

[Mr. Speaker]

Member would realise that I am putting the motion before me. I cannot change it.

The question is:

"That in pursuance of section 4 (i) of the Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948, read with rule 2A of the Employees' State Insurance (Central) Rules, 1950, the members of lok Sabha do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Speaker may direct, one member from among themselves to serve as a member of the Employees' State Insurance Corporation."

The motion was adopted.

12.16 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL
DISCUSSION

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up the general discussion of the General Budget for which 20 hours have been allotted.

For the benefit of hon. Members, I would like to draw their attention to rule 207 (1) regarding the scope of discussion on the budget as distinguished from the discussion on the Finance Bill. The rule lays down that during the general discussion on the budget, the House will be at liberty to discuss the budget as a whole or any question of principle involved therein. The scope of discussion at this stage is thus confined to the general examination of the budget, i.e., the proper distribution of the items of expenditure according to the importance of a particular subject or service, the policy of taxation as it is expressed in the budget and in the speech of the hon. Finance Minister.

Members may, therefore, make observations in regard to the general scheme and the structure of the budget. The general scheme of the budget will include considerations of revenue, surplus or deficit, revenue and expenditure account and the overall surplus or deficits. So far as the

revenue account is concerned, members may take into account the method of estimation, whether the revenue is over-estimated or under-estimated, whether the expenditure is pitched too high, etc.

As regards general grievances, these may be deferred for ventilation at the time of considering the Finance Bill. That will also be the proper occasion for going into details of taxation and matters related thereto. Similarly details of expenditure may be discussed when demands for grants come up before the House.

Under rule 207(3), I fix that fifteen minutes will be the time-limit ordinarily for every hon. Member, excepting the Finance Minister for whom one hour or more will be allowed, if necessary, for reply.

So far as the leaders of particular groups are concerned, if they want some more time, they will be allowed by the Chair time up to a maximum of 30 minutes.

Shri A. K. Gopalan (Kasergod): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have before us the Finance Minister's speech, the Economic Survey 1961-62 and the budget proposals. Sir, the Government's aim is to build a socialist society, and the budget must have certain reflections as far as that aim is concerned. Our complaint is not that the Government is not building socialism, because nobody in this country ever believes that in the present set-up, the Congress constituted as it is today can bring about socialism. So socialism cannot be built up in this country so long as the major part of the productive capital is controlled by monopolists and private individuals. Banks, mines as well as the trade are controlled by the monopolists. As far as land policy is concerned, in spite of the land reform legislation about 30 per cent of the land is controlled by less than 3 per cent of the landholders. Nobody can expect that socialism can be brought about in this

set-up. Not only that, almost the entire circulation of big newspapers is controlled by a few of the monopolists and it is they that provide the climate of opinion in the country. Therefore, our complaint is not that the Government is not building socialism. We are not sorry nor are we surprised about it.

Sir, I want to point out that since the launching of the Third Plan there was a talk of a self-generating economy. The Finance Minister has referred to it in his Budget Speech this time also. But what are actual facts? Under the present conditions can we build up a self-generating economy? We cannot build a self-generating economy by importing foreign capital in such huge proportions and also by increasing our liabilities to foreign monopolists. In fact, every increase in the amount of foreign private capital investment in the economy makes our economy more and more dependent and defeats the purpose of building an independent economy. Every budget proposal including the present one has given more and more concessions to the foreign monopoly capital. Even developed imperialist countries like Britain have started feeling the pressure of American capital and the economic and political consequences arising out of it. As far as our economy is concerned, a weak economy like ours is being subjected to a concerted bid by foreign monopoly capital to control its vital arteries and throttle and independent development. So in these conditions, I think, talking of building a self-generating economy is certainly not possible.

Now, what are the characteristic features of the development that has taken place during the last few years? The national income has increased by 42 per cent; an annual rate of just over 3 per cent. It is welcome. But it is a rate which is much lower than the rate of even neighbouring under-developed countries. The *per capita* income has risen by 16 per cent, an

annual rate of just 1.5 per cent increase. We were promised at the time of the First Five Year Plan that the *per capita* income will be doubled in 20 to 25 years, but at this rate it will take at least 50 years to achieve our target.

In the August 1960 issue of the Reserve Bank Bulletin there is an article by Shri H. V. R. Iengar where he says that the pace of growth is very small. He says at the end of his article that by 1975 India will still be one of the poorest countries in the world. He says that the Five Year Plans are being prepared against a long range perspective plan and this perspective envisages that if all goes well, by 1975 the *per capita* income in India, which was approximately Rs. 250 at the beginning of the First Plan and slightly less than Rs. 300 at the present moment, will rise only to Rs. 500 per year. It is also worth noting in this context that Ceylon, which is an under-developed country, has even now got a *per capita* income of Rs. 500. He summarises the position and says that by 1975 India will be still one of the poorest countries in the world. This is the perspective that we have before us.

We know that agricultural and industrial production has increased. But how has it affected the masses in the country? It is in that context that we have to see how far the budget proposals have proved effective. I have already stated before about the effect of the land reform measures on the economy of certain sections of people in this country. I request the Government to go into the question of ceiling on land and other land reform legislation and see how far they have helped the poorer sections of the people in the country to increase their wealth or have they actually lost their land and become paupers. As I do not want to deal with this question in detail at this stage, I would only quote the opinions of certain Congress leaders about land reform legislation and their effect on the economy of this country. Profes-

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sor Malkani, a Member of Rajya Sabha, has this to say about our land reform measures:

"We are almost in the midst of abolition of zamindari and on the tides of an agrarian revolution.... The landless slowly awakened but got bad land or no land... The landlord changed his colour and became a landholder under different names. The class thought it wise to lie low, but cling to property in land.... The big issue was raised, the movement was launched, but it led to no revolutionary changes in property."

So, this is the effect of the land reform legislation, as far as a big section of the masses are concerned. Now I would like to quote what the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Shri C. B. Gupta, said about land reform legislation in his own State as well as other States. He said:

"Ceilings on land holdings have failed to serve the purpose. Before the Act could be introduced so many people succeeded in distributing their land among their relatives and kinsmen. So, the whole effect of land reform legislation has gone."

Therefore, so far as the enforcement of ceiling on land and distribution of surplus land is concerned, the achievement of the Government is very little. Apart from that, even when we take into account the fallow and waste land, which comes to millions and millions of acres, and its distribution to landless people for agricultural purposes, we find that the Government has achieved very little. It is in this context that we are today discussing this budget and the effect of it on the masses.

Though industrial and agricultural production has increased, what is the condition of the people today? What about the benefits reaped by the most exploited section of our society,

namely, the agricultural labour? In the second enquiry committee report it is pointed out that their condition, instead of improving, has gone from bad to worse, so far as wages are concerned. Here are the figures given by them:

"The average daily wage of the male worker decreased from 109 naye Paise in 1950-51 to 96 naye Paise in 1956-57, and the average daily wage rate of adult women too fell from 86 naye Paise in 1950-51 to 59 naye Paise in 1956-57. Child labour received an average of 70 naye Paise in 1950-51 and 53 naye Paise in 1956-57."

I want also to point out one thing here. One of the Directive Principles of our State Policy enjoins on the Government to see that child labour is no longer employed. But from the figures given in the Second Enquiry Committee Report we see that from 4.9 per cent in the total agrarian labour force in 1950-51, child labour has increased to 7.7 per cent during 1956-57.

Another important finding that gives a lie to the claim of improvement in the economy of our country is that of the Study Group headed by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan on the Community Development organisation which has come to its conclusions on the result of the development of the last ten years in the rural areas. There are four or five conclusions arrived at by this Study Group which are very important.

In the first place, they have said that the promotion of the general prosperity of the village does not necessarily lead to the well-being and welfare of the weaker section. This they have said as a result of the study about the condition of the people in

the last ten years. Secondly, the income of landless labour declined during the first decade of India's economic development by 30 per cent. The third conclusion of the Study Group is that families whose annual income is less than Rs. 1,000, that is, less than Rs. 100 a month, constitute 80 per cent of the rural households. Of this eighty per cent, fifty per cent earn less than Rs. 500 a year, that is less than Rs. 50 a month. Innumerable families are classified as destitutes earning under Rs. 250 a year, that means less than Rs. 20 a month. And the Finance Minister is trying to cut the consumption of these people for development.

As far as industrial labour is concerned, what is their position? According to the official figures, between 1947 and 1958 the production has gone up in manufacturing industries by more than 50 per cent; but as far as employment is concerned it is more or less stationary. The rise in real wages during the period, however, was only 27 per cent, and this 27 per cent is below the pre-war level. And what is the value added to the labour of the worker?

The value added per worker went up from Rs. 1,578 in 1947 in manufacturing industries to Rs. 2,792 in 1956-57. That means, to one rupee that he gave before, he added Rs. 2.39 nP; that means he has given Rs. 3.39 nP. This is how the exploitation has been steadily carried on. It is as a result of the hard work of the worker that the industrial production has increased. As a result, employment is stationary. The profit has increased, and the wages no doubt have increased by 27 per cent but due to the rise in prices, in spite of his labour output put, and though he is adding Rs. 2.39 nP, the worker is not getting anything more.

There must be a comparison between the prices and wages. If we take the prices and the wages, we find that during the first nine years of the Plan, the all-India index of

consumer price of working classes rose by 18 per cent. As far as real wages of the workers are concerned, they rose only by 6 per cent. If the prices and wages are compared, the worker is in difficulties today. This is one picture, taking the wages and high prices on the one side.

What do we see among big business? We have seen that according to the Reserve Bank bulletin, the gross profits of public limited companies went up by 41 per cent during the 1955-59 period. I want to show some of the profits of big industries in this country. Profits of tea plantations rose by 149 per cent; vegetable oil by 152 per cent; jute textiles by 292 per cent; iron and steel by 144 per cent, chemicals by 249 per cent; sugar by 145 per cent; silk and woollen textiles 281 per cent; engineering 175 per cent. This is the rise in profits. Nearly a third of the capital assets of the corporate sector is controlled by seven big businessmen in this country. Also during the 11 years from 1948 to 1960, the increase in the retention price given to Tatas, if considered in terms of annual production of salable steel, gives a figure of Rs. 411.2 crores. Still, today, we are thinking of increasing the retention price. From 1948 to 1961, the two companies, the Tata Iron and Steel Co. and Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd. were given respectively 14 and 13 occasions increase in the retention prices. I do not know why. The Government is very generous as far as these monopolies are concerned. But, when the workers ask for wage increases, they are asked to sacrifice. How many times did we allow an increase in the prices of coal and cement?

On the other side, I want to draw the attention of the Government to the fantastic dividends distributed by some of the companies in the country. These figures are calculated from the "Commerce" and stock exchange quotations. During the four years ending 1961, Lakshmi Mills distributed dividends equivalent to 70 per cent of

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their paid-up capital; Britannia Biscuits 81 per cent; Tata Oils 69 per cent; Bengal Paper 89½ per cent; Burn and Co. 105½ per cent; Mettur Mills 155 per cent; New India Assurance Co. 167 per cent; Ambika Mills 150 per cent. These are some of the profits which big business have earned in this country.

I want also to point out a Survey conducted in the U.P. by the Department of Economics and Statistics. According to that survey, 70 to 90 per cent of the people of the rural areas in the U.P. are in the expenditure group which does not spend more than Rs. 20 per month. The study has revealed also that 25 per cent of the rural people belonging to the lowest income group of Rs. 10 *per capita* a month, has a share of 10 per cent of the total expenditure, while 10 per cent of the people of the highest income has got a share of 27 per cent. Let us try to have an analysis of the expenditure in the rural areas. That will show that the lowest income group spends two-thirds of Rs. 10 per month, on food alone, which in some cases comes to 82 per cent of the expenditure. The Finance Minister still talks of controlling the consumption of the masses. In such a situation, what should we expect of the Government to do—a Government which has got a sense of social justice, let alone the desire to build socialism? We would expect that every effort should be made to see that the consumption of these people whom I have shown here just now, is not cut and their standard of living is increased.

What is the economic policy and what are the taxation measures of the Government? The economic policy and the taxation measures of the Government betray an utter lack of social ethics, overwhelming solicitude for the industrialists and big businessmen as had been shown here and a cruel and callous cynicism about the desperate conditions of the overwhelming masses of our people in this

country. I have given here the accounts of two surveys as well as an enquiry committee report which show that 80 per cent of the people of our country in the rural areas have only Rs. 20 to 30 a month. How will this indirect taxation affect the majority of the people in the villages? Let us analyse the taxation policy, and see what is the effect of it; not only the present taxation policy in this budget, but even before. For the last so many years, indirect taxation has been accumulating. Let us see what was it before, what is it today and how it affects the majority section of the people in this country. It is not contended that a merely progressive taxation policy can usher in an area of more equality or that it can prevent the growth of business monopolies. However progressive a taxation policy may be, as long as the laws of capitalism operate, as long as the banks, the mines, the plantations, the trade and other things are controlled by the monopolists, certainly, inequalities will grow, and the monopolies will only be strengthened.

So, the men of money also find it easy to evade taxation and thus cheat the Government. So, we have no illusions about the absolute power of taxation, but there are elementary principles of social justice and moral responsibilities; which should be kept in view, namely that the rich should be made to pay more towards the purpose of development. After all, during all these years, it is they that had been benefited, and in future also, it is they that are going to be benefited, as far as the fruits of development are concerned.

What are the facts about these taxation measures? The total annual tax revenue of the Union and State Governments in India increased enormously during the last decade from Rs. 739 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 1371 crores in 1961-62? The *per capita* tax load has increased from Rs. 20.5 to Rs. 31.1 per year. As regards

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additional taxation, the total additional taxation put through in the course of the Second Plan alone is Rs. 1052 crores, which is more than 250 per cent of the additional taxation target initially accepted in the Second Plan. Incidentally, it is only this target that had been over fulfilled in the Second Plan.

The Third Plan has fixed a target of additional taxation of Rs. 1710 crores. Even if this target is not over-fulfilled, the total additional taxation put through in the course of a decade, that is, from 1956-57 to 1965-66 will reach the staggering figure of Rs. 2862 crores. I want to quote here certain figures for the period from 1950-51 to 1961-62. The total tax revenue of the Union Government, excluding the States' share, increased by nearly 130 per cent, of which indirect taxation, which falls on the masses, increased by 250 per cent, while direct taxation increased only by 59 per cent.

Mr. B. R. Shenoy, a great economist, has written an article on the taxation policy of Government, after the budget proposals had been placed before Parliament. There he has very specifically shown that:

"In 1961-62 over 72 per cent of the tax revenue has come from the highly regressive taxes on commodities, the burden of which is mostly borne by the masses of people. Collections from other heads have played a minor role. The Corporation tax yielded 20 per cent, taxes on personal incomes 6 per cent and property taxes—principally estate duty, wealth tax and gift tax—2 per cent. In the pre-plan year 1950-51, taxes on commodities yielded 64 per cent of the total tax revenues, taxes on income—personal tax and corporation tax—35 per cent and property taxes 1 per cent. that is to say, Statist planning has resulted in a comparative increase in the Central tax burden on the poorer sections of the

community and a comparative tax relief on the upper-income groups."

This is not what a Communist says, but this what Mr. B. R. Shenoy says.

While I do not agree with him that State planning is responsible for this sort of situation, one thing is very clear. The facts stated by him are enough proof of the widespread suspicion that the Congress Government, echoing the slogan of socialism, are really oppressing the masses by their taxation and other policies.

It is also said that the direct taxation is very high and that the rich are groaning under its weight. I would say that that is not correct. Facts are different. Available figures of income tax assessment and collection prove that the rich in this country have been making huge gains. The proportion of individual incomes assessed to the national income has increased from 4.77 per cent in 1951-52 to 5.78 per cent in 1959-60. As far as the taxes are concerned, the taxes that are assessed to income declined from 16.9 per cent to 13.00 per cent in the same period.

What is the result of this? The result is that the annual income after tax of this limited number of income-tax paying individuals has increased by Rs. 250 crores during this period. That means liberal concessions are given to corporations and others including foreign capital. As a result of these liberal concessions, the rate of corporation tax in India, which has a socialist pattern of society as its objective, is very much lower than in any of the western countries. This is shown by a brochure on the taxation proposals of 1957-58 issued by the Finance Ministry itself. It has given the figures; the comparison of the rate of incidence of corporate taxation in other progressive countries on the basis of the distribution of 30 per cent of the taxable profits is as follows: USA 50.50, UK 40.85 Canada 40, Sweden 56, West Germany 40.60, and

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India, on the basis of the 1957-58 budget proposals, 37.70.

Also the annual number of the *Eastern Economist* shows certain things which also prove that as far as taxation on these institutions is concerned, it is very low. According to this journal, two major elements operate in the Indian Union which greatly affect the profitability of a new enterprise in the Union.

"These two elements are the development rebate covered by section 10(2) (vi) (b) of the Income Tax Act and the 'tax holiday' covered by section 15C. The profit after tax in the Indian Union moves in these first 15 years from 35.6 to 44 per cent. . . . In the UK on the other hand, there are particular years namely, the first and second, when profits after tax are similar but in subsequent years they are lower than in the case of an Indian company".

But what happens here is something different.

"In the Indian Union, after 15 years, one would have in the form of profits after tax 144.7 per cent. . . . whereas in the USA, one would obtain 113.8 per cent and in the UK 126 per cent for a domestic company".

Prof. Shenoy has said about the figures of estate duty collection—I am quoting these facts and figures because from these certain policies emerge very clearly—

"In the five years since it was introduced in 1955-56, the collections from it increased from Rs. 1.2 crores to Rs. 3 crores. . . . The tax dodger has apparently found a formula for tax avoidance even after death".

He says that the amount of tax evasion is colossal and to place it at Rs. 200—300 crores annually, as some

have done, seems to be an understatement. But he admits that it is not immediately practical to bring this into the tax net. It is a matter of reducing the magnitude of 'black' incomes and the upliftment of human character. This is his view.

Another economist, G. S. Sahota, in a recent book on taxation, estimates that evasion of income tax in 1957-58 is to the tune of Rs. 61.31 crores more than what it was in 1950-51. If we follow his argument, we can easily reach the figure of Rs. 200 crores as the total amount of tax evasion today in both personal income, tax corporate tax.

Now, let us look at the current Budget proposals. In the current Budget we do not find any desire on the part of the Government to reverse this policy. Out of an additional Rs. 71.7 crores of annual taxation proposed, we find that Rs. 44.5 crores, or over 60 per cent, comes from indirect taxation, whereas Rs. 27.2 crores, or less than 40 per cent, comes from direct taxation. At the same time, further concessions are given to the rich by the abolition of the Expenditure Tax and further concessions to foreign capital. The ex-Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, who is a Member of this House, has, according to a report in a paper, said that he very strongly criticises the abolition of the Expenditure Tax and said that it goes against the ethics of socialism.

In conclusion, I would like to point to the House and the Government that this way of raising resources for the Plan defeats the very purpose of planning. It is true that investment requires saving, and saving can be increased by restricting consumption, but whose consumption are we restricting? Seventy per cent of the people live on less than Rs. 50 a month, while there are some people who wallow in luxury. So, the statement of the Finance Minister that he wants to restrict consumption while abolishing the Expenditure Tax is

contradictory. These two cannot go together.

Mr. Speaker The hon. Member has had his 30 minutes. If he wants to have more, he will be depriving his own colleagues.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: Only some four or five minutes.

If he is serious about restriction on the consumption of the rich, he should widen the net of the Expenditure Tax, tighten the machinery for collecting it. But here he comes to abolish it, while at the same time increasing burdens on the common people.

It is not only we who deplore the lavish ways of life of the rich. Prof. Mahalanobis, Adviser to the Planning Commission, has also called for a check on luxury goods. He felt "that a strict check was necessary in India on the production of luxury goods. It was essential not only from the economic point of view, but also from the social point of view. The production and use of luxury goods by privileged classes stood in the way of emotional integration."

Prof. Shenoy also says:

"Available evidence—statistics of registrations of motor cars and the output of luxury items of consumption together with visible opulence and extravagant living of business men, industrialists and the corrupt functionaries of the State—suggests a steep rise in the numbers and the wealth of the upper income groups."

This being the position, I want to point out that the Budget proposals hit very hard those classes of the people who are already suffering, and the Finance Minister has not cared, though he has made a five per cent increase on certain items, to take the money from where he can. If the assertions about planning and the welfare of the people, economic development and social justice are to be

taken seriously, then we must certainly abandon these methods. I admit that there must be resources, but let me indicate the ways in which the resources can be found.

We have made these suggestions several times here, and I want to reiterate them:

1. Nationalise banking and credit institutions, mines, export-import trade, plantations and heavy industries.
2. Restrict the operation of foreign capital, prevent the export of profit by foreign companies.
3. Increase the tax on the rich, especially Corporation Tax. Our rates of Corporate taxes are one of the lowest, and the very fact that this year Finance Minister has taken the welcome step of slight increase in Corporate taxes, despite his arguments in previous years that we have reached the limits of direct taxation, is a vindication of our stand. Even this 5 per cent increase is not there for the foreign companies.
4. Take stringent measures against tax-dodgers and tighten the machinery of tax assessment and collection.
5. Make the public sector enterprises more efficient so as to make them yield more surpluses for development.
6. The privy purses of the princes should also be stopped.
7. Cut down wasteful expenditure, stamp out corruption, inefficiency and maladministration.

These are the only methods by which the resources can be found out. And, if resources can be found out, planning can be expedited. So far as planning is concerned, the success of it depends not only on money. But contentment and co-operation of the

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people are necessary. The people must feel that they are marching towards a socialist society. But, so far as these taxation and other proposals are concerned, certainly, there will be no inspiration. I do not know how the cooperation of the people can be secured without improving the condition of the people. The Study Groups and others show that the burden is more and more on the people. I hope the Finance Minister will look into all this and see that all these levies are not there and some other methods are adopted to get the resources.

Shrimati Gayatri Devi (Jaipur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must confess that I feel a bit diffident about speaking on such a complex subject as the Budget proposals. It will be difficult for me to speak; but I feel I should be failing in my duty to those people who have chosen me to represent them in this House, if I did not point out the effect of the proposed Budget proposals.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is not audible to the reporters. Either she may come forward or she may speak louder.

Shrimati Gayatri Devi: I feel I must be audible to the reporters.

One aspect of these proposals which has struck me is the increase in indirect taxation. Of the Rs. 71.77 crores of additional taxation which his Budget imposes, Rs. 45 crores or nearly 62 per cent is indirect taxation on various commodities. Thus, nearly two-thirds of the burden of the additional taxation falls on the necessities of life of the common man. Some of the luxuries have also been taxed; and that is quite understandable. But, their proportion is so small that they could be neglected.

When the Budget was published, the Planning Minister, in reply to a question, assured the House that there would be no significant rise in prices

as a result of the Budget. But, on the contrary, a study of the market in the last 10 days shows that there has been a rise in the prices of essential commodities such as tea, sugar, cloth and kitchen utensils, tobacco and cigarettes. In the case of tea, I believe, several retailers have raised the price of loose tea by 5 nP. and in certain cases, by 10 nP per kgm. It is, therefore, obvious that the middle classes and the lower income group, who form the bulk of our population, will find it very difficult to make both ends meet with the increase excise duty on essential commodities. The housewife will be hard pushed to feed her family and clothe her children.

This is all very well; it is quite understandable that the Government needs large resources to run the administration and to implement their plans and projects. But, at the same time, it must be recognised that the Government has utterly failed in utilising the taxes collected from the poor people to the best effect. I think this is not only tragic; it is also criminal.

I find that the increase in taxes will almost entirely be swallowed up to meet not planned expenditure on development but civil and military expenditure to which is unproductive.

One of the essentials of a sound economy is a stable currency. This is necessary so that the people may have confidence in the currency and know that it will buy tomorrow and the day after what it buys today. Unfortunately, in the years of our freedom, our currency has depreciated. In terms of the pre-war rupee, our currency is worth only 20 nP. Thus, four-fifths of the savings that have accumulated since then have melted away in the pockets of our people and in the banks where they were kept.

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Again, there has been, in the last 5 years, a steep rise in the prices and a fall in the value of the rupee. During the period 1955-56 to 1960-61, prices in India have risen by no less than 39 per cent. This inflation has almost no equal in the whole world during this period. And, now the excise duties are the last straw which might well break the camel's back.

Only recently, our government employees were given a small increase in dearness allowance. But, with the fresh inflation resulting in the further rise in prices, fresh demands for dearness allowance will be coming forward. There is no better illustration which can be given of the spiral of inflation.

We of the Swatantra Party believe that taxation, both direct and indirect, is already excessive in this country and has passed the point of diminishing returns. We stand for the needs of the common man being given the highest priority, and we find in this Budget that these are to be rated very low.

In the course of our election manifesto, from which I will now read, we said:—

"In pursuance of its fundamental policies, the Swatantra Party stands, first and foremost, for the common man; for providing him with food, clothing and shelter, as the primary obligation of government; for fuller employment, production of more foodgrains, more small irrigation works, more schools, and more small industries producing goods which the common man consumes."

Unfortunately, the Budget does exactly the very reverse. It raises the price of cloth and building materials; and these are among the primary needs of the people.

We shall be asked, how, then, do we propose to deal with the situation. Our first answer to that is, by cutting

down wasteful expenditure. Most of the taxes collected from the people go towards maintaining a larger and larger army of officials, most of whom are under-paid and under-employed, in government offices. This army of bureaucrats must be stopped from increasing. It is disappointing to know that the Finance Minister shows no signs of cutting out wasteful expenditure.

We believe that reduction in taxation could also be made possible if Government would stop furthering projects that are unremunerative and unproductive. Only the other day, we were told that the average return from State undertakings has fallen from 0.5 per cent to 0.3 per cent.

I would beg of you not to forget that Government is collecting money from people who are living at subsistence level through indirect taxes. The resources of Government represent the hard-earned income of the people; and it is criminal to waste the resources so gathered on superfluous expenditure. I see no reason why the lesson of austerity should be reserved only for the common man in whose life there is no further room for tightening the belt. When it comes to the question of amending and passing the Budget, I hope the hon. Members of this House will bear this in mind for the sake of the teeming poverty-stricken people of India.

I should like to say one word about the privy purses. Privy purses are given to the former princes as pension for their services. I feel that the Princes would give up their privy purses if others give up their pensions. (*Interruptions*). After all the the Princes have served their country for generations . . . (*Interruption*).

Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirapalli): Why not the lady Member make a voluntary sacrifice?

13 hrs.

Shri S. S. More (Poona): Mr. Speaker, Sir, before I proceed to give my reaction to the Budget proposals I want to strike a personal note. I have come to this House after a long break and I seem to have almost lost the habit of speech making. I really wonder whether I have lost my power of making speech in this House . . .

Some Hon. Members: He is not audible.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is not audible; perhaps that is what he means when he says he has lost his power of speech.

Shri S. S. More: The reaction of the House and their complaint that I was not sufficiently audible is proof of the fact that I have lost some of the former powers. I feel, Sir, that I should speak as a lay man giving the reaction of the common man and the man in the street to the budget proposals. As a layman I may tell you that I am fearfully afraid of the statistics which are supplied to us by the Finance Department. Statistics like lipsticks are used for concealing reality. I feel allergic to the statistics because statistics do not lead me anywhere and I thought that at least the Leader of the Communist Group would not take a leaf from the Finance Minister but speak in very simple terms. I find that he was vying with the Finance Minister in giving a spate of statistics which I have not been able to follow.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: That is not my fault.

Shri S. S. More: Excluding all the statistical data, I will give my reaction to these proposals and to that extent I have cared to study them.

I feel that I should support the budget proposals which have been placed before this House. My reasons for giving my support to the budget proposals are many. But before I go to

give reasons for supporting them I want to emphasise the fact that the Budgets of late have undergone complete reorientation. Some 25 years ago, Budgets were only machine getting machines. But since the beginning of the last war, they have undergone a revolutionary change; their character has been changed; their purpose has been changed and they have acquired some economic significance. A class of new theorists, of economics have come on the scene and they have said that Budgets can be very well utilised for planning long-range economic development. They have recognised the hitherto unrealised possibilities that fiscal measures can be used on occasions for regulating the economy, for taking plans to the further stage of development and for so many other purposes. They have also pointed out that the modern budgets of a country which is underdeveloped and trying to march on the rough and tortuous road of economic development have become real means of guiding the country to that stage provided the budgets are properly framed and properly understood by the masses. Our Budgets too have undergone a sea-change. The Britishers were presenting before the assemblies and the legislative councils different financial statements euphemistically called budgets. What was their purpose? It was not promotion of savings or investment nor was it in the interest of the country. They were budgeting with greed as their guide and sky as the limit for amassing some money from the poor starving people in order to enable them to spend on their administration and some allied services. After Independence we have turned a new leaf, particularly from 1956. Since the inauguration of the Second Plan our Budgets have also acquired some economic content, some social content and they are trying to take the country towards a certain direction. I mean the socialist pattern of society which has been accepted by the House.

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Now, my first submission will be that all these Budgets and particularly the present Budget must be read in the context of the Plans and the different Budgets which have been placed before the country have the necessary objective of providing money for the development of the country. Can we separate the Budgets from the Plans, from the objectives accepted by the House? The Budget, if I can say so is a sort of economic complement to the Plan. It is the Plan which furnishes us blueprint, a sort of a layout of how economic development has to be planned, how the super structure has to be erected. The prime purpose of the Budget is to supply us all the material, if I can say so, brick and mortar, for erecting the superstructures. If we really mean business and are serious about our socialistic objectives we shall not grudge the money required for the purpose.

The Communist Leader has said that we must tap some other sources. I want to remind him that in a backward, economically undeveloped country the resources are very few and meagre. If the Finance Minister starts in that way in search of resources he will come to grief and therefore he has to brush aside the well worded economic principles and on occasions go in search of sources which in western countries will not be desirable sources. Take for instance the indirect taxes. We have been learning from economic theorists that indirect taxes weigh heavily on the poorer sections of the people. We have also heard times without number that the rich should be taxed, that the fat lamb should be taken, if at all, to the slaughter house and so on. When we come to examine and scan the conditions of India, all such theories are found to be untenable. The capitalists who can pay taxes like the income-tax are in very small number, almost negligible. In a population of 44 crores the number of such persons, I may say, fortunate persons, is not very large: they are hardly one million. Our Finance Minister has raised the

tax to the tune of Rs. 27 crores from them.

Shri Nambiar: What is the guarantee that it will be collected? Experience shows the other way about.

Shri S. S. More: I know the communists. Even Khrushchev will fail to carry any guarantee to the Indian communists. My submission is that whatever tax comes from the direct taxation has been raised to the tune of Rs. 27 crores. This burden will be borne by not more than one million people, while the indirect taxes have been raised to the tune of about Rs. 44 crores, and that will be a burden, if we accept the theory of the common man, on the common man, the man who is not able to get even a crust of bread without some difficulty.

But the question is whether we want to go towards socialism. The real question is whether we mean business as far as our plans are concerned. The House has accepted the Plan objectives, and the objectives in the preamble of the Constitution, and from all those objectives, it is clear that this House is irrevocably committed to the removal of economic disabilities, to the removal of the concentration of wealth, and to afford equality of opportunity. In short, we are committed irrevocably to the creation of a new socialist pattern of society which will guarantee equal opportunities to all and secure a new social order, giving a decent life for everybody. If we are serious about our objectives, then we must do something to improve our economy. If we accept the argument of the opposite side, particularly the communists, I fear that the primitive economy, the economy which is much more dependent on agriculture, and a slow industrial and technical advance, will be a permanent companion with us. We have to discard that economy. That economy is as dull as ditch-water. The sooner we get rid of it and march ahead, even at some sacrifices, the better for us, and I think we have to do the sacrifices.

[Shri S. S. More]

So many things have been said in the name of the common man, the man who does not carry even a good shirt on his back. But, may I ask you, Mr. Speaker, and through you the Opposition, if the socialist society which we really dream to create in this vast country will be to the advantage of the monied classes, to the advantage of the possessing classes, to the advantage of the managers of the private sector who are distributing large profits? This new world will bring some benefit and solace to the common man, to the man who is really suffering and squats on the pavement and sleeps under the sky.

I may point out to my communist friends that even Russia, when she started on the road to socialism, did this. What was she doing? Were indirect taxes completely tabooed? I have no time to quote long extracts from books of authority, but I can very well tell my hon. friends that when Russia started after the October resolution, it did not immediately switch on to a socialist economy. It allowed the mixed economy to remain for sometime. At the same time, it also used indirect taxes to a very large extent; and some of the leaders of communism refuted the argument that indirect taxes are regressive. Fortunately, for this country, the Finance Minister has also asserted that under certain set of circumstances, when the taxes are imposed on certain things which are not required by the common man but required by higher strata of society, by the upper middle-class and all those fellows who may bear some taxes, and in that case, even indirect taxes cease to be regressive. My submission is, I am becoming impatient and as age advances, my impatience is also on the increase. If this country has to make rapid strides, even in an enforced manner like a platoon of soldiers going on a long march under the orders of the commander, if we are to reach the goal of socialism within a measurable span of life, all sacrifices are necessary.

Even the common man for whom we grow so eloquent has to gird up his loins and tighten his belt, because he is much more interested in the future, in the unfolding of socialism, than the man who has money, who has power and who has wealth.

Shri Nambiar: Why not allow the other man to grow richer and richer?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. He would not allow the other man to speak!

Shri S. S. More: My hon. friend Shri Nambiar gives a pointer too for my speech. He wants to take this country, which has committed itself to democratic processes, suddenly, by a dictatorial push-button method, to a socialist society. I have already pointed out that even in Russia, the rich man, the property-holders, did not come immediately under the knife, and he was preserved for sometime to supply the needs of the country.

I may quote the latest instance of China. Even in China, they have done the same thing. They have split up the merchants and entrepreneurs into two classes: the bureaucratic capitalists who co-operate with Chiang Kai-shek, and the national capitalists who are prepared to tolerate the regime of Mao. Our Prime Minister has never said that he has a soft corner for the rich monopolists, but the communists and other leftist friends behave like frightened children and see a ghost in every unlit corner. That sort of thing ought to be eschewed. If our democracy has to progress, if our democracy has to strike sufficiently strong roots it is the duty of Shri Nambiar and his fellow-travellers to assure even the private sector that they are as integral a part of our economy as the public sector. They have nothing to fear. If they have not economic advantages, they should come

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voluntarily forward and be prepared to surrender at the altar of the country. I think human beings who are prepared to sacrifice for the country's sake have not become an extinct race, and I am quite sure that a proper appeal addressed to them will bear the necessary fruit.

It is the speeches which are delivered from that particular part of the House that create a sense of panic, a sense of fear, in the minds of managers of private economy. I have very recently read a communique issued by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in which they have expressed their fears in no unmistakable terms. I want to tell the managers of the private sector: "Do not fear. Do not be frightened by friends who always talk about extremism and practise the greatest moderation when they come to hard facts." The private managers' grievances are that the climate for investment and for private savings has been lost. I want to make an earnest appeal to them. If they care to read the Finance Minister's speech, if they care to study the *Economic Survey* which has been circulated to us, they will find that both of them have adduced tangible evidence to show that these indicators are there, namely, by virtue of deposits, by virtue of expansion of credits, by virtue of banks purchasing Government securities—and why?—because they have surplus funds to invest—incentives are there. They have pointedly been shown there, and all these indicators point out that the private sector need have nothing to fear.

But I am not looking upon the private sector as unwanted relations. I do feel that the private sector, if they rise to the occasion and really try to march towards the goal of socialism with open minds, even their efforts to increase the private sector in certain types of industries will be a gain to the country. It is they who are creating employment possibilities. I have some experience of public sector. I was one of the directors of a company

in the public sector. We are placing I.C.S. and ex-I.C.S. people in charge of these concerns. What happens is, they come there with starched collars. They do not know the economics of business. They do not know that cost of production has to be kept down as far as possible. They feel that claims of bureaucratic efficiency can override claims of economy and retrenchment. Therefore, they proceed in a manner that causes lot of wastage and unnecessary spending in the public sector. I have got the greatest sympathy for the public sector, but the public sector is undergoing the teething troubles. In certain cases, they may not be able to show good results, but a time will come when the Finance Minister of India will dispense with indirect taxes and will also dispense with some of the direct taxes and he will say, "My public sector is thriving and I can have any amount of money by way of turnover taxes, as they have in Russia, to finance our schemes."

My submission is, we must handle our budgets in a more delicate and deft manner, because they are interwoven with our objectives and the slightest damage that we may inflict on the budgetary proposals will harm the objectives which we are here to support. I, therefore, offer my whole-hearted support to the budget.

I may refer to one point before I resume my seat. There is some criticism against inflation and rising prices. My submission is, that the present rise in prices and inflation is due, as has been made clear on many occasions in this House, to the fact that our production does not keep pace with the demand procreated by huge amounts of money which come into the public pockets. Naturally, there is larger demand, but the supply is short. The effect is that the prices go up. What is the remedy? If you want to fight inflation, it is not Government alone which shall be able to fight it single-handed. We should have to produce more. If we have to

[Shri S. S. More]

produce more, we should emulate the industrious bee and the ant and busy ourselves in real constructive production of articles and goods required for the country. Merely hurling accusations against the Government that we are not producing more is no good and it has to be stopped. I would appeal to all sections of the House. All of us must concentrate our attention in disciplining the people in the country's cause and telling them that unless they exercise every muscle to increase the production, inflation will not disappear.

If we are to impose price control, as we have done some time back, price control would augment the corruption. That is our experience. Shri Gopalan was speaking about weeding out corruption, but he was prescribing a way by which corruption would be on the increase. Therefore, we should not take a party-view of the budget. We should take an all-India view of the budget and present an integrated national picture of our economy. Therefore, one who looks at the budget from a narrow sectarian point of view will not be able to understand it properly; on the contrary, he will come to certain dangerous conclusions, which will be fatal to the country.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee (Ratnagiri): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity of saying a few words on the budget presented by the Finance Minister on the 23rd April. I am afraid, being neither an economist nor a politician, I cannot claim to speak with any authority on so complex a subject as the nation's economy. However, I shall try to place before the House the views of the common man of this country, who is concerned with the budget, mainly from the point of his own personal pocket and secondly from the way it reflects the Government's policies, programmes and finances.

13.26 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

On the 14th March, when the Finance Minister presented his statement of accounted receipts and expenditure for the year 1962-63, we had a foretaste of the main budget and since then the atmosphere has been heavy with suspense and rumours of fresh taxation.

At the outset, I would like to congratulate the Finance Minister for spreading the taxation over a wide section of society. I know that the hon. Members from some opposition parties will oppose this, but I feel that the burden and responsibility of building our nation lies upon all of us to a greater or smaller measure. As the rich man bears the burden, so the poor man also must bear the burden in a smaller measure.

I have been elected from the district of Ratnagiri and I would like to represent in this House some of the conditions of life there. I venture to say that the cost of living has increased there and that the basic amenities of life like water, roads, medical aid, etc. are lacking. While I was there, I was asked, what could I promise them? Could I guarantee that there would be a rail service or approach roads, wells in the villages, hospitals for the sick and employment for the young? My answer was, no; these things I could not guarantee. But this I did guarantee: I did promise that I would represent their case in the highest assembly of the land, the Lok Sabha. Here I stand in this august forum and ask that these amenities be made available to them as soon as possible. We have progressed in a great measure, but I am sorry to say that in the area from which I have been elected, progress is very slow.

I come to the problem of direct taxation. It is true that if tax evasion could be avoided, the burden of

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taxation would be certainly smaller, but no amount of control can stop the greedy man from aking all he can. No amount of administrative and legal sanction will stop him from robbing society of what he owes it. It is, however, of utmost importance that we curb ostentatious display of wealth and conspicuous consumption not only from the social point of view, but in order to channel the extra earnings into savings and investments. If society continues to look up to the rich man, if society supports flamboyant display of wealth, I am afraid tax evasion will continue, in spite of legal restrictions. The only way would be, if society could outlaw the big spender and if austerity and moderation could be considered virtues, then such evasion would be restrained. Therefore, I welcome the Finance Minister's increase in wealth tax. I grant that such increases will not be totally transmitted into revenue. Unless administration and society take drastic action against those who flaunt the law of the land with regard to the payment of income tax, I fear that we shall not be able to get the appropriate amount of revenue from such income tax. I also agree with the Finance Minister on his abolition of the expenditure tax, because such legislation as cannot be implemented had better been withdrawn.

With regard to the corporation tax, it has increased by 5 per cent. It has been said that this will be a disincentive to savings because companies which continue to have profits in spite of the tax will continue to give higher dividends and thereby their savings will be reduced. It would perhaps have been better to have devised some way whereby the dividends could be reduced and the savings could have been increased. One of the ways is to give a rebate on a portion of the profits which has been ploughed into savings. The margin of profit in our country is so very large that I do not think these small fiscal changes will be any hardship on the corporations nor do I think they will have any

bearing on the investment in the private sector and in these corporations.

It is obvious that it is not possible to eke out any more revenue from direct taxation and, therefore, the Finance Minister has had to, inevitably, resort to indirect taxation. Sir, there is discontent and apathy among the people, and I fear very much that indirect taxation will bring a rise in the cost of household consumer goods. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the Government to see that the prices do not rise in a speculative manner,—for rising prices are increasingly linked with dearness allowance, which brings about an inflationary spiral. Therefore, I think it is the duty of the Government to see that such inflation and such speculation in prices do not occur.

The most important item of the excise duty is cloth. It is well-known that the textile manufacturers have a large margin of profit. It is to be hoped that they will bear the burden of the extra duty and will not pass it on to the consumer.

The small return in the public sector causes us grave concern. But we must all remember that these projects are in their nascent stages, that they are also of such a nature as will not yield immediate returns, that in an under-developed country like ours it is to be expected that we should have a lack of trained technical and managerial personnel and skilled workers; such small returns if they are a sacrifice on our part, we are expected to bear them; for it is necessary that we sacrifice today so that we may reap the benefits tomorrow; it is necessary that we should build a nation for our children.

Sir, we all share the anxiety of the Finance Minister over the foreign exchange position. Therefore, we welcome his tax incentive to export. But we must remember that there are certain structural inadequacies in our industrial organisations; that our industries are not export-oriented and

[Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee]

that until our products are able to compete in the foreign markets on the basis of their quality and low selling price we cannot hope to do as well as we expect. But, it is imperative that we rely more and more on our foreign exports rather than on foreign aid.

Sir, I would like to refer to some of the arguments advocated by some hon. Members of the Opposition Party. Shri Gopalan, the leader of the Communist Party, has objected to the burden of indirect taxation on the poor. He said that tax evasion exists and he has also opposed the abolition of the expenditure tax. I would like to express here that there are certain inherent tendencies in our national character due possibly to the fact that we are poor and undeveloped country, and that the blame cannot be laid entirely upon the administration. These things we have to recognise and we must learn to contend with them. I would also like to mention Maharani Gyatri Devi's statement in which she said that the public sector was unproductive and unremunerative. We are fully in agreement with this. But at this juncture we strive towards things which will give us returns tomorrow. We sacrifice today, we work today, so that our nation is built up for our children and our children's children. Therefore, we must sacrifice and expect to get poor returns on some of our ventures.

In conclusion, I would like to say that our people are imbued with traditional wisdom and a child-like simplicity, but I would like also to express a warning that no longer can we exploit the trust and confidence they place in us, no longer can we try their patience. Plans and platitudes are no substitute for bread and employment. The promise of future prosperity cannot gloss over certain trends of maladministration, which we must admit. These are the stark facts of our economy. We must accept the challenge that is put to us by the poverty and privation of our nation.

We, the elected Members of this House are here not only to reflect the opinion of the people but to expend every ounce of energy to deserve the faith that they have placed in us.

Before I close, I would like to say that the main task before us consists of stabilising prices, increasing savings and national productivity, exploiting available resources and building up our foreign markets. Therefore, the three questions we must ask ourselves are: (i) will the proposed taxes yield additional revenue to finance our investments; (ii) do they curb consumption and increase earnings; and, (iii) are they beneficial to our export drive? Judging by these criteria, I believe that the budget presented to us by the Finance Minister is well attuned to the requirements of our national economy.

With these words, Sir, I support the budget.

Shri Ramanathan Chettiar (Karur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, let me, at the outset, congratulate the hon. the Finance Minister for having presented the budget on 23rd April, 1962 which can be defined as of a bold character by a confident Finance Minister who has, on behalf of the party, after having had a great success in the general elections and also having obtained the verdict of the people. One of the two redeeming features of this budget, to my mind, is strengthening the credit structure by placing the banking system on a sound and healthy basis. After the Palai Bank crash, the Government and Reserve Bank have strengthened not only the strongly-placed banks but also the weaker units and thus put the banking system on a sound basis. Now the credit structure of the country is in a healthy state. Unless the foundation of a building is strong, the super structure cannot stand. In the same way, the Finance Minister, being a shrewd man, has put the credit structure on a very solid basis so that he can go to the country and float his loan and also see that the banks help the industrial development.

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The other feature of the budget is that he has suggested the dispersal of the joint stock holdings on a wider basis; that is to say, he has laid emphasis more and more on equity capital rather than the joint stock companies depending entirely on loans from banks or from quasi-governmental financing institutions. I think this is a welcome idea. By this proposal, he will see that the shares are held by a larger number of people and will meet the criticism usually voiced by hon. Members opposite that there is a lot of concentration of economic power in a few hands.

I think the Finance Minister's proposal has to be appreciated by one and all of us because he has tackled this problem in a practical manner. Of course, the Mahalanobis Committee is there, but, instead of waiting for their report, he has made a beginning and attacked this problem in a forthright manner. I am sure, his efforts will succeed. Here I would like to say that the companies in the private sector have to co-operate with the government in order that the Finance Minister realises his objective, and I am sure the private sector will not be wanting in their co-operation to the Government.

Apart from these two redeeming features, this is the first time that the budget has been export-oriented. He has made a beginning and created an Export Development Fund of Rs. 1 crore. For a country with an export of over Rs. 600 crores this is only a fringe, but now that he has made a beginning, I am sure more and more funds will be made available to the Export Development Fund in order to give a fillip to this important aspect in our economy.

Here I would like to say that the Government as a whole has to be congratulated for the establishment of a Board of Trade and, I must say, they have chosen an active and energetic Minister to preside over as the Chairman of the Board of Trade. I am sure, with his drive our export will not only

step up but the target that is fixed for the Third Five Year Plan, namely, Rs. 750 crores per year will also be realised.

As a practical step, the Finance Minister has given a concession to the tea industry by way of reduction of the export duty from 44 nP to 25 nP. This is a welcome feature. Because of this, the tea industry, which is one of the important earners of foreign exchange, is greatly benefited and will earn more foreign exchange, which is a vital need for the development, of our economy.

Now I come to an industry which has not got that amount of encouragement, and that is the match industry. Only two years ago he levied a tax on this industry. In that part of the country from where I come, namely, the South, the match industry is run mainly on a cottage industry basis and most of the workers there are very poor and a large number of them are womenfolk. The Finance Minister might explain it away by saying that it is only a minor change, but I hope he will sympathetically consider the case of this industry and see that no further hardship is put on it.

Then I come to the soap industry. Here I am talking only of those soap factories which have a production of 200 to 300 tons, for the levy of an excise duty. Now the proposal is to bring down the limit from 200 to 100 tons. By this proposal, this industry, which is run more or less on a cottage industry basis, will be greatly affected. I would humbly plead with the Finance Minister to look into the case of this industry and see that no hardship is caused to this industry.

Coming to the direct taxes, the Finance Minister has stressed that the direct taxes have also to contribute towards the exchequer because there is a lot of criticism, especially by my hon. friends opposite, that he is resorting only to indirect taxes and that he is not laying stress on direct taxation. I am glad that he is now raising the

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corporation tax, as this will meet the criticism of the hon. Members, particularly of the Communist party, and I am sure they will be satisfied. I am sure the small increase that he has suggested will not make the companies reduce the dividends because the companies are making very reasonable profits nowadays due to the buoyancy of the economy. I hope they will be able to meet this increase without reducing the dividends.

This budget can be called anti-inflationary. The Finance Minister has approached this problem in a very precise manner, as he is very anxious to prevent the rise in prices. For the first time, he has tapped more from internal resources to augment the finances and to meet the criticism, especially of the foreign countries and the Aid India Club, that we have not done enough in this respect. I am sure that the friendly foreign-aid giving countries and the members of the Aid India Club will sympathetically view our requirement, inasmuch as the Finance Minister has tapped the internal resources for taxation, and help us to a large extent to fulfil the Third Plan projects.

The other important point I would like to mention is one which is being talked about everywhere—and I was confronted with it during my election tour—namely the price situation. One cannot forget the fact that prices are shooting up. I was confronted with this question everywhere I went, mostly in the rural parts. But all that I could say was that in a planned economy there is bound to be a rise in the prices and that Government are alive to this fact and are taking adequate measures to keep down the prices. In reply to a supplementary question of mine the other day the hon. the Minister of Planning said, to my great surprise, that there is no Cell in the Planning Commission to watch and control the price situation in this country. I am sure that the Finance Minister will take note of this and will, as a Member of the Planning Commission, see to it that apart

from the Economic Division of the Planning Commission, which is supposed to look after the price situation, a separate Cell is created for this purpose, because this is a vital problem affecting 43 crores of people of this country and if his plans are to succeed he should see that the prices do not rise higher and higher. He should at least see to it that the prices are stabilised and that the Planning Commission is alive to this situation, and take adequate measures to keep down the prices.

Lastly, there is a strong feeling in the South that the Southern States do not get that amount of encouragement in respect of economic and industrial development.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): You have now five Ministers here.

Shri Ramanathan Chettiar: You may have ten Ministers, but that alone will not satisfy the people of the South. Kerala, Andhra, Tamilnad and Mysore quite rightly feel that no major public sector project is located there.

An Hon. Member: Neyveli.

Shri Ramanathan Chettiar: Apart from Neyveli, Neyveli is a Central Government Corporation. I am sure that the Government and the Planning Commission will see that this injustice is redressed as soon as possible and that more and more public sector projects are established in the South. Unless and until the aspirations of the people in the South are fulfilled, I am afraid they will get more and more bitter. Excuse me, Sir, for saying so.

An Hon. Member: What about Bangalore?

Shri Ramanathan Chettiar: I am stressing on this point, because, after all, it is the economic need of the people that have got to be satisfied. Once you satisfy that, even their political aspirations can be satisfied; be-

cause, when their economic needs are being met they will feel that the South is not neglected and that they are being looked after well by the North. And it is not also a question of North or South. All that I stress is that there should be a regional balance of economic development in all parts of the country irrespective of North, South East or West.

Coming to my own State of Madras I would like to say that the Planning Commission should take immediate steps to see that the exploration of oil in the Cauvery basin is taken up. There is oil. There was a seismic survey held, but I am afraid with that it has stopped. I wish that the Minister of Mines and Fuel was here and I hope he will take note of it. Now that the Tuticorin port has been taken up, I am sure that the Planning Commission will see that the Sethusamudram project is also included in the Third Plan. Already it has been referred to an expert committee. Mr. Davis, Nautical Adviser from the United Kingdom had come and he had also submitted a report to the Government. I am sure that they will give immediate consideration to Mr. Davis's report and see that they take up the Sethusamudram project in the Third Five Year Plan itself.

Sir, I do not want to take any more of the time of the House except to say that I support the Budget proposals of the Finance Minister.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Any Member from Jan Sangh?—No. Shri Kamath.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the House, Sir, is discussing the Budget of 1962, the first year of a quinquennium, a five-year period which is fraught with grave danger not merely to the independence and sovereignty of India but, may I also say, to the achievement of the goal of democratic socialism which the party in power professes.

The other day, just a fortnight ago, when I listened to the speech of the

Finance Minister I wondered—and as I listened attentively my wonder grew—I wondered whether the Finance Minister who, in the course of his speech, had very touchingly said that “the administration of the tax laws should cause the minimum of vexation both to the tax payer and to the tax collector and one thing that should not be taxed is people's patience” had arrived at this philosophy of life lately. And I wished that he had cultivated this outlook some six years ago when he was Chief Minister of Bombay State.

Shri Nath Pai: We live and learn.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Yes, we live and learn, and I am glad that the Finance Minister has learnt....

The Minister of Finance (Shri Morarji Desai): You better learn something.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I learnt it long ago, long before you did.

Shri Morarji Desai: But you have not learnt anything.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Well, I have learnt more than what you have learnt in the course of sixty-five years; I have learnt much more in a lesser period. Very well, we will discuss it later on, outside the House. I am not yielding, and I hope the Finance Minister will not interrupt me too much.

Shri Morarji Desai: Address the Chair.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I am addressing the Deputy-Speaker and I hope you are hearing me properly.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the Budget has become in the Lok Sabha more or less an empty routine ceremonial, because the Government has behind it, to use a backneyed phrase—I hope it is parliamentary—a brute majority to carry by vote, blind or otherwise, whatever proposals the Government

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bring before the House; and, secondly, the House has got used, as you are very well aware, to supplementary Demands for Grants by every Ministry during the course of the financial year, and this has led to a lot of inaccurate and very rough budgeting. And therefore this budget discussion has been stripped, if I may use the word, of the significance and importance which should be its due. I will confine myself to the—may I use the word—truths which Minister has sought to expound in the course of his speech and the fine sentiments of which he has delivered himself in the course of his speech, a fortnight ago. I shall confine myself to those sentiments which he has given utterance to in the course of his speech.

14 hrs.

May I take first what he said—I refer to page 11 of the speech delivered by him on the 23rd of April last:

“In a planned economy, it must also serve the wider objectives of augmenting savings, promoting exports, of bringing about a better balance between the supply and demand for individual commodities and indeed of social justice in distributing the rewards and sacrifices implicit in planned progress.”

Further on, he said:

“Quite a number of items in our range of indirect taxes are such that they impinge more heavily on the upper middle and middle classes.”

He has said that they impinge on the middle classes as well. That is the tragedy of India today. Not merely are the poor classes being ground into dust, but the middle classes also are being attacked—attacked mercilessly. The middle classes are getting slowly pauperised. The middle classes are supposed to be the back-bone of a nation. The poor classes, yet always have with you as Jesus said, and we have them in abundance in India.

It may be well to think of this position in the light of what the Finance Minister himself said. He said:

“The income-tax payers form a relatively well to do section of the society. In a population of 443 millions, they are under a million and thus are a microscopic group.”

That is a significant commentary on the social position today in India: 443 million people; 1 million tax-payers. That is to say, those whose income is below Rs. 250 a month are 442 million. Per capita income has been assessed recently and I suppose it is of the magnitude of between Rs. 25 and 30 a month. So that, from this, we will get an accurate idea as to what the lowest strata of society must be earning and what you are trying to squeeze out of their daily labour in our country. Therefore, when you tax commodities like tea, tobacco which goes into the making of *biris*, and matches, I really wonder how the Finance Minister, who has such a solicitude for the poor and the middle classes, could bring himself to impose these taxes on the people of our country.

It is well to remember that when an indirect tax is imposed on a commodity, a multiple of that tax—not that tax, but a multiple of that tax—is passed on to the consumer. To stop that, the Government has not taken any action. It has been pointed out to the Government every year during the last five years or more that as soon as budget duties are announced, there is a tendency in the market for prices to go up. The Government has not taken any action to stop these big profits and fix a price in accordance with the duties imposed. Every year, that has been witnessed. Even in Delhi, prices have gone up: not by the taxes announced, but by a multiple of the tax, whether it is sugar, whether it is cloth, tobacco, tea or anything else.

The papers reported a couple of days ago that in the Consultative Committee of the Finance Ministry, there was a discussion of this matter and the Finance Minister promised to explain to the Parliament two things: (i) why he has sought to abolish the expenditure tax and (ii) if there is a fall in the internal consumption of tea, he will reconsider the matter of duty on tea. Coming to expenditure tax, the Finance Minister has said on page 14 of the printed speech:

"I propose to abolish the five year old Expenditure Tax with effect from the current year. When it was introduced in 1957, it was realised that it had no backing of historical experience. It was, however, hoped that the tax would be a potent instrument for restraining ostentatious expenditure and for promoting savings.... The revenue from this source has remained conspicuously small.... Experience has not shown this to be the case. If the working of this tax had shown some promising results, it would have been worth while to continue and even extend it; but with the present experience, it is considered best not to continue a measure which, as a source of economic restraint, has been ineffective and as a source of revenue unattractive."

This is rather too bald for us to be convinced. I hope, therefore, in the course of his reply to the debate, the Finance Minister will tell us more than what is contained in these brief, laconic remarks in para 36.

Assuming that the experience has been adverse, has been contrary and has not justified the expectations that had been raised when the Expenditure tax was introduced or enforced, I would appeal to the Finance Minister to apply the same yardstick, the same criterion to another experiment which has been going on in this country for the last so many years, that is, the experiment on prohibition, to

which the Finance Minister is devoted, and may I say, dedicated.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): Wedded.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: If Shri Tyagi wants to think of weddings, he is welcome to do so. I would say, dedicated.

Here, I would invite the Finance Minister's attention to an answer given on the floor of the House with regard to the experience regarding prohibition. Answering a question on the 26th April, Shri Datar, Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs said:

An Hon. Member: He is not here.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The Government is one and there is collective responsibility. He said:

"The Governments of Mysore (for other Districts)—except Mandya and some other districts—Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Kerala have asked for 100 per cent. Central assistance to meet the loss in excise revenue plus the cost of enforcement and rehabilitation. The replies from other State Governments are awaited."

This is the case even after 15 years of valuable experience in the Bombay State, in Maharashtra and Gujarat. Even after 15 years of experiment in these and some other States, several State Governments are not convinced of the soundness of prohibition as a policy and, to use the words of the Finance Minister—attractive from the point of revenue or from the point of view of results. Otherwise, how can these Governments—there also the Congress party is in power and the same party is in power in all those States—how on earth, why should they ask for 100 per cent. assistance plus the cost of rehabilitation plus the cost of enforcement? If the Finance Minister were to apply to this experiment—disastrous experi-

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ment—in prohibition the same criterion on which he has judged the Expenditure tax, I am sure he will revise his policy of prohibition in good time.

Shri Tyagi: So, my hon. friend advocates drinking?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I am coming to that. I do not know if my hon. friend cannot make a distinction between drinking and getting drunk.

In this country, if statistics are any guide, and those statistics are available, it is estimated that less than 0.5 per cent. of the population are perhaps addicted to drink. Now, when that 0.5 per cent. of the population do not get their measure of dring in the country, which they used to get before prohibition was introduced, I was told in Bombay by reliable doctors who had to attend on such cases, that these people, these addicts take to methylated spirit and come to hospital with burnt out stomachs. If that is what the Finance Minister wants the poor people to do, he is welcome to continue these measures. And if at all, we stand, my party stands, for temperance; my party stands for education in this matter. And I feel that enforcement of prohibition by law is next to impossible, without educational measures and without proper temperance propaganda in the country.

Therefore, I would suggest to Government that they should adopt other measures which could have obviated the necessity for imposing so many taxes, not merely these taxes on tobacco, tea and matches but several other taxes too.

I come to the last para of his speech, because that has a vital bearing on what I am going to say. He says:

“Higher levels of taxation no doubt impose a burden of sacrifice on our people.”

So, he has said it, that the burden will fall on our people, rich and poor, on the poor more than on the rich,—for the poor are more than 442 millions in the country. Then, he goes on to say:

“The point to remember is that there are only two alternatives to such taxation—inflation or stagnation.”

I am sorry that the Government's vision is so blurred and so myopic that they are not able to see the third alternative to namely taxation. But what about the wasteful, extravagant expenditure that has been resorted to in Government Departments, which is a mounting expenditure? Can they not conserve our resources? Can they not impose austerity on themselves? Is it not possible to conserve the resources and impose austerity on themselves, so that the additional tax measures might not be resorted to?

Throughout this country, after the general elections, there was a sudden spate of Ministers in most States, a bumper crop of Ministers, and in the Centre too now—only this morning, we read the news. In some States, the number was, or is, perilously near the size of—I hope it is not unparliamentary and it is quite in order—Ali Baba's band; and at the Centre, —I am not casting any reflection or any aspersion on the Ministers; they are all honourable men, and they work very hard for the country's welfare: it is only a coincidence of number and nothing else,—we are dangerously moving to the strength of a pack of cards. If we have only three more, then we shall be completing the pack including the joker. In the First Lok Sabha, we had the good fortune of witnessing the completion of the task in the fourth year of the First Lok Sabha, but I am confident that that may be achieved once again, and consummated probab-

ly during the first year itself of the Third Lok Sabha. I was referring to the economies that could have been effected, and that could be effected even today—it is not too late—so that many of these taxation measures might be done away with.

We are not, and my party is not, against taxation as such. My party is not against planning as such. But we want that every rupee, if not every naya paisa, of the taxes that are collected must be properly accounted for and the people must go towards this country's welfare and for the betterment of the people, and the Plan, must be a proper, well-planned Plan, not a planless Plan, as it has often happened in the past.

Coming to these measures which I may suggest to Government for consideration, first, I have suggested prohibition. This must be seriously reconsidered, on the basis of the remarks which he has himself made with regard to experience as applied to expenditure tax. Next, it is high time that Government considered reducing the governmental expenditure and the vast expenditure that is being incurred on things like or on projects like community development projects. It was not any irresponsible Opposition Member speaking, whom you may dub as irresponsible and worse, but it was Acharya Vinoba Bhave who some two years ago, I think, it was in Belgaum, said this; after visiting a number of these community development projects, in acute sorrow he said that it had pained him to observe that not less than 30 per cent. of the money that is allocated or spent on these community development projects or some of these projects which he had seen, was infructuous and was not utilised really for the welfare of the people. If that be so, out of Rs. 10,000 crores and odd that are being spent on the Third Plan, how many thousands of crores will be wasteful or infructuous expenditure? We are being treated every year, year in and year

out, to these Public Account Committee's reports. Every year, we are shown how much is being wasted and how much money has gone down; whose drain, which Ministry's drain, I am not going to detail this, because that will be taken up in the course of the various Ministry's Demands for Grants stage. But it is really shocking, not merely pathetic or tragic, but it is really shocking that in a poor country like India, where in the Finance Minister's own words, 442 million people out of 443 millions are not income-tax payers, there should be so little of conscience for public money. I do not know what the reasons are. Destiny placed the Prime Minister in a fortunate position. The Prime Minister did not have to earn his livelihood all his life, and, therefore, perhaps, it is likely that he has not cultivated that sense of value for public money which Mahatma Gandhi had. He said time and again that every pie—in those days, it was the pie, and only now it is naya paisa—of public money that you are going to spend must be accounted for. Take the Defence Ministry, about which the Public Accounts Committee's reports give us such a lurid picture year after year. The Defence Minister, secure in the confidence and affection of the Prime Minister, seems to be a little allergic to the Public Accounts Committee's remarks and observations and criticisms. But he is completely, may I use the word, deaf, and he has got a closed mind to whatever Parliamentary Committees may criticise about his Ministry's doings. This year, only last week, the reports of the Public Accounts Committee were placed on the Table of the House. Again, the same picture of the Ministry's doings has come before the House. Is it not time that the Finance Minister who has got, I believe, a better sense of value of public money, asserts himself over the Defence Minister, asserts himself with regard to the doings of the Defence Ministry and see that the money that is allocated to the Defence Ministry is properly spent and proper-

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ly accounted for? Otherwise, there will be more taxes coming later, even this year or next year, until the back of the people is broken, and the people can stand these taxes no longer. Then the climate of revolution will be abroad in the country, not merely of non-violent revolution, but—if this course is not checked—there may even be forces of a violent revolution breaking in the country, which we want to prevent from taking the upper hand in our country. Therefore, in the interest not merely of the people but even of the Treasury Benches—they may not find themselves there in case a violent revolution breaks out in the country—in their own interest, they must wake up betimes.

Shri Morarji Desai: I will not have to hear you then.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: It will be your misfortune.

Shri Morarji Desai: Not my misfortune—that you will have gone.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The Finance Minister referred to another matter also. He says:

“It is my hope that as in the past with increased incomes and production and a tighter check on the evasion of taxes....”

Where is this check? We do not see any sign of a check on evasion of taxes. The other day there was a question put here. I asked whether Government proposed to notify the names of tax evaders. Even that question was evaded. The Government is not serious about checking this tax evasion. If only this tax evasion had been checked in good time, over so many years, so many taxes would not have been imposed.

Now the Administration too is proliferating; the bureaucracy and the lower staff are proliferating. I do not know how far Parkinson's Law has

come into operation or does come into operation. The Administration has proliferated to such an extent that efficiency tends to suffer. In this connection, I may mention one or two instances only, because I am racing against time and I would not like to mention too many instances. The telephone services, even in Delhi, have become inefficient to a degree. In two weeks, the telephone allotted to me went out of order twice. When the matter was reported, the proper person was not available. It was almost twelve hours before it was set in order. The so-called utility services, which are being well paid for, are no more utility services but are fast becoming 'futility services'. The Government should see that this state of affairs is mended.

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

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I started at 2 o'clock. I will have 30 minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You have taken 28 minutes. You started at five minutes to 2 o'clock.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: 23 minutes—I started at 2 o'clock.

The *Economic Survey* 1961-62 says on page 2:

“...there can be little doubt that a vigorous promotion of exports has become a major desideratum of economic policy in the country”.

Now, answering a question in the House the other day, the Finance Minister himself said:

“During the last two Plan periods, annual exports from the Indian Union averaged Rs. 614.84 crores and Rs. 612.18 crores respectively.”

That is, in the Second Plan period, the value of exports was reduced. I would

like to know what the Government proposes to do in this regard.

Coming to the public sector also, we are all for the public sector, provided it is well-managed in the interest of the people and is efficient and productive. A tree is known by its fruit. Here the Finance Minister himself has criticised the public sector in his own inimitable manner. He says:

“The private sector in India is already relying to a considerable extent on the ploughing back of the profits and savings in the corporate sector for expansion. The public sector must do the same if it is to play an increasing role in the development of our economy”.

The public sector is becoming the much-publicised sector, and unless Government train competent personnel to manage these undertakings, I am afraid the Government by taking on so many undertakings within its own fold, might well become the undertaker of our national economy, which I do not want to happen.

Therefore, I would like that these various aspects which I have referred to should be seriously considered by the Finance Minister. If he does so, he might find avenues by resorting to which he might reduce the taxes sought to be imposed and do away with many of them.

In conclusion, I would only like to appeal to the Finance Minister and to the cohorts behind him....

Shri Nath Pai: Cohorts—serried ranks of supporters.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: There are, in my judgment, four great tasks that await the nation in the coming years.

Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat): Is that term to be allowed in the House?

Shri Nath Pai: It is absolutely parliamentary. It appears in the best poems in English literature.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I did not say ‘co-horse’. I said ‘cohorts’ (Interruptions).

One is the achievement of national unity and cohesion. We have as our goal democratic socialism, because without democracy we cannot build socialism. Socialism minus democracy will approximate to communism or fascism. Therefore, it is essential that we promote democracy and to that end, contentment among the people of India Taxation measures must be such as to promote that objective.

The second task that awaits us is the streamlining of the Administration, to which I have referred. The third is economic progress in a perceptible measure, of which there is not much evidence today. The last is, improving our country's defences so that our independence can be fully secure.

There is a feeling abroad in the country that for the last 15 years the Government has not progressed towards the goal of democratic socialism, though it has been professing it in season and out of season. I have often heard people in the rural areas during the elections and at other times, saying in a spirit of mockery:

‘We had अंग्रेजी राज ; now it is कांग्रेस राज’. अंग्रेज and कांग्रेस ; पुरुष and कापुरुष . कांग्रेस means worse than अंग्रेज .

I do not subscribe to it. But I have heard ordinary people, the common poor people saying so.

An Hon. Member: What is the meaning?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I am sorry he does not know the meaning.

Just like पुरुष and का-पुरुष . अंग्रेज and का-अंग्रेज . . .

I hope that this spirit will not be allowed to prevail and grow stronger, because it will not redound to the credit of the Government nor to the welfare of the people.

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

I will only appeal once again to the Finance Minister, in the name of the Guru, the teacher, the Master, whom he followed in his life and whom he follows even today, I believe.....

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): He is a great moralist.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I make this appeal in the name of Mahatma Gandhi. He said—this is from Manu-ben Gandhi's

“बिहार में कौमी आग” :—

“... इतने वर्षों के अनुभव के आधार पर यह आगाह करने की हिम्मत करता हूँ

The master was very humble to his Congress disciples,

“... कि देश में बगावत होगी, ...”

I will read only four or five lines. If I read the whole of it, it will take time.

An Hon. Member: Read the whole of it.

श्री हरि विष्णु कामत : “अनेक त्याग और तपों के बाद कांग्रेस ने प्रजा का विश्वास प्राप्त किया है। परन्तु यदि आज कांग्रेस वाले प्रजा को दगा देंगे और सेवा करने के बदले मालिक बन जायेंगे..... (Laughter)

It is not a matter for laughter. This is what Mahatma Gandhi said—This is in very small type, and the light is not sufficient. Hence the difficulty in reading it.

“... तथा स्वामित्व दिखायेंगे तो, मैं कदाचित् जीवित रहूँ या नहीं, पर इतने वर्षों के अनुभव के आधार पर यह आगाह करने की हिम्मत करता हूँ कि देश में बगावत होगी, सफ़ेद टोपी वालों को प्रजा चुन-चुन कर मारेगी..”

श्री त्यागी : इसी लिए माननीय सदस्य ने अपनी टोपी ब्राउन कर ली।

श्री हरि विष्णु कामत : इसी लिए माननीय सदस्य टोपी नहीं पहनते हैं। “..... और कोई तीसरी सत्ता इसका लाभ लेगी।”

I hope and pray that this eventual-ity, this consequence, will not come to pass.

Shri Tyagi: When did he say so?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: In May 1947.

I hope and pray that this state of affairs will not come to pass, and along with the consummation or achievement of the four-fold objective which I have indicated, I hope economic revolution that we are trying to accomplish in our country.

Shri A. C. Guha: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, considering the Budget proposals of the Government of India, we cannot just think of adjusting the revenue with expenditure. It has been rightly said by the Finance Minister that taxation is an instrument of economic policy to bring about social justice and achieve the goal placed before us.

Sir, it has to be admitted that in the course of the last two Plans, the economy of India has become very much consolidated and India's economic position as also her political position has appreciably improved. We expect that by the end of the Third Plan we may have a self-generating economy.

Much has been said, Sir, by the Leader of the Communist Party about the common man and indirect taxation. Sir, it is true that indirect taxation falls more or less on the entire population of the country. If we examine the pattern of indirect taxation prevalent in India, we shall find that the incidence of taxation is almost negligible on the poorer rural sections of the community. About 75 per cent of our population live in villages, and if we examine the items

on which they have to pay indirect taxes, we shall find that only three or four items which they consume come under the purview of indirect taxation, and in those cases the incidence of taxation is very low. The incidence of taxation on handloom cloth is only indirect and low i.e. due to tax on yarn; so is it on coarse cloth. The mustard oil produced by village *ghanis*, which is one of the main items of consumption of the rural people, is exempted from taxation.

Shri Tyagi: Tobacco is taxed.

Shri A. C. Guha: But their hukka tobacco is exempt from taxation; then tobacco is not an essential commodity. Even during the elections this matter was very much discussed and the people, particularly of the rural areas, voted for the Congress and put the Congress into office knowing that during the Second Plan period, at least Rs. 1,700 crores would have to be raised by new taxation. We did not make any secret of the fact that we would have to raise fresh taxes to implement the Third Plan programmes, so that the general standard of living, particularly of the lower strata of the population, may be raised and they may have a better type of living. It is for their good that taxes are being imposed. These taxes go towards the financing of our development programmes which benefit the lower section of the people.

Anybody going to the rural areas will immediately notice that there is an appreciable improvement in the standard of living of the people. I personally witnessed this in the course of my election campaigns in rural areas. Go to any market place in rural areas and compare the locally produced commodities which come into the market and what used to come ten or twelve years back. They have increased by about ten times. Increased production has also been accompanied by higher prices which they get. The agricultural produce which the rural people produce is now bringing them much higher

prices. Thus they have been benefited by the development programmes undertaken by the Government.

Discussion

Sir, the Leader of the Communist Group waxed eloquent about indirect taxation. I would humbly ask him; what is the turn-over tax in USSR? Is it not a harder and stricter form of excise duty only euphemistically named? What is the cost of living there? What is the cost of ordinary articles of daily use of the common man? It is no use making all these allegations. We have to see how we have been faring, how the condition of our people has been improving, and if the condition of any section of our population has not improved, what is to be done to ameliorate their condition.

We aim not only at a socialist pattern of society; we aim also at a welfare state. The welfare potentialities of any society would depend on the just and equitable distribution of goods and services. I cannot claim that we have as yet reached that standard. We cannot claim that we have as yet established a welfare society. But the point to see is whether we have been marching towards that or not. Compare the availability of goods and services in 1947-48 with the position obtaining today. I am sure every body will admit that there has been considerable improvement. We have increased our production many times. In regard to services in the form of educational institutions, health centres, public roads, communications, etc., considerable progress has been made in the course of the past twelve or thirteen years.

While I express my general appreciation of the progress made in the implementation of our plans and the general improvement in the standard and conditions of living of the masses of India, I have some criticism to make not from the point of view of finding fault with the Government, but with a view to drawing the attention of the Finance Minister and of the Government to certain lapses for

[Shri A. C. Guha]

some remedial measures which they should take. The Finance Minister in his speech has not made any explicit reference to the imbalance created in the economy of the country particularly in the provision of transport, supply of coal, power and some other commodities of basic necessity for the development of the country such as cement, steel etc. This is an ominous thing which is hampering production and other developments; and I hope the Government will give serious consideration to this imbalance created in the provision of transport and the supply of coal, power and other basic articles required for the industrial and economic development of the country.

The Finance Minister has imposed a tax of Rs. 68.8 crores for this year, which will be Rs. 71 crores for any full year. That is absolutely necessary at least to cover the revenue deficit. Apart from that, the Government and this House are committed to provide Rs. 1,100 crores by new taxation for the implementation of the Third Plan, besides what may be made available from the existing taxes. In this, naturally he has to depend more on indirect taxes, and he has expressed the hope that the taxes he imposes would not lead to any serious rise in prices. He particularly mentioned about match boxes. I think that very evening the 6 *naye paise* match boxes were sold at 7 *naye paise*.

श्री मोरारजी देसाई : अब ६ नये पैसे हो गई ।

श्री अ० चं० गुह : अब ६ नये पैसे हो गया तो अच्छा है ।

I am not a smoker, so I do not buy match boxes.

Shri Tyagi: Does the hon. Minister smoke?

Shri Morarji Desai: I have asked smokers.

Shri A. C. Guha: The increase in price is not only upto the incidence of tax, but in most cases the increase in prices has been by a multiple of the tax imposed. That is the real complaint of the people. If I contribute one *naya paisa* for the implementation of the Plan I am satisfied, but if I contribute two *naye paise*, out of which one *naya paisa* goes to the Plan and one *naya paisa* to the middleman or the industrialist, there comes my grievance. I think the Government have not been quite alert in that respect to check the unfair profiteering, not only of the commercial agencies but also of the industrial magnates. I shall come to this point later.

While estimating his revenue deficit, he has placed it at Rs. 60 crores, but there is a general feeling in the country that every year the revenue receipts are under-estimated in the Budget papers, and that the expenditure side is often over-estimated, so that a wider gap is shown in the Budget papers to justify the imposition of new taxes. Last year a revenue deficit of Rs. 5 crores was shown, but actually it turned out to be a surplus of Rs. 33 crores. So, there was a difference of about Rs. 38 crores in spite of the fact that expenditure had increased by several crores. So, calculation of revenue receipts should be somewhat more realistic. In the Second Plan the estimate was to raise Rs. 850 crores by new taxes. I think the Government raised near about Rs. 1,200 crores or even more by imposing new taxes. But why this sort of a dubious policy? The House should be given the opportunity to know the real financial position, and if necessary, the House will authorise Government to raise revenue for the implementation of the Plan. I think there should not be any under-estimating of the revenue receipts and over-estimating of the expenditure side.

There is another point. For the Second Plan, about Rs. 1,200 or

Rs. 1,300 crores were raised by new taxes. Out of this about half was consumed for non-development expenditure of the Government. Only about Rs. 700 crores or something like that was invested for plan programmes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Fifteen minutes are over.

Shri A. C. Guha: I will require another five minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Only two or three minutes.

Shri A. C. Guha: Things should be improved so that the taxes imposed for the implementation of the Plan should be utilised for the implementation of the Plan, not for any non-development and non-Plan purposes.

Since you have rung the bell, I come to one or two important points. I think the Finance Minister should have given greater consideration in his speech to the socio-economic aspects of the Plan. He has mentioned practically very little about the cost of living, unemployment and disparity in income. I should concentrate first on the cost of living, and then I shall try to touch unemployment.

It was mentioned in this House that there was hardly any price policy of the Government. The other day the hon. Minister of Planning, Shri Nanda, referred to the Chapter on price policy in the Third Plan Report. I think that is a very unsatisfactory reply. I think the Government have not been observing even the main points mentioned in that Chapter. To regulate the pace of credit creation and aggregate credit creation by banks—these are the two main points apart from adequate supply of commodities. The last one is a bigger thing; that may not be possible so easily for the Government; but they can easily ask the banks to regulate the pace of credit creation and the aggregate credit creation by banks. In this report—the Economic Survey—I

find that they have practically abolished all these things and selective and general credit control, progressively withdrawn or modified. What they have done is just contrary to what has been mentioned in the Plan Report as the price policy. The Government should take some steps to control the consequences of the easy money conditions now prevailing.

Then, they have stated in the Plan Report that the fixed income earners, the most vulnerable classes of society, "cannot be expected to put up too long with the erosion of their real standard of living." This is a warning which the Government have given to themselves, but have they been careful about this warning? I think the Rs. 10 dearness allowance recently allowed to the Government servants has practically been eroded by the rise in the cost of living after the Budget proposals have come out. So, particularly this middle class section and the low income group have been most hard hit. The Planning Commission's own report has put their case very clearly, and still the Government have not applied their mind to check the rise in prices or at least maintaining the standard of living which they have been enjoying. Then, coming to unemployment, another important question which a socialist economy should have considered, the Budget speech of the hon. Minister is almost silent on this point also.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member must conclude.

Shri A. C. Guha: I would require two minutes, Sir. The unemployment figure is rising rapidly. You can see from the report here that the increase in the figure in the live registers of the Employment Exchanges is about 2.30 lakhs more than that of the last year. If, every year, the unemployment figures rise in this way, then, what would this planning mean to the unemployed young men of this country?

Another point is the disparity in income. I think there was a committee

[Shri A. C. Guha]

set up two years ago to go into this question. The Prime Minister himself felt puzzled and expressed his own amazement as to where the extra income had gone. So, a committee was set up to examine the question; but nothing has come out as yet. If the Government is really serious about this that the disparity of income should be reduced, then, the Finance Minister should have made some mention about this report and suggested some measures.

Lastly, I come to the mopping of the surplus purchasing power which the Finance Minister has frequently mentioned. He said that his proposed indirect taxes are disinflationary. I agree that indirect taxation is severally disinflationary. But, whose purchasing power is to be mopped up? It is the purchasing power of the lower sections of the people. That should not be the aim of Government. Government should see that the surplus purchasing power of the richer classes is mopped up. The purchasing power of the lower sections of the people is already too meagre; they are living on the barest necessities of life. If their purchasing power is further mopped up, then, their standard of living would come down. When indirect taxes are put, it should be seen that its impact on the standard of living is not too great. I hope the Finance Minister will see that the prices of the commodities which have increased after the Budget proposals are kept under control, and he would take some measures to see that there may not be an undue rise in the prices.

There should be proper costing in the industrial units. I am afraid proper costing is not done. The function of the Tariff Commission was to give protection to the indigenous industries. That function is practically over. Now, almost every industry is protected because there is hardly any import of consumer goods. The Tariff Commission should now be given a new function of looking into the proper costing of indigenous products. Thereby, the prices of many of the commodities can be brought down. It is generally

feared that both the industrialists and the commercial houses are making huge profits and causing distress to the people.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Osman Ali Khan.

Shri Osman Ali Khan (Amantapur): I have not given my name for today.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri K. R. Gupta.

Shri K. R. Gupta (Alwar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, before proceeding further, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the first paragraph on page 11 of the Finance Minister's speech. In this he has promised us social justice in distributing the rewards and sacrifices implicit in planned progress.

"Further, all these objectives have to be reconciled with an eye not only to the immediate future, but also to the long-term perspective we have kept before ourselves. No less important a consideration is that the administration of the tax laws should cause the minimum of vexation both to the tax payer and to the tax collector and one thing that should not be taxed is people's patience."

We have to see how far the Budget fulfils all these things. I may say frankly that so far as the poorest people in the villages are concerned, they are the most hard hit people. And during the last 10 years, they have never got the chance of getting any benefits out of the present system of taxation.

In the rural areas, this year, they are most probably going to spend about Rs. 53 crores by means of community projects, agricultural extensions and so on and so forth. But, after all these 10 years, there has not been a single example of village planning or planning of the family budget in the poor men's houses.

At the outset it was given out that the community projects will fulfil this aim in a very short period. But,

when it comes to actual practice we stand no where. Why is this so? The reason is first of all the bureaucracy had put itself in the saddle in the community projects. And, when Acharya Vinoba Bhave frankly said that this might not lead to a solution of the problem, they more or less laughed at him. After a certain period, they came to their senses; and then they devised a means of having decentralisation. About that, I can say, so far as Rajasthan is concerned, though we may have very high talks about it, it is becoming a failure mainly because, now, there is an unholy alliance between the ruling party and the bureaucracy. In the name of decentralisation, they are acting otherwise. The people in the villages are made into parties, and, instead of going towards the development side, they are going towards the side of destruction. The result is that the development works are, more or less, neglected and the poor man's lot has not been changed. Villagers, the landless people and those who have got mere land with them, have no means of livelihood. The Ambar Charkha has totally failed. The decentralised way of production of cloth is the only way which can give employment to the people in addition to agriculture. The efforts made so far have proved futile. This shows that the whole thing has been planned in an unplanned way.

Now, Sir, I come to the question adding to the income of the rural people by having other industries. This too is in the melting pot. The bureaucracy has devised the means of showing to the people the progress on papers; and I will cite an example.

There is in Alwar district a project named the Kishangrah Bas C.D. project. When it was started there was a non-official and an official board there and Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru was its Chairman. Initially, the bureaucratic people always reported that the thing was not progressing and that the whole thing was going down. But, after 4 or 5 years, all of a sudden, we knew that they had invited Presi-

dent Naser of U.A.R. and showed him so many things there and spent lakhs of rupees on outer show. All these things lead but to one conclusion that we are rather habituated to outer show and not to have real production.

Let me now come to direct taxation position. Always there is talk in the House about evasion. And, no one has been able to tell whether this evasion relates to the higher income group or to the middle income group or to the lower income group. So far as the lower income group is concerned, I think it is the most hard hit. A person or a firm having an income of Rs. 5,000 on paper will pay only Rs. 42. But actually when you see the files of the people there are other additions; they are one and a half times or double and the result is that income tax comes to be very heavy. In addition to that the income-taxvaksils and practitioners also take a fee from these people because they could not get good accountants and as such flat rates are to be paid by them. Last year a circular has been issued that those people who have got a poor return, that is, below Rs. 5,000, may not have to show their accounts every year. But this will add to the difficulties rather than reduce them if, after four or five years, they are called upon to show their accounts; they may not be able to do so in a proper way. Heavy penalties may be inflicted upon them.

15 hrs.

The trend in the Budget shows that partnership firms are to be disheartened because this year the limit has been fixed at Rs. 25,000 which means there will be discrimination between an independent individual and a partnership firm. If he gets Rs. 10,000 as share from the firm, the tax on that person will be 40 per cent more than that man who is an independent earner. Why this discrimination? It will hit hard the people in this sector. I hope the hon. Minister will see to it. Either they may be told that the partnerships are to be discontinued or they must be protected properly.

[Shri A. C. Guha]

So far as the corporation tax is concerned, the same thing is there. The smaller companies cannot compete with the bigger companies. There are so many hurdles in the way. The monopolist tendency is there. If the company system is promoted more than the individual or partnership system, I do not know at what stage we will be able to have socialist pattern of society for removing disparities on incomes. Unless and until we place a ceiling on the assets of a person we cannot bring down his income by whatever means of taxation. That is the point. If the company system goes on without check like this, the time may come when they may demand compensation and Government may have to enact a law against it or they may not have the means to pay the compensation. That is the main reason why a ceiling on income has not been made so far although there has been a resolution of the Congress Party to this effect. The Constitution provides compensation and that clause will have to be removed or they will be made to remain on paper.

Now, Sir, I come to indirect taxation. Just now so many of my friends spoke about the match boxes. If a small retailer makes some profit, how is the Government justified in taxing him? Now, one gross of matches will cost 50 p more. That is to say, the retailer will get 50 p less than what he used to get. Hardly a retailer sells one gross a day. If we are not prepared to allow it, if we go to this extent to tax the retailers in this way, how can we justify it to be the way to socialist pattern of society? So, whatever may be the argument, the tax on match box cannot be justified. The same thing can be said about the other necessities of life. There is no data before us how the pattern of direct tax and indirect tax is working or on whose shoulder the burden is falling and in what proportion. If data is given for every year we may be able to know clearly as to where we stand. But the clear picture is

never before us. The reason is there is something wrong somewhere and they do not want to give it clearly.

Then, Sir, I come to the public sector. The other day I read in the newspapers that investment in the steel industry was Rs. 1000 crores and there has been a net loss of Rs. 60 crores. Should we run them at a loss without giving reasons for that? There is something very wrong and the whole process should be scrutinised. But that does not mean that the public sector should not continue its work. It may have to be increased but only in a way in which there may be some savings and the capital may be ploughed back later on. The present tax policy may lead to a reduction of capital in the companies. Only the other day Shri G. D. Birla in a speech has told us that investment in the year 1961 was shorter than in 1960. This shows a trend in which we are going. Why are all these things going in a haphazard way in spite of so many laudable speeches made by the Treasury Benches on socialist pattern of society. That socialist pattern has never been defined. How far will the crepeatis remain? How will the poorer people come up? In what way? When? All these things should be answered. There are no industries for the villages. We are in the melting pot about the size of the industries that a village can have. The village pattern has not yet been finalised. If electricity comes to the village, what will be the fate of its economy? If there is no electricity, what difference does it make? Has anybody gone into it? We talk of lack of industries in the south and north. What about the general people, poor people in the villages and the effect of all these things upon them? They have been neglected till now; they are being neglected. I fear they will be neglected in the future also because they cannot be organised just like the labour.

All this is due to one thing. The party which professes to bring a socia-

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list pattern does not function itself in that way; rather it functions in a totally opposite way. We see wrangles between them; they are hankering after power and indulge in election malpractices and what not. I am not able to understand how such a party which itself does not function in a proper way can bring in socialism by democratic means in India. Rather there is a serious threat to democracy itself perpetuated by this party because they have taken to very wrongful steps so far as the working of a decentralised system is concerned. They have introduced politics directly. It will lead us to a rather risky position and democracy itself will be in danger in the near future. If we want to avoid all that and if we want a socialist pattern the first and foremost thing is to see that the political party in power functions properly so that there may be no difficulty. Sometimes they say it is unavoidable and it is rather difficult not to have politics in these decentralised spheres. I am not one of those who believe like that. It could be done very easily. You can ban the parties, and tell the people frankly that party affiliations should not be there. If Rashtrapati can be there, or the Speaker can be there without any party affiliation, these bodies could also function without any party affiliation. If you do not agree to it, a law can be enacted, and so many other ways could be found to achieve the object.

But unfortunately the real intention is to keep one's own self in power in the name of decentralisation, in the name of the socialist pattern and even in the name of planned economy, and so on and so forth. So long as this attitude is not changed, I say that there can be no possibility of achieving socialism by true democratic means.

So, my submission is, if we view the budget from all these points of view, we find that it can be called a budget of a welfare State of the capitalist system but it cannot be called a budget of the socialist pattern of society. As I said just now, unless and until

the party first clears its position outside and then adopts the ways and means to implement the things inside the House, I think even the Opposition will not have very many chances to grumble, but so long as the present state of affairs is going on, this is neither the way to socialism nor the way to capitalism. It is only a way to confusion and nothing else. Day and night we are heading towards that way of confusion. It may be that so far as our expenditure and revenue side are concerned the budget will be all right, but so far as our achieving the goal is concerned, the budget will never fulfil its aims and objects.

Shri Malaichami (Periyakulam):
Sir, When the under-developed nature of the country is taken into account, the present taxation proposals must be considered only as a success with the reasonable attitude taken by our Finance Minister for successfully implementing the Five Year Plan. The under-developed nature of the country is normally understood on account of the vast potentialities yet to be developed—coal in the North and oil in the South which are ready for development, which are yet to be explored and which need much capital for investment. The scarcity of capital in the country which necessitates borrowing from a foreign country is a clear indication of the economic position of our country, which is also clearly revealed by the increase in the rates of interest to be paid for borrowing the capital required.

Then there is another thing, namely, industrial output, which is also very far behind the average production in other countries. When the industrial development of the country is taken into account, we are very much behind the advanced countries. Regarding agricultural production also, our position is very weak. When taking all these aspects into consideration and the steps that we have to take for improving the economy the present

[Shri Malaichami]

taxation measures have only helped the country to get over the crisis and to pave the way for a socialist pattern of society in the near future.

Regarding the indirect taxation proposals, much has been said that the indirect taxes will affect the common man. But when we go to the villages and see that there are still many villages without adequate drinking water facilities, roads and lighting facilities, it will not be too much to ask the common man to pay for his own improvement, to pay for his own better living, and that he will not grudge paying a small amount for his own better living, and that he will not grudge paying a small amount for his own benefit. In the same manner, indirect taxation will also enable the people to be somewhat more self-reliant by making them understand that to improve themselves they have to make certain efforts and sacrifices which are necessary. If the present context of Planning and the under-developed nature of the country are taken into account, the taxation proposals made by our Finance Minister would not only be successful but also indicate that direct taxation can be taken as a measure to reduce the inequalities in wealth, and the resources obtained by such taxation proposals could be properly financed for social betterment only through Planning.

But there are certain things which have to be considered while we discuss the taxation proposals. While taxation is generally regarded as a sacrifice made by the people for their own betterment, we have to see whether the expenditure incurred will also yield the expected return. Just as the Government is too willing to utilise the difference between the face value and the intrinsic value of the currency, the tax-payer is also entitled to see that the return for his effort and sacrifice in the form of amenities is readily given to him and is made to understand the benefit for the sacrifice made by him.

In this connection we have to see

that there are many public undertakings with very little earning capacity and the trend now is towards the wrong direction. Then we have also to see that the public undertakings work at a profit, enabling the tax-payers to earn sufficient profit from the amounts invested. When the return from the public undertakings are not adequate, we have to look into the factors which lead to the unsuccessful working of the public undertakings. When the public undertakings are not yielding a good profit, the factors which should be studied and which go to make the undertakings yield good profits may be underlined. First, we have to look into the cost of raw materials, then the transport problem and then the productivity of capital and labour employed. The cost of production goes up mainly on account of lesser productivity by labour. When we see that our commodities are not able to compete successfully with those in the foreign markets on account of our cost of production, we have to consider the remedial measures that are necessary for making our goods competitive. Our export trade can only be successful if our cost of production is made less, enabling our commodities to be competitive in foreign markets. To make our goods competitive, we have to see that the raw materials in this country are produced at cheaper rates and that the cost of production for the various commodities does not weigh high on the goods to be exported.

When the commodity price is to be reduced to make it competitive in foreign markets, we have necessarily to remove the transport bottlenecks and see how the raw materials could be produced at cheap rates by using modern methods of production.

We have to make the people realise that the profits earned are for them and for the country and it will enhance the prestige of the country only if the goods produced are competitive. To enable the public undertakings to work at a profit it is not only Government that should endeavour its maximum, but also the people in gene-

ral should relise the position in which our country is placed and that the standard of living could be improvd only by increasing production. It must be understood by the people in general that only by increasing the wealth of the country, we can march towards socialism.

We have not yet sufficiently advanced in regard to agricultural production also. When Japan and other countries are producing four times that of India, we can very easily understand the extent to which we have to improve our agricultural production. When the industrial and agricultural production are at a low ebb, it will not be possible to increase the standard of living of the people. To increase the standard of living of the people, it is necessary that planning must proceed from the boottom, i.e. from the village level. We have now introduced panchayati raj enabling the village to be a viable unit with necessary responsibilities and resources to satisfy its own needs.

The expectation, by the introduction of panchayati raj, is to see that the particular needs of the area are satisfied so far as improvement of standard of living, amenities in social life, facilities for education, medical aid, etc. are concerned. When we take this into account, we can very easily understand that the needs of the people would be met only if planning is from the bottom upwards. If they are entrusted with the necessary resources and responsibilities, planning will become a success not only at the country level but at the village level also. Only if planning is based on the village, it can be said that it is planning for the welfare of the people, planning for improvement of the standard of living, of the people and by the people. Then only these village panchayats could be enabled to function as village republics.

Now there is a feeling in the villages that they are devoid of certain facilities because their representatives either at the State level or at the central level are not capable of bringing them those facilities. If the villages

are made to function effectively both regarding financial resources and regarding planning methods, this sort of putting the blame on others will not arise. The village itself will be made to realise its needs and the fulfilment of those needs could be entrusted to them. The village panchayats are the proper forum for the expression of the people's will. If planning is made from the village, the responsibility could be fixed on the panchayat itself. In this manner, it is evident that the standard of living of the people could be improved, not only by starting some big industries or public undertakings at the country level, but the villages must also be made to shoulder their responsibility of improving their own lot by giving them additional financial and other facilities.

As our Prime Minister said, every village must have a co-operative society, a panchayat and a school. Co-operative society must come into the picture so far as agricultural production is concerned. As we are still in the primitive stage of agricultural production, co-operatives could play a very important role in increasing production. Co-operatives must be entrusted with the task of distribution of seeds, modern implements, etc. and fragmentation of holdings must be checked by converting as far as possible small bits of land into one viable unit, so that co-operative farming could be introduced in almost all the villages where there are necessary facilities.

There is another problem relating to the employment potential in the country. The unemployment position is very grave in our country. It is said that at the end of the third Plan, there would be about 17 million still unemployed. To provide employment to these people, cottage industries must be organised in the villages. They must not be organised as a rule. Wherever there are opportunities for the successful development of an area through cottage industries, co-operative societies can be organised. Possibilities of expansion must also be properly understood, and co-operative societies wherever they are organised must be

[Shri Malaichami]

in a position to give continuous employment to the villagers and also to run successfully till they give sufficient earnings to the villagers.

In the third Plan, about Rs. 114 crores have been allowed for the development of scheduled castes and tribes and backward classes. In this connection, mere allotment of money will not help. Steps should be taken to make those people understand that they are living for a useful purpose and they should be allowed to develop according to their own aptitudes and skills, so that they may not feel some inferiority complex that they are living only on the mercy of others.

With these words, I generally support the budget for the year 1962-63.

श्री धीनारायण दास (दरभंगा) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बजट पर विचार करते वक्त मेरा जहां तक ख्याल है हर एक आदमी का ध्यान इस बात की ओर जाता है कि हमने अपने संविधान में राज्य-नीति के निर्देशक सिद्धान्त जो निर्णीत किए हैं, क्या उन सिद्धान्तों के मुताबिक या उन उद्देश्यों को मद्देनजर रख कर बजट का निर्माण किया गया है या नहीं। साथ ही हमने यह भी तय किया है कि हम निजी उद्योगों और सार्वजनिक उद्योगों, दोनों को साथ लेकर आगे बढ़ेंगे। हमें इस बात का भी ख्याल करना चाहिये कि हमारा बजट इस नीति के मुताबिक है या नहीं। तीसरी बात जिस पर हमारा ध्यान जाता है यह है कि हमने निश्चय किया है कि हम अपने देश में कल्याणकारी राज्य की स्थापना करेंगे और उसके मुताबिक अपनी नीति निर्धारित करेंगे, उसके अनुसार यह बजट है या नहीं। और चौथी और सब से मुख्य बात है कि हमने तय किया है कि हम अपने देश में समाजवादी व्यवस्था का निर्माण करेंगे, और बजट बनाते समय क्या इसका भी ख्याल रखा गया है या नहीं। इन्हीं चार बातों को ध्यान में रख कर मेरा जहां तक ख्याल है वित्त मंत्री जी ने

बजट का निर्माण किया है और इस सदन में भी इन्हीं चार दृष्टिकोणों को सामने रख कर बजट पर विचार किया जाना चाहिये। हिन्दुस्तान जो कि विकास के रास्ते पर आगे बढ़ने वाला एक देश है, उसके मन्त्री को बजट का निर्माण करते समय कई प्रकार की कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ता है। जैसा कि मैंने कहा, हमने तय कर लिया है कि हम अपने देश में मिक्सड एकानमी रखेंगे, यह भी हमने तय कर लिया है कि हम अपने देश में समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना करेंगे। इन दोनों दृष्टिकोणों में कभी-कभी संघर्ष मालूम होता है। पर बजट के ऊपर जो विवेचना हुई है और जो प्रतिक्रियायें हुई हैं, इस सदन में दोनों तरफ से, विरोधी पक्ष की तरफ से और कांग्रेस की तरफ से जो प्रतिक्रियायें सुनने में आई हैं, उन्हें ध्यान में रखते हुए, मुझे यह स्पष्ट मालूम होता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के किसी भी मन्त्री को उस प्रकार की समालोचना का शिकार होना पड़ेगा।

जब हम इस बात पर विचार करते हैं कि हम अपने देश में समाजवादी अर्थ-व्यवस्था को स्थापित करेंगे तो हमारा ध्यान जाता है कि हमारे देश में बहुत थोड़े से लोग हैं जो बहुत आराम की जिन्दगी बिताते हैं और साथ ही साथ हम अभी विकास में जो करोड़ों और अरबों रुपये लगा रहे हैं, उससे कुछ चुने हुए लोगों का आर्थिक विकास अधिक होता है। साधारण जनता का ध्यान जाता है कि आज जो विकास के काम हो रहे हैं उससे जो फायदा होता है वह सभी वर्ग के लोगों को होता है या नहीं। इसी लिये जहां भी मैंने देखा, यहां पर और बाहर भी, चर्चा का विषय यही होता है। जहां एक तरफ से हमारे ऊपर, वित्त मन्त्री के ऊपर, यह चार्ज है कि वे पूंजीवादी मनोवृत्ति के हैं वहां दूसरी तरफ यह चार्ज होता है कि वे समाजवाद की ओर जा रहे हैं। जब इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स लगाये जाते हैं तो अम तौर से हम में से भी बहुत से लोग और विरोधी पक्ष

के ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोग इस बात का आक्षेप करते हैं कि इनडाइरेक्ट टैक्स बहुत ज्यादा लग रहे हैं, जबकि वह अर्थ-व्यवस्था की जड़ होती है और औद्योगिक विकास की जड़ होती है। जिन लोगों के हाथ में आज निजी सेक्टर चलाने का मौका है, वह कहते हैं कि यह जो बजट है वह एण्टीप्रोडक्टिव बजट है। इस बजट से बचत में रुकावट होती है और इससे इन्वेस्टमेंट आगे नहीं बढ़ सकेगा और आर्थिक विकास तथा औद्योगिक विकास रुक जायेगा। ऐसे समय में हिन्दुस्तान के वित्त मन्त्री के प्रति जितने विचार सभा के सामने विचारार्थ प्रस्तुत किये गये उन सब को महंजर रखते हुए हमारा ख्याल है कि पिछले सालों की अपेक्षा, और खास कर पिछले साल की अपेक्षा, इस वर्ष जो कर लगाये गये हैं उनका चुनाव बहुत विवेकपूर्ण ढंग से किया गया है और मिक्सड एकानमी का जो हमारा आज कल आदर्श है, या जो हमारा आदर्श है कि हम अपने देश में समाजवाद की स्थापना करेंगे, इन दोनों दृष्टिकोणों को देखते हुए इस वर्ष जो कर व्यवस्था की गई है, वह असन्तोषजनक नहीं कही जा सकती है।

बजट को सदन के सामने उपस्थित करते हुए वित्त मन्त्री जी ने हमारा ध्यान जो हमारी आर्थिक अवस्था है उसकी तरफ संक्षेप में खींचा था, और बजट के कागजात के साथ जो आर्थिक समीक्षाओं की एक पुस्तिका दी गई है, उसमें स्पष्ट रूप से यह बतलाया गया है कि हमने विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में—खेती के क्षेत्र में, उद्योगों के क्षेत्र में, खान के क्षेत्र में—सभी क्षेत्रों में बहुत तरक्की है। जो तरक्की हमने की है वह सन्तोष की बात है, लेकिन उसमें इस बात का जिक्र होना चाहिये था कि जो उत्पादन हुआ हमारे उद्योगों के क्षेत्र में, खेती के क्षेत्र में, वह तो हुआ, लेकिन अब तक हमने प्रथम पंच-वर्षीय योजना से लेकर तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना तक खेती के क्षेत्र में या औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में जो द्रव्य लगाया, जो धन लगाया, उसके अनुपात में उत्पादन हुआ है या नहीं।

इस बात की समीक्षा उस पुस्तिका में होनी चाहिये थी। यह बात सही है कि उत्पादन क्रम-क्रम से बढ़ रहा है। खेती के क्षेत्र में प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है पिछले साल। उद्योग-धंधों में भी इसी प्रकार वृद्धि हुई है, लेकिन हमने जितना रुपया लगाया है कर लगा कर या कर्जा लेकर विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में, खेती के क्षेत्र में या उद्योगों के क्षेत्र में, उसके मुताबिक हमारा उत्पादन सन्तोषजनक है या नहीं। इसका जिक्र समीक्षा में नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसका जिक्र उसमें होना चाहिये था।

जब-जब मुझे पिछले वर्षों में बजट पर बोलने का मौका मिला है मैं बराबर इस बात की ओर ध्यान दिलाता था कि हमारे देश में उत्पादन तो बढ़ रहा है, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है लेकिन इस बढ़ते हुए उत्पादन का या राष्ट्रीय आय का कौनसा हिस्सा समाज के किस अंग पर जाता है इसका विचार होना चाहिये। कई वर्ष तक लगातार मेरे और उसी प्रकार से कई अन्य माननीय सदस्यों के कहने पर प्रधान मन्त्री जी का और वित्त मन्त्री जी का ध्यान इस ओर गया था कि सचमुच इस बात की जांच पड़ताल करने की आवश्यकता है कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो धन बढ़ रहा है और आयोजनापूर्ण विकास के काम में जो हमारा देश लगा हुआ है उससे जो धन का उत्पादन होता है, उस धन का कौन सा भाग किस वर्ग के पास किस प्रकार से जाता है। सुशी की बात है कि एक कमेटी नियुक्त की गई है, लेकिन अभी तक उस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट नहीं आई है। इसलिये मैं आज दोहराना चाहूंगा कि बजट उपस्थित करते हुए हमें इस बात का वर्णन संक्षेप से हर वर्ष मिलना चाहिये कि जो राष्ट्रीय आय या उत्पादन होता है उस राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन या आय का कौनसा हिस्सा हमारे देश की जनता को जाता है।

अब मैं कर प्रणाली की तरफ आना हूँ। कुछ वर्ष पहले हमारे वर्तमान माननीय वित्त मन्त्री से पहले जो दूसरे मन्त्री थे उन्होंने कर की व्यवस्था में कुछ सुधार किया था, विरोधी

[श्री श्रीनारायण दास]

पक्ष माने या न माने, लेकिन मैं मानता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की मौजूदा हालत में जो हमारे देश में १० या १२ लाख के करीब बड़े-बड़े और धनी लोग हैं जिन से आय कर लिया जाता है, और लिया जाना चाहिये, बढ़ते हुए लिया जाना चाहिये, जहाँ तक मेरा ख्याल है उन पर धन कर लगा कर, व्यय कर लगा कर, दान कर लगाकर, अपने देश की कर प्रणाली में सुधार किया गया था और इस दिशा में अभी भी काम हो रहा है। आज उसी कर प्रणाली के मुताबिक जो हमारे देश के अन्दर एक छोटा सा वर्ग है धनी लोगों का, उन के ऊपर कर लगाया गया है। लेकिन अगर हमारे वित्त मन्त्री इस बात की तरफ बराबर ध्यान नहीं रखेंगे कि जिस तरह से हम सामानों पर उत्पादन कर लगा रहे हैं, जैसा कि हमारे कई माननीय सदस्यों ने बतलाया कि उसकी जो दर है वह बढ़ती हुई दर है, जो व्यक्तिगत टैक्स है, या आमदनी पर टैक्स है और कारपोरेशन टैक्स है, उसकी जो दर है वह बहुत ऊंची है, लेकिन पूरा फायदा उस का नहीं मिल रहा है, तो इससे काम चलने वाला नहीं है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि दूसरे देशों के मुकाबले हमारे देश में उसकी दर ऊंची है लेकिन मेरा ख्याल है कि इस जरिये से हिन्दुस्तान में जो आमदनी होती है वह बहुत कम है। इस सिलसिले में मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि जैसा कि कई बार जांच-पड़ताल के बाद मालूम हुआ, उसका ठीक-ठीक पता लगाना मुश्किल है कि हमारे देश में जो कर प्रणाली है उस प्रणाली के अन्दर कर से बचने के कितने उपाय लोग करते हैं, किस हद तक करों को छिपाया जाता है, किस हद तक हमारे खजाने में कम आमदनी आती है। लेकिन इस के बावजूद कि कई कमेटियाँ बनीं, बावजूद इस के कि कर वसूल करने में बहुत सुधार हुआ है, फिर भी इस बात के कहने में मुझे कोई संकोच नहीं है कि अब भी बहुत से लोग आमदनी को छिपाते हैं। इस के बचने के लिये कानून के जरिये से या दूसरे

जरियों से उपाय किये जाने चाहियें। इस बात की तरफ हमारे वित्त मन्त्री को ध्यान रखना होगा और जहाँ तक मेरा ख्याल है वह कोशिश करते हैं, लेकिन ज्यादा ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि जहाँ देश की आम जनता के विकास के कार्य को ध्यान में रखते हुए ज्यादा से ज्यादा धन देने के लिये हम इन लोगों को मजबूर करते हैं, और मैं समझता हूँ कि बिना मजबूर किये हुए हमारा काम चलने वाला नहीं है। अगर देश के बड़े-बड़े धनी लोगों पर भी यह कर नहीं लगाया जाय और साधारण जनता पर कर न लगे, तो यह सामाजिक और आर्थिक न्याय के खिलाफ होगा इस लिये मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर हमारे देश की गरीब जनता या जो यह पीढ़ी है, वह कष्ट नहीं उठायेगी, तकलीफ नहीं उठायेगी, अगर यह पीढ़ी त्याग नहीं करेगी तो हमारे विकास का काम आगे ठप्प पड़ जा सकता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसी ख्याल से जब हम वोट मांगने के लिये जनता में जाते हैं और हम से तरह-तरह के सवाल किये जाते हैं और कहा जाता है कि कांग्रेस के राज्य में लोगों के ऊपर कर बढ़ गये हैं, तो हम उन को समझाते हैं और समझा बुझा कर ही चुनाव में आते हैं। हम उन को बतलाते हैं कि उन की पीढ़ी के त्याग किये बिना उन की सन्तानों का सुख मिलने वाला नहीं है। और यह सोच कर ही वे हमें वोट देते हैं। वे समझ जाते हैं कि योजना का काम पूरे जोर से चलना चाहिये, लेकिन साथ ही साथ वे यह भी कहते हैं कि बावजूद इस के कि हम इतना कर देते हैं, हमारी आर्थिक अवस्था में उतना सुधार नहीं होता है। दूसरी तरफ हम देखते हैं कि जो मुट्ठी भर लोग हैं, जिन की संख्या १० या १५ लाख बतलाई जाती है, उन की आमदनी रोज-बरोज बढ़ती चली जाती है। जैसा कि कहा जाता है, और मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत हद तक ठीक है, कि हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था के अन्दर हम जो इन्वेस्टमेंट करते हैं, विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में, खेती में या उद्योग में, उस का ज्यादा से ज्यादा

फायदा उन के पास जाता है जिन के पास जमीन है, जिन के पास पूंजी है, जो कारखाने खोल सकते हैं, जो व्यापार और उद्योग धन्वे ज्यादा चला सकते हैं, उन को ज्यादा फायदा होता है। इसी लिए जनता ज्यादा से ज्यादा तकलीफ उठा लेती है और त्याग कर देती है और ज्यादा से ज्यादा कर देती दे है। यद्यपि कर देना किसी को अच्छा नहीं लगता लेकिन फिर भी यह समझ कर कि कांग्रेस के हाथ में शासन की बागडोर है तो हमारी दशा में सुधार होगा जनता कर देती है। जनता समझती है कि यदि हम योजना पूर्वक आगे बढ़ेंगे तो हमारा सुधार होगा। इसी लिए वह टैक्स देने को तैयार हो जाती है। जनता यह समझती है कि यदि हम इस समय टैक्स नहीं देंगे तो हमारी आने वाली सन्तान सुखी नहीं हो सकेगी। जिस ब्याल से लोग पेड़ लगाते हैं कि आगे उनकी सन्तान उससे फायदा उठायेगी और इसी ब्याल से कि हमारी आयोजना के काम की सफलतापूर्वक संचालन हो, जो आप हर साल बढ़ा हुआ टैक्स लगाते हैं उसको जनता बरदाश्त करती है। इसलिए मैं इस ओर वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान खींचना चाहूंगा। इसलिए यह देखा जाना चाहिए कि हम जनता से जो पैसा करों के द्वारा लेते हैं उसका ज्यादा से ज्यादा भाग उन चीजों में लगता है या नहीं जिन पर लगना चाहिए।

साथ ही साथ एक और बात की ओर ध्यान देना चाहिए। इस की तरफ विरोधी पक्ष की तरफ से भी ध्यान दिलाया गया है और कांग्रेस वाले भी इस ओर ध्यान दिलाते रहते हैं कि हमारा प्रशासन व्यय बहुत ज्यादा नहीं बढ़ना चाहिए। यह सही है कि हमारे विकास के काम बढ़ेंगे तो उनमें काम करने वालों की संख्या भी ज्यादा होगी, यह स्वाभाविक है। लेकिन हमारे प्रशासन व्यय में बहुत तरह से कमी की जा सकती है। वित्त मंत्री जी ने हमको विश्वास दिलाया है कि वह इकानमी करने का प्रयास करते हैं और कोशिश करेंगे कि कार्यकुशलता बढ़े और ज्यादा।

से ज्यादा पैसा विकास के काम में लगे। लेकिन फिर भी मैं मानता हूँ कि अभी प्रशासन व्यय में और कमी करने की जरूरत है।

एक बात की ओर मैं और वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान खींचना चाहूंगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि उनका ध्यान उस ओर स्वयं भी गया होगा। हम देखते हैं कि खासकर दिल्ली में कला के नाम पर, नाच गाने के नाम पर और इस प्रकार की बहुत सी चीजों के नाम पर बहुत रुपया खर्च किया जाता है। हम जनता की गाढ़ी कमाई का पैसा जो करों के रूप में लेते हैं उसको ज्यादा से ज्यादा भाग विकास के कामों पर लगाया जाना चाहिए और इस प्रकार की चीजों पर उसकी बरबादी नहीं होनी चाहिए। यद्यपि इन कामों में लगी हुई रकम बहुत ज्यादा नहीं होगी, लेकिन उसका देहाती जनता पर बुरा प्रभाव पड़ता है। देहात की जनता देखती है कि दिल्ली में हमारे जो शासक रहते हैं, दिल्ली में जो दूसरे काम करने वाले रहते हैं वे हमारे धन का किस तरह से उपयोग करते हैं। मैं वित्त मंत्री से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वे इस ओर छानबीन कराएँ कि सोशल फंक्शन्स आदि पर यह रुपया खर्च न किया जाए। अब तो विभागों में भी सम्मेलन करने की प्रथा चल गयी है और कलाकौशल के नाम पर, नाटक के नाम पर और म्यूजिक और इस तरह की पचीसों चीजों के नाम पर रुपया खर्च किया जाता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता की गाढ़ी कमाई का जो हम लेते हैं उसका एक-एक पैसा उचित रूप में काम में लगाया जाए और एक पैसा भी बरबाद न हो इस बात की हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिए। जहां तक मेरा ब्याल है इस प्रकार का खर्चा वित्त मंत्री की वजह से नहीं होता, लेकिन कुछ कारण ऐसे हैं, दिल्ली का कुछ वातावरण ऐसा हो जाता है कि कुछ इस तरह का खर्च ज्यादा हो जाता है जिसको अनुत्पादक कहा जाता है और जिसको हम अर्थशास्त्र की भाषा में कजम्पशन एक्सपेंडीचर कहते हैं। इसकी हमको छानबीन करनी चाहिए कि जो

[श्री श्री नारायण दास]

रुपया हम जनता से करों के रूप में लेते हैं उसका कौनसा हिस्सा कंजम्पशन एक्सपेंडीचर में जाता है और कौनसा हिस्सा डेवेलपमेंट एक्सपेंडीचर में जाता है। इस बात की समीक्षा पूर्ण रूप से होनी चाहिए। हमारे वित्त मंत्री बराबर जनता का आह्वान करते हैं कि त्याग करो, मेहनत करो, तकलीफ बरदाश्त करो, अगर आज तकलीफ नहीं उठाओगे तो हमारा देश आगे नहीं बढ़ सकता जिससे हम देश में ऐसी व्यवस्था ला सकें कि देश का औद्योगिक विकास हो और किसी खास वर्ग के हाथ में नफा न चला जाए। ऐसी अवस्था में जनता के पैसे का अधिक से अधिक उपयोग विकास के कामों में और उद्योग धन्धे और खेती के विकास में ही होना चाहिए।

एक बात में और कहना चाहूंगा। हमने अपने सामने यह आदर्श रखा है कि हम अपने देश में सम्मिलित अर्थ-व्यवस्था रखना चाहते हैं और दूसरा आदर्श हमने अपने सामने यह रखा है कि हम अपने देश में समाजवादी समाज व्यवस्था की स्थापना करना चाहते हैं। उद्योगपतियों की ओर से यह समालोचना की जाती है कि हमने जो कर लगाए हैं वह कर लगाने से देश में विकास के काम को पूरा करने के लिए पूंजी नहीं बन सकेगी और पूंजी नहीं बन सकेगी तो काम आगे नहीं बढ़ सकेगा। इस बात की छानबीन होनी चाहिए। दोनों आदर्शों को सामने रखते हुए हम अपने बजट का निर्माण करें और बजट को पास करने के बाद हमारा ध्यान बराबर इस बात पर रहे कि गरीबों से हम जो नाना प्रकार के इन-डाइरेक्ट कर लगाकर रकम लेते हैं उसका एक पैसा भी बरबाद न हो और उसका ज्यादा से ज्यादा भाग विकास के कामों में और उद्योग धन्धों और खेती के विकास के काम में लगाया जाए जिससे समाज को सचमुच फायदा हो, उसको नाच-गाने आदि इस प्रकार के कामों में न लगाया जाए। जब देश समृद्ध हो तो हम इन कामों में रुपया लगा सकते

हैं और उस समय इनको बढ़ावा देना स्वाभाविक होगा। साधारण तौर पर अभी हमको इन कामों के लिए कुछ देना होगा लेकिन ज्यादा ध्यान हमको कृषि और उद्योगों की उन्नति और विकास के कामों की ओर देना होगा और करों की रकम को इन कामों में लगाना चाहिए। इस रकम को गरीब लोग इस आशा में हमको देते हैं कि ऐसा करने से उनकी आगे आने वाली सन्तान सुखी होगी। उस पैसे की बरबादी नहीं होने देनी चाहिए।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is there any representative belonging to DMK who wants to participate in this discussion? I find no hon. Member of that party is present here. Shri Nataraja Pillai.

Shri Nataraja Pillai (Trivandrum): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, may I, as a newcomer to this House, crave your indulgence, and that of the House too, to guide and direct me to discharge my duties here?

In the general discussion on the budget, I think it will not be out of place to make some remarks on the activities of the Government as such. We have accepted a planned economy and phased Five Year Plans to attain national prosperity. Having accepted the Five Year Plans, the first duty of the Finance Minister when he frames his budget will have to be to find sufficient resources to carry on the plan projects. In that quest, I have to concede, the Finance Minister has eminently succeeded.

When he calculated the anticipated receipts and expenditure, he found that there was a gap in the revenue to the extent of nearly Rs. 60.78 crores, and he has tried to wipe it out by proposals for additional taxation. Taken together with the capital budget deficit, the total deficit for the year will come to Rs. 150 crores, out of which by the proposed taxation measures he intends to levy direct taxes to the tune of Rs. 44.5 crores and indirect taxes to the tune of Rs. 27.2 crores, making a total of Rs. 71.7 crores.

In this connection, I would like to say that proposals for taxation, especially indirect taxation, as it is very often said and conceded, will fall on the middle income group people. Yet, having adopted the Plan programme, there is no use of fighting shy of the additional burden that falls on us. We have to face it squarely. But I am wondering whether the anticipated revenue according to the present statement will not exceed or err on the right side by giving us a greater return. I am fortified in my view when I see the budget figures for 1958-59, 1959-60 and 1960-61, because in all these years the deficit has gone down and sometimes the deficit has turned into a surplus. For example, in the year 1958-59 the deficit went down by Rs. 54.70 crores. In the year 1959-60 the deficit had turned into a substantial surplus, indicating a difference of Rs. 57.94 crores. Again, in the year 1960-61 the deficit turned into a substantial surplus, indicating a difference of Rs. 84.86 crores. In the same way, will I be wrong if I presume that this year also the anticipated revenue will err on the right side and give us excess receipts?

A part from this under-estimate, if I may say so, the excise duties, especially on yarn, fabrics and consumer goods will be a heavy burden on our people. If I may be so dubbed this is an austerity life that is being placed before the country by these proposals. It is true that the national income has shown a tendency to rise during the past few years, but at the same time it will have to be conceded that the Cost of Living Indices also have shown a sign to rise. In these circumstances, the resources with the ordinary class of people are so limited that they will not be able to meet the additional burden with convenience. This fact is also indicated from the Small Savings Scheme which is evidently intended to scrape away the additional money that may accrue in the hands of the middle class people. The savings have shown a tendency to

fall during the last two years. Last year the anticipated amount of small savings under this scheme was not realised. That shows that the vast bulk of our people live in a condition where their existence is precarious, that they live in a subsistence economy and that there is no reserve fund or opportunity for capital accumulation. As such, these taxes are bound to be a heavy burden on the people.

The Finance Minister's proposals for the coming year were mainly with an eye to find out the means to attain the target of taxation fixed under the Plan. He himself says: "The taxes which I have proposed to day will take us yet closer to our goal of raising adequate resources for our Plan." Thus he satisfies himself that he has done his duty by finding resources for the Plan.

At the same time he expresses concern as to the share or the responsibility that is left with the States to find additional taxation. He says:

"It is a matter of concern to me that progress in regard to additional taxation by the States has been slow and in 1961-62 the State budgets provided for additional taxation with a five-year yield of about Rs. 100 crores only as against the target of Rs. 160 crores set in the Plan. I would earnestly request all State Governments to ensure that this shortfall is made up with speed and vigour."

From the Plan provisions that have been made in the I and II Plans the public sector projects were financed during the last ten years. Here you find some revealing facts from the Explanatory Memorandum. From the Explanatory Memorandum circulated to us we see that on an investment of nearly Rs. 605 crores the profit earned by Government in 1960-61 came to Rs. 2.01 crores. So far as the investment, as it would stand on 31st

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Harch, 1963, is concerned, that is on a total investment of Rs. 869.25 crores, the expected yield is Rs. 2.58 crores. This, I need not tell the House, is a very inadequate return on the investments we are making. With such heavy investments we can reasonably expect a fair return.

As the Finance Minister himself points out in his speech we are financing these big schemes with the intention of getting adequate return to finance further schemes. But it is seen from these figures that these investments do not bring the expected return. So, in respect of these projects, I may venture to make a suggestion, these heavy investments must be placed before the House in a separate Demand with adequate explanations, like the Railway Budget Demands. Why not consolidate all the accounts of the projects and place them before the House so that there may be sufficient examination of it and Parliamentary Control is ensured. Suggestions for economy in the project investments can then be made effective. That is one aspect of the matter which I would like to place before the House for consideration.

Then, as far as the States are concerned, I have to say that we are functioning under a federal Constitution. It is very often said in respect of a federal Constitution that with its checks and counter-checks it is a difficult constitutional structure where stress and strain very often occur. In that context I would like to say that the strain and stress developed in the functioning of our Constitution during the reorganisation of our States and later the judicial review which was a valuable check resulted also in a revision of the Constitutional provisions. These go to show that even under our constitution we are faced with difficulties inherent in the federal structure.

In the States there is a feeling that the provincial autonomy provided in

the Constitution is becoming illusory and that the Central authority, both in the administrative and the financial matters, is having a greater control over the activities of the State, leaving very little autonomous power for the States as such.

16 hrs.

In this connection, I would like to read a passage from the Report of the Third Finance Commission, 1961. On page 36 of the report, they say:

“Most of the States have complained that there is a perceptible trend of centralisation of resources, in addition to centralisation of certain State functions. In evidence, they point out that the recent amendment of the Income-tax Act has removed from the definition of income-tax the tax paid by companies and has thereby caused an appreciable shrinkage in the divisible pool, to which they are constitutionally entitled. Though the amendment was made to simplify levy and collection, the indirect effect has, in fact, been a diminution in the amount hitherto available for distribution. Similarly, they cite the recent repeal of the Act imposing a tax on railway passenger fares. This, they claim, was an expanding source of revenue to which they were legally entitled in terms of article 269. Though provision has been made for an *ad hoc* grant of Rs. 12.5 crores a year for five years, representing the average yield of the tax in the past two years, they fear that even this amount may not be separately earmarked hereafter to compensate them for loss of entitlement. In any event, it can only be a discretionary grant *in lieu* of a local right now extinguished. They have also complained that the Union Government had not adjusted the rates of additional ex-

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cise duties levied on certain commodities in lieu of sales-tax, though the basic rates of excise duty on these very commodities had been recently revised upwards. Their grievance is that the benefits of all these measures accrue to the Union at the expense of the States.

“A more important and even disturbing feature is that the States are becoming dependent on Central assistance on an ever-increasing scale. This arises partly out of the impact of committed expenditure on the completed plan projects and partly for other reasons. This increasing dependence is diluting, on the one hand, the accountability of the State Cabinets to their Legislatures; on the other, it is coming in the way of the development of a greater sense of responsibility in their administration.”

There is a feeling in the States, especially in some of the Southern States that the autonomy provided under the Constitution is becoming illusory. Financial powers are being curtailed. In the field of administration, the Central direction is becoming more and more stringent. Moreover, as far as the budgets of the States are concerned, may I say with due deference, that the State budgets are after all budgets approved by the Central Government and the Central Finance department. It is a known fact that the budgets of the States are framed in consultation with and with the concurrence of the Central Finance department. To saddle the additional responsibility on the State Governments to find out the resources fixed in the budget, will be a very unfair difficult affair. The taxable capacity of a State will have to be taken into consideration before a tax can be imposed. If you impose a tax on an all-India basis and on the basis of the budget gap, it will not be possible for the State Governments to impose the burden and realise it from the people. For example, in the State

from which I come—I come from Kerala—it is very clear that the *per capita* income is far lower than the all-India average. The *per capita* tax revenue—States taxes only—of Kerala is already higher than the all-India average. When the *per capita* income and the *per capita* tax burden are taken together, there can't be any doubt that the scope for tapping new sources of taxation to meet the ever-expanding administrative and developmental expenditure of the State is rather limited. You have to view it from this angle. To impose tax on an all-India basis or to the extent of the budget gap revealed, the economic condition of the people of the State and their capacity to bear additional burden must be taken into consideration. It will be dangerous to ignore it.

Moreover, there is another aspect. When planned development of economic activity is engineered, there is a natural tendency for regional disparities to creep-in. An undeveloped area will become more undeveloped.

16.06 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

That is a fact which we see before us. If I may point out, the regional disparity can be realised if these facts are taken into consideration. During the First and Second Plans, nearly 84 per cent. of the public sector investment in major industries by the Central Government have been allotted to five developed States, namely West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Madras. Rajasthan and U.P. have been omitted altogether while Assam and Kerala got a mere pittance. Barring the steel plants, whose location is predominantly governed by technical considerations, it is difficult to believe that alternative locations could not have been found for other industries in the backward areas without undue sacrifice of economic considerations. Industrial development in the private sector has followed the same pattern. Out of the 302 new industrial

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units licensed during the period and the 833 units expanded, 76 and 78 per cent. respectively have gone to the four States of Bombay, West Bengal, Punjab and Madras. Thus, the scheme of licensing in the private sector too, which is a potent instrument for effecting dispersal of industries, has not been employed to the advantage of the backward States. It is regrettable that in the process of planning in India, technical and economic considerations on the one hand and political pressure on the other, have brought about an inequitable concentration of developmental projects. The benefits of planning have, therefore, accrued, in a large measure, to those States which were already relatively advanced, leaving others in the backward. As most of the States are equipped in a fair measure with the basic requisites for development, the responsibility for the aggravation of inequalities between them must rest with the faulty distribution of plan outlays, and the step-motherly treatment meted out to some of the States.

I will close. This regional disparity in development causes distress. The States are feeling dissatisfied and heart-burn among the people of the States. Over the illusory character of the autonomy provided in the Constitution. Along with it, linguistic sentiments or cultural sentiments, communal and caste sentiments play their part to increase it. Unless it is taken note of at a very early stage, and these disturbing tendencies are tided over by a sympathetic handling of the situation, I feel it will create difficult situation in the future. To allow a particular portion of the country to stagnate and then to impose on them the same responsibility with which the other parts of the country are saddled, would create heart-burning and resistance and it will not be conducive for the national prosperity which we all wish for. With these words, I close.

श्री रामेश्वर टांडिया (सीकर) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो बजट पेश किया है वह एक तरह से बहुत ही संतुलित बजट है। जहां-जहां हमें अपना माल निर्यात करने की जरूरत है वहां-वहां उन्होंने इस बात का पूरा-पूरा ध्यान रखा है। उन्होंने चाय पर निर्यात ड्यूटी घटाई है। जहां पर वह ४४ नए पैसे होती थी वहां अब वह २५ नए पैसे होगी। जहां तक चाय का सम्बन्ध है हम बहुत दिनों से ऐसा सोच रहे थे कि अगर इस पर निर्यात ड्यूटी यही रहेगी तो हमारा जो चाय का निर्यात होता है उसको हम धीरे-धीरे खो देंगे। इसलिए यह जो कदम उठाया गया है वह बहुत ही सराहनीय है।

इसी तरह से उन्होंने एकमपेंडीचर टैक्स हटा दिया है। यह भी एक तरह से बहुत अच्छा उन्होंने किया है क्योंकि बहुत थोड़ी रकम उसमें आती थी और जितनी रकम आती थी उतना तो आयद हमारा खर्चा भी लग जाता था।

हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी वैसे तो बहुत चतुर हैं। उन्होंने छोटी-मोटी एक दो बातों को हटा करके जो टैक्स लगा दिये हैं, वे इस तरीके से लगाये हैं कि २२ करोड़ रुपया तो उनको डायरेक्ट टैक्सों में मिल जाएगा और ५० करोड़ के करीब रुपया इंडायरेक्ट टैक्सों में मिल जाएगा। लेकिन लोगों की धारणा यह है कि उनको ७२ करोड़ रुपया नहीं बल्कि कुल रकम एक सौ करोड़ रुपये के करीब मिल जाएगी। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि हम टैक्स लगायें, हमें अपने प्लान को पूरा करने के लिए रुपये की आवश्यकता भी है और उसके लिए टैक्स लगाने भी चाहिये और वे लगेंगे भी। परन्तु साथ ही इस बात का भी ख्याल रखा जाना चाहिये कि जो एस्टीमेट हम करें वह ठीक हो। दो तीन बरसों से बराबर ऐसा होता आ रहा है कि जितने के हम टैक्स लगाते हैं अदायगी उससे ज्यादा की होती है। १९५६-६० में ऐसा हुआ था और १९६०-६१ में भी ऐसा

ही हुआ था। १९६१-६२ में भी यही हुआ। यहाँ पर उन्होंने कपड़े पर टैक्स लगाया है। उन्होंने कहा है कि मरसिराईजिंग और प्रासेसिंग पर जो टैक्स लगा है उससे उनको बारह करोड़ रुपया वसूल होने की उम्मीद है परन्तु जो कपड़े के मिल मालिक हैं या जो दूसरे चैम्बरज हैं उनकी धारणा ऐसी है कि इस मद में २४ करोड़ से ले कर ३० करोड़ रुपया उनको मिल जाएगा। अगर वित्त मंत्री जी ने २४ करोड़ या ३० करोड़ रुपये का टैक्स लगाया होता तो कोई आपत्ति की बात नहीं थी परन्तु १२ करोड़ का टैक्स लगा कर अगर २० या २४ करोड़ रुपया आता है और आमदनी अनुमान से बहुत ज्यादा हो जाती है तो यह ठीक नहीं है। आप चार आने से छः आने टैक्स कर देते। कोई हर्ज की बात नहीं थी। कपड़े पर जो टैक्स है, मरसेराईजिंग और प्रासेसिंग पर जो टैक्स है, उस पर किसी को कोई खास एतराज नहीं हो सकता क्योंकि उसे बड़े बड़े लोग पहनते हैं। परन्तु माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान मैं एक बात की और दिलाना चाहता हूँ। इसमें कुछ छोटी छोटी चीजें भी आ गई हैं छोटे छोटे उद्योग भी आ गये हैं, जैसे बंगाल में हैं या देश के अन्य कुछ भागों में हैं और वे एडवर्सली एफ़ैक्ट होंगे। जैसे प्रासेसिंग में एक तरह का मोटा हैडलम का और पावर लूम का कपड़ा आता है। उस पर रबड़ का सॉल्यूशन दे करके, उसके थैले वगैरह बनाये जाते हैं जिन्हें छोटे बच्चे स्कूल ले जाते हैं, किताबें डाल कर ले जाने में जिसका वे इस्तेमाल करते हैं या अस्पतालों में नीचे रखने के लिए वह कपड़ा काम आता है। उस पर भी यह टैक्स लग गया है चार आना मीटर, आठ आना मीटर तक। जो छोटे छोटे उद्योग हैं उनको इससे बहुत नुकसान होगा, उनको बहुत धक्का लगेगा। मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वह इस मामले को देखें और उन पर इस टैक्स को न लगायें। इस आइटम से उन्हें कुल बीस लाख रुपया प्राप्त होने की आशा है। परन्तु जो उद्योग यह अब है और जिसमें

कई हजार आदमी काम करते हैं उन पर इसका बुरा असर पड़ेगा। जो साधारण श्रेणी के बच्चे हैं या बाजार में महिलायें साग सब्जी के लिए जिन थैलों का उपयोग करती हैं, और कुछ अस्पतालों में बैंड शॉट बनते हैं, वे भी इसमें शामिल हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की जो चीजें बनाते हैं उन पर टैक्स नहीं लगाया जाना चाहिये।

तम्बाकू पर आपने टैक्स लगाया है। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि अगर तम्बाकू पर और अधिक टैक्स लगा दिया जाता और इसका कंजमेशन बन्द भी कर दिया जाता तो कोई हर्ज की बात नहीं थी। इसका कारण यह है कि इससे नुकसान किसी को नहीं होगा, फायदा ही होगा। इस तरह से तम्बाकू की जो बचत होगी, उसको हम एक्सपोर्ट कर सकते हैं और रुपया कमा सकते हैं। माननीय मंत्री जी ने बम्बई में शराब बन्दी की और उससे लाभ हुआ। तम्बाकू अगर कोई नहीं पीयेगा तो हैल्व का कोई नुकसान नहीं होगा, बल्कि फायदा ही होगा। अफीम पर भी बहुत टैक्स है। इससे अफीम खाना बहुत कम हो गया है। राजस्थान में बहुत अफीम की खपत थी और लोग बहुत खाते थे। इतना ज्यादा इस पर टैक्स लगा दिया गया है कि अफीम बन्द हो गई है। अगर तम्बाकू पर और अधिक टैक्स लगा दिया जाता तो देश में मेरे खयाल में किसी को कोई एतराज न होगा।

माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि वह प्राइवेट कैपिटलिस्टों से कुछ हमदर्दी रखते हैं, उनसे सहानुभूति रखते हैं। परन्तु मैं आपको अर्ज करूँ, कि आज हिन्दुस्तान में ऊँचे लेबल पर जो टैक्स की दर है वह दुनिया में सब से ज्यादा है। ७०,००० रुपये से ऊपर जो कमाई एक व्यक्ति करता है उस पर ८२ परसेंट से लेकर ८७ परसेंट तक टैक्स है यानी एक रुपये में चौदह आने टैक्स लगा दिया जाता है। ७०,००० के

[श्री रामे वर टांटिया]

ऊपर जो रूपया है उसमें कुल मिलाकर अगर एक अरब के पास २५ लाख रुपये की सम्पत्ति और डेढ़ लाख रुपये कमाई है तो उसको १ लाख ६२ हजार रुपये टैक्स का देना पड़ना है क्योंकि उसमें वैल्यू कम जुड़ जाता है। इस तरह से उस पर १०४ परसेंट ले कर ११० परसेंट तक टैक्स लगता है। इस तरह से शायद और दुनिया के किसी मुल्क में टैक्स नहीं लिया जाता है। यहां पर ऊंचे स्लैब पर बहुत ज्यादा टैक्स है। इस पर ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। टैक्स का रेट यही रहता लेकिन हाइएस्ट स्लैब पर ६० परसेंट या ८५ परसेंट जैसा भी आप चाहें, रख सकते हैं। शायद कुछ लोगों को इस पर आश्चर्य होगा। परन्तु आप फिगरें निकाल कर देखें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि १०५ या १०७ परसेंट तक टैक्स अभी नए स्लैब में लगेगा। इसका कारण यह है कि वैल्यू टैक्स बढ़ाया गया है और उसने फनस्वरूप टैक्स भी बढ़ गया है।

पब्लिक सेक्टर इंडस्ट्रीज के बारे में अब मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। जिन इंडस्ट्रीज को गवर्नमेंट मनेज करती है, उनका जो हिस्सा दिया गया है उससे मूलाबिक ७०६ करोड़ रुपया गवर्नमेंट मनेज्ड इंडस्ट्रीज पर लगा हुआ है और १६० करोड़ रुपया अगले साल और लगेगा। इनसे आमदनी आपको हुई है सिर्फ १ करोड़ ६१ लाख रुपया यानी ढाई नए पैसे प्रति सैंकड़ा। इसको चाहे आप ब्याज समझ लीजिये और चाहे आमदनी समझ लीजिये यानी ०.०३ परसेंट पर एनम। ७०६ करोड़ रुपया १७ इंडस्ट्रीज में आपका लगा है और उसमें से इतनी कम आमदनी हो रही है, ऐसा क्यों है यह सोचने की बात है। इसकी आपको जांच करनी चाहिये। हो सकता है कि उनमें कुछ इंडस्ट्रीज अभी बन रही हैं, इस वास्ते उनमें मुनाफा न हो रहा हो। परन्तु जो इंडस्ट्रीज बन चुकी हैं, जो मोनोपोली इंडस्ट्री है, जहां पर गवर्नमेंट अपनी प्राइस भी रखती है, उसमें

भी जो फायदा है वह धीरे धीरे घट रहा है। वहां पर भी प्रोडक्शन घट रहा है। मिसाल के तौर पर मैं सिधरी फटिलाइजर फॅक्ट्री का नाम ले सकता हूँ।

माननीय उद्योग मंत्री जी ने आज बताया कि पिम्परी की जो फॅक्ट्री है उसमें जो पैनिंसिलीन बनती है, उसके दाम तिगुने हैं, उसके मुकाबले में जो पैनिंसिलीन इम्पोर्ट की जाती है। इतने अधिक दाम रखकर भी गवर्नमेंट फॅक्ट्री जो रुपया वहां लगा हुआ है उसका ब्याज भी अरदा नहीं कर सकती तो इसकी क्या वजह है इसकी जांच होनी चाहिये।

वित्त मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा) : पिम्परी तो कमाती है।

श्री रामेश्वर टांटिया : लेकिन कितना कमाती है? मैं तो यह कह रहा हूँ कि १७ फॅक्ट्रीज जो हैं जिन पर ७०६ करोड़ रुपया लगा हुआ है—

Shri Morarji Desai: That sum of Rs. 700 crores is not for these 17 factories.

Shri Morarka (Jhunjhunu): It is Annexure XVII.

श्री रामेश्वर टांटिया : इसी तरह से जो कोयले की खानें हैं, गवर्नमेंट कंट्रोल्ड खाने हैं, उन में भी कुछ खानें ऐसी हैं जो कि कई साल से नुकसान दे रही हैं और वे अच्छी खाने हैं। परन्तु उनके ऊपर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। पिछले साल जो कोल के बारे में रिपोर्ट आई थी उसमें बताया गया था कि बड़ा नुकसान हुआ है। दूसरी खानें भी हैं जहां पर फायदा हुआ दिखाया गया था। मेरी अर्ज यह है कि टैक्स लगाने के साथ साथ जो पब्लिक सेक्टर के कारखाने बढ़ रहे हैं उनका देश को फायदा मिले और उस फायदे

को वापस उसमें लगाया जाये । यह भी सोचना जरूरी है क्योंकि अगर हम उसमें खपया लगाते जायेंगे और उन पर्यों का फायदा नहीं मिलेगा तो एक तरफ तो आप टैक्स बढ़ाते जायेंगे और दूसरी तरफ उस टैक्स के रुपये से, जो कि आप उन कारखानों में नगावेंगे, जनता को फायदा नहीं मिलेगा । इससे आगे चल कर क्या होने वाला होगा, इसको आप समझ सकते हैं ।

जहां तक पब्लिक सेक्टर इंडस्ट्रीज के ऐलोकेशन का सवाल है, मैं कहूंगा कि राजस्थान के साथ इस मामले में बहुत अन्याय किया गया है । वहां की स्थिति ऐसी है लेकिन वहां पर पब्लिक सेक्टर इंडस्ट्रीज रखा जाये । राजस्थान में आज गवर्नमेंट की कोई भी बड़ी पब्लिक सेक्टर इंडस्ट्री नहीं है जब कि दूसरे प्रदेशों में सैकड़ों छोटी मोटी इंडस्ट्रीज चल रही है । इसलिये हर एक प्रदेश को कुछ न कुछ पाने का हक है । राजस्थान में आज फर्टिलाइजर फंड्री हो सकती है । राजस्थान एक ऐसा क्षेत्र है जिसकी ओर सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिये ।

आज एक माननीया महिला सदस्या ने प्रीवी पर्सज के सम्बन्ध में कहा था । उसके बारे में मैं भी अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ । मैं भी उसी प्रदेश से आता हूँ । उन्होंने शायद प्रीवी पर्स के सम्बन्ध में कहा था कि जो एक तरह से उनको त्याग रहा है, उसके बदले में उनको प्रीवी पर्स मिलना चाहिये । मैं नहीं समझ सकता कि उनका क्या त्याग रहा है । जो आपका हाइएस्ट स्लैब ७०,००० है उस पर आप ८५ परसेंट टैक्स ले लेते हैं तो कोई वजह नहीं है कि जो प्रीवी पर्स के रूप में १५, १० या ५ लाख रुपये मिलते हैं, उन पर टैक्स न लिया जाय । एक समय था जब कि हमने प्रीवी पर्स देना मंजूर किया था, लेकिन आज जब देश इतनी प्रगति कर रहा है, और उसके लिये हम को धन चाहिये, तो कोई वजह नहीं है कि उन लोगों को इनकम टैक्स फ्री १० लाख रुपये के करीब

दिया जाय जो कि करीब डेढ़ करोड़ ६० हो गया । अगर कोई डेढ़ करोड़ रुपया कमाता है तो उसको टैक्स काट कर १० लाख ६० के लगभग पड़ते हैं । इसलिये उनको १० लाख ६० देने का मतलब १० लाख रुपया नहीं बल्कि डेढ़ करोड़ ६० देना है क्योंकि आगे चल कर खाली १३ प्रतिशत ही तो बचता है । जैसा मैंने अर्ज किया १० लाख ६० इनकम टैक्स फ्री देने का मतलब उनको डेढ़ करोड़ ६० देना हो गया । यह डेढ़ करोड़ रुपया उनको दिया जाय, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती । इसके लिये सोचा जाना चाहिये । अगर इसको रोका जाय तो गवर्नमेंट को कम से कम ढाई या तीन करोड़ रुपये मिल जायेंगे ।

अधिक न कहते हुए मैं फिर अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जो रुपया गवर्नमेंट का पब्लिक सेक्टर इंडस्ट्रीज में लगा हुआ है और जो घाटा उनमें होता है, अगर जरूरत समझी जाय तो उसकी अच्छी तरह से जांच की जाय और इसका पता लगाया जाय कि कहां पर गलती है । क्या कारण है कि जो प्राइवेट सेक्टर के कारखाने हैं वे १२, १२ और १४, १४ परसेंट तक नफ़ा कमाते हैं और गवर्नमेंट के कारखाने नहीं कमाते ? आखिर कहीं न कहीं तो गलती होगी ही । यह कहने से काम नहीं चलेगा कि गवर्नमेंट के लेबर रूल्स अलग हैं क्योंकि लेबर रूल्स तो सब जगह समान हैं और गवर्नमेंट को रुपया भी उल्टे कम ब्याज पर मिलता है । उस को १५ परसेंट पर ब्याज मिल जाता है । सबसे अधिक जरूरत आज इस बात की है कि जो टैक्स गवर्नमेंट हर साल से ले रही है और पब्लिक सेक्टर कारखानों में लगाती है, उसके सम्बन्ध में जांच की जाय कि क्या बात है, और कहां पर गलती है कि गवर्नमेंट फंड्रीज में कोई नफ़ा नहीं होता, उल्टा नुकसान होता है ।

Mr. Speaker: Pandit J. P. Jyotishi—
He is absent.

When Party Whips send in names, they ought to see that the Members

[Mr. Speaker]

concerned are present. —Shri B. P. Sinha.

श्री ब० प्र० सिंह (मुंगेर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हर वर्ष जो बजट बनाया जाता है वह घाटे का बजट होता है और उस की पूर्ति विशेष करों से की जाती है। क्या सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर कभी जाता है कि शासन के बढ़ते हुए खर्च में मितव्ययिता ला कर के उस की पूर्ति की जाये ? कराची में कांग्रेस ने मंजूर किया था कि अधिक से अधिक वेतन ५०० रु० हो। उस के बाद जब हम यह निश्चय कर चुके हैं कि हम का समाजवादी ढांचे का राज्य बनाना है, समाज बनाना है, तो फिर उस ढांचे में यदि आज प्रेजिडेंट का वेतन १०,००० रु० हो, गवर्नरों का ५ या ६ हजार रु० हो और सचिवों का तथा मंत्रियों का विशेष सुविधाओं के साथ ४ या ५ हजार के करीब हो, तो क्या यह मुनासिब बात है ? आज जो कुछ भी हमारे देखने में आता है वह यह आता है कि जो शासक वर्ग है और जो नौकरी पेशा के लोग हैं, जो इंडस्ट्रियल लेबर हैं उन के लिये सारी सुविधाएँ दी जाती हैं। लेकिन जो देश के किसान हैं, जिन की संख्या ७० प्रतिशत है, उन की आय क्या है और उनके लिये क्या किया जाता है ? मेरा कहना यह नहीं है कि सरकार जान बूझ कर कोई ऐसा कार्य करती है, हमारा विश्वास हो रहा है कि किसानों और खेत मजदूरों के प्रति सरकार अनजान में उपेक्षा की दृष्टि से काम लेती है। ऐसी मेरी धारणा है। आये दिन कर्मचारियों की वेतन वृद्धि के लिये हड़ताल होती है और सरकार झुकती है। मेरा निवेदन है कि सरकार को जो उस का शासन का खर्च है उस को आय के आधार पर निश्चित करना चाहिये कि सट्टेन परसेंटेज अर्थात् निश्चित रकम से अधिक शासन पर खर्च न होगा। ऐसा देखने में आता है कि यदि इस को नहीं रोका जायेगा तो सरकार के पास विकास कार्य के लिये रुपया नहीं रहेगा और वह सारे का सारा रुपया वेतन में जायेगा।

इसके बाद शराबखोरी की बात लीजिये। मैं दूसरे प्रदेशों की बात नहीं कहता लेकिन बिहार में एग्रिकल्चर टैक्स लगाया गया था ताकि शराबखोरी बन्द हो। लेकिन आज शराबखोरी चल रही है और एग्रिकल्चर टैक्स भी चल रहा है। पूज्य बापू जी कहा करते थे कि यदि एक घंटे के लिये भी मुझे अधिकार मिल जाये तो सब से पहला काम मैं यह करूंगा कि शराबखोरी बन्द हो। आज स्वास्थ्य सुधार के लिये और हरिजनों के उद्धार के लिये हमारे पास बहुत बड़ी बड़ी प्लैन्स हैं। लेकिन हरिजनों की आय का ३६ प्रतिशत शराबखोरी में जाता है। क्या सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर जाता है, क्या वह मुनासिब इसे समझती है ? जहाँ वह अपने खर्च के लिये दूसरी दूसरी मदों में सुधार की बात करती है वहाँ यह शराबखोरी बन्द न कर के क्या वह गरीब जनता के साथ अन्याय नहीं कर रही है ?

साथ ही साथ एम्प्लायमेंट की बात होती है। प्रथम पार्लियामेंट के समय से ही अपने प्लानिंग मिनिस्टर से हमारा अनुरोध रहा कि यहाँ के लोगों का जीवन मान स्थिर करें, स्टैन्डर्ड आफ लिविंग फिक्स करें। यदि व ऐसा नहीं करते और स्टैन्डर्ड आफ लिविंग फिक्स नहीं करते तो वे अनएम्प्लायमेंट की समस्या को कैसे साल्व करेंगे, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। साथ ही आप यह भी निश्चित नहीं कर सके कि सोशलिस्टिक पटर्न आफ सोसायटी ; निम्नतम जीवन मान और उच्चतम जीवन मान में क्या अन्तर होगा। मैं नहीं कहता कि आप को उसे तुरन्त लागू करना चाहिये लेकिन सरकार को यह तो निर्धारित कर देना चाहिये कि हमारे सोशलिस्टिक पटर्न में जीवन मान में कितना अन्तर रहेगा। आज तो ३० रु० और ३,००० रु० का अनुपात है। जब चपरासी को ३० रु० मिलते हैं तो एक सेक्रेटरी को ३,००० रु० मिलते हैं, यह सोशलिस्टिक पटर्न मेरी समझ

में नहीं आता। मैं नहीं समझ पाता कि हमारे सोशलिस्टिक पटन का क्या आधार है और उस के प्रति हमारा क्या विश्वास है।

आज किसान मजदूरों के प्रति जो उपेक्षा दृष्टि रक्खी गई है उस की ओर सरकार का ध्यान जाना चाहिये। जिस समय हमारा संविधान बना था उस समय हम ने निर्णय किया था कि दस वर्षों के अन्दर हम ६ से ले कर १४ वर्षों तक के बच्चों को पढ़ाने की चेष्टा करेंगे, लेकिन तृतीय पंच वर्षीय योजना के अन्दर ६ से ११ वर्षों तक के बच्चों को ही पढ़ाने का प्रबन्ध हम कर पायेंगे। १४ की तो बात ही नहीं है। अभी हाल में अखबारों में निकला कि सरकारी कर्मचारियों के बच्चों को पढ़ाने के लिये २७ स्कूल सारे देश में खुलेंगे। मैं कहता हूँ कि अखिर यह भेद बुद्धि क्यों? एक साधारण किसान का बच्चा भी उसी प्रकार नागरिक है जिस प्रकार सरकारी कर्मचारियों के बच्चे। इस लिये इस तरह की भेद बुद्धि नहीं होनी चाहिये। मेरे खयाल में शिक्षा का स्तर सब के लिये समान होना चाहिये जिस से कि सभी लोग लाभ उठा सकें।

जब सीलिंग लागू करते हैं जमीन की तो वैसी हालत में किसान को सूखा और बाढ़ से बचाने के लिये आप कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं करते हैं। जब कभी बाढ़ या सूखा होगा तो किसान और खेत मजदूर दाने दाने को मोहताज होंगे। दूसरे वे अपने बच्चों को शिक्षा नहीं दे सकेंगे और उन की चिकित्सा ही करा सकेंगे। इसलिये सरकार के लिये मुनासिब है कि शिक्षा और चिकित्सा दोनों ही सारे देश में मुफ्त हों।

आज से पहले स्वराज्य प्राप्ति से पूर्व कांग्रेस प्लेटफार्म से किसानों को सुविधा देने के लिये कितनी ही बातें कही गई थीं, वे सारी की सारी बातें आज परोक्ष में हैं। जिस समय जमींदारी प्रथा थी उस समय जो साधारण सुविधायें किसानों को दी गई थीं

वह सारी की सारी सुविधायें छीन ली गई हैं। वे सुविधायें आज नहीं हैं। बिहार में यह था कि लगान के बकाया में उसका पार्ट होल्डिंग नीलाम होता था, लेकिन अब जब कि सरकार जमींदार बन गयी है तो पार्ट होल्डिंग के बजाये उसकी स्टेंडिंग क्राप और चल सम्पत्ति कुर्क होती है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि पहले जो बातें किसान के सम्बन्ध में सोची जाती थीं वे बातें आज क्यों नहीं सोची जा रही हैं।

आज कहा जाता है कि देश में प्रति व्यक्ति औसत आय २६० रुपये है लेकिन किसानों की औसत आय १०० रुपये के करीब है। कहा जाता है कि तीसरी योजना के बाद लोगों की औसत आय में ३० प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हो जायेगी। यह मान लिया जाये तो भी किसानों की आय में ३० प्रतिशत जुड़ जाने से उनकी क्या दशा होगी यह सोचने की बात है। तो हमारे खयाल से इन सब चीजों की ओर सरकार का ध्यान जाना चाहिए और उसके लिए उचित व्यवस्था करना चाहिए।

एक बात मैं खास तौर से कहना चाहता हूँ कि किसानों की उपेक्षा की जाती है। गत अक्तूबर की बाढ़ में खड़गपुर झील का बांध टूट गया और उसका ३४ फीट पानी एक दम फैल गया और उससे २६ बस्तियां ध्वस्त हो गयीं। जो उसकी रिपोर्ट आयी उसको हमने चैलेंज किया तो भारत सरकार की तरफ से जो विशेषज्ञ गया उसने कहा कि वह बांध कमजोरी की वजह से टूट गया। वह १८७० में बनाया गया था और इतने दिनों से जमींदार उसकी रक्षा कर रहे थे। उस पर सरकार ने १८ लाख रुपया खर्च किया तो भी वह ठीक अवस्था में नहीं रहा और कर्मचारियों की गफलत से टूट गया। उसकी वजह से २६ बस्तियां ध्वस्त हो गयीं। उस समय बहुत से लोग आयें और गांवों के किसानों को सहायता देने की बात कही गयी लेकिन अभी किसान उसी अवस्था में हैं। सब से आश्चर्य की बात तो यह है कि बिहार सरकार के उप-मंत्री ने बिहार विधान

[श्री व० प्र० सिंह]

सभा में एक वक्तव्य दिया जिसमें उन्होंने कहा कि सिर्फ ३ गांवों की बरबादी हुई है, उन्होंने २६ गांवों का कोई जिक्र नहीं किया। आज कुछ भी नहीं देखा जाता है। हमारे इरीगेशन मिनिस्टर हाफिज मुहम्मद इब्नाहीम साहब वहां गये थे। हमने उनको बताया था कि किस तरह वह झील कर्मचारियों का गफलत से टूटी है। उसकी जांच होनी चाहिए। बिहार के मुख्य मंत्री से भी हमने निवेदन किया था कि अब तो ऐसी बात नहीं होनी चाहिए। जो जांच हुई उसमें वहां के इरीगेशन मिनिस्टर और अधिकारियों से भिन्न मत रखते थे लेकिन जब भारत सरकार के इंजीनियर यहां से गये तो उन्होंने इंजिनियर के निर्णय पर अपनी मुहर लगा दी। वहां के किसानों की अवस्था बहुत खराब है और वह प्रत्यक्ष चीज है। मैं फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब से निवेदन करूंगा कि यदि उनको फुरसत न हो तो वे वहां के किसानों की हालत को अपने डिप्टी मिनिस्टर द्वारा दिखवा सकते हैं ताकि उनको मालूम हो जाये कि उनकी क्या स्थिति है। उस बांध के टूटने से दस हजार आदमी मरते लेकिन सीभाग्य से वह आठ बजे भोर टूटा जिससे ऐसा नहीं हुआ। ३५ फीट पानी आधे घंटे में सब जगह फैल गया जिसके कारण लोग मकानों से अपना सामान भी नहीं निकाल सके। जिनकी तीन एकड़ से पांच एकड़ जमीन थी उन किसानों को तो ५० और १०० रुपया मिला और जिनकी जमीन ज्यादा थी उनके लिए कलेक्टर ने कहा कि उनको १५ दिन के अन्दर एन० सी० लोन दिया जायेगा लेकिन उनको वह लोन अभी तक नहीं दिया गया।

मकान बनाने को कोयला और सीमेंट मुहैया हुआ लेकिन उसके लिए बैंगन्स नहीं मिल सके। इसलिए आज वहां के किसानों की खराब अवस्था है। मेरा अपना खयाल यह है कि आज जब इस तरह की बातें होती हैं तो किसानों को बड़ी निराशा होती है।

कांग्रेस में किसानों की आस्था है और आप यह मान लें कि किसानों की यह मान्यता है कि जितनी भी राजनीतिक पार्टियां हैं उनमें कांग्रेस सब से बेहतर पार्टी है। उनका विचार है कि उसका साथ देना चाहिए। लेकिन आज कांग्रेस को किसानों की ओर जिस समर्थ भाव से देखना चाहिए वैसा नहीं हो रहा है, इसलिए लोगों को बड़ी निराशा होती है। मेरा निवेदन है कि किसानों का भला हो सके ऐसे काम करना चाहिए।

आज बहुत से नियम बने हैं लेकिन उन से किसानों को लाभ नहीं होता। उन नियमों से अनजान होने के कारण किसान उनका लाभ नहीं उठा पाते। आप चाहते हैं कि हमारी पैदावार बढ़े, लेकिन पैदावार कैसे बढ़े? आप जो औजार उनके लिए मंगाने हैं वे बहुत बड़े बड़े होते हैं, उन से किसानों को कोई फायदा नहीं होता। जब आप जमीन की सीरिंग बीस और तीस एकड़ कर रहे हैं तो आपको ऐसे औजार मंगाने चाहिए जिनको छोटा किसान काम में ला सके। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं होता।

किसानों को अच्छा बीज मिलना चाहिए और उन को ज्यादा उत्पादन करने का ढंग सिखाना चाहिए। आज साउथ बिहार में सलफेट आफ एमोनिया का व्यवहार करने से उचित लाभ इसलिए नहीं हो रहा है क्योंकि किसानों को इस बात की जानकारी नहीं है कि उन की जमीन में किस चीज की कमी है और कौनसी खाद किस अवसर पर देने से उस कमी की पूर्ति हो सकती है। इस के लिए सरकार की तरफ से कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। यह काम एग्रीकल्चर विभाग को करना चाहिए लेकिन वह विभाग काफी आर्गनाइज्ड नहीं है और सरकार उस की तरफ काफी मुतवज्जह नहीं हो रही है।

हमको कम्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट से बहुत आशा है लेकिन उस में शासन का खर्च बहुत ज्यादा है। जो रुपया इस काम के लिए दिया जाता है उसका बड़ा हिस्सा मकान बनाने में, आमोद प्रमोद आदि में खर्च हो जाता है। श्री श्रीनारायण दास जी ने भी इस तरफ सरकार का ध्यान खींचा है कि हमारा ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैसा इस तरह खर्च होना चाहिये कि देश का उत्पादन बढ़े।

इस बात की भी आवश्यकता है कि कम्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट के काम में एक इंजीनियरिंग विभाग का भी आदमी होना चाहिए। उसके न होने का परिणाम यह होता है कि जो एस्टीमेट बनाया जाता है और उसके अनुसार जो रुपया दिया जाता है वह पूरी तरह खर्च नहीं हो पाता। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि कम्युनिटी डेवेलपमेंट की तरफ और किसानों से सम्बन्ध रखने वाली बातों की तरफ सरकार को पूरा ध्यान देना चाहिए।

Mr. Speaker: Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey. Shri Ansar Harvani.

Shri Ansar Harvani (Bisauli): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to congratulate the hon. Finance Minister on the Budget that he has presented before the House. When four years ago our great Prime Minister appointed him as our Finance Minister, the country had pinned great hopes in him because he was the first Finance Minister in the history of independent India who was drawn from the thick and thin of the Indian movement for freedom. He was the first Finance Minister who was soaked in the Gandhian ideology, and therefore the entire country expected that he would give a new financial lead to this country.

We know it very well that his predecessors were not drawn from the thick and thin of the Indian national movement. Our Prime Minister had drawn his first Finance Minister from the business community of the South, a great business man, an eminent businessman, who had made a great name in the financial world for

accepting the imperial preference principle. The second Finance Minister was drawn from the Indian Civil Service, about which Congressmen always said that it was neither Indian, nor civil, nor service. He was an eminent man, but the country did not pin any hope in him. The third Finance Minister was drawn up from the business community, who, as Commerce Minister as well as Finance Minister, associated his name with a big firm of import and export, and therefore the country did not pin much hope in him, but when a few years ago Shri Morarji Desai, a great Congressman, an eminent Congressman, was made Finance Minister, people thought that he would give a good lead to this country, but when we go through his speech and when we go through his Budget, we are thoroughly disappointed. No Budget could have shaken more the confidence of the people in planning and in socialism than the Budget that has been presented before the House.

Socialism needs an apparatus. The hon. Finance Minister, also, in his speech, has referred to it and he says that he wants to usher in the socialist order in this country. But, socialism needs an apparatus. Let us see what apparatus our Prime Minister has built up in our country to usher in socialism.

On the top, there is the Central Cabinet. Then, in the States there are the State Governments. But I can say with full responsibility, and with full knowledge, as a Congressman who has worked in the Congress for the last 30 years, that most of them have never paid even lip-sympathy to socialism. Through the thick and thin of India's national struggle, when some of us raised the cry for socialism in the All India Congress Committee, most of them opposed it. But, then, for the respect of the Prime Minister, just for fear, whenever the resolution on socialism came up, it was unanimously passed; and not one of them raised a dissentient voice. But, I am afraid that many of them

[Shri Ansar Harvani]

have neither faith nor confidence in the principle of socialism.

Then, there are the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Administrative Service. Most of the services have been drawn from those mercenaries who had sold their souls to British imperialism when India was a slave country. Most of them were trained for the magistracy and the collectorate. Most of them were trained for high pushing. And, we expect the services, which were trained for high pushing, which were trained for the magistracy and the collectorate, also to push the dynamic programme of socialism. I am afraid it cannot be done.

Then, we have got a party which is divided in itself. We have known it very well that ever since the death of the Father of the Nation, every resolution in the Indian National Congress and the All India Congress Committee has been passed unanimously. This socialism was accepted unambiguously in the presence of certain representatives of the Indian Federation of Chambers of Commerce and representatives of some big business. So, the party also does not have much confidence in itself. So, I can say that with this apparatus it is rather difficult to usher in socialism in this country; and our hon. Prime Minister has got to do re-thinking about it, whether with this apparatus socialism can be ushered in this country.

Then, Socialism needs an attitude of life. What is the attitude of life today? We, who have been brought up in the Gandhian tradition of austerity, we who have been brought up in the greatest tradition of simplicity, how do we live when we are lifted to high office? I do not mean to say that I expect Shri Morarji Desai and his colleagues to live in the huts in which the Father of the Nation lived. We want them to live the normal life in the normal way, in normal houses. The moment anyone of us is raised to the Cabinet, it becomes necessary for us to have a palatial building for office, to have retinues of peons dress-

ed like the Bengal Lancers following us when we go for the inauguration of something, or for laying the foundation-stone of something. With that attitude of life, I fail to understand how we can lead the socialist movement.

A number of taxes have been imposed. But, we have to see the extent of tax evasion. I want the hon. Finance Minister to take this House into confidence and let us know, in the last few years, how many big businessmen have been hauled up for tax evasion. I know it for a fact that from many big businessmen who have been hauled up for tax evasion and about whom enquiries are going on, our Ministers have accepted hospitality. Can you expect a low-paid Inspector of Income-tax, getting Rs. 150 or Rs. 160 or even Rs. 200 to make honest enquiries about persons, big business tycoons from whom some of the important Ministers accept lunches and hospitality? It is not possible. So, if we have got to stop tax evasion, we have got to give a social stigma to these people against whom enquiries are going on. But, what do we find today? A very big businessmen of Delhi, not only of Delhi but of all India, after years and years of litigation was convicted by the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court issued a prompt order that he should be sent to jail. We know it very well that even weeks have passed and until today he is enjoying an air-conditioned room of his own residence. Leave it apart. But we know it very well that some of his business relations, business representatives or some of his business circles have had the honour of the visit of some of our very important Ministers and have enjoyed the hospitality. Is that the way to check tax evasion? It is not possible unless we change our attitude towards big businessmen.

Then there is something for which I may be ridiculed. That is corruption in our administration and in our Government. Our great Prime Minis-

ter has been saying that India is the least corrupt country. The other day he pointed that there was corruption in almost every country in the world; he pointed out a very rich country and said that there was probably more corruption in that country than here. Every country may be corrupt. But that is not a justification that India should also be corrupt. To say that corruption is minimum here or is only at the lowest level is preposterous and is like closing our eyes. I want to know here and now what was the position of the sons who are in the highest posts. Today they are there; before they came to the higher position what were they? I do not want to say that politicians have no right to do honest business; they are perfectly justified in doing it but they should do it in the proper way. It is time that we find out what was the position of the sons of the many highly placed people today before they came to that high place. If they have made money in a honest way, I have nothing to say. In the Bangalore session of the Congress I moved a resolution that there should be an enquiry about the financial assets of the big people in public life and our great Prime Minister was good enough to issue instructions that every year we shall file our returns and we have been filing our returns. I can say with personal knowledge that in many cases these returns do not include the income of kith and kin who have taken advantage of the political, social and administrative positions (*An Hon. Member*: That is socialist pattern of society) We talk of socialist pattern of society. We know it well that in our anxiety of integration of the Indian States long ago, we had agreed that the Indian princes should be given a privy purse. It may have been justified then. People will deliver lectures to me that it is our moral responsibility to support it. But can a socialist pattern of society be compromised when dozens of people live on the privy purses as drones and parasites? Is it possible in a socialist society? It is time the Government of India revised its policy towards Indian princes and stopped the privy

purses because they cannot be compromised with socialist pattern.

The expenditure side of the Budget has shown many programmes of national development and national reconstruction. The Government of India should pay greatest importance towards national integration. On the eve of the general elections the ruling party as well the parties on that side start talking too much of national integration and too much of solicitude towards minorities. It is time we made a thorough enquiry not only about the social position of the various minorities in this country but about their economic position also. We have got to see what are the minority communities; how much income-tax they pay; how many jobs they enjoy and how many shares they have got in India's business. I do not mean to say that we should spoonfeed them, but it is time that fuller opportunities were afforded to the various minority communities to develop not only socially but economically also.

It was long ago—in the year 1934—that a great and eminent Indian, Netaji Subhas Bose, had said about our great Prime Minister: that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru also claims to be a leftist. His head may be with the leftists but his heart has always been with the rightists. Today, unfortunately I have to point out this: Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is a great socialist: his head may be with socialism but his company is with the rightists and as long as that continues, India's future is doomed.

With these words, I support the budget.

श्री शि० स्वामी (कोप्पल) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री हमारे दोस्त ने, जोकि कांग्रेस के टिकट पर चुन कर आए हैं, जो बातें कहीं के उन के दिल की बातें थीं। सरकार की आर्थिक नीति के बारे में माननीय सदस्य जो कुछ इस हाउस में कहते हैं, उन से यह मालूम होता है कि आज जो हिन्दुस्तान के

[श्री शि० स्वामी]

हुकमरान बन कर बैठे हैं, उन का १९४७ से पहले एक चित्र था और उस के बाद एक दूसरा ही चित्र बन रहा है।

मुझे याद पड़ता है कि जब श्री नेहरू के नेतृत्व में कांग्रेस के नेता इन्टरिम गवर्नमेंट में पद सम्भालने से पहले महात्मा गांधी का सन्देश प्राप्त करने गये, तो उस दिन सोमवार होने के कारण उन का मौन-व्रत था और वह बोल नहीं सकते थे। इसलिए महात्मा गांधी ने एक छोटे से कागज पर अपना यह सन्देश लिख कर दिया, जो इस प्रकार था :

“Remember Dandi march, remember Swadeshi movement, honour the wishes of the people and protect the depressed classes.”

डांडी मार्च को याद रखने से उन का मतलब यह नहीं था कि नमक पर जो टैक्स लगाया गया है, सिर्फ उस को हटा दिया जाये, बल्कि महात्मा गांधी चाहते थे कि इस प्रिंसिपल को सामने रखा जाये कि मासिज की ग्राम ज़रूरियात पर, उन की आवश्यकता की ग्राम अजनास पर, एक पैसा भी टैक्स न लगाया जाये। यही महात्मा गांधी की आवाज़ थी।

स्वदेशी मूवमेंट को याद रखने से गांधी जी का मन्शा यह था कि मुल्क के अन्दर जो साधन हैं, उन से इस मुल्क की आर्थिक दशा को सुधारा जाय और उस को आगे ले जाया जाये। उस ज़माने में विदेशों पर भरोसा करना बिल्कुल पाप समझा जाता था। लेकिन आज हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था दूसरे मुल्कों पर निर्भर है और अपना आर्थिक स्तर ऊंचा करने के लिए हम उन से कर्जा ले रहे हैं। मैं इस का बिल्कुल मुखालिफ़ हूँ। इस का कारण यह है कि जिन देशों से हम आर्थिक सहायता लेते हैं, नीति के संबंध में हमें उन के साथ जाना पड़ता है।

डांडी में जो सत्याग्रह किया गया, उस का लक्ष्य यही था कि लोगों की आवश्यकता

की चीजों पर—खाने और कपड़े पर—किसी तरीके से टैक्स न लगाया जाये। इसलिए कपड़े और वीवर्ज़ के यार्न पर जो टैक्स लगाया गया है, उस को बिल्कुल खत्म करना चाहिए। दूसरी अजनास पर टैक्स लगा कर सरकार रुपया जमा कर सकती है, लेकिन मासिज की ग्राम ज़रूरियात पर जो टैक्स लगाया गया है, उस को इसी वक्त खत्म कर देना चाहिये, यह मेरी राय है।

हम को यह जानना चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान एक ज़राग्रती मुल्क है, एक कृषि-प्रधान देश है, जहां पर तकरीबन अस्सी प्रतिशत लोग कृषि पर निर्भर करते हैं। प्लानिंग के सम्बन्ध में यह कहा जाता है कि कृषि के क्षेत्र में बहुत कुछ सुधार किया गया है, लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्राजैक्ट एरियाज को छोड़ कर ज़राग्रत पर मबनी लोगों के लिए कोई योजना नज़र नहीं आती है। कम्युनिटी प्राजैक्ट डेवलपमेंट और को-ऑपरेशन के लिए एक अलग मंत्रालय कायम किया गया है, लेकिन उस का पैसा कम्युनिटी प्राजैक्ट्स और डेवलपमेंट पर खर्च नहीं किया जाता है। किसी ने खूब कहा है कि कम्युनिटी प्राजैक्ट्स इज वि ईटिंग नोट्स डिपार्टमेंट, यानी वह पैसा खाने का डिपार्टमेंट, खाता, बन चुका है। हमको खास तौर पर अनुभव है कि कम्युनिटी प्राजैक्ट्स के विभाग के द्वारा गांवों के लोगों की आर्थिक दशा को सुधारने के लिए कोई भी काम ठीक तरीके से नहीं चल रहा है। सिर्फ एडवाइज़री कमेटीज़, दूसरी कई कमेटीज़, भत्तों और ग्रान्ट्स वगैरह के जरिये पैसे खाये जाते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि एक कमेटी एप्वायंट की जानी चाहिए, जो इस बात की देख-भाल करे कि कम्युनिटी प्राजैक्ट एरियाज में पिछल दस सालों से डेवलपमेंट की जो कोशिश की जा रही है, उससे किसानों का कोई बढ़ावा हुआ है, उनकी कोई उन्नति हुई है।

श्री जे० सी० कुमारप्पा ने अपनी किताब 'स्वराज फ़ार दि मासिज़' में कहा है—

"As regards the cost, plans that call for the investment of thousands of crores of rupees, in a country where even getting one square meal a day is a problem for the majority of the people, are destined mostly to remain on paper. If we wish to be practical, the cost must be capable of being distributed amongst the people in such small amounts as to fall within their meagre means. The conception itself should be such as to catch their imagination. If this can be done then the people's co-operation can be obtained without any compulsion.

To adjust our schemes accordingly, it is of the first importance to remember that ours is an agricultural country where over 70 per cent of the people are occupied in tilling the soil and an additional 18 per cent in industries connected with it."

उसके बाद उसी किताब में सफ़हा २७ पर "नोरो फ़िडलज़" के शीर्षक से यह कहा गया है -

"When people are dying of starvation on the pavements of Calcutta and the country is facing a famine, should this tobacco cultivation in the interests of the Tobacco Companies be the pre-occupation of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research? A Government pledged to the welfare of the people should reclaim all such land for raising food crops. It should transfer the services of Sir Herbert Stewart and officers of his ilk to the Tobacco Companies and not waste the taxpayer's money in subsidizing British firms masquerading in India as '(India) Ltd'. Almost the entire programme of work of this I.C.A.R. is of this nature. If

if is not tobacco it is long-staple cotton or thick-rind sugar cane for the mills or groundnuts for exports."

जहाँ तक बजट का सम्बन्ध है, यह उसूल सामने रखना चाहिए कि किसी उद्योग में जितने लोग हैं, उनमें ईक्वी-डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन होना चाहिए। पहले बजट का सोशललाईजेशन करना ज़रूरी है।

17.00 hrs.

एग््रीकल्चर के लिए जो रकम रखी गई है, वह बिल्कुल नाकाफ़ी है। इस देश में सत्तर फ़ीसदी लोग एग््रीकल्चर पर मबनी है। इस लिए अगर बजट में एग््रीकल्चर के लिए सत्तर फ़ीसदी रुपया प्रोवाइड करने में कोई मजबूरी है, तो कम से कम पचास फ़ीसदी रुपया एग््रीकल्चर के लिए ज़रूरी रखना चाहिए। जो पैसा डायरेक्ट और इंडायरेक्ट टैक्सेशन से वसूल किया जाता है, इस मुल्क में जो पांच साला योजना चल रही है और जो चित्र उसका लोगों के सामने खींचा जाता है, मैं समझता हूँ कि वह चन्द लोगों पर ही खर्च कर दिया जाता है, उन पर खर्च कर दिया जाता है, जो पूंजीपति हैं, जो पार्टियों के फालोअर्ज़ हैं, जो हुकूमत पक्ष के व्यापारी लोग हैं। यही लोग हैं जिनको अधिक सुविधायें दी जाती हैं। जहाँ तक गरीब लोगों का ताल्लुक है, हरिजनों का ताल्लुक है, लेबर क्लास का ताल्लुक है जो कि गांवों में काम करती है, उनके लिए कुछ नहीं किया जाता है, उनको सर्विसिस में एबज़ार्ब करने के लिए कुछ नहीं किया जाता है। आम तौर से इस बजट में इनका जिक्र नहीं किया गया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हर साल जब भी बजट पेश किया जाए तो कम से कम ५० परसेंट रुपया एग््रीकल्चर के लिए रिज़र्व रखा जाए।

आप टैक्स बढ़ाते जा रहे हैं लेकिन स्टेट्स को बहुत कम हिस्सा मिल रहा है। उनको आप म्यूनिसिपैलिटीज़ का ही दर्जा देते हैं।

[श्री शि० स्वामी]

जो पुराने रियासतों की रेलें थीं और जो रोड्स था, हैदराबाद स्टेट में जो पहले था और हैदराबाद स्टेट का जो हिस्सा अब मसूर में आ गया है, उससे काफ़ी आमदनी हुआ करती थी और अब यह सारी आमदनी आपको होती है। लेकिन स्टेट्स को बहुत कम हिस्सा दिया जाता है उन टैक्सों में से जोकि वे भी वमूल करने की हकदार हैं। इनकम टैक्स से जो आमदनी होती है, कम्पनी टैक्सेशन से जो होती है, कारपोरेशन टैक्स से होती है और जिन में स्टेट्स का हिस्सा होता है, उनका वह हिस्सा बहुत कम कर दिया गया है। उनको, कुछ मामले ऐसे हैं, कि टैक्स लगाते वक्त सेंटर से मंजूरी लेनी पड़ती है। ये वे मामले हैं जोकि उनकी हद के अन्दर आते हैं। फाइनेंस कमिशन ने जो रिपोर्ट दी उसका भी जिक्र मेरे कुछ दोस्तों ने किया है। उसमें भी कई स्टेट्स के साथ बेइंसाफी हुई है।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि स्टेट्स की आर्थिक दशा को सुधारने का आपको प्रयत्न करना चाहिए।

आपको चाहिए कि आप ज्यादा से ज्यादा पब्लिक सेंटर इंडस्ट्रीज़ से आमदनी बढ़ायें। आप डायरेक्ट टैक्सेशन को बढ़ायें इंडायरेक्ट को बढ़ायें, लेकिन ये टैक्स ऐसे सामान पर लगायें जो ऐश व आराम का सामान है, जिस को बड़े बड़े लोग, साहूकार लोग इस्तेमाल करते हैं। आप लैंड रेवेन्यू को भी बढ़ा सकते हैं बशर्त कि आप उनकी इनकम को भी बढ़ायें।

अन्त में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि बजट में ७० परसेंट नहीं तो कम से कम ५० परसेंट रुपया एग्रीकलचर के लिए रिजर्व करना आपका धर्म है और इस धर्म का आपका पालन करना चाहिये।

Mr. Speaker: The discussion will be continued tomorrow.

17.03 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, May 8, 1962/Vaisakha 18, 1884 (Saka).