम के लिए दिये जाने वाले कर्ज आदि के सम्बन्ध में जो सौतेला व्यवहार किया जा रहा है, उस को खत्म किया जाय और उस को भी अन्य राज्यों की तरह पूरी मदद दी जाये। चूंकि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने यह तय किया है कि देश के पिछड़े हुए राज्यों को अधिक वित्तीय सहायता दी जायेगी, इस लिए मध्य प्रदेश को ज्यादा से ज्यादा सहायता दे कर देश में बढ़ रहे असंतुलन को दूर किया जाये।

इस बार जो बजट प्रस्तुत हुआ है, उस से अच्छा बजट पहले कभी पेश नहीं किया गया है। वही बजट अच्छा गिना जाता है, जिसके द्वारा देश में समानता लाने, विभिन्न वर्गों और क्षेत्रों के बीच की खाई को पीटने और भेदभाव की दीवार को नष्ट करने की व्यवस्था की गई हो। इस बजट में औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में काम करने वाले कर्मचारियों के लिए पेन्शन की व्यवस्था की गई है, जो कि एक सराहनीय कदम है।

पहले यह आलोचना की जाती थी कि सरकार की नीतियों द्वारा केवल बड़े-बड़े कारखानों को ही फायदा पहुंचता है लेकिन इसमें ऐसा नहीं है। इस बजट में यह घोषणा की गई है कि 45 जिलों में छोटे किसानों छोटी जोत के किसानों, को विशेष सुविधायें उपलब्ध की जायेंगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसा करने से गरीब किसान भी हरित क्रान्ति से अधिक से अधिक फायदा उठा सकेंगे।

आप ने मुझे समय दिया है, उस के लिए मैं आपका आभारी हूँ और मैं इस बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI R.K. AMIN (Dhandhuka): Much has been said about this Budget. Most of the important points have also been discussed. My job is now to fill in the gaps in the discussion.

MR. DEPUTY—SPEAKER : He can continue tomorrow. We will now take up the half-an-hour discussion.

18.24 hrs.

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

CLOSURE OF INDIAN BUSINESS IN KENYA

SHRI R.K. AMIN (Dhandhuka) : On a careful perusal of the answers given by the Government on the 25th February in reply to Starred Question No. 65 I find a good number of mistakes committed by the Government. These mistakes are either of the commission type or omission type.

Let me take up first these mistakes in the reply. Replying to parts C and D of the question the Minister says that details about persons likely to be affected by these measures is not available so far. It is surprising that when this question has been agitating the minds of our people for the last four or five years, he says like this. We knew that as soon as Kenya became independent such a thing was going to happen and the process of Africanisation was bound to come very soon and if it came, in its wake the conditions of these people were bound to worsen in several ways. Was it not, then, the duty of the Government to get all the information about their difficulties, about their conditions? Should they try to obtain information and give it to the House? Government could have got that information if they had taken the trouble. Why it is that they failed to do so?

In the paragraph same the Minister says that our High Commission in Kenya is in touch with our nationals and necessary steps to safeguard their interests will be taken as far as possible. These are vague replies. We do not know what the Government mean by 'our nationals'. Does it

mean people of Indian origin or holding Indian passports or all people of Indian origin? Will they tell us what they propose to do to protect their interests? Nothing has been indicated in the reply. They say that the people of Indian origin in East Africa and Kenya are facing certain difficulties. What are those difficulties? These difficulties have not been mentioned by the Government. It is no use telling us that certain difficulties which are there will be removed in a certain way in a certain time then, sir, we are left in the lurch. In the same reply they say that the policy pursued by Kenya is not discriminatory inasmuch as those measures are not taken only against people of Asian origin but against all aliens and non-citizens. I fail to understand the desires of our Government to stamp discriminatory measures as non-discriminatory. Do they know that people of Indian origin who had taken Kenyan citizenship are prohibited from entering certain trade and conducting their business in certain areas declared by the Kenyan Government? I am not talking about persons who had taken some other citizenship. It is just like what South Africa is doing, it is in violation of the human rights convention of the United Nations. I can understand if the Government does not want to speak about it simply because you cannot do anything about it and you are not going to wage a war against them. But what is the point in saying that it is discriminatory when it is discriminatory. It hurts our own people and puts them in jeopardy. The Government of Kenya can say to people of Indian origin: Your own Government say that these are non-discriminatory; how then can you say that these are discriminatory and complain against these? I do not know whether our Government knows that there is discrimination against Kenyan citizens of Indian origin.

In the same reply the Minister says a large majority of them are British passport holders, technically and legally and are under the control of the British Government and so the British Government are not fulfilling their responsibilities properly. Have we nothing to do with them? It is on our advise that they accepted the British passports; we cannot